

MEMORY AND COMMEMORATION IN ROBERT SCHUMANN'S ALBUM LEAVES

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MEMORY AND COMMEMORATION IN ROBERT SCHUMANN'S ALBUM LEAVES

In this dissertation, I study Robert Schumann's interaction with nineteenth-century album practice, in his own inscriptions and compositions, as a means of better understanding Romantic memory. Personal keepsake albums—in which people asked friends and family members to inscribe leaves through which they could be remembered—show the complex ways individuals interacted with and constructed memory. Current musicological research has addressed memory in music as a stylistic *topos* meant to be recognized by general audiences, and has also brought to light the burgeoning importance of public-facing sites of memory such as monuments throughout the nineteenth century. A study of albums—which focuses on personal and private memory practices—thus provides a necessary complement. The Romantics were concerned with both inner and outer worlds, and though albums foreground what may seem like the quotidian nature of everyday interpersonal relationships, they also demonstrate a profound acknowledgement of the poetic and imaginative power of memory and the ways in which everyday people could access it.

Through a series of case studies, I engage with Schumann's mementos as both cultural objects and musical texts, contextualizing them historically and biographically. I explore a period of time in which Schumann almost exclusively inscribed choral canons, constructing a private legacy which emphasized his status as a pedagogue and his affection for his choral society. I investigate the album Robert and Clara created for their student Emilie Steffens to commemorate her importance in their social circle and celebrate her identity as an up-and-coming musician. I show how some of the conventions of private album practice permeated the public sphere

through Schumann's contributions to published musical albums and anthologies. And lastly, I approach the *Album für die Jugend* through the lens of album practice, demonstrating how "Erinnerung," written for Felix Mendelssohn after his death, stands in dialogue with several other private album leaves created by the Schumanns and their close friends, as well as with the so-called Star Pieces in the *Album*. My approach to Romantic memory and music thus explains how issues of aesthetics, Robert Schumann's personal practices, and the very social considerations of album-keeping intersect.

Halina Goldberg, Ph.D., Chair

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INTRODUCTION

For years, Robert Schumann has stood at the center of the musicological discussion about Romantic memory, as scholars have been drawn time and again toward hearing representations of remembrance in much of his music. Perhaps Schumann's own engagement with memory throughout his life has encouraged this: a voluminous amount of biographical documentation attests to his near obsessive desire to chronicle his and his family's lives. He was, inarguably, a composer to whom memory held clear personal significance. Despite the widely acknowledged role of memory in his own life, current scholarship has not yet sought ways of understanding memory's personal significance to Schumann. Rather, it has focused largely on musico-poetic analyses of remembrance in his music. These analyses treat passages as representations of the process of remembering that can be universally understood by all listeners; they thus foreground the broad, lofty aesthetics of Romantic memory, and tend to exclude any specific, personal resonances. The poetics of Romantic memory and the everyday lives of nineteenth-century people were not opposed or incompatible, however, but rather existed in symbiosis.

More than anyone, writers—irrespective of genre or century—insightfully capture these complementary poetic and personal qualities of memory. In an essay entitled “Memory, Creation, and Writing,” the incomparable Toni Morrison declares that “memory (the deliberate act of remembering) is a form of willed creation.”¹ Later, she describes a woman she remembers from her youth and elaborates: “what is useful—definitive—is the galaxy of emotion that

¹ The inherently imaginative process of remembering has also been scientifically proven in an experiment conducted by Sevil Duvarci and Karim Nader that revealed the retrieval of memory as a constant act of “reconsolidation.” Sevil Duvarci and Karim Nader, “Characterization of Fear Memory Reconsolidation,” *Journal of Neuroscience* 24, no. 42 (October 10, 2004): 9269–75; Toni Morrison, “Memory, Creation, and Writing,” in *The Anatomy of Memory: An Anthology*, ed. James McConkey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 213.

accompanied the woman as I pursued my memory of her, not the woman herself.”² Speaking to the very human desire to be remembered and inspire those galaxies for others, the memoirist Patricia Hampl responds to the question of why we should write memoir by saying that “memoir must be written because each of us must have a created version of the past. Created: that is, real, tangible, made of the stuff of a life lived in place and in history.”³

Previously unexplored created versions of the past and the imagination they inspired are the pillars of this dissertation, and bring nuance to our understanding of Romantic memory. I have sought Robert Schumann’s created versions of his past in the form of his album leaves, in order to uncover not only what Paul Berry calls unique “emotional landscapes,” but also further-reaching and little-understood commemorative trends of the nineteenth century.⁴ Memory is personal: it involves real people, places, and events. I thus center my dissertation on personal, private objects—constructions of memory that quietly speak to personal, private memories and experiences—in order to open the discussion surrounding Romantic memory to include that which goes beyond the score. I simultaneously situate these constructions of memory within the larger cultural practices of album-keeping. Each chapter thus illuminates how the Romantics understood remembering as an innately creative and imaginative act, and explores the strategies through which an individual—Robert Schumann—commemorated himself and others.

Chapter 1 discusses the key concepts of Romantic memory as seen in albums and Robert Schumann’s music, and also examines how the subject is treated in the current musicological discourse. I argue that scholarship has to this point largely focused on poetic readings of musical

² Morrison, “Memory, Creation, and Writing,” 214.

³ Patricia Hampl, “Memory and Imagination,” in *The Anatomy of Memory: An Anthology*, ed. James McConkey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 208.

⁴ Paul Berry, *Brahms Among Friends: Listening, Performance, and the Rhetoric of Allusion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 351.

excerpts assumed to represent memory, or on public institutions of commemoration such as monuments and museums. Within my discussion of Romantic memory in Schumann's music, I present brief musical analyses of repertoire that has not previously been explored from this angle. This music has verifiable connections to remembrance, and thus demonstrates some of the composer's strategies for depicting memory musically. I provide a brief history of the album, outline several relevant conventions of inscribing and keeping albums, and demonstrate in detail the ways in which the expressions of memory found in nineteenth-century albums reflect wider Romantic aesthetics (in particular the belief in the innately imaginative qualities of remembering).

In chapter 2 I discuss a short period of time in which Schumann focused almost exclusively on one musical genre, the choral canon, for his album inscriptions. Written as unrealized puzzle canons that the recipients had to work out and usually featuring moralizing texts, these leaves are an important part of Schumann's private legacy. Inscribing canons in albums was a long-standing tradition that was understood as both a display of the inscriber's musical erudition and a challenge to the recipient to display her own by solving the contrapuntal puzzle. Schumann wrote most of these canons during his time as music director of his *Verein für Chorgesang* in Dresden, and they further demonstrate his commitment to the musical education and *Bildung* of his choral society members. These private sources testify to the importance Schumann placed on his status as a pedagogue, and to the genuine affection he had for his choral music.

Chapter 3 focuses on an album that Robert and Clara curated for one of her students, Emilie Steffens. Initially filled with mementos primarily from Robert, this album shows how the Schumanns commemorated significant milestones and moments from Steffens's musical life,

and thus constructed a narrative in which she was a significant up-and-coming musician. This album also uniquely affords us a view of how a recipient responded to keepsakes given by Robert. Through her editorial interaction with the album after the Schumanns gifted it to her, we see how Steffens enacted her historical agency and constructed her own personal narrative. At first, the inscriptions Steffens procured on her own reflect her recent life changes, and do not emphasize the Schumanns' narrative about her promise as a musician, or the important position she had once occupied in their social circle. Much later in life, however, Steffens turned to the memories of her album when called upon by Frederick Niecks to contribute to his biography of Robert Schumann. Her album aided her in her recollection as she wrote a short memoir of her time with the Schumanns which Niecks incorporated into his biography. The album ultimately shows us the ways in which both the Schumanns and Steffens considered themselves as players in each other's lives, and how their methods of commemoration or engaging with memory shifted accordingly.

In chapter 4, I explore Schumann's contributions to published albums, and how some of the issues of private album-keeping overlapped with these public versions. I demonstrate the stylistic and social expectations of composers who contributed to such publications. Particularly in the case of albums published in honor of well-respected personages, such as the *Mozart-Album* and the *Beethoven-Album*, I discuss Schumann's anxieties about selecting a proper contribution that both honored the dedicatee and commemorated himself appropriately. I argue that other published albums—usually annual publications meant to encapsulate the musical year—gave composers an opportunity to augment their public legacy in a more intimate and contemporary manner similar to how they would have in private albums. And finally, I discuss Schumann's curatorship of the musical supplements to his journal, the *Neue Zeitschrift für*

Musik, as purposefully evocative of album tradition, and how that created a sense of community—if imagined—akin to that found in private albums.

I weave together the main threads of the dissertation—the relationship between imagination and memory, the intersection of the public and private spheres, and the social practices of commemoration in albums—in chapter 5. I explore the character piece “Erinnerung” from Schumann’s *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68 as a case study of private album-keeping practices undertaken by Schumann and his circle as they mourned and remembered their recently deceased friend Felix Mendelssohn. This published composition stands in dialogue with several other private pieces of art and documents created by the Schumanns and their close friends, all inspired by Mendelssohn’s death or the music of “Erinnerung” itself: deathbed sketches of Mendelssohn by Dresden artists Julius Hübner and Eduard Bendemann, album leaves of poetry written by Hübner, and records in the Schumanns’ various diaries. After the *Album* was published, “Erinnerung” continued to convey personal meaning, memories, and grief only to those familiar with this privately constructed multimedia monument.

Further, I argue that Schumann connected “Erinnerung” musically to three other pieces in the *Album*, the so-called Star Pieces, and that the relationships among the four demonstrate ways in which the reflection inspired by “Erinnerung” sparked his imagination and fostered new creation, as in private albums. I draw on Elaine Sisman’s work on *phantasia*—which discusses the intersection of fantasia-like music, imagination and remembering—and Schumann’s own descriptions of his experiences fantasizing at the keyboard in order to posit a scenario in which the Star Pieces grew out of small musical motives from “Erinnerung.” These small seeds of remembrance both represented the past and also grew into something new as Schumann reflected on the death of his friend. Only by viewing “Erinnerung” through the lens of album practice—

which privileged and facilitated the creation of memory—can we fully begin to appreciate the layers of Schumann’s homage, and understand how this piece helped this circle of friends remember and grieve Mendelssohn.

This dissertation is not an exhaustive survey of Robert Schumann’s album leaves, but rather a series of case studies. This is partly due to the availability of archival sources, but also because a survey would actually tell us very little about the personal, cultural, and aesthetic resonances of the commemorative strategies Schumann employed. Rather than gathering together and presenting every extant leaf in the manner of a collector from the nineteenth century, I focus on the select sources that have a story to tell. Those stories, I hope, will broaden our understanding of Romantic memory and music, and encourage further scholarship on albums.

CHAPTER 1

ALBUMS, ROMANTIC MEMORY, AND ROBERT SCHUMANN

These are nothing but short things which . . . stem from the time of “Florestan and Eusebius” and now . . . are sent as a greeting to his friends and artistic colleagues from that time. They are perhaps also sent as a greeting to the distant, beautiful youthful time of the man and master around the world.

—Anonymous,
Review of Robert Schumann’s *Albumblätter*, Op. 124 (1853)

1.1. Introduction

Personal albums—in which people asked acquaintances, friends, and family members to inscribe leaves through which they could be remembered—show the complex ways in which individuals of the nineteenth century interacted with and constructed memory and community. They also reflect and engage with the central tenets of Romantic memory: namely, that remembering is overwhelmingly imaginative and innately social. Because Robert Schumann and his music loom so large in the musicological discussion about Romantic memory in music, and because he is a well-known composer of published album leaves, in this dissertation, I explore his commemorative strategies in these albums. I take the reader into the world of Schumann’s published and unpublished leaves and demonstrate both a larger context for compositions such as his *Bunte Blätter*, Op. 99 and *Albumblätter*, Op. 124, and the ways in which album practice and Romantic memory intersect. I situate the album historically and culturally, and address particular ways in which Schumann chose to commemorate himself in specific contexts, how the objects of this commemoration were received and engaged with (where we have evidence to this end), and how he approached the album as a medium that activated the imagination and memory. Thus, my approach to Romantic memory and music explains how issues of aesthetics, Robert Schumann’s

personal practices, and the very social considerations of album-keeping intersect. Seeing how these aspects worked in tandem for nineteenth-century people allows us to view this practice as one that belongs to both the sublime, poetic realm as well as the personal, everyday realm.

A large body of musicological scholarship approaches memory as a poetic *topos*, and there is also a significant understanding of large-scale, public institutions and artifacts within the culture of commemoration, such as museums and monuments. There further exists a budding discourse about musical albums, though it eschews wider historical or aesthetic concerns, and instead focuses on albums as unique manuscript sources, illustrations of interpersonal relationships, or snapshots of an individual's musical life. With the exception of Halina Goldberg's work, musicology has largely yet to explore the album as a locus of Romantic memory that marries the poetic and the personal, or as a private practice that provides a complement to our current knowledge of the nineteenth-century culture of commemoration.¹ Albums allow us to re-ground the scholarly discussion surrounding nineteenth-century music and memory in the specifically personal—which inarguably is at the heart of memory—and not just the universally poetic. By turning our attention to albums, we add a critical missing layer to the full extent to which individuals in the nineteenth century engaged musically with memory.

1.2. The Analytical Poetics of Romantic Memory in Nineteenth-Century Music

The topic of memory in music, particularly that of the nineteenth century and primarily from a poetic-analytic standpoint, has been a popular subject of musicological scholarship for

¹ Halina Goldberg, "Chopin's Album Leaves and the Aesthetics of Musical Album Inscription," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 73, no. 2 (forthcoming).

several decades. Certain repertoire from this period often reminds listeners, sometimes uncannily so, of their own experiences: we spend our lives remembering, forgetting, struggling to remember, and having memories unexpectedly triggered. It is no surprise that so many scholars are ineluctably drawn to map these experiences onto music that seems to represent these processes. Much of the repertoire of Schumann, Schubert, and Beethoven—to name but a few—often seems imbued with a “temporality of pastness,” as John Daverio describes Schumann’s thoughts on Schubert’s last set of *Impromptus*.² Or there are excerpts that abruptly take the listener out of the established soundworld, such as in the sudden interpolation of Mignon’s song, “Meine Ruh’ ist hin,” in the second movement of Robert Schumann’s *Intermezzi*, Op. 4 that returns in augmented rhythm at the end. Moments like these can strike the listener as analogous to one of Proust’s *petite madeleines*, or sensory triggers that prompt the unexpected *mémoire involuntaire*.³

In a significant contribution to the conversation about memory and music, six respected scholars of this repertoire—Leon Botstein, Scott Burnham, John Daverio, Charles Fisk, Walter Frisch, and John Gingerich—collaborated in the Winter 2000 issue of *19th-Century Music* to discuss the issues of musical memory and style in various pieces by Schubert. Four of them focus specifically on how Schubert evokes the process or experience of remembering: Burnham and Fisk discuss musical cyclicity as a representation of remembrance; Fisk reads allusions to Beethoven and *Winterreise* in the Piano Sonata in C minor, D. 958 as memory triggers; and Gingerich advocates for hearing both cyclicity and allusion as memory in the C major String

² John Daverio, ““One More Beautiful Memory of Schubert”: Schumann’s Critique of the Impromptus, D. 935,” *Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 610.

³ Daverio, 612–15.

Quartet, D. 956.⁴ Daverio grounds his argument that some of Schubert's music is inherently backward-looking on Schumann's review of the last set of *Impromptus*, in which he claimed the first was written "as if musing on the past."⁵ In each article, the author provides a compelling, poetic interpretation of how each piece's particular musical style may be read as mimicking the processes of memory: through fragmented quotations of other works, themes that return changed through musical cyclicism, or a more ephemeral, tougher to articulate musical "pastness."⁶

Other scholars since have continued exploring how memory may be read poetically in music, each approaching the topic through a slightly different lens. Cliff Eisen's work, for one, takes up the idea of the musical souvenir, analyzing one of Mozart's "Prussian Quartets," No. 23 in F major, K. 590 within the context of Enlightenment-era understanding of presence, absence, and memory. He demonstrates how a large stretch of the first movement's development section—harmonically static—could represent absence, and the subsequent section—contrapuntally dense—could then represent presence.⁷ Michael Puri argues that memory, the

⁴ Of particular note, Fisk makes biographical connections between the several *Winterreise* allusions he hears in the Sonata to biographical circumstances near the end of Schubert's life. Frisch further makes an argument for hearing Schubert's use of cyclicism—since the returns are not literal—as mimicking the actual process of remembering. Scott Burnham, "Schubert and the Sound of Memory," *Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 655–63; Charles Fisk, "Schubert Recollects Himself: The Piano Sonata in C Minor, D. 958," *Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 635–54; Walter Frisch, "'You Must Remember This': Memory and Structure in Schubert's String Quartet in G Major, D. 887," *Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 582–603; John M. Gingerich, "Remembrance and Consciousness in Schubert's C-Major String Quintet, D. 956," *Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 619–34.

⁵ This review is discussed in more detail below. Quoted in Daverio, "'One More Beautiful Memory of Schubert': Schumann's Critique of the Impromptus, D. 935," 606.

⁶ I use the word "poetic" as the Romantics used it. Though its usages were sometimes broad or contradictory, as Holly Watkins demonstrates, it generally referred to any art that embodied the truly beautiful, profound, and inward. Alexander Stefaniak similarly explores the Schumanns' attitudes toward poetic music that reflected interior worlds. Alexander Stefaniak, *Schumann's Virtuosity: Criticism, Composition, and Performance in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2016), 54–57; Alexander Stefaniak, "Clara Schumann's Interiorities and the Cutting Edge of Popular Pianism," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 70, no. 3 (Fall 2017): 701; Holly Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought: From E.T.A. Hoffmann to Arnold Schoenberg* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 91–95.

⁷ Cliff Eisen, "Mozart's Souvenirs," in *Musiker auf Reisen. Beiträge zum Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Augsburg, Germany: Wißner-Verlag, 2011), 90–91.

“presence of the past,” is a unifying motive in the works of Ravel as a key aesthetic of twentieth-century decadence. Though this repertoire significantly post-dates Romanticism, Puri’s system for analyzing memory in music that he calls *mnemoanalysis* resonates with nineteenth-century scholarship.⁸ Benedict Taylor discusses memory in the music of Mendelssohn, arguing that musical cyclicism was—due to Romantic writers’ and philosophers’ emphasis on the “circularity of existence”—*ipso facto* a representation of memory.⁹

These studies address memory in music only insofar as it potentially triggers or mimics the process of remembering itself. Paul Berry describes a similar phenomenon in the scholarship dedicated to musical allusion, claiming that much of it engages memory in music “exclusively via music-analytic criteria or from the neutral standpoint of an omniscient consumer to whom . . . [this] music is equally accessible.”¹⁰ This is an invaluable way to approach memory and music of the nineteenth-century, but it is not the only way. If we focus only on music that, to our ears, noticeably signifies a representation of memory, we ignore the music that engages with memory and commemoration in ways that were not meant to be heard by all audiences. In the next section, I examine some of Robert Schumann’s repertoire to show previously undiscussed ways he uses fragmentation and elements of *phantasia* to subtly represent memory. This music—“Der Nussbaum” from *Myrthen*, Op. 25, and the *Drei Clavier-Sonaten für die Jugend*, Op. 118—has

⁸ Michael J. Puri, “Memory and Melancholy in the Épilogue of Ravel’s *Valses Nobles et Sentimentales*,” *Music Analysis* 30, no. 2–3 (October 2011): 272; Michael J. Puri, *Ravel the Decadent: Memory, Sublimation, and Desire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 22.

⁹ Citing writers such as Winckelmann, Goethe, Schiller, Hölderlin, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, the Schlegels, and others, Taylor argues that musical cyclicism can represent a number of ways of interacting with memory, such as when previously introduced ideas are transformed by the events of the music, or in a nostalgic wishing to return home. He further argues that the cyclic music of the Romantic era rejected the teleology of the Enlightenment era. Benedict Taylor, *Mendelssohn, Time and Memory: The Romantic Conception of Cyclic Form* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 103–4.

¹⁰ Paul Berry, *Brahms Among Friends: Listening, Performance, and the Rhetoric of Allusion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 26.

not yet been considered from the perspective of Romantic memory. These examples do not come from album inscriptions, and do not broadcast a potential engagement with memory and album practice like some of Schumann's other works, such as the *Bunte Blätter*, Op. 99 and *Albumblätter*, Op. 124. They are, however, explicitly linked to memory—via either corroborating documentary evidence or a programmatic designation—and musically demonstrate that connection. Further, “Der Nussbaum” does engage with one of the pieces from the *Albumblätter*, the “Phantasiestück” that he originally entitled “Scherzino.” These pieces demonstrate subtle ways in which Schumann signaled memory and thus encourage us to expand what we consider to be musical representations of memory; this is crucial for my discussion in chapter 5. Because these pieces are inarguably linked to memory, they provide us with the chance to understand more specifically how Schumann communicated its presence in music.¹¹

¹¹ In the following sections, I address musicological scholarship wherein memory and its musical representations are the *raison d'être*. Countless scholars have, however, long engaged with the topic as a part of a larger analysis or discussion, as a passing musical observation, or as a musical manifestation of a clear referent—that is, a song text. Due to the sheer volume of this scholarship, I include a necessarily circumscribed list here: Paul Berry, “Old Love: Johannes Brahms, Clara Schumann, and the Poetics of Musical Memory,” *Journal of Musicology* 42, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 72–111; Jon W. Finson, *Robert Schumann: The Book of Songs* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 41–42, 77–78; Rufus Hallmark, “The Rückert Lieder of Robert and Clara Schumann,” *19th-Century Music* 14, no. 1 (Summer 1990): 3–30; Rufus Hallmark, *Frauenliebe und Leben: Chamisso's Poems and Schumann's Songs* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 233–35; Marjorie Hirsch, “Mirrors, Memories, and Mirages: Songs-within-Songs in Schubert's Lieder,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 26, no. 1 (2007): 1–32; Berthold Hoeckner, *Programming the Absolute: Nineteenth-Century German Music and the Hermeneutics of the Moment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 81–92; Berthold Hoeckner, “Erinnerungslogik und Entwicklungslogik bei Schumann,” in *Robert Schumann und die große Form: Referate des Bonner Symposions 2006*, ed. Bernd Sponheuer and Wolfram Steinbeck (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 225; Richard Kramer, *Distant Cycles: Schubert and the Conceiving of Song* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 12–13; Kristina Muxfeldt, *Vanishing Sensibilities: Schubert, Beethoven, Schumann* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 112–14; Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 99–103, 111–15, 149–52; Jürgen Thym, “Song as Memory, Memory as Song,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 69, no. 3 (2012): 263–73; Susan Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey: Franz Schubert's Winterreise* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 165.

It seems to me that musical discussions surrounding Romantic memory are fundamentally different when there is an actual text, and not just subtext, on which to base one's reading. Indeed, Hoeckner has grappled with the *frisson* that can arise when contemplating memory (which has a clear referent) within so-called absolute music, particularly with regard to the “Aria” movement of Schumann's Piano Sonata No. 1 in F-sharp Minor, Op. 11. He ultimately concludes that the absolute/programmatic dichotomy is not only not so clear-cut, but also not particularly helpful in such cases. Hoeckner, *Programming the Absolute*, 74–80. Memory in instrumental music certainly problematizes absolute music as a concept, but the ramifications for such a challenge are beyond the scope of this study. For a spirited back and forth on the limits and merits of the absolute/programmatic bifurcation, see: Anthony

1.3. The Fragment, Imaginative Remembering, and The Spontaneity of Recall in “Der Nussbaum”

The Romantic fragment has long been considered the representation of memory in music *par excellence*.¹² The essence of the fragment—whose incompleteness invites audiences to imagine what is missing, as well as how it came to be so—is captured in Schumann’s aphorism “a monument is a ruin facing forward, just as a ruin is a monument facing backward.”¹³ Schumann also believed in the potential of fragmentation to indelibly impress a moment on one’s memory: writing in 1836 as one of his alter egos, he said, “Florestan, you know, has a habit of breaking off just when his enjoyment is at its height, perhaps to impress it in all its freshness and fullness on the memory.”¹⁴ This is a comment on a particular persona’s character trait, however, and cannot be read as proof that fragments in Schumann’s music were always connected to memory. Berthold Hoeckner, for example, convincingly argues for the interpretation of several examples of fragments in Schumann’s output as representations of various types of Romantic distance: temporal distance, distance represented by the Romantic landscape, and geographical

Newcomb, “Once More ‘Between Absolute and Program Music’: Schumann’s Second Symphony,” *19th-Century Music* 7, no. 3 (April 1984): 233–50; Peter Kivy, “A Tale of Two Authenticities,” in *Sounding Off: Eleven Essays in the Philosophy of Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 33–64; Gregory Karl and Jennifer Robinson, “Yet Again, ‘Between Absolute and Programme Music,’” *British Journal of Aesthetics* 55, no. 1 (2015): 19–37.

¹² Many of the aforementioned studies engage with musical fragments as part of their analyses. Foremost among scholars who discuss the Romantic fragment, particularly within Robert Schumann’s repertoire, are John Daverio and Charles Rosen. Rosen was one of the first to discuss the fragment in music more generally, and Daverio discusses Schumann’s use of fragmentation in the larger context of Romantic aesthetics, illuminating such connections to the non-linear form of the *Arabesque* and abrupt changes of mood found in *Witz*. John Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1993), 19–88; Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 41–115.

¹³ Quoted in Daverio, “‘One More Beautiful Memory of Schubert’: Schumann’s Critique of the Impromptus, D. 935,” 610.

¹⁴ “Florestan pflegt nämlich oft mitten Augenblick des Vollgenusses abzubrechen, vielleicht um dessen ganze Frische und Fülle mit in die Erinnerung zu bringen.” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* IV, no. 16 (February 23, 1836), 70. Hereafter abbreviated as *NZfM*. Translation from Muxfeldt, *Vanishing Sensibilities: Schubert, Beethoven, Schumann*, 129.

distance from one's beloved.¹⁵ Paul Berry and Kenneth Hull explore another type of fragmentation—musical allusion—and the intertextual and interpersonal issues that arise from that practice.¹⁶ The fragment may indeed have endured as a preferred device for Romantic thinkers to represent memory, but its usages in musical repertoire are too varied to assume every musical fragment is meant to do so.

In some cases, we do have evidence—either biographic or musical—that encourages an analytical approach that accepts fragmentation as a representation of memory. For Schumann's song "Der Nussbaum" from the *Myrthen*, Op. 25, we have documentary evidence that Robert directed Clara to recall both himself and another piece of music from earlier in their courtship throughout the song. The fragment and memory in question come from a piano piece that he originally titled "Scherzino" and which would eventually become the published "Phantasiestück" from the *Albumblätter*, Op. 124. In the *Brautbuch* Robert compiled for Clara, he first notated the "Scherzino" with the designation "Leicht etwas graziös" and dated "22 April [1838]."¹⁷ It was originally written in A-flat major (not its eventual published key of A major) and was itself a six-measure fragment. Long after originally writing it in the *Brautbuch*, Robert sent the completed piece in a letter dated November 19, 1839 to Clara while she was staying with her mother in

¹⁵ Drawing on Novalis's three types of Romantic distance, Hoeckner makes a strong case for an interpretation of temporal distance in the slow movement of the Sonata in F-sharp Minor, Op. 11, geographical distance in the "Wie aus der Ferne" movement of the *Davidsbündlertänze*, Op. 6, and distance from the beloved in both the *Fantasie*, Op. 17 and the *Novelletten*, Op. 21 through various techniques of musical fragmentation. Hoeckner's conception of "distance from a beloved" is also shaped by Richard Kramer's "poetics of the remote." Hoeckner, *Programming the Absolute: Nineteenth-Century German Music and the Hermeneutics of the Moment*, 52; Kramer, *Distant Cycles: Schubert and the Conceiving of Song*, 85–101.

¹⁶ Quotation or allusion can, of course, be a way of telegraphing memory, but in the absence of other signifiers, cannot be taken as a given. Berry and Hull in particular focus on the ways musical allusion generates meaning, and how that meaning changes based on cultural context. Paul Berry, *Brahms Among Friends*; Kenneth Hull, "Brahms the Allusive: Extra-Compositional Reference in the Instrumental Music of Johannes Brahms" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1989).

¹⁷ Bernhard Appel, the editor of the *Brautbuch* edition, surmised the year of writing for this inscription, and I have no reason to believe it is not correct. Robert Schumann, *Studien und Skizzen: Brautbuch, Anhang R11*, ed. Bernhard R. Appel, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, series 7, group 3, vol. 3, part 2 (Mainz: Schott, 2011), 112–13.

Berlin, saying, “Here’s the ‘Scherzino.’ You like to rush the beginning; play it very *casually*, especially the end.”¹⁸ In another letter from February 16, 1840, Robert sent Clara a song with the following: “Here, my Clara, I enclose a little song I have just composed. First read the text well and then remember your Robert. It is actually the Scherzino in another form.”¹⁹ Because the score contents of the letter have been lost, scholars were not certain of the song in question until recently, but Thomas Synofzik, using both musical and documentary evidence, has ascertained that it was indeed “Der Nussbaum.”²⁰ This second letter contains a clear directive from Robert to Clara to use the song as an aid in remembering both him and the earlier composed piece, and thus provides grounds for exploring this particular musical fragment as a personal (and not merely generally poetic) representation of memory.

The memory fragment in question first occurs in the prelude of the song, and corresponds to several sections in the “Scherzino,” the first of these in mm. 5–6. “Nussbaum” incorporates the melodic contour of scale degree 6 leaping up a perfect fifth to scale degree 3 before approaching tonic in stepwise motion nearly exactly, eliminating only the chromatic lower

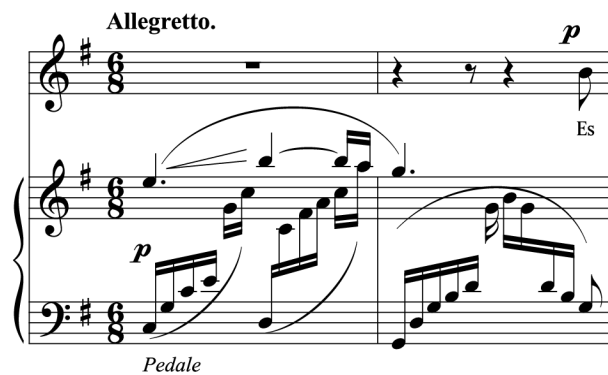
¹⁸ This naturally implies that Clara had already seen the completed piece. Translation slightly adapted from Eva Weissweiler, ed., *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, trans. Hildegard Fritsch, Ronald L. Crawford, and Harold P. Fry (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 2:479.

¹⁹ “Hier, meine Klara, leg’ ich noch ein Liedchen bei; ich hab’s eben gemacht. Lies erst den Text gut und gedenke dann Deines Roberts. Es ist eigentlich das Scherzino in anderer Form.” Thomas Synofzik, Anja Mühlenweg, and Sophia Zeil, eds., *Schumann Briefedition*, vol. series 1, band 7 (Cologne: Dohr, 2015), 123.

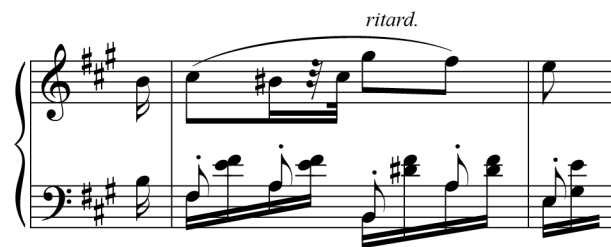
²⁰ Scholars have long known that Robert sent Clara two songs during this time, one in the above quoted letter from February 16, and another in a letter from February 24, neither named. We further knew that one of them was “Der Nussbaum,” because Robert wrote on February 28 asking for her to return that specific song. For a long time, it was thought that “Der Nussbaum” could not have been the song sent on February 16, because the only known “Scherzino” was the third movement of the *Faschingsschwank aus Wien*, Op. 26, which is not at all similar to the song. This led Eric Sams to conjecture that the song in question was “Ich wandre nicht,” Op. 51, no. 3 due to its musical similarities with the “Scherzino” from Op. 26. Ultimately, the publication of a facsimile edition of Robert’s *Brautbuch* by the RSA made widely available a previously neglected archival source, which confirmed the existence of another “Scherzino” that does indeed align with “Der Nussbaum.” Benjamin Alan Binder, “Intimacy, Introversion and Schumann’s Lieder” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2006), 97; Joachim Draheim, “Robert Schumanns Bunte Blätter und Albumblätter (op. 99 und op. 124),” in *Schumanns Albumblätter*, ed. Ute Jung-Kaiser and Matthias Kruse (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2006), 141; Eric Sams, *The Songs of Robert Schumann*, 3rd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 54, 83–84; Synofzik, Mühlenweg, and Zeil, *Schumann Briefedition*, series 1, band 7:125.

neighbor from the “Scherzino” (exx. 1.1*A* and *B*) Schumann also harmonizes them very similarly and places points of arrival in identically metrical positions: he uses IV as opposed to ii7 as the predominant in “Nussbaum,” but both are followed by a distinctive V13 that resolves to I. This refrain returns several times throughout the course of the song—sometimes changed, sometimes changing its surroundings—and demonstrates some strategies Schumann employed to encourage remembering through music.²¹

Ex. 1.1*A*. “Der Nussbaum,” mm. 1–2 from *Myrthen*, Op. 40



Ex. 1.1*B*. “Scherzino,” mm. 5–6 from *Albumblätter*, Op. 124



The opening two bars (which I henceforth refer to as the recollection-idea) present themselves as a discrete, self-contained unit. With the introduction of the voice in m. 3, however, we immediately see how the recollection-idea cannot help but affect its surroundings. In

²¹ In his analysis of the song, Benjamin Binder reads the many returns of what he calls the “main idea” as part of an ongoing process of growing intimacy and *Innigkeit* with the musical contents. In light of the intimate nature of the memory encoded in its contents, I find such a reading sympathetic to my own. Binder, “Intimacy, Introversion and Schumann’s Lieder,” 97–131.

accordance with the Romantic conception of remembering, the recollection-idea has inspired new creation, and the vocal line is clearly born out of it: the first two pitch classes are identical to those of the recollection-idea, its contour generated by inverting the opening perfect fifth to a perfect fourth (ex. 1.2). This further demonstrates the Romantic notion of memory’s ability to merge the present and the past. It is a memory of past events but affects the present moment in demonstrable ways. In the first thirty measures of the song, the recollection-idea obstinately yanks the music back time and again to pastness. This is seen most insistently in its abrupt canceling of the modulation to D major with an F-natural in m.10, asserting itself in “non-sequitur fashion,” as Benjamin Binder puts it, in mm. 11–12, and then again in mm. 21–22.²² Like Novalis standing at Sophie’s grave, the listener or player is jarringly, spontaneously forced into remembering (ex. 1.3).²³

Ex. 1.2. “Der Nussbaum,” mm. 1–4

Allegretto. *p*

Es grü - net ein Nuss - baum vor dem Haus,

p

Pedale

²² Binder, 106.

²³ Novalis’s “reunion” with Sophie at her graveside is truly one of the more ecstatic descriptions of Romantic remembering, and is also wildly imaginative.

Ex. 1.3. “Der Nussbaum,” mm. 9–12

The image shows a musical score for the song "Der Nussbaum" from measures 9 to 12. The score is written for voice and piano. The voice part is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "blätt - rig die Ae - ste aus." and "Viel". The piano accompaniment is on two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one sharp. The piano part features a complex, flowing melody with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, often beamed together. There are several slurs and ties in the piano part, indicating a continuous, intricate line. The dynamics include a *p* (piano) marking at the end of the first staff.

The first perceivable moment when we might believe the song is breaking free from its pastness arrives in m. 30, when the recollection-idea does not assert itself with the D major-canceling F-natural. In the following measures, however, we hear a version of the recollection-idea in the unprepared and unexpected key of A minor, followed both by an extension of this idea via a descending fifths sequence in mm. 33–35 and a fragmenting and reimagining of it in mm. 37–40 (exx. 1.4*A* and *B*). This again could be understood as the result of imagination taking control and attempting to fill in the gaps due to the slipperiness of memory, but it also reflects similar musical strategies Schumann deployed in the “Scherzino,” both in transforming the melodic idea into the minor mode and fragmenting it (mm. 11–12, 17–18, 23–24, 35–36, 41–42, and 47–48). Though the original recollection-idea is no longer present in mm. 31–40 of “Der Nussbaum,” a new, related one emerges, and the song’s pull toward the past continues (ex. 1.5).

Ex. 1.4A. “Der Nussbaum,” mm. 30–31

Ex. 1.4A shows measures 30–31 of the piece. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a whole rest in measure 30 and a half note G4 in measure 31, marked *p*. The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features a melodic line in the right hand and a more active bass line. A *riten.* (ritardando) marking is placed over the piano part in measure 30. The key signature is one sharp (F#).

Ex. 1.4B. “Der Nussbaum,” mm. 32–35

Ex. 1.4B shows measures 32–35. The vocal line (treble clef) contains the lyrics: "flü - stern von ei - nem Mägd - lein, das däch - te die Näch - te und". The piano accompaniment (grand staff) continues with a flowing melodic and harmonic texture. The key signature remains one sharp (F#).

Ex. 1.5. “Der Nussbaum,” mm. 32–35

Ex. 1.5 shows measures 32–35, focusing on the piano accompaniment. The right hand (treble clef) has a melodic line with dynamic markings *fp* (fortissimo piano) in measure 32 and *p* (piano) in measure 33. The left hand (bass clef) provides a harmonic accompaniment with dynamic markings *p* in measure 32 and *fp* in measure 33. The key signature is one sharp (F#).

The return to G major and the recollection-idea recurs unexpectedly in mm. 41–42 of “Der Nussbaum,” but it is in this closing section where we witness the true fallibility of memory, and its inability to be fully captured. After two verbatim returns of the recollection-idea, we unexpectedly do not immediately veer away from D major in mm. 49–50 (as occurs in the analogous place in mm. 10–11), instead arriving on a deceptive cadence before moving to a new

G pedal point in mm. 51–54. The hold that memory has on the present has begun to fade, heard clearly in the coda of mm. 57–66. Full-fledged iterations of the recollection-idea are finished: all that is left are fragments of the descending stepwise figure. The recollection-idea dissolves, slipping out of the listener’s grasp, and the singer joins the piano for its final fragmented utterance in mm. 63–64 (exx. 1.6*A* and *B*).

Ex. 1.6*A*. “Der Nussbaum,” mm. 49–52

Ex. 1.6*B*. “Der Nussbaum,” mm. 62–66

An analysis such as this forces the question: what exactly is this a memory of? The “Scherzino” itself, of course, and perhaps also of Clara’s own memories of playing the piece. Robert sent “Der Nussbaum” to Clara at a strained point during their courtship: Friedrich Wieck’s schemes to block their marriage were in full swing, and the pair often argued in their letters. Benjamin Binder posits that the song served as a reassurance during this fraught time, and

that the musical language and text itself communicated steadfast intimacy.²⁴ Indeed, Julius Mosen's poem is full of promise:

A nut tree blossoms outside the house,
Fragrantly,
Airily,
It spreads its leafy boughs.

Many lovely blossoms it bears,
Gentle
Winds
Come to caress them tenderly.

Paired together, they whisper,
Inclining,
Bending
Gracefully their delicate heads to kiss.

They whisper of a maiden who
Dreamed
For nights
And days of, alas, she knew not what.

They whisper—who can understand
So soft
A song?
Whisper of a bridegroom and next year.

The maiden listens, the tree rustles;
Yearning,
Musing
She drifts smiling into sleep and dreams.²⁵

Robert's inclusion, then, of a retrospective musical subtext adds a complementary layer to the forward-looking text. Perhaps he hoped to raise Clara's spirits both by showing her a vision of the marital bliss to come, and by reminding her of happier times earlier in their relationship. Clara would recall the delight of receiving the "Scherzino" on November 19, 1839, and of

²⁴ Binder, "Intimacy, Introversion and Schumann's Lieder," 97–131.

²⁵ Translation from Richard Stokes, "Songs: Der Nussbaum (1840) Op. 25 No. 3," <https://www.oxfordlieder.co.uk/song/425> (accessed December 11, 2019).

writing two days later to thank him for it. She would remember playing the piece for friends that December.²⁶ She would think about the moments in between that have not been preserved for us in documents. And she would recognize how the memory of the “Scherzino” affected the melodic contour of the new song and how the recollection-idea kept inserting itself into the present. Perhaps these memories would even come all at once, unbidden, as she played the first notes of the prelude.

Not only would “Der Nussbaum” forever remind them both of the “Scherzino” and the circumstances to which it was connected, but the “Scherzino”—which Robert renamed “Phantasiestück” and published as part of the *Albumblätter*, Op. 124 in 1853—would also forever remind them of “Der Nussbaum” and its history. The publication of the *Albumblätter*, which included pieces that formerly served as personal album leaves, put these private memories into public view. One reviewer commented on the palpably reminiscent quality of the *Albumblätter*:

These are nothing but short things which . . . stem from the time of “Florestan and Eusebius” and now . . . are sent as a greeting to his friends and artistic colleagues from that time. They are perhaps also sent as a greeting to the distant, beautiful youthful time of the man and master around the world.²⁷

Despite an absence of overt stylistic signifiers of musical memory, and the public’s total lack of the biographical knowledge that gave meaning to those signifiers, the pieces of the *Albumblätter* apparently still communicated an engagement with memory.²⁸

²⁶ Weissweiler, *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, 2:479, 481, 497.

²⁷ “Es sind dies lauter kurze Sachen, welche . . . aus der Zeit des ‘Florestan und Eusebius’ herrühren und jetzt . . . gleichsam als ein Gruss an seine damligen Freunde und Kunstgenossen, vielleicht auch als ein Gruss an die ferne schöne Jünglingszeit von dem Manne und Meister in alle Welt gesandt wird.” Beilage zur *Niederrheinischen Musik-Zeitung* I. Jahrgang, Literaturblatt no. 6 (December 31, 1853), 22.

²⁸ Irmgard Knechtes-Obrecht traces the origins of the pieces Schumann included in both the *Bunte Blätter*, Op. 99 and *Albumblätter*, Op. 124, and notes that these collections were not intended for the concert hall, but for more intimate settings. Irmgard Knechtes-Obrecht, “Spreu oder Weizen? Robert Schumanns Klaviersammlungen

1.4. Memory, Phantasieren, and Dreaming in the *Drei Clavier-Sonaten für die Jugend*, Op. 118

From other examples of Robert Schumann's music and critical writings, we glean insights into a different musical practice that he used to conjure up memory—musical improvisation. In several of his letters and essays, Schumann drew either explicit or implicit connections between the act of remembering and the act of musical fantasizing (*phantasieren*). In a letter from February 6, 1838 to Clara, for instance, he asked her, “please—close your eyes, put your fingers on the keyboard, think about me a little and compose the 9th of September, 1837.”²⁹ Why he asked specifically about September 9th has been lost to history: the date falls during one of Schumann's less meticulous phases of diary-keeping, and the letters exchanged between the two during this period do not clarify the date's importance. We can surmise that it likely had something to do with their engagement—August 14, 1837, Eusebius's name day—because a flurry of activity happened around that time.³⁰ More important than the date in question, however, are the specifics of Robert's request. In instructing Clara to close her eyes, focus on inner images, and place her fingers on the keys, Robert unquestionably asked Clara to fantasize, letting her whims, imagination, and memory lead her to a musical representation of a particular day. In other words, he asked her to remember through improvised music.

This is not the only instance in which Robert alluded to the power of fantasizing to invoke memories. In a letter to Clara from January 2, 1839, he referred to the seemingly paradoxical power of fantasizing to induce both forgetting and remembering: “I often forget you

Bunte Blätter op. 99 und *Albumblätter* op. 124,” in *Musik-Konzepte neue Folge*, ed. Ulrich Tadday, Sonderband. Der späte Schumann (Munich: Richard Boorberg Verlag, 2006), 821–82.

²⁹ Weissweiler, *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, 1:95.

³⁰ This includes Friedrich Wieck's forthcoming refusal of his blessing for their nuptials in a response to a letter Robert sent on September 13, 1837, Clara's birthday. John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a “New Poetic Age”* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 158, 160.

for a few minutes, for example, when I'm working or improvising at the piano, just as I forget myself—and then the sweet memory of you suddenly appears.”³¹ A similar statement is found in Robert's review of Julie Baronin-Cavalcabo's *Bravour-Allegro* in E minor, Op. 8 in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1836, in which he further made explicit the unconscious potential of fantasizing, and tied it to similar capabilities of dreaming: “In [the presence of] such memories, and being in such a place [the composer's hometown of Lemberg], one may often fall prey to sadness, and a winter evening will do its thing. In short, the piano is opened, the poetic is laid out; one fantasizes without knowing it, and one has dreams and music in oneself.”³² In Schumann's estimation, fantasizing or improvising at the piano transformed the player into a conduit who conveyed unconscious ideas—both real and imagined—into musical expression. At the same time, fantasizing allowed the player to participate in the process of active, imaginative remembrance so important to the Romantics. The two were inextricably bound in a mutually beneficial symbiotic relationship, wherein both a purposeful search for memory through fantasizing and its spontaneous arrival were two sides of the same coin.

Much of Schumann's depiction of the ability of fantasizing to spark memory resonates with scholars' work on *phantasia*, the ancient rhetorical practice in which one combines imagination and memory, and “uses an image to make an absent thing appear to be present, to call an experience vividly to mind.”³³ Elaine Sisman makes a convincing argument for the *fantasia*—or music that is “fantasy like”—as a musical analogue to the rhetorical practice. She

³¹ As Richard Terdiman points out, “The most constant element of recollection is forgetting.” Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 22; Weissweiler, *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, 2:4.

³² “Bei solchen Erinnerungen und an solchem Orte mag es Einen wohl oft traurig überfallen, und ein Winterabend thut das Seinige. Kurz der Flügel wird aufgemacht, der dichterische angelegt, man phantasirt, ohne es zu wissen, und hat man Träume und Musik in sich.” *NZfM* IV, no. 36 (May 3, 1836), 150–51.

³³ Elaine Sisman, “Memory and Invention at the Threshold of Beethoven's Late Style,” in *Beethoven and His World*, ed. Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 22.

presents it as a vehicle for musical memory that feigns the appearance of extemporization and thus foregrounds “the act of creation as well as . . . the sources of the composer’s ideas.”³⁴ Drawing on as varied a group of thinkers as Immanuel Kant, Giambattista Vico, and Aristotle, Sisman strongly argues for the connection between imagination and remembering, and how these may be evoked and prompted through stock figures of musical fantasia such as arpeggiations, jarring harmonic changes, and recitative-like textures.³⁵ In her chapter about the “extraordinary range of procedures” that signal “turns to the past” in Beethoven’s music, Kristina Muxfeldt demonstrates that the composer’s choice of signifiers for memory go beyond thematic or motivic recall, involving “every aspect of the music . . . texture, register, instrumentation, the use of doublings, pacing, all play a role.”³⁶ She discusses an example from Beethoven’s Piano Sonata in A major, Op. 101 as most overtly displaying a connection to the musical language of *phantasia*. Before the final movement, an improvisatory cadenza interjects (*phantasia*) and is then followed by recollections of the opening movement, which have the searching, roving quality of a pianist who has had a memory slip, before the finale proper begins.³⁷

³⁴ Sisman, 22.

³⁵ Sisman additionally draws on the writings of eighteenth-century aestheticians Johann Georg Sulzer and Johann Christoph Adelung and their descriptions of the “figures for the imagination” that could similarly stir such images in the listener’s mind. She does not refer to Johann Nikolaus Forkel, who discusses his own related musical “figures for the imagination.” For a thorough discussion on the musical fantasia and its connection to imagination, see Matthew Riley’s book, particularly chapter 4 for information on Forkel. Additionally, Gregory Butler explores the intersection of image, memory, and the fantasia in his article. Gregory G. Butler, “The Fantasia as Musical Image,” *Musical Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (October 1974): 602–15; Matthew Riley, *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment: Attention, Wonder and Astonishment* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 87–120; Sisman, “Memory and Invention at the Threshold of Beethoven’s Late Style,” 56.

Further, as I discuss below, memory was often considered a liminal state by the Romantics that overlapped with states such as dreaming and unconsciousness. It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate this intersection in depth, but Annette Richards’s book provides a tantalizing glimpse of the eighteenth-century fantasia as perhaps the ultimate Romantic vehicle, particularly chapter 2, “C.P.E. Bach and the Landscape of Genius.” Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 34–72.

³⁶ Muxfeldt, *Vanishing Sensibilities: Schubert, Beethoven, Schumann*, 124, 147.

³⁷ Muxfeldt, 133.

Sisman further connects a comment Beethoven made about always having a “picture in mind” (*Bild*) while composing to the importance of mental imagery to memory. The *Bild* was crucial to the Romantics’ conception of memory, and Schumann himself had also connected the idea of image to memory. In a letter to Clara on May 2, 1839, he said, “In short, give me an idea so that I can get a clear picture of you. Don’t you think that one’s memory of people becomes fuzzy when one hasn’t seen them for a long time?—Maybe that’s why I asked you for your picture—you know? Will you send it to me?”³⁸ He also had broached the topic in a parable printed in the *NZfM* in 1842, wherein an anthropomorphic coin that had fallen in love with a singer attempted to bring her back to his memory through the *Bild* he maintained in his imagination: “But the image of the singer did not escape from his head; he designed all sorts of plans to remember her.”³⁹

Sisman’s claim that the musical language of *phantasia* opens a gateway to imagination and remembrance is largely grounded in eighteenth-century aesthetic discussions.⁴⁰ Johann Christoph Adelung wrote extensively about the concept of imagination and its ability to conjure up images, saying it was “the faculty of the soul for making objects and the ideas of them sensory . . . for making a sensory image out of things which are not present in this way to the senses.”⁴¹ Johann Nikolaus Forkel followed suit in his delineation of his musical figures for the imagination, which he believed would arouse both attention and the capabilities of one’s

³⁸ Weissweiler, *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, 2:181.

³⁹ “Aber das Bild der Sngerin wich nicht aus seinem Kopfe; er entwarf allerhand Plne, sich bei ihr wider in Erinnerung zu bringen.” *NZfM* XVII, no. 26 (September 27, 1842), 109.

⁴⁰ Halina Goldberg has also discussed the importance of the *fantasia* in Romantic imagination. Halina Goldberg, “Chopin’s Late Fantasy Pieces in the Context of Nineteenth-Century Fantasy Genres” (*Chopin’s Musical Worlds: The 1840s*, Warsaw: Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina, 2007), 158.

⁴¹ Quoted in Riley, *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment: Attention, Wonder and Astonishment*, 134.

imagination.⁴² Johann Georg Sulzer even made the connection between imagination, attempting to remember, and dreaming: “as in a dream at night, when all distraction suddenly ceases, the image that we have seen veiled while awake stands before our eyes as clear as the broadest daylight, so, in the sweet dream of inspiration, the artist sees the desired object before his vision, he hears sounds when all is silent, and feels a body which is real only in his imagination.”⁴³ All these excerpts resonate with the experience of fantasizing at the keyboard and all its attendant sensory elements: the tactile sensation of fingers roving on the keys in search of conjuring the image seen in one’s mind and then hearing its arrival.

The Romantics also believed in the considerable overlap between the liminal spaces that are remembering, imagination, and dreaming. Halina Goldberg discusses the intersection of these modes of thinking in her historical contextualization of the importance of dreams in Chopin’s music and the Romantic milieu writ large.⁴⁴ Schumann himself responded to the dreamlike qualities and image-conjuring ability he heard in Chopin’s music, writing in the *NZfM* on December 22, 1837 about the *Étude* in A-flat major from Op. 25: “When the *étude* was ended, we felt as though we had seen a radiant picture [*Bild*] in a dream which, half-awake, we ached to recover.”⁴⁵ Again, Robert Schumann connected dreaming to attempting to remembering an image. Clara similarly intertwined the practice of fantasizing, remembering, and dreaming in a letter she wrote to Robert on January 29, 1838:

⁴² Riley, 134–35.

⁴³ Quoted in Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*, 58.

⁴⁴ Goldberg focuses on dreams in particular, but points out that similar liminal spaces, such as prophecy, the imagination, hallucinations, madness, and so on were often conceptually linked by the early Romantics. Halina Goldberg, “Chopin’s Oneiric Soundscapes and the Role of Dreams in Romantic Culture,” in *Chopin and His World*, ed. Jonathan Bellman and Halina Goldberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 24–26.

⁴⁵ “Nach der Etude wird’s Einem, wie nach einem sel’gen Bild, im Traum gesehen, das man, schon halbwach, noch einmal erhaschen möchte.” *NZfM* VII, no. 50 (December 22, 1837), 199. Translation from Goldberg, 16.

Last night I dreamt of you all night, and I must thank you for the immense pleasure your marvelous fantasizing brought me. The tones still hover before me; I wanted to hold onto them as I wakened. It was not without some squeezing of hands either—what a marvelous night! May the coming night again unite me with my beloved Robert.⁴⁶

There is one particular work of Schumann's that directly confronts this commingling of *phantasia*, dreaming, and remembering: his *Drei Clavier-Sonaten für die Jugend*, Op. 118. This opus contains three piano sonatas written for his three oldest daughters—Marie (twelve years old at the time), Elise (ten), and Julie (eight)—and was published by Schuberth and Company in 1853. On the title page of the first edition (fig. 1.1), Schumann makes the *Sonaten*'s engagement with remembering and commemoration explicit through the dedications “Julien zur Erinnerung” (For Julie, in remembrance), “Elisen zum Andenken” (A memento for Elise), and “Marien gewidmet” (Dedicated to Marie).

⁴⁶ Translation from Muxfeldt, *Vanishing Sensibilities: Schubert, Beethoven, Schumann*, 98.

Fig. 1.1. Title page from first edition of Robert Schumann's *Drei Clavier-Sonaten für die Jugend*, Op. 118 (Hamburg, Leipzig, and New York: Schubert & Co., 1853–54)



Schumann's exploration of memory takes place in the final movement of Marie's sonata, which he gave the descriptive title "Traum eines Kindes."⁴⁷ In this movement, Schumann brings back the opening idea (which I will once again refer to as the recollection-idea) from the first movement of Julie's sonata multiple times. In studying the relationship between these two movements, which effectively bookend the opus, we can see how material from Julie's sonata serves as the *Bild* Sisman describes in *phantasia*. Additionally, the spontaneous and involuntary recall of that *Bild* in Marie's sonata not only mimics the experience of remembering, but also imbues the form with more overtly fantasia-like aspects than seen in "Der Nussbaum."

Schumann's treatment of the recollection-idea (ex. 1.7A) in the "Traum eines Kindes" is similar to that of "Der Nussbaum," in that he makes it unexpectedly wrench away—again and again—from the currently established soundworld and present moment to return to material that represents an earlier point in time. However, in this sonata, the initial introduction of the recollection-idea (ex. 1.7B) is far more jarring than those of "Der Nussbaum," as it does not make any attempt to incorporate itself into the present moment. Instead the recollection-idea asserts itself after a double bar, abruptly undoing both the current movement's meter (changing from 6/8 to 2/4) and key signature (changing from C major to G major).

⁴⁷ During Schumann's exchange of letters with the publisher Julius Schuberth, they had argued over the inclusion of characteristic titles for each of the movements, which Schumann had not wanted to add, but the designation "Traum eines Kindes" came from him before his disagreement with Schuberth. Hrosvith Dahmen et al., eds., *Schumann Briefedition*, vol. series 3, band 6 (Cologne: Dohr, 2009), 483–87, 90–91.

Ex. 1.7A. “Julien zur Erinnerung,” Movement I, mm. 1–4

Lebhaft. (♩ = 92)

Ex. 1.7B. “Marien gewidmet,” Movement IV (“Traum eines Kindes”), mm. 31–54

This movement perhaps does not initially look like a fantasia: it lacks arpeggiated flourishes, a confluence of different musical textures, recitative-like passages, or distantly related harmonic shifts. But the introduction of the memory of Julie’s sonata—perhaps meant to remind Marie of her own childhood—is still markedly abrupt enough to reference fantasia. In fact, the recollection-idea wreaks formal havoc on the movement, disrupting what otherwise would have been a rather typical compound ternary with a harmonically closed A section. Mm. 1–34 present

a complete whole, a rounded continuous binary that closes on its tonic, and it is the unexpected and unprepared intrusion of the memory (which initially sounds like the beginning of the B section) at this point that causes an asymmetry of the A section (table 1.1). We leave the A section's standard binary form and launch into several sections of the recollection-idea and the present trading back-and-forth episodically, each trying to assert itself, and each demarcated by double bar lines and a change of meter. The present music of Marie's sonata finally wins out in m. 51 and leads the A section to a close via a coda with new musical material.

Table 1.1. Formal diagram of “Marien gewidmet,” Movement IV, A section

| a | b | a' | Episode 1 | Episode 2 | Episode 3 | Episode 4 + Coda |
|------------|------------|-----------|---|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| mm. 1–10 | mm. 11–18 | mm. 19–34 | mm. 35–38 | mm. 39–42 | mm. 43–50 | mm. 51–74 |
| CM~GM: PAC | Digression | CM: PAC | GM: HC | GM: HC | GM: HC | CM~GM: PAC |
| | | | Recollection-idea; meter changes to 2/4 | Marie's music returns | Recollection-idea | Marie's music returns + new material |

Before the interjection of the recollection-idea, however, Schumann introduces both formal detours and melodic cues in the A section that presage the major disruptions to come. Though this section is, by and large, formally conventional, Schumann finds subtle ways to play with listener expectations. Mm. 1–10 (the *a* section in the binary form that comprises the larger A section of the overall ternary), for example, is comprised of two phrases with typical four-bar phrase lengths. This sets up an expectation of phrase regularity and that the following *b* section will be likewise constructed. Depending on how one hears this section, the argument could be made that this is indeed the case: m. 19 begins what sounds like a return to the *a* section after eight measures of digression (*b*). But this is not altogether clear-cut. If this is in fact the return, it

stretches on longer than one would expect: some sixteen measures. Not only this, but Schumann includes both an unexpected moment of rest on a fermata (m. 26), and a new musical motive (mm. 29–30) that presages material from the B section. A literal recall of the music from the *a* section occurs beginning in m. 31, but these four measures go by so quickly so as to seem like an afterthought, and not a true return (ex. 1.8). Formal ambiguity abounds in the A section, exacerbated by the movement's off-tonic opening (V7): there can be no clear harmonic interruption (an arrival on a half cadence that signals the impending return) in the digression if the return itself begins on the same harmony. Schumann subtly disrupts our sense of formal procedure from the very beginning, even though the entry of the recollection-idea strikes us as a far more drastic formal subversion. Similarly, the descending third in the melody of Marie's theme—F-E-D on the downbeats of mm. 31–33, and then G-F-E leading to the conclusion of the phrase in m. 34—is echoed in the entrance of the recollection-idea with its own descending third in mm. 35–36, B-A-G (see again ex. 1.7*B*). It is as if the descending third of Marie's music triggered the memory of Julie's.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ I am grateful to Frank Samarotto for pointing this out to me.

Ex. 1.8. “Marien gewidmet,” mm. 11–34

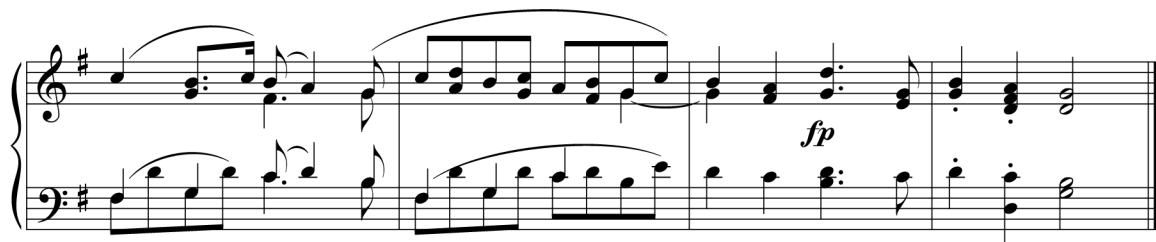
The very first time the recollection-idea interjects itself into Marie’s sonata, it begins to affect her music (ex. 1.7*B*). In mm. 35–38, we hear only a fragment of Julie’s sonata, but it is enough to impact its surroundings: after the arrival on a half cadence in the key of the recollection-idea in m. 38, Marie’s musical ideas are forced into that key (mm. 39–42). More than that, Marie’s music continues the melodic contour begun by the recollection idea: if it had continued its stepwise ascent in m. 38 (as it did in Julie’s sonata), it would have ended on a C5 on the downbeat of m. 39. Though Marie’s music enters an octave higher, it does so in dialogue with the recollection-idea.⁴⁹ The assimilation of Marie’s music into the world of the recollection-idea means that when it wishes to reassert itself again in m. 43, it is able to slip more easily into

⁴⁹ This is another of Samarotto’s observations, and I find it apt.

the present musical fabric, as it has acquiesced to the key of the recollection-idea. Though the present musical material ultimately takes control at m. 51 until the end of the A section, it also does so in the key of the recollection-idea. Remembering the music of Julie's sonata has changed the harmonic trajectory of the A section from harmonically closed to harmonically open, and further allowed for the introduction of new closing ideas heard from m. 51 to the end.

But we may also see that the recollection-idea is unable to maintain its original form in total. In mm. 43–50 of Marie's sonata, the memory of Julie's sonata does not try to continue from where it left off in m. 2, but instead leaps ahead to the end, beginning with material found in m. 47 (ex. 1.9). In mm. 45–46 of the "Traum," the music is no longer identical to that found in Julie's sonata. The memory could not be held, and in trying to remember it was transformed into something new, if similar. The memory tries to get itself back on course and reclaim its original content in mm. 47–48, but again, only a fragment is allowed to speak before it changes and then Marie's sonata reemerges in m. 51 (ex. 1.10).

Ex. 1.9. "Julien zur Erinnerung," mm. 47–50



Ex. 1.10 "Marien gewidmet," mm. 47–50



The B section is completely unaffected by the memory of Julie's sonata, but instead engages with recall by interspersing the hunting horns *topos* (mm. 79–80; ex. 1.11A) with both the opening theme from the A section (mm. 81, 83; ex. 1.11A), and the new material from its coda (m. 91; exx. 1.11B and C). Though it opens in a harmonically distant key (E-flat major) and with a new musical idea (hunting horns), this section is not a discrete formal unit. It is developmental in nature: fragmentary and harmonically unstable. It does present some new musical ideas, but it focuses primarily on remembering music from the previous section.

Ex. 1.11A. “Marien gewidmet,” mm. 79–85



Ex. 1.11B. “Marien gewidmet,” mm. 59–62 (beginning of coda of A section)



Ex. 1.11C. “Marien gewidmet,” mm. 91–95



As the A section returns, it comments on remembering. It features the same procedure as before, with the recollection-idea interjecting unpreparedly, though this is expected because of what we experience in the first A section. This time, however, formal strictures dictate that the harmonic goal is to remain in the tonic of C major, and thus the recollection-idea shifts to accommodate. In mm. 152–55, Marie’s music takes control back from Julie’s (still in the latter’s key), and this time we do not end on a half cadence in G major, but on a perfect authentic cadence in that key instead (ex. 1.12). This means that when the recollection-idea interjects again, it does so not by reasserting its own tonic, but by transforming that G harmony into a dominant seventh of the tonic key of Marie’s sonata. By the end of the movement, the recollection-idea, a product of the past, has been brought squarely into the present. With both musical thoughts in the same key *and* in the same time, the movement may come to a close.

Ex. 1.12. “Marien gewidmet,” mm. 151–54



The previous examples expand our understanding of the music-rhetorical strategy *phantasia* (as explained by Sisman and others) to see how Schumann represents memory through a musical *Bild*. This image undergoes many of the same processes of actual remembering—fragmentation, abrupt and incessant triggering, forgetting, and generating new material through filling in the gaps through imagination. Perhaps most importantly, many of these representations do not overtly signal memory. In the case of “Der Nussbaum,” the texts alone (both musical and verbal) do not indicate the presence of memory, and so Schumann’s musical choices do not as

well. We are only now able to hear this song as an engagement with memory because we have access to related biographical paratexts. Because of Schumann's treatment of memory in "Nussbaum"—and because of the unconventional ways in which he uses *phantasia* to signal memory in the *Jugendsonaten*—we must acknowledge that examples of memory in Romantic music may be far more subtle than previously considered.

1.5. Albums: A Locus of Romantic Memory and Commemoration

The study of albums and their important, personal commemorative function can fill the current gap in the scholarship and provide a complement to the existing scholarly work on the poetics of memory. Remembrances encoded into albums through musical inscriptions do not always mimic the process of remembering, even if these inscriptions are intended to help the recipient remember something or someone. Instead, albums demonstrate the personal ways people chose to commemorate themselves in semiprivate contexts—in the company of family and friends, rather than for all of posterity—and thus illustrate important social aspects connected to remembering. For musical memory, albums help us begin to answer the question posed (but not fully answered) by Botstein and Frisch in the aforementioned volume on musical memory: who is doing the remembering?⁵⁰ They can help us go beyond Frisch's proposed educated listener, a concept that surely informs much of the way we hear this music today, and attempt to locate hypothetical and, in some cases, *specific* historical listeners. Additionally, the study of individuals' engagement with albums illuminates important broader aesthetic concerns:

⁵⁰ Leon Botstein, "Memory and Nostalgia as Music-Historical Categories," *Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 532; Frisch, "'You Must Remember This': Memory and Structure in Schubert's String Quartet in G Major, D. 887," 588, 590.

remembering is a largely social and fundamentally creative act. By situating Robert Schumann's different approaches to musical memory and commemoration within the practice of album-keeping, I am able to show a paradox inherent in nineteenth-century memory: it existed at the intersection between lofty Romantic ideals and everyday concerns. In the personal albums they cultivated and inscribed, individuals commemorated themselves and others in a variety of ways. Sometimes these inscriptions exemplified the sublime aspects of Romantic memory, other times the more prosaic aspects, and other times both simultaneously. Regardless, the result was always grounded in the deeply meaningful and personal.

1.6. The Album and Its Progenitors: Historical Background

Current scholars of the album and album leaves are in a much better position than those mere decades ago, thanks to the pioneering work of several scholars. Gertrude Angermann made the first major contribution to literary studies with her survey of album and *Stammbuch* (the original term for such objects) inscriptions from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries.⁵¹ Tatsuhiko Itoh's dissertation, which focuses on German *Stammbücher* of the mid-eighteenth century through the early nineteenth century, delivered an equally important windfall for album studies in musicology.⁵² More recently, Matthias Kruse built on their work with his introduction to and overview of the album in a collection of essays dedicated to Schumann's album leaves.⁵³

⁵¹ Gertrude Angermann, *Stammbücher und Poesiealben als Spiegel ihrer Zeit, nach Quellen des 18.–20. Jahrhunderts aus Minden-Ravensburg* (Münster: Ashendorff, 1971).

⁵² Shortly before the publication of Itoh's dissertation, Hanna Wolff released her book about album poetry. Tatsuhiko Itoh, "Music and Musicians in the German *Stammbücher* from circa 1750 to circa 1815" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1992); Hanna Wolff, *Poesie aus Stammbüchern und Alben von 1789 bis 1991* (Bremen: Verlag H.M. Hauschild, 1991).

⁵³ Matthias Kruse, "Album und Albumblatt - eine Einführung," in *Schumanns Albumblätter*, ed. Ute Jung-Kaiser and Matthias Kruse (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2006), 1–14.

Access to these sources has also greatly improved: many important extant albums, *Stammbücher*, and leaves are now readily available in facsimile;⁵⁴ many more are available through digitized collections provided by various libraries and archives.

The practice of keeping an album and asking friends, acquaintances, and family members to inscribe its blank pages dates back to the Renaissance. Such an object was initially called a *Stammbuch*, though it bore any number of names over the following several hundreds of years: *Philoteca* or *Gefäß der Freundschaft*, *Album amicorum* or *Album der Freunde*, and *Liber memorialis* or *Buch der Erinnerung* throughout the Renaissance and into the eighteenth century; *Denkmal der Freundschaft*, *Tempel der Freundschaft*, and *Der Freundschaft gewidmet* also in the eighteenth century; and *Erinnerungsblätter*, *Souvenir*, and *Album* (later *Poesiealbum*) in the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ The albums were often beautifully decorated and sometimes consisted of loose pages the owner later bound together; increasingly people bought and kept blank books exclusively for the purpose of collecting inscriptions.⁵⁶ Albums frequently featured an array of incorporated media: poetry, prose, mottos, watercolors, drawings, cut-outs, pressed flowers, locks of hair, and so on. Exclusively musical albums became increasingly prevalent in the nineteenth century—with contributors inscribing musical fragments or entire short pieces—but

⁵⁴ This includes, but is not limited to, the following: Max Braubach, ed., *Die Stammbücher Beethovens und der Babette Koch: In Facksimile mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1995); Eva-Brit Fanger and Elisabeth Th. Fritz-Hilscher, eds., *Heinrich Panofka: Ein musikalisches Stammbuch (Königliche Bibliothek Kopenhagen)* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007); Uta Goebel-Streicher, ed., *Das Stammbuch der Nannette Stein (1787–1793): Streiflichter auf Kultur und Gesellschaft in Augsburg und Süddeutschland im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 2001); Christoph Hellmundt and Wolfgang Orf, eds., *Die Musikalischen Albumblätter Der Luise Avé-Lallemant Zu Leipzig: Eine Autographensammlung Aus Der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1981); Denis Herlin, ed., *Collection Musicale François Lang* ([Paris]: Klincksieck, 1993); Renata Suchowiejko, ed., *Album musical Marii Szymanowskiej* (Krakow and Paris: Musica Iagellonica and Société Historique et Littéraire Polonaise, 1999).

⁵⁵ Kruse, “Album und Albumblatt - eine Einführung,” 2; Itoh, “Music and Musicians in the German *Stammbücher* from circa 1750 to circa 1815,” 52.

⁵⁶ Even with bound books, owners would still often paste in leaves they received with letters and other mementos.

even musical leaves usually also featured a prose inscription.⁵⁷ These inscriptions often followed a few common formulations, including a personal statement, the phrase “in remembrance of” (“Zur Erinnerung”), the inscriber’s signature, and the date and place of inscription. Earlier *Stammbuch* entries dating to the Renaissance were generally less personal in nature, and tended to focus on lineage, bearing family crests and mottos.⁵⁸ Beginning around 1750, with the rise of the *Empfindsamkeit* tradition, *Stammbuch* entries began to take on a more personal nature, and focused on sentimental expression and the valorization of friendship.⁵⁹ This “cult of friendship,” identified by Itoh, continued well into the nineteenth century, as did the importance of the album as an idealized space in which people could maintain, nurture, and commemorate their relationships.⁶⁰

As such, personal albums tended to circulate among small, semiprivate audiences that included family and friends, or those who attended the same salons. This ultimately meant that an inscriber’s leaf would be on full display to others who viewed the album. Thus, inscribing always entailed a level of performativity and sometimes an “anxiety of authorship,” as Justyna Beinek puts it.⁶¹ This also precipitated much in-group signifying, either for other inscribers, or

⁵⁷ Kruse, “Album und Albumblatt - eine Einführung,” 5.

⁵⁸ In the sixteenth century, *Stammbücher* were referred to as “Wappenbücher” by the nobility and “Liber amicorum” by humanists. The former were used in court as proof of one’s belonging to a particular family, and were also used at jousts to prove past competitions with other noblemen. Kruse, 2.

⁵⁹ Kruse, 4.

⁶⁰ This is of course different from the practice of keeping an album dedicated to collecting as many autographs from significant and well-known personages as possible, a practice described by Kruse. One such album was the one owned by Gustave Vogt, the preeminent oboist of France for the better part of half a century, who collected as many inscriptions from as many famous musicians passing through Paris as possible. In Bea Friedland’s work on the album, she explains that rather than shedding light on any of Vogt’s personal relationships, the inscriptions and autographs provide a glimpse into the wider context of Parisian musical life between 1840 and 1850. Itoh, “Music and Musicians in the German *Stammbücher* from circa 1750 to circa 1815,” 96–101. Kruse, “Album und Albumblatt - eine Einführung,” 7–8; Bea Friedland, “Gustave Vogt’s Souvenir Album of Music Autographs: A Beguiling Glimpse of Musical Paris in the 1840s,” *Notes* 31, no. 2 (December 1974): 262.

⁶¹ Justyna Beinek, “Making Literature in Albums: Strategies of Authorship in Pushkin’s Day,” *Toronto Slavic Quarterly* 31 (Winter 2010), <http://sites.utoronto.ca/tsq/31/Beinek31.shtml> (accessed December 5, 2019).

for the album owner exclusively, in the form of codes, allusions, inside jokes, and more. Social considerations greatly impacted how inscribers interacted with an album. They would carefully weigh how best to immortalize themselves within the context of the other inscriptions and their relationship to the album owner.

Writing in and keeping an album were innately social endeavors. Unlike diaries, or letters intended for a specific addressee, albums circulated within groups of varying sizes, their contents viewable to all whom the owner deemed worthy.⁶² One typical setting for the circulation of albums was the salon, where attendants went to discuss and experience art and other intellectual pursuits, and to demonstrate their own prowess in or knowledge of cultivated matters.⁶³ Additionally, they would play cards, read poetry aloud, listen to performances of music, and engage in other entertainments. In this context, one's album inscription became a potential display of playful wit.⁶⁴ Gitta Hammarberg and Justyna Beinek discuss this particular aspect of

⁶² This is, of course, a simplification, as people in the nineteenth century often wrote their diaries and letters with an eye toward future posterity. I comment solely on the expectation that personal inscriptions in a nineteenth-century album would certainly have been viewed by other people during both the album owner's and inscriber's lifetimes.

⁶³ There are issues of both ethnicity and gender at play in the context of the salon that are beyond the scope of this study. Peter Gradenwitz in particular discusses how Jewish women flourished in the salons of Berlin in the nineteenth century, and Ruth Solie traces the connection between *Hausmusik* and *Salonmusik* and how the genres of the latter sphere became associated with women. Jeffrey Kallberg similarly explores the perceived femininity of the nineteenth-century nocturne, a favorite salon genre. Peter E. Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise: Geschmacksbildung, Gesprächsstoff und musikalische Unterhaltung in der bürgerlichen Salongesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Steiner Franz Verlag, 1991), 78–84; Jeffrey Kallberg, "The Harmony of the Tea Table: Gender and Ideology in the Piano Nocturne," *Representations* 39 (Summer 1992): 105–10; Ruth Solie, "Gender, Genre, and the Parlor Piano," *The Wordsworth Circle* 25, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 54.

⁶⁴ The sixth chapter of Gradenwitz's book richly details the musical activities of such salons, including how card games would cease when a performance was about to begin. Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise: Geschmacksbildung, Gesprächsstoff und musikalische Unterhaltung in der bürgerlichen Salongesellschaft*, 175–267.

album inscriptions within nineteenth-century Russian salons, with Hammarberg claiming that, “An element of play is characteristic of all cultural processes.”⁶⁵

Indeed, this element of play features in many facets of album inscriptions, and the album, as Beinek puts it, served as a prop for the “theatricality” of salons.⁶⁶ Many salon hosts made a show of demanding a particular type of inscription from an attendee in front of the other guests; the inscriber would have to think on her feet as part of this game.⁶⁷ Play accounts for the many album inscriptions that incorporated epigrams, acrostics, *bout-rimés*, pictograms, and so on. It further accounts for games found in musical inscriptions, such as the unrealized canon—an extraordinarily popular choice of inscription in the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries—or entries that were simply meant to be silly, such as in the case of a leaf written by Ferdinand David for Julius Rietz’s album on June 8, 1843.⁶⁸ The famous violinist and cellist friends, respectively, played chamber music together, and, as a tongue-in-cheek dedication to Rietz, David wrote a short string quartet with the cello marked *con espressione* while it sustained a tied low E-flat for eighty-four measures, nearly the entirety of the piece. For variety, David incorporated alternating rests and *pizzicato* E-flats for the remaining eight measures.⁶⁹

From the performativity of album inscriptions to the contexts in which they existed, the meaning generated by these objects was intrinsically tied to these specifically social

⁶⁵ Gitta Hammarberg, “Women, Wit and Wordplay: Bouts-rimés and the Subversive Feminization of Culture,” in *Vieldeutiges Nicht-zu-Ende Sprechen: Thesen und Momentaufnahmen aus der Geschichte russischer Dichterinnen*, ed. Arja Rosenholm and Frank Göpfert (Fichtenwalde: Göpfert, 2002), 61.

⁶⁶ Beinek, “Making Literature in Albums: Strategies of Authorship in Pushkin’s Day,” 8.

⁶⁷ Beinek, 16–17.

⁶⁸ Itoh, “Music and Musicians in the German *Stammbücher* from circa 1750 to circa 1815,” 34.

⁶⁹ Ferdinand David, Album leaf, Stammbuch Julius Rietz, Düsseldorf, Heinrich-Heine-Institute, 35.G.2251, [58–59].

circumstances and expectations.⁷⁰ The question of audience was always prominent in an inscriber's mind—who will see this? As a result, this often influenced how or what an inscriber wrote. Hammarberg identifies devices such as secret codes using alternate alphabets or emblems to obscure the meaning of their inscription to those who were not the recipient. Another strategy was for inscribers to incorporate allusions with personal resonances that only some individuals would fully understand.⁷¹ This would have required the inscriber to look through the album in order to find an inscription from a friend (or nemesis!), and craft her own inscription in such a way that it commented on the earlier one. An inscription's meaning thus came not only from its own contents (both text and subtext), but from the surrounding texts. Because of this, and because albums were generated by multiple individuals, they serve as case studies that complicate the nature of authorship and represent the creation of communities that were both public and private.⁷²

⁷⁰ Many of the social expectations surrounding the inscribing of albums and requesting of inscriptions bear similarities to the tenets surrounding the culture of gift-giving. This goes beyond the scope of the current project, but a short list of sources that investigate gift culture are: Nele Gabriëls, "Reading (Between) the Lines: What Dedications Can Tell Us," in *Cui Dono Lepidum Novum Libellum?: Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century: Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt et al. (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2008), 65–80; Emily H. Green, "Between Text and Context: Schumann, Liszt, and the Reception of Dedications," *Journal of Musicological Research* 28, no. 4 (2009): 312–39; Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Expanded Edition*, trans. Jane I. Guyer (Chicago: Hau Books, 2016), 55–64; Thomas Schmidt-Beste, "Dedicating Music Manuscripts: On Function and Form of Paratexts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Sources," in *Cui Dono Lepidum Novum Libellum?: Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century: Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt et al. (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2008), 81–108; Tim Shephard, "Constructing Identities in a Music Manuscript: The Medici Codex as a Gift," *Renaissance Quarterly* 63 (2010): 84–127; Martin Staehelin, "Eine musikalische Danksagung von Heinrich Isaac: Zur Diskussion einer Echtheitsfrage," in *Quellenstudium und musikalische Analyse: Festschrift Martin Just zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Niedermüller, Cristina Urchueguía, and Oliver Wiener (Würzburg: Ergon, 2001), 23–32; Rob C. Wegman, "Musical Offerings in the Renaissance," *Early Music* 33, no. 3 (2005): 425–37.

⁷¹ Gitta Hammarberg, "Flirting with Words: Domestic Albums (1770–1840)," in *Russia, Women, Culture*, ed. Helena Goscilo and Beth Holmgren (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 299–307.

⁷² Within the field of literary studies, several scholars have challenged the notion of the solitary author, and approach authorship and editorship as a social endeavor. Andrew Bennett, *The Author* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005); Philip Gossett, "Editorial Theory, Music Editions, Performance: 19th-Century Faultlines from a 21st-Century Perspective," in *Music in the Mirror: Reflections on the History of Music Theory and Literature for the 21st Century*, ed. Andreas Giger and Thomas Mathiesen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 217–31; Jerome McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

Perhaps because they provide such a tantalizing glimpse of private worlds, albums have recently proven to be fertile ground for scholarly inquiry. Luciane Beduschi and Gitta Hammarberg explore album conventions such as the incorporation of puzzle canons and witty wordplay in inscriptions, respectively.⁷³ Several scholars—Erica Armstrong, Justyna Beinek, Anya Jabour, and Karen Sánchez-Eppler—illuminate the ways in which individuals used albums as a means of writing history and constructing identity.⁷⁴ Beinek also has demonstrated that the album served as an important outlet for the creation of literature, particularly for the poet Alexander Pushkin.⁷⁵ And within the realm of musicology, Phyllis Benjamin, Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, Bea Friedland, Hans-Günter Klein, Ralf Wehner, and Pamela Weston have brought attention to specific leaves and albums as alternative manuscript sources, documents of composer biography, and snapshots of particular musical circles.⁷⁶

1991); Jack Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁷³ Luciane Beduschi, “Survivance du canon énigmatique au début du XIXe siècle: Le cas de Sigismund Neukomm,” in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th–16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2007), 445–55; Hammarberg, “Flirting with Words: Domestic Albums (1770–1840)”;

Hammarberg, “Women, Wit and Wordplay: Bouts-rimés and the Subversive Feminization of Culture.”

⁷⁴ Erica R. Armstrong, “A Mental and Moral Feast: Reading, Writing, and Sentimentality in Black Philadelphia,” *Journal of Women’s History* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 78–102; Justyna Beinek, “The Album in the Age of Russian and Polish Romanticism: Memory, Nation, Authorship” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2001); Justyna Beinek, “Forget-Me-Not: National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Polish Albums,” *The Sarmatian Review* 24, no. 3 (September 2004), <http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~sarmatia/904/243beinek.html> (accessed June 14, 2014); Justyna Beinek, “Cultural Texts: Polish and Russian Albums in the Age of Romanticism,” *Rocznik Antropologii Historii* 1 (2011): 173–92; Justyna Beinek, “Inscribing, Engraving, Cutting: The Polish Romantic Album as Palimpsest,” in *The Effect of Palimpsest*, ed. Bożena Shallcross and Ryszard Nycz (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 29–48; Anya Jabour, “Albums of Affection: Female Friendship and Coming of Age in Antebellum Virginia,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 107, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 125–58; Karen Sánchez-Eppler, “‘Copying and Conversion: An 1824 Friendship Album,’ from a Chinese Youth,” *American Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (June 2007): 301–39.

⁷⁵ Beinek, “Making Literature in Albums: Strategies of Authorship in Pushkin’s Day.”

⁷⁶ Phyllis Benjamin, “A Diary-Album for Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy,” *Mendelssohn-Studien: Beiträge zur neueren deutschen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 7 (1990): 179–217; Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, “Chopin, Bellini et Le Théâtre Italien: Autour de l’album de Mme d’Est,” in *D’un Opéra l’autre: Hommage à Jean Mongrédien*, ed. Jean Gribenski, Marie-Claire Mussat, and Herbert Schneider (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996), 347–69; Friedland, “Gustave Vogt’s Souvenir Album of Music Autographs: A Beguiling Glimpse of Musical Paris in the 1840s”; Hans-Günter Klein, “‘...dieses allerliebste Buch’: Fanny Hensels Noten-Album,” in

As of yet, however, there exist few musicological studies that plumb the depths of the important role personal albums played in the nineteenth-century culture of memory and commemoration. In literary studies, Justyna Beinek shows the creative and multitudinous ways in which people engaged with their albums as a locus of memory. In musicology, Oliver Huck's recent article discusses in detail several album leaves from prominent composers such as Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Wagner, and connects the practice of inscribing personal album leaves to the "album leaf" as a musical genre, which emerged during the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Halina Goldberg's forthcoming study on Chopin's album leaves will help redefine the field. She illuminates the multifaceted importance of these objects, exploring their status in Romantic memory culture, their role in social interaction, the musical aesthetics of inscriptions, and how albums facilitated constructions of national identity.⁷⁸ By analyzing some significant trends in Robert Schumann's album-inscribing, I show the further possibilities of studying albums, and reveal them to be a missing piece in our current understanding of Romantic memory.

Festschrift für Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel um 3. Oktober 1993, ed. Rudolf Elvers (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1993), 141–58; Ralf Wehner, "'...ich zeigte Mendelssohns Albumblatt vor und Alles war gut.' Zur Bedeutung der Stammbucheintragungen und Albumblätter von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy," in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Kongreß-Bericht Berlin*, ed. Christian Martin Schmidt (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1997), 37–63; Pamela Weston, "Vincent Novello's Autograph Album: Inventory and Commentary," *Music & Letters* 75, no. 3 (August 1994): 365–80.

⁷⁷ Oliver Huck, "Albumblätter für Klavier – Manuskripte und Kompositionen im 19. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 75, no. 4 (January 2019): 244–77.

⁷⁸ Goldberg, "Chopin's Album Leaves and the Aesthetics of Musical Album Inscription."

1.7. “Zur Erinnerung”

Above all, nineteenth-century individuals found the album to be of paramount importance as a locus of memory and remembering. Indeed, in Angermann’s survey of hundreds of inscriptions from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, she noted a wide variety of strategies for inscription, but with one commonality: that the inscription should preserve the inscriber “in friendly remembrance” to the album owner.⁷⁹ In my own observation of the leaves written by Robert Schumann, as well as leaves written by his family and friends, I have seen that almost every single leaf contains the phrase “Zur Erinnerung” or “Zum Andenken” before the inscriber’s signature. Justyna Beinek—whose multifaceted work about memory is one of the most significant scholarly contributions to our understanding of the nineteenth-century album’s commemorative importance—also notes that album-inscribers often made the connection between albums and other memorial structures. Basing her argument on Russian friendship albums, she observes that multiple inscribers referred to albums as “graveyards” or “cemeteries,” and that comparing the album to a monument or tombstone was a common trope.⁸⁰ Inscribers viewed their offerings as a personal means by which the owner could remember them, and thus the ways in which they chose to commemorate themselves are telling. She elaborates that:

Both album-writing and album-keeping can be interpreted as symbolic attempts at stopping time, preserving memory, and counteracting oblivion through the collecting of verbal and visual traces. Thus, inscriptions serve to postpone or cancel erasure.⁸¹

Album leaves were an integral part of a person’s legacy, and as such, inscribers approached their inscriptions with great care.

⁷⁹ Angermann, *Stammbücher und Poesiealben als Spiegel ihrer Zeit*, 130.

⁸⁰ Justyna Beinek, “‘Portable Graveyards’: Russian Albums in the Romantic Culture of Memory,” *The Pushkin Review* 14 (2011): 35, 38.

⁸¹ Beinek, “Inscribing, Engraving, Cutting: The Polish Romantic Album as Palimpsest,” 29.

The ability of an album leaf to fulfill such an important task—to be a continuous source of memory by which the album owner could remember the inscriber—rested not only on the inscriber, but also on the recipient’s ongoing, active engagement with the contents of the inscriber’s leaf. This was part of the social contract of album-keeping. An album was not meant to be an impersonal warehouse of immutable memories. Instead, its contents demanded engagement from the album owner in order to activate the memories encoded within and thus keep them alive. That is to say that, while its inscriptions were often representations of fixed memories, the album owner was expected to use them and to engage in active remembering. Beinek located several examples of this in the albums she studied, most notably in an inscription by Alexander Pushkin, in which he explicitly beseeched a leaf recipient to speak aloud his inscribed name:

But on a day of sorrow, in silence
Pronounce it, in melancholy;
Say: there is memory of me,
There is in this world a heart where I live.⁸²

Beinek shrewdly indicates that the human agency required to activate memory has a double effect: not only would the recipient Karolina Sobańska remember Pushkin, but she would also reflect on a memory of herself connected to him, and acknowledge that he maintained a memory of her as well.⁸³ This opened the process of remembering to creative interpolations.

Indeed, several Romantic and proto-Romantic thinkers also believed in the fundamentally imaginative and creative powers that one must harness to remember. Frisch notes the Romantics considered memory “a creative force,” and he traces this attitude back to 1690 citing John Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, in which Locke acknowledged both

⁸² Beinek, “‘Portable Graveyards’: Russian Albums in the Romantic Culture of Memory,” 58.

⁸³ Beinek, 58–59.

memory's unreliability as well as its role in shaping personal identity.⁸⁴ We recall that scholars like Sisman have expounded upon the connections between *phantasia*, fantasizing, and the imagination. The unreliability or otherwise untrustworthiness of memory is a fact of life that we grapple with today, and thus seems almost unworthy of remark.⁸⁵ What is significant is how differently eighteenth-century and Romantic thinkers, poets, and artists considered this unreliability. At least in part, they believed it was a positive feature.⁸⁶ In his influential treatise on philosophy, history, and sociology *Principi di Scienza Nuova d'intorno alla Comune Natura delle Nazioni* (1725), Giambattista Vico suggested that, "imagination . . . is nothing but the springing up again of reminiscences."⁸⁷ Vico was not alone in expressing that an unintentional, reflexive deployment of the imagination inevitably happens when a memory has grown too fuzzy to be recalled clearly. Others acknowledged that the process of remembering could inspire one to knowingly and purposefully fill in the gaps, such as in the case of Rousseau describing the process of writing his *Confessions* (1782, 1789):

I wrote them from memory; this memory often failed me or only furnished me imperfect recollections, and I filled in the gaps with details which I dreamed up, details which supplemented these recollections, but which were never contrary to them.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Frisch, "'You Must Remember This': Memory and Structure in Schubert's String Quartet in G Major, D. 887," 600.

⁸⁵ Daniel Schacter, a psychologist and leading researcher in memory studies, attributes this to the blurring over time of *engrams*, a term coined by nineteenth-century psychologist Richard Semon. An *engram* is the "enduring change in the nervous system" that retains something in one's memory. Over time, with more and more *engrams* added to the repository, older ones necessarily become fuzzier and harder to retrieve. Daniel L. Schacter, *Searching for Memory: The Brain, the Mind, and the Past* (New York: BasicBooks, 1996), 57.

⁸⁶ Richard Terdiman in particular explores the growing disconnect expressed by writers and thinkers post-1789 between memory and its representations. Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*, 13–32.

⁸⁷ Giambattista Vico, *The New Science of Giambattista Vico: Unabridged Translation of the Third Edition (1744) with the Addition of "Practice of the New Science,"* trans. Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968), 264.

⁸⁸ Quoted in Suzanne Nalbantian, *Memory in Literature: From Rousseau to Neuroscience* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 28.

Essentially, Rousseau recounted creating “memories” that were entirely new and contributed to his partly real, partly fictitious account. In this context, Rousseau’s description of the process he undertook while writing does not seem like another of his confessions. He merely reiterated the accepted knowledge that memory could only go so far, and at the point of failure, it activated the imagination to create something new.

The symbiotic relationship between memory and imagination is further delineated in the etymological distinction between two terms used by early German Romantic thinkers to describe aspects of memory: *Gedächtnis*, which refers to something like a storehouse where those memories live, and *Erinnerung*, which refers more to the process of remembering or retrieving those stored memories.⁸⁹ As Friedrich Schlegel said in one of his aphorisms: “Memory [*Gedächtnis*] is the fixed invariant between recall [*Erinnerung*] and imagination.”⁹⁰ To other thinkers like Hegel and Novalis, *Gedächtnis* only involved retention, and *Erinnerung* belonged to the transcendental and creative.⁹¹ Scientists such as Hermann Ebbinghaus, one of the pioneering scholars of memory, also agreed that *Gedächtnis* was “memory proper,” which was often “uncontrollably corrupted by” *Erinnerung*.⁹²

⁸⁹ The *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, first published by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm in 1854, and now helpfully online, illustrates this contemporary distinction. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Der Digitale Grimm: Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB/> (accessed July 28, 2017).

⁹⁰ “Gedächtnis ist die fixierte Indifferenz zwischen Erinnerung [sic] und Einbildungskraft.” Friedrich Schlegel, *Philosophische Lehrjahre 1796–1806*, ed. Ernst Behler, vol. 19/2, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1971), 19/2:234.

⁹¹ Laurie Ruth Johnson, *The Art of Recollection in Jena Romanticism: Memory, History, Fiction, and Fragmentation in Texts by Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2002), 93, 105.

⁹² Kurt Danziger, “Sealing Off the Discipline: Wilhelm Wundt and the Psychology of Memory,” in *The Transformation of Psychology: Influences of 19th-Century Philosophy, Technology, and Natural Science*, ed. Christopher D. Green, Marlene Gay Shore, and Thomas Teo (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2001), 49.

If memory were inherently unreliable, then its resultant artistic representations could ultimately have no stable referent, and thus no meaning.⁹³ However, this was not a problem for the Romantics, because album leaves and other artistic commemorations did not derive their meaning from their status as representations, but rather from their function as memory triggers. Proto-Romantic author Karl Philipp Moritz, for example, thought that artistic representations of memory could not fulfill a mimetic function, as they were not the thing they represented, but rather served as mnemonic aids that enabled the beholder to embark upon the imaginative process of remembering. As Laurie Ruth Johnson puts it, the representation, “enable[d] simultaneously the corporeal feeling and transcendental intuition [*Erinnerung*] of the trace [*Gedächtnis*], and hence of ‘absolute’ beauty.”⁹⁴ Meaning was derived not just from what was represented, but from the representations themselves and the imaginative process of remembering that they prompted.

The relationship between representations of memory and their function as triggers prompted a necessary corollary: if interaction with memory provided the impetus to create these representations, then one could continue to interact with those representations as a means of continual remembering. Thus, memory could not be rooted only in the past, and lived unquestionably in the present. This quality of memory prompted Friedrich Schlegel to describe it as having *Hin- und Her-Bewegung*, or “back-and-forth-ness.”⁹⁵ Novalis placed the act of

⁹³ The issue of signs and the thing signified as it concerns memory is a complicated one, and as Johnson points out, the Jena Romantics delighted in this tension. Johnson, *The Art of Recollection in Jena Romanticism: Memory, History, Fiction, and Fragmentation in Texts by Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis*, 51–53.

⁹⁴ Eugenio Donato agrees, arguing that these sorts of aesthetizations of memory neither have “ontological status” nor “mimetically succeed in maintaining the illusion of the presence of the object.” Eugenio Donato, “The Ruins of Memory: Archeological Fragments and Textual Artifacts,” *MLN* 93, no. 4, French Issue: Autobiography and the Problem of the Subject (May 1978): 583; Johnson, *The Art of Recollection in Jena Romanticism: Memory, History, Fiction, and Fragmentation in Texts by Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis*, 22.

⁹⁵ Johnson, *The Art of Recollection in Jena Romanticism: Memory, History, Fiction, and Fragmentation in Texts by Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis*, 3.

remembering firmly in the present: “All remembrance is presence.”⁹⁶ These ideas resonate with modern scholars. Ryan Minor, in his study of German nationalism and music festivals, similarly pinpoints the liminal space in which memory and remembering live, arguing that ascribing strong bifurcations to them such as “now/then, presence/absence, and wholeness/loss” is not necessarily helpful when considering the nineteenth century. Minor hints at the paradox inherent in Romantic memory that literary scholar Dietrich Harth addresses explicitly: Harth says that such representations served as both *memento mori* and *memento vitae*, attempting to preserve the past while simultaneously admitting they could not, and allowing people in the present to call up their contents.⁹⁷

Memory as constructed by friends and family in albums also reflected the Romantic notion that—for all its elevated poetic qualities—remembering involved real people and their real memories above all. According to sociologist Michael Schudson, there truly is no individual memory, as remembering does not happen in a vacuum, but rather is inevitably affected by society-made culture and institutions. The site of collective memory is “sometimes located in collectively created monuments and markers.”⁹⁸ Albums could be considered one such type of collectively created monuments, though they were smaller, more personal, and more private than their public counterparts. In this way, they reflect the communal nature inherent in Romantic memory, which is, as Johnson says, “inescapably social and corporeal.”⁹⁹ She notes that thinkers such as Novalis directly connected the idea of individual memory to collective memory, insofar

⁹⁶ “Alle Erinnerung ist Gegenwart.” J. Minor, ed., *Novalis Schriften* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1907), 70.

⁹⁷ Dietrich Harth, *Die Erfindung des Gedächtnisses* (Frankfurt am Main: Keip, 1991), 16.

⁹⁸ Michael Schudson, “Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory,” in *Memory Distortion*, ed. Daniel L. Schacter (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 346–47.

⁹⁹ Johnson, *The Art of Recollection in Jena Romanticism: Memory, History, Fiction, and Fragmentation in Texts by Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis*, 7.

as one cannot exist without the other.¹⁰⁰ This acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of remembering and social networks presaged what some twentieth-century scholars of memory would later theorize. Maurice Halbwachs, in particular, proposed a theory of collective memory in which the maintaining and retrieval of memories is only made possible through the existence of social frameworks, and that in the absence of such frameworks, memory cannot help but fade.¹⁰¹ Justyna Beinek documents a related topic of anxiety that runs through nineteenth-century album inscriptions: the fear of erasure after death, and the hope that their inscription can help stave it off.¹⁰²

1.8. Souvenirs, Relics, and the Nineteenth-Century Culture of Collectorship

Many historically focused studies illuminate the importance of large-scale, public forms of commemoration, such as museums and monuments. Beginning around the 1830s, and continuing throughout the century, Germany and most of central Europe saw a boom of such public institutions.¹⁰³ Within the field of musicology, there has been much discussion about the relationship between this trend and music. We know that the building of statues of composers—such as Mozart and Beethoven (discussed in chapter 4)—and their well-publicized celebratory unveilings flourished during the 1840s. Celia Applegate has also documented a growing desire for similarly “monumental” performances, such as Mendelssohn’s revered *St. Matthew Passion*

¹⁰⁰ Johnson, 104.

¹⁰¹ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 37–38.

¹⁰² Beinek, “Inscribing, Engraving, Cutting: The Polish Romantic Album as Palimpsest,” 29.

¹⁰³ James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 153–57.

in 1829.¹⁰⁴ Music festivals and composers' collected works have similarly been discussed as modes of large-scale public commemoration.¹⁰⁵

Focusing more on the role of the individual, studies on the culture of collectorship and fascination with so-called relics that arose during the nineteenth century also abound. Albums, in addition to facilitating active, ongoing remembrance, also came to be valued as parts of collections, or as souvenirs or relics. This, in fact, had an impact on the album tradition itself, as more and more people started keeping autograph albums that had little to do with the social practices described above, but rather were simply collections of autographs from famous individuals who had no personal ties to the album owner.¹⁰⁶ Albums of all types could take on souvenir or relic status, and are critical to understanding how album owners used them as memory aids to negotiate the divide between past and present.

An album or album leaf, like any souvenir or relic in the nineteenth century, poses a paradox. For one, as discussed above, memory is fleeting, fallible, and impossible to recapture in whole; we also know that for the Romantics, these could be considered positive qualities. For another, souvenirs and relics try to concretize the unconcretizable. Beverly Gordon has written

¹⁰⁴ Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 234–63.

¹⁰⁵ Ryan Minor specifically explains the role this type of historical commemoration played in nation-building. And as part of a larger discussion about J.S. Bach's *Christmas Oratorio* in the nineteenth century, I elucidate the problems of Bach's "genius" that the editors of the composer's first collected works encountered. Carolyn Carrier-McClimon, "Hearing the 'Töne eines Passionsliedes' in J.S. Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*: The Nineteenth-Century Critical Reception of BWV 248," *BACH* 45, no. 2 (2014): 51–54; Ryan Minor, *Choral Fantasies: Music, Festivity, and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 34–50.

¹⁰⁶ An example of this type of autograph album is the aforementioned Vogt album. For general information on the culture of collectorship, see: Judith Pascoe, "Poetry as Souvenir: Mary Shelley in the Annuals," in *Mary Shelley in Her Times*, ed. Betty T. Bennett and Stuart Curran (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 173–84. and Judith Pascoe, *The Hummingbird Cabinet: A Rare and Curious History of Romantic Collectors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). Within the realm of musicology, we have seen the veneration with which musical relics were treated by Pauline Viardot's circle in Mark Everist's fascinating study on the autograph score of *Don Giovanni*. Mark Everist, "Enshrining Mozart: *Don Giovanni* and the Viardot Circle," *19th-Century Music* 25, no. 2–3 (2001): 165–89.

about this “concretizing function” of souvenirs, and both she and Susan Stewart have described souvenirs as metonymic, as they are fragments that stand in for the whole memory or experience.¹⁰⁷ Susan Pearce discusses the ability of such objects to “carry the past physically into the present.” Stewart further emphasizes the importance of this past being connected to a personal narrative; that is to say, someone else’s souvenir or album will have no significance to a person unless it becomes a part of her own narrative.¹⁰⁸

In their status as physical souvenirs of people, places, and past moments, albums and their leaves took on increased significance as people of the nineteenth century became increasingly fascinated with death. In musicological studies, Lawrence Kramer in particular describes the rise of suburban cemeteries, mortuaries, and catacombs as visitor hotspots.¹⁰⁹ This preoccupation with death similarly encouraged people to immortalize themselves through album inscriptions, and thus provide means through which album owners could remember them. Similar attitudes may be seen in the Victorian fascination with relics of dead loved ones, such as locks of hair and jewelry. Though this emphasis on worldly objects may seem at odds with Romanticism, Judith Pascoe points out that such objects were viewed as “imbued with a lasting sediment of their owners,” thus contributing to the widespread fascination with authenticity.¹¹⁰ Relics, much like souvenirs, held seemingly paradoxical functions. As Deborah Lutz points out, the Victorians tried not to view relics merely as *memento mori*—which would fix death as

¹⁰⁷ Beverly Gordon, “The Souvenir: Messenger of the Extraordinary,” *Popular Culture* 20, no. 3 (Winter 1986): 135, 139; Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 136.

¹⁰⁸ Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 170; Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, 136.

¹⁰⁹ Prior to this, cemeteries had been prominently located in city centers. Their relocation to the suburbs thus raised public curiosity. Lawrence Kramer, “Chopin at the Funeral: Episodes in the History of Modern Death,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 101.

¹¹⁰ Pascoe, *The Hummingbird Cabinet: A Rare and Curious History of Romantic Collectors*, 3–4, 21.

permanent, as well as grimly remind the owner of her own mortality—but rather as a sign of “continued existence of the body to which it once belonged.” Simultaneously, a relic forced its owner to reckon repeatedly with the moment of loss.¹¹¹ Similarly, album leaves concurrently represented a consideration of the future (by leaving behind a relic of oneself), a concretization of a particular moment that would forevermore be in the past, and an impetus for remembrance that would always occur in the present.

1.9. Conclusion

This chapter serves to not only frame Romantic memory, but also to consider music in albums and make the case for why it is fruitful to study the convergence of the concept and this particular medium. We have long understood how passages of Robert Schumann’s music can be read as poetic representations of memory but have not yet considered how music that does not overtly signal its engagement with memory might also symbolize remembrance. Further, we, too, have not considered how the study of personal mementos can augment our understanding of the poetic ideals of Romantic memory. The nineteenth-century album, and individuals’ relationships with it, reflects the jumble of paradoxes inherent in Romantic memory. It was both public and private, individually and collectively driven, concretized and ever-changing. It was both a graveyard of past memories and a means to bring them back to life. It was both a living object and a relic. It facilitated seemingly contradictory practices, intersecting both the quotidian and the sublime. Because albums and similar commemorative objects reflect both the ideal aesthetics

¹¹¹ Though Lutz focuses on Victorian-era culture, the fascination with objects of the past and remembering with their help has clear resonances with earlier nineteenth-century trends. I engage with these concepts more in chapters 3 and 4. Deborah Lutz, “The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry, and Death Culture,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 39 (2011): 128, 130.

of Romanticism and the everyday inner workings of private worlds—giving individuals the opportunity to capture their everyday lives, and also to transcend them—they can provide a new entry point into the ways we currently consider the nineteenth-century culture of commemoration. Albums allow us to open the current scholarly discussion beyond the *topos* of memory; they help us to understand how music functioned as an important and *personal* means of remembrance that also fostered community and inspired the imagination.

CHAPTER 2

ROBERT SCHUMANN'S SELF-COMMEMORATION AS MUSIC EDUCATOR IN CANONIC ALBUM LEAVES

*I get great pleasure from my Chorverein . . . where I can
prepare, to my great delight, all the music I love.*

—Robert Schumann,
Letter to Ferdinand Hiller (1849)

2.1. Introduction

On September 17, 1847, Robert Schumann wrote the canonic partsong “Gebt mir zu trinken!” for the album of an unknown recipient; this was the first of several canonic album leaves he would write over the course of the next five years.¹ Two years later, this piece would be included in the published collection of canons for male chorus, titled *Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen*, Op 65. Schumann wrote this leaf during the time he and his family lived in Dresden, and when he was beginning his compositional foray into the world of convivial *Hausmusik*.² Over the next three years, and as he became more involved with the burgeoning German choral music tradition and composed more repertoire for amateur choral singing, Schumann would use almost exclusively this music in the album leaves he inscribed. Though it was not unusual for Schumann to write album leaves based on material he was composing at the time, this group of leaves represents a unique focus on a particular genre that differed from his

¹ The leaf belongs today to an unknown owner, who won it at an auction at Sotheby's in 1989. Margit L. McCorkle, *Robert Schumann: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Munich: G. Henle, 2003), 281.

² *Hausmusik* as a term first appeared in the German-language press in 1837 in Schumann's *NZfM*, and, at face value, simply referred to music that was accessible to non-professionals and played in the home. The situation was, of course, more nuanced than that, and the discourses surrounding *Hausmusik* at the time broached issues of repertoire, venue, morality, nationhood, and more, which I briefly discuss below. Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 162.

varied album-inscribing practices during the rest of his life (see appendix, table A.1), resulting in a profusion of some twelve leaves concentrated over a short period of time.

These canons reflect both the wider practice of inscribing such music in albums and also a particular period in Schumann's life when he tacitly asked leaf recipients to remember him as an educated musical leader and teacher by issuing contrapuntal challenges. Further, Schumann's notation of these particular leaves—as unrealized *Rätselcanonen* (puzzle canons) in which the canonic solutions are not provided and thus left to the savvy recipients to determine—makes these inscriptions fundamentally different than most others he wrote throughout his life. The notation of these leaves demanded interaction from their readers and also, in some cases, represented actual lived experience and music-making. Thus, I interpret these canonic album leaves as bearing “markers of sociable interaction,” to use Jennifer Ronyak's phrase, and also consider the potential musical practices they would have encouraged of their recipients.³

Further, through these leaves Schumann purposefully drew attention to his status as a well-respected leader in the world of German choral societies, which by mid-nineteenth century were viewed as critical institutions for the musical education of amateurs and the development of their morals in accordance with the ideals of *Bildung*. As is often the case with album leaves, an inscription can tell us as much about the inscriber as the recipient, and Schumann's constant return to the music he composed for his Dresden choral societies may be seen as personal reflection on truly happy times. Schumann's repertoire from this period—various forms of *Hausmusik*—has long been the subject of discussion, both regarding its artistic merits, and whether Schumann himself felt positively inclined toward music accessible to amateurs or

³ Jennifer Ronyak, “‘Serious Play,’ Performance, and the Lied: The Stägemann *Schöne Müllerin* Revisited,” *19th-Century Music* 34, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 165.

simply viewed it as a means of earning money. Removed from the realities of the musical marketplace, Schumann's choice to turn time and again to these canonic partsongs as personal inscriptions confirms his affinity for this music. These album leaves thus speak to both Robert Schumann's pedagogy at this time in his life, and his hope that he would be remembered as an influential, encouraging, and challenging teacher who helped further the German choral tradition.

2.2. The History of Musical Canons in Albums

Schumann's choice of musical canons for album leaves participated in a long custom of offering such mementos. In the album or *Stammbuch* tradition, canons were the most common musical inscription throughout the eighteenth century.⁴ Discussing several examples, Tatsuhiko Itoh shows that album leaves bearing canons—which often employed complicated contrapuntal devices akin to those found in J.S. Bach's *The Musical Offering*—spoke to the inscriber's (and hopefully recipient's) overall erudition in several ways. In providing a theme to be worked out and usually no other instructions, the inscriber both signaled his musical prowess and issued a (generally friendly) challenge to the recipient to find the solution. Itoh also finds that the canonic themes of such leaves are often accompanied by Latin texts, further proving the inscriber's learnedness. Itoh concludes that, generally speaking, musicians primarily wrote canons for other musicians, and he thus interprets them as “professional greetings.”⁵

⁴ Tatsuhiko Itoh, “Music and Musicians in the German *Stammbücher* from circa 1750 to circa 1815” (PhD diss., Duke University, 1992), 92.

⁵ Itoh, 156–57.

Though the use of canon in so-called artistic genres declined throughout the nineteenth century, its presence in album inscriptions continued unabated.⁶ In fact, Luciane Beduschi points to the prevalence of the genre in private contexts such as “letters, cards, album leaves, and other personal documents” as proof against the prevailing historical narrative of overall disuse.⁷ She analyzes what she calls a “*canon énigmatique*”—the French equivalent of the *Rätselcanon*—that Sigismund Neukomm wrote for Luigi Cherubini in his *Stammbuch* in 1811. In addition to explaining the difficulty of determining a canonic solution for this particular theme, she makes a broader claim for the intimacy such a genre conveyed: inscribers often incorporated well-known Latin allusions that could also function as a *double entendre*, with the full meaning of the text knowable only to the inscriber and recipient. Neukomm, for example, used the biblical text “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do” to lament his perceived lack of public interest in Cherubini’s music. In Beduschi’s view, the album canon allowed composers to communicate privately in plain sight, expressing thoughts they may not otherwise.⁸

While many nineteenth-century composers (including Robert Schumann) inscribed canons that did not rely on the highfalutin inclusion of Latin text, their leaves still communicated many of the same characteristics as those of the eighteenth century. They allowed for a display

⁶ It also, as Ian Bent argues, continued to be an important element of compositional theory treatises. Ian Bent, *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century: Fugue, Form and Style*, ed. Ian Bent, vol. 1, Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music (Cambridge, UK and New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1994), 24.

⁷ She poses her argument in contradiction to the *Grove* entry on the canon, quoting from the title referenced by the article’s authors *Ludwig van Beethoven’s Canons, from Letters, Cards, Album Leaves, and Other Personal Documents*. Luciane Beduschi, “Survivance du canon énigmatique au début du XIXe siècle: Le cas de Sigismund Neukomm,” in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th–16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Belgium: Peeters Leuven, 2007), 445.; Alfred Mann, J. Kenneth Wilson, and Peter Urquhart, “Canon (i),” *Grove Music Online*, accessed July 25, 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000004741>.

⁸ Beduschi, “Survivance du canon énigmatique au début du XIXe siècle,” 446–48.

of talent and education, reinforced the teacher/student relationship of the inscriber and dedicatee, and invited the dedicatee to attempt to solve the musical riddle. We cannot always know how successful an album owner was in determining a solution, or if he even cared to try and figure it out, but in the case of the album belonging to Ferdinand Möhring, we have proof of this engagement put into practice.

In 1840, Möhring, a German composer and organist, graduated from the Akademie der Künste in Berlin and started an album, inscribing the title page with the title “Souvenirs of My Friends” and the date “January 1840.”⁹ The twenty-four-year-old graduate had secured a post in Saarbrücken as organist and leader of the men’s chorus, and before he relocated from Berlin, he traveled to Leipzig, where Robert Schumann gave him a leaf of his Romance in F-sharp major from the Op. 28. From several other composers, however, the young Möhring received *Rätselcanonen*, and in many cases, he filled the adjacent pages in his album with solutions. Felix Mendelssohn, who had recommended Möhring for the position in Saarbrücken, wrote his entry on the first page of the album on February 14, 1840: a puzzle canon (fig. 2.1A).¹⁰ On the verso side of the leaf, Möhring worked through the challenge set by his elder, and wrote out a canon at the fifth he headed with the word “Auflösung” (resolution) (fig. 2.1B).

⁹ Album Ferdinand Möhring, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr. S.2, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv.

¹⁰ All biographical details about Möhring come from “Möhring Ferdinand,” *Saarland Biografien*, http://www.saarland-biografien.de/frontend/php/ergebnis_detail.php?id=605 (accessed July 25, 2018).

Fig. 2.14. Album leaf from Felix Mendelssohn in Ferdinand Möhring's album, February 14, 1840. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr. S.2, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, [3]. ([CC BY-NC-SA 4.0](#))

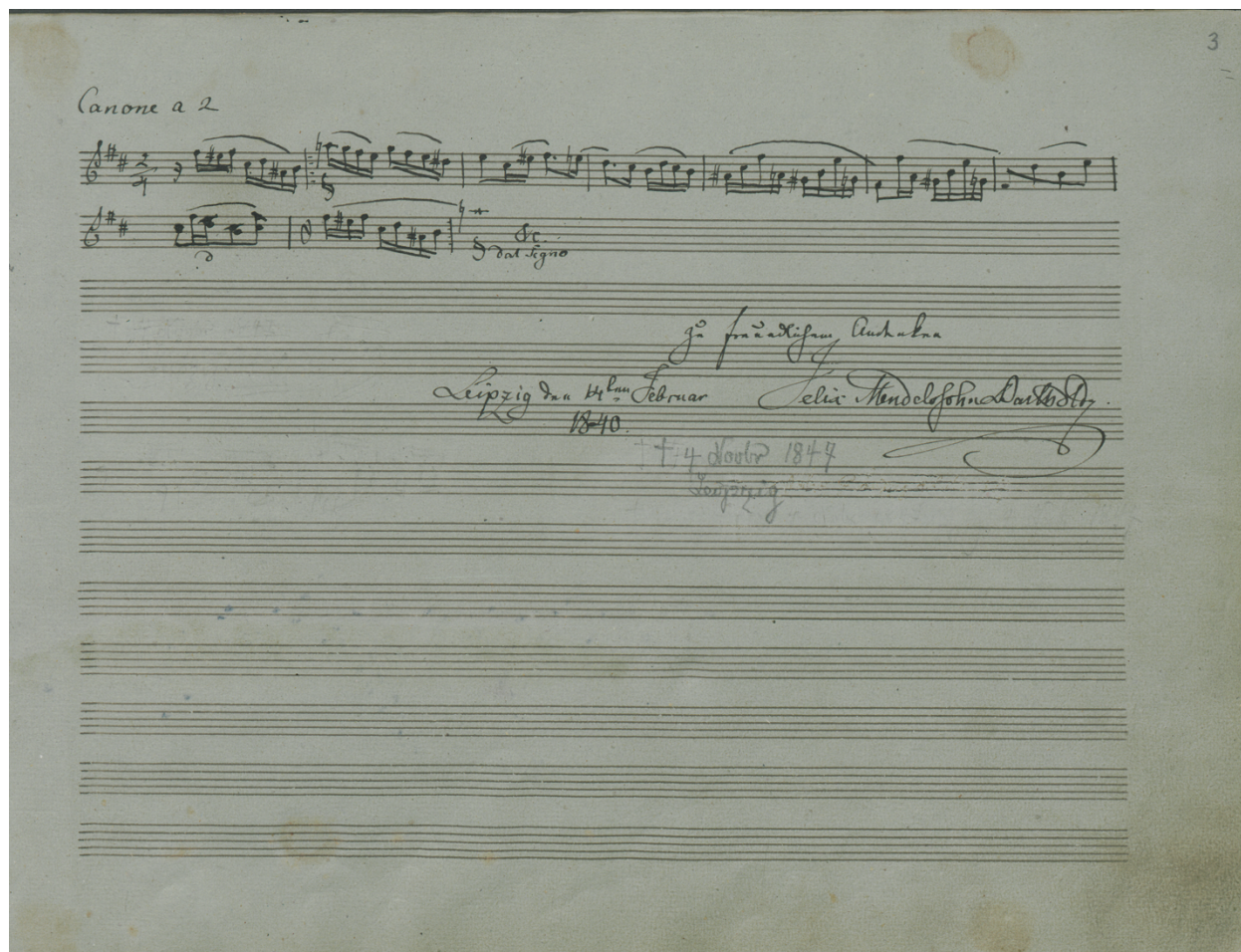
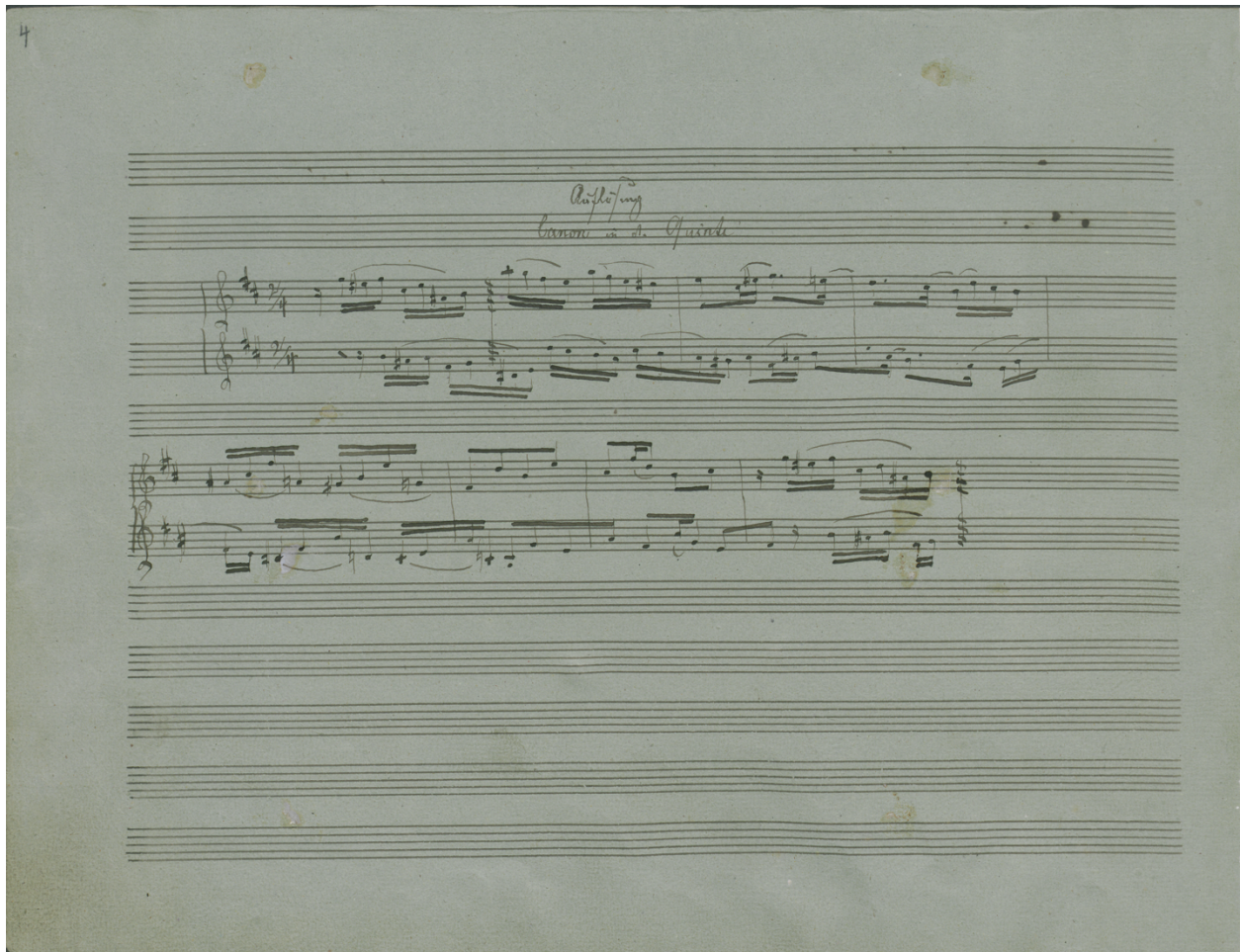


Fig. 2.1B. Ferdinand Möhring's canonic solution to Felix Mendelssohn's album leaf. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr. S.2, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, [4]. ([CC BY-NC-SA 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/))



Möhring tried his hand at another *Rätselcanon* inscribed by Carl Eckert in February 1840, but shortly thereafter stopped writing solutions in his album, though he continued to receive canons well into the 1870s. Perhaps he wrote them in a different place, or perhaps, as he aged, he felt less the need to prove his skill than he did as a recent graduate embarking on his first professional engagement.

2.3. German Singing Societies, Robert Schumann, and Canonic Partsongs

The music of Robert Schumann's canonic album leaves largely stems from his time as music director of two singing societies in Dresden between 1847 and 1850. He served as the *Liedmeister* for the previously-established all-male *Dresdner Liedertafel* from November 18, 1847 to October 21, 1848 and founded his own mixed-voice *Verein für Chorgesang* on January 5, 1848, which he led until the Schumanns' departure from Dresden at the end of August 1850. From the end of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, private and municipal singing groups such as the *Dresdner Liedertafel* and *Verein für Chorgesang* flourished, and amateurs took on a new important role as a public face of German music-making. The *St. Matthew Passion* revival concert conducted by Mendelssohn with the Berlin *Singakademie* was perhaps the most historically significant performance that showcased these groups' newfound cultural impact.¹¹ Among the many concepts German singing societies embodied—nationhood, community, and ethics, to name a few—foremost was the notion of *Bildung*.

As Celia Applegate puts it, “the German Enlightenment's mixture of rationalism and humanism . . . came together in the Humboldtian idea of *Bildung*.”¹² The charge of every German citizen throughout the long nineteenth century, *Bildung* entailed an individual's pursuit of edification and education, her cultivation of taste, and above all, her commitment to constant personal improvement. *Bildung* was, in the words of Carl Friedrich Zelter, preeminent music director of the Berlin *Singakademie*, the “activity of inner or spiritual forces, to the end that man realizes his complete existence and becomes nobler.”¹³ In other words, through *Bildung*, one

¹¹ Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 7, 32–41.

¹² Applegate, 151.

¹³ Quoted in Celia Applegate, “How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *19th-Century Music* 21, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 294.

would achieve self-realization. According to Carl Dahlhaus, Zelter's approach to the musical education of amateurs—which became the model followed by most German singing societies—represented “a nearly complete system, a system through which the participation of music in the *Bildungsidee* of the classical-romantic era was institutionalized.”¹⁴

The ennoblement Zelter sought for his *Singakademie* members was important not only individually, but also collectively (*Volks-Bildung*).¹⁵ Participation in these singing groups was valued as an effective and important means of fostering both these applications of *Bildung*. Amateurs had opportunities for public and communal music-making on a scale previously unmatched.¹⁶ For leaders of these groups, helping their members to develop *Bildung* was a deeply moral issue as well. Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut, music director of the Heidelberg *Singverein* and author of the conservative *Über Reinheit der Tonkunst* (1824; *On Purity in Music*), for one, decried the moral degeneracy he saw in contemporary virtuoso music, extolled the old masters like Palestrina, and only admitted singers of “elevated moral tendency” to his exclusive society, where he exposed them to the repertoire he deemed worthwhile.¹⁷ Similarly, Hans Georg Nägeli, a music education reformer and proponent of choral societies, believed fervently in the importance of educating musical amateurs so that they could serve as the public face of “lasting musical values.”¹⁸ Both of these men's supposedly altruistic work, however,

¹⁴ Carl Dahlhaus, *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert, Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 56 (Regensburg: Bosse, 1980), 7. Translation from Applegate, “How German Is It?,” 289.

¹⁵ James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 63.

¹⁶ For the history and development of the amateur German choral society during the nineteenth century, see Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 41–43; Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination*, 62–67; Gina Pellegrino, “Robert Schumann and the Gesangverein: The Dresden Years (1844–1850),” 4–47.

¹⁷ Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination*, 63; Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut, *On Purity in Musical Art*, trans. W.H. Gladstone (London: John Murray, 1877), 3–6.

¹⁸ The implication, of course, being “lasting [German] musical values.” Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 161.

masked a fundamental distrust of the amateur. Though amateurs were simply non-professional musicians with the capacity to be educated, they also—if left to their own non-educated devices—too often gravitated toward the glittering music that reflected the *Modegeschmack*, and away from timeless classics.¹⁹ For this reason, Nägeli feared the burgeoning practice of *Hausmusik*, where frivolous music could possess the souls of *Liebhaber* in the privacy of their homes with no educated *Kenner* to exorcise those fashionable demons. Nägeli and Thibaut thus thought their work had a moral imperative, since they felt experts like themselves were surely the only ones who could safely lead these groups of amateurs to *Bildung* and thus, self-realization.

Thibaut, as is well known, was also an influential figure on Robert Schumann’s own musical development, though scholars disagree on the extent of his impact.²⁰ At a bare minimum, Thibaut proved pivotal at two junctures in Schumann’s life: once when Schumann was a young law student in Heidelberg and found himself a frequent guest at his professor’s house for meetings of his *Singverein*; and again beginning in the late 1840s, when Schumann was contemplating his own contributions to musical pedagogy.²¹ In the *Musikalisches Haus- und Lebensregeln*, a collection of sixty-eight rules for children that Schumann originally planned to publish as part of the *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, Schumann specifically cites Thibaut’s tome:

¹⁹ Applegate, 162.

²⁰ John Neubauer disagrees strongly with Beate Perrey’s assertions that Schumann moved to Heidelberg because of Thibaut, and that he left because he tired of the jurist’s “pedantry.” Neubauer finds no evidence to support that Thibaut had anything to do with Schumann’s arrival in or departure from Heidelberg. John Neubauer, *The Persistence of Voice: Instrumental Music and Romantic Orality* (Leiden, The Netherlands and Boston: Brill, 2017), 162; Beate Perrey, “Schumann’s Lives, and Afterlives: An Introduction,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, ed. Beate Perrey (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 10.

²¹ Schumann first visited Thibaut’s house a mere four days after arriving in Heidelberg, and would later write rapturously to his mother both about his experiences hearing the *Singverein* singing Handel, and Thibaut’s heartfelt responses to this music. Later, Schumann would also invite Thibaut—by way of their mutual friend Anton Wilhelm Zuccamaglio—to write something for the *NZfM*. Thibaut, by this time in ill health, declined. Clara Schumann, ed., *Jugendbriefe von Robert Schumann*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1886), 105; Neubauer, *The Persistence of Voice*, 163.

“A beautiful book on music is *Über Reinheit der Tonkunst* by Thibaut. Read it often as you grow older.”²² Schumann seems to have taken his own advice to heart, for Thibaut’s influence is seen throughout Schumann’s suggestions to budding students of music: “Play nothing as you grow older that is fashionable. . . . Practice industriously the fugues of good masters, above all those of Johann Sebastian Bach. The ‘Well-Tempered Clavier’ should be your daily bread. Then you will surely be a capable musician. . . . Sing diligently in choruses, especially on the middle parts. This makes you musical.”²³ The moralizing nature of these aphorisms resonates with similar credos espoused by Thibaut and Nägeli, and also shines light on Schumann’s own goals as an educator.

On November 18, 1847, Schumann was elected the new *Liedmeister* of the *Dresdner Liedertafel*—one of the city’s men’s choruses—and his initially positive experience with the group (in addition to his recently burgeoning appreciation for choral music) convinced him to found his own mixed-voice choir, the *Verein für Chorgesang*, which met for the first time on January 5, 1848.²⁴ Though eventually Schumann would grow impatient with the men’s-only group (and thus he would give up his work with the *Dresdner Liedertafel*), he was largely buoyed by the work of the *Verein* on the whole, and in particular by a group of strong female singers.²⁵ On April 10, 1849, Schumann wrote to Ferdinand Hiller about the choir, saying that, “I

²² “Ein schönes Buch über Musik ist das ‘Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst’ von Thibaut. Lies es oft, wenn du älter wirst.” Schumann cut the *Haus- und Lebensregeln* from the first edition of the *Album*, but he published it as an appendix in *NZfM* XXXIII, no. 36 (May 3, 1850): [1]–4. He also included it with the second edition of the *Album für die Jugend* published in 1851. Ian Sharp, “150 Years of Learning from Schumann: Wasted on Play?,” *The Musical Times* 140, no. 1868 (Autumn 1999): 44.

²³ “Spiele, wenn du älter wirst, nichts Modisches. . . . Spiele fleißig Fugen guter Meister, vor Allen von Joh. Seb. Bach. Das ‘wohltemperirte Clavier’ sei dein täglich Brod. Dann wirst du gewiß ein tüchtiger Musiker. . . . Singe fleißig im Chor mit, namentlich Mittelstimmen. Dies macht dich musikalisch.” Appendix to *NZfM* XXXIII, no. 36 (May 3, 1850): 2–3.

²⁴ Pellegrino, “Robert Schumann and the Gesangverein,” 86.

²⁵ Schumann found much of the repertoire for the *Liedertafel* and the lack of dedication from its members obnoxious, leading him to write his letter of resignation on October 21, 1848, not even a full year after accepting the post. Pellegrino, 84.

get great pleasure from my *Chorverein* (60–70 members), where I can prepare, to my great delight, all the music I love.”²⁶ In his history of the Dresden choral society, Max Büttner quotes Schumann recounting happy memories of his time with this group:

We often gather outside town, wander back under the light of the stars, and then Mendelssohn’s Lieder and others [Schumann’s] sound in the still night, and all are so happy that one becomes happy oneself.²⁷

Schumann’s happiness about his choral society echoes the happiness he derived from his earlier experiences with Thibaut’s group:

When they sing a Händel Oratorio (there are more than seventy singers at his house on Thursdays) and he accompanies them so enthusiastically on the piano, and when at the end two big tears roll down from his beautiful big eyes from beneath his beautiful silver-grey hair, and when he comes to me so enchanted and delighted to shake my hand and cannot utter a word out of sheer heart and emotion—in such situations I often struggle to understand how a wretch like me can be honored to be present and to listen in such a sacred house.²⁸

Indeed, Schumann’s direction of his *Verein für Chorgesang* seems in many ways influenced by his time spent with Thibaut. Much like Thibaut, he led his *Verein* members through the study of the so-called old masters such as Bach, Palestrina, Handel, Haydn, Beethoven, and others in the semi-private music-reading sessions (*Proben*) that took place in the

²⁶ “Viel Freude macht mir mein Chorverein (60–70 Mitglieder), in dem ich mir alle Musik, die ich liebe, nach Lust und Gefallen zurecht machen kann.” F. Gustav Jansen, ed., *Robert Schumann’s Briefe. Neue Folge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904), 302. Hereafter abbreviated as *BnF*. Translation from Pellegrino, “Robert Schumann and the Gesangverein,” 93.

²⁷ “Wir kommen oft aussserhalb der Stadt zusammen, wandeln bei Sternenschein zurück und dann erklingen Mendelssohnsche und andere [seine eigenen] Lieder durch die stille Nacht und alle sind so fröhlich, daß man es mit werden muß.” Max Büttner, ed., *Robert Schumanns Singakademie zu Dresden. Begründet am 5 Januar 1848. Festschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Jubelfestes am 5. January 1898* (Dresden, 1898), 8.

²⁸ “Wenn er so ein Händel’sches Oratorium bei sich singen lässt (jeden Donnerstag sind über 70 Sänger da) und so begeistert am Klavier accompagnirt und dann am Ende zwei grosse Thränen aus den schönen, grossen Augen rollen, über denen ein schönes, silberweisses Haar steht, und dann so entzückt und heiter zu mir kam und die Hand drückt und kein Wort spricht vor lauter Herz und Empfindung, so weiss ich oft nicht, wie ich Lump zu der Ehre komme, in einem solchen heiligen Hause zu sein und zu hören.” Schumann, *Jugendbriefe von Robert Schumann*, 105. Translation from Neubauer, *The Persistence of Voice*, 161.

*Gartensaal der “Harmonie.”*²⁹ Schumann also fostered camaraderie by facilitating social events; during this time, select members of the *Verein* were often a part of Schumann family gatherings.

Schumann’s experiences with his groups also ignited an interest in composing choral music—largely in the form of unaccompanied partsongs—which he often incorporated into their *Proben*. This began during his tenure at the *Liedertafel* with the *Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen*, Op. 65, for men’s chorus. More partsongs followed after founding his *Verein für Chorgesang*, including music for SATB chorus such as the *Romanzen*, Op. 69, for women’s chorus.³⁰ Studying the contrapuntal complexities of Palestrina’s and Bach’s music was an important part in developing the *Bildung* of the members, but Schumann realized that the incorporation of more straightforward and accessible music was also key to amateurs’ enjoyment.³¹ Much of this repertoire—the Opp. 65 and 69, which contain most of the music Schumann inscribed in his canonic leaves, in particular—seems especially geared toward striking a balance between educative purposes and lighthearted fun. As John Daverio observes about the Op. 65, they are stylistically unusual partsongs: Schumann departed from the typical *Liedertafel* repertoire, which generally consisted of TTBB syllabic settings, and instead employed a wide variety of voice pairings, texts (from folk-like verses to drinking songs to proverbs), and

²⁹ This composer list comes from the memoir of one of the *Verein* members, Marie von Lindeman, and is corroborated by entries in Robert Schumann’s *Chornotizbuch*. Renate Brunner, ed., *Alltag und Künstlertum: Clara Schumann und ihre Dresdner Freundinnen Marie von Lindeman und Emilie Steffens*, Schumann-Studien, special vol. 4 (Sinzig: Studio Verlag, 2005), 61. While the *Verein* initially rehearsed in the hall of the “Harmonie” Dresden, the building was destroyed during the 1848–49 uprisings, and the group had to relocate to a hall in the *Kaufmännischen Verein*. Pellegrino, “Robert Schumann and the Gesangverein,” 101.

³⁰ I single out these works here because they contain the music of Robert Schumann’s canonic voice leaves. Other compositions that originated during Schumann’s time directing these choral societies included the *Drei Gesänge*, Op. 62 and the posthumous *Drei Freiheitsgesänge* WoO 4 for men’s voices, and the *Romanzen und Balladen I–IV* Opp. 67, 75, 145, and 146 for SATB.

³¹ As Daverio puts it, Schumann chose a mix of repertoire “at once convivial in tone and education in function.” John Daverio, *Crossing Paths: Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 399.

contrapuntal techniques.³² These characteristics can also be seen in the other pieces Schumann inscribed as album leaves: “Die Capelle” from Op. 69, and “Fest im Tact, im Tone rein,” excised from the *Album für die Jugend*. Upon moving to Düsseldorf on September 1, 1850 to take a new position as municipal music director (the responsibilities of which also included directing a choral society), Schumann largely stopped composing music for this type of ensemble.³³ As his enthusiasm for composing choral music waned, so too did his desire to inscribe this music as album leaves—he wrote only one more after leaving Dresden.

2.4. The Canonic Partsongs as Album Leaves: Remembering by Cultivating Bildung

In total, Robert Schumann wrote twelve canonic album leaves, detailed in table 2.1 below.³⁴ By and large, Schumann drew on musical material that would later be published as the *Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen*, Op. 65, for men’s chorus; his other canonic selections came from the partsong “Die Capelle,” which would become part of the *Sechs Romanzen für Frauenstimmen* Vol. I, Op. 69, and an unrealized canon that he cut from the *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68. These pieces were not composed specifically for their recipients, but in most cases, Schumann wrote the leaves before the fully-realized renditions of the canons became available in publication.³⁵ Additionally, despite their publication, there are no records that attest

³² John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a “New Poetic Age”* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 397.

³³ Pellegrino, “Robert Schumann and the Gesangverein,” 103.

³⁴ It is entirely possible—and more than likely—that Schumann wrote leaves that have since been lost. The twelve accounted for here are extant leaves in available in archives, through digitization or facsimile, or are otherwise recorded in McCorkle’s thematic catalogue.

³⁵ The canons of Op. 65 can be found in various working and copyist’s manuscripts with dates ranging from September 11, 1847 to November 28, 1847, effectively predating all of the album leaves. The women’s partsongs from Op. 69 were written in March 1849, also in advance of Bradbury’s leaf, and the manuscript sources

to public performance of this music until the 1860s, though Schumann often had his *Verein* read through these pieces during their semi-private *Proben*.³⁶ During *Proben* Schumann often guided his choral members through repertoire for their own pleasure—that is, not for the public or with the intention of public performance. This music-making was inherently for the participants themselves.³⁷ Thus, Schumann’s choice of this music for albums was intimate in several ways: it gave those who were not *Verein* members an inside glimpse of the goings-on of his choral society, and it signaled that Schumann wanted to be remembered at this point in his life by this group of dedicatees as a choral director and musical leader.³⁸

for the *Album für die Jugend* date to August and September 1848. McCorkle, *Robert Schumann: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 281, 301–02, 305–06.

³⁶ The first of these *Proben* occurred shortly after Schumann assumed responsibilities as *Liedmeister*. On December 4, 1847, he notes in his *Tagebuch*: “In the evening the third Liedertafel - my canons.” In the *Chornotizbuch* he writes “My canons for men’s voices” on September 13, 1848, a meeting of the *Verein für Chorgesang*. Similarly, he worked on the Op. 69 pieces for women’s chorus in *Proben* on April 1, 1849 through approximately May 2, 1849 and then again in on December 19, 1849 and February until April 1850 with the women of the *Verein*. The only public performance of any these pieces during Schumann’s lifetime occurred on February 6, 1848 at the *Stiftungsfest* of the *Dresdner Liedertafel*. The group sang “Zum Anfang,” a largely syllabic, homophonic part song that Schumann had planned for Op. 65. Additionally, Schumann had the *Liedertafel* perform another of the canons originally intended for this group, “Mache deinem Meister Ehre,” as part of the *Stiftungsfest*, but he ultimately also did not include it as part of Op. 65’s publication. McCorkle, 279–80, 304.

³⁷ For this reason, I refer to these meetings throughout this chapter (and chapter 3) as “*Proben*” rather than “rehearsals,” as the latter has a connotation that connects it to performance preparation.

³⁸ I categorize this repertoire as *Hausmusik* rather than *Salonmusik* for a variety of reasons largely outlined by Anthony Newcomb, primarily that it exudes a German *Volkstümlichkeit* that was antithetical to more sophisticated salon fare, that it was intended for a middle class as opposed to the more socially elite, and that it is educative in nature. Anthony Newcomb, “Schumann and the Marketplace: From Butterflies to *Hausmusik*,” in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, ed. R. Larry Todd (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 272.

Table 2.1. Extant canonic leaves written by Schumann

| Date/Place | Title | Ensemble | Dedicatee | Current Location |
|-------------------------------|--|-----------------|---|---|
| September 17, 1847 Dresden | “Gebt mir zu trinken!” <i>Ritornelle</i> , Op. 65 | BBB | Unknown | Private owner |
| November 14, 1847 Dresden | “Die Rose stand im Thau,” <i>Ritornelle</i> , Op. 65 | TTBBB | Cécile Mendelssohn - wife of Felix Mendelssohn | Bodleian Library, MS.M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 7 |
| August 20, 1848 Dresden | “In Sommertagen,” <i>Ritornelle</i> , Op. 65 | TTBB | Nanette Falk - one of Clara Schumann’s piano students in Dresden | Robert-Schumann-Haus, 10536-A1 |
| August 23, 1848 Dresden | “Züme nicht des Herbstes Wind,” <i>Ritornelle</i> , Op. 65 | TTBB | Constanze Jacobi - celebrated alto and pianist. Originally met Robert Schumann as a student at the Leipzig Conservatory. | Robert-Schumann-Haus, 13191-A1/A1c |
| April 16, 1849 Dresden | “Die Capelle,” <i>Romanzen für Frauenstimmen</i> , Op. 69 | SSAA | William Batchelder Bradbury - American musician, composer, and choral director. Met Robert Schumann while studying performance and composition in Europe. | Library of Congress, William B. Bradbury Collection clamshell Box 1 |
| April 16, 1849 Dresden | <i>Canon infinitus</i> “In Meeres Mitten,” <i>Ritornelle</i> , Op. 65 | TTBB | Unknown | Facsimile, Robert Schumann Forschungsstelle Düsseldorf, NR 662 |
| April 6, 1850 Dresden | “Züme nicht” | TTBB | Unknown | Princeton University Library, Mixsell Collection of Autographs of Musicians |

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|-------------|--|---|
| April 29, 1850 Dresden | “In Sommertagen” | TTBB | Unknown | Asnières-sur-Oise, Abbaye de Royaumont, Collection Musicale François Lang, Réserve 46 |
| April 29, 1850 Dresden | “In Sommertagen” | TTBB | William Mason - American concert pianist and son of Lowell Mason. Met Robert Schumann during his European studies. | Owner unknown |
| April 29, 1850 Dresden | “In Sommertagen” | TTBB | Unknown | Private owner |
| July 11, 1850 Dresden | “Fest im Tact, im Tone rein,” <i>Album für die Jugend</i> (Anhang 3) | Unspecified | Gustav ? | Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin SPK, Mus.ms.autogr. K.Schumann 39 |
| January 1852 Düsseldorf | “Zürne nicht” | TTBB | Otto Jahn - Classics professor and music historian. Wrote one of the first critical biographies of Mozart. | Owner unknown |

With a couple of exceptions, the canons that Schumann selected as album leaves exhibit three common elements: their texts are folk-like in nature, either relaying an educative story or proverb; their melodies also incorporate folk-like elements, with small ambituses and stepwise motion; and they employ canon.³⁹ The use of such aspects may at first seem like another way in which Schumann reflects Thibaut's influence: his former teacher devoted a large section of his *Über Reinheit* to extolling the virtues of folk music and its ability to serve as a moral corrective against trendy virtuosity.⁴⁰ Schumann's decision to mix the "naturalness" of the *Volkston* with the artifice of counterpoint, however, likely would have been met with criticism from Thibaut, who even disliked the more contrapuntally complex works of his beloved Palestrina.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the result is music that exemplifies one of Schumann's approaches to musical pedagogy and *Bildung*: it exhibits moderate contrapuntal complexity that would challenge his amateur singers coupled with accessible, folksy subject matter and melodies.⁴²

The contrapuntal techniques Schumann used in these leaves are not terribly complex: most of these are canons at the unison, octave, or fifth. His choice to inscribe each leaf as an unrealized puzzle, with varying degrees of hints as to how they should be worked out, however, tacitly instructed recipients to engage with the potential musical contents (and by extension, the

³⁹ These exceptions deviate from some—but not all—of the criteria I list. The album leaf of "Gebt mir zu trinken!," for example, is folk-like in melody and subject matter, but, as a drinking song, makes no pretense of moral loftiness. Additionally, the leaf written for Cécile Mendelssohn after Felix's death, "Die Rose stand im Thau," is more contrapuntally complicated, with moments of canon woven throughout other textures.

⁴⁰ Thibaut lauded folk music, saying, "all the songs that emanate from the people themselves, or are adopted by them and preserved as favourites, are, as a rule, pure and clear in character like that of a child." Thibaut, *On Purity in Musical Art*, 66–68.

⁴¹ According to Garratt, Thibaut firmly subscribed to the Rousseauian opposition of nature and art. He revered old Italian homophony as the preferred vehicle for *Bildung*, and dismissed works like Palestrina's *Missa ad fugam* due to its artifice. Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination*, 67.

⁴² In this context, I use "folksy" and "*Volkston*" as described by David Gramit, who details the important role folk and folk-like music played in the development of German musical amateurs. David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 65–86.

memories associated with the inscription) in ways they would not have if Schumann had written out the realized canon.⁴³ Each leaf then, depending on the recipient, bore markers of Schumann's musical erudition and status as an educator, representation of past musical memories, and the possibility of prompting music-making. For each canonic inscription, Schumann wrote the opening voice part out in its entirety, from beginning to end. This was the only musical notation on the leaf, a synecdoche for the multi-voiced whole. Schumann only alluded to the remaining voices by marking each canonic entry with a symbol [§].⁴⁴ The leaf "Zürne nicht, des Herbstes Wind" (Op. 65), given by Schumann to Otto Jahn in 1852, serves as a good example of how he typically visually represented such information (fig. 2.2). This particular strategy presupposed that the recipient either had the musical knowledge and ability to solve the canon—or at least the willingness to try and figure it out. Since the leaves that Schumann wrote between 1847 and 1849 (six of the extant twelve) predated the publication of the corresponding opuses, a recipient would have had to put her contrapuntal skills to the test if she wanted to use the leaf as a score for performance. In many of his leaves (including the leaf below of "Zürne nicht" for an unknown recipient), Schumann gave the recipient more assistance by labeling each of the canonic entries with its corresponding voice part. Additionally, Schumann gave several of these leaves headings that would have further helped with the canonic

⁴³ Of the extant leaves which are available to the public, the only one where Schumann did not employ this strategy was the leaf of "Die Rose stand im Thau" that he sent to Cécile Mendelssohn. There are several likely reasons why this is the case. According to McCorkle, Schumann composed the piece on November 3 and 5, 1847—his friend, Felix Mendelssohn, died on November 4 (I discuss in detail the complex practices of commemorating and mourning that Schumann and his circle engaged with after his death in chapter 5). Contrasted to his other canonical leaves, "Die Rose stand im Thau" is not strictly canonic, and thus could not be realized with one musical line alone. Additionally, Schumann likely would have thought sending a leaf with that sort of playful or didactic implication would not have been appropriate given the circumstances, and thus chose to emphasize his feelings on Mendelssohn's death through the fully realized music and text. Bodleian Library, London, Ms.M.Denecke.d7, The Mendelssohn Papers; McCorkle, *Robert Schumann: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 281.

⁴⁴ This was a common practice, as both Beduschi and Itoh document. Beduschi, "Survivance du canon énigmatique au début du XIXe siècle," 445–48; Itoh, "Music and Musicians in the German *Stammbücher* from circa 1750 to circa 1815," 156–63.

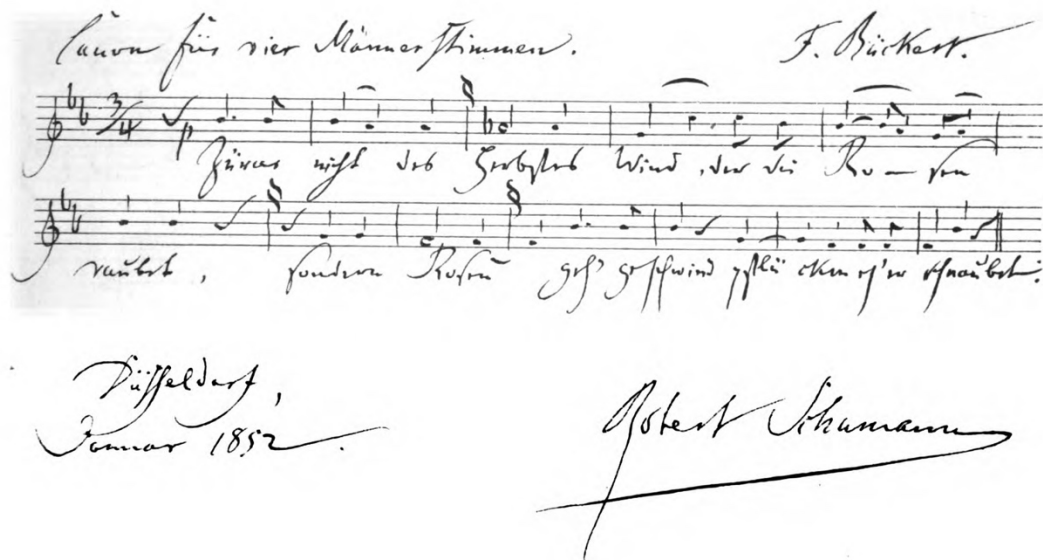
resolution, such as “Canon für vier Männerstimmen” or—even more specific—“Canon für 2 Tenor- und 2 Bass-Stimmen” (fig. 2.3).

It cannot be said with any certainty that Schumann included these clues for recipients he believed to be less musically educated: most of the leaves that bear these traces went to unknown persons, and one of the identifiable recipients was the American composer and pianist William Mason, son of Lowell.⁴⁵ It is striking, however, that he did not extend this courtesy to those recipients with whom he had a clear student-teacher relationship, including Nanette Falk, Constanze Jacobi, and a person named Gustav, all discussed in more detail below. The exclusion of the information about vocal parts does indeed make realizing the canons more of a challenge, which, depending on one’s proclivities, might have made the endeavor more fun. Without knowing the specific combination of voices, a leaf recipient would have had to study the given melodic line carefully. She would then determine what solutions were possible based on the inclusion of accidentals, and scan for possible forbidden intervals that would arise by starting the canon in the wrong place.⁴⁶ In either scenario—knowing the voice pairings or not—this type of album leaf provided the potential for an immersive reflective experience. Depending on the leaf recipient’s preferences, she could try her hand realizing the canon in the other empty pages of her album, the way that Ferdinand Möhring did, or (if she had assembled a particularly intrepid group) she could try to figure out a solution in real time, making music with her family and friends.

⁴⁵ Mason actually includes a facsimile of this leaf in his memoir, noting with barely concealed displeasure that he learned some thirty years later from Clara Schumann that Robert had inscribed something previously published (“In Sommertagen” from Op. 65). William Mason, *Memories of a Musical Life* (New York: The Century Co., 1901), 44.

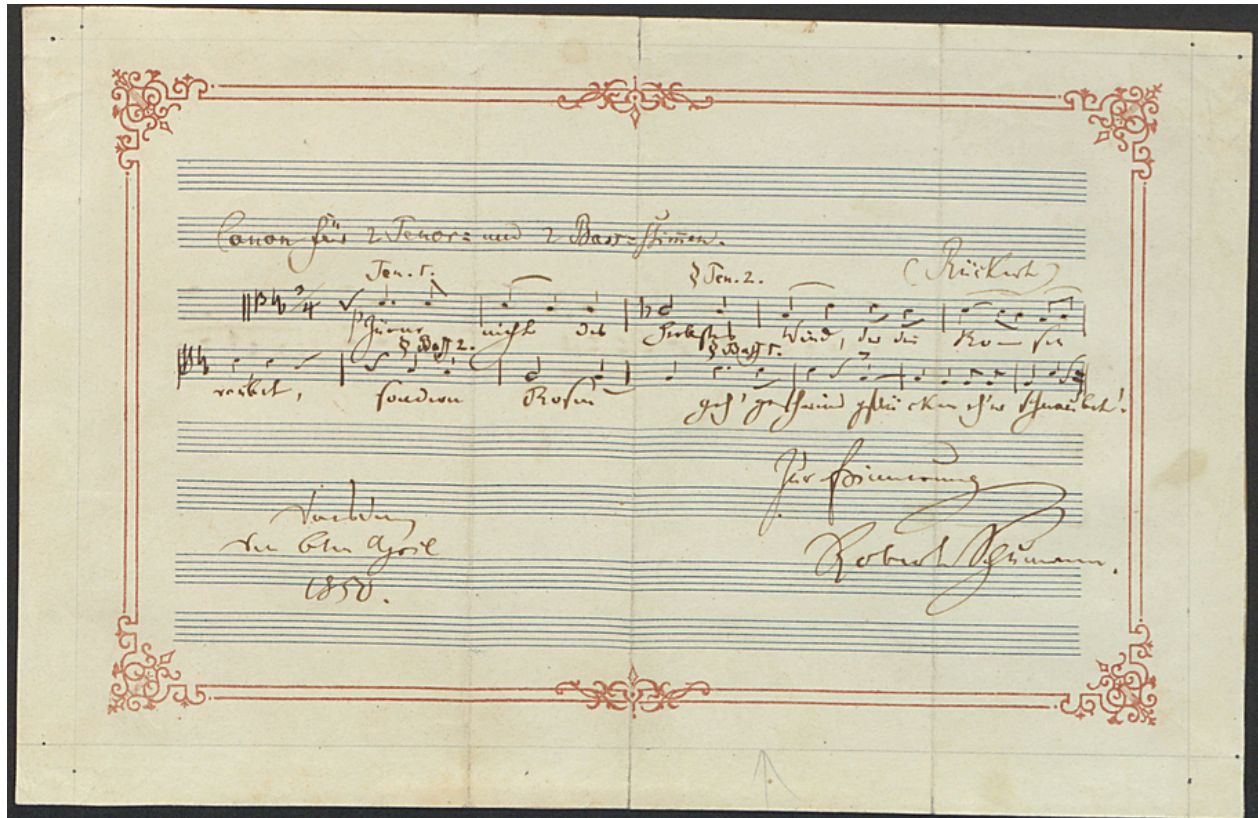
⁴⁶ Pairs of S/S, A/A, T/T, and B/B tended to default to canon at the octave or unison, while mixed pairs of S/A or T/B often involved canon at the fifth.

Fig. 2.2. Robert Schumann, Album leaf of “Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind” (*Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen*, Op. 65). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Hbh / R 260, p. [7], urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10801308-1.⁴⁷



⁴⁷ This inscription is found in both the Jahn family *Stammbuch*, and in facsimile in the *Deutsches Stammbuch* (1855). Michael Kirnes-Seitz, ed., *Nicht müde werden! Stammbuch der Familie Jahn* (Weimar: VDG, 2006), [175]; Franz Schlodtmann, ed., *Deutsches Stammbuch* (Bremen: Schlodtmann; London: Williams & Norgate; Paris: Albert Franck, 1855), [7].

Fig. 2.3. Robert Schumann's album leaf of "Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind" to an unknown recipient, April 6, 1850. Princeton University Library, Mixsell Collection of Autographs of Musicians (C0085); Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.



These sorts of leaves thus both perform a commemorative function—as all album leaves do—and offer their recipients a playful, educational, and *Bildung*-fostering experience that goes beyond mere remembering. Schumann's choice to commemorate himself both as a leader of choral music-making and also as an educator who encouraged his recipients' musical growth reflects both how he viewed himself at the time and also contemporary discourses surrounding issues of play, sociability, and education. Johan Huizinga theorizes that play is by definition “irrational,” and “the direct opposite of seriousness,” but late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German thinkers such as Friedrich Schleiermacher and Immanuel Kant saw the

usefulness of marrying play to serious educational pursuits.⁴⁸ Roe-Min Kok explores how Schumann subscribed to such tactics practiced by Friedrich Froebel, the inventor of kindergarten, who used what he called “gifts” and “occupations” to guide children’s play toward developmental and educational ends.⁴⁹ She finds evidence of the same goals in Schumann’s *Album für die Jugend*, which she claims Schumann incorporated in order to help cultivate young German model citizens. Though Schleiermacher and Froebel focused their ideas about play and improvement on different points of the age spectrum—adulthood and childhood, respectively—their ideas were inspired by *Bildung*.

In her “playful, activity-centered analysis” of the *Liederspiel* staging of *Die schöne Müllerin* spearheaded by Friedrich August and Elisabeth von Stägemann, Jennifer Ronyak argues convincingly for the importance of play in German intellectual life in the nineteenth century. She also makes a strong case for an analytical approach that foregrounds the drastic and not gnostic elements of music, the former encompassing hermeneutic interpretations of music experienced in real time, and the latter focusing on the musical text itself (the score).⁵⁰ Similarly, I wish to consider the hypothetical drastic music-making these album leaves represent. Though all album leaves ask their recipients to interact with their contents as they reflect on the inscriber, a particular place or time, the relationship they shared, and so on, these canonic album leaves ask their recipients to interact with them in specifically *musical* ways. In the following case studies, I

⁴⁸ Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, trans. R.C.F. Hull (Boston: Beacon Press, 1950), 4–5; Ronyak, “‘Serious Play,’ Performance, and the Lied,” 143.

⁴⁹ Roe-Min Kok, “Of Kindergarten, Cultural Nationalism, and Schumann’s *Album for the Young*,” *The World of Music* 48, no. 1, Music and Childhood: Creativity, Socialization, and Representation (2006): 119–20.

⁵⁰ As justification for her opposition to Carolyn Abbate’s groundbreaking and controversial argument, Ronyak turns primarily to thinkers Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Schleiermacher, the latter of whom believed in an individual’s ability to achieve true subjectivity through both internal and external (i.e. with others) free play. Carolyn Abbate, “Music—Drastic or Gnostic?,” *Critical Inquiry* 30, no. 3 (Spring 2004): 505–36; Ronyak, “‘Serious Play,’ Performance, and the Lied,” 146–49.

explore the ways in which these leaves would have challenged their recipients, and how that challenge would have helped them to remember Robert Schumann as an influential music educator.

2.5. Robert Schumann's Canonic Album Leaves: Case Studies and Considerations

The following three case studies serve to illustrate more specifically some of the issues broached in the previous section. From Robert Schumann's twelve extant canonic leaves, eight are available in facsimile, digitization, or various archives; the remaining four belong to private collections and are inaccessible. From these, I selected three for which corresponding biographical, compositional, or other documentary evidence exists to support an analysis of Schumann's commemorative strategies. These leaves provide personal in-roads to understanding his conception of himself as an educator at this time: he immortalized himself as an erudite musical leader who was keen to help individuals develop *Bildung* by giving them tools for self-improvement.

2.5A. "FEST IM TACT, IM TONE REIN" FOR GUSTAV, JULY 11, 1850

Schumann wrote the unrealized canon "Fest im Tact, im Tone rein"—originally planned for the *Album für die Jugend*—for a "Gustav" on July 11, 1850 (fig. 2.4). Though we cannot be certain who this Gustav is, the intimate nature of Robert's inscription—"To dear Gustav / in remembrance / Robert Schumann"—prompted the editors of the *Robert Schumann neue Ausgabe* to surmise that he could have been Clara's younger brother.⁵¹ This is certainly possible, but

⁵¹ Gustav Wieck and Robert had met only a few times before the date inscribed on the leaf—in October and November 1838 in Vienna, and then again in December 1846 with Clara. The provenance of this leaf is

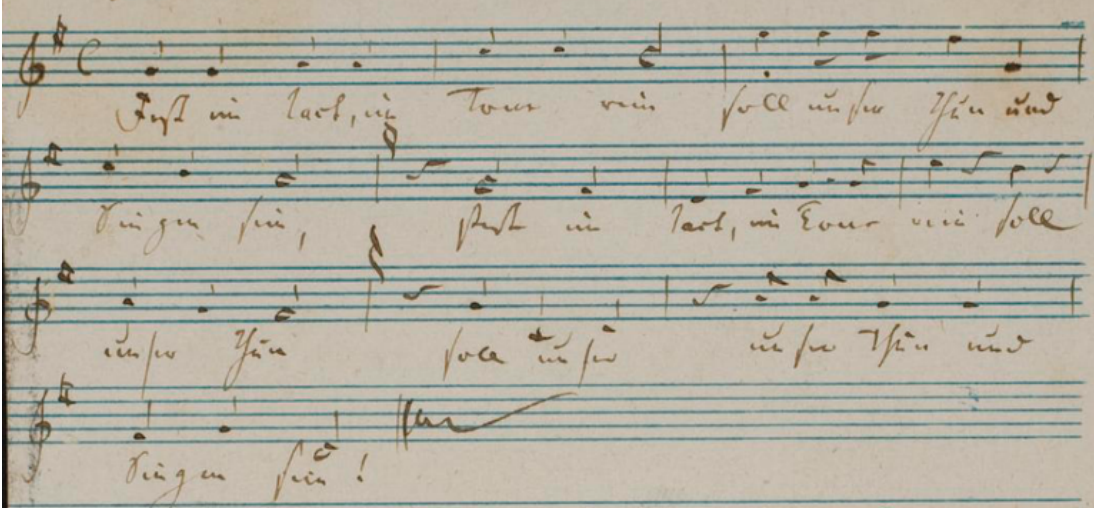
Gustav Wieck was twenty-seven at the time; given the overtly pedagogical nature of the leaf, it seems more likely that Gustav was a young person to whom Robert felt comfortable acting as a teacher figure. The original text of the canon—“Strict in time and pure in tone / should all our deeds and singing be!”—has the playfully didactic and moralizing character of the *Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln* he directed toward children.

unfortunately sketchy, with its full history prior to its arrival at the music department at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz in 1983 unknown. Eberhard Möhler, ed., *Schumann Briefedition*, vol. series 1, 2: Briefwechsel mit der Familie Wieck (Cologne: Dohr, 2011), 343; Robert Schumann, *Werke für Klavier zu zwei Händen*, ed. Michael Beiche, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, series 3, group 1, vol. 5 (Mainz: Schott, 2012), 517–18.; “Fest im Takt im Tone rein,” July 11, 1850, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr. K. Schumann 39, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00002B1B00000000> (accessed February 22, 2019).

Fig. 2.4. Robert Schumann, "Fest im Tact, im Tone rein," July 11, 1850. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr. K. Schumann 39, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv. ([CC BY-NC-SA 4.0](#))

Mus. ms. autogr. R. Schumann 39

lavoro.



Fest im Tact, im Tone rein, soll unser Thun und
 Ringen sein, Fest im Tact, im Tone rein, soll
 unser Thun und Ringen sein, soll unser Thun und
 Ringen sein!

Vom lieben Götter
 der Förderung

Vorher,
 den 11ten Juli 1850.

Robert Schumann.

In addition to positioning himself as an educator through the use of both the aphoristic text and musical exercise, Schumann invoked in his melody a bastion of contrapuntal learnedness—Mozart’s “Jupiter” Symphony, K. 551.⁵² Schumann considered this symphony one of the pinnacles of art, saying of it in 1835:

As a pedagogue, I must search for three objects—root, flower, and fruit; or for the poetical, the harmonic-melodic, and the technical content; or for the gain offered to heart, ear, and hand. Many works are wholly above discussion; for instance, Mozart’s C major Symphony with Fugue, many works by Shakespeare, some of Beethoven’s. Those, however, which are principally intellectual, individually characteristic, or stamped with mannerism give us cause to ponder.⁵³

Schumann, a devoted follower of Mozart, clearly seems to invoke Mozart’s theme here, based both on melodic contour (Schumann’s $\hat{1}-\hat{2}-\hat{4}-\hat{3}-\hat{6}-\hat{5}-(\hat{1})-\hat{4}-\hat{3}-\hat{2}$ vs. Mozart’s $\hat{1}-\hat{2}-\hat{4}-\hat{3}-\hat{6}-\hat{5}-\hat{4}-\hat{3}-\hat{2}$) and rhythmic placement (ex. 2.1).⁵⁴ Scholars have also debated the origin of Mozart’s theme, with candidates ranging from Johann Joseph Fux’s *Gradus ad Parnassum* to Mozart’s own *Missa brevis*, K. 194/186h.⁵⁵ Thus in addition to invoking Mozart, Schumann likely referenced centuries of contrapuntal tradition that this theme came to represent.

⁵² The title of “Jupiter” did not come from Mozart, but rather from the London impresario Johann Peter Salomon. Daniel Heartz, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven: 1781–1802* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009), 210.

⁵³ “Über manche Sachen auf der Welt lässt sich gar nichts sagen, z.B. über die C-dur-Sinfonie mit Fuge von Mozart, über vieles von Shakespeare, über einzelnes von Beethoven. Bloss Geistreiches hingegen, Manieriertes, Individuell-Charakteristisches regt stark zu Gedanken an.” Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, ed. Martin Kreisig, (Farnborough, Hampshire: Gregg International, 1969), 1:44–45. Hereafter abbreviated as *GS*. Translation from Elaine Sisman, *Mozart: The “Jupiter” Symphony (Cambridge Music Handbooks)* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1993), 30.

⁵⁴ Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (New York, 1946; Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), 81.

⁵⁵ A. Hyatt King traces it to Palestrina, William Klenz to other works of Mozart, Susan Wollenberg to Viennese music and Fux, and Neal Zaslaw emphasizes its importance in Mozart’s “Credo” from his *Missa brevis*. A. Peter Brown points out that none of these allusions, even if the source of the melody, would have been known by eighteenth-century audiences. Wolfgang Lessing makes the connection between Schumann’s theme in “Fest im Tact” and Mozart’s symphony. A. Peter Brown, “Eighteenth-Century Traditional and Mozart’s ‘Jupiter’ Symphony K. 551,” *Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 186; A. Hyatt King, *Mozart in Retrospect* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 262–63; William Klenz, “Per Aspera ad Astra or The Stairway to Jupiter,” *Music Review* 30, no. 3 (1969): 169–210; Wolfgang Lessing, “Kunst, Moral, Künstlermoral – Grundsätzliche Anmerkungen zu Robert Schumanns *Musikalischen Haus- und Lebensregeln*,” in *Robert Schumanns “Welten,”* ed. Manuel Gervink and Jörn Peter Hiekel (Dresden: Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber, 2007), 105; Susan Wollenberg, “The

Ex. 2.1. Opening motto of Mozart’s “Jupiter” Symphony, K. 551 (IV) aligned with opening of “Fest im Tact”



In both its melody and its contrapuntal expectations, this leaf emphasizes musical learnedness. The theme, whether directly taken from Fux or not, maintains the slow-moving rhythm and melodic contour of a *cantus firmus* one might find in the *Gradus ad Parnassum*. And in the nineteenth century, Mozart’s symphony itself was seen as both a pinnacle of contrapuntal achievement and poetic, imaginative expression.⁵⁶ As John Daverio shows, the critical reception of Mozart throughout the nineteenth century was complicated and often contradictory, but largely followed a trajectory from viewing him as a “characteristic” composer who pursued originality at all costs (such as pungent harmonies and bizarre formal plans) to understanding him as the “reigning god of musical classicism” by the 1830s.⁵⁷

Schumann’s thoughts about Mozart and his musical legacy were similarly complicated (see his protracted hemming and hawing over what he should submit as a public homage to the

Jupiter Theme: New Light on Its Creation,” *The Musical Times* 116, no. 1591 (September 1975): 783; Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart’s Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 543.

⁵⁶ The former view was espoused by Simon Sechter, who wrote the appendix to the third edition (1843) of Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg’s highly influential treatise *Abhandlung von der Fuge*; the latter interpretation was expressed by Aleksandr Ulibichev in his *Nouvelle Biographie de Mozart* (1843). Elaine Sisman, *Mozart: The “Jupiter” Symphony*, 30–31.

⁵⁷ E.T.A. Hoffmann was, of course, one of the most vociferous proponents of the “Romantic” Mozart. John Daverio, “Mozart in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 173–78; E.T.A. Hoffmann, *E.T.A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism*, ed. David Charlton, trans. Martyn Clarke (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 261.

composer for the *Mozart-Album* discussed in chapter 4), but in this album leaf he chose to turn to Mozart as a master of counterpoint. Additionally, Schumann refashioned Mozart's elegantly noble *galant* theme into a youthful, folksy melody. By invoking an acknowledged musical authority, showing that he was able to stand on the same compositional ground, and laying an educational challenge at Gustav's feet, Schumann thus commemorated himself as a contrapuntal master belonging to Mozart's lineage. Gustav, regardless of whether he recognized allusions to Fux and others that could have been embedded in Schumann's theme, would doubtless have understood it as intended metonymy for Mozart—and by extension, Schumann—as a renowned teacher. And further, this album leaf lesson would prove more challenging than any other Schumann wrote: though all of the canons from Opp. 65 and 69 would be shortly published after Schumann inscribed them as *Rätselcanonen* (and thus recipients could turn to the scores if they had been unable to crack the unrealized versions), “Fest im Tact, im Tone rein” did not appear in publication during Schumann's lifetime.⁵⁸ Therefore, Schumann's memory of himself required Gustav interact with it, figuring out what sort of canon would properly fulfill the three-voice framework (answer: at the unison). Through remembering Schumann in this way, Gustav would better himself, and Gustav's act of realizing the canon would further emphasize Schumann's identity as a musical educator.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ It is interesting to note, however, that in his original sketches, Schumann had apparently planned to publish the canon as he wrote it in Gustav's leaf, without the other voices worked out, yet another example of album practice finding its way into the published *Album für die Jugend* (discussed in detail in chapter 5). Bernhard R. Appel, *Robert Schumanns “Album für die Jugend”: Einführung und Kommentar* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1998), 169, 321.

⁵⁹ Though it must be said that Gustav would have had to reckon with Schumann's all-too-human fallibility. Despite its emphasis on learnedness, this leaf contains only eleven measures, which ironically proves impossible to solve without egregious contrapuntal errors. In comparing Gustav's leaf with the only other known source of this canon, a sketchbook Schumann used for composing the *Album für die Jugend*, all becomes clear: when writing this leaf (perhaps from memory?), Schumann left out the penultimate measure of the otherwise canonically viable theme. Robert Schumann, *Skizzenbuch zu dem “Album für die Jugend,”* ed. Lothar Windsperger and Martin Kreisig (Mainz: Schott's Söhne, 1924), 2.

2.5B. “IN SOMMERTAGEN RÜSTE DEN SCHLITTEN” FOR NANETTE FALK, AUGUST 20, 1848

Nanette Falk(-Auerbach) was one of the handful of piano students Clara Schumann took on after the Schumann family moved to Dresden in late 1844. She auditioned for Clara in 1847 when she was twelve.⁶⁰ Like Clara’s other piano students from this time, Falk became an important part of the Schumanns’ social circle, joining the family at their house often for dinner and convivial music-making. After the Schumanns moved to Düsseldorf in early September 1850, Falk maintained her relationship with Clara, and visited the family at least twice: one of those visits included a performance of J.S. Bach’s Triple Concerto in A minor, BWV 1044 at Clara’s invitation.⁶¹

Falk’s album is an extraordinary treasure trove of mementos spanning some eighty years, from 1845 until her death in 1928.⁶² Robert and Clara Schumann both wrote leaves for her in August 1848 (Robert specified the 20th), using the same red-tinted decoratively-edged paper. Robert gave her the canon “In Sommertagen rüste den Schlitten,” Op. 65 (fig. 2.5A) and Clara chose the incipit of her Fugue in D minor, Op. 16, no. 3 (fig. 2.5B). While Robert chose a vague inscription (“Zur Erinnerung”), Clara communicated her relationship with Falk (“To Nanette Falk in remembrance / of her teacher / Clara Schumann”).

⁶⁰ Robert recorded four of Falk’s visits during their time in Dresden in his diary, as well as two more after they had moved to Düsseldorf. Robert Schumann, *Tagebücher*, ed. Georg Eismann and Gerd Nauhaus (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971), 3:433, 437, 439, 454, 550, 560. Henceforth abbreviated as *TB*.

⁶¹ J.M.N., “Nanette Falk-Auerbach,” <https://www.schumann-portal.de/nanette-falk-auerbach-1371.html> (accessed August 9, 2018).

⁶² The album is currently kept at the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau (Arch.-Nr. 10 536–A1) and is a rich collection of album leaves, letters, newspaper clippings, concert programs, and other miscellany. The contents would make for an interesting study, but unfortunately the album itself—as is often the case with objects such as these—has fallen into such a state of disrepair that determining the original order and placement of items, whether leaves were written into the album itself or added later, and so on, is no longer possible.

Fig. 2.5A. Robert Schumann's album leaf of "In Sommertagen rüste den Schlitten" for Nanette Falk's album, August 20, 1848. Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 10 536-A1.

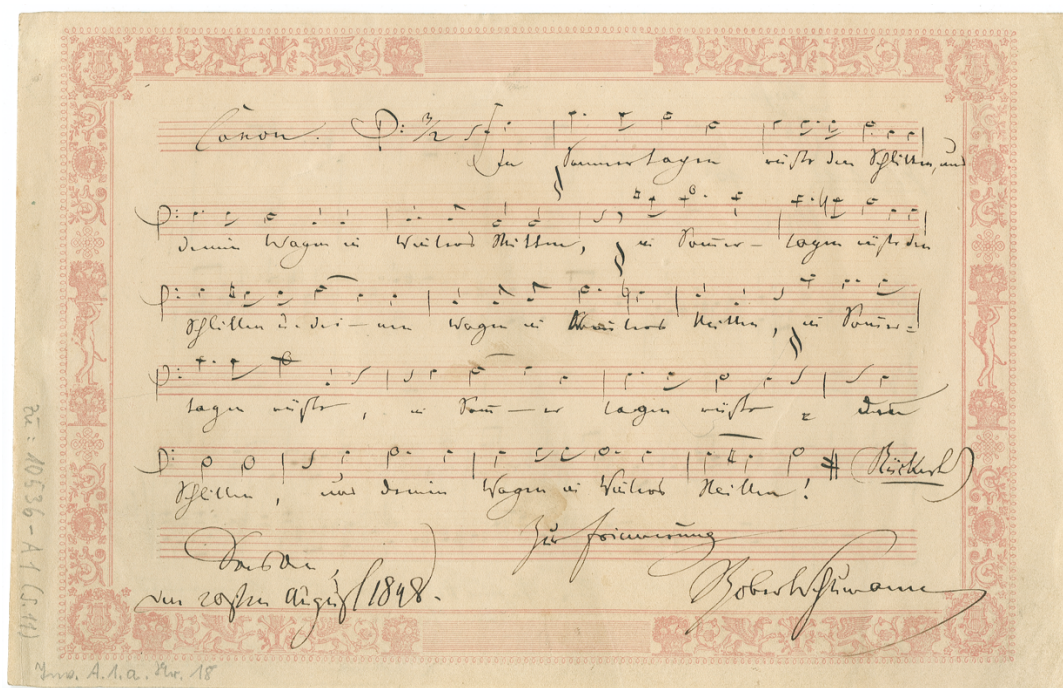


Fig. 2.5B. Clara Schumann's album leaf of Fugue in D minor, Op. 16, no. 3 for Nanette Falk's album, August 1848. Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 10 536-A1.

Handwritten musical score for "Fugue in D minor, Op. 16, no. 3" by Clara Schumann. The score is written on five staves with German lyrics. The title "Fuga" is written at the top left. The lyrics are: "Fuga. In D minor. Op. 16, no. 3. Clara Schumann." The score is signed "Clara Schumann" and dated "Zwickau, 20. Aug. 1848." The manuscript is numbered "Nr. 10 536-A1 (J. 41)" on the left margin.

In the case of Robert's leaf, we can trace its potential reference to a specific memory. On August 20, 1848, Robert wrote in his *Tagebuch* about the trip he took with his *Verein für Chorgesang* to Pillnitz to meet with and perform for King Friedrich August II.⁶³ Schumann took several such outings with his choral group, and they were a source of great joy.⁶⁴ On this particular date, they sang motets by Mendelssohn and songs by Niels Gade and Schumann himself. Marie von Lindeman recalled that they were heartily thanked by the king, and that their lunch later that afternoon was "spiced with song."⁶⁵ Schumann described the day in his diary in typically fragmented prose: "Pretty party—the toast—the king—the adventurous evening."⁶⁶ Given the *Verein's* history of performing the canons that Schumann would publish as the *Ritornelle*, Op. 65, and the specific date he inscribed on Falk's leaf, it seems plausible that Schumann intended this album leaf to serve as a memory of the trip to Pillnitz. Unfortunately, we do not know for certain that Nanette Falk was a member of Robert Schumann's choral society, and therefore a part of this outing.⁶⁷

At a minimum, however, this leaf would have represented both a memory of Schumann's experience during this trip with his choral group—allowing him to remember and reflect during his act of writing her leaf—and also a commemoration of himself as a teacher figure to Falk, since he offered her a contrapuntal challenge more difficult than leaves he wrote for others of the

⁶³ *TB*, 3:468.

⁶⁴ Pellegrino notes that Schumann methodically documented dates and details about the group's purely social outings (which he called "Spaziergang" or "Ausflug"), as well as trips for musical performance ("Sängerfahrt"). Pellegrino, "Robert Schumann and the Gesangverein," 87.

⁶⁵ Quoted in Büttner, *Robert Schumanns Singakademie zu Dresden*, 10.

⁶⁶ *TB*, 3:468.

⁶⁷ As Pellegrino explains, much of the official documentation of the *Verein für Chorgesang* was inexplicably lost with the death of a society member in the 1880s. Gaps may be filled in with unofficial rosters that Robert Schumann maintained in his *Chornotizbuch* (kept at the RSH), and in member memoirs, such as Marie von Lindeman's. Pellegrino, "Robert Schumann and the Gesangverein," 88.

same canon.⁶⁸ Based on the notation of the leaf, Schumann expected much of the thirteen-year-old: in Falk's leaf, Schumann labeled no voice parts. In the two other available album leaves Schumann wrote of "In Sommertagen," however, the composer took pains not only to mark all canonic entries but also to label the voice parts (fig. 2.6).⁶⁹ This revealed that the solution was a four-part canon in two pairs of T/B voices, which subsequently pointed to a canon at the fifth (ex. 2.2). Whether his motivation was to test her mettle, or merely to save time, Schumann's leaf made demands on Falk's musical abilities.

⁶⁸ One notable difference between the notation of this leaf and the others Schumann wrote of this canon is the time signature. Instead of writing the canon in 3/4 (the time signature in which he eventually published the piece and also wrote the other leaves of this canon), he chooses 3/2. Given the folksy maxim of the text, the broader time signature and lack of a performance indication (he marks the other leaves with "Lebhaft") would have given the resulting music a funnily pompous air. Given the inscription date and the knowledge that the *Verein für Chorgesang* performed Schumann's pieces in Pillnitz, this leaf offers an intriguing hypothetical glimpse of the group's performance practice.

⁶⁹ These leaves were for an unknown recipient (see below), and William Mason. Mason, *Memories of a Musical Life*, [between 38 and 39].

Fig. 2.6. Robert Schumann's leaf of "In Sommertagen" for an unknown recipient, April 29, 1850. Asnières-sur-Oise, Abbaye de Royaumont, Collection Musicale François Lang, Réserve 46.⁷⁰



⁷⁰ Digitization available at <http://www.royaumont-bibliotheque-francois-lang.fr/opacwebaloes/index.aspx?idpage=340> (accessed February 22, 2019).

Ex. 2.2. Canonic realization of “In Sommertagen”

Frisch und markirt

f

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

Bass 1

Bass 2

In Som - mer - tag - en

rü - ste den Schlit - ten, und

dei - nen Wa - gen in

Win - ters Mit - ten,

In Som - mer -

rü - ste den Schlit - ten, und

dei - nen Wa - gen in

Win - ters Mit - ten,

in Som - mer - ta - gen

rü - ste den

ta - gen

rü - ste den

Schlit - ten, und

dei - nen

Wa - gen in

Win - ters

Mit - ten,

In Som - mer - ta - gen

rü - ste,

In Som - mer - tag - en

rü - ste den Schlit - ten, und

Schlit - ten, und

dei - nen

Wa - gen in

Win - ters

Mit - ten,

In Som - mer - ta - gen

rü - ste,

in Som - mer -

In Som - mer - tag - en

rü - ste den Schlit - ten, und

dei - nen

Wa - gen in

Win - ters

Mit - ten

In Som - mer - ta - gen

rü - ste den Schlit - ten, und

dei - nen

ta - gen

rü - ste

den Schlit - ten,

und

dei - nen

Wa - gen in

Win - ters

Win - ters Mit - ten!

Verstärkte Stimmen.

In Som - mer - ta - gen

rü - ste den Schlit - ten, und

dei - nen

Wa - gen in

Win - ters

Mit - ten!

In Som - mer - tag - en

rü - ste den Schlit - ten, und

dei - nen

Wa - gen in

Win - ters

Mit - ten

In Som - mer - ta - gen

rü - ste,

in Som - mer -

20 Verstärkte Stimmen.

Mit - ten! In Som - mer-tag - en rü - ste den Schlit - ten, und dei - nen Wa - gen in
 Wa - gen in Win - ters Mit - ten, In Som - mer - ta - gen rü - ste, in Som - mer -
 Win - ters Mit - ten, In Som - mer - ta - gen rü - ste den Schlit - ten, und dei - nen
 ta - gen rü - ste den Schlit - ten und dei - nen Wa - gen in Win - ters

24

Win - ters Mit - ten, in Som - mer - ta - gen rü - ste, in Som - mer - ta - gen rü - ste!
 ta - gen rü - ste den Schlit - ten, und dei - nen Wa - gen in Win - ters Mit - ten!
 Wa - gen in Win - ters Mit - ten, in Som - mer - ta - gen rü - ste, in Som - mer ta - gen!
 Verstärkte Stimmen.
 Mit - ten! In Som - mer-tag - en rü - ste den Schlit - ten, und dei - nen Wa - gen in Win - ters Mit - ten!

The hints for the canonic solution lay only in the music, not in any extramusical indications. Schumann implied a male voice with the use of bass clef, but Falk then had to determine if the following entrance was for a bass or a tenor, and would need to realize—through her knowledge of counterpoint or through trial and error—that the continuation of the given voice onto a C-sharp in measure 5 signaled canon at the fifth above, and thus the entrance of a tenor. Falk would not have been able to turn to the published score of the piece for help, at least not initially—Schumann did not publish the Op. 65 canons until 1849, likely in July, nearly a full year after he wrote this leaf. If she wished to realize the canon in her album leaf, Falk would have to put her skills to the test. Perhaps in efforts to remind her of the educative value of this endeavor, Schumann chose one of his partsongs with a moralizing text:

In summer days
prepare the sleigh,
ready your wagon
in the middle of winter!⁷¹

Schumann's textual choice is fitting given Falk's age at the time ("Gebt mir zu trinken!" would have been more than a little inappropriate) and works in tandem with the pedagogical purpose of the canon. While we cannot know for certain if Schumann intended this leaf as a commemoration of the *Verein* trip to Pillnitz mentioned above, we can at least surmise that he chose to commemorate himself as a teacher who expected much of young musicians.

2.5C. "ZÜRNE NICHT DES HERBSTES WIND" FOR CONSTANZE JACOBI ON AUGUST 23, 1848

Constanze Jacobi (Dawison) was, like Nanette Falk, a star pupil and integral member of the Schumanns' social circle in Dresden. Jacobi was a talented soprano who began studying with the highly regarded alto Henriette Büнау-Grabau at the Leipzig Conservatory in 1843, and also appeared frequently as a soloist at the Gewandhaus.⁷² Robert Schumann met her at the Conservatory, where he taught piano, composition, and orchestration. He first mentioned her in his *Tagebuch* after Jacobi completed an exam, placing her at the top of a list of his finest students.⁷³ As a singer, Jacobi must have made quite an impression on Schumann, for he often turned to her as a soloist for important performances of his works—in *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Goethe's birth, and as the Angel in the premiere of

⁷¹ "In Sommertagen / Rüste den Schlitten, / Und deinen Wagen / In Winters Mitten!" All of the texts of Op. 65 come from Friedrich Rückert's *Ritornellen und Vierzeiler*.

⁷² Bernhard R. Appel, "Musikbeiträge im Album der Constanze Erdmunde Jacobi," in *Das Stammbuch der Constanze Dawison geb. Jacobi* (Düsseldorf: KulturStiftung der Länder and Heinrich-Heine-Institut, 1991), [5].

⁷³ "The 25th [of September 1843] Exam at the Conservatory; my best students are: Miss Jacobi from Altenburg, Preuß from Gotha, Ergmann from Breslau." *TB*, 2:271.

Das Paradies und die Peri.⁷⁴ Jacobi was close to both Robert and Clara, visiting their home frequently; they viewed her as their student, musical collaborator, and friend. In addition to giving her several musical gifts, including an album leaf and a gift manuscript of several of his *Lieder* that bore an inscription-like dedication page, Robert dedicated his *Drei Gesänge*, Op. 95 to Jacobi, who performed them for him privately, accompanied by another of Schumann's students, Heinrich Richter, on the harp.⁷⁵ Like Falk, Jacobi continued to nurture her relationship with the Schumanns after they moved to Düsseldorf, writing letters and visiting at least once.⁷⁶

Constanze Jacobi was also one of the founding members of Robert Schumann's Dresden *Verein für Chorgesang*, and was a participant in the previously mentioned group of capable female singers.⁷⁷ Initially his *Verein* also had a thriving male contingent, but by 1850 their numbers and enthusiasm had dwindled and only an active group of women singers remained.⁷⁸ With a strong women's chorus at his disposal, Schumann started to write partsongs for women's voices (Op. 69 was a part of this endeavor) and rehearse other choral repertoire for women only. Had he composed the Op. 69 partsongs by the time he wrote the album leaf-like dedication page to Jacobi's gift manuscript, perhaps he would have selected one of those to give her instead.

⁷⁴ Jacobi subsequently reprised this role in high profile performances in Dresden on January 5, 1850 at the *Hotel de Saxe* and on January 13, 1850 in the *Saale der "Harmonie."* Appel, "Musikbeiträge im Album der Constanze Erdmunde Jacobi," [7].

⁷⁵ The performance took place on December 23, 1849, before the score was published in 1851. *TB*, 3:512.

⁷⁶ She visited on October 3 and 4, 1853, when she met Johannes Brahms. Appel, "Musikbeiträge im Album der Constanze Erdmunde Jacobi," [7].

⁷⁷ Pellegrino, "Robert Schumann and the Gesangverein," 34.

⁷⁸ Whether it was due to competition from other choral societies (there were five other *Liedertafeln* in Dresden alone) or complaints about Schumann's conducting, it is uncertain why participation dropped off. Pellegrino, 99.

The canon that he did choose, “Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind” from the group that would become Op. 65, bears similarities to Falk’s (fig. 2.7).⁷⁹ For one, it incorporates another homiletic text from Rückert’s *Ritornellen und Vierzeiler*:

Do not be cross with the autumn wind,
Who steals the roses,
Instead hasten to gather them
Before it rages.⁸⁰

Schumann also notated this canon in the same way as he had inscribed Falk’s leaf—he specified none of the voice parts, and only indicated entrances. As with Falk’s leaf, it likely would have taken Jacobi some trial and error to determine that the canon should be worked out at the fifth above in T/T and B/B pairs (fig. 2.8).

⁷⁹ Additionally, Schumann did not write this leaf in Jacobi’s album like he did the Rebus, but rather inscribed it as the dedication page of a gift manuscript, which contained selections from Schumann’s previously published Lieder in a copyist’s neat hand. Because it is paleographically identical to an album leaf in every respect—and set apart from the remainder of the songs by being in Schumann’s own hand—I treat it as an album leaf here. The gift manuscript is housed at the Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau (Arch.-Nr. 13191–A1/A1c) and contains twelve songs chosen from the *Myrthen*, Op. 25; *Sechs Gedichte*, Op. 36; *Liederkreis*, Op. 39; and *Frauenliebe und Leben*, Op. 42.

⁸⁰ “Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind, / Der die Rosen raubet, / Sondern Rosen geh’ geschwind / Pflücken, eh’ er schnaubet.”

Fig. 2.7. Robert Schumann's album leaf-like dedication page of "Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind" in Constanze Jacobi's gift manuscript, August 23, [1848]. Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 13191-A1/A1c, [1r].

(9)

Canon. Langsam.

Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind, der die Ro-ten
 racht, für mich spenden Rosen ges'gt und
 — kein, für Herbst! (Kückel)

An Fräulein Constanze Jacobi

Abgeschrieben,
 den 23ten August

der Composition an seine musikalischen Händel
 wie an sein altes Organ und Klavier
 Robert Schumann.

Fig. 2.8. Published score of “Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind,” Op. 65

V.
Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind,
Der die Rosen raubet,
Sondern Rosen geh' geschwind
Pflücken, eh' er schnaubet.
(Für vier Solostimmen.)

Langsam, zart.

Tenor I. Zür - ne nicht des Herb - stes Wind, der die Ro - sen raubet,
Tenor II. Zür - ne nicht des Herbstes Wind, der die Ro - sen raubet, son - dern Ro - sen
Bass I.
Bass II. Zür - ne nicht des

sondern Ro - sen - geh' ge - schwind pflü - cken, eh' er schnaubet. Zür - ne
- geh' ge - schwind pflü - cken, eh' er schnaubet. Zür - ne nicht des Herb - stes
Zür - ne nicht des Herb - stes Wind, der die Ro - sen rau - bet, sondern
Herb - stes Wind, der die Ro - sen rau - bet, son - dern Ro - sen - geh' ge -

Coda.
pp *ritard.*
nicht des Herb - stes Wind, der die Ro - sen rau - bet, zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht!
Wind, der die Ro - sen rau - bet, zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht!
Ro - sen - geh' ge - schwind pflü - cken, eh' er schnaubet. Zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht!
geschwind pflü - cken, eh' er schnaubet. Zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht!

R.S. III.

With regard to a canonic solution, Jacobi had an edge over every other known recipient of Schumann's canonic leaves: as a member of his Dresden *Verein für Chorgesang*, Jacobi very likely participated in the reading through this partsong in *Proben*. Schumann's inscription, in fact, suggests that his leaf represents a memory of this experience (or experiences): "To Fräulein Constanze Jacobi / in remembrance of cheerfully spent hours / as well as her old teacher and

admirer / Robert Schumann.”⁸¹ The first known public performance of these pieces was not until March 25, 1860 in Vienna, but private read-throughs in *Proben* for the *Verein* and on Clara Schumann’s twenty-ninth birthday occurred at least on December 4, 1847 and September 13, 1848, respectively.⁸² While we can only speculate that Schumann intended Falk’s leaf to represent a shared musical memory, in the case of Jacobi, we have sufficient biographical and documentary evidence to bolster the claim.

2.6. Robert Schumann’s Self-Commemoration through Canonic Album Leaves: Further Insights

These leaves show us a particular way Robert Schumann constructed his autobiography during this time in his life, and also give us further insights into his pedagogy. In the (semi-) private contexts of albums and album leaves, he positioned himself as an authority on music education *à la* Nägeli and Thibaut. Of the twelve canonic album leaves he sent to various recipients, eleven ask the recipient to put their contrapuntal skills to work, and eight bear a didactic text. Though the contrapuntal artifice would have struck Thibaut as unnatural, Schumann’s erstwhile teacher would have appreciated the folk-like and accessible nature of the melodies, as well as the edifying character of the texts. As Thibaut wrote in his *Über Reinheit*, “Music has no better ally than well-chosen words. An appropriate text directs the soul to the object which it is the office of music still further to enhance; and to choose a bad text would be as great a folly as to adorn a maiden’s head with a dish in lieu of a wreath.”⁸³ Perhaps it is no

⁸¹ “An Fräulein Constanze Jacobi / zur Erinnerung an heiter verlebte Stunden / wie an ihren alten Lehrer und Verehrer / Robert Schumann.” Robert Schumann, *Liederalbum für Constanze Jacobi*, Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Arch.-Nr. 13191–A1/A1c, [1].

⁸² *TB*, 3:446; Pellegrino, “Robert Schumann and the Gesangverein,” 99.

⁸³ Thibaut, *On Purity in Musical Art*, 157.

surprise that Schumann sent only one album leaf with the canonic drinking song (the first of the twelve, and to an unknown recipient), and then corrected his course, henceforth turning only to folk-like and morally instructive texts. For the recipients who were not his students, this choice was no less significant or purposeful. Otto Jahn was an influential music historian to whom Schumann surely would have wanted to convey his status as an educator.⁸⁴ Similarly, he would have illustrated the important moral and educative role of German choral singing to William Mason, son of Lowell Mason, and to William Batchelder Bradbury, both American music educators.⁸⁵

Along these lines, these album leaves would not only have represented memories of the largely private music-making of Schumann's *Verein*, but also would have been tools the recipients could have used to continue their path to *Bildung* in their own homes. Though these partsongs could arguably be called *Hausmusik* regardless of their performance venue, they took on an added significance when presented as album leaves of *Rätselcanonen*.⁸⁶ They provided an elevated, educative, and—in the minds of individuals like Thibaut, Nägeli, and Schumann—moral source for making music, embodying the developing ideology surrounding German

⁸⁴ Alec Hyatt King, 2001 "Jahn, Otto." *Grove Music Online*, 30 Jan. 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14099>.

⁸⁵ Harry Eskew, 2013 "Bradbury, William Batchelder." *Grove Music Online*, 30 Jan. 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2248469>; Harry Eskew, William E. Boswell, Boris Schwarz, and Nicholas E. Tawa, 2001 "Mason family (ii)." *Grove Music Online*, 30 Jan. 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17984>.

⁸⁶ As recent scholarship illustrates, the boundaries between public and private performance as a means of categorizing particular repertoire as *Hausmusik* were often fluid, and music that was performed in the concert hall could just as easily be found in the home. Katy Hamilton, "Music Inside the Home and Outside the Box: Brahms's Vocal Quartets in Context," in *Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall: Between Private and Public Performance*, ed. Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 293; Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges, "Brahms in the Home: An Introduction," in *Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall: Between Private and Public Performance*, ed. Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1–3.

Hausmusik at the time.⁸⁷ As each dedicatee reflected on the inscriber, remembering their time with him, they could also choose to recreate past musical experiences, or simply to create new ones by exercising their contrapuntal acumen, either by themselves or in the company of family and friends.

These album leaves also bear witness to the apparent gender parity Robert Schumann imparted to his approaches to music education. In the long-standing tradition of inscribing canons in individuals' albums, the recipients were almost invariably men—both the inscription and deciphering of canons required a high level of musical skill and knowledge typically gleaned through formal instruction that had not always been universally available to women.⁸⁸ Indeed, despite the rise in opportunities for musical education for women throughout the nineteenth century, the patriarchal hold on album canons continued almost entirely unabated, which signals that contrapuntal music was still largely viewed as belonging to the masculine sphere. Though leaves written by other composers were not my primary focus, during the course of my research, I noted only one other canonic inscription given to a female recipient in the many individual leaves and albums that I studied.⁸⁹ This one notable exception was a gift to Nanette Falk from a

⁸⁷ Though the terms were often previously used interchangeably, around mid-nineteenth century writers and composers began to differentiate more between the frivolous and trendy *Salonmusik* versus the serious and moral *Hausmusik*. The latter not only referred to musical style and preferred genres, but an ideology that emphasized morality and intimacy. Nicolai Petrat, "'Hausmusik' um 1840," *Musica* 42, no. 3 (June 1988): 255–56; Nicolai Petrat, "Hausmusik im 19. Jahrhundert," *Das Orchester* 5 (1990): 495, 499–500; Beatrix Schiferer, *Salon- und Hausmusik – einst und heute* (Vienna: Verband Wiener Volksbildung, 2000), 26.

⁸⁸ As Celia Applegate documents, in the late eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth, women were commonly excluded from high-level musical activities that could be construed as "professional." While musical training was becoming more institutionalized, women often did not receive instruction beyond that which would allow them to sing or play a little piano. Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 136–38.

⁸⁹ The albums and leaves I have encountered that belonged to musically inclined women and contained no canons include: Ady Benecke, Constanze Jacobi (the canon discussed here appeared in the gift album of *Lieder* Robert Schumann gave her), Clara Schumann, Natalia Obreskoff, and Emilie Müller. Album Ady Benecke, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 94.74; Stammbuch Constanze Jacobi Dawison, Düsseldorf, Heinrich-Heine-Institut, Signatur HHI. 91.5001 TG; Stammbuch Clara Wieck, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 5980–A3; Album der Comtesse Natalia Obreskov, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek

like-minded composer, Felix Mendelssohn (who perhaps was influenced by his experiences with his musically remarkable sister, Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel).⁹⁰ Schumann also gave another similarly educative album leaf to Constanze Jacobi, the musical rebus that he cut from the *Album für die Jugend*.⁹¹

At first glance, Schumann's decision to give Jacobi and Falk canons of men's partsongs seems exclusionary, and we might infer that he gave them each a leaf that represented memories of times when they were merely passive observers of music-making. But we cannot know this for certain. We cannot know how his *Verein* approached these canons during their *Proben*. At the time Schumann wrote the leaves for Falk and Jacobi, he had not composed similar partsongs for women's voices. Given the egalitarian nature of his other pedagogical efforts like the *Album für die Jugend*, would he have perhaps encouraged the women to join the men as they read through these canons? In "Zürne nicht" and "In Sommertagen," for example, the ranges of both tenor parts do not dip below F3; robust altos could have sung these parts at pitch. Or if both sopranos and altos sang in more comfortable ranges, pairing with the tenors and basses an octave above, respectively, this would not have posed contrapuntal problems. No matter Jacobi's and Falk's previous lived experience with this music, Schumann's album leaf was an invitation both to remember him and to better themselves musically. In the leaf versions of these canons, gendered voices became irrelevant, and the challenge of figuring out the *Rätselcanonen* became

(SLUB) Dresden, Mus.1.B.524, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/df/63842/1/> (accessed February 22, 2019); Album Emilie Müller, Universität Bonn, S2039.

⁹⁰ Felix Mendelssohn's album leaf "Canon a 2," March 8, 1839, Album Nanette Falk, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 10 536-A1.

⁹¹ Robert Schumann's album leaf "Rebus," Stammbuch Constanze Jacobi Dawison, Düsseldorf, Heinrich-Heine-Institut, Signatur HHI. 91.5001 TG, [8].

paramount.⁹² Most importantly, Schumann's invitation showed he believed these women were up to that challenge.

Further, these album leaves bear witness to versions of the canons that existed independently of the eventually published scores. In their published forms, several of the canons Schumann inscribed have additional musical material that helps to close the partsongs more conclusively. The published version of "Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind," for example, ends with a homophonic codetta that brings the four voices together for a final perfect authentic cadence; this music is entirely missing from all of the album leaf versions (exx. 2.3*A* and 2.3*B*). These leaves provided, then, another opportunity for the recipient to make informed choices and put her musical taste and education to the test. After working her way through the contrapuntal solution, she had to determine a way to conclude the canon if she wanted to perform it with others (or she could have chosen simply to work out the solution on paper, like Ferdinand Möhring). Perhaps she would end on an inconclusive tonicized half cadence after all voices had finished their respective vocal statements, the easiest route to take (ex. 2.4). Or perhaps she would further challenge herself and compose a short ending to bring the voices back to the tonic. As with Jacobi's experiences during the *Verein für Chorgesang's Proben*, we cannot know the particulars of performance that these leaves may have inspired, but we may surmise that Schumann's notation in these leaves encouraged this sort of exploration.

⁹² Schumann also employed this de-gendered strategy in a leaf he wrote for William Batchelder Bradbury on April 16, 1849. Having by then composed a set of canonic partsongs for women's voices, which he would publish as the *Sechs Romanzen für Frauenstimmen*, Op. 69, Schumann inscribed the canon "Die Capelle" for Bradbury. Unlike other leaves wherein Schumann omitted scoring specifics, he entitled this leaf "Doppelcañon für Frauenchor zu 4 Stimmen," clarifying the intended performing forces. Robert Schumann's album leaf "Doppelcañon für Frauenchor zu 4 Stimmen," Album William Batchelder Bradbury, Library of Congress, Clamshell Box 1, William B. Bradbury Collection, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010561085/> (accessed February 22, 2019), [image 15].

Ex. 2.3A. Realization of canon “Zürne nicht” based on musical material Robert Schumann provided in album leaves

Langsam, zart.

p

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

Bass 1

Bass 2

Zür - ne nicht des Herb - stes Wind, der die Ro - sen rau - bet,

Zür - ne nicht des Herb - stes Wind, der die Ro - sen rau - bet, son - dern Ro - sen

Zür - ne nicht des

son - dern Ro - sen — geh' ge - schind pflü - cken, eh' er schnau - bet. Zür - ne

— geh' ge - schind pflü - cken, eh' er schnau - bet. Zür - ne nicht — des Herb - stes

Zür - ne nicht — des Herb - stes Wind, — der die Ro - sen — rau - bet, son - dern

Herb - stes Wind, der die Ro - sen — rau - bet, son - dern Ro - sen — geh' ge -

16

nicht — des Herb - stes Wind, — der die Ro - sen — rau - bet,

Wind, der die Ro - sen — rau - bet, zür - ne nicht,

Ro - sen — geh' ge - schind pflü - cken, eh' er schnau - bet.

schind pflü - cken, eh' er schnau - bet. Zür - ne nicht, —

Ex. 2.3B. Ending of published version of “Zürne nicht”

Coda.

21 *pp* *ritard.*

The musical score is for a four-part setting of the hymn 'Zürne nicht'. It consists of four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into two measures. The first measure is marked with a piano (*pp*) dynamic. The second measure is marked with a *ritard.* (ritardando) instruction. The lyrics are: 'zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht!'. The Soprano and Alto parts have a final note in the second measure, while the Tenor and Bass parts have a final note in the first measure and a final note in the second measure. The Bass part has a final note in the first measure and a final note in the second measure.

zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht!

zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht!

Zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht!

zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht!

Ex. 2.4. Canonic solution to “Fest im Tact, im Tone rein”⁹³

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are distributed across the staves in a canonic fashion.

System 1:

- Staff 1: Fest im Tact im To - ne rein, soll un-ser Thun und Sin-gen sein!...
- Staff 2: (Empty)
- Staff 3: (Empty)

System 2 (starting at measure 8):

- Staff 1: (Empty)
- Staff 2: Sin-gen sein!...
- Staff 3: Fest im Tact im To - ne rein, soll un-ser Thun und Sin-gen sein!...

System 3 (starting at measure 15):

- Staff 1: soll un-ser Thun und Sin-gen sein!...
- Staff 2: Fest im Tact im To - ne rein, soll un-ser Thun und Sin-gen sein!
- Staff 3: (Empty)

V

These canonic album leaves thus represent a series of paradoxes. They stand at a complicated intersection between the gnostic and drastic—they display the notation that informs us of what the music should more or less sound like, and also ask us to imagine the musical experiences they inspired. More than traditional scores, they embody actual music-making while

⁹³ For this realization, I created a composite theme from the versions in Gustav’s album leaf and the aforementioned *Album für die Jugend* sketchbook. In addition to containing the penultimate measure that is missing from Gustav’s leaf (!), the sketchbook version also varies slightly melodically. I privilege the melody Robert Schumann wrote in Gustav’s leaf.

they are simultaneously removed from the realities of performance (because Schumann stripped away the voice part indications). And in their variations from the published scores, with the high likelihood that each recipient might have invented different endings and thus altogether different versions of the canon, these artifacts bear witness to liminal modes of music-making that are so often lost to history. The canons in their published formats are straightforward, folksy partsongs for the specified male singers, with any contrapuntal complexities worked out. As *Rätselcanon* album leaves, they are accessible to any gender; they foreground learnedness, subverting both the expected amateur skill level and gendered expectations of *Hausmusik*.⁹⁴ Perhaps this is ultimately why Schumann cut the *Rätselcanonen* from the *Album für die Jugend* before publication.⁹⁵ In the privileged space of personal albums, an invitation to engage, activate one's imagination and knowledge, and—by doing so—remember the inscriber was an expected personal gesture; in a published score they would not have had the same impact.

2.7. Conclusion: Self-Commemoration as Commentary on a Repertoire

Schumann's canonic album leaves present a distinctive way in which he commemorated himself during a particular point in his life—as a composer of accessible *Hausmusik*, a director of choral societies, and an educator. No other album leaves that he wrote throughout the course of his life emphasized these roles in as pointed a way. These leaves may also help lay to rest an

⁹⁴ As Ruth Solie shows, the domestic sphere increasingly became associated with the feminine throughout the nineteenth century. In this context, Schumann's eschewing of gendered designations takes on a decidedly egalitarian air. Ruth Solie, "Biedermeier Domesticity and the Schubert Circle: A Rereading," in *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations*, ed. Ruth Solie, California Studies in 19th-Century Music (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 130–31.

⁹⁵ In addition to "Fest im Tact, im Tone rein," Schumann had composed "Aus ist der Schmaus, die Gäste gehn nach Haus." Bernhard R. Appel, *Robert Schumanns "Album für die Jugend": Einführung und Kommentar* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1998), 321.

oft-repeated question related to this repertoire: how did Schumann feel about the music he composed during his *Hausmusik* period? A narrative about his ambivalence toward his more commercial and amateur-gearred repertoire persists within the scholarly literature.⁹⁶ The relationship between artistic autonomy and the realities of the marketplace is often an uneasy one, and scholars have long felt compelled to address it, whether in the name of rescuing slighted repertoire or in the name of accounting for a perceived lack of quality.⁹⁷ John Daverio, for one, believes that Schumann never fully succumbed to Biedermeier tendencies, and that his decision to compose music for amateurs was “a conscious strategy no doubt partially motivated by commercial exigencies” that nevertheless engaged a “dialectic between esotericism and accessibility.”⁹⁸ Anthony Newcomb similarly portrays Schumann’s shift from his earlier compositional style often considered inscrutable by listeners to one aimed at a wider audience as one of immense struggle, saying that Schumann finally stopped “beating his head against the wall” trying to choose between his artistic goals and commercialism.⁹⁹ And in her dissertation devoted to Schumann’s partsongs and his time as a choral society director, Gina Pellegrino

⁹⁶ By contrast, another narrative—that the music written toward the end of Schumann’s life was of poor quality due to his deteriorating mental health—has in recent years been robustly challenged. John Daverio should be credited for being one of the first to contradict this long-held notion. Others have taken up the mantle in recent years, and a necessarily short list includes: John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a “New Poetic Age,”* 459–88; John Daverio, “Songs of Dawn and Dusk: Coming to Terms with the Late Music,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, ed. Beate Perrey (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 268–91; Laura Tunbridge, *Schumann’s Late Style* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁹⁷ No other revered figure of Western art music seems to have prompted as much handwringing on this particular subject. I believe this is due in no small part to the voluminous biographical documents we have, including characteristically pointed correspondence with publishers about expected fees, and household ledgers full of financial detail.

⁹⁸ Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a “New Poetic Age,”* 394–96.

⁹⁹ Though he does go on to say that he does not believe this move to be a “cynically calculated, commercially motivated change. The changed aesthetic goals represented in the late pieces both for piano and for small ensemble were part of an important cultural movement in Germany’s musical world of the 1840s—a movement embraced with deep conviction by at least part of Schumann’s always divided personality.” Newcomb, “Schumann and the Marketplace,” 267–68, 270.

details a litany of scholars and musicians who dismiss this repertoire as undeserving of attention at best and deride its quality at worst.¹⁰⁰

If we had previously assumed that Robert Schumann was ambivalent about the simpler, more accessible music of his canonic partsongs—specifically Opp. 65 and 69—his decision to write album leaves incorporating this music should quell those suspicions. If Schumann had found this music a distasteful or otherwise forgettable means to a financial end, he would not have turned and returned to it a total of twelve times (extant) as a form of commemoration.¹⁰¹ Between 1847 and 1850, Schumann composed a tremendous amount of music in a variety of genres including *Genoveva*, *Manfred*, *Szenen aus Goethes Faust*, the “Rhenish” Symphony, and countless others that he rarely, if ever, incorporated into albums.¹⁰² I argue that these canonic leaves, in conjunction with both Schumann’s own biographical documents and records from others in his *Verein für Chorgesang*, provide ample evidence that he believed in the artistic merits of this repertoire, and thus represent a happy, musically fulfilling time in Schumann’s life that he wished others to remember. As Emilie Steffens wrote in her memoir (discussed more in chapter 3), “Nobody who had the opportunity to practice and perform with the group would ever forget the experience. . . . The influence that the Schumanns had on us was immense and we reciprocated with enthusiasm to the noble, artistic couple.”¹⁰³ The particulars of Robert

¹⁰⁰ Pellegrino, “Robert Schumann and the Gesangverein,” 14–22.

¹⁰¹ The chronology of Schumann’s canonic album leaves aligns more or less with the composition and publication of these pieces, which was generally a trend Schumann adhered to with his album leaves (see appendix, table A.1). Despite this, I argue that Schumann’s choice of this music was deliberate.

¹⁰² A collage-like leaf in Emilie Steffens’s album, discussed below in chapter 3, presents Robert Schumann’s rare exception to inscribing fragments from *Genoveva* and *Faust* in albums.

¹⁰³ “Niemand, der an unseren damaligen Übungen und Aufführungen theil genommen hat, wird diese je vergessen können. . . . Der Einfluß *Schumanns* auf uns, u. unsere Begeisterung, für das edle Künstlerpaar waren gleich groß.” Renate Brunner, ed., *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 82. Translation slightly adapted from Pellegrino, “Robert Schumann and the Gesangverein,” 82.

Schumann's own enthusiasm are largely lost to history, obliquely alluded to in comments like these. But with this group of album leaves, we are afforded a private glimpse of his devotion to the choral and pedagogical activities that dominated his time during this period. In the intimate world of albums, Schumann demonstrated his true views on the importance of German choral singing and his own duty as an educator, and in doing so immortalized himself within a lineage of significant teachers, including one who had been a great influence on him—Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut.

CHAPTER 3 EMILIE STEFFENS'S ALBUM

It couldn't have been a more beautiful and interesting evening. A circle of the outstanding artistic greats gathered there in joyful communion to offer glowing words to Schumann. . . . It is no wonder that after such an experience that sleep fled my eyes. . . . Who could be more joyful in the presence of such noble people than I?

—Emilie Steffens,
Remembrances of Robert Schumann from the Years 1848, 49, and 50 (1889)

3.1. Introduction - Emilie Steffens and Her Album

Among the many leaves and other commemorative items Robert Schumann created for various recipients, the album that he and Clara gave to Emilie Steffens (1830–1910) before they left Dresden for Düsseldorf stands as a unique object. Robert and Clara had never before compiled an entire album for anyone outside of their family. Though Clara surely spearheaded the effort—Emilie was her student and close friend—she wrote only the opening dedication, while Robert contributed several objects, including a complex collage-like album leaf, manuscripts from other composers, and souvenirs of his own music.

Emilie Steffens was one of only a handful of particularly gifted pianists whom Clara taught while the Schumann family lived in Dresden from 1844 to 1850. Born in Detmold, Steffens came to Dresden in 1848 for the purpose of studying with Clara at the insistence of her father, an oboist.¹ She began her studies no later than February 1848, after which she became exceptionally close to both Clara and Robert.² Another student, Marie von Lindeman (1818–

¹ Renate Brunner, ed., *Alltag und Künstlertum: Clara Schumann und ihre Dresdner Freundinnen Marie von Lindeman und Emilie Steffens*, Schumann-Studien, special vol. 4 (Sinzig: Studio Verlag, 2005), 36.

² Robert first mentions her in his *Haushaltsbuch* on February 27, 1848: “Nannette [Falk] u. E.[milie] Steffens zu Tisch.” *TB* 3:454.

1903), was also friends with the Schumann family, and both of the women were initiated into the Schumanns' social circle. They also became founding members of Robert's newly established *Verein für Chorgesang*, discussed in detail in chapter 2.³ In her memoir, Steffens described weekly visits at social gatherings and private music-making in the Schumanns' house, where she met people such as the Dresden concertmaster Franz Schubert, and singers Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, Franziska Schwarzbach, Constanze Jacobi, Eduard Rudolph, Johann Weixelsdorfer, and Friedrich Mitterwurzer.⁴

Steffens's album is a hybrid, an intersection between keepsake album and scrapbook, containing both inscriptions from others and mementos (such as concert programs) that Steffens herself chose. Todd Gernes argues that the two mediums are fundamentally different: albums are "the products of many hands, reflect[ing] the kinship, community, and affiliation central to the lives of nineteenth-century men and women," and scrapbooks "metonymically represent the individual consciousness of the compiler."⁵ In Steffens's album, both community and individual are represented. Her album also presents another complexity, as it had different editors at various points during its creation, with all of them working toward different ends. Initially the Schumanns steered the album exclusively toward highlighting Steffens's role as a musician and member of their circle; after they gave her the album, Steffens emphasized or de-emphasized this narrative depending on the current stage of her life.

³ In fact, after the Schumanns moved to Düsseldorf, Clara and Marie steadily maintained their relationship through regular letters, while Clara's relationship to Emilie seems to have dwindled after the move, and more so after Emilie's marriage. Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 42–43. Due to how close both of these women were to Clara during her time in Dresden, I would assume that she also gave Marie a gift before moving, and that Robert potentially assisted with it, but no such album exists today.

⁴ Steffens's handwritten memoir is housed at the Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau (Arch.-Nr. 12899–A1/A3), and I discuss it in more detail below. Her memoir is also available in its entirety in Renate Brunner's volume. Brunner, 80.

⁵ Todd S. Gernes, "Recasting the Culture of Ephemera," in *Popular Literacy: Studies in Cultural Practices and Poetics*, ed. John Trimbur (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 120.

This album thus represents distinct phases in the construction of Steffens's identity, and during the phases for which she was responsible, Steffens found different ways to enact her historical agency.⁶ Nearly forty years after the Schumanns gave her the album, Frederick Niecks approached Steffens and asked her to write a memoir that he could incorporate into his planned biography of Robert. Based on both the content and physical evidence of her handwritten memoir, I argue that Steffens used her album for its intended purpose as a memory aide; its contents allowed her to remember her time with the Schumanns and craft a narrative that emphasized her importance to the Schumann family. This album served both as a fount of memories of the Schumanns and as a medium that allowed Steffens to exercise her editorial hand: once when steering the focus of the album toward other elements of her identity, and again when using it to help her to contribute to the public memory of Robert Schumann.

From her writings, we learn that Steffens found Robert to be an equally influential figure in her life as her piano teacher Clara. She portrayed him as kind, thoughtful, and genuinely interested in her development both as a musician and as a well-rounded young person. She recalled the times he warmly invited her to remain at their house when he returned from his daily beer at a nearby restaurant, how he went to great lengths to celebrate her and others' birthdays, and how he gently chastened her to read Shakespeare and Jean Paul when he learned she had not

⁶ My discussion of the narrative phases of the album draws on both Susan Stewart's concept of the "narrative of the possessor" crucial to solidifying the importance of a souvenir to its owner, and Igor Kopytoff's understanding of the changing functions of a commodity throughout its lifespan in his "biography of things." Kopytoff's notion of this sort of biography also resonates with James Davies's understanding of the "life history" of a musical annual once owned by the otherwise unknown Julia Eliza Oakley. James Davies, "Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c. 1830," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 305; Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge and New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1986), 66–67; Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 136.

yet done so.⁷ In this last instance, Steffens implicitly expressed her gratitude for Robert's concern with her *Bildung*.⁸ Furthermore, both Clara and Robert trusted Steffens to an extraordinary degree. On two separate occasions in 1850, Steffens took over duties in the Schumann household (including caring for all five children) while Clara and Robert traveled for extended periods.⁹ Though the strength of her relationship with the Schumanns weakened after they moved to Düsseldorf, Steffens was inarguably an integral part of their inner circle for the years they lived in Dresden.

The physical appearance of Steffen's album itself further attests to the regard in which the Schumanns held her. It is beautifully bound in pebbled black leather, with a filigree design and the word "Album" stamped on the cover in gold, and a similar design with Steffens's initials, "E. St." stamped on the back (fig. 3.1).¹⁰ Clara's inscription—the only contribution explicitly created by her alone—opens the album, declares the commemorative purpose of their gift, and unequivocally conveys that their relationship went beyond that of student and teacher: "May you, dear Emilie, sometimes browse through this book and remember in love your true friend, Clara Schumann."¹¹ Near the bottom of the leaf, to the left of her signature, she signed and dated it "Dresden / d. 1 Septbr[.] / 1850," the day the Schumanns moved to Düsseldorf. The place and

⁷ Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 78–79.

⁸ See chapter 2 for a discussion of the overall importance of *Bildung* in German culture at this time, and Robert Schumann's perceived role in helping others develop theirs. Brunner, 79.

⁹ The first trip took place in March 1850 when Robert and Clara traveled to Berlin and Hamburg. The second trip was in May and June 1850 to Leipzig to tend to preparations for the premiere of *Genoveva*. Clara sent several letters to Emilie while away, and despite the magnitude of the favor Emilie had granted her, maintained her characteristic brusque demeanor while outlining the details of all household chores. Brunner, 84–85; Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, Rev. ed. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 107.

¹⁰ A small label in the upper left corner inside the front cover proclaims that the album came from the Mode & Galanterie Waaren Handlung by Adolph Koenig in Dresden, at the Hôtel de Saxe, Moritzstrasse.

¹¹ "Mögen Sie, liebe Emilie, bei'm / Durchblättern dieses Buches manchmal / in Liebe gedenken Ihrer wahren / Freundin / Clara Schumann" Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [1r].

date suggest one of two scenarios: either Clara inscribed the album and gave it to Emilie on the very day the family moved, or she wrote the leaf in advance and post-dated it. In either case, the inscription serves both as a commemoration of their departure and as a call to remember their time spent together.

The contributions to this album fall into several distinct categories: 1) inscriptions from others that were likely—but cannot definitively be proven to have been—procured by the Schumanns; 2) inscriptions or other memorabilia from the Schumanns; 3) mementos that Steffens herself added; and 4) inscriptions that Steffens solicited after the Schumanns moved away. Altogether the album contains twenty-three items, ranging from handwritten album leaves to published music and programs. Table 3.1 gives the physical structure of the album so far as we can ascertain today.

Fig. 3.1. Front and back covers of Emilie Steffens's album. Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899.





Table 3.1. Contents and physical structure of Emilie Steffens's album

| Author | Type | Place | Date | Physical Placement in Album | Folio |
|-------------------------------|--|--------------|-------------------|--|--------------|
| Clara Schumann | Handwritten inscription | Dresden | September 1, 1850 | Written directly in | 1r |
| Emilie (Steffens) Heydenreich | Handwritten inscription | | Christmas 1907 | Written directly in | 1r |
| Adolph Hesse | Autograph manuscript | N/A | N/A | Pasted in | 2r |
| Gustaf Andersson | Handwritten inscription + dried flowers | Vienna | March 4, 1851 | Pasted in | 3r |
| Pauline Viardot-Garcia | Handwritten musical inscription | None | None | Pasted in | 4r |
| John Field | Autograph manuscript | N/A | N/A | Pasted in | 5r |
| N/A | Photograph of Robert Schumann | N/A | N/A | Pasted in | 5v |
| Robert Schumann | Handwritten musical inscription + dried flowers | Dresden | August 29, 1850 | Written directly in; flowers pasted in | 6r |
| Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient | Handwritten inscription | Leipzig | January 19, 1849 | Pasted in | 7r |
| Carl Heinrich Heydenreich | Handwritten inscription | Dresden | August 7, 1851 | Written directly in | 8r |
| Johann Schneider | Handwritten musical inscription | Dresden | April 21, 1853 | Written directly in | 9r |
| Grussendorf | Handwritten musical inscription | Detmold | September 3, 1854 | Written directly in | 10r |
| Friedrich Schneider | Letter to Robert Schumann | Dessau | August 24, 1836 | Pasted in | 11r |
| August Kiel | Handwritten musical inscription + dried flowers | Detmold | September 4, 1854 | Written directly in; flowers pasted in | 12 |
| Robert Schumann | Title page from the print of Op. 66 + dedication | Kreischa | May 22, 1849 | Top half pasted in; bottom folded over to fit in album | 13r |
| Robert Schumann | Autograph manuscript of Op. 138/3 | N/A | N/A | Three leaves, folded in half ¹² | 14r |

¹² Though originally part of Emilie Steffens's album, and likely attached to the album by similar means as the other contributed manuscripts, the manuscript from Op. 138 has since been removed by the archivists at the Robert-Schumann-Haus and is housed separately from the album under Arch.-Nr. 12899-A1.

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|--|----------|----------------------|---|-------------|
| Adolph Henselt | Autograph manuscript | N/A | N/A | Partially pasted in; folded in to fit in album | 15r |
| Ignaz Moscheles | Autograph manuscript | N/A | N/A | Two connected leaves folded in half to fit in album | 16r |
| N/A | Concert program | Dresden | February 25, 1849 | Pasted in | 17r |
| N/A | Concert program | Detmold | October 24, 1849 | Pasted in | 18r |
| N/A | Concert program | [Bremen] | November 6, 1849 | Pasted in | 19r |
| N/A | Blank pages | N/A | N/A | N/A | 20r– 40v |
| Clara Schumann | Invitation to the <i>Verein für Chorgesang</i> | Dresden | April 30, 1848 | Loose | N/A |
| Robert Schumann | Envelope addressed to Steffens | Dresden | June 18, 1850 | Loose | N/A |
| Carl Heinrich Döring | Letter (in above envelope) | Dresden | October 27, 1884 | Loose | N/A |

Because of the physical nature of the album—most of the mementos pasted into it, and many without a date—it cannot be said with any certainty whether or not the items that predate September 1, 1850 (or do not have a date) were collected by the Schumanns and originally given to Steffens with the album. Among these items are a manuscript by Adolph Hesse of one of his preludes from his *9 Leichte Orgelvorspiele*, Op. 24 (1831); an undated inscription from mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot-Garcia of an original cadenza, which she had presumably performed, to the end of Robert’s song “Der Hidalgo,” Op. 30, no. 3; a music-related maxim from Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient dated well before the compilation of the album and with no personalized inscription; and a letter Friedrich Schneider had sent to Robert in 1836.¹³ I believe, however, that these items were likely collected by the Schumanns and put into the album; Viardot-Garcia was a good lifelong friend of Clara and had performed “Der Hidalgo” with her, and Schröder-Devrient was a close friend of both Robert and Clara and a frequent attendant (along with Steffens) of their Dresden social gatherings.¹⁴ Schröder-Devrient also had a more personal connection to Steffens: she participated in the benefit concert Clara hosted after Steffens’s father’s death.¹⁵ And because Robert contributed artifacts from other composers to the album, it is plausible that he gave Steffens the Hesse score as well.¹⁶ Although this circumstantial evidence is itself

¹³ In fact, I find it more likely that Steffens procured this letter from Schneider later, which I discuss in more detail below. Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [2r, 4r, 7r, 11r].

¹⁴ Clara and Pauline Viardot-Garcia gave the first known public performance of “Der Hidalgo” on March 1, 1847 in the hall at the Berlin Sing-Akademie. Margit L. McCorkle, *Robert Schumann: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Munich: G. Henle, 2003), 128. Robert became friends with Schröder-Devrient as a young man, first mentioning her in his *Tagebuch* in 1833. Wolfgang Seibold, “Der Dresdner Freundeskreis Schumanns,” in *Schumann und Dresden: Bericht über das Symposium “Robert und Clara Schumann in Dresden—Biographische, kompositionsgeschichtliche und soziokulturelle Aspekte” in Dresden vom 15. bis 18. Mai 2008*, ed. Thomas Synofzik and Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Cologne: Verlag Christoph Dohr, 2010), 343–45.

¹⁵ I discuss this concert in more detail below. Schröder-Devrient appears on the program for it. Album Emilie Steffens, [17r].

¹⁶ The Hesse manuscript, in contrast to the others, has no marginalia from Schumann, which means I cannot say definitively.

compelling, the cumulative narrative told by these sources is an even stronger indication of the Schumanns' involvement. Much as they did in real life, the Schumanns drew Steffens into their world through this album, giving her private access to important artists and positioning her as an integral member of their circle.

3.2. Robert Schumann's Known Contributions to Steffens's Album

Robert contributed the majority of the souvenirs to Steffens's album, including: three manuscript scores from other composers to which he added brief annotations; a commemorative title page from his published *Bilder aus Osten*, Op. 66; a manuscript of his own from the two-hand version of "Mui graciosa es la doncella," from the *Spanische Liebeslieder*, Op. 138, no. 3; and a collage-like handwritten leaf incorporating musical fragments from various performances Steffens either heard or participated in. Because he took on the lion's share of the work, Robert was responsible for the album's initial narrative that focused on Steffens's identity as a promising up-and-coming musician and initiate of the Schumann circle. Robert Schumann's choice of commemorative objects not only reflected deep engagement with his memories of Steffens and their time together in Dresden, but also captured his view of their multifaceted relationship and her identity. In the album's first life phase, he commemorated her as a pianist, a contributing member of his *Verein für Chorgesang*, and a beloved family friend.

3.2.A. ROBERT'S CONTRIBUTIONS: MANUSCRIPTS FROM OTHER COMPOSERS

The three (possibly four) manuscripts that Robert chose for Steffens's album represent four very different composers whom he greatly admired: John Field, Adolf Henselt, Ignaz

Moscheles, and Adolph Hesse. With the exception of Hesse's manuscript (the only manuscript Schumann possibly did not contribute), they are all piano works, but they are not pieces that Steffens is known to have publicly performed.¹⁷ These are: a fragment of John Field's Nocturne No. 5 in B-flat orchestrated for orchestra and piano; a nineteen-measure bravura showpiece by Adolph Henselt pictographically similar to the kind of flourishes virtuosi often inscribed into albums; and the entirety of a four-page Prelude and Fugue by Ignaz Moscheles. Schumann surely would have hoped that the autograph manuscripts of these composers would resonate with Steffens, an aspiring pianist: Henselt and Moscheles were two of the reigning virtuosi of the day, and Field was a legendary figure of the London Pianoforte School.¹⁸ Schumann also considered them all artists of the highest order. He recognized Field as an important influence on Chopin and significant composer in his own right: in a poetic recounting of music history for the *NZfM*, Schumann used the metaphor of the passing day to describe past epochs and said that Beethoven and Schubert (the "high priests") revealed the "starry night," where they were then joined by the acolytes Field and Chopin.¹⁹ Similarly, Schumann was nearly ecstatic upon the publication of Henselt's *Variations de concert sur le motif de l'opéra L'elisir d'amore*, Op. 1, and revered him as the first important German newcomer of the Romantic period.²⁰ And Schumann respected

¹⁷ The one exception to this may be the example from Henselt. During her concert in Detmold on October 24 and in Bremen on November 6, 1849, Steffens played a typically vaguely titled "Concert-Etude" and "Etude," by the composer. Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [18r].

¹⁸ This term referred to a group of composers, pedagogues, performers, and instrument builders working in and around London near the beginning of the nineteenth century who contributed the development of the pianoforte.

¹⁹ "das helle, lebendige Leben, das in der Sternennacht wiederum verstummte, welche Beethoven und Franz Schubert eröffneten. Nun sind jenen Hohepriestern noch Jüngere beigelegt. Field legt sein Opfer am Abend auf den Altar; was er spricht, versteht nicht jeder, aber es stört keiner den blassen Jüngling, da er betet. In später Stunde arbeitet noch Chopin, wie in einer Nordscheinverklärung, aber die Gespensterzeit spukt schon neben ihm, die Nachtraubvögel sind los, und einzelne Abendsalter von früherher stürzen erkältet und ermattet nieder." Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, ed. Martin Kreisig (Farnborough, Hampshire: Gregg International, 1969), 2:305.

²⁰ Robert had also called him one of the "Clavierhereon" in the *NZfM* on December 13, 1836. Clara similarly admired Henselt and had championed his works as a young performer. Natalia Keil-Zenzerova, "Schumann und Henselt: Die Geschichte einer künstlerischen Zusammenarbeit," in *Robert und Clara und die*

Moscheles both as a composer of the previous generation, and as one who had synthesized current musical developments with impeccable craftsmanship; at one time he described a composition by Moscheles as exhibiting a “Romantic half-light.”²¹

It is doubtful that Schumann’s primary intention for these autographs was educative. The physical condition of the objects renders them useless or near-useless as musical texts for performance. Schumann included an amputated half page from Field’s score (the fragment begins in the middle of the first phrase in m. 4, and very likely was cut from the original that the Schumanns kept in their own album),²² the Moscheles manuscript bears the telltale red pencil markings of a *Stichvorlage*, and Henselt apparently scrawled the etude-like piece on the back of a fragment of a completely unrelated song, “Der Hoffnungslose,” which was written in an entirely different hand.²³ In all three cases, Schumann did not take pains to maintain the physical integrity of the manuscripts. Rather, he manipulated each one so that it would fit within the 19×25.5 cm album, pasting and folding as necessary.

nationalen Musikkulturen des 19. Jahrhunderts. Bericht über das 7. Internationale Schumann-Symposium am 20. und 21. Juni 2000 im Rahmen des 7. Schumann-Festes, ed. Matthias Wendt (Mainz: Schumann Forschungen, 2005), 95–108; Klaus Keil, “Clara Wieck als Interpretin der Werke Adolph Henselts,” in *Schumann und Dresden: Bericht über das Symposium “Robert und Clara Schumann in Dresden--Biographische, kompositionsgeschichtliche und soziokulturelle Aspekte” in Dresden vom 15. bis 18. Mai 2008*, ed. Thomas Synofzik and Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Cologne: Verlag Christoph Dohr, 2010), 193–95; Schumann, *GS*, 1:248.

²¹ Leon Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967), 156.

²² Though it suffered extensive water damage during World War I, a likely concordant Field autograph is found in Clara and Robert’s joint album currently housed at SLUB Dresden. Gerd Nauhaus originally made the connection between the two, and a comparison of the paper, ink colors, page layout, and combination of two scribal hands (one Field’s, according to Robert Schumann, and another an unknown copyist) in both sources bears this out. John Field, Nocturne fragments, Schumann-Album, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB) Dresden, Mus.Schu.67.

²³ In at least one of these cases, we know how Schumann came to own the source. The manuscript of Moscheles’s *Präludium und Fugue* is marked with red pencil, a sign of its function as a *Stichvorlage*. Indeed, Schuman published this piece in the very first musical *Beilage* to the *NZfM*. Album Emilie Steffens, Arch.-Nr. 12899, Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, [5r, 15r, 16r]; *Sammlung von Musik-Stücken alter und neuer Zeit als Zulage zur neuen Zeitschrift für Musik* (January 1838; repr. Scarsdale, NY: Annemarie Schnase, 1967), 1:13–14.

Schumann's handling of these artifacts may today strike horror in our archivally inclined hearts, but his actions were in keeping with contemporary attitudes toward such objects. As Deborah Lutz documents, Victorian relic culture—an extension of beliefs dating to the medieval period, in which the supposed body parts of saints were imbued with mystical powers—had reached a “craze” by mid-nineteenth century.²⁴ People collected hair and other bodily mementos of friends and family members, believing wholeheartedly, as Lutz puts it, in relics’ “sympathetic magic. . . . the piece of the person can bring the presence of the whole.”²⁵ Though musical manuscripts did not have the same sort of bodily connection that *memento mori* and other personal relics did, musicians of the nineteenth century increasingly began to ascribe similar sorts of magical significance to them.²⁶ This is due in large part, as Halina Goldberg demonstrates, to the belief in the power of handwriting to provide insight into one’s spirit.²⁷ Throughout the nineteenth century, individuals began to place increasing importance on the handwriting of noteworthy figures. Handwriting was considered not only of historical

²⁴ Deborah Lutz, “The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry, and Death Culture,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 39 (2011): 129.

As Phil Ford pointed out to me in conversation, the origin of these beliefs actually dates much further back. For example, the building of Buddhist stupas—monuments that usually house relics associated with the Buddha or other important religious figures—existed well before similar Christian practices.

²⁵ Lutz, 131.

²⁶ Of course standard relic culture applies here too. Few students of music history have not learned that Chopin requested his heart be removed from his body and returned to his homeland of Poland. Judith Pascoe notes that this was typical of poets from this time, saying “They lived and died at a time when the notion that objects are imbued with a lasting sediment of their owners. . . informed the public commemoration of fallen heroes.” Judith Pascoe, *The Hummingbird Cabinet: A Rare and Curious History of Romantic Collectors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 3.

²⁷ In one of the first musicological studies to plumb the depths of the symbolic and cultural resonances of musical album leaves, Halina Goldberg illuminates how nineteenth-century beliefs about handwriting impacted the perceived value of album inscriptions and other musical manuscripts. Because individuals came to believe that handwriting gave a glimpse of a composer’s soul, artefacts that bore these traces were often treated like bodily relics. Halina Goldberg, “Chopin’s Album Leaves and the Aesthetics of Musical Album Inscription,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 73, no. 2 (forthcoming).

importance (at least for dead composers), but also a window into the composer's very being.²⁸ Manuscripts could thus give the owner perceived spiritual access to famous composers that was otherwise unattainable. One of the most well-known examples of overwhelming reverence for a musical relic is the nineteenth-century reaction to the autograph manuscript of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*: its owner Pauline Viardot-Garcia built a shrine to house it and encouraged cult-like veneration from its visitors, who believed it brought them into proximity with the dead composer.²⁹

In this context, then, the physical deficiencies of the manuscripts would not have mattered in the slightest, nor would Schumann's treatment of them have been seen as careless. What would have mattered was the belief that they were relics of the composers (or in the case of Henselt and Moscheles, both alive at the time, objects that would become relics), and that Schumann's generous gift would thus give Steffens access to their essence.³⁰ Indeed, Schumann explicitly drew Steffens's attention to the fact that the manuscripts bore the handwriting of the composers in cases where this was not immediately apparent. On the Henselt manuscript he wrote, "Handwriting of Adolph Henselt," and on the Field fragment he made sure to note that the orchestration and notation came from the composer himself: "From Nocturne by Field. The

²⁸ Schumann certainly believed this. In his fragmentary unpublished biography of Mendelssohn after the composer's death (discussed more in chapter 5), he wrote, "His handwriting [is] also an image of his harmonic interior!" ("Seine Handschrift auch ein Bild seines harmonischen Innern!"). Robert Schumann, *Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Gerd Nauhaus and Ingrid Bodsch (Bonn: Verlag StadtMuseum Bonn, 2011), 47. I discuss this concept more in chapter 4.

²⁹ Mark Everist, "Enshrining Mozart: *Don Giovanni* and the Viardot Circle," *19th-Century Music* 25, no. 2–3 (2001): 134.

³⁰ The practice of erecting monuments in advance of a person's death was also not uncommon, as documented by Matthew Head. He notes that there were several monuments built to Haydn prior to his death in 1809, the earliest dating to 1793. Matthew Head, "Music with 'No Past?' Archaeologies of Joseph Haydn and *The Creation*," *19th-Century Music* 23, no. 3 (Spring 2000): 191–92.

instrumentation was written by Field's own hand."³¹ By including these manuscripts in her album, Robert Schumann extended its community beyond his circle in Dresden, bringing Steffens into the symbolic presence of some of the most preeminent composers of the day, and in doing so also commemorated himself as a similarly important and well-connected figure in musical life. Most importantly, he provided her with a means by which Steffens could more intimately experience these composers' minds and genius, and connect her to the world of serious art music.

3.2B. ROBERT'S CONTRIBUTIONS: SOUVENIRS OF HIS MUSIC

In contrast to the manuscript-relics, the other items Robert Schumann included in Steffens's album more clearly represent personal memories: times when Emilie joined the Schumanns (and often their friends) for celebration and music-making. We cannot pinpoint specific memories for all of the souvenirs. Even in cases where corroborating documents exist, without an unambiguous reference we cannot have full certainty as to the intentions of either Schumann or Steffens. However, based on letters, entries in Schumann's diary, and excerpts from Steffens's memoir that correspond to album contributions, we can propose what moments Schumann hoped Steffens would remember when later perusing her album. These moments largely correspond to times of great joy for Schumann, when he was making music with his friends or celebrating substantial compositional accomplishments.

One memento that represented memories of social music-making is the title page from a printed score of his *Bilder aus Osten*, Op. 66, a suite of character pieces for four-hand piano

³¹ "Über Notturmo von Field. Die Instrumentierung ist von Field's eigener Hand geschrieben." Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [5r, 15r].

inspired by Rückert's German translation of Arabic medieval poetry by Al-Hariri of Basra (*Die Verwandlungen des Ebu Seid von Serûg oder die Makâmen des Hariri*).³² After revolution broke out in Dresden on May 5, 1849, the Schumanns took up residence in the resort town of Bad Kreischa for a month to wait out the unrest.³³ They invited Steffens to visit them, and she did so on May 21 and 22. According to Steffens, Robert's *Bilder aus Osten* had recently been published by Kistner and the publisher had sent him copies. This cheered up the composer immensely and distracted all of them from the ongoing political turmoil.³⁴ Robert remembered the celebratory atmosphere of that day, writing in his *Haushaltsbuch* on the same date, "In the afternoon there was a lovely party."³⁵ One can imagine the Schumann family and Steffens tucked away in the sleepy resort town, far from the troubles of Dresden, Clara and Emilie at the piano reading through the score, and Robert and the children listening.

In commemoration of this moment from Steffens's visit, Schumann inscribed the title page of the published score in the manner of an album leaf: "Frl. Emilie Steffens / Zur Erinnerung. / R. Schuman̄ / Kreischa, d. 22 Mai [18]49."³⁶ The current physical state of Steffens's album, however, makes determining when this object was added difficult: it is impossible to tell whether Schumann included the title page at the time he and Clara gave her the

³² Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen discusses the various conceptual and poetic connections between Rückert's translation and Schumann's piece. Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, "'Musiker in Worten und Gedanken': Robert Schumann und Friedrich Rückert," in *Robert Schumann (1810–1856)*, ed. Jessica Distler and Michael Heinemann, vol. 6, *Memoria: Herausgegeben von Hans-Gert Roloff* (Berlin: Weidler Buchverlag, 2006), 182–201.

³³ This is, of course, after their initial—and infamous—departure from Dresden to Maxen as Robert fled to avoid being forced into enlistment with the insurgents. He and Clara took only Marie with them, leaving the other three children behind with the maid. Clara returned by herself two days later, traveling largely on foot and seven months pregnant, to retrieve the other children. After briefly returning to Dresden to collect some of their belongings, the Schumann family settled in Bad Kreischa until June 12. John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 422–24.

³⁴ Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 83.

³⁵ "Nachmittag hübsche Parthie." *TB*, 3:492.

³⁶ Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [13r].

album, or he gave it to her on the inscribed date and she incorporated it later, or he presented her with the entire printed score in Bad Kreischa, as Renate Brunner posits.³⁷ Whether Robert placed the title page in Steffens's album or not, he inscribed it as though it were an album inscription, and clearly meant it to have a similar commemorative function.³⁸ Regardless of its genesis as a souvenir, the inscribed title page exhibits a synecdochal relationship not only to her memories of Bad Kreischa, but also to other memories Steffens might have had of hearing or playing the *Bilder*. For example, Margit McCorkle cites the first known performance of Op. 66 as one given by Robert and Clara at their house on January 7, 1849 with the artist Eduard Bendemann (likely accompanied by his wife Lida) in attendance; they gave a subsequent home performance of the piece on July 3.³⁹ Lida Bendemann was the dedicatee of Op. 66, and the dedication appears on the title page of the published volume in Steffens's album. Emilie, a frequent guest at the Schumanns' house, very likely would have attended the same performance as the Bendemanns. If she were present, this memento would certainly have also reminded her of that moment, as well as any other intimate performances of the *Bilder* by the Schumanns.

The gift manuscript of the song "Mui graciosa es la doncella," which Schumann originally planned to include as part of his *Spanisches Liederspiel*, Op. 74, also likely prompted memories of multiple performances. The *Spanisches Liederspiel*, whose title suggests a kinship with the popular German genre of plays with interpolated songs, was a collection of *Lieder* for various combinations of voice parts with piano accompaniment. Before Robert published Op. 74 with Friedrich Kistner in 1849, he oversaw two rehearsals of the work—which that point still

³⁷ Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 82.

³⁸ In the section below about Steffens's editorial control of the album I consider the scenario in which she removed the title page and added it to her album.

³⁹ McCorkle, *Robert Schumann: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 285; *TB*, 3:481, 496.

included the three eventually excised songs—on April 21 and 28, 1849 before a private performance on April 29 in Dresden at the *Salon der “Harmonie”* given by several of the Schumanns’ friends: Franziska Schwarzbach, Constanze Jacobi, Eduard Rudolph, Anton Mitterwurzer, and with Clara accompanying on piano.⁴⁰

Robert’s choice of this particular gift also had both more personal resonances. He specifically chose from the *Spanisches Liederspiel* a song whose text pays homage to a young woman: each stanza begins with the refrain “What a sweet girl she is; how beautiful and charming!”⁴¹ Even more intimate was the access to unpublished music that Robert granted Steffens with this souvenir. Though in 1853 Schumann began to take steps toward publishing his *Spanische Liebeslieder*, Op. 138—in which he would rework “Mui graciosa es la doncella” and the other two songs cut from Op. 74 into pieces with four-hand piano accompaniment—the publication did not take place until after his death in late 1857.⁴² And even then, Steffens maintained exclusive access to the original two-hand version of the song until late 1860, when it was also published.⁴³ Without this contribution to her album, Steffens would not have been able to relive the particular musical memories related to her experiences with the original *Spanisches Liederspiel* until some ten years after she and the Schumanns parted ways.

⁴⁰ Robert Schumann wrote to Kistner about the April 29 performance, saying, “If only you had been here yesterday, and that you had heard my *Liederspiel* performed. They sang it entirely charmingly, with my wife at the piano. It was a pleasure.” (“Wären Sie doch gestern hier gewesen, daß Sie mein Liederspiel gehört hätten; sie sangen es ganz reizend, dazu meine Frau am Clavier. Es war ein Vergnügen.”) McCorkle, *Robert Schumann: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 322.

⁴¹ Translation from Eric Sams, *The Songs of Robert Schumann*, 3rd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 194.

⁴² McCorkle, 571.

⁴³ McCorkle, 571.

3.2C. ROBERT'S CONTRIBUTIONS: A COLLAGE-LIKE ALBUM LEAF

In all the mementos Schumann included in Steffens's album, the most complex is an entirely handwritten collage-like leaf (fig. 3.2). It features three dated musical fragments from different pieces, a verse of poetry, and an inscription, all of which represent different meanings and memories. The leaf has the appearance of a collage, with much disparate information packed onto the page. On the one hand, the whole of its physical form is meant to be taken in in one glance, but on the other, deeper meaning reveals itself only upon closer inspection of each constituent part. Schumann wrote the poetic verse in a large script and centered it on the page, and his personal inscription—"To dear Emilie / in remembrance / from / Robert Schumann"—in a similar size below it and to the left.⁴⁴ The three musical fragments and their accompanying texts are smaller, and Schumann positioned them in the two upper and lower left corners of the leaf. Steffens later attached two dried bundles of flowers she identified as having belonged to Robert Schumann at the bottom and top of the leaf after she received the album.

⁴⁴ "Der lieben Emilie / zur Erinnerung / von / Robert Schumann." Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [6r].

Fig. 3.2. Robert Schumann's collage-like leaf in Emilie Steffens's album. Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [6r].



Poetic quotations are common in album inscriptions, but Robert Schumann rarely incorporated them unless they were part of a *Lied*. Here Schumann chose a verse from Friedrich Rückert's "Vierzeilen in persischer Form" from his *Östliche Rosen*, a collection to which Schumann had previously turned with his *Myrthen*, Op. 25. His choice of Rückert also implicitly linked the collage-like leaf to the printed score of *Bilder aus Osten*, a set of pieces inspired by the same poet. Schumann selected the third group of four lines from the collection of sixteen for Steffens's album leaf:

From Heaven flew a dove,
And brought a shamrock with threefold arch.
The dove dropped it; lucky is she who finds it!
There are three little leaves: hope, love, and faith!⁴⁵

Schumann surely chose this poem—with its emphasis on the lucky shamrock—in part because he hoped his triptych of musical inscriptions would similarly bring Steffens good fortune. But he likely also invoked this particular stanza because it thematically connected to the musical excerpts he wanted to use, a clever and typical strategy of album inscribers. The three musical fragments represented the “threefold arch”: Schumann wrote excerpts from *Das Paradies und die Peri*, which tells the story of the Peri, the daughter of a fallen angel and mortal who is on a quest to re-enter Heaven (hope); *Szenen aus Goethes Faust*, in which the titular character is ultimately saved due to the intervention of the “Eternally-feminine” (love); and *Genoveva*, whose eponymous heroine faces trials both spiritual and worldly (faith).

Each of these musical fragments represent a particular musical performance that Steffens experienced, and by extension, her memories of it. In the upper left corner, Schumann wrote “Erinnerungen” with a small incipit underneath, and a date underneath that: “(August 1849).” The incipit has the word “Faust” written above it, and is the opening of the third and final part, as well as the first choral entrance in the work, “Waldung, sie schwankt heran!”⁴⁶ Indeed, Schumann’s *Verein für Chorgesang* (which Steffens had joined near the end of April 1848) had read through selections in their meetings while Schumann was in the process of revising the work, giving the composer, as Daverio puts it, the “first palpable impression of the actual sound”

⁴⁵ “Vom Himmel kam geflogen eine Taube, / und bracht’ ein Kleeblatt mit dreifachem Laube. / Sie ließ es fallen; glücklich, wer es findet! / Drei Blättlein sind es: Hoffnung, Lieb’ und Glaube!” Friedrich Rückert, *Gesammelte Gedichte*, vol. 2 (Erlangen: Carl Heyder, 1836), 417.

⁴⁶ Schumann includes an exclamation point in the handwritten incipit that does not appear in the published score. Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [6r].

of it.⁴⁷ The *Verein* later gave the first public performance of *Faust* on August 29, 1849 in the *Saal des Palais* in the *Großen Garten* in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of Goethe's birth.⁴⁸ The participants and audience gathered for a celebratory banquet afterward.⁴⁹

In addition to serving as a shorthand that would trigger the complex of memories Steffens associated with that evening, the way in which Schumann notated the inscription itself may also provide a clue to a specific sonic memory from that performance that may otherwise have been lost to history. In the published score of the piece, the second syllable of “Waldung,” sung in unison by the sopranos and altos, is tied to the third beat (ex. 3.1). When writing the fragment for this leaf, however, Schumann chose instead not to tie that note, but to cut it short, inserting a rest on the third beat before the pick-up (fig. 3.3).

Ex. 3.1. Choral entrance in the published score of Robert Schumann's *Szenen aus Goethes Faust*, WoO 3.

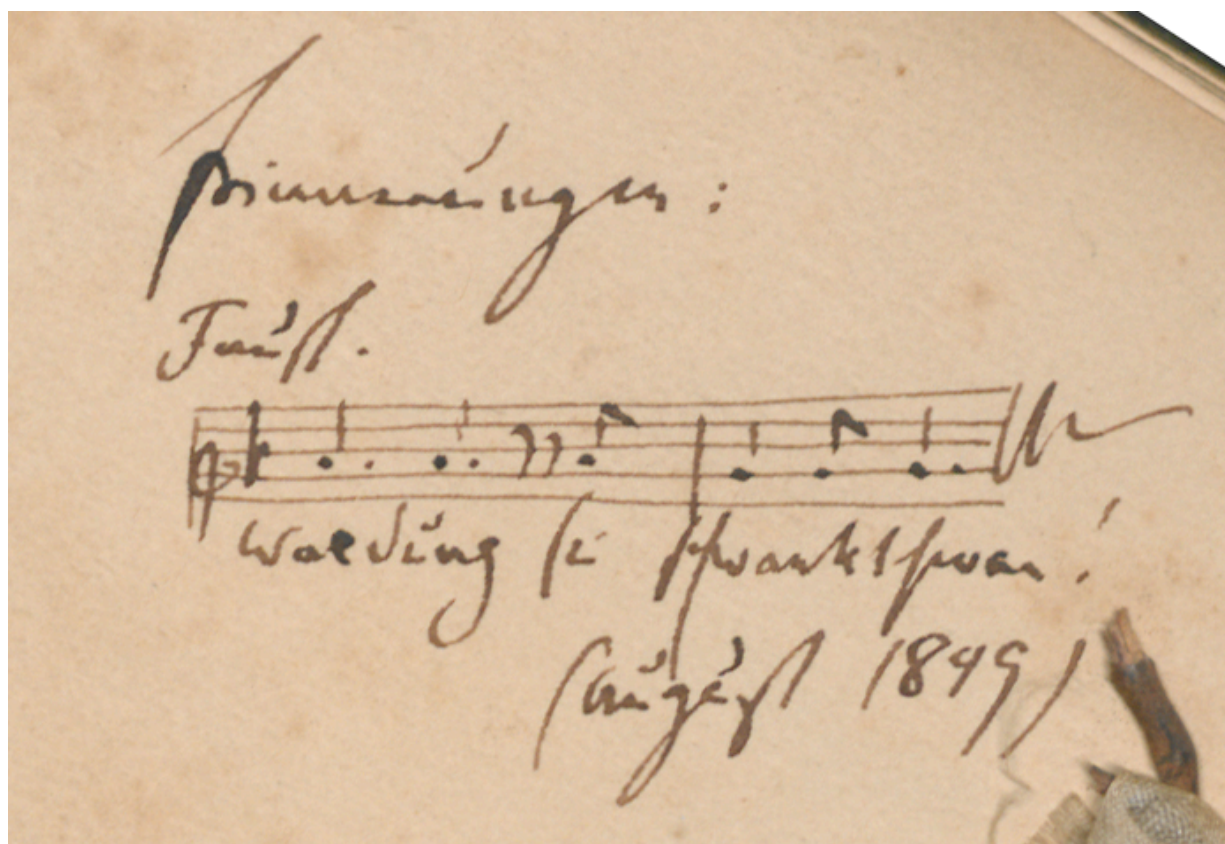
The image shows a musical score for Soprano and Alto parts. The Soprano part is on a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 3/8. It begins with a half note on G4, followed by a quarter note on A4, and then a half note on B4. The Alto part is on a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 3/8. It begins with a half note on G3, followed by a quarter note on A3, and then a half note on B3. Both parts are marked 'p dolce'. The lyrics are: 'Wal - dung, _____ sie schwankt he - ran,'.

⁴⁷ Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age,"* 398.

⁴⁸ Schumann was bypassed for the official celebrations in favor of Hofkapellmeister Carl Gottlieb Reissiger, who had already proven to be a thorn in Schumann's side as he tried to get *Genoveva* premiered, as discussed below. Undeterred, Schumann held his own festivities. Daverio, 558n118. The exact date Steffens joined the *Verein für Chorgesang* is unclear, but she kept an invitation Clara sent her to the society's second concert on April 30, 1848 in her album (discussed below). This memento attests to the likelihood that she did not join before then. Schumann noted the Goethe celebration in his *Haushaltsbuch*. TB, 3:510.

⁴⁹ TB, 3:778n714.

Fig. 3.3. Choral entrance in Robert Schumann's handwritten incipit of *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* from the collage-like leaf in Steffens's album. Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [6r].



One wonders if this is how Schumann directed his choir to sing this section—it is indeed a typical strategy of conductors to ask singers to release tied notes early so that they do not begin the next entrance late—and if this commemorative fragment is a transcription that captures a sonic memory. If so, this album leaf affords historians a specific glimpse of a mid-nineteenth-century performance, a feat not often accomplished before the advent of recording technology. Regardless of whether or not my hypothesis is correct, this fragment—which Schumann surely could have copied from his own score if he had wanted to—seems to encapsulate how he remembered the performance of that particular moment.

The fragment in the top right corner of the leaf bears the title “Genoveva,” with an incipit below, and “(Leipzig, Juni 1850)” below that. It is a keyboard reduction of only the opening

chords of the Overture to Act I of *Genoveva*, whose premiere in Leipzig Steffens witnessed on June 25th. The time the Schumanns spent preparing for the premiere of Robert's first and only opera was one of immense stress for the family, during which Steffens was called upon to support them in ways that went above and beyond the call of duty of a mere piano student. Namely, Steffens lived in the Schumanns' house, watching the children and attending to all household duties while Clara and Robert were away in Leipzig from May 18 to July 10, 1850.⁵⁰ Clara sent several letters to Emilie during this time, giving her detailed instructions for their home, and confiding in her about the preparations for the opera, which were not going as smoothly as they had hoped.⁵¹ The premiere was delayed several times, but Emilie finally traveled to Leipzig to see the performance on June 25, after Clara had tasked her with making arrangements for all their Dresden friends to attend as well.⁵² By all accounts, the premiere did not go as well as it had in rehearsal, which upset Schumann greatly, though he was cheered after the performance by spending time with his friends.⁵³ According to Clara, however, the second and third performances went much better, and were met with larger, more enthusiastic audiences;

⁵⁰ Steffens had apparently performed her duties to Clara's satisfaction when she stepped in for their sick maid Rosalie earlier in the year while the Schumanns were visiting Hamburg and Leipzig. Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 42.

⁵¹ Schumann had originally hoped to premiere the opera in Dresden but was thwarted by the Hofkapellmeister Carl Gottlieb Reissiger. Schumann then began planning for a winter 1849 premiere at the Leipzig Opera that never came to fruition. Promises of premiere dates continued to be broken as the Opera faced several changes in administration. Once the Schumanns had finally made their way to Leipzig for rehearsals, Robert ran into difficulties during orchestral rehearsals. Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age,"* 341–42.

Clara Schumann's impact on Robert's ability to continue composing and preparing for large concerts such as this cannot be overstated. During the Dresden years in particular, when Robert often met with debilitating health issues, Clara provided unending financial, artistic, administrative, and emotional support, all while continuing her roles as mother, performer, and composer. For more details about her nearly superhuman abilities, see Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 100–10.

⁵² In a letter dated June 17, 1850, Clara asked Emilie to check with Eduard and Lida Bendemann, Julius Hübner, the concertmaster Franz Schubert, and Constanze Jacobi, among others. Brunner, 116.

⁵³ In his diary, Schumann noted that there was "joy until the great error" committed by the actor playing Golo. At a dramatically crucial moment, the actor forgot to produce the letter that exonerates the falsely accused Genoveva, causing great confusion among the rest of the cast. *TB*, 3:530.

she told Steffens that she wished she could have attended one of those performances instead.⁵⁴

Perhaps in this case, Robert's chosen shorthand for the dates of these musical inscriptions served him well. He surely meant to remind Steffens of the particular performance she had personally attended, but by flattening the date to simply the month and year, he could also allow himself to reflect on all three of the *Genoveva* performances in June, providing a more positive view of these memories.

The third and final musical inscription is found in the bottom left corner, with the text "Peri" above an incipit, with the date "(January 1850)" below. It is a fragment of a reduction of the opening of *Das Paradies und die Peri*: a melody played by a solo violin, which the rest of the strings then answer with a chord. Though he had composed the piece several years earlier and it had premiered in 1843 in Leipzig, Robert's *Verein für Chorgesang* performed it on January 5 and 12, 1850 (in the *Festsaal des Hôtel de Saxe* and the *Harmoniegesellschaft*, respectively) after having begun rehearsals on September 19. In both performances, other member of the Schumanns' social circle played important roles: Franziska Schwarzbach sang the part of the *Peri*, and Constanze Jacobi also sang a solo.⁵⁵ Steffens undoubtedly would have recalled her bodily experience of having sung the piece in performance, the process of rehearsing it, and the musical efforts of her acquaintances.

Robert's choice of these particular musical memories—while surely meant to commemorate these milestone performances and Steffens's part in them—also reflects a specific commemorative narrative of himself that stands in contrast to those told by the other mementos he put in Steffens's album. For this collage-like leaf, Schumann chose three large-scale, grand,

⁵⁴ Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 121.

⁵⁵ Armin Gebhardt, *Robert Schumann: Leben und Werk in Dresden* (Marburg: Tectum, 1998), 46.

dramatic works. Here he did not portray himself as an educator, or as a composer of intimate genres (as he did almost without exception during this time in the collection of canonic album leaves discussed in chapter 2), but rather as a composer and conductor of import. Schumann's years in Dresden were dedicated solely to those activities—he gave up his duties as editor of the all-consuming *NZfM* in order to facilitate this—and during this time composed some of his largest works, including the *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* and *Genoveva*. And though *Das Paradies und die Peri* predates the others by several years, it was a watershed composition for him, catapulting him to international—and not just national—acclaim, as Daverio points out.⁵⁶ Compositions like these, to Schumann, represented the pinnacle of achievement. As he wrote to his friend Franz Brendel about *Peri* in 1847: “My life's blood is bound up with this work.”⁵⁷ With rare exception, Schumann turned to small genres for album leaf inscriptions throughout his life: fragments of piano pieces, *Lieder*, and chamber works (see appendix, table A.1). Here, while offering Steffens words of wisdom and referencing important musical memories, Schumann also created a small, private monument to himself as the composer he hoped the world would recognize.

3.3. Emilie Steffens's Album After the Schumanns

After the Schumanns gave Steffens their gift and left for Düsseldorf, the album began a new phase of its life and function. Steffens was now the compiler, and she would determine whom to ask for inscriptions, and the extent to which she would revisit memories encoded in the

⁵⁶ Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age,"* 274.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Daverio, 275.

Schumanns' souvenirs. The couple had indeed tacitly asked her to continue engaging with their commemorative gift: at the time the Schumanns gave it to Steffens, the album contained a group of some twenty blank pages at the end, as well as single blank pages interspersed throughout the opening pages (see table 3.1), which provided her with space to procure more inscriptions or add her own mementos. Though Steffens initially continued to develop the established narrative of her album—in which she was an important up-and-coming musician at the heart of an exclusive circle of artists—she soon changed course as the circumstances of her life shifted. The mementos Steffens added and the few inscriptions she procured after receiving the album reflect this. Merely a handful of years after they parted ways, Steffens took the album in a different direction, de-emphasizing her connection to the Schumanns.⁵⁸

Several decades later, however, when Steffens (by this time going by her married name Heydenreich) was in her late 50s, her album began yet another phase of its life as she used it to exercise her own historical agency and reposition herself within the Schumanns' milieu. Steffens was approached in 1889 by Frederick Niecks, a music scholar and biographer, with the request she write something about her time with the family in Dresden for a biography he was writing about Robert Schumann. Based on the content of her subsequent short memoir and some clues in the handwritten manuscript of the memoir currently housed at the Robert-Schumann-Haus in

⁵⁸ As discussed in chapter 1, albums are almost always the result of the contributions of multiple authors, but the case of Steffens's album is even more complex. It contains inscriptions from several different individuals, but also was shaped by two distinct groups of editors who had the power to steer the narrative of the album in the direction they pleased: the Schumanns and then Steffens herself. This accounts for the distinct life phases of the album I discuss throughout this chapter. For a (non-exhaustive) list of scholarship that addresses the social issues at play in editorial theory, see: Andrew Bennett, *The Author* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 29–54; Philip Gossett, "Editorial Theory, Music Editions, Performance: 19th-Century Faultlines from a 21st-Century Perspective," in *Music in the Mirror: Reflections on the History of Music Theory and Literature for the 21st Century*, ed. Andreas Giger and Thomas Mathiesen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 217–31; Jerome McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Jack Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Zwickau, I believe that Steffens's album was integral to her recollection of memories as she reflected and wrote. Nearly forty years after the Schumanns departed from Dresden, their gift album—and Steffens's own contributions—helped Steffens not only to remember them, but also to write their history.

3.3A. EMILIE STEFFENS AS HER OWN EDITOR: CONTINUING THE SCHUMANNS' NARRATIVE (1850–1851)

After she received the album from the Schumanns, Steffens continued to develop its focus on both her mentors and her nascent musical career. One of her likely first actions as her album's new curator was to add concert programs from significant performances during her time as Clara's student.⁵⁹ On the page following the Moscheles manuscript that Robert included (the commemorative item Robert placed the furthest back in the album; see table 3.1), Steffens glued in three concert programs on three separate pages.⁶⁰ These mementos contributed to the narrative of her relationship with the Schumanns: each of them represented a memory of Steffens's brief performing career, of her prestige as one of the privileged few of Clara Schumann's Dresden students, and, in one case, of her grief and mourning and of the Schumanns' support for her during that time.

⁵⁹ As with many items in her album that are pasted in and/or undated, we cannot know for sure when Steffens added these, or even that it was she who did so. I presume that she added these soon after receiving the album simply because of the waning importance of the Schumanns in her album over the next handful of years. I further presume that she herself added them because neither Clara nor Robert attended the concerts she presented in Detmold and Bremen. Additionally, Clara's copy of the program from the concert she helped to organize in Dresden is still housed in the *Programmsammlung* (Nr. 267) at the RSH Zwickau; a facsimile of this program is found in Brunner's edition. It is entirely possible that the Schumanns added them, or that Steffens added them later in life. In the former case, this would simply be an extension of the Schumanns' construction of her identity as an emerging musician. In the latter case, it would be another part of Steffens's return to this identity later in life that I discuss below. Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 288.

⁶⁰ Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [17r, 18r, 19r].

Steffens added the programs in chronological order, beginning with her first public appearance as Clara's student on February 25, 1849 at a *Matinée* in the *Saal des Hôtel de Saxe*. Her father had died a few weeks prior on February 2, and Clara organized the concert to raise funds for her and her family.⁶¹ Steffens played Beethoven's Piano Sonata in C-sharp minor, Op. 27, no. 2, a nocturne by Chopin, and a capriccio by Mendelssohn, as well as Moscheles's *Hommage à Handel* for two pianos with her teacher.⁶² What an emotionally tumultuous evening this must have been for Steffens. Though Clara Schumann's intentions were no doubt altruistic and practically minded, one cannot help but feel deep empathy for the then-eighteen-year-old thrust into this situation: grief high and facing the enormous pressure of appearing before the public for the first time and giving a performance worthy of her inimitable teacher. We unfortunately do not know how her playing was received—there was no press response to the event—but her performing career continued afterward.

On the next page, Steffens attached a program from October 24 of the same year.⁶³ She returned to her hometown of Detmold to host her own concert, playing several solo pieces and Mendelssohn's Piano Concerto in G minor. She was joined by the orchestra of the Detmolder Hofkapelle, which played pieces by Spohr, Weber, and the conductor August Kiel (discussed below). For this effort, she received a positive review in the *NZfM*, in which the critic—using faintly religious language that implied Steffens's status as an artistic pilgrim—encouraged her “to faithfully follow her excellent teacher during her distant sojourn in Dresden.”⁶⁴

⁶¹ The Schumanns' daughter Marie annotated the concert program at the top with “in support of Emilie Steffens” (“Zur Unterstützung der Emilie Steffens”). Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 288.

⁶² Clara Schumann played Mendelssohn's *Variations sérieuses*, and Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient sang an unknown selection of songs. Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [17r].

⁶³ Steffens's name is misspelled throughout the program as “Steffen.” Album Emilie Steffens, [18r].

⁶⁴ “bei ihrem ferneren Aufenthalt in Dresden ihrer ausgezeichneten Lehrerin getreu nachzufolgen.” *NZfM* XXXI, no. 42 (November 21, 1849), 231.

The third and final program follows, and is from her first private concert in Bremen on November 6, 1849, given with the violinist Joseph Joachim and a female singer from Copenhagen with the surname Johannsen.⁶⁵ Perhaps because she was a relative unknown, Robert Schumann wrote in support of Steffens playing on the concert in a letter of recommendation sent to Eduard Möller, the manager of this private concert series.⁶⁶ Steffens once again triumphed, and the reviewer for the *Signale* praised her “successful performance” through which she “earned recognition.”⁶⁷ There is no evidence that Steffens gave any other concerts after this. These programs, carefully preserved by Steffens, thus represent memories of a relatively short period of her life, when her identity was largely predicated on her status as a musician admired by Robert Schumann and as a star pupil of Clara Schumann.

Steffens also made other emendations to her album that bolstered her connection to the Schumanns. As discussed above, it is not certain whether the signed and dated title page from the exemplar of Robert Schumann’s *Bilder aus Osten* was added to the album by Robert himself or by Steffens. If she removed the page from the printed score and placed it in the album, it would have constituted an act of consolidating her Schumann mementos, bringing them into this sacralized space. Someone had to tear the cover off the score, fold it, and glue it into the album. Such action would have been consistent with usual album practice: the inclusion of such artifacts

⁶⁵ The singer was likely the celebrated soprano Bertha Johannsen, who worked at the Frankfurt Opera and performed frequently throughout Europe. If so, the combination of Johannsen and Joachim would have put Steffens in illustrious company indeed. Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music: The New York Music Scene in the Days of George Templeton Strong* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 2:721.; Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [19r].

⁶⁶ As Brunner notes, this letter is now lost, but Robert Schumann recorded it in his *Briefverzeichnis, abgesandte Briefe* (at the RSH Zwickau) under No. 1555: [October 10, 1849] “E.[duard] Möller Bremen d.[urch] Emilie Steffens [zu überbringen] Empfehlung für d. Steffens.” Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 40.

⁶⁷ “Auch Fräulein Steffens aus Dresden erwarb sich durch den gelungenen Vortrag einiger Clavierpiècen von Mendelssohn, Chopin und Henselt Anerkennung.” *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 7, no. 49 (November 13, 1849), 388.

within the rarefied space of an album was more valuable to their owners than maintaining the object in its original condition. If it was indeed Steffens who placed it in the album, her action paralleled Robert's when he disregarded the physical integrity of renowned composers' manuscripts in order to share bits of them with her as musical relics.

Perhaps most importantly, Steffens returned specifically to Robert's collage-like leaf as a site of his memory, adding her own gloss to the memories he encoded in it. At various points in time, she attached two small dried bouquets of flowers she received from Robert, one at the top of the leaf (in between the two musical fragments) and one at the bottom (below the verse from Rückert), a practice that was common for both album-keepers and inscribers.⁶⁸ Both are held in place by a small strip of paper, and Steffens labeled the top bouquet "From Rob. Schumann," and the bottom one "Last posy / from Rob. Schumann."⁶⁹ Steffens treated his album leaf like a shrine, placing these bundles of flowers on it as if it were a tombstone. And in identifying one of the bouquets as being the "last" she received from him, she gave it relic significance that would allow her to remember and remain close to him even after he died.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ As Gertrud Angermann documents, the incorporation of both actual flowers and drawings of them were common beginning near the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth. Inscribers chose particular flowers because of their known meanings—the forget-me-not (*Vergissmichnicht*) was an especially popular choice for album leaves for this reason. In Steffens's case, she attached the flowers because of their physical connection to Robert Schumann, not because of their subtext. Because of that, the language of flowers does not apply here. Gertrud Angermann, *Stammbücher und Poesiealben als Spiegel ihrer Zeit, nach Quellen des 18.–20. Jahrhunderts aus Minden-Ravensburg* (Münster: Ashendorff, 1971), 51–53.

⁶⁹ I identified Steffens's handwriting in these cases by comparing this leaf with her handwritten memoir. Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [6r]; Emilie Heydenreich, "Erinnerungen an Robert Schumann aus dem Jahren 1848, 49 und 50," Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899–A1/A3.

⁷⁰ As above, I use the term "relic" here not as understood during the Victorian era, which constituted an actual memento from one's body (such as a lock of hair), but rather in the way that individuals of the nineteenth-century often conferred relic status to other objects belonging to important figures, such as in the case of Pauline Viardot-Garcia and her reverence for the autograph score of *Don Giovanni*. Everist, "Enshrining Mozart: *Don Giovanni* and the Viardot Circle"; Lutz, "The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry, and Death Culture."

Hybrid commemorative books such as Steffens's album—part album, part scrapbook, part commonplace book—are not altogether uncommon in the nineteenth century, but they have not yet been addressed in album scholarship. As Todd Gernes points out, while all of these objects have similar commemorative goals, they differ in authorship:

Whereas commonplace books and scrapbooks metonymically represent the individual consciousness of the compiler, friendship albums, which often were the products of many hands, reflect the kinship, community, and affiliation central to the lives of nineteenth-century men and women.⁷¹

As a rule, albums were created through the contributions of multiple authors (chapter 1), but the case of Steffens's album is more complex. It is an object whose contents were generated by many, but it was also specifically curated by two sets of editors who had different aims: first the Schumanns (primarily Robert), and then Steffens. This delineates the different life phases and functions of the album. Even when others contributed, their inscriptions were influenced by the then-editor of the album, as I discuss below. After the Schumanns passed the album on to Steffens, she began to exercise her own agency, crafting the album's commemorative narrative through both the mementos she chose to include and the inscribers she asked to contribute.

Steffens in fact seems to have followed the Schumanns' narrative only for a short time, adding the aforementioned mementos, as well as her invitation from Clara Schumann to attend a concert by the *Verein für Chorgesang* on April 30, 1848 and a copy of a daguerreotype of Robert.⁷² But when it came to asking others to write in her album, Steffens only procured one

⁷¹ Gernes, "Recasting the Culture of Ephemera," 120.

⁷² See table 3.1. Steffens did not affix the invitation to any particular leaf, but kept it within the pages of her album. I have not uncovered any definitive information about how or when the image of Robert (glued to the fifth page) came into Steffens's possession. It is clearly a copy of the well-known daguerreotype created by Johann Anton Völlner in Hamburg in 1850 of both Clara and Robert, though—strikingly—it has been cropped and the former has been excised. Robert is standing beside the piano with his elbow upon it, and his chin resting in his hand, while he gazes pensively. The publisher Schuberth & Co. began selling copies of this image in 1859. "Schumann, 1850," Schumann Netzwerk, <https://www.schumann-portal.de/id-1850.html> (accessed July 25, 2019).

inscription that emphasized her importance as a burgeoning pianist. On the third page of her album, she pasted in a leaf dated March 4, 1851 in Vienna from Gustaf Andersson, a famous Swedish organ builder.⁷³ Though unfortunately we do not know the circumstances that brought the two of them together, or their significance to one another, Andersson's inscription makes clear that he knew Steffens as a musician, and that he hoped she would continue on that path. He began his inscription with the final three lines of the "Orpheus Song" that opens Act III of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, but to personalize it further, wrote it in his native Swedish tongue: "In sweet music is such art, / Killing care and grief of heart / Fall asleep, or hearing, die."⁷⁴ Andersson followed this with a personal inscription in German encouraging Steffens to continue being "a giver of joy, a slayer of sorrow through lovely tones. That is also the life of an angel, and one of the most beautiful on earth!"⁷⁵ Much like her treatment of Robert Schumann's collage-like leaf, Steffens also attached a small bouquet of dried edelweiss to this leaf.

3.3B. EMILIE STEFFENS AS HER OWN EDITOR: LIFE CHANGES AND FADING RELATIONSHIPS (1851–1854)

Much changed for Steffens after the Schumanns moved to Düsseldorf, and the shifting focus of her album reflects this. As mentioned above, we have no evidence of her having performed after the November 6, 1849 private concert in Bremen, and on June 11, 1851, she

⁷³ J. Leonard Höijer, *Musik-Lexikon. Omsattande den theoretiska och praktiska Tonkonsten, Biographier öfver de förnämste In- och Utländske Musikförfattare, Tonkonstnärer och Dilettanter, som med utmärkelse idkat eller befordrat denna konst, beskrifningar öfver älder och nyare Instrumenter m.m. beträffande musik samt af natur att kunna lexikaliskt behandlas* (Stockholm: Abr. Lundquist, 1864), 26.

⁷⁴ Andersson indicated the allusion with quotation marks and repeated the last line with the adverb "sweetly" for emphasis: "Musiken döfvar smärtan; / Qvalda sinnen, brustna hjertan / Somna eller stilla dö, / Somna ljufligt eller stilla dö." Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [3r].

⁷⁵ "Fahren Sie fort durch die lieblichen Töne eine Freudenspenderinn, eine / Schmerzenstödterinn zu sein. Das ist auch ein Engelleben, und eins / der schönsten, auf Erden! / Und behalte in freundlichem Andenken / einen wahren, treuen Freund / Gust. Andersson" Album Emilie Steffens, [3r].

married Julius Carl Heydenreich, a preacher.⁷⁶ Under normal circumstances, marriage would have ended her career as a concert pianist, but even if Steffens had wanted to thwart societal expectations and continue performing, life as a preacher's wife was a full-time job that entailed a level of respectability antithetical to being a professional musician.⁷⁷ Further, she had three children, the first of whom was born on May 29, 1852.⁷⁸ Her identity, which had once hinged on her abilities as a musician, now centered on her roles as wife and mother.

Simultaneously, her connection to the Schumanns began to fade. Clara Schumann's and Emilie Steffens's relationship dwindled quickly after the Schumanns moved to Düsseldorf. While Clara maintained a robust correspondence with another Dresden student, Marie von Lindeman, throughout their lives, the last known letter from Clara to Emilie is from September 19, 1853.⁷⁹ In her letters to Lindeman, Clara began referring to Steffens as "Frau Heydenreich"—in contrast to previously addressing her as "liebe Emilie" and "meine theure Emilie"—icily connoting their growing distance.⁸⁰ Steffens did not exchange letters with Robert after they moved.

This distance is manifested in the album. The last inscription Steffens procured was on September 4, 1854, a mere four years after the Schumanns gave it to her. And though three of the

⁷⁶ For the sake of continuity, I refer to her as Steffens throughout the chapter. Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 41.

⁷⁷ Among others, see Celia Applegate for information about how people like Clara Schumann and Fanny Hensel had to work hard to rid themselves of the "sexual myths" ascribed to professional women musicians. Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 138.

⁷⁸ Brunner, 41.

⁷⁹ This letter is now lost, but Clara mentioned it in a letter to Marie von Lindeman. Brunner, 43.

⁸⁰ In a letter to Lindeman, Schumann mentions that because she does "not know [Steffens's] husband at all, an involuntary indifference arises." ("da ich ihren Mann gar nicht kenne so entsteht schon eben dadurch eine Indifferenz, die unwillkürlich ist.") Brunner, 43. The other letters from Schumann to Lindeman in which she mentions Steffens may be seen in Brunner, 96–107, 112, 114–25, 127–36, 261, 271–72, 276–77.

inscriptions are specifically musical ones, they reflect their inscribers' identities as musicians, and do not specifically address Steffens as a pianist. The musician known only by the name Grussendorf, a pianist from Detmold, wrote Steffens a short piano piece he entitled "Les adieux" on September 3, 1854.⁸¹ Johann Schneider, the court organist and conductor of the *Dreysigsche Singakademie* in Dresden at the time that he inscribed his leaf (April 21, 1853), wrote a short, simple "Prayer" for organ.⁸² Perhaps most telling, August Kiel, *Kapellmeister* in Detmold who had conducted the concert Steffens gave in 1849 at a formative moment in her fledgling career, mentioned nothing of her prowess, accomplishments, or their past music-making, and on September 4, 1854 merely wrote a leaf containing the beginning of a song "Im Walde."⁸³ None of them wrote a personal inscription, and none of them drew attention to her past musical life. Perhaps the inscription she procured on August 7, 1851 from her new uncle-in-law, Carl Heinrich Heydenreich, set the tone for those inscribers because it highlighted her new dual status as wife and religious servant. Heydenreich began his leaf with a verse of an unknown poem, which emphasized "Heaven on earth" through "pious love" and he followed that with a memory of a family sojourn in Saxon Switzerland that included Steffens, her husband Julius, and

⁸¹ Grussendorf cannot be found today in *Grove Music*, *MGG*, or any contemporary musical lexicons, but according to an article from the *NZfM* about him, he was one of Detmold's great teachers, and he loved German music and hated "modern aberrations." ("er in Freund von ächt deutscher Musik, aber ein entschiedener Feind aller modernen Verirrungen ist.") *NZfM* XVII, no. 4 (January 11, 1850), 19.

⁸² Johann Schneider had been *Hoforganist* in Dresden since 1825. Two pages after his inscription is a pasted-in letter from Johann's brother, Friedrich Schneider, written to Robert Schumann on August 24, 1836, asking him to announce one of his compositions in the *Anzeige* section of Schumann's *NZfM*. Indeed, Friedrich Schneider's oratorio *Absalon* was announced a few weeks later. Aside from explicitly connecting Friedrich to Robert Schumann, the letter is an otherwise unimportant piece of documentation in this context. There is no other identifying information, so it is impossible to know who placed it in the album, or when they did so. Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [9r, 11r]; *NZfM* V, no. 24 (September 20, 1836), 98.

⁸³ Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 40.; Irmilind Capelle, Art. *Detmold*, III., in: *MGG Online*, hrsg. von Laurenz Lütteken, Kassel, Stuttgart, New York: 2016ff., veröffentlicht 2016-09-26, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/51414>.

himself.⁸⁴ Clearly, those now close to her viewed her in a much different light than the Schumanns had.

Scholars of albums have discussed the ways in which women enacted their agency in and through this medium, and in Steffens's case, she did so first by taking control of her narrative, and then ultimately by abandoning the album itself for some thirty years.⁸⁵ This is surely a very different outcome than what the Schumanns had hoped for, but Steffens clearly felt that her identity throughout the early 1850s had changed significantly from what it had been when she first received her album. The inscriptions she received after she married—as well as her complete lack of interaction with the album until much later—attest to the shift in her priorities at this stage in her life.

3.3C. EMILIE STEFFENS AS HER OWN EDITOR: REFLECTING ON HER PAST SELF AND WRITING HISTORY (1884–1889)

In her mid-fifties, after decades of not adding anything new to her album—a time for which we unfortunately do not have any biographical records—Steffens began once again to think back on her time with the Schumanns through her album. This later-in-life reflection, which began the third life phase of the album, centered once again on her importance to the Schumanns during their time in Dresden. She resumed adding mementos of the Schumanns to

⁸⁴ Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [8r].

⁸⁵ The gendered aspects of album-inscribing and -keeping are beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the following sources address issues of female agency in a variety of nuanced ways: Erica R. Armstrong, "A Mental and Moral Feast: Reading, Writing, and Sentimentality in Black Philadelphia," *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 78–102; Gitta Hammarberg, "Flirting with Words: Domestic Albums (1770–1840)," in *Russia, Women, Culture*, ed. Helena Goscilo and Beth Holmgren (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); Gitta Hammarberg, "Women, Wit and Wordplay: Bouts-rimés and the Subversive Feminization of Culture," in *Vieldeutiges Nicht-zu-Ende Sprechen: Thesen und Momentaufnahmen aus der Geschichte russischer Dichterinnen*, ed. Arja Rosenholm and Frank Göpfert (Fichtenwalde: Göpfert, 2002), 61–77; Anya Jabour, "Albums of Affection: Female Friendship and Coming of Age in Antebellum Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 107, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 125–58.

her album, as well as bolstering her connection to the couple in the eyes of others. Just as Robert had done for her some thirty years prior, Steffens gifted to the composer Carl Heinrich Döring a relic-manuscript that came from her late mentor: a letter that Schumann had sent to her on June 18, 1850 when he and Clara were in Leipzig preparing for the premiere of *Genoveva*. In it, he thanked her for her effusive birthday wishes she had sent on June 7, and expressed his wish that he could soon thank her in person.⁸⁶ Robert's letter is now lost, but we can surmise that this is the letter in question because Steffens placed in her album the original envelope, which was addressed to her at the Schumanns' house, and to which she added in pencil the sender's name and date.⁸⁷ In this envelope she kept the letter Döring sent to her on October 27, 1884, in which he expressed his effusive thanks for her "infinitely kind, friendly, and benevolent submission of the dear, dear letter from master R. Schumann."⁸⁸ He mentioned nothing about the contents of the letter, and indeed—just as in the case of the relic-manuscripts that Robert had given Steffens before, which were often useless as musical texts—what mattered was the letter's proximity to the "master." Steffens decision to part with this artifact was a savvy one: both the contents of the letter (which emphasized the important role she played in watching the children while Robert and Clara were away) and her decision to share it as a relic (which proved her access to such an esteemed figure), repositioned her as a crucial player in the Schumann circle.

Steffens's nostalgic look back at her glory days as she approached her later years is an all too familiar act, but it also coincided with the onset of a formal recognition of the Schumanns'

⁸⁶ Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 113, 119.

⁸⁷ Brunner's transcription of Robert's letter is based on two transcriptions by Martin Kreisig held at the Robert-Schumann-Haus, which Kreisig noted were taken from a "treatise by Schramm" ("Abhandlung v. Schramm"). Brunner, 119.

⁸⁸ "so unendlich gütige, freundliche / und wohlwollende Einsendung des lieben, / lieben Briefes von Meister R. Schumanns." Letter from Carl Heinrich Döring, October 27, 1884, Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [loose].

historical importance. In 1879, the collected musical works of Robert—a project spearheaded and edited by Clara—began to be published, which represented a musical monument to the composer. On October 21, 1888, Clara herself was recognized with a ceremony and day of festivities at the Frankfurt Hoch'schen Konservatorium in honor of sixty years of performing.⁸⁹ After a thirty-five-year silence, Steffens wrote to her former teacher on November 1, 1888 to mark the occasion, only obliquely alluding to the potential tension her unforeseen letter might cause: she said that as “an old former student” she “dare[d] to send her respectful greetings and congratulations in thankful reverence” and hoped that Schumann would “accept both in a friendly manner.”⁹⁰ Steffens reminisced briefly, telling Schumann that she and Marie von Lindeman still talked often about their time in Dresden, and “about what you have been to us, and especially to me when I was young.”⁹¹ After bringing Schumann up-to-date about her family, Steffens ended with a reassurance that she would never forget her teacher, and would “henceforth take the most intimate interest in the rest of her life.”⁹² If Steffens had hoped to rekindle their relationship, her efforts went in vain: Schumann did not respond, and the two did not exchange any more letters the rest of their lives.

The next year in 1889, Steffens got another chance to reclaim her place within the Schumann circle. Frederick Niecks, a music scholar, approached both Steffens and Marie von Lindeman to ask for their assistance with his upcoming biography of Robert Schumann.⁹³ They

⁸⁹ Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 264n489.

⁹⁰ “Wenn nach einem so herrlich schönen, ruhmreichen Festtage, wie Sie ihn jüngst gefeiert haben, auch eine alte frühere Schülerin es wagt, Ihnen in dankbarer Verehrung ehrerbietigen Gruß und Glückwunsch zu senden, so hoffe und bitte ich zugleich, Beides in altgewohnter Güte freundlich annehmen zu wollen.” Brunner, 266.

⁹¹ “was Sie uns, und ganz besonders mir in der Jugend gewesen.” Brunner, 266.

⁹² “fernerhin den innigsten Antheil an Ihrem weiteren Leben nehmen wird.” Brunner, 267.

⁹³ Frederick Niecks, “Schumanniana (1925),” in *Schumann and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 288.

each sent several pages' worth of reminiscences to Niecks, including performance details and personal anecdotes. Though both women were members of Schumann's *Verein für Chorgesang*, Lindeman attended rehearsals more regularly than Steffens, and focused the first several pages of her memoir on the singing group and its performances, much of it reading like a laundry list of dates, titles, and opus numbers.⁹⁴ Steffens also recounted her experiences in the *Verein*, but her emotional reactions took center stage as she painted a picture of her personal relationship with the Schumanns, giving readers a glimpse into their private world.⁹⁵ As he pieced together his biography, Niecks incorporated most of Steffens's memoir, presenting her prose almost in its entirety, while making significant cuts to Lindeman's contribution.⁹⁶

Significantly, much of Steffens's memoir reads as if she pulled stories directly from her album, or at least returned to it in order to help her fill in the gaps of her memory. Her handwritten draft, housed at the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau, offers evidence in favor of this interpretation. On one page, Steffens recounted the Schumanns' reliance on her to watch their children and manage their household when they were out of town beginning in March 1850. Steffens, who relayed her chosen anecdotes chronologically, clearly went back later and emended her document by jotting a note in the left-hand margin in differently colored ink: "Im

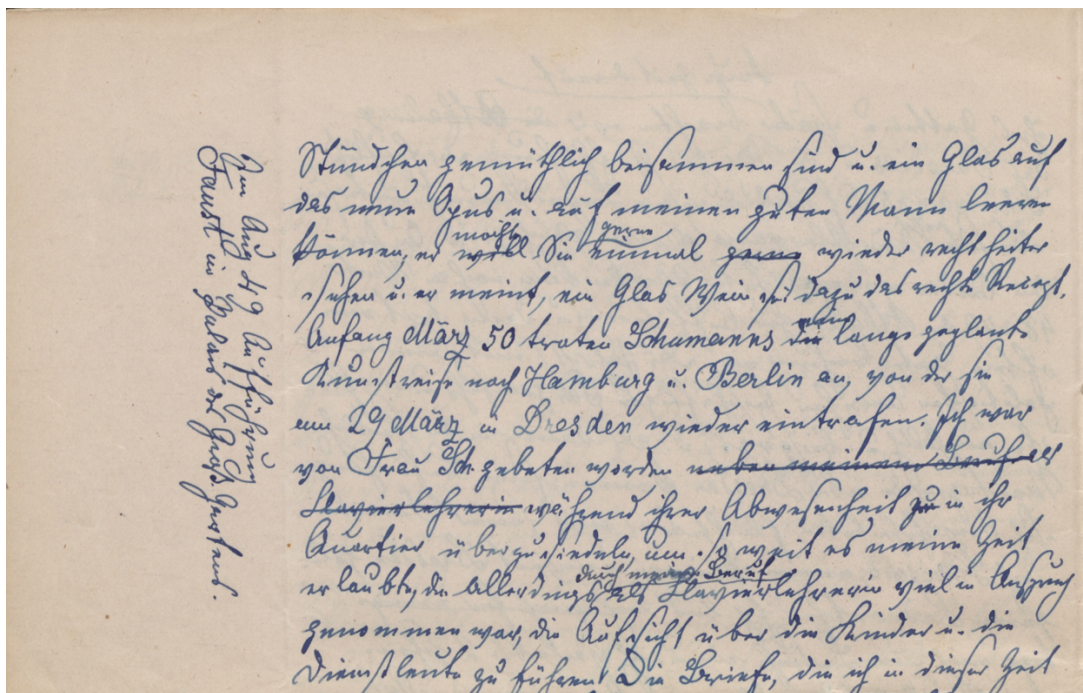
⁹⁴ Lindeman also spoke extensively about other music-making endeavors with the Schumanns, as well as visiting them after they moved to Düsseldorf. Marie von Lindeman, "Erinnerungen von Marie von Lindeman," Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 691–A3. Available in transcription in Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 55–75.

⁹⁵ It is likely that the two women collaborated on their respective memoirs, deciding who would focus on what. In her writing, Steffens addressed Niecks directly, explaining that Lindeman could write about the goings-on of the choral *Verein* "with a more skillful pen and in more eloquent words than [she could.]" ("mit gewandterer Feder und in beredteren Worten schildern, als ich es vermag."). Brunner, 81–82.; Emilie Steffens, "Erinnerungen an Robert Schumann aus dem Jahren 1848, 49 und 50," Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899–A1/A3. The entire transcription is available in Brunner, 77–92.

⁹⁶ Niecks also unfortunately misspelled Steffens's name throughout the entirety of this section as "Steffen." Frederick Niecks, *Robert Schumann: A Supplementary and Corrective Biography*, ed. Christina Niecks (London, 1925; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1978), 248–52.

Aug 49 Aufführung / Faust in Palais des Groß. Gartens,” one of the performances commemorated in Robert Schumann’s collage-like leaf (fig. 3.4).⁹⁷ It is clear from Steffens’s manuscript that, when first writing, she forgot about this important performance and left it out of her narrative. It is entirely possible that Steffens’s memory was triggered on its own, but given the personal nature of her memoir, and how closely it hews to narratives Robert had crafted through his choice of mementos years before, I propose that Steffens returned to the contents of her album, saw Schumann’s leaf, and remembered the performance he highlighted in the collage.

Fig. 3.4. Emilie Steffens’s handwritten emendation to her memoir, “Erinnerungen an Robert Schumann aus dem Jahren 1848, 49 und 50.” Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899–A1/A3, [4v].



Although she described Clara as saving her from “total despair” when she arrived in Dresden feeling like a provincial rube, Steffens focused most of her memoir on Robert. This was,

⁹⁷ Steffens’s manuscript features both additions in her hand, as well as corrections in purple ink from her husband (as Brunner posits) throughout. She gave Niecks a clean draft and kept the original. Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 44.

of course, the task Niecks had set before her, and Steffens was able to draw on a wellspring of memories thanks to the number of souvenirs Robert had contributed to her album.⁹⁸ As she wrote, she placed his emotional reactions and her insights into his personality at the center of her memoir, which would have signaled to contemporary readers her status as an insider. This approach also informs us today, at least in part, of how Steffens remembered Robert Schumann nearly forty years after he and Clara initially gave her the album. She portrayed him, in reverent tones, as a caring and generous husband and mentor who took a special interest in her musical education and *Bildung*.⁹⁹ Often when reflecting on memories represented in her album, Steffens focused entirely on Robert's emotional responses and not her own; she also did not tend to include details readers might have deemed historically significant or otherwise of interest. For example, when discussing her trip to visit the Schumanns in Bad Kreische, which Robert had commemorated with an inscription on the printed title page of his *Bilder aus Osten*, Op. 66 (discussed above), Steffens did not recount the details of who played which part in the newly-published four-hand piano piece, or what she thought of the music itself. Rather, she reflected on the important role the composition played in elevating Robert's spirits, recalling that the political upheaval had made him anxious and that the publication of the *Bilder* served as a joyful distraction.¹⁰⁰

Steffens's discussion about the premiere of *Genoveva* in Leipzig—which Schumann also commemorated in his collage-like leaf—similarly reveals that these memories were a wellspring of emotion for her and Robert. Her retelling of the events recounted the logistical complexities he encountered as the premiere was repeatedly delayed, and also emphasized the important role

⁹⁸ Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 72.

⁹⁹ Brunner, 78–82.

¹⁰⁰ Brunner, 82.

she played in minding the Schumanns' house while they were in Leipzig. The bulk of her recollection, however, focused on Robert's and her emotional responses to the performance. She provided intimate details, explaining that after the lackluster premiere Schumann soon cheered up once he saw his friends from Dresden who had traveled to show their enthusiasm and support: Ferdinand David, Constanze Jacobi, Joseph Joachim, Franz Liszt, Ignaz Moscheles, Carl Reinecke, Louis Spohr, and of course herself.¹⁰¹ Steffens focused most of her anecdote on the party after the performance when they went to a hotel to celebrate, and she said of the evening:

It couldn't have been a more beautiful and interesting evening. A circle of the outstanding artistic greats gathered there in joyful communion to offer glowing words to Schumann. . . . It is no wonder that after such an experience that sleep fled my eyes. Elevated and excited as never before in my life, I left Leipzig the day afterward and returned to Dresden. Several days later I received a letter from Frau Schumann, in which she informed me with high joy and [a] jubilant heart how entirely different the second performance ran, how wonderfully everything went and how her husband had been so excellent and celebrated. Who could be more joyful in the presence of such noble people than I?¹⁰²

From Steffens's memoir, then, we can see that the fragmented inscription of *Genoveva* from Robert's collage-like album leaf did not just represent the premiere itself to her, but rather her own collage of related memories, in particular the meaningful time spent with close friends and revered artists after the premiere of the work, and her personal significance to the Schumanns.

¹⁰¹ Brunner, *Alltag und Künstlertum*, 85.

¹⁰² "einen Abend, wie er nicht schöner u. interessanter gedacht u. erlebt werden kann. Ein Kreis der hervorragendsten Kunstgrößen war hier versammelt, um Sch.[umann] in begeisterten Worten ihre freudige Theilnahme zu bezeigen. . . . das war der Kreis, der sich vereint hatte Sch.[umann] seine Huldigung darzubringen. Es war wohl kein Wunder, daß nach solch einem Erlebniß des Schlaf wenigstens meine Augen floh. Erhoben u. begeistert, wie noch nie in meinem Leben, verließ ich Tags darauf Leipzig u. kehrte nach Dresden zurück. Wenige Tage darauf erhielt ich von Frau Sch.[umann] einen Brief, in welchem sie mir in höchster Freude u. jubelnden Herzens mittheilte, wie ganz anders die 2te Vorstellung verlaufen, wie herrlich Alles gegangen u. wie ihr Gatte ausgezeichnet u. gefeiert worden sei. Wer konnte sich wohl mehr mit diesen edlen Menschen freuen als ich?" Brunner, 85.

All told, Niecks only devoted about four printed pages to Steffens's and Lindeman's accounts.¹⁰³ Of these four pages, however, he gave Steffens the lion's share, and presented her words in near-literal English, with almost no editorial intervention. Her album, clearly a fount of rich memories and emotion for Steffens, undoubtedly helped to trigger her memory as she wrote, and contributed to the vividness of the stories she recounted. Her memoir affords us a view of how Steffens used her album—and the memories Robert Schumann preserved for her therein—to co-author Niecks's biography and establish her significance to the Schumann story that became part of published history. And further, her written reflections inform us about the personal memories Steffens ascribed to the contents of the album, providing a unique view of how one recipient interacted with Schumann's mementos. Her memoir thus stands as a diaristic complement to the album, and the two in tandem speak more fully to a private past that is revealed only in part by each source alone.

3.4. Conclusion

The different life phases of Emilie Steffens's album—from the Schumanns' original contributions that helped construct Steffens's identity as a respected musician, to Steffens taking editorial control and effectively closing that chapter of her life after she married, to Steffens's use of the album as a concordance for the first critical biography of Robert Schumann—give us a unique view not only of the varied ways in which Robert Schumann commemorated himself to a close friend, but also of what became of those souvenirs after he gave them to his recipient.

¹⁰³ Niecks's book was considered the first critical biography of Robert Schumann. According to his wife, Christina—who completed the book after Frederick's death—he researched for years, but was only able to focus on the book after World War I. The biography first appeared in installments in the *Monthly Musical Record* between February 1921 and December 1923. Niecks, *Robert Schumann: A Supplementary and Corrective Biography*, x.

While we could have surmised Schumann's intentions, Steffens made some of her responses to those souvenirs a part of public history, turning subtext into text in a way rarely offered to historians who research albums.

Steffens's editorship of her album, and her use of it to enact her own historical agency, allowed her to solidify her position within the Schumanns' narrative. As she told the story through her album, Steffens was clearly not a peripheral character, but rather an important player in the events that unfolded around the Schumann family. And with her album, she helped write history to that effect in Niecks's biography. Over the course of the various life phases of the album, we can see how Steffens steered its purpose to different ends, which ultimately meant that it transcended its specific significance as a souvenir to Steffens and became a form of public history itself.

And yet, perhaps because life is cyclical, or because an album is too innately intimate, Steffens brought her album back to its personal commemorative function, ushering in yet another life phase. When Steffens was seventy-seven years old, she returned once more to her album. On the opening page—the very same page her teacher Clara Schumann had inscribed some fifty-seven years prior—Steffens herself wrote an inscription: “To my dear great-grandson Paul in remembrance / of his old grandmama Emilie Heydenreich / Christmas 1907.”¹⁰⁴ Three years before she died, Steffens relinquished her album into the hands of a young family member, surely hoping, as did so many others who passed down their albums, that it would serve as a monument to her rich and significant life.

¹⁰⁴ “Meinem lieben Erz-Enkel Paul zur Erinnerung / an seine alte Großmama Emilie Heydenreich / Weihnachten 1907.” Album Emilie Steffens, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Arch.-Nr. 12899, [1r].

CHAPTER 4

ROBERT SCHUMANN AND PUBLISHED ALBUMS

A composer does not always have the best works in stock—little things, impromptus—and so, pushed by the publisher, he finally sends something from his latest. Certainly, some of the contributors here thought about what they sent. But for an album for Beethoven, [Mendelssohn's] piece does not fit very well.

—Robert Schumann,
Neue Zeitschrift für Musik (1842)

4.1. Introduction

During the 1840s and 1850s, Robert Schumann edited collections for, contributed compositions to, and wrote critiques of published albums. This was a new genre born out of the popular private practice of keeping albums and was similarly focused on commemoration. Schumann contributed compositions to albums that marked a particular moment in time, and to albums that paid homage to famous composers. As editor, he also curated his own anthologies for the musical supplements of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. In this chapter, I explore the various strategies Schumann employed when commemorating himself in these particular public ventures. Composers who contributed to such objects were bound by generic and social expectations that were in many ways similar to private albums, but also differed significantly given the commercial nature of publication. According to critics and publishers, the compositions were expected to be accessible to a wide audience, reflective of current trends, and most importantly, original. Additionally, published albums represent ways of observing time that were very different from prevailing nineteenth-century tendencies toward monuments and museumification. Through their musical style, they are marked as products of a particular

moment. Rather than commemorating through timelessness, they leaned into their timeliness. Robert Schumann's practices of commemoration and curation in these contexts thus offer a complement to both his private album inscriptions and his thoughts on composers' legacies.

The published album experienced a boom beginning in the 1820s, as is evidenced by the thousands of "albums" listed in the Hofmeister catalogue.¹ They ranged from editor-curated collections of pieces by a single composer—such as the *Album lyrique* (1837), featuring selections composed by Donizetti and published by Giovanni Ricordi—to musical annuals that presented new repertoire from various composers within a given year—such as the *Album: Neue Original-Compositionen für Gesang und Pianoforte* (1836) from Maurice Schlesinger.² These collections featured pieces that were largely aimed at the dedicated amateur, making them accessible to wide audiences. Publishers also attempted to capitalize on the popularity of personal albums, marketing their wares as similar souvenirs, such as the *Keepsake musical: Nouvel Album* (1834) from editor A.M. de Beauplan, published by Janet et Co. in 1834, which contained intimate genres and twelve different lithographs of the composers.³

In recent years, scholars have turned to such albums and other objects of cultural ephemera, asking what these souvenirs would have meant to the people who bought and received

¹ As noted by James Davies and Susan Crane, the origins of these types of publications may be found both in private album practice and in similar literary albums, which flourished between 1770 and 1850 and were often entitled "museums." Susan A. Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000), 116; James Davies, "Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c. 1830," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 292.

² [Gaetano] Donizetti, *Nuits d'Été a Pausilippe. Album lyrique cont. 6 Ariettes et Romances et 6 Nocturnes à deux voix av. Acc. de Pfte.*, Milan: Ricordi, [1837]; [Various composers], *Album. Neue Original-Compositionen f. Gesang u. Pfte von Banck, Bellini, Curschmann, Eckert, Field, Mad. Hensel, Jähns, Löwe, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Mlle. Puget, C.G. Reissiger, Rossini, Spontini, Taubert, poetisch eingeleitet von Fr. Forster. Mit Spontini's Portrait u. Vignetten f. d. Jahr 1837.*, Berlin: Schlesinger, [1836].

³ [A.M. de] Beauplan, *Keepsake musical. Nouvel Album. Donze Romances, Chansonnettes. Nocturnes etc. orné de 12 Lithographies*, Paris: Janet et Co., [1834].

them. James Davies, in particular, examines the complications that arise when a private and personal practice becomes commoditized:

These keepsakes were the progeny of private albums, commonplace compilations and musical scrapbooks kept as intensely personal acts of remembrance and commemoration. In pure form, manuscript daybooks had heavily domestic or devotional functions. They were a means of reflection, a way of recording private thoughts and memories. From a critical point of view, the emergence of these commercial substitutes in the 1820s entailed a dilution of choice, precisely by offering the new middle-class consumer variety beyond her wildest dreams. They heralded a cultural moment in which individuals no longer made memories for themselves; memories were formed on their behalf.⁴

Indeed, it is difficult at first not to regard these products cynically. Publishers did everything in their power to style these publications as personal albums: they gave them titles such as “album,” “keepsake,” and “souvenir,” and sold them with beautifully appealing covers (making sure to advertise them as such). Critics often chastised albums if they did not perceive the included pieces as “special” or “rare” enough; as Davies puts it, “the veneer of originality and individuality . . . was critical to the volume’s success.”⁵ There is no escaping the fact that the creation and sale of these albums was primarily a moneymaking endeavor.

Despite their inextricable connection to the marketplace, these albums were not doomed to be devoid of personal meaning and cultural significance. Purchasers would have recognized these albums, as Jill Rappoport points out, as “both ‘gift’ and object for sale.”⁶ Similarly, Arjun Appadurai argues that “commodities, like persons, have social lives,” and that “consumption is eminently social, relational, and active rather than private, atomic, or passive.”⁷ Perhaps Bill

⁴ Davies, “Julia’s Gift,” 292.

⁵ Davies, 294.

⁶ Jill Rappoport, “Buyer Beware: The Gift Poetics of Letitia Elizabeth Landon,” *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 58, no. 4 (March 2004): 446.

⁷ Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge and New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1986), 3, 31.

Brown puts it best in his study of material culture when he says that “our relation to things cannot be explained by the cultural logic of capitalism.”⁸ Much as in the case of private albums, the construction and consumption of published albums still involved social exchange and codes of expectation. In the case of such mass-marketed souvenirs, Judith Pascoe argues that giving them names like “keepsake” drew attention to their preservational function and away from the capitalistic sphere.⁹ Susan Stewart’s argument that such a keepsake is rendered meaningless to its owner in the absence of a narrative that includes her and her experiences also aids our understanding of how buyers engaged with these souvenirs in ways not altogether different than the ways they engaged with personal mementos from friends and family.¹⁰ In other words, souvenirs—either individually created or mass-produced—became personally significant to individuals because those individuals ascribed significance to them.

Davies expands upon the nuanced idea that published musical albums fulfilled personal and social needs for those who bought them, suggesting that these publications approximated the experience of genuine community found in personal albums by giving the impression of circulating “in familiar association amongst (imagined) companions.”¹¹ Further, albums of all types represented a form of commemoration that was fundamentally different than the trend of large-scale monuments and museums that was sweeping throughout Europe during this time. Published albums—like personal albums—represented the musical everyday lives of people:

⁸ Bill Brown, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 5–6.

⁹ She further claims that this is underscored by their lack of resale value later in the nineteenth century. Judith Pascoe, *The Hummingbird Cabinet: A Rare and Curious History of Romantic Collectors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 177.

¹⁰ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 135–37.

¹¹ Davies, “Julia’s Gift,” 295.

lives that might otherwise have been forgotten. These objects did not seek to commemorate the past, but rather captured the present.¹² Published albums represented the fashionable and the everyday—the *timely* rather than the *timeless*. Because of their quotidian nature, these objects allowed ease of access to and ownership of their contents. Any person could have felt like a part of this sort of collectively commemorative endeavor—they could buy, play, listen to, share, personalize, and preserve an album’s musical contents—as opposed to the highbrow capital-C commemoration of a monument, which most of the general public would have played no part in creating. It is just such a personal connection to the “material everyday,” as Brown argues, that helps us “to reconstruct cultural history.”¹³ By exploring the liminal spaces of published albums and album leaves that often created paradoxical intersections—between real and imagined, unique and mass-produced, public and private—we can come closer to such a cultural history that informed how a composer navigated when commemorating himself in such a place.

From documentary evidence we know that Schumann thought long and hard about his contributions to published albums, and that he considered the social expectations of music appearing in such contexts. He not only provided compositions for both musical annuals and homages to other composers, but also served as editor and compiler of an album-like endeavor: the musical supplements of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Through his letters, diary entries, critical writings, and editorial choices, we glean insight into the expectations Schumann held for

¹² Because these albums presented a snapshot of current musical life, the mode of remembering they prompted from their audiences differed than the mode of remembering that monuments prompted. These sorts of publications may be said to engage the collective memory of a people, while monuments engage historical memory, which requires a break from the past. Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany*, 150–51; Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Michael Schudson, “Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory,” in *Memory Distortion*, ed. Daniel L. Schacter (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 346–64; Howard Schuman and Cheryl Rieger, “Collective Memory and Collective Memories,” in *Theoretical Perspectives on Autobiographical Memory*, ed. Martin A. Conway et al. (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer, 1992), 323–36.

¹³ Brown, *A Sense of Things*, 17, 64.

composers (including himself) who contributed to such albums. Though these publications were not monumental in scope, composers were expected to acknowledge their importance as a different, more egalitarian way of commemorating a time and place, and still approach their compositions with respect. Even though published albums were designed primarily for competent amateurs, a composer's choice to write a piece that showed little care (or gave the impression of having been written for financial gain alone), was seen as offensive and untoward, and could harm this composer's legacy. Ultimately, published albums proved to be unique commemorative spaces in which composers sought the most effective way to reach as many people as possible and to augment their legacies.

4.2. Musical Annuals: Striking the Balance between Timely Accessibility and *Sprezzatura*

During the 1840s and early 1850s, Schumann contributed compositions to a handful of published albums, including the *Album für Gesang*, edited by Rudolf Hirsch. Schumann sent songs for the first four volumes of the album: “Rothes Röslein” (1842), “Die beiden Grenadiere” (1843), “Sehnsucht” (1844), and “Ich wand're nicht” (1844).¹⁴ There is no documentary evidence to suggest that he wrote the songs for this album in particular, but this was the first time that these songs were published, and for the majority of them, it would remain the only available

¹⁴ Hirsch's *Album* was published simultaneously in Leipzig (L.H. Boesenberg), Paris (Maurice Schlesinger), St. Petersburg (P.J. Kurth & Co.), and London (J.J. Ewer & Co.). It originally began as a yearly endeavor, but in 1844, Hirsch began publishing two a year. “Sehnsucht” appeared in the first 1844 *Album*, and “Ich wand're nicht” in the second. Margit L. McCorkle, *Robert Schumann: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Munich: G. Henle, 2003), 117–18, 210, 226–27.

publication for some years.¹⁵ There is also no documentary evidence that attests as to why Schumann chose these songs in particular for such an endeavor.

Based on how the editor, Rudolf Hirsch, framed the project, one might expect to find the albums filled with pieces aimed at *Kenner* (connoisseurs) rather than *Liebhaber* (amateurs). The first two annual publications featured ornate dedications to royal personages—the 1842 volume to Queen Victoria of England, and the 1843 volume to Friederike Louise Wilhelmine Amalie, Princess of Prussia and reigning Duchess of Anhalt Dessau. Hirsch also wrote an original poem for the first volume in 1842 that set the tone for the whole endeavor. Printed at the beginning of the *Album*, the four-stanza poem boasted grandiose language, depicting songs as both heaven-sent and powerful memories of the past. Hirsch described an old, hardened man who was transformed when he heard a song from his youth, and a sinful man on his deathbed who was transfigured by hearing “the organ sounding in the forest chapel.” Abandoning all subtlety, Hirsch ended every stanza with the refrain “O mighty song!”¹⁶ The title page also spoke to the *Album*’s import: it proclaimed in large font that the volumes contained “original contributions” from such well-known composers as Loewe, Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Spohr, Schumann, and others (fig. 4.1). In the first volume, a facsimile of each composer’s signature preceded the songs, further giving the impression of personal album inscriptions.¹⁷ Hirsch also identified each

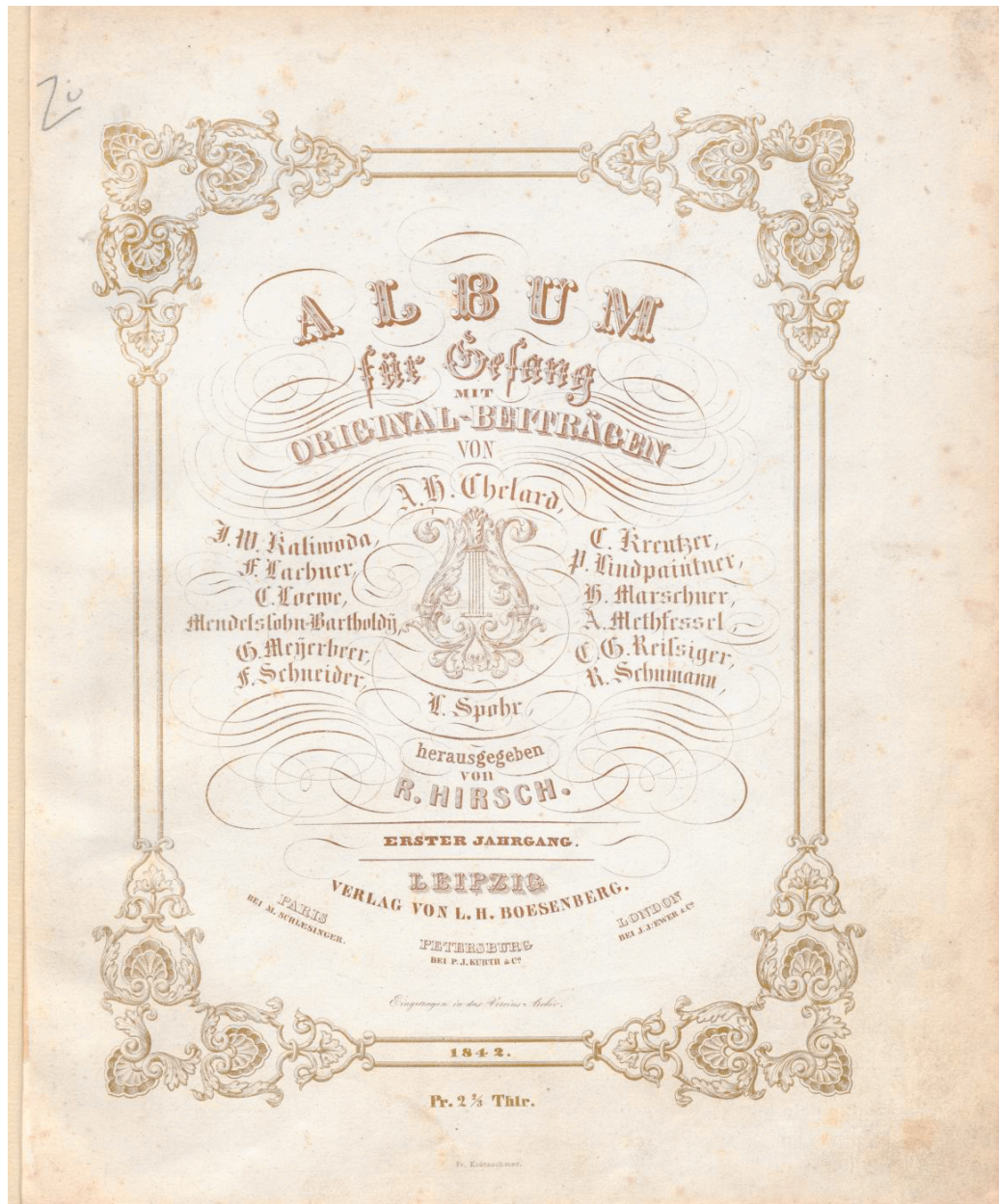
¹⁵ Schumann would publish all four of these later: “Rothes Röslein” as part of the *Lieder und Gesänge*, Op. 27 (Whistling, 1849); “Die beiden Grenadiere” as part of the *Romanzen und Balladen*, Op. 49 (Whistling, 1844); and both “Sehnsucht” and “Ich wand’re nicht” as part of the *Lieder und Gesänge*, Op. 51 (Whistling, 1850). McCorkle, *Robert Schumann: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 117–18, 210, 226–27.

¹⁶ Rudolf Hirsch, ed., *Album für Gesang* (Leipzig: L.H. Boesenberg, 1842), https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN844762350&PHYSID=PHYS_0001&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001 (accessed May 22, 2019), [i–iii].

¹⁷ As Halina Goldberg documents, the publisher Maurice Schlesinger began printing the facsimiles of letters and musical manuscripts of famous composers in 1834 in his journal the *Revue et gazette musicale*. Goldberg further points out the dissonance between Romantic reverence for originals and the burgeoning demand for copies like these. I discuss these issues further below, and also in chapter 3. Halina Goldberg, “Chopin’s Album Leaves and

composer with his title as applicable (many of them were court kapellmeisters), which brought attention to the high professional status of the composers he had invited to participate.

Fig. 4.1. *Album für Gesang, Erster Jahrgang* (1842), title page. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. 13184–1. ([CC BY-NC-SA 4.0](#))



the Aesthetics of Musical Album Inscription,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 73, no. 2 (forthcoming).

The songs themselves, however, are egalitarian through and through. Each one is accessible, with straightforward and uncomplicated forms and harmonies. A proficient amateur could have easily played and sung them, making the songs perfect for *Hausmusik* or the salon. A disparity thus exists between Hirsch's declarations of the composers' lofty occupations and their simple, convivial musical offerings.¹⁸ None of these songs, regardless of quality, contributed to these composers' reputations as "serious" musicians who should be revered in posterity.

In fact, according to contemporary reviewers, accessibility or the appearance of community was a requisite of these sorts of publications, but a composer should never give audiences the impression that they had expended no effort on their contribution. In a feature in the *NZfM* dedicated to recently published albums, the critic "W." addressed this expectation in the section about Hirsch's *Album*.¹⁹ He made clear that simply composing an easy song for the masses did not pass muster, even in this context. W. praised songs that he considered simple, natural, and demonstrative of their German-ness, but criticized those which were prosaic. Spohr, for example, could not help but reveal his "master's hand" in his "small and unpretentious" song, and Mendelssohn's "simple" English-language chorus "perfectly" suited the text. By contrast, W. thought that Marschner set a "naïve little poem . . . in too big a musical framework." Kalliwoda's song toed the line "between triviality and national naturalness," but W. found "something philistine" about both Kreutzer's and Methfessel's contributions.²⁰ The reviewer for

¹⁸ Schumann was, in fact, the only composer included in the inaugural issue of the *Album* who did not possess such a title at the time. Rudolf Hirsch, ed., *Album für Gesang*, [69].

¹⁹ The abbreviation "W." was used by Robert Schumann, Ernst Ferdinand Wenzel, and others during the *NZfM*'s run. While we cannot know for certain who wrote this article, it was almost certainly not Schumann, as he generally recused himself from reviews about his own works. Indeed, he did not include this essay in the *GS*.

²⁰ "Ein Lied von Spohr, klein und anspruchlos, zeigt doch überall die Meisterhand heraus. . . . Das kleine naive Gedicht [von Marschner] scheint uns in einem zu grossen musikalischen Rahmen zu stehen. . . . Von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy erhalten wir einen Vocalchor über einen englischen Text, der in seiner einfachen stillen Würde den Worten auf das Vollkommenste entspricht. . . . Der sentimentale Tyrolerbursche Kalliwoda's hält sich mit knapper Note auf der Linie zwischen Trivialität und nationeller Natürlichkeit. Natürlich und sangbar zeigt sich

the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* identified as “K.” did not find much to admire in the volume, calling the songs “trifles, those graceful flowers of the moment,” and arguing that “elegance dominates in the place of artistic enthusiasm. In that sense, [the songs] are characteristic of the present.”²¹ A later anonymous *AmZ* reviewer, writing about the third volume (1844), disagreed, saying that the *Album* presented “a number of accredited, indeed most famous, vocal composers” in “comfortable, peaceful proximity,” and that it contained “small, but always significant works.”²²

These reviews revealed the tricky and seemingly contradictory compositional expectations of published album pieces. Composers should write something simple, natural, and unassuming, but nothing so simple that it appeared artless, and nothing so complicated it was not accessible to a competent musical amateur or appeared overwrought. They should write something that exhibits German character, which thus augments the feeling of community fostered by albums. They should be mindful of the context—an album commemorating a particular year—and compose something that reflected a particular moment. Their music should thus be timely—but not so much that it could be considered frivolous—and not timeless. Above all, the ideal contribution should possess a preternatural ease or *sprezzatura* that could only come from a “true master.”²³ If a composer managed to check all of these boxes and thus capture this

wie immer C. Kreutzer, so auch Methfessel; doch hängt ihren Liedern etwas Philisterhaftes an.” W. did not editorialize about Schumann, but merely mentioned that he had contributed a song based on a text by Burns. *NZfM* XVI, no. 16 (February 22, 1842), 61–62.

²¹ “Kleinigkeiten, jenen anmuthigen Blüten des Augenblicks stehen . . . Eleganz dominirt an der Stelle der künstlerischen Begeisterung. Insofern sind sie charakteristisch für die Gegenwart.” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* XLIV, no. 11 (March 16, 1842), 226. Hereafter abbreviated as *AmZ*.

²² “ja meist berühmter Gesangcomponisten hier in traulicher, friedlicher Nähe erblickt, und die verschiedenen Individualitäten bequem aus einem, wenn auch kleinen, doch immer bezeichnenden Werke.” *AmZ* XLVII, no. 3 (January 15, 1845): 37.

²³ The term *sprezzatura* is perhaps best-known from Baldassare Castiglione’s Renaissance-era *Book of the Courtier* (1528). This book served as a set of best practices for members of a royal court, and its emphasis on *sprezzatura*—an individual’s demonstration of immense skill, knowledge, and wit that displays absolutely no

elusive *je ne sais quoi*, then she still commemorated herself as a master, but in a more fashionable, unassuming way.

The combination of famous composers having presented themselves *en masse* in an accessible musical idiom, and the frequent inclusion of facsimiles of their signatures (and sometimes musical sketches) created a sense that those who purchased such an album gained access to otherwise private objects. Prior to Walter Benjamin's idea that the "aura" of the original was lost through the process of copying it, people of the nineteenth-century not only found copies to be fully acceptable and legitimate parts of collections, but also a means of accessing the creator of the original's essence.²⁴ Handwriting in particular was seen as a window into a person's soul, as illustrated by August Schmidt's essay in the *Allgemeine wiener Musik-Zeitung* about a Beethoven autograph.²⁵ Schmidt—discussed in more detail below—claimed that studying a composer's hand gave one "a closer acquaintance with his intellectual personality, from which a proper understanding of his artistic power can emerge."²⁶ He then elaborated:

From this point of view, the importance of the autographs of artists—and among them writers, but chiefly musicians—will become clear to us in psychological, strictly artistic, and historically significant terms. Who would not, even in a fleeting view of Gluck's autographs, recognize the indomitable reformer of the German operatic music in the

effort—fits well here. Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier: The Singleton Translation*, ed. Daniel Javitch (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002), 32–33.

Though it is most often identified with the Renaissance, others have used the term to describe the same appearance of nonchalance. For information on *sprezzatura* in different historical contexts, see: Paolo D'Angelo, *Sprezzatura: Concealing the Effort of Art from Aristotle to Duchamp*, trans. Sarin Marchetti (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).

²⁴ Susan Crane also documents that replicas fulfilled the vital role of attesting to the existence of the original to those who could not witness it. As she puts it, "Copies . . . were representatives of the historical object, whose presence, existence, and authenticity were thus attested to." Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 220–22; Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany*, 122–23.

²⁵ See also: my discussion in chapter 3; Halina Goldberg, "Chopin's Album Leaves and the Aesthetics of Musical Album Inscription."

²⁶ "ein näheres Bekanntwerden mit seiner geistigen Persönlichkeit, woraus dann erst ein richtiges Verständniss seines künstlerischen Vermögens hervorgeht." *Allgemeine wiener Musik-Zeitung* III, no. 140 (November 23, 1843), 589. Hereafter abbreviated as *AwMZ*.

fixed, determined quill strokes, or the mighty Creator of the *Messiah* in the stone-carved notation of Handel?²⁷

Schmidt had studied several personal autograph collections, including Aloys Fuchs's famously voluminous holdings, and had previously written about them for the newspaper. In this essay, he focused in particular on a leaf Beethoven contributed to the album of the Countess Marie von Wimpffen, then in the possession of the musician Carl Georg Likl. Schmidt described how the Countess sent a leaf to Beethoven for him to inscribe, and how it languished in his desk drawer for four months, until he finally wrote down eleven measures and sent it back. Schmidt further emphasized that the leaf was unique, existing nowhere else in Beethoven's sources, but now was available in facsimile in the newspaper's musical appendix due to Likl's generosity.²⁸

Publishing previously private objects like Beethoven's album leaf had complicated repercussions. On the one hand, this was inarguably a commoditization: a rarefied thing became mass-produced and available to anyone who had the means to buy it. On the other hand, Susan Crane points out more positive aspects of such copies, arguing that they disseminated knowledge of the originals.²⁹ I would additionally argue that the inclusion of facsimiles gave the illusion that these published albums were unique, personal albums, which fostered a sense of imagined

²⁷ "Von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus wird uns auch die Wichtigkeit der Autographe von Künstlern, und unter diesen von Schriftstellern, hauptsächlich aber von Musikern in psychologischer, streng kunstrichterlicher und aus dieser hervorgehend in historischer Beziehung einleuchten. Wer möchte nicht selbst bei flüchtiger Ansicht der Autographe Gluck's in den festen, bestimmten Federzügen den unbeugsamen Reformator der deutschen Opernmusik erkennen, oder in den wie aus Stein gehauenen Notenzeichen Händel's nicht den gewaltigen Schöpfer des 'Messias' vermuthen?" *AwMZ* III, no. 140 (November 23, 1843), 589–90.

²⁸ Unfortunately, I could not locate the *Beilagen* for the *AwMZ*. The source in question, however, was the song "Der edle Mensch sei hilfreich und gut," WoO 151. It was written expressly for Countess Wimpffen's album and was published by Beethoven nowhere else. The *NZfM* printed a transcription of the song from Wimpffen's leaf much later. Kurt Dorfmueller, Norbert Gertsch, Julia Ronge, and Gertraut Haberkamp, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, Revidierte und wesentlich erweiterte Neuausgabe des Verzeichnisses von Georg Kinsky und Hans Halm (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 2014), 2:357–59; Max Unger, "Neue Beethoven-Studien I," *NZfM* LXXXI, no. 40/41 (October 1, 1914), 502.

²⁹ Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany*, 123.

community and belonging.³⁰ By publishing the facsimile of the Beethoven leaf and discussing the historical and biographical circumstances surrounding its creation, Schmidt created a narrative that drew his readers into the previously private exchange between Beethoven and the Countess, thus expanding the small circle of insiders previously established by her album.

4.3. Schumann's Contributions to Multimedia Albums

Schumann himself played on personal album conventions when he considered his contributions to published albums, and signaled insider access that was typical of private albums not only by choosing small, intimate contributions, but also by mimicking the collaborative, multi-author nature of personal albums. His participation in the *Düsseldorfer Lieder-Album* (1851) published by Arnz & Co. exemplifies this.³¹ Arnz & Co. was established in 1816, and by the time of the publication of the *Lieder-Album*, was well known to Düsseldorf audiences as the preeminent purveyor of lithographic prints from members of the Düsseldorf School of Painting.³² Their *Düsseldorfer Künstler-Album* (1851–66), for example, contained replicas of paintings by Andreas and Oswald Achenbach, Wilhelm Camphausen, Theodor Hildebrandt, and other famous artists.³³ The company had great commercial success with the *Künstler-Album*, and so they decided to expand their offerings with a similar album of songs. This *Lieder-Album* joined

³⁰ I draw here on James Davies's idea mentioned above that owners of mass-produced keepsake albums imagined hypothetical friends who were also experiencing the album. Davies, "Julia's Gift," 295.

³¹ McCorkle, *Robert Schumann: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 455.

³² Improvements in both paper quality and printing technology throughout the early nineteenth century allowed for an increase in this sort of publication. Arnz & Co.'s satirical newspaper, the *Düsseldorfer Monatshefte*, for example, was known for its witty and beautifully illustrated caricatures. Hans-Ulrich Simon, ed., *"Ihr Interesse und das Unsrige...": Mörike im Spiegel seiner Briefe von Verlegern, Herausgebern und Redakteuren* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), 164–65.

³³ Simon, 164–65.

together “the three sister-arts—poetry, music, and painting,” as one reviewer described it.³⁴ Each song, composed by a musician then working and living in Düsseldorf, was accompanied by a thematically-related painting by another local artist with the song’s incipit superimposed upon it. The six songs and respective paintings were original to the *Lieder-Album*, but most of the poems had been previously published (table 4.1).³⁵

Though it is unlikely that Schumann composed “Der Gärtner” (which he would publish in the following year as part of the *Sechs Gesänge*, Op. 107) expressly for the *Lieder-Album*, the multimedia nature of this publication gave the impression of album-like collaboration among the various artists, and invited individuals to assess the different artistic interpretations of the poetic texts.³⁶ Perhaps buyers puzzled over painter Henry Ritter’s choice to respond to Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter’s poem “Auf dem Rheine” with a clearly Venetian scene, which featured a passenger-filled gondola adorned with the lion of St. Mark. And they would likely have noticed the differences between painter Rudolf Jordan’s and composer Carl Reinecke’s interpretations of the lines “The hermit rings his little bell / She hears it not” (*Zieht der Einsiedel sein Glöcklein / Sie höret es nicht*) in Eichendorff’s poem: Jordan depicted a monk-like figure ringing what look like church bells and an undisturbed sleeping maiden, while Reinecke captured this moment by thinning the piano’s texture, shifting to the parallel major, and noticeably not including any bell-like sounds (*sie höret es nicht!*).

³⁴ *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung für Kunstfreunde und Künstler* II/3, no. 55 (July 19, 1851), 435.

³⁵ The only exception was Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter’s “Auf dem Rheine.”

³⁶ According to McCorkle, Schumann composed “Der Gärtner” in January 1851. Arnz and Schumann did not begin exchanging letters about the project until March 1851. What matters most in this context, however, is that the songs contributed to the *Lieder-Album* had not previously been published. The same was true of the illustrations, in contrast to the *Künstler-Album*. McCorkle, *Robert Schumann: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 454; Hrosvith Dahmen and Thomas Synofzik, eds., *Schumann Briefedition*, vol. series 3, band 5 (Cologne: Dohr, 2008), 136.

Table 4.1. The contents of the *Düsseldorfer Lieder-Album* (1851)

| | Title | Poet | Composer | Artist |
|----|---------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| 1. | “Auf dem Rheine” | Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter | Julius Rietz | Henry Ritter |
| 2. | “Der stille Grund” | Joseph von Eichendorff | Ferdinand Hiller | Oswald Achenbach |
| 3. | “Der Gärtner” | Eduard Mörike | Robert Schumann | Wilhelm Camphausen |
| 4. | “Streich aus meinem Ross” | Emanuel Geibel | Julius Tausch | Carl Friedrich Lessing |
| 5. | “Ave Maria” | Emanuel Geibel | Robert Franz | Andreas Achenbach |
| 6. | “Die Nachtigallen” | Joseph von Eichendorff | Carl Reinecke | Rudolf Jordan |

Schumann and painter Wilhelm Camphausen, who created the watercolor for “Der Gärtner,” also provided complementary poetic interpretations in their *Lieder-Album* contributions. The chivalric text by Eduard Mörike tells of a lowly gardener who pines for the lovely princess from afar as she rides by on her white horse:

On her favorite mount,
As white as snow,
The loveliest princess
Rides down the avenue.

On the path her horse
Prances so sweetly along,
The sand I scattered
Glitters like gold.

You rose-colored bonnet,
Bobbing up and down,
O throw me a feather
Discreetly down!

And if you in exchange
Want a flower from me,
Take a thousand for one,
Take all in return!³⁷

Camphausen divided the canvas into two halves (fig. 4.2): on the right half, he focused on the princess, positioning her on her horse in the center of the path, and rendering her in a vibrant palette of bright blues and reds, while the rest of the watercolor remains in muted hues. He included specific imagery from the poem: the white horse and the rose-colored befeathered hat. He also added elements not explicitly mentioned in the poem: a dog, a grand estate in the background, and a male riding companion (the potential for romantic conflict!). In the left half of

³⁷ “Auf ihrem Leibrösslein, / So weiss wie der Schnee, / Die schönste Prinzessin / Reit’t durch die Allee. / Der Weg, den das Rösslein / Hintanzet so hold, / Der Sand, den ich streute, / Er blinket wie Gold. / Du rosenfarbs Hütlein, / Wohl auf und wohl ab, / O wirf eine Feder / Verstohlen herab! / Und willst du dagegen / Eine Blüte von mir, / Nimm tausend für eine, / Nimm alle dafür!” Translation from Richard Stokes, “Songs: Der Gärtner,” <https://www.oxfordlieder.co.uk/song/1544> (accessed May 24, 2019).

the painting, Camphausen focused on the titular gardener. Though hidden from the princess and rendered in earth tones that help him blend into the background, the gardener maintains relaxed body language, as if he were unafraid to be seen, which could be read as insight into the gardener's true feelings about his supposed lowliness. Camphausen giving equal space on the canvas to both the princess and the gardener at least tells us that he believed both points of view to be equally worthy of consideration.

Fig. 4.2. Wilhelm Camphausen's painting for "Der Gärtner" in the *Düsseldorfer Lieder-Album* (Düsseldorf: Arnz & Co., 1851), [7] ([CC-BY-SA 4.0](#)).³⁸



Schumann, of course, did not have the ability to musically convey elements such as the whiteness of the horse, or the princess's rose-colored hat. He did, however, depict the horse

³⁸ Digitization available at [https://imslp.org/wiki/Düsseldorfer_Lieder-Album_\(Various\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Düsseldorfer_Lieder-Album_(Various)) (accessed May 24, 2019).

through galloping triplets, and represented the princess through what Eric Sams calls the “nobility motif,” a stately chordal fanfare (ex. 4.1).³⁹ He also chose to present the gardener as doubtful and uncertain (at least momentarily), in contrast to Camphausen’s more assured figure. When the gardener begins to directly address the princess’s hat, Schumann shifts suddenly from cheery D major to dark E minor. In the next several measures, the key area remains unclear, quickly moving from E minor, to C major, to B minor, before finally arriving back on the dominant of the original key.

Ex. 4.1. Robert Schumann, “Der Gärtner,” mm. 20–27

20

Du ro - sen-farb's Hüt - lein, wohl - auf un wohl -

26

cresc. *f*

ab! o wirf ei - ne Fe - (der)

DM: V

Em: IV iv V₄⁸ = ⁷₅ i I (IV I IV) I⁶

VI

Bm: \natural II⁶ V₄⁶ = ⁵_#

DM: V⁶ → V⁷ I

Bm: VI⁷⁻⁶

³⁹ Eric Sams, *The Songs of Robert Schumann*, 3rd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 262.

The two different artistic approaches to the same poem showed buyers of the *Lieder-Album* the interpretive possibilities of the different mediums, and also evoked similar playful competitions that frequently took place in private albums.⁴⁰ One could have easily imagined flipping through an album and seeing that someone had inscribed the poem from Mörike on one page, and that two others responded to it with a watercolor and a song in their own respective inscriptions. This multimedia approach is also reminiscent of the decorative album of *Das Jahr* that Fanny Hensel and her husband Wilhelm created together; the pair chose poetic epigrams, and Wilhelm drew vignettes that commented on and added meaning to each of the twelve movements. The result was a new collaborative *Gesamtkunstwerk*.⁴¹ The *Lieder-Album* was a similar object. While music journals regarded the illustrations only as “thoughtful jewelry” (*sinniger Schmuck*) to adorn the songs, the publishers of the *Lieder-Album* claimed to have prized the poetic responses equally.⁴² In an advertisement, they said that, “song and image, though intimately connected, will each have their own artistic value.”⁴³ In theory this was true, but in practice, the “artistic value” of the songs of the *Lieder-Album* could not easily be experienced, because—as music journal reviews pointed out—the publication itself was too big to rest on the music rack of a piano.⁴⁴ To the reviewer for the *Signale*, this meant that the *Lieder-*

⁴⁰ For one example of this, see my discussion regarding “Paganini’s Aufgabe” and its related leaves in Clara Wieck’s album below.

⁴¹ Wilson Kimber points out that Monika Schwarz-Danuser was the first to use the term *Gesamtkunstwerk* in relation to this album. Marian Wilson Kimber, “Fanny Hensel’s Seasons of Life: Poetic Epigrams, Vignettes, and Meaning in *Das Jahr*,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 26 (2008): 361.

⁴² *Signale für die musikalische Welt* No. 27, IX. Jahrgang (July 1851), 246.

⁴³ “Lied und Bild, obgleich innig mit einander verbunden, werden dennoch beide ihren eignen Kunstwerth haben.” *Signale für die musikalische Welt* No. 27, IX. Jahrgang (July 1851), 246.

⁴⁴ Though the reviewer did not include the exact specifications, the *Lieder-Album* was printed in oblong format with dimensions of 35.5cm×48cm. *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung für Kunstfreunde und Künstler* No. 55, II. Jahrgang (July 19, 1851), 435; *Signale für die musikalische Welt* No. 27, IX. Jahrgang (July 1851), 246.

Album “almost grant[ed] only the pleasure of contemplation.”⁴⁵ Contrary to other musical albums, the *Düsseldorfer Lieder-Album* was designed to only be taken in with the eyes.

Almost ten years earlier, Schumann had participated in another multimedia album that joined poetry, prose, music, and illustration: *Orpheus: Musikalisches Album für das Jahr 1842*. Begun in 1840 by August Schmidt (editor of the *Allgemeine wiener Musik-Zeitung*), it ran annually for three years. All three volumes were dedicated to Princess Sophie of Bavaria, and opened with a German translation of an excerpt from Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice*:

The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, strategems, and spoils.
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus.
Let no such man be trusted.⁴⁶

Similar to other editors of such publications, Schmidt made clear that his venture should be regarded as one of great importance. Like a musical almanac, *Orpheus* contained a miscellany of individual contributions, including novellas and short musical biographies. The 1842 volume, the content of which is detailed in table 4.2 below, opened with a portrait of Felix Mendelssohn, followed by a complete index of his works.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ “gewährt das Album freilich fast nur den Genuss der Betrachtung.” The reviewer subsequently suggested that the songs be reprinted in a miniature companion edition. *Signale für die musikalische Welt* No. 27, IX. Jahrgang (July 1851): 246.

⁴⁶ “Der Mann, der nicht Musik hat in ihm selbst, / Den nicht die Eintracht süßere Töne rührt, / Taugt zu Verrath, Räuberei und Tücken, / Die Regung seines Sinn’s ist dumpf wie Nacht, / Sein Trachten düster wie der Erebus; / Trau’ keinem Solchen!” *Orpheus: Musikalisches Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1842* (Vienna: August Schmidt, 1842), [x]. Digitizations of all three years available here: <http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/urn:urn:nbn:de:hbz:061:1-116229> (accessed May 24, 2019).

⁴⁷ The edition from 1840 opened with a portrait and biography of Louis Spohr, and the volume from 1841 presented the same for Giacomo Meyerbeer.

Table 4.2. Contents of *Orpheus: Musikalisches Album für das Jahr 1842*

| Title | Author | Genre | Pages |
|--|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Complete index of Mendelssohn's compositions | N/A | Composition index | III–VIII |
| “Die Sngerin” | J.P. Lyser | Novella | 1–48 |
| “Wiedersehen” | Schleifer | Poem | 49–50 |
| “Der Gast” | Schleifer | Poem | 50–51 |
| “Alte Gewohnheit” | Schleifer | Poem | 51–52 |
| “Stndchen” | Grillparzer | Poem | 53–54 |
| “An die Lieben in der Ferne” | Otto Prechtler | Poem | 55–56 |
| “Ewige Liebe” | Otto Prechtler | Poem | 56 |
| “Vergeltung” | Otto Prechtler | Poem | 57 |
| “Zigeunerlust” | Otto Prechtler | Poem | 57–58 |
| “Erste Liebe” | Otto Prechtler | Poem | 58 |
| “Musiker und Musikant” | Emanuel Straube | Novella | 59–98 |
| “Jubal” | Heinrich Ritter von Levitschnigg | Poem | 99–119 |
| “Die Schlummernde” | H. Pttmann | Poem | 120 |
| “Euterpe und Bellona” | Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried | Biographical sketch | 121–172 |
| “Kurz vorm Scheiden” | Vinzenz Zusner | Poem | 173 |
| “Vielleicht” | Vinzenz Zusner | Poem | 173–174 |
| “Antwort” | Vinzenz Zusner | Poem | 174 |
| “Abschied” | Willibald von Chemnitz | Poem | 175 |
| “Alte Liebe” | Carl Candidus | Poem | 176 |
| “Frhlingsanfang” | Carl Candidus | Poem | 177 |
| “Tambourliedchen” | Carl Candidus | Poem | 177 |
| “Kusch dich, mein Pudelherz” | Carl Candidus | Poem | 177–78 |
| “Das Lachmnnchen” | Carl Candidus | Poem | 178 |
| “Mohn” | Carl Candidus | Poem | 179 |
| “Stille Wasser grnden tief” | Carl Candidus | Poem | 179–180 |
| “Jacob Stainer, der Geigenmacher” | Alex. Jul. Schindler | Short story | 181–213 |
| “Gebet” | Johann Gabriel Seidl | Poem | 214 |
| “Abschied” | Johann Gabriel Seidl | Poem | 215 |
| “Walzerlied” | Johann Gabriel Seidl | Poem | 216–218 |
| “Mein Glck” | Karoline Leonhard Lyser | Poem | 219 |
| “Jephtha” | August Schilling | Poem | 220–221 |
| “Mannes-Lied” | Carl Adam Kaltenbrunner | Poem | 222 |
| “Milde Stunde” | Ludwig August Frankl | Poem | 223 |
| “Entscheidung” | Ludwig August Frankl | Poem | 223–224 |
| “Lied fr Trinker” | Baron Schlecta | Poem | 225–226 |
| “Bezanberung” | Athanasins | Poem | 227 |
| “Den Knstlern” | Carl Edm. Langer | Poem | 228 |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|---------|
| “Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart” | Heinrich Ritter von Levitschnigg | Biography | 229–259 |
| Supplement to the Mozart biography | August Schmidt | Biography/ composition index | 260–266 |
| “Blondels Lied” | Robert Schumann / Johann Gabriel Seidl | Song | N/A |
| “Der Junggesell” | Carl Löwe / Gustav Pfizer | Song | N/A |
| “Die Nixen” | Carl Reissiger / Heinrich Heine | Song | N/A |
| “Jägers Qual” | J. Hoven / Johann Gabriel Seidl | Song | N/A |
| “Die Veilchen-Leiche” | Franz S. Hölzl / Johann Gabriel Seidl | Song | N/A |
| “Für Maria” | Anton Hackel / Robert Burns | Song | N/A |

Unlike other songs he contributed to albums (which were unpublished at the time but not specifically composed for the album), Schumann seems to have written the song “Blondels Lied” expressly for *Orpheus*.⁴⁸ We do not have any letters to publishers or diary entries to attest to this, but the poetic text he chose—about the mythological heroic trouvère Blondel who rescued King Richard of England from kidnappers— was by Johann Gabriel Seidl and had only been published in the volume of *Orpheus* from the year before (figs. 4.3*A* and 4.3*B*).⁴⁹ Not only had Schumann sent a small, personal song that had—according to a letter he wrote to Schmidt— “already caused a lot of joy in [his] little musical circle,” but he had also created a subtle connection to the previous year’s album.⁵⁰ Only faithful, careful readers of the *Orpheus*—which Schumann had revealed himself to be—would realize the connection to the earlier volume. No other composer featured in the 1842 *Orpheus* followed such a strategy. Schumann’s poetic

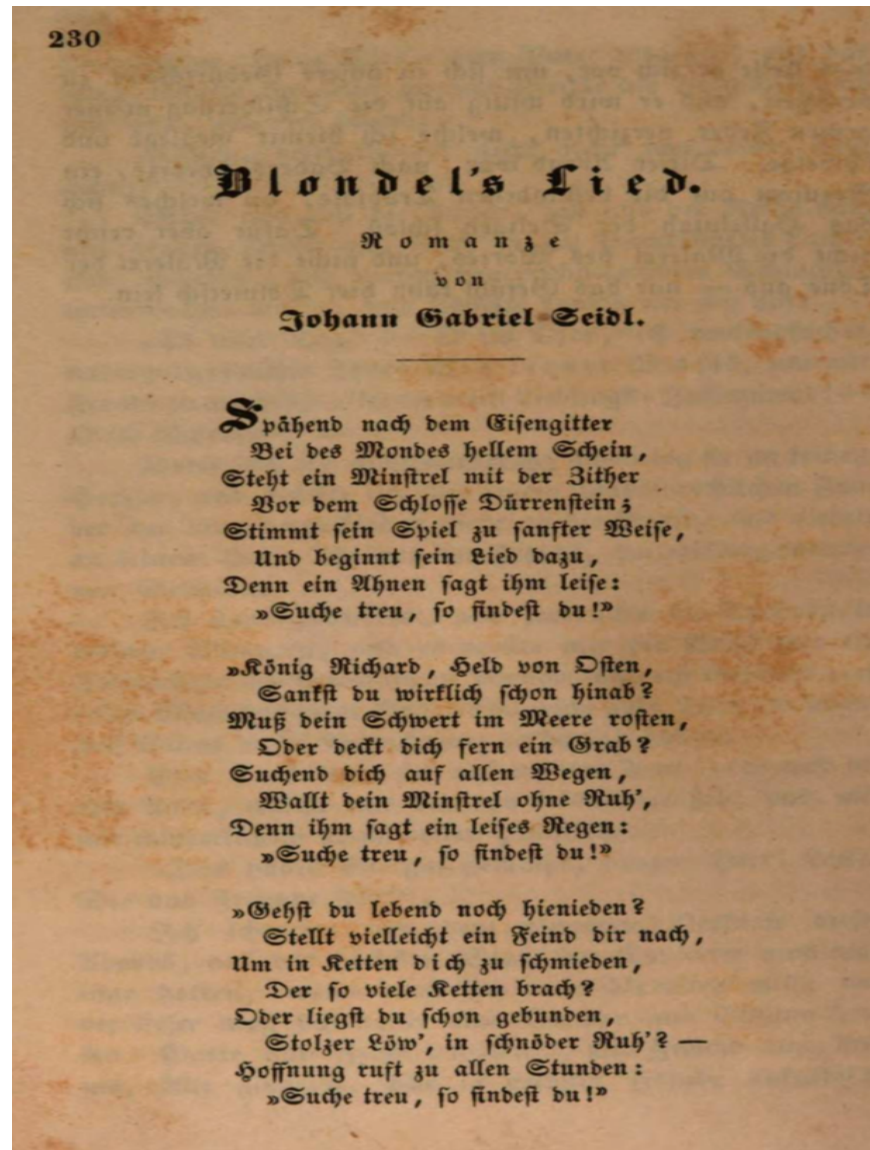
⁴⁸ Schumann would publish this song three years later as part of his *Romanzen und Balladen*, Op. 53. McCorkle, *Robert Schumann: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 237.

⁴⁹ Haines documents that the legend in which Blondel rescued King Richard of England from kidnappers, which originated in the thirteenth century, was still popular in the nineteenth century. Youens notes that Seidl was also a popular figure in literary albums at the time. John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 60; Susan Youens, *Schubert’s Late Lieder: Beyond the Song-Cycles* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 383–83.

⁵⁰ This is from a letter sent November 28, 1840, quoted in McCorkle, 236.

Easter egg would have effectively created a sense of community among *Orpheus* readers who found it, or would give those buyers the sense of being connoisseurs.

Fig. 4.3A. Beginning of Seidl's poem "Blondel's Lied." *Orpheus: Musikalisches Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1841* (Vienna: Volke, 1840), 230 ([CC-BY-SA 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)).⁵¹



⁵¹ Digitizations of these figures the may be found at: <http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/urn:urn:nbn:de:hbz:061:1-116229> (accessed July 31, 2019).

Fig. 4.3B. Accompanying lithograph to “Blondels Lied.” *Orpheus: Musikalisches Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1841*, 231 ([CC-BY-SA 4.0](#)).



Schumann also used his *Orpheus* contribution to display his musical erudition in a way that would have only been noticed by those who kept up with the musical goings-on of Germany, or those who were well-versed in the musical styles and history of other countries. In late October 1840—a few days before Schumann composed “Blondels Lied”—the *AmZ* reported on a German-language performance in Berlin of André Grétry’s *Richard Cœur-de-lion* (1784; entitled *Richard Löwenherz* for this performance). The *opéra comique*, whose story also dramatizes the legend of Blondel and his rescue of King Richard, was rarely performed in Germany at this time. The reviewer noted that it was an older work that deserved to be known by contemporary audiences, and cited the romance “Mich brennt ein heisses Fieber” (“Une fièvre brûlante”) as especially excellent.⁵² Though much of Schumann’s song adhered to modern musical style—including the “strange” unison voice and piano opening that the reviewer for the *AmZ* lamented had “become popular”—it also mimicked the late-eighteenth-century style of the French romance exemplified by “Une fièvre brûlante.”⁵³ Throughout almost the entirety of “Blondels Lied,” Schumann used simple, diatonic harmonies and a homophonic texture in the piano accompaniment that doubled the voice line. The moments when he emphasizes thirds in the accompaniment also specifically evoke the sections in “Une fièvre brûlante” when Richard and Blondel sing together (exx. 4.2*A* and 4.2*B*).

⁵² *AmZ* XLII, no. 43 (October 21, 1840), 889.

⁵³ “Merkwürdig ist, dass auch hier der jetzt Mode gewordene unisone Anfang beliebt worden ist.” *AmZ* XLIII, no. 51 (December 22, 1841), 1092.

Ex. 4.2A. André Grétry, “Une fièvre brûlante,” *Cœur-de-lion*, mm. 1–7, 74–80

Blondel

U - ne fiè - vre brû - lan - te un jour me ter - ras - sait,

Richard

Un re - gard de ma bel - le Fait dans mon ten - dre cœur

Blondel

Un re - gard de ma bel - le Fait dans mon ten - dre cœur

rf

Ex. 4.2B. Robert Schumann, “Blondels Lied,” mm. 11–16

vor dem Schlos - se Dür-ren-stein, stimmt sein Spiel zu sauf-ter Wei - se und be-ginnt sein Leid da - zu,

Schumann’s stylistic allusion to Grétry thus both met the goals of published albums by providing buyers with a high-quality, new piece of music, and also engaged with the practice of coyly displaying one’s learnedness seen in private albums. In *Orpheus*, he subtly signaled the breadth of his musical knowledge in ways recognizable only to others who possessed the same knowledge. Just as in private albums, this sort of gesture would have generated a sense of belonging to a small and exclusive group.

From these examples, it is clear that though published albums were marketed to amateurs and might today strike us as opportunities for composers to easily earn money, Schumann felt strongly that composers should contribute pieces of high quality. These publications were also unique venues through which a musically educated public could gain access to (facsimiles of) composers’ handwriting and previously unpublished manuscripts. This, in combination with the contribution of small, accessible, intimate pieces of music, helped to foster a sense of a musical community in which these album buyers could now be a part, much like private albums did.⁵⁴ Further, Schumann’s deep engagement with his album contributions shows that he thought highly of the buyers of such publications, or at least that he decided to aim these pieces at his

⁵⁴ More cynically, Judith Pascoe finds this practice part of “editors’ efforts to downplay the frankly commercial nature of their undertakings.” Pascoe, *The Hummingbird Cabinet*, 174.

idea of the ideal musical amateur. His songs are of a high quality and demonstrate sophisticated poetic engagement. Schumann's published album contributions give the impression that he regarded these buyers as seriously and with as much respect as he did the friends and acquaintances he encountered in private albums.

4.4. Published Albums – Homages

While offering similar challenges as musical annuals, albums that commemorated a revered individual posed additional expectations to composers. These albums were often published in order to generate funds to build statues of the so-called masters, and as such were regarded as the musical analogues to those monuments. Thus, a composer who participated in such an album was charged with writing something that was not only accessible to broad audiences—as in other published albums—but also unquestionably worthy of the album's dedicatee. In Robert Schumann's case, we know that he contributed to one such album—the *Mozart-Album* published in 1843—and we also have his reviews of both this album and the similar *Beethoven-Album*, in which he notably did not participate. Additionally, a considerable amount of correspondence between Schumann and August Pott, the editor of the *Mozart-Album*, attests to no small amount of anxiety from Schumann regarding what he should contribute. Drawing on these documents and the evidence offered by the composition Schumann ultimately selected for the *Mozart-Album*, we can shine light on the challenging expectations composers faced when paying homage to a beloved composer and simultaneously commemorating themselves.

4.4A. THE MOZART-ALBUM

August Pott—violinist, composer, and *Kapellmeister* in Oldenburg—began the *Mozart-Album* project in 1839, planning for the proceeds of sale to benefit the construction of the planned Mozart monument in Salzburg.⁵⁵ Both of these endeavors took longer than initially planned, and it was not until 1842 that Pott began to advertise the *Mozart-Album*. Once it was published, in early 1843, it received critical praise. An unsigned review in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, for one, spoke about the typical trendiness of such publications and how they were more apt to be forgotten than not, but claimed that the *Mozart-Album* belonged “to the best gifts that this area has created,” and that it was beautifully printed.⁵⁶

Pott first wrote to Schumann in August 1839, asking him to participate. From the very beginning, Pott impressed the seriousness of this endeavor upon Schumann:

[I am] completely confident that you, as a highly-favored disciple of the muse of music and cordial promoter of everything good, [and] as a keen admirer of Mozart, will not be averse to dedicating with loving willingness a sacrifice of your musical genius to the noble *Manes* of the immortal master. Thus I would like to request of you—friendly and warmly as well as very urgently and trustingly—that you present and enrich the album with a composition. . . . It would be extremely welcome if the composition would be either a so-called *Lied ohne Worte* or even an etude for piano. With such a highly treasured contribution, the album would gain extraordinarily in diversity and richness. . . . Finally, in order that the album may arouse lively interest in the musically educated public through its appearance, every composition in the album will be fitted and adorned with each of its author’s facsimiles. That is why you are urgently requested please to send me most kindly an autograph manuscript.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The advertisements published by Pott—in the *NZfM*, among other journals—attested to this. *NZfM* XVII, no. 3 (July 8, 1842), 12–13.

⁵⁶ “Das Mozart-Album gehört zu den besten Gaben, welche dieses Gebiet erzeugt hat.” *AmZ* XLV, no. 6 (February 8, 1843), 105.

⁵⁷ “Voll lebhafter Zuversicht, daß auch Sie, als ein hochbegünstigter Jünger der Tonmuse und warmer Förderer alles Guten, so wie als eifriger Verehrer Mozarts, nicht abgeneigt sein werden, den hehren Manen des unsterblichen Meisters mit libevoller [sic] Bereitwilligkeit ein Opfer auch Ihres musikalischen Genius zu weihen, richte ich an Sie die ebenso freundliche und herzliche als recht dringliche und vertrauensvolle Bitte, daß auch Sie das Album mit einer Composition beschenken und bereichern möchten. . . . Äusserst erwünscht wäre es, wenn die von Ihnen erbetene Composition sein würde entweder ein s.[o]g.[enanntes] Lied ohne Worte oder auch eine Etude für das Pianoforte.—Durch einen solchen höchst schätzbaren Beitrag würde das Album ganz ausserordentlich an Mannigfaltigkeit und Reichhaltigkeit gewinnen. . . . Damit endlich das Album auch durch sein Äußeres lebhaftes Interesse im musikgebildeten Publicum erwecke, so wird jegliche Composition in demselben mit dem Facsimile

The prose could not be more purple, and immediately one can see that the stakes for this album were much higher than those of musical annuals. Like other editors who compiled such publications, Pott considered his album a musical analogue to the physical monument. In comparing the *Mozart-Album* to the sacrifices people paid to the ancient Roman *Manes* (the deified souls of dead ancestors), Pott conveyed what he considered both its timelessness and gravity, as well as the sacredness and ritualistic aspects of such a homage. Further, he made explicit his desire to capitalize on the public interest in collecting facsimiles of handwriting.⁵⁸

The text of the advertisement for the *Mozart-Album* (1842) would echo Pott's grandiloquence: it proclaims that Mozart had created the "template for the most beautiful and sublime [works] of all time," and that because of the "worship" of Mozart the editor had called together "the most important composers of the German fatherland, [who were] consecrated to the noble spirit of the deceased." According to this ad, the composers participated in the *Mozart-Album* not only to aid in the construction of the monument, but also "to give testimony in the future to the high veneration of their sublime model and thus decorate their own names with an evergreen crown of immortality."⁵⁹ The end result was a beautiful keepsake album in which

ihres jedesmaligen Verfassers ausgestattet und geschmückt werden. Weßhalb Sie recht dringend gebeten werden, ein eigenhändig geschriebenes Manuscript mir hochgefälligst zuschicken zu wollen." I have edited the translation found in Robert Schumann, *Werke für Klavier zu zwei Händen*, ed. Michael Beiche, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, series 3, group 1, vol. 5 (Mainz: Schott, 2012), 395.

⁵⁸ The *Mozart-Album* was ultimately not published with facsimiles of the handwritten compositions, likely due to the associated costs. It was instead printed with only the composers' signatures, gathered together on the title page.

⁵⁹ "Unbekannt ist die Ruhestätte seiner irdischen Hülle, aber unvergessen ist sein Name und seine Werke werden fortbestehen bis zu den fernsten Jahrhunderten, ein Muster des Schönsten und Erhabensten aller Zeiten. . . . Diese allgemeine, den Manen Mozart's überall gezollte Verehrung veranlasste den trefflichen Herausgeber des bezeichneten Unternehmens zu einem Aufrufe an die bedeutendsten Tondichter des deutschen Vaterlandes, auch ihrerseits nicht zurückzubleiben und durch eine dem hehren Geiste des Entschlafenen geweihte Spende ihres Genies, nicht allein die Errichtung des Denkmals wesentlich zu fördern, sondern auch zugleich einer zukünftigen Zeit ein Zeugniß der hohen Verehrung für ihr erhabenes Vorbild zu geben und so dadurch ihren eignen Namen mit einem immergrünen Immortellenkranze zu schmücken." *AmZ* XLIV, no. 28 (July 13, 1842), 567; *NZfM* XVII, no. 3 (July 8, 1842), 12.

preeminent German composers came together to pay tribute to the revered Mozart, and to which a “musically educated public” could be privy.

Schumann must have realized the potential impact and significance of the *Mozart-Album*, for he spent quite a lot of time—and grappled with no small amount of indecision—determining what composition would best pay tribute to Mozart while also commemorating himself in this context. In his response to Pott on August 30, 1839, Schumann wrote:

With pleasure I promise a small contribution to your album, as well as all the other ways in which you might wish support from me and my journal for the fine purpose. I will send you the contribution, a vocal piece (but more Romantic in nature) as soon as I know whether you want the entire composition to be written by me, or only a facsimile of my signature. Please give me an obliging decision soon.⁶⁰

The song in question was, one assumes, the “Volksliedchen” that was eventually published in the *Mozart-Album*, and then later as part of Schumann’s *Lieder und Gesänge, Volume II*, Op. 51. Schumann went on to ask Pott if he had already contacted Mendelssohn, Moscheles, William Sterndale Bennett, and Adolf von Henselt to participate, and suggested that Clara Wieck could represent the “woman-composer.” Schumann clearly believed in the worth of the project, and wanted to help Pott ally himself with the talent he believed Mozart deserved (and incidentally, to help his friends promote themselves by putting them in Mozart’s company).

It seems that Schumann had already decided to contribute a song to the *Mozart-Album* when he first responded to Pott’s entreaty, but other documentary evidence contradicts this

⁶⁰ “Mit Freuden sag ich Ihrem Album einen kleinen Beitrag, sowie alle Unterstützung zu, die Sie für den schönen Zweck sonst von mir bei meiner Zeitung wünschen möchten. Den Beitrag, ein Gesangsstück (aber romantischer Natur mehr), sende ich Ihnen, sobald ich weiss, ob Sie die ganze Composition von mir selbst geschrieben wünschen, oder nur ein Facsimile des Namenszuges. Geben Sie mir demnächst gefälligst einen freundlichen Bescheid.” Given the confusing chronology of the documents I discuss below, the date of this letter could be called into question. August 30, 1839 is, however, verified by both Erler and the volume of the Schumann *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* that contains the *Fughette*. Hermann Erler, ed., *Robert Schumann’s Leben: Aus seinen Briefen* (Berlin: Ries and Erler, 1887), 1:211. Translation edited from Schumann, *Werke für Klavier zu zwei Händen*, 395.

narrative. Though the letter is lost, Schumann recorded in his *Briefverzeichnis* that at some point, he had promised an entirely different piece to Pott, a *Fughette* (a short solo piano work that would later be published as part of his *4 Klavierstücke*, Op. 32).⁶¹ Schumann echoed this sentiment on September 5, 1839—only six days after promising a song to Pott—in a letter to his friend Joseph Fischhoff: “I have only composed a little; in the Mozart-Album, published by Capellmeister Pott, you will find a small fugetta, which pleases me very much.”⁶² He still planned on submitting the *Fughette* in October 1839, as seen in an entry from his *Tagebuch*: “A small Fughette in G minor, which I gave to the Mozartalbum.”⁶³ During this time, Schumann apparently received no response from Pott about his offer, and wrote to him again on September 22, saying: “At the same time, I am taking the liberty of reminding you of an answer to my promise for your album; I would like it soon, for otherwise I would do something else with the piece that I have put aside for it.”⁶⁴ There is no extant response from Pott, but Schumann did send him the manuscript for the *Fughette* in November 1839.⁶⁵

The miscommunication between the two continued. On February 4, 1840—apparently not having received the *Fughette*—Pott wrote again to Schumann:

Already several months ago you had been so good as to promise me a contribution to the Mozart album, whereby you directed the question to me as to whether it is my intention to reproduce the autograph or only the signature for each composer in the album? I

⁶¹ “Ihm die Fughette für d. Album versprochen.” *Briefverzeichnis, Abgesandte Briefe*, No. 578, quoted in Schumann, *Werke für Klavier zu zwei Händen*, 395.

⁶² “Componirt hab’ ich nur Kleines; im Mozartalbum, das Capellm. Pott herausgibt, werden Sie eine kleine Fughette finden, die mir viel Freude gemacht.” *BnF*, 172.

⁶³ “Eine kleine Fughette in *G Moll*, die ich in das Mozartalbum gegeben.” *TB*, 2:95.

⁶⁴ “Zugleich erlaube ich mir, Sie an eine Antwort auf meine Zusage für Ihr Album zu erinnern; ich wünschte sie bald, da ich sonst über das Stuck, das ich dazu bestimmt, anders ver füge.” Erler, 1:217; translation from Schumann, *Werke für Klavier zu zwei Händen*, 395.

⁶⁵ Schumann, 396.

affirmed the former and asked for the early dispatch of your kind contribution. But to date I have still not received anything from you.⁶⁶

Before he received this letter, Schumann wrote to Clara Wieck on February 7 and asked her to run interference with Pott when she traveled to Oldenburg, and to find out if the *Mozart-Album* had yet been published. If it had not, Schumann wanted to include the *Fughette* in one of his *Beilagen* for the *NZfM* (discussed below), as he was “also short of just such album pieces.”⁶⁷ On February 14, after having received Pott’s letter, he wrote to Wieck again, saying, “I got a letter from Pott the day before yesterday; he hasn’t received the ‘Fughette’ yet, which is inexplicable. Tell him that I already sent it in November; if you don’t see him, write and tell me and then I’ll write to him myself.”⁶⁸ The miscommunications about the *Fughette* finally came to an end on May 15, 1840, when Schumann wrote definitively to Pott asking him not to publish the *Fughette* he had previously sent, and that he would send something else “with pleasure.”⁶⁹

Although many of the considerations behind Schumann’s choice for the *Mozart-Album* are confusing, the end result is clear. Schumann published the *Fughette* in Volume 10 of his *NZfM Beilagen* (June 1840) and then again as part of his Op. 32, completely stripped of any of its original associations with the Mozart project. He instead submitted his “Volksliedchen,” later part of Op. 51 (1850), to Pott for publication in the *Mozart-Album*. The seemingly contradictory letters—particularly the letter to Pott on August 30, 1839—and diary entries perhaps point to an

⁶⁶ “Schon vor mehren Monaten hatten Sie die Güte mir einen Beitrag zum Mozart-Album zu versprechen, wobei Sie die Frage an mich richteten[,] ob es meine Absicht sei[,] die Handschrift oder nur den Namenszug eines jeden Componisten im Album wiederzugeben? Ich bejahte Ihnen das erstere und bat um baldige Zusendung Ihres gütigen Betr[effs.] Bislang habe ich aber noch nichts von Ihnen erhalten.” Translation edited from Schumann, *Werke für Klavier zu zwei Händen*, 396.

⁶⁷ Eva Weissweiler, ed., *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, trans. Hildegard Fritsch, Ronald L. Crawford, and Harold P. Fry (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 3:74.

⁶⁸ Weissweiler, 3:88.

⁶⁹ “Möchte die Fughette nicht aufnehmen; würde ihm etwas Anderes mit Vergnügen schicken.” This comes from an unpublished letter reproduced in excerpt in the *Tagebücher*. *TB*, 2:498n365.

original desire to submit both the piano piece and the song to the *Mozart-Album*. Schumann very well could have chosen this path, and he would not have been the only composer to contribute two pieces to the *Mozart-Album*, which was comprised of three volumes: 1) unaccompanied part songs, 2) songs for voice and piano, and 3) pieces for solo piano.

Ultimately, Schumann decided that the *Fughette* was not the best choice for his public homage to Mozart, and that the “Volksliedchen” was. One wonders if his comment that the song was “more Romantic in nature”—the implication being that it was more Romantic than the *Fughette*—reveals why he ultimately eschewed the latter. The *Fughette* looked backward rather than forward, featuring imitative counterpoint in four voices (a decided compositional throwback), though of course a popular choice for nineteenth-century historicists. Schumann clearly cared very deeply about choosing an appropriate offering as his public act of remembrance, and his initial choice of the *Fughette* does make sense as a homage to Mozart, a composer who (particularly in his later works) often focused on contrapuntal technique.⁷⁰

Schumann’s decision to supplant the old-fashioned *Fughette* with the more modern “Volksliedchen”—a short, *volkstümlich* song filled with natural imagery and featuring a narrator who wonders about her beloved—thus reflected a desire to commemorate Mozart as “more Romantic in nature.” Rather than emphasize learned quirkiness and bizarre harmonic turns—stylistic features of the *Fughette*—Schumann opted for straightforward expression and lyricism. When reconsidering his contribution, Schumann might have determined that the *Fughette* reflected an outmoded impression of Mozart as a difficult and peculiar composer. By mid-century, his reputation had shifted, and he was regarded as the reigning composer of the

⁷⁰ Indeed, in the *NZfM* supplement in which Schumann published the *Fughette*, he also included J.S. Bach’s organ chorale setting of “Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt.” *Sammlung von Musik-Stücken alter und neuer Zeit als Zulage zur neuen Zeitschrift für Musik*, Heft 10 (June 1840) (Scarsdale: Annemarie Schnase, repr. ed. 1967), 5.

universally beautiful.⁷¹ Schumann's ultimate generic and stylistic choices for his *Mozart-Album* contribution, then, reinforced this reputation, and brought Mozart into conversation with current composers. Ultimately, Schumann honored the version of Mozart that most likely resonated with himself—as a song composer and a Romantic.⁷²

Upon the publication of the *Mozart-Album* in October 1842, Schumann devoted a lengthy article to it in the *NZfM*. He set the tone for his review by beginning with the explanation that August Pott had been working on the publication in Oldenburg for the better part of two to three years.⁷³ His subsequent critiques foregrounded his apparent belief in the seriousness of this enterprise, and he did not hesitate to take to task composers who, in his estimation, did not treat their commemoration of Mozart with due reverence or thought. Specifically, he criticized Conradin Kreutzer and Carl Czerny, for their songs and piano pieces, respectively. Schumann's disdain of Czerny was by this point well documented, and in the case of the *Mozart-Album*, he

⁷¹ John Daverio shows that Mozart was largely viewed as a composer of “bizarrerie” at the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, but by the mid-nineteenth century he was almost universally associated with the “beautiful.” John Daverio, “Mozart in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 173–77.

Generally speaking, much has been written about the importance placed on Mozart by the early Romantics, and how he was considered one of the first composers to invoke the sublime that would find its fullest form in Beethoven. In particular, his *Requiem* became an important part of Romantic mythmaking. Contrasted to composers like Bach and Palestrina, who were seen as devoted religious servants, Mozart and, subsequently, Beethoven, were thought to be in direct contact with the supernatural and thus engaged directly with *Kunstreligion*. Goethe believed Mozart to be a “vessel” filled by God. Among his other writings that declared Mozart a Romantic, E.T.A. Hoffmann also wrote that the *Requiem* was “truly romantic-sacred music, proceeding from his innermost soul.” Elizabeth A. Kramer, “The Idea of *Kunstreligion* in German Musical Aesthetics of the Early Nineteenth Century” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2005), 198–99; Simon P. Keefe, “Mozart's Requiem and Nineteenth-Century Fiction,” *Mozart-Jahrbuch*, 2011, 131–39; E.T.A. Hoffmann, *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism*, ed. David Charlton, trans. Martyn Clarke (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 329.

⁷² In the nineteenth century, Mozart's songs were not well-known. As Daverio points out, critical reception and contemporary biographies (including Franz Niemetschek's in 1798, Georg Nikolaus von Nissen's in 1813 [posthumous], and Alexander Ul'bishev's in 1843) presented Mozart as a composer of operas, symphonies, and other instrumental works like string quartets. Daverio, “Mozart in the Nineteenth Century,” 172–73. In light of this, Schumann's decision to honor Mozart with a charming song and not an old-fashioned instrumental piece both subtly demonstrates his musical knowledge, and emphasizes Mozart's influence on Romantic trends.

⁷³ *NZfM* XVII, no. 34 (October 25, 1842), 140.

pointed to no specific defects.⁷⁴ Rather, he took a swipe at Czerny's voluminous published output. Schumann wrote that he wished that the third volume had ended with W.H. Veit's *Rhapsodie*, but "instead we get a *Mélodie sentimentale et Cadence agitée* by Carl Czerny. The composer—who has given us so much evidence of his compositional fecundity, and is certainly talented—is famous. We know nothing more to say about him."⁷⁵ Though Czerny surely chose his contribution—a Chopinesque nocturne that ends with an extended section of fiery virtuosity—with as much care as the other composers, Schumann implied that the piece was simply another that Czerny had unthinkingly churned out. In the context of a musical monument, that was worthy of Schumann's ire.

Schumann abandoned subtle critical jabs for Conradin Kreutzer's songs, outright declaring them "unworthy" of their commemorative purpose. "Jägers Leid" and "Jägers Lust," according to him, were "two songs of the type that an experienced composer can create in bulk," a more pointed version of the critique Schumann leveled at Czerny.⁷⁶ Czerny certainly published pieces *en masse*, but he was not an untalented composer, which Schumann reluctantly admitted. The Kreutzer songs are harmonically uninteresting, Schumann declared, with prosaic melodies and uninvolved accompaniments, drawing on stock figurations and cliché tropes such as hunting horns. As Schumann pointed out, one could easily imagine Kreutzer dashing off these two songs

⁷⁴ Alexander Stefaniak identifies Schumann's overarching dislike of empty virtuosity of the postclassical school that lacked poetic interiority. One of the icier rebukes Schumann published in the *NZfM* comes from its very first issue, in which the unsigned reviewer said, "Before Herz and Czerny I doff my hat—to ask that they trouble me no more." Leon Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967), 17; Alexander Stefaniak, *Schumann's Virtuosity: Criticism, Composition, and Performance in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2016), 22–51.

⁷⁵ "Anstatt dessen erhalten wir eine *Mélodie sentimentale et Cadence agitée* von K. Czerny (Oeuv. 688). Der Komponist, der uns so viele Beweise seiner Schreibseligkeit, gewiss auch eines Talentes gegeben, ist bekannt. Wir wissen wenigstens nicht mehr über ihn zu sagen." *NZfM* XVII, no. 34 (October 25, 1842), 142.

⁷⁶ "'Jägers Leid' und 'Jägers Lust,' zwei Lieder der Art, wie sie ein routinierter Komponist schockweise machen kann, scheinen uns eines Mozart-Albums nicht würdig." *NZfM* XVII, no. 34 (October 25, 1842), 142.

in a few minutes before sending them off to Pott. Schumann clearly believed Kreutzer had not fretted over how best to commemorate Mozart as he had.

Ultimately, however, Schumann deemed the collective effort worthy, and thought that its dedicatee would think the same:

If Mozart now looked through the Album with his clear, all-fervent gaze, or if he did so in those brighter regions, where he might be enthroned, then we might know whom he thanked most deeply for his gift. That the homage of so many excellent men would win a happy smile from him, none should doubt. And so we have nothing to do but thank the one who prompted this work of love, and nothing to wish for other than that it may reach the noble purpose of helping the Mozart monument to the fullest extent!⁷⁷

Overall, he felt that most of the contributors had fulfilled their duty, and that the Pott publication was a worthy commemoration of Mozart, and one that would stand in tandem as a musical monument with the forthcoming statue.

4.4B. CRITIQUING THE *BEETHOVEN-ALBUM*

Before beginning discussions with Pott to contribute to the *Mozart-Album*, Schumann had been involved in plans for a public homage to another revered composer—Beethoven. The circumstances were nearly identical: the *Bonner Verein für Beethovens Monument* was formed in the 1830s in order to raise funds for the construction of a monument in the composer's hometown. Like August Pott and those dedicated to building the Mozart monument, the Verein took a similarly long time to meet its goal: the monument was unveiled on the Münsterplatz in

⁷⁷ “Durchblättere nun Mozart das Album mit seinem klaren, alles ergründenden Blick, oder tut er's in jenen lichterem Regionen, wo er thronen mag, so möchten wir wissen, wem er am innigsten für seine Gabe die Hand drückte. Dass ihm die Huldigung so vieler ausgezeichneten Männer ein beglücktes Lächeln abgewönne, wer möchte daran zweifeln. Und so haben wir nichts zu tun, als noch dem zu danken, der dieses Liebeswerk veranlasste, und nichts zu wünschen, als dass es den edlen Zweck einer Beisteuer zum Mozartdenkmale im vollsten Masse erreichen möge!” *NZfM* XVII, no. 34 (October 25, 1842), 142.

Bonn during a ceremony that took place August 10–13, 1845.⁷⁸ Schumann became aware of the group’s existence and goals no later than 1836, at which point the *NZfM* published the Verein’s “Aufruf” (proclamation), in which they asked the public to help raise funds by organizing concerts and giving donations.⁷⁹ Similarly to the writers of the announcement for the *Mozart-Album*, the authors of the Aufruf communicated the solemnity of their endeavor through the language of *Kunstreligion*. They claimed that musicians who chose to participate would relish the chance to prove their “worship” of Beethoven through “a small offering and their grateful remembrances.”⁸⁰ In Nicholas Marston’s estimation, Schumann’s choice to publish the Aufruf “explicitly aligned” the composer with their mission.⁸¹

As Ryan Minor points out, Schumann was ambivalent about the project, and worried that a monument would serve those who created it more than it would serve the dedicatee.⁸² Certainly with a figure like Liszt involved, focus was bound to shift away from Beethoven. Further, a monument would be too cold, too much like a “mausoleum,” and Schumann preferred that a composer’s own works served as his monument, or—if people insisted on a physical structure—

⁷⁸ Nicholas Marston, *Schumann: Fantasie, Op. 17*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1.

⁷⁹ *NZfM* IV, no. 34 (April 8, 1836), 121. The *Verein* ran a second proclamation in the *AmZ* in 1838, reporting on the charity concerts that had been given for their cause, and renewing their request for others to be scheduled. *AmZ* XL, no. 50 (December 12, 1838), 841–44.

⁸⁰ “durch ein kleines Opfer ihre Verehrung und ihr dankbares Andenken zu beweisen.” *NZfM* IV, no. 34 (April 8, 1836), 121.

⁸¹ Marston, *Schumann: Fantasie, Op. 17*, 2.

⁸² Schumann expressed his many thoughts about the Beethoven monument in his famous article “Monument for Beethoven: Four Voices on the Subject” published in his journal. Through Florestan, Eusebius, Master Raro, and Jonathan, Schumann presented the benefits and drawbacks of public monuments. Florestan, unsurprisingly, spikily suggested that those who celebrate a composer after he has died rarely celebrated him while he was alive. Eusebius, in contrast, felt that a monument to Beethoven was the duty of the German people. Master Raro and Jonathan stepped in to mediate between the two, and so Schumann’s overall opinion of the monument comes across as favorable, if wary. *NZfM* IV, no. 51 (June 24, 1836), 212–13.

that a musical institution in his name be established instead.⁸³ But, as Minor also argues, this seems to have been more an issue about “who gets to do the commemorating,” because Schumann soon thereafter embarked upon his own Beethoven homage, the *Fantasie*, Op. 17.⁸⁴ He wrote to the publisher Carl Friedrich Kistner on December 19, 1836 that “Florestan and Eusebius are keen to do something for Beethoven’s monument,” and suggested that the firm set aside one hundred complimentary copies of his forthcoming tribute, the *Fantasie*, so that the Verein could sell them and use the profits for the monument.⁸⁵

The many titles Schumann cycled through for his proposed Beethoven homage, the compositional changes, and his initial failure to interest publishers in Op. 17 have been well documented by Marston and Bodo Bischoff.⁸⁶ Many others have commented on the *Fantasie*’s status as a tribute to the composer, despite the fact that Schumann ultimately stripped any commemorative associations from the title.⁸⁷ In the end, we know that he chose not to publish

⁸³ Ryan Minor, *Choral Fantasies: Music, Festivity, and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 68–69, 216n5.

⁸⁴ Minor, 69.

⁸⁵ Marston, *Schumann: Fantasie, Op. 17*, 3.

⁸⁶ The titles included *Obolus für Beethovens Monument*; *Fantasies*; *Fata Morgana*; *Ruinen, Trophäen, Palmen*; and *Dichtungen*. Bodo Bischoff, *Monument für Beethoven: Die Entwicklung der Beethoven-Rezeption Robert Schumanns* (Cologne: Dohr, 1994), 194–200; Marston, *Schumann: Fantasie, Op. 17*, 5–29.

⁸⁷ Marston in particular provides thorough detail about both the planned public homage—eventually nixed title pages bearing Beethoven’s name, and a cyclic return to the alleged *An die ferne Geliebte* quote from the first movement excised from the finale—and the private remembrances meant for Clara alone. Whether a change of heart or a necessity borne of publishers consistently turning down the composition, Op. 17 was published without the planned acknowledgement to Beethoven. Nicholas Marston, “‘Im Legendenton’: Schumann’s ‘Unsung Voice,’” *19th-Century Music* 16, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 227–41.

A (necessarily) short list of other scholars who have discussed the various poetics of remembrance at play in the *Fantasie* includes: John Daverio, “Schumann’s ‘Im Legendenton’ and Friedrich Schlegel’s ‘Arabeske,’” *19th-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (Autumn 1987): 150–63; John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a “New Poetic Age”* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 151–53; Berthold Hoeckner, *Programming the Absolute: Nineteenth-Century German Music and the Hermeneutics of the Moment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 92–104; Kenneth Hull, “Brahms the Allusive: Extra-Compositional Reference in the Instrumental Music of Johannes Brahms” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1989), 232; Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 101–12.

the *Fantasie* as a musical homage to Beethoven, either because he never found a willing publisher or for some other reason. He was afforded another chance to do so, however: the publisher Pietro Mechetti wrote to him on March 13, 1841 and asked Schumann to contribute to his *Beethoven-Album*, which would benefit the monument. In a now lost letter from March 15, Schumann responded in the affirmative, but did not send a composition. Mechetti wrote again on August 4 to renew his request, but Schumann never responded. Their next correspondence took place on January 7, 1842, when Mechetti sent the published *Beethoven-Album* to Schumann for review in the *NZfM*.⁸⁸

Schumann's response—or lack thereof—to Mechetti and his gradual loss of interest in the pursuit of publishing his *Fantasie* as an homage to Beethoven both appear at odds with his previously-voiced enthusiasm for this sort of project. Despite his struggles with his submission to the *Mozart-Album*, his review clearly indicates he still supported the endeavor, as does his review of the *Beethoven-Album* (discussed below). Were other factors then at play? Was Beethoven too daunting a figure? Was Schumann stymied by the “anxiety of influence” Beethoven triggered in nineteenth-century composers?⁸⁹ Or did he consider it an act of hubris to associate his name with the revered composer? As Bischoff points out, Schumann had printed the Goethe maxim “He who praises someone, equates himself” as the motto of an issue of the *NZfM*.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Michael Heinemann and Thomas Synofzik, eds., *Schumann Briefedition*, vol. series 3, band 8 (Cologne: Dohr, 2010), 303–07.

⁸⁹ Mark Evan Bonds borrows the phrase “anxiety of influence”—which describes the fear of one's work becoming subsumed by or overly derivative of an earlier work—from literary theorist Harold Bloom. Bonds explores the long shadow Beethoven cast over symphonic composers of the nineteenth century and the various strategies they employed to confront this anxiety in their own compositions. Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 57; Mark Evan Bonds, *After Beethoven: Imperatives of Originality in the Symphony* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1996), 1–27.

⁹⁰ “Wen jemand lobt, dem stellt er sich gleich.” Bischoff, *Monument für Beethoven: Die Entwicklung der Beethoven-Rezeption Robert Schumanns*, 201.

Schumann's review of the *Beethoven-Album*, which included his assessment of which composers had and had not adequately paid homage to Beethoven, may shine light on his indecision. Like in the case of the *Mozart-Album*, he deemed the effort an overall success, though he took umbrage on Beethoven's behalf that the subtitle—*Dix Morceaux Brillants pour le Piano*—was in French.⁹¹ He mentioned each piece fleetingly, saving most of his ink for Mendelssohn's contribution, the *Variations sérieuses*:

And here we must once again mention F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, who contributed a whole variation cycle. . . . We do not want to persuade anyone who has different tastes that this contribution is also the most important musically; it seems to us that way. But what is in the album caters to many, as the names [of the composers] that adorn it hint at. By the way, a strict critique of each individual contribution would not be fitting here. A composer does not always have the best works in stock—little things, impromptus—and so, pushed by the publisher, he finally sends something from his latest. Certainly, some of the contributors here thought about what they sent. But for an album for Beethoven, [Mendelssohn's] piece does not fit very well.⁹²

Schumann simultaneously claimed that Mendelssohn's piece—the dauntingly difficult variations set, published for the first time—was the best composition in the *Album* and still was not an appropriate selection.⁹³ As Schumann pointed out, the *Album* was intended for all sorts of audiences, and the *Variations sérieuses* were far beyond the abilities of most amateurs. One also cannot help but think that Schumann perhaps found the virtuosic fireworks of Mendelssohn's piece an inappropriate choice to commemorate Beethoven. As for the entire publication,

⁹¹ *NZfM* XVI, no. 15 (February 18, 1842), 57.

⁹² “Und hier müssen wir wieder zuerst F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's erwähnen, der mit einem ganzen Variationencyklus. . . . Dass dieser Beitrag auch in musikalischer Hinsicht der bedeutendste, wollen wir Niemandem einreden, der einen andern Geschmack hat; uns scheint es so. Doch ist im Album für Viele gesorgt, wie schon die Namen, die es schmücken, vermuthen lassen. Eine strenge Kritik jedes einzelnen Beitrages wäre hier übrigens nicht am Ort. Ein componist hat nicht immer beste Werke vorrätig, Kleinigkeiten, Impromptus schon eher, und so sendet er, vom Verleger gedrängt, endlich von letzteren. Gewiss, dass selbst mancher der hier Beitragenden beim Fortschicken gedacht hat: für ein Album für Beethoven passt dies Stück doch nicht besonders.” *NZfM* XVI, no. 15 (February 18, 1842), 57.

⁹³ The reviewer for the *AwMZ*, meanwhile, thought it helped balance out the more “frivolous” pieces. *AwMZ* II, no. 146 (December 6, 1842), 587–88.

Schumann took issue not only with the *Album*'s French subtitle, but specifically with the use of the word "brillants," which he claimed Beethoven would have hated.⁹⁴ By contrast, another virtuoso earned Schumann's approval for the appropriateness of his selection. Schumann praised Liszt's contribution—his piano transcription of the *Trauermarsch* from the *Eroica* Symphony. This composition, unlike Liszt's other arrangements, eschews pyrotechnics and adheres faithfully to its source material.⁹⁵ Liszt thus honored his dedicatee by helping Beethoven's music reach more listeners, by making it accessible in most middle-class homes: though some sections are difficult, a dedicated amateur could have handled most of the score. Most importantly, he checked his ego at the door, which Schumann (tacitly) accused Mendelssohn of not having done. Other composers, such as Henselt and Moscheles, also contributed difficult compositions, but none had the sheer scope of Mendelssohn's variations. For the rest of the *Beethoven-Album*, Schumann viewed the other composers' contributions as neither terrible nor noteworthy.⁹⁶

Schumann's assessment of these pieces—particularly his negative critique of Mendelssohn, a composer who was a perennial favorite—helps to shed light on his own participation in such albums, and particularly his uncertainty over what he should send to Pott for the *Mozart-Album*. We can see that compositional quality was not enough to make an album contribution successful, and that Schumann demanded that composers (including himself) seriously consider audience, homage, genre, and style. In his estimation, the pieces should be

⁹⁴ *NZfM* XVI, no. 15 (February 18, 1842), 57.

⁹⁵ Jonathan Kregor discusses this transcription as Liszt's monument to Beethoven, and details the technical difficulties it would have posed to players. Jonathan Kregor, *Liszt as Transcriber* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 143–48.

⁹⁶ Of Chopin's Prelude in C-sharp minor, Schumann merely said it was "entirely in his own way." Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger argues that Chopin opted to contribute this prelude because of its harmonic similarities to the opening slow movement of Beethoven's "Moonlight" Sonata. Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, "Chopin and 'La Note Bleue': An Interpretation of the Prelude Op. 45," *Music & Letters* 78, no. 2 (May 1997): 233–53.

original, of high quality, and show genuine reverence for the dedicatee. But a composer's efforts could too easily tip what was intended as a respectful offering into braggadocious grandstanding, or give the arrogant impression that he placed himself on equal footing as a Mozart or a Beethoven. Choosing a piece that was too technically difficult limited the number of those who could play and enjoy it, and this was also at odds with the goals of such publications. Most importantly, the composer must offer something that captured the true spirit of its dedicatee (and if this true spirit also resonated with the composer's own, all the better). This was a tricky needle to thread, and in the case of the *Beethoven-Album*, it seems that Schumann believed that Liszt was the only composer to successfully do so. Based on the expectations Schumann expressed in this review, his choice not to pay tribute to Mozart with his cleverly contrapuntal *Fughette* makes sense. By instead offering a charming *Lied* devoid of artifice, he made his homage accessible to many, and made clear his feelings about Mozart as a composer of the beautiful. And above all, he commemorated Mozart as a composer who would have been at home among the Romantics.

4.5. Schumann as Editor of Published Albums

In 1838, Schumann began curating collections of pieces that were published as supplements (*Beilagen*) to the *NZfM*, and were identified in critical reception as *Stammbücher*.⁹⁷ The supplements appeared quarterly through 1841 (sixteen in total), and Schumann provided subscribers with collections of pieces that exhibited variety and accessibility. In contrast to similar publications, however, Schumann chose both music that was reflective of current trends,

⁹⁷ Schumann appears to be the first to start the trend of publishing such musical supplements, but other journals such as the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* with its *Keepsake des pianistes* (first published in 1841) followed close behind. Schumann himself did not publicly compare the supplements to albums or *Stammbücher*, but as I discuss below, he did lean into this perception. O.[swald] L.[orenz], *NZfM* XIII, no. 52 (December 26, 1840), 207.

and previously unpublished works by composers from older generations. He curated the supplements from manuscripts in his own personal collection, solicited contributions from other composers, and also published his own works. Crucial to the *Beilagen*'s success on the market, Schumann subtly shaped them after personal albums, mimicking their sense of community and access to private sources.

It is not entirely clear whose idea the supplements were; at various points Schumann credited both himself and Robert Friese, who became publisher of the *NZfM* beginning 1837 and was critical in the marketing and distribution of the *Beilagen*.⁹⁸ The contents of each supplement were strictly within Schumann's purview; Friese offered neither suggestions nor objections to any of the music Schumann chose. In Schumann's estimation, the supplements were to represent a mix of famous and less well-known contemporaries in addition to long-revered masters, and contain a variety of genres to appeal to a wide audience.⁹⁹ Each supplement contained four to five pieces, which were generally songs or compositions for solo piano. Among those featured were Felix Mendelssohn, Adolph Henselt, and Pauline Viardot-Garcia, and other popular composers. On occasion, Schumann would include previously unpublished pieces by composers such as Schubert and Beethoven.

In many ways, Schumann's supplements were not altogether different from other published musical annuals such as the *Album für Gesang* or the *Düsseldorfer Lieder-Album* discussed above. Schumann, like other editors, selected high-quality music accessible to

⁹⁸ In 1838, Schumann claimed to Ignaz Moscheles that he had come up with the idea, but in letters to W.H. Rieffel and Adolf Henselt in 1837, he had given the credit to Friese. Bernhard R. Appel, "Kompositionen Robert Schumanns in den Musikbeilagen der NZfM," *Schumann Studien* 5 (1996): 69; *BnF*, 88, 92.

⁹⁹ Schumann said the primary function of these supplements was to bring new talent to light. In one of his reviews, Oswald Lorenz claimed that its purpose was the dissemination of artistic genius both old and new, but that publication in the *Beilagen* would clearly be more beneficial to new composers. *NZfM* VIII, no. 41 (May 22, 1838), 164; *NZfM* XI, no. 50 (December 20, 1839), 199.

amateurs that offered a snapshot of current musical life. The contents of the *Beilagen* therefore provide interesting insight into how Schumann thought he should publicly mark these moments in time. But his commemorative strategies were more complex than those employed in the previously discussed albums, because he also included older works from composers who were no longer alive (or perhaps no longer in fashion).¹⁰⁰ In this context, the older compositions functioned as *lieux de memoire* (sites of memory), in Pierre Nora's words, that brought the past into the present.¹⁰¹ Further—thanks in large part to Friese's marketing and some of Schumann's source selections discussed below—these supplements had the appearance of sociability similar to the “(imagined) companions” described by James Davies.¹⁰² Conscious or not, Schumann's decision to yoke together contemporary composers with venerated masters put their compositions in dialogue with one another, much like leaves in an album. The *NZfM* supplements gave the impression of a sort of fictional community, a manufactured microcosm that could only exist in the imagination, where J.S. Bach and Louis Hetsch were colleagues, and where the buyer of the supplement could be privy to this world.

The authorial control seen in this sort of curation is of course different than what typically happened in private albums, and was more in line with the cutting and pasting of commonplace books, where the owner of an album meticulously picked and chose what to include (as Schumann did in his treatment of Emilie Steffens's album, discussed in chapter 3), or

¹⁰⁰ This seems similar to the commemorative strategies he employed while compiling Emilie Steffens's album (chapter 3).

¹⁰¹ There is quite a bit of literature on different modes of remembering. For my purposes here, I focus on Schumann's shift to historical memory, which requires an acknowledgment of a break with the past. Pierre Nora is the foremost theorist of this phenomenon. Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations*, no. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989): 7.

¹⁰² Davies uses this phrase in a slightly different context, describing how owners of *The Musical Bijou* likely would have imagined their relationship to other unknown owners of the annual. Davies, “Julia's Gift,” 295.

in the editorial work involved in assembling an anthology.¹⁰³ Indeed, we see in the *Beilagen*—and perhaps in all of the albums that I have discussed in this chapter—a convergence of album practice and anthologizing. On the one hand, Schumann presented the pieces of the *Beilagen* as precious and rare keepsakes similar to those found in private albums (and both he and Frieze would find ways to exploit this connection, as discussed below). On the other hand, Schumann’s editorial control was atypical of the way people generally treated their albums. Through his curation, Schumann created, to borrow Jerome McGann’s term, “bibliographical environments” that affected the meaning of each piece and its respective composer, and created meaning for this new whole.¹⁰⁴ Though the term “Anthologie” was very occasionally used in critical reception to describe publications like these, more often than not, it was reserved for collections of poetry and

¹⁰³ Andrew Bennet and Jack Stillinger explore the various layers of multiple authorship and editorship. Andrew Bennett, *The Author* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 38–39; Jack Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 22.

¹⁰⁴ Jerome McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 85.

prose related to music, or collections of pieces by old masters.¹⁰⁵ Importantly, the title “Album” conveyed both exclusivity of access and timeliness of its contents, while “Anthologie” did not.¹⁰⁶

Schumann does seem to have approached the supplements with an eye toward fashioning them after albums. He chose smaller genres and sometimes denied composers if they sent compositions that were too long. In a letter to Clara from February 7, 1840, he remarked that he was in need of “album pieces” for his supplement.¹⁰⁷ Friese certainly picked up on both the album-like quality of the supplements, and likely the burgeoning market that clamored for such publications. In December 1838, Friese published a bound copy containing the four quarterly supplements from that year, and advertised it as an “Album” and a worthy holiday gift due to its

¹⁰⁵ The first poetic anthology of the nineteenth century, *The Golden Treasury* (first ed. 1861), edited by Sir Francis Palgrave, began the trend of including exclusively dead poets. Nineteenth-century poetic *Taschenbücher* and *Almanache*, by contrast, were annual publications dedicated to contemporary artists. In reviews of musical albums, critics often claimed that *Taschenbücher* and *Almanache* were the poetic analogues to albums. Editors and publishers of musical albums, however, never made such comparisons, and never referred to their publications as “anthologies.” David Hopkins, “On Anthologies,” *The Cambridge Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (September 2008): 287–88; *AmZ* XLIV, no. 11 (March 16, 1842), 226; *AmZ* XLV, no. 6 (February 8, 1843), 105.

A search for the term “anthologie” between the years 1840 and 1855 in the *Répertoire international de la presse musicale* (RIPM) database returned precisely twelve results in German journals. Eleven of them were reviews of or advertisements for the *Großes Instrumental- und Vocalconcert, eine musikalische Anthologie* (Stuttgart: Ernst Ortlepp, 1841), a collection of poems, biographical sketches, and short stories thematically related to music. One of the results was a review of the piano collection *Anthologie classique tirée des Oeuvres de Scarlatti, Händel, J. Seb. Bach etc. pour le Piano*.

There is currently not much scholarship on musical anthologies, and none related to the nineteenth century. Sherri Bishop discusses anthologies in her dissertation about Renaissance madrigal prints, and finds that generally speaking, attention was not given to individual composers in such collections, as their names were often omitted from title pages. A hallmark of anthologies during this period was, as Adam Smyth terms it, the “effacement of authorship.” Sherri Bishop, “Authorship, Attribution, and Advertising in Venetian Madrigal Prints, 1538–1580” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2012), 104–114; Adam Smyth, “*Profit and Delight*”: *Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640–1682* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), 6. Even if we consider published musical albums akin to musical anthologies, the “effacement of authorship” does not apply at all to the album. There is clearly room for more scholarly inquiry into the unique facets of and overlap between both nineteenth-century practices.

¹⁰⁶ Though Schumann did include some older works in his *Beilagen*—which differentiated this publication from other published musical albums—in this context I understand these as similar to the composer manuscript-relics that he included in Emilie Steffens’s album (chapter 3).

¹⁰⁷ Schumann mentioned this in the course of requesting that she ask August Pott whether he planned to use the “Fughette” for the *Mozart-Album* (discussed above) or not. Weissweiler, *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, 3:74.

“dignified content and extremely magnificent accoutrements.”¹⁰⁸ This was the first time anyone associated with the publication of the *NZfM* had explicitly connected the supplements to album practice, and Frieze would repeat this practice each year, publishing a total of four *Albums*.¹⁰⁹ Critics similarly commented on the connection to private albums. In his review of the second annual *Album*, Oswald Lorenz said the *Album* contained “musical commemorative pages” (*musikalischen Gedenklättern*). In his review of the third *Album*, he outright called it a “Stammbuch of German music” (*Stammbuch deutscher Musik*); in both reviews, he remarked on the *Album*’s status as a souvenir that would be valued for years to come.¹¹⁰

4.6. Private Access: Curating the *NZfM* Supplements

Writing for the *NZfM*, Lorenz and Frieze undoubtedly likened the supplements and the collected editions to albums in order to gain traction on the market. But Schumann’s selections also gave the impression of this intimate setting, even before Frieze explicitly branded the collections *Albums*. By and large, Schumann chose previously unpublished pieces, which offered buyers access to exclusive content. He considered manuscripts of the pieces he published worthy keepsakes, preserving many of them in his and Clara’s album after having used them as

¹⁰⁸ “Das Album eignet sich seines gediegenen Inhalts und der äusserst prachvollen Ausstattung wegen ganz besonders zu einem Weihnachtsgeschenk.” *NZfM* IX, no. 50 (December 21, 1838), 202.

¹⁰⁹ Frieze was an enthusiastic and supportive partner in Schumann’s *Beilagen* project. In one of the first letters the pair exchanged about the endeavor on January 23, 1838, Frieze wrote that he thought about the supplement “day and night,” and that he had “clothed it in royal attire like David” (“ich habe unsre Beilage königlich, wie David ausgestattet, ich denke Tag u. Nacht daran”). Petra Dießner, Irmgard Knechtges-Obrecht, and Thomas Synofzik, eds., *Schumann Briefedition*, vol. series 3, band 3 (Cologne: Dohr, 2008), 70.

¹¹⁰ In a letter to Hermann Hirschbach from September 7, 1838, Schumann referred to Lorenz as his “Vice-Redacteur” (Vice-Editor). It is therefore likely that he did not seriously object to any of Lorenz’s sentiments. *BnF*, 137; *NZfM* XI, no. 50 (December 20, 1839), 199; *NZfM* 13, no. 52 (December 26, 1840), 207.

Stichvorlagen for the supplements. Among those he kept were a *Prelude* by Wilhelm Taubert and a *Notturmo* by Johannes Verhulst.¹¹¹ Many of Schumann's own compositions also made their first public appearance in the *Beilagen*, where he chose to style himself as a composer of small songs and approachable piano pieces.¹¹²

Schumann took great care in the way he presented other composers in the *Beilagen*, sometimes overstepping his editorial bounds. After two years of prodding from his friend Stephen Heller, Schumann decided to include a piece by Josephine Lang. He published her song "Traumbild" in the November 1838 supplement, and wrote to Heller about his decision on August 18, 1838:

I must have previously misjudged Lang; I do not understand how her style has suddenly acquired so much charm and tenderness. She must be a genuine *Schwärmerin* [a woman who indulges in raptures]. I should like to use "Traumbild" in the supplement; it is, in my opinion, the most delightful of the songs.¹¹³

However "delightful" Schumann found this song, he still determined to edit it significantly, making changes to texture and melody, and occasionally excising measures outright.¹¹⁴ As far as Lang was concerned, she did not appear to appreciate Schumann's changes. Prior to sending the song to him, Lang had already revised "Traumbild" several times. Before publishing the song herself in 1861, she revised it yet again, and took none of Schumann's suggestions into

¹¹¹ These were both published in the June 1840 edition of the *Beilagen*. Wilhelm Taubert, "Prelude," Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB) Dresden, Mus.Schu.304a; Johannes Josephus Hermanus Verhulst, "Notturmo," (SLUB) Dresden, Mus.Schu.309b. All of the sources discussed from the Schumann-Album are digitized and may be found at <https://katalogbeta.slub-dresden.de/en/id/0-1399555502/#detail> (accessed June 4, 2019).

¹¹² Over the four years of the *Beilagen*'s run, Schumann published five solo songs, four pieces for solo piano (including the *Fughette* he decided not to contribute to the *Mozart-Album*), and one song for men's choir.

¹¹³ Quoted in Harald Krebs and Sharon Krebs, *Josephine Lang: Her Life and Her Songs* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 53.

¹¹⁴ Harald and Sharon Krebs document the extensive changes Schumann made to Lang's song, interpreting the revisions as proof of Schumann's disagreement with Lang's reading of Heine's text. Krebs and Krebs, 56.

account.¹¹⁵ Lang's song was among the manuscripts of pieces published in the *NZfM* supplements that Schumann kept in his family album, and so we can now compare his treatment of Lang's music to that of the other composers. All told, some nine pieces that the Schumanns kept as mementos in their album were published in the supplements; Lang's was the only piece composed by a woman, and hers was the only piece Schumann revised.¹¹⁶ Though his motivations may have been artistic, Schumann's decision to edit Lang's composition and hers alone—and without her permission—comes across today as condescending and paternalistic.

Schumann further created the illusion of access to rare items by publishing pieces from his friends' private collections. For example, for the first volume of the supplement, Schumann wrote to Mendelssohn to ask him for a contribution. In one of his responses from November 20, 1837, Mendelssohn suggested that Schumann publish an original song that Louis Spohr had written for his wife Cécile's album: "In my wife's album is a pretty, unpublished song by Spohr. What do you think of writing him a couple lines, and asking him whether it could be reproduced for the same purpose?"¹¹⁷ Schumann asked Mendelssohn to first write to Spohr on his behalf, and then wrote himself the very next day, referencing Mendelssohn's intercession, and saying he

¹¹⁵ Krebs and Krebs, *Josephine Lang: Her Life and Her Songs*, 53–56.

¹¹⁶ The sources from the Schumann-Album that appeared in the *Beilagen* were Mortiz Hauptmann, "Paganinis Aufgabe," Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB) Dresden Mus.Schu.108; Josephine Lang, "Traumbild," (SLUB) Dresden, Mus.Schu.148; Franz Liszt, "Albumblatt," (SLUB) Dresden, Mus.Schu.160; Ignaz Moscheles, "Scherzo," (SLUB) Dresden, Mus.Schu.302; Nicolò Paganini, keyboard piece, (SLUB) Dresden, Mus.Schu.223; Franz Schubert, "Chor der Engel," (SLUB) Dresden, Mus.4924-H-500; Wilhelm Taubert, "Prelude," (SLUB) Dresden, Mus.Schu.304a; Johannes Josephus Hermanus Verhulst, "Notturmo," (SLUB) Dresden, Mus.Schu.309b. A leaf by Wenzel Tomaschek was also at one time part of the Schumann-Album (and published in the *Beilagen*, discussed below), but has since been lost.

¹¹⁷ "In meiner Frau Album steht ein hübsches, ungedrucktes Lied von Spohr; was meinen Sie, wenn Sie ihm ein Paar Zeilen schrieben, und ihn fragten ob es zu demselben Zwecke mit abgedruckt werden könnte?" Quoted in Ralf Wehner, "...ich zeigte Mendelssohns Albumblatt vor und Alles war gut.' Zur Bedeutung der Stammbucheintragungen und Albumblätter von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy," in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Kongreß-Bericht Berlin*, ed. Christian Martin Schmidt (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1997), 42.

“would hardly have dared [to ask] without such [an] advocate.”¹¹⁸ After the composer gave his permission and Schumann published the song, “Was wir wohl übrig bliebe,” Schumann wrote again on February 9, 1838 to thank Spohr and to send him a copy of the supplement. This intimate song, originally meant only for Cécile Mendelssohn and those she chose to share it with, now belonged to the public sphere.

In other cases, Schumann made the exclusive status of items he published in the supplements more explicit. After bringing the premiere of Schubert’s “Great” Symphony to fruition, Ferdinand Schubert—the composer’s brother—thanked Schumann with a gift of an autograph of the *Chor der Engel*, D. 440, a choral composition based on a text by Goethe. In the issue of the *NZfM* that publicized the release of the supplement featuring this composition, the announcement said outright that the presence of the previously unknown work was entirely due to the composer’s brother.¹¹⁹ Buyers knew that the engraved and printed *a cappella* chorus was evidence of the original manuscript that was in private hands. Schumann not only further created a sense of an in-group, but also fulfilled a function of disseminating this text to wider audiences, putting them in contact with the spirit of the original, if not the original itself.¹²⁰

Though his musical selections for the supplements generally gave the impression of being album leaves, Schumann began to more overtly fashion the *Beilagen* as albums after Frieze’s and Lorenz’s efforts to link them explicitly to album practice. Not only did Schumann continue to publish previously private items from both his and Clara’s album, but he also began to identify them as such. For instance, in the tenth volume of the supplement (November 1841), Schumann

¹¹⁸ “ohne solchen Fürsprecher kaum gewagt hätte.” *BnF*, 501n142.

¹¹⁹ *NZfM* X, no. 49 (June 18, 1839), 196. Harry Goldschmidt mentions this as well. Harry Goldschmidt, “Ein neues Schubert-Autograph in Dresden,” *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 28 (1986): 219.

¹²⁰ See my comments on Walter Benjamin’s theory about copies above.

included a solo piano piece by Franz Liszt entitled “Albumblatt.”¹²¹ Though Schumann omitted the personal inscription, it was indeed a leaf from Clara’s album. Liszt had crossed paths with her in 1838 in Vienna, where they both stayed at the Hotel “Stadt Frankfurt” and concertized together on April 14, the date Liszt inscribed on the leaf.¹²² The title of “Albumblatt” came from Liszt himself, and the short, accessible piece was based in part upon his longer—and more virtuosic—*Valse mélancolique*. Though it does not feature the transcendently pyrotechnic virtuosity Liszt would become known for, the *Valse* does alternate moderately difficult passagework with lyricism. Clara’s “Albumblatt” comes from the first of these *cantabile* sections.¹²³

Schumann’s decision to publish Liszt’s “Albumblatt” in one of the *Beilagen* not only provided buyers with access to this formerly private musical memento, but it also provided more intimate proof of the friendly relationship between Schumann and Liszt at this time.¹²⁴ Schumann had written favorably about Liszt in concert reviews for the *NZfM*, in contrast to his opinions about other *en vogue* piano virtuosi. Such treatment had, Eduard Krüger warned in a letter from July 20, 1841, given many an unfavorable impression of Schumann’s impartiality as a critic:

¹²¹ Franz Liszt, “Albumblatt,” Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB) Dresden, Mus.Schu.160.

¹²² Wolfgang Seibold, *Robert und Clara Schumann in ihren Beziehungen zu Franz Liszt: Im Spiegel ihrer Korrespondenz und Schriften*, Karlsruher Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 8 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2005), 151.

¹²³ It is difficult to know which of these compositions came first. *Grove* attributes the composition of the *Valse mélancolique* to 1839, which post-dates Liszt’s leaf for Clara. Whether the *Valse* grew out of the leaf Liszt inscribed in 1838, or Liszt excerpted the “Albumblatt,” does not ultimately matter for my purposes. Maria Eckhardt, Rena Charnin Mueller, and Alan Walker, “Liszt, Franz [Ferenc],” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane L. Root, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.48265> (accessed July 13, 2018).

¹²⁴ This was a public display similar to the dedications of musical works, which Emily Green argues reflect composer relationships. Emily H. Green, “Between Text and Context: Schumann, Liszt, and the Reception of Dedications,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 28, no. 4 (2009): 321.

The reason why I am now twice as urgent lies in a rumor, which I communicate to you as a friend, in order to hear from you your own defense or refutation. Several sources have said that you have protected some notable figures, as one calls them, e.g. Liszt and Mendelssohn etc. . . . [by] taking no word against them. I know what you think about Liszt—allow yourself as a friend, however, to still be the most respected public organ of our art: *audiatur et altera pars* [let the other side also be heard].¹²⁵

Despite the quasi-diplomatic tone Krüger tries to convey by beseeching Schumann to “let the other side also be heard,” the subtext against musical virtuosity comes through.¹²⁶ Though his personal relationship with Liszt would deteriorate later, Schumann was not swayed by Krüger.¹²⁷ He did not respond in kind with a letter, but instead published the “Albumblatt” in November, removing any doubts about his feelings.

Schumann further, and perhaps most explicitly, drew his readers into a private world with the publication of several album leaves from his and Clara’s personal album in the final edition of the *Beilagen* in December 1841. As discussed in chapter 1, album inscribers often commented on one another’s inscriptions, and in the case of their own album, the Schumanns had several leaves—culled from Clara’s earlier *Stammbuch*—that exemplified precisely that. In a leaf from October 16, 1829, Paganini offered his solution of the musical puzzle of harmonizing a chromatic wedge (two voices starting on the same note and moving in opposite directions; fig.

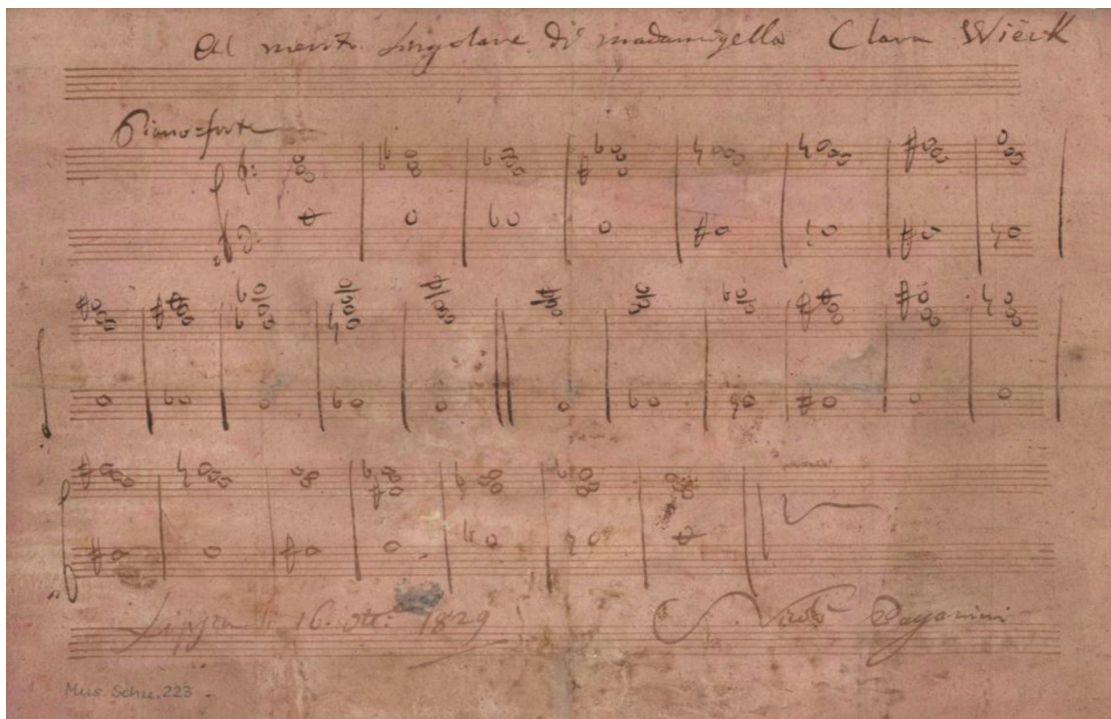
¹²⁵ “Der Grund, warum ich eben heute doppelt dringend bin, liegt in einem Gerüchte, das ich Ihnen als Freund mittheile, um von Ihnen selbst Vertheidigung oder Widerlegung zu vernehmen. Man sagt von mehreren Seiten, daß Sie einige Notabilitäten, z.B. Liszt und Mendelssohn pp. protegirten, wie man es nennt, d.h. kein gegen dieselben gerichtetes Wort. . . . aufnahmen. . . . Ich weiß, wie Sie über Liszt denken—dem Freunde erlauben Sie jedoch, in dem geachtetsten öffentlichen Organ unserer Kunst auch sein: *audiatur et altera pars*.” Quoted in Seibold, *Robert und Clara Schumann in ihren Beziehungen zu Franz Liszt: Im Spiegel ihrer Korrespondenz und Schriften*, 151.

¹²⁶ One also must wonder if his motivations toward mentioning Mendelssohn in the same breath as Liszt had something to do with the anti-Semitism that often affected Mendelssohn’s critical reception, particularly beginning in the late nineteenth century. Marian Wilson Kimber, “The Composer as Other: Gender and Race in the Biography of Felix Mendelssohn,” in *The Mendelssohns: Their Music in History*, ed. John Michael Cooper and Julie D. Prandi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 344–51.

¹²⁷ He was clearly also not deterred in his lifelong support and championing of Mendelssohn.

4.4).¹²⁸ Moritz Hauptmann (fig. 4.5), Ignaz Moscheles (fig. 4.6), and Wenzel Tomaschek also took up the challenge in their subsequent inscriptions from 1831, October 22, 1832, and November 17, 1837, respectively, each offering their improvement or alternative to what Paganini had suggested.¹²⁹ Paganini's whole note, chorale-texture harmonization became a waltz in Moscheles's version, and gained a running eighth-note accompaniment in Hauptmann's. Hauptmann even went as far as to rewrite the challenge with the heading "Paganini's Aufgabe" at the top of his leaf before offering his solution, making this interaction even more explicit. These four inscriptions thus became inextricably bound to one another, their full meaning knowable only in the context of the album, not as individual leaves.

Fig. 4.4. Niccolò Paganini's *Stammbuch* leaf for Clara Wieck. SLUB Dresden, Mus.Schu.223, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id322992079/1> (CC-BY-SA 4.0).



¹²⁸ This chord progression is a form of what theorists also call an omnibus progression.

¹²⁹ As noted above, Tomaschek's original leaf has since been lost. The contents of his inscription were preserved due to its publication in one of the *NZfM* supplements. In contrast to Moscheles and Tomaschek, Hauptmann inscribed his leaf with only the year and not the date.

Fig. 4.5. Moritz Hauptmann's *Stammbuch* leaf of Paganini's *Aufgabe*. SLUB Dresden, Mus.Schu.108, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id322837499/1> (CC-BY-SA 4.0).

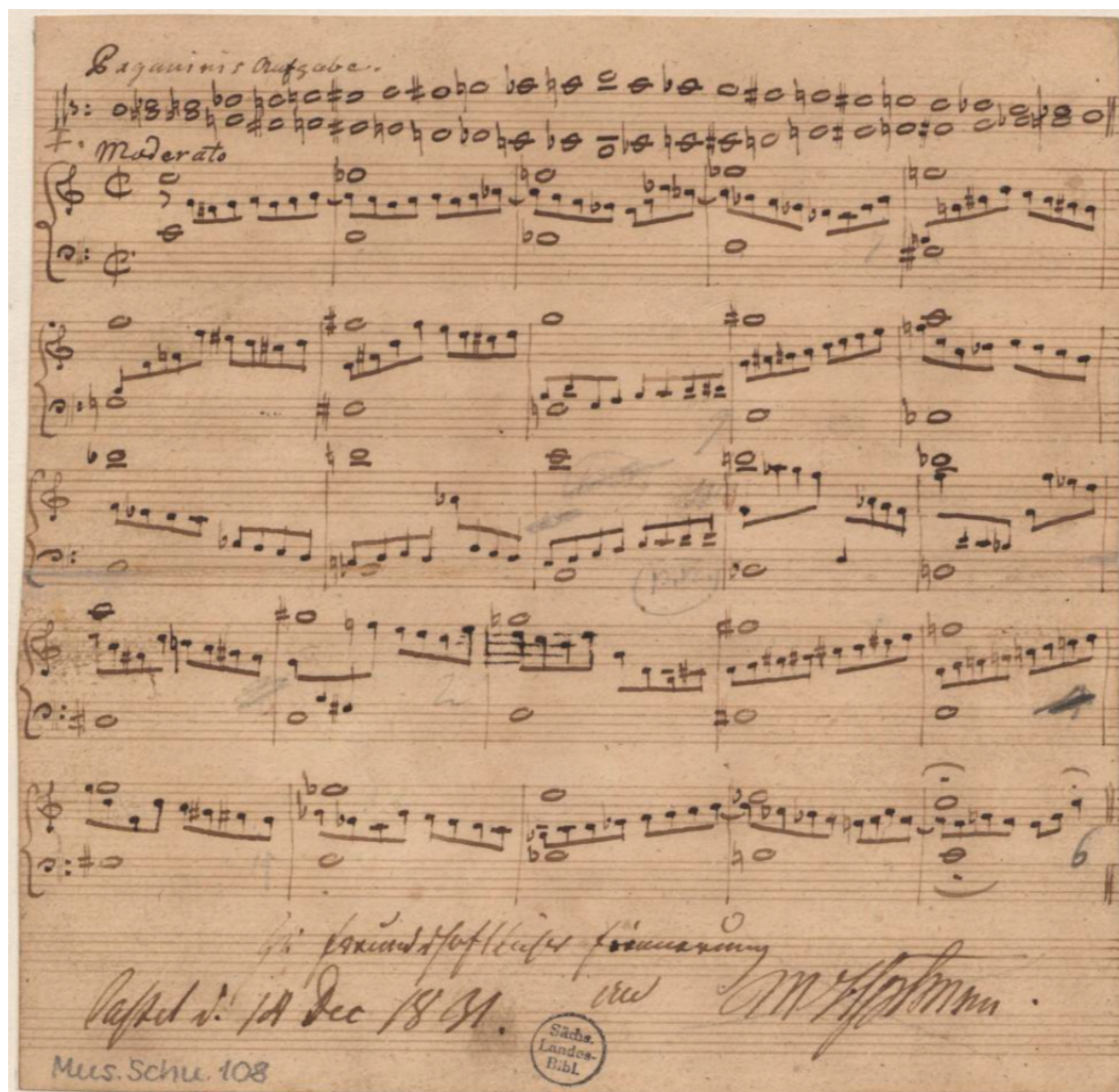
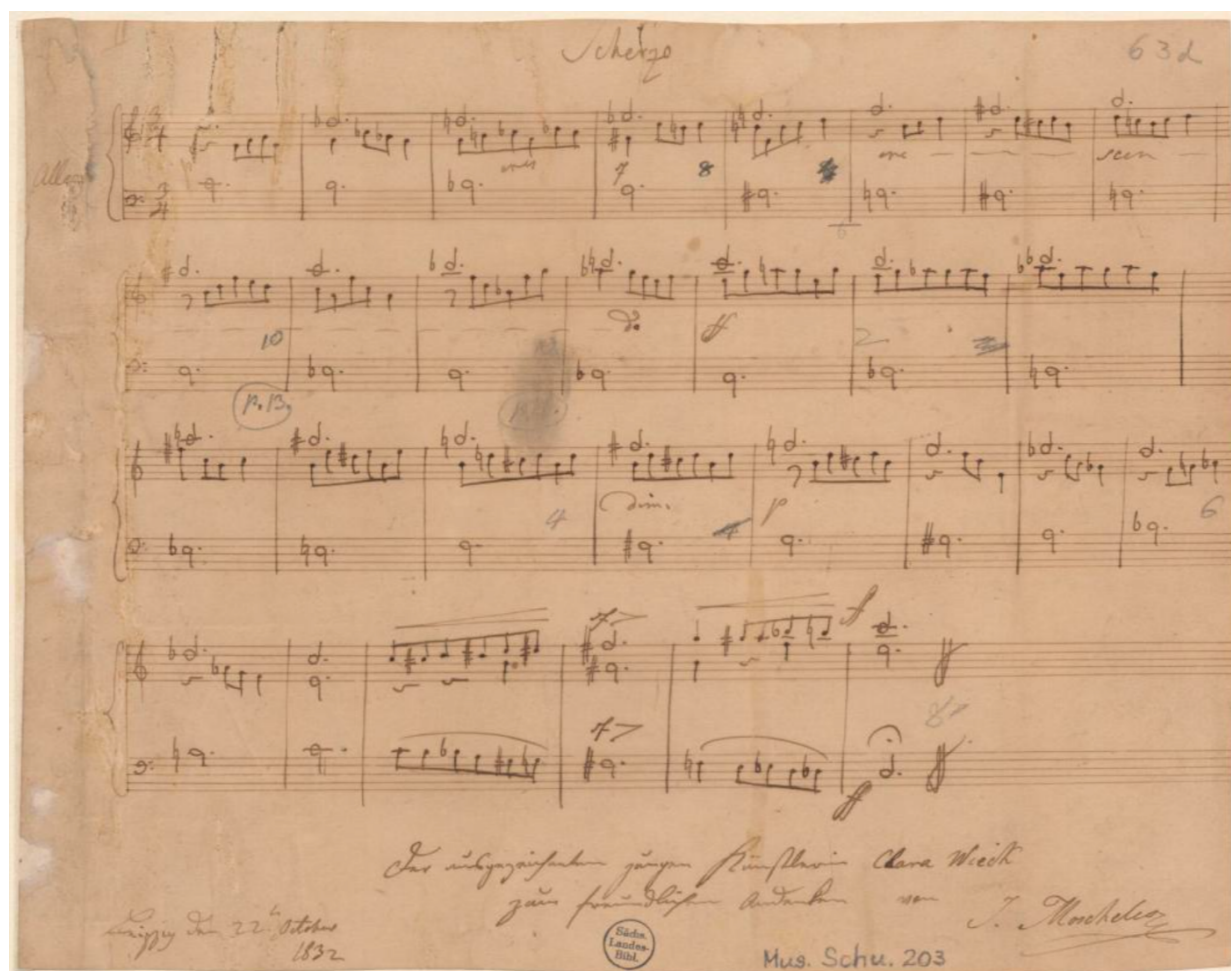


Fig. 4.6. Ignaz Moscheles's *Stammbuch* leaf of Paganini's *Aufgabe*. SLUB Dresden, Mus.Schu.203, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id322961734/1> (CC-BY-SA 4.0).



Schumann decided to put this private exchange on display, but in a way that controlled the level of access audiences could gain to these objects. The supplement made no secret who wrote the main *Stammbuch* inscription, proclaiming in bold type on the title page that it contained a “*Stammbuchblatt* von N. Paganini.” Schumann also included a short preface to the musical examples (fig. 4.7):

The preliminary remarks serve to explain the following: Paganini had written the study printed below in a *Stammbuch*, whose task appears at first sight to be: to find more middle voices to the chromatic scales running back and forth in the outermost voices. The task seemed interesting enough to three other living German composers to solve it as

well, as is done in the additions that those composers wrote down in the same *Stammbuch*.¹³⁰

Tellingly, Schumann did not mention the particular source of these inscriptions (he said they were from a *Stammbuch*, but did not mention that it was Clara's), as he did when he published Liszt's "Albumblatt." He did not include the contributors' full names, but rather provided only their initials. Schumann attempted to pique his audience's interest, and encouraged them to imagine the participants who engaged in this ludic challenge they had no doubt witnessed in other personal albums. A buyer of the supplement might also ponder how she might have solved Paganini's challenge, and thus determine which of these composers won the implied competition. By making these private leaves public, Schumann created a scenario which otherwise would have been impossible for most: anyone who could buy the supplement could also playfully engage with the famous virtuoso and imagine themselves as a part of that exclusive community.

¹³⁰ "Zur Erläuterung des Folgenden diene die Vorbemerkung: Paganini hatte in ein Stammbuch die unten abgedruckte Studie geschrieben, die sich auf den ersten Blick als die Aufgabe ergibt: zu den in den äussersten Stimmen vor und zurücklaufenden chromatischen Tonleitern mehrer Mittelstimmen aufzufinden. Die Aufgabe schien drei andern deutschen, noch lebenden, Tonsetzern interessant genug, sie ebenfalls zu lösen, wie es in den Zusätzen geschehen, die jene Componisten in dasselbe Stammbuch niederschrieben." *Sammlung von Musik-Stücken alter und neuer Zeit als Zulage zur neuen Zeitschrift für Musik*, Heft 16 (December 1841) (Scarsdale: Annemarie Schnase, repr. ed. 1967), 15.

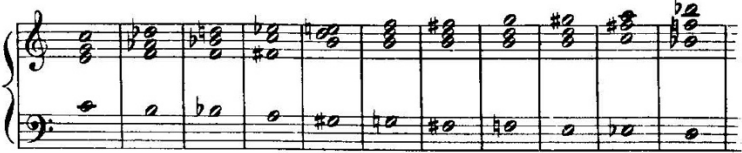
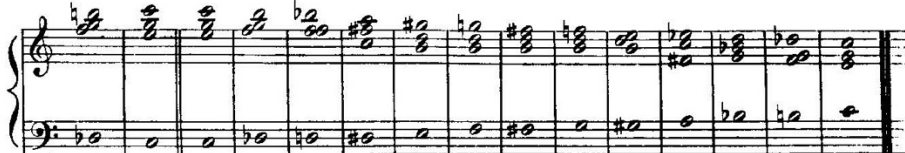
Fig. 4.7. “Stammbuchblatt von N. Paganini mit Zusätzen von M.H., J.M., and W.T.” from *NZfM Beilage* (December 1841) ([CC-BY-SA 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)).¹³¹

STAMMBUCHBLATT
von
N. PAGANINI
mit Zusätzen
von
M. H., J. M. und W. T.

15

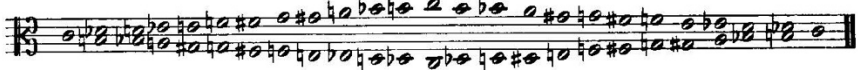
Zur Erläuterung des Folgenden diene die Vorbemerkung: Paganini hatte in ein Stammbuch die unten abgedruckte Studie geschrieben, die sich auf den ersten Blick als die Aufgabe ergibt: zu den in den äussersten Stimmen vor und zurücklaufenden chromatischen Tonleitern mehrre Mittelstimmen aufzufinden. Die Aufgabe schien drei andern deutschen, noch lebenden, Tonsetzern interessant genug, sie ebenfalls zu lösen, wie es in den Zusätzen geschehen, die jene Componisten in dasselbe Stammbuch niederschrieben.

PIANOFORTE.


LIPSIA, LI 16 OCT. 1829. **N. PAGANINI.**

PAGANINI'S AUFGABE.



ANDRE BEARBEITUNG.

MODERATO.




¹³¹ Digitization available at: <https://archive.org/details/SchumannHg-SammlungVonMusikstckenAlterUndNeuerZei> (accessed July 31, 2019).

M. H.

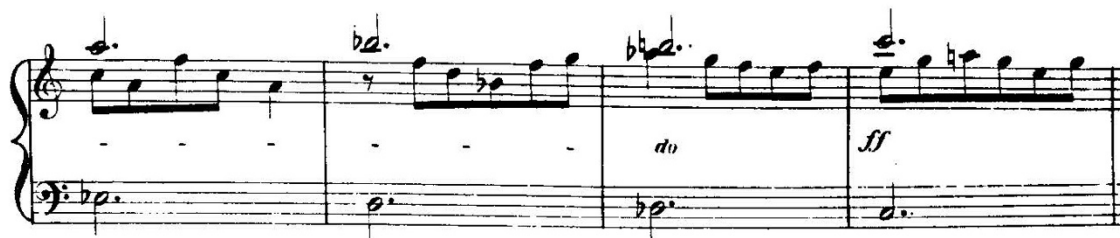
Allegro.

SCHERZO.

ZWEITE BEARBEITUNG.

p *cresc.* *f*

cre *seen*



LEIPZIG DEN 22 OCT. 1832.

I.M.

DRITTE BEARBEITUNG.

L'ALTRA MANIERA.



PRAG.

W.T.

4.7. Conclusion

Published albums of the nineteenth century mirrored their private counterparts in many ways—their sumptuous decorations, implicit social expectations of their participants, and creation of communities—but they were markedly different in others. Because published albums had to meet the needs of a wide audience, and because these albums were meant to be functional scores from which a person could realize the music, composers were expected to contribute music accessible to many, which was not the case with private album inscriptions. One of the devilishly difficult variations from Mendelssohn's *Variations sérieuses*, so out of place in the *Beethoven-Album*, would no doubt have been warmly received if scribbled onto a leaf of a private album. Further, the commoditization of album practice brought into sharp focus the lack of a true personal connection between the composer and buyer. But through Schumann's contributions to such publications, we can see that the composers who were most successful in these albums (in his estimation) were the ones who treated buyers with a similar level of respect that they showed family and friends in private albums. Published albums thus served as foils to physical monuments and more “serious” works as composers commemorated themselves with music of equally high quality, but accessible to more.

The published albums also give us additional historical context for some of Schumann's repertoire, and invite us to consider historical audiences' experiences. The respective published albums of “Blondels Lied” and “Der Gärtner,” for instance, were the first places individuals could have seen (and subsequently heard) those songs. In those contexts they were presented as an integral part of a multimedia whole involving poetry and visual art, a sort of multiauthor

Gesamtkunstwerk.¹³² In one case, a reviewer suggested pairing Schumann's "Der Gärtner" with Ferdinand Hiller's "Der stille Grund" from the *Düsseldorfer Lieder-Album* in performance, which would produce a "deep and lasting effect."¹³³ These published albums—until recently regarded as unimportant ephemera—offer a wellspring of further scholarly inquiry into nineteenth-century constructions of authorship, the ontology of "the work," performance practice, and commemorative strategies.

¹³² As above, I take my usage of this term in this context from Monika Schwarz-Danuser, cited in Wilson Kimber, "Fanny Hensel's Seasons of Life: Poetic Epigrams, Vignettes, and Meaning in *Das Jahr*," 361.

¹³³ "Geschieht beiden schönen Liedern ihr Recht hinsichtlich des Vortrags, so werden sie eine tiefe und nachhaltige Wirkung hervorbringen, da die poetische Stimmung in ihnen so wahr wie schön wiedergegeben ist." *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung für Kunstfreunde und Künstler* II/3, no. 55 (July 19, 1851), 435–36.

CHAPTER 5
“ERINNERUNG,” GRIEF, AND IMAGINATIVE REMEMBRANCE IN THE
***ALBUM FÜR DIE JUGEND*, OP. 68**

*The world has sustained a great, irreparable loss during
this time in the death on November 4 of Felix Mendelssohn.*

—Robert Schumann,
Erinnerungsbüchelchen für unsere Kinder (1848)

*His death is an irreplaceable loss for all who knew and
loved him. . . . A thousand dear memories rise in me. . . . I
feel that the grief over him will last our whole lives.*

—Clara Schumann,
Diary entry (1847)

5.1. Introduction

Felix Mendelssohn, a revered figure in nineteenth-century German musical circles and a beloved friend of Clara and Robert Schumann, died at the age of thirty-eight on November 4, 1847. Though he had been in ill health, Mendelssohn’s death—fewer than six months after his sister Fanny Hensel passed away—was a tragic blow to both of the Schumanns. Clara and Robert filled diary pages with expressions of their sorrow and attempts to process their pain. Nearly a year after Mendelssohn had died, the Schumanns still grieved, and Robert composed the well-known homage to his friend, the “Erinnerung” from the *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68. “Erinnerung” did not represent a solitary public tribute to Mendelssohn, however, but rather stood in dialogue with other private album leaves created by the Schumanns and some of their close friends.

Throughout this dissertation, I have shown how nineteenth-century albums, both private and published, privileged complex practices of curating and preserving memory, paying homage, and generating meaning for insider audiences. The *Album für die Jugend* has not yet been

examined through this particular lens, even though Schumann signals the potential applicability of this context through his choice of overall genre for this group of compositions. The *Album*—a children’s piano collection of forty-three character pieces of varying skill levels—has instead been discussed from almost every other conceivable angle.¹ These studies have thoroughly enriched our understanding of this music, engaging with a repertoire previously unexplored in the scholarship. In this chapter, I take an entirely different approach to the *Album*, assessing the presence of memory techniques typical of nineteenth-century albums, and the personal resonances these would have had for the Schumann family and those in their circle.

Both Robert Schumann’s compositional approach and the Schumann circle’s private response to the piece “Erinnerung” reflect album practice. In musically linking “Erinnerung” to three other pieces in the *Album für die Jugend*, the so-called Star Pieces, marked with ★★ in place of a title, Schumann mimicked the common strategy of inscribers to comment on other inscriptions in private albums, and thereby implicitly connected the Star Pieces to Mendelssohn’s

¹ Its origins as a birthday gift for his oldest daughter Marie and the many changes it underwent during Schumann’s revisions are well documented by scholars like Bernhard R. Appel and Ute Jung-Kaiser. Lora Deahl, Roe-Min Kok, and Ian Sharp discuss Schumann’s underpinning pedagogical philosophies and the topic of childhood as musical inspiration. Kok also situates the *Album* within the nineteenth-century emphasis on nation-building and producing upright German citizens. Anthony Newcomb contextualizes Op. 68 within shift in compositional paradigm, characterized by Schumann moving from the eccentric style of pieces like *Carnaval* to a more accessible (and lucrative) foray into *Hausmusik*. Bernhard R. Appel, “‘Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life’: Robert Schumann’s *Album für die Jugend*,” in *Schumann and His World*, trans. John Michael Cooper (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 171–202; Appel, *Robert Schumanns “Album für die Jugend”: Einführung und Kommentar* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1998), 51–65; Lora Deahl, “Robert Schumann’s ‘Album for the Young’ and the Coming of Age of Nineteenth-Century Piano Pedagogy,” *College Music Symposium* 41 (2001): 26–31; Ute Jung-Kaiser, “Robert Schumanns *Album für die Jugend* (op. 68) - ‘segensreiche’ Beispiele bildenswerter Kinder- und Jugendliteratur,” in *Schumanns Albumblätter*, ed. Ute Jung-Kaiser and Matthias Kruse (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2006), 15–72; Roe-Min Kok, “Romantic Childhood, Bourgeois Commercialism and the Music of Robert Schumann” (Harvard University, 2003); Kok, “Of Kindergarten, Cultural Nationalism, and Schumann’s *Album for the Young*,” *The World of Music* 48, no. 1, Music and Childhood: Creativity, Socialization, and Representation (2006): 111–32; Anthony Newcomb, “Schumann and the Marketplace: From Butterflies to *Hausmusik*,” in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, ed. R. Larry Todd (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 258–59, 265, 270; Ian Sharp, “Childhood’s Pattern: The Rise and Decline of the Child as a Stimulus for Music Expression,” in *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995: Selected Proceedings*, ed. Patrick F. Devine and Harry White, vol. 1, Irish Musical Studies 4 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), 221–31; Ian Sharp, “150 Years of Learning from Schumann: Wasted on Play?,” *The Musical Times* 140, no. 1868 (Autumn 1999): 42–47.

death. Privately, the Schumann family and their close friends—particularly the Dresden artists Eduard Bendemann and Julius Hübner—found different ways to express their grief. Before Schumann composed “Erinnerung,” Bendemann and Hübner created deathbed sketches of Mendelssohn, which I argue potentially impacted Schumann’s compositional choices. Before the publication of the *Album für die Jugend*, Hübner wrote an album leaf of poetry responding to the music—and memories—of “Erinnerung” after hearing Clara perform it at the Schumanns’ home for their small group. Even after the *Album*’s publication, this circle of friends continued to add to this growing cache of private mementos—including diary entries from the Schumanns, and another poetic album leaf from Hübner—as they built an intimate multimedia memorial to Mendelssohn that had “Erinnerung” at its heart.

“Erinnerung” both allowed the members of the Schumann circle to process their grief over Mendelssohn, and encouraged ongoing remembrance through new artistic creation. Even though in 1848 “Erinnerung” as part of the *Album* became a published, and thus public, object, the private documents created by Schumann and his family and friends continued to interact with “Erinnerung” as if they were all leaves in a single private album. Together, these objects bear witness to memories associated with the piece that remained private despite the publication of “Erinnerung.” Without these valuable layers of intertext, it would be impossible to also understand all three Star Pieces as Schumann’s reminiscences of Mendelssohn. Only by examining Op. 68 through the lens of album practice—which privileged and facilitated the creation of memory—can we fully begin to understand the personal significance of “Erinnerung” and the Star Pieces, and view them as a product of album culture.

5.2. Curating Memories for the Schumann Family

To be sure, no scholar has overlooked the explicitly biographical nature of much of the *Album*: it began as a birthday gift for his oldest daughter Marie, and Schumann remarked to publisher Carl Reinicke that many of these pieces “had a special place in [his] heart and were taken directly from [his] family life.”² Though Op. 68 clearly also had broad pedagogical value, for Schumann, its personal commemorative function seems of the utmost importance.³ Years after its publication, and after Marie would have outgrown its challenges, Robert wrote to Clara from the asylum in Endenich, saying, “Write me more about the children, whether they still play Beethoven, Mozart, and from my *Jugendalbum*.”⁴ In her memoirs, Eugenie recalls her mother incorporating the *Album* into their piano lessons and fondly referring to it as “Musik von Papa.”⁵ The *Album* was more than simply a published musical anthology for children; it held special significance for the Schumann family as a means of remembrance, whether of their father after

² Quoted in Appel, “‘Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life’,” 182.

³ John Daverio likens Schumann’s original plan for Op. 68 to children’s illustrated alphabet books, and Jung-Kaiser draws comparisons between it and keyboard technique manuals like Daniel Gottlob Türk’s *Klavierschule* (1789). Further, because Schumann reworked the earlier version of Marie’s birthday album (eight pieces that spurred composition of the rest of the music for the published *Album*) and renamed it *Klavierbüchlein*, it is difficult not to make comparisons with J.S. Bach as well. John Daverio, *Crossing Paths: Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 91; Jung-Kaiser, “Robert Schumanns *Album für die Jugend* (op. 68),” 23; Robert Schumann, *Klavierbüchlein für Marie: Eine Schumann-Handschrift im Beethoven-Haus Bonn*, ed. Bernhard R. Appel (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1998).

Schumann’s other plans for Op. 68—some that came to fruition, and some that did not—made it an altogether singular enterprise. At various points, he wanted to include simple piano arrangements of works by composers like Beethoven and Handel, illustrated vignettes for each piece by Ludwig Richter and other Dresden artists, and a list of best practices for young musicians (the *Haus- und Lebensregeln* that he later published in revised form in the *NZfM*). Appel includes helpful tables of the many stages of planning and revising that went into the *Album*, meticulously documenting which elements were excised or added, and at which stage. For a table of the forty-three pieces that were eventually published in the *Album*, see appendix, table 4.1. Appel, “‘Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life’,” 172–80.

⁴ “Schreibe mir noch Genaueres über die Kinder, ob sie noch von Beethoven, Mozart und aus meinem Jugendalbum spielen.” The letter dates from September 14, 1854. Thomas Synofzik, Anja Mühlenweg, and Sophia Zeil, eds., *Schumann Briefedition*, series 1, workgroup 7, vol. 4 (Cologne: Dohr, 2015), 641.

⁵ Eugenie Schumann, *Erinnerungen von Eugenie Schumann* (1925; repr. Stuttgart: Engelhorn Verlag, 1948), 123.

his illness took him from them, or of other, happier moments. How the *Album* could have served as a springboard to remembrance as the family returned to its contents over the years has not yet been explored. Further, Op. 68 has not yet been considered in the discussion surrounding Schumann's aesthetics of memory.

The *Album*, however, both preserved important past memories and also provided a musical means through which Schumann, his family, and close friends could continue to engage with them in the present, much as they would have with a personal album. Indeed, contemporary critics recognized a quality of present-ness in much of the music of the *Album* that they contrasted with the temporal distance of the thematically similar *Kinderszenen*, Op. 15. The reviewer for the *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, identified only as "As.," said that the *Kinderszenen* were written for adults by an adult "dreaming back" upon his own childhood, while the *Album* was written with a "childlike spirit" and was specifically meant for children.⁶ Alfred Dörrfel similarly connected the content of the *Kinderszenen* to the "far, ethereal distance, the past," while more explicitly placing the *Album* in the present, saying it was "close to [Schumann], present life; the remembrances are simultaneously his own experiences."⁷ Both these reviewers allude to the *Album* as a current encapsulation of the Schumanns' everyday home life, as opposed to snapshots of bygone times represented by the *Kinderszenen*. This assessment then perhaps points to a particular strategy of musically engaging with memory that is unique to

⁶ "Der Componist hat sich mit ihnen nur in seine Kinderjahre zurückgeträumt, hat aber die damaligen Gedruckte mit der Seele eines Aelteren nachgeföhlt und somit auch für Aeltere geschrieben, während er dieses Werk offenbar mit kindlicher Empfindung und eben deshalb so recht eigentlich für Kinder schuf." The author further claimed that some of the pieces in the *Album* had the same retrospective feel as the *Kinderszenen*, including "Erinnerung" and the three Star Pieces, discussed below. As., "Album für die Jugend von Robert Schumann," *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 7, no. 13 (February 28, 1849), 98.

⁷ "Was in den Kinderszenen ihm weit entrückte Ferne, Vergangenheit, ist ihm hier Nähe, gegenwärtiges Leben; die Erinnerungen sind ihm hier zugleich Selbsterlebnisse." Alfred Dörrfel, "Für Pianoforte. Robert Schumann, Op. 68, Album für die Jugend," *NZfM* XXX, no. 17 (February 26, 1849), 90.

the *Album*. In eschewing overt nostalgia while still inviting the player or listener to remember, Schumann foregrounds an important Romantic belief about memory: that it exists in the present, not the past. The memories of the *Album* are alive, and ongoing engagement with them keeps them that way.

The most complex example of this engagement with memory relates to “Erinnerung,” as I discuss below, but this also manifests in a variety of ways in pieces written for the *Album*, from transcriptions of music-centric family memories to the creation of potential musical memory aids for his children. In playing through a piece like “Für ganz Kleine,” for instance, Marie would have remembered the experience documented by her father in the *Erinnerungsbüchelchen für unsere Kinder*, a memory book that they kept for their children.: “Marie can now play twenty-two piano exercises; on June 8, Papa’s thirty-seventh birthday, she even played him one of his own little pieces, which goes like this.” (Schumann then notated the little piece.)⁸ Another example, the “Nordische Lied” (“Nordic Song”), has long been viewed as simply a homage to Schumann’s friend, the Danish composer Niels Gade, with his name spelled out in a musical motive in the left hand: G-A-D-E. While this is certainly part of the purpose of this piece, given another *Erinnerungsbüchelchen* entry written by Schumann, it is also just as likely that it was written to serve as a mnemonic device for Marie and his other children: “Herr [Eduard] Bendemann, Herr [Ferdinand] Hiller [two of Emil’s godparents], Herr Gade; Mme. Hiller’s present of a beautiful ball. Names to help Marie to remember: also Herr Mendelssohn [Marie’s

⁸ “Für ganz Kleine,” originally titled “Allererstes Clavierstückchen,” was the first piece planned for the *Album*. It was also the first piece in the *Stichvorlage*, but it was eventually crossed out and not published, perhaps to keep this particular memory entirely private. Appel, “‘Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life’,” 173; Robert Schumann, *Jugend-Album Opus 68: Faksimile nach der im Besitz des Robert Schumann-Museums Zwickau befindlichen Urschrift*, ed. Georg Eismann (Leipzig: Peters, 1956), [9].

Eugenie Schumann, their youngest daughter, transcribed the contents of the *Erinnerungsbüchelchen* in her memoirs; the original is held at the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau (Arch.-Nr. 5978–A3). Eugenie Schumann, *Memoirs of Eugenie Schumann*, trans. Marie Busch (1927; repr. London: Eulenburg Books, 1985), 212.

godfather] and Frau Dr. Frege from Leipzig.”⁹ Schumann wanted Marie to remember Gade, and a musical cipher designed to commemorate this important family friend would have achieved that.¹⁰

When returning to the memories encoded in these pieces, the Schumann children partook of the cognitive process called *rehearsal*. As defined by psychologist Katherine Nelson, rehearsal is a mental process that “involves an active strategy of repeating to oneself parts of the experience to be remembered, usually more than once.”¹¹ Though there is not documentary evidence that would attest to a specificity of memory for every piece, we can easily see how this might have applied to other pieces such as “Nachklänge aus dem Theater” (“Echoes from the Theater”) for the Schumann children, encouraging them to recall a special evening. Similarly, the “Trällerliedchen” (“Little Trilling Song”), originally entitled “Schlafliedchen für Ludwig” (“Lullaby for Ludwig,” composed when he was seven months old), would have perhaps reminded the older children of their mother or father singing their little brother to sleep. The pieces of Op. 68 thus served as external memory aids that assisted in the rehearsal of these memories—though the younger Schumann children did not have the skills to play some of the pieces, they could still interact with the encoded memories when hearing other family members perform them.¹² Additionally, children whose parents had bought the *Album* could engage in a

⁹ Schumann, *Memoirs of Eugenie Schumann*, 208.

¹⁰ I discuss the importance of play in matters of learning and remembering in chapter 2. Through Appel’s work, as well as the facsimile of the *Stichvorlage*, we also know that Schumann originally intended to include more pieces specifically oriented toward play in Op. 68, including canons and the previously discussed rebus. Appel, “‘Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life’,” 173–78.

¹¹ Katherine Nelson, “Memory and Belief in Development,” in *Memory, Brain, and Belief*, ed. Daniel L. Schacter and Elaine Scarry (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2000), 269.

¹² Another psychologist, Robert Kail, has demonstrated that children and adults equally rely on external memory aids more than internal ones (such as rehearsal) alone. Robert Kail, *The Development of Memory in Children*, 3rd ed. (New York: W.H. Freeman, 1990), 17.

similar process, though their attendant memories would of course differ from the Schumanns' and be triggered irrespective of any design by the composer.¹³ In these cases, the *Album* functioned in ways characteristic of both mass-produced and private albums: personal memories of the Schumann family remained a part of the published pieces, but were neutralized in such a way that the music could still maintain broad appeal, foster a sense of imagined community, and encourage individual reflection.¹⁴

The way the Schumann children could interact with such external mnemonic aids is akin to the Romantic imperative for ongoing interaction with memory, as seen in private albums, and discussed in chapter 1. We know that album inscribers were well aware of this imperative, and viewed album leaves as part of their legacy: they were physical traces the album owner would revisit, and thus safeguarded the inscriber from being forgotten.¹⁵ By engaging with the contents

¹³ These pieces similarly inspired adults to reflect on their own childhood experiences. In a letter from March 29, 1849, Jean-Joseph-Bonaventure Laurens wrote to Schumann explaining how one of the pieces from the *Album* captured an experience of his own: "Your little piece entitled *Nachklänge aus dem Theater* [notated incipit] can be found with an illustration in my travel album. Here is how it came about: one evening in Frankfurt I was attending a performance of *Euryanthe* by Weber, and my attention was fixed during the whole time on the expression on the faces of two young girls who were very moved by the show. I had so much pleasure from studying the two small heads that immediately upon returning to my room I was eager to sketch them in my album. As a tone poet you perfectly called up my observations in the theatre at Frankfurt." ("Votre petite pièce intitulée *Nachkla[e]nge aus dem Theater* se trouve avec une illustration dans mon [?] Album de Voyage; voici comment: un soir j'assistais à Francfort à une représentation d'Eurianthe de Weber et pendant tout le tems mon attention fut fixé sur l'expression de physionomie de deux toutes jeunes filles qui paraissaient très émues du spectacle. J'avais eu tant de plaisir à étudier ces deux petites têtes, qu'en rentrant au logis, je m'empressai de les dessiner sur mon Album. En qualité de Tondichter vous m'avez parfaitement rappelé mes observations au théâtre de Francfort.") Text and translation from Robert Schumann, *Werke für Klavier zu Zwei Händen*, ed. Michael Beiche, Robert Schumann neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, series 3, workgroup 1, vol. 3 (Mainz: Schott, 2012), 472.

¹⁴ The idea of imagined community encouraged by bought objects comes from James Davies in his study of published musical annuals, discussed in detail in chapter 3. James Davies, "Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c. 1830," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 292.

¹⁵ These inscribers, however, were often aware of just how transient the album materials themselves were, and that they could offer no real reassurance of bearing eternal witness to their lives. One poem Beinek cites admits that memory of the inscriber could only last, "Until the time when this white page / Of your album falls apart." Justyna Beinek, "'Portable Graveyards': Russian Albums in the Romantic Culture of Memory," *The Pushkin Review* 14 (2011): 39.

of a leaf, the album owner activated its encoded memories and thus brought them back to life.¹⁶ Musical inscriptions had the potential to demand this interaction all the more: when it was played or heard, a musical album leaf would act as a sonic memory trigger. It was a musical equivalent of the Proustian *petite madeleine*—one that privileged sound over taste.

Because of the *Album*'s genesis as a birthday gift for Marie, and the many personal moments depicted in its various pieces, it is not surprising that album practices, particularly those that emphasized memory, would have found their way into Op. 68. Schumann did seem, after all, preoccupied with his children's memory. After the birth of their fourth child and first son Emil, on February 23, 1846, he and Clara started keeping the *Erinnerungsbüchelchen*.¹⁷ The book contains a number of observations on the development and personalities of their children, as well as direct reports to them about milestones in their lives.

Schumann also ruminated on aspects of memory in his entries. For one, he often drew special attention to what he considered Marie's gift for remembering: in one entry, he remarked that Marie had an "excellent memory for the smallest events of her little life," and in another, he similarly praised her prowess for memorizing music.¹⁸ Indeed, in the many documents the Schumann family left behind, there seems to be an emphasis placed on Marie as memory-keeper; she was, after all, the eldest child. In her memoir, her sister Eugenie told Marie that, "you, more than any of us, were the guardian of memories of our parents."¹⁹ Schumann also often expressed concerns that when major life events happened to his family, his children were not of an age to appreciate their significance, and thus would forget them. For example, after the unexpected

¹⁶ In this context Beinek describes albums as "a departure point for a meditation on how memory works, on who activates it and in what way." Beinek, 58–59.

¹⁷ Emil was born February 8. Appel, *Robert Schumanns "Album für die Jugend"*, 46.

¹⁸ Schumann, *Memoirs of Eugenie Schumann*, 207, 216.

¹⁹ Schumann, 59.

death of Emil at sixteen months old, Schumann recorded a short entry in the

Erinnerungsbüchelchen on June 30, 1847: “You little ones do not yet realize your loss.”²⁰

A later entry from January 28, 1848, conveys the gravity of another traumatic event

Schumann feared his children might forget—the death of Felix Mendelssohn:

The world has sustained a great, irreparable loss during this time in the death on November 4 of Felix Mendelssohn. You, Mariechen, will be able later to appreciate this. He was your godfather, and you possess a beautiful silver cup with his name. You must value it greatly.²¹

It may seem curious that Schumann did not comment on the passing of Mendelssohn in the

Erinnerungsbüchelchen until nearly three months after his death, but it was just one aspect of the Schumann family’s ongoing mourning. In Clara’s diary, Robert recorded the events surrounding Mendelssohn’s funeral in Leipzig shortly after his return to Dresden, and also immediately began writing and collecting materials for a planned biography of his friend.²² Clara also recorded her shock and grief after receiving the news on November 5th that Mendelssohn had died, writing:

²⁰ According to the *Erinnerungsbüchelchen*, Emil died in the early morning hours of June 22. Schumann, *Memoirs of Eugenie Schumann*, 212.

²¹ “Einen großen unwiederbringlichen Verlust hat in dieser Zeit die Welt erlitten, den auch du, Mariechen, in späteren Jahren einmal ermessen wirst. Felix Mendelssohn starb am 4. November. Er war Mariens Pate und du besitzt einen schönen silbernen Becher mit seinem Name von ihm. Den halte wert!” Schumann, *Erinnerungen von Eugenie Schumann*, 244. Translation from Schumann, *Memoirs of Eugenie Schumann*, 214.

²² Mendelssohn’s death occurred at an unc customary time when Schumann did not keep a more detailed diary, but only recorded the more mundane aspects of the household (such as their budget and visitors) in his *Haushaltsbücher*, in which he marked November 4, 1847 simply with a cross. He instead contributed occasionally to Clara’s diary, and described the funeral and other details about his visit to Leipzig there, as discussed below. *TB*, 3:443.

Schumann’s notes for his planned biography are both held at the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau and available in facsimile. Arch.-Nr. 4871/V, 3, 1; Robert Schumann, *Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Gerd Nauhaus and Ingrid Bodsch (Bonn: Verlag StadtMuseum Bonn, 2011). Bernd Scherers discusses Schumann’s *Erinnerungen*, saying that they reflect the composer’s reverence for Mendelssohn. While Mendelssohn was not nearly as effusive about Schumann, Scherers points out that he was supportive of Schumann throughout his career, such as when he helped secure the premieres of the First and Second Symphonies, as well as the Piano Concerto. Bernd Scherers, “Erinnerung: Auf den Spuren der Freundschaft zwischen Robert Schumann und Felix Mendelssohn,” *Musik und Unterricht: Zeitschrift für Musikpädagogik* 11, no. 61 (2000): 17–18.

Our pain is great, because he was not only dear to us as an artist but also as a human and a friend! His death is an irreplaceable loss for all who knew and loved him. . . . A thousand dear memories rise in me. . . . I feel that the grief over him will last our whole lives.²³

She wrote again on the 6th that she still had not recovered, and on the 7th that she worried “incessantly” about Robert and how he was dealing with the tragedy.²⁴ The loss of Mendelssohn was clearly catastrophic for the family, and the Schumanns would continue to process their sorrow long after his death.

Schumann returned again to the memory of his friend several months later when he began composing “Erinnerung,” which was among many of the *Album* pieces Schumann recorded as completed in his *Haushaltsbuch* on September 2, 1848.²⁵ With this piece, we may see not only Schumann’s own expression of his grief, but also an attempt to help his children later understand the significance of Mendelssohn’s death. From the aforementioned *Erinnerungsbüchelchen* entry, we know that Schumann feared that his children were too young to understand the gravity of such experiences.²⁶ The memory book and “Erinnerung,” then, were two ways he preserved those memories for them, so that the children could return to and re-experience them, and thus

²³ “Unser Schmerz ist gross, denn uns war er ja nicht nur als Künstler sondern auch als Mensch und Freund teuer! Sein Tod ist ein unersetzlicher Verlust für alle, die ihn gekannt und geliebt. . . . Tausend liebe Erinnerungen steigen in einem auf. . . . doch fühle ich, dass der Schmerz um ihn für unser ganzes Leben nachhalten wird.” Litzmann, ed., *Clara Schumann*, 2:169–70.

²⁴ Litzmann, 2:171.

²⁵ The diary entry alone does not prove the date of completion, but Schumann also dated the original sketch for “Erinnerung” in his sketchbook. Schumann, *TB*, 3:469; Robert Schumann, *Skizzenbuch zu dem “Album für die Jugend,”* ed. Lothar Windsperger and Martin Kreisig (Mainz: Schott’s Söhne, 1924), 23.

²⁶ After he returned from the funeral in Leipzig on November 7, 1847, Robert recorded details in Clara’s diary about the days’ events, including mentions of Mendelssohn’s children, unaffected, “playing with dolls, downstairs” from their father’s lifeless body. If Mendelssohn’s own children could not immediately grasp the significance of such an earth-shattering event, what was the likelihood the Schumann children would? Litzmann, ed., *Clara Schumann*, 2:171–72.

hopefully not forget them.²⁷ Schumann's own memories, though heavily mediated for younger sensibilities, would be transferred, serving as stand-ins for the memories his children would not retain.²⁸ Marie, who was six at the time, would likely have at least remembered an event that had such an impact on her mother and father, if not all the details about Mendelssohn and his relationship with their family. The records Schumann wrote would then cement the significance of his death, and fill in the details that her young mind could not recall. These traces left behind by Schumann could assure that certain moments would later be marked in his children's minds, if not literally in their memories.

5.3. Collectively Created Memory: "Erinnerung," Album Leaves, and the Dresden Circle

Schumann composed the musical remembrance of his friend, "Erinnerung," in the genre uniquely identified with Mendelssohn, the *Lied ohne Worte*. Interestingly, the title originally written by Schumann in the *Stichvorlage*, "Zur Erinnerung an Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy," is

²⁷ The strategies Schumann adopted resonate with modern-day cognitive research about how parents shape their children's autobiographies through the telling of stories and the construction of mementos, such as photo albums. Robyn Fivush and Elaine Reese, "The Social Construction of Autobiographical Memory," in *Theoretical Perspectives on Autobiographical Memory*, ed. Martin A. Conway et al. (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer-Verlag, 1992), 115; Kail, *The Development of Memory in Children*, 183–86; Nelson, "Memory and Belief in Development," 267; Michael Schudson, "Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory," in *Memory Distortion*, ed. Daniel L. Schacter (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 358; Catherine E. Snow, "Building Memories: The Ontogeny of Autobiography," in *The Self in Transition: Infancy to Childhood*, ed. Dante Cicchetti and Marjorie Beeghly (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 213.

²⁸ That is to say, the entry in the *Erinnerungsbüchelchen* and "Erinnerung" itself (at least from the children's perspective) merely serve to mark the significance and gravity of Mendelssohn's passing; they are not nearly so detailed or gruesome as his records in Clara's diary. All the family documents would eventually be passed along to the children, however. An inscription at the beginning of Clara and Robert's marriage diary specifically states that it should go to Marie after Clara's death. Robert Schumann and Clara Schumann, *Ehetagebücher: 1840–1844*, ed. Gerd Nauhaus and Ingrid Bodsch (Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld Verlag and StadtMuseum Bonn, 2007), 99.

a formulation that we have seen was common in post-scripts to album inscriptions.²⁹ The published version of the piece, however, bore only the title “Erinnerung” with the subtitle “4. November 1847.” Ute Jung-Kaiser posits that Schumann rendered the title less specific because he believed that “Mendelssohn’s death date was written deeply in everyone’s hearts.”³⁰ Given Mendelssohn’s impact on the world of German art music in the nineteenth century, it is a fair assumption. I would argue, however, that Schumann intentionally made the title more cryptic for the published score, obscuring some of the deeply personal memories it represented for all but those who knew the subtext. Only Schumann, his family, and his close friends—those who would have had access to the rich cache of unpublished materials related to Op. 68—could fully appreciate all the layers of meaning of “Erinnerung.”

Schumann’s musical remembrance would have inevitably found itself intertwined with both the mementos of Mendelssohn that Schumann created for his children, and the other commemorations of this sad event involving the adults in the Schumanns’ circle. Ten days after Mendelssohn’s death, for example, Schumann wrote an album leaf of one of his *Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen*, Op. 65, “Die Rose stand im Thau,” for Mendelssohn’s wife, Cécile.³¹ There is also a collection of notes by Schumann that he began after Mendelssohn’s funeral with the

²⁹ Jung-Kaiser, “Robert Schumanns *Album für die Jugend* (op. 68),” 45.

³⁰ Jung-Kaiser, 45.

³¹ Though he wrote the leaf (discussed in more detail in chapter 2) soon after Mendelssohn’s death, it is unclear whether or not Schumann actually sent it. The leaf, written on decorative paper, clearly bears the date “14 November 1847” in Robert’s hand, along with the inscription “To the wife of his eternally revered friend / [from] Robert Schumann” (“Der Gattin seines ewig verehrten Freundes”). It also, however, bears an inscription from Clara, touting it as the “Handschrift Robert Schumanns”; after her husband’s death, Clara sent many such manuscripts, leaves, and sketches of Robert’s as keepsakes to friends and acquaintances bearing this designation. She further dedicates the leaf to the Mendelssohns’ daughter Marie Benecke after clarifying that the leaf was originally for Cécile. The unfortunately sketchy provenance of this document, as is the case with many album leaves, renders its history unclear, and whether Cécile ever originally received it is uncertain. Bodleian Library, London, Ms.M.Denecke.d7, The Mendelssohn Papers.

intent to write a biography about him.³² Schumann entitled this manuscript *Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, and it was a collection of fragments documenting his relationship with the composer since 1835.³³ The Schumanns also kept a relic of their friend—a ring containing a lock of the composer’s hair, given to them by the Mendelssohn family after the composer’s death.³⁴

Two Dresden artists, Julius Hübner and Eduard Bendemann—collaborators and close friends of both the Schumanns and the Mendelssohns—contributed drawings of Felix on his deathbed to this growing private collection of commemorative objects.³⁵ According to Schumann’s diary entries, both Hübner and Bendemann attended Mendelssohn’s funeral in Leipzig, and based on their sketches, they undoubtedly paid their respects at his deathbed.³⁶ Both of these drawings (figs. 5.1 and 5.2) focus on the composer’s face, depicting the recently deceased Mendelssohn in a state of repose with laurel leaves laid on his chest, visually representing Schumann’s fragmented diary description of the same scene: “The noble

³² John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a “New Poetic Age”* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 326.

³³ “Er hat sich nie ‘Tagebücher’ oder ähnliches gehalten, wie er mir sagte.” Schumann, *Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, 36.

³⁴ Düsseldorf, Heinrich-Heine-Institut, Sammlung Dickinson, HHI.AUT.84.5069.2.

³⁵ Among other endeavors, Hübner and Bendemann assisted Mendelssohn in his efforts to erect a Bach monument at the Thomasschule in Leipzig, and Schumann had originally planned for them to illustrate the *Album*. Appel has documented in detail Schumann’s initial plans for Op. 68 to be published as a *Weihnachtsalbum* and to have each individual piece illustrated by different artists—a project that seems similar to the one undertaken by the Hensels for Fanny’s private illustrated copy of *Das Jahr*—which eventually had to be abandoned in favor of only a title page illustrated by Ludwig Richter. Mendelssohn himself undertook similar projects with Hübner, who illustrated the title page of the first edition of *Elijah* and *Antigone*, as well as *Paulus* (also working with Bendemann and Theodor Hildebrandt). Appel, “‘Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life’,” 181–82; Beatrix Borchard, Ayako Suga-Maack, and Christian Thorau, eds., *Fanny Hensel/Das Jahr: Zwölf Charakterstücke (1841) für das Fortepiano: illustrierte Reinschrift mit Zeichnungen von Wilhelm Hensel: Faksimile nach dem Autograph aus dem Besitz des Mendelssohn-Archivs der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (Kassel: Furore-Edition, 2000); Marian Wilson Kimber, “Fanny Hensel’s Seasons of Life: Poetic Epigrams, Vignettes, and Meaning in *Das Jahr*,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 26 (2008): 359–95; Birgid Monschau-Schmittmann, *Julius Hübner (1806–1882): Leben und Werk eines Malers der Spätromantik* (Hamburg: Lit, 1993), 58–59.

³⁶ Litzmann, ed., *Clara Schumann*, 2:171.

deceased—his forehead—his mouth—the smile on it—he looked like a glorious warrior, like a victor—seemed twenty years older than when alive—two greatly swollen veins in his head—laurel wreaths and palms.”³⁷

Fig. 5.1. Deathbed Sketch of Mendelssohn by Eduard Bendemann (1847). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MABA 64.



³⁷ “der edle Todte—die Stirn—der Mund—das Lächeln darum—wie ein glorreicher Kämpfer sah er aus, wie ein Sieger—gegen den Lebenden wie etwa um 20 Jahre älter—zwei hoch geschollene Adern am Kopf—die Lorbeerkränze und Palmen—” Litzmann, 2:171.

Fig. 5.2. Deathbed Sketch of Mendelssohn by Julius Hübner (1847). London, British Museum, German Roy XIXc, 1939,0114.1 ([CC-BY-SA 4.0](#)).



One wonders if these images, meant to capture the memory of seeing Mendelssohn in death, provided some sort of inspiration for Schumann's choice of tune for "Erinnerung." As Bernhard Appel, Jung-Kaiser, and others have pointed out, Schumann draws on the opening melody from the "Intermezzo" of his Eichendorff *Liederkreis*, Op. 39 (exx. 5.1*A* and 5.1*B*).

Ex. 5.1A. “Intermezzo” from *Liederkreis*, Op. 39, mm. 1–3

Langsam

Dein Bild - niss wun - der - se - lig

Red.

Ex. 5.1B. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–2

Red. * Red. *

In the context of the vivid imagery of Schumann’s diary entry and the sketches, however, the subtext of the quotation is doubly striking: the opening text of “Intermezzo” draws specific attention to the addressee’s image: “Dein Bildniss wunderselig / hab’ ich im Herzensgrund” (“Your blissful, wonderful image / I have in my heart’s depths”). The text itself points to a memory, an image of the beloved that one can conjure. It also points to the chasm between presence and absence, and the paradox inherent in Romantic memory. Its goal may be—to paraphrase Wordsworth—to make absent things present, but the image is a facsimile, and is only necessary in the absence of the original.³⁸ Further, the thematic parallels between the text of the song and the deathbed sketches are inarguable, and one wonders if Schumann was inspired by

³⁸ William Wordsworth, *Revised Preface to the Lyrical Ballads* (1802), reprinted in “Appendix: Wordsworth’s Preface of 1800, with a Collation of the Enlarged Preface of 1802,” *Wordsworth and Coleridge: Lyrical Ballads*, ed. W.J.B. Owen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 165.

the latter—if not literally, then at least conceptually. It is certain that Schumann had seen at least one of the sketches: he mentions “Bendemann’s drawing” in his *Tagebuch* on November 12, 1847, mere days after they had returned from Mendelssohn’s funeral.³⁹ And surely he would have seen his close friend Hübner’s finished product; he might have even witnessed him sketching Mendelssohn. This connection is not difficult to imagine, and it seems impossible that Schumann would not have involuntarily recalled the image of his friend on his deathbed when he began composing “Erinnerung” in early September 1848. His act of remembering is thus inextricably bound to his act of creating, the first of many examples regarding this piece.

Upon first hearing, “Erinnerung” seems merely a straightforward rounded binary, and a beautiful, untroubled remembrance of Mendelssohn and his music. There are several moments, however, that both lend themselves to a hermeneutic interpretation that perhaps reveals the heaviness of grief beneath the lovely façade, and also evoke the process of remembering. At the outset, Schumann sets up a regular four-bar phrase structure, but then casts uncertainty over the unfolding events with a deceptive cadence in the new key preceded by its applied dominant, a moment of foreshadowing (m. 8, E: V^{6/5}/vi). This internal phrase expansion is fleeting—only two measures long—and proceeding to the expected perfect authentic cadence in m. 10 immediately assuages any momentary doubts (ex. 5.2).

³⁹ Schumann, *TB*, 3:444.

Ex. 5.2. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–10

Reo. * Reo. * Reo. * Reo. *

EM: V⁷ V₅⁶ vi ii⁷ V⁷ I

As the B section begins, however, “Erinnerung” embodies the difficulty of remembering. We hear almost full iterations of the melody, but transposed and reharmonized: the digression, four measures long, takes place over a variant of the descending fifths sequence, a typical harmonic strategy. The first fragment of the melody (m. 11) is presented almost exactly like the opening, but with one small, significant difference. In his most overt nod to the subtext of “Erinnerung,” Schumann chooses pitches identical to the opening of “Intermezzo”: E, D, C-sharp, B, A-sharp (exx. 5.3*A* and 5.3*B*). The “Intermezzo” melody cannot be recaptured in whole, however, and instead of allowing the A-sharp to leap up to a downbeat appoggiatura—as it did in “Intermezzo,” and as it did in the paraphrased melody of “Erinnerung”—Schumann instead makes it retreat into an inner voice, disappearing as if a memory just out of reach (ex. 5.4). The referent of these melodic fragments—is it “Erinnerung”? is it “Intermezzo”? is it both?—becomes increasingly muddled as a different voice enters on the wrong pitches (m. 12), and then also inconspicuously descends into an inner voice as the next entrance begins above it.

Ex. 5.3A. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, m. 11



Ex. 5.3B. “Intermezzo,” No. 2 from *Liederkreis*, Op. 39, mm. 1–3

Ex. 5.3B shows a piano accompaniment for the piece "Intermezzo" (No. 2 from *Liederkreis*, Op. 39, mm. 1–3). The notation is in treble and bass staves, with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 2/4 time signature. The tempo is marked "Langsam" (Slow). The melody in the right hand is a simple, descending line, while the left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment. The piece is marked "p" (piano) and includes a fermata. The lyrics "Dein Bild - niss wun - der - se - lig" are written below the melody.

Ex. 5.4. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 11–12

Ex. 5.4 shows a piano accompaniment for the piece "Erinnerung" (No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 11–12). The notation is in treble and bass staves, with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 2/4 time signature. The melody in the right hand features a descending line with a grace note, while the left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment. The piece is marked "Rec." (Recitativo) and includes a fermata.

Not only does Schumann draw more explicit attention to the “Intermezzo” allusion in the digression melodically, but he also does so texturally, the overlapping entries of each motive creating a mock-stretto effect that evokes the similar treatment in the postlude of the song. Schumann inundates the listener with fragments of the opening melody: both Appel and Joel

Lester point out that this material makes up nearly half of “Erinnerung.”⁴⁰ A function of digressions in binary forms is certainly the fragmenting of previously heard material, but in this context it is difficult not to hear these near obsessive attempts at returning to the opening and the image it suggests as evoking remembering. As in Elaine Sisman’s conception of musical *phantasia* (discussed in chapter 1), or in Wordsworth’s explanation of Romantic memory, this melodic fragment is, in every sense, the image—of Mendelssohn—that Schumann struggles to make real.⁴¹ This strategy is, in many ways, similar to the one undertaken by Schumann in his Piano Trio No. 2 in F major, Op. 80, in which he also extensively quotes the melody from “Intermezzo.” John Daverio argues convincingly for Schumann’s use of the “Intermezzo” melody as “sites of remembrance” throughout the first movement that commemorate his and Clara’s artistic collaboration.⁴² Schumann first finished the trio on November 1, 1847, three days before Mendelssohn’s death, so his inclusion of the song quotation would have certainly been associated with different memories than it is in “Erinnerung.” The image represented by “Intermezzo” is transferable and depends on biographical context, musical treatment, and intended audience.

⁴⁰ The opening motive occurs five times in the piece, constituting ten of its twenty-two measures. Appel refers to it as the “*Erinnerungsgestus*”; Lester calls it the “motto phrase.” Bernhard R. Appel, *Robert Schumanns “Album für die Jugend”*, 108; Joel Lester, “Substance and Illusion in Schumann’s ‘Erinnerung,’ Op. 68: A Structural Analysis and Pictorial (Geistliche) Description,” *In Theory Only* 4, no. 1 (April 1978): 10.

⁴¹ Elaine R. Sisman, “Memory and Invention at the Threshold of Beethoven’s Late Style,” in *Beethoven and His World*, ed. Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 55–63; Wordsworth, *Revised Preface to the Lyrical Ballads* (1802), 165.

⁴² Daverio, *Crossing Paths: Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms*, 139–43.

Ex. 5.5A. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 11–13



Ex. 5.5B. “Intermezzo,” No. 2 from *Liederkreis*, Op. 39, mm. 25–27



The third fragment of the digression in mm. 13–14 seems at first to have finally recalled the image, recovering the correct melodic notes of the opening, but then proves to be more akin to mm. 5–6 with a V^6/V harmonizing the F-sharp (exx. 5.6A and 5.6B). This makes these measures almost sound like the return takes us back to the wrong place, as m. 14 ends on a half cadence just as m. 6, though harmonically embellished with an applied diminished-seventh chord. This is, rather, the interruption that precedes the actual return in m. 15 (ex. 5.7).

Ex. 5.6A. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 13–14



Ex. 5.6B. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 5–6



Ex. 5.7. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 15–18



Mm. 15–18 seem finally to recapture the opening phrase, offering a note-for-note melodic reprise. This, however, is the extent to which the return functions in any expected way. In the short seven remaining measures of the piece, we encounter disruptions of style, genre, harmony, and rhythm. The first of these disruptions occurs at the onset of the return (m. 15): the rolling arpeggios typical of the genre no longer accompany the opening melody.⁴³ Rather, the tune is recast in four-voice chorale texture—a homage, surely, to Mendelssohn’s historicist work, but also likely a marker of the spiritual. For a brief moment, Schumann transforms the Mendelssohnian *Lied ohne Worte*—and its attendant subtext—from a lyrical reflection into a reverent hymn.

⁴³ Indeed, in all of the forty-eight *Lieder ohne Worte* published during his lifetime, Mendelssohn himself very rarely gravitated toward this texture. Chorale style does feature in the *Adagio non troppo* in E major from Op. 30, but as the main event, not as a disruption to a previously established texture.

This sets the stage for the true moment of reckoning in m. 20. The second phrase of the return—which also tellingly brings back the chorale texture from m. 15—culminates in a deceptive move to a jarring E-sharp fully-diminished seventh chord ($\text{vii}^{\text{o}7}/\text{vi}$), intensified by the appoggiatura in the melodic voice on A-natural, and fermatas over both the appoggiatura and its resolution. The culminating phrase regularizes the expansion heard in the A section, but the fermatas give a much stronger impression that time has stopped, and that this moment is semantically marked.⁴⁴ The momentum of the sixteenth-note accompaniment gives over to the homophonic chorale texture again, and we land on the quarter-note chord of the downbeat of m. 20 both on an unexpected harmony and a total cessation of rhythmic movement, the only place in the piece where this happens (ex. 5.8). Further, the expected resolution of this diminished-seventh chord—to vi—never comes, and we slip via another applied diminished-seventh chord ($\text{vii}^{\text{o}4/3}/\text{ii}$) nearly seamlessly back into the conclusion of the phrase, ending with a 4–3 suspension that amplifies the spiritual tone set by the return (ex. 5.9). The move to vi in the tonic key had seemed inevitable, as we reached vi in E major by similar means in the A section. The previous applied chord, however, is less discordant, less painful, less like a physical pang. The F-sharp minor chord we might have previously expected hovers beyond our grasp, a faded memory that we cannot recollect the second time around.

⁴⁴ Here I draw on Robert Hatten’s conception of “markedness.” Robert Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation, and Interpretation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 34–43.

Ex. 5.8. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 16–20

AM: $ii^6 \rightarrow V^7 \rightarrow ii^6 \rightarrow \frac{vii^{\circ 7}_4 \text{---} 3}{vi \text{ (!)}}$

Ex. 5.9. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 19–end

AM: $\frac{vii^{\circ 7}_4 \text{---} 3}{vi} \rightarrow \frac{vii^{\circ 4}_3}{ii^6} \rightarrow \frac{V^4_3}{ii} \rightarrow V^7 \rightarrow I^4 \text{---} 3 \text{---} 2 \text{---} 3$

The piece is ripe for this sort of extra-musical interpretation; the title certainly suggests it. Further, if we consider Schumann’s diary entry description of Mendelssohn’s appearance on his deathbed, Hübner’s and Bendemann’s sketches that depict the composer almost as if peacefully asleep, and Schumann’s invocation of a song text that emphasizes a beloved’s image, one cannot help but think of the jarring harmonic arrival in m. 20 as depicting an actual, lived moment of realization: seeing, or remembering, his beloved friend on his deathbed and facing the reality of his loss. And further reflection on this loss is built into the form itself: in repeating the B section of the binary, Schumann and his circle must face this moment—this memory—a second time. The dynamics themselves embody the difficulty of such an endeavor: the diminuendo leading into this harmonic arrival attempts to soften the blow, and gives the impression of the music wishing to hold back from what will transpire in m. 20. This piece could thus be read as a sort of

metonymy for Schumann's mourning, alternating between untroubled, dream-like remembrance that almost convinces him of his friend's presence, and reckoning with the painful realization that Mendelssohn is truly gone.⁴⁵ Mendelssohn's death, so sudden and so soon after his sister Fanny, was a tragic loss for both Robert and Clara, one on which they dwelt. "Erinnerung" surely both demonstrates, and would have prompted, the process and pain of this remembering, as it forced listeners—like a Victorian relic—to face this moment of loss time and time again.⁴⁶

Facing this moment through hearing "Erinnerung" also began a cycle of remembrance and creation for Julius Hübner. In addition to drawing one of the aforementioned deathbed sketches, he also later wrote album leaves of poetry that directly referenced Schumann's "Erinnerung." Further, he gave these leaves to the Schumanns for their album, and they put them in one they had dedicated "To our children for faithful keeping."⁴⁷ Hübner's first poem was a rumination on Mendelssohn's death written well after his passing, and several months after the *Album's* publication in 1848:

FMB

† d 4^{te} Novbr. 49 [sic]

Alas! My deeply turbulent heart
cannot weep for you, only envy!
My sorrow over you, the hot pain,
must clothe itself in sweet tones!

⁴⁵ Schumann's strategies of remembering in "Erinnerung" and the Star Pieces strike me as similar to the "resistant mourning" that Jillian Rogers describes in her work on Ravel's *Tombeau de Couperin*. Those who mourn in such a way resist the realness of the loss, and find comfort in moments when they genuinely feel the person is still with them. "Mourning at the Piano: Marguerite Long, Maurice Ravel, and the Performance of Grief in Interwar France," *Transposition 4: Musique et conflits armés après 1945* (2014): 5–7.

⁴⁶ Though Lutz focuses on Victorian-era culture, the fascination with objects of the past and using them to remember has clear resonances with earlier nineteenth-century trends. Deborah Lutz, "The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry, and Death Culture," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 39 (2011): 128, 130.

⁴⁷ Jung-Kaiser, "Robert Schumanns *Album für die Jugend* (op. 68)," 48.

How harsh are these earthly breezes,
How stormily agitated is temporality,
Alas, our roses cover tombs,
the loveliest succumbs to suffering!

Yet you have found what we seek,
have cast aside the pilgrim's clothes,
You have overcome life,
in death begun new time.

You hover transfigured in starry paths,
we pilgrimage sighingly toward the light,
Fulfillment, which we can only suspect, was to you
certainty—our faith.

O lower the pure, clear
mild beam of your star on us,
that we may direct our course thither
towards a reunion by the Lord's throne!

[Postscript from Schumann:] "Poem by J. Hübner
on the piece entitled 'Erinnerung'
in the Jugendalbum.
Dresden, in July 1849."⁴⁸

To what extent Hübner was influenced by specific musical elements in Schumann's
"Erinnerung" is unclear. His reference to clothing his pain in "sweet tones" obviously alludes to
the piece, as perhaps does his mention of roses that cover tombs. He adopts Schumann's spiritual
tone, referencing their own future "pilgrimage" to the realm into which Mendelssohn has gone;

⁴⁸ "Ach! nicht beweinen, nur beneiden / kann Dich mein tiefbewegtes Herz! / In süße Töne muß sich kleiden / das Leid um Dich, der heiße Schmerz! / Wie rau sind dieser Erde Lüfte, / Wie sturmbewegt die Zeitlichkeit, / Ach, unsre Rosen decken Gräfte, / das holdeste erliegt dem Leid! / Doch Du hast, was wir suchen, funden, / hast abgelegt das Pilgerkleid, / Du hast das Leben überwunden, / im Tod begonnen neue Zeit. / Du schwebst verklärt auf Sternenbahnen, / wir pilgern seufzend nach dem Licht, / Dir ward Gewißheit, was wir ahnen, / Erfüllung—unsre Zuversicht. / O senk auf uns den reinen, lichten, / den milden Strahl von Deinem Stern, / daß wir den Lauf nach dorthin richten / zum Wiedersehn am Thron des Herrn! / [Nachschrift Schumanns:] Gedicht von J. Hübner / zu dem mit "Erinnerung" überschriebenen / Stück im Jugendalbum. / Dresden, im Juli 1849." The poems of the Schumann-Album are available in transcription in a volume edited by Wolfgang Boetticher, though they should be approached carefully and potentially skeptically, as I discuss below. I have compared all the transcriptions discussed here with the originals. In the case of this poem, Boetticher points out that Hübner erroneously wrote Mendelssohn's death year as 1849, which he chalks up to confusion with the year in which he wrote the poem, an all too relatable slip. Julius Hübner, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB), Mus.Schu.126; Wolfgang Boetticher, ed., *Briefe und Gedichte aus dem Album Robert und Clara Schumanns* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1979), 90; 271.

he also explicitly states his belief in Mendelssohn's transfiguration, which I argue Schumann suggests with his beautifully disruptive use of chorale texture. Of further interest is how Schumann himself considers the relationship of Hübner's text to his own. In the postscript following the poem, Schumann notes that it is not just its own autonomous homage, but is directly linked to the "Erinnerung" published in Op. 68. Not only did "Erinnerung" serve as a continual source of Schumann's memories of Mendelssohn, but almost a year after it had been published, a renewed remembrance brought on by interaction with its encoded memories also inspired artistic creation in others.

Hübner wrote another, related poem nearly ten years later, in 1859, and gave it as an album leaf to Clara with the first poem copied on the other side.⁴⁹ It was a eulogy like the one for Mendelssohn, but this time written for Schumann himself. In this poem, Hübner overtly references "Erinnerung," while he had only alluded to it before:

R. Schumann

Your strings have also faded away,
The joy and pain of life have faded away,
You sang "Remembrance" of your friend,
Now it strikes our heart twice!

You dwell where he [Mendelssohn] preceded,
In that eternal land of peace
and the harmonies of the spheres rang
as your spirits found one another again.

So the congregation gathers silently
There in the great house of the Father
And rests blissfully in loving union
In the Father's heart!⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Julius Hübner, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB), Mus.Schu.128.

⁵⁰ "Auch deine Saiten sind verklungen, / Verklungen Lebens Lust und Schmerz, / "Erinnerung" den Freund gesungen, / Jetzt trifft sie doppelt unser Herz! / Du weilst, wo Er vorangegangen, / In jenem ew'gen Friedensland / Und Sphärenharmonieen klangen / Als euer Geist sich wiederfand. / So sammelt still sich die Gemeinde / Dort in dem

Hübner draws an explicit connection between Mendelssohn and Schumann, imagining Schumann following in the pilgrim Mendelssohn's footsteps, and ringing celestial harmonies set off by their reunion—again, Hübner has focused on the transcendence suggested by “Erinnerung.” Intriguingly, Hübner also illuminates his inspiration for writing both poems in a preface: “October 1848. R. Schumann had composed a small piece of music, ‘Remembrance of Felix M.’ It had such a speaking, gently nostalgic motion, that involuntary words invaded me, which accompanied its [‘Erinnerung’] sound inside me.” These “involuntary words” are of course the first poem, and in this brief comment Hübner draws attention to the inescapable power of sound to compel remembrance—indeed, he had heard Clara perform the entirety of Op. 68 from the *Stichvorlage* at the Schumanns' house not long before having jotted the first poem, on September 24, 1848.⁵¹ Further, the remembrance provoked by hearing “Erinnerung” also inspired his own artistic creation, which would then be forever imbued with memories of the piece, and thus connected to it. On the other side of the leaf is another inscription that serves as the heading for the new poem: “The 5th of April, 1859. As I heard the ‘Erinnerung’ again.”⁵² Though we do not know the circumstances surrounding this occasion, we do know that once again, hearing the inscription-like piece forced Hübner to reminisce—he remembered the first time he heard the piece and was inspired to write a poem, he remembered the events that led to

großen Vaterhaus / Und ruht in liebendem Vereine / Am Vaterherzen seelig aus!” Hübner, Mus.Schu.128; Jung-Kaiser, “Robert Schumanns *Album für die Jugend* (op. 68),” 48.

⁵¹ “Oktober 1848. R. Schumann hatte ein kleines Musikstück, ‘Erinnerung an Felix M.’ komponirt; es hatte eine so sprechende, sanft wehmütige Bewegung, daß mir unwillkürlich Worte dazu einfielen, die seinen Klang in meinem Innern begleiteten.” Hübner, Mus.Schu.128, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB).; Jung-Kaiser, “Robert Schumanns *Album für die Jugend* (op. 68),” 48–49. As David Ferris discusses, the Schumanns often gravitated toward private performance as a place where the music was treated more seriously and reverently than in public performance; it afforded a musician the opportunity to express, in Robert's words, her “whole essence.” David Ferris, “Public Performance and Private Understanding: Clara Wieck's Concerts in Berlin,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 374.

⁵² “Als ich die ‘Erinnerung’ wieder hörte.” Hübner, Mus.Schu.128; Jung-Kaiser, “Robert Schumanns *Album für die Jugend* (op. 68),” 49.

its composition, he remembered his deathbed sketch. And now, after the passage of time and Schumann's own death, "Erinnerung" no longer reminded him simply of Mendelssohn—"Now it strikes our heart twice!" The piece now held new memories, and he wrote another poem inspired by, connected to, and interacting with them all.

Yet another layer in Hübner's engagement with memories of Mendelssohn and "Erinnerung" reveals itself when studying the original leaves held in the archive at SLUB Dresden. In their transcriptions of the 1859 leaf that bears both of Hübner's poems (Mus.Schu.128), Boetticher and Jung-Kaiser gloss over the details of the newly written "FMB," saying it had "very similar wording," or not mentioning any differences between it and the 1849 version at all, respectively.⁵³ The poem Hübner wrote to accompany the new offering, while very clearly based on his first leaf, is however markedly different in several respects, omitting or repeating stanzas, and replacing words and phrases entirely. The differences between the two poems may be seen in the following tables: in the latter poem, I highlight small changes of diction and syntax in blue and larger changes affecting overall meaning in red (table 5.1A), and then present side-by-side translations (table 5.1B).

The 1859 version of "FMB" is not the same poem Hübner wrote in 1849, but neither is it something entirely different. If Hübner had merely wanted to recopy his earlier poem onto the new leaf, he could have asked Clara to see it. The resulting changes thus give the impression of misremembering the original poem, and mark the passage of time since Mendelssohn's death and Hübner's first hearing of "Erinnerung." Ten years after his friend's death, the poem's sentiments are markedly different. Gone is the victorious stanza where Hübner imagined Mendelssohn

⁵³ Boetticher, *Briefe und Gedichte aus dem Album Robert und Clara Schumanns*, 271; Jung-Kaiser, "Robert Schumanns *Album für die Jugend* (op. 68)," 48.

transfigured in death. Gone is the hopeful final stanza where Hübner looks forward to a reunion in the afterlife. Though he still references roses in the second stanza, this time they are accompanied by the bleak imagery of Time with her sickle. Perhaps now, after Schumann's death, he no longer can maintain a façade of optimism, and this changes how he remembers his original response to Mendelssohn's death, as he mourns twice.⁵⁴

Table 5.14. Comparison of Julius Hübner's poem "FMB" from 1849 and 1859

| Mus.Schu.126 – 1849 | Mus.Schu.128 – 1859 |
|---|--|
| Ach! nicht beweinen, nur beneiden Kann Dich mein tiefbewegtes Herz, In süße Töne muß sich kleiden Das Leid um Dich, der heiße Schmerz! | Ach! nicht beweinen, nur beneiden Kann Dich mein tiefbewegtes Herz, In süße Töne muß sich kleiden Das Leid um Dich, der heiße Schmerz! |
| Wie rauh sind dieser Erde Lüfte Wie sturmbewegt die Zeitlichkeit, Ach, unsre Rosen decken Gräfte, das holdeste erliegt dem Leid! | <i>Zu</i> rauh sind dieser Erde Lüfte— <i>Die Blüten der Vergänglichkeit,</i> <i>Des Lebens Rosen bergen</i> Gräfte <i>Und ihre Sichel schwingt die Zeit.</i> |
| Doch Du hast, was wir suchen, funden, hast abgelegt das Pilgerkleid, Du hast das Leben überwunden, im Tod begonnen neue Zeit. | [omitted] |
| Du schwebst verklärt auf Sternenbahnen, wir pilgern seufzend nach dem Licht Dir ward Gewißheit, was wir ahnen, Erfüllung—unsre Zuversicht. | Du <i>oben wandelst</i> Sternenbahnen, Wir pilgern seufzend nach dem Licht <i>Gewißheit ward dir</i> , was wir ahnen, Erfüllung, unsre Zuversicht. |
| O senk auf uns den reinen, lichten, den milden Strahl von Deinem Stern, daß wir den Lauf nach dorthin richten zum Wiedersehn am Thron des Herrn! | <i>Nein! nicht beweinen, nur beneiden</i> <i>kann Dich mein tiefbewegtes Herz</i> <i>In süße Töne soll sich kleiden</i> <i>Das Leid um dich, das heiße Schmerz.</i> |

⁵⁴ Writing a parody of an earlier poem as means of reflecting on the passage of time and changing feelings was a common practice of the nineteenth century, and I am grateful to Kristina Muxfeldt for pointing out the context of Hübner's act.

Table 5.1B. Comparison of “FMB” translations

| Mus.Schu.126 – 1849 | Mus.Schu.128 – 1859 |
|--|---|
| Alas! My deeply turbulent heart cannot weep for you, only envy! My sorrow over you, the hot pain, must clothe itself in sweet tones! | Alas! My deeply turbulent heart cannot weep for you, only envy! My sorrow over you, the hot pain, must clothe itself in sweet tones! |
| How harsh are these earthly breezes, How stormily agitated is temporality, Alas, our roses cover tombs, the loveliest succumbs to suffering! | Too harsh are these earthly breezes— The blossoms of impermanence, The roses of life conceal tombs, And time swings its sickle. |
| Yet you have found what we seek, have cast aside the pilgrim’s clothes, You have overcome life, in death begun new time. | [omitted] |
| You hover transfigured in starry paths, we pilgrimage sighingly toward the light, Fulfillment, which we can only suspect, was to you certainty—our faith. | You walk above starry paths, We pilgrimage sighingly toward the light, Fulfillment, which we can only suspect, was to you certainty—our faith. |
| O lower the pure, clear mild beam of your star on us, that we may direct our course thither towards a reunion by the Lord’s throne! | No! My deeply turbulent heart cannot weep for you, only envy! The sorrow over you, the hot pain, should clothe itself in sweet tones! |

5.4. Schumann’s Processes of Imaginative Remembrance: “Erinnerung” and the Star Pieces

Having seen the ways in which imagination and remembering intersect in the artistic offerings of friends from Schumann’s circle, we see further how Schumann himself engaged with this process in a handful of other pieces in Op. 68, which he linked to “Erinnerung.” The musical connections among these pieces, not always easily ascertained, mimic a common album practice that usually involved multiple participants: inscribers interacting with one or more of the previously written leaves. When first presented with an album, the inscriber would invariably flip through its pages, perusing the mementos left by others. She could then contemplate ways in which she might engage with a particular inscription—commenting on, adding to, or otherwise

gaining inspiration from it. I discussed one such example of this in the Schumanns' own album: the playful competition among Moritz Hauptmann, Ignaz Moscheles, and Wenzel Tomaschek to write the best improvement upon Niccolò Paganini's harmonized chromatic wedge in their respective inscriptions (chapter 4). These four inscriptions were inextricably bound to one another, their interconnected meaning knowable only in the context of the album, not as individual leaves.

Based on extant leaves written by Schumann, many of which survive in complete albums, we know that Schumann typically did not interact with the other previously written leaves in an album. In his published *Album*, however, Schumann linked together "Erinnerung" and three more pieces without titles, simply headed with three stars: ★★. These so-called Star Pieces—Nos. 21, 26, and 30 in the *Album*—are mentioned time and again in the literature, primarily because we sense, even if we are unable to articulate precisely why, that they share a kinship. This has been a feeling expressed since the publication of the *Album*, captured best in Alfred Dörrfel's 1849 review:

Just these three numbers are carried by the same mood: a quiet, fading lamentation runs through them in devout surrender. The purity of a child's mind that has known sorrow passes before us; the sound of the word melts at this silent grief, [and] only tones give its expression. These numbers are the most deeply penetrating, and I like to recognize a symbol in the stars, which seems to me very fittingly characteristic of the contents [of the pieces].⁵⁵

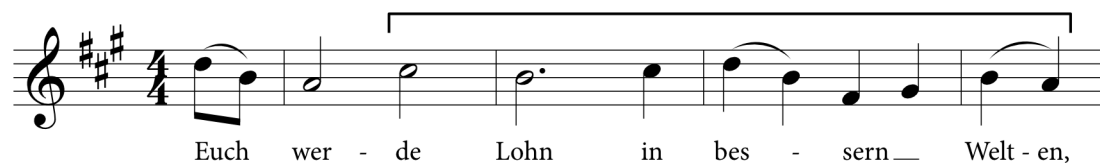
Whether Dörrfel merely intuited or actually knew the referent of Schumann's chosen symbol, he does not say, and leaves it to the reader to wonder. Clara certainly provided no definitive guidance on the matter. According to her daughter Eugenie, when asked what their father had

⁵⁵ "Eben diese drei Nummern sind von einer Grundstimmung getragen; eine leise in frommer Ergebung verklingende Klage durchbebt sie;—die Reinheit des kindlichen Gemüths, das den Schmerz kennen lernte, zieht an uns vorüber; der Laut des Wortes schmilzt an dieser stillen Trauer, nur Töne geben ihr Ausdruck. Diese Nummern sind die am tiefsten eindringenden, und ich mag in den Sternen wohl ein Symbol erkennen, das mir für den Inhalt sehr sinnig bezeichnend scheint." Dörrfel, "Für Pianoforte. Robert Schumann, Op. 68, Album für die Jugend," 90.

meant by the stars, she simply replied, “Perhaps your father wanted the stars to indicate parents’ thoughts about their children.”⁵⁶

If Clara’s suggestion seems unhelpful or cryptic, we scholars have not come to any more satisfying answers of our own. In his study of the *Album*, Appel quotes the above passage from Dörffel and remarks that, “to this day, no speculation has unearthed the secretive heading.”⁵⁷ He does, however, draw attention to a smattering of melodic allusions—the trio “Euch werde Lohn in bessern Welten” from *Fidelio* in No. 21, and the opening of the first movement of Beethoven’s Piano Sonata Op. 31, no. 1 and the *Album*’s own “Erinnerung” in No. 26. Jung-Kaiser similarly avoids making claims about any overarching connection among the three pieces, citing the same allusions as Appel. She does further suggest, however, that perhaps Schumann incorporated the *Fidelio* allusion into No. 21 because the opera’s emphasis on marital devotion resonated strongly with him.⁵⁸ I do not take issue with these hearings—the *Fidelio* example in particular is a strong case, as it is nearly identical rhythmically and comprises the same scale degrees (exx. 5.10A and 5.10B).

Ex. 5.10A. Opening vocal line from Beethoven’s *Fidelio*, Op. 72, Act II, “Euch werde Lohn in besseren Welten”



⁵⁶ Eugenie Schumann, *Robert Schumann: Ein Lebensbild meines Vaters* (Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang, 1931), 11. Translation from Appel, “‘Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life’,” 200n24.

⁵⁷ Appel, *Robert Schumanns “Album für die Jugend”*, 131–32.

⁵⁸ She points out that Schumann has alluded to *Fidelio* before, using the tune from “In des Lebens Frühlingstagen ist das Glück von mir geflohn” in the Piano Concerto, dedicated to Clara. Jung-Kaiser, “Robert Schumanns *Album für die Jugend* (op. 68),” 39–40.

Ex. 5.10B. Star Piece 1, No. 21 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–2



I find an analytical approach that takes each Star Piece on a solely individual basis unsatisfying, however. In existing scholarship, allusion is offered as the common thread connecting the first and second Star Pieces, but no one has yet suggested an allusion for the third piece. Is it then completely thematically or conceptually unrelated? This seems unlikely. A shared symbol in lieu of a title is semantically marked, given that the remainder of the forty-three other movements are titled. Indeed, there is no other movement in Schumann's published oeuvre that is headed with three stars.⁵⁹

I take not only the common sign among these three pieces as my departure point for searching for a deeper or more meaningful connection, but also the well-known comment Brahms made about this music. Adolf Schubring, an acquaintance of Brahms, had written asking if he had any insight into the puzzling title, to which the composer responded that the "three stars in Schumann's *Album für die Jugend* indicate Mendelssohn's death day; I would have thought that the date stood nearby."⁶⁰ Given his intimacy with the Schumanns, Brahms should be

⁵⁹ There are other examples of pieces Schumann had at one point wanted to label with three stars. He marked an unpublished ninth movement of the *Fantasiestücke*, Op. 12 in such a way, and also affixed the three stars to the movements of the *Fantasie*, Op. 17 in the *Stichvorlage*, but these were omitted in publication. Nicholas Marston, "Im Legendenton": Schumann's 'Unsung Voice,'" *19th-Century Music* 16, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 233.

⁶⁰ His response is from a letter dated June 25, 1865: "einmal bedeuten drei Sterne im Jugendalbum von Schumann Mendelssohns Sterbetag, ich dachte, es stünde das Datum dabei." Max Kalbeck, ed., *Brahms im Briefwechsel mit J.V. Widmann, E.u. Fritz Vetter, A. Schubring* (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1915),

accepted as a trustworthy source, but even if we take this information with a grain of salt, we can still reach the same conclusion on the basis of musical evidence. For example, the *Fidelio* allusion in No. 21 offers more layers of interpretation, if we consider its connection to Mendelssohn and “Erinnerung.” Appel offers no hypothesis for why Schumann would have chosen such an intertext, and I find Jung-Kaiser’s vague assertion that it echoes Schumann’s thoughts on marital fidelity unsatisfying in this context. If all the Star Pieces and “Erinnerung” are not only connected to one another but also to Mendelssohn and his death, then examining the text of the trio “Euch werde Lohn in besseren Welten” itself, and not just the overall themes of the opera, proves illustrative. Indeed, the translation of the text that corresponds to the quoted melody is: “Reward be yours in better worlds.” Rather than accepting the first Star Piece as a sort of general rumination on domestic bliss, perhaps we should read Schumann’s allusion more concretely, recognizing the *Fidelio* quote as a thematic connection to “Erinnerung,” and as an implied wish for his friend, who, in Schumann’s estimation, surely and deservedly had departed for a better place.

Further, knowing what we do about album practice, and the common trend amongst album inscribers to play off of or otherwise interact with previously written inscriptions, we may see Schumann mimicking this relationship among these pieces in his *Album*. The Star Pieces and “Erinnerung” all bear musical similarities to one another. If we take the piece known for a certainty to be about Mendelssohn’s death, “Erinnerung,” as the point of inspiration, we may see

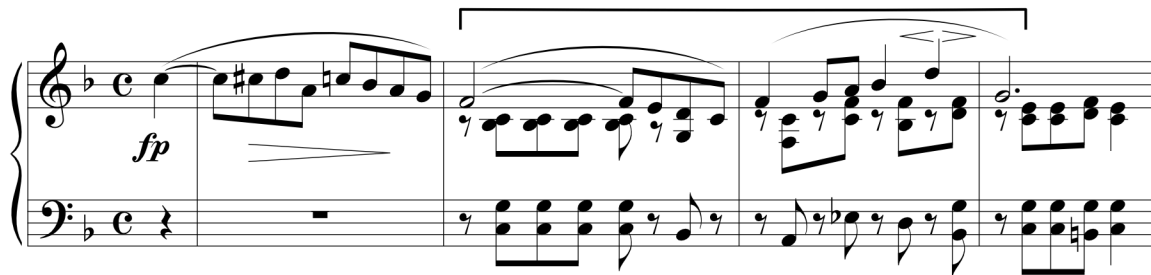
8:206. Translation from David Brodbeck, “Brahms’s Mendelssohn,” in *Brahms Studies, Vol. 2*, ed. David Brodbeck (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 213.

Relatedly, from Clara’s diary entry on April 21, 1854, we know that Brahms later wrote his own “Erinnerung an Mendelssohn,” undoubtedly inspired by Schumann’s own endeavor. The piece unfortunately no longer exists. Brodbeck, “Brahms’s Mendelssohn,” 213.

how all four of these pieces participate in a meditation on that memory, and how this would only have been gleaned by the savviest listeners or players.

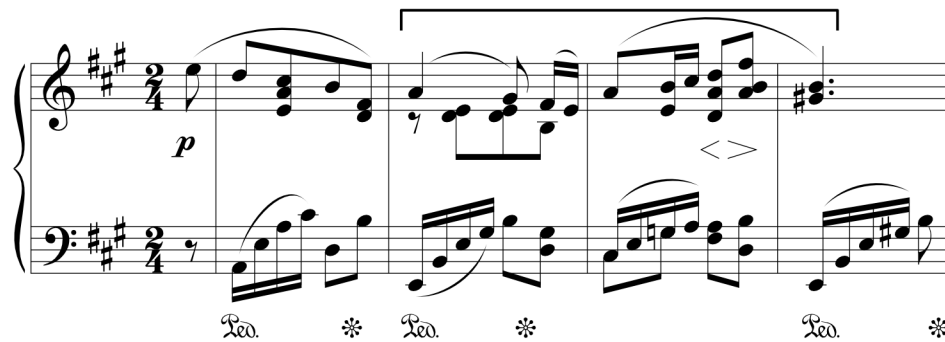
At first glance, it is difficult to see any overarching musical similarities among all of these pieces. Indeed, the only Star Piece that immediately begs comparison to “Erinnerung” is No. 26: the last half of its opening melody is a clear paraphrase of the last half of the opening melody of “Erinnerung” in both rhythmic and melodic contour (exx. 5.11A and 5.11B).⁶¹ Upon closer inspection, however, several similarities of rhythm and treatment of non-chord tones may be seen across the four pieces. The Star Pieces—though related to Mendelssohn’s death, as Brahms claimed—do not only ruminate on the memories and musical material contained in “Erinnerung.” Rather, they also interact with one another, meditating more and more on the new musical material that arises in each Star Piece. Through this process of cumulative and ongoing remembrance, these four pieces thus reflect the Romantic union between memory and imagination.

Ex. 5.11A. Star Piece, No. 26 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–4



⁶¹ Analytically this is not much of a reach, and I am certainly not the first person to note it. Appel clearly points out the connection between this piece and “Erinnerung,” though Jung-Kaiser surprisingly says nothing. Both allude to the paraphrase of Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 31, no. 1 that constitutes the first half of the melody. Appel, *Robert Schumanns “Album für die Jugend”*, 137; Jung-Kaiser, “Robert Schumanns *Album für die Jugend* (op. 68),” 39–40.

Ex. 5.11B. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–4



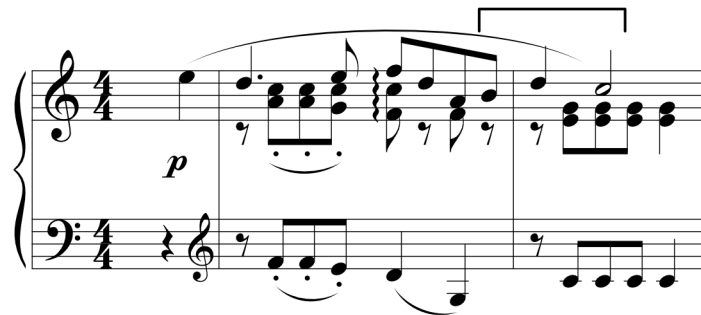
Before discussing the musical similarities among these four pieces, it must be said that their compositional order cannot be determined with any certainty. In addition to the *Stichvorlage* for Op. 68 and Marie’s birthday album, there are two primary sources for the *Album*: 1) a sketchbook now in a private collection but available in facsimile, and 2) a travel sketchbook housed at the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn.⁶² The former contains the original sketches for the first two Star Pieces and “Erinnerung,” and the latter contains the third Star Piece. Though I take “Erinnerung” as my jumping off point, it is entirely possible that any of the other pieces were composed first and thus led to “Erinnerung” instead of the opposite, a possibility which I foreground here. Ultimately, I do not believe the particular chronology of these pieces is of the utmost importance, but rather their kinship, and the overall effect of playing through them in their order of appearance in the *Album*, which I discuss in more detail below.

Star Piece No. 21 is perhaps the least overtly similar to “Erinnerung.” The melodic contour of mm. 1–2 is the most alike, primarily in the last three notes, a characteristic gesture that concludes the sub-phrase: B4 leaps up a third to an appoggiatura on D5 that resolves on the second beat, an identical melodic treatment and metric placement to the last eighth note of m. 1

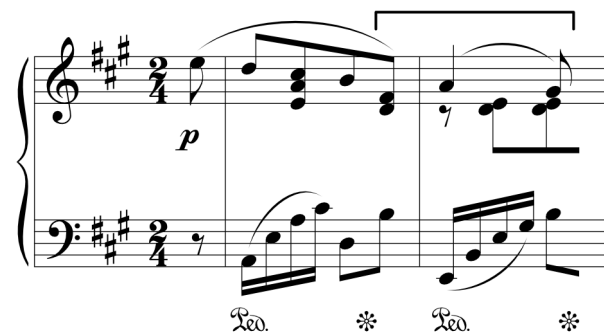
⁶² Schumann, *Skizzenbuch zu dem “Album für die Jugend”*; Robert Schumann, “Dresdener Skizzenheft,” Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, shelfmark Schumann 23.

moving to the first two beats of m. 2 in “Erinnerung” (exx. 5.12A and 5.12B). This melodic contour is already present in the opening of Beethoven’s “Euch werde Lohn in bessern Welten,” so maybe we should not assume a compositional connection there, or perhaps we may surmise that Schumann found Beethoven’s piece attractive not only because of its thematically related text, but also because of some melodic similarities to “Erinnerung.”⁶³

Ex. 5.12A. Star Piece, No. 21 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–2



Ex. 5.12B. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–2



⁶³ Alternatively, Schumann could have incorporated the *Fidelio* allusion into “Erinnerung” itself, albeit in a much less overt fashion than in Star Piece No. 21. Though the sources for the *Album* cannot definitively prove compositional order, it is most likely that Schumann composed “Erinnerung” before the Star Pieces. Schumann sketched and dated “Erinnerung” September 2, 1848 in a book that also contained Star Pieces Nos. 21 and 26, which are undated. September 2 is the earliest date regarding composition for the *Album* that Schumann mentions in his *Haushaltsbuch*—therefore it is probable that the Star Pieces were composed after “Erinnerung,” or at the very least, not long before. Star Piece No. 30 can be found in a travel sketchbook from this time and is also undated. Due to the details of the *Haushaltsbuch*, I believe its chronology to be similar to the other Star Pieces. Schumann, *Skizzenbuch zu dem “Album für die Jugend,”* 23–26; Robert Schumann, “Dresdener Skizzenheft,” Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, shelfmark Schumann 23, [22]; Schumann, *TB*, 3:469–71.

If this melodic link between “Erinnerung” and Star Piece No. 21 alone seems unconvincing, other musical connections become more apparent upon closer inspection. The strongest similarities Star Piece No. 21 shares with “Erinnerung,” besides commenting directly on Mendelssohn’s death via allusion, are the emphasis on a downbeat appoggiatura and a quarter note-length pick-up into m. 1 (exx. 5.13*A* and 5.13*B*). Star Piece No. 21 also introduces three new musical ideas of varying importance that Schumann incorporates into the subsequent Star Pieces: A) an accompaniment with repeated eighth notes on the rhythm “and-two-and-three”; B) a double neighbor figure; and C) a dotted-eighth–sixteenth rhythm followed by a repeated note (exx. 5.14*A* and 5.14*B*).⁶⁴

Ex. 5.13*A*. Star Piece, No. 21 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–6



⁶⁴ Though this accompanimental pattern is new, it does bring to mind the syncopated accompaniment of the “Intermezzo,” thus more strongly linking “Erinnerung” and Star Piece No. 21.

Ex. 5.13B. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–6

p
 Leo. * Leo. * Leo. * Leo. * Leo. *

Ex. 5.14A. Star Piece, No. 21 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–6

p
 A A A

Ex. 5.14B. Star Piece, No. 21 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 14–16

p
 B/C B/C B/C
 Leo.

Star Piece No. 26 more clearly derives from material in “Erinnerung,” namely in its melody. Mm. 3–4 correspond to mm. 3–4 of “Erinnerung,” as previously mentioned. Additionally, beat 2 of m. 3 is harmonized identically to the analogous spot in “Erinnerung” (m. 3), with a $V^{4/2}$ of IV. It also features a number of surface-level similarities that contribute to a sense of kinship between the pieces, such as the aforementioned pick-up and prominent downbeat appoggiatura, as well as the expressive melodic leap downward at the end of the second phrase (exx. 5.15*A*, 5.15*B*, and 5.15*C*).⁶⁵ But Star Piece No. 26 is just as closely connected to Star Piece No. 21, and in fact places greater emphasis on some of its newly introduced musical details. Like its predecessor, the second Star Piece contains the repeated eighth-note figure in its accompaniment emphasizing the rhythm “and-two-and-three” (exx. 5.16*A* and 5.16*B*).⁶⁶ Star Piece No. 26 also gives the dotted-eighth–sixteenth more melodic prominence than it had been afforded in No. 21, thus drawing attention to it (exx. 5.17*A* and 5.17*B*). Finally, though Star Piece No. 26 does not elevate the importance of the double neighbor figure introduced in the first, Schumann reimagines it, this time not filling in the space between the neighbor notes with the chord (ex. 5.18). The new guise of the double neighbor figure will prove an important motivic seed planted for the third and final Star Piece, No. 30.

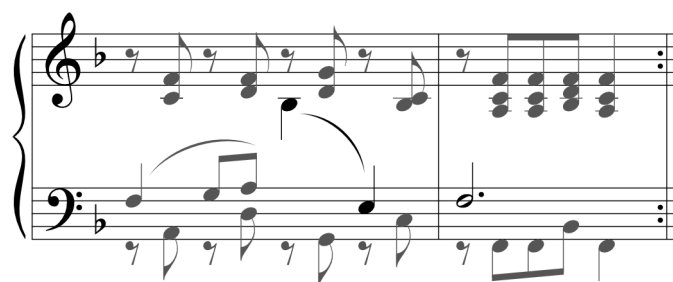
⁶⁵ Star Piece No. 26 is nearly identical to “Erinnerung” formally as well; it is a rounded binary form of 22 measures. Because so many pieces in the *Album* are small binary forms, including Star Piece No. 21, however, I resist finding significance in that aspect.

⁶⁶ There is a slight deviation from the repeated-note pattern in m. 4 (and again in the reprise at m. 16)—the figure is embellished with a move to a neighbor chord before returning. That the majority is repeated notes, however, is enough to hear this as motivically related.

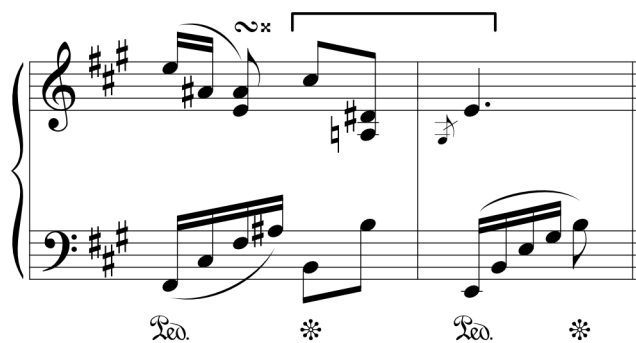
Ex. 5.15A. Star Piece, No. 26 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–2



Ex. 5.15B. Star Piece, No. 26 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 7–8



Ex. 5.15C. “Erinnerung,” No. 28 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 9–10



Ex. 5.16A. Star Piece, No. 26 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–6

Ex. 5.16A shows the first six measures of Star Piece, No. 26. The piece is in C major, 2/4 time. Measures 1-6 are transcribed in two systems. The first system contains measures 1-4, and the second system contains measures 5-6. The music is written for piano. The first system begins with a forte-piano (*fp*) dynamic. The melody in the right hand features a series of eighth-note runs and chords, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth-note chords. The second system continues the melodic and harmonic development, ending with a final chord in measure 6.

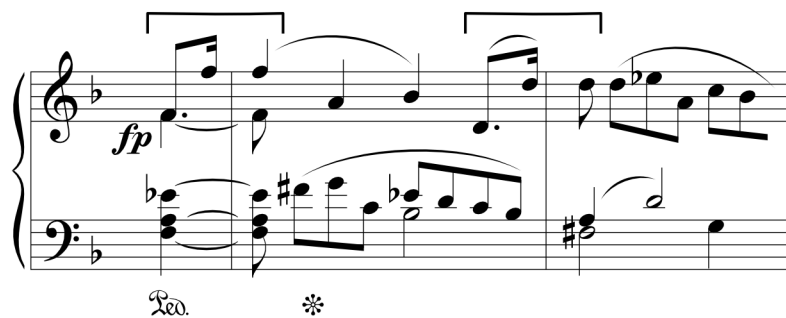
Ex. 5.16B. Star Piece, No. 21 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–6

Ex. 5.16B shows the first six measures of Star Piece, No. 21. The piece is in C major, 4/4 time. Measures 1-6 are transcribed in two systems. The first system contains measures 1-4, and the second system contains measures 5-6. The music is written for piano. The first system begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The melody in the right hand is characterized by a series of eighth-note runs and chords, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth-note chords. The second system continues the melodic and harmonic development, ending with a final chord in measure 6.

Ex. 5.17A. Star Piece, No. 26 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 10–11



Ex. 5.17B. Star Piece, No. 26 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 16–18



Ex. 5.18. Star Piece, No. 26 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, m. 22



While conceptual or musical links between the first and second Star Pieces and “Erinnerung” are clear, connecting them to No. 30, the third Star Piece, has proven a challenge. Appel and Jung-Kaiser offer no answers, saying only that Star Piece No. 30 is a “poetic space” open to interpretation, or that it is “questioning, puzzling, semantically open,” respectively.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ The statement from Jung-Kaiser can be found in a table describing the contents of the *Album* in the pages between 25 and 26. Appel, *Robert Schumanns “Album für die Jugend”*, 139; Jung-Kaiser, “Robert Schumanns *Album für die Jugend* (op. 68).”

Indeed, it appears to be the most loosely related to either of the other two Star Pieces, and completely unrelated to “Erinnerung.” It is far longer than the other Star Pieces —40 measures to the others’ 22 or 18, and experienced as even longer in performance due to its slow tempo—and is prone both to luxuriating in its tonic through slow harmonic rhythm and meandering through unexpected harmonic areas (exx. 5.19*A* and 5.19*B*). At first glance, there is not much to remind a listener of the previous Star Pieces except for perhaps key and time signature; any connection to “Erinnerung” seems even more distant.

Ex. 5.19*A*. Star Piece, No. 30 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–8

Sehr langsam

The musical score for Star Piece, No. 30, measures 1–8, is presented in two systems. The tempo is marked "Sehr langsam" (Very slow). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major), and the time signature is common time (C). The first system begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic, followed by a piano-piano (*pp*) dynamic. The second system concludes with a fortissimo (*sf*) dynamic. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Ex. 5.19B. Star Piece, No. 30 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 9–16

What Star Piece No. 30 seems to represent, however, is a culmination of small musical ideas, motives, and mottos that we have already seen growing in the first two Star Pieces and “Erinnerung,” presenting surface level likenesses that bind the four pieces together. To start, it begins with the same quarter-value pick-up as the three other pieces, and continues emphasizing this pick-up throughout the entirety of the piece. The third Star Piece also dwells on the recurring downbeat non-chord tone more so than any of the other pieces, but instead of approaching it by a leap up of a third as in “Erinnerung” and the first Star Piece, Schumann inverts the interval, leaping down a third, approaching the dissonance by anticipation and thus recasting the appoggiatura as a suspension (ex. 5.20). Still, despite these similarities, upon first inspection, the third Star Piece’s connection to “Erinnerung” does seem tenuous.

Ex. 5.20. Star Piece, No. 30 from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68, mm. 1–8



In fact, it appears the most connected to the other Star Pieces through two musical characteristics—the double neighbor figure introduced in Star Piece No. 21 and reworked in Star Piece No. 26, and the dotted-eighth–sixteenth with a repeated note introduced briefly in No. 21 and expanded upon in No. 26. The latter seems to be an outgrowth of the opening quarter-value pick-up seen in “Erinnerung” and all the other pieces, though Star Piece No. 30 draws more attention to it by rhythmically combining it with the dotted-eighth–sixteenth. The double neighbor figure from Star Piece No. 26, a reimagined version of this figure from Star Piece No. 21, becomes even more pronounced, showing up in nearly every measure of the A section in the left-hand accompaniment, a response to every dotted-eighth–sixteenth and suspension, and perhaps itself a reworking of the “and-two-and-three” eighth notes introduced in Star Piece No. 21. Schumann takes these small, unobtrusive details from the preceding Star Pieces and gives them a foregrounded gentle insistence in the final one.

The result is a performative one. Star Piece No. 30, contrasted to its predecessors, sounds more like a captured improvisation than a composed piece. Its point of departure is not melodic

allusion, but small, seemingly insignificant musical details from each of the other three pieces—the emphasis on downbeat dissonances established in “Erinnerung,” and the double neighbor figure, dotted-eighth–sixteenth and off-beat eighth-note accompaniment found in both of the other Star Pieces—that take center stage in this new setting. This Star Piece, with its unhurried repetitiveness, encourages real reflection on these past events. The melodic downbeat non-chord tone is far more languorous here, inviting sinking deep into the keys, lingering on the pain of the dissonance, and perhaps the pain of remembering the loss. The much slower tempo transforms the dotted-eighth–sixteenth into a gentle, meditative version of the funeral topic, much like the incorporation of chorale texture transformed the tune in “Erinnerung.” Star Piece No. 30 is flanked on either side by pieces that exude straightforward verve, “Fremder Mann” (“Foreign Man”) and “Kriegslied” (“War Song”), which starkly contrast its own remote, dreamy sonic universe. All of this contributes to the sense that Star Piece No. 30 is temporally removed from the rest of the *Album*, and has gained the necessary distance to truly reflect and remember. When played or heard collectively with “Erinnerung” and the other Star Pieces, it can thus easily be heard as an outgrowth of that which preceded it. This new musical expression borne of imagination sparked by the process of remembering reminds me Schumann’s 1835 review of Mendelssohn’s *Lieder ohne Worte*:

Who has not once sat at a piano in twilight (a grand piano would already sound too courtly) and in the midst of fantasizing sung to himself a soft melody? If one can fortuitously connect the melody with the accompaniment in the hands alone, and one is mainly a Mendelssohn, then the most beautiful songs without words will come into being.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ “Wer hätte nicht einmal in der Dämmerungsstunde am Clavier gesessen (ein Flügel scheint schon zu hoftomässig) und mitten im Phantasiren sich unbewusst eine leise Melodie dazu gesungen? Kann man nun zufällig die Begleitung mit der Melodie in den Händen allein verbinden, und ist man hauptsächlich ein Mendelssohn, so entstehen daraus die schönsten Lieder ohne Worte.” *NZfM* II, no. 50 (June 23, 1835), 202. Translation from Berthold Hoeckner, *Programming the Absolute: Nineteenth-Century German Music and the Hermeneutics of the Moment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 73.

In the process of commemorating a person, place, or event, new musical ideas will come to the composer unbidden, a product of trying to retrieve the memory. For the Romantics, this was one of the goals. The improvisatory, fantasia-like Star Piece No. 30—so markedly different from every other piece in the *Album*—invites us to imagine how Schumann reached that musical outcome. We may envision a scenario in which he sits down at the keyboard to play through “Erinnerung” and then begins fantasizing upon some of those musical ideas. As he processes his grief through music, perhaps the tune from the *Fidelio* trio and its attendant hopeful message pops into his head and then finds its way into Star Piece No. 21. He continues remembering and fantasizing, and creates material for Star Piece No. 26 as the strains of “Erinnerung” echo more strongly in his mind, and thus become more prominent in this piece. And perhaps the ideas for Star Piece No. 30, likely composed separately from the others, came to Schumann at a time when he was not planning to compose, memories flooding his mind unbidden and captured in his travel sketchbook. Or perhaps the reverse is true, that Schumann began with the Star Pieces and they led to “Erinnerung.” As I mentioned before, the compositional order, or the sequence of events I have suggested, cannot be proven. The overall effect, however, remains, and the inarguable connections among “Erinnerung” and the Star Pieces still embody the process of remembering and creating anew.

Further, the location of these pieces within the *Album* (appendix, table A.2) encourages remembering and reflection, forcing players and listeners either to revisit previous music and its memories after intervening movements, or to mentally hold onto them until they arrive at the next Star Piece or “Erinnerung.” The space between each piece—four movements between the first two Star Pieces, and one between Star Piece No. 26 and “Erinnerung,” and “Erinnerung”

and Star Piece No. 30—mimics where similarly related leaves might fall in a private album.⁶⁹ As part of the in-group signifying and playfulness of albums, an inscriber who chose to interact with a previously written leaf often did not place her contribution immediately near the original, forcing a reader to pause, remember, flip back, or otherwise engage more with the album to glean the connection. The spacing of the Star Pieces and “Erinnerung” gives a similar impression, one of temporal distance separating their inclusion in the *Album*, encouraging the same sort of engagement from, primarily, a player who would see those pieces marked with a common symbol. This placement, and the oblique musical connections, also meant that a player may not catch all the allusions the first time through, and would thus have to play through them many times to take in the full effect, if he ever did.⁷⁰ Private albums provided the perfect backdrop against which composers could perform these acts of creative remembrance, interacting with or otherwise finding inspiration in previously written inscriptions, hiding private meaning in plain sight. In the case of “Erinnerung” and the Star Pieces, this process has simply been taken on by one person, left behind in small, shared musical markers among the inscription-like pieces for players and listeners of the *Album* to potentially recognize, depending on how attuned they were to these veiled references.

This sort of performative, yet subtle, construction of musical remembering is markedly different from others in the repertoire, including other well-discussed examples from

⁶⁹ Significantly, they all occur in the latter half of Op. 68, labeled “Für Erwachsene” (“For those more grown up”), implying that the encoded memories were perhaps intended only for the older Schumann children, as well as the adults.

⁷⁰ In this sense, I view the relationship among these pieces as demonstrating a type of *Witz* as explained by John Daverio, and as identified in many of Schumann’s cycles of piano miniatures from the 1830s. *Witz* requires imagination in order to identify subtle connections among seemingly disparate elements. Though the pieces of the *Album* are certainly of a different musical idiom, and less mercurial in nature, *Witz* seems very much at play here. John Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1993), 54.

Schumann's own output. As mentioned in chapter 1, scholars such as Elaine Sisman have identified moments in repertoire of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in which composers signaled the presence of memory with the musical figures of *phantasia*: devices such as arpeggios, recitatives, cadenzas, and others that convey spontaneity and improvisation, and attempt to bring particular images to mind.⁷¹ Indeed, remembrance in Romantic literature is regularly discussed as a spontaneous, inescapable, and often involuntary response, such as in Novalis's descriptions of being unexpectedly seized by memories of his fiancée Sophie while visiting her grave.⁷² As discussed in chapter 1, the fragment was thus considered one of the most powerful representations of memory, displacing the listener from the established soundworld and temporality, appearing to have arrived in the score by way of a fantasized or otherwise stream-of-consciousness performance. This certainly resonates with what we know about the Romantics and their tendency toward imaginative, active remembering, as well as Schumann's own skill as an improviser, and his claim that musical ideas would simply come to him when fantasizing at the piano.⁷³ The Star Pieces—each one dwelling more on a small musical detail from the one that preceded it—very well could have arisen in such a way, and they certainly give the impression of quietly growing out of one another. There are no figures of *phantasia* to be found here, or conspicuous fragmentation, only subtle figures of musical in-group signifying. This indicates to

⁷¹ Muxfeldt also draws on the language of musical extemporization—real or otherwise—for her work. Kristina Muxfeldt, *Vanishing Sensibilities: Schubert, Beethoven, and Schumann* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 132–36; Sisman, “Memory and Invention at the Threshold of Beethoven's Late Style,” 54–55.

⁷² Novalis, *Hymns to the Night*, trans. Dick Higgins, rev. ed. (New Paltz, NY: McPherson, 1984), 17.

⁷³ We know that Clara thought highly of his skills as an improviser from a letter she wrote to him on January 29, 1838: “Last night I dreamt of you all night, and I must thank you for the immense pleasure your marvelous fantasizing brought me. The tones still hover before me; I wanted to hold onto them as I wakened.” (“Vergangene Nacht hab ich die ganze Nacht von Dir geträumt, und muß mich bei Dir bedanken für den großen Genuß den Du mir da durch Deine herrliche Fantasie verschafft. Noch schweben mir die Töne vor, ich wollte sie noch immer fassen als ich bereits schon wachte.”) Eva Weissweiler, ed., *Clara und Robert Schumann: Briefwechsel: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Frankfurt and Basel: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1984–2001), 1:89. Translation from Muxfeldt, *Vanishing Sensibilities*, 98.

me that we should expand our musical vocabulary related to the ways in which Romantic composers communicated memory.

Robert Schumann's and his circle's engagement with "Erinnerung" and the Star Pieces also shows us the paradox inherent in album leaves and Romantic musical memory writ large. Remembering is a fundamentally temporal act, and the Romantic acknowledgment of memory's inability to recapture the past perfectly attests to this. As Laurie Ruth Johnson puts it, "past events cannot become one with their representations; an ontological and temporal gap remains."⁷⁴ Album leaves seek to concretize memories as permanently as possible while simultaneously providing a mnemonic aid by which to engage in the ephemeral act of remembering, which thus silently speaks to their inability to preserve memory infallibly. But as we have seen in Schumann's treatment of his published album inscription "Erinnerung," this was by no means a shortcoming but rather allowed for a reimagining and strengthening of the memory of Mendelssohn in new music.

5.5. Conclusion

The layers of memory encoded in "Erinnerung" transcend what is encapsulated in the published version of the *Album für die Jugend*. Through the invaluable intertexts of diary entries, deathbed sketches, Hübner's poems, and the Star Pieces, "Erinnerung" becomes a memory cue that, when played or heard, would recall the meaning and memory represented in all these connected objects, not just the piece itself, and not just a vague remembrance of Mendelssohn.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Laurie Ruth Johnson, *The Art of Recollection in Jena Romanticism: Memory, History, Fiction, and Fragmentation in Texts by Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2002), 53.

⁷⁵ These relationships are conceptually similar to the "social network" Cornelia Bartsch identifies in the communicative stylistic choices in Fanny Hensel's music. Beatrix Borchard and Cornelia Bartsch, "Leipziger Straße Drei: Sites for Music," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 4, no. 2 (November 2007): 125–26.

The memory practices observed in the creation of these related sources are inherently social, imaginative, and typical of private album keeping: members of Schumann's circle created mementos that interacted with or were otherwise inspired by "Erinnerung," and represent different meditations on a shared memory, as if they were all part of the same album. In sum, "Erinnerung" is a personal album leaf made public, though its full multilayered meaning ultimately remained private and accessible only to the members of Schumann's immediate circle.

All this reinforces the most important aspect of the memories Schumann encoded into the various sources of the *Album*: its music is not a mere storehouse for memories. Rather, those memories represented by the pieces in the *Album* can be recalled not by an idle glancing through of pages, but only in actually playing (or hearing) them, in actually producing *sound*.⁷⁶ The music allows those players and listeners—the Schumanns, their children, their friends—to relive the encoded memories ever anew. In his grief over Mendelssohn's death, Schumann must certainly have hoped that his musical memories would keep his friend alive in this way. Embedding these memories in the *Album für die Jugend* would ensure future and ongoing engagement with them and the object of remembrance; even if the past could never be recaptured, it would never be forgotten. Instead, the memories of Mendelssohn would live on in different forms in the Romantic imagination, which, to the Romantics, was the definition of living eternally.

Past scholarship has been quick to draw stark lines between the repertoire of Schumann's that is considered poetic, and that which is thought to be more mundane or functional. In examining how Romantic memory works in pieces from the *Album für die Jugend*—*Hausmusik*

⁷⁶ My reading is greatly influenced by Justyna Beinek's conceptual model that emphasizes the importance of a sonic triggering of memory. Beinek, "'Portable Graveyards,'" 58–59.

ostensibly composed for children, but clearly also intended for adults—I offer an argument against such an oppositional binary. In “Erinnerung” and the Star Pieces, Schumann presents us with a poetics of the personal: we glimpse the inner emotional world of the Schumanns and their friends, and contemplate the depth of their grief. These pieces demonstrate the same type of engagement with the aesthetics of Romantic memory as witnessed in other vaunted works from the nineteenth century, while also reminding us of the very real importance of those who remember, and those who are remembered.

CONCLUSION

Scholars have long described moments of remembrance in Robert Schumann's music as poetic representations of Romantic memory. But I hope that this dissertation has shown that a full understanding of memory in his music—and indeed, of Romantic memory writ large—requires a much deeper investigation: one that goes beyond published music and into personal contexts and private memories. My detailed study of his album leaves and other personal keepsakes helps us to uncover some of these heretofore unknown meanings related to Schumann and his loved ones. Album owners treasured the mementos given to them and believed that those souvenirs provided a spiritual link to their friends and family. These objects thus offer us a window into private worlds and show us common methods by which individuals of the nineteenth century asked their friends and family to engage with their memories. Until now we have based our understanding of Romantic memory on poetic analyses of published music and discussions of commemorative institutions such as monuments and museums. Albums begin to fill in the gaps of our knowledge about smaller, more private—but clearly no less historically significant—sites for construction of memory.

In this dissertation, I show how the study of album leaves can give us insight into a composer's attitudes about his life's work and compositions, and how these leaves could function as an important personal and private part of a composer's legacy. In the canonic album leaves of Schumann, we see how he implicitly positioned himself as a prominent educator through emphasis on his contrapuntal prowess and his desire to challenge the recipients of his leaves (chapter 2). Though audiences today sometimes question the artistic merits Schumann ascribed to the music he composed for amateurs, his constant return to these choral canons as a

souvenir through which he wished to be remembered shows us that he valued this music and felt it represented him well at that point in his life. And in the case of the mementos he gathered together for inclusion in Emilie Steffens's album (chapter 3), we see further how he constructed a multi-layered memory of himself as a mentor, composer of monumental works, and friend.

Steffens's album provides an exclusive view of the life of a personal album, from the Schumanns' initial contributions and compilation, to Steffens's interaction with it even into the twentieth century. I demonstrate how both the Schumanns and Steffens herself constructed different identities for her through the album's various keepsakes: from serious budding musician to responsible pastor's wife. Schumann's collage-like album leaf, in particular, reveals how album inscribers often plumbed rich literary depths to bring meaning to their inscriptions. Above all, my study of this album uncovers the complex issues of authorship and editorship that surround these sorts of sources and the ways that individuals often used their albums to write history. Because Steffens's album is (like all personal albums) in some sense unique, it serves as an example of the rich potential of these artifacts as historical sources.

In chapter 4, my discussion of published albums, and how the private practices of album-keeping affected and shaped their publication, is the first serious musicological engagement with so-called ephemera since James Davies's 2006 article on the musical annual.¹ I illustrate the overlap in social expectations between inscribing private albums and contributing to published albums. Schumann's contributions to and critiques of such publications show us that they generally were not considered to contain "serious" music for the ages, but rather music of the moment. Furthermore, composers were expected to treat buyers of these albums with respect

¹ James Davies, "Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c. 1830," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 287–309.

akin to that shown owners of private albums by sending music of high quality. Crucially however—and in contrast to inscriptions in private albums—musical contributions to published albums had to be accessible to a wide audience. Composers who grandstanded or otherwise showed off by contributing music that was too virtuosic missed the mark of these endeavors. Decorum, especially in albums dedicated to the memories of other composers, was key. Perhaps most importantly, successful editors of published albums—Schumann among them—were able to emulate the sense of community created by private albums through the illusion of access to exclusive contents.

Album leaves and similar keepsakes have also decisively informed how I approach representations of memory in Robert Schumann’s music and allowed me to look beyond well-understood signifiers in order to find those representations. “Erinnerung” and the Star Pieces from the *Album für die Jugend* (chapter 5) demonstrate that our understanding of memory and musical style cannot only be bound by “the neutral standpoint of an omniscient consumer” (to borrow Paul Berry’s phrase again).² We cannot assume that all musical expressions of memory were meant to be recognized by all listeners. This discussion was prepared in chapter 1 with analyses of previously undiscussed repertoire—“Der Nussbaum” and the *Drei Clavier-Sonaten für die Jugend*—for which we have information about Schumann’s engagement with specific, very intimate memories. I extrapolate from Elaine Sisman’s work on *phantasia* and suggest that the elements of fantasy-like music—in particular, fragmentation—that signal memory are not always overt and were not meant to be heard by all listeners. Indeed, Schumann published music that was constructed around personal memories and maintained their privacy by choosing *not* to

² Paul Berry, *Brahms Among Friends: Listening, Performance, and the Rhetoric of Allusion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 26.

incorporate musical signals that general audiences would have recognized as poetic representations of memory. Understanding this unorthodox musical expression of memory allows us then to imagine how a small, circumscribed group of historical listeners might have experienced this music. It further encourages us to look beyond overt stylistic markers that would verify a composer's engagement with memory in music, and shows how important distinct listeners could be in the activation of musical memories.

It is this specificity—of the people involved in these constructions of memory and the ways that they engaged with music in album leaves—that has broader implications for how we currently understand Romantic memory. My work demonstrates that nineteenth-century individuals' interaction with albums reflected the dual nature of Romanticism, in which the personal and everyday were not at odds with the poetic. The Romantics were concerned with both inner and outer worlds, and though albums foreground what may seem like the quotidian nature of interpersonal relationships, they also display a profound acknowledgement of the imaginative power of memory and demonstrate the ways in which those everyday people could access it. Additionally, albums show us a more private context in which composers could write a kind of autobiography using music as the medium. In albums, the music chosen by composers symbolized some facet of their self-image, and examining this private legacy gives us a fuller view of the memories of themselves that they wished to leave behind.

The possibilities for more research into nineteenth-century albums and their intersection with Romantic memory are endless. The Schumanns alone could provide a lifetime's work devoted to the tracing of biographical and documentary concordances to album leaves in an attempt to uncover specific memories and functions, as I have done with some of Robert's leaves here. The more enmeshed one becomes in these sources, the easier these connections are to see.

Further inquiry in this vein would likely uncover more musical memories hiding in plain sight, like the Star Pieces, which would continue to expand our understanding of the stylistic choices Schumann made to communicate these moments to chosen confidants. Similar research on other composers could be undertaken: given how often his music is discussed within the context of Romantic memory, Schubert would be a prime candidate for such inquiry.

As a cautionary note, I must say that the glimpses of the inner worlds reflected by albums are tantalizing and can prompt the imagining of connections that may not have existed or cannot be proven definitively. Though to some extent scholars who study ephemera must engage with the hypothetical, in my dissertation I strove to do so only insofar as the evidence allowed. In cases where the authorial intent (a problematic construct unto itself) of the Schumanns could not be ascertained, I let the album leaves and other mementos lead me to interpretations. These sources tell their own stories, even if their creators do not explicitly do so.

For every question answered in this dissertation, it seems that two more have sprung up—hydra-like—to take its place. Foremost among them is the question of the relationship between private album practice and the musical genre of the album leaf, which became very popular in the nineteenth century. As Halina Goldberg points out, the Grove entry on the album leaf is currently paltry, merely identifying it as a fashionable type of character piece.³ Given how widespread the practice of keeping and inscribing albums was, I have no doubt that it had a substantial influence on the published album leaf. In my dissertation, I have built a framework through which we may now approach pieces like Schumann's *Bunte Blätter*, Op. 99 and

³ Maurice J.E. Brown and Kenneth L. Hamilton, "Albumleaf," *Grove Music Online* accessed August 29, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00483>; Halina Goldberg, "Chopin's Album Leaves: The Aesthetics of Musical Album Inscription," forthcoming.

Albumblätter, Op. 124. In short, a thorough study that delves deeply into areas of critical reception, performance practice, and musical aesthetics of the album genre is now possible.

As a complement to the current work I have done on Robert's leaves, a similarly thorough investigation of Clara's would be compelling. A study of the pair's collaborative album strategies would provide even more insights: Robert and Clara often inscribed albums at the same time or sent leaves jointly to recipients. It would be interesting to compare the leaves they wrote individually to the leaves they wrote together, to see how this changed their representations of themselves. And lastly, Clara's use of album leaves to build Robert's legacy deserves study. After he died, she sent several of his manuscripts as mementos to various recipients. Clara's decision to give away these personal objects seems part of a strategy to bolster individuals' private memories of Robert at the time she simultaneously—and famously—worked to build his public legacy. An examination of her choices would augment what we currently know about the ways individuals used albums and album leaves to write history (chapter 3), and shed light on Clara Schumann's enactment of her agency throughout this process.

Several other avenues of scholarly inquiry come to mind. A study of gift theory and the expectations of album inscribing (chapter 1) would, I believe, find significant overlap between them. This could lead to interesting case studies that complement work like Emily H. Green's on the social dynamics of composer dedications in published works.⁴ In chapter 4, I touch briefly on the notion of musical anthologies and almanacs, but there is still much to uncover here, as there is currently little musicological scholarship on the process of anthologizing during the nineteenth century. The practices of editing anthologies and public albums intersect in significant ways, and

⁴ Emily H. Green, "Between Text and Context: Schumann, Liszt, and the Reception of Dedications," *Journal of Musicological Research* 28, no. 4 (2009): 312–39.

investigation of nineteenth-century attitudes toward the specific and discrete functions of anthologies, almanacs, and published albums will further aid in our knowledge of these publications. And finally, Schumann's canonic album leaves (chapter 2) provide a tantalizing glimpse of the possibilities of such sources to bear witness to private experiences of music-making. Pursuing this relationship could lead to other moments of private performance that have otherwise been lost to history. With all these options—and many more that I cannot foresee—I eagerly anticipate the rich scholarship that this topic will inspire.

Memory was clearly an important issue for the Romantics. But it was not just an issue of aesthetics or poetics. As it is for all people, memory was intensely personal, and grounded in lived experience. To borrow from Patricia Hampl once again, memory is “real, tangible, made of the stuff of a life lived in place and in history.”⁵ As such, the only way of fully understanding Romantic memory—a historical construct we often associate with lofty poetic ideals—is to examine as much of the personal and private “stuff” as we are able. As I have shown in this dissertation, this perspective can indeed give us invaluable insight into how nineteenth-century individuals fully engaged with memory and can help us, even if only in some small way, to remember Schumann as they did.

⁵ Patricia Hampl, “Memory and Imagination,” in *The Anatomy of Memory: An Anthology*, ed. James McConkey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 208.

APPENDIX

Table A.1. Robert Schumann's known album leaves

| Date | Place | Dedicatee | Description | Current location and MSS# |
|---------------------|------------|------------------|---|--|
| August 1830 | Heidelberg | August Lemke | Fragment of the opening of <i>Abegg Variations</i> , Op. 1 | Owner unknown Facsimile in Akio Mayeda, <i>Robert Schumanns Weg zur Symphonie</i> (p. 75) |
| [March 10?], 1834 | [Leipzig?] | Heinrich Panofka | Fragments of <i>Etudes in Variation Form on a Theme by Beethoven</i> , WoO 31 | Det Kongelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen) – C 1,5 mu 7205.1014 Facsimile in Eva-Brit Fanger, ed., <i>Heinrich Panofka: Ein musikalisches Stammbuch</i> (p. 85) |
| July 29, 1837 | Unknown | Ernst Sperling | Sketch of “Des Abends,” from <i>Fantasiestücke</i> , Op. 12 and “Leid ohne Ende” from <i>Albumblätter</i> , Op. 124 | Private owner |
| August 18, 1837 | Unknown | Ernst Becker | Sketch of “Des Abends” from <i>Fantasiestücke</i> , Op. 12 | Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum (New York) – Heineman Collection Facsimile in Hermann Abert, <i>Robert Schumann. Berühmte Musiker</i> XV 1920 (p. 72) |
| October[?] 12, 1837 | Leipzig | Sophie Kaskel | Fragment of “Des Abends” from <i>Fantasiestücke</i> , Op. 12 | Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau – Facsimile collection |
| November 8, 1838 | Vienna | Aloys Fuchs | Fragment of seventh piece of <i>Davidshändlerlärche</i> , Op. 6 | Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Kinsky-Koch Catalogue, no. 211 |
| December 20, 1838 | Vienna | Henriette Voigt | Second “Stücklein” from <i>Albumblätter</i> , Op. 99 | Lost |
| Christmas 1838 | [Vienna] | Clara Wieck | First “Stücklein” from <i>Albumblätter</i> , Op. 99 | Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau – Arch.-Nr. 5852-A1 |

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|-------------------|-----------|--------------------------|--|--|--|
| December 24, 1838 | Vienna | Unknown | | First “Stücklein” from <i>Albumblätter</i> , Op. 99 | Facsimile in Ute Jung-Kaiser and Matthias Kruse, eds., <i>Schumanns Albumblätter</i> Russian Institute of Art History (St. Petersburg) |
| December 27, 1838 | Vienna | Ernst Becker | | First “Stücklein” from <i>Albumblätter</i> , Op. 99 | Bibliothèque nationale (Paris) – Ms. 314 https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b550078167 |
| February 2, 1839 | Vienna | Karl Lickl | | Fragment of <i>Humoreske</i> , Op. 20 | Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Vienna) – A 287 Facsimile in Bernhard Appel, “Robert Schumanns Humoreske für Klavier op. 20” |
| January 23, 1840 | Leipzig | Elise Meerti | | “Du bist wie eine Blume” from <i>Myrthen</i> , Op. 25 | Private owner Facsimile available at Robert-Schumann-Forschungsstelle (Düsseldorf) – No. 299 |
| February 19, 1840 | Leipzig | Ferdinand Möhring | | Second piece from <i>Romanzen</i> , Op. 28 | Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz – Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv – Album Ferdinand Möhring, S. 2 |
| May 15, 1840 | Unknown | Marianne Bargiel | | “Mondnacht” from <i>Liederkreis</i> , Op. 39 | Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz – Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv – N. Mus. Depos. 54 https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?ppn=PPN654895104&PHYSID=PHYS_0001&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001 |
| April 27, 1841 | Leipzig | Unknown | | First “Stücklein” from <i>Albumblätter</i> , Op. 99 | Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau – Arch.-Nr. 94.72-A1 Facsimile in Ute Jung-Kaiser and Matthias Kruse, eds., <i>Schumanns Albumblätter</i> |
| December 25, 1841 | [Leipzig] | Clara and Marie Schumann | | “Schlummerlied” from <i>Albumblätter</i> , Op. 124 | Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden – Mus.Schu.273 http://digital.sluub-dresden.de/id323080006/1 |
| April 18, 1843 | Leipzig | Unknown | | “Loreley” from <i>Romanzen und Balladen</i> , Vol. III, Op. 53 | Stadtgeschichtliches Museum (Leipzig) – Rp. 97 |

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|------------------------|---------|-------------------------|---|--|
| April 25, 1843 | Leipzig | Unknown | Fragment of “Die Nonne” from <i>Romanzen und Balladen</i> , Vol. II, Op. 49 | Unknown owner Facsimile available at Robert-Schumann- Forschungsstelle (Düsseldorf) – No. 687 |
| June 10, 1843 | Leipzig | Julius Rietz | Fragment of first movement of String Quartet Op. 41, no. 3 | Heinrich-Heine Institut (Düsseldorf) – Signatur 35.G.2251 Facsimile in Ute Jung-Kaiser and Matthias Kruse, eds., <i>Schumanns Albumblätter</i> |
| December 4/11, 1843 | Unknown | Luise Avé- Lallemant | Fragment of opening of <i>Das Paradies und die Peri</i> , Op. 50 | Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig – Musikkonvolut Rep. III. fol. 15 Facsimile in Christoph Hellmundt, ed., <i>Die musikalischen Albumblätter der Luise Avé- Lallemant zu Leipzig</i> (p. [3]) |
| January 5, 1844 | Unknown | Niels Gade | Short musical sketch on G-A-D-E | Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau – Arch.-Nr. 8826-A1 Facsimile in Ute Jung-Kaiser and Matthias Kruse, eds., <i>Schumanns Albumblätter</i> |
| January 24, 1844 | Leipzig | Martin Bezeth | Canon on B-E-Z-E-T-H | Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Vienna - A 290 a |
| July 30, 1845 | Dresden | Unknown | “Loreley” from <i>Romanzen und Balladen</i> , Vol. III, Op. 53 | Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau – Arch.-Nr. 10-A1 |
| August 1845 | Dresden | Adolf Schwarz | Fragment of “Flügel! Flügel! um zu fliegen” from <i>Zwölf Gedichte aus Friedrich Rückerts Liebesfrühling</i> , Op. 37 | Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau – facsimile collection |
| August 14, 1845 | Unknown | Adolf Wehner | Fragment of first movement from <i>Vier Skizzen für Pedalflügel</i> , Op. 58 | Unknown owner Facsimile available at Robert-Schumann- Forschungsstelle (Düsseldorf) – No. 674 |
| January 21, 1846 | Dresden | Carl Reinecke | Fragment of first movement of String Quartet, Op. 41, no. 1 and | Heinrich-Heine Institut (Düsseldorf) – Signatur 70.4952 |

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|--------------------|---------|----------------------------------|--|--|
| January 14, 1847 | Vienna | Unknown | quotations from Goethe and Byron Fragment of <i>Das Paradies und die Peri</i> (Part II, No. 14) | Robert-Schumann-Forschungsstelle (Düsseldorf) – No. 628 |
| January 31, 1847 | Prague | Countess Marie Elisabeth Schlick | “Intermezzo” from <i>Liederkreis</i> , Op. 39 | The Juilliard Manuscript Collection - 0 A15sc http://juilliardmanuscriptcollection.org/manuscript/album-schlik-family-prague/ |
| March 2, 1847 | Unknown | Pauline Viardot-Garcia | “Frage” from <i>Zwölf Gedichte</i> , Op. 35 | Unknown owner |
| March 17, 1847 | Berlin | Pauline von Decker | “Stille Liebe” from <i>Zwölf Gedichte</i> , Op. 35 | Heinrich-Heine Institut (Düsseldorf) – Signatur 53.78 |
| September 17, 1847 | Dresden | Unknown | “Gebt mir zu trinken!” from <i>Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen</i> , Op. 65 | Unknown owner |
| November 14, 1847 | Dresden | Cécile Mendelssohn | “Die Rose stand im Thau” from <i>Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen</i> , Op. 65 | Bodleian Library (Oxford) – MS. M. Denecke Mendelssohn d. 7 |
| February 16, 1848 | Dresden | Marie Wieck | “Von fremden Ländern und Menschen” from <i>Kinderszenen</i> , Op. 15 | Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau – Arch.-Nr. 3702-A1 |
| August 20, 1848 | Dresden | Nanette Falk | “In Sommertagen rüste den Schlitten” from <i>Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen</i> , Op. 65 | Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau – Arch.-Nr. 10 536-A1 |
| August 23, 1848 | Dresden | Constanze Jacobi | “Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind” from <i>Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen</i> , Op. 65 | Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau – Arch.-Nr. 13191-A1/A1c |

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|-----------------|---------|-----------------------------|---|--|
| January 8, 1849 | Dresden | Constanze Jacobi | “Rebus” originally from <i>Album für die Jugend</i> , Op. 68 | Heinrich-Heine Institut (Düsseldorf) – Signatur 91.5001 TG |
| April 16, 1849 | Dresden | William Batchelder Bradbury | “Die Capelle” from <i>Sechs Romanzen für Frauenstimmen</i> , Vol. I, Op. 69 | Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) – William B. Bradbury Collection clamshell Box 1 https://loc.gov/item/ihas.200185118 |
| April 16, 1849 | Dresden | Unknown | “In Meeres Mitten ist ein offner Laden” from <i>Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen</i> , Op. 65 | Robert-Schumann-Forschungsstelle (Düsseldorf) – No. 662 |
| December 1849 | Unknown | Ida Thode | “An den Mond” (with harp accompaniment) from <i>Drei Gesänge</i> , Op. 95 | Unknown owner |
| April 6, 1850 | Dresden | Unknown | “Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind” from <i>Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen</i> , Op. 65 | Princeton University Library – Mixsell Collection of Autographs of Musicians, Box 1, Folder 52 |
| April 29, 1850 | Dresden | Unknown | “In Sommertagen rüste den Schlitten” from <i>Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen</i> , Op. 65 | Abbaye de Royaumont (Asnières-sur-Oise, France) – Collection Musicale François Lang, Réserve 46 http://www.royaumont-bibliotheque-francois-lang.fr/opacwebaloes/index.aspx?idpage=340 |
| April 29, 1850 | Dresden | Unknown | “In Sommertagen rüste den Schlitten” from <i>Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen</i> , Op. 65 | Prof. Dr. H.H. Marx (Stuttgart) |
| April 29, 1850 | Dresden | William Mason | “In Sommertagen rüste den Schlitten” from <i>Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen</i> , Op. 65 | Unknown owner Facsimile in William Mason, <i>Memories of a Musical Life</i> (between pp. 38 and 39) |

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|-----------------------|------------|---------------------|--|--|
| June 1850 | Unknown | Unknown | “An den Sonnenschein” from <i>Sechs Gedichte</i> , Op. 36 | Robert-Schumann-Forschungsstelle (Düsseldorf) – No. 642 |
| July 11, 1850 | Dresden | Gustav ? | “Fest im Tact, im Tone rein” originally from <i>Album für die Jugend</i> , Op. 68 | Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz – Mus.ms.autogr. Schumann, R. 39 http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00002B1B00000000 |
| September 1, 1850 | Dresden | Emilie Steffens | Collage-like leaf containing fragments of <i>Das Paradies und die Peri, Szenen aus Goethes Faust</i> , and <i>Genoveva</i> | Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau – Arch.-Nr. 12899 |
| September 10, 1851 | Düsseldorf | Emilie Müller | “Im Wald” from <i>Sechs Gesänge</i> , Op. 107 | Universitätsbibliothek Bonn – S 2039 |
| September 20, 1851 | Düsseldorf | Julie Beer | “Frühlingslied” from <i>Fünf heitere Gesänge</i> , Op. 125 | Uchiyama Collection (Tokyo) |
| January 1852 | Düsseldorf | Familie Jahn | “Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind” from <i>Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen</i> , Op. 65 | Unknown owner Facsimile in Michael Kirmes-Seitz, ed., <i>Nicht müde werden! Stammbuch der Familie Jahn</i> |
| 1852 | Unknown | Unknown | “Stiller Vorwurf” from <i>Lieder und Gesänge</i> , Vol. III, Op. 77 | Private owner |
| December 8, 1853 | Rotterdam | A.C.G. Vermeulen | Piano reduction fragment of Third Symphony “Rhenish,” Op. 97 | Robert-Schumann-Forschungsstelle (Düsseldorf) – facsimile collection |
| December 17, 1853 | Amsterdam | Unknown | Theme from <i>Symphonischen Etüden</i> , Op. 13 | Robert-Schumann-Forschungsstelle (Düsseldorf) – No. 665 |

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PUBLICATIONS

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CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- November 2018 “‘Erinnerung,’ Grief, and Imaginative Remembrance in Robert Schumann’s *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68”
American Musicological Society
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- July 2018 “‘Erinnerung,’ Grief, and Imaginative Remembrance in Robert Schumann’s *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68”
International Conference on Nineteenth-Century Music
University of Huddersfield, UK
- February 2017 “Public Object, Private Memories: Robert Schumann’s ‘Erinnerung’ of Felix Mendelssohn”
Nineteenth Century Studies Association
Charleston, SC
- March 2016 “Nineteenth-Century Albums and Collective Memory in Robert Schumann’s ‘Erinnerung’ from the *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68”
AMS-Southeast
Duke University
- May 2013 “The Nineteenth-Century Reception of J.S. Bach’s *Christmas Oratorio*”
Bach Colloquium
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- July 2011 “From *Exercise* to *Toccata*: Schumann’s Op. 7 and the Implications of Genre”
North American Conference on Nineteenth-Century Music
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TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- 2014–2017 **Adjunct Instructor of Music**
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Courses taught: Sophomore music theory (written/aural skills, keyboard), music history, independent study, class piano
- 2012–2014 **Associate Instructor of Music History**
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PUBLIC MUSICOLOGY

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| Spring 2016 | Chamber Music Concert Host Furman University |
| Fall 2013 | Opera live-blogging: Mozart, <i>Le Nozze di Figaro</i> Opera & Ballet Theater, Indiana University |
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OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

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| Summer 2019 | Development Intern FringeArts Philadelphia |
| 2018–present | Membership Coordinator American Bach Society |
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