

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

The Musicalization of Romantic Childhood:

Genre, Power, and Paradox

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Music

by

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December 2018

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DEDICATION

For my tenacious children, Penelope and Felix, who brought out the father in me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the past six years I have received support and encouragement from a great number of individuals. I would like to thank my dissertation committee for their support from my initial exploration of the topic to the completion of the current study: Drs. Stefanie Tcharos, Sara Pankenier Weld, and Derek Katz have been mentors whose guidance and positivity have made this a rewarding journey. Additionally, Drs. Jon Cruz, Catherine Nesci, and William Davies King provided fruitful insights into the interdisciplinary intersections of my project. Dr. Marcus Flathman spent many patient hours offering growthful and trenchant perspectives on the dissertating process. Luke Hannington has been a true colleague and friend whose insightful questions and enthusiasm brought joy to this journey. Finally, I am categorically grateful for the unflagging companionship of my wife, Jessica, who saw this eight year process through to completion with aplomb and empathy.

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ABSTRACT

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Children and childhood have played a significant role in the historical development of Western music making; nevertheless, the importance of this topic has largely been understudied in the discipline of musicology. This study addresses this scholarly lacuna by focusing more specifically upon the social and cultural significance of children's music—both music *about* and *for* children—with its emergence at the turn of the century, and the development of its generic characteristics through the 1830s. Within this time frame I analyze piano character pieces by both well-known and less-known composers for their musical, textual, and visual components in order to understand the ways adults have used music to frame children within ideological structures of childhood. Through this interdisciplinary approach, I contend that the concept of Romantic childhood played a significant role in the development of children's music, and that music, in turn, perpetuated this invention in ways that both benefited adult conceptualizations of selfhood and creativity, and sought to

socialize children according to romanticized norms of conduct within the context of bourgeois domesticity.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

This dissertation reveals the significance of the complex constructions of childhood as they relate to the cultural practices and composition of music in the nineteenth century. By examining the new relationship between children and music through the lens of piano character pieces that emerged during the age of Romanticism, I explore the ways in which adults used music to define and express ideological framings of childhood, and create ontological and epistemological definitions of children within and expressive of particular cultural contexts. A study of this kind has been largely understudied in the discipline of musicology; while other humanistic disciplines have developed traditions that treat the topic of childhood as a significant area of study, musicology, by and large, has neglected it. Both the musical histories of actual children and the musical constructions of childhood remain unheard and undervalued, and in so doing we not only miss out on a rich, humanistic, and interdisciplinary discussion, but participate in the devaluing and marginalization of children's studies as a scholarly discipline.

In recent years the study of childhood has emerged as a thriving, serious, and worthwhile area of inquiry in the humanities including the subjects of literature, history, psychology, education, anthropology, religion, and ethnomusicology.¹ In broad terms, these disciplines explore this topic along two lines: focusing on *children* or *childhood*. The former

¹ See C. Philip Hwang, et al. eds., *Images of Childhood* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1996); Hugh Cunningham, "Histories of Childhood," in *The American Historical Review* (Oct., 1998), 1195-1208; Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood* (London: BBC Books, 2006); Patricia Shehan Campbell and Trevor Wiggins, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Children's Musical Cultures* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); John Cleverley and D. C. Phillips, *Visions of Childhood: Influential Models from Locke to Spock* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1976); and Marcia J. Bunge, ed. *The Child in Christian Thought* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2001). Some notable examples of musicological research in this area include Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok, *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), although the bulk of contributors in this volume take an ethnomusicological perspective.

examines the historical or contemporary experiences, behaviors, rituals, and utterances of actual children in order to understand the child's interaction with and constitution of the world. The latter looks into framing ideologies about children and the ways in which images of childhood have been invented in various discourses by adult directors. Both of these approaches demonstrate the diverse and compelling insights and perspectives that this subject fosters.² Most importantly, it highlights the degree to which childhood is foundational for understanding the construction, maintenance, and perpetuation of cultural myths, and the ways in which they are simultaneously remembered and forgotten. In studying childhood we witness the tension of adult-child power dynamics; the hopes, fears, and priorities of adult culture; various forms of resistance, subversion, compliance, and acceptance of children in the face of these forces; and the creation, retention, modification, or rejection of social values, practices, and formations across successive generations.

These aspects of children's studies could have a major impact on the discipline of musicology by providing a rich lens through which to explore core discourses. In particular they offer a reframing of musical discourses of power by problematizing institutionalized epistemologies such as canon formation, pedagogical institutionalism, musicalization of gender, and nationalism/exoticism.³ Yet musicology overall leaves childhood under-theorized, over-simplified, and tacitly assumed, thereby perpetuating the adult-child power dynamic that leaves the voiceless child unheard. In composer biographies, childhood and its

² The work of Robin Bernstein demonstrates a recent approach at uniting the binary of children and childhood. See Robin Bernstein, "Childhood as Performance," in *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies in the Humanities*, ed. Anna Mae Duane (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013): 203-212.

³ See Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980); and Alec McHoul and Wendy Grace, *A Foucault Primer: Discourse, Power and the Subject* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

musical equivalent, juvenilia, are often positioned as an underdeveloped or chaotic point of origins so as to give definition and stability to the maturity of adulthood and its musical equivalent, canonical masterworks.⁴ Rather than see the enormous significance of juvenilia within the teleological narrative of the development and maturation of a composer, these types of studies generally characterize juvenilia as “childish” and imply that musical progress comes about despite the shameful attempts of youth and only through an ideological abandonment of the child’s musical world. The reasons for this marginalization perhaps stem from the institutional value musicology has placed upon those topics deemed musically mature. Adult composers, significant compositions, influential institutions, and complex theories of analysis or criticism all fall within this normative category, while musically “immature” topics are those which fail to meet these criteria. The power of musicology’s disciplinary canon speaks to its only eventual engagement with feminist, post-colonial, and queer perspectives since the 1990s, but it also reveals the lingering disparity in topics such as *Kleinmeisters* (non-canonical composers),⁵ *Trivialmusik* (non-canonical and “popular” music),⁶ and even improvisation (non-canonical and marginal performance practices).⁷

⁴ John Rink points out this in a discussion of Chopin’s early works: “An underlying critical bias in many assessments of the early works inhibits objective evaluation of their significant contribution to Chopin’s stylistic development. Most commentators tend to stress the early repertoire’s inferior status in comparison with the composer’s mature works and thus fail to view music from his ‘apprenticeship’ on its own terms, implicitly succumbing to notions of artistic ‘progress’ which are untenable from both analytical and historiographical points of view.” John Rink, “Tonal architecture in the early music,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 78.

⁵ Vjera Katalinić, ed., *Musical Culture and the “Kleinmeister” of Central Europe 1750–1820* (Zagreb, Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo), 1995.

⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 311-320; and Carl Dahlhaus, ed., *Studien zur Trivialmusik* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1967).

⁷ Bruno Nettl, “An Art Neglected in Scholarship,” in *In the Course of Performance: Studies in the World of Musical Improvisation*, ed. Bruno Nettl with Melinda Russell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 1-19.

Although talking about the diminutive size of the piano prelude, Jeffery Kallberg's point of the "continuing distrust of the small"⁸ in musicology is apt here as well, especially when such distrust ultimately silences the child.

Even when musicology does engage with the topic of childhood, it usually does so through the lens of a canonical composer, most notably, Robert Schumann. Undisputedly, this composer marks an important milestone in the musical articulation of children, yet it is important to consider the development of children's music in a larger context and as indicative of a paradigm shift that would fundamentally change the relationship between children and music to this day. This wider approach to the topic of childhood and music would undoubtedly recontextualize the achievements and significance of Schumann within the history of children's studies.

The scholarship of Roe-Min Kok focuses primarily upon the music of Schumann and the context of the nineteenth century as her entrée to the study of childhood, which she examines through a variety of analytical approaches.⁹ These include the comparison of manuscripts and editions, translation of newly discovered correspondence, explication of

⁸ Kallberg uses this phrase to discuss musicological anxiety in the interpretation of Chopin's *24 Preludes*. I am here using it metaphorically to underscore the discipline's discomfort with "small" things in general. Jeffery Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 150.

⁹ Roe-Min Kok, "Who was Mignon? What was she? Popular Catholicism and Robert Schumann's *Requiem für Mignon* Op. 98b," in *Rethinking Schumann*. Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); "Family and Gender in Imaginative Children's Music," in *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, Roberto Illiano and Luca Sala, eds. (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2010), 269-277; "Negotiating Children's Music: New Evidence for Schumann's 'Charming' Late Style," in *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 80 (2008): 99-128; "Falling Asleep: Schumann, Lessing and Death in a Wunderhorn Lullaby," in *Studien zur Wertungsforschung*, Vol. 48. Graz: Universal Edition für Institut für Wertungsforschung (2007); "Märchen-Musik," in *Übergänge: Zwischen Künsten und Kulturen, Internationaler Kongress zum 150. Todesjahr von Heinrich Heine und Robert Schumann* (Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2007); "Of Kindergarten, Cultural Nationalism, and Schumann's *Album for the Young*," in *The World of Music* vol. 48/1 (2006): 111-32; "Music for a Postcolonial Child: Theorizing Malaysian Memories," in *Musical Childhoods and the Culture of Youth* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2006); *Romantic Childhood, Bourgeois Commercialism and the Music of Robert Schumann*, PhD diss. (Harvard University, 2003).

musical notation with front matter and iconography, and consideration of ideological discourses (such as industrialism, domesticity, and post-colonialism) on musical meanings. Kok's writings provide working examples that underscore the importance of looking at music and childhood from different angles in order to tease out its larger significance. My project will differ in that I emphasize the larger trends and impacts of the musicalization of childhood through the examples of both known and unknown composers and compositions. This approach allows me to dig deeper into the theorization of childhood by translating interdisciplinary perspectives on the subject, primarily the conception of genre, into a musicological context.

Several other musicological studies have provided similar arguments and methods and they provide additional perspectives on ways to approach childhood in theoretical and musical terms.¹⁰ In particular Lia Laor provides richly theorized and socio-historically contextualized study that complements my own. She is concerned with rescuing the topic of pedagogy from the margins of musicological discourse by exploring its philosophical and aesthetic centrality during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She contrasts Enlightenment "mechanism" and Romantic "holism" as means for framing different inventions of childhood, and investigates the musical expressions of these inventions through

¹⁰ Bernhard Appel, *Robert Schumanns "Album für die Jugend": Einführung und Kommentar* (Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch Verlag, 1998); Lia Laor, *Paradigm War: Lessons Learned from 19th Century Piano Pedagogy* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016); Richard Leppert, *Music and image: Domesticity, ideology and socio-cultural formation in eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Adeline Otis Mueller, "Zauberkinde: Children and Childhood in Late Eighteenth-Century Singpiel and Lieder," (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2011); Miriam Noa, *Völkstümlichkeit und Nationbuilding: Zum Einfluss der Musik auf den Einigungsprozess der deutschen Nation im 19. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Waxmann, 2013); Nicolai Petrat, *Hausmusik des Biedermeier* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung, 1986); Gunter Reiß ed., *Kindertheater und populäre bürgerliche Musikkultur um 1900: Studien zum Weihnachtsmärchen* (C.A. Görner, G.v. Bassewitz), *zum patriotischen Festspiel, zur Märchenoper zur Hausmusik* (C. Reinecke, E. Fischer) *und zur frühen massenmedialen Kinderkultur* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008); Matthais Schmidt, *Komponierte Kindheit* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2004); and Georges Starobinski, "Les Kinderszenen op. 15 de Schumann: Composantes littéraires et biographiques d'une genèse," in *Revue de Musicologie* (2002), 361-88.

published piano music. I also want to rescue a musical concept from the margins by displaying its deep significance, and I follow her methodological trajectory while focusing on the holistic view of Romanticism as a means for adults to construct children as primarily static and unchanging, rather than dynamic, symbols, and explain how this framing of childhood satisfies adult priorities and needs.

The work of Isabel Eicker stands as a regularly-cited source of information on children's music.¹¹ Her musicological study provides information on publishing practices, generic characteristics (notational, textual, and iconographic), and canonical as well as lesser-known composers. This research offers the opportunity on my part to analyze and interpret the data in ways that differ from Eicker's structural and generic conclusions. Similarly, one of the first scholarly explorations of music and childhood by Ian Sharp contains a wealth of raw data, but his research is constrained by structural models and strict generic definitions.¹² My exploration of the mechanics of genre in children's music deals directly with the conflicted and protean nature of children's music, which demonstrates the richness of childhood as a musicological subject.

While the music remains a central focus of this project, its significance and complications come into focus through interdisciplinary perspectives. As stated above, a large piece of this dissertation concerns the translation of ideas, vocabularies, and models from other disciplines into a musicological context. The historical and sociological study of childhood provides pertinent tools for this study. Children's history is also a complex field of

¹¹ Isabel Eicker, *Kinderstücke: An Kinder adressierte und über das Thema der Kindheit komponierte Alben in der Klavierliteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1995).

¹² Ian Sharp, *Classical Music's Evocation of the Myth of Childhood* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen, 2001).

scholarship that strives to come to grips with both the paucity of historical evidence of the actual experiences of children at various points in history, and the disentangling of epistemological frameworks that interpret those findings. Central to this discipline is the concept of whether or not childhood has remained a constant concept or whether it has changed.¹³

The field of children's literature studies has particular import for my study. This is especially evident in the writings of Jacqueline Rose that deconstruct the idea of "children's literature" writ large,¹⁴ revealing rhetorical maneuvers and power dynamics at work. Their arguments, oftentimes extreme, still provide compelling arguments that help me problematize and challenge the hegemonic and homogenous claims that are leveled against adults. The study of literary fairy tales plays an important part in the study of children's literature, particularly around the nineteenth century. Two influential writers in this field, Jack Zipes and Marina Warner, provide excellent examples of scholarship that engages with this literature and its cultural significance, the former through the lens of the socializing theories of Norbert Elias and the later by sketching out epistemological genealogies.¹⁵ Both are concerned with the ways in which cultural materials targeted at children establish norms, but also how their mythologization and longevity through history allow for both the preservation and subversion of those norms.

¹³ See Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962); and Cunningham, "Histories of Childhood," 1195-96ff.

¹⁴ Jacqueline Rose, *The Case of Peter Pan or The Impossibility of Children's Fiction* (London: Macmillan Press, 1984).

¹⁵ Jack Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Jack Zipes, *The Irresistible Fairy Tale: The Cultural and Social History of a Genre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers* (New York: Noonday Press, 1996); Marina Warner, *No Go the Bogeyman: Scaring, Lulling, and Making Mock* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998).

My project focuses upon musical constructions of childhood. This means that I explore the ways in which adults use music to construct images of children that express particular conceptions of what children are or what they ought to be, and to critically analyze the wider social and cultural importance of these constructions for nineteenth-century Europe at large. Although I make some inferences about how these ideas could have affected actual children, I do not draw upon sources that express the lived experiences of children during the nineteenth century, which in any case are particularly rare and interpretively problematic. I focus my musical evidence upon character pieces written for piano, a critically important genre that had widespread popularity during this time. Furthermore, I focus on character pieces that are expressive of children in states of sleep or dreaming, for reasons that I expound upon in the next chapter. I cast a wide net by analyzing musical examples from a variety of areas—particularly Germany, Russia, and France—from the 1830s to just before the onset of World War I. Through this I show the breadth and depth of a particular construction of childhood that became integral to the genre of children’s music writ large.

Chapter Two considers the “musical discovery” of childhood during the nineteenth century. By this I mean that, although children and music have interacted in significant and complex ways in past eras, it was during the 1830s under the influence of the concept of Romantic childhood that the genre of “children’s music” emerged, leaving long-lasting marks upon the practices, discourses, and conventions of music. By examining the changing relationships between piano music and ideologies of childhood during this time, I reveal how the nineteenth century marks an important development in the ways that children and music-making interacted. Prior to the nineteenth century, music intended for consumption by

children expressed different ideas about children, specifically that adults and children existed upon a fluid continuum with no clear boundaries; my analysis of compositions by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) supports this and shows that the child of the eighteenth century was considered a “miniature adult.” I then trace the concept of Romantic childhood from its roots in Enlightenment philosophy to its flowering in the poetic expressions and aesthetic debates of early Romanticism. The central concept of this ideology concerned the child’s function as a symbol of transcendence, nature, and innocence, themes which become integrated into the generic conventions—musical, textual, and visual—of piano character pieces during the nineteenth century. I focus on music that programmatically depicts children in the posture of sleeping or dreaming, which highlights the passive nature of the Romantic child as an ideologically laden image perpetuated by adults for a variety of purposes.

Chapter Three explores music written on the theme of childhood, but meant for adult consumption. This category of music demonstrates the ways in which the figure of the Romantic child functioned as a means for adults to gain access to various states, including spiritual transcendence, nostalgic longing, otherworldly strangeness, and creativity. This perspective provides new insight into the notorious debate over the composition *Kinderszenen* op. 15 (1838) between composer Robert Schumann (1810–1856) and music critic Ludwig Rellstab (1799–1860). Using autobiographical information from both parties, as well as analyses of several movements within the composition, I show that both men understood this music as a radical reification of Romantic childhood, but with different views on whether or not such a conception of childhood was socially appropriate at the time. I then move to a demonstration of how this type of children’s music continued throughout the

nineteenth century as a wide-ranging and long-lasting musical tradition by considering Fyodor Stepanovich Akimenko (1876–1945) and his composition *Cinq Préludes* (1903). I contextualize this marginal composer and his work by establishing the cultural significance of Romantic childhood in Russia, first through a newly translated 1912 monograph written by Akimenko on art, society, and spirituality, and second through the 1852 novel *Childhood* by Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), which exerted a powerful influence over the conception of childhood as an expression of the adult’s nostalgic longing for lost innocence. My analyses of several movements of *Cinq Préludes* that depict the sleeping and dreaming of a child reveal the pervasiveness of the passivity and strangeness of the Romantic child as an object of adult contemplation and rejuvenation.

Chapter Four examines music written by adults for children. Schumann’s seminal work in this category, *Album für die Jugend* op. 68 (1848), claims that this type of music provides children with progressive, nourishing, and intimate images of themselves, ideas that became engrained into the generic makeup of children’s music throughout the century. I problematize this view and employ research from children’s literature to highlight the hidden influence of the adult author and the pressures of socialization. I show that this music functions as a means of romanticization, designed by adults to present actual children with the image of Romantic childhood, thereby defining their behavior through programmatic depiction, and internalizing social values, fears, and hierarchies through the repetitive practice. I apply this concept on two case studies: *La journée d’une petite fille* (1904) by Alexander Alexandrovich Ilyinsky (1859–1920) and *Scènes enfantines* (1890) by Théodore Lack (1846–1921). Both of these compositions allow us to reconsider the ways that

children's music proscribes social norms and reinforce notions of powerlessness and passivity in children.

Chapter Five concludes this study by summarizing the scholarly terrain traversed and considering the ramifications of this new research for both musicology and children's studies. I also outline avenues of future study that continue to explore the complex interactions between childhood, children, and music.

Chapter 2. Emergence and Genrefication of Children’s Music

The 1830s marks the “musical discovery” of Romantic childhood, fundamentally altering the relationship between music and children in ways that had not been seen before and that endure to this day. Before unpacking such a statement, it is worthy note that a critical question in the historical study of childhood concerns whether or not childhood has remained relatively stable across time and space, or whether it has evolved as the product of cultural contexts. This issue lay at the center of Philippe Ariès’ groundbreaking study *Centuries of Childhood* (1960, tr. 1962), in which he controversially took the side of historical discontinuity, maintaining both ideas about childhood and the experiences of being a child have undergone radical change throughout history. Through his descriptions of childhood in the medieval ages—in which most of our modern assumptions of what children are, how they behave, and how they function in society are conspicuously absent—Ariès challenged his readers to reconsider the ideological frameworks that had made children into perdurable historical and cultural commonplaces.¹ This methodological estrangement gives rise to a rhetorical device that conceptualizes of childhood as “invented” or “discovered” at particular points in history. Ann Wierda Rowland explains that these terms are

Meant to defamiliarize and estrange what can easily be seen as a universal and ever-present fact of human life. Childhood becomes not something that we all have and, therefore, that all humans have always had, but something more like a new planet that floated into view on a particular night or a new species arduously tracked and meticulously described by an intrepid explorer.²

This rhetoric speaks to those historic junctures in which adults—the ostensible wonderstruck astrologers and enthusiastic biologists—have actively brought children and childhood into

¹ See Cunningham, 1197.

² Rowland, 6.

greater focus and importance within the larger culture in a way that that markedly differs from past ages.

This study uncovers what I consider to be the “musical discovery of childhood,” a pivotal moment when significant interactions between children and music changed.³ During the 1830s children became visible to a degree that had not been previously seen in the fabric of Western music-making, resulting in the establishment of new musical genres, materials, and practices. Because this shift endures in large part to this day, the radical nature of this “discovery” and the assumptions it has created about children and music have been silenced; by tracing out this transition, I advocate for the voiceless and point to the significance of critically evaluating the cultural significance of children’s music. I define and historicize this musical discovery by considering interactions between children and music prior to the nineteenth century through the medium of keyboard repertoire and pedagogical texts, showing that, in a musical sense, the eighteenth century child functioned as a “miniature adult.” I then contextualize the ideological changes that occurred leading up to the 1830s by outlining the separation of the child from the adult first in Enlightenment thought and then through Romanticism. The former generally treated the child as a “non-adult,” a rational object of adult observation and control, while the latter extended and inverted this invention and established the “Romantic child” as the paragon of transcendence, creativity, and innocence. These concepts became integrated into the emerging genre of children’s music, forming new generic expectations and becoming institutionalized through nineteenth-century publication practices.

³ In saying this, I do not agree with the sum total of Ariès’ arguments, methodologies, and conclusions. See below for my definition of the term “miniature adult” as it differs from that developed by Ariès.

J.S. Bach and the “Miniature Adult”

In keyboard music intended for children prior to the nineteenth century, we begin to discover musical evidence in support of a particular conception of childhood. By considering the intended purposes and musical characteristics of this music, and by comparing it with music intended for adults, we note a musical continuity that, in juxtaposition to music of the nineteenth century, does not markedly differentiate between ages, but places children upon a fluid musical continuum. By and large, this is a medieval construction of childhood, articulating pre-modern familial and apprenticeship structures, educational utilitarianism, and a view of music as an artisan craft.⁴ These goal-oriented characteristics and the lack of hard and fast boundaries between working class children and adults frame the child as a “miniature adult.”⁵ This term is often understood in a negative sense, especially as used by Ariès because—in keeping with the teleological perspective of his monograph—he interprets it as evidence of medieval adults’ “deformation” of children. In his analysis of visual artistic depictions of children in the medieval era he describes “an Ottonian miniature of the twelfth century,” which,

Provides us with a striking example of the deformation which an artist at that time would inflict on children’s bodies. The subject is the scene in the Gospels in which Jesus asks that little children be allowed to come to Him. The Latin text is clear: *parvuli*. Yet the miniaturist has grouped around Jesus what are obviously eight men, without any of the characteristics of childhood; they have simply been depicted on a smaller scale.⁶

⁴ Joanne M. Ferraro, “Medieval and Early Modern Childhoods,” in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula S. Fass (New York: Routledge, 2013), 65ff.

⁵ For more perspectives on the idea of children as miniature adults, see Jenny Willan, *Early Childhood Studies: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (London: Palmgrave, 2017); N.A. Branscombe, K. Castle, A.G. Dorsey, E. Surbeck, and J.B. Taylor, *Early Childhood Education: A Constructivist Approach* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000); and Ross W. Beales, Jr., “In Search of the Historical Child: Miniature Adulthood and Youth in Colonial New England,” in *American Quarterly*, 27 No. 4 (Oct., 1975): 379-398.

⁶ Ariès, 33.

From this observation, as well as analyses of children’s clothing, stories, humor, and education Ariès concluded that medieval adults “did not dwell on the image of childhood, and that that image had neither interest nor even reality for them,” a view that has been vigorously refuted.⁷ Yet the fact remains that visual representations of children did change throughout history and from that evidence we can identify frameworks placed upon childhood by a given culture.⁸ Likewise, the relationship between children and music changed throughout history, and I argue in the following analysis that in keyboard literature prior to the nineteenth century the music of the child was really the music of the medieval “miniature adult” upon a fluid child-adult continuum.

The example of Johann Sebastian Bach provides a compelling case study to understand the eighteenth-century child as a musical subject in these terms.⁹ On 22 January 1720, Bach began the compilation of the *Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*, a collection of keyboard pieces for the musical instruction of his eldest son, Wilhelm Friedemann (1710–1784).¹⁰ The contents of this document have been described as “meaty material for a child”¹¹ and from the very first pages—containing explications of eight different clefs, tables of ornaments, and examples of fingering—great technical demands were made of the

⁷ Ibid., 34. For example, see Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 3ff.

⁸ For example, see Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); and Patricia Holland, *What Is a Child?: Popular Images of Childhood* (London: Virago Press, 1992).

⁹ A similar case could be made using the *Nannerl Notenbuch* (1759–64) by Leopold Mozart (1719–1787).

¹⁰ This composition marks a turning point in Bach’s output that focused upon keyboard pedagogy. See Richard D. P. Jones, “The keyboard works: Bach as teacher and virtuoso,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 143.

¹¹ Ruth Tatlow, *Bach’s Numbers: Compositional Proportion and Significance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 162.

eponymous nine-year-old. Over the next six years, father and son worked together to copy out a total of sixty-three preludes, fantasias, dances, and chorales, some undoubtedly Friedemann's early compositional efforts, others supervised lessons in the creation and development of melodies, figurations, and bass lines. "This was not child's play," remarks David Schulenberg, and the image of childhood that this document presents differs strikingly from our modern understanding of the age- and skill-appropriate relationship between children and music. Schulenberg continues,

[This was] not merely an entertaining or enriching exercise, but work, or at least preparation for work, which would start as soon as the child was old enough to serve as copyist, choirboy, or instrumentalist. Within a family such as Bach's, there must have been protocols for training children that had been developed over generations, as well as routines governing the mundane tasks of everyday life, all quite different from those of a modern family.¹²

Under the influence of the Bach family legacy, a legacy grounded in the soil of Thuringia and steeped in the vocation of music-making since the sixteenth century,¹³ the child is conceived of as a miniature adult, who was expected from an early age to actively participate in and contribute to the family craft by practicing and acquiring rudimentary skills, all with the expectation that they would eventually mature into fully fledged professionals in their trade.¹⁴

This is nowhere more clear than in the music itself. As the *Clavier-Büchlein* grew to a 148-page book, so did the elder Bach's uses for its contents. In 1722 he incorporated eleven

¹² David Schulenberg, *The Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010), 32.

¹³ Christoph Wolff, *The New Grove Bach Family* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1983), 1-17.

¹⁴ W. R. Ward writes, "Bach's career is only to be understood in the light of his descent from an old musical family in the technical sense of that word. His forebears were town-pipers, professional fiddlers, musicians to councils and courts, who pursued their trade as artisans and were appropriately unionized in guilds." See Andrew Chandler, ed. *Evangelicalism, Piety and Politics: The Selected Writings of W. R. Ward* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 60. For a study on how this professional culture functioned within a familial context, see Tanya Kevorkian, "Households," in *The Routledge Research Companion to Johann Sebastian Bach*, edited by Robin A. Leaver (New York: Routledge, 2017), 110ff.

pieces into the first book of *Das wohltemperierte Klavier*,¹⁵ a summational collection of prelude-fugue pairs in all twenty-four major and minor keys that history has come to see as patently “adult music.” We might assume that the transference of musical pieces from the context of children’s instruction booklet to adult’s contrapuntal compendium would require a large effort of alteration. Yet, on the one hand, the lack of alterations and, on the other, the organic nature of the music’s development speak to the fluidity of the child-adult continuum made possible by the treatment of the child as a miniature adult. For example, the C major prelude—“Praeludium 1” (No. 14) in the *Clavier-Büchlein* and “Praeludium 1” (No. 1) in *Das wohltempierte Klavier*—consists of a pattern of arpeggiated chords, which David Ledbetter describes as belonging to the tradition of “beginners’ preludes, designed to develop a relationship between hand and keyboard in basic chord shapes.”¹⁶ Aside from lengthening it slightly—from twenty-eight to thirty-five measures—Bach retained the initial simplicity of this piece when he transferred it from one context to another. In this case the lack of substantial change is striking in that it provides a musical overlap between child and adult.

Furthermore, in the E minor prelude—“Praeludium 5” (No. 18) in the *Clavier-Büchlein* and “Praeludium 10” (No. 10) in *Das wohltempierte Klavier*—Bach did make alterations to the original material, which Ledbetter describes as turning “an obvious finger exercise” into “a concert item.”¹⁷ The version for Wilhelm underscores the technical

¹⁵ These include: Prelude in C major (BWV 846), Prelude in C minor (BWV 847), Prelude in D minor (BWV 851), Prelude in D major (BWV 850), Prelude in E minor (BWV 855), Prelude in E major (BWV 854), Prelude in F major (BWV 856), Prelude in C-sharp major (BWV 848), Prelude in C-sharp minor (BWV 849), Prelude in E-flat minor (BWV 853), and Prelude in F minor (BWV 857).

¹⁶ David Ledbetter, *Bach’s Well-tempered Clavier: The 48 Preludes and Fugues* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 143.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 184.

Figure 2.1. Characteristic figuration in Bach's *Clavierbüchlein*, Preludium in E minor, mm. 1-8.



challenge of a lefthand *moto perpetuo* with increasingly large extensions in the little finger with chordal punctuations in the right hand (fig. 2.1). Bach retained the piece's sixteenth-note figure and harmonic structure, but augmented it in two ways: first, by adding a florid melody in the right hand (fig. 2.2a), and second, by almost doubling the piece's overall length from twenty-three to forty-one measures through the appending of a new section marked *Presto* in which both hands take up the initial figure (fig. 2.2b). The adult version rests upon the foundation of the original version, revealing Bach's compositional process of developing and refining a musical idea.

Both of these examples show that Bach did not view music for children and music for adults as mutually exclusive categories, but rather as part of a musical continuum without clear divisions or distinctions. The title page of *Das wohltemperierte Klavier* supports this

Figure 2.2a. Melodic development in Bach's *Das wohltemperierte Klavier*, Preludium in E minor, mm. 1-8.



Figure 2.2b. Virtuoso coda as motivic development in Bach's *Das wohltemperierte Klavier*, Preludium in E minor, *Presto* section, mm. 23-25.



claim by demonstrating Bach's understanding of this music as having no age barrier.

The well-tempered clavier, preludes and fugues through all the tones and semitones, both touching upon the tertiam majorem or Ut Re Mi and concerning the tertiam minorem or Re Mi Fa. For the benefit and use of the studios, musical youth [*lehrbegierigen musicalischen*

Jugend], and also for the special diversion of those who are already skillful [*habil.*] in this study...¹⁸

According to Bach, anyone—young or old, novice or *habilitatus*—could benefit as long as they possessed an avid desire for learning. The child-like C major prelude’s elementary aspects and pedagogical context did not preclude it from appearing within *Das wohltemperierte Klavier*, an encyclopedic summation of learned counterpoint. Furthermore, Bach used the utilitarian lefthand figuration of the *Clavierbüchlein* E minor prelude in its expanded version as an accompaniment to the affective melody, augmenting it into a flurry of virtuosic drama in the *Presto* section. Not only did he retain the essence of the five-finger exercise designed for his son, but he treated it as the motivic kernel from which to derive and develop more complex musical structures.

This linked and overlapping relationship between the child’s *Clavierbüchlein* and the adult’s *Das wohltemperierte Klavier* expresses the centrality of Bach’s concept of musical *inventio*. The term, derived from rhetoric, provided him with a colloquial metaphor for “the essential thematic idea underlying a musical composition.”¹⁹ A good *inventio* was widely understood as being more than a static musical motif, but rather a “mechanism that triggers further elaborative thought from which a whole piece of music is shaped.”²⁰ The miniature exercises of the *Clavierbüchlein* were built upon good *inventios*, and only required further

¹⁸ The idea that pedagogical works could benefit multiple age and skill groups was a central tenet of verset collections since the 1650s. See Ledbetter, 126.

¹⁹ Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 1. Bach’s thirty *Inventions* and *Sinfonias* were also lifted directly from the *Clavierbüchlein* and demonstrate the continuity between music for the child and adult.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

development to function as polished pieces in *Das wohltemperierte Klavier*.²¹ To extend the metaphorical possibilities of the term, Bach's music might also reveal a conception of childhood in which the child—"the studious and musical youth"—is a human *inventio*, a miniature adult who only needs time, patience, and exertion to develop along the musical continuum into the fullness of adulthood.²²

As we will see, the fluid child-adult continuum and the construction of the child as a miniature adult that mark earlier eighteenth-century music does not remain constant. By the nineteenth century both musical culture and ideas of childhood have shifted in significant ways. In fact, the new inventions of childhood are largely products of various philosophical, aesthetic, and cultural discourses that mark this longer history, first in Enlightenment thought and then in early Romantic perspectives and practices. These two cultural movements are often considered diametrically opposed to each other; likewise, the Enlightenment "child of Reason" and the "Romantic child" have notable and antipodal differences, especially in their uses and contexts. Yet it is more fruitful to consider both the two eras and their inventions of childhood as interrelated in more complex and complementary ways. The Romantic child stands upon the shoulders of the Enlightenment child of reason and because of how he/she embodies a variety of protean and contradictory attributes, allowing adults to interpret and use this figure in a variety of discourses. In examining the musical discovery of childhood in

²¹ Bach high consideration of the quality *inventios* in the *Clavierbüchlein* is demonstrated in the fact that he wholesale reissued fifteen "Praebulae" and fifteen "Fantasias" as the two-part "Inventionen" and three-part "Sinfonias." In that 1723 publication, he states that the work is "Forthright instruction, in which keyboard amateurs, particularly those desirous of learning, are shown a clear way not only 1) to play two voices clearly, but also with further progress, 2) to deal correctly and well with three obligato parts, and furthermore not only how to make good *inventios*, but also to develop them well, while most of all achieving a *cantabile* style of playing and achieving a foretaste of composition."

²² Bach is alleged to have stated, "I have had to work hard; anyone who works just as hard will get just as far." See Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, eds., *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1998), 20.

1830s, we will be able to see how adults implicate the Romantic child's unstable characteristics into nineteenth-century music-making in a variety of ways.

The Invention of the Child of Reason

By the mid-eighteenth century, the child was no longer viewed solely as a perdurable circumstance of history or an inevitable condition of biology, but rather was reconsidered as an object of Enlightenment reason, what I am referring to as the “child of reason.” In the words of Ernst Cassirer,

[Reason's] most important function consists in its power to bind and to dissolve. It dissolves everything merely factual, all simple data of experience, and everything believed on the evidence of revelation, tradition and authority... Following this work of dissolution begins the work of construction. Reason cannot stop with the dispersed parts; it has to build from them a new structure, a true whole.²³

By observing, categorizing, and measuring children in terms of their constituent qualities, behaviors, and processes, Enlightenment thinkers dissolved the child into its most rational components and then reconstructed it into a composite image of the child as “a new structure, a true whole.” This invention of childhood separated the child from the adult and emphasized their inherent incompleteness and inadequacy. The child lacked experience, physical strength, political freedom, personal autonomy, language skills, and cognitive abilities including the very capacity for reason. The “imperfection” of this stage of nonage became central to the Enlightenment's teleological view of human development in which adulthood—specifically adulthood as defined by eighteenth-century, intellectual, European standards—stood for a perfected or at least perfectable state of completion and stasis. No longer a miniature adult,

²³ Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, trans. Fritz C. A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 13-14.

the child of the Age of Reason existed as a sort of non-adult characterized by its negative characteristics.

Once this invention of childhood became established, philosophers were able to extend it beyond inquiries of human biology and use it as a conjectural tool for the investigation of other topics, particularly as theoretical equivalents for humanity in its historically and socially “primitive” state. Although this strategy may seem counter to the Enlightenment’s dedication to objective scientific verification and critique of overarching systems, many writers justified the application of the child as a conceptual model and rhetorical device across disciplines because of their belief in the “rationalistic postulate of unity.”²⁴ They considered all reality as interconnected, undergirded by and constituted in a unifying order, often called the “Great Chain of Being,” which, in Arthur O. Lovejoy’s words, prompted them to prove “that reality was rational through and through, that every fact of existence... [was] grounded in some reason as clear and evident as an axiom of mathematics.”²⁵ French *encyclopedist* Jean d’Alembert (1717–1783) asserted,

All nature is joined together; all beings are connected by a chain of which we are able to perceive a few continuous parts, although in most places the continuity escapes us... The art of philosophy is to add new links to the separated parts to bring them as close together as possible.²⁶

Some links that proved particularly difficult to investigate in an empirical and objective manner were historical questions on the origins and progress of social phenomena such as language, politics, and art. “On most of these subjects very little information is to be

²⁴ Cassirer, 22-23. See Rowland, *Romanticism and Childhood*, 35.

²⁵ Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 21ff, 226.

²⁶ Jean d’Alembert “Cosmologie,” in *Encyclopédie* IV, 294. Quoted in Thomas L. Hankins, *Jean d’Alembert: Science and the Enlightenment* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1970), 105.

expected from history,” writes Scottish philosopher Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), “for long before that stage of society when men begin to think of recording their transactions, many of the most important steps of their progress have been made.” To surmount these challenges, Stewart commends the use of conjectural models.

In want of direct evidence, we are under a necessity of supplying the place of fact by conjecture; and when we are unable to ascertain how men have actually conducted themselves upon particular occasions, of considering in what manner they are likely to have proceeded, from the principles of their nature, and the circumstances of their external situation... In examining the history of mankind, as well as in examining the phenomena of the material world, when we cannot trace the process by which an event *has been* produced, it is often of importance to be able to show how it *may have been* produced by natural causes.²⁷

Consequently, having established the child of reason as a thoroughly rational and objective principle of reality, philosophers used it as a potent and portable metaphor whenever discourses turned to questions of origins and progress, especially in the realm of history. They extended a basically Newtonian concept of explanation by moving from the natural to the social world,²⁸ equating the ontogenetic development of an individual human with the phylogenetic development of a human species.²⁹ Thus, the lifespan of a single human—beginning in infancy, growing into adulthood, and extending into old age—became analogous to the historical development of a culture, which, as understood by proponents of

²⁷ Dugald Stewart, *Selected Philosophical Writings*, ed. Emanuele Levi Mortera (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2007), 189.

²⁸ Johnson Kent Wright, “History and Historicism,” in *The Cambridge History of Science: The Modern Social Sciences*, eds. Theodore M. Porter and Dorothy Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 117.

²⁹ See Stephen Jay Gould, *Ontogeny and Phylogeny* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), 34ff.

stadial history,³⁰ theoretically progressed through a predictable sequence of socioeconomic, linguistic, and artistic stages.³¹ Within this sequential and teleological system, childhood—the human species in a state of natural ignorance, pre-rational and pre-linguistic mind, and sensitivity to environmental stimuli—represented humanity at its most primitive state, effectively framing children as ideal “primitive” types. Because biology and history was understood as progressing through the same rational stages, children were theoretically similar to the temporally distant “ancients” of Greece, Scythia, or Biblical Israel. Likewise, because different societies progressed through the stages at different rates, children could stand in for contemporary “savages” such as Native Americans and Saami who were considered further back along the chain of cultural development than Europeans, demonstrating a civilization still in its “infancy.” So powerful was the conflation between child, ancient, and savage that speculative thinkers such as British rhetorician and language enthusiast Thomas Gunter Browne (fl. 1795) could maintain that answers to questions of humanity’s early, even original, language lay, neither in distant lands, nor in the past, but at home. “It is to the nursery you must go at last, to learn the rudiments of speech; for it is not safe, or possible, to go far in the wilds of Africa or America.”³²

³⁰ The most important proponents of this theory were the members of the Scottish Enlightenment during the latter half of the eighteenth century, particularly Adam Smith (1723–1790), Henry Home Lord Kames (1696–1782), Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), and William Robertson (1721–1793). See Rowland, *Romanticism and Childhood*, 42ff; Silvia Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); and Ralph McLean, Ronnie Young, and Kenneth Simpson, eds., *The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016). Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) likewise developed a conjectural model of history as long as it was based on principles rationally extrapolated from the experience of nature. See Immanuel Kant, *Anthropology, History and Education*, trans. Robert B. Loudon and Günter Zöllner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 163.

³¹ See Alix Cohen, “Philosophy and History: The Paradoxes of History,” in *The Routledge Companion to Eighteenth Century Philosophy*, ed. Aaron Garrett (New York: Routledge, 2014), 763; and Karen O’Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 133.

³² Rowland, 73.

The child of reason in many ways reached its zenith and its dissolution in the philosophical writings of German thinker Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). His views significantly influenced many nineteenth-century Romantics and present a critical turning point in the invention of childhood that paved the way for the Romantic child of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Through his development of the notion of the *Volk* (people), Herder effectively inverted the teleological hierarchy of Enlightenment progress—from child to adult, from simplicity to complexity, and from primitivity to civilization—and created a rational basis for the valorization of the state of childhood over adulthood. The *Volk*—a complex and notoriously vague term—operated as an *Ursprungskategorie* or category of origin that represented humanity in its original state.³³ Herder used the term variously to mean the lower classes, peasants and craftsmen, or the entire population of a nation, although most often it appeared juxtaposed to the educated classes.³⁴ According to Herder’s linguistic theory, language originally developed from early modes of exclamation, gesture, and imitation. In this nascent stage of primitive humanity, language and thought were genuinely poetic, and each mother tongue functioned as both the expression and quintessence of a particular *Volk*. At the same time, the individual utterances of a given *Volk* revealed that

³³ Gerhard Sauder, “Herder’s Poetic Works, His Translations, and His Views on Poetry,” in *A Companion to the Works of Johann Gottfried Herder*, eds. Hans Adler and Wulf Koepke (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 322.

³⁴ Wulf Koepke, “Herder’s Views on the Germans and Their Future Literature,” in *A Companion to the Works of Johann Gottfried Herder*, eds. Hans Adler and Wulf Koepke (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 222.

which was universal and fundamental to all humanity at large.³⁵ Herder consistently eulogized these mental and linguistic characteristics of the *Volk*, stating,

Whatever one might call this era [of the *Volk*], it remained a state of raw nature. At that time nature was still everything: art, science—there were still no authors, philosophers, rhetors: everything was the *Volk* that developed its language—according to need, and then gradually according to comfort.³⁶

In accordance with other Enlightenment historians, Herder saw children as representations of primitive humanity, and the *Volk* were regularly described as childlike in their simple-minded naivety, eager imaginations, receptivity to external stimuli, emotional immediacy, and tendency towards myth-making and fantasy.³⁷ Yet unlike many previous eighteenth-century thinkers, he saw the progress of civilization as the dissolution of a people's natural identity and a descent into cultural and spiritual artificiality. As humanity developed, language and thought became self-conscious through the application of abstract rules and regulations foreign to its nature. For Herder these deleterious characteristics were most pronounced in the urban middle classes of eighteenth-century Europe who suffered in a state of alienation from their true selves.

This sorry existence, however, could not completely extinguish the spirit of the *Volk* that resided within every human as an innate and God-given attribute.³⁸ Rather, one could

³⁵ Ulrich Gaier, "Myth, Mythology, New Mythology," in *A Companion to the Works of Johann Gottfried Herder*, eds. Hans Adler and Wulf Koepke (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 178. See Jürgen Trabant, "Herder and Language," in *A Companion to the Works of Johann Gottfried Herder*, eds. Hans Adler and Wulf Koepke (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 121; and Franz-Josef Deiters, "Das Volk als Autor? Der Ursprung einer kulturgeschichtlichen Fiktion im Werk Johann Gottfried Herders," in *Autorschaft: Positionen und Revisionen*, ed. Heinrich Detering (Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2002), 196.

³⁶ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 2, ed. by Bernhard Suphan (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1877), 69.

³⁷ Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 13, 303ff.

³⁸ Gaier, 170.

return to a state of integrated wholeness by engaging with *Volk* utterances and materials. This possibility of cultural redemption prompted Herder to engage in the collection of *Volkslieder* (folksongs),³⁹ publishing two volumes of selected and translated texts from various parts of the world (1778–79).⁴⁰ Herder argued that by reading these poems, the literate, urban public could begin to heal the rift caused by their estrangement from nature and revitalize their relationship to their original, childlike selves.⁴¹ The first volume begins with a direct message to his readers: “I dedicate to you the voice of the *Volk*, of scattered humanity... I dedicate to you the rapture of when soul binds itself to soul, and is again united with itself.”⁴²

With Herder’s concept of the *Volk*—child, ancient, and savage—we turn the ideological corner in the Enlightenment’s reconceptualization of childhood. The idea that children represented an enviable state of human wholeness and that adults could revivify their own latent childlikeness by observing and interacting with them had enormous influence upon the development of the Romantic child.

The Reinvention of the Romantic Child

The Romantic child positioned the figure of the child so as to epitomize the core drama of Romanticism: its “great endeavor to overcome the split between subject and object,

³⁹ Herder first coined the term *Volkslied* in the essay “Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker” in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst: einige fliegende Blätter* (1773). See Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of “Folk Music” and “Art Music”: Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 102-110.

⁴⁰ Herder was not alone in his project of ethnographic collection. See Vanessa Agnew, “6 Songs from the Edge of the World: Enlightenment Perceptions of Khoikhoi and Bushmen Music,” in *Representing Humanity in the Age of Enlightenment*, eds. Alexander Cook, Ned Curthoys, and Shino Konishi (New York: Routledge, 2016), 73-93.

⁴¹ Koepke, 222-223.

⁴² Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 25, 645.

the self and the world, the conscious and the unconscious.”⁴³ Having inherited the invention of the Enlightenment child of reason as a non-adult, Romantics intensified and venerated the child’s difference and distance from the adult, transfiguring the child into an idealized state of humanity, a “golden age” according to Novalis (1772–1801).⁴⁴ This sentiment built upon Herder’s concept of the *Volk* as well as upon the controversial writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), in which he championed and popularized the concept of the innocent child⁴⁵ in juxtaposition to the corrupted adult. In *Émile or On Education* (1762) he states, “We pity the lot of childhood, and it is our own that should be pitied. Our greatest ills come to us from ourselves.”⁴⁶

Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer defines the Romantic child by its special relationship to nature and to transcendence. She elaborates,

All other [aspects of the Romantic child] can be deduced from these ideas. The complex of proximity to nature involves qualities like naivety, respect towards creation, vitality, but also savagery and sensuality, which were disliked by society. Proximity to transcendence gives rise to qualities like creativity, imagination and contemplation, but it also entails rather tragic motifs, such as isolation, longing, melancholy and premonition of death.⁴⁷

⁴³ René Wellek, *Concepts of Criticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 220. See Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *The Emergence of Romanticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 69ff.

⁴⁴ Novalis, *Philosophical Writings*, trans. and ed. Margaret Mahony Stoljar (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997), 41, 176. See Edmund Newey, *Children of God: The Child as Source of Theological Anthropology* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 91-92.

⁴⁵ This concept stretches back to Pelagius. See Odd Mänge Bakke, *When Children Become Adults: The Birth of Childhood in Early Christianity*, trans. Brian McNeil (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005); and Marcia J. Bunge, ed., *The Child in Christian Thought* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2001).

⁴⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile or On Education*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 48. For Rousseau’s influence on the history of ideas in the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, see Ernst Cassirer, *The Question of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, trans. by Peter Gay (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 4ff.

⁴⁷ Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer, “Images of Childhood in Romantic Children’s Literature,” in *Romantic Prose Fiction*, eds. Gerald Gillespie, Manfred Engel, and Bernard Dieterle (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2008), 187.

In assigning these various characteristics to the image of the child, Romantics created a correspondingly antithetical image of the adult who was weighed down and corrupted by the stagnant influences of culture.⁴⁸ Thus through concepts of Romantic childhood, the teleological progress of the Enlightenment is turned on its head; it is the adult who is the non-child, and therefore alienated from nature, transcendence, and selfhood. William Wordsworth (1770–1850) autobiographically expresses this rupture of the adult from the child of nature and transcendence when writing,

There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream,
The earth, and every common sight,
To me did seem
Appareled in celestial light,
The glory and the freshness of a dream.
It is not now as it hath been of yore.⁴⁹

As inscrutable as the child was, nevertheless s/he offered adults the possibility of communing with a state of paradisiacal innocence, either in the form of actual children, as remembrances of one's own childhood, or as artistic representations. "Because of its association with an immediate experience of nature and contact with the divine," Kümmerling-Meibauer states, "the Romantics ascribed to the child a role as mediator."⁵⁰ By engaging with the child, learning from the child, and perhaps even returning, in a sense, to a childlike state of mind, however fleeting, adults sought to explore, lament, challenge, and heal the ontological, metaphysical, aesthetic, and cultural ruptures that characterize their world view.⁵¹ In the

⁴⁸ Cox, 76ff. See also J. J. Chambliss, ed., *Enlightenment and Social Progress: Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1971).

⁴⁹ William Wordsworth, *Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood and Other Poems* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1895), 89.

⁵⁰ Kümmerling-Meibauer, 187.

⁵¹ Peter Coveney, *The Image of Childhood: The Individual and Society: A Study of the Theme in English Literature* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967), 35.

words of Judith Plotz, “The equation of childhood with the ancient and abiding realm of nature universalizes and essentializes the child as a figure of nature rather than culture who is therefore the guardian of human nature.”⁵² She continues,

Within the Romantic discourse of essential childhood, the mind of the child is set up as a sanctuary or bank vault of valuable but socially-endangered psychological powers: idealism, holism, vision, animism, faith, and isolated self-sufficiency... It is through these powers of consciousness, that the solitary child becomes... both the symbolic representative of the creative mind and the repository of creative power to be reclaimed by the retrospecting adult self.⁵³

In the Enlightenment the child of reason characteristically functioned as a point of origins leading to a particular biological, social, or historical goal. Due to this teleological function, one of the most common descriptions of the child in these contexts involved various processes of development or enculturation: for instance, the narrative of the “babes in the woods” in which children, separated from adult civilization, develop language through sensory experiences, thereby providing a hypothetical model for understanding the historical origins of speech.⁵⁴ However, the Romantic child was not something to grow away from, but rather something for the adult to return to in the quest for spiritual and poetic renewal. To this end, the child of the nineteenth century is often depicted in static situations that downplay, or outright negate or deny the presence of growth. The Romantic child—no matter how physically wild or emotionally ebullient—is a passive figure, frozen so as to preserve their original innocence and to allow the observant adult to ruminate upon their symbolic closeness to transcendence and nature. As a consequence of this, a common depiction of the

⁵² Judith Plotz, *Romanticism and the Vocation of Childhood* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 6, 13. See also Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice, 1780–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁴ See Rowland, 67ff.

Romantic child is in an otherworldly state, particularly in sleep, dreaming, or dead, which I consider in the following three poetic examples.

In the short poem “Auf ein schlummerndes Kind” (To a slumbering child) by Friedrich Hebbel (1813–1863), a sleeping child is observed by an adult narrator who considers the great ideological distance that exists between themselves and the child, a potentially insurmountable difference that, even if overcome, would remain unintelligible.

When I, oh little child, stand before you,
When I see you smile in your dream,
When you glow so wonderfully,
Then I presage with sweet horror:
Would that I could peer into your dream,
Would I understand everything with clarity?

To you the world is still concealed,
You have yet to enjoy any desire,
You have yet to experience fate;
How could you dream so sweetly,
If you did not still perambulate
Through that space, from whence you came.⁵⁵

The dreaming child’s Edenic innocence contrasts sharply with the worldly experience of the adult, providing a constant reminder of the loss that comes with age. Hebbel is able to focus upon the Romantic child and receive these poetic epiphanies precisely because his subject remains passive in the act of sleeping, functioning as an Other upon which the adult can project.

The mysteriousness of the child’s mediational role resonated with the Romantic understanding of music as a non-verbal and suprarational form of expression. The 1837 poem “Stimme des Kindes” (Voice of the child) by Nikolaus Lenau (1802–1850) demonstrates the

⁵⁵ Friedrich Hebbel, *Gedichte* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1842), 77. “Auf ein schlummerndes Kind.” “Wenn ich, o Kindlein, for dir stehe, / Wenn ich im Traum dich lächeln sehe, / Wenn du erglühst so wunderbar, / Da ahne ich mit süßem Grauen: / Dürft’ ich in deine Träume schauen, / So wär’ mir alles, alles klar. / Du ist die Erde noch verschlossen, / Du hast noch keine Lust genossen, / Noch ist kein Glück, was du empfindest; Wie könntest du so süß denn träumen, / Wenn du nicht noch in jenen Räumen, / Woher du kamest, dich ergingst?”

musicality of the sleeping child, which allows them to communicate deep truths about nature and transcendence even when depicted in the paradoxical position of passive sleep.⁵⁶

A sleeping child! O still! In these features
You could swear that Paradise has returned;
It smiles sweetly, as if harkening to angelic choirs,
Heavenly pleasure playing about his mouth.

O be silent, world, with your blaring lies,
Do not violate the truth of this sleep!
Let me hear the child speak in its dream
And yield myself, oblivious, to its innocence!

The child, unaware of my animated attention,
Has blessed my heart with sombre sounds,
More than the rustling of a tree in the silent forest.

Deep homesickness has come over me
Deeper than when it rains on the silent heath,
Than when distant bells resound in the mountains.⁵⁷

The Romantic child sleeps, dreams, and smiles; the poet focuses his animated attention upon this image and finds Paradise, oblivion, and both the heavenly and sombre sounds of transcendence and nature, engaging in the “great endeavor” of Romanticism.⁵⁸

In this final example, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder (1773–1798) pushed the image of the musical and static child to its extreme limits so as to phenomenologically understand his adult experiences. In “Die Wunder der Tonkunst” (The Marvels of the Musical Art) he muses,

⁵⁶ For an interpretation of Schumann’s *Kinderszenen* through the lens of this poem, see Georges Starobinski, “Les Kinderszenen op. 15 de Schumann: Composantes littéraires et biographiques d’une genèse,” *Revue de Musicologie* 88, no. 2 (2002): 378.

⁵⁷ Nikolaus Lenau, *Die Gedichte*, ed. Karl-Maria Guth (Berlin: Verlag der Contumax GmbH & Co., 2017), 294. “Ein schlafend Kind! o still! in diesen Zügen/ Könnt ihr das Paradies zurückbeschwören;/ Es lächelt süß, als lauscht es Engelchören;/ Den Mund umsäuselt himmlisches Vergnügen./ O schweige, Welt, mit deinen lauten Lügen;/ Die Wahrheit dieses Traumes nicht zu stören!/ Lass mich das Kind im Traume sprechen hören/ Und mich, vergessend, in die Unschuld fügen!/ Das Kind, nicht ahnend mein bewegtes Lauschen;/ Mit dunklen Leuten hat mein Herz gesegnet;/ Mehr als im stillen Wald des Baumes Rauschen;/ Ein tiefres Heimweh hat mich überfallen;/ Als wenn es auf die stille Heide regnet;/ Wenn im Gebirg die fernen Glocken hallen.”

⁵⁸ Frederick Jensen Schumann sees the sleeping child and the speaking poet as the same entity. See Jensen, 320.

[It] seems to me as if music were like a child lying dead in the grave; — one reddish, heavenly sunbeam gently draws its soul away and, transplanted into the heavenly aether, it enjoys golden drops of eternity and embraces the original images of the most beautiful human dreams.⁵⁹

In this vivid tableau—simultaneously horrific and rhapsodic—the child once again exists apart from the adult, both in the most drastic of “sleeps,” death, and in transcendence, a poetic dramatization that expresses the writer’s desire to use metaphorical language to approach an understanding of music and its preternatural and incomprehensible power.⁶⁰ The adult watches in awe as child and music intertwine in a conflation of idealized concepts and mystical oxymora.

Hebbel, Lenau, and Wackenroder demonstrate the crucial yet static role that the Romantic child played in the “great endeavor” of Romantic literature. Likewise, in the musical discovery of childhood in the 1830s, we will see how the Romantic child’s passivity allows them to function as musical objects of adult contemplation and creativity. To understand how these characteristics became integrated into the fabric of nineteenth-century music, it is important to consider the multiple functions of genre.

Generic Characteristics of Nineteenth-Century Children’s Music

Genre is central as means to understand the relationship between the ideology of Romantic childhood and the actual emergence of children’s music. But to uncover this process, we must first understand the significance of genre as both a practical and theoretical

⁵⁹ Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, *Confessions and Fantasies*, trans. Mary Hurst Schubert (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), 178.

⁶⁰ Richard Littlejohns, “Iniquitous Innocence: The Ambiguity of Music in the *Phantasien über die Kunst* (1799),” in *Music and Literature in German Romanticism*, ed. Siobhán Donovan and Robin Elliott (New York: Camden House, 2004), 2.

concept. The most fundamental way of understanding genre is to view it as the nominalization of a given object; things are defined through the identification of particular features, given technical parameters based on these features, and systematically categorized based on similarities or differences from other nominalized objects. Once formed, the genre acts as a shorthand that offers transparent and denotative information about an object's most important, identifying features. This way of thinking allows us to group objects that meet the proscribed criteria, and to differentiate them from objects that have disparate features. By accepting and understanding genre, communities can adopt a "generic contract" that allows them to quickly categorize objects and understand them within appropriate frames of reference and expectations.⁶¹ To take an example (as examined below), the genre of nineteenth-century children's music is identified through a variety of textual, visual, and musical signifiers that make it recognizable and give it particular meanings within a proscribed cultural context.

This definitional perspective of genre has the tendency to assume that genres are merely the result of an object's intrinsic features and that genres are universal modes of categorization. Yet this is hardly the case. The creation of genres, what I will term "genrefication," is an act of human agency, which, therefore, reifies the priorities and values of hegemonic powers through the selective framing of an abstracted characteristic feature. Genres mask this agency and appear to function as author-less and a priori dogmas within a community.⁶² When a community accepts a generic contract, they accept societal norms that

⁶¹ Jeffrey Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 5. See also Bakhtin, *Speech Genres*

⁶² Rick Altman, *Film/Genre* (London: BFI Publishing, 1999), 99.

constrain epistemological and behavioral paradigms that separate insiders who understand and agree with the generic contract from outsiders who do not. By considering genre as transparent and denotative, we forget its history, that is, its journey from contested connotation to established tradition. The critical consideration and problematization of genre reveals this hidden narrative by showing how adults use genres as extensions of their power, ideologically framing the social landscape.

This critical investigation of generic power is an important and worthwhile endeavor; nevertheless, it too tends to over-simplify genre by building its argument upon the foundation of a number of questionable assumptions. Within this view, genres are static carriers of meaning, encoded with ideological messaging by monolithic hegemonies and decoded by homogenous communities with predictably reliable results. This model simplifies social and cultural dynamics and the way in which power structures, and the genres they create and support, are constantly challenged by ambiguities, miscommunications, and multiple meanings. Genres leak. They operate as “sites of struggle”⁶³ where human agents constantly vie for authority through the maintenance of definitions, the revitalization of ossified forms, and the overthrow of control.⁶⁴ This is especially true of children’s music, which, upon investigation, continually challenges straightforward categorization.

The dynamic fluidity of genre comes through, for example, when we examine Ian Sharp’s attempt to delineate children’s music’s possible “generic contracts” within a rubric of eight different types of interaction and communication based on source, mode, and audience:

⁶³ Ibid., 100ff.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 99. See also Yury Tynyanov, “The Literary Fact,” in *Modern Genre Theory*, David Duff, ed. (New York: Longman, 2000), 32ff.

1. Adults assume a mode of childhood to relate to children.
2. Adults retain a mode of adulthood to relate to children.
3. Adults assume a mode of childhood to relate to adults.
4. Adults retain a mode of adulthood to relate to adults.
5. Children retain a mode of childhood to relate to adults.
6. Children assume a mode of adulthood to relate to adults.
7. Children retain a mode of childhood to relate to children.
8. Children assume a mode of adulthood to relate to children.⁶⁵

Despite the comprehensiveness of this system, it deteriorates rapidly when applied to actual pieces within actual contexts, revealing the ever-present possibility of generic confusion and rupture: textual, visual, and musical signifiers are no guarantee that a piece of music functions in a particular way, nor, for that matter, that categories such as “adult” and “child” have the same meanings at any given moment in history.⁶⁶ Therefore, generic markers become evidence of ideological struggles that argue for particular perspectives on childhood and adulthood. For example, children’s music is often divided into one of two groups based upon whether the music is *about children* or *for children*. The former is understood as music meant for adult consumption and the latter for child consumption, largely based upon difficulty level and programmatic content. The boundaries between the two categories are by no means clear-cut, just as the distinction between the child and the adult—whether biological or social—is not clear-cut.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, this basic distinction

⁶⁵ Ian Sharp, 31ff.

⁶⁶ For a demonstration of the protean nature of children’s music and its ability to appeal equally to children as to adult women during the nineteenth century, see Roe-Min Kok, “Family and Gender in Imaginative Children’s Music,” in *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Roberto Illiano and Luca Sala (Bologna: UT Orpheus, 2010).

⁶⁷ For a critical examination of the issue of audience and address in children’s literature studies, see Barbara Wall, *Narrator’s Voice: The Dilemma of Children’s Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991).

offers an important insight into the discursive work of children's music by revealing the creative agency of adults to frame childhood for a variety of purposes.

* * *

The nineteenth century provided a rich context for the establishment of children's music. Even as the concept of genre came under increased scrutiny in political, social, and aesthetic discourse,⁶⁸ children's music, through the energies of musical journalism and publishing, became an established genre that used a standardized vocabulary to meet the commercial desires of middle-class consumers seeking straightforward categorization of new musical products.⁶⁹ In the case of character pieces for piano, I focus on the multimedia effect of text, picture, and music as signifiers of programmatic meaning. By directly referencing childhood in the titles of piano collections, in titles to individual pieces, as paratextual signifiers, or as visual signifiers, publishers and composers aimed to immediately denote the music's relation to children and childhood.

Let us take, for instance, the importance of collection titles,⁷⁰ which were used as constructions that syntactically linked "children" or "childhood" with a musical genre (*Études enfantines, Album for the Young*), a poetic concept (*Visions of childhood, Nachklänge*

⁶⁸ David Duff, *Modern Genre Theory* (New York: Longman, 2000), 3ff. See David Duff, *Romanticism and the Uses of Genre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁶⁹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 168-78.

⁷⁰ See Eicker, 33-50.

aus der Jugendzeit) or a collective noun (*Mignonettes pour la jeunesse*).⁷¹ Additional adjectives and descriptive phrases further characterized childhood as an idealized “golden age,” made references to nineteenth-century children’s literature,⁷² or used diminutive words.⁷³ In some instances, a title could utilize a variety of these textual conventions to provide customers with a comprehensive generic identity, such as *From my childhood. Suite of simple pieces for piano dedicated to the young* (1911) by Serge Bortkiewicz (1877–1952).

In addition to using titles to specify published collections, composers and publishers gave titles to individual pieces.⁷⁴ At the turn of the eighteenth century this practice was innovative enough to prompt German composer Daniel Gottlob Türk (1750–1813) to explain their presence in the preface to *120 Handstücke für angehende Klavierspieler* (120 pieces for aspiring keyboard players) (1797). He clarified in a preface,

Concerning the German superscription—which perhaps stands out a bit at first—I had the excellent intention of calling attention to the reigning character or the special purpose of the pieces, and in so doing to bring the pupil, in keeping with their abilities, somewhat closer to what the performance requires. I therefore selected single verses from common poems,

⁷¹ Each language in which these collections were appeared developed their own set of terms. English: “for children,” “for the young,” “children’s,” “from childhood,” “juvenilia;” German: “für Kinder,” “für die Jugend,” “Kinder(-),” “Jugend(-),” “aus der Kinderzeit;” French: “pour/de la jeunesse,” “de l’enfance,” “des enfants,” “enfantine(s),” “aux/du jeunes pianistes;” Russian: “для юношества,” “из детской жизни,” “маленьки(х/й),” “детски(х/й);” Czech: “děsk(é/ý);” Dutch: “de Kleintjes.”

⁷² Fairy and folk tales feature prominently in this category, either by reference to a particular author, a story title, or specific or stock characters. For example, *Märchengestalten*, op. 147 (1878) by Carl Reinecke (1824–1910) frames the following pieces between a “Prolog” and an “Epilog:” “Aschenbrödel” (Cinderella) [reference to Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859) or to Ludwig Bechstein (1801–1860)], “Heinzelmännchen” (household helper elves of the city of Cologne [reference to Ernst Weyden (1805–1869)]), “Gute Fee” (good fairy), “Rübezahl” (Bohemian mountain spirit), “Schneewittchen” (Snow White [Grimm, Bechstein]), “Die Roggenmuhme” (malevolent female field spirit), “Der Königsson” (prince), “Dornröschen” (Sleeping Beauty [Grimm, Bechstein]), “Rothkäppchen” (Little Red Riding Hood [Grimm, Bechstein]), “Die sieben Zwerge” (The Seven Goats [Grimm]), “Böse Fee” (evil fairy), “Melusine” (female water spirit [reference to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832)]), “Undine” (female water spirit and title of *Kunstmärchen* by Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué (1777–1843)), and “Die Regentrude” (magic rain and title of *Kunstmärchen* by Theodor Storm (1817–1888)).

⁷³ Examples include: “little,” “light,” “easy,” “miniatures,” “for beginners,” “within the span of an octave,” and “for small hands.” These monikers are more ambiguous in their reference to children and should be understood as generically fluid words.

⁷⁴ See Eicker, 51-65.

sentences, sayings, short summary indications, etc. Indeed often more words were needed than there was room for. Through this one can already produce some small profits, if one explains [the titles] to the pupil and shows them which explanation is required in these or any other circumstances.⁷⁵

After the musical discovery of childhood in the 1830s, titles to individual pieces would become a customary and standardized feature of children's music, appearing as a feature of approximately ninety percent of children's music publications during this time according to Eicker.⁷⁶

Other paratextual signifiers were poetic epigraphs, dedications, and in-score texts.

These latter items are words, phrases, or whole sentences written within the music above a staff, a practice often associated with the infantile modernism of Erik Satie (1866–1925),⁷⁷ but broadly characteristic of vividly programmatic music for keyboard since the development of printing in the the seventeenth century.⁷⁸ French composer and pedagogue Vincent d'Indy

⁷⁵ Türk, Daniel Gottlob, *120 Handstücke für angehende Klavierspieler*, vol. 1, ed. 2 (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1797), i. "Bei den deutschen Überschriften—die anfangs vielleicht ein wenig auffallen dürften—hatte ich vorzüglich die Absicht, auf den herrschenden Charakter, oder auf irgend einen besonderen Zweck des Tonstückes aufmerksam zu machen, und dadurch den Lernenden, seinen Kräften gemäß, dem jedesmal erforderlichen Vortrage etwas näher zu bringen. Ich wählte dazu einzelne Verse von allgemein geschätzten Dichtern, Sentenzen, Sprüchwörter, kurze Inhalts-Anzeigen, e.d.gl. Oft wären freilich mehrere Worte, als der hierzu bestimmte Raum erlaubte, nötig gewesen. Indeß kann doch schon dies wenige einigen Nutzen schaffen, wenn man dem Lernenden erklärt und zeigt, welcher Vortrag in diesem oder jenem Falle erfordert wird."

⁷⁶ Eicker, 51.

⁷⁷ Caroline Porter, *Erik Satie: A Parisian Composer and His World* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), 104.

⁷⁸ Prime examples include: *Fantasia* from the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (late sixteenth century) by John Mundy (before 1555–1630) which has in-score texts reading "Faire Wether," "Lighting," "Thunder," and "A cleare Day;" *Musikalische Vorstellung einiger biblischer Historien* or the so-called *Biblical Sonatas* (1700) by Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722) that depict scenes from Biblical stories, including "Der Streit zwischen David und Goliath" (The battle between David and Goliath) which uses in-score texts to specify "Goliath's bravura," "The fear of the Israelites at the appearance of the giant, and their prayer to God," "The courage of David, and his desire to reign in the pride of the fearful enemy, with his confidence placed in the help of God," "The fight between the one and the other, with their contestation," "Setting loose the stone from the sling at Goliath's forehead," "Goliath tumbles," "The flight (*fuga*) of the Philistines and their pursuit by the Israelites," "The joy of the Israelites in their victory," "The musical concert by the women in honor of David," and "The communal jubilation and the joyful dances of the populace;" and *The Battle of Waterloo* (ca. 1818) by George Anderson (1793–1876) that uses in-score texts to depict "Advance to the Battle," "Canon," "The Battle," "English Horse Guards advancing to attack the French," "Curassiers," "The Prussians advance," "Heavy Cannonade," "The French in full retreat," "Bugle Horn," "The Rejoicing," and "Lamentation for the slain."

(1851–1931) praised the use of in-score texts (*la superposition d'un texte explicatif à la musique*) in his preface to *Croquis d'enfants* (Sketches of children) (1926) by Eduard Soubeyran (18..–19..).

The writing-in of an explanatory libretto above the music is an excellent idea... its object is to awaken in the young pupil's mind the faculty of expression, an essential element which is entirely neglected in most collections of studies. Thus I can most sincerely recommend these two albums to professors whose object it is to teach their pupils not only to play the piano, but to be musicians.⁷⁹

“Une soir, dans les bois... Souvenir de Noirmoutier” (An evening, in the woods...

Recollection of Noirmoutier) provides a characteristic example of how Soubeyran's in-score texts specify the expressive intent behind the music, silently narrating a miniature opera for piano solo (fig. 2.3). Within the context of the programmatic (and possibly autobiographical) title, the quietly calm and dreamy *Allegretto* A sections (mm. 1-10, 27-34) undulate with the murmuring of the sea and fall silent at the vastness of the imposing forest. The contrasting *Allegro molto* B section (mm. 11-26) quotes the nursery rhyme “Auprès de ma blonde” in the upper registers, first *forte* and then *piano* fading into *pianissimo*. The in-score texts indicate that this is a spontaneous musical response of the children to the frightful immensity of nature around them and reinforce the indifference and largeness of nature at the close of the piece.

⁷⁹ Vincent d'Indy, preface to *Croquis d'Enfant* (Paris: Rouart, Lerolle et Cie, 1926), i.

Figure 2.3. In-score texts in Soubeyran’s *Croquis d’enfant*, “Une soir, dans les bois... Souvenir de Noirmoutier,” complete.

Andantino ♩ = 80
 Often in the evening, we were going through the pines. The nearby sea whispered low; the trees slept

p very calm and a little dreamy

5 in a grand silence. A little affected by these dark depths, we, children, we were up against the great ones.

mf *p* *pp*

Allegro molto
 11 Then a little girl was singing some old song, and everyone joined in on the refrain... *gru*-----

f *p* *gru*-----

20 *pp* **Tempo I.** Often in the evening,

mf

28 we were going through the pines. The nearby sea whispered low; the trees slept in a grand silence.

p *rall.*

Visual signifiers such as cover art, frontispieces, illustrations, and decorative borders added another layer of programmatic meaning to these compositions.⁸⁰ Some of the richest examples include cover art, which could be the works of well-known illustrators such as Ludwig Richter (1803–1884).⁸¹ Textual information such as collection title, instrumentation, composer, dedicatee, and publisher were embellished through elaborate fonts that integrated these pieces of information into a more dynamic relationship to the overall cover design. Often illustrators designed vignettes of idealized children engaged in activities such as dancing, playing, and sleeping in natural or domestic settings. These vignettes could be general depictions of children or correspond directly to individual pieces within the work, acting as a visual table of contents. These elements were often bound together with borders of flowers, vines, trees, ribbons, or pillars, and punctuated by symbols such as aeolian harps, cherubs, bouquets of flowers, and flocks of birds. Figures 2.4 and 2.5 give two representative examples of the ways in which title pages employed attractive paratextual elements to underscore the ideological link between children’s music and assumed child consumers.

In *Jugendklänge* (Echoes of youth), op. 32 (1882–83) by Robert Fuchs (1847–1927) the elaborately decorated archway offers a cornucopia of classical images, including classical columns, muse-like statues, musical instruments, and bevy of performing and playing

⁸⁰ Gérard Genette coined the term “paratext” to denote liminal devices—titles, illustrations, typeface, forwards, etc.—that shape the interaction between book, author, and reader, and the function of illustration in children’s music offers complementary application. See Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For examples of how paratexts such as illustrations overlap with verbal texts in complex ways, see Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer, ed., *The Routledge Companion to Picturebooks* (New York: Routledge, 2017); and Evelyn Arizpe, Maureen Farrell, and Julie McAdam, eds., *Picturebooks: Beyond the Borders of Art, Narrative, and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2013). For data on illustrations in children’s music, see Eicker, 66-74.

⁸¹ Richter contributed significantly to the visual genrefication of children’s music by elaborately illustrating the title page of Schumann’s *Album für die Jugend* (1848), reportedly visiting the composer’s house, listening to selections played by Clara Schumann, and creating corresponding vignettes. See Appel “‘Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life’,” 185-186.

Figure 2.4. Paratextual signifiers on cover of Fuch's *Jugendklänge*.

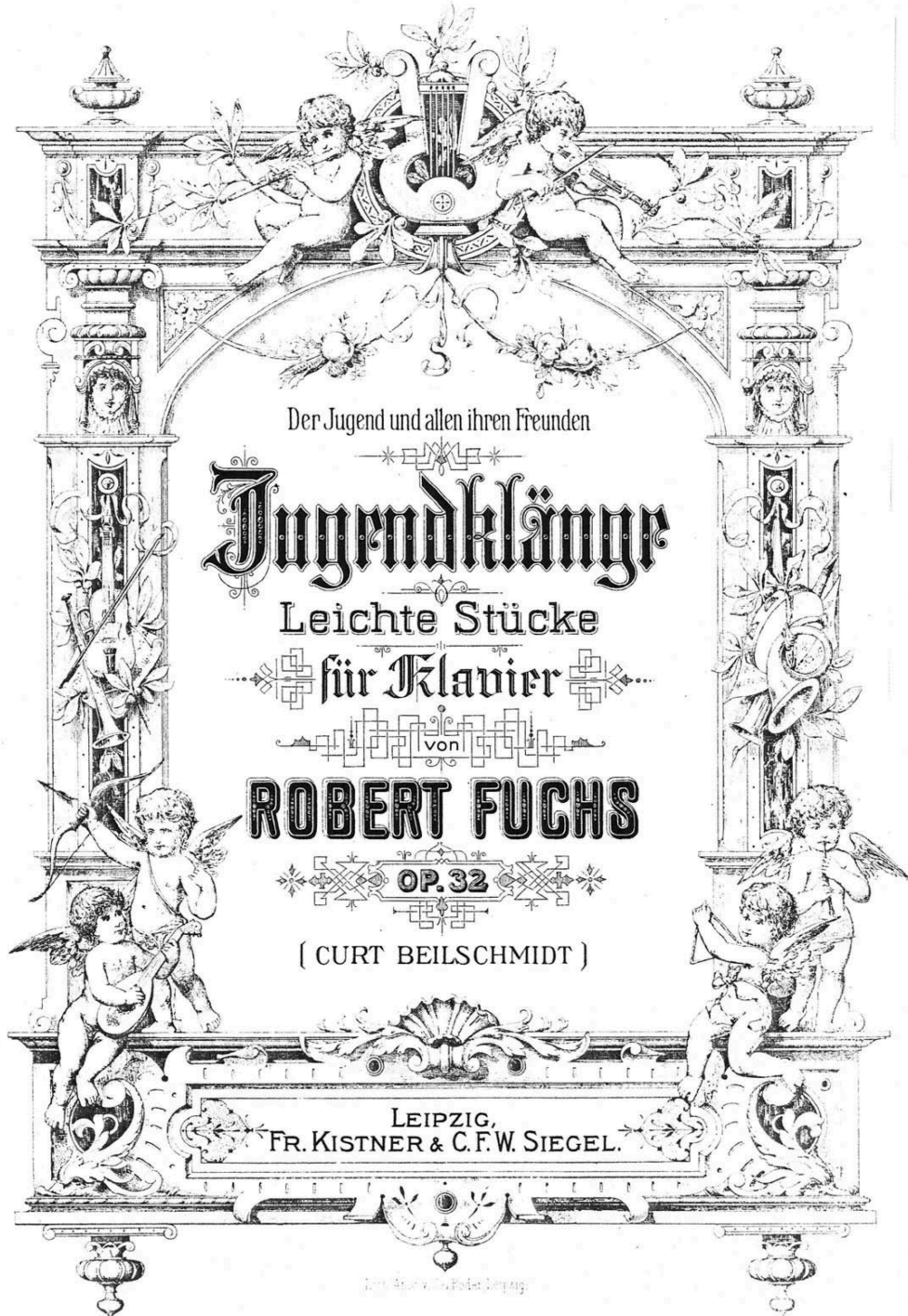


Figure 2.5. Paratextual signifiers on cover of de Vilbac's *Echos de l'enfance*.



cherubs (fig. 2.4). Significantly, the composition is addressed “to the youth and all their friends,” potentially presenting adults with a symbolic (and financial) means to establish themselves as positively united with children through music. The cover of *Echos de l’enfance* (1877) by Renaud de Vilbac (1829–1884) offers lush visual interest with multiple depictions of children at play: flying a kite, playing bilboquet, holding a doll, decorating a Christmas tree, dancing a round, ice skating, and listening to fairy tales from a peasant woman (fig. 2.5). This page also paratextually indicates that twelve additional illustrations by J. Martin are included inside, adding a further sense of anticipation and interest to the composition.⁸²

These paratexts also specify the ideological program of the music, especially those designed for consumption by children. The interaction of these elements allowed producers and consumers to enter into a “generic contract” that established correspondances between textual, visual, and musical elements. For instance, words and pictures reinforced the association of positivity with major tonality and negativity with minor tonality, endowing the specified topics with emotional and moral weight within the social context. As illustrated in Table 2.1, the content of Fuch’s *Jugendklänge* associates pleasant concepts and vivacious scenes with major tonality. In contrast, minor keys are reserved for the depiction of negative emotions, nighttime, storms, wildness (both that of the witch and of the child), and fantasy. This kind of intermedial effort to specify the intended meaning of instrumental music reveals the ways in which adults sought to harness the suggestibility of music to establish and maintain various framings of childhood by selection, limitation, and reiteration.

⁸² The identity of the interior vignette illustrator J. Martin is unclear. It appears as though the cover design was the work of Antoine Barbizet (1821–1866), who was a popular French illustrator.

Table 2.1. Ideological specification via descriptive titles and tonality in Fuch's *Jugendklänge*.

No.	German Title	English Translation	Major Key	Minor Key
1	Morgenlied	Morning Song	X	
3	Osterlied	Easter Song	X	
4	Der kleine Trompeter	The little Trumpeter	X	
7	Walzer	Waltz	X	
9	Abendgebet	Evening Prayer	X	
10	Wiegenlied	Cradle Song	X	
12	Großes Geheimnis	A great Secret	X	
14	Lieb' Schwesterlein	Dear little Sister	X	
15	Plappermäulchen	Chattering Girl	X	
17	Schmetterling im Blumenfeld	Butterfly in the Fields	X	
19	Auf dem Hühnerhofe	In the Poultry Yard	X	
20	Mailust	Merry May	X	
21	Munteres Treiben	Merry making	X	
22	Eine lustige Geschichte	A jolly Tale	X	
2	Herzeleid	Grief		X
5	Was der Mond erzählt	What the Moon tells		X
6	Popanz	Bogeyman		X
8	Wichtelmännchen	Goblin		X
11	Der Regen reiselt	It is raining		X
13	Kleiner Wildfang	Little Harum-Scarum		X
16	Wilde Jagd	Wild Chase		X
18	Die nächtliche Runde	The nightly Round		X

* * *

Composers and publishers did not merely make use of visual and textual signifiers in order to attract the emerging category of child consumers, but to establish and propagate a Romantic framing of childhood during the nineteenth century. Constant references to the natural world, fantasy, and emotions reinforced the child's nearness to nature, transcendence, and spiritual wholeness. This in turn recast potentially mundane topics such as play, dancing, and sleeping as deeply significant activities that reflects the child's inherent innocence unsullied by the contamination of the adult experience. By critically analyzing these particular framings of childhood we can reveal the various ways in which adults sought to use music as a means to constructing childhood and instructing children within particular social and ideological structures. In the following chapters I delve into specific case studies that explore the emergence and establishment of children's music and their ramifications for children and adults in the nineteenth century.

Chapter 3. Music About Childhood

As examined in the previous chapter, the symbol of Romantic childhood allowed for adults to explore a variety of social, philosophical, and aesthetic questions as part of Romanticism's "great quest." The Romantic child functioned as a mediator that offered a means to reconnect, however fleetingly, to an idealized relationship with nature, transcendence, selfhood, and creativity. This powerful concept became a foundational feature of children's music during the emergence of the genre in nineteenth-century piano literature. This chapter explores several examples of children's music in which the musicalized and passive Romantic child symbolically mediates between the creative adult—composer, poet, performer, or audience member—and a higher spiritual reality. The first case study considers *Kinderszenen* (Scenes of childhood), op. 15 (1838) by Robert Schumann, a watershed composition in the emergence of children's music that had a lasting impact upon the trajectory of the genre.¹ I am concerned here with examining the way in which this work marks a radical departure from past inventions of childhood, both the miniature adult and the Child of Reason, and musically reifies the Romantic child as a source of adult mediation. This observation sheds new light upon the conflict between Schumann and music critic Ludwig Rellstab and highlights music's powerful role as a means to express inventions of childhood. The second case study considers the diachronic standardization of Romantic childhood initiated by Schumann through an analysis of *Cinq Préludes* (Five preludes), op.

¹ See Starobinski, 361ff; Joachim Draheim, "Schumanns *Kinderszenen* op. 15—Offene Fragen, neue Antworten, unbekanntes Materialien," in *Schumann Studien*, vol. 5, ed. Gerd Nauhaus (Zwickau: Rat der Stadt Zwickau, Abteilung Kultur, 1996), 61; Eicker, 145ff; and Günther Müller, "Zu Fragen einer Nachwirkung bei Schumanns op. 15 (*Kinderszenen*) und op. 68 (*Album für die Jugend*) in Kompositionen der ersten Hälften des 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Romantikkonferenz 1984*, Bd. 2 (Dresden: Schriftenreihe der Hochschule für Musik "Carl Maria von Weber," 1984), 18-28.

23 (1903) by Ukrainian composer Fyodor Stepanovich Akimenko.² Akimenko's aesthetic writings demonstrate the longevity and vitality of the Romantic intersection of childhood, music, and spiritual revival explored above in Schumann. Additionally, the impressionistic musical language of *Cinq Préludes* bears witness to the ways that the Romantic child's otherworldly strangeness—Schumann's purported “phantasmagoria”—found its musical expression still at the turn of the century. I frame this analysis within a Russian context by drawing from the writings of Leo Tolstoy, especially the immensely influential novel *Childhood* (1852).³ This literary representation of Romantic childhood offers a fruitful hermeneutical lens through which to uncover the agency of the creative adult and the passivity of the imagined child.

Schumann's *Kinderszenen*: Emergence and Contestation

Schumann's *Kinderszenen* is important to the musical discovery of childhood not merely because it was the first collection of piano character pieces written explicitly upon the theme of childhood by a canonical composer.⁴ More significantly, this work powerfully musicalizes Romantic childhood, entwining nineteenth-century music-making with the myth-making of idealized childhood in ways that endured throughout the century and beyond.

² Recently, Akimenko has begun to garner more attention in scholarship. See Nataliya Nabokova, “Return of Life-Giving Heritage from Oblivion,” in *UA Foreign Affairs* 9 (2017), <http://uaforeignaffairs.com/ua/zs/anglomovna-versija/view/article/No9-2017/> (Accessed March 2018); and Olga Kushniruk, “Impressionism in Ukrainian Music,” in *Lithuanian Musicology* 16 (2015): 82-89.

³ The novel *Childhood* provides the exact programmatic topic for the composition *Childhood: 14 Easy Pianoforte Pieces on the novel by Leo Tolstoi* (1930) by Serge Bortkiewicz (1877–1952). I do not analyze this composition because it falls well outside my nineteenth-century timeframe and was intended for children to play rather than for adults.

⁴ Prior to *Kinderszenen* the topic of childhood is largely addressed obliquely through publications directed towards “beginners.” An exception includes *Jugendfreuden* (Joys of youth), op. 163 by Anton Diabelli (1781–1858), the alternate title explaining that it consists of six sonatinas for 4-hand piano “in the beginning using five notes and a motionless hand.”

Kinderszenen has not been analyzed in these terms, and it is important to regain a sense of the work's radical reinvention of childhood in the context of the emergence of children's music as a genre. In this chapter I first align Schumann's view of childhood with the core concepts of Romantic childhood and show how he articulated these ideas through *Kinderszenen* via programmatic titles and intimate music, and the work's function as a personal love letter between 1837 and 1839. I contrast this with Ludwig Rellstab's well-known criticisms of *Kinderszenen*, which argue against the heart of Romantic childhood—the child's otherworldly strangeness and mediational abilities—in favor of an invention of childhood based on Enlightenment rationality and Lockean educational principles. It is vitally important to view this discourse not merely as an aesthetic dispute, but as an ideological conflict between opposing views of childhood with significant social and musical ramifications. Ultimately Rellstab saw *Kinderszenen* as an act of violation, the musical depiction of the adult transgression of the helpless child. As a founding text of children's music at the onset of its nineteenth-century emergence, this reconsideration of *Kinderszenen* prompts us to pay attention to the generic tensions that run through the entire genre. With this in mind, I analyze the two final pieces of the work that depict the sleeping child in order to home in on Schumann's extreme positioning of the Romantic child in relation to the adult's creative power.

* * *

The notion that the symbolic child provided access to nature and transcendence held a central place in Schumann's thinking, especially in his understanding of his musical creativity. He wrote in his diary,

In man there resides a tender genius that gently opens up for *the eternal child* gateways to new worlds and creations, and that, unnoticed and as if by chance, leads the youth in his first love to the blossoming spring with his beloved, uniting and revealing to each other their dreams. (Italics added.)⁵

Kinderszenen offered Schumann the opportunity to use music to deal directly with the theme of the “eternal child” as he directed his creative imagination and artistry upon the “new worlds and creations” of childhood itself. The work presented many of the characteristics that would typify children's music as a recognizable genre: the composition's title textually aligned with the topic of children; the individual titles of the thirteen short character pieces depicted children's activities, locations, and emotions; and careful attention was paid to visual attractiveness in the layout and design of the publication.⁶ The individual pieces frame childhood in fleeting scenes that align with the ideology of Romantic childhood by referencing fantasy, dreaming, imagination, and emotions, all of which Schumann depicts with evocative, intimate, and generally quiet music (see Table 3.1).

Furthermore, *Kinderszenen* held a deeply personal meaning for Schumann as a symbolic cipher for his romantic relationship with Clara Wieck (1819–1896). The couple had first met in 1830 when Schumann first took piano lessons with Clara's father Friedrich Wieck (1785-1873). Clara accepted Schumann's proposal of marriage in 1837, but her father

⁵ Robert Schumann: *Tagebücher: Bd. 1. 1827–1838*, ed. Georg Eismann (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, VEB, 1971), 105.

⁶ The 1839 edition by Breitkopf and Härtel features decorative blue borders around each inner page and an ornate title page. For Schumann's specific requests for the visual aspects of *Kinderszenen* see his letters to Raimund Härtel of 21 and 24 March 1838 in Robert Schumann, *Robert Schumanns Briefe*, ed. F. Gustav Jansen (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1904), 423-424.

Table 3.1. Individual titles of Schumann's *Kinderszenen*.

No.	German Title	English Translation
1	Von fremden Ländern und Menschen	From foreign lands and peoples
2	Curiose Geschichte	Curious story
3	Hasche-Mann	Tag/Blind Man's Bluff
4	Bittendes Kind	Pleading Child
5	Glückes genug	Happy enough
6	Wichtige Begebenheit	Important incident
7	Träumerei	Dreaming
8	Am Camin	At the hearth
9	Ritter vom Steckenpferd	Knight of the hobby horse
10	Fast zu ernst	Almost too serious
11	Fürchtenmachen	Being afraid
12	Kind im Einschlummern	Slumbering child
13	Der Dichter spricht	The poet speaks

opposed the union, prompting a emotionally fraught and eventually litigious struggle that would only be resolved by court order three years later in 1840 when the couple finally married. The provenance of *Kinderszenen* lies directly within this period of relational tension and the work held great meaning for the couple whose letters frequently shifted smoothly between effusions of emotion and descriptions of the composition. In March 1838 Schumann wrote to Clara in Vienna on a concert tour with her father,

And before I forget—what I just composed is—like an echo of the words you once wrote me to the effect that ‘you considered me at times almost like a child’. In short, I really felt like a youth again, and I jotted down about thirty of these charming little things, from which I

selected twelve and called them *Kinderszenen*. I'm sure you will enjoy them, but of course they will not satisfy you as a virtuoso... In short, they can be grasped at a glance, and are as light as a bubble.⁷

The playful, youthful, and airy invention of Romantic childhood allowed the couple to imagine the fulfillment of their innocent and idyllic love for one another. Sometimes they referred to the work in order to nostalgically recall happier times together—“like an echo of the words you once wrote me”— or to imagine the fulfillment of their marital wishes, Schumann writing in August 1838, “The *Kinderszenen* are... gentle and delicate and happy like our future,” and similarly in March 1839,

Have you gotten my *Kinderszenen* yet? Dear heart, think of your future and mine every now and then in my Opus 15, and now give a kiss, the most heartfelt and rapturous, to your Robert, who loves you with all his soul.⁸

Suzanne Hoy-Draheim maintains that despite the work's lack of dedication “there can be no doubt that Schumann wrote them for no one else than his beloved Clara,” who in her turn understood and described the music as a direct conduit to the child-like soul of her beloved.

In March 1839, Clara wrote,

To whom did you dedicate your *Kinderszenen*? It's true, isn't it, that they belong only to the two of us? I simply can't put them out of my mind, they are so simple, so heartwarming, so very intimate; I can hardly wait for tomorrow in order to play them again.

And again two days later,

How indescribably beautiful are your *Kinderszenen*—I could kiss you! I was thinking yesterday, and today too,—can it be true that the poet who is speaking here is actually mine, is this happiness not too much to bear? Oh, I simply can't grasp it! My wonderment increases each time I play them. There is so much in your music, and I so fully understand each of your

⁷ Susanne Hoy-Draheim, preface to Robert Schumann, *Kinderszenen Op. 15* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1991), 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

thoughts, that I would like to drown within you and your music. You lay bare your entire inner life in these scenes.⁹

* * *

Acceptance of *Kinderszenen*—either as characteristic of nineteenth-century children’s music or as a utopian love letter—was far from universal. The most outspoken opponent of the composition was Ludwig Rellstab, a powerful music critic whose Berlin-based journal *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst* held enormous sway throughout Europe. In a now notorious 1839 review of *Kinderszenen*, he expressed his utter confusion over the composition’s generic boundaries, describing the work as a mismatched hodgepodge of disparate and incommensurate musical components that haphazardly combined compositional rigor and technical difficulties with fanciful children’s titles and Romantic oddities (*Seltsamkeiten*). Rellstab declared the result a chimeric embarrassment that he hoped was, at best, a rather inappropriate joke.¹⁰ In particular the critic took umbrage with the false expectations raised in the title that involved childhood in such a confusing musical expression.

The spiritual content of these little movements are absolutely not for children; unless it were a child whose tastes had already lost all innocence through exposure to the sharpest and most stimulating spices. We should only consider the title ‘Kinderszenen’ as indicative of the composer’s phantasmagoria (*Phantasiegang*), and as ill fit for consumption by children as a pastorale is for shepherds... [The individual pieces], while demonstrating obvious and undeniable talent, present witty conceptions and insights in sharpest contradiction with themselves, nature, and reason. In observing the first piece labeled ‘Von fremden Ländern und

⁹ Ibid., 4. Clara here references the final piece in the collection “Der Dichter spricht” (The poet speaks), a piece that Timothy D. Taylor sees, along with Theodor Adorno, as Schumann’s attempt to directly portray his innermost thoughts and sense of self through music. See Timothy D. Taylor, “Aesthetic and Cultural Issues in Schumann’s ‘Kinderszenen,’” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 21, no. 2 (Dec., 1990): 161-178.

¹⁰ See Bernhard R. Appel, “Ein produktives Mißverständnis: Robert Schumanns “Kinderszenen” op. 15 in der Kritik Ludwig Rellstabs,” *Die Musikforschung* 40, no. 2 (April-June, 1987), 110ff.

Menschen” [From foreign lands and people], we quickly feel for our pulse to check whether we are lying in a fever dream. So goes the entire volume.¹¹

From his critique it is clear that Rellstab found fault not with Schumann’s musical aspects per se, which by his own admission demonstrated the composer’s technical facility, but rather with the very concept of Romantic childhood and its appropriateness as a musical topic. As explored in the previous chapter, by ideologically alienating the Romantic child as a strange and otherworldly figure, the creative adult could use it to mediate to a lost state of oneness with nature, transcendence, and selfhood. Rellstab considered this a misuse, even further an abuse, of the child by exposing them to the powerful stimulation and fevered imaginings of an adult’s strange mind. Where Clara saw the childlike beauty of her lover’s “entire inner life,” Rellstab saw a “composer’s phantasmagoria” forced upon and detrimental to the child.

Rellstab’s critique and other writings reveal a different framing of childhood. In *Aus meinem Leben*, an autobiographical memoir published posthumously in 1861, he recalls his earliest conscious memories and describes the deep impression made on him by a costume party that took place in his parents’ house when he was little older than three. His description shows a consistent stance towards the inappropriateness of exposing children to strangeness.

How exactly I remember the feelings of joy, awe, and wonderment at all the colorful, strange figures (*bunten, seltsamen Gestalten*) filling our room, mixed with the quiet shudders and shivers induced by the sight of gypsies and similar figures, even though I actually recognized

¹¹ Ludwig Rellstab, “Kinderszenen” in *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst* 10, No. 32 (1839), 127. “Endlich und hauptsächlich ist aber der geistige Gehalt dieser Sätzchen durchaus nicht für das Kind; es müßte ein Kind sein, dessen Geschmack schon durch die schärfsten und enreizendsten Gewürze alle Unschuld verloren hätte. So können wir denn den Titel “Kinderszenen” nur für einen halten, der den Phantasiegang des Componisten bezeichnen sollte, seine Schöpfung aber so wenig den Kindern zuweiß, wie ein Pastorale für Hirten geschrieben ist... Wir sehen nämlich offenbares, unläugbares Talent, geistreiche an- und Einsicht im schärfsten Widerspruch mit sich selbst, mit Natur und Vernunft. Wenn wir das erste Musikstück überschreiben sehen: “Von fremden Ländern und Menschen,” so fühlen wir uns billig an den Puls, ob wir nicht ein wenig in Fieberträumen liegen. So geht es das ganze Heft durch.” For a realization of this piece with a hypothetical “normalization” of its feverish harmonies, see Appel, “Ein produktives Mißverständnis,” 111. Contrarily, John Irving argues that such music was not a “radical departure from tradition.” See John Irving, “The invention of tradition,” in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, edited by Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 196-197.

the faces of the guests underneath the costumes... This strange feeling (*seltsame Gefühl*)—to see the familiar and the strange so mixed together, to recognize houseguests... and yet for them to appear so wondrously transformed—still impresses me whenever I recall the memory to life.¹²

Rellstab recounts this early event as a confounding experience bursting with contradictions: familiar and strange, beautiful and ugly, awe and horror. Despite his rational comprehension of the party's artifice and his observation of recognizable faces beneath their disguises, the emotional impact overwhelms his reason. Thus for the young Rellstab the external confusion of a costume party becomes the internal confusion of a child's inability to make sense of conflicting stimuli and feelings. Whereas Rellstab the child felt defenseless against the unsettling effects of strangeness and hybridity, Rellstab the adult—armed with authority, maturity, and rationality—defends himself viscerally against the strangeness and irrationality he experiences in *Kinderszenen*. He described both the party and the composition as “strange” (*Seltsamkeit/seltsam*) and characterized by contradictions, frustration of practical and conceptual expectations, and carnivalesque deception. In his 1839 critique he wrote,

How far off is art led astray due to a faulty basic principle? These irrational roots and equations lead to such irrational solutions! You could write a book about it!... ‘But could not a confessedly strange piece (*seltsam betitelte Compositionen*) yet still be beautiful in itself? Did not also Beethoven, Haydn, etc. compose oddities (*Seltsamkeiten*)?’ Admittedly, yes; but the strangeness (*Seltsamkeiten*) was not the norm, not the standard; it was an accident and nothing more. These compositions were something good despite their strangeness (*Seltsamkeit*), while [*Kinderszenen*] would like to be something good through strangeness (*Seltsamkeit*).¹³

¹² Ludwig Rellstab, *Aus meinem Leben*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Verlag von I. Guttentag, 1861), 15-16. Ganz genau weiß ich mich zu erinnern, wie sich mit dem Eindruck der Freude, des Staunens und der Verwunderung über alle die bunten, seltsamen Gestalten, die unsere Zimmer füllten, auch der eines leisen Schauers und Grauens mischte, bei dem Anblick von Zigeunern und ähnlichen Figuren, wiewohl ich doch zugleich bekannte Gesichtszüge unter den Verkleidungen wahrnahm... Dieses seltsame Gefühl, das Bekannte und Fremdartige so gemischt zu sehen, Besucher unseres Hauses... zu erkennen, und sie doch zugleich so wunderbar verwandelt zu schauen, vergegenwärtigt sich mir noch heute, wenn ich die Erinnerung lebhaft darauf zurückwende.”

¹³ Rellstab, “Kinderszenen,” 127. “Wohin ist die Kunst verirrt durch einige falsche Grundprincipien [sic]? Zu welchen irrationalen Auflösungen führen diese irrationalen Wurzeln und Gleichungen! Es ließe sich ein Buch darüber schreiben!... ‘Können aber nicht seltsam betitelte Compositionen doch sehr schön in sich sein? Hatten nicht auch Beethoven, Haydn u.s.w. Seltsamkeiten?’ Gewiß; aber die Seltsamkeit war nicht Regel, nicht Princip [sic]; sie war ein Einfall und gab sich für nichts mehr. Diese Compositionen waren trotz der Seltsamkeit etwas Gutes, während die jetzigen durch die Seltsamkeit gut sein wollen.”

The inherent “strangeness” of the Romantic child—so necessary to Romantic ideology—is fundamentally inappropriate to Rellstab. Rather he advocates for an invention of childhood that prioritizes innocence, but in ways that stop short of the revolutionary conclusions of the Romantics, by placing it within a hierarchical, adult-centric, and rational paradigm. This view of childhood is infused with the rhetoric of the Enlightenment as explored previously in the discussion of the Child of Reason. In particular Rellstab’s views resonate with the influential writings of John Locke and his understanding of the child’s innocence, the adult’s rationality, and the role of education.

According to Locke, children were innocent insofar as they came into the world as a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate devoid of innate knowledge, but naturally receptive to environmental stimuli through the senses. “The little, or almost insensible impressions on our tender infancies, have very important and lasting consequences.”¹⁴ The child’s enormous potentiality for growth could lead to positive or to negative outcomes as they had no defense against external influences and lacked the knowledge to discriminate between virtue or vice. In view of this fact Locke insisted that the child’s natural receptivity be guided by and cultivated through education. “Of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education. ’Tis that which makes the great difference in mankind.”¹⁵ Education here means more than a particular pedagogical methodology; Locke sees education as an overarching perspective that aims to consciously and inexorably immerse the child in Reason itself for the purpose of training it to “submit to his own reason

¹⁴ John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889), 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

when he is of an age to make use of it.”¹⁶ Through education the child is set on a trajectory towards the maturity of adulthood. The responsibility for this weighty task of education lay with adult caretakers. Locke took pains to “awaken the care and watchfulness of parents in the education of their children, when they see how they [children] are beset on every side, not only with temptations, but instructors to vice, and that, perhaps, in those they thought places of security.”¹⁷ During his or her vulnerable period of nonage, the child could not yet make use of its rational faculties, and was essentially powerless against constant barrages of external stimuli and internal drives. Because adults possessed fully-grown powers of rationality, physical strength, and relational authority, they had the power to habituate the child to the ways and means of reason until the development of their own rational faculties allowed them to practice self-mastery. A Lockean paradigm of child education therefore expresses and requires a particular relation between children and adults, one in which the adult recognizes the helplessness and needs of the innocent and irrational child, and responds by leading them—by persuasion, by example, by dictate, or by compulsion—to lives of virtue and reason.

Such a paradigm plays a profound role in Rellstab’s construction of childhood, clarifies how he delineates the generic boundaries around artistic depictions of children, and explains why he saw *Kinderszenen* as such an artistic failure for Schumann. For Rellstab art for or about children contained and represented educative responsibility in the Lockean sense, requiring the creative adult to act rationally toward their creative object. The depicted image of a child revealed the adult’s acceptance of their task and their ability to control their

¹⁶ Ibid., 23.

¹⁷ Ibid., 25.

skills and imagination through reason for the child's good. Thus an educative concept of the adult-child relationship established generic boundaries and expectations in art. Rellstab put this concept into practice in *Aus meinem Leben* when he concludes his recollection of the costume party on a positive note.

But this recollected party also brings an exceptionally lovely image to mind. It was that of a small, very charming maid, Agnes, my cousin—whose parents had close contact with my family (privy councillor Zenker was my guardian)—who had dressed as a winged cupid. The two white wings that my little friend wore on her shoulders struck me as exceedingly adorable and wonderful, and, moreover, could really move, although I do not know by what mechanism. *Even today I want that image clearly described and the picture accurately painted*, with I approaching her, not without some worshipful timidity in light of the significant role that she plays in my eyes, and she inviting me with another demonstration of her fluttering wings.¹⁸ (Emphasis added)

The image of an idealized and innocent young girl dressed as an angel was an iconic image.

While some depictions expressed the potent and discomfiting figure of the Romantic child

Rellstab's reference of this image avoids entering into the fullness of its potential

polyvalence.¹⁹ His description of Agnes makes a point of surrounding angelic her with his

adult reason so that even in the context of artistic depiction—both his literary description and

his hypothetical painting—the adult's rationality preserves and protects the child's innocence.

He grounded his memory of Agnes in reality and reasonability by emphasizing her

familiarity through a parenthetical reference to their family's connections and by tempering

¹⁸ Rellstab, *Aus meinem Leben*, 16. "Aber auch eine ungemein liebliche Gestalt ist mir von diesem Feste her in Erinnerung geblieben. Es war die eines kleinen, sehr reizenden Mädchens Agnes, einer Cousine, mit deren Aeltern die meinigen nahen Umgang hatten (der Geheimerath Zenker, der mein Vormund wurde), welche als geflügelter Amor erschienen war. Die beiden weißen Flügel, welche diese meine kleine Jugendfreundin an den Schultern trug, erschienen mir als etwas überaus Reizendes und Wunderbares, und vollends, daß sie dieselben, ich weiß nicht mittelst welches Mechanismus, wirklich bewegen konnte. Noch heute wollte ich die Stelle genau bezeichnen und das Bild getreu malen, wo ich mich ihr, nicht ohne einige verehrende Schüchternheit vor der bedeutungsvollen Rolle die sie in meinen Augen spielte, näherte, und sie bat, mir doch die Bewegung der Flügel noch einmal vorzumachen."

¹⁹ One influential example was Mignon from *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1796) by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), notably painted in 1828 by Friedrich Wilhelm Schadow (1789–1862). Goethe's Mignon is regularly described in the book as "seltsam" (strange). See Terence Cave, *Mignon's Afterlives: Crossing Cultures from Goethe to the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 8ff.

his emotions by repeatedly highlighting a rather pragmatic curiosity in the mechanics behind the movement of her wings. Additionally Rellstab mitigated the Muse-like inspiration that she has engendered by insisting that any hypothetical representation of Agnes in visual media be done with the utmost clarity and accuracy. Such a rendering would create a respectful distance between Rellstab and Agnes, allowing him to express and reify his “worshipful timidity” for her, all the while maintaining his rationality and protecting her innocence.

Returning to *Kinderszenen*, Rellstab saw Schumann as willfully and blatantly subverting the adult’s educative and rational role in maintaining the innocence of the child in artistic depiction. Rellstab saw Schumann as transgressing this adult-child boundary by the way in which he places the child within the vagarious moods and carnivalesque visions of his own, adult play. A collection of fancifully titled character pieces—one of music’s purported “places of security” for the child—rather exposed children to a “composer’s phantasmagoria” of strangeness and irrationality.²⁰

From Schumann’s point of view, such a conclusion constituted a uniquely “clumsy and narrow-minded” view both of music and of childhood. For him the Romantic child was a legitimate means of depicting childhood and involving them in the process of adult artistic creation. In a private letter written after Rellstab’s critique, Schumann defensively reinforced this concept, arguing that the “children” of *Kinderszenen* were never meant as clear and accurate portrayals of objective reality, but as complex and ineffable symbols emerging from

²⁰ Play researcher Brian Sutton-Smith’s research into the topic of phantasmagoria exposes how a position such as Rellstab’s is often indicative of a historic tension concerning the limitations adults set on the children’s imaginative play. “It seems that the history of the imagination in childhood is a history of ever greater suppression and rationalization of the irrational. Paradoxically children, who are supposed to be the players among us, are allowed much less freedom for irrational, wild, dark, or deep play in Western culture than are adults, who are thought not to play at all.” Brian Sutton-Smith, *The Ambiguity of Play* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 151-152.

the imaginative processes of music making, prompting the composer, the performer, and the audience to listen below the surface for deeper truths and meanings.²¹

[Rellstab] believes that I put a bawling baby in front of me to inspire my composition. It is just the other way around; although I certainly will not deny at having been haunted by some faces of children in my thoughts while composing. But the titles only came afterwards and constitute nothing more than suggestions for the interpretation and the comprehension of the music.²²

Schumann's Romantic child—ever-active, mysterious, and haunting—had the ability to grip and elevate adults, confronting them with the realization of their own alienation from nature and transcendence, while simultaneously proffering retreat, solace, and even salvation. “In every child is found a wondrous depth,”²³ Schumann wrote, and *Kinderszenen* sought to boldly plumb the depths of Romantic childhood in order to bring the contemplative adult back into communion with the poetry of selfhood.

* * *

Certainly the twelfth and penultimate piece of the cycle, “Kind im Einschlummern” (Child dropping off to sleep), demonstrates those mismatched generic markers that so rankled Rellstab. Schumann uses a variety of musical means to paint an

²¹ Schumann's aesthetic writings express a complex understanding of the relationship between music and extra-musical program in the imaginative creation of meaning. He wrote in 1835 “Certainly it is erroneous to suppose that composers avail themselves of pen and paper with none other than the ignoble intention of describing or painting this or that. But fortuitous influences and impressions should not be underestimated. Alongside the purely musical fantasy there is often, all unwitting, an idea at work; side by side with the ear they eye, and this ever-active organ retains, amidst the sound, certain contours and outlines which, as the music itself takes shape, crystallize and develop into distinctive images. When music-related elements contain within themselves thoughts and images tonally produced, the expressive character of the composition will be the more poetic or the more plastic as the case may be—the more keen and imaginative the composer's perception, the more gripping and elevating the work.” Robert Schumann, *Schumann on Music: A Selection from the Writings*, ed. and trans. Henry Pleasants (New York: Dover Publications, 1988), 83.

²² Robert Schumann, *The Letters of Robert Schumann*, trans. Hannah Bryant (London: John Murray, 1907), 132-3.

²³ Eric Frederick Jensen, *Schumann* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 320.

Figure 3.1. Schumann's "Kind im Einschlummern," complete.

A

$\text{♩} = 92$

p

Ped.

5

B

9

pp

13

The image displays a musical score for Schumann's "Kind im Einschlummern" in 2/4 time, marked with a tempo of quarter note = 92. The score is divided into four systems. The first system, labeled 'A', begins at measure 1 and features a piano (*p*) dynamic. The right hand plays a melody of eighth notes with slurs and accents, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment of chords and eighth notes. A pedaling instruction (*Ped.*) is placed below the first measure. The second system starts at measure 5. The third system, labeled 'B', begins at measure 9 and is marked *pp* (pianissimo). The right hand continues with chords and eighth notes, and the left hand has a more active eighth-note accompaniment. The fourth system starts at measure 13. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the fourth system.

Figure 3.1. continued.

17 **C**

pp

21

p

ritard.

25 **A'**

p

ritard.

29

p

ritard.

image of the sleeping child as a self-consciously complex musical object: sectionally regular, harmonically dramatic, registerally dynamic, rhythmically obsessive, and dynamically confined.

The piece begins with a softly swaying tonicization of an E minor chord. The repetitiveness of this sombre and demure opening could easily function as an accompaniment to a lullaby melody, yet any folklike tune—as well as the generic directness such a gesture would offer—is conspicuously absent. Rather the piece proceeds in a series of four eight-measure sections, each characterized by shifts in harmony, register, and texture (fig. 3.1): The A section (mm. 1-8) begins in E minor with both hands comfortably center; the B section (mm. 9-16) shifts mode unexpectedly to E major with the hands playing fuller chords at a further distance from each other; the C section (mm. 17-24) changes modes again this time from B major to B minor and then disrupts the hypnotic i-V/I-V harmonic oscillation of the previous two sections by traversing through a variety of keys with both hands low in the bass clef, the right crawling through suspension-inflected chords while the left articulates an active bass line; and the A' section (mm. 25-32) returns with the opening material and key only to end prematurely on a subdominant chord. Schumann ties these disparate sections together with the repetition of a rhythmic motif that inexorably threads its way through the entirety of the piece (fig. 3.2). Throughout the A section this motif acts imitatively, the right hand echoing the left at the distance of half a measure. The resulting polyphonic texture rocks slowly back and forth between the hands, rhythmically dense with syncopations that obscure the downbeats and are harmonically static due to a dominant pedal point sustaining the entire section. During the B and C sections the rhythmic motif appears once a measure,

Figure 3.2. Rhythmic motif in Schumann’s “Kind im Einschlummern.”



inflecting chords with syncopated non-chord tones and emphasizing the lowest registers of the piano. In addition to the persistence of this motif, Schumann maintains a continuous quiet dynamic level; the A sections and middle sections marked *piano* and *pianissimo* respectively and peppered with diminuendos. This emphasis on quiet, while consistent with the hushed atmosphere of lullabies, has an uneasy quality in this piece because of the ways in which it resists and subverts the music’s contrasts and climaxes, such as the harmonic shift and introduction of full chords in the B section or the directional tension created by harmonic sequences in the C section. Rather than inflect these moments with increases in volume, Schumann constrains the piece to near silence.

In the final piece of the composition, Schumann directly expresses the mediational function of the Romantic child. Entitled “Der Dichter spricht” (The poet speaks) Schumann places an adult within *Kinderszenen*, one who possesses the creative and communicative powers of true poetry.²⁴ Timothy D. Taylor argues that the eponymous “poet” of this movement represents none other than Schumann himself.

In “Der Dichter spricht” Schumann steps outside his work; he does not merely address the audience, but becomes part of the audience, retrospectively, for the first twelve movements. Schumann called

²⁴ Schumann repeatedly referred to composers as *Tondichter* or “tone-poets” and stressed the communicative powers of music. See Taylor, 169.

attention to himself, the composer, as well as the work itself.²⁵

In an above-cited letter Clara corroborated this connection by asking “can it be true that the poet who is speaking here is actually mine?” as she longs to drown in the unfiltered depths of Schumann’s musical and personal intensity.²⁶ This dramatic insertion of the adult into the child’s world follows upon the heels of “Kind im Einschlummern,” a piece that intentionally ends in hazy ambiguity: the closing of Section A’ contains a sequence that creates a directed sense of anticipation by moving around the circle of fifths in root position. However, the expected tonic E minor chord following the dominant-seventh never arrives; the piece breaks off at that exact moment with a substituted subdominant chord, ending the piece patently unresolved. The logic of this volte-face emerges within the context of “Der Dichter spricht” as the inconclusive A minor chord retrospectively functions as a pre-dominant ii to the V7-I gesture that begins the next piece (fig. 3.3). The close musical relationship implies a close narrative relationship, suggesting that the sleeping child prepares the way for the utterance of the poet, and likewise that the voice of the poet is an extension or completion of the work begun in the sleeping of the child.²⁷

Schumann uses “Der Dichter spricht” to explore the ways in which the poet finds his voice and speaks after having experienced the mediational inspiration of the sleeping

²⁵ Taylor, 170.

²⁶ Susanne Hoy-Draheim, 3-4.

²⁷ John Daverio additionally points out that “Der Dichter spricht” musically completes the entire composition “by means of an allusion to the ambiguous G/e harmonic topos already announced in the first piece of the set.” John Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1993), 73.

Figure 3.3. Harmonic completion from Schumann's "Kind im Einschlummern" to "Der Dichter spricht."

The image displays three systems of musical notation for piano accompaniment, each with chord symbols written below the bass staff. The first system, starting at measure 25, is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic and includes a *ritard.* marking. The second system starts at measure 29. The third system includes a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 112$ and a piano (*p*) dynamic. The chord symbols for the first system are: E_i , V^6 , i , $[V^6]$, i , iv , V^7/III , and III . The chord symbols for the second system are: VI , $ii^{\#}$, V , and iv . The chord symbols for the third system are: $G:V^7$, I^6 , V^7 , I^6 , iv^6 , V^7/V , and V .

Romantic child. The piece opens with hymn-like homorhythm that quickly becomes restive as ornaments weigh down the melodic flow (mm. 3 and 6). The drama of an implied crescendo is halted in its tracks by an unexpected rest, leading to a syncopated, *pianissimo* cadence on A minor (mm. 7-8). This emphasis on A minor recalls the incomplete ending of "Kind im Einschlummern" and narratively allows the poet another opportunity to creatively

respond to the Romantic child's inspiration by starting again. Yet the second attempt is no better than the first as the musical phrases are suspended in descending arpeggios, ritardandos, and fermatas: reminiscences of those fever-inducing textures and harmonies that had Rellstab feeling for his pulse in "Von fremden Ländern und Menschen." Having ground to a halt on a fully-diminished seventh chord (m. 12), the piece takes a plunge into completely new material: a non-measured, declamatory passage in small note heads, that slowly, quietly, and expressively unfolds two fully-diminished seventh chords with triplets and mordents. The piece rises to the highest point in the entire composition on g^{'''} and then cascades downward into nothing. The faltering, struggling poet, if just for a moment, has found his voice, the "eternal child's gateway to new worlds and creations."

* * *

Schumann's *Kinderszenen* represents one of the first efforts to place the Romantic child within a musical context, emphasizing the figure's inherent strangeness and offering adults symbolic access to transcendence and nature. In this composition we see that this perspective on children's music acted as a "site of struggle" in Rick Altman's words, a battleground for conflicting inventions of childhood and the establishment of musical conventions and expectations. Rellstab's disparagements notwithstanding, the widespread popularity of *Kinderszenen* throughout the nineteenth century supported the normalization of Romantic childhood in children's music and the perpetuation of the adult framing of childhood for the sake of creative inspiration and spiritual rejuvenation.

Akimenko's *Cinq Préludes*: Tradition

Schumann's revolutionary vision of childhood in *Kinderszenen* achieved a hard-earned victory for this tradition against the admonitions of critics like Rellstab and opened the door for subsequent compositions from the 1840s onward.²⁸ Nevertheless, rather than understand this music merely as imitations of or homages to *Kinderszenen*, we ought to see that the repetition of the Romantic child's image in music points to the nineteenth century's deep and abiding acceptance of the concept. Succeeding generations of composers, publishers, and consumers effectively sided with Schumann and against Rellstab by continuing to value musical reifications of Romantic childhood, thereby establishing a musical tradition that endures to this day. Raymond Williams speaks of this process as "predisposed continuity."

What has then to be said about any tradition is that it is in this sense an aspect of *contemporary* social and cultural organization, in the interest of the dominance of a specific class. It is a version of the past which is intended to connect with and ratify the present. What it offers in practice is a sense of *predisposed continuity*.²⁹

The recapitulation of Romantic childhood in nineteenth-century music should be understood as the continuation of an expression of a particular kind of cultural dominance, not of class, but of age. Subsequent generations of adults chose to exercise their social and cultural dominance over children through music by framing Romantic childhood within the

²⁸ Many examples of children's music written *about children* and *for adults* demonstrate this predisposed continuity of Romantic childhood in the nineteenth century. As explained in Chapter Two, the presumptive generic specificity of this music actually functions as a polysemous category. Nevertheless, several notable examples that reveal this framing of childhood while intentionally identifying the intended role of the adult include: *Lebensbilder*, op. 17 (1852) by Johann Carl Eschmann (1826–1882); *Ungarische Kinderwelt* (1859) Mihály Mosonyi (1815–1870); *Nachklänge aus der Jugendzeit*, op. 2 (1879) by Hans von Bronsart 1830–1913); *Jugenderinnerungen*, op. 184 (1879) by Ferdinand Hiller (1811–1885); *Scènes enfantines*, op. 22 (1897) by Arseny Korestchenko (1870–1921); *Contes de Jeunesse*, op. 46 (1902) by Theodor Leschetizky (1830–1915); *Märchenbilder*, op. 3 (1910) by Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897–1957); *Schlummerlieder*, op. 33 (1914) by Josef Suk (1874–1935); and *Pour les Enfants de tout âge*, op. 74 (1920) by Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931).

²⁹ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 115–6.

programmatic content of compositions marketed for adult consumption. This tradition of children's music therefore reveals the discursive positioning of adults in favor of a particular ideology of what children are, how they are depicted in art, and their aesthetic and philosophical uses for adults. My emphasis on music depicting children at sleep underscores the passivity of the child and the intentional agency of adults, and proves the genre's predisposed continuity as the ratification of past ideology—the invention of Romantic childhood—in support of contemporary adult interests—creative and spiritual rejuvenation.

I have chosen to demonstrate this by considering the example of *Cinq Préludes* by Ukrainian composer Fyodor Akimenko, whose 1903 composition depicts the playing, sleeping, and dreaming of a child in five character pieces. I intentionally use a marginal work by a little-known composer in Russia in order to show the wide dispersal of this children's music tradition since 1930s Germany. I first provide biographical information on Akimenko and an overview of *Cinq Préludes*, a work which utilizes techniques of generic ambiguity to establish the otherworldly strangeness of the Romantic child. I contextualize this work within the history of Romantic childhood in Russia. Central to this ideology is the author Leo Tolstoy and his 1852 novel *Childhood*, which codified the concept of Romantic childhood and exerted profound influence on conceptions of childhood in Russia throughout the century.³⁰ I then link Akimenko to these ideas using previously untranslated excerpts from a 1912–13 monograph and show that he gathers Tolstoyan themes into a utopian vision of music, childhood, and spiritual rejuvenation. These literary texts provide a rich hermeneutical framework through which to examine the programmatic, musical, and ideological

³⁰ See Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *The Battle for Childhood: Creation of a Russian Myth* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 2–4.

components of select movements of *Cinq Préludes*. Akimenko's use of impressionistic techniques—especially through melodic, harmonic, and formal fragmentation—reveals that musical ambiguity allows him to enter into the mysterious strangeness of sleeping, dreaming, and playing childhood.

* * *

Fyodor Stepanovich Akimenko was born in the Ukrainian city of Kharkiv in 1876.³¹ His father, a singer in the local church choir, provided musical encouragement and entered Fyodor as well as his two brothers in the St. Petersburg Court Chapel. All three later continued their musical educations in the St. Petersburg Conservatory. Akimenko stood out by virtue of his musical and intellectual talents, earning him the respect and advocacy of professors Mily Alexeyevich Balakirev (1836/37–1910) and Nikolai Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908) who provided him with financial and familial support in the new city. Akimenko also connected with the music publisher Mitrofan Petrovich Belayev (1836–1903/04) who would go on to regularly publish his works. In 1901, at the recommendation of Rimsky-Korsakov, Akimenko taught harmony to the young Igor Fyodorovich Stravinsky (1882–1971). Akimenko's personal correspondence shows the range of personal and professional contacts that he made throughout his life with notable musicians, publishers, writers, and nobility. His circles widened during a 1903 European tour in which he performed concerts of his own music, returning in 1906 to his native Kharkiv to teach at the Institute of

³¹ All biographical information based on Nabokova.

Noble Ladies and the Music School of the Imperial Russian Music Society. During this time he became involved with the St. Petersburg journal *Russian Musical Gazette* and published a variety of articles on critical, aesthetic, and theoretical matters. He appears to have remained in Kharkiv until 1914 when the tumult brought on by the onset of World War I prompted Akimenko to take a variety of university positions at the conservatories in Moscow and St. Petersburg/Petrograd. Akimenko's musical, cultural, and ideological viewpoints, especially his forays into French-inspired impressionism, did not endear him to Soviet authorities, who summarily blacklisted him and his music as bourgeois and decadent.³² Because of this it is unclear what he did between the onset of the Russian Revolution in 1917 and his relocation to Prague in 1924. A year later he would complete and publish the first Ukrainian textbook on harmony, *The Practical Course of Harmony Science* (1925). Aided by his international contacts, Akimenko finally settled in 1926 in France, continuing to publish music until at least 1939 and passing away in 1945.

Akimenko's *Cinq Préludes*, op. 23 were published by the firm P. Jurgenson (Moscow and Leipzig) in 1903, either shortly before or during his European tour. They were printed as five separate pieces, each dedicated to the renown piano pedagogue Theodor Leschetizky (1830–1915). The prelude is an inherently open-ended musical genre that has taken many forms throughout its long and complex history. Generally speaking, the nineteenth century marks the prelude's transition from being a primarily improvisational, introductory, and pedagogical genre to being a type of character piece characterized by open-endedness, emotional variety, and formal brevity. By the end of the nineteenth century, we can see at

³² Kushniruk, 82-83.

least four different ways that composers approach the prelude along a spectrum of absolute and program music. First, preludes such as those written in the 1890s by two of Akimenko's professors at the St. Petersburg Conservatory, Sergei Lyapunov (1859–1924) and Anatoly Lyadov (1855–1914), emphasize a particular technical figure within a concise formal structure. These pieces closely resemble etudes and are published in collections of preludes without any other descriptive title.³³ Second, composers give preludes musical features that reference other genres in all but name. In *25 Préludes*, op. 64 (1903) by César Antonovich Cui (1835–1918), musical conventions evoke the topics of hymns, canons, marches, dances, pastorales, and songs without words, but without any textual specification. Third, Anton Stepanovich Arensky (1861–1906) demonstrates the melding of the prelude with the character piece in *24 Character Pieces*, op. 36 (1894). The first piece of this collection is entitled “Prelude” and emphasizes formal contrast redolent of improvisation. This moniker stands next to additional pieces that reference particular genres (No. 3 “Nocturne,” No. 7 “Waltz,” No. 16 “Elegie”) or programmatic images (No. 2 “The Spinning Top,” No. 9 “Butterfly,” No. 15 “The River in the Forest,” No. 18 “Inquietude”), suggesting that the term “prelude” has achieved a measure of generic autonomy. Fourth, some composers directly emphasize the overlap between prelude and character piece by providing individual preludes with descriptive titles.³⁴ This multi-generic approach invests the music with interpretive ambiguity in which multiple generic conventions converge and create new, hybrid meanings.

³³ An example by Lyapunov includes *7 Preludes*, Op. 6 (1896); examples by Lyadov include *4 Preludes*, op. 13 (1887), *3 Preludes*, op. 27 (1891), *3 Preludes*, op. 36 (1895), *4 Preludes*, op. 39 (1895), and *4 Preludes*, op. 46 (1899).

³⁴ One of the first composers to give individual titles to a collection of preludes was Charles-Valentin Alkan (1813–1888) in his *25 Preludes*, op. 31 (1847), which contain such vivid descriptions as No. 8 “Song of the Mad Woman on the Sea Shore,” as well as “Little Nothing,” “Old Synagogue Song,” and “Psalm 150.”

For instance, Finnish composer Selim Palmgren (1878–1951) entitles the twenty-third piece of *24 Preludes*, op. 17 (1907) “Venice,” and gives it those musical features—slow tempo, compound meter, dynamic contrasts, tuneful melodies coupled in thirds, mournful air—characteristic of nineteenth century depictions of a “gondola ride.” The piece maintains one foot in the prelude genre as part of a cycle in every major and minor key, and the other foot as a programmatic song without words.

Akimenko’s *Cinq Préludes* fall into this fourth category by combining the prelude with children’s music. The names of individual pieces are included on the title page and show that the programmatic content of the composition depicts the progression of a child in and out of sleep, bookended by the telling of a bedtime fairy tale (No. 1) and boisterous play upon waking (No. 5) (see Table 3.2). Throughout the work Akimenko employs a musical language filled with contrast and ambiguity through continually shifting tempi, textures, figurations, and keys, often resulting in forms fragmented by melodic and harmonic derailments. As a prelude, these musical features express the fantasy, variety, and non-specificity associated with that genre; as children’s music, they reverberate with the otherworldly strangeness necessary to the ideology of the Romantic child. Akimenko therefore uses the open-ended features of the prelude to generically reinforce the mysterious, protean, and ephemeral nature of childhood.

Table 3.2. Textual descriptors and musical characteristics of Akimenko's *Cinq Préludes*.

Mvt.	French Title	English Translation	Tempo Markings	Key
1	Conte fantastique	Fantastic story	Allegro, Moderato sostenuto, Allegretto, Moderato, Andante, Moderato	Eb minor
2	Berceuse	Lullaby	Largo	Eb major
3	Songe d'enfant	Child's dream	Allegretto, Allegro, Allegretto, Allegro, Allegretto	D major
4	Songe d'une mère	Dream of a mother	Andante sostenuto	F# minor
5	Le reveil	Waking	Vivace, Andante, Vivace	Db major

* * *

The importance and influence of Leo Tolstoy's short novel, *Childhood*, in development of the invention of Romantic childhood in nineteenth-century Russia cannot be overstated. According to Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Childhood* established the images of the quintessential Russian childhood.

The advent of a specifically Russian conception of childhood can be dated to September 1852, when Tolstoy's *Childhood* appeared anonymously in the journal, *The Contemporary*... Although there are signs that a peculiarly Russian attitude toward childhood was forming slowly before 1852, the publication of Tolstoy's work marks a watershed... Tolstoy created what could be called the myths of Russian childhood, myths that... became so strongly embedded in the Russian cultural mind that they could not be ignored.³⁵

The essence of these Russian myths of childhood rested in the ideology of Romanticism.

Tolstoy was highly influenced by the writings of Rousseau and the Romantics, and he placed

³⁵ Wachtel, 2-4.

emphasis upon the idea that the child represented the embodiment of humanity in its most harmonious and wholesome state.³⁶

Seen from an adult perspective, the child stood in for, in Roderick McGillis' words, "the adult's lost state of joy. To look on the child is to experience a longing for the place we once knew or think we once knew. This longing is nostalgia."³⁷ Tolstoy taps directly into this Romantic vein through the narrative framing of the novel. The fictive narrator of the book, Nikolai Irten'ev describes remembered experiences of his past, youthful self. In his recollections, he paints a picture of childhood as a patently Romantic golden age of naive authenticity, emotional sensitivity, and natural transcendence. In describing these memories, the adult narrator frequently interrupts the story as he emphasizes the nostalgic longing of the adult for the child.

Happy, happy, never-returning time of childhood! How can we help loving and dwelling upon its recollections? They cheer and elevate the soul, and become to one a source of higher joys... Do in after life the freshness and light-heartedness, the craving for love and for strength of faith, ever return which we experience in our childhood's years? What better time is there in our lives than when the two best of virtues—innocent gaiety and a boundless yearning for affection—are our sole objects of pursuit? Where now are our ardent prayers? Where now are our best gifts—the pure tears of emotion which a guardian angel dries with a smile as he sheds upon us lovely dreams of ineffable childish joy? Can it be that life has left such heavy traces upon one's heart that those tears and ecstasies are for ever vanished? Can it be that there remains to us only the recollection of them?³⁸

For Tolstoy the innocent tears of the child have been replaced by adult's tears of nostalgia.

Miller states that for Tolstoy, "memories are likened to abundant and free-flowing tears, but because there are so many of them, they dim the primary thing which the speaker wishes to

³⁶ Isaiah Berlin, "Tolstoy and the Enlightenment" in *Leo Tolstoy*, ed. Harold Bloom (Brooklyn: Chelsea House Publishers, 2003), 37.

³⁷ Roderick McGillis, "Irony and Performance: The Romantic Child," in *The Child in British Literature: Literary Constructions of Childhood, Medieval to Contemporary*, ed. Adrienne E. Gavin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 109.

³⁸ Leo Tolstoy, *Childhood*, trans. C. J. Hogarth (London: Everyman's Library, 1991), 80.

remember.”³⁹ *Childhood* is built upon this concept of tearful obscurity, casting the entire work as a vague but compelling dream from which adults—narrator, author, and reader—must eventually wake. On one hand, the adult narrator sees the futility in revisiting that which can never return, and on the other, his desire to love and dwell upon these images which provide him with spiritual nourishment. Tolstoy brought these images to his readers with a unique vividness and tangibility. As John Bailey writes,

Certainly he had an uncanny gift for remembering and describing childhood and childhood sensations: more than that, the descriptions and the tone of reality in all his great stories and novels possess the air of something seen and apprehended for the first time, as a child might see it. The formalist critic Shklovsky, one of his most brilliant and detailed commentators, has pointed out that not only are things seen in Tolstoy’s writing as if never before, but they have for this reason a permanent air of the surprising and the unfamiliar. Tolstoy’s descriptions, said Shklovsky, “make it strange”. That is to say we are present as readers at a party, or at a battle or a ballet, as a child might be present, seeing everything not in its conventional familiar shapes as an adult sees it, but as a primary phenomenon—strange or wonderful or terrifying.⁴⁰

In the case of *Childhood*, the adult-child interaction is further complicated through generic ambivalence. Wachtel refers to *Childhood* as a “pseudo-autobiography” because of the ways that it intentionally obscures the boundaries between the fiction of a novel and the fact of an autobiography. To use Gary Saul Morson’s phrase, this is a “boundary work” in which contradictory generic conventions within a single text maintain a “doubly decodable” state of ambiguity.⁴¹ Wachtel elaborates,

The author of *Childhood* is Tolstoy, but the narrator calls himself Nikolai Irten’ev. Yet, in many respects, Irten’ev is Tolstoy’s autobiographical double; much of the fictional character’s life was drawn from Tolstoy’s experience. At the same time, Irten’ev is his own double; throughout the narrative the older and more mature Irten’ev examines and comments on the actions of his past self. While there is a sense in which the two Irten’evs are the same person, they are separated and differentiated by an abyss of time and space that can be bridged only by imperfect memory. As a result of this double doubling, the pseudo-autobiography is an

³⁹ Miller, 167.

⁴⁰ John Bailey, *Leo Tolstoy* (Devon: Northcote House Publishers, 1997), 1.

⁴¹ Gary Saul Morson, *The Boundaries of Genre: Dostoevsky’s Diary of a Writer and the Traditions of Literary Utopia* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1981), 48. See Wachtel, 16-17.

inherently ambiguous genre. The author, narrator, and protagonist (the narrator's past incarnation) each have their own voice in the pseudo-autobiographical text, but the relationship between the voices is fluid and purposely ill-defined.⁴²

The image of the child in *Childhood* is placed at the center of a literary context built upon hybridity, strangeness, and instability. This allows for adult characters—narrator, author, and reader—to enter deeply into the otherworldly strangeness of the Romantic child while simultaneously obscuring Tolstoy's active agency as the adult author of this work. Because a pseudo-autobiography blurs the lines between fact and fiction, the adult Tolstoy's actual relationship to young Irten'ev remains polysemous. Is young Irten'ev a truthful if otherwise nostalgic depiction of Tolstoy's own youth, similar to Rellstab's recollections in *Aus meinem Leben*? Or is the child an abstract and idyllic symbol resulting from Tolstoy's Romantic imagination, like the fictional faces that haunted Schumann? Tolstoy uses generic ambiguity to allow the adult to come close to the strangeness of the child, not just as a universal metaphor, but as a personal recollection of their own lost and idealized past. The Romantic child in *Childhood* becomes the adult's mask, providing access to nostalgic tears and spiritual grounding, while struggling towards the hazy memory of lost innocence and wholeness. Turning to the writings of Akimenko will show the resonance of Tolstoy's myth of childhood even into the twentieth century and the ways that music intensified the role of the Romantic child as a conduit between adulthood and transcendence.

* * *

⁴² Wachtel, 3.

The dispersal of information on Akimenko due to the political and cultural upheavals during his life have made it very difficult to gain access to his writings and compositions. Scholarly efforts in the last few years to recover and reassess these sources reveal that Akimenko wrote prolifically and eloquently in both private and public about music and its role in social and spiritual life. His outlook was particularly syncretic, as Nataliya Nabokova states: “The merger of music and philosophy, music and science, [and] music and literature formed his artistic world, and in fact became the leitmotif of [his] creativity.”⁴³ Remarkably, Akimenko argues for this synthesis by using the rhetoric and symbolism of the Romantic child, looking forward to a utopian future by looking backward to humanity’s innocent origins. In the following section I present previously untranslated excerpts from Akimenko’s monograph “Life in Art,” which the *Russian Musical Gazette* published serially between 1912 and 1913.⁴⁴ Throughout this text, the concept of “Art” operates as a divine entity; all people contain within themselves the spark of Art, which therefore has the ability to unite all humanity over and against the social divisions of class, economics, and education.

In man there lives an unquenchable light; while not all have have the same strength of brightness, it is unshakable, a divine thing that everyone ought to carry within the depths of their own soul for the entirety of their long and painful lives... In the case of those who struggle with life, in the midst of the disadvantaged, we often discover a mighty inner strength—the strength of the all-conquering... This is a creative power-gift, which we call either

⁴³ Nabokova, “Return of Life-Giving Heritage from Oblivion.” See Daniel Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) for a consideration of twentieth-century modernism’s grappling with consonance and dissonance in the arts.

⁴⁴ The *Russian Musical Gazette* ran from 1894 to 1918 and was, according to Natalia Ostroumova, “one of the most important pre-revolutionary music periodicals owing to the expansive geographical scope of the musical events treated, and the high quality of its content written by the period’s most important Russian music critics and professional musicians.” See Natalia Ostroumova, ed., *Russian Musical Gazette: 1894–1918* (Baltimore: RIPM International Center, 2012). Akimenko’s monograph “Life in Music” appears in Nos. 6/7, 10, 12, 13, 35, and 38.

genius or talent. For that individual there are no obstacles; he finds the channel and flows along the river of inspiration...⁴⁵

Like the Romantic poets of the nineteenth century, Akimenko compares this glorious image of universalism to the depraved realities of art in contemporary life. The comparison to Schumann's verbose diatribes in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in the 1830s against musical Philistinism and triviality is palpable.

At the same time we are not so blind as to not see how difficult it is to break through to the glorious light of Art... What is it that we often see in life around us? Music, for example has for a long time been subjected to the status of a simple craft. It serves as empty entertainment in the lazy atmosphere of exasperating cafes across the empire, looked upon by the inebriated eyes of filthy drunkards. And how many similar instances could we cite! Oh beautiful muse, Euterpe! Wouldn't you keep your charming name and wear it forever, instead of another that has been vulgarized by the people: "music". After all, we call everything "music" that we hear at balls, in serious concerts, in taverns, and—even more inconvenient—at church! How gratifying it would be to see the title pages of the foreign maestros read thusly: "Muse of Euterpe by Beethoven," "Muse of Euterpe by Chopin"...⁴⁶

For Akimenko "music" is at best a useless moniker that covers too wide a range of social practices and at worst proof of the bastardization of art in the service of shallow, sensuous, and senseless triviality. Eternal Art is something apart, and to emphasize the sacredness and profundity of music in its true form he calls it Euterpe, the ancient Grecian muse of music and lyric poetry. His turn to classical mythology not only accesses epic prestige and

⁴⁵ Fyodor Akimenko, "Life in Art," *Russian Musical Gazette* 6/7 (1912), 163. "В человеке живет неугасимый свет; он не у всех одинаков по силе яркости;—но это *то* неотемлемое—божеское, что каждый носит в глубине собственной души всю страдную пору долго текущей жизни... Но и в среде борющихся с жизнью, в среде обездоленных—мы нередко наталкиваемся на могучую внутреннюю их силу,—силу всепобеждающую... Это творческая сила—дар, который мы называем или гением, или талантом;—для него уже нет препятствий—он отыщет свое русло и потечет по реке вдохновения..."

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 164. "Мы не настолько слепы, чтобы не видеть в тоже время—как трудно пробиваться в личезарному свету Искусств... Что мы видим часто в окружающей нас жизни? Музыка, например, с давних пор у иных сдужит простым только ремеслом. Она сужит пустой забавой в чадной атмосфере праздных, наполняющих всевозможные кафешанианы, где с выпяченными пьяными глазами скверно гогочут. И сколько подобных явлений! Прекрасная муза, Евтерпа!—не должна ли, ты сохранить твое очаровательное имя и носить его вечно, вместо другого, опошленного людьми—"музыка". Ведь мы несобразнее—в церкви! Как отраднo было бы видеть глазу следующие слова, выгравированные на заглавных листах сочинений великих маэстро: *Муза Евтерпы от Бетховена. Муза Евтерпы от Шопена...*"

timelessness, but anthropomorphizes music as an idealized female figure. Every installment of the monograph includes a small illustration of this personified essence of musical Art: a regal, haloed, and dark-haired woman stares through a wispy Art Nouveau-style frame at the reader with a lyre clasped in her left hand and a bowl of smoking incense held up in her right (fig. 3.4).



Figure 3.4. *Russian Musical Gazette* article illustration for Akimenko’s serial monograph “Life in Art.”

It is possible that for Akimenko this female image also had a maternal function because immediately after invoking Euterpe he launches into the topic of childhood, singling it out as the ideal state in which to receive the gifts of artistic transcendence. Like Tolstoy, he characterizes children as inherently innocent and open to wholeness and truth in all its forms. He extends this characteristic into music by declaring that children have a special connection to the inner essence of Art in the form of musical masterworks by great composers.

The golden days of youth represent the best time to awaken and develop aesthetic inclinations. The first harmonies of the music of the great masters are poured into the young creature so fully, so meaningfully!... It is especially important to protect children from trivial music. If children are incapable of understanding the complex designs of a serious composer, they always receive a general impression from the work, which, at first only vaguely, becomes more vivid and exciting through frequent repetition. The essence of beautiful music is simplicity itself, and can serve as the child’s nourishment... *Overall, music must be listened to*

*with the heart and then with the head. Children even more so... Complex symphonic textures are not immediately perceptible to everyone, but separate musical phrases, harmonic progressions, and even polyphonic motifs can be perceived by children. This exposure engenders interest in Art in them, finally developing into true attachment for music. (Emphasis mine.)*⁴⁷

The child accesses the blessings of Euterpe so naturally because they inherently approach Art “with the heart.” As a lifelong academic with teaching experience in a wide variety of institutions of higher learning, Akimenko was well aware of systematized and rational approaches to the study of music, and “Life in Art” frequently calls into question the ultimate usefulness of an educational system aimed only at approaching music “with the head.” His utopian solution to conservatory training envisions all of humanity returning to the openness of childhood, thereby gaining access to the spiritual transcendence of Art.

It is necessary and timely to create a new, life-giving environment, a new branch of music education where there would be no routine, no boredom. Let only those with sincere love and devotion to high Art enter into this marvelous temple of Euterpe. Let them learn, expanding their musical horizons, for there awaits their unknowable and inexpressible pleasure, the source of which is the highest revelation of the Divine Providence.⁴⁸

The rhetoric of Akimenko’s childlike approach to music and to education as “with the heart” rather than “with the head” bears a striking similarity to Tolstoy’s description of pursuing the

⁴⁷ Ibid., 164-165. “Золотые дни юности представляют лучшее время к пробуждению и развитию эстетических наклонностей. Первые созвучия музыки великих мастеров вливаются в молодое существо так полно, так содержательно!... Детские годы особенно рекомендуется оградить от тривиальной музыки. Если дети неспособны—не могут разобраться в сложных замыслах серьезного композитора—то общее впечатление от произведений они всегда получать, правда, несколько бледное, но позднее, при частом повторении подобных композиций—и более яркое, захватывающее. Вместе с тем, сколько существует прекрасной музыки вовсе несложной, которая могла бы служить душойной пищей каждому из них... Прежде всего музыку слушают сердцем, а потом разумом. Дети тем более... Сложная фактура симфонических и иных произведений не всем сразу доступна—но отдельные музыкальные фразы, построения гармонические и даже полифонические некоторых мотивов—могут быть детьми восприняты. Интерес к Искусству все будет возрастать у них и народится, наконец, истинная привязанность и любовь к музыке...”

⁴⁸ Ibid., 165. “Нужно создать, и пора уже, новую живительную атмосферу, новый храм музыкального просвещения, где не было бы никакой рутины, никакой скуки. Пусть туда войдут, в этот дивный храм Евтерпы, только искренне любящие и преданные высокому искусству. Пусть там поучаются, расширяют свои музыкальные горизонты, — там ждет их неизведанная и невыразимая словами радость наслаждения — источник которого — высшие откровения Божественного Промысла.”

creative impulse as a writer. Literary authenticity for Tolstoy resulted from what Robin Feuer Miller describes as “a complex compound of the real and the imagined, the remembered and the invented.”⁴⁹ Rather than struggle to organize these complexities in a rational hierarchy, Tolstoy valued the simplicity of a childlike approach to writing.

It is possible to write from the head and from the heart. When you write from the head, the words fall into place on the paper in an obedient and well ordered manner. But when you write from the heart, there are so many thoughts in your head, so many images in your imagination, so many memories in your heart, that their expression is incomplete, inadequate, halting and crude. Perhaps I was mistaken, but I always used to stop when I began writing from the head and tried to write only from the heart.⁵⁰

Tolstoy’s novel *Childhood* particularly exemplifies this literary approach, through both its emphasis on generic ambiguity and its depiction of childhood as a melange of real and imagined emotions and experiences. Young Irten’ev, the quintessential Russian Romantic child, allows the adult Tolstoy to access a sacred state of innocence and wholeness, not in spite of but rather because of the fact that the book, according to Tolstoy, was written “with the heart.” I maintain that Akimenko’s *Cinq Préludes* also exemplifies this concept by depicting the sleeping child as a melange of seemingly disorganized images, or as Rellstab might quip, as a “composer’s phantasmagoria.” In writing music in this way, Akimenko challenges his listeners to approach Art “with the heart,” with the openness, innocence, and enthusiasm of the child who seeks only the loving embrace of Euterpe herself. In the following analyses I examine the textual and musical characteristics of *Cinq Préludes*

⁴⁹ Robin Feuer Miller, “The Creative Impulse in *Childhood*: The Dangerous Beauty of Games, Lies, Betrayal, and Art,” in *Before They Were Titans: Essays on the Early Works of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy*, ed. Elizabeth Cheresch Allen (Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2015): 154. Additionally, Tolstoy expounds upon this valorization of the child’s creative perspective in the 1862 pedagogical article “Who Should Learn Writing of Whom: Peasant Children of Us, or We of Peasant Children?” See Leo Tolstoy, *The Novels and Other Works of Lyof N. Tolstoi*, vol. 15, trans. Nathan Haskell Dole (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1902), 301-333.

⁵⁰ R. F. Christian, *Tolstoy: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 23.

through the lenses of the utopian idealism of “Life in Art” and the iconic imagery of *Childhood* to show how the tradition of children’s music continued to provide contemplative adults with access to creativity, selfhood, and transcendence.

* * *

Akimenko’s musical language in *Cinq Préludes* in many ways reveals an aesthetics of the “incomplete, inadequate, halting and crude.” Similarly to his disparagement of formal music education in academia, his music displays a conscious subversion or rejection of traditional tonality through the use of shifting textures, unexpected harmonies, and interrupted melodies. He creates a sound world full of the unexpected and mysterious, entering into the Romantic child’s posture of openness and innocence and thereby coming face to face with the essence of Art itself. Akimenko’s musical ambiguities express this ideological positioning of Romantic childhood for the sake of adult inspiration and rejuvenation. I first explore the carnivalesque vagueness of No. 3 “*Songe d’enfant*” (Child’s dream), and then consider the musicalization of the mother figure as an object of the child’s desires in No. 2 “*Berceuse*” and No. 4 “*Songe d’une mère*.”

As shown by the tempo markings in Table 3.2 above, Akimenko organizes his whole composition as a series of contrasting movements: fast, slow, fast, slow, fast. Within this structure No. 1 “*Conte fantastique*” (Fantastic story), No. 3 “*Songe d’enfant*” (Child’s dream), and No. 5 “*Le reveil*” (Waking) display the greatest amount of internal contrast, which suggests that Akimenko intended to draw a conceptual connection between the scenes

programmatically depicted by the three pieces. The perspective of the Romantic child sees the fantasy of a fairy tale, the confusion of dreams, and the boisterous energy of play as an unbroken continuum of lived reality. This is analogous to scenes from Tolstoy's novel in which the adult narrator recalls the confusion and elation of falling asleep as a child. Young Irten'ev finds himself amidst a melange of incommensurable thoughts and feelings that shift in and out of bliss, sorrow, play, and spiritual devotion.

After saying my prayers I would wrap myself up in the bedclothes. My heart would feel light, peaceful, and happy, and one dream would follow another. Dreams of what? They were all of them vague, but all of them full of pure love and of a sort of expectation of happiness. I remember, too, that I used to think about Karl Ivanitch and his sad lot. He was the only unhappy being whom I knew, and so sorry would I feel for him, and so much did I love him, that tears would fall from my eyes... Usually, also, there would be some favourite toy—a china dog or hare—stuck into the bed-corner behind a pillow, and it would please me to think how warm and comfortable and well cared for it was there. Also, I would pray God to make every one happy, so that every one might be contented, and also to send fine weather tomorrow for our walk. Then I would turn myself over on to the other side, and thoughts and dreams would become jumbled and entangled together until at last I slept soundly and peacefully, though with a face wet with tears.⁵¹

In “*Songe d'enfant*” Akimenko's use of contrast and ambiguity provide a musical corollary to this literary description (fig. 3.5). Overall the piece is structured in ABA'BA'Coda form.

Akimenko marks the A sections *Allegretto* and establishes an agitated mood by using leaping fully-diminished seventh chord harmonies, sudden dynamic swells, and fluctuations in tempo through *ritenutos* and fermatas (see mm. 1-6, etc.). The overall confusion and declamatory style suggest that the child's dreams—“all of them vague,” “jumbled and entangled together”—appear as an irrational and fantastic carnival of images and emotions. This confusion, which is rhythmically intensified at each iteration of that section, seems to coalesce into the clarity of the B sections. This new mood takes up the A sections' pair of

⁵¹ Tolstoy, *Childhood*, 52.

Figure 3.5. Formal contrasts in Akimenko's *Song d'enfant*, mm. 1-35.

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with a piano (left) and right-hand (treble) staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4.

- System 1 (Measures 1-4):** Labeled **A Allegretto**. Measure 1 starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic. A slur covers measures 1-4. Measure 3 has a forte (*f*) dynamic, and measure 4 has a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. A *riten.* marking is above measure 4.
- System 2 (Measures 5-8):** Labeled **B Allegro**. Measure 5 starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic, and measure 6 has a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. A *riten.* marking is above measure 6. The instruction *sempre piano, con leggiero* is written below measure 7.
- System 3 (Measures 9-11):** Continues the *sempre piano, con leggiero* instruction.
- System 4 (Measures 12-35):** Continues the *sempre piano, con leggiero* instruction. A piano (*p*) dynamic is marked at the end of the system.

Figure 3.5. continued.

17 *ritenuto* *a tempo*
p

21

25 *mf*

29 *dimin.*

33 **A'** *Allegretto* *riten.*
p *f* *mf*

Detailed description: This musical score is for a piano piece in G major, 2/4 time. It consists of five systems of two staves each. The first system (measures 17-20) begins with a *ritenuto* marking, followed by *a tempo*. A piano (*p*) dynamic is indicated in measure 19. The second system (measures 21-24) continues the texture. The third system (measures 25-28) features a *mf* dynamic. The fourth system (measures 29-32) includes a *dimin.* (diminuendo) marking. The fifth system (measures 33-36) starts with a first ending bracket labeled **A'**, followed by the tempo marking *Allegretto*. Dynamics of *p*, *f*, and *mf* are used throughout this system, along with a *riten.* (ritardando) marking at the end.

inconclusive gestures (mm. 5-6) and transforms them into an undulating, colorful texture of sequencing chords. Akimenko marks these sections *Allegro* and gives them quiet dynamics, smooth articulation, a texture saturated with rising figures, and an overall atmospheric character. This section has a greater sense of identity through the repetition of its rhythmic pattern, the euphony of the harmonies, and the sequential patterning, providing a correlation to Tolstoy's Romantic description of the child's dreams: "My heart would feel light, peaceful, and happy, and one dream would follow another... They were all of them vague, but all of them full of pure love and of a sort of expectation of happiness." Akimenko creates a swath of sound up and down the keyboard that begins in D major, shifting to B major after a slight rhythmic disruption caused by syncopated accents (mm. 14-18). Harmonic instabilities now ripple through the texture in the form of I-iii^{o7} oscillations first in B major (mm. 21-22) and then in D major (mm. 25-28). At the anacrusis of measure 29 the music suddenly leaps to *mezzo piano* and the harmonies become fully diminished seventh chords. This increase in intensity grinds the music to a halt at a fermata (m. 33) and ushers in the skittish leaps of the A' section.

Following this, Akimenko repeats the B section in its entirety, which lapses into a rhythmically imperative A'' section. Yet he cuts this section short by moving unexpectedly into the entirely new material of the Coda (fig. 3.6). This quiet section presents a marked contrast from A and B and present an almost hymn-like sense of repose through rhythmically regular chords. Even so, the harmonies are tonally ambiguous and emerge out of chromatic voice leading; it is primarily because of the crescendo (m. 68) that a climax is felt at the arrival of a Ger⁺⁶ with the tonic note D in the bass (m. 69). The piece closes with a D pedal

Figure 3.6. Section A'' and Coda of Akimenko's *Songe d'enfant*, mm. 61-72.

The image displays a musical score for Section A'' and Coda of Akimenko's *Songe d'enfant*, measures 61-72. The score is written for piano in 4/4 time with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). It consists of four systems of staves. The first system (measures 61-64) features a 'dimin.' marking. The second system (measures 65-67) is labeled 'A'' Allegretto' and includes dynamic markings 'p', 'f', and 'p'. The third system (measures 68-70) includes 'mf' and 'p' markings. The fourth system (measures 71-72) is marked 'ritenuto' and includes 'dimin.' and 'pp' markings. The score concludes with a double bar line.

point as the supported chords meander through a series of ambiguous yet placid harmonies: Ger⁺⁶-I⁹-V⁷-I. Akimenko softens this colorful cadential passage with sweeping, arpeggiated grace notes—"a face wet with tears"—ending in a *pianissimo* hush.

* * *

The carnivalesque strangeness of “*Songe d’enfant*” reflects the Romantic child’s nearness to that mysterious spiritual entity that Akimenko calls the “glorious light of Art.” In the compositions two slow pieces, No. 2 “*Berceuse*” and No. 4 “*Songe d’une mère*,” Akimenko introduces the voice and presence of another figure: the mother.⁵² These pieces show that the mother offers the child intimacy, affection, and connection. In the language of “*Life in Art*,” the person of Euterpe anthropomorphizes Art into a person capable of drawing the child into the arms of “*Divine Providence*” itself. As explored below, Tolstoy takes a similar position in *Childhood* by idealizing the mother character to the point of sacralization, and making her the focal point of bittersweet nostalgia.⁵³ The following musical analyses focus on the ways that the presence of the mother functions as a source of divine intimacy for the Romantic child.

Movement No. 2 “*Berceuse*” musicalizes the child’s transition into sleep. In contrast to Schumann’s “*Kind im Einschlummern*,” in which the absence of a melody suggested the separateness of the contemplative poet from the slumbering child, this piece establishes intimacy and connection by providing a lyrical melody in the soprano range over a steady,

⁵² For considerations on the various uses and iterations of the mother-child relationship in Romanticism, see Anne K. Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Julie Kipp, *Romanticism, Maternity, and the Body Politic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Carolyn A. Weber, ed., *Romanticism and Parenting: Image, Instruction and Ideology* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007).

⁵³ For considerations of the importance of the mother in Tolstoy’s novel *Childhood* and life, see Edward Wasiolek, *Tolstoy’s Major Fiction* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 22ff; and Daniel Rancour-Laferriere, *Tolstoy on the Couch: Misogyny, Masochism and the Absent Mother* (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), 33-37ff.

Figure 3.7. Pianistic transformation of lyrical melody in Akimenko’s “Berceuse,” mm. 1-16.

The musical score for Akimenko's "Berceuse" (mm. 1-16) is presented in four systems. The first system (mm. 1-5) is marked "Largo" and begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and a "sempre Ped." instruction. The melody is introduced with a *dolce* character. The second system (mm. 6-10) shows a crescendo (*cresc.*) leading to a piano (*p*) dynamic, followed by a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. The third system (mm. 11-15) features a piano (*p*) dynamic, a quintuplet (5), and an *accelerando* section with a trill. The fourth system (mm. 14-16) begins with a fortissimo (*f*) dynamic, followed by a *ritenuto* section with a *dimin.* dynamic, and concludes with a *pp dolcissimo* dynamic and a return to *a tempo*.

rocking accompaniment (fig. 3.7). The mother begins her simple melody twice—*piano* and *dolce* at m. 2 and *pianissimo* and *dolcissimo* at m. 16—but in both instances she is interrupted as the melody is overwhelmed by flurries of pianistic filigree (mm. 12-14 and

24-26). It is only after emerging from this unexpected climax that she restarts her melody with increased sweetness (m. 16). If we consider that the confusion of No. 3 “*Songue d’enfant*” comes after this movement, we can interpret this musical derailment as a rising contradiction in the child who experiences a variety of dissimilar feelings in reaction to the mother’s melodic voice and tender presence: simultaneously desiring to slip into the bliss of sleep versus struggling to stay awake in order to continue to bask in the mother’s affection. Tolstoy describes a similar reaction in young Irten’ev.

My eyes are heavy with sleep as I sit [in my high arm-chair] and listen. How could I not listen, seeing that Mamma is speaking to somebody, and that the sound of her voice is so melodious and kind? How much its echoes recall to my heart!... ‘No, I won’t go to sleep, Mamma,’ I reply, though almost inaudibly, for pleasant dreams are filling all my soul. The sound sleep of childhood is weighing my eyelids down, and for a few moments I sink into slumber and oblivion until awakened by some one. I feel in my sleep as though a soft hand were caressing me. I know it by the touch, and, though still dreaming, I seize hold of it and press it to my lips.⁵⁴

The nearness of the mother blurs the lines between waking and sleeping—likewise between vocal lyricism and pianistic agitation—and immerses the child into a state of spiritual wholeness and intimacy.

The fulfillment of this idyllic experience involves the actual sacralization of the mother at the end of the piece. After another iteration of the lullaby and subsequent derailment, Akimenko unexpectedly transitions to a section marked *religioso* (m. 32) (fig. 3.8). The piece ends in a mood of pious reserve, characterized by clear harmonies, steady rhythms, homorhythmic texture, and chant-like declamation: the mother’s lullaby is now a heavenly lullaby. For Tolstoy the innocence and openness of the Romantic child allowed them to enter into a mysterious congruence between mother and God.

⁵⁴ Tolstoy, *Childhood*, 94.

Figure 3.8. Transition to *religioso* section in Akimenko’s “Berceuse,” mm. 27-39.

How, after scenes like this, I would go upstairs, and stand before the ikons, and say with a rapturous feeling, “God bless Papa and Mamma!” and repeat a prayer for my beloved mother which my childish lips had learnt to lisp—the love of God and of her blending strangely in a single emotion!⁵⁵

The child’s unique access to transcendence through the sacralization of the mother is further explored in No. 4 “*Songe d’une mère.*” Although this piece names the mother directly, rather than implying her presence through the lullaby’s melody, the ambiguity of the title allows for multiple interpretations. While it is possible to understand the movement as depicting the images and feelings of a sleeping mother who has perhaps fallen asleep along with her child, I maintain that we ought to remain within the perspective of the Romantic child and

⁵⁵ Ibid., 94-95.

Figure 3.9. Harmonic ambiguity and rhythmic motif in Akimenko's "Song d'une mère," mm. 1-15.

The musical score for Akimenko's "Song d'une mère" (mm. 1-15) is presented in three systems. The first system (mm. 1-7) is marked "Andante sostenuto" and "pp (con misterio)". It features a complex harmonic structure with unresolved chords and a rhythmic motif of eighth notes. The second system (mm. 8-11) features a melodic line in the treble with a "f dimin." marking and a "p" dynamic. The third system (mm. 12-15) continues the melodic line and harmonic ambiguity.

understand the piece as the child's dream *about* their mother. This piece extends the child's strange blending of mother-God and waking-sleeping into a bizarre musical dreamscape. Marked *Andante sostenuto* and *con misterio*, the piece opens homorhythmically, texturally recalling the *religioso* section of "Berceuse," but while creating a vastly different mood as he progresses through a series of unresolved fully-diminished seventh and dominant seventh chords (mm. 1-7). Akimenko is relentless in his pursuit of harmonic ambiguity throughout the piece, creating blocks of shifting, nonfunctional harmony on deep, drawn out chords (fig. 3.9). Like Schumann's "Kind im Einschlummern," these intentionally disjointed elements are held together by the presence of a rhythmic motif that runs through almost the entire piece.

Given the context of the piece's title, the rhythm of this motive suggests a musical heartbeat expressive of the child's intimate nearness to the mother. The Romantic child has entered into what Akimenko calls the "marvelous temple of Euterpe," slowly traveling through a mysterious sonic landscape of "unknowable and inexpressible pleasure, the source of which is the highest revelation of the Divine Providence."

* * *

The example of Akimenko's *Cinq Préludes* demonstrates the establishment of the ideology of Romantic childhood in children's music since its genesis in Schumann's *Kinderszenen*. My analysis attests to several significant aspects of this predisposed continuity. First, musical iterations of Romantic childhood continue to interact with and draw inspiration from literary sources. Second, Akimenko's use of generic and stylistic ambiguity show that the Romantic child remained a figure of otherworldly strangeness. And third, we can see that beneath the idealized masks of child and mother stand an adult composer who uses art to enter into a realm in which fantasy, dreams, play, motherhood, God, and self all come within reach and the existential divide of Romanticism is, if only illusory, bridged.

Chapter 4. Music For Children

While children's music offered adults a means to pursue poetic creativity, nostalgic longing, and utopian rejuvenation, it simultaneously entered into the material culture of actual, middle-class children.¹ In the emergence and establishment of this tradition, we see a reinvention of Romantic childhood in which otherworldly strangeness and prophetic profundity are tempered to reflect and reinforce the ideals of middle class domesticity. I refer to this reflection of Romantic childhood back upon children as the *romanticization* of children, and this chapter considers the ways in which children's music played a part in applying that image onto children during the nineteenth century. I begin with Robert Schumann's *Album für die Jugend*, op. 68 (1848) and its emphasis on familial intimacy, imaginative pedagogy, and spiritual enrichment; ideas that become engrained into the tradition of children's music throughout the century. I then problematize this tradition by applying concepts from children's literature scholars Jacqueline Rose and Jack Zipes in order to uncover the socializing pressures of the hidden adult. I then apply this interpretive approach to two case studies that show the international breadth of children's music beyond German-speaking lands. The first example from Russia explores *La journée d'une petite fille* (The day of a young girl) by Alexander Alexandrovich Ilyinsky to tease out the proscriptive socialization of children, the infantilization of women, and the ways that both continued to offer adult men creative inspiration. The second example from France considers the rich

¹ For important studies on children's material culture and the ways that it reveals cultural values, fears, and hopes, see Karin Calvert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood 1600–1900* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992); Alexander von Vegesak, Jutta Oldiges, and Lucy Bullivant, eds., *Kid Size: The Material World of Childhood* (Milan: Skira, 1997); and Joanna Sofaer Derevenski, *Children and Material Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000); Jane Eva Baxter, *The Archaeology of Childhood: Children, Gender, and Material Culture* (New York: Altamir Press, 2005); and Kate Darian-Smith and Carla Pascoe, eds. *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2013).

interplay between music, text, and illustration in *Scènes enfantines* (Childhood scenes) by Théodore Lack. The self-referential drama of this composition shows the ways that children's music acted as a means of adult dominance and discipline.

Familial Intimacy, Impossibility, and Socialization

For middle-class families during the nineteenth century, material products meant for child consumption—such as clothing, toys, literature, and music—played an important role in articulating bourgeois values. According to Jürgen Habermas, the privateness of the patriarchal conjugal family validated itself by the public demonstration of economic success and humanity-generating closeness.² Families could make these ideals into tangible realities by purchasing a piano, hiring a music teacher, buying sheet music, and giving their children the labour of hourly and daily practice.³ The piano's physical and aural presence in middle-class living spaces furthermore accorded with the bourgeois sacralization of the home. The private sphere acted as a sanctuary shielding women and children from the male-dominated and morally questionable public spheres of commerce and industry. Within the nurturance, tranquility, and softness of the home, children acted as idealized symbols of romanticized innocence within the middle-class family drama.⁴ Within this context, children's music intended for consumption by actual children played a significant part in creating and maintaining that ideology.

² Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 43ff.

³ For a history of piano playing as a status symbol, see Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1954).

⁴ John R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 109ff.

* * *

In the fall of 1848 Robert Schumann published *Album für die Jugend* and effectively set children's music on this new trajectory.⁵ A decade had passed since the publication of *Kinderszenen* and the realities of his domestic life left an influence upon his conception of the genre. He was now a *Hausvater* himself, having married Clara Weick (1819–1896) in 1840 and fathered four children, a fifth having died in infancy. In contrast to the enigmatic and transformative images of Romantic childhood that so haunted him in *Kinderszenen*, Schumann shifted towards a romanticized construction of childhood that he claimed was “actually, taken directly from family life.”

I wrote the first pieces for the *Album* specifically for the birthday of our oldest child, and then more pieces came to me one after another; it was as if I were once again starting to compose from the very beginning. You will also detect something of my earlier humor [in them]. These pieces are completely different from the *Kinderszenen*. The latter are reminiscences [*Rückspiegelungen*] written by an adult for adults, whereas the [*Album für die Jugend*] contains more anticipation, presentiment, [and] forward-looking perspectives [*Vorspiegelungen*] for youthful players.⁶

For Schumann music *for* children was a product of and inspired by familial intimacy. This “completely different” approach moved away from childhood as a symbolic abstraction and sought to provide actual children—originally *his* children—with simple, imaginative, and

⁵ In his critique of *Album für die Jugend*, Alfred Dörffel (1821–1905) hailed the composition as indicative of a new, objective epoch of Schumann's creative output. See Alfred Dörffel, “Robert Schumann, Op. 68. Album für die Jugend,” in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 17 (February 1849), 89.

⁶ Bernhard R. Appel, “‘Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life’: Robert Schumann's *Album für die Jugend*,” trans. John Michael Cooper in *Schumann and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 182.

age-appropriate music that nurtured their spirit and honed their technical skills.⁷ We see this manifested clearly, for example, in “Trällersong” (Little Humming Song), the third piece in *Album für die Jugend*. Initially entitled “Schlafliedchen für Ludwig” (Little Lullaby for Ludwig) as part of the above mentioned birthday album, this piece referred to the newest addition to the Schumann household who at the time was no more than seven months old.⁸ Schumann uses minimal musical means to depict his infant son in the midst of sleep with a generic directness that was conspicuously absent and intentionally subverted in “Kind im Einschlummern” from *Kinderszenen* (fig. 4.1). A soprano melody traces out alternately stepwise and leaping phrases every two measures while a supportive bass voice moves homorhythmically with it in consonant harmonies of sixths or tenths. Schumann carefully and effectively avoids pedantry by the lightly driving, offbeat motion of the inner voice, which harmonically grounds the melody with a droning pedal point and provides subtle interest to transitions (m. 10) and cadences (mm. 8 and 24).

This simple piece shows Schumann’s change in perspective both toward childhood, children, and the moral responsibility of musical pedagogy. He intended *Album für die Jugend* to provide children with worthwhile instruction that looked forward to the flowering of musical and spiritual maturation. In a collection of aphorisms entitled *Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln* (Musical Rules for House and Life), which was originally intended as a

⁷ For explorations of Schumann’s pedagogical perspectives see Lora Deahl, “Robert Schumann’s ‘Album for the Young’ and the Coming of Age of Nineteenth-Century Piano Pedagogy,” *College Music Symposium* 41 (2001) and Lia Laor, *Paradigm War: Lessons Learned from 19th Century Piano Pedagogy* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016).

⁸ Appel, “‘Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life’,” 193ff.

Figure 4.1. Musical simplicity and intimacy in Schumann's "Trällerliedchen," complete.

Nicht schnell

The image displays the complete musical score for Schumann's "Trällerliedchen" in C major, 2/4 time, marked "Nicht schnell" and "p". The score is presented in five systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The melody in the right hand is simple and intimate, consisting of a series of eighth and quarter notes, often grouped with slurs. The left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes, also slurred. The piece concludes with a final cadence in the right hand.

5

10

15

20

textual companion to opus 68, Schumann warns his young readers to eschew the seductive, yet ultimately frivolous and superficial pleasures of contemporary musical fashion.⁹

As you grow, do not play fashionable trifles. Time is precious. We should need to live a hundred lives, only to become acquainted with all the good works that exist.

Children cannot be brought up into healthy adulthood upon a diet of sweetmeats, pastry, and confectionery. As with bodily food, so must spiritual fare be simple and nourishing. Great composers have sufficiently provided for the former; keep to their works.¹⁰

Schumann here extends his *Hausvater* role to all young musicians, enjoining all to stay on the pathway that leads to musical and spiritual health. By consuming “good works” by “great composers”—*Album für die Jugend* included—young musicians at every stage are guided by a fatherly hand. Schumann demonstrates this teleological concept by designing the overall structure of his collection progressively, designating the first eighteen pieces *für Kleinere* (for little ones) and the next twenty-five *für Erwachsenere* (for more grown-up ones).

“Trällerliedchen”—contained within the section “for little ones”—demonstrates age-appropriate, pedagogical content and correlates that to the simplicity and intimacy of a lullaby scene. The softly sleeping child is alternately soothed by a soprano mother and a bass father melody, musicalizing the safety and nurturance of the bourgeois private sphere.

Following the publication of *Album für die Jugend*, composers and publishers developed and perpetuated musical, textual, and visual components of children’s music that extended Schumann’s ideology of familial intimacy and imaginative pedagogy. Emily Eicker’s research on children’s music during this time reveals that the vast majority of the titles of individual pieces centered around themes of domesticity and focused on family members in standardized roles, child-centered celebrations such as Christmas and birthdays,

⁹ Alexander Stefaniak, *Schumann’s Virtuosity: Criticism, Composition, and Performance in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 22ff.

¹⁰ Schumann, *Album für die Jugend* op. 68 (München: G. Henle Verlag, 2007), 62.

Table 4.1. Programmatic themes of familial intimacy in children’s music.

Central Theme	Sub-Themes	Modifiers
I. Family	Mother	Love, singing, praying, comforting, being sick
	Father	Scolding
	Siblings	Love, being sick
	Grandparents	Storytelling, dancing
II. Celebrations	Christmas	Songs, joy, tree, bells, “Weihnachtsmann” (Santa Claus)
	Birthday	March, song
III. Play	Toys	Tin soldiers, dolls, hobby-horses, hoop rolling, ball
	Activities	Tag, blind man’s bluff, hide-and-go-seek, ring-around-the-rosie
	Dance	Ball, specific dances (waltz, mazurka, polka, etc.)

and imaginative play (see Table 4.1).¹¹ Composers and publishers used a variety of textual, visual, and musical conventions to bring these themes to the fore, and in so doing aided in the romanticization of domestic spaces.

The topic of sleep became a major convention within all three of these themes, particularly Family and Play.¹² *Aus der Kinderwelt* (From the child’s world) op. 74 (ca. 1886) by German composer Cornelius Gurlitt (1820–1901) provides three characteristic

¹¹ Isabel Eicker, *Kinderstücke: An Kinder adressierte und über das Thema der Kindheit komponierte Alben in der Klavierliteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1995), 53-54.

¹² An example of depictions of sleep within the theme of Celebrations is the 1859 composition *Børnenes Jul*, op. 36 (Children’s Christmas) by Niels Gade (1817–1890), which includes a chorale-like setting of the hymn “Barn Jesus i en Krybbe lå” (Child Jesus was lying in a crib) by Hans Christian Andersen (1805–1875) within the atmospheric first movement “Jule-Klokkerne” (Christmas bells), as well as the final movement “Godnat!” (Goodnight!), which, although boisterous with excitement, eventually ends in the quiet of sleep.

Figure 4.2a. Gurlitt's "Schlummerliedchen," *Aus der Kinderwelt*, mm. 1-14.

Sanft wiegend.

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system contains measures 1-4, the second system contains measures 5-8, and the third system contains measures 9-12. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 6/8 time signature. The tempo/mood is indicated as 'Sanft wiegend.' and the dynamic is 'p'. The melody in the right hand is characterized by a slow, rocking motion with frequent ties and a simple accompaniment in the left hand consisting of chords and single notes.

scenes of childhood sleep: the sleeping child (Family), the sick child (Family), and the sleeping doll (Play). These pieces exemplify the ways in which the topic of sleep provided emotionally poignant representations of bourgeois ideology by expressing the private peace of the child's sleep through expected quiet dynamics, tuneful melodies, repetitive forms, slow tempi, and a feeling of gentle rocking through meter, arpeggiation, or texture.

In the fifth piece of Gurlitt's collection, "Schlummerliedchen" (Little lullaby), marked *Sanft wiegend* (Gently rocking), a child falls asleep to the slow and slightly lilting rhythm of a 6/8 meter, while the dynamics rarely rise above *piano* and the sweetness of the G major

Figure 4.2b. Gurlitt's "Das kranke Brüderchen," *Aus der Kinderwelt*, mm. 1-14.

The image shows a musical score for the piece "Das kranke Brüderchen" by Gurlitt, from the collection "Aus der Kinderwelt". The score is in 3/8 time and G major. It is marked "Sanft klagend." (Softly lamenting). The score is divided into three systems of four measures each. The first system (measures 1-4) starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic and ends with a pianissimo (*pp*) dynamic. The second system (measures 5-8) starts with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic and ends with a *più f* (more forte) dynamic. The third system (measures 9-12) starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic and includes a *rit.* (ritardando) marking. The score features a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand, with various articulations and dynamics throughout.

tonality is made all the more affecting by fleeting touches of fully-diminished seventh chords (mm. 2, 6, 14, and 22) (fig. 4.2a). Beneath the title, Gurlitt includes two lines of poetry: "Go to sleep, my sweet child, for the wind is singing outside!" This fragment is excerpted from Robert Reinick's (1805–1852) poem "Im Winter" (In winter), a Christmas-themed lullaby poem which in its entirety supports the bourgeois sanctification of the home by emphasizing

Figure 4.2c. Gurlitt's "Puppenwiegenlied," *Aus der Kinderwelt*, mm. 1-8.



The thirteenth piece of the collection, "Das kranke Brüderchen" (The sick little brother), subtly varies the musical materials of "Schlummerliedchen" to depict a sick child in bed. Now in E minor and marked *Sanft klagend* (gently sorrowful), Gurlitt uses the same lilting 6/8 meter and regular phrase structure, but augments the plaintive character of the piece through repeated syncopation, dynamic contrasts, chromatic harmonies, and *ritardandos* (fig. 4.2b). The poetic epigraph at the top of the page appears to be of Gurlitt's own composition, in which he laments in the voice of the child, "Little brother is sick, who then can be happy?"¹³ Sickness here disrupts the sanctity of the family home, but nevertheless draws out familial sympathy.

Sleep also enters into the child's world of play through "Puppenwiegenlied" (Doll's lullaby), the third piece of the collection. Gurlitt appends this movement with two lines from

¹³ Ibid., 16. "Krank ist das Brüderlein,/Wer kann da fröhlich sein?"

Figure 4.3a. Melodic and harmonic fragmentation in Bonis' "Bébé s'endort," mm. 1-18.

The musical score for "Bébé s'endort" by Bonis is presented in three systems. The first system (measures 1-6) is marked "Quasi andante" and "p" (piano). The second system (measures 7-12) is marked "mf" (mezzo-forte). The third system (measures 13-18) is marked "dim." (diminuendo) and "mp" (mezzo-piano). The score shows a complex melodic and harmonic structure with various ornaments and slurs.

a children's folk song called "Wiegenlied" (Lullaby) from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1808):

"Susie, sweet Susie, what rustles in the straw?"¹⁴ Here we see the characteristic lullaby

conventions in their simplest forms. In a 6/8 meter marked *Wiegend* (rocking) the left hand

outlines tonic, dominant, and subdominant chords in steady arpeggios while the right hand

plays an undemanding melody within a narrow range that is repeated up an octave with slight

ornamentation in the second half of the piece (fig. 4.2c). Gurlitt deliberately dilutes the

characteristics of the lullaby to its most basic elements, creating a musical image of the child

¹⁴ Ibid., 5. "Suse, liebe Suse, / Was russelt im Stroh?" The original text reads "Eio popeio was rasselt im Stroh". See Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, Bd. 3 (Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1808) 336.

in the act of imitating an adult by imaginatively practicing the rituals of familial intimacy with an inanimate toy.

These standardized conventions and the domestic ideology they supported endured throughout the nineteenth century. Even as musical innovations pushed the limits of tonality at the beginning of the twentieth century, children's music continued to utilize elements that expressed a past "golden age" of familial intimacy. As late as 1912, Mélanie Bonis (1858–1937) depicted "Bébé s'endort" (Baby falls asleep) in *Scènes enfantines* op. 92 (1912) with quiet dynamics and rocking arpeggios (fig. 4.3a). Although her harmonic language and melodic/formal fragmentation show the influence of late-Romantic techniques, she underscores the piece's connection to nineteenth-century, bourgeois ideology by including a small picture at the end of the composition depicting an anachronistically dressed woman sitting attentively in an armchair beside a wooden cradle in which a baby lies nestled in a bed of blankets (fig. 4.3b).

Figure 4.3b. Nostalgic illustration of traditional familial intimacy in Bonis' "Bébé s'endort," p. 19.



* * *

In Schumann's words, the Romantic child of *Kinderszenen* was not really a child, but an adult-centric image looking back with nostalgia and contemplation upon the mirror (*Rückspiegelungen*) of a reminisced past, but *Album für die Jugend* and subsequent examples of music for children offered a forward-looking mirror (*Vorspiegelungen*) to the actual child that leads them towards a fuller understanding of themselves and their place within the world. Such a claim for music's capacity to speak of and to the child, nonetheless, is problematic. Children's literature scholar Jacqueline Rose insists that the idea that the children's material culture plays such an innocent role is actually an impossibility. This is due to the inherent flaw that lies at the heart of all children's products: the hidden authority of the adult. Her topic concerns children's fiction literature, but its message has equal importance for my consideration of children's music.

Children's fiction is impossible, not in the sense that it cannot be written (that would be nonsense), but in that it hangs on an impossibility, one which it rarely ventures to speak. This is the impossible relation between adult and child. Children's fiction is clearly about that relation, but it has the remarkable characteristic of being about something which it hardly ever talks of. Children's fiction sets up a world in which the adult comes first (author, maker, giver) and the child comes after (reader, product, receiver), but where neither of them enter the space in between... If children's fiction builds an image of the child inside the book, it does so in order to secure the child who is outside the book, the one who does not come so easily within its grasp... Children's fiction sets up the child as an outsider to its own process, and then aims, unashamedly, to take the child *in*.¹⁵ (Author's emphasis.)

Rose is concerned with exposing the covert and unspoken presence of the creative adult, the hidden authority figure that depicts images of childhood only to ensnare the actual child. By reading her critique into Schumann's description of the differences between music about childhood and music for children, we see that the very attractiveness of children's music—its visual and textual appeal, its pedagogical appropriateness, and its conventionally evocative musical tropes—obscure the adult author's desire to draw the child in.

We can understand this hidden agenda of children's music as operating upon two related planes. First, children's music meant for consumption by actual children still functions as a means for adults to access creative inspiration, nostalgic longing, and spiritual transcendence. Schumann clearly identifies the author and audience of *Kinderszenen* as "by an adult, for adults." But he describes *Album für die Jugend* as intended for "youthful players," omitting the author's adult identity. It is as though Schumann implies that the "forward-looking perspectives" contained within the collection appeared of their own accord, as if by magic, as a present left by a mythical Father Christmas.¹⁶ Yet, in Rose's words "the

¹⁵ Jacqueline Rose, *The Case of Peter Pan or The Impossibility of Children's Fiction* (London: Macmillan Press, 1984), 1-2. For critiques of Rose's arguments, see Perry Nodelman, "The Case of Children's Fiction: Or The Impossibility of Jacqueline Rose," in *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1985): 98-100; and David Rudd, *Reading the Child in Children's Literature: An Heretical Approach* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

¹⁶ Schumann envisioned *Album für die Jugend* as a Christmas product.

adult comes first,” and Schumann admits that he, an adult, composed *Album für die Jugend*, first as a private gift for his daughter, and then as an expanded work for the public. In its initial stages the project motivated and inspired him so much so that he declared, “It was as if I were once again starting to compose from the beginning.” Schumann’s compositional rejuvenation, the return of youthful, creative potency, powerfully recalls the end result of the objectification of the Romantic child as a means for the adult to gain access to nature, transcendence, and self: the passive “Kind im Einschlummern” giving voice to “Der Dichter spricht.” As much as Schumann attempted to differentiate *Kinderszenen* and *Album für die Jugend*, they are really much the same in the way that they use the image of the Romantic child to express the artistic creativity of the adult.

Second, music written *by* adults *for* children necessarily expresses the former’s ideological framing of the latter. Through the establishment of thematic and musical conventions, the tradition of children’s music repeatedly reinstated a particular conception of childhood that did not simply describe what children were, but proscribed what children ought to be by nineteenth-century, bourgeois standards. We should therefore understand the “forward-looking perspectives” of *Album für die Jugend*, *Aus der Kinderwelt*, *Scènes enfantines*, and any other works that emerged during the nineteenth century for consumption by children as tools for the socialization of children. Children’s literature scholar Jack Zipes considers literary fairy tales in these terms when he states,

Fairy tales and children’s literature were written with the purpose of socializing children to meet definite normative expectations at home and in the public sphere. The behavioral standards were expressly codified in books on manners and civility. This means that the individual symbolic act of writing the literary fairy tale expressed a certain level of social consciousness and conscience that was related to the standard mode of socialization at that time.¹⁷

¹⁷ Jack Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 9.

Children's music expresses the same function of pedagogization as literary fairy tales in that they convey standardized and romanticized images of childhood back to children. By internalizing these images, the child accepts the hierarchical structures and modes of behavior established by adult hegemony.

The following two case studies explore these complex dynamics of hidden adult agency and socialization in compositions intended for consumption by children. In each example, the musical depictions of sleep and dreaming allow us to consider the passivity of both the child within the sheet music and the child outside sitting on the piano bench.

Ilyinsky's *La journée d'une petite fille*: Socialization and Infantilization

The Russian composer Alexander Alexandrovich Ilyinsky (1859–1920) went to great lengths to provide children with an attractive mirror, a Schumannesque *Vorspiegel*, in his opus 19, published in 1904. The full title reads: *La journée d'une petite fille. 24 morceaux pour piano (difficulté moyenne) à l'usage de la jeunesse* ("The day of a little girl. 24 pieces for piano (medium difficulty) for the usage of young people"). The descriptive titles of individual pieces in this collection, printed in both Russian and French, create a series of tableaux that depict the daily activities, experiences, interactions, and emotions of a fictive and idealized girl from the moment she wakes to when she falls to sleep (see Appendix A). The musicalization of the child's temporality represents a major convention in children's

music,¹⁸ and runs the gamut from general references to “children’s time,”¹⁹ to daily routines framed by “morning” and “evening” practices,²⁰ to overviews of the year marked by seasons and holidays.²¹ In each of these approaches composers frame an image of a child’s inner and outer life in ways that, at a surface level, suggest temporal development, but ultimately freeze children as constructed figures within a conventionalized and socially acceptable dynamic of familial intimacy. Ilyinsky’s little girl musically experiences a day that expresses a particular socioeconomic and emotional perspective. She engages in upper-middle-class activities such as dancing (Nos. 2, 4, and 5), playing with toys (Nos. 3, 6, and 7), and games of tag (No. 14). Additionally her engagement with nature and members of the lower classes are limited, respectively, to the wildlife of a garden stroll (Nos. 8 and 12), a pet bird (Nos. 9 and 10), and a storm (No. 15) on the one hand, and shepherds (No. 11), Russian folk songs and stories (Nos. 13 and 21), and an elderly nanny (No 20) on the other. Emotionally, her world is

¹⁸ See Eicker, 57-59.

¹⁹ For example: Christian Traugott Brunner, *Aus der Kinderzeit* [From Children’s Time] op. 351 (1858); Wilhelm Ambros, *Kindheitstage* [Days of Childhood] op. 9 (1860); Richard Siefert, *In der Jugendzeit* [In the Time of Youth] op. 31 (1869); Hermann Nürnberg, *Bilder aus der Jugendzeit* [Pictures from the Time of Youth] op. 220 (1877); Cornelius Gurlitt, *Klänge aus der Jugendzeit* [Sounds from the Time of Youth] op. 84 (1887, 1893); A. Bolt, *Aus der goldenen Jugendzeit* [From the Golden Time of Youth] op. 5 (1900); Hugo Reinhold, *Aus der Jugend und Kinderzeit* [From the Time of Youth and Childhood] op. 64 (1911).

²⁰ For example: Paul Schumacher, *Aus der Jugendzeit* [From the Time of Youth] op. 19 (1884) begins with “Morgengebet” (Morning Prayer) and ends with “Abendgebet” (Evening Prayer); Albert Löschhorn *Album für die Jugend* [Album for the Young] op. 80 (1862) begins with “Sonntagmorgen” (Sunday Morning) and ends with “Gute Nacht” (Good Night); and Wilhelm Kienzl *Kinder-Liebe und -Leben* [Children’s Loves and Lives] op. 30 (1881, 1884) begins with “Der kleine Mozart sagt ‘Guten Morgen’” (Little Mozart says “Good Morning”) and ends with “Zum Einschlummern” (For Falling Asleep).

²¹ For example: Max Meyer-Olbersleben *Kindes Lust und Freud* op. 43 (1896) contains twelve pieces, each titled with a month of the year and an additional descriptor such as “Januar: Fröhliche Schlittenfahrt” (January: Happy Sleigh Ride), “April: Brüderchens Geburtstag” (April: Little Brother’s Birthday), and “Dezember: Weihnachtslied” (December: Christmas Song). Schumann’s *Album für die Jugend* traverses the seasons rather than adhering to the calendar year, beginning with references to winter (“Knecht Ruprecht” [Father Christmas]) moving to spring (“Mai, lieber Mai, — Bald bist du wieder da!” [May, lovely May, how soon do you return!]), autumn (“Erntliedchen” [Little harvest song]), and returning to winter (“Winterzeit” [Winter time] and “Silvesterlied” [New Year’s Eve Song]).

textually and musically characterized by joyfulness and wonder (Nos. 1, 4-8, 11-14), though also by fear (No. 15), grief (Nos. 10, 17, and 18), and reverence (No. 22).

While the girl possesses many of the qualities of the Romantic child, she embodies these aspects within a domestic context, representing a domestication of the wilder and more bizarre tendencies of the Romantic child—carnavalesque strangeness, for instance—through the influence of familial intimacy, protection, and nurturance. This careful positioning of the child becomes clear at the end of the composition when the girl transitions to sleep. Similarly to Akimenko, Ilyinsky uses multiple pieces, six in total (Nos. 19-24, comprising all of Book 4), to linger upon various details of the bedtime ritual. At the onset, “Dreams” (No. 19) initiates the girl’s link to the ideology of the Romantic child, by casting her as a creature of creative imagination and fantastic reveries even while awake, exercising her Romantic nearness to transcendence to obscure the borders between the consciousness and the unconscious. This concept is reflected through the tonal ambiguity of the piece. The opening theme (fig. 4.4) implies G minor (mm. 1-4, 9-12, 54-57), but provides little harmonic direction, leading as easily to D minor (iv-V-i) as it does to F major (ii-V-I). Ilyinsky establishes the tonal centers of this piece by the use of pedal points, shifting quickly to a key area and then allowing the presence of a drone to drive home the harmony: F major (mm. 17-27), A minor (mm. 28-38), F major (mm. 41-52), and D minor (mm. 70-79). This use of harmony lends the piece’s eventual close in D minor a certain ambiguity that leaves the sense of key decidedly open-ended.

Figure 4.4. Harmonic ambiguity in opening theme of Ilyinsky's "Dreaming," mm. 1-9.



The next two pieces, "The old nanny" (No. 20) and "Story" (No. 21), continue the girl's journey to bed with idealized caricatures of folk storytelling. Musically these pieces make special use of modal harmonies, fragmented melodies, and dance gestures to link the child to an idealized Russian peasant culture. This alignment is particularly important, since the Romantic reframing of the child in many ways extended the Enlightenment reframing of

the peasant as both came to represent humanity in its original, innocent, and whole state.²² As explored in a previous chapter, Johann Gottfried Herder's concept of the *Volk* drew together the child, peasant, and ancient as fundamentally similar types of "primitives." For these figures the act of dreaming—meaning a naïve form of myth-making stimulated by direct contact with nature and expressed through a pure and simple language—was characteristic of the mentality of both child and peasant.²³ Therefore, the living essence of the *Volk* was typified by interactions between members of the lower classes and children, especially the act of storytelling. The figure of the nurse, according to Marina Warner, allowed for a socially acceptable context for this interaction of their function "as a hinge between the ranks of society; as a servant raised children in the nursery to prepare them to go 'downstairs', so the imaginary figure of the crone narrator was poised between high and low culture."²⁴ Ilyinsky's "The old nanny" and "Story" embody such a meeting of cultures. In the former, the timelessness and tradition of the *Volk* emerges in the juxtaposition of a fragmented and declamatory section that slowly unfolds within an idiosyncratically modal context, and a faster section with dance rhythms, ornaments, unexpected accents, and drone melodies. The latter piece presents an otherworldly fantasy of shifting moods, alternately romantic, heroic, and rhapsodic. Within the domestic context of her nighttime ritual, Ilyinsky's little girl

²² Gerhard Sauder, "Herder's Poetic Works, His Translations, and His Views on Poetry," in *A Companion to the Works of Johann Gottfried Herder*, Hans Adler and Wulf Koepke eds. (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 322. Franz-Josef Deiters, "Das Volk als Autor?: Der Ursprung einer kulturgeschichtlichen Fiktion im Werk Johann Gottfried Herders," in *Autorschaft: Positionen und Revisionen*, ed. Heinrich Detering (Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2002), 196.

²³ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 13, ed. Bernhard Suphan (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1877), 303ff.

²⁴ Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1996), 171.

interacts with the wholeness and truth of peasant culture that symbolically connects her to nature and transcendence.

In “Prayer” (No. 22) and “Lullaby” (No. 23) the emphasis changes from an exploration of imagination and drama to one of clarity, reverence, and intimacy. Overall these pieces express calm and quiet moods, each drawing connections to vocal idioms. “Prayer” opens and closes with material that uses homophonic textures, repeated melodic formulae, and modal progressions to suggest the singing of Russian Orthodox choirs. The middle section marked *Meno mosso e cantabile* offers a contrasting mood through musical characteristics typical of a nineteenth-century salon piece, such as a lyric melody, softly repeating eighth-note accompaniment, and dramatic mid-way climax (mm. 49-55). “Lullaby” presents a tuneful and ornamented melody over an accompaniment of rocking gestures and pedal point harmonies to evoke the private, nurturing, and protective world of the child’s bedroom. As this latter piece ends in the loving whisper of a rolled *pianississimo* chord, the girl is ushered into the final movement of the composition, “Sleep” (No. 24), a piece that harkens back to and expands upon the musical world of “Dreaming.”²⁵ The steady triplets that accompanied the girl’s waking dreams are now transformed into sixteenth-note sextuplets in her sleep, providing a continuous sense of motion that shimmers in the upper registers and allows for dynamic swells to punctuate almost every measure. The meandering melody winds its way through this scintillating swath as the piece shifts through a variety of unprepared harmonic regions (fig. 4.5). The entire composition ends with a *piano* plagal

²⁵ The Russian title “Сонъ” has connotations both with sleep and with dreams, the imaginary scenes envisioned while asleep.

Figure 4.5. Tremolo textures and unprepared harmonic shifts in Ilyinsky's "Sleep," mm. 11-26.

Moderato.

The image displays a musical score for Ilyinsky's "Sleep," measures 11 through 26. The score is written for piano and consists of four systems, each with two staves (treble and bass clef). The tempo is marked "Moderato." The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor), and the time signature is common time (C). The score features extensive tremolo textures, indicated by the number "6" under the notes, and unprepared harmonic shifts. The first system (measures 11-12) begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second system (measures 13-14) continues the tremolo textures. The third system (measures 15-16) shows a shift in the bass line. The fourth system (measures 17-18) features a piano (*p*) dynamic and further tremolo textures. The score is characterized by dense, rapid sixteenth-note patterns in the right hand and sustained, often moving, lines in the left hand.

Figure 4.5 continued.

19

Musical notation for measures 19 and 20. Measure 19 features a treble clef with a melodic line of eighth notes, each marked with a '6' and a slur. The bass clef has a simple accompaniment of quarter notes. Measure 20 continues the treble clef melody with a slur over the first four notes, while the bass clef accompaniment remains.

21

Musical notation for measures 21 and 22. Measure 21 has a treble clef with a melodic line of eighth notes, each marked with a '6' and a slur. The bass clef has a simple accompaniment of quarter notes. Measure 22 features a treble clef with a melodic line of quarter notes, each marked with a '7' and a slur. The bass clef has a simple accompaniment of quarter notes.

23

Musical notation for measures 23 and 24. Measure 23 has a treble clef with a melodic line of eighth notes, each marked with a '6' and a slur. The bass clef has a simple accompaniment of quarter notes. Measure 24 features a treble clef with a melodic line of quarter notes, each marked with a '7' and a slur. The bass clef has a simple accompaniment of quarter notes.

25

Musical notation for measures 25 and 26. Measure 25 has a treble clef with a melodic line of quarter notes, each marked with a '7' and a slur. The bass clef has a simple accompaniment of quarter notes. Measure 26 features a treble clef with a melodic line of eighth notes, each marked with a '6' and a slur. The bass clef has a simple accompaniment of quarter notes.

cadence in F major, the same key in which the girl had begun her day with “The joyful awakening” over one hundred pages earlier.

* * *

The child has been effectively taken *in*, both the “petite fille” within the music who has lain down at the end of her carefully proscribed day, and the “jeunesse” outside the music who have been drawn in by Ilyinsky’s direct appeal to their experiences and emotions. Music has secured both of these children, fixed them into a routine, and made them into static images that ultimately serve the desires of adult gatekeepers who see the domestic sphere as a means to socialize and romanticize children. This interpretive lens reveals two aspects that would otherwise be overlooked in Ilyinsky’s composition. First, his assertion that the pieces are of “medium difficulty” appears to have been misguided in some instances, especially when considering the wide chordal leaps of “The old nanny” or the constant tremolos of “Sleep,” not to mention difficulties presented in earlier pieces. The presence of these technical challenges in some ways suggests that these pieces belong more to the adult’s world than the child’s or merely that there was no exact consensus over what constitutes a medium amount of difficulty. Either way, if we read this disconnect between the adult creator and the child consumer as intentional, the significant difficulties of the music function as a means to exercise control over the child for an extended amount of time. Unlike a work filled with so-called “light” pieces that can be mastered relatively quickly, *La journée d’une petite fille* offers the child, even one with intermediate skill, the weighty prospect of working through

the presented musical challenges for an extended amount of time. During this process, the child continually integrates the proscriptive image of themselves as a Romantic child.²⁶

Second, Ilyinsky dedicated this composition to Vera Savvishna Mamontova (1875–1907), a twenty-nine year old woman who not only was hardly a “little girl” in 1904, but who herself had had past experiences with art’s ability to submit the child to the dictates of the adult. In 1887, at the age of twelve, she sat as the model for one of the most famous paintings of Valentin Alexandrovich Serov (1865–1911), *Girl with Peaches* (fig. 4.6). She is depicted in a simple interior, the windows allowing the outside sun to softly suffuse the room with dappled light, which speckles her pink blouse and left cheek with white, and casts the shadows of three peaches across the white tablecloth. She sits, resting her arms on the table before her, holding a peach lightly between her hands and holding the viewer with the fixed yet gentle gaze of a child. In working on *Girl with Peaches*, Serov—like Tolstoy—struggled to recapture an ideal balance between the immediacy of the creative moment with the laboriousness of creative craft, a quality he saw as exemplified by masterworks of Russia’s past. Later reminiscing to his biographer, Serov explained,

All I wanted was freshness, that special freshness that you can always feel in nature and don't see in paintings. I painted it for over a month and exhausted her to death, poor thing, because I really wanted to preserve the freshness of the finished painting, as you can see in old works by great masters.²⁷

²⁶ For a consideration of the musical and social constraints indicative of nineteenth-century piano practicing, see James Parakilas, et al., *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 110ff.

²⁷ К. Kostyuk, et. al., *Великие Художники ТОМ II: Валентин Александрович Серов* (Moscow: Direct-Media, 2009), 17. “Всё, чего я добивался, - это свежести, той особенной свежести которую всегда чувствуешь в натуре и не видишь в картинах. Писал я больше месяца и измучил её, бедную, до смерти уж очень хотелось сохранить свежесть живописи при полной законченности, - вот как у старых мастеров.”

Figure 4.6. *Girl with Peaches* (1887) by Valentin Serov.



Serov completed his painting in Abramstevo, an artist's colony outside of Moscow, that had been cultivated and supported by Vera's father, industrialist and patron of the arts, Savva Ivanovich Mamontov (1841–1918). Here writers, painters, sculptors, actors, and composers as well as their families lived and worked together towards the goal of rejuvenating an authentic Russian art. A poem entitled *Youth* by Aleksey Stepanovich Khomyakov (1804–1860), a poet and theologian who frequented Abramstevo, demonstrates the extent to which

the adult connected with transcendent nature and creative selfhood through the grasping of the Romantic child.

Heaven, make my hands
Like a mighty titan's!
I'll envelop nature
In my fervid grasp,
I shall hold nature
To my trembling heart,
And she will respond
To my heart's desire
With the love of youth.
Everything in her
Shines and breathes with passion;
In her, nothing sleeps
In hibernal slumber.

Fearsome volcanoes
Rumble on the earth;
Boisterous rivers
Flow into the ocean;
In the sea azure
Billows bounce swiftly,
Playing stormy games.
Both the sea and land
Grant ebullient dreams,
Joyfulness and hope,
Fame and youthful beauty
To a mortal man.
Stars in the blue heavens
Hurry after stars;
In the streams of lustre
Flow across the ether
Secret words of passion,
Secret declarations.
Centuries go by,
Centuries are born—
An eternal struggle,
An impassioned life.

Heaven, give a titan's
Mighty hands to me:
I must hold nature,
Like an ardent lover,
In my joyful grasp.²⁸

For the sake of Serov's artistic desires, twelve-year-old Vera remained in his "joyful grasp" for weeks on end. Such an adult-child relationship was expected of her. "[Vera] agreed to sit

²⁸ Dmitry Shatalov, trans., *Three Poems by Aleksey Khomyakov*, <http://intranslation.brooklynrail.org/russian/three-poems-by-aleksey-khomyakov>. (accessed 03/25/18).

for [Serov] both because he was a friend and because she was accustomed to obeying adults... That was the way things were among the Abramtsevo children.”²⁹

Now as the age of twenty-nine, this woman became the dedicatee of a composition depicting the day of a little girl. Ilyinsky’s motivations remain unclear. Possibly he meant to emphasize the fact that Vera, who had just the previous year married Alexander Dmitrievich Samarin (1868–1932), the head of the Moscow Nobility League, possessed the social standing of a female able to enjoy the luxuries of domestic protection and leisure, in other words, a woman’s return to a state of girlhood.³⁰ By linking her to the idyllic depiction of a young girl, the music symbolically infantilizes Vera as a Romantic object, once again standing still as adult artists grasp for nature’s freshness.³¹ On the other hand, Ilyinsky may be in fact dedicating the composition to the painted “girl with peaches,” using the composition as a musical ekphrasis to dwell upon the static image of a childhood halted and preserved by visual art.

Lack’s *Scènes enfantines*: Sleeping Doll, Sleeping Child, Sleeping Adult

Scènes enfantines op. 61 (ca. 1890) by the French pedagogue Théodore Lack (1846–1921) utilizes a rich combination of visual, pictorial, and musical topics to depict childhood in twelve scenes that range from a story-telling grandfather and living room dances to puppet shows and walks in the woods (see Appendix B). The composition was published with an

²⁹ Sergei Chernyshev, “‘The Girl with Peaches’: Who is She?,” in *The Tretyakov Gallery Magazine*, <http://www.tretyakovgallerymagazine.com/articles/3-2015-48/girl-peaches-who-she> (accessed 1/20/18).

³⁰ See Claudia Nelson, *Precocious Children and Childish Adults: Age Inversion in Victorian Literature* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 71ff.

³¹ For musicological studies that explore the theme of children’s music infantilizing adult women, see Starobinski and Kok, *Family and Gender*.

elaborate cover page that features twelve framed vignettes capturing the programmatic content of several of the pieces in pictorial form (fig. 4.7). Throughout the collection, Lack employs in-score texts to provide additional specification of his programmatic intentions to the anticipated child consumer. My analysis of the theme of sleep in several pieces exposes the hidden adult author and the ways in which children’s music has the potential to manipulate the child into submission.

On the cover page the righthand panel one up from the bottom depicts a light-haired girl resting in a high-backed armchair. Dark shadows surround her image and her left arm rests over the form of a doll lying in her lap (fig. 4.8). This picture corresponds to the final piece in the collection, “Berceuse de la poupée” (The doll’s lullaby), which adheres to the standard conventions of the lullaby with a 6/8 meter, tuneful melody, rocking gestures, quiet dynamics. Furthermore the piece places an emphasis on simplicity—marked *Andantino semplice* at the beginning—and gentle sweetness—the term *dolce* appears three times throughout the piece—both of which are embodied in the main theme that opens with a repeated descending major third that coos and sighs in time with the arpeggiated accompaniment. Only two in-score texts appear in this piece, the first of which happens at the beginning: “Yvonne endort sa poupée” (Yvonne puts her doll to sleep). In part, this specification explains what we already assumed from the piece’s title, but further specifies that the child acts as the active agent who both sings and rocks the doll to sleep. Evidence suggests that Lack’s own daughter was named Yvonne and her musical depictions argues for the familial intimacy of the composition.³²

³² Yvonne Lack appears as the illustrator in two 1906 compositions, *Sonate pastorale* op. 253 and *Le Roman d’une poupée* op. 258.

Figure 4.7. Cover page of Lack's *Scènes enfantines*.

THÉODORE LACK

Scènes Enfantines

1. Le baptême de la poupée.
2. Histoire de grand père.
3. Promenade dans les bois. Classe.
4. Le régiment qui passe. Marche.
5. Sérénade d' Arlequin à Colombine.
6. Duo d' Arlequin et Colombine.
7. Mazurka.
8. Petite valse.
9. La leçon de piano.
10. Croquemitaine. La punition.
11. Premier chagrin.
12. Berceuse de la poupée.

Prix de chaque pièce à 20 cop.— Compl. 1 r. 25 cop

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Figure 4.8. Cover page detail of Lack's *Scènes enfantines* depicting "Berceuse de la poupée."



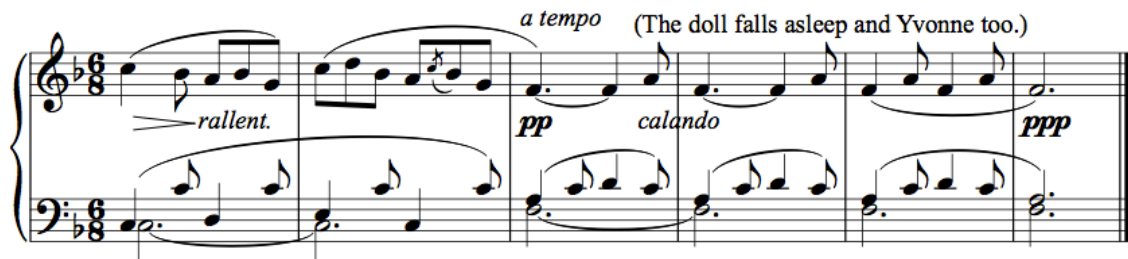
Yvonne has already appeared as a musical character in several earlier pieces through piece, noted through titles and in-score texts, which also correspond with the given image of the light-haired girl that appears in at least five of the cover page vignettes. While this degree of specificity imbues this work with an autobiographic quality on par with Schumann's "Schlafliedchen für Ludwig," the musical character of Yvonne nevertheless can stand in for any young girl and functions as a stock character with standard gestures and behaviors.³³ A child putting a doll to sleep had wide social currency as a "forward-looking perspective" that expressed the child's playful and imaginative rehearsal of familial intimacy directed towards

³³ Lack shows an interest in the theatricality of stock characters in the fifth and sixth pieces in which he displays the standard gestures and behaviors of *commedia dell'arte* figures Harlequin, Columbine, and Pierrot.

an inanimate object. In playing “Berceuse de la poupée” a child pianist is given the opportunity to enter into this scene and its meanings with Yvonne as their musical avatar, gently lulling a toy baby to sleep with the gentle sounds and undulating motions of the piano.

At the end of the piece, Lack writes another in-score text that reads “La poupée s’endort et Yvonne aussi” (The doll falls asleep and Yvonne too) (fig. 4.9). At this point the melodic major third motif continues for several more measures before disappearing (*calando*) with a *pianississimo* dynamic. Returning to the cover page illustration with this ending in mind, we can now interpret the positioning of Yvonne’s body as the posture of a sleeping child, eyes closed, head tilted slightly to the left, and having succumbed to the soothing effects of her own lullaby. With this in-score text, Lack has shifted the piece radically, yet almost imperceptibly, from a depiction of a child at play to one of a child at sleep. Yvonne had been exercising her creative power over an inanimate plaything, acting out the ritual of the domestic lullaby that characterizes the ideal mother-child relationship. When she herself falls asleep, she becomes powerless, an inanimate plaything of an adult, who has placed her in the passive and static position of a doll. Retrospectively we can thus see that the sweet lullaby music never truly expressed the voice of the child, but actually of the adult. Lack reveals the unspoken presence of the adult’s creative authority, a presence initially hidden by the attractiveness of a programmatic scene depicting a child and her doll. Having played the piece to the end, an actual child finds themselves now the object of creative, adult powers that have lured them into a position of submission.

Figure 4.9. Final in-score text of Lack’s “Berceuse de la poupée,” mm. 55-60.



* * *

This submission becomes even more explicit in two other pieces in the work, No. 9 “La leçon de piano d’Yvonne” (Yvonne’s piano lesson) and No. 10 “Croquemitaine. La punition.” (Croquemitaine. Punishment). Lack makes extensive use of in-score texts to combine these two pieces into a pair that dramatically depicts the dire consequences that result when adult-child power dynamics are subverted. The first piece, marked *Allegro serio*, sets the scene for a stereotypical piano lesson for a young girl, aided by the illustration on the front page (right column, middle panel), which shows young Yvonne seated erect at the piano, her fingers curved over the keys, and her legs dangling in the air due to the books that have been placed on her chair to increase her height. To her left sits the piano teacher, a balding, adult man wearing a coat with large buttons and a pair of glasses perched upon his nose (fig. 4.10).

Figure 4.10. Cover page detail of Lack's *Scènes enfantines* depicting "La leçon de piano d'Yvonne."



After a five-finger scalar exercise in C major marked “L’Étude des classiques” (The study of the classics), Yvonne proceeds through a pedagogical medley comprised of excerpts from standard teaching repertoire, including sonatina themes by Johann Baptist Cramer (1771–1858), Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760–1812), and Muzio Clementi (1752–1832), the *Allegro di molto e con brio* theme from Sonata Pathétique—transposed to the key of E minor—by Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), and the major theme from the last movement of the “Turkish” Sonata—transposed to the key of B major—by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

(1756–1791). By centering around scales and canonical pieces, Yvonne’s lesson stands as a prime example of music’s ability to impose order, not just upon sounds, but upon the bodies and minds of the practicing child. The piano lesson is an example of what Katherine Bergeron describes as “a locus of discipline” in which students are attuned to a system of ordered values and learn to reproduce them according to the discipline.

This, one could say, is the social impact of the canon. Indeed, once a principle of order is made into a standard, it becomes all the more accessible; translated into a “practice,” its values can be internalized... The “fact” of the canon thus implies a type of social control—a control that inevitably extends to larger social bodies as individual players learn not only to monitor themselves but to keep an eye (and an ear) on others. To play in tune, to uphold the canon, is ultimately to interiorize those values that would maintain, so to speak, social “harmony.” Practice makes the scale—and evidently all of its players—perfect.³⁴

Evidently Yvonne is imbibing these musical facts and social values with all due seriousness under the watchful presence of the professor. Yet having come to the end of the Mozart excerpt, Lack brusquely pivots back to an implied C major tonality with a short, cadenza-like flourish on a *fortissimo* G dominant-seventh chord (m. 53). Initially this gesture seems to recapitulate the five-finger pattern that opened the piece, but within the space of six measures, the music unravels as the melody descends into the bass clef, the dynamics fade to *pianissimo*, and the tempo slows to a crawl, hovering for a moment at *Adagio* before halting completely on a fermata. (fig. 4.11) Lack marks this unexpected transition with the words “Le professeur s’endort” (The professor falls asleep). In the above mentioned cover page illustration of “La berceuse de la poupée” the pictorial depiction of Yvonne with a slightly tilted head and closed eyes makes sense when understood as an indication of her own state of sleep. Likewise it appears as though the posture of the professor in the vignette of “La leçon

³⁴ Katherine Bergeron, “Prologue: Disciplining Music,” in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*, Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 2-3.

de piano d'Yvonne" shows him also in a posture of drowsiness. Sleep has dissolved the power dynamics between child/pupil and adult/teacher, and in so doing Yvonne is faced with a decision of *how she will behave*. Has she properly interiorized the social conventions imposed upon her by adult canons or musical behavior, or will she "give in" to the urges of unfettered and unruly youth? Following the fermata (m. 58), Lack indicates that "Yvonne s'en aperçoit" (Yvonne notices [that the professor is asleep]), at which point she chooses to take advantage of her lack of musical and social supervision to abandon the proscribed, canonical repertoire in favor of something different. Quietly and at an *Allegro* tempo, she plays the refrain of "J'ai du bon tabac" (I have good tobacco) (mm. 58-62), an ostensible children's song possibly of eighteenth-century origins in which the narrator brags about the quality of their tobacco and asserts that "you will get none of it!"³⁵ Yvonne here achieves voice and agency in the realm of child lore and culture, effectively subverting the musical and cultural hierarchies and systems maintained by adults. Apparently this ditty has not woken the professor, and Yvonne, having tasted the fruits of musical freedom, enthusiastically plays the theme again (mm. 62-66), this time delighting in the sheer physicality of the piano's percussive abilities as she plays in parallel octaves, *Presto*, and *fortissimo!*³⁶

³⁵ It is estimated that the melody emerged in French popular theater in the 1720s or 30s, with the lyrics appearing several decades earlier. Michele Corrette (1701–1797) used it in the final movement of his *Concerto comique*, op. 8, no. 7 "La servante au bon tabac" (1733) and in his hurdy-gurdy treatise *Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la Vielle* (1783) as an "air gay." See Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, *Chansons populaires du pays de France*, vol. 2 (Paris: Heugel & Cie., 1903): 99-101.

³⁶ It is worth recalling from Chapter 2 that in "Une soir, dans les bois... Souvenir de Noirmoutier" from Soubeyran's *Croquis d'enfants*, the group of children respond to the vast presence of the sea and the forest by reciting the nursery rhyme "Auprès de ma blonde." Music acts as a means to assert the child's agency by creating a sonic space of familiarity, boisterousness (the tempo and dynamics both increase at this section), and bravado (the song was originally a seventeenth-century chanson used as a military march and referencing experiences from the Franco-Dutch War). For a consideration of how this refrain functions as an expression of collective and individual identity, see Maria Spyropoulou Leclanche, *Le Refrain dans la Chanson Française de Bruant à Renaud* (Limoges: Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 1998), 226.

Figure 4.11. Inversion of adult-child power dynamic in Lack's "La leçon de piano d'Yvonne," mm. 45-66.

45 (Mozart ["Turkish March" theme])

(p)

50

f

ff

54 (The professor falls asleep) Adagio

dimin.

rallent

molto pp

58 Allegro (Yvonne realizes [that the professor is asleep])

p

62 Presto

ff

Detailed description: The image shows a piano score for 'La leçon de piano d'Yvonne' from measures 45 to 66. The score is in common time (C) and consists of five systems of two staves each. The first system (measures 45-49) is marked '(Mozart ["Turkish March" theme])' and '(p)'. The second system (measures 50-53) shows a dynamic increase to 'f' and then 'ff'. The third system (measures 54-57) is marked 'Adagio' and includes the instruction '(The professor falls asleep)'. It features dynamics 'dimin.', 'rallent', and 'molto pp'. The fourth system (measures 58-61) is marked 'Allegro' and includes the instruction '(Yvonne realizes [that the professor is asleep])'. It starts with a dynamic of 'p'. The fifth system (measures 62-66) is marked 'Presto' and features a dynamic of 'ff'. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

This musicalized story could very well have ended there, with the child ebulliently exerting their agency and independence in the face of the adult's stultifying pedantry. However, Lack provides a musical response in the form of the next piece, "Croquemitaine. La punition." The moniker Croquemitaine is the name of a French nursery bogey, a nightmarish figure used by adults to terrorize children into submitting to order. As Marina Warner states, "threats are interwoven into the games and songs and stories of the nursery itself,"³⁷ and the following rhyme could easily have been used as a chilling lullaby:

Croquemitaine, Croquemitaine,
With his big bag of wool,
And his old oak stick,
Pursuing troubled souls
Prowling breathlessly.
Save yourself, boys, girls,
Save yourself because he is lying in wait for you,
He is lying in wait for you
And throws
Coarse sand on your head.
Beware! Oh, beware! Take the marked path.³⁸

As expressed in this nineteenth-century French nursery rhyme, Croquemitaine's accoutrements—the woolen bag for trapping and transporting, the stick for beating, the sand for disorienting—and behaviors—pursuing, stalking, ambushing, and molesting children—lead to the concluding line in which the child is enjoined to avoid attracting the figure's wrath by keeping to "the marked path." In this way, Croquemitaine functions, in Theresa Bane's words, as "a being used to prevent the members of society from committing an act considered socially unacceptable." She elaborates,

³⁷ Marina Warner, *No Go the Bogeyman: Scaring, Lulling, and Making Mock* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), 33.

³⁸ C. B. ed., *French Nursery Rhymes: Poems, Rounds and Riddles for Schools and Families* (Paris: Librairie Hachette & Cie., 1877), 8-9. "Croquemitaine, croquemitaine, / Avec son gros sac de laine, / Et son vieux bâton de chêne, / À la suite des âmes en peine / Marche et marche à perdre haleine. / Sauvez-vous, garçons, fillettes, / Sauvez-vous, car il vous guette, / Il fous guette, / Et vous jette / Du gros sable sur la tête. Gare! oh, gare! faites route nette."

Figure 4.12. Musical and textual interaction between Croquemitaine and Yvonne in Lack's "Croquemitaine. La punition.," mm. 1-25.

The musical score is divided into four systems, each with specific performance instructions and character actions:

- System 1 (mm. 1-6):**
 - Tempo: **Allegro**
 - Character Action: (One hears Croquemitaine in the distance)
 - Dynamic: *p*
 - Character Action: (Yvonne listens)
 - Dynamic: *p* *Meno mosso*
- System 2 (mm. 7-12):**
 - Character Action: (Croquemitaine approaches)
 - Tempo: *rallent.* (measures 7-8), *a tempo* (measures 9-12)
- System 3 (mm. 13-19):**
 - Character Action: (Yvonne is frightened)
 - Character Action: (Croquemitaine's entrance)
 - Dynamic: *mf* *Meno mosso* (measures 13-14), *espress. rallent.* (measures 15-19)
 - Dynamic: *ff* *energico* (measures 13-19)
- System 4 (mm. 20-25):**
 - Character Action: (Yvonne weeps)
 - Dynamic: *p* (measures 20-24), *ff* (measures 20-25)

The indiscretion which can trigger an assault from this being can range from something as simple as walking into the woods alone, venturing too near the edge of a lake or pond, having premarital relations, or wandering the roads alone at night. Dangerous and evil, the bogeyman is not a mischief-maker or a troublesome spirit but rather a malignant and murderous creature which exists on the cultural boundaries between what is perceived as socially right and what is seen as unacceptable, evil, and wrong; it is the epitome of the chaos which can exist when a cultural boundary is crossed.³⁹

In playing “J’ai du bon tabac” instead of the canonical etudes expected of a young girl’s piano lesson, Yvonne has transgressed a cultural boundary and incurred the wrath of a creature who uses terror to reinstate social order and hierarchies. Lack devotes a wealth of creative energy to the dramatization of this horrific scene by using various intermedial components. Appendix C outlines the narrative of the piece as described in eleven in-score texts with corresponding musical materials. Croquemitaine is musicalized with prowling (m. 1-4) or lunging (17-20) gestures played in the piano’s lower registers while making liberal use of staccato and accented articulations (fig. 4.12).⁴⁰ The vengeful bogey’s use of parallel octaves and loud dynamics recall Yvonne’s final, vivacious rendition of “J’ai du bon tabac,” but monstrously amplified, effectively punishing her with the same music with which she exercised her childlike act of defiance. Her emotional torment during this time is pictorially depicted in two vignettes from the lefthand column of the cover page (figs. 4.13a and 4.13b). In the third picture from the bottom, Yvonne, her guilty hands still resting upon the piano, looks timorously over her right shoulder at an obscure figure, whose looming presence extends beyond the height of the frame. Below this illustration we see Yvonne now standing beside the piano, presumably weeping as she buries her face in her hands. Musically she

³⁹ Theresa Bane, *Encyclopedia of Beasts and Monsters in Myth, Legend and Folklore* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 2015), 65.

⁴⁰ These same features are used by Schumann in *Album für die Jugend* to depict a type of German bogeyman figure “Knecht Ruprecht.”

Figure 4.13a. Cover illustration of Yvonne caught in the act in Lack's *Scènes enfantines*.



Figure 4.13b. Cover illustration of Yvonne weeping in Lack's *Scènes enfantines*.



responds in the upper registers with a variety of sighing gestures that become increasingly distressed as indicated by tempo fluctuations. At last Yvonne's music gathers enough breath to address her tormentor with a *quasi recitativo* declamation promising to mend her ways and "be good" (*être sage*). Her statement begins *forte* but quickly loses confidence and ends in several *piano* sighs (mm. 49-52).

Croquemitaine is incredulous of Yvonne's contrition, responding to her plea with a growl or a cackle in the lower registers (mm. 53-56); it appears as though Yvonne is destined to disappear into the creature's terrible, woolen bag! At this precise moment, Lack intervenes with the musical presence and authority of a new figure, "le père" (the father), inserting himself and his patriarchal authority into the chaos of this unruly and vengeful composition. As the key changes to G major, a tuneful, sauntering melody in the tenor range makes an appearance (fig. 4.14). Yvonne appeals now to the father, emotionally wringing herself out in an agitated, crescendoing sequence that climaxes at a high B before sinking back down (mm. 73-80), altogether a much more belabored expression of repentance than her previous recitative to Croquemitaine had been. The father's tenor line responds *cantando*, moving through a series of vague chords as though admonishing Yvonne (mm. 81-88) before repeating his original melody. Having received the father's authoritative assurance, Croquemitaine "dies away" (*perdendosi*), disappearing into the obscurity of childhood's lurking nightmares as Yvonne is left to internalize the lessons she has learned about transgressing musical and social boundaries.

Figure 4.14. The remonstrances and assurances of the father and the departure of Croquemitaine in Lack's "Croquemitaine. La punition.," mm. 70-96.

The musical score is divided into four systems, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The first system (mm. 70-77) is marked *a tempo* and *(p)*. The bass line is labeled *cantando*. The second system (mm. 78-85) is also *a tempo* and includes the instruction *[Reprise of melody for (The father intercedes with Croquemitaine), m. 57]*. The third system (mm. 86-90) is marked *(At the father's entreaties, Croquemitaine departs)* and begins with a forte *f* dynamic. The fourth system (mm. 91-96) starts with a piano *p* dynamic and includes the instruction *penderosi* (tremolos).

The cover page gives us one last depiction of this story in the bottom-left corner in which Yvonne stands before the father, a smiling man with side whiskers not so different from the somnolent professor, whose right hand rests upon the arm of his throne-like chair, and the left raised up, reaching around and behind Yvonne in a peculiarly ambivalent gesture

Figure 4.15. Cover illustration of Yvonne and her father in Lack's *Scènes enfantines*.



(fig. 4.15). Is he perhaps extending his arm to offer the familial intimacy of a fatherly hug after his child's traumatic encounter with Croquemitaine? Or contrarily is his hand curved in mimicry of the grasping claws of the nursery bogey, poised to pounce upon his daughter to remind her of the reprisals that await musical transgressors? Croquemitaine is, after all, phantom of the imagination and conjured up by adults through the songs, stories, games, and piano music of the nursery to dole out punishment in the face of rebellion. We may well ask, therefore, where exactly does the father end and Croquemitaine begin? By all appearances Yvonne does not seem to be pondering this question. She stands, rather, facing her father

with the same dutiful steadiness she showed to her hands on the piano keys. In this position, the large bow on the back of her dress is depicted to its full extent, presenting her as a wrapped up present, an adult product that, although momentarily defiant, ultimately submits to rule.

* * *

My analysis of Lack's composition has explored the presence of the "hidden adult" and the significant ramifications of this unspoken socializing pressure on the romanticization and socialization of children. There is obviously a danger in understanding this musical genre solely in terms of manipulation. Yet it is vitally important that we reconsider the ways in which musical manipulation functions as *one* of the characteristics of children's music. Whether through the subtlety of "Berceuse de la poupée" or the extremity of "Croquemitaine. La punition.," this music shows how the child at the piano is made to submit—through hours of dutiful, consistent, and, above all, appropriate practice—to an image of themselves that, in all things, adheres to the order and discipline. Adults maintain this hierarchical world, using music as a "forward-looking mirror" that firstly romanticizes children by distilling Romantic ideology through music, text, and image, and secondly socializes children to behavioral norms by establishing structures of right and wrong in music that have correspondences to society at large. All while, the adult author remains hidden and keeps vigilant watch over the behavior and misbehavior through the generic functions and characteristics of children's music.

Chapter 5. Conclusions

This study has explored the ways in which children's music articulates adult inventions of childhood. An exhaustive exposition of this topic would be an enormous and complicated undertaking, and my scope in this dissertation has been narrowed by identifying significant historical and conceptual relationships between music and childhood, teasing out foundational questions and connections, and basing the discussion on select musical evidence as exemplary case studies. This has allowed me to treat my topic with musicological depth that lays the groundwork for future studies that continue to investigate the meanings behind children's music and to integrate the richness of children's studies with the discipline of musicology.

My analyses of Schumann's *Kinderszenen* and *Album für die Jugend* acknowledge the critical importance of that composer to the emergence of children's music, in particular his musicalization of the ideology of Romantic childhood and his articulation of music *for* and music *about* children as distinct categories. By reframing the argument between Schumann and Rellstab, we can regain an appreciation of exactly what was at stake for adult ideas about children and how their depiction in and through art had important social ramifications. This challenges our current assumptions about children's music as an *a priori* category, revealing our own predisposed continuity of that ideological/musical tradition.

My utilization of lesser-known composers and their works—Soubeyran, Akimenko, Ilyinsky, and Lack—is crucial for untethering the discussion of children's music from canonical composers—such as Bach and Schumann—and showing the tradition's width and breadth across time and space. The spread of uniform generic characteristics and expectations

throughout Europe, as well as America, attest to the dominance of Romantic childhood as a musical framework. I have shown that this has both benefited adult conceptualizations of selfhood and creativity, and sought to socialize children according to romanticized norms of conduct within the context of bourgeois domesticity. When seen through this lens, we have a clearer picture of the hegemonic capabilities of children's music.

Admittedly, other conclusions may be reached. My analyses have uncovered the power struggles and tensions between children and adults through the musical materials and practices of the nineteenth century. While this is a vitally important place to start with the topic of children's music, the protean nature of the genre of children's music demands further consideration. The application of research on "crossover literature"—books written for consumption by children, but also consumed by adults—would be instrumental in considering the ways that composer, text, and audience interact, by directly addressing the fluidity of those categories.¹ Additionally, scholars in children's studies—especially children's literature—have developed different models of understanding the power dynamics embedded within and expressed through writing, books, and reading, and would provide fruitful systems for finding the ways that societies use music.²

This study has only touched upon a small sampling of children's music and the sheer number of programmatic character pieces and their various paratextual aspects offer multiple musicological and interdisciplinary interpretations. I see three programmatic themes as

¹ See Sandra L. Beckett, ed. *Transcending Boundaries: Writing for a Dual Audience of Children and Adults* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

² See Maria Nikolajeva, "Theory, Post-Theory, and Aetonormative Theory," in *Neohelicon* 36 (June, 2009), 13-24; Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); and James Kincaid, *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture* (London: Routledge, 1992).

particularly rich in this regard. First, the topic of the sleeping child deserves fuller exploration. The symbolic overlap between sleep and death—as expressed by the quotation from Wackenroder in Chapter Two—effected Romantic ideology as a symbol of metaphorical and musical significance, and also had an important part to play in nineteenth-century family structures as a way of coping with child mortality.³

Second, as considered in Chapters Two and Four, the musical instruction of children has a history that reveals a complicated constellation of ideologies in which adult educators define socialize their pupils through children’s music. A historical consideration of pedagogical approaches to musical education—its contexts, purposes, values, goals, and means—should cast a wider net in order to understand how method books, instructional pieces, pedagogical discourses, and philosophical treatises speak to various inventions of childhood.⁴ This time period witnessed a wide variety of approaches to musical education—its purposes, goals, and means. The nineteenth century witnessed a variety of innovations in musical pedagogics and we can see the extent to which musical and social goals become entwined by examining instructional pieces, method books, pedagogical discourses, and other training materials. One historical theme that emerges in the nineteenth century concerns the opposition of the mechanistic etude and its emphasis on automatic repetition against the pedagogical character piece and its emphasis on imaginative play. Play research speaks richly to this topic and, by utilizing the scholarship of scholars such as Johan Huizinga, Roger

³ For an important musicological study in this area, see Kok, “Falling Asleep: Schumann, Lessing and Death in a Wunderhorn Lullaby.” For a source that integrates children’s literature with nineteenth-century photography, see Judith Plotz, “Literary Ways of Killing a Child: The 19th Century Practice,” in *Aspects and Issues in the History of Children’s Literature*, ed. Maria Nikolajeva (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995).

⁴ For excellent musicological points of departure for this kind of study, see Kok, “Negotiating Children’s Music,” and “Of Kindergarten;” Laor, *Paradigm War*; and Parakilas, *Piano Wars*.

Caillois, and Brian Sutton-Smith, these different musical modalities could reveal broader ideas about adult-child power dynamics, domestic music-making, and musical style.⁵ Additionally, the topic of improvisation and preluding, mentioned in Chapter Three, offers a new perspective on children's pedagogy and the nineteenth-century shift from music as a process to music as a work. In the case of mechanistic studies, it is significant to consider that the ultimate goal of many mechanistic methods was the freedom and empowerment of improvisation, while instructional character pieces emphasize the correct execution of canonical works.

Third, Chapters Two and Four briefly touch upon the conflation of children and peasant culture. Future research will consider how folklore became culturally associated with children, first through the integration of folktales and fairytales into children's literature, and second the appearance of the same themes in the programmatic content of children's music. This represents another *Vorspiegelung* for children by appropriating folk culture in the context of domestic spaces for the purpose of entertainment and instruction in such areas as gender norms, . Music plays an important part in this process as appropriated folk idioms appear in the vocabularies of nineteenth-century children's music. The topic of folklore in children's music has wide scope for interdisciplinary dialogue and for expanding the generic focus from the study of piano miniatures, to *Kinderlieder* (children's songs), chamber music, melodramas, and *Kinderoper* (children's operas) we can see the ways in which aesthetics, nationalism, and consumerism entwine childhood in complicated ways.

⁵ Jahan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955); Roger Caillois, *Man, Play and Games*, trans. Meyer Barash (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Brian Sutton-Smith, *The Ambiguity of Play* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

As this last topic demonstrates, the musicological study of children's music needs to spread beyond the limitations of piano literature to include different musical ensembles, each with their own histories, social meanings, and generic characteristics. For instance, the tradition of the *Kindersymfonie* has enormous potential for musical children's studies. During the later half of the eighteenth century, an assortment of musical instruments developed into an ensemble known as *Kinderinstrumenten* (children's instruments). Largely associated with the manufacturing hub Bechtesgaden and the folk culture of Tyrol, this collection included folk instruments as well as toy instruments such as frame drums, ratchets, triangles, cuckoos, and water-pipes. After falling out of popularity at the turn of the century, compositions written for *Kinderinstrumenten* emerge again in the second half of the nineteenth century and take on new significance in a culture of Romantic childhood; middle-class music making; and the symbolism of domestic, child-centered festivals such as Christmas where gift giving often included toy instruments. At the same time, the sonic category of *Kinderinstrumenten* has polysemous meanings that easily slip between disparate categories, such as pastoral, folk, military, and exotic, thereby complicating their child-like designation. Research on the study of "noise" is a useful for examining this music as it speaks to the instrument's contested categories, and the overall association with ruckus and lack of sophisticated polish. By examining these compositions, the instruments, and discourses by critics and composers we can see how the nineteenth-century reutilization of this ensemble reveals childhood as a site of struggle in terms of history, class, family, and noise.

I look forward to continuing to bring an awareness of and respect for the child to the discipline of musicology.

Appendix A. Table of individual pieces from Ilyinsky's *La journée d'une petite fille*.

No.	Russian Title	French Title	English Translation	Tempo Markings	Key
1	Веселое пробуждiе	Le réveil joyeux	The joyful awakening	Moderato	F
2	Вальсъ	Valse	Waltz	Tempo di Valse lente	a
3	Волчокъ	La Toupie	The spinning top	Allegro	d
4	Полька	Polka	Polka	Tempo di Polka	A
5	Мазурка	Mazurka	Mazurka	Tempo di Mazurka	E
6	Табакерка	La tabatière	The snuffbox	Moderato	A
7	Маршь оловянныхъ солдатиковъ	Marche des mirlitons	March of the tin soldiers	Tempo di Marcia	F
8	Веселая прогулка	Promenade joyeuse	Joyful walk	Allegro moderato	D
9	Кукушка	Le Coucou	The cuckoo	Andante	Bb
10	Похороны птички	Enterrement de l'oiseau	The burial of the bird	Andante	g
11	Пастухъ играетъ	Le Berger joue	The shepherd plays	Allegro moderato	G
12	Бабочка	Papillon	Butterfly	Allegro vivace	b
13	Русская пѣсня	Chanson russe	Russian song	Andante	D
14	Игра въ горѣлки	Le jeu de course	The racing game	Allegro vivace	A
15	Гроза	L'orage	The storm	Allegro con brio	c#
16	Капризы	Les caprices	The whims	Allegro	f

No.	Russian Title	French Title	English Translation	Tempo Markings	Key
17	Наказаніе	Punition	Punishment	Moderato	g
18	Прощеніе	Le Pardon	The pardon	Allegro	D
19	Грѣзы	Rêverie	Dreams	Moderato assai	d/F
20	Старушка няня	La vieille bonne	The old nurse/ nanny	Andante/Un poco più mosso/ Moderato con moto	f#
21	Сказка	Conte	Story	Moderato con moto/Allegro ma non troppo/Poco meno mosso	A/a
22	Молитва	Prière	Prayer	Moderato/Meno mosso e cantabile	d
23	Колыбельная	Berceuse	Lullaby	Andante	Bb
24	Сонъ	Sommeil	Sleep	Moderato	F

Appendix B. Table of individual pieces from Lack's *Scènes enfantines*.

No.	French Title	English Translation	Tempo Markings	Key
1	Le baptême de la poupée.	The baptism of the doll.	Allegretto giocoso	C
2	Histoire de grand père.	Grand-father's story.	Allegretto spiritoso	d/D
3	Promenade dans les bois. Chasse.	Walk in the woods. Chase.	Allegro	F
4	Le régiment qui passe. Marche.	The passing regiment. March.	Tempo di Marcia	C
5	Sérénade d'Arlequin à Colombine. Une soirée au Théâtre Séraphin.	Harlequin's serenade to Colombine. An evening at the Théâtre Séraphin.	Allegro	A
6	Due d'Arlequin et Colombine. Une soirée au Théâtre Séraphin.	Harlequin's and Colombine's duet. An evening at the Théâtre Séraphin.	Andantino amoroso	F
7	Mazurka.	Mazurka.	Moderato	C
8	Petite valse.	Little waltz.	Tempo di Valse	C
9	La leçon de piano d'Yvonne.	Yvonne's piano lesson.	Allegro serio/so/ Allegro/Presto	C
10	Croquemitaine. La punition.	Croquemitaine. The punishment.	Allegro	d
11	Premier chagrin.	First grief.	Andante sostenuto	G
12	Berceuse de la poupée.	The doll's lullaby.	Andantino semplice	F

Appendix C. Table of in-score texts and musical events in Lack’s “Croquemitaine. La punition.”

m.	French In-Score Text with English Translation	Dynamics and Expression Markings	Harmony
1	On entend Croquemitaine dans le lointain (One hears Croquemitaine in the distance)	<i>piano</i>	G minor
5	Yvonne écoute (Yvonne listens)	<i>piano, Meno mosso, rallent.</i>	Eb major to G7
9	Croquemitaine approche (Croquemitaine approaches)	<i>forte, a tempo</i>	C minor
13	Yvonne a peur (Yvonne is frightened)	<i>mezzo-forte, Meno mosso, express., rallent.</i>	Ab major to D7
17	Entrée de Croquemitaine (Croquemitaine’s entrance)	<i>fortissimo, energico</i>	G minor
21	Yvonne pleure (Yvonne weeps)	<i>piano</i>	G minor
49	Yvonne promet d’être sage (Yvonne promises to be good)	<i>forte, più lento, quasi recitativo</i>	Eb major
53	Croquemitaine est un peu incrédule (Croquemitaine is somewhat incredulous)	<i>pianissimo, encore più rall.</i>	D7
57	Le père intercède près du Croquemitaine (The father intercedes with Croquemitaine)	<i>piano, ma cantando</i>	G major
73	Yvonne supplie son père de renvoyer Croquemitaine (Yvonne pleads with her father to send Croquemitaine away)	<i>cresc. e poco agitato al forte, dimin. e rall., piano</i>	sequence to B major
87	Sur les instances du père, Croquemitaine s’éloigne (At the father’s entreaties, Croquemitaine departs)	<i>forte, perdendosi, pianissimo</i>	G minor

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