

‘The Most *Companionable* Composer’: Sociability, Robert Schumann, and his Chamber Music

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis explores the notion of sociability as a framework by which to interpret Robert Schumann’s ‘chamber music year’ of 1842. Schumann’s own sociability is examined both biographically and through music analysis. The first part of the thesis is a case study, tracing Schumann’s friendships during his youth in Zwickau and his first year in Leipzig, and analysing his first completed chamber work, the Piano Quartet in C minor, which can be understood as a tribute to his friends. The second part examines Schumann’s subsequent years in Leipzig, establishing that he was a sociable and active contributor to a circle of friends around his wife Clara Schumann, the Gewandhaus director Felix Mendelssohn, and the violinist Ferdinand David. This part of the thesis concludes that, especially in the context of chamber music making within this circle, the spheres of social and musical interaction merged. These findings are contextualised through discussions of musical salon culture in Germany and the distinctions made between public and private spheres. In the third part of the thesis, musical sociability is discerned as a musical motivic web in connection with narrative strategies of evoking a past tense, which is complemented by a discussion of narrative theories in nineteenth-century music. Through the analysis of Schumann’s three String Quartets, op. 41, and the Piano Quintet, op. 44, I suggest that, ultimately, Schumann exemplified the Romantic ideal of chamber music making by portraying his circle of friends in these chamber works. This interpretation of Schumann’s chamber music through a biographic lens exemplifies the importance of and serves as a model for the

notion of sociability when writing about nineteenth-century music in general and chamber music in particular.

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21 Robert and Clara Schumann, invitation letter to Wilhelm Crusius for a matinée in the Gewandhaus on 8 December 1844. Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Rep. IX 5/222A

22 Lithography of Robert Schumann by Joseph Kriehuber, 1839. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien

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29 '"Einlasszettel" für Herrn Brzobxly zum Konzert am 19.11.1836 und Bleistiftzeichnung auf Rückseite (Porträt Ferdinand Davids)'. Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Mus. Schu. 48

30 Robert Schumann, letter to Felix Mendelssohn, 24 September 1845 from Dresden. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS M Deneke Mendelssohn c 34, No. 141

31 Hall of the old Gewandhaus in Leipzig, around 1840 (anon.)

32 Drawing ‘Leipziger Gewandhausorchester’ by Christian Reimers, 1850. Sammlung Musikgeschichte Max-Reger-Archiv der Meininger Museen, Druck 145

33 Programme note, 11 January 1842. Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Clara Schumann Programmzettelsammlung, Archiv-Nr. 10463, no. 189

34 Robert Schumann, programme note and invitation letter to Felix and Cécile Mendelssohn, 8 January 1843. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS M Deneke Mendelssohn, d. 43, GB XVII, No. 60

35 *Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer* by Caspar David Friedrich, around 1818. Hamburger Kunsthalle

36 Autograph of Robert Schumann, *Première pensée (manuscrit original) du célèbre quintette de Schumann*, pp. 5-6. Bibliotheque-Musée Inguimbertine, Carprentras, Signature: Ms. 2141 (1)

37 Pastel drawing of Joseph Joachim and Clara Schumann by Adolph von Menzel, 1854. Reproduction

Abbreviations

BNF	Robert Schumann (1904) *Robert Schumanns Briefe. Neue Folge*, 2nd ed., ed. by Friedrich Gustav Jansen, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.
CSPr	Programmzettelsammlung Clara Schumann, Robert Schumann-Haus Zwickau; Archiv-Nr.: 10463.
Eismann I-II	Georg Eismann (1956) *Robert Schumann. Ein Quellenwerk über sein Leben und Schaffen*, 2 vols., Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.
GS I-II	Robert Schumann (1914) *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker von Robert Schumann*, 5th ed., ed. by Martin Kreisig, 2 vols., Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.
Handbuch	Ulrich Tadday (Ed.) (2006) *Schumann Handbuch*, Stuttgart, Weimar, and Kassel: J. B. Metzler and Bärenreiter.
Jansen	Friedrich Gustav Jansen (1883) *Die Davidsbündler. Aus Robert Schumann's Sturm- und Drangperiode*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.
Jugendtagebücher	Clara Schumann (2019) *Jugendtagebücher*, ed. by Gerd Nauhaus and Nancy B. Reich, Hildesheim, Zurich and New York: Georg Olms.
Kohlhase I-III	Hans Kohlhase (1979) *Die Kammermusik Robert Schumanns. Stilistische Untersuchungen* (Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 19), 3 vols., Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner.
Litzmann I-III	Berthold Litzmann (1902-1908) *Clara Schumann. Ein Künstlerleben*, 3 vols., Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.
NZfM	*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Leipzig, 1834ff.
SB I/1	Robert Schumann et. al. (2020) *Schumann Briefedition: Briefwechsel mit den Verwandten in Zwickau und Schneeberg*, Series I (Familienbriefwechsel) vol. 1, ed. by Thomas Synofzik and Michael Heinemann, Cologne: Verlag Dohr.
SB I/4	Robert Schumann et. al. (2012) *Schumann Briefedition: Braut- und Ehebriefwechsel Robert und Clara Schuman. Bd. I: März 1831 bis September 1838*, Series I (Familienbriefwechsel) vol. 4, ed. by Anja Mühlenweg, Cologne: Verlag Dohr.

SB I/5	Robert Schumann et. al. (2013) *Schumann Briefedition: Braut- und Ehebriefwechsel Robert und Clara Schuman. Bd. II: September 1838 bis Juni 1839*, Series I (Familienbriefwechsel) vol. 5, ed. by Anja Mühlenweg, Cologne: Verlag Dohr.
SB II/1	Robert Schumann et. al. (2009) *Schumann Briefedition: Robert und Clara Schumann im Briefwechsel mit der Familie Mendelssohn*, Series II (Freundes- und Künstlerbriefwechsel) vol. 1, ed. by Kristin R. M. Krahe, Katrin Reyersbach, and Thomas Synofzik, Cologne: Verlag Dohr.
SB II/15	Robert Schumann et. al. (2009) *Schumann Briefedition: Briefwechsel Robert und Clara Schumanns mit den Familien Voigt, Preußer, Herzogenberg und anderen Korrespondenten in Leipzig*, Series II (Freundes- und Künstlerbriefwechsel) vol. 15, ed. by Annegret Rosenmüller and Ekaterina Smyka, Cologne: Verlag Dohr.
SB II/20	Robert Schumann et. al. (2019) *Schumann Briefedition: Briefwechsel Robert und Clara Schumanns mit Korrespondenten in Leipzig 1830 bis 1894*, Series II (Freundes- und Künstlerbriefwechsel) vol. 20, ed. by Annegret Rosenmüller and Ekaterina Smyka, Cologne: Verlag Dohr.
TB I	Robert Schumann (1971) *Tagebücher. Band I: 1827-1838*, ed. by Georg Eismann, Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag f. Musik.
TB II	Robert Schumann (1987) *Tagebücher. Band II: 1836-1854*, ed. by Gerd Nauhaus, Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag f. Musik.
TB III/1-2	Robert Schumann (1982) *Tagebücher. Band III (Haushaltsbücher): Teil I: 1837-1847 / Teil II: 1847-1856*, ed. by Gerd Nauhaus, Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag f. Musik.
Wasielewski	Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski (1906) *Robert Schumann. Eine Biographie,* 4th ed., ed. by Waldemar von Wasielewski, Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel.

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***

I dedicate this thesis to the fond memory of my grandfather Erhard Beck.
The circumstances of his time prevented him from pursuing the musical career he envisaged. May this work be a late completion of his passion.

Prologue

> Hadow has characterized [Robert] Schumann as the most *companionable* composer. Bach, he affirms, is sometimes too remote; Beethoven too grand; Chopin too pessimistic; but whatever your mood, you may always find response to it somewhere in the works of Schumann. There is an impression that Schumann's many-sided and many-gifted nature finds true expression only through his works, musical and literary: that in special measure his life is to be read in his works. And this is, doubtless, true, since all biography is eternal.[1]

Thus begins *The Musical Standard*'s 1898 review, titled 'Schumann's Sociability', of William Henry Hadow's *Studies in Modern Music*. In his examination of the composer's life and music, Hadow wrote that Schumann's 'spirit, too, is essentially human. No Composer is more companionable, more ready to respond to any word and sympathise with any emotion.'[2] Both Hadow and the newspaper critic are among the earliest writers considering it necessary to view Robert Schumann's music in the context of his life, or more precisely, his relationships with his friends and circles, in order to determine his music's relation to its potential listeners.

Schumann's first biographer, student, friend in his later years, and leader of his Düsseldorf orchestra, Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, came to a similar but more general assessment in his Schumann biography from 1858:

> Robert Schumann has such a peculiar nature, that his creative activities, especially in their early stages, can only be entirely comprehended and justly assessed through a closer awareness of his biography and its multifarious conditions.[3]

Much has been said since Wasielewski about the interrelation between Schumann's life and music, and it does not seem fitting to add another volume to what nowadays

[1] Anon. (1898) 'Schumann's Sociability', *The Musical Standard*, 10 (242), p. 120.

[2] William Henry Hadow (1893) *Studies in Modern Music*. *Hector Berlioz, Robert Schumann, Richard Wagner*, New York: Macmillan and Co, p. 218.

[3] 'Robert Schumann ist ein so eigenartiges Naturell, daß seine schöpferische Thätigkeit, zumal in ihrem Beginne, nur bei genauer Kenntniß seines Lebensganges und der mannichfachen Bedingungen desselben vollständig erfaßt und Gerecht beurtheilt warden kann.' Wasielewski, p. VII. All translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

sounds like somewhat dated criticism.[4] Instead, this project looks at the one condition which Hadow and the critic in *The Musical Standard* addressed, and which can shed new light on Schumann's music through a biographical lens: Schumann's sociability.

While 'Schumann's Sociability' is also the title of the critic's review, the concept for both the critic and Hadow to examine Schumann's music in relation to its potential listeners is 'companionability'.[5] Hadow found Schumann's works to be the most approachable, personal, in some ways even consoling, serving a listener as a 'companion' who can be consulted at any point to provide answers, confirmation, or consolation. This companionship creates an emotional bond between Schumann's piano music, the subject of Hadow's study, and its imagined listener. Hadow's reviewer, then, attempts to explain the music's companionability through Schumann's

[4] Characteristic musical biographies dating pre 'New Musicology' are: Alan Walker (Ed.) (1972) *Robert Schumann: The Man and His Music*, London: Barrie and Jenkins; Ronald Taylor (1982) *Robert Schumann, His Life and Work*, London: Granada; and Arnfried Edler (1982) *Robert Schumann und seine Zeit*, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag. For a recent and more critical attempt of biographical readings of Schumann's music, see: Michelle Elizabeth Yael Braunschweig (2013) *Biographical Listening: Intimacy, Madness and the Music of Robert Schumann*, PhD Diss.: University of California, Berkeley. For the most comprehensive study of the 'biographical fallacy' in musicological scholarship, see Christopher Wiley (2008) *Re-Writing Composers' Lives: Critical Historiography and Musical Biography*, PhD Diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, esp. pp. 5-7; see also Jolanta T. Pekacz (Ed.) (2006) *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms*, Aldershot: Ashgate; Mark Evan Bonds (2019) *The Beethoven Syndrome: Hearing Music as Autobiography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; and the recent special edition of *19th Century Music*, 44 (2), edited by Joanne Cormac, for example: Joanne Cormac (2020) 'Introduction: Music and Biography', *19th Century Music*, 44 (2), pp. 61-66.

[5] Given the fact that the title of the review suggests 'sociability' as the key concept of the article in the *Musical Standard*, Hadow's characterisation of Schumann's music as 'companionable' is only a starting point for a larger observation of Schumann's life, character, and music in the article. The Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica* (1889) does not feature either of these terms. In the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'companionable' is defined as 'Fitted for companionship; sociable; agreeable as a companion, pleasant in society or conversation.' James A. H. Murray (Ed.) (1884-1928) *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles: Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society*, vol. 2, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 706. The adjective 'sociable' is given more attention the same dictionary, listing several meanings: '1. Naturally inclined or disposed to be in company with others of the same species… 2. Inclined to seek and enjoy the company of others; disposed to be friendly or affable in company; willing to converse in a pleasant manner… 3. Characterized by, pertaining to, contact, intercourse, or companionship with others, esp. in a friendly or pleasant manner… 4.a Capable of being combined or joined together… 4.b Capable of being made a companion *for* others.' Ibid., vol. 9 part 1, p. 357. While the term 'companionable' relates directly to 'sociable', the former is only a part of the definition of the latter, 'being able to be a good friend or companion' is only one attribute of the 'inclination to join and converse well in company or society'. See also my discussion of the German '*Geselligkeit*', pp. 239-244. A further study into the common use of these two terms in the English language around the turn of the century would, however, exceed the scope of this dissertation.

companionability, but rightly suggests through the title of the article, that companionability is insufficient to characterise the composer's manifold interactions and relationships with his personal environment and, through his criticism, also with the wider world of artists. In this light, the critic wrote: 'The depth and breadth of Robert Schumann's sympathies among the great group of music-makers who surrounded him form one of the most grateful chapters in musical history, one which cannot be too often read or too much admired.'[6] This description paints an image of a thriving and collaborative circle of composers and performers with a highly regarded and appreciated Schumann in its midst. This notion crosses over from simple companionability to the wider concept of sociability, ascribing Schumann a tendency or inclination to join and enjoy the company of like-minded friends and colleagues. The critic only stops short of translating this trait he encountered in Schumann's character, his sociability, to the music, which for him remains 'companionable'. Less than half a century after the composer's death, the critic considered this instance of Schumann's sociability a pinnacle of musical collaborations and amicable support in music history.

What, then, happened in just over one hundred years between these accounts and the current, common image of Robert Schumann? Now it would be surprising to find any scholar or music lover who would declare Schumann 'the most *companionable* composer' of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. More likely, one might be directed to Friedrich Gustav Jansen's early portrayal of Schumann as the introverted lone wolf, sitting in the corner of a room and smoking his cigar while social life unfolds around him.[7] One might also notice the scholarly obsession of the last century with detecting

[6] Anon. (1898) p. 120.
[7] See Jansen, pp. 52 and 76.

signs of his decreasing and eventually fatal mental health in ever earlier works of his.[8] Through these characterisations, our image of Schumann seems closer to that of a moody Beethoven losing his hearing than of Peter Shaffer's jolly and joking Mozart. Schumann's biography and character might indeed serve as a prime example for the fate of the Romantic artist, a lonely wanderer, increasingly despairing at the world around him. It is the striking difference between this image and the abovementioned quotes from the late nineteenth century, which raises the question of the interrelation between Schumann's sociability and his works for this dissertation.

Unfortunately, as intriguing a prospect as it may be, we cannot relive Schumann's lifetime as one of his companions to say for sure how 'sociable' he really was. Historical sources inevitably are limited: to Schumann's own writings, such as his diaries, letters, and journalism; to accounts of his contemporaries; and to his music. Arguably, the best place to start searching for and discussing Schumann's life and works in connection with nineteenth-century sociability is his chamber music. Featuring only one player to a part, with a minimum of two players but an undefined maximum ensuring the focus on the individual, chamber music can be considered the musical equivalent of human interaction.[9] Often, the music itself is said to facilitate

[8] Such assumptions are grounded, possibly, in Clara Schumann's suppression of her husband's latest works after he was admitted to the asylum in Endenich and were first uttered by Wasielewski and Clara Schumann's biographer Berthold Litzmann. Insightful discussions of especially such early literature on Schumann's mental decline and his music can be found in: Eric Frederick Jensen (2001) *Schumann*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 282f.; and Laura Tunbridge (2007) *Schumann's Late Style*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 2-7. For more recent examples, see Noriko Kobayashi (1996) *Robert Schumann: His Mental Illness and His Music*, PhD Diss.: University of Washington; and Braunschweig (2013). See also John Daverio's refreshing critical distance to such scholarship in Schumann's late works: John Daverio (2011) 'Songs of dawn and dusk: coming to terms with the late music'. In: Beate Perrey (Ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 268-291; and Laura Tunbridge's study of the reception of Schumann's mental illness in twentieth-century artforms: Laura Tunbridge (2011) 'Deserted Chambers of the Mind (Schumann Memories)'. In: Roe-Min Kok and ibid. (Eds.) *Rethinking Schumann*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 395-410.

[9] There are aspects of interaction and sociability in solo (between performer and audience), and orchestral and choral music (between performers forming a homogenous musical group), too. For the purpose of musically portraying relationships and friendships, however, chamber music in the above definition appears to be most appropriate.

this correspondence, as Christina Bashford wrote in her article on chamber music for *Grove Music Online*: 'In essence, the term implies intimate, carefully constructed music, written and played for its own sake; and one of the most important elements in chamber music is the social and musical pleasure for musicians of playing together.'[10] Chamber music thus hits the middle ground of being sociable and mutually enjoyable without being necessarily performative, a quality which solo pieces and orchestral or choral music usually lack.

In the early to mid-nineteenth century, these two 'companionable' characteristics of the genre became strongly noticeable. The rise of public chamber music recitals in concert halls drew the genre from the aristocrat's chamber to the attention of a wider audience, while the increasing musical education of Biedermeier households prompted a new demand for *Hausmusik*, smaller chamber pieces and arrangements for domestic pastime. This apparent diverging development of chamber music, however, did not counteract the genre's intrinsically social qualities. Popular chamber music series intellectually challenged an interested audience through high-class performances often by a city's leading professionals, and at the same time provided a more intimate setting for the players and proximity to their audience in order to convey the sociability of their music making. Domestic chamber music activities served the genre's main purpose of the music being played for its own sake as well as for the pleasure of mutual musical expression in the amateur realm. For those reasons, I consider early nineteenth-century chamber music as the most fruitful subject for studies of sociability in music.

[10] Christina Bashford (2001) 'Chamber Music'. In: *Grove Music Online*, URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05379 [accessed 20 October 2020].

The intermediate sphere of sociable music making was also the aspect which initially drew me to the chamber music genre. It was, however, a chamber music experience not as a player but as an involved observer which sparked the research interest of this dissertation. On 11 September 2016, I attended a performance of Schumann's Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44 (Figure 1). The recital was part of a festival series in my native region of the Bavarian Forest, at the 'Konzerthaus



Figure 1 Photo of Konzerthaus Blaibach, recital on 11 September 2016, Rodin-Quartett and Uta Hielscher. Photography by the author

Blaibach', of which I was one of the organisers. I personally knew all of the performers, the pianist being a former piano teacher of mine. I wrote the programme notes to the recital and was involved in the administrative production of the event, having accompanied parts of the rehearsals and turned pages for the pianist. When I was finally sitting among the audience and listening to the outcome of these efforts, it was as if the performance of the Quintet itself was telling me something about the people on stage. My impression of Schumann's Piano Quintet in this specific context was that the work did not only provide a level of sociability between the players, but an additional level of insight and involvement for the listener. I was not only

witnessing the musicians displaying the intimacy of chamber music on stage but, equally, the work provided a glimpse of the sociability and the intimacy between them, not as players but as people.

It was one of those rare moments when, so to speak, the penny dropped. It appeared to me that this Piano Quintet, and implicitly Robert Schumann as its creator, had a message to deliver 'about' the ensemble playing the piece together. I started wondering what this message was, and it was this path of enquiry which has led me to the notion of Schumann's sociability. If the Quintet told me something about players so familiar to me on this specific occasion, perhaps it can also say something more general about the players who Schumann knew so well; musicians who performed this piece in a context which for Schumann might have been similar to the recital described above was to me. When considering the piece through the lens of Schumann's sociability and the circle of friends around its creation, I thus assumed that we could learn how Schumann imagined and portrayed these musicians making chamber music together. Perhaps, I thought, the apparently so introverted lone wolf, who tended to be sitting in a corner and smoking his cigar, wanted to exhibit his sociability, his 'sympathies among the great group of music-makers', as *The Musical Standard* wrote, for the outer world.

Hence, I ventured to trace Schumann's personal and musical circles; the friends and societies that shaped his chamber music experiences. The aim of this journey was to create a picture of Schumann's sociability within the environment which was, more or less directly, involved in his chamber music encounters and ambitions, in performance as well as in composition. Fortunately, the phases of Schumann's chamber music output coincide with the different stages of his biography and social environment, which helped in structuring this research. His time in Leipzig, 1828 to

1844, is 'framed' by his chamber music compositions in larger and more conventional forms: his three String Quartets, two Piano Quartets, and the aforementioned Piano Quintet. The following years in Dresden, 1844 to 1850, are the period of Piano Trio compositions as well as smaller *Hausmusik* pieces for various instruments and piano. During his final episode, 1850 to 1854 in Düsseldorf, Schumann completed his chamber music oeuvre with his three violin sonatas, besides the last Piano Trio, and the two *Märchen* pieces.

As a complete survey of Schumann's sociability in all of these stages of his life in connection with the chamber music pieces would easily fill a multi-volume work, in this dissertation I focus on the first half of his career, ending with Robert and Clara Schumann's departure from Leipzig in 1844. Robert Schumann's 1842 chamber works have not yet been assessed through their social context, but more generally through their historical and compositional one. The most comprehensive studies of Schumann's chamber works to date remain Hans Kohlhase's three-volume work from 1979 and Linda Correll Roesner's even earlier PhD dissertation on Schumann's sketches.[11] Following Kohlhase's pioneering work, focussing on sonata form, sketch studies, and thematic relations between the works (which Kohlhase called 'poetic'), more recent scholarship has maintained an analytical approach. Julie Hedges Brown has been especially interested in Schumann's treatment of large-scale chamber forms.[12] Others have contributed essays or chapters on Schumann's chamber music as

[11] See Kohlhase, 3 vols.; and Linda Correll Roesner (1973) *Studies in Schumann Manuscripts: With Particular Reference to Sources transmitting Instrumental Works in the Large Forms*, PhD Diss.: New York University.

[12] See Julie Hedges Brown (2000) *"A Higher Echo of the Past": Schumann's 1842 Chamber Music and the Rethinking of Classical Form*, PhD Diss.: Yale University (and several following essays derived from this dissertation); see also essays by Peter H. Smith, e.g., Peter H. Smith (2011) 'Associative Harmony, Tonal Pairing, and Middleground Structure in Schumann's Sonata Expositions: The Role of the Mediant in the First Movements of the Piano Quintet, Piano Quartet, and Rhenish Symphony'. In: Roe-Min Kok, and Laura Tunbridge (Eds.) *Rethinking Schumann*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 235-264.

part of wider observations, often placing these works within the context of the development of chamber music in the early nineteenth century towards a more public genre,[13] or as part of biographical studies.[14]

Outside of Schumann scholarship, the aspect of sociable music-making in chamber music of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century has recently been subject to various studies and promising new approaches. Most notably, Marie Sumner Lott took the perspective of the contemporary consumer of nineteenth-century chamber music, and argued that styles of chamber music confirmed or shaped the tastes of the middle-class, supported by vast contextual considerations, from spheres and genders to print culture.[15] Coming from a performer's background, Edward Klorman explored 'multiple agency' in Mozart's chamber music, analysing interactivity between string quartet players against the background of forms of late-eighteenth-century practices of 'musicking'.[16] To some extent, I aim to fuse these two approaches in the present study. My approach adopts Klorman's performer- and composer-based perspective and combines it with Sumner Lott's 'social worlds' of nineteenth-century chamber music and her interpretation of social-contextual parameters in the music. This approach then leads towards Mary Hunter's and W. Dean Sutcliffe's concept of 'musical sociability'.[17] For the era just preceding

[13] See especially Daverio's work on Schumann: among others, John Daverio (1998) '"Beautiful and Abstruse Conversations" The Chamber Music of Robert Schumann'. In: Stephen E. Hefling (Ed.) *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, New York and London: Routledge, pp. 208-241. See also Linda Correll Roesner (2007) 'The Chamber Music'. In: Beate Perrey (Ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 123-147.

[14] See the insightful descriptions of the chamber works in: John Daverio (1997) *Robert Schumann: Herald of a 'New Poetic Age'*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press; and Martin Geck (2010) *Robert Schumann. Mensch und Musiker der Romantik*, Munich: Siedler Verlag.

[15] See Marie Sumner Lott (2015) *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music: Composers, Consumers, Communities*, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

[16] See Edward Klorman (2016) *Mozart's Music of Friends: Social Interplay in the Chamber Works*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[17] See Mary Hunter (2012) '"The Most Interesting Genre of Music": Performance, Sociability and Meaning in the Classical String Quartet, 1800–1830', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 9, pp. 53–74; and W. Dean Sutcliffe (2019) *Instrumental Music in an Age of Sociability. Haydn, Mozart and Friends*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schumann's chamber compositions, Hunter and Sutcliffe explored how contemporary social norms and phenomena informed chamber music compositions, which, in turn, they argued were mirrors of society, idealising the social developments of the time. I project this theory onto the time of Schumann's Leipzig chamber compositions. By then, the social self-perception had heavily shifted, and the 'Vormärz' counteracted the achievements of the Enlightenment. The empowerment of the self and the resulting spontaneity and ease of social interaction, which Sutcliffe saw idealised especially in Haydn's chamber music, was followed by what Jürgen Habermas considered the loss of familiarity in public discourse.[18]

My dissertation aims to demonstrate that, in his chamber music of 1842, Robert Schumann took up the idea of social representation and idealisation and tried to reverse the decline of public intimacy by providing a sense of familiarity through his own 'musical sociability'. Regarding familiarity and privacy as the true environment where Romantic art can live up to its ambition, I argue that Schumann recreated his own sociability and intimacy within his circles of friends and musicians in his chamber music. This neither relates to musical discourse and interplay in the chamber works as in Klorman's study, nor do I examine the reception of these chamber works by contemporary critics and audiences as Sumner Lott did. My approach instead takes a biographical angle: I explore Robert Schumann's sociability through his contacts, musical and non-musical, with friends involved in his chamber music circles, centred around his wife Clara, Felix Mendelssohn, and Ferdinand David. Drawing on documents of their interactions, such as diary entries, letters, and accounts by friends and members of their circles, as well as secondary literature on their friendships, I

[18] See Jürgen Habermas (1990) *Strukturwandel der Öffentlickeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp.

examine Schumann's direct environment of chamber music making and his sociability within his circles. Schumann's journalistic descriptions of chamber music events then work as a mediator between this biographical context and his creative output. Based on his literary portrayals of his chamber music making, the analytical parts consist of narrative readings of Schumann's chamber works in order to establish whether Schumann told the same stories about his circle in the music as well.

Such a combination of approaches and methodologies naturally requires an array of different strands of current musical scholarship, upon which this thesis draws. Socio-historical and cultural-contextual studies of music of the early nineteenth century have recently advanced the field, particularly in English-language musicology, and this dissertation sees itself in this context of the intersection between cultural trends and conditions, personal environments, and creative realisation. Looking at German *Musikwissenschaft* first, the most relevant recent publication on socio-historical context for this study was Mirjam Gerber's work on the salons of Henriette Voigt and Livia Frege in Leipzig.[19] Having collated vast data of private musical events in Leipzig in the 1830s and evaluating primary sources (such as diaries and letters by Henriette Voigt), Gerber accounted for the social construct of the German salon in a particular society – and showed Schumann in the 1830s in a private light. A kind of template for such studies has been provided 35 years earlier by Schumann scholar Bernhard R Appel.[20] His survey of the intellectual and socio-historical conditions for the Romantic idea of Schumann's *Davidsbund* – Schumann's own *Litterarischer Verein* and German reading societies, secret lodges, fraternities, and Biedermeier artist circles (e.g. *Der Tunnel über die Pleiße* in Leipzig), but also early Romantic literature

[19] See Mirjam Gerber (2016) *Zwischen Salon und Geselligkeit. Henriette Voigt, Livia Frege und Leipzigs bürgerliches Musikleben*, Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Georg Olms.

[20] See Bernhard R. Appel (1981) 'Schumanns Davidsbund. Geistes- und sozialgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen einer romantischen Idee', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 38 (1), pp. 1-23.

and philosophy – helps put the idea of Schumann's fictional circle of artists and its impact on music criticism into perspective.

Applying such cultural-contextual approaches to the history of a particular genre, Arnfried Edler preceded all three parts of his handbook *Gattungen der Musik für Tasteninstrumente* with a discussion of socio-historical developments of the periods covered by each of the parts, in which his analyses and musical discussions subsequently find their place.[21] Edler considered piano music not as a closed genre in itself but as the result of social developments and embedded in its contemporary context. This is even more remarkable being a volume (or rather three volumes) of a series of genre 'Handbücher', comprehensive treatises of a specific body of musical works and a primary work of reference for musicological students and academics. The emphasis on the genre in its socio-historical (and, equally remarkably, regional) context by Edler awards this approach prominence within German scholarship.[22]

In terms of social contexts in English-language scholarship, Christina Bashford has mainly concerned herself with the reception and performance of chamber music in nineteenth-century British homes. Her concise companion article on the string quartet and society only scratches the surface of relationships, let alone interaction between string quartets and their audiences, and instead provides a general history of the places where string quartets were especially played. Her work on British homes, in contrast, is more insightful in terms of the tradition of domestic chamber music making, and more importantly, on the intersection of the music and the private lives

[21] See Arnfried Edler (1997-2004) *Gattungen der Musik für Tasteninstrumente* (Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen 7), 3 vols., Laaber: Laaber-Verlag.

[22] In terms of the socio-cultural history of chamber music, one might look at Konold's compendium of the string quartet: Wulf Konold (1980) *Das Streichquartett. Von den Anfängen bis Franz Schubert*, Wilhelmshaven: Verlag Heinrichshofen. Unfortunately, this work was not accessible to the author at the time of writing. The issue of a distinction between music sociology and socio-historical musicology (or musico-social history) in German scholarship has been already addressed in Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (1970) 'Soziologie der Musik und musikalische Sozialgeschichte', *International Review of Music Aesthetics and Sociology*, 1 (1), pp. 92-94.

of the people who played it.[23] Tackling the difficult because under-documented and under-represented subject of private music making in the nineteenth century, Bashford aimed at rewriting the history (and historiography) of chamber music in a defined society, thereby rightfully limiting herself on music consumption (performance and listening).

Bashford's work led to studies on listening practices in the nineteenth century, such as in Wolfgang Fuhrmann's work on musical intimacy: Fuhrmann examined bourgeois private settings (which Fuhrmann calls *social spaces*) of domestic music making with regard to experiencing music intimately as an ideal form of playing and listening (including a rather generic discussion of public and private spheres). He put his findings into perspective through a discussion of the music itself being played in these social spaces, focussed on methods to encourage intimate listening, but once again reduced to the exchange of voices and melodies in chamber pieces as intimate communication.[24] In the same year, Jennifer Ronyak published a monograph of the German Lied of the early 1800s on similar terms, regarding the (public) listening to the intimacy of the genre and its cultural context (a strong discussion of German *Innigkeit*, and constant juxtaposition of Lied compositions and performances with their *Zeitgeist*, such as the development of social constructs like the salon). Her focus, too, remained on performers, performance spaces, and audiences. Her readings of the compositions themselves through the context of their social environments, however, are groundwork for my study, for example how Goethe-settings by Zelter, *Singspiele*

[23] See Christina Bashford (2003) 'The String Quartet and Society'. In: Robin Stowell (Ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-18; and Ibid. (2010) 'Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63 (2), pp. 291-360.

[24] See Wolfgang Fuhrmann (2018) 'The Intimate Art of Listening: Music in the Private Sphere During the Nineteenth Century'. In: Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Ziemer (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 277-311.

by Berger, or a Hummel *Ballade* fit into their respective social 'target group' and create intimacy in performance.[25]

For socio-historical studies centred around compositions and their contexts, the immediate Schumann circle has provided subjects for recent publications, such as Benedict Taylor's *Mendelssohn, Time and Memory. The Romantic Conception of Cyclic Form*.[26] Taylor used cyclic form as his musical subject of choice to determine temporality and subjectivity in Mendelssohn's music through wider cultural and philosophical ideas, suggesting a narrative in the music of Mendelssohn's cyclic pieces through temporal experiences, supported by philosophical ideas and literary views on time, subjectivity, and memory. The search and longing for the return to a former ideal world is analysed by Taylor through the cultural context of the German *Frühromantik* (Hegel, Schiller, Novalis) – not unlike my approach – and through theories of time, memory, and history (Bergson and Proust), whereas I will veer to issues of narratives and sociability.

In 2014, two publications shed light on another member of Schumann's circle, Johannes Brahms, and his 'private' side. Katy Hamilton's and Natasha Loges' volume *Brahms in the Home* continued the discussion of public and private spheres, now from a single composer's perspective. The array of essays in this volume highlights the depth and variety current research offers for nineteenth-century spheres, looking at the members of Brahms' circle playing his music in their homes, and Brahms' own interaction with them. Hamilton's and Loges' approach combines studies of Brahms' socio-historical environment with analytical perspectives of his music against this

[25] See Jennifer Ronyak (2018) *Intimacy, Performance, and the Lied in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

[26] See Benedict Taylor (2011) *Mendelssohn, Time and Memory. The Romantic Conception of Cyclic Form*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

background.[27] Paul Berry's monograph also explored the nature of Brahms' 'circle', suggesting that his compositions were directed, mainly through motivic allusions, towards individuals within this circle as private communications (most prominently: Clara Schumann). Again, Berry tries to shine a light on Brahms' private social sphere and its importance for his compositions, accompanied with biographical data and personal correspondences as well as broader cultural history. Berry characterised his own work as a mode of 'historical imagination'.[28] As a posthumously perceived musical communication strategy, Berry's notion of historical imagination is therefore a model also for this dissertation, which aims at reconstructing a similar personal and cultural environment for Schumann's circles and his chamber music.

Discussing the links and musical 'private conversations' in a wider sense of a circle, the most ground-breaking work for this study is the late John Daverio's *Crossing Paths*. Exploring musical relationships between a triumvirate with Schumann at its midst – from Schumann's 'musical memories' of Schubert 'musing on the past', and the myth of a shared encipherment of feelings for Clara Schumann by Robert Schumann and Brahms, to Brahms' coming to terms with Schumann's legacy – Daverio's examinations are supported by a deep understanding of the theories and limitations of intertextual criticism (and strong scepticism towards allusion hunting, though mainly relating to Brahms). It is perhaps the most analytical and dense work of the above, balancing a consideration of stylistic influences and musical homages, and the relationship of the three men's music with the past, its present, and the future. My views on Schumann's works are often inspired by Daverio's eloquent

[27] See Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges (Eds.) (2014) *Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall. Between Private and Public Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. See especially the contributions by Sumner Lott and Robert W Eshbach, which will be discussed within this dissertation.

[28] Paul Berry (2014) *Brahms Among Friends. Listening, Performance, and the Rhetoric of Allusion*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 36.

and detailed discussions. For example, his reading of temporality and pastness in both of Schumann's Piano Quartets provides a starting point for determining signifiers of the past in my analyses of Schumann's works, and Daverio's notion of interpolations in a work's narrative and motivic allusions as a moment of retrospect feed into my approach of narrative readings and my interpretations of the meaning of narratives.[29]

Unsurprisingly, one of the essays from *Crossing Paths* is included in Roe-Min Kok's recently published volume *Schumann*, which assembled the impressive depth and variety of Schumann scholarship of the past fifty years with some of its most iconic essays.[30] Kok herself contributed to contextual and socio-historical studies especially of Schumann's children's and childhood music. In the context of the market for publishing children's music, she examined Schumann's interaction and correspondence with his publisher Julius Schuberth, and the implication of their collaboration for Schumann's late style. Looking at children's education in revolutionary Germany around 1848, namely the representation of nationhood and cultural nationalism, she also linked Schumann's views on this matter with his compositions, particularly the *Album für die Jugend.*[31]

The view of Schumann and his music in the context of his social and cultural environment and events is not limited to the last fifty years, however. The critic in the *Musical Standard*, quoted at the beginning of this prologue, already saw the companionability of Schumann's music sourced in Schumann's sociability among his

[29] See John Daverio (2002) *Crossing Paths: Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. As a general work of reference for Schumann's biography, I also heavily relied on Daverio's opus magnum: *Robert Schumann: Herald of a 'New Poetic Age'*, see Daverio (1997). As the topics and discussions of Daverio's three monographs and his numerous essays often overlap to a significant extent, I will generally refer to this biography if in doubt, while similar insights can often be found in his other works too.

[30] See Roe-Min Kok (Ed.) (2019) *Schumann*, Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

[31] See Roe-Min Kok (2008) 'Negotiating Children's Music: New Evidence for Schumann's 'Charming' Late Style', *Acta Musicologica* , 80 (1), pp. 99-128; and Ibid. (2006) 'Of Kindergarten, Cultural Nationalism, and Schumann's "Album for the Young"', *The World of Music*, 48 (1), pp. 111-132.

befriended circle of artists. Discussing one of the most blatant outcomes of this sociability, the *FAE Sonata* by Schumann, Albert Dietrich, and Brahms, in 1935, Erich Valentin examined the friendships of the three composers as well as their dedicatee Joachim, presenting Schumann as a generous and friendly father figure and mentor.[32] Valentin saw these relationships translated into musical references and quotations throughout the sonata's movements, its composers copying and referring to each other, while maintaining their own (musical) personalities. As a result, according to Valentin, because the friends' movements worked well together, their personalities did so as well, and vice versa. Valentin even addressed some form of 'performance' reception, relating some musical features to the anticipated performance by Joachim.

As with the example of Valentin's essay on the *FAE Sonata*, this review of literature on Schumann's music, whole genres, or even the nineteenth century itself in the interplay with their social, cultural, and historical conditions, sheds light on many aspects which cannot be covered within the limits of this dissertation. One analytical area that warrants further investigation is the role of early nineteenth-century Kleinmeister and their music, which Schumann and his chamber music companions explored in great detail in the period covered in this dissertation. To include, for example, works by Franz Lachner, Johann Peter Pixis, or Leopold Fuchs would support a more comprehensive picture of the influence of Schumann's chamber music experiences that he shared with his immediate social and musical circle. However, I have decided instead to concentrate on composers that Schumann emphasised in his writings and correspondence in the time immediately preceding the chamber music year of 1842, who also received a great deal of public recognition. This thesis already

[32] See Erich Valentin (1935) 'Die FAE-Sonate. Das Dokument einer Freundschaft', *NZfM*, 102 (2), pp. 1337-1340.

treads a fine line of acknowledging and working with allusions and references in Schumann's chamber music, balancing barely audible motivic developments of such allusions with the danger for nineteenth-century composers to being accused of plagiarism (see pp. 280-283). At the same time, I acknowledge the importance of the study of nineteenth-century Kleinmeister in musicology to broaden the repertoire and knowledge of this era and to determine their influence on canonical composers such as Robert Schumann.

Other areas excluded from this research, while being evidently linked to its methodology and scholarly field, are theories on the role of memory in music, and historical listening practices. Evoking moments of memory in music is clearly related to the notion of evoking the past and musical reflection on a certain period of time, people, and events. Especially in the music of Schumann's idol Franz Schubert, the role of memory has been awarded a prominent place in recent research.[33] However, musical memory stands, in some way, opposed to the concept of sociability in music. As memories are personal experiences, 'musical memories' signify a private point of view of the composer incorporated in the music. My reading of Schumann's chamber music, however, focuses on chamber music making as a mutual, shared activity. Providing a musical model for an idealised chamber music experience and environment, my interpretation of Schumann's chamber music considers it less a

[33] See Marjorie Hirsch (2019) 'Musical Remembering in Schubert's *Faust* Settings'. In: Lorna Fitzsimmons and Charles McKnight (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Faust in Music*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 39-63; Benedict Taylor (2016) *The Melody of Time: Music and Temporality in the Romantic Era*, New York: Oxford University Press (especially chapter 4: 'Memory and Nostalgia in Schubert's Instrumental Music'); Kristina Muxfeldt (2012) *Vanishing Sensibilities: Schubert, Beethoven, Schumann*, New York: Oxford University Press; Charles Fisk (2001) *Returning Cycles: Contexts for the Interpretation of Schubert's Impromptus and Last Sonatas*, Berkeley: University of California Press; and articles by John Daverio, Charles Fisk, Walter Frisch, and John Gingerich in the special edition of *The Musical Quarterly* (2000, vol. 84, no. 4). See also Taylor's work on Mendelssohn, discussed earlier, see Taylor (2011); and Ibid. (2016) 'Seascape in the Mist: Lost in Mendelssohn's *Hebrides*', *19th-Century Music*, 39 (3), pp. 187-222.

personal recollection of an experience by the composer, but a musical criticism which is forward, rather than backward-looking.

Through this art criticism being art itself and therefore the subject as well as medium of discourse, Schumann is said in this dissertation to enter the public discourse with his audience. An examination of the listening practices of the audiences for which Schumann wrote the 1842 chamber music pieces – at least the first String Quartet and the Piano Quintet were successfully premiered in Leipzig shortly after their completion – would be the most logical next step to continue this thread.[34] Bound by the scope of my research, however, the dissertation only covers the composer's part of this theory – the chamber music experiences Schumann enjoyed in preparation for his chamber music composition, and the analysis of these experiences becoming criticism in the chamber music through narrative readings – while the possible reception of this criticism by audiences and performers had to be left aside.

The dissertation is in three main parts, of which the first one depicts a case study for the other two. In the first part, I examine Robert Schumann's youth in Zwickau. This entails the beginnings of his social interactions with other students of his age and his first experience of domestic chamber music making within a circle of paternal figures. The first part concludes with Schumann's first year in Leipzig as a university student, and the analysis of his early and hitherto largely unknown first complete chamber work, the Piano Quintet in C minor. In the second part, I study the manifold social connections and relationships Schumann established after his short period in Heidelberg in 1829 until the 'chamber music year', 1842. This lengthier episode

[34] For recent work on listening practices in the nineteenth century, see Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Ziemer (Eds.) (2018) *The Oxford Handbook of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, New York: Oxford University Press; and James H. Johnson (1995) *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History*, Berkeley: University of California Press. See also Bashford's and Ronyak's works as discussed earlier, see Bashford (2010); and Ronyak (2018).

includes his early circles, such as the imaginative *Davidsbund*, his growing love for but also musically collaborative partnership with Clara Wieck, and the friendships and musical cooperation with Gewandhaus musicians around Felix Mendelssohn and Ferdinand David. I juxtapose these biographical observations with an overview of salon culture in Germany and a discussion of the notion of private and public spheres, which I challenge with the concept of (musical) sociability. The last part comprises my analyses of works of the chamber music year, namely the String Quartets, op. 41, and the Piano Quintet, op. 44. Based on theories of narrativity, a semantic and thematic analysis of narratives throughout these pieces shows that Schumann exemplified his artistic and aesthetic demands on chamber music by creating a motivic web of relationships that links back at various points to his shared experiences and friendships of his time in Leipzig.

Most notably, these examinations combine biography and music analysis to explore the notion of sociability in Schumann's chamber music. At the same time, the study shall serve as a case study to promote the aspect of sociability throughout current studies and perceptions of classical music – because, in one way or another, all music is social. For nineteenth-century listeners such as William Hadow, Robert Schumann was 'the most *companionable* composer'. In contrast to Bach, Beethoven, and Chopin, Schumann seems to have appealed to Hadow more like a friend through his music. This study aims to broaden this concept from 'companionability' to 'sociability', asking whether Schumann was not only a companion to the listener through his music, but whether he let the listener take part in and relive experiences similar to Schumann's social and musical life. By taking Schumann's personal environment and context, as well as wider social developments of his time into account, this study attempts to find out the ways in which the composer and his compositions were indeed 'sociable'.



Figure 2 Miniature of Robert Schumann, around 1826 (anon.). Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau



Figure 3 Portrait of Gisbert Rosen, around 1828 (anon.). Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 3700-B2



Figure 4 Portrait of Moritz Semmel (anon.). Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 10113-B2

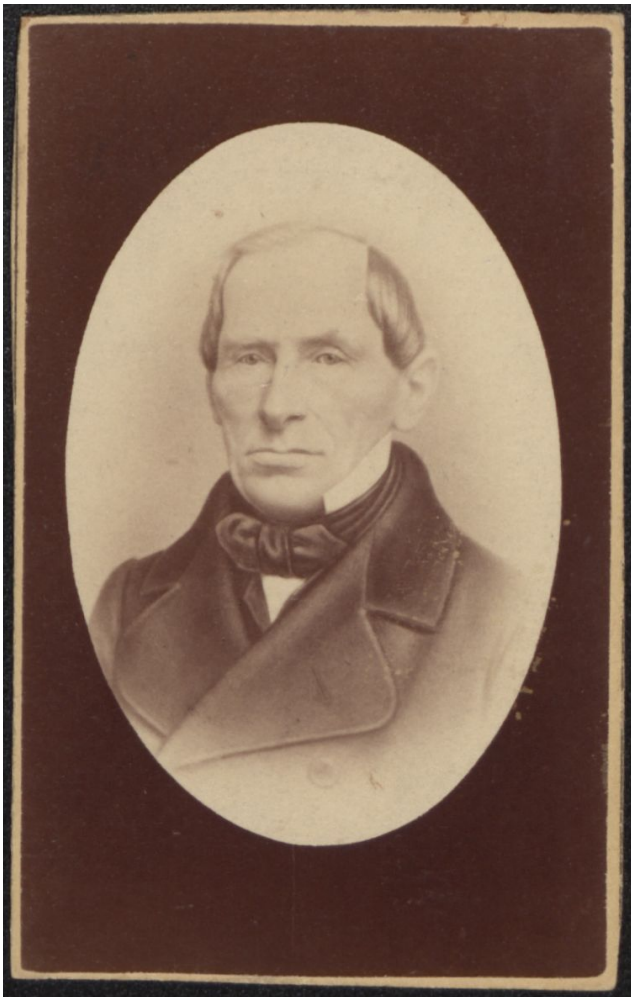


Figure 5 Photographic *Carte de Visite* of Emil Flechsig. Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 773-B2

I

Three- and Four-Leaf Clovers:

The Young Schumann Flourishing in Zwickau and Leipzig

Having just settled as a law student in Leipzig, the eighteen-year-old Robert Schumann reported in a letter to his mother on his new college friends Gisbert Rosen (Figure 3) and Moritz Semmel (Figure 4): 'Rosen is placed conveniently as appeasement between my world of emotions and Semmel's world of reason, we form quite a harmonic clover.'[35] At the end of his first year in Leipzig, shortly before departing for his year in Heidelberg, Schumann wrote to the aforementioned friend Rosen about Semmel: 'I don't think that I have already written to you that our friend Semmel will fly with me to Heidelberg after his exams. This is promising to be a life, around Michaelmas we'll travel towards Switzerland and who knows where else – shall the beautiful clover never wilt.'[36] Schumann's harmonic and beautiful clover, by means of which he described the friendships between him, Gisbert Rosen, and Moritz Semmel in their Leipzig study years, is a fitting metaphor for his poetic conception of friendship.

Examining the historical meaning of this metaphor in closer detail, Heyse's *Handwörterbuch* from 1833 states briefly: 'the clover-leaf, the triple leaf of the clover, metaphorically three closely linked people'.[37] More specifically, the Brothers Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* distinguishes the metaphorical meaning of the clover according

[35] Robert Schumann, letter to Christiane Schumann, 3 August 1829 from Heidelberg. In: SB I/1, p. 170.

[36] Robert Schumann, letter to Gisbert Rosen, 30 April 1829 from Schneeberg. In: Robert Schumann (1886) *Jugendbriefe*, ed. by Clara Schumann, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, p. 13.

[37] 'das Kleeblatt, das dreifache Blatt vom Klee; uneig. drei eng verbundene Personen'. Johann Christian August Heyse and Karl Wilhelm Ludwig Heyse (1833) *Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache: mit Hinsicht auf Rechtschreibung, Abstammung und Bildung, Biegung und Fügung der Wörter, so wie auf deren Sinnverwandtschaft*, vol. 1, Magdeburg: Wilhelm Heinrichshofen, p. 872.

to the number of its leaves: 'as the "clover" consists of three leaves, it has been a popular description for many similar inseparable trinities… a four-leaved clover is regarded as bringing good luck.'[38] The notion of a group of three depicted by the three-leaved clover as described in these two dictionaries found its way into Romantic literature, for instance in the novels of Schumann's favourite author Jean Paul. He explored the significance of the metaphor as the Holy Trinity, symbolising groups of three with religious connotations in *Siebenkäs*[39] and *Der Jubelsenior*.[40] The other association of the clover for Jean Paul was the family, calling a family of three in *Titan* a 'Familien-Kleeblatt'.[41] In *Hesperus*, the clover's organic nature is alluded to in addition to its family connotation:

> To the couple while still in England their Flamin was born. Her Ladyship loved in the person of the Court-Chaplain's wife a worthy sister of her sex, and a worthy fellow-citizen of her native land; she urged her with fervent prayers to stay in England, and when all were refused, she begged and prevailed upon her at least to let her Flamin – in order to be at all events half a Briton — stay behind in the society of Victor and the Infante, till the friendly trio* [Kleeblatt (trefoil) in the German. - Tr.] should be transplanted simultaneously into German soil.[42]

[38] 'da aber 'ein kleeblatt' aus drei blättern besteht ('trifolium', vgl. dreiblatt), ward es eine beliebte bezeichnung für allerlei ähnliche untrennbare dreiheiten… ein vierblätteriges kleeblatt gilt für glückbringend.' Jacob Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm, et al. (1873) *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 5, Leipzig: S. Hirzel, p. 1062. Other nineteenth-century German lexica and encyclopaedia (Herder, Meyer, and Pierer) only feature botanical description of the clover and do not mention its metaphorical use.

[39] 'Da im Briefe drei Himmel inliegend waren, für jeden Seligen einer – für die Frau das Kompliment – für den Pelzstiefel die Programmen – für den Advokaten der Brief selber: so würd' es mich nicht gewundert haben, wenn das beschenkte Kleeblatt und Terzett vor Freuden getanzt hätte.' Jean Paul (2019) *Jean Paul's Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 18, reprint of the 1848 edition, Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, p. 153.

[40] 'Ich kann nicht behaupten, daß mir seine Auswanderung und Kotzebuische Flucht (nach Paris) äußerst zuwider war: denn außer dem, daß er in dem lymphatischen System unserer Empfindsamkeit nichts war als ein Extravasat, so wurde durch ihn, durch Gobertinen und mich ein erbärmliches dürres Zölibats-Kleeblatt formiert, das — denn Esenbeks *kontrakte* Kontrakte von Kebs-Ehen zähl' ich für nichts — so wenig Kinder vorzuweisen hatte als das kanonische Kleeblatt der drei geistlichen Kurfürsten.' Jean Paul (2018) *Jean Paul's Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 20 (Vierte Lieferung, Fünfter Band), reprint of the 1826 edition, Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 173f.

[41] Jean Paul (2018) *Jean Paul's Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 15, reprint of the 1861 edition, Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, p. 306 (see also p. 139).

[42] Jean Paul (1865) *Hesperus, or, Forty-Five Dog-Post-Days. A Biography*, transl. by Charles T. Brooks, vol. 1, Boston: Ticknor and Fields, p. 37. 'Beide zeugten noch in England ihren Flamin. Die Lady liebte in der Hofkapländin eine würdige Mitschwester ihres Geschlechts und eine würdige Mitbürgerin ihres Vaterlands, sie drang in sie mit beißen Bitten, in England zu bleiben, und als alle abgeschlagen waren, erbat und erzwang sie es von ihr, daß wenigstens ihr Flamin — um doch ein halber Britte zu werden — so lange in der Gesellschaft des Infanten und Viktors bleiben durfte, bis das

A *Kleeblatt* could, however, also denote a trinity of worthy objects, especially art works (a point to which I will return at the beginning of chapter 2, see pp. 129f.). Jean Paul himself recommended to his friend Christian Otto a collection of three stories, edited by Friedrich Laun, called *Das Kleeblatt*: 'Please do read most of and especially the newest novels by [Gustav] Schilling, (especially *das Kleeblatt* by Laun and himself) and Novalis' novel.'[43] The clover as a symbol for Romantic triplets has also been applied by another great literate of the same generation and beloved author by Schumann, E.T.A. Hoffmann: connecting it to the Romantic concepts of Bildung and irony, Hoffmann's alter ego, Kapellmeister Johannes Kreisler remembers in *The Life and Opinions of the Tomcat Murr* three slaps in the face he received as part of his 'education' through his uncle as a 'romantic clover'.[44]

Against this background of the clover being a symbol for familiar, even religious bonds between (predominantly three) people, and as a literary device, Schumann's descriptions of his friendship with Rosen and Semmel as 'harmonic' or 'beautiful clover' gains stronger significance. The organic development of such a plant, the usually symmetric and equal leaves growing out of a single stem and remaining attached to the same stem throughout their existence, highlights the importance, but also the expectations Schumann awarded these friendships. It even implicates a notion of fatefulness, a figurative divine providence, that the three leaves growing from the stem do so without their own involvement or choice but by the will of nature. In this

freundliche Kleeblatt aus einmal in die deutsche Erde verpflanzet würde.' Jean Paul (2018) *Jean Paul's Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 5, reprint of the 1841 edition, Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 48f.

[43] 'Lies doch die meisten besonders neuesten Romane von Schilling, (besonders das Kleeblat von Laun und ihm) und Novalis Roman.' Jean Paul, letter to Christian Otto, 15-21 July 1802 from Meiningen. In: *Jean Paul – Sämtliche Briefe digital*, URL: https://www.jeanpaul-edition.de/brief.html?num=IV_295 [accessed 20 May 2021]. See also Friedrich August Schulze (pseud. Friedrich Laun) (Ed.) (1802) *Das Kleeblatt. Drei Erzählungen*, Pirna: Arnoldsche Buchhandlung.

[44] E. T. A. Hoffmann (2011) *Die Lebens-Ansichten des Katers Murr*, Cologne: Anaconda, p. 119.

light, Schumann might have seen these friendships as ordained and himself invariably attached to their common stem.

On the other hand, the clover itself can also be considered as something exclusive and self-contained, as trying to attach a further leaf to the stem cannot happen naturally. Schumann was not as sociable outside of his close circle but valued his friendships. At school in his birthplace of Zwickau, he formed such a close bond with a small selection of classmates, namely Eduard Röller, Emil Flechsig (Figure 5), and Hermann Walther. In the diary entry from 24 January 1827, which also mentions the metaphor of a clover for the first time, the sixteen-year-old Schumann analysed the characteristics of these friends in astonishing detail:

> I am spending some beautiful hours with Roeller, Flechsig, and Walther. I am about to call it a four-leaf clover which one only finds rarely. Roeller is a higher mind, less, perhaps, with his heart, but with his mind: he is a favourite of the muses, has a real poetic gift, and might, at some point, shine as a poet: he feels what he thinks, and what he feels, he thinks; Flechsig seems to conclude even more thoroughly and more logically: he digs deep in everything: naturally a bit colder and less eccentric, he does not know anything of the vanishing dreams of a juvenile, but prefers to explore the reality with the cleverness of an adult man… Walther is sharply sighted, without a sharp mind: his poems demonstrate his imagination, his thoughts are not entirely original, however: he is, in one word, effusive without being eccentric, and a thinker without being a philosopher. What I actually am myself, I don't clearly know yet. I do have imagination, I think: and I am not deprived of it; I am not a thorough thinker: I can never follow a thread logically which I might have started well. Whether I am a poet – because no one can ever become one – posterity shall decide.[45]

[45] 'Ich verlebe manche schöne Stunde mit Roeller, Flechsig u. Walther. Ich möchte es bald ein vierblättriges Kleeblatt nennen, das man selten findet. Roeller ist ein großer Geist, weniger vielleicht dem Herzen, als dem Geiste nach: er ist ein Liebling der Musen, hat wahrhaftes Dichtertalent und wird vielleicht einmal als Dichter hoch glänzen: er empfindet was er denkt u. was er empfindet, denkt er: Flechsig scheint noch tiefer u. richtiger logisch fortzudenken: er dringt in Alles tief ein: von Natur etwas kälter u. weniger excentrisch, weiß er nichts von den verschwindenden Träumen des Jünglings, sondern erforscht lieber mit der Klugheit des Mannes die Wirklichkeit... Walther ist scharfsichtig, ohne scharfsinnig zu seyn: seine Gedichte zeugen von Phantasie, seine Gedanken sind jedoch nicht ganz originell: er ist mit einem Worte schwärmerisch, ohne excentrisch zu seyn und Denker, ohne Philosoph zu seyn. Was ich eigentlich bin weiß ich selbst noch nicht klar: Phantasie, glaub' ich, hab' ich: und sie wird mir auch von keinem abgesprochen: tiefer Denker bin ich nicht: ich kann niemals logisch an den Faden fortgehen, den ich vielleicht gut angeknüpft habe. Ob ich Dichter bin – denn werden kann man es nie – soll die Nachwelt entscheiden.' TB I, 29f.

This lengthy description of Schumann's friends touches on two important aspects of his youth: firstly, he seemed to select his friends wisely, and if one was to become a clover-leaf, Schumann had to know this person extremely well. Even more so, as the above descriptions show, his friends were not necessarily like-minded or of similar character, but rather complementary and, in Schumann's words, a 'harmonic group'. Schumann was well aware of their talents and traits, whether he believed them to be positive or negative. The thoroughness with which Schumann described his view of his friends demonstrates an extremely high personal engagement for such a young student, considering himself even luckier for having found a four-leaved clover this time.

Secondly, the subject of Schumann's assessments of his friend could be considered the roots of the clover and the soil it is planted in, as already Jean Paul suggested in *Hesperus* (see above: 'the friendly Kleeblatt should be transplanted simultaneously into German soil'). This means the arts in general, and specifically in the German tradition, out of which Schumann's clover-friendships grew and which nurtured and firmly rooted all of his 'clovers' throughout his life. In the case of the above letter, the emphasis regarding Schumann's own and his friends' artistic gifts lies clearly on the poetic and literary side, with music not being mentioned once. In contrast, there was a social aspect to his literary interests during his time in Zwickau, culminating in the foundation of a literary club ('*Litterarischer Verein*') in 1825. This literary club represented a rather different kind of social activity compared to Schumann's close personal attachments. The literary club was founded primarily for two reasons: to facilitate encounters with literature and poetry in an organised manner, and as an opportunity for public presentation and performances. Both were to be shared by like-minded students of the same age.

In this chapter I examine Schumann's close friendships and his literary and musical circles from their beginnings to his departure from Leipzig to Heidelberg and to his first serious composition of a chamber music work, the C-minor Piano Quartet (WoO 32, 'op. V' on the manuscript). I argue that Schumann wanted and needed such social contacts, either in the form of intimate friendships such as his 'clover-leaves', or as a platform for artistic interaction, in order to encounter and consequently produce art in general, and music in particular. Finally, I discuss the composition of the C-minor Piano Quartet with a view to detecting the representation of those social environments in the work's narrative, in order to elucidate their influence on Schumann as a young man.

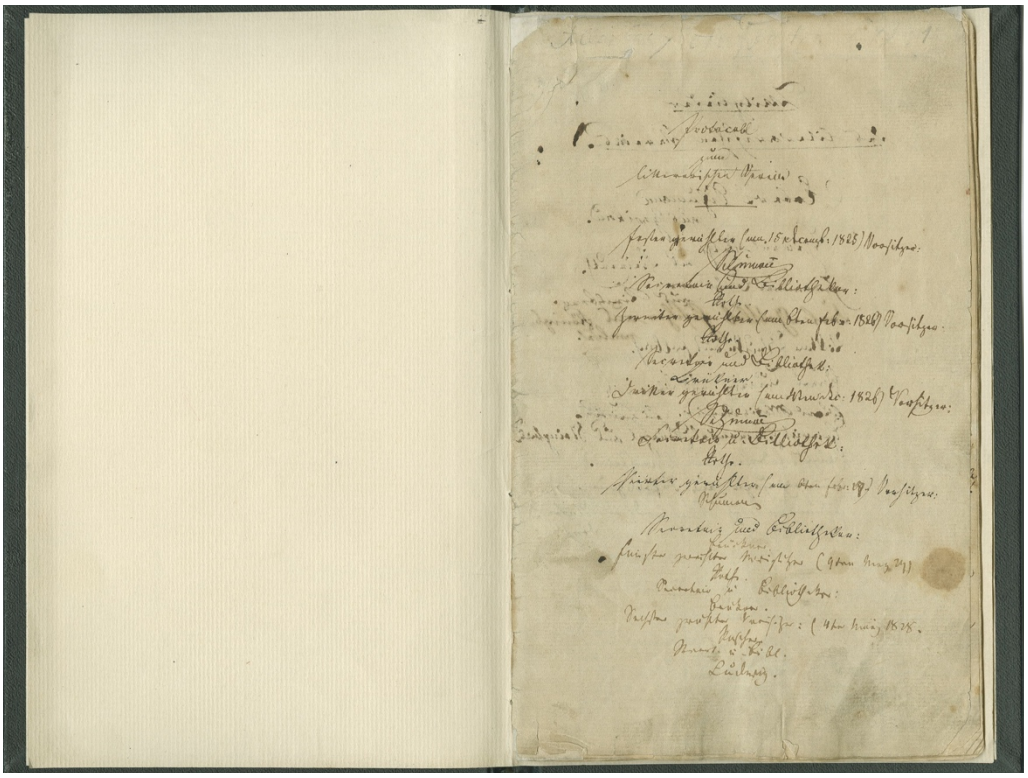


Figure 6 'Autograph des Protokolls des Literarischen Vereins.' Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 4871,VII,C,4-A3, pp. 1-3

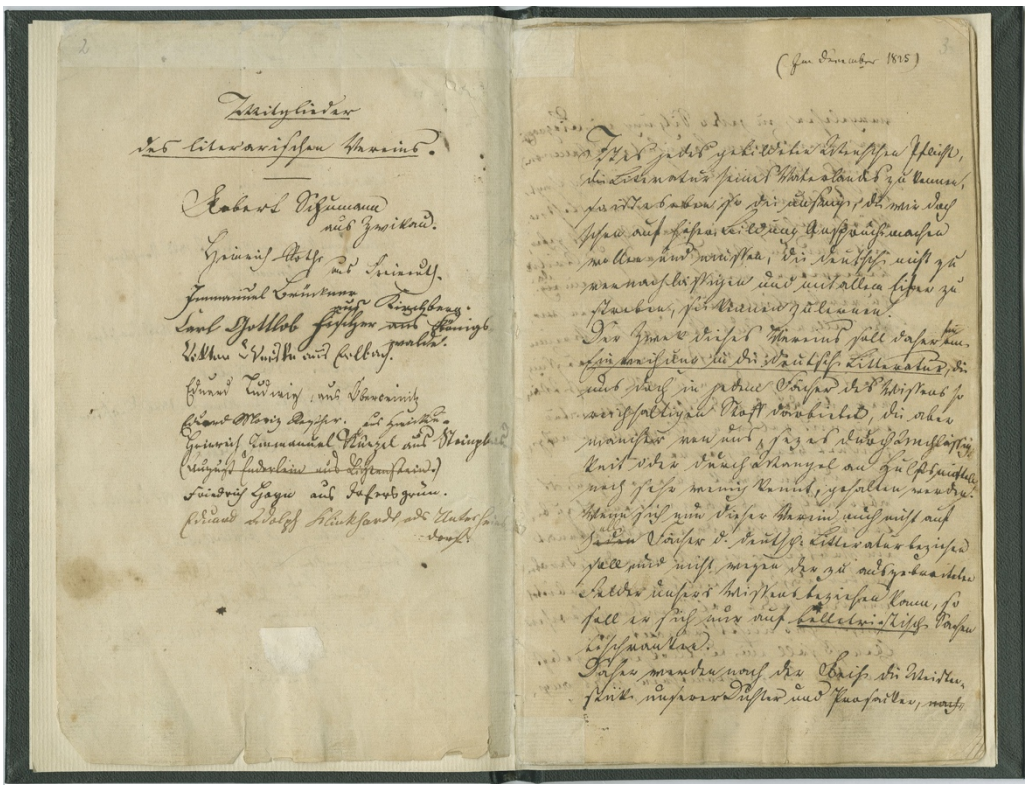


Figure 6 continued

‘What I am myself, I don’t know’: The Literary Schumann in Zwickau

The fifteen-year-old Schumann founded the *Litterarischer Verein*, a literary club, with ten fellow students.[46] For John Daverio, this was one of ‘the clearest signs of the seriousness with which Schumann intended to cultivate the belletristic side of his talent’.[47] The seriousness of Schumann’s approach is recorded in the protocols of the *Litterarischer Verein*, documented by Martin Schoppe (Figure 6 displays pp. 1-3).[48] In Schumann’s handwriting, the so-called protocol book first mentions one chair and one secretary each per election, and six in total for the time between December 1825 and March 1828. Of these six elections, Schumann is listed three times as chair of the

[46] See Martin Schoppe (1991) ‘Schumanns Litterarischer Verein’. In: Bernhard R. Appel and Inge Hermstrüwer (Eds.) *Robert Schumann und die Dichter. Ein Musiker als Leser*, Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, p. 17.

[47] Daverio (1997) pp. 23f.

[48] See Schoppe (1991). The original autograph of the ‘Protokollbuch’ is in the Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr.: 4871/VII, C4-A3.

Litterarischer Verein. After naming all eleven members of the club, Schumann penned a sort of introduction to the club's meetings in prose, starting with the purpose of their gatherings:

> It is the duty of every cultivated individual to know the literature of his fatherland, and thus it is our duty, as we already want to and must lay claim to higher education, not to disregard the German [literature] and to strive with all purpose to get to know it. Thus, the purpose of this club for us shall be the introduction to German literature, which offers us such extensive material in every subject of knowledge, but of which also some of us know very little, perhaps due to negligence or to the absence of supplies.[49]

Schumann certainly did not lack confidence in writing about his own and his fellows' ambitions and duties to German literature. The young Schumann's approach to such a vast subject reveals much of his later encounters of musical genres in strict order. He was clear about how to conduct the meetings. In every session, 'nach der Reihe' ('one after the other'), a masterpiece of German poets and 'prosaics' was to be read, together with the biography of a famous man, which subsequently was discussed with misunderstood terms explained. Finally, a newly composed poem was recited and reviewed by the members.

Concerning the duties of the chairman and the manners of the attendees of the meetings, Schumann continued the introduction with some ground-rules. Violating those rules were punished severely:

> It is necessary to pursue it with uttermost seriousness. Therefore, every month a chairman shall be elected who has no privileges other than maintaining silence and being obeyed by everyone. Just as well a library shall be founded, whose increase is everyone's highest duty. Each week two sessions shall be conducted, which will not take place if less than four members are present. Everyone shall always attempt to attend… The mistakes made by the reader in delivery or pronunciation can be reprimanded aloud by everyone. The chairman has to decide how much everyone has to read and to distribute parts of plays etc. The chairman is allowed to decide relatively on a penalty fee for everyone who is constantly

[49] 'Ist es jedes gebildeten Menschen Pflicht, die Literatur seines Vaterlandes zu kennen, so ist es aber eben so die unsrige, die wir doch schon auf höhere Bildung Ansprüche machen wollen und müssen, die deutsche nicht zu vernachlässigen und mit allem Eifer zu streben, sie kennen zu lernen. Der Zweck dieses Vereins soll daher für uns Einweihung in die deutsche Litteratur, die uns doch in jedem Fächer des Wissens so reichhaltigen Stoff darbietet, die aber mancher von uns, sey es durch Nachlässigkeit oder durch Mangel an Hülfsmitteln noch sehr wenig kennt, gehalten werden.' Ibid., p. 21. See also Daverio (1997) p. 21.

> non-serious or laughing during a session and the fee cannot be refused in any case. Nothing improper or naughty may be said or done in a session; if such is noted frequently, the chairman may decide on a penalty.[50]

Even though such rules may seem masquerading as all-too-adult, as might be expected of a serious-minded fifteen-year-old boy, this document demonstrates that Schumann pursued his plans to familiarise himself systematically with German literature with the highest enthusiasm and eagerness. Daverio confirmed that 'the formative importance of this coterie of like-minded, aspiring literati for the young Schumann can hardly be overemphasized, not least because it afforded him an outlet for his developing tendency toward systematic study and production'.[51] Even more so, the effort and seriousness of conducting these meetings with his fellows according to rules, compiling a library (despite his father's extensive collection being available to the young Schumann) and frequently voting for chairmen and secretaries, demonstrates the importance of mutual experience and of encountering such literature with like-minded people. Conveniently, this group also constituted its own audience and critics for works by its own members, and hence, Daverio observed, 'reception and creation were envisioned as flipsides of the same coin, as they undoubtedly were during Schumann's later teenage years as well',[52] a pairing which will be discussed later.

In founding such a literary club, Schumann continued a development of 'Lesegesellschaften' (reading societies) and 'Lesezirkel' (reading circles) that

[50] 'Um diesen Zweck zu erreichen, ist aber nöthig, es ganz mit Ernst zu betreiben: es soll daher jeden Monat ein Vorsteher gewählt werden, der aber außer daß er Stillschweigen gebietet und dem jeder nothwendig gehorchen muß, gar nichts voraus hat. Eben so soll eine Bibliothek angelegt werden, die zu vermehren, jedes angelegentlichste Pflicht seyn soll. In jeder Woche sind zwey Sitzungen, die aber, sind unter vier Mitglieder da, nicht gehalten wird. Jeder muß aber stets dafür sorgen, daß er dabey gegenwärtig seyn kann... Die Fehler, die jeder im Vorlesen oder der Aussprache macht, können von jedem laut gerügt werden. Der Vorsitzer hat zu bestimmen, wie viel Jeder lesen soll so wie in den Schauspielen etc: die Rollen auszutheilen. Jeden, der in der Sitzung nicht ernsthaft ist und unaufhörlich lacht, kann der Vositzer vehältnißmäßig eine Geldstrafe bestimmen, die ersterer aber in keinem Falle verweigern darf.' Schoppe (1991) pp. 22f.

[51] Daverio (1997) p. 25.

[52] Ibid.

experienced their Golden Age in Germany at the end of the previous century. They became such an important part of German cultural life that they 'were featured in encyclopaedias and dictionaries and have been added to topographies'.[53] The 'Journal von und für Deutschland' reported in 1785 that 'reading societies are so universal in our age that one would not find many even just somewhat considerable cities in the enlightened Germany in which such societies have not yet been established'.[54] It is likely that Schumann stumbled over these institutions in the well-equipped library of his father, if not through personal conversation or knowing such a society in Zwickau himself. Unfortunately, Schumann has not left any documents proving that his idea of the *Litterarische Verein* was based on the tradition of German reading societies. However, the organisation and structure of these societies equals the rules of *Litterarische Verein* to such an extent that it seems unlikely that Schumann did not know of them before starting to write the protocol book.[55]

The Leipzig 'Journalgesellschaft', for example, was founded in 1768 and lasted until the late nineteenth century. Schumann might have been familiar with this society given the local proximity, complemented by a variety of other literary clubs and societies in Leipzig at the end of the eighteenth century.[56] The Journalgesellschaft was founded by seven friends, only 15 to 16 years old at that point, who were students at the university of Leipzig. The society's purpose was to 'gain a wide knowledge of the

[53] Marlies Prüsener (1973) 'Lesegesellschaften im 18. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Lesergeschichte'. In: Berthold Hack, Bernhard Wendt, and Marietta Kleiss (Eds.) *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, vol. 13, Frankfurt/Main: Buchhändler-Vereinigung GmbH, p. 374.

[54] Cited in: Ibid., p. 411.

[55] See Ibid., p. 406; Marlies Stützel-Prüsener (1981) 'Die deutschen Lesegesellschaften im Zeitalter der Aufklärung'. In Otto Dann (Ed.) *Lesegesellschaften und bürgerliche Emanzipation. Ein europäischer Vergleich*, Munich: C. H. Beck, pp. 75f.; and Otto Dann (1981) 'Die Lesegesellschaften und die Herausbildung einer modernen bürgerlichen Gesellschaft in Europa'. In: Ibid. (Ed.) *Lesegesellschaften und bürgerliche Emanzipation. Ein europäischer Vergleich*, Munich: C. H. Beck, p. 18.

[56] See Matthias Wießner (2004) 'Die Journalgesellschaft: eine Leipziger Lesegesellschaft um 1800'. In: Christine Haug and Lothar Poethe (Eds.) *Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte*, vol. 13, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, p. 104.

beautiful sciences [the humanities] through the reading of German literature'.[57] This goal was enforced by a similar set of rules, penalty fees, and protocol entries. Many members of Leipzig's artistic scene were involved in this society as the list of members demonstrates, and one of them was the Gewandhaus director August Matthäi, whom Schumann had met in Zwickau. Even though there is no proof that Schumann was aware of the Journalgesellschaft and its statutes, due to the similarity in conducting his own literary club and the common links through people like Matthäi one can assume that Schumann found the role models of his club in the Journalgesellschaft or similar societies around him.

Schumann also took his own stance on the club, according to Bernhard R. Appel: he confused, or rather mingled, the local culture of reading societies with his knowledge of the tradition of the 'Künstlerbund' (an artists' circle).[58] The active participation of its members, and especially the production and performance of their own works and poems resembles the tradition of the Biedermeier artists associations much more than the rather passive consumption of literature in such reading societies. Furthermore, Schumann might have simply understood his literary club as such an artists' club and stamped the conventions of the reading societies on his ideal. The 'Künstlerverein' also corresponded much better to the emphatic higher goals that he pursued with the *Litterarischer Verein* rather than being a mere platform to encounter and recite literature together. As he stated in the introduction to the club's protocols, 'from such clubs arose Utz, Voß, Cramer, Lessing, Kleist, Hagedorn, and all great men who have been immortalised in German literature with golden letters'.[59] These group of poets who saw themselves as 'Anacreontics' did not form such a reading society for

[57] Ibid.
[58] See Appel (1981).
[59] See Schoppe (1991) p. 22.

sure, but were a prime example of a circle of friends that affirmed their effusive friendships mostly through letters rather than meeting as a society.[60] It becomes clear that this was an ideal of Schumann's own ambitions which he then combined with the culture of local reading clubs.

Schumann's friend Flechsig remembered that already the thirteen-year-old Schumann himself was convinced that he was to become a great man: 'What I noticed about him quite soon though was that he was absolutely certain to become a famous man in future – famous for what was still rather undecided, but famous under any circumstances.'[61] Pursuing this goal, Schumann laid the foundations early on with his *Litterarischer Verein*. Schoppe described this ambitious side of Schumann's character:

> Robert tries *always to be the first and to exceed the others in learning*. As musician or narrator, playing the piano, singing, acting or conducting the so-called *Youth Orchestra*, he searches for his spheres of activity, and such a sphere is the *Litterarische Verein*. There, one has to explore whether one is indeed 'the first', one can compete with friends, thereby evidently influencing them and profiting a lot for one's own striving.[62]

As a result, two different kinds of social and artistic interaction evolve from these accounts of literary activities in Schumann's youth. On the one hand, there is the *Litterarische Verein*, which demonstrates Schumann's early urge for professionalisation and organisation of such circles and gatherings, with the clear purpose to follow the footsteps of 'the great men' and to encounter literature systematically. Its members were numerous, and their duties clearly laid out, but they almost remained anonymous on a personal basis. Most of those names (apart from

[60] See Appel (1981) p. 3.

[61] Eismann I, pp. 15f. This anecdote by Flechsig is undated in Eismann, but it can be assumed that it is part of the memories which Flechsig sent to Wasielewski in 1856 and 1857 for the compilation of the latter's Schumann biography.

[62] 'Robert versucht, *immer der Erste zu seyn und vorzustreben den anderen.* Ob als Musiker oder Deklamator, klavierspielend, singend, schauspielernd oder das sogenannte *Jugendorchester* dirigierend, er sucht seine Betätigungsfelder, und ein solches ist der *Litterarische Verein*. Hier ist zu erkunden, ob man tatsächlich schon »der Erste« ist, man mißt sich mit den Freunden, beeinflußt sie dabei natürlich und profitiert kräftig fürs eigene Streben.' Schoppe (1991) p. 18.

Heinrich Rothe, Moritz Rascher, and Immanuel Küntzel to a lesser extent) do not appear in Schumann's early diaries, letters, or later memories as one of his friends.

On the other hand, the aforementioned clover did not consist of members of the *Litterarische Verein*. This is not due to the lack of poetic talent (see Schumann's analysis of his friends above) or disinterest. Flechsig remembered that Schumann 'fancied himself in reading out poetic works – he almost read me and Röller to death – always with greatest enthusiasm'.[63] Schumann equally shared his passion for literature with his closer friends like Flechsig and Röller. He also reported to Flechsig in December 1827 of a journey to Schneeberg with Walther (the remaining 'clover-leaf') and Rascher (Schumann's closest friend from the Verein).[64] In Schneeberg, this trio experienced a bonding moment in a pub. Walther, 'the reciter', and Rascher with his 'tragic-comical characteristic' recited spontaneously for the local farmers in the pub, while Schumann improvised at the piano – calling the whole adventure ironically a truly 'musikalisch-deklamatorische Abendunterhaltung'. Eventually, he concluded that 'now we are standing even more by one another than ever before. We gave ourselves nicknames; I am called Faust or Fust, even though I don't want to be that.'[65] Such a leisurely Sunday afternoon, featuring literature and music for sheer fun and entertainment with his friends, stands in sharp contrast to the well-organised and rule-controlled meetings of the *Litterarischer Verein*. These two spheres seem to remain separated throughout Schumann's youth. Schumann, to some extent, might have needed this contrast between the intimate contact to the clover and the competitive and performative experiences with the club for his development as an artist.

[63] Eismann I, p. 16. See also Wolfgang Boetticher (1940) *Robert Schumann in seinen Schriften und Briefen*, Berlin: Bernhard Hahnefeld Verlag, p. 8.
[64] See Robert Schumann, letter to Emil Flechsig, 1 December 1827 from Zwickau. In: Schumann (1886) p. 11.
[65] Ibid., p. 13.

In his autobiographical sketch, the fifteen-year-old Schumann reported an earlier example of his urge for public presentation, and thus, one possible motivation for founding the *Litterarische Verein*:

> Furthermore, myself, my brother, and some further fellow students had quite a pretty theatre, in which, despite being known to and even famous in the whole of Zwikau [sic], [as we sometimes took 2-3 rthl:], we played entirely ex tempore and cracked terrible and far-fetched jokes.[66]

The proud undertone to his report of the apparent success of the theatre, and his fame within the town, is evident, and Schumann seemed aware of, even focussed on, the public presentation of his skills. The order of mentioning himself first, followed by his brother and then some fellow students suggests that Schumann saw the whole enterprise being centred around him, and himself as 'primus inter pares' among his contemporaries.[67] This applies not only in terms of entrepreneurial activities, but also in the arts themselves, exemplified in a 'Musikalisch-deklamatorische Abendunterhaltung' ('Musical-Declamatory Evening Entertainment'), in which Schumann participated towards the end of his Zwickau time, on 25 January 1828.[68] Among the thirteen declamatory contributions, Schumann's choice of the Faust monologue by Goethe stands out as the most ambitious and tragic piece of the evening. This choice of literature by Schumann might have been suggested by the nickname given to him during the trip with Walther and Rascher just two months prior to this school performance, or maybe Schumann was already working on the Faust monologue by the time of the excursion, and thus was named after the character by his friends. In

[66] 'Außerdem hatte ich, mein Bruder u. noch einige Schulcameraden, ein recht hübsches Theater, auf welchem wir obgleich in ganz Zwikau bekannt und sogar berühmt, [denn wir nahmen manchmal 2-3 rthl: ein] ganz ex tempore spielten u. fürchterlichen Witz rißen u. bey den Haaren herbeizogen.' Eismann I, p. 14.

[67] Georg Eismann reported that in the same year, 1825, when Schumann founded the *Litterarischer Verein*, he also set up a secret republican 'Schülerbund' ('Students' association'), which he led with fraternity fundamentals. As the dates of beginning and end of this students' association correlate with those of the *Litterarische Verein*, I assume both the *Litterarischer Verein* and the Schülerbund describe the same enterprise. See Eismann I, p. 26.

[68] See Ibid., p. 20.

either case, this is one of the rare occasions where Schumann's intimate life with his close friends ties in with his appearance in public performances.

The young literary Schumann seemed to have followed two different goals in his social activities. One was expanding his knowledge of German literature in a group of like-minded but not necessarily befriended students, in a highly organised and ordered manner, with the possibility for performances and competition. The other one was a recreational aspect when engaging in literature with his actual friends, be it a recitation for them or as a fun part of a mutual excursion. The sources and documents pertaining to these activities are comparatively rich; however, the social aspect of his literary gatherings has rarely been subject to studies of Schumann's early years.[69]

[69] Limited references are made to the social aspect of his literary gatherings in, for example, Daverio (1997) pp. 23-28; Geck (2010) pp. 29f.; Ute Bär (2009) *... und denke an mein theures Zwickau. Robert Schumanns Kindheit und Jugend*, Stuttgart and Leipzig: Hohenheim Verlag, pp. 53-55.



Figure 7 Photography of Carl Erdmann Carus, 1841 (anon.). Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 3826-B2

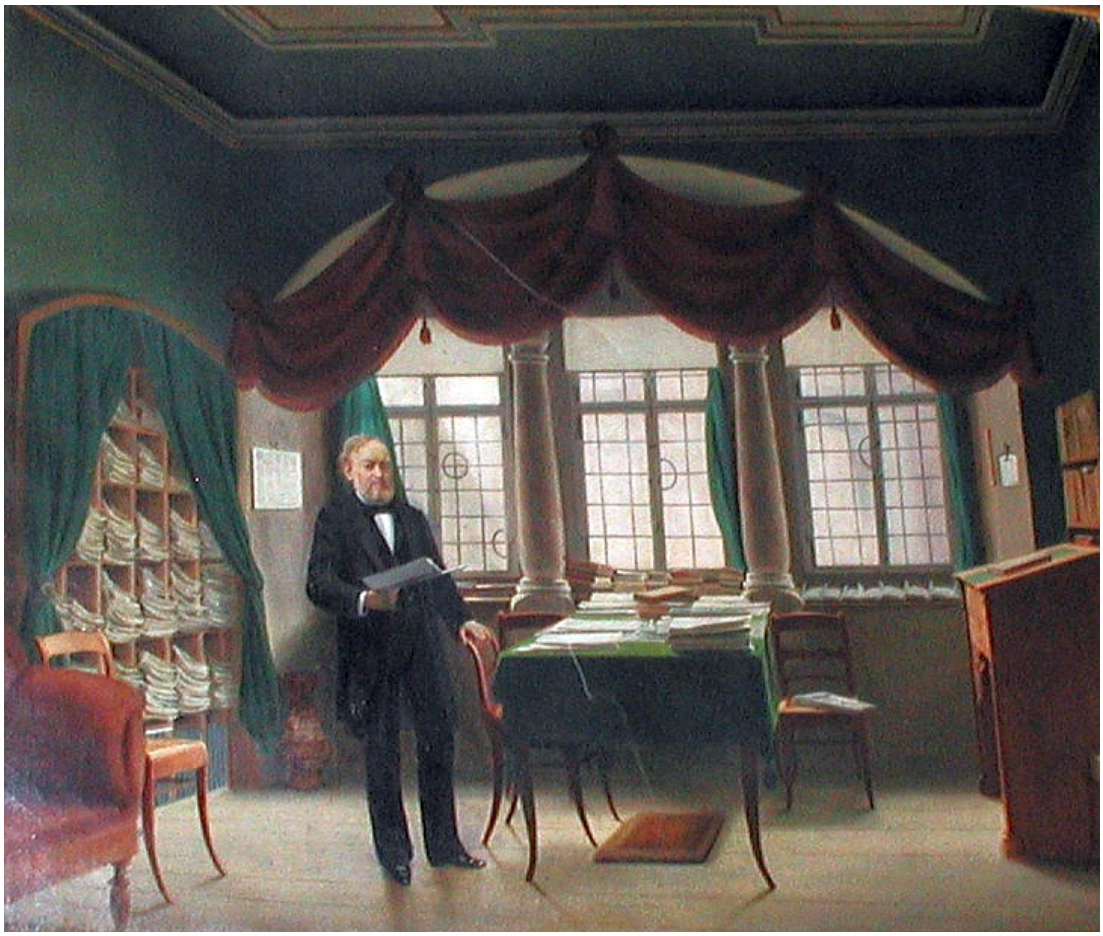


Figure 8 Painting of Postmeister Friedrich von Schlegel by Carl Gottlob Mittenzwey, 1855. Kunstsammlung Zwickau, Inv.Nr. 1937/32



Figure 9 Portrait of Johann Gottfried Kuntsch, around 1830 (anon.). Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 10779-B2

‘Smashing the Piano’: Schumann in the Zwickau Music Scene

Robert Schumann’s extensive engagement with literature in his youth was equalled by his immersion in music, and in piano and chamber music in particular. Daverio noted that, even ‘though the surviving documents attest more fully to the cultivation of poetry than music, both artforms were probably pursued with almost equal vigor... His skills as the organizer of a literary club were paralleled on the musical side by a complementary entrepreneurial flair’.[70] Before Schumann could unleash his entrepreneurial talent in music, however, he made his entrance into the musical homes of Zwickau, beginning around 1821. His reception was enabled by his musical friends and supporters, businessman Carl Erdmann Carus (Figure 7)[71] and postmaster Johann Georg Friedrich von Schlegel (Figure 8), as well as his music teachers, Johann Gottfried Kuntsch (Figure 9) and Carl Christian Heinrich Siebeck.

Schumann’s first performance experiences were gained in school concerts, entitled *Abendunterhaltungen* (semi-private evening entertainments) which were organised by Kuntsch. Beginning in the years 1821 or 1822, Schumann presented not only solo piano music but also four-hand variations by Ignaz Pleyel.[72] In 1823, according to Schumann’s youthful diary *Blätter und Blümchen aus der goldenen Aue*, Schumann also started to attend the private soirées in the postmaster von Schlegel’s and Carus’ homes.[73] The first ones recorded in the diary date from November 1823 at Schlegel’s. Schumann documented these events in great detail as the excerpt from the first quartet evening shows:

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[70] Daverio (1997) p. 29.

[71] Carl Erdmann Carus (1775–1842) was the director of a chemical works in Zwickau. See Bernhard Koerner (Ed.) (1910) *Genealogisches Handbuch Bürgerlicher Familien (Deutsches Geschlechterbuch)*, vol. 17, Görlitz: C. A. Starke, p. 75.

[72] See Ibid., p. 22.

[73] See also Schumann’s biographical sketches: ‘quartets at Carus’ and Schlegel’s [postmaster in Zwickau]. Prince Louis, Mozart, Dussek, Haydn, Beethoven.’ Boetticher (1940) p. 12.

> On 11 November 1st quartet at Mr. von Schlegel.
> 1. Quartet [G minor] by Mozart for piano. (Mr. v. Schlegel), Violin (Mr. Carus), Viola (Mr. Meissner), Violoncello (Mr. Schröder).
> 2. Quartet by Bothe. Viol. 1 (Mr. Meissner), Viol. 2 (Mr. Carus), Viola (Mr. Siebeck), Violoncello (Mr. Schröder).
> 3. Quintett by Prince Louis Ferdinand. Piano (v. Schlegel), Viol. 1 (Mr. Carus), Viol. 2 (Mr. Meissner), Viola (Mr. Siebeck), Violoncello (Mr. Schröder).
> 4. Quartet by Mozart. Viol. 1 (Mr. Carus), Viol. 2 (Mr. Meissner), Viola (Mr. Siebeck), Violoncello (Mr. Schröder).[74]

While Schumann was part of the audience for this first quartet evening, he then played the piano part, aged twelve, in Mozart's Piano Quartet in E flat major on 27 November 1823.[75] He seemed to be accepted quickly into this circle of adult professional or amateur musicians and shared their passion for playing chamber music. Many of the names mentioned in this first quartet evening recur in Schumann's memories of his Zwickau time – either as music teachers (such as Kuntsch and Siebeck)[76] or as senior patrons (Schlegel and Carus). Jansen portrayed Schumann's long-lasting attachment to Schlegel:

> Schumann had vivid memories of postmaster von Schlegel's splendid piano playing, with whom he alone also sometimes played some music. The friendly relationship between Schlegel and Schumann was maintained throughout later years as well. Several times during the years 1837–1842, Schlegel pleased Schumann with letters to which he attached compositions by himself or short accounts from Zwickau's music life for the *Neue Zeitschrift*.[77]

To an even greater extent, Schumann established a life-time relationship with his 'fatherly friend',[78] the businessman Carl Erdmann Carus. The atmosphere of the soirées being held in Carus' home and Schumann's appreciation of being part of their

[74] Friedrich Gustav Jansen (1905/06) 'Aus Robert Schumanns Schulzeit', *Die Musik*, 5 (4), pp. 85f.
[75] See ibid.; and Kohlhase I, p. 9.
[76] While Kuntsch has been considered throughout biographical literature on Schumann as the most important musical influence during his schooldays, Siebeck has been strikingly ignored despite already having been discovered and published in an early essay by Jansen. See Jansen (1905/06) p. 84.
[77] 'Das treffliche Klavierspiel des Postmeisters v. Schlegel hat Schumann, der auch manchmal mit ihm allein musicierte, in lebhafter Erinnerung behalten... Die freundlichen Beziehungen zwischen Schlegel und Schumann blieben auch später bestehen. Schlegel erfreute Schumann in den Jahren 1837–1842 einigemal durch Briefe, denen er Kompositionen von sich oder kurze Berichte aus dem Zwickauer Musikleben für die Neue Zeitschrift beigelegt hatte.'Jansen (1905/06) p. 86, fn 1.
[78] Robert Schumann (1843) 'I. F. Carus', *NZfM*, 18 (7), p. 28.

frequent participants is noticeable in the obituary Schumann published in the *NZfM* after Carus' death in 1843:

> Also for me, the most valuable memories of my youth are tied to the name of businessman I. F. Carus. It was in his house, where the names of Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven belonged to the ones mentioned daily with excitement; in his house, where the rarer works of those masters, primarily quartets, which otherwise could not be heard at all in smaller towns, first became familiar to me; where I often could participate at the piano; in this Carus house well known to most national artists, where they received the most hospitable reception; where everything was joy, cheerfulness, music.[79]

Schumann's 'participation' in these quartet evenings even found its entry into a poem that he sent to the Carus couple for their silver wedding anniversary (Figure 10):

Once being in your circle
Like a child of this house,
Today I send my wishes
to you, heartfeltly and quietly.

You have tolerated me with pleasure,
when I, in childish spirit,
towards top, middle, and bottom
smashed your piano…[80]

[79] 'Kaufmann I. F. Carus, an dessen Namen auch für mich sich die theuersten Jugenderinnerungen knüpfen. War es doch in seinem Hause, wo die Namen Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven zu den täglich mit Begeisterung genannten gehörten, in seinem Hause, wo die sonst in kleinen Städten gar nicht zu hörenden selteneren Werke dieser Meister, vorzugsweise Quartette, mir zuerst bekannt wurden, wo ich oft selbst am Clavier mitwirken durfte, in dem den meisten vaterländischen Künstlern gar wohlbekannten Carus'schen Hause, wo ihnen die gastlichste Aufnahme zu Theil wurde, wo alles Freude, Heiterkeit, Musik war.' Ibid., p. 27. The meaning of the initials or abbreviation 'I. F.' in the obituary is unclear, possibly referring to 'ipse fecit' ('did it himself'), a common remark in art works or behind signatures of artists. The dates of birth and death in the obituary clearly identify Carl Erdmann Carus as the subject, however.

[80] 'Der einst in Eurem Kreise / Wie Kind vom Hause war, / Bringt heut' so innig wie leise / Euch seine Wünsche dar. / Ihr habt ihn gern gelitten, / Wenn er im kindischen Flug / Nach oben, unten und mitten / Euch das Clavier zerschlug...' Jansen (1905/06) p. 84.

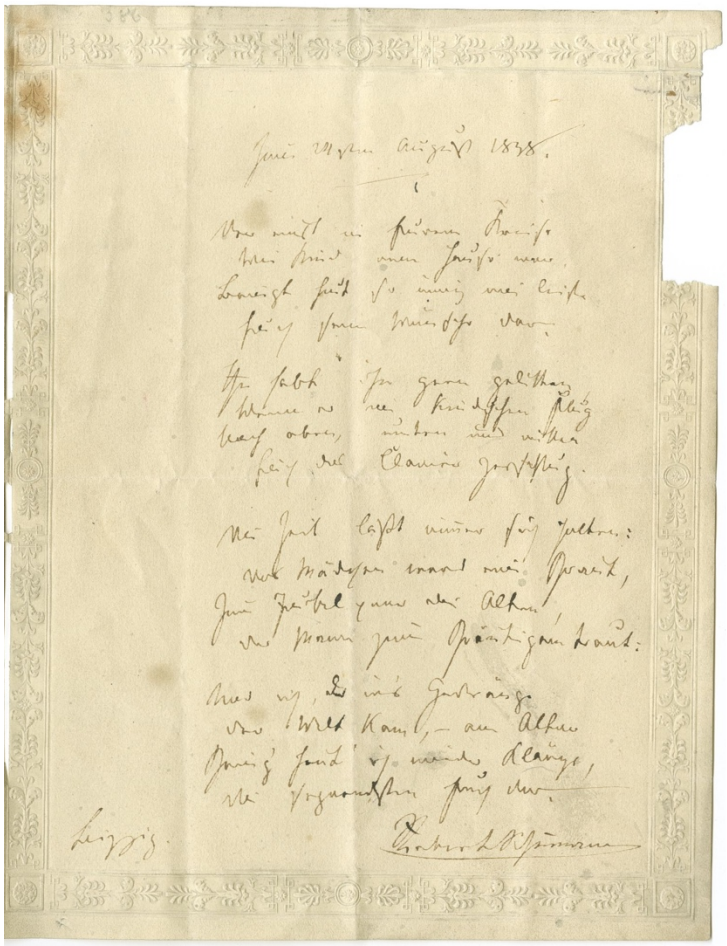


Figure 10 Poem by Robert Schumann for the silver wedding anniversary of the Carus couple, 1838. Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 386-A3_001

The familiarity that Schumann evidently enjoyed with Carl Erdmann Carus' family lasted long into his Leipzig years. The impressions and experiences he gathered from the musical hours in Schlegel's and Carus' houses were positive overall, and chamber music making among close friends and other familiar locals was cherished in many of his fondest musical memories. Moreover, through the musical libraries of these connoisseurs Schumann was able to dive into the chamber music literature of the Viennese Classics. And finally, Agnes Carus, Carl Erdmann Carus' niece-in-law, became one of Schumann's early beloveds, and the target of some lengthy poetic outbursts.

On attempting to categorise the meetings of this circle into the scholarly interest that nineteenth-century chamber music has received, an imagined scene within Schlegel's or Carus' homes would fall into the second image Sumner Lott depicted in the introduction to her social study of nineteenth-century chamber music (the painting by Mary Ellen Best, *Anthony Playing String Quartets with Friends*, in contrast to the first painting of the Joachim Quartet playing at Bettina von Arnim's home).[81] Such, in Sumner Lott's words, 'truly private events'[82] are believed to have been common practice in the nineteenth century, and her description of the general features of such practices encapsulates the nature of the abovementioned chamber music gatherings:

> In the Romantic era, accomplished amateurs, or performers and musicians with significant training who for various reasons pursued music as an avocation or hobby rather than as a profession, supported a rich and diverse ecosystem of musical activity. They attended concerts, performed in casual recreational capacities, participated in more organized groups such as community choirs and orchestras, and apparently bought sheet music in astounding quantities.[83]

Schumann experienced chamber music just like the majority of amateur musicians of his time. The genre was used as a social medium, and Schumann apparently appreciated being part of these 'communities within communities' that the social interactions of especially string chamber music in the home fostered.[84] On the other hand, while sociable qualities of domestic chamber music were most valued around that time, the scenes in Schlegel's and Carus' homes still seemed to place the music performed in the centre and as the main purpose of their gatherings. The purpose of these chamber music evenings first and foremost seemed to be the entertainment of the performers and other ones present and their enjoyment of the classical repertoire of chamber music.

[81] See Sumner Lott (2015) pp. 1-3.
[82] Ibid., p. 3.
[83] Ibid., pp. 3f.
[84] Ibid., p. 4.

Thus, for Schumann, familiarising himself with convivial and amateur chamber music making in such environments, the distinction between public and private spheres was of no concern whatsoever, and the apparent 'separation of spheres' of the early nineteenth century went past Schumann without much awareness during his youth.[85] Instead, the sociable potential of this circle was highlighted by the long-lasting friendships to the hosts and by eventually finding a muse in Agnes Carus within the circle. These were the aspects that made the lasting impression on Schumann and engrained convivial and private chamber music making as a desirable principle in Schumann's life. This special quality of domestic music making was widely spread and valued among nineteenth-century German middle-class culture and has not yet been examined with the same scrutiny as the rising public concert life.

The most cited image of such a domestic scene involving chamber music is found in Richard Wagner's essay 'On German Music' from 1840/41, picturing a family home led by a music-loving father:

> [The Germans] rather choose a handicraft to earn their living and give themselves with all the greater zest to music in their leisure hours; to refresh themselves, grow nobler by it, but not to shine. And do you suppose they make nothing but handicraft-music? No, no! Go and listen one winter-night in that little cabin: there sit a father and his three sons, at a small round table; two play the violin, a third the viola, the father the 'cello; what you hear so lovingly and deeply played, is a quartet composed by that little man who is beating time.—But he is the schoolmaster from the neighbouring hamlet, and the quartet he has composed is a lovely work of art and feeling.[86]

This account shows some similarities with the evenings at Carus' or Schlegel's home, as both had solid professions outside the arts and led their musical evenings as a sort of paternal figures – even though none of them tried their hands at composing chamber music themselves. Wagner emphasised the importance of such familiar circles for

[85] See my discussion of public and private spheres, pp. 195ff.

[86] Richard Wagner (1898) *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, vol. 7, transl. by William A. Ellis, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p. 86.

German music making, even placed it in the heart of the German music soul, contrasting the French virtuoso and Italian stage music culture:

> Instrumental music is consequently the exclusive property of the German,—it is his life, his own creation! … The German cannot impart his musical transports to the mass, but only to the most familiar circle of his friends. In that circle, however, he gives himself free rein. There he lets flow the tears of joy or grief unhindered, and therefore it is here that he becomes an artist in the fullest meaning of the word. If this circle is scant, it is a piano and a pair of stringed instruments that are played on;—one gives a sonata, a trio or a quartet, or sings the German four-part song. If this familiar circle widens, the number of instruments waxes too, and one undertakes a symphony.—This justifies us in assuming that instrumental-music has issued from the heart of German family-life; that it is an art which can neither be understood nor estimated by the mass of a crowded audience, but solely by the home-like circle of the few.[87]

Leaving Wagner's nationalistic propaganda about German nobility aside, the Austro-German dominance in the repertoire of instrumental chamber music performed in Carus' and Schlegel's houses, and the 'joy, cheerfulness, music' that Schumann remembered from these evenings at Carus' match Wagner's impression of 'a familiar circle of friends' appreciating German instrumental music. Interpreting Wagner, Schumann was educated in German music culture within a nearly ideal environment in Zwickau, which rarely required any public-seeking and audience-dominated performances, but instead allowed for appreciation within a familiar circle of amateur musicians. Referring to this text, Ruth Solie captured the image Wagner tried to convey while connecting it to the term with which this epoch in German middle-class has been described:

> This new domesticity has at its heart the representation of a particular mood or atmosphere suffusing the home, a profound comfort and order to which the appropriate response is a kind of worshipful gratitude, and which is provided in particular for the paterfamilias by the other members of the family. The name for this emotional transaction is 'Biedermeier.'[88]

[87] Ibid., pp. 91f.

[88] Ruth Solie (2004) *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, p. 126.

While this image pictures an atmosphere that can easily be imagined in the Zwickau houses that Schumann visited, Solie saw this 'token or outward sign of genuineness, sincerity, heartfeltness' that the described domesticity has been invoked as, perfectly represented in Franz Schubert's personality and his Schubertiaden.[89]

The concept of Biedermeier cosiness and the intimacy of Schubert's circle was, at least to some extent, noticeable in the Zwickau houses of Carus and Schlegel. As the musical scene in Zwickau was circumscribed, it is likely that Schumann experienced a similar atmosphere as described by Solie above, shown by his fond memories of Carus' home. The age gap between most of the present musicians and Schumann affirmed this sense of familiarity and paternalism. And even though Schumann did not attempt to compose his own chamber music works for this circle and thus, could not deliver 'signs of privateness' in music yet, the cultural traits of the chamber music evenings he witnessed and participated in laid the foundations for his later chamber compositions.

As a complement to the soirées among adult musicians in which he participated, Schumann satisfied his own entrepreneurial skills with a series of concerts he organised himself at his home, featuring fellow students as performers. The first documented event of such a kind took place on 7 December 1823 in Schumann's home. In his diary *Blätter und Blümchen*, Schumann introduced the event: 'On 7 December, the first musical evening entertainment was held at mine, led by the directors: Robert Schumann and Carl Praetorius',[90] subsequently noting the

[89] Ibid., p. 118. On sociability in the context of the Schubertiaden and Schubert's circles, see for example, John Gingerich (2014) '"Those of us who found our life in art": The Second-Generation Romanticism of the Schubert-Schober Circle, 1820–25'. In: Christopher H. Gibbs and Morten Solvik (Eds.) *Franz Schubert and his World*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 67-114; and David Gramit (1997) '"The Passion for Friendship": Music, Cultivation, and Identity in Schubert's Circle'. In: Christopher H. Gibbs (Ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 56-71.

[90] Jansen (1905/06) p. 86; and Geck (2010) p. 27.

programme and performers of the concert. According to the programme, Schumann appeared ubiquitously, either as conductor of the nine-piece orchestra, as piano soloist of a concerto by Böhner, or as duo partner in sonatas for violin (with his co-director Karl Friedrich Praetorius), for flute (with Hoffmann), and for clarinet (with Friedrich Piltzing). In his memories of Schumann, Piltzing remembered such concerts at Schumann's home:

> Often, though not in regular periods, performances were held, for which all fellow musical students available ['Kinderkräfte'], for instruments as well as voice, were demanded. These performances did not happen in order to stand out, but simply for satisfying an inner urge, as usually, besides some fellow students, Robert's father was the entire audience and he pretended not to care about us at all…[91]

Piltzing acknowledged that Schumann was not seeking external confirmation or admiration by his ambitious character. The audience seemed to be rather irrelevant for putting on such ambitious undertakings. It served much more as practice and early experience for organising music events professionally and bringing together as well as leading fellow musical students. Another impressive document of this 'inner urge' is depicted by an undated programme note (Figure 11) of a concert in Schumann's home, written by Schumann himself and printed probably in his father's press:

Musical
Evening Entertainment
in the house of the Amtsgasse No
directed by the signatory.

First Part.
Overture by Grosheim for the entire orchestra
Chorus from Preciosa by M. v. Weber
Andante for 2 Glascords [bells? harmonica?], flute, oboe, and clarinet
Aria from Mozart's Belmonte and Constanze
Piano concerto by Lecour

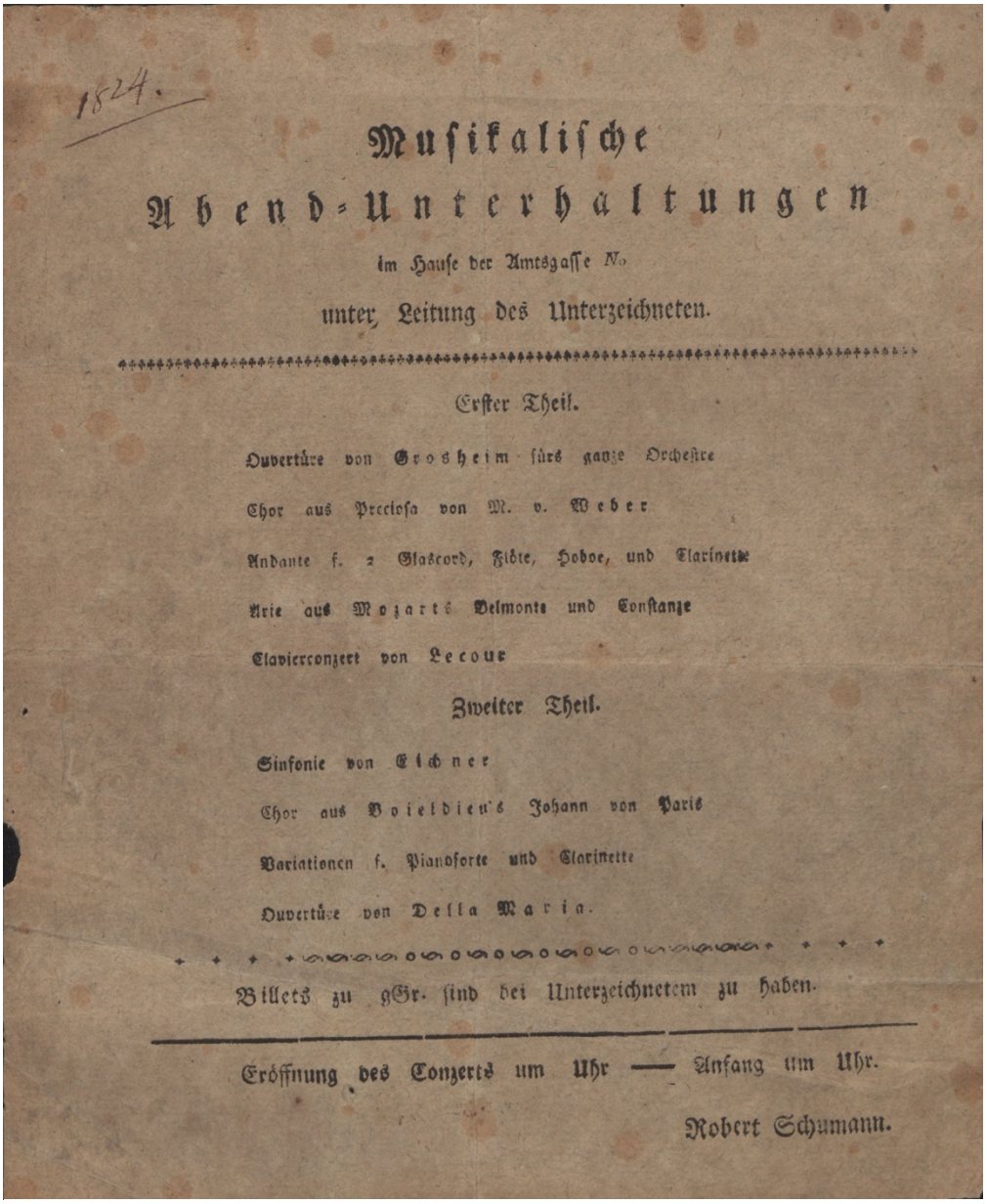
Second Part.

[91] 'Oefters, jedoch nicht in bestimmten Zeiträumen, wurden auch Aufführungen gehalten, wobei alle aufzutreibenden musikalischen Kinderkräfte, sowohl für Instrumente als auch für Gesang in Anspruch genommen wurden. Diese Aufführungen geschahen aber nicht, um etwa damit zu glänzen, sondern bloß um einen inneren Drang zu befriedigen, dann außer einigen Schulkammeraden war gewöhnlich Robert's Vater das einzige Auditorium und that auch dieser scheinbar, als kümmere er sich nicht um uns...' Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski (1883) *Schumanniana*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, p. 73.

Symphony by Eichner
Chorus from Boieldieu's Jean de Paris
Variations for piano and clarinet
Overture by Della Maria.

Tickets can be purchased from the signatory for … gGr
Beginning of the concert at …, ending at …

Robert Schumann[92]


1824.

Musikalische
Abend-Unterhaltungen
im Hause der Amtsgasse No.
unter Leitung des Unterzeichneten.

Erster Theil.

Ouvertüre von Grosheim fürs ganze Orchestre
Chor aus Preciosa von M. v. Weber
Andante f. 2 Glascord, Flöte, Hoboe, und Clarinette
Arie aus Mozarts Belmonte und Constanze
Clavierconzert von Lecour

Zweiter Theil.

Sinfonie von Eichner
Chor aus Boieldieu's Johann von Paris
Variationen f. Pianoforte und Clarinette
Ouvertüre von Della Maria.

Billets zu gGr. sind bei Unterzeichnetem zu haben.

Eröffnung des Conzerts um Uhr — Anfang um Uhr.

Robert Schumann.

Figure 11 Programme of a 'Musikalische Abendunterhaltung' in Zwickau, probably 1827. Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 5974-A4#C4

[92] See also Eismann I, p. 17.

The title of this programme note and the information about ticket purchases and timings of the concert are supposed to give the impression of a professionally organised event. Schumann used his circle of musical friends to programme a varied concert which aimed to fulfil ambitions exceeding its domestic venue and purpose. As Schumann was not targeting a large audience, according to Piltzing, such an elaborate programme note probably served only in terms of practicing for a professional career. It is remarkable that no source can be found in which Schumann scheduled and conducted one of these 'official' concerts featuring only solo piano music, or a few friends with whom to play chamber music. Instead, each time the squad of young musicians was of the size of a small orchestra. This suggests that Schumann was not seeking solo attention, even if he was evidently concerned with public reputation.[93] The conscientiousness with which he wrote down all names involved and the fact that he sometimes reviewed their performances in the concerts he organised, shows that Schumann valued the aspect of performing such a concert together, while still acknowledging his own ambitions standing out from his fellows.

*

Schumann's literary and musical activities during his Zwickau time, 1820-1828, present him to have been preoccupied by his many interests and fulfilling leading roles in his social circles. Early on, Schumann was in charge of activities with his fellow students, establishing organised activities such as the *Musikalische Abendunterhaltungen* or with the *Litterarischer Verein* in his house. Therefore, the

[93] Another reason for the lack of solo programmes could be that Schumann's pianistic skills were not yet advanced enough at that stage for him to comfortably present himself as a solo performer.

dualistic purpose of exploring literature and musical repertoire and gathering performance experience together with students of the same age, as well as comparing himself with his classmates, stands out. At the same time, Schumann valued artistic interaction with his closer friends in a less determined manner, such as literary excursions with his 'clover', or the welcoming atmosphere in soirées of elder and more proficient musicians such as in Schlegel's or Carus' houses. In either case, Schumann benefitted from having company for his artistic encounters. Whether he made artistic acquaintances outside of the small Zwickau circle is not well documented. In his autobiographical sketch from 1840, he admits that he 'had never heard any great artists' during his youth.[94] On the other hand, he also remembered that Carl Erdmann Carus was in contact with famous regional artists, such as the Gewandhaus chamber musicians Friedrich Dotzauer, Friedrich August Kummer, Heinrich August Matthäi, and others.[95] Schumann befriended most of these musicians in his subsequent time in Leipzig, but whether he was already introduced to them in Carus' home is uncertain. In contrast, the homely and intimate atmosphere of his circles in Zwickau provided the perfect environment for the young Schumann to familiarise himself with the mutual benefits of chamber music making.

[94] Robert Schumann (2000) *Geistliche Werke*, vol. 1, part 1 (*Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*, Serie IV, Werkgruppe 3), ed. by Brigitte Kohnz and Matthias Wendt, transl. by David Jenkinson, Mainz: Schott, p. 120.

[95] See Schumann (1843) p. 27.



Figure 12 Lithography of Dr Christian Gottlob Glock (anon.).
Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 3512-B2



Figure 13 Photography of Christoph Sörgel (anon.). Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 10760-B2

No Law Student: Schumann's Move to Leipzig and his First Chamber Music Ensemble

> I was continuously productive (in both music and literature) when I reached the age of 18, whereupon I moved to Leipzig to study law, as my mother wished; as I myself wished, though not as yet clearly, to devote myself entirely to music. New life from then on. Diligent study of the piano. Listened to good music. My eyes were opened to Franz Schubert and Beethoven; and an inkling of Bach. By way of compositions, a large-scale Piano Quartet, 8 Polonaises for four hands, a great number of songs by Lord Byron. In Heidelberg, where I went in 1829, continued study of the piano and firm resolve to become a musician.[96]

In 1840, Schumann summarised his years in Leipzig and Heidelberg, when he was torn between studying law and pursuing music as a profession. The social circles Schumann entered in Leipzig might have tipped the scales towards the latter – if he had found himself at home in similar literary circles or societies instead, perhaps nowadays one would speak of the novelist or poet Robert Schumann and not the composer. The connections Schumann had made during his youth in Zwickau, namely with Agnes and Ernst August Carus (Carl Erdmann Carus' nephew),[97] had an important place in these early Leipzig days, as is indicated by a letter written to his mother on 22 August 1828:

> Dr Caruses are still the same: friendly, heartfelt, warm as ever; they have very high regards for you and send a thousand wishes. Otherwise, I have not been amongst other families; I am almost disgusted with myself, and I am very bad among people who do not understand me and whom I cannot love. I am very often

[96] 'Unter immerwährendem Producieren (musikalischem, wie schriftstellerischem) wurde ich 18 Jahr, wo ich nache Leipzig ging, dem Willen der Mutter nach, die Rechte zu studieren, meinem eigenen auch noch nicht klar gewordenen, mich ganz der Musik zu ergeben. Neues Leben von da an. Fleißiges Studium des Claviers. Hören guter Musik. Franz Schubert und Beethoven gingen mir auf; von Bach dämmerte es. Von Compositionen ein großes Quartett für Clavier mit pp. 8 vierhändige Polonaisen, eine Menge Lieder v. Lord Byron. In Heidelberg, wo ich 1829 hinging, fortgesetztes Studium des Claviers u. fester Entschluß Musiker zu werden. Eine Reise nach der Schweiz u. Italien im Jahre 1829 hatte keine musikalischen Zwecke. Paganini reizte bis aus Aeußerste zum Fleiß.' Schumann (2000) p. 120.

[97] Ernst August Carus (1797–1854), son of the psychologist, theologist, and professor for philosophy Friedrich August Carus (1770–1807) and married to Charlotte Agnes Florentine Küster (1802–1839), was a general practitioner in Colditz in the South-East of Leipzig from 1824 to 1829. From there, he frequently visited the musical gatherings at his uncle's house in Zwickau, having studied music, fine arts, and philosophy himself. In 1829 he became head of a clinic in Leipzig and associate professor for surgery at Leipzig University. In 1844, he left Leipzig for an offer to become full professor at Dorpat University. See Koerner (1910) p. 75f. Ute Bär described Ernst August as the brother of Carl Erdmann Carus, but without giving evidence. See Bär (2009) p. 58.

> at Wieck's, who is my piano teacher, and there I can get to know the best musicians in Leipzig every day. I often play pieces for four hands with Demoiselle Reichhold, the best piano player, and I want to perform one of those pieces at one of the coming grand winter recitals.[98]

The Caruses' home appears to have been Schumann's first place to go after his arrival in Leipzig, and it is likely that they introduced him to Friedrich Wieck, who became his piano teacher and later his father-in-law. Their home became the place where Schumann experienced and participated in chamber music and where he felt himself secure among society as he did in Carl Erdmann Carus' home in Zwickau. Schumann soon attended Wieck's home equally frequently and with the same confidence. After all, this was the place where Schumann 'gained access to Leipzig's elite music circles'.[99]

Indeed, it is striking that, at least during the year before his move to Heidelberg, Schumann's contact with the Leipzig music elite (which was far more extensive than that of Zwickau) was limited to the private homes of Ernst August Carus and Friedrich Wieck. Even though he entered a city in which public musical life was rapidly growing, and leading soloists stopped on their tours to give recitals in the Gewandhaus or other Leipzig venues, Schumann did not seem to be either interested or involved at all in anything outside his aforementioned circles. In his diaries, letters, or other notes from this time, no interaction with public chamber music life is noted. What makes this even more surprising is that the Gewandhausquartett was established in the Leipzig music scene for about 30 years by then.[100] Schumann knew at least two

[98] 'Dr. Carus'sens sind noch die alten: herzlich, innig, warm wie zuvor; sie achten Dich außerordentlich und grüßen Dich tausendmal. Sonst bin ich noch in keine Familien gekommen; es ekelt mich fast dafür, und ich befinde mich schlecht unter Menschen, die mich nicht verstehen und die ich nicht lieben kann. Bei Wieck, der mein Klavierlehrer ist, bin ich sehr oft und habe alle Tage die Gelegenheit die ausgezeichnetsten Musiker Leipzigs kennen zu lernen. Mit Demoiselle Reichhold, der besten Klavierspielerin, spiele ich oft vierhändig und will in den künftigen großen Winterkonzerten ein vierhändiges Konzert mit ihr vortragen.' Robert Schumann, letter to Christiane Schumann, 22 August 1828 from Leipzig. In: SB I/1, p. 105.

[99] Daverio (1997) p. 46.

[100] See my discussion of this ensemble, pp. 182ff.

members of this ensemble personally, as he himself reported that Carl Erdmann Carus associated with the quartet's leader Matthäi and the cellist Justus Johann Friedrich Dotzauer.[101] Even though Dotzauer had already left the quartet when Schumann arrived in Leipzig, he was probably aware of this institution, and met one or the other member of the quartet in either Ernst August Carus' or Wieck's house.[102]

In general, chamber music in Leipzig unfolded for Schumann solely in private circles, with the musical elite joining now and then. In April 1829, just before his move to Heidelberg, Schumann reported to his friend Gisbert Rosen:

> Two days ago, there was a very brilliant concert in Zwickau, 800-1000 people altogether; of course, I let my fingers be heard as well – I can't even get out of the celebrations of joy… on Monday quartet at Carus' (Matthäi from Leipzig), on Tuesday Gewandhaus concert and supper.[103]

This letter is not only a demonstration of Schumann's closeness with his birthplace and his tendency to exaggerate his own achievements during his youth, it also shows that he heard Matthäi playing at a soirée in Carl Erdmann Carus' home, or even played chamber music with him. More festive evenings such as the one on the following Tuesday with a concert and supper were reserved for orchestral concerts. The chamber music evenings offered a valuable and intimate atmosphere to Schumann and getting to know Leipzig's music celebrities in such an environment was possibly the easiest introduction. An example of such an evening is recorded in Schumann's diary from 4 December 1828:

> Coffee circle at Wieck's - Rondeau mignon by Czerny (Clara u. Wieck) - Scherzi by Mochik[?] al à 4 m (Morgenstern and Wendler) – Trio by Hünten in E flat (Wendler, Müller, Grabau) – Trio by Fr. Schubert – (Wendler, Müller, Grabau) – Varat: by Täglichsbeck and L. Medio[?] – 2 times Dem. Reichold and

[101] See Schumann (1843) p. 27.

[102] See Claudius Böhm (2008) *Das Gewandhaus-Quartett und die Kammermusik am Leipziger Gewandhaus seit 1808*, Altenburg: Kamprad, p. 34.

[103] 'Vorgestern war sehr brillantes Concert in Zwickau, wo 800-1000 Menschen zusammen waren; natürlich ließ ich meine Finger auch hören – ich komme gar nicht aus den Luft- und Freudenfesten heraus... am Montag Quartett bei Carus (Matthäi aus Leipzig), am Dienstag Gewandhausconcert und Abendessen.' Robert Schumann, letter to Gisbert Rosen, 30 April 1829 from Schneeberg. In: Hermann Erler (1887) *Robert Schumann's Leben. Aus Seinen Briefen*, vol. 1, Berlin: Ries & Erler, p. 13.

> Täglichsbeck ... G. W. Fink – Probst – ... Kapellmeister Täglichsbek – Dance with Reichold ... – Company on the way home and principles and women rules – home at 3 o'clock – exalted night and Schubert's everlasting Trio in my ears – terrible dreams –[104]

Besides meeting and listening to renown musicians at this occasion (violinist Müller and cellist Andreas Grabau were chamber musicians and soloists at the Gewandhaus), the social aspect of this coffee circle, which ended up with dancing and in a carousing night, emphasises the festive and extraordinary character of those gatherings for Schumann. However, these events could also turn out less exciting, like one of Schumann's last evenings in Ernst August Carus' home before his move to Heidelberg: 'in the evening quartet at Carus' – Bernhard from Chemnitz – v. Trosky – v. Schlegel – Erttel – the Radish quartet and variations – quatuor by Spohr op. 58 – the Hüntenish variations on the piano – otherwise quite dragging'.[105] Outside of these familiar homes, Schumann did not participate in any chamber music activities, be it in other soirées or public recitals. Thus, at least for the time of his first year in Leipzig, chamber music was still connected for Schumann to private houses and circles of musicians that were complemented by guests from the Leipzig music scene.

Apart from these two families, Schumann also engaged with a small number of student friends. After a few weeks in Leipzig, Schumann admitted his friend Rosen: 'Besides Semmel and Flechsig, my only close friend is Götte. There is not much about the others, and I don't care much about them, at best Schütz and Günther, if they only weren't that one-sided.'[106] Having named Rosen and Semmel as his harmonic clover,

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[104] 'Kränzchen bey Wiek – *Rondeau mignon v. Czerny* (Clara u. Wieck) – *Scherzi von Mochik*[?] als à 4 m (Morgenstern u. Wendler) – *Trio v. Hünten aus Es* (Wendler, Müller, Grabau) – *Trio v. Fr. Schubert* – (Wendler, Müller, Grabau) – Varat: von Täglichsbeck u. *L. Medio*[?] – 2mal Dem. Reichold u. Täglichsbeck ... *G. W. Fink – Probst* – ... Kapellmeister Täglichsbek – Tanz mit der Reichold - ... – Begleitung nach Hause u. Grundsätze u. Weiberregeln – Um 3 Uhr nach Hause – exaltirte Nacht u. das ewige Schubertsche Trio vor den Ohren – fürchterliche Träume –' TB I, pp. 151f.

[105] TB I, p. 192.

[106] Robert Schumann, letter to Gisbert Rosen, June 1828 probably from Leipzig. Cited in Erler (1887) vol. 1, p. 3.

they were complemented by his schoolfriend and now flatmate Flechsig and Wilhelm Julius Götte, a philosophy student from Braunschweig and Schumann's fellow member of the Leipzig fraternity. This group of fellow students constituted the core of Schumann's first Leipzig clover, and he reviewed and commented on many of these friendships, demonstrating his high regard for this social environment. However, none of these friends were musicians, and they were not involved in Schumann's musical activities during these years.

Schumann soon found a group of young musicians with whom he started to meet regularly for the sake of so-called trio or quartet evenings. Flechsig remembered: 'In the winter semester he set up a quartet, in which the old Glock, a strange genius who had studied for 34 semesters, played the cello and Täglichsbeck the violin.'[107] Schumann's first note on chamber music making outside of Friedrich Wieck's or Ernst August Carus' houses appears in his diaries on 17 August 1828: 'Duo with Täglichsbek at 1pm',[108] and then later in a comment on that very occasion: 'Duo with Täglichsbek; musical duos easily become duos of the hearts and the conversation and language of similar souls; then they are most valuable. Four-hand piano playing remains the most beautiful prime pleasure.'[109] The added comment on the value of musical duos and four-hand piano playing suggests that this occasion had an impact on Schumann, for it was worth elaborating on the pleasure in chamber music making after that day. Whether Johann Friedrich Täglichsbeck, a student of philosophy and later music director in Brandenburg,[110] was his partner on the piano or played the violin in these duos is not clear, though the comment suggests the former. In any case, the

[107] Cited in: Eismann I, p. 44. See also Schumann's Projectenbuch, cited in Geck (2010) p. 41.
[108] TB I, p. 115.
[109] Ibid., p. 116.
[110] See Joachim Draheim (2010) 'Preface'. In: Schumann, R., *Quartett für Violine, Viola, Violoncello und Klavier*, ed. and completed by Joachim Draheim, transl. by Julia Rushworth, Mainz: Schott Music, p. 4, fn 3. It was not possible to locate a portrait of Johann Friedrich Täglichsbeck.

duo playing with Täglichsbeck satisfied Schumann's ambitions. Furthermore, Schumann heard Täglichsbeck's brother Thomas playing his own variations on the solo violin at one of the subscription concerts of the Gewandhaus orchestra.[111] Thus, Täglichsbeck appears to stem from a family of remarkably skilled violinists. The trio was then completed by the cellist Christian Gottlob Glock (Figure 12), a somewhat odd match according to Flechsig and Täglichsbeck, given his age and the duration of his studies. Glock was a regular guest in Wieck's home and was one of Schumann's four-hand piano partners before the chamber music ensemble commenced: In October 1828, Schumann noted in his diary: 'Polonaises for four hands – father Glok and the Tartini[an] seventh'.[112] These three students formed Schumann's first definite trio, which was soon to be expanded to a quartet by the theology student Christoph Sörgel (Figure 13), whom Täglichsbeck, according to his memories, knew from former times in his native Bavaria and whom he introduced to Schumann.

The most valuable source on the character of this ensemble and the relationships within this group is an account by Täglichsbeck, reproduced in Wasielewski's early Schumann biography. Täglichsbeck begins with his first acquaintances with Schumann and an impression of his Leipzig home:

> In late autumn 1828, my brother Thomas from Hechingen came to Leipzig and made his debut as solo violinist at one of the Gewandhaus concerts. At this occasion, he introduced me to Wieck's home, where I, if I'm not mistaken, got to know Schumann first as a very elegant piano player… Soon I got into musical contact with Schumann through a mutual fellow student, called Glocke [sic], a perpetual sort, who had already exhausted his theology studies and now, forced by demagogic persecution, turned to medicine… Together with his flatmate Flechsig, a lively lad, who, however, was rarely present at our musical evenings, Schumann inhabited an extraordinarily elegant student flat on the Brühl, consisting of two adjacent friendly rooms towards the front, of which one could even be said to be large and perfectly suitable for music making. The whole

[111] See diary entry from 6 November 1828, TB I, p. 132; and Alfred Dörffel (1884) *Geschichte der Gewandhauskonzerte zu Leipzig vom 25. November 1781 bis 25. November 1881*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, p. 72.
[112] TB I, p. 128.

> establishment exhibited a certain prosperity, as well as a very good grand piano, at least his property, decorating the large room.[113]

It is not surprising that Täglichsbeck had his first contact to Schumann in Wieck's house, being taken there by his brother and then introduced to Schumann through Glock. These types of gatherings, at houses like Wieck's, offered a significant networking opportunity, and eventually Schumann found his first chamber music partners at this occasion.[114] Furthermore, Täglichsbeck's description of Schumann's student flat shared with Flechsig is valuable, as it was evidently an ideal venue for chamber music playing, with Schumann's grand piano in the large living room, and its central location on the Brühl. Most of the gatherings of the quartet therefore took place at Schumann's flat. As Flechsig was living with Schumann, he was aware of these evenings, and in his memoires of Schumann, he remembered the foundation of this ensemble (see quote above), the repertoire being played ('Prince Louis' stuff was preferred, and Schumann even composed and performed some quartets himself') and the typical audience of these ensemble's gatherings ('Wieck, professor Carus and a certain H. A. Probst constituted the collegium criticum').[115] However, Täglichsbeck admitted that Flechsig rarely attended the performances by the ensemble, and

[113] 'Im Späterherbst 1828 kam mein Bruder Thomas von Hechingen nach Leipzig, und debutierte als Solospieler auf der Violine in einem Gewandhausconcerte. Bei dieser Gelegenheit wurde ich von ihm in das Wieck'sche Haus eingeführt, wobei ich, wenn ich nicht irre, Schumann zuerst, und zwar als überaus elegante Clavierspieler kennen lernte... Bald darauf kam ich durch einen gemeinschaftlichen Universitätskameraden [p. 90], Namens Glocke, ein alt bemoostes Haus, das bereits Theologie ausstudirt hatte und durch demagogische Verfolgungen veranlaßt, sich nunmehr der Medizin zuwandte, in musikalische Berührung mit R. Schumann... Schumann bewohnte auf dem Brühl mit seinem Stubenburschen Flechsig, einem flotten Burschen, der [p. 91] aber bei unsern musikalischen Abenden wenig sichtbar war, ein außergewöhnlich elegantes Studentenquartier, bestehend aus zwei nebeneinanderliegenden freundlichen Stuben vorn heraus, deren ein geradezu groß genannt werden konnte und sich zum Musicieren vortrefflich eignete. Die ganze Einrichtung zeigte eine gewisse Wohlhabenheit, wie denn auch ein sehr guter Flügel, jedenfalls sein Eigenthum, das große Zimmer schmückte.' Wasielewski (1883) pp. 89-91.

[114] For example, Schumann had coffee with Täglichsbeck at Wieck's on 21 November 1828 (see TB I, p. 147); and Glock was among the attendees of the abovementioned coffee circle at Wieck's on 4 December 1828 (see ibid., p. 151).

[115] Emil Flechsig (1956) 'Erinnerungen an Robert Schumann', *NZfM*, 117, p. 394. Heinrich Albert Probst (1791–1846) was a music publisher who ran a publishing firm with C. F. Kistner in Leipzig before he joined Pleyel in Paris in 1831.

Schumann did not mention him at all in conjunction with any of the ensemble's musical gatherings. Moreover, none of his other close friends from the initial clover seemed to have shown any interest in this musical formation nor were they invited to musical events by Schumann. Instead, the spheres remained properly separated, and while none of Schumann's closer friends attended, Flechsig named Wieck, Carus, and Probst as regular listeners and critics.

Täglichsbeck confirmed the audience with Wieck as its centre piece, but also reported further names that complemented the abovementioned 'collegium criticum' of the ensemble's first performances:

> We, Schumann, Glocke (violoncellist), and me (violinist), all three of us being fairly equal on our instruments, rehearsed it until we could perform it pretty much accomplished. When we had progressed with the trio so that we were satisfied with our playing together, Schumann organised a festive musical evening, to which several musical students (Franz Otto, Schuster, Melcher etc., all the former St Thomas school students with good voices), and namely the piano teacher Wieck as the guest of honour were invited. The unforgettable evening finished with a brilliant supper, at which the champagne was poured all too generously, and which brought down all of us together, except perhaps for the host.
>
> Since then, we regularly played music together at some evenings of the week; a certain fellow countryman of mine, Soergel from Bavaria, has been called in as viola player, and Robert preferred to play piano quartets by Prince Louis of Prussia with us. Furthermore, almost all of the Beethoven Trios were featured, the intervals have been filled with musical conversation, mainly about J. S. Bach, about whom our old Glocke especially went into raptures. Robert, then, played a Bach fugue from the 'Well-tempered Piano', of which the score was always placed on his instrument.[116]

[116] 'Wir, Schumann, Glocke (Violoncellist) und ich (Violinist), die wir all drei auf unseren Instrumenten ziemlich gleich waren, übten so lange daran, bis wir es ziemlich vollendet ausführen konnten. Nachdem wir so weit damit gediehen waren, daß unser Zusammenspiel uns selbst genügte, veranstaltete Schumann einen musikalischen Festabend, wozu außer mehreren musikalischen Studenten (Franz Otto, Schuster, Melcher u.v.m., sämtliche frühere Thomasschüler mit guten Stimmen), namentlich der Clavierlehrer Wieck als Hauptgast eingeladen wurden. Der unvergeßliche Abend endete mit einem brillanten Souper, bei dem der Champagner nur gar zu reichlich floß und uns alle, vielleicht den Wirth ausgenommen, sammt und sonders zu Falle brachte.

Von da an musicirten wir regelmäßig an bestimmten Abenden der Woche; als Bratschist wurde ein specieller Landsmann von mir, Soergel aus Baiern, noch zugezogen, und Robert spielte mit uns vorzugsweise gerne Clavierquartette vom Prinzen Louis von Preußen. Außerdem kamen die Beethoven'schen Trio's fast alle an die Reihe, die Zwischenpausen wurden mit musikalischen Gesprächen, namentlich über J. S. Bach ausgefüllt, für den unser alter Glocke besonders schwärmte. Robert spielte dann auch eine Bach'sche Fuge aus dem "wohltemperierten Claviere", daß beständig auf dem Instrumente lag.' Wasielewski (1883) pp. 91f.

For the musicians as well as the listeners, according to Täglichsbeck's report, such an evening was equally an opportunity to socialise and to celebrate beside the chance to explore the chamber music repertoire of the day. In doing so, these gatherings copied the musical evenings Schumann experienced himself as a guest in the homes of Wieck and the Caruses. The musical gatherings thus fulfilled an enriching sociable role for Schumann. Many of these quartet evenings ended with what he called a 'Knillität', which in his Saxonian dialect means something like 'boozing'. About a gathering on 18 November 1828, Schumann noted in his diary: '2nd quartet entertainment – Quartet by Ries (in E flat major) with Adagio in A flat minor – Notturno by Prince Louis in F major. – Quartetto by Prince Louis in F minor – at the end repeat of the Quartet by Ries – Grande Grocq [grog] – the music club cannot fiddle anymore – duelling stories … the quartet sways apart. -----'[117]

As demonstrated in the second paragraph by Täglichsbeck cited above, the young musicians quickly institutionalised their meetings as so-called 'Quartettunterhaltungen' ('quartet entertainments') with the main purpose of exploring the chamber music repertoire of the Viennese Classics as well as more recently published works. In Schumann's diaries, the creation and development of this quartet enterprise is reported with the greatest diligence. On 9 November 1828, after having made Täglichsbeck's and Glock's acquaintances, Schumann mentioned a 'quartet society'[118] for the first time in his diaries, which eventually assembled four days later: '1st quartet entertainment', featuring chamber music by Prince Louis, Ferdinand Ries, and Joseph Mayseder.[119] During the following five months, the ensemble met again for a total of seventeen such quartet or trio evenings, besides some

[117] TB I, p. 144.
[118] TB I, p. 134.
[119] TB I, p. 138.

more casual chamber music playing. Fortunately, these quartet evenings were well documented by Schumann, who made extensive notes in his diaries and in a special protocol book of these evenings (Figure 14), now located in the archive of the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau and transcribed in its entirety below:

Quatuor

Ites Quartett. 13ten November 28.
I) Quatuor v. Prinz Louis (F min).
2) Variationen v. Mayseder (D maj) für Violine.
3) Larghetto mit Variationen von Prinz Louis (G maj)
4) Quatuor v. Ries (Es maj)
IItes Quartett. 18ten November 28.
1) Quatuor v. Ries (Es maj) (ging) i V. I. 4.
2) Notturno v. Prinz Louis (F maj)
4) Quatuor v. Ries (Es maj) (1. 4. I. 1)
IIItes Quartett: 22ten November 28.
1) Septett v. Beethoven für Quartett arrangirt von Schwenke (Es maj:)
2) Notturno: (V. II. 2.)
3) Quatuor v. Prinz Louis (V. I. 1. II. 3)
4) Rondo mit [?] v. Ries (Es dur) v. I. 4. II. 1. II. 4)
IVtes Quartett: 30ten November 28.
1) Quatuor v. Ries aus F moll
2) ---- ---- ---- ---- aus Es maj: (v. I. 4. II. 1. II. 4. III. 4)
Vtes Terzett: 7ten December: 28.
I) Trio v. Schubert: (Es maj:) Op. 100 1. (2 mal)
VItes Terzett: III Dezember: 28
I) Trio v. Schubert: (Es maj. Op. 100)
VIItes Terzett: 19ten Jan: 29
1) Trio v. Schubert: Op. 100.
2) Trio v. Pixis aus F maj.
3) [Trio] v. Kalkbrenner aus D maj.
VIIItes Terzett: 28 Jan. 29.
1) Trio v. Beethoven aus Es d.
2) ---- ---- ---- ---- aus G d. ⎫ Op. 1.
3) ---- ---- ---- ---- aus C moll ⎭
4) Trio v. Mozart aus B dur.
5) ---- ---- Pixis aus F maj.
6) Trio v. Ries aus C moll: Op. 15b. [?]
[Page 2:]
IXtes Terzett am 31ten Jan.
1) Trio v. Schubert. Op. 100.
2) Trio v. Mozart aus Es maj:
3) Trio v. Ries aus C moll.
Xtes Quartett am 7ten Febr.
1) Trio v. Onslow Mw: 2.
2) Quatuor aus E min. (aber July [?])
XItes Quartett am 21ten Febr.
1) Quatuor v. Weber aus B d.

2) Trio von Onslow aus E min.
3) Quatuor. (1 ging, Menuett Adur) [Schumann]

XIItes Quartett am 28ten.
1) Quatuor. (ging) [Schumann]
2) Trio v. Onslow aus D maj.

XIIItes am 7ten März.
1) Quatuor von Weber aus B maj.
2) Trio von Prinz Louis aus Es maj: Op. 9.
3) ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- --- Op. 2.
4) Quatuor.

XIV am 13ten März.
1) Trio v. Beethoven aus Es maj. Op. 94.
2) Quatuor v. Dussek ---- ---- ---- Op. 59.
3) Quatuor

XVtes 15ten März.
1) Quatuor v. Reißiger aus A moll. Op. 24
2) Trio v. Pixis aus Es maj.

XVItes a, 21ten März.
1) Quatuor v. J. B. Cramer. Es maj. Op. 37
2) Quatuor v. Böhmer aus E: Op. 34 [?]
3) Quatuor (ging) [?] [Schumann, last movement]

[Page 3:]

XVIItes u. letztes a. 28ten März.

Quatuor![120]

[120] Robert Schumann, *Protokoll der Quartett- bzw. Terzettabende Nr I-XVII*, pp. 1-3, Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr.: 4871, VII, C, pp. 1-3.

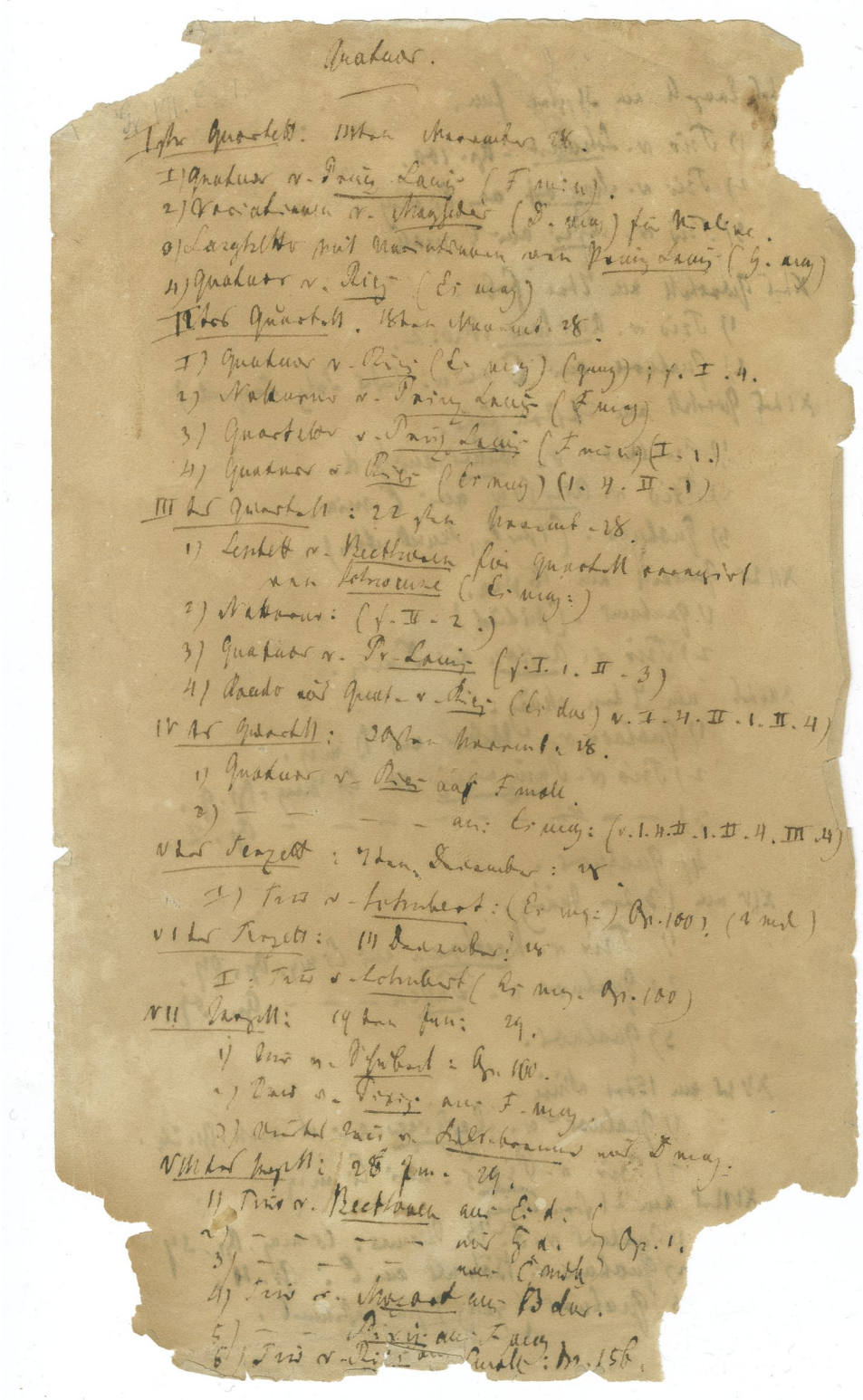


Figure 14 'Autograph des Protokolls der Quartett- bzw. Terzettabende'. Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 4871,VII,C,1-A3_001 to 003

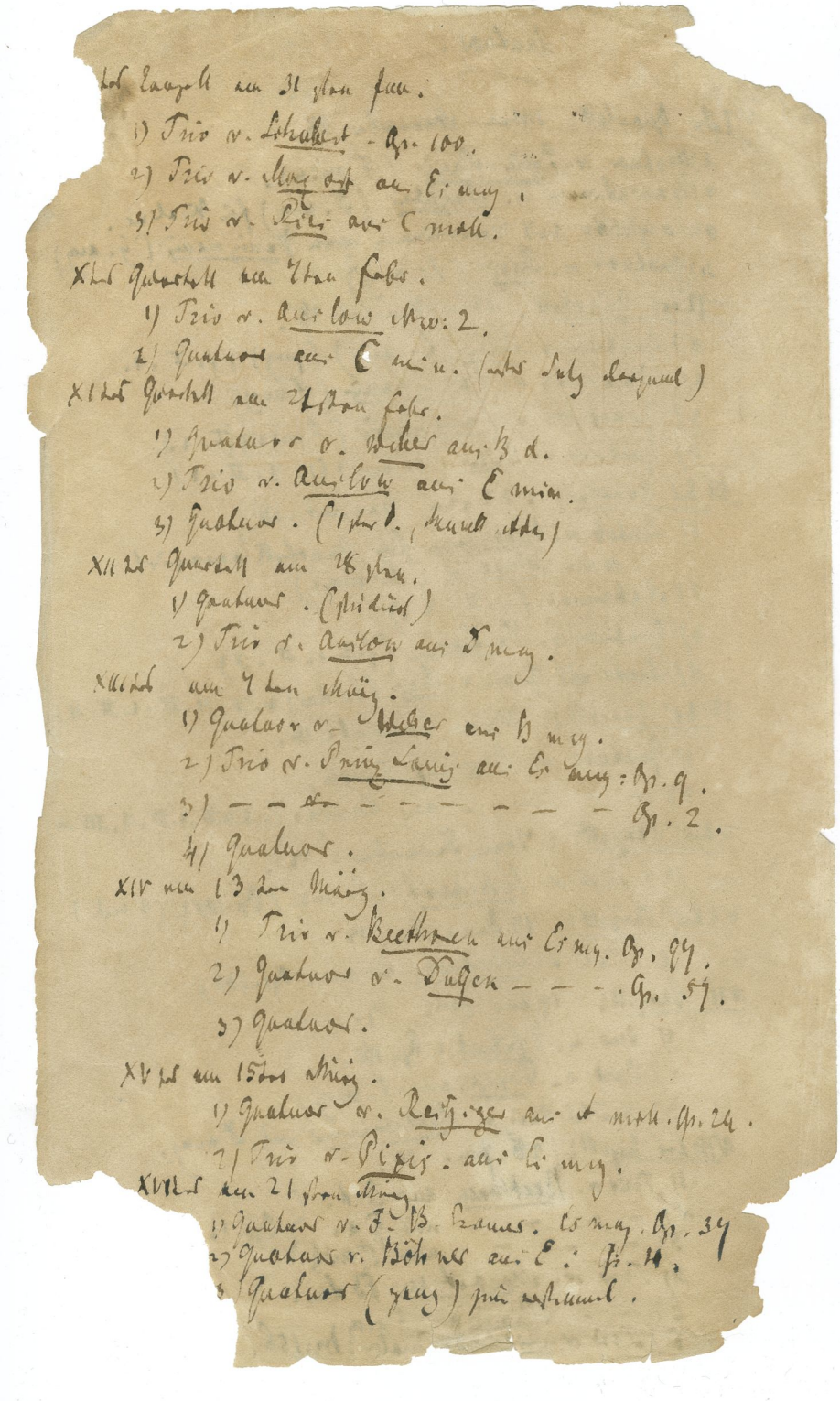


Figure 14 continued

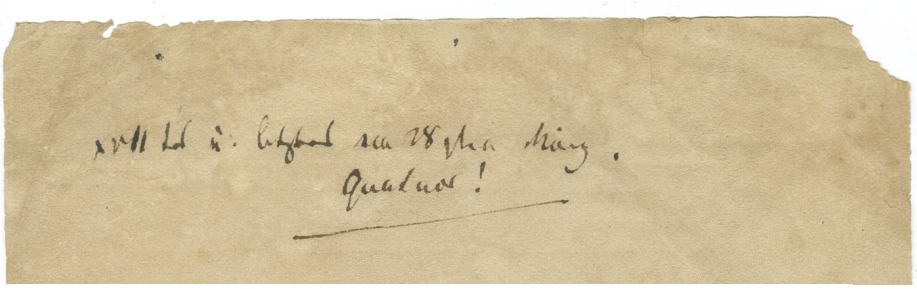


Figure 14 continued

This document showcases the amount of chamber music repertoire the ensemble shifted through in a rather condensed period, meeting almost every week and sometimes even twice a week. These pieces resemble the chamber music repertoire popular at the time, with a focus on the Viennese canon (Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert), but also other well-known chamber music composers such as George Onslow, Ferdinand Ries, Louis Spohr, and Prince Louis of Prussia. In some instances, pieces were repeated if there was a special interest in them.

Schumann continued recording the quartet evenings diligently in his diary, including reactions from the audience and critics. While he remembered 'rapture and joy' by Wieck, Müller, and Grabau after the ensemble's first performance of Schubert's E-flat-major Trio during their fourth gathering,[121] Schumann was desperately self-critical about their performance of Beethoven's Trios: 'In the afternoon the trio by Beethoven, op. 1 – it did neither work nor sound. Nothing – nothing'.[122] As this rendition of Beethoven's op. 1 on 18 January 1829 does not even appear as one of the quartet evenings mentioned in the protocol, one can assume that the ensemble also met outside of the known evenings in order to rehearse for their next performance or to encounter and play through new repertoire. Furthermore, Schumann

[121] TB I, pp. 150f.
[122] TB I, pp. 167f.

kept meeting individual members of this group of musicians; on 24 January 1829, for example, he played through a Hummel Sonata with Glock.[123]

The quartet was responsive to the latest news from the musical world; not only in terms of new publications, such as by Onslow, Ries, or Spohr, of which Schumann always tried to get hold of a copy as soon as possible, but also regarding the death of Schumann's new favourite, Franz Schubert. Schumann noted in his diary on 1 December 1828: 'Schubert is dead – consternation – Dr Carus at Wieck's… – Glock'.[124] Besides seeking the company of his musical circle on this devastating day, Schumann honoured his musical idol. Following on from the first performance of Schubert's E-flat-major Trio just before the composer's death, this Trio featured almost every one of the upcoming gatherings and became the most-played work in the trio and quartet evenings. Täglichsbeck confirmed this reading in his memories:

> Franz Schubert had just died in Vienna. Through Schumann I got to know him and understood him and his genius for the first time. Robert played Schubert's waltzes beautifully and with pleasure; we also played pieces for four hands by Schubert, as well as Robert Schumann's own attempts, from which I still clearly remember a very spirited polonaise for four hands, without clearly having the motives in front of my eyes right now. Eventually, it was the B-flat-major Trio by Franz Schubert which filled us through its splendid drive with the highest musical ecstasy and enthusiasm for the way too early carried off master.[125]

On the same day as the above diary entry, however, Schumann preceded the comment on Schubert's death with an inconspicuous 'my quartet'.[126] This is the first indication that he was working on, or at least contemplating to compose, his own piano quartet.

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[123] See TB I, p. 169.

[124] TB I, p. 151.

[125] 'Franz Schubert in Wien war so eben gestorben. Durch Schumann lernte ich ihn in seiner genialität zuerst kennen und verstehen. Robert spielte vorzugsweise gerne und schön Schubert'sche Walzer; auch spielten wir vierhändige Sachen von Franz Schubert; sowie auch eigene Versuche von Robert Schumann, worunter ich mich einer äußerst schwungvollen vierhändigen Polonaise noch ganz deutlich erinnere, ohne daß mir die gerade die Motive klar vor Augen stehen. Endlich aber war es das B-dur-Trio von Franz Schubert, das uns durch seinen großartigen Schwung in die größte musikalische Ekstase und Begeisterung für den viel zu früh dahingerafften Meister versetzte.' Wasielewski (1883) p. 91. Remark by Wasielewski, p. 108: confusion of Schubert's Trios, op. 99 in B major which was published in 1836, thus cannot have been played in 1829. It was most likely the Trio in E flat major.

[126] TB I, p. 151.

Certainly, these were only initial thoughts, as the next mention of his quartet plans do not appear before 28 January 1829, two months after the abovementioned diary entry.[127] It is remarkable that on the day after the fourth quartet evening, which featured two piano quartets by Ferdinand Ries, and less than three weeks after the quartet's first meeting, Schumann already imagined writing his own quartet.

The piano trio and quartet repertoire was dominant in Schumann's daily musical life, because of the foundation of his ensemble and the institutionalisation of its music making, alongside piano literature for two and four hands (as part of his lessons with Wieck). Of course, Schumann also had compositions for solo piano in mind – Joachim Draheim reported of 'variations for piano duet on the rondo theme from the popular Piano Quartet in F minor Op. 6 by Prince Louis Ferdinand, though these have only survived in fragmentary form'.[128] Kohlhase analysed Schumann's sketchbooks from early 1829 which include sketches of and attempts at a sonata for a high instrument, and several beginnings of movements entitled 'Quatuor' in various keys, some of which contain material that eventually found its way into the piano quartet Schumann noted in his diary.[129] Concurrent to these discoveries, Flechsig remembered that 'Schumann even composed and performed some quartets himself'.[130] Thus, Schumann had several ideas for quartets in mind, but the one which he eventually finished and rehearsed in the quartet evenings was the Piano Quartet in C minor, given the opus no. V by Schumann himself.

After the resumption of the 'quartet thoughts' in late January 1829, from then on Schumann reported working on the Quartet in his diaries for almost every day,

[127] See TB I, p. 170.
[128] Draheim (2010) p. 4.
[129] Kohlhase I, pp. 7–12.
[130] Flechsig (1956) p. 394.

sometimes 'with enthusiasm at my Quartet' after a little bit of grog,[131] sometimes referring to it as 'Quartet in F minor'.[132] Still unfinished, the Quartet was part of the ninth quartet evening on 31 January 1829 (remarkably only 4 days after the likely beginning of the actual work on the Quartet).[133] However, in this musical evening Schumann's own Quartet was probably still a draft, or maybe it was just discussed instead of performed, as it does not appear in the protocol book as part of this evening. For the upcoming tenth gathering of the ensemble on 7 February 1829 though, Schumann gathered momentum with his composition, extracting the parts the day before. After the evening began with a performance of George Onslow's second Trio, they performed the whole first movement no fewer than three times that evening, which elicited exalted praise from the audience and Schumann's musical partners.

Perhaps motivated by the positive feedback, Schumann submerged himself in his quartet composition, working on the Minuet on 9 February, and performing both movements again in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth quartet evenings (often with the remark 'ging', meaning 'worked well'). He started working on the last movement on 14 March and finished a week later in an 'ecstatic state of mind'.[134] The day after, he declared the Quartet to be completed and performed for the first time in its entirety:

> Completed the quartet early in the day – Hesperus of my dreams… in the evening the 16th quartet entertainment – Quatour by J. B. Cramer Op. 37 in E flat major – Quatuor by Böhner in E flat 6/8 Op. 4 – earlier a splendid fantasia in pre-Beethovenian style – last movement of mine [Quartet] – happy savageness within, which happily recalls the past once again in an entirely different world and which repeats all the bas-reliefs of the previous ones! – The piano maintains the characteristic rhythm – Glok's [sic] disappointment about that – praising aesthetic judgement of the whole thing – the entire Quartet in a row – then grog – the narrating Glok – small carousal – Hummel's Concerto in A minor – Täglichsbek on the bed.[135]

[131] TB I, p. 172.
[132] See ibid.
[133] See TB I, p. 171.
[134] TB I, p. 182.
[135] 'Früh das Quartett vollendet – Hesperus meiner Träume... Abends 16te Quartettunterhaltung – *Quatour v. J. B. Cramer Op. 37 aus Es maj – Quatour v. Böhner aus Es 6/8 Op. 4* – vorher herrliche

This performance filled the composer with utmost pride and relief, and the subsequent positive remarks by those present confirmed this impression. The mentions of 'the narrating Glock' disapproving of the instrumentation of the last movement, and of Täglichsbeck crashing on Schumann's bed after the celebratory night, demonstrate their involvement in this project. However, as the sketches of the Quartet show, Schumann had to make some corrections after this first performance, as he also noted in his diary 10 days later: 'Renz and Glok – behind closed doors my Quartet – note by note'.[136] Eventually, just before Schumann's move to Heidelberg, the last quartet evening on 28 March 1829, featuring the regular musicians and audience, was entirely devoted to this work:[137]

> Hangover – breakfast at Alippi's – she at the window – dress rehearsal of the Quartet – it's clearing-up – in the evening last quartet! – Dr Carus, Wieck, Probst – Glok – Täglichsbeck – Sörgel – Variations by Lafont – then my Quartet – Praise by Carus and Wieck – Probst's correct judgement (dinner 18/20/-) – cheerful conversations – champagne – the Philistines and the students – Sörgel at the sofa [or canapés?] – and me at the anchovy salad – the flatmate – practicus Probst – deep, deep sleep –[138]

The series of trio and quartet evenings thus ended with a feast, including champagne and a buffet, celebrating the positive reception of Schumann's first complete chamber music work. A week later, he said 'farewell to Täglichsbeck'[139] and departed towards Heidelberg at Easter 1829.

Fantasie im Vorbeethoven'schen Style – letzter Satz aus meinem – fröhliche Wildheit drinnen, die in einer ganz andern Welt noch einmal freundlich an die Vergangenheit denkt u. alle Basrelief's in vorigen wiederholt! – Das Clavier hat den charakteristischen Rythmus fort – Glok's Unzufriedenheit darüber – lobendes aesthetischen Urtheil über das Ganze – das ganze Quartett hinter einander – dann Grocq – der erzählende Glok – kleine Knillität – das Hummel'sche *A moll* Conzert – Täglichsbek auf d. Bette.' Ibid.

[136] TB I, p. 183.

[137] See also the protocol book, which does not mention any repertoire for this last evening.

[138] 'Katzenjammer – Frühstück bey Alippi – sie am Fenster – Generalprobe des Quartetts – seine Aufräumung – Abends letztes Quartett! – Dr. Carus, Wieck, Probst – Glok – Täglichsbeck – Sörgel – Variat. v. Lafont – dann mein Quartett - Lob des Carus u. Wieck – Probst's richtiges Urtheil (Abendessen 18.20.-) – heitere Gespräche – Champagner – die Philister u. d. Studenten – Sörgel am Kanapee – u. ich am Sardellensalat – der Stubenbursche – Practicus Probst – tiefer, tiefer Schlaf –' TB I, p. 184.

[139] TB I, p. 186.

Schumann's chamber music enterprise and the Täglichsbeck–Sörgel–Glock–Schumann quartet only lasted a total of five months, from November 1828 to March 1829. Even though Schumann returned to Leipzig a year later, he was never to play chamber music with any of these musicians again. Täglichsbeck remembered the last connections he and Glock maintained with Schumann:

> Moreover, there was no sense yet about Schumann leaving the legal career and devoting himself entirely to music… Not before the year 1830, when I went from Munich, to where I returned in autumn 1829, while Schumann made his way to Heidelberg already at Easter of the same year, through Leipzig, in order to accept a private tutor post in Prussia, I noticed during a short visit which I paid Robert in the few hours of my stay in Leipzig, that he would decisively turn to the study of music… Soon after that, I received his op. 2 from him, piano pieces called *Papillons*, with some friendly lines… Later, our old friend Glocke told me some things about Schumann from time to time, until eventually, due to Glocke's departure from Leipzig, the thread of our contact got completely lost.[140]

The brevity of their contact does not, however, disguise the fact that this group directed Schumann's musical focus strongly towards chamber music in the second half of his Leipzig year. The chamber music playing, and the composition of the C-minor Piano Quartet, 'grew out of an atmosphere that viewed music as a promoter of conviviality', as Daverio observed.[141] This stands in contrast to Schumann's youth in Zwickau, where there was a clear distinction between his close friends and the ambitious character of his literary and musical circles. The first Leipzig quartet, however, started to merge these spheres for Schumann. Not only did the musical evenings end with an extended social for the remainder of the night, Schumann also valued his amicable

[140] 'Übrigens war damals bei Schumann von einem Verlassen seiner juristischen Carrière und davon, daß er sich der Musik ganz widmen wolle, noch durchaus keine Rede... Erst als ich im Jahre 1830 von München aus, wohin ich im Herbst 1829 zurückgekehrt war, während Sch. bereits zu Ostern ejusd. a. sich nach Heidelberg begeben hatte, durch Leipzig kam, um in Preußen eine Hauslehrerstelle zu übernehmen, merkte ich bei einem kurzen Besuch, den ich in den wenigen Stunden meines Aufenthaltes in Leipzig dem Robert abstattete, daß er sich ganz entschieden dem Studium der Musik zuwenden würde... Bald darauf erhielt ich von ihm sein op. 2 zugeschickt, Clavierstücke unter dem Namen Papillons, nebst einigen freundlichen Zeilen... Später theilte mir unser alter Freund Glocke von Zeit zu Zeit immer etwas über Schumann mit, bis denn endlich durch Glocke's Abgang von Leipzig der Faden unseres Verkehrs vollständig abriß.' Wasielewski (1883) pp. 93f.

[141] Daverio (1997) p. 49.

relations with all three men. Schumann's Heidelberg friend Anton Theodor Töpken remembered his encounter with the Quartet autograph in Schumann's Heidelberg flat:

> When I was at Schumann's for the first time, I saw two manuscripts of a Symphony and a Quartet with inscription of his name lying on the piano, besides some other scores. As I barely believed it possible that a young student and dilettante could already have created two such works, I asked him who that Schumann could be, whereupon he smilingly confirmed his own identity, and thereby remarked that he wrote the Quartet at his farewell to Leipzig for his friends there (presumably his quartet friends).[142]

It is also possible that Schumann referred to the attendees of the musical evenings, namely Wieck, Carus, and Probst, who was 'the music-dealer and butt of many of Schumann's jokes',[143] including them in the 'friends' for whom he wrote the Quartet. The notion of friendship hence seems to have been part of the chamber music encounters of these four young musicians and their elder 'collegium criticum'.[144]

Yet, Schumann's diary entry about the thirteenth quartet evening reveals some disparity between his group of friends: 'in the evening the 13th quartet – the uninvited clover – the unpleasant one'.[145] The clover, which probably refers to Flechsig, Rosen, and Semmel, was not part of these musical evenings, and when attending on this occasion, they were not welcome. Perhaps Schumann thought that their characters did not fit into the convivial atmosphere of this circle. Schumann even described one of these friends as 'unpleasant', most likely his flatmate Flechsig. Schumann found Flechsig's character increasingly 'repulsive and estranged' during their flat share in Leipzig. He disapproved of Flechsig's lack of tact and his 'strong, rural, and Bavarian

[142] 'Als ich zum ersten Male allein bei Schumann war, sah ich auf dem Flügel außer anderen Noten die beiden Manuscripte einer Symphonie und eines Quartetts mit der Aufschrift seines Namens liegen. Da ich es kaum für möglich hielt, daß ein junger Student und Dilettant schon zwei solche Werke geschaffen haben könnte, fragte ich ihn, wer denn dieser Schumann sei, worauf er lächelnd die Identität mit seiner Person constatirte und dabei bemerkte, daß er das Quartett beim Abschiede von Leipzig für seine dortigen Freunde (wohl Quartett-Freunde) componirt habe.' Jansen, p. 69. Undated.

[143] Daverio (1997) p. 49.

[144] See Flechsig (1956)

[145] TB I, p. 179.

nature'.[146] Schumann had initially considered Flechsig one of his closest friends and as part of the clover at the beginning of his time in Leipzig. Soon, however, he became annoyed by Flechsig's student-like, boyish lifestyle. Instead, Schumann became more attracted to the sensitive and subtle manners of the Leipzig music circles in Ernst August Carus' and Wieck's houses. His own ensemble, then, may have also resembled many features of the former Zwickau institutions, Daverio calling it 'a musical counterpart to the Litterarischer Verein… centered around Schumann and his self-designed course of study'.[147] At the same time, however, this musical circle he formed in his first Leipzig year also provided the personal relationships that motivated Schumann to write, as one of his first major compositions overall, the Piano Quartet 'for his friends'.

[146] TB I, p. 106.
[147] Daverio (1997) pp. 49f.

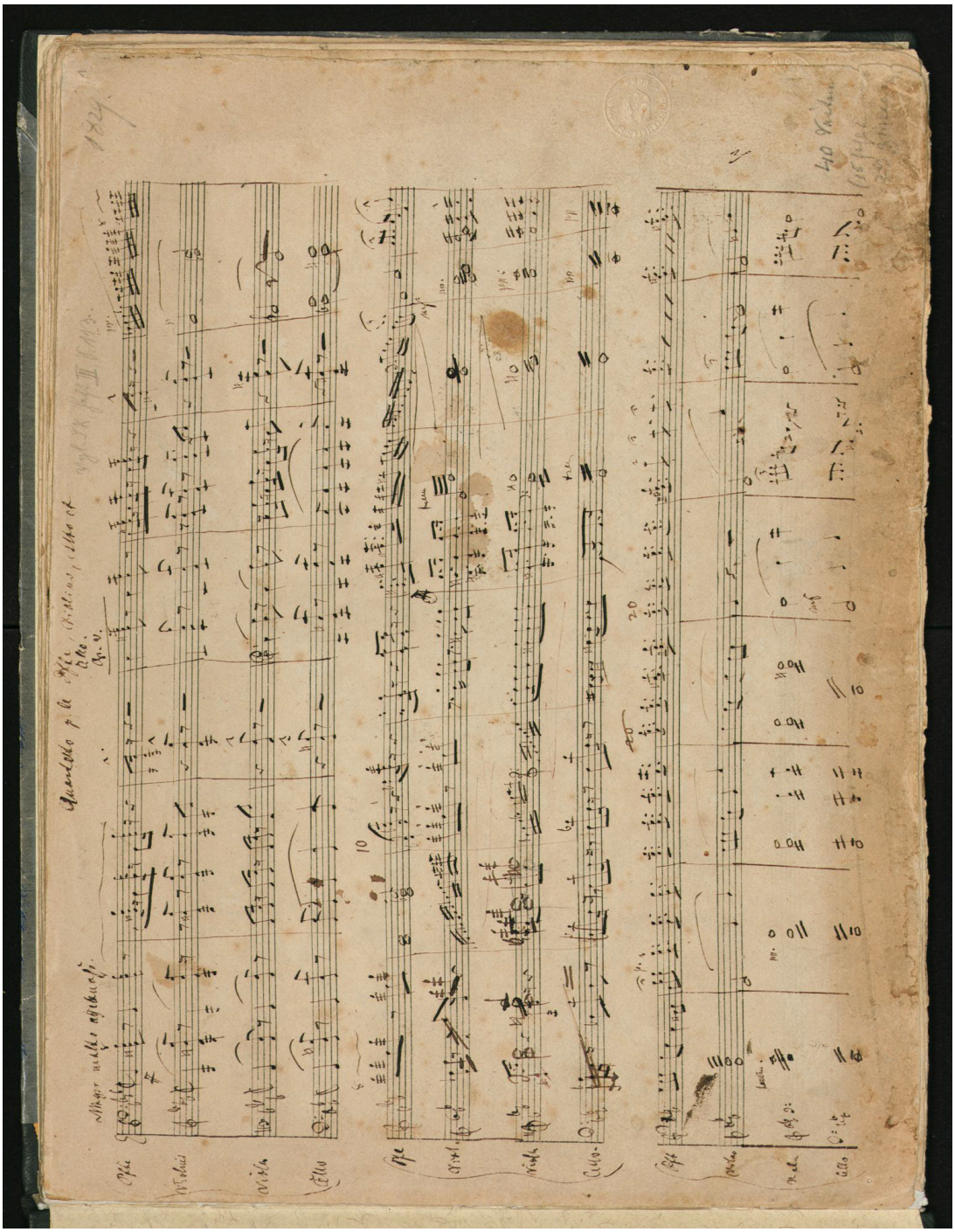


Figure 15 Autograph of Robert Schumann, *Quartet for Piano and Strings in C minor*, p. 1. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, Schumann 12

‘For My Friends’: Schumann’s Piano Quartet in C minor

The sources and sketches for Schumann’s Piano Quartet composition (Figure 15) suggest that this project was a ‘work in progress’ alongside the time the ensemble started playing single movements from the Quartet.[148] The composition of the Quartet was closely linked to the immediate performance opportunity with his chamber music group. Claudia MacDonald traced this connection in the context of Schumann’s entire early oeuvre: ‘Schumann’s earliest compositions grew from his activities as an amateur pianist who in the course of time grew determined to become a professional. His early works were neither the exercises of a composition student, nor the result of isolated whim, but were written for immediate performance by himself and his friends.’[149] The Piano Quartet was exemplary for this kind of working practice, according to MacDonald, as she regarded the Quartet’s composition as ‘closely related to Schumann’s formation of and participation in a chamber ensemble, and to the opportunity for rehearsal and performance of the work before a private audience’.[150] The accounts of the different compositional stages and performances of the Quartet confirm this view. With the subsequent remark to Töpken that this Quartet had specifically been written for Schumann’s Leipzig friends, the performance purpose of this very work can be narrowed down to the quartet evenings he conducted with his chamber group.

Despite these facts pointing towards the direct link between composition and performance opportunity, the autograph and sketches suggests a different reading of

[148] The autograph of this quartet (shelf mark: Schumann 12) as well as the ‘Skizzenbuch’ (‘sketch book’, shelf mark: Schumann 15) in which Schumann noted several ideas for this composition are in the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn (Bonn University and Regional Library).

[149] Claudia MacDonald (1987) ‘Schumann’s earliest compositions and performances’, *Journal of Musicological Research*, 7 (2-3), p. 259.

[150] Ibid., p. 263.

Schumann's purpose. In the autograph of the Quartet, as well as in a 70-bar sketch for the fourth movement,[151] one can find numerous orchestration indications. Only a few of those indications have been adapted by Wolfgang Boetticher in his 1979 edition and his selection seems rather random.[152] Draheim refrained from reproducing the orchestral indications at all in his recent 2010 edition. In his 'Schumann Discoveries' from 1950, Hans F. Redlich noted the significance of these orchestral clues in the manuscripts, which for him were proof of the 'intrinsically symphonic character of the Piano Quartet'.[153] Redlich concluded that this Quartet is as much an exercise in chamber music composition as it is a harbinger of Schumann's symphonic works.[154] The protocols of Schumann's musical evenings, however, reveal that the repertoire performed by his ensemble consisted basically entirely of genuine chamber music works, not featuring any chamber arrangements of orchestral works. This is all the more remarkable as in the early nineteenth century such arrangements were a popular pastime for amateur chamber groups. The only arrangement to be found among the programmes of these quartet evenings was Beethoven's Septet in E flat major, op. 20, arranged by Schwenke for piano quartet and played in the third quartet evening on 22 November 1828. But even this arrangement was based on a genuine chamber music work.

It is evident from the first page of the autograph score onwards that the C-minor Quartet was not meant to be published as such. Schumann used four staves for the whole score, with the piano on the top stave, only in the treble clef for the right hand (see Figure 15). In only one of Schumann's sketches the piano part is completed for

[151] Sketchbook V, pp. 24f.
[152] See Rufus Hallmark (1982) Review of 'Schumann, R. (1979) Quartett c-Moll für Pianoforte, Violino, Viola und Violoncello', *Music & Letters,* 63 (1/2), p. 161.
[153] Hans F. Redlich (1950) 'Schumann Discoveries', *Monthly Musical Record*, 80, p. 262.
[154] See Ibid.

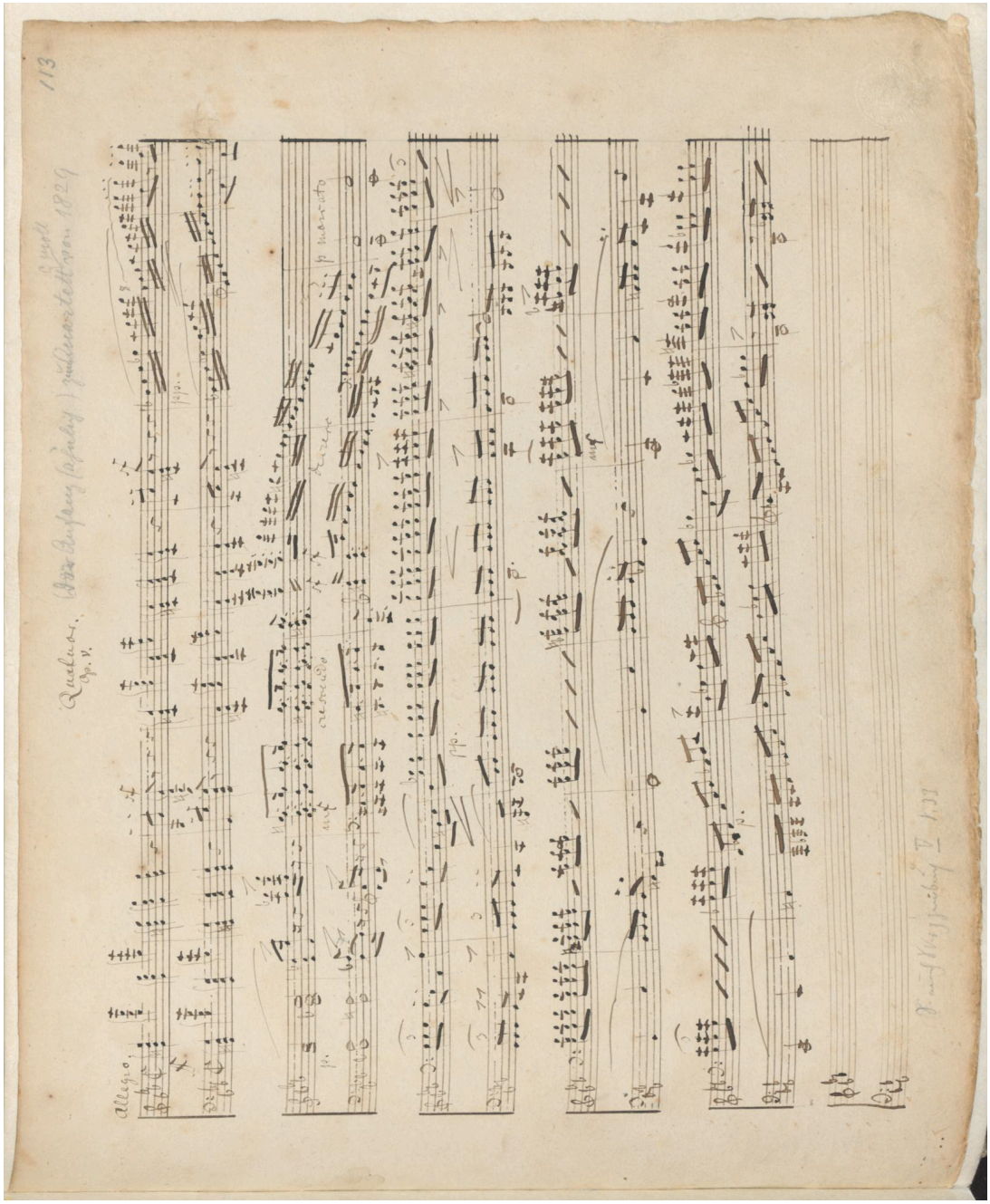


Figure 16 Autograph of Robert Schumann, *Sketch Book III*, p. 113. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, Schumann 15

the first thirty bars of the first movement in two staves (Figure 16), but then stops and remains as a fragment.[155] However, this sketch somewhat constitutes a hybrid between the fully written-out piano part and a piano reduction of all parts. This fragmentary

[155] See Wolfgang Boetticher (1979) 'Sources Consulted'. In: Schumann, R., *Quartett c-Moll für Pianoforte, Violino, Viola und Violoncello*, ed. by Wolfgang Boetticher, Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, p. XXVI; and Draheim (2010) p. 5. Draheim mistakenly states page 131 of the sketch book as the sketch for the piano, while it is actually to be found on page 113, with page 131 providing a sketch to the third movement of the same piece.

character raises some elementary questions that have been addressed by Rufus Hallmark, in his review of the 1979 Boetticher edition:

> Did Schumann allow only one stave for the piano because he was being stingy with paper? In this case, would he occasionally have incorporated the other string parts into the left hand, and did he write the viola in F and G clefs instead of a C clef to enable him more easily to read from the score? Or did he do the latter to facilitate a four-hand performance with a friend?[156]

There was probably an aspect of improvisation to this instance, as Schumann was well capable of spontaneously completing the missing parts on the piano.[157] The fragmentary character places this work in an ambiguous space within Schumann's early oeuvre. As suggested by Hallmark, the autograph could point towards other performance opportunities such as a four-hand piano arrangement. It seems more likely that Schumann had a notion to transform the quartet score into an orchestral piece, as is clearly indicated by the instrumentation remarks. In fact, after Schumann had moved to Heidelberg and passed almost an entire year, he eventually started to orchestrate the Quartet on 7 January 1830. However, his decision ('Nothing. The quartet will be re-cobbled into a symphony')[158] does not sound overly enthusiastic and the symphony project was never mentioned again.

The incomplete piano part could also lead back to Schumann's comment to Töpken that the Quartet was only written for his Leipzig friends. If Schumann knew that the Quartet was only ever to be performed by Täglichsbeck, Sörgel, Glock, and himself, then there was no need for him to write out the full piano part. The tight timeframe of the composition of the Quartet supports this assumption. Schumann had already made his decision to move to Heidelberg before he commenced his Quartet

[156] Hallmark (1982) pp. 160f.

[157] Töpken reported on Schumann's improvising skills during their time in Heidelberg, see Töpken's letter to Wasielewski, 30 September 1856 from Bremen, cited in Eismann I, p. 55. For the context of improvisational practice in Schumann's early piano compositions, see Dana Gooley (2011) 'Schumann and Agencies of Improvisation'. In: Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (Eds.) *Rethinking Schumann*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 129-156.

[158] TB I, p. 214.

composition. Thus, he knew about the limited number of occasions this chamber group could meet between the first mention of 'my Quartet' in December 1828 and his departure from Leipzig at Easter 1829. Once Schumann was immersed in the composition at the end of January 1829, the movements were written down at a remarkable pace. In a letter to his friend Karl Weber he mentioned the Quartet 'which I cobbled together',[159] suggesting the hurry in which he was progressing with the composition.

On 20 March 1829, just one day before the penultimate meeting of the ensemble, Schumann managed to finish the last movement of the Quartet, which put him in an 'ecstatic state of mind'.[160] The closing *stretta* of the finale that Schumann finished last on that day in March, he 'wrote out in full, albeit very hurriedly',[161] as Draheim observed. Hence, Schumann was determined to finish the entire work so that the Quartet could be played through in their second to last quartet evening. This gave him the opportunity to revise the piece 'note by note behind closed doors'[162] afterwards, as he noted in his diary on 25 March, before the piece was eventually performed in front of the aforementioned audience in the ensemble's final gathering on 28 March. The hurry with which Schumann completed all four movements demonstrates how eager he was to perform this piece (including a prior rehearsal) in one, respectively the last, of the quartet evenings with his chamber ensemble. It is unlikely that Schumann thought he would not be able to find another ensemble of similar quality in Heidelberg; thus, he could have slowed down the speed of production of this work in case he was just focussing on the composition itself. On the contrary, the precise timing of the

[159] Robert Schumann, letter to Karl Weber, 15/16 February 1829. Cited in: Hallmark (1982) p. 160.
[160] TB I, p. 182.
[161] Draheim (2010) p. 5.
[162] TB I, p. 183.

Quartet's completion towards the last two quartet evenings suggests that Schumann wanted this piece to be performed by this very ensemble and at the exact occasion.

To what extent the chamber group with Täglichsbeck, Sörgel, and Glock, as well as the wider musical circle around Schumann's chamber music evenings, were the aim, the motivation and perhaps the inspiration for Schumann's C-minor Piano Quartet, can be assessed in two ways: first, the influence of the repertoire known by Schumann through the mutual encounter of a large variety of piano trios and quartets can indicate the extent to which the trio and quartet evenings with his ensemble were inspiration and prerequisite for the composition. Second, the influence of the musicians themselves on the creation and revising of the Quartet can demonstrate to what extent they were involved in the process and whether Schumann was actually writing his Quartet 'for his friends'. Therefore, I assess the musicians' comments and the revisions made by Schumann after rehearsing parts of the Quartet, as well as the aspect of narrative strategies within the score.

Stylistic Influences from the Trio and Quartet Evenings

As cited above, the first mention of Schumann's own quartet ideas comes in one sentence with the consternation about Schubert's death. Between this moment and the next mention of his quartet composition about two months later, the ensemble rehearsed and performed Schubert's E-flat-major Trio at least four times in three trio evenings, and another time at the end of January, when Schumann was about to turn his attention to his own composition. On the day of the resumption of the quartet thoughts, the trio played through the op. 1 Piano Trios by Beethoven as well as Mozart's B-flat-major Trio, omitting Schubert this time, in their eighth trio evening on

25 January 1829.[163] Around this time, Schumann also attended many of the Gewandhaus Orchestra's performances of Beethoven's symphonic works, such as the *Eroica* Symphony on 12 November 1828,[164] the Fifth on 15 January the following year,[165] and the *Pastoral* Symphony the day after the eighth trio evening and the Beethoven Trios.[166] These influences are complemented by his enduring admiration for Prince Louis Ferdinand's works since his youth. The prince's chamber music works were regularly featured in the first quartet evenings of the ensemble. The rondo theme of his F-minor Quartet, op. 6, which was the first work the ensemble performed together in their first 'official' meeting on 13 November 1828, served as the motto of the variations for piano duet that Schumann attempted at the same time, though these attempts remained in fragmentary form.[167] The four identified variations, furthermore, follow a Schubertian model, the *Acht Variationen über ein Thema aus der Oper 'Marie' von Herold* (D. 908, published in 1827), which Schumann admired since summer of the same year.[168] Thus, Schumann had already merged the influences of his musical models before attempting the Piano Quartet. Beethoven, Schubert, and Prince Louis Ferdinand form the stylistic background Schumann received through the chamber music evenings with his ensemble before or while approaching his first quartet composition.

From the accounts by Schumann and Täglichsbeck, it is all too easy to declare this composition 'a kind of tribute to Schubert',[169] but stylistic similarities shine

[163] This date is taken from Schumann's diary (TB I, p. 170). The protocol book of the quartet evenings states the 28 January 1829 for the eighth quartet session.
[164] TB I, p. 138.
[165] TB I, p. 167.
[166] TB I, p. 171.
[167] See Robert Schumann (2001) *Werke für Klavier zu vier Händen bzw. für zwei Klaviere* (*Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*, Serie III, Werkgruppe 2), ed. by Joachim Draheim and Bernhard R. Appel, Mainz: Schott, pp. 289-291.
[168] See TB I, p. 96; see also Schumann (2001) p. 456.
[169] John Worthen (2007) *Robert Schumann*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, p. 30.

through when comparing the Quartet with Schubert's E-flat-major Trio.[170] In the first movement of the Quartet, 'an expansive sonata movement, reminiscent of Schubert's pianoforte-trio style, is based on two contrasting motive groups, the first beginning in Schubert's tragic manner', according to Redlich's early 1951 analysis.[171] Even though Redlich referred to a more general attribute of Schubertian works in terms of their tragic character,[172] the themes and formal shape of the first movement indeed recall Schubert's E-flat-major Trio as well as some aspects of Prince Louis' Quartets and Quintet.

The strictly homophonic score and diatonic harmonics support the impression of the Quartet's beginning in unison. Examples 1a-1c show that while Schubert's Trio commences in actual unison, the Quartet's character (and mode) rather resembles



Example 1a Schubert, Piano Trio in E flat major, D 929, I, bars 1-4



Example 1b Prince Louis Ferdinand, Piano Quintet in C minor, op. 1, I, bars 1-2

[170] For analytical studies of Schubert's Trio, see amongst others, Christopher Gibbs (2014) 'Schubert's Tombeau de Beethoven: Decrypting the Piano Trio in E-flat Major, Op. 100'. In: Ibid. and Morten Solvik (Eds.) *Franz Schubert and His World*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 241–299; and Susan Wollenberg (2016) *Schubert's Fingerprints: Studies in the Instrumental Works*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 244-281 (chapter 9).

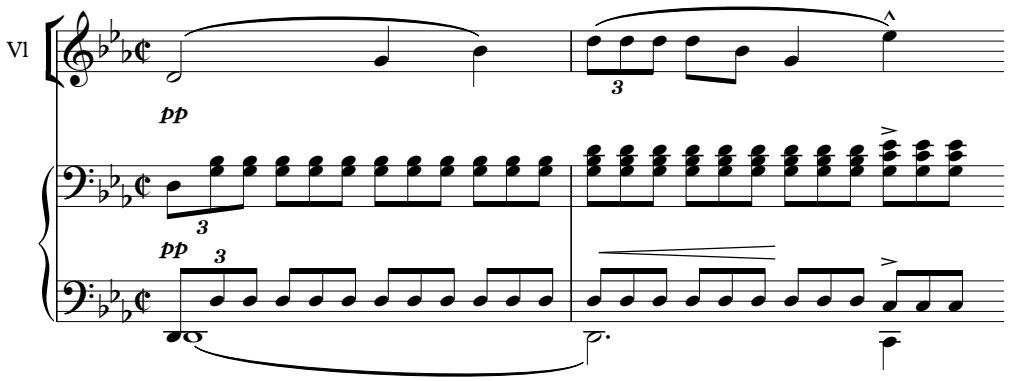
[171] Hans F. Redlich (1951) 'Schumann Discoveries: A Postscript', *Monthly Musical Record*, 81, p. 15.

[172] For example, Schubert's Fourth Symphony and the late Piano Sonata D958 both begin in the same key, C minor, as Schumann's early Piano Quartet.



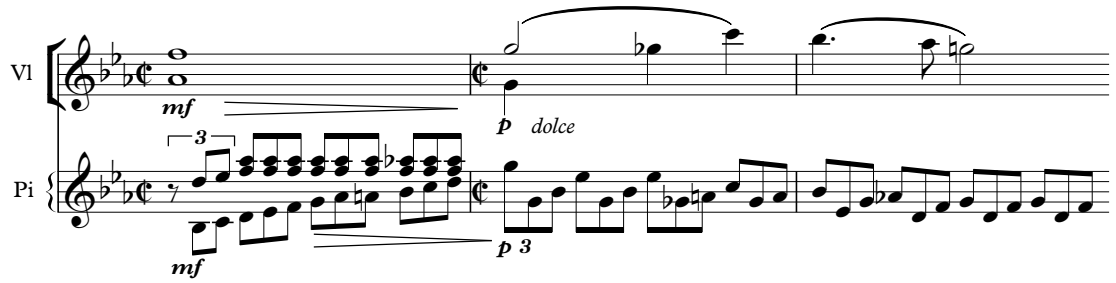
Example 1c R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, I, bars 1-2

Prince Louis' Piano Quintet, op. 1, a piece that Schumann was familiar with since the musical evening at Schlegel's in November 1823. The immediate turn to the Neapolitan (D flat major, bar 7) and the minimisation of the transitional passage to the not yet established tonic key of C minor (bars 11-14) appear to Daverio as clearly Schubertian features.[173] Repeated triplets are another recurring feature in accompaniments for both the Quartet's primary and secondary theme, whether in the piano or in the strings, as shown in examples 2a and 2b. Fittingly, Draheim also added such triplet figurations in the unfinished left hand of the piano when S first appears in the piano's right hand (bars 43-51). Such 'pervasive triplet accompaniments in duple metre',[174] noted by Hallmark, were most likely inspired by Schubert's trio style. Examples 2c and 2d display such figurations from the E-flat-major Trio.

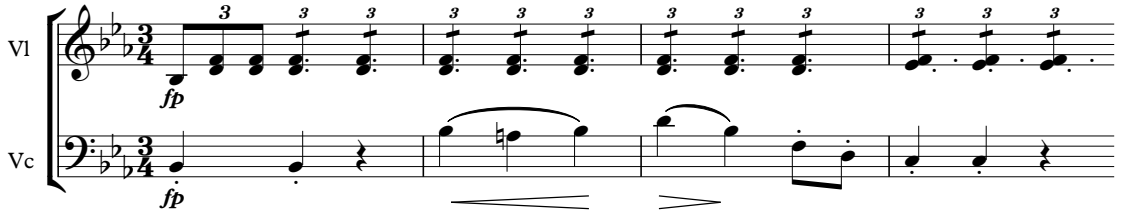


Example 2a R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, I, bars 17-18

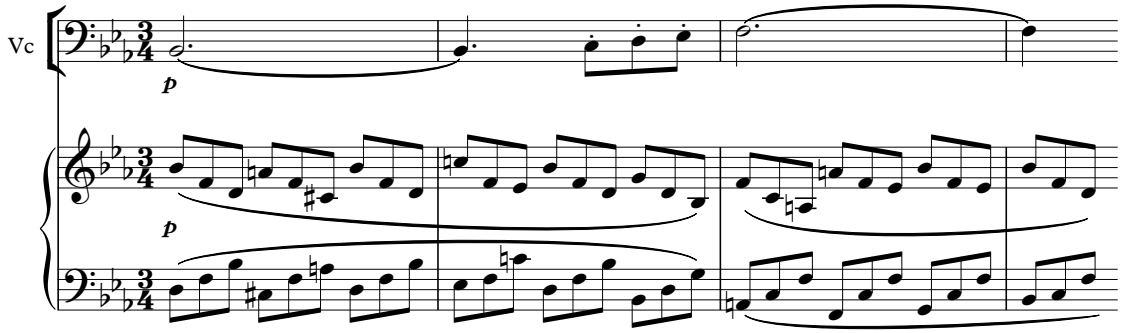
[173] See Daverio (1997) p. 51. See, for instance, the sudden Neapolitan in bar 9 of Schubert's 'Quartettsatz', also in C minor, D 703 (with thanks to Joe Davies for making this comparison).
[174] Hallmark (1982) p. 160.



Example 2b R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, I, bars 52-54



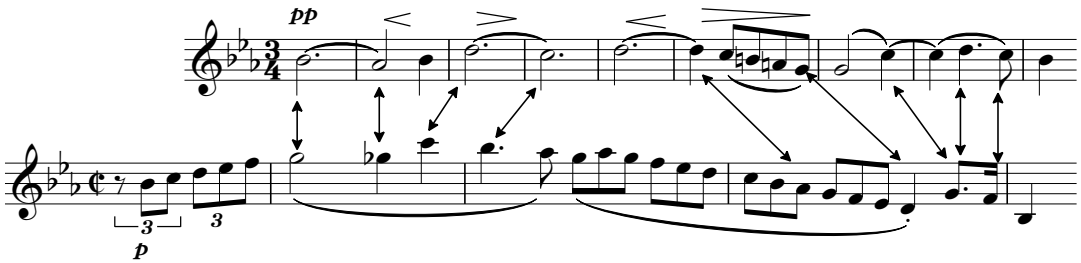
Example 2c Schubert, Piano Trio in E flat major, D 929, I, bars 15-18



Example 2d Schubert, Piano Trio in E flat major, D 929, I, bars 116-118

The secondary theme S, for Draheim rather echoing Prince Louis' style,[175] also resembles the tunefulness and even melodic kinship of Schubertian lyrical melodies.[176] The first movement's S of Schubert's Trio pre-sets the same melodic direction, clarified in Examples 3a and 3b. Hallmark heard an even more striking Schubertian

Example 3a Schubert, Piano Trio in E flat major, D 929, I, bars 140-147



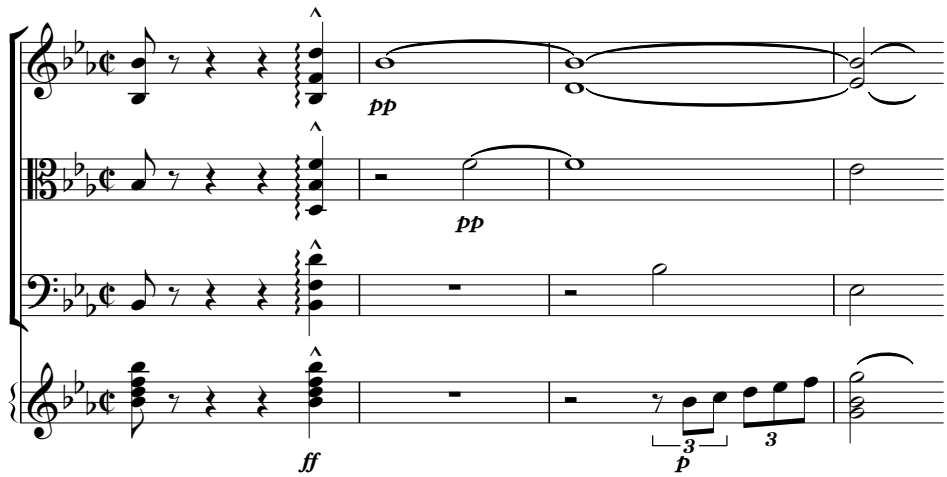
Example 3b R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, I, bars 43-45

[175] See Draheim (2010) p. 4.
[176] See Hallmark (1982) p. 160.

echo at the end of the TR, 'when a fortissimo tutti drops to a single pianissimo held note in the violin that is joined by the other strings one at a time until the piano enters with the theme'.[177] These sudden dynamic contrasts with a theme emerging out of long-held notes in the strings is a common texture in the first movement of the Schubert Trio as well (Examples 4a and 4b).



Example 4a Schubert, Piano Trio in E flat major, D 929, I, bars 295-300



Example 4b Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, I, bars 40-42

The middle movements appear less connected to stylistic predecessors, though some features still reflect Schubert's influence: the dance-like triple-metre gestures in

[177] Ibid.

the *Scherzo* movements are much alike in their change of ascending and descending quaver scales, accompanied with *marcato* crotchets, and the general imitative game between the instruments. Schumann's 'rapid-fire modulations',[178] according to Daverio, find their origins in Schubert as well. The final movements form the central ones of both Schubert's Trio and Schumann's Quartet and provide large scale sonata-form structure rather than common rondo finales. The 'general effervescence' that Hallmark ascribed to Schumann's entire Quartet is most apparent in this thriving finale,[179] and Redlich confirmed that 'the whole finale of the Piano Quartet, gloriously driving on in the irresistible impetus of its own momentum, integrates the spiritual influence of Schubert'.[180] This spirit can again be traced back to Schumann's rising fondness of Schubertian music, based on an account by Flechsig on Schumann's compositions from the same year:

> Furthermore, [Schumann] began to compose eagerly; he splendidly played the Erlkönig by Schubert… he developed a raging fondness of Schubert, who only began to get famous in 1828, and purchased anything that was available by him; I had to accompany the bass for the Polonaises… When Schubert died during the following winter, [Schumann] got in such an agitation hearing the first news about his death, that I could hear him sobbing the whole night.[181]

This agitation, which can be perceived throughout the entire fourth movement, indeed suggests the influence of Schubert's Lieder. Redlich made this very connection, as for him the fourth movement 'is Schubertian in its irrepressible association with the "Erlkönig" mood', but also 'equally reminiscent, with its obstinate triple rhythm, of Schubert's Impromptu Op. 90, No. 1 (published in 1827), the somber bass line of

[178] Daverio (1997) p. 51.
[179] Hallmark (1982) p. 160.
[180] Redlich (1950) p. 264.
[181] 'Außerdem begann er eifrig zu komponieren; den Erlkönig von Schubert spielte er prächtig... für den damals 1828 erst bekannt werdenden Schubert faßte er eine rasende Vorliebe und schaffte alles an, was von ihm zu haben war; bei den Polonäsen mußte ich den Baß begleiten... Als Schubert im nächsten Winter starb, geriet er bei der ersten Nachricht seines Todes in solche Aufregung, daß ich ihn die ganze Nacht schluchzen hörte.' Eismann I, p. 44.

which seems to re-echo in the young Schumann's bass'.[182] Thus, the last movement in particular provides a much broader network of Schubertian influences than the previous three movements, drawing equally on Schubert's Lieder and piano music.

Another composer and another genre come to mind when listening to the quick changes between major and minor modes, and the obsessive repetition of the dotted rhythm in the finale that Daverio and others ascribed to Schubertian roots.[183] John Worthen argued that 'the work is in fact rather less influenced by his beloved Schubert than one might have expected; Beethoven is just as important. Indeed, the phrase which dominates the rhythm of the last movement is identical with that which starts the last movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony.'[184] Similar to Beethoven's Seventh, the last movement of Schumann's Quartet is at no point released from the penetrating dotted rhythm. The other striking quality of the Quartet's finale, the exchange of minor and major modes, recalls Beethoven's symphonic models, as well as Schubert's. In contrast to the F-minor Quartet by Prince Louis, which was probably the most influential of the Prince's works for Schumann and which ends in a tranquil F-minor mood, Schumann's Quartet finale resembles the victorious major-mode endings of Beethoven's minor-mode symphonies.[185] There is, however, a more immediate link to Beethoven's music: Schumann's ensemble performed all three of Beethoven's Piano Trios, op. 1, in their musical evening on the 25 January 1829, just when he was about to embark on his quartet composition. Examples 5a and 5b show that the third of Beethoven's Trios, written in the same key as Schumann's Quartet,

[182] Redlich (1950) p. 263.
[183] See Daverio (1997) p. 51; Kohlhase II, p. 22; and Hallmark (1982) p. 160.
[184] Worthen (2007) pp. 31f.
[185] See Kohlhase II, p. 24; Redlich (1951) p. 14; and Hallmark (1982) p. 160. Another orchestral hint for the composition of this movement is the fact that the abovementioned 70-bar sketch from sketchbook V, pp. 24f., which features several orchestration indications was for the fourth movement.

begins with a unison theme in *piano* which is strikingly similar to the trio theme in the Quartet's second movement.



Example 5a Beethoven, Piano Trio in E flat major, op. 1 no. 3, I, bars 1-6



Example 5b R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, II, *Trio*



***Example 5b** continued*



***Example 5b** continued*

Beethoven's New Spirit: The Personal Narrative of the Piano Quartet

> I remember very clearly feeling that a passage in one of my compositions (1828) was *romantic*, showing a spirit that moved away from musical tradition as a new poetry in life was revealed to me (it was the trio from a scherzo in a piano quartet).[186]

While this excerpt from June 1846 about the trio has been widely recognised in Schumann scholarship, the affinity to Beethoven's C-minor Piano Trio has not yet

[186] 'Sehr gut erinnere ich mich einer Stelle meiner Kompositionen (1828), von der ich mir sagte, sie sei romantisch, wo ein von der alten Musik abweichender Geist sich mir eröffnete, ein neues poetisches Leben sich mir zu erschließen schien (es war das Trio eines Scherzo eines Klavierquartettes).' TB II, p. 402. Translation in: Draheim (2010) pp. 4f.

been taken into consideration. Especially in connection with the notion of 'romantic', the link to Beethoven's chamber music sheds a different light on Schumann's perception of this trio. Worthen, for example, concluded that Schumann was writing 'breakthrough music, looking beyond Beethoven to what he had started to find and feel in Schubert'.[187] The assumption that Schumann intended to associate himself with contemporaneous music, implying that he counted himself among a 'romantic' generation that tried to free itself from Beethoven's legacy and follow Schubert's paths, is misleading. Leon Plantinga claimed that Schumann was hesitant to use the term 'romantic' in a general sense (in order to avoid any association with Giacomo Rossini's music, mainly). Instead, he was referring to a 'dissenting minority' in the early nineteenth century, who promoted the 'romantic movement as the most significant development in music in his time'.[188] Plantinga defined the features Schumann required from 'romantic music' for such significance as 'originality, a personal mode of expression, or to use Schumann's own language, "fantasy", the "characteristic", and the "poetic"'.[189] This description comes much closer to the nature of the Quartet's trio than simply claiming it to be a departure from Beethoven.

Several aspects of the trio section match the idea of 'fantasy' or the 'characteristic', which reflect Schumann's life-long goal of a 'poetic music'. Harmonically, this section is distinct from the minuet part of the *Scherzo*. While the minuet explores conventional harmonic progressions, mostly based on authentic cadences (even though it also deviates to remote tonal areas like A flat major), the trio employs, using Kohlhase's term, elliptic harmonics.[190] Thereby, the actual tonic is

[187] Worthen (2007) p. 32.
[188] Leon Plantinga (1966) 'Schumann's View of "Romantic"', *The Musical Quarterly*, 52 (2), p. 231.
[189] Ibid., p. 225.
[190] See Kohlhase I, p. 183; and II, p. 8.

suspended until the end of the trio, annotated in detail in Example 5b. When the minuet sets off again in G major after the final long and fading E major chord in *pianissimo*, the stark harmonic contrast between these two parts of the *Scherzo* is striking.[191] Even though Kohlhase had 'no doubts that Schumann was referring to the harmonic disposition of the trio theme with the word "romantic"', the harmonic peculiarities shown in Example 5b only contribute to a larger poetic approach.[192]

Like Kohlhase, Daverio was drawn to the aspect of the trio that Schumann remembered to be 'romantic':

> The new, 'romantic' spirit of the Trio section manifests itself in lilting trochaic and dactylic rhythms, piquant appoggiaturas, and, at the beginning of the Trio's second half, a simple but evocative scoring strategy whereby the melody, assigned to the cello, is accompanied by pizzicatos in the violin and viola, and pulsing chords in the piano.[193]

Such textural and melodic aspects contribute to the 'characteristics' of this section. The pulsating rhythms together with the elliptic harmony award the trio a fantasy-like atmosphere over which the short melodic idea can unfold without much complexity, determination, or form. The short echo of the Beethovenian appoggiatura (bars 3f.) in the viola appears somewhat oblivious, as if the short melodic idea is echoed from afar.[194] As quickly and briefly as this motive and its imitation appeared (bars 1-8), as soon it disappears into mere rhythm and harmony (bars 9-16), only remaining as a fleeting thought that arose out of the fantasy-like atmosphere. This kind of 'suspended reality' is even more palpable in Schumann's 'evocative scoring strategy' (bars 17-24 and 33-40), as Daverio analysed, whereby the melody in the cello appears like a

[191] Especially in the context of the dream-like character of the trio section, discussed further below, the key of E major at the end of the section evokes Schubert's use of E major as his 'dream key', as most notably Susan Wollenberg has characterised it. See Susan Wollenberg (1980) 'Schubert and the Dream', *Studi musicali*, 9, pp. 143f.; and Ibid. (2016) pp. 173-176.

[192] Kohlhase I, p. 183.

[193] Daverio (1997) p. 54.

[194] This idea can also be traced back to the beginning of the Beethoven Trio in C minor, as the appoggiatura motive is split apart from the initial theme and repeated in a thoughtful, somewhat doubting manner (bars 5f.) in pianissimo.

serenading song, accompanied by the other *pizzicato* strings. As in the first half, the melody then merges into the general pulsing rhythm. After the dynamic climax of the whole trio (bars 45-49), Schumann attaches a formal coda (bars 49-66) to the otherwise symmetric 8+8-bar sections. This coda prolongs the previous non-melodic 8-bar phrase, resulting in the abovementioned fading finish without any further melodic elements.

The autograph of this section (Figure 17) reveals the significance of this short passage for Schumann. The 18-bar coda seems to have been sketched quickly, only as a harmonic and rhythmic framework in one stave as the piano's right hand. In contrast to this merely sketched ending of the trio, the rest has been written down meticulously, including the left hand of the piano which is missing for all other movements in the autograph. Schumann therefore had to add another stave by drawing the lines himself or notate the violin and viola together in one stave. These efforts suggest that Schumann had a vision for the sound world of the trio and did not want to leave it to chance when improvising missing voices during a performance by the ensemble. The abovementioned sound qualities, harmonically and melodically, were therefore of special importance to Schumann.

The significance of the trio section for the further course and structure of the work leads to the third and most important of Schumann's characteristics of 'romantic music', the 'poetic'. Daverio spotted Schumann's 'Jean-Paulian blend of "melancholy and enchantment" in this passage',[195] and while the trio indeed sounds somewhat melancholic and enchanted at the same time, the literary quality of this passage is what could be said to be most 'romantic' in Schumann's sense, as it becomes the centre

[195] Daverio (1997) p. 54.

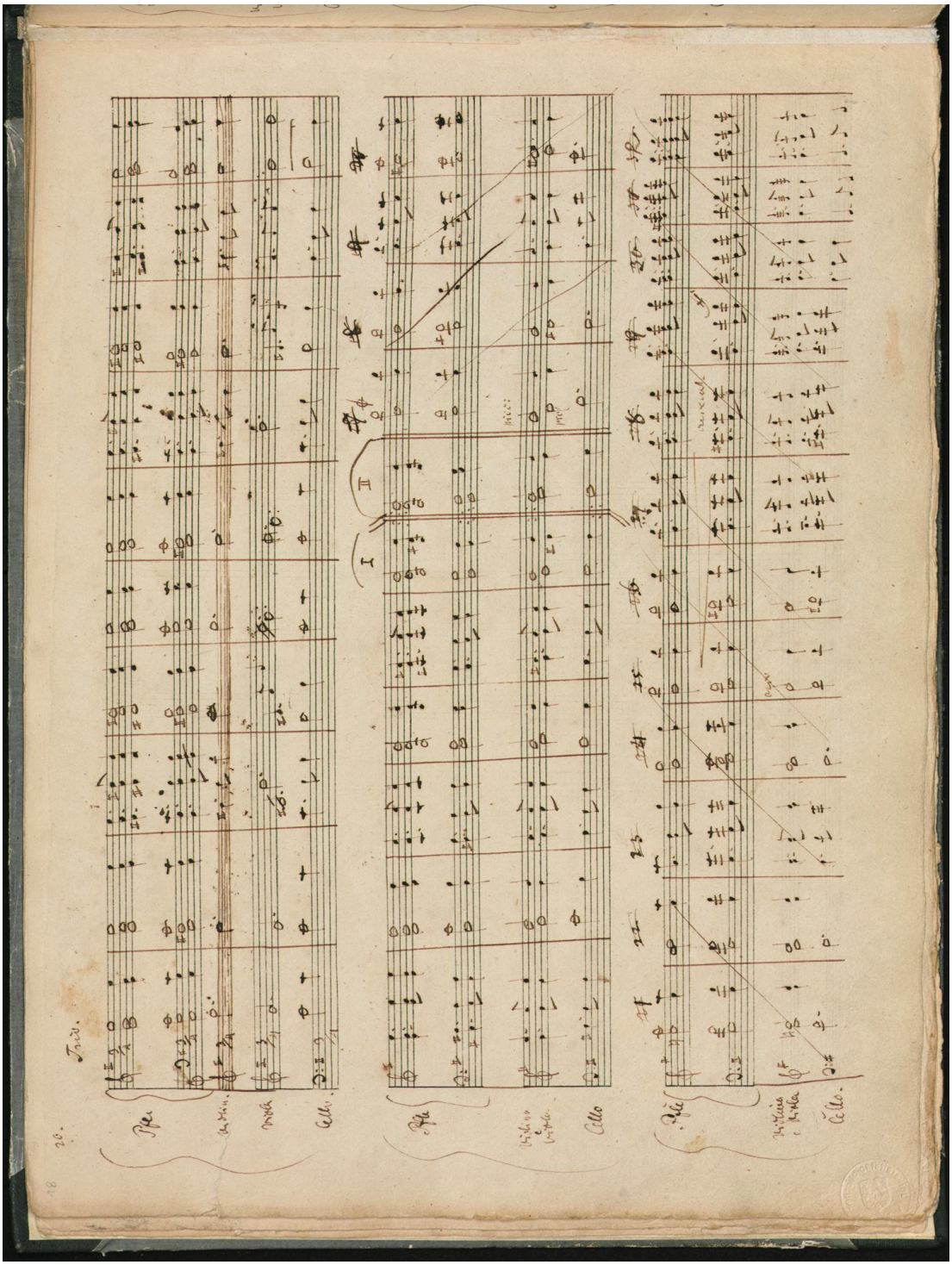


Figure 17 Autograph of Robert Schumann, *Quartet for Piano and Strings in C minor*, pp. 20-21. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, Schumann 12

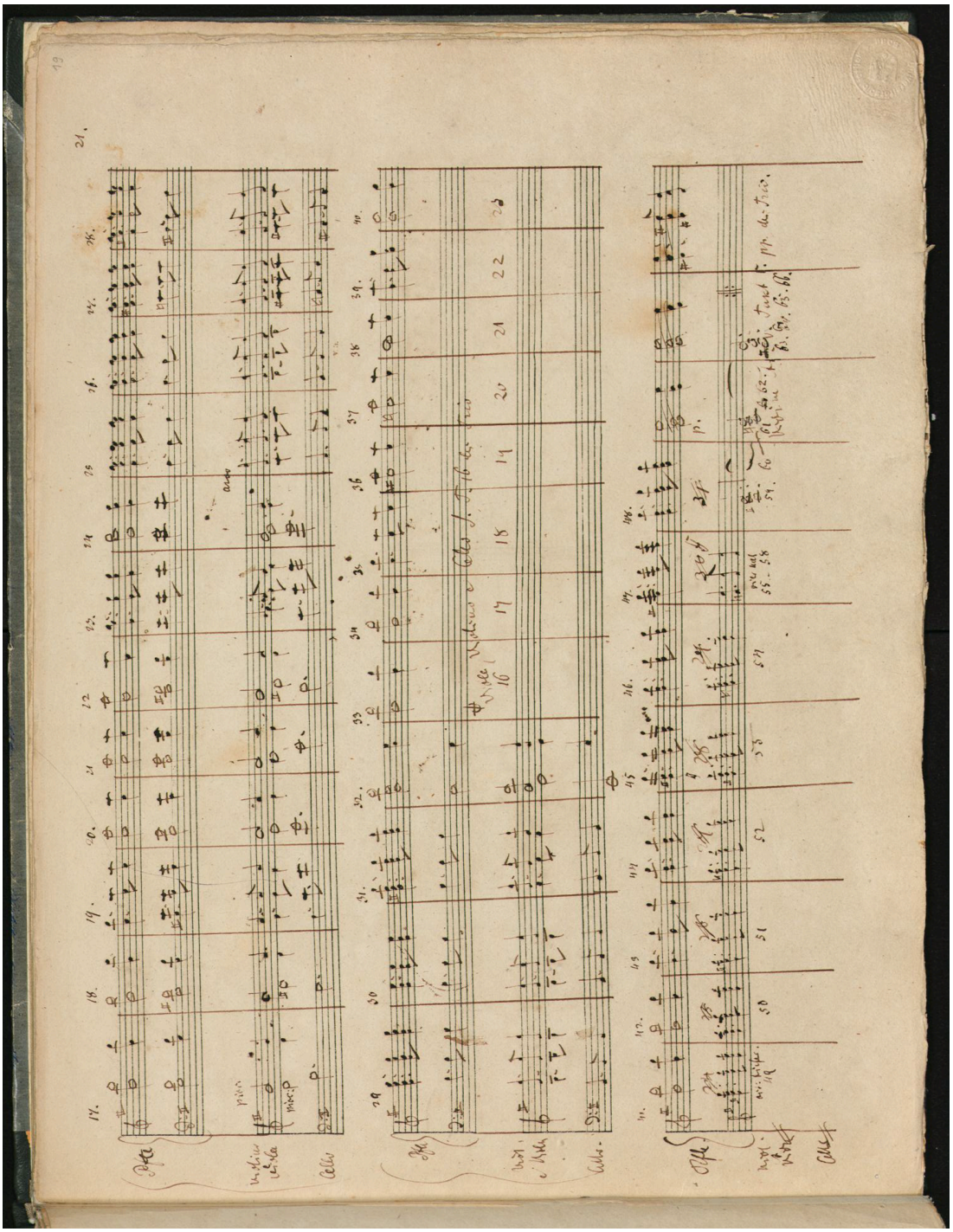


Figure 17 continued

piece of the work's narrative. That Schumann was already drawn deeply into ean Paul's works in his youth and that he used Jean-Paulian narratives in his own early works can be traced in his diaries and has equally been acknowledged in terms of his piano pieces of the early 1830s.[196] Works such as the *Papillons* Op. 2 and *Carnaval* Op. 9 openly follow Jean Paul's narrative lines. Even though the C-minor Quartet does not display such obvious connections, it is related to the following piano works through citations and reminiscences, as Redlich has noted: while number 10 of the *Papillons* begins with a quote from the Quartet's final movement (bars 35-42), the actual trio theme from the Quartet's second movement reappears in the fourth *Intermezzo*, op. 4 (bars 7f.).[197] If Schumann reused material from the Quartet for his Jean-Paul-inspired piano pieces written shortly after or even simultaneously to the Quartet (as was the *Papillons*' case), I suggest that the chamber work itself should be considered to include narrative ideas.

Both Schubert and Prince Louis, two of the most influential composers for Schumann at that stage, were regarded by Schumann as poetic figures. Prince Louis appeared as an actual literary personification, in a poetic reflection of the composer in Schumann's novel fragment 'Selene' from November 1828, a direct response to his 'nocturnal contemplations' about Jean Paul.[198] A year later, Schumann directly compared Schubert with Jean Paul in a letter to Friedrich Wieck: 'When I play

[196] See Robert L. Jacobs (1949) 'Schumann and Jean Paul', *Music and Letters,* 30, pp. 250-258; Frauke Otto (1984) *Schumann als Jean Paul Leser*, Frankfurt: Haag & Herchen; Eric Frederick Jensen (1998) 'Explicating Jean Paul: Robert Schumann's Program for *Papillons,* Op. 2', *19th Century Music,* 22, pp. 127-143; Erika Reiman (2004) *Schumann's Piano Cycles and the Novels of Jean Paul*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press; and most recently Janet Schmalfeldt (2020) 'From Literary Fiction to Music: Schumann and the Unreliable Narrative', *19th Century Music*, 43 (3), pp. 170–193.

[197] See Redlich (1950) pp. 147 and 263f.

[198] See TB I, pp. 135-140; 145 and 149f.

Schubert, it feels to me as if I was reading a musically composed novel by Jean Paul.'[199] Schumann explained to Wieck the unique appeal of Schubert's music:

> There is truly no music other than Schubert's which is so *psychologically* remarkable in its *progression and association of ideas* and in its *apparently* logical discontinuities; how few [composers] have been so capable, as he has, of impressing such a single personality on such varied *multitudes of tonal pictures*.[200]

Besides the heavenly lengths that Schumann associated with Jean Paul's novels and Schubert's Great Symphony,[201] aspects of discontinuity and simultaneousness of ideas are essential features of Jean Paul's and other Romantics' narratives and rediscovered by Schumann in Schubert's music. Schumann here probably referred to the manifold digressions that appear in the narratives of Romantic literature such as by Jean Paul or E.T.A. Hoffmann, discussed further in pp. 283-288.

The earliest of Schumann's works featuring a similar discontinuity of ideas and using this as the main narrative tool for a large-scale form, was the C-minor Piano Quartet. The pivotal element of narrative discontinuity in the Quartet is the aforementioned allusion to Beethoven's C-minor Piano Trio which Schumann's chamber group performed less than a month before the composition of his Piano Quartet. In Schumann's words as quoted above, this section would depict such a 'tonal picture' different from its surrounding *Scherzo* parts. In the distinct, dream-like atmosphere of the trio section, the Beethoven reference could indeed resemble some sort of memory of either the occasion of the Trio's performance, or even of the former era in which Beethoven's works were written. Time as a musical component seems

[199] Robert Schumann, letter to Friedrich Wieck, 6 November 1829 from Heidelberg. In: Schumann (1886) p. 82.

[200] 'Es gibt überhaupt, außer der Schubert'schen, keine Musik, die so psychologisch merkwürdig wäre in dem Ideengang- und Verbindung und in den scheinbar logischen Sprüngen, und wie Wenige haben so, wie er, eine einzige Individualität einer solchen unter sich verschiedenen Masse von Tongemälden aufdrücken können.' Ibid., p. 83. Translation in: Joel Lester (1995) 'Robert Schumann and Sonata Forms', *19th-Century Music*, 18 (3), p. 198.

[201] See Anthony Newcomb (1987) 'Schumann and Late Eighteenth-Century Narrative Strategies', *19th-Century Music*, 11 (2), p. 168.

suspended during the entire trio section. While the beginning of the trio is fairly distinctive (see the immediate beginning of the trio theme, and the harmonic juxtaposition of the subdominant C major), the thought of the past almost disappears, seemingly getting lost, at the fading end of the trio (heightened through the A major to minor progression and the long duration of the final *pianissimo* chords).[202] Following this suspension, the repetition of the minuet evokes a different character, now informed through the Beethoven reference. The beginning of the minuet abruptly ends the fading remainder of the Beethoven thought from the trio, but thereby seems to enter a different reality to when it first appeared just after the first movement's ending. This is framed by the final chords of the minuet (bars 80f.). Juxtaposing the transition to the major subdominant of the trio, the minuet ends with a decisive triple repetition of a C minor chord before the final tonic G major. This might not only resemble the A major to minor passage at the end of the trio but could even refer to the famous hammering rhythm of Beethoven's Fifth. In either case, the digressive moment of the trio evidently left its mark on the following repetition of the minuet section.

The concluding G major of the *Scherzo* is again tonally juxtaposed with the G minor key of the following *Andante* movement. Schumann first planned to write an *Adagio* in F minor instead, of which the first three bars are noted and crossed out in the autograph of the Quartet (Figure 18). In both versions, the movement would begin *pianissimo*, and the actual P would not appear before bar two. P is preceded, in the aborted *Adagio* draft, by a pulsating rhythm on a very low tonic F octave in the piano. In the completed *Andante* movement, it is introduced by oscillating semitone

[202] Such musical devices as fading ends and pastness have been associated with Schubert's music throughout the conceptual prism of memory. See especially Fisk (2001). As stated in the outline of the thesis in the prologue, however, this thesis is not concerned with theories of musical depictions of memory.



Figure 18 Autograph of Robert Schumann, *Quartet for Piano and Strings in C minor*, p. 22. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, Schumann 12



Example 6a R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, III, bars 1-3



Example 6b R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, III, bars 9-10

semiquavers between D and C sharp in the violin and cello (Example 6a). Hence, Schumann planned for both versions to let P appear seemingly from nowhere, akin to zooming in from a distant thought. In the final version, this image is strengthened through the tonal ambiguity of the semitone which is resolved into the G minor tonic by the entrance of P. After the first eight bars of the theme in the viola, when the viola

adapts the oscillating semitone while the cello repeats the theme (Example 6b), a counter voice is introduced in the violin. Through the simultaneous *pianissimo* semiquavers in the viola, beginning before the counter voice enters, this voice has almost the same effect as P at the beginning of the movement. However, by means of



Example 6c R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, III, bars 63-72

the simultaneousness with the oscillating semiquavers and the repeat of P, this entry is shifted gradually towards the present.

The sense of present tense first prevails in the style of imitative dialogue between the two themes. From bar 42, however, the focus slowly shifts towards the semitone semiquavers and the imitative dialogue texture is gradually replaced by polyphonic texture (bars 50-64). As these semiquavers recall the beginning of the movement, and thereby the image of something past or distant from which the movement's theme arose, the polyphonic texture and the concluding 4-3-suspension with arpeggio gestures in the violin (Example 6c) suggest the era of Baroque music. However, the character of evoking the past as in the trio of the previous movement is reversed in this case, with *marcato* accents and dynamics gradually intensifying towards the final *fortissimo*.

Example 6c shows how the connection to the *Scherzo*'s trio section is eventually established when the dynamically heightened sextuplets suddenly disappear into a single *piano* note in violin and viola. This sudden change of texture and dynamics awards this transitional moment a nearly transcendental character, especially when the reference to Beethoven reappears in the piano under the strings' chord. In this position, the short interlude fulfils several characteristics of narrative discontinuity. First, it abruptly ends the previous section which seemed stuck in its excited character and leads the movement back to its initial theme and atmosphere. Second and more specifically to this work, it introduces the shift in a minor key work towards the major mode, especially in the key of C minor.[203] And finally, the sense of recalling the past

[203] With this work, Schumann generally entered a well-observed intertextual dialogue of the tonal area of C minor among composers since (and even before) Beethoven and Schubert. See amongst others, Jessica Waldoff (2012) 'Does Haydn have a "C-minor mood"?'. In: Mary Hunter and Richard James Will (Eds.) *Engaging Haydn: Culture, Context, and Criticism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 158-186; and Joseph Kerman (1994) *Write All These Down: Essays on Music*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 217-237 ('Beethoven's Minority').

is not only transmitted by the reference to an earlier Beethoven chamber music piece, but similarly to an earlier movement from the same work. Through the continuation of the digressive moment with the return of the movement's main theme in major mode, it also becomes clear that this theme has ever since evolved out of the Beethoven motif, as it begins with the very same rising appoggiatura of the triad chord and ends on a repeated top note.

The same strategy is employed in the movement's middle section, where instead of Baroque styles, the course of the movements leads into chaos. In order to escape this situation, a sudden reduction of the dynamics (bars 104-107) results in a single *pianissimo* chord in the strings (Example 6d). A hesitating gesture in the piano recalls the theme which in the previous interrupting section answered the Beethoven allusion.



Example 6d R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, III, bars 105-127



Example 6d *continued*

When the viola continues the semiquaver pendulum from bar 112, it becomes clear that the piano's interception related to the movement's first bar. The semitone pendulum sounds throughout the rest of the movement to the final chord, eventually almost unnoticeably in lower register and *pianissimo* in the cello (bars 121-125). With the decreasing dynamics and thinner texture of the final bars, this ending creates a symmetry to the beginning of the movement. Like the opening, the final semiquavers seem to fade back into the same imaginary distance, leaving the last rendition of the theme (bar 122) behind.

By means of this symmetry, the *Andante* movement complements the second movement in terms of narrative strategies. The respective moment of disunity and digression in the trio of the second movement is confined to a closed section (though also forming an evident symmetry being placed between the two minuet sections). The third movement, in contrast, outlines a complete narration, constantly shifting between the reflective parts seemingly arising from the distant or past and shaped out of the Beethoven allusion, and the almost violent sections of direct confrontation.[204] This narration, and especially the reflective moments, take the listener on an emotional journey, as Daverio explained, 'effecting an emotional arch that proceeds from melancholy, peaks in a series of dreamily contented dialogues, and sinks back into the opening mood'.[205] The melancholic mood, according to Redlich, stems from the slow movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony,[206] and one could argue that this coincides with the romantic mood that Schumann conveys in the trio section, as the theme of the slow movement evolves out of the trio theme.

[204] As well as the phenomenon of 'fading away', the stark and sudden contrast of such section has been discussed with regard to memory in the music of Schubert by Fisk (2001), Taylor (2011), ibid. (2016) *The Melody of Time: Music and Temporality in the Romantic Era*, and others.
[205] Daverio (1997) p. 52.
[206] Redlich (1951) p. 14.

As with the slow movement, so Schumann thought about a different beginning of the finale. A sketch, consisting of two pages of the first 68 bars of the movement, shows an introduction of four bars before the primary theme commences (Figure 19).[207] This introduction begins with a *sforzato* chord in tutti, from which the rhythm arises. The rhythm itself only features one bar of the dotted quaver pattern, against three bars of a reduced crotchet-quaver version. By replacing these four bars with the eventual two-bar introduction, Schumann achieved a very different character for P at its entrance (Example 7). Instead of the surprising *sforzato* chord and the changing rhythmical patterns, the final fourth movement begins in *pianissimo* with the

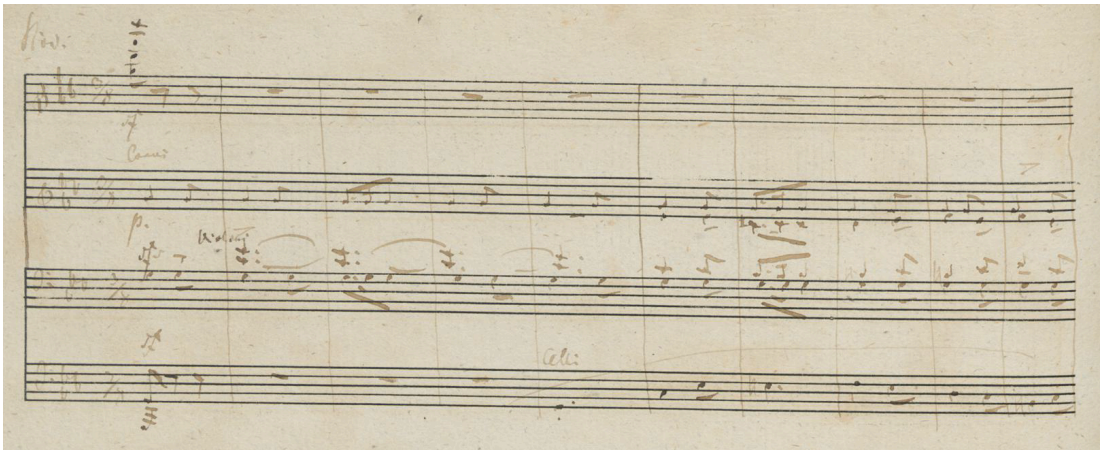


Figure 19 Autograph of Robert Schumann, *Sketch Book V*, p. 24. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, Schumann 17



Example 7 R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, IV, bars 1-5

[207] Sketchbook V (ULB Bonn, Schumann 17), p. 24.

distinctive penetrating dotted rhythm, as if beginning *in medias res*, and now appearing from a distance into the action, similar to the beginning of the third movement. These two introductory bars strikingly correspond closely to the draft of the third movement as discussed above, with the pulsing rhythm in the piano, also in octaves and *pianissimo*.

The dotted rhythm with which these two bars introduce the final movement march inexorably through the entire movement, which justifies the association with Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, in particular its final movement. Schumann found it worth noting in his diary that 'the piano maintains the characteristic rhythm' in the finale of his Quartet.[208] More immediately than from the symphony, however, this rhythm is characteristic of the trio section, which also alludes to Beethoven, from the second movement. Furthermore, P opens with a rising appoggiatura of a minor triad chord and thereby seamlessly connects to the slow movement's theme and ultimately to the trio theme as well. The finale thus exhibits at its very beginning the affinity particularly to the 'romantic' trio section and generally to the previous movements. Schumann further noted on the first performance of the final movement on 21 March 1829: 'happy savageness within, which happily recalls the past once again in an entirely different world and which repeats all the bas-reliefs of the previous ones!'[209] Schumann thus had the past in mind when playing through this movement for the first time. He described the previous movements' themes that are adopted in the finale illustratively as bas-reliefs, a relief sculpture technique used, for example, for Greek and Roman coins, and thus, describing a small and valuable ornament as well as an item evidently from the past. The brief occurrence of the trio theme (bars 342-347),

[208] TB I, p. 182.
[209] TB I, p. 182.



Example 8 R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in C minor, WoO 32, IV, bars 544-549

however, is just a harbinger of its grand final entry in the *più presto* coda (Example 8). Now 'transformed into an ebullient C major', as Daverio observed, he calls the theme fittingly a 'peroration of this process of recalls'.[210] In this peroration, the final recall of the trio theme, I hear the 'romantic' character as well as the digressive function of the theme as being completely replaced by victorious verve, while the 'per aspera ad astra' concept is fully realised by means of the reference to Beethoven from the C-minor Trio in its original form.

The numerous recollections of themes from previous movements and the Beethoven allusion as the triumphant coda theme establish another kind of narrative for the final movement. There are no reflective moments in this movement. Instead, the notion of the past and of a narrative plot are achieved through the thematic connections to the previous movement, including the more formal and conventional first movement. The narratives of the second and third movements are subsumed under the large-scale form that summarises the musical 'plot' of the entire work and thereby, eventually, validates its narrative character. While Kohlhase, in his formalistic approach, declared these 'poetic associations as a specific formal intention', leading

[210] Daverio (1997) p. 54.

towards this final movement as the 'climax of the cycle',[211] Daverio more fittingly regarded this moment of the final recall of the 'romantic' trio theme as the redemption of the poetic concept of the entire work:

> Here too we realize in retrospect that the obsessive rhythm of the finale is none other than a quick-tempo variant of the dactylic pattern from the trio. Hence the 'new poetic life' that revealed itself to Schumann through his charming but initially unassuming trio theme was closely bound up with a search for coherence on a large temporal scale. Clearly the development of his musico-poetic sensibility was well under way.[212]

Considering this Quartet as a harbinger of Schumann's later large-scale forms, and his attempt to award those forms coherence through thematic-cyclical connections and narrative trajectories, Daverio sheds new light on the importance of this composition for the composer's development. The foundations of Schumann's cyclical large-scale multi-movement form (such as the 1842 chamber music works, discussed in chapters two and three), as well as, I would add, his narrative strategies and the use of quotations and allusions to evoke a sense of past tense, are evidently laid out in Schumann's early quartet composition. Moreover, if Kohlhase considered 'the links between the movements through quotations and reminiscences in the piano quartet op. V as developed as in barely any other of Schumann's chamber music works',[213] I would suggest that Schumann's cyclic coherence of later works can well be traced back to this early composition.

The 'musico-poetic sensibility' that Schumann developed in this composition, according to Daverio, is linked to and enriched by the experiences of his months of intense chamber music activity with his ensemble. Moreover, his fondness of Jean Paul's literature has been mostly established through the *Litterarische Verein*, in which Schumann learned to share his poetic ambitions. The 'new poetic life' achieved in the

[211] Kohlhase II, p. 20.
[212] Daverio (1997) p. 54.
[213] Kohlhase I, p. 64.

Quartet thus sums up all these influences and experiences in his first large-scale creation. Against this background, I suggest a reassessment the influence of the chamber group and Schumann's circles on this composition, taking his above quote on the last movement as a starting point: What, then, would change if we assume that Schumann was not necessarily referring to the last movement of his Quartet when he documented the 'happy inner savageness', but his own excitement when playing through this movement for the first time with the other intended performers of this piece, his chamber group? What if the 'past' that this savageness happily recalls is the past half a year during which Schumann rummaged through the chamber music repertoire so frequently with his ensemble? What if the 'bas-reliefs of the previous ones' do not refer to the previous three movements, but to all the previous trio and quartet evenings with Täglichsbeck, Sörgel, and Glock? And could the bas-reliefs not be all the gems of the mutual chamber music encounters that Schumann implemented in this own Quartet, such as Beethoven's C-minor Trio, Schubert's E-flat-major Trio, and Prince Louis' works?

Schumann might have meant to pen his own mood and to portray the time with his chamber group, or perhaps he deliberately played with the ambiguity of this diary entry. Even if he was referring to the movement itself, the possibility of applying this account to the trio and quartet evenings is not far-fetched. In either case, an important shift in the narrative perspectives occurs by considering this more personal account for the creation and the score of the C-minor Quartet. When associating Schumann's remark with Töpken's that the Quartet was written 'for his friends' and the interpretation of a narrative past tense in the Quartet, I suggest that Schumann was musically reflecting on the past half a year of chamber music making. The joyous coda of the last movement of the Quartet, triumphantly presenting the all-important

reference to Beethoven, I suggest, thereby not only awards the entire work a conciliatory conclusion and a shift to the present time, but it equally signifies the end of the mutual chamber music evenings and encounters and leaving them with good memories.

There are not many grounds on which to read personalisations of Schumann's three chamber music partners into the score itself, as too little is known about their own musical styles or characteristics. However, by accompanying Schumann through these chamber music evenings which found so many analogies in the C-minor Quartet on various levels, these musicians seem to have had an impact on this composition. As another instance, Schumann noted in his diary that he was playing 'preludes and fugues by Bach with Glok'[214] on 18 February 1829. Around the same time, Schumann was composing the slow movement which he by then still named 'Adagio'. As shown above, Baroque figures play a significant role in the narrative trajectory of this movement. Furthermore, Kohlhase discovered the frequent stylistic use of falling fifths in the Quartet, one of those sequences counting 21 fifths. Kohlhase concluded that 'the sequences of falling fifths in Schumann's works thus cannot only be traced back to his intense occupation with Bach's works'.[215] Instead of the later studies of Bach's work, the source for such Bachian features in the C-minor Quartet might well have originated from his informal duo playing with Glock. The cellist perhaps infected Schumann with his 'raptures' about Bach, of which Täglichsbeck reported.[216]

The level of difficulty in the various parts also reveals much of Schumann's valuation of his fellow musicians and of his own pianistic capabilities. As noted

[214] TB I, p. 174.

[215] Kohlhase I, p. 204. Meebae Lee revealed that Schumann was aware of J. S. Bach's music since his studies with his piano teacher Kuntsch and mentioned the composer in his diaries as early as 1823. See Meebae Lee (2011) *Rewriting the Past, Composing the Future: Schumann and the Rediscovery of Bach*, PhD Diss.: The City University of New York, pp. 21-23.

[216] See Wasielewski (1883) p. 92.

previously, for almost the entire autograph the left hand of the piano is missing. Schumann's improvisatory skills thus must have been highly developed by that stage. However, the existing piano part, even though limited to the right hand for most parts, reveals a technically rather less demanding style, compared to some Beethovenian trios or Schubert's E-flat-major Trio in particular which the group performed shortly before the quartet composition was underway. Schumann had just started his pianistic education with Friedrich Wieck and was occupying himself with Johann Nepomuk Hummel's 'Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instruction on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte' during the time of the quartet composition.[217] The result is a largely functional piano part, taken to the extreme in the final movement, in which the piano provides the rhythmic and harmonic support for the strings throughout the movement without much derivation from this pattern. According to Schumann's diary, Glock expressed his dissatisfaction with this condition.[218] Whether this was a stylistic judgement by Glock, or whether he thought the difficulties in this movement being unequally spread among the instruments is unclear. Schumann's short diary entry about 'the breakneck cello' points towards the latter, indicating that Glock had some technical difficulties with trickier cello passages.[219] In fact, compared to the other two string parts, the cello part offers fewer virtuoso sections (which are generally rare throughout the piece), and is instead often awarded sombre melodies or harmonic-rhythmic accompaniment.

Socially, however, Glock seems to have been the most verbal of the musicians, frequently called 'theorist Glock'[220] or 'the narrating Glock'[221] by Schumann.

[217] See Boetticher (1979) p. X.
[218] TB I, p. 182.
[219] TB I, p. 174.
[220] TB I, p. 151.
[221] TB I, p. 182.

Apparently being significantly older than the other musicians, Glock was equally respected and mocked by his fellow musicians. He was Schumann's most frequent musical partner, at the cello as well as the piano. Täglichsbeck, on the other hand, was the most proficient musician of this ensemble. With evident approval, Schumann noted 'Kapellmeister Täglichsbek' in his diary.[222] Thus, Täglichsbeck probably had no difficulties with the violin part of the Quartet, even though it is the most exposed of all parts and contains most of the few virtuoso passages. Sörgel was probably least befriended with Schumann, as there are no real accounts of personal interaction besides chamber music gatherings and other group activities in which both Schumann and Sörgel took part. According to the viola part of the Quartet, which often joins the violin in the technically more ambitious passages, Sörgel must have been a skilful violist.

Any further reading of personal characteristics or relationships of the musicians into the score of Schumann's C-minor Quartet would be too speculative. I suggest that the Quartet was targeted towards an ensemble of decent but not necessarily professional quality. The overall equal treatment of the parts, abstaining from any dominating roles of the violin or the piano, hints towards a homogeneous and balanced group in which Schumann gave no particular prominence to his own piano or any other part. By means of the frequently occurring musical dialogues, the plays with imitation, and the fluid taking over of themes and melodies from one instrument to another, Schumann's compositional style in the Piano Quartet provides many opportunities for musical interaction and social dynamics which certainly fitted the by then well-established ensemble.

[222] TB I, p. 152.

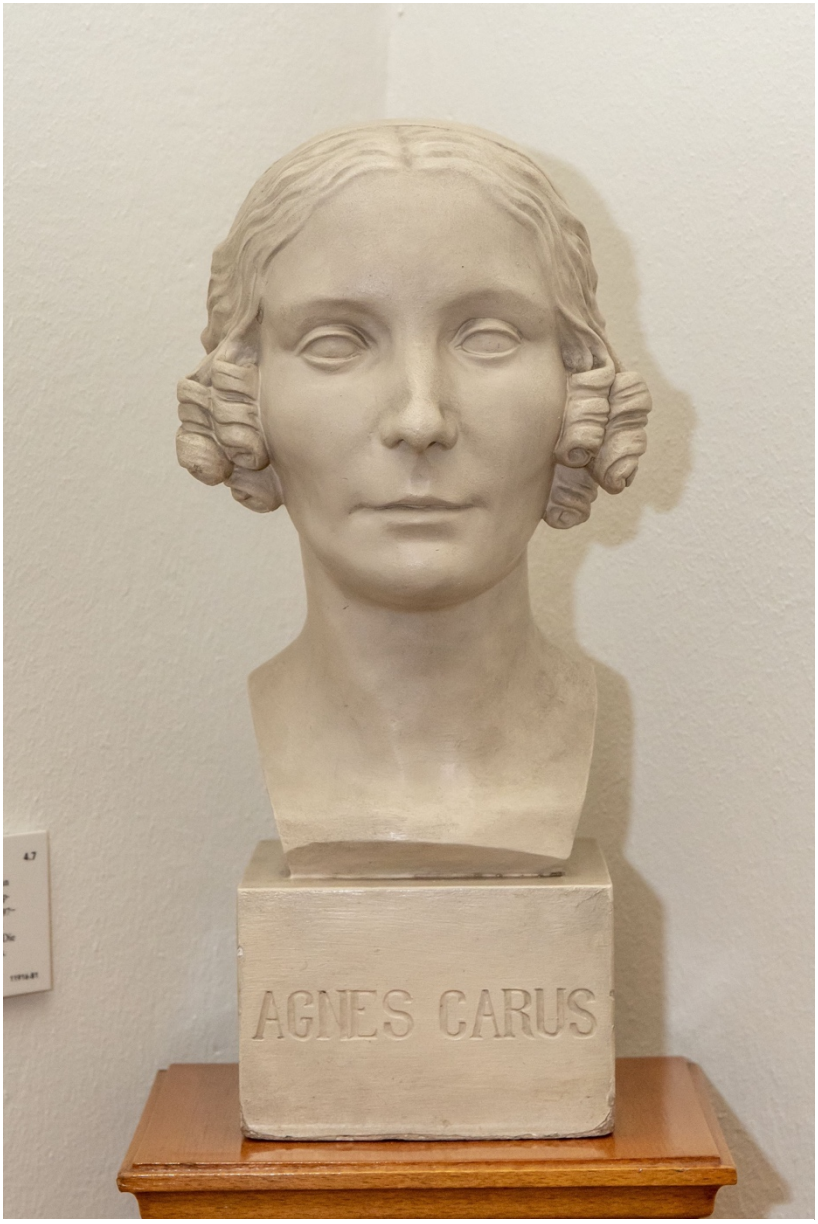


Figure 20 Bust of Agnes Carus. Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 11916-B1

The circle involved in this quartet composition also expanded beyond the four musicians for which it was intended: the more senior audience, namely Friedrich Wieck, Ernst August and Agnes Carus, and Heinrich Albert Probst gave constant feedback on the performances of single movements, usually some form of praise or enthusiasm.[223] One particular member of Schumann's early Leipzig circle, however, seems to have had a special, if undeliberate, impact on the composition and especially

[223] See TB I, pp. 172, 182, and 184.

the ‘romantic’ trio section: Ernst August Carus’ wife Agnes, née Küster (born 1802), was much on Schumann’s mind while composing the Quartet, as various diary entries confirm. Agnes Carus (Figure 20) had been one of Schumann’s desires since the late Zwickau days, and target of some poetic fantasies. In the chamber music evenings at Carus’ house, Schumann came across Agnes Carus several times and she was able to witness his pianistic development. His passion for Dr Carus’ wife then broke through again during the composition period of the Quartet. Immediately after beginning the work on the trio of the second movement, Schumann reported on ‘heavenly dreams of A’[224] and ‘beautiful, beautiful dreams of A’.[225] After the trio composition and those dreams, there is a short break in the composition process during which Schumann repeatedly notes ‘fantasy’, ‘dreams’, and ‘bliss’ – all of these states connected to his obsession with Agnes Carus. When resuming the work on the Quartet and approaching the completion of the final movement, Agnes Carus was causing Schumann sleepless nights: ‘last movement for the Quartet – ecstatic state of mind – in the evening fantasy and she lives within – not falling asleep – castles in the air of the future – awful dreams of her.’[226]

Night-time and these dreams appear to have been Schumann’s inspiration for moving on with this composition from the slow movement onwards. On 18 February 1829, he noted: ‘Adagio for my Quartet – and the sunrise – at Nagel’s with Renz and a little beer – sleep – awakening and terrible state – then continuing the Adagio... horrible, damned night!—’[227] After the eleventh quartet evening, Schumann continued to compose the trio into the early hours: ‘in the evening the 11th quartet… IInd movement, *Minuetto* and *Adagio* from my Quartet – the trio of the minuet and the

[224] TB I, p. 175.
[225] TB I, p. 176.
[226] TB I, p. 182.
[227] TB I, pp. 174f.

sunrise.'[228] Eventually, Schumann finished the Quartet early in the morning on 21 March 1829, calling it the 'Hesperus of my dreams'.[229] Hesperus being the personification of the planet Venus in Greek mythology, the morning and the evening star, Schumann not only draws a powerful analogy with his relief about finishing this work, but also deliberately connects the compositional process to these worked-through nights and dawn.[230] Especially the important 'romantic' trio section was a result of one of these night shifts, which established 'a private link between the sun coming up and this particular passage' for Schumann, according to Worthen.[231] Equally, these nights were under the impression of his dreams about Agnes Carus. Thus, the result was a state much inspired by the ideas of the Romantics: the composition of the 'romantic' blissful trio section during lonely nights of inspiration by longing for someone unattainable. The above described narrative in which the trio section plays the main part achieves new significance through such a personal connotation. This 'romantic' music is a reference to Beethoven, a narrative focal point, and Schumann's passion for Agnes Carus composed into music in one. I therefore argue for it being a forerunner of various personal messages and private musical symbols which have been detected in many of Schumann's later works.[232]

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[228] TB I, p. 175.

[229] TB I, p. 182.

[230] Most likely, Schumann took inspiration for this analogy from Jean Paul's novel *Hesperus oder 45 Hundposttage. Eine Biographie,* in which Klotilde is named 'Hesperus' by her lover Victor.

[231] Worthen (2007) p. 32.

[232] The starting point of discussion of ciphers and musical symbols in Schumann's works was Eric Sams' influential and much debated articles from the mid- to late-1960s, among them: Eric Sams (1965) 'Did Schumann Use Ciphers?', *The Musical Times*, 106 (1470), pp. 584-591; and ibid. (1966) 'The Schumann Ciphers', *The Musical Times*, 107 (1479), pp. 392-393 and 395-400. Since then, personal symbols and hidden ciphers have been a contentious but seemingly irresistible in Schumann scholarship, see, for example, Charles Rosen (1998) *Romantic Poets, Critics, and Other Madmen*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, pp. 83-104 ('Secret Codes. Caspar David Friedrich, Robert Schumann'); chapter 3 in Daverio (2002), and ibid. (1997) pp. 158f.; John MacAuslan (2016) *Schumann's Music and E.T.A. Hoffmann's Fiction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; and with regard to the Clara-cipher in the Piano Quintet op. 44, discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation, see Akio Mayeda (1992) *Robert Schumanns Weg zur Symphonie*, Zurich: Atlantis and Mainz: Schott, p. 519; and Hans Kohlhase (1981) 'Robert Schumanns Klavierquintett op. 44. Eine semantische Studie'. In: Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (Eds.) *Musik-Konzepte: Sonderband Robert Schumann* (1), Munich: edition

My analysis of Schumann's first chamber music work shows that, on many levels, the concepts that Schumann's mature chamber music is characterised by and praised for has been established to a significant degree in this first chamber music attempt. All of these concepts, furthermore, are based on his immediate or past contact to groups of musicians, friends, literary or artistic figures, or beloved ones. Schumann initiated the composition out of shared chamber music experiences with friends of similar age and musical abilities, and through the encouragement of older but befriended and influential figures such as Friedrich Wieck and the Carus couple. Thus, this composition was not deliberately attempting to establish his later principles or to break out of the familiar and close chamber music making with his fellow students. Instead, this work was intended as his own contribution to his musical circle. When admitting to Töpken in Heidelberg that he wrote this Quartet 'for his friends', Schumann could have referred to the music itself equally as to the mere occasion. The fact that this work then kept lying on his piano in his Heidelberg flat, as Töpken reported, that it was not intended to be published but to be reworked into a symphony, which then did not materialise either, shows that Schumann was serious about this unofficial dedication of this piece and eventually did not follow any further plans with the work.

Against this background, in the following chapters I reconsider the influence of Schumann's social environment, his circles, friendships, and relationships, on the works of the chamber music year 1842. While there has been frequent scholarly

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text+kritik, pp. 157-164. Besides the 'Clara' and the 'Ehe' cipher, musical symbols said to relate to friends of Schumann include the imaginary Countess of Abegg in his op. 1 (see p. 183f.), the *Carnaval*'s A-S-C-H motto (see pp. 145f.), the G-A-D-E cipher in 'Nordisches Lied' (*Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68), Ferdinand David (D-A-F-D) and Joseph Joachim (F-A-E) in the second and third Violin Sonata respectively (see Epiloge, pp. 389f.), and the typical B-A-C-H fugue theme in *Sechs Fugen über den Namen BACH für Orgel oder Pianoforte mit Pedal*, op. 60, and in his 1842 chamber works as discussed in Chapter 3.

engagement with Schumann's mature chamber music, from analytical as well as historical and contextual standpoints, none of these approaches have taken his early chamber music composition and the role of his youth circles and friendships into consideration. In outlining his social interactions in his youth until his first chamber music composition and in analysing the C-minor Piano Quartet against this context, I aimed to portray how the young Schumann established and acknowledged the interchange between his social environment and his approach to chamber music.

222A

Herrn Dr. Crusius und Frau Hochwohlgeboren

laden zu einer musikalischen Matinée

Sonntag, den 8. December, 11 Uhr

im Saale des Gewandhauses ergebenst ein

Robert und Clara Schumann.

Programm.

1. Quartett für Pianoforte, Violine, Viola und Violoncello componirt von *Robert Schumann*.
2. *a)* Lied von *Clara Schumann*.
   b) „Stille Liebe“ von J. Kerner
   c) „O Sonnenschein“ von Reinick } von *Robert Schumann*.
3. *a)* Gondel- und Frühlingslied von *F. Mendelssohn Bartholdy*.
   b) Polonaise von *F. Chopin*.

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4. Chaconne für Violine allein von *S. Bach*.
5. *a)* „Die Nonne“ von Froelich
   b) „Ich grolle nicht“ von Heine } von *Robert Schumann*.
   c) „Du meine Seele, du mein Herz“ von F. Rückert
6. Sonate (C dur, op. 53.) von *L. v. Beethoven*.

Figure 21 Robert and Clara Schumann, invitation letter to Wilhelm Crusius for a matinée in the Gewandhaus on 8 December 1844. Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Rep. IX 5/222A

Interlude

Leaving Leipzig Again: The Other 'Farewell' Piano Quartet, op. 47

Schumann's 'mature' Piano Quartet in E flat major, op. 47, the only one he composed in this genre after the C-minor Piano Quartet from 1829, concluded his 1842 chamber works in the larger, mostly conventional genres. From the Piano Trio in A minor (later published as *Fantasiestücke*, op. 88) onwards, he wrote exclusively for smaller ensembles, namely piano trios and duos. Within the group of the earlier and larger chamber works, the Piano Quartet, op. 47, somewhat takes the role of an outsider: it does not continue the narratives of the String Quartets and the Piano Quintet, which I interpret in the following chapters as Schumann's way of musically portraying his chamber music circles. Instead, the op. 47 Quartet helps frame the discussion of the 1842 chamber works together with the C-minor Piano Quartet. These two compositions are written in the same genre, with the earlier Piano Quartet initiating Schumann's engagement with conventional chamber music forms while the latter concludes this group. More importantly, they share a similar fate, or purpose, in terms of their performance context and, as examined above for the early Quartet, their musical depiction of Schumann's social and personal situation.

Compared to the other 1842 chamber works, particularly the hugely popular String Quartet in A minor and the Piano Quintet, the Piano Quartet's performance history was less successful. In fact, this piece was not heard outside the rehearsal context until a 'musikalische Morgenunterhaltung' on 8 December 1844 in Leipzig (Figure 21). This matinée was simultaneously Robert Schumann's 'second' farewell from Leipzig, as he and his wife Clara Schumann moved to Dresden later that month. The 'fate' of op. 47 thus resembles the role of the 1829 Piano Quartet. In 1842,

Schumann could hardly have known that the later Piano Quartet would also be premiered only at the very last matinée the couple would give at the end of their time in Leipzig and with the entire circle of friends present – but his two Piano Quartets share this sense of farewell, which is musically realised throughout but most importantly, towards the end of op. 47.

Music theorist Stefan Rohringer described the sequence of events in the first movement as shaped by the 'idea of multi-perspective levels of time',[233] as subsequent events are so closely interwoven with juxtaposing elements that they appear nearly simultaneous. Indeed, several passages in the first and middle movements contribute to the often commented on reflective and intimate character of this work, but they also influence and confuse the perceived musical time. The slow introduction to the first, and the coda to the third movement are just the most prominent examples of such simultaneous display of temporal spheres. Akio Mayeda complemented Rohringer's assessment with his perception of the point of the recapitulation of the first movement, in which 'in the dimension of musical time the achieved presence of the moment is celebrated'.[234] The listener, the follower of the work's narrative, thereby is, at this point, fully drawn into the narrative time evoked in the introduction.

Towards the end of the work, at the beginning of the recapitulation of the final movement, I suggest that Schumann adds his personal take on the narrative. Here, the most widely acknowledged digressive moments in Schumann's entire chamber music oeuvre concludes the work and thereby, Schumann's entire output in the larger chamber genres. Only four bars into the recapitulation, a lyrical interlude, much more

[233] Stefan Rohringer (2004) 'Zu Robert Schumanns Klavierquartett Es-Dur op. 47: Überlegungen zur Form der Exposition des Kopfsatzes'. In: Arnfried Edler (Ed.) *Die Kammermusik Clara und Robert Schumanns: Musikhistorisches Symposium – 24. Mai 2002*, Hannover: Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover, p. 21.

[234] Mayeda (1992) p. 521.

like ‘a character piece or (more in line with its instrumentation) the trio of a scherzo movement’ in Brown’s opinion,[235] replaces the initial fugato from the exposition of the movement. With a length of 48 bars (b. 144-191), this episode is the most extensive of such digressive moments in Schumann’s entire chamber output, and indeed evokes the character of being a piece within the piece.[236]

The length of the interlude is justified through its personal association. Brown highlighted possible allusions to Robert and Clara Schumann’s married life in this section. The link to the couple’s past is the fifth piece of Robert Schumann’s *Novelletten*, op. 21. Examples 9a and 9b show that the first lyrical idea of the piece is built out of the same figurations as the section in the Piano Quartet’s last movement. For Brown, the *Novelletten* miniature piano piece, which stylistically resembles a wedding march, is a play between public and private life, reflecting the difficult balance between the professional and personal lives of the couple. As the result of this struggle, at the end of the *Novelletten* piece, ‘public gives way to private, the outer to the inner’.[237] This could be interpreted as Robert Schumann’s ideal of marriage, the



Example 9a R. Schumann, *Novelletten*, op. 21 no. 5, bars 33-34



Example 9b R. Schumann, Piano Quartet in E flat major, op. 47, IV, bars 144-145

[235] Brown (2000) p. 152.

[236] See Ibid., pp. 160-166; and Julie Hedges Brown (2005) ‘Higher Echoes of the Past in the Finale of Schumann’s 1842 Piano Quartet’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 57 (3), pp. 522-526.

[237] Brown (2005) p. 550.

focus of married life residing in the intimate and private relationship of two lovers without the public interfering.

Brown considered the quotation of the *Novelletten* piece in the Piano Quartet as proof of Schumann's stylistic development towards the 'public' (as the restoration of the initial recapitulation and the climactic and celebratory coda that follow the interlude negate the inner moment created by the personal reference to Clara Schumann).[238] I suggest an alternative reading of this personal reference, against the background of the difference of this work to the previous chamber compositions of 1842, and the fact of its premiere being the 'farewell' event from the Schumann couple's Leipzig circle. The interlude, as well as all other narrative digressions in the Piano Quartet, does not bear any motivic or thematic links to the other 1842 chamber works. Such moments of reflection and past tense are detached from the personal meaning of Schumann's social and musical environment in Leipzig. Hence, I consider these reflections as a metaphorical look back at Leipzig by Schumann, but already 'with one foot in the doorstep'. The reference to his marriage to Clara at the very end of this work does not link further back than to a subject at the beginning of the same movement. This could suggest that Schumann was already reflecting on a new episode in his life with his wife, set apart from the Leipzig circle which he portrayed in the preceding works. A narrative of 'farewell' from Schumann's friendships in Leipzig had been attempted, on a much smaller scale, in the early C-minor Piano Quartet from 1829. Schumann, then a socially established and married man, displayed a similar gesture as he departed from the chamber works of 1842.

[238] See Ibid., p. 560.



Figure 22 Lithography of Robert Schumann by Joseph Kriehuber, 1839. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien



Figure 23 Drawing of Clara Wieck by Johann H. Schramm, 1840. Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau

II

‘Secretly I was not allowed to, so I did it publicly’:

The Schumanns, Their Circles, and Chamber Music in Leipzig

‘“There were Schuppanzighian, there were Davidian quartets, why not also – ”, I thought to myself and asked for a clover to come together’ – Schumann explained in the *NZfM* in 1838.[239] His ‘clover’ quartet was the subject of another contribution by Schumann to the *NZfM* a year later, when reviewing Leipzig’s concert life over the past season:

> This winter, unfortunately, there were only four quartet evenings organised by David, leader of the orchestra. Besides the triumvirate of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, which probably dominates every quartet society as the stereotypical basis, only two equally important names were featured, Onslow and Mendelssohn-Bartholdy; a new quartet by the latter, with a fugue by Mozart and Beethoven’s Septet, formed the clover on the last of the four evenings, which worthily crowned the entire season at its end.[240]

These two quotations stem from one of the busiest and most vibrant times in Schumann’s life, during which his quartet formation underwent a significant transformation. The quartet ensemble he marked as his ‘clover’ in the first of the two articles is made up of the same musicians on both occasions: namely, the members of the ‘Gewandhausquartett’, led by Ferdinand David. The first quote shows Schumann using the term ‘clover’ in a slightly amended way to how he had first introduced it in Leipzig ten years earlier: four artistic people, but now united mainly through their art,

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[239] “‘Gab es Schuppanzighsche, gibt es Davidsche Quartette, warum nicht auch –”, dachte ich bei mir und bat mir ein Kleeblatt zusammen.’ GS I, p. 333. Schumann referred to the string quartets led by Ignaz Schuppanzigh in Vienna and Ferdinand David in Dorpat.

[240] ‘Der vom Concertmeister David veranstalteten Quartettabende waren diesen Winter leider bloß vier. Außer dem, wohl in allen Quartettvereinen stereotype Grundlage vorherrschende Triumvirat: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, kamen nur zwei gleichfalls gewichtige Namen an die Reihe, Onslow und Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, von welchem letzteren ein neues Quartett am letzten der vier Abende mit einer Fuge von Mozart, und Beethovens Septett ein Kleeblatt bildete, das dem Ganzen zum Schluß die würdige Krone aufsetzte.’ Robert Schumann (1839) ‘1839: Rückblick auf das Leipziger Musikleben im Winter 1838-1839’, *NZfM*, 10 (36), p. 144.

in this occasion a string quartet, rather than friendship. At the same time, his earlier use of the metaphor suggests that the Gewandhausquartett, which gathered at Schumann's home and which he named a clover, was also bond by family-like relationships between each other.

The second quote expands the notion of the clover metaphor even further, as it does not refer to people but a group of four art works by what Schumann considered masters of current (Mendelssohn) and recent (Mozart, Beethoven) music history, played in one of the Gewandhausquartett's public recitals. This new meaning, compared to the inseparable bond of three or four friends in Schumann's youth, alludes to several Romantic associations of the clover mentioned earlier (see p. 27): this use resembles a collection of art works as mentioned in Jean Paul's letter; it also clearly stems from a common 'soil' or sprung from the same roots, namely German music history; and thirdly, the clover is in the tradition of the German *Bildung* idea, which Hoffmann characterised in the three educational slaps Kreisler received from his uncle, but which now transports the clover's roots into Leipzig's musical scene. The former notion of the intimate 'clover ensemble' from Schumann's private living room now seems equivalent to the promotion and consolidation of Classical and contemporary chamber works for Leipzig's public concert life.

Throughout this and the next chapter I trace the development of the merging of Robert Schumann's musical and social spheres with a public aesthetic mission, historically and musically, fostered during his second period in Leipzig. From his return from Heidelberg in 1830 to the departure with his wife Clara Schumann to Dresden in late 1844, this time was marked by a growing interchange between different spheres of chamber-music experiences, between private homes, semi-public soirees, and public places such as the Gewandhaus. In the previous Leipzig episode of

1828-29, his chamber music activities were limited to either his home or those of his friends and supporters. After his return to Leipzig, he first ventured on a new private circle, his short-lived but intense friendships and music making with Henriette Voigt and Ludwig Schunke. At the same time, Schumann discovered a way of publishing his aesthetic ideals by means of his table company in Leipzig's *Koffebaum* Café, leading to the foundations of the imaginary *Davidsbund* and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Eventually, Schumann found himself at the centre of Leipzig's music scene, with the Gewandhausquartett, its leader Ferdinand David, and the Gewandhaus director Felix Mendelssohn, at its heart. Robert and Clara Schumann's strong engagement with the Gewandhausquartett and other Gewandhaus musicians, first and foremost Mendelssohn, was the foundation of Schumann's so-called 'chamber music year' of 1842. During this period, Schumann composed a large part of his chamber music oeuvre, including the three String Quartets, op. 41, the Piano Quintet, op. 44, the Piano Quartet, op. 47, and the *Phantasiestücke* for piano trio, later published as op. 88.

In this chapter, I introduce the abovementioned circles and friendships, and examine the sociability Robert (and to some extent, Clara) Schumann established and exhibited within these circles. The Schumanns' participation in Leipzig's musical and social spheres, and their personal contacts to Leipzig's leading musicians and their supporters, then encourages a re-evaluation of where to locate the 1842 chamber music works in terms of their social purpose and targets. The conventional public-versus-private dichotomy needs to be challenged by a more nuanced and detailed comparison of these works with their compositional context. This examination leads to a notion of sociability, expressed in music. I compare this notion of 'musical sociability' with contemporary demands and requirements of ideal chamber music performances in the early nineteenth century, not least in Schumann's own writings, in order to highlight

the interrelation between this musical concept and wider aesthetic developments. In the following chapter, I then embed the concept of musical sociability in a narrative and motivic analysis of the chamber music works of 1842, which builds on the findings of my previous analysis of Schumann's early Piano Quartet. My analysis aims to demonstrate that, in comparison to the strict privacy of Schumann's earlier Leipzig circle and the C-minor Piano Quartet, it was not only his new environment and circles which merged public and private spheres, but also that in his chamber music itself Schumann deliberately blurred these lines in order to portray his sociability within these circles for the wider public.

The fluidity between Leipzig's private homes and concert halls is exemplified by Clara Wieck's message to Robert Schumann, quoted in this chapter's title. In her recital in the Börsensaal in Leipzig on 13 August 1837, with Schumann among the audience, Wieck programmed his *Fantasie* in F sharp minor, op. 11, dedicated to her 'by Florestan and Eusebius', and the recently published *Études Symphoniques*, op. 13. She later wrote to Schumann that she performed this piece publicly because she 'had no other means to show you my inner life, at least a bit. Secretly I was not allowed to, so I did it publicly. Do you think my heart wasn't trembling then?'[241] As Janina Klassen has observed, this message did not go unnoticed by the audience. A critic in Leipzig's *AmZ* reported: 'Everything was played with outstanding excellence and with special love the *Etudes Symphoniques* by R. Schumann, and was received with much applause.'[242] Thus the intimate life of Clara Wieck and Robert Schumann was laid out to the *AmZ*'s readers, so in effect to Leipzig's entire cultural society. Clara's display

[241] 'weil ich kein anderes Mittel wußte, Dir mein Inneres ein wenig zu zeigen? Heimlich durft' ich es nicht, also that ich es öffentlich. Meinst Du, mein Herz hätte nicht dabei gezittert?' Litzmann I, p. 117. See also Janina Klassen (2009) *Clara Schumann. Musik und Öffentlichkeit*, Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, p. 93.

[242] Cited in: Klassen (2009) p. 93.

of her allegiance was not without effect, as Robert took the hint and proposed to her soon afterwards. In the following two chapters, I argue that Robert Schumann invited the audience of his chamber music works of 1842 to come to a similar realisation, because he would now 'do it publicly' which hitherto he only tried out 'secretly': to show his own sociability in his chamber music.



Figure 24 Portrait of Robert Schumann, around 1834. Reproduction of a missing portrait

Early Circles 1830-36: The *Davidsbund* and Schumann's A-flat-major Soul

Schumann brought back an impressive artistic vita from his year in Heidelberg. By the time he left for Leipzig in October 1830, he had established himself in Heidelberg's musical society as a piano virtuoso and became, once more, the focal point of a student-run club called the *Museum*. In this, the manner in which Schumann pursued his goal did not differ much from his previous undertakings. Daverio confirmed that, 'devoted chiefly to the performance of larger instrumental works, the *Museum* thus provided an outlet for Schumann's aspirations as a concert artist, much as the Zwickau *Litterarischer Verein* and the Leipzig quartet had nurtured his sense for belles lettres and convivial music-making, respectively'.[243] The systematic exploration of different professions and performances thus continued in Heidelberg by means of the concerts Schumann gave for the *Museum*. At the same time, convivial music making was also pursued with Schumann's fellow student Anton Töpken, who became a four-hand piano partner as well as a close personal friend and travel companion of Schumann.

Back in Leipzig, Schumann continued to meet up with the cellist Glock, the two musicians 'yelling' some twenty books of Schubert songs together in May 1831.[244] Schumann was equally pleased to hear updates from the violist Sörgel, when he came to visit with his three sons. Glock also passed on letters from Sörgel and the violinist Täglichsbeck to Schumann, in which Sörgel admitted that he still could not understand the *Papillons* yet, seemingly much to Schumann's amusement.[245] The musical evenings hosted by Friedrich Wieck and by Ernst August Carus were also revisited.[246]

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[243] Daverio (1997) p. 58.

[244] See TB I, p. 335. In this diary entry, Schumann mentions twenty 'Hefte', which might also translate as 'volumes', but given the publication history of Schubert's songs, it is unlikely to have been the kind of volumes as large as those of the collected works.

[245] See TB I, pp. 381f and 397.

[246] See, for example, a soiree at Wieck's in June 1831, where Dr Carus and Schumann were among the guests. TB I, p. 337.

Schumann had returned to Leipzig newly determined to commit to a musical career rather than pursuing his law studies any further. Hence, he began looking for opportunities to demonstrate his intent within Leipzig's society. The creation of the *Davidsbund*, an imaginary league formed by the circle of artists and literates in meetings in the *Koffebaum* café that was to result in the publication of the *NZfM*, was soon followed by musical evenings with the connoisseuse Henriette Voigt and the pianist-composer Ludwig Schunke. For the first five years of Schumann's second Leipzig period, these two groups were the main outlet for his creative and social drive. Even though solo piano pieces and literary activities were at the centre of his output and chamber music was only dealt with through reviews and a few rehearsals, these circles need to be considered as first steps towards establishing the social environments of Schumann's chamber music year.

The *Davidsbund* and the Origins of Schumann's Public Mission

'After having worked during the day, Schumann used to visit Poppe's »Koffebaum« (Fleischergasse No. 230, near the Barfußberg) late in the evening, which was the assembly point of a society of young people from the most varied professions.'[247] This society, as Jansen described in detail in his early Schumann biography, was Schumann's first social contact point after his return from Heidelberg. Even his musical mentors Friedrich Wieck and Ernst August Carus became Schumann's companions, alongside some younger colleagues, in the *Koffebaum*, which was a café in Leipzig's centre. There, the idea of an imaginary league and of the members of the society, including Schumann himself, being re-imagined as literary figures and pseudonyms was created in summer 1831. These imaginary figures featured publicly

[247] Jansen, p. 53.

for the first time in Schumann's famous debut review of Chopin's *Don Juan* variations in the *AmZ* on 7 December 1831. It took another two years, however, before Schumann publicly announced the name of this group of imaginary figures as the '*Davidsbund*' in a series of articles in the journal *Der Komet*.[248] Schumann declared as the main goal of the *Davidsbund* to 'fight the philistines', and shortly after the *Komet* articles, he decided to launch the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1834 as the written vehicle for it.[249] Therefore, perhaps surprisingly, Schumann publicly established himself in Leipzig by means of a journalistic venture, rather than a musical one.

Concerning musical activities within the *Koffebaum* circle, Wasielewski collected the memories of some of the circle's members:

> Playing music was not considered. It might have happened that Clara Wieck performed something recently studied… This was the entire 'Davidsbündlerian' music making at the time, if one does not want to add that Schumann and Banck sometimes played privately through Franz Schubert's compositions for four hands which were basically unknown then. However, the members of the *Koffebaum* club never found out about this.[250]

The few instances of Schumann himself playing with members of the *Koffebaum* circle was limited to smaller occasions, such as four-hand piano playing with the aforementioned Carl Banck or Ludwig Schunke. Other members of this circle, with whom Schumann shared a 'musical past', were instead reimagined as literary figures of the *Davidsbund* and became frequent contributors to the journal. Friedrich Wieck, whose piano lessons for Schumann ceased after only a year in 1831, was awarded the central character of 'Meister Raro', which often functioned as the mediating middle

[248] See Robert Schumann (1833/1834) 'Der Davidsbündler. Mitgetheilt von S. Leipziger Musikleben', *Zeitung für Reisen und Reisende. Beilage zur Zeitschrift 'Der Komet',* vols. 49-51.

[249] See Appel (1981) p. 16. See also Jansen, pp. 12f.; Daverio (1997) pp. 111-113; Geck (2010) pp. 59-62; Peter Gülke (2006) 'Robert Schumanns jubelnd erlittene Romantik'. In: Handbuch, pp. 49-53.

[250] 'Also an ein Musiciren wurde nicht gedacht. Es kam nur mitunter vor, daß Clara Wieck etwas Neustudirtes vortrug... Das war das ganze "Davidsbündlerische" Musiciren jener Zeit, wenn man nicht dazurechnen will, daß Schumann mit Banck unter vier Augen manchmal die Compositionen Franz Schubert's à quatre mains durchspielte, welche damals noch fast ganz unbekannt waren. Hiervon erfuhren aber die Theilnehmer des Kaffebaumklubbs nichts.' Wasielewski (1883) pp. 67f.

ground between Schumann's own two identities of 'Florestan' and 'Eusebius'. The cellist Glock, who had been a member of the ensemble with Schumann during his first Leipzig period, was more of a writing companion than chamber music partner between 1831 and 1834, according to the account by another *Koffebaum* visitor, the painter Johann Peter Lyser.[251]

The separation of musical and literary activities connects this circle and the *Davidsbund* to Schumann's literary club from his schooldays. The second affinity is the way in which the members' views were uttered and responded to among the circles. Appel described this connection as 'collective criticism':

> The *Davidsbund* is the literary-fictional medium for 'bringing different perspectives of conceptions of art out into the open'. This collective criticism, which Schumann already practised in his literary students' club…, is often embedded as a narratively realised conversation in a framework plot, which helps distinguishing formally between this type of framing criticism and other forms (such as letters).[252]

Appel thereby sums up the affinity as well as the difference between the earlier club and the later society. Both groups, on the one hand, used the style of a fictitious written conversation to engage in and record their critiques of and opinions on the arts – the former *Litterarische Verein* by means of the protocol book and the latter *Koffebaum* circle through the articles in the *NZfM*. In doing so, the views of both these groups are not only preserved in written form, but they are also witnesses of Schumann's initial and continued approach to poetic and narrative aesthetics, even in art criticism itself.

The two main differences, on the other hand, are in content and purpose. While Schumann's students' club discussed literary works exclusively, the articles in the *NZfM* encompassed several artforms though with a strong emphasis on music criticism. The purpose of the critical discussions of music aesthetics, recently

[251] See Eismann I, p. 100.
[252] Appel (1981) p. 18.

published musical works, and performance reviews by members of the *Davidsbund* is, what is more, opposite to the one recorded in the protocol book of the *Litterarische Verein*. The latter was meant solely as a discussion between the members of the club, whereas the articles by the fictitious *Davidsbund* members in the *NZfM* were, by nature, published and aimed for a larger, mostly anonymous audience. According to Peter Gülke, it was the 'working hypothesis' of these articles for 'every reader to be a potential Davidsbündler'.[253] Therefore, Schumann and his *Koffebaum* companions started this enterprise with the aim of conveying the intimacy of the fictitious *Davidsbund* to the wider readership of the journal, making them participants in the aesthetic inclinations of the circle. This impact on and imagined interaction with the readers of the *Davidsbund* articles have been spelled out in a letter by Schumann to Anton von Zuccalmaglio, convincing him to join this league of authors:

> If by any chance you approve of the tone of the Davidsbündlerbriefe… I suggest that you adopt it for your own correspondence articles. Uninteresting material can thus be presented in an interesting way; the journal gains solidity and colorfulness this way, and the readers are shown a kindness. Think of the Davidsbund as a spiritual brotherhood that is now expanding to fairly sizeable proportions both here and abroad.... The mystification of the Davidsbund, after all, has an unusual charm for many people; moreover, like everything mysterious, it has a special power.[254]

This 'special power' – the inclusive literary style of the articles, the kindness shown towards their readers, and the colourfulness in the tone of their authors – was a decisive choice to reach out and promote the views of the young Leipzigers to the 'expanding spiritual brotherhood' of the *Davidsbund*. This depicts the important difference to the

[253] Gülke (2006) p. 51.

[254] 'Sagt Ihnen der Ton der Davidsbündlerbriefe… vielleicht zu, so wählen Sie ihn doch zu Ihren Korrespondenzen. Gleichgültige Sachen lassen sich auf diese Weise auf interessante Weise vorbringen; die Zeitschrift erhält dadurch Festigkeit und Farbe, und den Leute wird dadurch ein Gefallen erwiesen. Unter Davidsbund stellen Sie sich nur eine geistige Brüderschaft vor, die sich indeß auch äußerlich ziemlich weit verzweigt… Das Geheimnißvolle der Sache hat übrigens für Manche einen besonderen Reiz und überdies, wie alles Verhüllte, eine besondere Kraft.' BNF, p. 70. Translation in: Ann Harwell Celenza (2005) 'Imagined Communities Made Real: The Impact of Robert Schumann's Neue Zeitschrift für Musik on the Formation of Music Communities in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 24 (1), p. 7.

earlier, strictly exclusive *Litterarische Verein*. It was also the journalistic forerunner of Schumann's mission until the early 1840s to convey his aesthetic ideals to a wider audience through literature as well as music. His reviews and articles in the *NZfM* played an essential part of this mission, and the creation of an 'imagined community' among its readership were mirrored in and complemented by the narratives in his chamber music works from 1842. I return to the impact of these articles later on in discussions of Schumann's 'musical sociability', thereby taking up Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities and its application by Anna Harwell Celenza on the *Davidsbund* (pp. 223-227).[255]

Schumann remained the main editor of the *NZfM* until 1843, and the idea of the *Davidsbund* permeated his editorship and criticism as the central theme, 'like a red thread… uniting poetry and truth in a humorous manner'.[256] The end of the *Davidsbund* is commonly associated with Schumann's selling of the journal and the composition of his oratorio *Das Paradies und die Peri*, op. 50. As far as Schumann's *Koffebaum* table is concerned, however, his enthusiasm for this company already came to an end later in 1834. Some founding members of the group were leaving Leipzig to pursue other careers: they included Glock, Lyser, and Schumann's close friend Julius Knorr.[257] The *Davidsbündler* Ludwig Schunke ('Jonathan'), whose musical activities with Schumann are discussed in the following section, died in December of the same year. What was left of the initial circle has been considered by Jansen as rather loose personal bonds:

> As much as Schumann needed the refreshing circle of the *Koffebaum*, as he received many a stimulus from it, he also did not have close enough relationships with the individuals in it for them to be assigned a deeper influence on him. Schumann mainly got to know himself among these companions of his efforts, he

[255] See Benedict Anderson (2006) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London and New York: Verso; and Harwell Celenza (2005) pp. 1-26.
[256] GS I, p. 2.
[257] See Eismann I, p. 100.

> was met with a response [found an echo] from them, – this was the main thing. The circle in its entirety had a charitable influence on him, while most of these juvenile acquaintances did not take deeper roots and were, apart from the recreational hours in the evening, not cultivated any further.[258]

This depicts another congruence of Schumann's pattern of establishing circles with his Zwickau literary club. Having fulfilled their purposes – in terms of the *Litterarische Verein* to accustom the members of the club with classic literature; in terms of the *Koffebaum* table to create an imaginary league and to find like-minded contributors for his journalistic project – these circles were not further pursued by Schumann. Instead, in search for closer personal relationships and artistic stimulus, both times he turned to musical circles instead. Consequently, the social aspect of regular *Koffebaum* meetings was soon replaced with a new musical environment. When Friedrich Wieck returned to Leipzig in April 1836, he reported in his daughter's diary:

> I found lots to do in my business, but the entire *Davidsbund* society has been destroyed and fallen apart, e.g. Ulex and Rakemann are now drinking wine instead of beer, and in the evenings they are spending their time in the Hôtel de Baviere, where Mendelssohn, David, Dr Schlemmer, and Rothschildaich are going. I didn't meet anyone anymore…[259]

Schumann confirmed in his diary that in August 1835 he was 'often with Mendelssohn, David, and Dr Schlemmer',[260] frequently meeting them for lunch in the Hôtel de Baviere. Thus, the literary society of the *Davidsbund* was replaced with a more professional circle of musical acquaintances around the newly appointed Gewandhaus director Felix Mendelssohn and leader Ferdinand David. At the same time as

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[258] 'Wie sehr aber Schumann auch des erfrischenden Kreises im Kaffebaum bedurfte, wie manche Anregung er von ihm empfangen haben mag, so stand er gleichwohl nicht in so enger Beziehung zu den einzelnen Persönlichkeiten desselben, daß ihnen eine tiefere Einwirkung zuzuschreiben wäre. Schumann erkannte sich zuerst unter diesen Genossen seiner Bestrebungen, fand ein Echo bei ihnen, – das war die Hauptsache. Der Kreis in seiner Gesammtheit war von wohltätigem Einfluß auf ihn, wenn auch die meisten dieser jugendlichen Bekanntschaften keine tieferen Wurzeln schlugen und, außer in den Erholungsstunden am Abend, nicht weiter cultivirt wurden.' Jansen, p. 57.

[259] 'In meinem Geschäft fand ich viel zu thun vor, nicht weniger die ganze Davidsbündlerschaft nebst Schwanz zerstört u auseinander z. B. Ulex u Rakemann trinken Wein statt Bier u leben Abends im Hôtel de Baviere wo D. Mendelssohn, David, D. Schlemmer mit Rothschildauch hinkommen. Ich habe Niemand mehr getroffen...' Jugendtagebücher, p. 221.

[260] TB I, p. 421.

Schumann engaged with his *Koffebaum* society, he also found himself a circle centred around actual music making with Ludwig Schunke and Henriette Voigt. This presumably most private, while short-lived, circle during Schumann's Leipzig period contrasted his outward-facing ambitions of the *NZfM*.



Figure 25 Portrait of Henriette Voigt, before 1839 (anon.). Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 5300-B2



Figure 26 Cole drawing of Ludwig Schunke by Emil Kirchner, 1834. Schunke-Archiv e.V.

Schumann's 'Soul Trio' with Henriette Voigt and Ludwig Schunke

> Just one step into her house, and the artist feels at home. Portraits of the best masters were hung above the grand piano, a selected musical library was available; the musician, it seems, was the master of the house, music the highest goddess; in short, host and hostess could read the desires of the musicians in their eyes.[261]

Robert Schumann remembered the atmosphere of his visits to Henriette and Carl Voigt's home in his 'Memories of a friend' published in the *NZfM* in 1839. When he had to deliver the sad news of Henriette Voigt's death to Clara, she was equally full of praise: 'The 17th [October 1839], Robert notified me of Voigt's death which affected me painfully, I thought so vividly about the evanescence of all happiness. This woman was now so happy and had to die in her best years.'[262] Clara and Robert Schumann's

[261] 'Nur einen Schritt in ihr Haus getan, und der Künstler fühlte sich heimisch darin. Aufgehängt waren über dem Flügel die Bildnisse der besten Meister, eine ausgewählte musikalische Bibliothek stand zur Verfügung; der Musiker, schien es, war Herr im Haus, die Musik die oberste Göttin; mit einem Wort, Wirt und Wirtin sahen an den Augen ab, was Musikers Wünsche sein mochten.' GS I, p. 446.

[262] Jugendtagebücher, p. 343.

appreciation of Henriette Voigt (Figure 25) demonstrates the impact this musical enthusiast had on the shape of Robert Schumann's experiences within the Leipzig music scene.

Carl (a textile businessman) and Henriette (née Kunze) Voigt had provided a new musical home for Robert Schumann in their flat in the Petersstraße in Leipzig after his romance with Clara Wieck alienated him from her father Friedrich Wieck, while he focussed on the literary tasks of the *Davidsbund*. Schumann was introduced to Henriette Voigt by the pianist and composer Ludwig Schunke (Figure 26), who settled in Leipzig in late 1833 and soon became Schumann's musical and personal 'Wahlverwandschaft',[263] his soulmate. Schunke and Schumann even moved into adjacent rooms in a shared flat in Leipzig, in order to enable the highest possible and mutual inspiration, and Schumann thought of his gifted friend as the musical redeemer in their fight against the philistines in the midst of Schumann's *Koffebaum* circle. Not least, Henriette Voigt asked Schunke to join the musical events in her home, to which Schunke then invited Schumann to come with him. This trio soon formed Schumann's first musical ensemble since the Täglichsbeck-Sörgel-Glock quartet evenings ceased.

Both Schunke and Voigt were highly invested in the *NZfM*. Schunke, in his short time in Leipzig, contributed several essays for the journal, even though his skills with the quill apparently did not match the ones at the piano.[264] As for Henriette Voigt, Schumann involved her in his work for the journal and valued her advice. To her husband Carl, she wrote in September 1834: 'He [Schumann] also told me much about the journal, and that he always wanted to inform me beforehand, which I am pleased about.'[265] And in his memories of Henriette Voigt in the *NZfM*, Schumann begins with

[263] Jansen, p. 124.
[264] See Jansen, p. 129.
[265] Cited in: Gerber (2016) p. 227.

her association with the *Davidsbund*: 'In the artists' circle which developed in our city beginning of the year 1834, Henriette Voigt… took a special place; we shall commemorate her with a few words on these pages which own their creation to that club in which the deceased had the most vivid interest.'[266] This trio became Schumann's musical counterpart to his literary circle in 1834. They soon found their mutual passion for Schubert's four-hand piano pieces, and many of Schumann's happiest memories of 1834 date from the meetings with Schunke and Voigt. Gatherings happened frequently, and often spontaneously. Schumann sent a brief letter to Henriette Voigt on 27 July 1834: 'Would you be free in the morning, and would you and Mr Voigt like to play and hear Schubertian stuff?' Henriette Voigt's diary records that they did indeed meet on the same day: 'Played many beautiful quatre-mains by Schubert with Schumann and Schunke.'[267]

In their shared musical encounters of Schubert's music, the trio quickly developed the intimacy in which views on musical taste and style could be shared freely. Henriette Voigt's diary reveals, for instance, that she viewed Schunke's 'modern manners' critically, as he 'followed too much the taste of the audience' and could not 'break free from the almost too brilliant genre'.[268] Such early judgements from December 1833 were soon to be replaced, however, with praise for style and skills, and Schumann later confessed that he would rather listen to Schunke playing the notes C-D-E-F-G up and downwards than to some virtuoso concert.[269] After his arrival in Leipzig, Schunke seemed to have adapted the musical criticism and preferences of Schumann and Voigt, whom 'we never heard playing a bad

[266] GS I, p. 446.
[267] SB II/15, p. 52.
[268] Gerber (2016) p. 85.
[269] See Jansen, p. 129.

composition, and never did she encourage bad ones', according to Schumann.[270] Thus, Schumann did not hesitate to ask for and value both their opinions on his own musical works, writing to Voigt in August 1834: 'Are the *Papillons* not clear to you in themselves? I would be very interested to find out about this.'[271] In return, it was Schunke and Schumann who opened Voigt's musical world to more recent compositions. Previously she had strictly followed the guidance of her teacher Ludwig Berger, who only approved of Beethoven and Weber. Schunke and Schumann introduced her to the music not only of Schubert but also of Chopin and Mendelssohn.

These three musicians highly influenced and learned from each other in the intimacy of Voigt's home. It might only be due to the fact that both Schunke and Voigt were pianists just like Schumann that his compositional output of this year remained in the solo piano genre. His debt to both friends becomes evident in his works from 1834: the first publication of his *Toccata in C major*, op. 7, was dedicated to Ludwig Schunke (who, previously, had dedicated his *Grande Sonata in G minor*, op. 3, to Schumann), and the Second Piano Sonata, later published as op. 22, to Henriette Voigt. His most significant creation of that year, however, pays a musical tribute to both friendships. The *Carnaval*, op. 9, is based on a draft of variations on Schubert's *Sehnsuchtswaltzer*, the exact same theme that Schunke had reworked in his Variations for Piano and Orchestra, op. 14. Besides this inspiration, *Carnaval* is still well known for its sphinx of letters written in the score, forming the word A-S-C-H. The sphinx resembles the birthplace of Ernestine von Fricken who met and became engaged to Schumann in 1834. Schumann's letters to Voigt from late summer 1834, however, also suggest that these letters could equally, or additionally, apply to Voigt and Schunke.[272]

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[270] GS I, p. 448.
[271] Robert Schumann, letter to Henriette Voigt, 22 August 1834 from Leipzig. In: SB II/15, p. 55.
[272] See Robert Schumann, letters to Henriette Voigt, 22 August and 4 September 1834 from Leipzig. In: SB II/15, pp. 54-60. See also MacAuslan (2016) pp. 47f.

Schumann called Voigt his ‘A flat major soul’, which in German reads ‘As-Dur Seele’, and changed her pseudonym from ‘Eleonore’ to ‘Aspasia’. ‘As’ together with ‘Sch’ as the beginning of the names Schunke and Schumann (as well as Schubert, their mutual musical idol) combines the names of these three friends into the cipher of *Carnaval*.

Although such readings of musical ciphers must remain in the realm of speculation, the accordance of the sphinx with his own friends’ names seems to have struck Schumann. Alongside Ernestine von Fricken, whose engagement with Schumann was supported and advised by Henriette Voigt, these names sum up Schumann’s main contact points of the year 1834, whom he himself identified as his ‘whole wealth’ in the letter dated 4 September 1834.[273] This early episode of Schumann’s second Leipzig period was therefore marked by strong musical friendships. Just like he met his previous quartet friends in the intimacy of his own place, or at Friedrich Wieck’s or Ernst August Carus’ home where there were usually no other guests invited, his musical circle with Henriette (and to some extent Carl) Voigt and Ludwig Schunke did not open up either, not even to any other of Schumann’s likeminded associates from the *Davidsbund*. Only in this context do pieces from that time, especially *Carnaval,* unfold their clear purpose. Even though Schumann would have liked these pieces to succeed on the concert stage, their style, complexity and the contents of their private encryptions are tailored for this exclusive circle and their views on the arts rather than for a concert audience.

However, just as quickly as they became the centre of his social and musical life, this small but intimate circle came to an abrupt end. Not only was the engagement with Ernestine broken off in summer 1835, but more importantly for Schumann’s musical

[273] Robert Schumann, letter to Henriette Voigt, 4 September 1834 from Leipzig. In: SB II/15, pp. 59f.

life, Ludwig Schunke died of tuberculosis in December 1834, curtailing the congenial alliance between him, Voigt, and Schumann. The circle was evidently not to be continued without Schunke as a member. In the following year, Henriette Voigt started to open her home towards Leipzig's wider musical circle, culminating with the arrival of Mendelssohn and Ferdinand David. While there are few reliable accounts of how many times the Voigt-Schunke-Schumann trio met and played music in 1834, Mirjam Gerber counted over 250 scenes of 'Hausmusik' in Leipzig in the 1835/36 season, with many of them involving Henriette Voigt and Robert Schumann.[274] Voigt now started to welcome to her house various musicians from the Gewandhaus orchestra, including the violinists Uhlrich, Kummer, Hunger, and Müller, and the cellists Grabau, Grenser, and Wittmann (the violinists usually took the viola parts in turn). These new guests of Voigt's 'Gesellschaften' introduced a new repertoire as well: chamber music for strings and piano quickly became the new core of musical activities in Voigt's home. The composer Carl Loewe reported to his wife in mid-1835 from his visit in Leipzig:

> This evening I was at businessman Voigt's. Imagine a young and music-enthusiastic couple of the finest manners and humane and favourable attitudes. Madame Voigt plays the piano excellently. She performed the Grand Sonata with violin, dedicated to Kreutzer, by Beethoven with the violinist Uhlrich, a young man from the local orchestra, with mastery.[275]

As Loewe indicated, Beethoven's violin sonatas now took centre stage in Voigt's repertoire, just as Schubert's four-hand piano pieces had done in 1834. Gerber mentioned the violinist Uhlrich's special role within Voigt's turn towards chamber

[274] See Mirjam Gerber (2012) '"Der Musiker, schien es, war Herr im Haus, die Musik die oberste Göttein" – Leipziger Bürgerhäuser des Vormärz und ihre Musikpraxis am Beispiel von Henriette Voigt'. In: Anselm Hartinger, Christoph Wolff, and Peter Wollny (Eds.) *Von Bach zu Mendelssohn und Schumann. Aufführungspraxis und Musiklandschaft zwischen Kontinuität und Wandel*, Wiesbaden, Leipzig, and Paris: Breitkopf & Härtel, p. 226.

[275] 'Den Abend war ich bei einem Kaufmann Voigt. Denke Dir ein junges, für Musik begeistertes Ehepaar von feinster Sitte und humaner wohlwollender Gesinnung. Madame Voigt spielt ausgezeichnet Klavier. Sie trug mit dem Violinsten Uhlrich, einem jungen Manne aus dem hiesigen Orchester, die große, Kreutzer dedicirte Sonate mit Violine von Beethoven [auch die Fis-Moll-Phantasie von Mendelssohn] vor und zwar mit Meisterschaft.' Cited in: Jansen, p. 126.

music and the Gewandhaus circle. In 1835, Uhlrich visited Voigt almost on a daily basis, with 129 written instances of their joint music making between 1835 and 1837. Later these expanded to weekly trios with the Gewandhaus cellist Carl Wittmann. Besides the musical gatherings, Uhlrich also casually visited Henriette Voigt for conversations, dinners, and after theatre and concert visits in 1835.[276]

About Uhlrich's regular visits to Voigt, Clara Wieck wrote: 'She is just not with it anymore, as she's much in love with the violinist Mr Uhlrich who spends the whole day with her. It is already known in the entire city, and people are commonly laughing and derisive about this.'[277] Besides being unfounded gossip, Wieck's rather biased opinion confirms that after Schunke's death and with the opening of her circle towards other musicians, Voigt's musical gatherings continued to expand musical interaction to personal and social bonds and friendships while maintaining a close and friendly atmosphere. Her comments might have also been coloured by jealousy of Henriette Voigt concerning her frequent contact and close relationship with Robert Schumann.[278] However, Clara Wieck was equally welcome in Henriette Voigt's house. Their relationship began when Clara was just fifteen years old and Henriette Voigt was twenty-six, but despite the age difference over the next few years a friendship developed between them. In a letter to her friend Emilie List from 1834, the young Clara Wieck writes eagerly: 'Are you diligently going to Madam Voigt's? Oh, if I could just go there again as well! I am begging you urgently for a letter, as I am begging Madam Voigt. She might write to me about Schunke in more detail.'[279] For the year 1836, Henriette Voigt's diary features conversations, correspondences, mutual walks, visits to the opera and of each other. Gerber counted eleven visits by

[276] See Gerber (2016) pp. 70f.
[277] Clara Wieck, letter to Emilie List, 6 August 1835. In: Ibid., p. 244.
[278] See Gerber (2016) pp. 57f.
[279] Clara Wieck, letter to Emilie List, 14 December 1834. In: Ibid., p. 56.

Clara, and around 40 meetings of the two women together in societies, concerts, or in private.[280] Importantly, Henriette Voigt served as Robert and Clara's common friend, providing them with a place to meet and socialise away from Clara's increasingly suspicious father.

Both Clara Wieck and Robert Schumann were introduced to the new circle of Gewandhaus musicians that visited Voigt's house in 1835. Schumann listened to many of the chamber music pieces being played by Henriette Voigt with Uhlrich, Wittmann, and others,[281] and was himself 'often be found improvising into the wee morning hours, and in practically total darkness, apparently oblivious of his manual handicap'.[282] Henriette Voigt introduced Robert Schumann to Felix Mendelssohn as early as 4 October 1834.[283] Mendelssohn must also have met Ludwig Schunke on that occasion, for Schumann sent him a copy of Schunke's 12 waltzes after the latter's death. Thereafter, Mendelssohn asked Henriette Voigt in a letter from March 1835 to thank Schumann for the gift and expressed his approval of the compositions.[284] While this gesture only seems like a small attempt to introduce Mendelssohn to Schumann's musical circle in Leipzig, Mendelssohn's arrival in Leipzig on 30 August 1835 as newly appointed director of the Gewandhaus orchestra changed the musical landscape of the city entirely. He made Schumann's and Voigt's circle seem rather provincial.

[280] See Ibid., p. 55.

[281] Among the pieces being played at these gatherings when Robert and/or Clara Schumann were present were: Mendelssohn's String Quartet, op. 12, and his Piano Quartet, op. 3, W. A. Mozart's Quartets and Quintet (not specified), Beethoven's String Quartet, op. 18 no. 1, and his Piano Trio in D major, op. 70 no. 1, a four-hand piano sonata by Ludwig Berger, Variations in D minor for cello and piano by C. P. Lafont, and Hummel's *Variations à la Montferine* for the same pairing, and works by composers who were present themselves, such as Wilhelm Taubert and Frédéric Chopin (later in 1836). See the complementary CD in Gerber (2016).

[282] Daverio (1997) p. 150. Daverio referred to the increasing weakness and paralysis of fingers in Schumann's right hand in the early 1830s, which eventually prevented his career as a concert pianist. See therefore Eric Sams (1971) 'Schumann's hand injury', *The Musical Times*, 112 (1546) pp. 1156–1159.

[283] See SB II/1, p. 31; and Eismann I, p. 97.

[284] Felix Mendelssohn, letter to Henriette Voigt, 15 March 1835. In: Jansen, p. 136.

Mendelssohn and his desired leader of the orchestra, Ferdinand David, brought a higher quality to the musical gatherings in Voigt's home as well as a new glamour and worldliness to their social circle. By opening up Voigt's home to the wider society, the arrival of Mendelssohn and David broke up the close intimacy of the original Voigt-Schunke-Schumann trio. More than that, it encouraged Schumann to distance himself from his literary circle, the *Davidsbund*, as Friedrich Wieck acknowledged in the letter quoted earlier (p. 122).

In summary, Henriette Voigt's house, and the contact to her and Ludwig Schunke forming Schumann's 'soul trio'[285] was most likely the first congenial musical collaboration in his career and introduced him into musical socialising and social music making in a highly familiar and intimate environment. While he promoted himself as a virtuoso in Heidelberg, in Voigt's house Schumann re-joined the domestic realm, but now in a more congenial and more intimate way than with his earlier ensemble from the late 1820s.[286] Schumann's focus on and preference for this intimate performance style coincided with his inability to play the piano adequately for public performances after the injury of his finger in 1831. These instances removed him from Leipzig's public scene until his decision in the early 1840s to compose for larger ensembles. Jansen described this perception of Schumann's public image in general:

> As Schumann fully led the withdrawn life of a scholar and as he was deliberate not to attract the attention of the audience, furthermore as his odd compositions were not aimed to surround him with the nimbus of popularity, the perception that Leipzig's society of the 1830s did not take any notice of him is not surprising. It is strange, however, that even people from whom one should not expect such

[285] Robert Schumann, letter to Henriette Voigt, 2 May 1835 from Leipzig. In: SB II/15, p. 72.

[286] Possible circumstances and reasons for this new focus on domestic music making with Voigt and Schunke could be that, following his hand injury shortly after his return to Leipzig, Schumann realised that his pianistic capabilities were not sufficient anymore to continue a virtuoso career (in contrast to his time in Heidelberg), but also that he dedicated himself fully to this chosen path compared to his first circle in Leipzig 1828/29, when he was still pursuing studies in law.

> superficial judgements reduced Schumann's unpretentious appearance to indifference. Hofmeister flatly wrote about him: he sleeps most of the time.[287]

According to Jansen's account, Schumann seemed to have spent the 1830s secluded from Leipzig's public life, with his piano music of this decade being aimed at his intimate friendships and circles, such as the abovementioned *Carnaval*. This focus on private circles rather than a wider public throughout the early 1830s contributed to the image of an unsociable lone wolf. It was the expansion of this highly intimate circle around Henriette Voigt and not Leipzig's public music life, however, that introduced him to the main musical figures of his Leipzig period such as Mendelssohn and David, and at the same time gave him opportunity to socialise with Clara Wieck and listen to her musical development away from Friedrich Wieck's home. These connections eventually opened Leipzig's concert stage to him.

[287] 'Da Schumann ganz und gar das zurückgezogene Leben eines Gelehrten führte und es überhaupt ihm fern lag, die Augen des Publikums auf sich lenken zu wollen, da zudem seine seltsamen Compositionen nicht darnach angetan waren, ihn mit dem Nimbus der Popularität zu umgeben; so kann die Wahrnehmung nicht überraschen, daß das Leipzig der Dreißiger Jahre ihn völlig unbeachtet ließ. Befremdend ist es freilich, daß selbst Personen, denen man eine so oberflächliche Beurtheilung nicht zutrauen sollte, Schumann's anspruchsloses Auftreten einfach auf Indifferentismus zurückführten. Konnte doch Hofmeister einmal kurzer Hand von ihm schreiben: er schliefe meistens.' Jansen, p. 52.



Figure 27 Steel engraving of Felix Mendelssohn, around 1840 (anon.). Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr. 1947-B2



Figure 28 Lithography of Ferdinand David by Georg Weinhold, 1846. Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Inventar-Nr. 11/118

A New Gewandhaus Era: The Schumanns with Mendelssohn and David in Leipzig

Robert Schumann described his new circle with Mendelssohn (Figure 27) and David (Figure 28) as 'erhöhte Davidsbündlerschaft'.[288] 'Erhöhte' in translation could mean anything between 'heightened' and 'sublime'. Indeed, the arrival in Leipzig of these musicians caused a rupture with Schumann's established circles. His impressions of the new Gewandhaus director were as follows:

> In August 1835 first meeting in the Gewandhaus hall. The musicians played his 'Meeresstille' overture for him. I told him that I knew all of his compositions well; he replied with something very modest. The first impression of an unforgettable person. [Henriette] Voigt introduced us first, if I'm not mistaken. At the end of September, he fully arrived in Leipzig.[289]

The composers met again in Henriette Voigt's home, once Mendelssohn had settled in Leipzig. On 10 September 1835, Voigt captured the mood of this first musical evening in her diary:

> In the evening, Mendelssohn, [Ernst August] Carus, Schrey, [Franz] Hauser, and Schumann came to ours. I asked Mendelssohn to play several solo pieces – then we arranged the Olympia overture for four hands. Hauser and I sang songs – then dinner – telling anecdotes – been very funny until past 11 o'clock, when Mendelssohn copied [imitated] Liszt.[290]

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[288] TB I, p. 422. Schumann might have alluded here to Jean Paul's concept of 'hohe Menschen' ('heightened humans'), which are the only characters who can produce moral performances and results, compared to supporting figures who function as machines without the ability to react and decide. In an *Extrablatt* to *Die unsichtbare Loge*, Jean Paul described such 'hohe Menschen' as fallen angels who are suffering the triviality of the worldly life but are in fact risen above the earth, being able to think 'vertically' rather than 'horizontally', and longing for death to elevate them above the clouds. Georg F. Benham defined such a person as an 'individual who enjoys certain finer qualities of an emotional, moral and aesthetic nature'. Georg F. Benham (1978) 'On Some Salient Features of Jean Paul's Pedagogical Writings', *Colloquia Germanica*, 11 (3/4), p. 234. Schumann's description of the new members of his closest circle, Mendelssohn and David, as explored in the following, clearly matches this description.

[289] 'Im August 1835 erstes Sehen im Gewandhaussaal. Die Musiker spielten ihm seine Ouvertüre "Meeresstille" vor. Ich sagte ihm, daß ich alle seine Kompositionen gut kenne; er antwortete etwas sehr Bescheidenes darauf. Der erste Eindruck der eines unvergeßlichen Menschen. Die Voigt, irre ich nicht, machte uns zuerst bekannt. Zu Ende September kam er ganz nach Leipzig.' Eismann I, p. 97. Cited from Schumann's 'Erinnerungen an F. Mendelssohn vom Jahre 1835 bis zu s. Tode (Materiallen)', probably 1848.

[290] 'Abends waren Mendelssohn, [Ernst August] Carus, Schrey, [Franz] Hauser und Schumann bei uns. Ich musste Mendelssohn mehreres alleine spielen – dann arrangierten wir die Olympia-Ouvertüre

Voigt characterised Mendelssohn in connection to this diary entry as 'very entertaining', 'happy', and 'funny', 'joking and teasing throughout the evening'.[291] Mendelssohn, therefore, seemed to fit perfectly in the convivial atmosphere of musical events and gatherings at Voigt's as well as enriching them with his approachable and entertaining personality. Just a few days later, Schumann and Mendelssohn met again in what was an even more private occasion: Clara Wieck played Schumann's F-sharp-minor Sonata and the third movement of her own Concerto to Mendelssohn on 12 September. Afterwards the new Gewandhaus director accepted Clara Wieck's invitation to join her birthday party the following day, where Schumann was also present.[292] This early and informal meeting of this congenial trio probably set the tone for the coming close relationships of a decade.

Mendelssohn was quickly accepted and admired in Leipzig's cultural scene, not least as expressed through being officially honoured by Leipzig's university. Clara Wieck noted in her diary on 11 April 1836: '[Mendelssohn] has received the doctorate from the local university as acknowledgment of his merits. He promised to return next winter, and one can probably hope with certainty that his best friend (David) will be leader of the orchestra by then.'[293] The violinist Ferdinand David knew Mendelssohn well from their time in Königstadt in the late 1820s, when they often played chamber music together.[294] When David came to visit Leipzig in 1835, after being asked by Mendelssohn to consider becoming the Gewandhaus orchestra's leader, he was preceded by a recommendation letter from Johann Benjamin Groß, the cellist of

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vierhändig. Hauser u. ich sangen Lieder – dann gegessen – Anecdoten erzählt – sehr lustig gewesen bis nach 11 Uhr, wo Mendelssohn noch Liszt copierte.' Gerber (2016) p. 63.

[291] See Ibid., p. 63.

[292] See Jugendtagebücher, pp. 194f.

[293] Ibid., pp. 221f.

[294] See Albert Mell (2001) 'David, Ferdinand'. In: *Grove Music Online*, URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.07271 [accessed 23 October 2019].

David's Dorpat quartet. Groß wrote in his letter to Friedrich Wieck that David 'is not only a virtuoso, but an artist in the very sense of the word, and I do not desire anything more than listening to Beethoven's Great Sonata in A minor for pianoforte and violin played by the genius Klara and my friend'.[295] Hence, the artistic collaboration with Clara was already suggested to Friedrich Wieck before David's arrival in Leipzig, providing an entrée into the city's private musical circles. Wieck's home was the first of such that David joined in his future home town, as Clara reported in her diary: 'On the 15th [December 1835] Mr David from Dorpat visited us, who was recommended to us by the cellist Groß.'[296] For the following weeks, Clara's diary includes domestic musical activities at Wieck's home with David, such as a 'Trio at our place with Mr David and Mr Grabau'[297] on 23 December, and on 26 December, there was 'a society in which I played the Sonata op. 47 by Beethoven with Mr David, as well as a duo by Herz and Lafont'.[298]

Prior to David's official appointment as leader of the Gewandhaus orchestra, he had already established a strong musical partnership with Wieck's musical circle in Leipzig. Even though the 16-year old Clara Wieck used the polite form of 'Herr David' in her diaries, there seems to have grown a personal attachment within a short time. David's reception in Henriette Voigt's musical evenings in early 1836 depicts a good example. Despite Clara Wieck maintaining a personal friendship with Voigt by then (see pp. 148f.), she often was denied participation in her musical evenings because of

[295] Johann Benjamin Groß, letter to Friedrich Wieck, 25 October 1835. Cited in: Ute Bär (2002) 'Robert Schumann und Ferdinand David'. In: Bernhard R. Appel (Ed.) *'Neue Bahnen'. Robert Schumann und seine Musikalischen Zeitgenossen* (Schumann-Forschungen 7), Mainz and London: Schott, p. 61.

[296] Jugendtagebücher, p. 203.

[297] Jugendtagebücher, p. 203..

[298] Jugendtagebücher, p. 204. Whether the Kreuzer Sonata op. 47 was the sonata Groß had in mind when wishing to hear the 'Great A minor Sonata' played by Clara and David is questionable, op. 23 seems more likely.

a rivalry between the Voigt and the Wieck households.[299] Especially since the arrival of Felix Mendelssohn and Ferdinand David, Clara complained about this situation in her diary on 7 January 1836: '[David] now happened to get involved into the well-known music making with Madam Voigt, and thus he is lost for me. The brightness and kindness of this woman manages to attract all musicians to her. (4 weeks before Christmas, she had a little daughter, and thus she was prevented from captivating David earlier than that – which pleased me well.)'[300]

Given that at least since 1832 Voigt had been acquainted with the cellist Groß,[301] who perhaps informed her of David's arrival in Leipzig in 1835, it might indeed have been her pregnancy that prevented her from introducing David into her musical circle before early 1836. Hence, it was neither in Friedrich Wieck's nor at Henriette Voigt's home where Robert Schumann first came across the new Gewandhaus leader. Julius Eckardt's account from 1888 recalls the beginning of this promising friendship:

> David enjoyed the luck of being able to work next to the master [Mendelssohn] to the full – , around this master, however, an amount of kind and important people was gathering. At the lunch table in the Hôtel de Bavière, which brought together these friends every day, David got to know, amongst others, a young and, despite his reserved reticence, very appealing man, who was mostly acting as a music critic but, in due course, would turn out to be one of the most original and important musicians of all times. This was no less a person than Robert Schumann who… soon joined the Mendelssohnian circle and, despite some differences in their principles, found full acceptance and comradely support among the new friends. The walks in the Rosenthal and the following games of billiards in the inn in Gohlis took an especially important place among the memories of this period of juvenile striving, which David remembered throughout his life.[302]

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[299] The two households were competing within Leipzig's music scene, and their rivalry comprised their standing in Leipzig as well as Voigt's relationship with Clara Wieck. As early as 1834, Voigt talked derogatively to her husband about Friedrich Wieck. Chopin's brief stay in Leipzig in September 1836 exemplifies the competing position of the two hosts in Leipzig, with Chopin visiting both homes in the same day. Edler described the musical events at Voigt's competing with Wieck's 'as a second centre of the Davidsbund'. Edler (1982) p. 83. The relationship between Voigt and Wieck finally broke off in 1837, when Wieck accused Voigt of malicious gossiping. See Gerber (2016) pp. 64f.

[300] Jugendtagebücher, p. 206.

[301] See diary entry by Henriette Voigt on 5 November 1832. In Gerber (2016) p. 60. Whether Groß recommended David to her in 1835 as well is not known.

[302] 'Das Glück, an der Seite des Meisters arbeiten zu dürfen, in welchem er das Ideal des vollendeten Künstlers verehrte, genoß er in vollen Zügen - , um diesen Meister aber hatte sich eine ganze Anzahl liebenswürdiger und bedeutender Menschen gesammelt. An der Mittagstafel im Hôtel de Bavière,

This report by David's son-in-law reaffirms the violinist's original impressions of his first meeting with Schumann. David's relationships with Schumann and Mendelssohn evidently exceeded merely musical collaboration; they went on walks and played games together.[303] In Schumann's diaries, there are countless instances of remembered conversations and other personal comments on David and Mendelssohn. As early as July 1836, even before David was officially appointed as new leader of the Gewandhaus orchestra, Schumann seemed familiar with the new violinist: 'In the evening strolling with David. Stories from childhood days.'[304] In February 1837, half-way through the first Gewandhaus concert season with Mendelssohn and David, Schumann found it worth noting in his diary that he 'did not get together much with Mendelssohn, with David not at all'.[305]

Until his departure from Leipzig in the winter of 1844, non-musical activities and meetings with David and Mendelssohn continued to be an important part of Schumann's welfare and social connections. On a summer afternoon in June 1843, for instance, he took 'Mendelssohn and David on a walk'.[306] Even when Schumann disagreed with these friends or was annoyed by their behaviour, it usually did not take long to become reconciled. Just eight days before this walk with Mendelssohn and

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welche die Freunde täglich zusammenführte, lernte David u. A. einen jungen trotz seiner zurückhaltenden Schweigsamkeit höchst anziehenden Mann kennen, der vornehmlich als Musikschriftsteller thätig war, sich in der Folge aber als einer der originellsten und bedeutendsten Musiker aller Zeiten entpuppte. Es war keine Geringerer als Robert Schumann, der... sich dem Mendelssohnschen Kreise indessen bald anschloß und trotz mancher Verschiedenheiten in der Grundrichtung bei den neue Freunden volle Anerkennung und kameradschaftliche Förderung fand. Unter den Erinnerungen aus dieser Zeit jugendlichen Emporstrebens, zu denen David sein Leben lang zurückkehrte, nahmen die Spaziergänge in das Rosenthal und die auf diese folgende Billiardpartien im Wirtshause zu Gohlis einen besonders wichtigen Platz ein.' Julius Eckardt (1888) *Ferdinand David und die Familie Mendelssohn-Bartholdy*, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, p. 69.

[303] Such joint ventures and activities, and as a result the growing social bonding, were, furthermore, characteristics of the concept of *Geselligkeit* in the early nineteenth century. See my discussion of definitions of sociability and *Geselligkeit*, pp. 239-244.

[304] TB II, p. 23.

[305] TB II, p. 31.

[306] TB II, p. 360.

David, Schumann reported 'strange behaviour by Mendelssohn'.[307] In November 1841, Schumann noted 'the stupid David' in his diary without further explanation,[308] but in December he was a guest at David's for lunch.[309] Schumann's diary entries on his meetings with Mendelssohn and David suggest that these relationships developed into friendships with their usual ups and downs, and formed Schumann's most reliable mental and emotional pillars besides his relationship with Clara in his Leipzig years.

As friends, David and Mendelssohn also stood by Schumann with advice and help on more than musical matters. In 1844, David supplied the Schumanns with personal recommendations for their concert tour to Russia via Dorpat, David's former workplace.[310] On the other hand, David was confident enough to express his critical view of Schumann allowing his wife to depart on a concert tour to Denmark by herself in 1842.[311] In their trial against Friedrich Wieck, Robert and Clara Schumann could count on Mendelssohn's assistance in providing a statement in favour of the couple (which, furthermore, David also offered to do).[312] Finally, Robert and Clara Schumann's high regard and gratitude for these two musicians and for their support is reflected in the names the Schumann couple gave their first two sons: Felix and Ferdinand.

The popularity Mendelssohn and David quickly achieved in Leipzig, as well as their close friendships with the Schumanns, were, besides their musical abilities, due to their agreeable personalities. Mendelssohn's characterisation by Henriette Voigt is cited above, and Schumann proved his adoration for Mendelssohn as a musician as

[307] TB II, p. 254.
[308] TB II, p. 199.
[309] See TB II, p. 210.
[310] See Clara Schumann, letter to Friedrich Wieck, 20 February 1844 from Dorpat. In: Litzmann II, p. 62.
[311] See Bär (2002) p. 69.
[312] See Werner Schwarz (1966) 'Eine Musikerfreundschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts. Unveröffentlichte Briefe von Ferdinand David an Robert Schumann'. In: Mahlung, C.-H. (Ed.) *Zum 70. Geburtstag von Joseph Müller-Blattau* (Saarbrücker Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 1), Kassel et al: Bärenreiter, p. 284.

well as his personality in a letter to Dr Adolf Keferstein: 'You should get to know Mendelssohn better, he certainly is the finest and most educated musician of the present day, even if not the richest and most brilliant. I have, however, not yet met a purer harmony of all virtues with any other artist to such an extent. You must get to know him as a person as well.'[313] When the Schumanns visited Mendelssohn in April 1840 in Berlin, Clara noted in her diary on 26 April that 'Mendelssohn was very charming towards us, as he always has been'; and, on the following day: 'Mendelssohn was at ours for two hours and let Robert play his songs for him. I was pleased by his appreciation.'[314]

While Mendelssohn was seen as an aesthetic authority and often as a favourable mentor, Ferdinand David was particularly admired for his humour and cheerful character. As early as 1836, only a few months after his arrival in Leipzig, David amused his fellow musicians with a jocular entry ticket for a musical evening for a 'Mr. Brzobxly', himself caricatured and signed by Mendelssohn (Figure 29). Not least, after one of their more excessive nights in December 1843, Ferdinand David and Robert Schumann finally agreed on the 'Du', a proof of close friendship and trust.[315] In her musical biographies of Leipzig artists, Ida Marie Lipsius assigned several positive characteristic traits to David, while also mentioning the personal antipathies that he had to face:

> Full of spirit and ready wit, of vivid, even fiery temperament, people found a welcome companion in him wherever he turned up. For his family, he was the most loyal husband and father, for his artistic comrades a cheerful host and conscientious advisor, whether one was seeking the former or the latter in him. Nevertheless, he was not short of enemies either, as were most important artistic figures. His nervous temperament and the resulting frequent changes of his mood,

[313] Robert Schumann, letter to Dr Gustav Adolf Keferstein, 2 December 1842 from Leipzig. In: Max Unger, M. (1910) 'Robert und Clara Schumanns Beziehungen zu Dr. Gust. Ad. Keferstein', *Neue Musik-Zeitung*, 31 (18), p. 371.
[314] Jugendtagebücher, p. 378.
[315] See TB III/1, p. 360.



Figure 29 '"Einlasszettel" für Herrn Brzobxly zum Konzert am 19.11.1836 und Bleistiftzeichnung auf Rückseite (Porträt Ferdinand Davids)'. Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Mus. Schu. 48



Figure 29 continued

> his energetic, maybe not always moderate appearance in artistic matters have caused him some enemies. He was of such direct, impulsive nature that all impressions he perceived, sympathetic and antipathetic ones, could have been read overtly and unambiguously from his appearance.[316]

This positive description of David's cheerful character matches most impressions that can be gained of his contacts to his Leipzig friends from diaries and letters. The 'antipathetic impressions' David received and the description of his nervous temperament, in contrast, resemble the kind of anti-Semitic remarks and comments which David and Mendelssohn constantly had to face during their time in Leipzig. Written in 1875, Lipsius' description likely had an anti-Semitic undertone despite her otherwise favourable biography of David, not least through the influence of the Wagner circle in Bayreuth with which the author was heavily involved by then. Such accusations also have to be addressed as regards to Mendelssohn's and David's

[316] 'Voll Geist und schlagenden Witzes, lebendigen, ja feurigen Naturells, sah man in ihm den willkommenen Gesellschafter, wo er auch erschien. Den Seinen war er der treueste Gatte und Vater, seinen Kunstgenossen ein heiterer Gastfreund, ein gewissenhafter Berather, je nachdem man das Eine oder Andere bei ihm zu suchen kam. Trotz alledem hat es ihm ebensowenig an Gegnern gefehlt, wie den meisten künstlerischen Größen. Sein nervöses Temperament und der damit zusammenhängende häufige Wechsel seiner Stimmungen, sein energisches, vielleicht nicht immer gemäßigtes Auftreten in künstlerischen Angelegenheiten haben ihm manchen Feind geschaffen. Er war ja eine so unmittelbare, impulsive Natur, daß die Eindrücke, welche er empfing, sympathische und antipathische, sich offen und unzweideutig von seinem Aeußeren ablesen ließen.' Ida Marie Lipsius (1875) *Musikalische Studienköpfe aus der Jüngstvergangenheit und Gegenwart*, vol. 3, Leipzig: Heinrich Schmidt & Carl Günther, pp. 67f.

friendships with Schumanns as well, before moving to the discussion of their musical collaborations.

At the same time as the young Clara Wieck was grumbling about David's entrance in the Voigt circle, she copied a report she heard about David in her diary:

> Grossmann told us, amongst other stories, also of David's envy which he had against the Eichhorn [brothers]. When they were giving a concert at Dorpat and the older one put his violin and bow aside during the interval, David took the bow and brushed it with tallow so that the former could not play with it anymore after the interval. David was said to have been shivering because of rage and envy at this encounter. In such a baseness one can clearly see the Jew, who can pretend to be so kind.[317]

Such an uncritical and blunt rendition of a clearly anti-Semitic story in her diary might, with good will, be explained by Clara's youth, and her frustration about David's 'desertion' to Voigt's circle. During the Leipzig period, the Schumanns mostly abstained from such overtly prejudiced accounts against Mendelssohn and David. The teasing and comments as cited from Robert Schumann's diary above could be found for almost any of his friends, whether Jewish or not. In a few instances, they are clearly present, such as when Clara Schumann wrote in their shared diary in May 1843: 'Robert wrote quite nicely about him [Antonio Bazzini] in the journal. He did not have much audience, and the one present did not manage to appreciate him. *David* and *Mendelssohn* did not behave nicely against him – jealousy is horrible in itself, but even more so in an artist like *Mendelssohn*.'[318] The special hint against Mendelssohn with regard to jealousy could indeed be read as anti-Semitism, but such comments directly aimed at Schumann's friends seem not to have left the confidential realm of the diary. Schumann's public utterances of anti-Semitic thoughts at the same time do not aim at

[317] 'Grossmann erzählte uns unter anderem auch von Davids Neid, den er gegen die Eichhorns gehabt. Als nämlich dieselben in Dorpat Concert gaben und der älteste seine Geige und Bogen in der Pause bei Seite legte, so nahm David seinen Bogen und bestrich ihn mit Talg, so daß Ersterer nachher nicht spielen konnte. David soll bei der Begegnung vor Wuth und Neid gezittert haben. An solcher Niedrigkeit sieht man deutlich den Juden, welcher so liebeswürdig thun kann.' Jugendtagebücher, p. 207.

[318] TB II, p. 264.

particular Jewish members of his circle of friends. The criticism in his *Huguenots* review and his *Liederschau*-titled article from 1842 about Judaism dominating in a 'northern German city', which presumably refers to Leipzig,[319] was a view held more generally despite the hint at Leipzig's Jewish community. Such articles by Robert Schumann in the *NZfM* led to the view within Leipzig that there was some kind of opposing camps of the 'Mendelssohnians' and the 'Schumannians'. Even though it is hard to prove the opposite in hindsight, Eckardt's short biographical account of David and his relation to the Mendelssohn family provides a contemporary and close perspective on those rumours in connection of David's and Mendelssohn's friendships with the Schumanns. In letters and conversations, Eckardt encountered

> the evidence that the talk of partiality and jealousies of the 'Mendelssohnians' against Schumann's rising genius is without any actual foundation… even bigger was the foolishness of such people who tried to base this diversity of tendencies on a hostile opposition of the people involved, and to prove their jealousies, of which, actually, there was never a single clue. Among Mendelssohn's followers, David was one of the most absolute, devoted, and enthusiastic, because he found not only the master of his art in his friend, but also a nature similar to his own and turned towards the bright side of life; not a single word did ever leave his mouth or his quill which could have been interpreted as an expression of resentment of Schumann, - he [David] never abstained from supporting the creations or personal interests of the man whom he valued as a brilliant musician, and whom he loved as a good and noble person.[320]

Eckardt was evidently determined to stress that the relationship between David and Mendelssohn on the one side and Robert Schumann on the other was not impacted by

[319] See GS I, pp. 318-321; and Boetticher (1940) p. 138. The mentioned passage only appeared in the first edition of the article.

[320] 'dem Beweis dafür, daß das Gerede von Parteilichkeiten und Eifersüchteleien der "Mendelsohnianer" gegen Schumanns aufstrebendes Genie bei David jedenfalls aller thatsächlichen Unterlage entbehrt... Noch größer ist freilich der Unverstand Derjenigen gewesen, welche diese Verschiedenheit der Richtungen zu feindlichem Gegensatz zwischen den Betheiligten aufzubauen und Eifersüchteleien derselben nachzuweisen versucht haben, von denen in Wahrheit niemals eine Spur bestanden hat. Unter den Anhängern Mendelssohns ist David einer der bedingungslosesten, hingebendsten und begeistertesten gewesen, weil er in dem Freunde nicht nur den Meister seiner Kunst, sondern eine der seinigen verwandte, der Sonnenseite des Lebens zugewandte Natur gefunden hatte; niemals ist seiner Zunge oder seiner Feder aber auch nur ein Wort entflossen, das als Ausdruck der Mißgunst gegen Schumann gedeutet werden könnte, - niemals hat er es an sich fehlen lassen, wenn es die Schöpfungen oder die persönlichen Interessen des Mannes zu fördern galt, den er als genialen Musiker hochschätzte, als guten und edlen Menschen liebte.' Eckardt (1888) pp. 70f.

the anti-Semitic tone of articles Schumann published during their time together in Leipzig. Eckardt then continues to explain the issue of 'camps' in Leipzig with different but not opposing or exclusive aesthetic concepts of the two composers, rather than personal preferences or antipathies. This suggests that, while the Schumanns expressed anti-Semitic ideas publicly or in their diaries, their relationships with David and Mendelssohn seem not to have been negatively impacted by such views. The differences in aesthetic questions between Schumann and Mendelssohn, furthermore, seemed to unite and inspire these composers rather than to repel them.

In the numerous accounts of these three leading musicians coming together to rehearse, perform, review, and talk about chamber music, whether in private homes or the stage of the Gewandhaus hall, one can find remarkable examples of their appreciation for each other, personally and artistically. The following examination of the places, characters, and purposes of their gatherings between 1835 and 1844 evaluates their collaboration with regard to chamber music in order to assess the influence of these musicians and their relationship with Schumann on his chamber music compositions. The discussion is split into musical events in private homes and in public spaces and will address critical issues and views of the private (in particular the definition of 'salon') and the public (the private-vs-public divide, challenged by the notion of sociability).

'Vol-au-vents for the Quartet': Schumann's Domestic Chamber Music Making in Leipzig until 1840

In Schumann's diaries between 1836 and 1842, his gatherings with Mendelssohn, David, and other musical figures from the lunchtime circle of the Hôtel de Baviere, as well as visiting musicians, loom large in his musical and social life. For example, on

26 September 1836 Schumann described an informal meeting: 'Nice weather. Gathering at mine, Lipinski, Mendelssohn, David, Mosewius, Ortlepp, Nowakowsky, Reuter. The quartet doesn't work out; then Mendelssohn [played] with David and Grenser quite casually the B-flat-major Trio by Schubert from scratch and extraordinarily.'[321] Schumann's account of this meeting is limited to naming the attendees and the music being played – however, his diary entries from the day help to put it in context. On 25 September he noted: 'In the Hotel with him [Mosewius], Lipinski, David. Talked a lot.'[322] And for the day after the gathering there is a similar diary entry: 'the whole week pleasant lunch company in the hotel by Lipinski, David, Nowakowski, Stamati, Mendelssohn with sister, a lively fiery Jew… in the evening in the hotel Mendelssohn narrating quite strangely from Rahel.'[323] The link between the circle of the lunch table in the 'hotel' and the one attending Schumann's aforementioned musical evening becomes clear. Another account of a gathering only a few weeks later, on 5 October 1836, shows that there was no distinction between social or conversational meetings and musical ones. In his diary, Schumann reported:

> Worried about the quartet at mine. Sudden decision. Good mood. Lipinski, David, Müller and Grenser Quartet in F minor, and A minor by Beethoven and finally the first [movement] of the small [Quartet] in E flat major; Lipinski plays extraordinarily. Furthermore, there were the Francks, Stegmayer, Stamaty, Kahlert, Voigt, Wenzel, Reuter, and Zimmermann and Bock from Berlin who came later, also chamber musician Drechsel from Dessau. Towards the Hotel in the best mood… in the evening soiree at Mendelssohn's. The lost violin. The small Goethe. The tipsy Lipinska [Karol Lipinski's wife] in the Hotel de Baviere. Trio in D major by Beethoven, Sonatas by Bach. The entire time conversing a lot with Stamaty.[324]

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[321] TB II, p. 27. The mentioned guests were the violin virtuoso Karol Lipinski from Dresden, the Gewandhaus musicians Mendelssohn, David, and cellist Friedrich Wilhelm Grenser, the writers and music critics Johann Theodor Mosewius and Ernst Ortlepp, the composer Jozef Nowakowsky, and Schumann's friend and physician Dr. Moritz Emil Reuter.

[322] TB II, p. 27.

[323] TB II, p. 27.

[324] 'Angst wegen d. Quartetts bei mir. Plötzlicher Entschluß. Gute Stimmung. Lipinksi, David, Müller u. Grenser Quartett aus F-Moll, u. A moll v. Beethoven u. zuletzt d. 1ste aus dem kl. in Es Dur; unvergleichlich spielt Lipinsky. Übrigens waren da auch die Francks, Stegmayer, Stamaty, Kahlert, Voigt, Wenzel, Reuter, u. Zimmermann u. Bock a. Berlin, die später kamen, auch Kammermusikus Drechsel aus Dessau. In bester Laune ins Hotel... Abends bei Mendelssohn Soiree. Die verlorne Geige.

The differences between social and musical events begin to blur in an afternoon like this. Schumann's anxiety about organising the quartet event was possibly caused by it being the first formal gathering with a relatively large number of guests who were not involved in the performance themselves – whereas the aforementioned gathering in September could well have been organised spontaneously, only comprising the usual suspects from the circle of the 'Hôtel'. Schumann's nervousness also confirms the importance of such events for him and especially of his involvement in this new circle around Mendelssohn and David, hence his good mood after the success of this enterprise. It was rather unusual that a musical event was immediately followed by another on the same day, such as the soirée at Mendelssohn's, but it depicts the enthusiastic atmosphere of the first months after Mendelssohn's and David's arrival in Leipzig, including telling anecdotes (the lost violin) and making new friends (as with the composer Camille Stamaty, who was on a study visit with Mendelssohn in Leipzig).

While the locations of the musical meetings varied between the homes of Mendelssohn, David, and Schumann, so did the latter's attitudes and moods in response to those gatherings. In November 1837, Schumann reported of a 'soiree at David's in the evening, in which Kotte, Kummer, Vieuxtemps played. The [Clara] Novello sang pieces from Don Juan [W. A. Mozart's *Don Giovanni*]. Mendelssohn accompanied like a god, then played his own concerto with a quartet. All in all bored.'[325] And three days later, on Sunday 11 November 1837, the same mood sounds through at a 'quartet at mine - Vieuxtemps, David, Täglichsbeck, Kummer and Müller – furthermore Lorenz, Voigt, Dr [Reuter] and Kotte – C-sharp-minor Quartet by

Der kleine Göthe. Die anfeuchtende Lipinska im Hotel de Baviere. Trio in D-Dur v. Beethoven, Sonaten v. Bach. Die ganze Zeit über viel mit Stamaty verkehrt.' TB II, p. 28.

[325] TB II, p. 45.

Beethoven heard for the first time – besides that just little music in my mood, being ill and melancholic and hung-over – then dined with the strangers in the Hotel d. B. [de Bavière].'[326] It equally could turn to the other extreme, such as in August 1838, when after one of Schumann's quartet evenings, he 'treated my quartet to drinks in Auerbach's Cellar; also including Lorenz, Verhulst, Dr Reuter and Dr Günz – drank terribly much.'[327] Such musical and social gatherings were evidently subject to Schumann's own mood (and alcohol consumption), but generally dominated his social and musical diary in his bachelor years in Leipzig until his departure to settle in Vienna in October 1838. Characteristic for a perhaps average social-musical gathering is a short note in Schumann's household books from November 1837: 'small vol-au-vents for the quartet. 1 [thaler]'.[328] For me, this simple account of attentiveness and hospitality Schumann provided for his ensemble is exemplary of the matter of course with which he acquainted himself with his chamber music partners by then.

Fortunately, in his reviews for the *NZfM* Schumann himself wrote about much of the chamber music being played in such gatherings, most of which were happening in private Leipzig homes. When writing about trios and duos in an article called 'critical review', he admitted that 'for the discussion of the remaining trios by Moscheles, Chopin, and Schubert, it is of advantage to me that I have heard them reasonably well, the first one [Moscheles' Trio] several times by the composer himself, the other [Chopin's Trio] by Clara Wieck and the Müller brothers, and the Schubertian [Trio] by Mendelssohn and David'.[329] These different performers cover a wide spectrum of Schumann's chamber music experiences in Leipzig around that time, with many visiting musicians (Ignaz Moscheles), his former teacher and host, Friedrich

[326] TB II, p. 45.
[327] TB II, p. 61.
[328] TB III/1, p. 31.
[329] GS I, p. 178.

Wieck's circle (Clara Wieck and the Müller brothers), and the Gewandhaus musicians around Mendelssohn and David that he either met at their own homes or at Voigt's.

One can learn even more about such private chamber music events in the series of articles called 'Quartettmorgen' ('quartet mornings') in 1838, just before Schumann left Leipzig for Vienna later that year. As cited at the beginning of this chapter, the first of these articles on the first quartet morning begins with Schumann's initiative to assemble his own quartet ensemble (which he called his 'clover'). Schumann continued to give an illustrative and witty description of how these quartet mornings started:

> 'It has not been long', I revealed [to the quartet], 'since Haydn, Mozart, and one more lived who composed quartets: should these fathers leave such little worthy grandsons who haven't learned a thing from them? And could one not sense a new genius somewhere under a bud which only requires to be touched? In a word, my dearest, the instruments are ready, and there are plenty of novelties which could be performed in our first matinée'. And without much hesitation, as it befits seasoned musicians, they took their seats at the music stands. I am pleased to report on the works under which the morning went by, though not in the critically succinct style but in a light manner, capturing the first impressions which they made on me, also under the perception by the quartet players themselves, as I often regard a simple oath by a musician higher than entire aesthetics.[330]

Again, the clover metaphor with which Schumann started this article (see p. 129) refers to family-like bonds (the 'grandfathers' Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, and the 'grandsons' being contemporary composers), as well as the quartet being rooted in and stemming from the tradition of the German classical canon. Hence, the conviviality and the spontaneous spirit of such gatherings seems to be emphasised, though Schumann was equally aware of the tradition of such quartet gatherings. While the

[330] '"Es ist noch nicht lange her", eröffnete ich diesem, "daß Haydn, Mozart und noch Einer lebten, die Quartetten geschrieben: sollten solche Väter so wenig würdige Enkel hinterlassen, diese gar nichts von jenen gelernt haben? Und könnte man nicht nachfühlen, ob ein neues Genie irgendwo unter der Knospe, das nur der Berührung bedürfe? Mit einem Worte, Verehrteste, die Instrumente stehen bereit, und des Neuen gibt es mancherlei, das gespielt werden könnte in unserer ersten Matinee." Und ohne viel Bedenkens, wie es bügelfesten Musikern ziemlich, saßen sie an den Pulten. Gern berichte ich, unter welchen Werken uns der Morgen verflossen, wenn auch nicht im kritischen Lapidarstil, sondern in leichter Weise den ersten Eindruck festhaltend, den jene auf mich, zugleich mit Wahrnehmung dessen, den sie auf die Quartettisten selbst gemacht, da [p. 334] ich einen einfachen Fluch eines Musikers oft höher anschlage als ganze Ästhetiken.' GS I, pp. 333f.

journalistic and poetic touch of this article is evident, Schumann shows his confidence in inviting an established quartet ensemble into his home and to publish his account of the occasion. The atmosphere and the impressions mentioned by Schumann are detailed in the description of the second quartet morning:

> Comparing the faces of some shivering musicians climbing up the stairs of the Gewandhaus, possibly about to perform a solo, with the faces of my quartet players, the latter seem much more enviable to me, as our quartet is at the same time its own audience, and thus not showing any kind of anxiety, while an eavesdropping child at the window and an intruding nightingale were not at all hindered in listening.[331]

This review highlights the intimate setting of such quartet meetings in contrast to public performances in the Gewandhaus. The image of an eavesdropping child and the nightingale that colours the above scene with a romantic spirit might thereby not only function as a poetic tool, but as an actual impression of how Schumann perceived these gatherings – away from the troubles of demanding audiences and noisy concert halls.

While Schumann selflessly emphasised the ease of the quartet players he hosted for his 'Quartettmorgen', his own character and sociability also flourished in this environment. Jansen recorded an account by Carl Voigt about one of those events:

> We know from the journal that Schumann frequently organised 'Quartettmorgen'. These happened in his flat in the Rother Colleg, with only a few listeners present, mostly for the purpose of getting to know novelties. C[arl] Voigt recalled an interesting Sunday afternoon, at which as the only invitee he listened to some of Beethoven's last quartets; it was in mid-summer, the musicians had taken off their jackets at Schumann's suggestions. On such occasions, Schumann used to sit in a far corner of the room, rarely speaking but showing the best mood; he then offered Champagne to his guests. In such chamber music events Schumann did not actively participate; if he was playing for others, the pieces were... preferably his own compositions, namely the most recent ones.[332]

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[331] 'Vergleich' ich die Gesichter manches die Gewandhaustreppen hinaufsteigenden und zitternden Musikers, der etwa ein Solo vorzutragen, mit denen meiner Quartettspieler, so schienen mir letztere um vieles beneidenswerter, da unser Quartett zugleich sein eigenes Publikum ist, folglich nicht die geringste Angst zeigte, obwohl einem vor dem Fenster lauschende Kinde und einer hereinschmetternden Nachtigall das Zuhören keineswegs gestört wurde' GS I, p. 336.

[332] 'Aus der Zeitschrift weiß man, daß Schumann öfter „Quartett-Morgen" veranstaltete. Diese fanden in seiner Wohnung im rothen Colleg statt, immer nur im Beisein weniger Zuhörer, meistens zu dem Zweck, Novitäten kennen zu lernen. C. Voigt erinnerte sich eines interessanten Sonntag-Nachmittags, wo er als einziger Eingeladener einige der letzten Beethoven'schen Quartette gehört hatte; es war mitten im Hochsommer, die Spieler hatten auf Schumann's Vorschlag ihre Röcke ausgezogen.

The image of Schumann in the far corner, rarely speaking and not participating in the events unfolding around him, has endured from this account.[333] This is most striking as his good mood and the serving of Champagne appear to be much more representative of his actual role and behaviour among his musical circle. The account even testifies to the informal and intimate atmosphere as only one guest, Carl Voigt, was invited and Schumann suggested removing the musicians' jackets because of the summery temperatures. In the light of his aforementioned reviews of the 'Quartettmorgen' events, aiming to capture the atmosphere and the impressions of such quartet performances for his readership, his attentive silence combined with the positive mood that Voigt reported on, can indeed be interpreted as Schumann absorbing and appreciating the situation, rather than removing himself from the action.

On the topic of the second quartet morning, Schumann sent a slightly ironic letter to a certain friend visiting Berlin at that time: 'Today I had my second quartet matinée; unfortunately, my pianist was absent (she is in Berlin and is reading letters at this very moment). Thus, only string quartets. It makes me very happy; the journal is also improving as a result of it.'[334] This female pianist was, of course, Henriette Voigt, who was also the addressee of the letter. Her companionship and the musical societies hosted by her persisted through Schumann's bachelor Leipzig years until her death in 1839 (and beyond through her husband Carl Voigt). These societies also

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Bei solchen Gelegenheiten pflegte Schumann in der äußersten Ecke des Zimmers zu sitzen, wenig sprechend aber die glücklichste Stimmung kundgebend; seinen Gästen spendete er dann Champagner. Bei diesen Kammermusiken betheiligte sich Schumann nicht activ; wenn er Anderen vorspielte, so waren, wie schon erwähnt, es vorzugsweise eigene Compositionen, und zwar die jüngst entstandenen.' Jansen, p. 76.

[333] The impact of this image on the reception of Schumann's music is brilliantly captured in Ferdnand Khnopff's painting *En ecountant du Schumann*, also from 1883, and in Richard Leppert's illustrative description of it. Leppert argued that the sociability between pianist and listener in the painting is subverted: 'Schumann is thus disembodied, or almost so, and music itself is desocialized – sociability fails when backs are turned.' Richard Leppert (1993) *The Sight of Sound. Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, p. 230.

[334] SB II/15, pp. 91f.

counterbalanced Schumann's self-organised chamber music activities and drunken nights with his comrades in which many such musical gatherings developed. Schumann kept being invited and visiting these musical events at Voigt's home. Her events provided him with contacts of the higher Leipzig society and musical performances in a slightly more serious environment.

The large number of musical events at Voigt's home that took place mainly between 1835 and 1837 confirms that she was at the centre of Leipzig's domestic chamber music making. In his 'Memories of Leipzig's musical life at Mendelssohn's time' from 1909, the chronicler Julius Gentschel considered her as 'the emotional centre between the years 1834 and 1839 of the circle of artists that re-founded Leipzig's reputation as a musical city'.[335] 1836 was certainly the peak year of Voigt's social and musical activities. Robert Schumann visited 23 times that year, David made 20 appearances, and Mendelssohn eleven.[336] Voigt could also count the violinists Lipinski, Klengel, Hunger, Müller, and Uhlrich, and the cellists Groß, Grabau, Grenser, Müller, and Wittmann among her guests and musical partners of 1836, as well as distinguished pianists like Frederik Chopin and Louis Rackemann, who visited Voigt alone eight times in 1836.[337] This list of guests comprised basically all renowned Gewandhaus musicians in Leipzig as well as most of the prominent musical guests travelling through Leipzig who usually found themselves at some point involved in Voigt's musical circle.

In this environment, Mendelssohn and David quickly felt equally at home at Voigt's as Schumann did for several years by then.[338] Clara Schumann's biographer

[335] Julius Gentschel (1909) 'Henriette Voigt: Erinnerungen aus dem Leipziger Musikleben zu Mendelssohns Zeit', *Die Grenzboten I*, p. 393.
[336] See Gerber (2016) pp. 328ff.
[337] See Ibid., p. 326.
[338] See Ibid., pp. 62f.

Berthold Litzmann described Voigt's home as 'the sociable centre' that gave Mendelssohn and David room for top-class chamber music performances within Leipzig's musical scene.[339] This cultural and social centre, similar to Schumann's own chamber music events, could attract any number of attendees, from intimate music making ('In the evening David came around and played quatre mains with me and sang duets. Incredibly funny.'[340]) to larger societies ('Then to Voigt's. Mendelssohn with Lipinski and Groß B-flat-major Trio by Beethoven – Rochlitz – Döhler plays variations well studied and accomplished – David – Stamaty with Elenoara Hungarian Divertissement [by Schubert]. The stamping Mendelssohn: does it too wildly. Then good dinner and wine. Sitting next to Lipinski and Stamaty.'[341]). The latter quote, a diary entry by Schumann on 9 October 1836, shows that the guests at this rather large gathering at Voigt's were mostly identical with the circle that Schumann invited to his own home. Furthermore, a seemingly arbitrary musical programme for this evening appears to be dependent on the attendees and their spontaneous formation of chamber music ensembles – who were then treated to a dinner by Ms Voigt.

As befit the Director of the Gewandhaus, Mendelssohn tended to be the centre of attention when joining the musical events at Voigt's (19 times between 1835 and 1837),[342] and he was usually involved in the musical performances himself. He either sat at the piano with Voigt to play through arrangements (for example, of his Overture to *Das Märchen von der schönen Melusine*, op. 32) and sonatas for four hands, or joined as a viola player to perform his Piano Quartet, op. 3, or the String Quartet, op. 12 (with the Gewandhaus musicians Grabau, Hunger, and Uhlrich). Mendelssohn was even honoured by a performance of his own String Octet, op. 20, on Reformation Day

[339] Litzmann II, pp. 104f.
[340] Diary entry by Henriette Voigt, 10 February 1836. Cited in: Gerber (2016) p. 44.
[341] TB II, p. 29.
[342] See Gerber (2016) p. 330.

1835.[343] While being the undoubted celebrity of Leipzig's musical scene and most prominent regular guest at Voigt's, Mendelssohn also valued the hostess as a friend and adviser, such as for his arrangement of his Piano Quartet in B minor, which Henriette Voigt checked through with Carl Banck in April 1835.[344]

Robert Schumann, by contrast, was a more frequent but musically less active guest (since impeded by his hand injury) at Voigt's gatherings. Gerber argued that Schumann used such societies to familiarise himself with new chamber music works rather than participating himself.[345] Regarding one of her chamber music events, Voigt noted in her diary on 22 August 1837: 'At noon sight reading quartets by F. Schubert and Reissiger with Uhlrich, Wittmann, and Hunger in front of Schumann.'[346] Besides the opportunity to hear chamber music works such as by Schubert and Carl Gottlieb Reißiger, and to look after his social network, Schumann also received support from Henriette Voigt for his own compositions. Gerber regarded this correspondence as proof of 'the importance of her [Voigt's] interpretations and performances for Schumann despite the small presence of his works in her repertoire'.[347] The mutual esteem between Schumann and Voigt can hardly be underestimated. In this light, critical comments as in Schumann's diary on 1 October 1836 ('At Voigt's in the evening… Lipinski with Voigt: Sonatas by Bach: the former played well and beautifully, almost too theatrically, she very dry and without actual appreciation.')[348] should be interpreted as honest and well-disposed feedback rather than disregard for her skills. In return, the importance for Henriette Voigt of Schumann's attendance of

[343] See Ibid., pp. 62f.
[344] See diary entry by Henriette Voigt on 19 April 1835. In: Ibid., p. 226, fn. 126.
[345] See Ibid., p. 68.
[346] Diary entry by Henriette Voigt on 22 August 1837. In: Ibid., p. 68, fn. 226.
[347] Ibid., p. 84. The works by Robert Schumann that Gerber counts among Henriette Voigt's repertoire are: op. 2 (performed 24 Mar 1835); op. 5-7 (performed 9 Jan 1934), op. 8, 12, 14, 15, 18, 22, and the *Variationen über den Sehnsuchtswalzer von Franz Schubert*; see Ibid., p. 323.
[348] TB II, p. 27.

her musical events becomes apparent in her invitations for Schumann. In March 1838, she casually wrote: 'Thursday evening there is a quartet, would you like to listen, dear???'[349] but more thoroughly, highlighting Schumann's contributions to such events and her appreciation, in July 1838, shortly before Schumann's departure to Vienna:

> Dearest friend! Spohr has arrived and will be with us tomorrow evening, that is Sunday, when you can hopefully come as well? We'll certainly be expecting you from 6pm, music shall be played. I'll tell you the rest when we meet, many thanks for all the enjoyments which you brought me recently – for Beethoven (Spohr would very much like to read the book, he will depart the day after tomorrow, could I still get it until then?) and Schubert and everything, everything. Take care and please come to Leonore.[350]

Schumann was obviously heavily involved in Voigt's circle, from providing books and new repertoire, to being a welcome guest listening to the performances and involving Henriette Voigt in his journalistic activities (Eleonore was her pseudonym in the *Davidsbund*).[351] For example, when Henriette Voigt reported on her husband's birthday ball in November 1836, she specifies that Schumann was one of the only two guests with whom Henriette Voigt danced twice in the course of the evening.[352]

The few instances when Schumann played the piano himself at Voigt's home were highly intimate settings, usually without any audience and after a few drinks, when the more formal character of these settings was long gone. On the same evening when Schumann criticised Voigt for playing without appreciation, 1 October 1836, Voigt herself noted: 'Dined until midnight. Very funny. Schumann kept playing in the darkness.'[353] In Schumann's diary, such improvisations through the small hours are

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[349] SB II/15, p. 85.

[350] 'Theurer Freund! Spohr ist angekommen und wird Morgen Abend bei uns sein, da ist Sonntag, wo Sie hoffentlich doch können? wir erwarten Sie gewiß von 6 Uhr Abends an, es soll musicirt werden. Alles Andere mündlich, Dank für alle Genüsse, die Sie mir kürzlich verschafften – für Beethoven (das Buch möchte Spohr gern lesen, er reist übermorgen, kann ich es bis dahin noch bekommen?) u Schubert u Alles, Alles. Leben Sie wohl u kommen Sie zu Leonoren.' SB II/15, p. 95.

[351] See Gentschel (1909) p. 397.

[352] See diary entry by Henriette Voigt on 26 November 1836. In: Gerber (2016) p. 76.

[353] Diary entry by Henriette Voigt on 1 October 1836. In: Ibid., p. 68.

not mentioned, and they appear to have been highly rare and intimate occasions. Usually, Schumann only played at Voigt's without any audience and only in her presence, such as later in October 1836, of which Voigt recalled: 'Schumann came in the evening, played wonderfully, was highly poetic and charming. Talked a lot about music.'[354] Gerber counted another three occasions in 1836 and one in 1838 when Schumann improvised at the piano privately for Voigt.[355]

Schumann's friendship with Voigt remained close and important to him. When he departed for Vienna in October 1838 to find a potential new hometown for him and Clara Wieck away from provincial Leipzig, he not only failed in securing a new publisher for the *NZfM*, neither did he manage to establish a musical circle around him that could match the quality and intimacy of the one that he left in Leipzig. Subsequently his collaboration with the Gewandhaus musicians grew even stronger, especially after Henriette Voigt's death, shortly after his return. It also changed significantly through his marriage with Clara Wieck. Before examining the following years, leading directly towards the chamber music year 1842, a discussion of the notion and development of the 'salon' in Germany helps to put the situation Schumann experienced in Leipzig in historical context.

German Salons: Private Musical Socialising in Context

The events at Henriette Voigt's home, before and particularly after their opening-up to the wider Leipzig musical scene, require some historical contextualisation within German salon culture. Musical salons in the first half of the nineteenth century were typically hosted by women in their own homes. They took place regularly – often

[354] Diary entry by Henriette Voigt on 22 October 1836. In: Ibid.
[355] See Ibid.

weekly or biweekly – and were exclusive to a certain circle. And they featured socialising and dining, as well as performances. This is where a general description of German salon culture ends, however. Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges have recently reflected that one obstacle to understanding the significance of the salon in nineteenth-century Germany is the 'diversity of both the nineteenth-century salon and twenty-first-century salon research'.[356] This is true of German as well as English-language scholarship. The geographical differences and distances between societies within salon culture led to various diverging developments around Europe and further afield. Such differences were increased by the nature of the salon as a social phenomenon which was not imposed or bound by official rules or institutions but by personal initiatives and engagement of social circles and sociable individuals. Hence, Bunzel and Loges have attempted to satisfy Hartwig Schultz's earlier demand to 'supplement and differentiate general "salon research" by means of meticulous examinations of the individual salons and salonnières'.[357] In a similar spirit, in this interlude I contextualise the examination of Robert Schumann's social environment in Leipzig as part of the discussion on salon culture in nineteenth-century Germany.

In contrast to the situation of scholarship on the salon in Germany (almost exclusively centred around Berlin) as well as Austria (exclusively centred around Vienna),[358] the availability of sources of and literature on the Parisian salon, including

[356] Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges (2019) 'Introduction'. In: Ibid. (Eds.) *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, p. 9.

[357] Hartwig Schultz (1997) 'Vorwort'. In: Ibid. (Ed.) *Salons der Romantik. Beiträge eines Wiepersdorfer Kolloquiums zu Theorie und Geschichte des Salon*, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, p. VI. Translated in: Bunzel and Loges (2019) p. 10.

[358] See amongst others, Alice Marie Hanson (1985) *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Joseph Kerman (1994) 'Beethoven Quartet Audiences: Actual, Potential, Ideal'. In: Robert Winter and Robert Martin (Eds.) *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, pp. 7-27; Helga Peham (2013) *Die Salonieren und die Salons in Wien: 200 Jahre Geschichte einer besonderen Institution*, Vienna: Styria Premium; and Nancy November (2013) *Beethoven's Theatrical Quartets: Opp. 59, 74 and 95*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 29-33.

its musical aspects, is vast.[359] As the birthplace of salon culture, Paris was the city of a centuries-long tradition of private salons by the time of the French Revolution, when salon culture became popular in Germany. Throughout the Ancient Régime, salons provided the intellectual and cultural home for Paris' upper-class society, 'primarily for the sake of cultivating conversation', as Elaine Leung-Wolf noted.[360] After the French Revolution, Parisian salons became centred less around philosophical and more around political debates and purposes. Eventually, during the mid-nineteenth century, 'although conversation was still considered the most important feature, the focal point of many salons shifted to entertainment, namely music'.[361] In contrast to the German salons which changed their educational purposes from literature to music, the rise of music within the Parisian salon developed out of the sociable means of conversation and entertainment of aristocratic circles.

The situation of the salon in Germany, even though the country was non-unified and divided into countless smaller administrative districts, appears much more circumscribed. The wide range of social classes and circles involved in Parisian salons contrasted with the clearly distinguished circles in Berlin. As the capital of Prussia, Berlin also came with its own stereotypical cultural and social norms and conventions, which shaped the way it supported amateur and professional musical life. In contrast

[359] See, amongst others, beginning with most recent: James Kearns and Alister Mull (2015) *The Paris Fine Art Salon/Le Salon, 1791-1881,* Bern: Peter Lang; K. Steven Vincent (2007) 'Elite Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century France: Salons, Sociability and the Self', *Modern Intellectual History*, 4, pp. 327-351; Antoine Lilti (2005) *The World of the Salons. Sociability and Worldliness in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, transl. by Lydia G. Cochrane, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press; Steven D. Kale (2005) *French Salons: High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press; Elaine Leung-Wolf (1996) *Women, Music, and the Salon Tradition: Its Cultural and Historical Significance in Parisian Musical Society*, PhD Diss.: University of Cincinnati; Barbara Russano Hanning (1989) 'Conversation and Musical Style in the Late Eighteenth-Century Parisian Salon', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 22 (4), pp. 512-528; Claire Goldberg Moses (1984) *French Feminism in the 19th Century*, Albany: State University of New York Press; and Hans Christoph Worbs (1971) 'Le tribut à la mode: Die Anfänge der Salonmusik', *NZfM*, 132, pp. 128–133.

[360] Leung-Wolf (1996) pp. 333f. See also Hanning (1989) pp. 512ff.

[361] Leung-Wolf (1996) p. 206.

to the Parisian salon with its casual openness, interesting and eccentric guests, and a relaxed sense of life, Veronica Beci described the Prussian way of socialising and the typical atmosphere of a salon in Berlin as dominated by its strict Protestantism, cold and colourless baronesses, and military regularity.[362] It seems not surprising that conversation and social exchange was not adopted as the main means of salon culture in Berlin, instead there was a rigorous and structured focus on education and cultural exchange.

This difference is mirrored in the use of terminology, as the word 'salon' has been applied anachronistically to societies with such characteristics in Germany, including Berlin. Contemporary accounts of gatherings in German homes usually substitute 'salon' with terms like 'Gesellschaften' (societies), or 'Kränzchen' (small circles). Rahel Varnhagen (introduced below) did not label her societies as salons despite being aware and even applying this term to respective events in France or in the world of high aristocracy, which was inaccessible to her.[363] The topical congruence (in contrast to the national difference) of these terms, however, even in contemporary usage, is supported in a letter by Felix Mendelssohn to his sister Fanny from Paris in 1825, reprimanding her for misusing the term of 'soirées, which you are confusing with salons, by the way, as soirées are concerts in exchange for money, and salons are societies'.[364] Besides proving the similar meaning of salon and 'Gesellschaft', this

[362] See Veronica Beci (2000) *Musikalische Salons. Blütezeit einer Frauenkultur*, Dusseldorf and Zurich: Artemis & Winkler, p. 83.

[363] See Barbara Hahn (2005) *The Jewess Pallas Athena. This Too a Theory of Modernity*, transl. by James McFarland, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, p. 42. See also Peter Seibert (1993) *Der literarische Salon. Literatur und Geselligkeit zwischen Aufklärung und Vormärz*, Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler, p. 13; and Petra Wilhelmy (1989) *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780–1914)*, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, p. 20.

[364] Felix Mendelssohn, letter to Fanny Mendelssohn, 9 May 1825 from Paris. In: Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (2008) *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 1, ed. by Juliette Appold and Regina Back, Kassel et al.: Bärenreiter, p. 170.

letter and Fanny's reported confusion of these terms also show that the usage and interpretation of the term 'salon' in Germany was widely unfamiliar and unclear.

Fanny and Felix Mendelssohn were at the centre of the era of musical salons in Berlin which succeeded the period of literary salons in Berlin after Varnhagen's death in 1833. Rahel Varnhagen (née Levin) was the Jewish hostess of the probably best known Berlin salon of the 'Ancient Régime'.[365] Beci described the specific character of these gatherings in Berlin around the turn of the century as a creative, witty, entertaining, and to a certain extent, even careless atmosphere in which the arts, though mainly literature, could flourish in private.[366] Varnhagen's legacy is commonly described as the peak of the 'classical' period of the literary salon in Berlin.[367] Following this era, Berlin experienced milestones of major performances of the early German Romantic music movement supported by the Prussian monarchy. It was in this context that, as Beci noted, 'since the mid-1830s the lack of chamber music as well as the insufficient representation of smaller Romantic compositions was to carry weight. Around this time, the "pure" musical salons emerged which took these demands into account.'[368] It was exactly this void which the salons of the Beer and Mendelssohn families came to fill.

Amalie Beer had founded the first exclusively musical salon in Berlin in the 1820s, centred around her talented son Jakob (who later renamed himself Giacomo Meyerbeer).[369] At the same time, a second musical salon was initiated by Lea

[365] Barbara Hahn has highlighted the problematic notion and academic fallacy of the 'popularity' of Rahel Varnhagen's salon as a turn-away from the Jewish core of her circle. See Hahn (2005) pp. 48-50.

[366] See, for example, Beci's illustrative description of Prince Louis Ferdinand's, one of Schumann's early role models in the chamber music genre, reception in Varnhagen's salon. See Beci (2000) p. 106.

[367] See Wilhelmy (1989) p. V. See also: Barbara Hahn (2006) 'Berliner "Salons" in der Zeit der Restauration'. In: Hans-Günter Klein (Ed.) *Die Musikveranstaltungen bei den Mendelssohns – Ein 'musikalischer Salon'?*, Leipzig: Mendelssohn-Haus, p. 12.

[368] Beci (2000) p. 108.

[369] See Wilhelmy (1989) pp. 144ff; Emily D. Bilski and Emily Braun (2005) 'The Power of Conversation: Jewish Women and Their Salons'. In: Ibid. (Eds.) *Jewish Women and Their Salons: The Power of Conversation*, New York: The Jewish Museum, New Haven and London: Yale University

Mendelssohn (née Salomon), Abraham Mendelssohn's wife and mother to Fanny and Felix (though, according to Petra Wilhelmy, there was no rivalry between these two musical salons as Fanny and Felix were considerably younger than Jakob Beer).[370] Soon, the Mendelssohn family established the 'Sonntagsmusiken', which every Sunday hosted musical and social events in their spacious garden house, between 1821 and 1829.[371] As the main attraction of his mother's and then his sister's salon, the young Felix Mendelssohn could make contacts to influential figures and future supporters of his career, such as Ignaz Moscheles, Hummel, Spohr, Kalkbrenner, and Spontini. The salon's appeal soon exceeded the initial small circle of salon guests. In later years, Beer's salon, for instance, would welcome up to 200 to 250 guests. Printed invitations were sent out and concert programmes were accompanied by programme notes.[372] Fanny Mendelssohn's 'Sonntagsmusiken' similarly would 'soon lose their salon character and become public events'. According to Beci, 'this shows the demand being met by these concerts. Chamber music and performances by excellent musicians were missing in the city, and Fanny's efforts addressed that void.'[373]

Consequently, the initial private and intimate aspects of salon societies and their associated music-making were replaced to meet public demands and to contribute to the city's musical scene. Wilhelmy fittingly concluded:

> These 'Sonntagsmusiken' exceeded the bounds of conventional musical salon gatherings. They were an end in themselves, served by a family with its wealth, its musicality, and its social standing. Also the 'Soirées musicales' with their

Press, p. 40; and Lorraine Byrne Bodley (2015) 'In Pursuit of a Single Flame: Fanny Hensel's "Musical Salon"'. In: Aisling Kenny and Susan Wollenberg (Eds.) *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied*, Farnham: Ashgate, p. 49.

[370] See Wilhelmy (1989) pp. 146f.

[371] See Wolfgang Dinglinger (2006) 'Sonntagsmusiken bei Abraham und Lea Mendelssohn Bartholdy'. In: Hans-Günter Klein (Ed.) *Die Musikveranstaltungen bei den Mendelssohns – Ein 'musikalischer Salon'?*, Leipzig: Mendelssohn-Haus, pp. 35f. and 45.

[372] See Wilhelmy (1989) pp. 144f.; and Byrne Bodley (2015) p. 54.

[373] Beci (2000) p. 122.

> printed programmes in Beer's house tended towards the same direction. It was a part of Berlin's privately initiated and sponsored (almost) public music life.[374]

In contrast to its literary precursors, the musical salons of the Beer and Mendelssohn families transformed throughout their roughly 20-year-long existence from small private musical gatherings towards a substantial part of Berlin's musical scene, not least because the (Meyer-)Beers and Mendelssohns were equally part of Berlin's public music life. Berlin owed much of its cultural and social, even public life in the early nineteenth century to the salons of prominent Jewish women, literary ones such as Henriette Herz or Rahel Varnhagen,[375] but also musical salons led by Amalie Beer and Lea and Fanny Mendelssohn.[376]

In 1835, Felix Mendelssohn brought these experiences to Leipzig. A diary entry by Schumann from September 1836, cited earlier, pictures 'Mendelssohn narrating quite strangely from Rahel',[377] the memoires of Rahel Varnhagen published by her widower. While it is not clear what exactly Schumann found so strange about this reading, it seems likely that Mendelssohn, who was acquainted with Rahel Varnhagen in his Berlin years, added his personal notes to this narration. Furthermore, other frequent Berlin visitors like Henriette Voigt or Clara Wieck enjoyed similar salon experiences as Mendelssohn when staying in the Prussian capital. This meant that an essential aspect of Jewish culture suddenly influenced the major part of Leipzig's musical life. There was no similar network of Jewish women involved in the city's

[374] Wilhelmy (1989) p. 147.

[375] For a wider contextual recognition of these two salonnières in Jewish culture in particular, see Bilski and Braun (2005) particularly pp. 22-33.

[376] Leon Botstein noted that the sons of these two salons, Giacomo Meyerbeer and Felix Mendelssohn, were 'Wagner's primary victims' in his *Das Judentum in der Musik* article from 1850 – which is further if undeliberate proof of the influence of these particular Jewish salons on German culture in early nineteenth century, which Wagner desperately aimed to negate in his article. See Leon Botstein (2005) 'Music, Femininity, and Jewish Identity: The Tradition and Legacy of the Salon'. In: Emily D. Bilski and Emily Braun (Eds.) *Jewish Women and Their Salons: The Power of Conversation*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, p. 164.

[377] TB II, p. 27.

cultural society as there had been in Berlin, but Voigt's and Wieck's experience of the atmosphere and character of salons in the Prussian capital probably influenced how they ran their own societies in Leipzig. This coincidence of Leipzig women with experience of Jewish salon culture in Berlin and Mendelssohn becoming a frequent guest and focal point of their societies suggests that the Jewish tradition of salon culture in Berlin set an example for Leipzig's musical life. Not least the growing influence of such societies on Leipzig's musical scene and their gradual opening towards the public mirrored the developments of the Berlin salons.

Robert Schumann did not benefit from the contacts and opportunities of a salon hosted by a Jewish salonnière throughout his early years. Therefore, he neither had the same experience of such a set-up as the young Mendelssohn, nor did he abandon his scepticism of salon culture even after he entered the Leipzig societies. The prejudice that 'salon music' was superficially brilliant made Schumann in fact devalue such circles.[378] In his 'Musical House and Life Rules', Schumann noted that 'too much playing in society does more harm than good'.[379] This does not mean that he did not engage with salon music-making. After the rapturous contact to Agnes Carus in Zwickau described in the first chapter (pp. 118f.), in Heidelberg it was Stéphanie, the Grand Duchess of Baden, to whose circle Schumann had to gain access in order to establish himself in the city's musical scene. As he had no means of being introduced to this circle despite having performed for the duchess' salon, Schumann came up with dedicating his piano variations, which were to become his opus primus, to an

[378] Imogen Fellinger argued that in his writings Schumann dealt with the different forms of Salonmusik to an extent larger than any of his contemporaries, meticulously categorising different composers and pieces into different qualities of Salonmusik. See Imogen Fellinger (1967) 'Die Begriffe *Salon* und *Salonmusik* in der Musikanschauung des 19. Jahrhunderts'. In: Carl Dahlhaus (Ed.) *Studien zur Trivialmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, p. 134.

[379] Robert Schumann (1850) 'Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln', *NZfM*, 17 (36), supplement p. 2.

imaginary Countess Pauline of Abegg. He thereby simulated personal contacts to someone who might have been presumed to have been an aristocratic salonnière and her circle. Indeed, Schumann's prank proved successful and the Grand Duchess Stéphanie accepted him in her salon.[380]

Perhaps as a result of his contact with this noble circle, Schumann developed his definition of a worthwhile salon, which he outlined in an article from 1836: 'A world for a salon in which the face of a famous artist occasionally pops up behind a count's shoulder, but not for tea tables where music is played for conversation, but for the most educated circles which show the respect for the artist that his rank demands.'[381] After his experience in Heidelberg, the salon seemed clearly connected to aristocracy ('a count's shoulder'). His characterisation of the role of the arts in the salon, however, is informed by the origins of the German salon tradition out of the idea of *Bildung*, rather than the French tradition of conversation, awarding the music being played in the salons the full attention. In Leipzig, musical salons were not yet established when Schumann returned in 1830. They were also not required by the composer, who at that stage was focussing primarily on his journalistic projects around the *Davidsbund*, and his table company in the *Koffebaum* café. With his increasing musical ambitions in Leipzig, however, the homes of Henriette Voigt and Friedrich Wieck (whose musical events were always centred around his daughter and protégé Clara) were necessary, and they valued the arts to an extent that satisfied Schumann's above description, albeit not involving aristocracy.

Henriette Voigt herself distinguished between three categories of events, 'Kammermusiken' (chamber music), 'Kränzchen', and 'Gesellschaften'.[382]

[380] See Beci (2000) p. 160.
[381] GS I, p. 180.
[382] Her gatherings in Leipzig have only posthumously been labelled as salons since around 1900. See Gerber (2016) p. 17.

Kammermusiken were the most frequent events and solely served the mere purpose of playing chamber music together. The number of attendees of Kammermusiken usually did not exceed the number of performers (between two and five), without or with only a few listeners (often Robert Schumann alone). The Kränzchen consisted of the same core circle of musicians as the Kammermusiken but expanded the audience to the wider circle of acquaintances as well as family members of the performers. The occasions centred around the musical performance but the circle of guests being large enough for socialising and conversing aside, as well as Voigt's catering all resemble the salon culture in Berlin. Furthermore, these gatherings followed a regular routine, usually happening once a week on a fixed weekday – in Voigt's case on Friday evenings. Her Gesellschaften, then, comprised a similar setting like the Kränzchen, often with an even larger audience, but were only organised for special occasions and the guests were specifically invited. Gerber counted 34 such musical Gesellschaften at Voigt's between 1835 and 1837,[383] whereas the actual number of Kränzchen or Kammermusiken can hardly be determined either due to invitations not being issued (due to the regularity of Kränzchen) or being arranged in person without much documentation (such as the Kammermusiken).

Just like salons in Berlin, Voigt's circle of her Kränzchen and Gesellschaften was limited in numbers in order 'to preserve the familiar atmosphere, the conversational situation, the main element of a perfect salon', as Beci described the 'female, art-filled, small world' of the salon that had to be protected against the outer, real world.[384] In order to gain access to the circle of a salonnière, one either had to be introduced to the salon by the hostess herself or members of the closest circle, or to

[383] See Ibid., p. 76.
[384] Beci (2000) p. 119.

provide a reference letter, potentially by a renowned composer or another salonnière (see Schumann's imaginary Countess de Abegg). Schumann himself joined this game in Leipzig, being introduced to Voigt's home through the Carus couple and shortly after, offering to propose Ludwig Schunke to Voigt. A letter by Felix Mendelssohn to Voigt exemplifies this practice, politely asking if he could bring a friend who was passing through town:

> May I have the freedom, if it does not cause any inconvenience, to introduce to you a young man from the Rhine, who loves and eagerly practices the arts, and who would much appreciate listening to something good here, at your musical event tomorrow evening? His name is Lenz; as he just arrived yesterday, I would like to give him a good impression of the Leipzig music scene.[385]

While Mendelssohn's letter is a hybrid of a personal introduction and a reference letter to Voigt's circle, the Schumanns also benefitted from their Leipzig contacts through recommendations when they were touring in Europe.[386]

In Voigt's home, Schumann also experienced the novelty of informal and free sociability that lacked structured and organised activities but as a result fostered a tolerant and spontaneous atmosphere. The only structure to Voigt's salon was its regular Friday 'Kränzchen', in collaboration with the councillor and co-founder of Leipzig's *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, Friedrich Rochlitz, to whom Henriette Voigt was introduced in the early 1830s by the cellist Groß (who also recommended David in letters to Friedrich Wieck and Henriette Voigt – a familiar pattern, see the paragraph on salon recommendations above).[387] In Rochlitz's home, the 'Kränzchen' would engage with classical literature, while Voigt's home catered for the musical evenings, alternating weekly. This collaboration demonstrates Voigt's standing in

[385] 'Dürft ich mir die Freiheit nehmen, und würden Sie mir ohne Gêne erlauben können, morgen Abend zu Ihrer Musik einen jungen Mann vom Rhein, der die Kunst sehr liebt und eifrig treibt, und dem viel daran liegt, hier etwas Gutes zu hören, bei Ihnen einzuführen? Sein Name ist Lenz; da er erst gestern hier angekommen ist, so möchte ich ihm gern einen hübschen Begriff vom Leipziger Musikwesen beibringen.' Jansen, p. 127 .

[386] See, for example, Beci (2000) pp. 148f. and 156f.

[387] See Gentschel (1909) p. 393.

Leipzig's cultural scene. Rochlitz's confidence that Voigt would complement his literary meetings was an honour for the young salonnière, especially given that Rochlitz was nearly four decades older than Voigt and a 'worldly wise friend of Goethe and Beethoven', according to Gentschel.[388] However, despite literary topics being the initial focus of German salons, this collaboration suggests that Voigt's and Rochlitz's Kränzchen can equally, possibly even more strongly, be associated with the 'Lesegesellschaften', the reading or literary societies of eighteenth-century Germany (see pp. 33f.). The regularity and the structured syllabus of their musical and literary studies adhere to the 'function of mutual cultural education' of the older 'Lesegesellschaften' that were 'pursuing enlightened educational [Bildung] ideas', as Gerber acknowledged.[389] These ideas probably appealed to Schumann as they were familiar from his earlier circles and, to some extent, continued the approach of his *Litterarische Verein*, while opposing the focus in Parisian salon gatherings on sociability and conversation rather than education.

The German musical salon thereby cast off some of its French associations with lightness and social disregard and became instead a decisive matter for the cultivation of musical and cultural life. In this light, it does not appear surprising that Beci discovered in several short remarks and letters by musicians 'how carefully they prepared themselves for a visit in a salon. This is less curious and banal than it appears at a first glance.'[390] Musicians cared a great deal about their reception and involvement in private circles of influential salonnières. Composers in Leipzig did not underestimate the impact of local salon life and many of them, such as the Lieder composer Robert Franz, indeed preferred 'the support of a socially well-established

[388] Ibid.
[389] Gerber (2016) p. 195.
[390] Beci (2000) p. 162.

private person like Livia Frege… over the promotion by an official institution such as the directors' board of the Gewandhaus'.[391] The possibility for composers and performers to make themselves and their works known within such an intimate environment, like a mock public of a certain city, before presenting it to a larger audience – Habermas called this 'monopoly of first publication' of the salon[392] – was an invaluable asset for musicians in cities like Leipzig. Through their presence and performances in such small circles, musicians could actively take part in the development of musical taste of their supporters and audience, as, according to Gerber, 'private music making shaped the musical horizon of experience of the society much more effectively than attending individual concerts'.[393] It is only due to the poor reception and missing scholarly attention that such private gatherings are usually underestimated in their contribution to music history.

The influence within these circles was reciprocal and society equally took part in the progress of a musician's development through direct involvement in performances and conversation about them, supported by the repeal of any social or class differences between musicians and other guests within these circles. Gerber confirmed that 'through the proximity of composers, performers, and recipients, a close network of reciprocal exertion of influence arose, which effected the artistic cycle of production, distribution, and reception'.[394] Thereby, the salon or a musical society provided the artist with manifold ways of support, such as reviews, promotions, and contacts.

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[391] Gerber (2016) p. 237.

[392] Jürgen Habermas (1991) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, transl. by Thomas Bürger and Larry Kert, Cambridge (MA): Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, p. 34.

[393] Gerber (2016) p. 201.

[394] Ibid., pp. 293f.

The situation around Henriette Voigt's Leipzig societies and Felix Mendelssohn's Berlin background are, despite my various references to broader traits in German salon culture, unique to the situation in Leipzig that the Schumanns found themselves in. Each salon, or circle, or society, around that time in Germany established their own conventions rather than followed normative or generic ones. I therefore consider the comparison of Voigt's venture with further and more general ground rules for salon culture limited to the extent outlined above. The background of German salon culture and the benefits of Voigt's unique contribution to Leipzig's music scene helps the understanding of the Schumanns' private music making and socialising within its cultural conditions. The time of intense social and musical activities in Robert Schumann's life, as described in this thesis, coincided with the wider social and cultural phenomenon of the salon which blossomed at the same time in Leipzig, not least through Voigt's and Mendelssohn's presence.[395] After this triumvirate had left the city in the mid 1840s, Leipzig's cultural life changed towards larger and more public events such as in Livia Frege's salon.[396] Hence, Schumann's involvement in Leipzig salon culture was neither too early nor too late but exactly fitting to facilitate and, to a large extent, enable him to find the right context and conditions for his compositions of the chamber music year.

[395] In the two cities the Schumann couple moved to after their time in Leipzig, Robert Schumann found other fields of combining social interaction with artistic inspiration, though outside of the chamber music realm: in Dresden, he was involved with choral music groups for whom he composed and socialised with (such as the Dresdner Liedertafel and especially the Dresdner Chorverein); and in Düsseldorf, he joined a social group of visual artists (the 'Malerkreis' around Wilhelm von Schadow, and before that his contact to Lida and Eduard Bendemann in Dresden). For further reading, see Thomas Synofzik (2006) 'Weltliche a capella-Chormusik'. In: Handbuch, pp. 465-469; and Bettina Baumgärtel (2006) 'Robert Schumann und die Bildende Kunst'. In: Handbuch, pp. 82-106.

[396] See Gerber (2016) p. 199.

Clara Wieck's Chamber Music Background

When Clara and Robert Schumann found their first shared home in the Inselstraße in 1840 and started to host chamber music events or attended such elsewhere together, their previous experiences with such events did not differ significantly.[397] From the age of nine, Clara Wieck had taken part in gatherings of her father's circle of musicians and musical connoisseurs. She had thereby experienced convivial chamber music playing by some of the most distinguished musical figures of the time. Friedrich Wieck's friend and biographer Anna von Meichsner remembered that

> Wieck's home was always the gathering place for local and visiting musicians and friends of music. Every composer and virtuoso who came to Leipzig found that the morning or evening gatherings there offered the best opportunity to play and to hear new things… The soul of the entire proceedings was Father Wieck, who, when he was in a good mood, sparkled with humour.[398]

Similar to Robert Schumann's experiences in Zwickau in his early years, Clara Wieck's fondest memories of music making in her own home were the instances of ensemble playing, either four-hands at the piano or in a chamber ensemble.

The young Clara Wieck, therefore, appreciated David and Mendelssohn coming to enrich Leipzig's chamber music scene in 1835. Their first musical encounter happened just before Christmas 1835, when David and the cellist Andreas Grabau came to Wieck's to play piano trios with Clara.[399] Her positive impression of David was reinforced in their second meeting on Boxing Day 1835, as Clara noted in her diary:

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[397] In this section I cover Clara Wieck's chamber music making in Leipzig. For her chamber performances while touring, see for example, David Ferris (2003) 'Public Performance and Private Understanding: Clara Wieck's Concerts in Berlin', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2), pp. 351-408.

[398] 'Wieck's Haus war immer noch der Sammelplatz von einheimischen wie fremden Musikern und Musikfreunden. Jeder Componist und Virtuos, der nach Leipzig kam, fand dort in Vormittags- oder Abendunterhaltungen die beste Gelegenheit, sich hören zu lassen und selbst neues zu hören. … Die Seele des Ganzen war aber Vater Wieck, der, wenn er guter Laune war, vor Humor übersprudelte.' Anna von Meichsner (1875) *Friedrich Wieck und seine beiden Töchter Clara Schumann, geb. Wieck, u. Marie Wieck*, Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes, p. 69.

[399] See Jugendtagebücher, p. 203.

> We hosted a society in which I played the Sonata op. 47 by Beethoven and a duo by Herz and Lafont with Herr David. He played the sonata uniquely beautifully, and, I have to admit, more beautiful than Lipinski. He also played his solo variations. I played 3 movements from the Sonata by Schumann [op. 11], who, in his temperament, did not come to ours despite him having promised it. – After the dinner there was lively dancing, and my father led the dances and games with juvenile passion and fire.[400]

While it seems apparent from its formal tone and praise of Friedrich Wieck's character that this diary entry, like many others, was probably written by Clara Wieck's father, the artistic judgement of David's chamber music playing agrees with other reports on Clara's mutual performances with David from that time. Furthermore, David seemed to be admitted to joining other social activities like dancing and dining as soon as he began being Clara Wieck's chamber music partner – a social context that apparently Robert Schumann was also part of, and his absence was noted negatively.

Mendelssohn also joined social and musical activities in Wieck's house with pleasure, and Clara quickly developed an admiration for his piano playing.[401] As an example of the spontaneous and informal chamber music making by Clara with these two important musical figures, she (or her father) reported of them playing the Kreutzer Sonata in January 1836: 'Amongst others, I played 2 movements from the Sonata op. 47 by Beethoven with David. Mendelssohn took over for the 3rd movement and played it with his, to us well-known, mastery.'[402] Just a few months later, both men made their acquaintances with Voigt's circle and, therefore, became less frequent guest's at Wieck's home. At that time, one of the rare occasions occurred where both

[400] 'D. 26ten [Dec 1835] als den 2ten Weihnachtsfeiertag, hatten wir Gesellschaft, wo ich mit Herrn David die Sonate Op. 47 von Beethoven und ein Duo von Herz und Lafont spielte. Die Sonate spielte er unvergleichlich schön, und ich muß gestehen, schöner als Lipinski. Auch spielte er Solo Variationen von sich. Ich spielte 3 Sätze aus der Sonate von Schumann [op. 11], welcher Launenhafter Weise den Abend nicht zu uns kam obgleich er es versprochen. – Nach Tisch wurde sehr flott getanzt, und der Vater führte die Tänze und Spiele mit jugendlicher Leidenschaft und Feuer an.' Jugendtagebücher, p. 204.

[401] For Clara Wieck's relationship with Mendelssohn specifically, see Nancy B. Reich (2013) *Clara Schumann. The Artist and the Woman*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 203-206.

[402] Jugendtagebücher, p. 205.

these musical hosts, Friedrich Wieck and Henriette Voigt, came together for a musical evening at Wieck's:

> At the 19th [April 1836] we had a bit of music in the evening. I played the most recent Trio by Pixis and the Trio by Chopin with David and Graubau [sic]. Madam Voigt played the B-minor Quartet by Mendelssohn, in which M. himself played the viola. – Coincidentally, Dr Franke from Breslau arrived here [in Leipzig] and joined the music.[403]

There are several examples in this diary entry which characterise the atmosphere and nature of such gatherings and how Clara Wieck perceived them. The common phrase 'a bit of music' or 'a little music' signals the informal and casual nature of these regular events, making them less extraordinary but integral part of their weekly schedule. This is reinforced by the accidental visit of a Dr Franke, who was welcome to attend this musical event. Secondly, as mentioned in connection to Voigt's home, the performance of works composed by participants of such meetings, particularly by Mendelssohn, often featured as the main acts, and Mendelssohn did not consider himself above letting Henriette Voigt or Clara Wieck play the piano part, with him joining on the viola. Third, the repertoire beside Mendelssohn's own works usually consisted of recent chamber music works by similarly important contemporary composers such as Frederik Chopin and Johann Peter Pixis. For such works, Clara's trio with David and the Gewandhaus cellist Andreas Grabau, who retired a year later in order to focus solely on promoting and performing chamber music, soon became an established ensemble.[404]

When the centre of musical activities around Schumann's departure to Vienna in 1838 shifted towards the homes of the musicians themselves, Clara Wieck was

[403] 'D. 19 [April 1836] hatten wir Abends ein wenig Musik. Ich spielte mit David und Graubau das neueste Trio von Pixis und das Trio von Chopin. Madam Voigt spielte das H moll Quartett von Mendelssohn, worin M. selbst die Bratsche spielte. – Zufällig war auch der D. Franke aus Breslau hier angekommen und wohnte der Musik bei.' Jugendtagebücher, p. 222.

[404] See Jugendtagebücher, pp. 223; 235; 250; 259; 304. Clara Wieck misspelled Andreas Grabau's name as 'Graubau' in most of these diary entries.

usually invited. In her diary of 1838 one can see that this circle of musicians was well established and familiar by then, and they fostered a relaxed atmosphere in the events in which new chamber music works were tried out and rehearsed. In an example of such a meeting in her diary, the 19-year-old Clara Wieck proved a more refined critical understanding of the works being played, even of Mendelssohn's own chamber music creations – but more importantly, this account gives an impression of the conviviality between these musicians in 1838:

> In the morning 'Matinée musicale' at David's. New Quartet by Mendelssohn, beautifully worked out, however, not rich in novelties but in common phrases used by him before. The beautiful Adagio – Trio by Weber for piano, flute, and cello: Mendelssohn plays as beautifully, masterly as always. I played a Quartet in F minor by Prince Louis of Prussia: quite nice as a dilettante composition, lots of lyrical thoughts, but no actual development of those. Mendelssohn played the viola. He made fun of me when I, unexpectedly, had to bring a large number of notes on one quaver beat in the Adagio, and my fingers had to surpass each other in speed.[405]

While the works played in this matinee helped to sharpen Clara Wieck's judgement of chamber music composition and performances, the anecdote at the end of this account indicates the friendly and joking contact between these musicians. Mendelssohn and Clara Wieck, furthermore, also shared their passion for new keyboard instruments: Mendelssohn and his wife came to visit the Wiecks in August 1838, to assess Clara's new Graff grand piano while, in return, Clara Wieck tried out Mendelssohn's new English-made piano in December.[406] And despite Clara's persistent criticism of Mendelssohn's lack of originality in his chamber music works,[407] she was full of the

[405] 'Vormittag Matinée musicale bei David. Neues Quartett von Mendelssohn, schön gearbeitet, jedoch nicht reich an Neuem, sondern, schon von Ihm selbst, oft Angebrachtes. Das Adagio schön – Trio von Weber für Klavier, Flöte und Cello: Mendelssohn spielte wie immer schön, meisterhaft. Ich spielte Quartet F moll von Prinz Louis von Preussen: als Dilletantencomposition sehr hübsch, viel schwärmerische Gedanken, nur keine rechte Behandlung derselben. Mendelssohn spielte die Bratsche. Er machte sich lustig über mich, als ich im Adagio ganz unvorhergesehen noch eine große Anzahl von Noten auf ein Achtel bringen mußte, und meine Finger einander an Schnelligkeit überboten.' Jugendtagebücher, p. 305.

[406] See Jugendtagebücher, pp. 300 and 308.

[407] See her review of Mendelssohn's Cello Sonata, played by him and Grabau on 14 October 1838. Jugendtagebücher, p. 304.

highest praise for his performance style. After hearing a concert by the piano virtuoso Sigismond Thalberg she admitted that Thalberg 'is great as a pianist, but above everyone is – Mendelssohn'.[408] Thus the frustration in May 1840, when Clara complained: 'Mendelssohn organised some morning music today, and he did not invite me – I simply cannot forgive him! What pleasure he would have given me! He played his Trio again (I'd have loved to hear it a second time)… I cannot get over it at all yet!'[409] But only a day later, her diary tells of a visit to Mendelssohn's, so these wounds seem to have healed quickly.

Clara Wieck's diaries between 1835 and 1840 do not account for many instances when she and Robert Schumann attended such chamber music events together – simply because the diary was monitored by her father who disapproved of and eventually forbade their developing relationship. In many of these gatherings, they met and shared the same experience of chamber music performances. Reporting on the developments in 1838 when most of the chamber music events started to happen in the performers' own places, Clara wrote in one of her secret letters to Robert in Vienna:

> Every Sunday we now have some music, sometimes at Mendelssohn's, then at David's, then at ours etc. It is played whatever everyone brings with them; this Sunday I will play the F-minor Trio by Prince Louis at David's… I am playing very badly these days, quite without control and so insecure, this is terrible, I am feeling it but can't change a thing.[410]

Not only was Clara Wieck self-aware and, moreover, self-critical of her piano playing and honest about it to her fiancé, she also found it worth writing about her activities within this musical circle to Robert and about the changes that this circle underwent

[408] Jugendtagebücher, p. 311.
[409] Jugendtagebücher, p. 380.
[410] 'Alle Sonntage haben wir jetzt Musik, einmal bei Mendelssohn, dann bei David, bei uns etc. Da wird gespielt was jeder mitbringt; nächsten Sonntag spiel ich bei David das Trio F-Moll von Prinz Louis. Neulich war auch Verhulst bei uns und brachte ein eben componirtes Andante aus seinem neuen Quartett mit, was mir außerordentlich gefiel und von vielem Talent zeugte. Ich spiele jetzt sehr schlecht, so mit wenig Beherrschung und so unsicher, das ist schrecklich, ich fühle es und kann es doch nicht ändern.' Clara Wieck, letter to Robert Schumann, 21 October 1838 from Leipzig. In: Litzmann I, p. 245.

since his departure. When he returned to Leipzig in spring 1839, he had not only been kept up to date by Clara with the process of this circle and their musical activities, but he also found his fiancée to have become an independent, accepted, and active member of this circle.

Robert and Clara Schumann and the Inselstraße as Musical Home

> Allow me to send you greetings and to present myself as a young married woman. Yes, we have finally achieved our greatest desire and enjoy great happiness. We love each other more every day and live only for each other… We have so many musical pleasures now that our life is truly blissful. Moscheles was here last week and was honoured by Mendelssohn in the Gewandhaus and by David, Kistner, etc., and we gave soirées in our homes. It was a frantic time – something different every day. Now he has gone and we are awaiting Ole Bull, about whom I am very curious. He is an artist about whom many different opinions prevail. Our Gewandhaus concerts have begun and have already given us two wonderful symphonies of Beethoven – the Eroica and the Fourth. Today there will be a Mozart symphony. In the soirée Mendelssohn gave to honour Moscheles, the Bach Triple Concerto was one of the works performed – played by Mendelssohn, Moscheles, and me.[411]

Evidently proud of her achievements, Clara Schumann wrote this letter to her Berlin friend Dr Keferstein in October 1840, announcing her marriage with Robert Schumann, which had finally taken place on 12 September. Combined with the early bliss of their marriage, Clara Schumann seems full of enthusiasm about their first musical evenings organised together in their new home in the Inselstraße. In this letter, she demonstrated that she and Robert had now established themselves as members of Leipzig's top musical class, hosting private soirées at their home as well as participating in Gewandhaus concerts with many of Germany's leading musicians. Equally full of praise of their new role as a couple within Leipzig's musical sphere was her husband Robert, writing in their newly begun marriage diaries in October 1840:

[411] Clara Schumann, letter to Dr Adolph Keferstein, 22 October 1840 from Leipzig. In: Reich (2013) p. 85.

> Last Sunday [Clara] performed the C-major Sonata by Beethoven in a way I've never heard it before; and for Moscheles a few of the Kreisler pieces, and on Thursday evening [she played] the trios by Moscheles and Mendelssohn in a soirée hosted by us… Thursday evening has to be marked in red. »First Soirée at Mad. Schumann's« – Klara looked very pretty in her bonnet. Around 20 guests, among them a prince. Klara played the trios, which I mentioned before.[412]

At this point in their married life, Robert Schumann admitted the pride he felt at his wife hosting and playing in their first soirée in the Inselstraße, which happened to be a large social event. Especially since Henriette Voigt's death the previous year and Friedrich Wieck not involved in Clara's career anymore, the new couple risked being overwhelmed by their central role in organising and performing in domestic musical events. In a letter to David from July 1840, Robert Schumann had to ask to reschedule an agreed musical meeting because of Clara's double booking:

> Dear David, at the agreement two days ago Klara forgot a previous invitation she accepted for tomorrow afternoon, and she kindly asks to determine another day this week (ideally from Wednesday). Do let me know a short response, possibly immediately. I would love to hear Mendelssohn's Trio, and maybe the second one in B flat by Schubert.[413]

The fact that Robert Schumann had to iron out his fiancée's schedule and that Clara was losing the overview of her invitations illustrates the busy time shortly before and after their wedding. Eventually, Robert Schumann heard both of the chamber music works he requested in his letter to David, as well as Beethoven's D-major Piano Trio, in a performance by David, cellist Wittmann, and Clara Wieck on the suggested Wednesday, 29 July 1840.[414] Even though it was such a spontaneously (re-)arranged

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[412] 'So spielte sie [Clara] vorigen Sonntag früh die C Dur Sonate von Beethoven, wie ich es noch nicht gehört; so vor Moscheles einige der Kreislerstücke, u. Donnerstag Abend in einer Soirée, die wir gaben, die Trio's von Moscheles und Mendelssohn... Donnerstag Abend muß roth angestrichen werden. »Erste Soiree bei Mad. Schumann« - Klara sah ganz fein in ihrem Häubchen. An 20 Gäste, auch ein Fürst. Klara spielte die Trio's, die ich vorher nannte.' TB II, pp. 112f.

[413] 'Lieber David, Klara hatte bei der vorgestrigen Verabredung eine ältere Einladung vergeßen, die sie zu Morgen Nachmittag angenommen hatte, und läßt Sie freundlich bitten, einen andern Tag in der Woche (am liebsten von Mittwoch an) zu bestimmen. Lassen Sie mir womöglich gleich umgehend eine kleine Antwort sagen. Ich möchte so gern Mendelssohn's Trio, und vielleicht das zweite in B von Schubert einmal hören.' Robert Schumann, letter to Ferdinand David, 26 July 1840 from Leipzig. In: SB II/20, p. 236.

[414] See TB III, p. 157.

meeting and obviously of less importance than the other invitation that Clara could not turn down, she later noted in her diary: 'It was such a pleasure – a wonderful musical afternoon. I believe it should happen again soon!'[415]

Similar instances are traceable throughout the following four years until the Schumanns' move to Dresden at the end of 1844. Even in the autumn of that year, Robert Schumann's letters to David had not changed a bit, neither in content nor tone:

> Dear David, if you don't mind, my wife wants me to ask you to come to ours on Wednesday noon rather than tomorrow. Maybe we will manage to play our trio beforehand; we will be home the entire morning. We hope to find you at Frege's tomorrow evening and to discuss the details about Wednesday.[416]

Again, David agreed to the change of plan proposed by the Schumanns, and the musical visit happened on Wednesday, 7 August 1844.[417] The networking and arranging of chamber music rehearsals and performances and the buzzing social life and interactions among Leipzig's music circle are apparent in this letter. Schumann planned to use another musical gathering at the soprano Livia Frege's home to talk through their following musical plans with David and then inviting him for a rehearsal or sight-reading of trios prior to the event the Schumanns were planning to organise.

It was not only the Schumanns who were receiving favours from their friends, as the two above letters to David suggest; equally, they agreed to help their close circle with musical and non-musical favours. In their marriage diaries, Clara Schumann wrote about an evening at Auguste Harkort's in January 1841: 'There was no lack of artists; Mendelssohn, David, Ole Bull amongst others were there. I planned not to play, at least not Mendelssohn's Trio which I wasn't prepared for at all. Despite that, it

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[415] Jugendtagebücher, p. 388.

[416] 'Lieber David, Verschlägt es Dir nichts, so läßt Dich meine Frau bitten, statt Morgen lieber Mittwoch Mittag zu uns zu kommen. Vielleicht können wir vorher unser Trio spielen; wir sind den ganzen Vormittag zu Hause. Morgen Abend hoffen wir Dich bei Frege's zu finden und das genauere wegen Mittwoch zu besprechen.' Robert Schumann, letter to Ferdinand David, 5 August 1844 from Leipzig. In: SB II/20, p. 278.

[417] See TB III/1, p. 369.

worked out better than I would have thought, and Mendelssohn, who persuaded me into it through a lot of begging, seemed to be pleased.'[418] This report not only shows Mendelssohn's appreciation of Clara Schumann's capabilities as well as her sight-reading skills, but signals that many of the spontaneous musical events of this circle depended on the good-will and flexibility of musicians like her, who were not intimidated or embarrassed to perform one of Mendelssohn's chamber music works in his presence without preparation. Just a month earlier, Mendelssohn sent a letter with a similar request to Robert, asking kindly for their participation in a musical gathering at his home: 'Dear Schumann, just now Ole Bull, who returned from Halle, accepted to come this evening. So we will stick to it, that we will have the pleasure of seeing yourself and your wife at ours, for a lot of music and buttered bread.'[419] Nutritious incentives such as buttered bread seemed to be part of their private musical activities. In September 1845, almost a year after the Schumanns left Leipzig for Dresden, Robert Schumann ended a letter to Mendelssohn with some nostalgia: 'Best wishes to you and David and Gade; please remember mine occasionally at Härtel's soirées and with pineapple punch'[420] (Figure 30). By remembering this peculiar punch as well as the

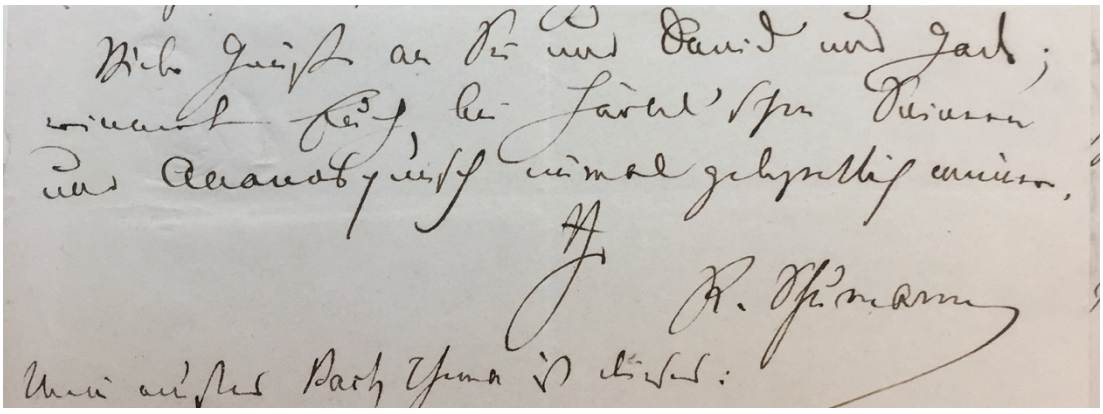


Figure 30 Robert Schumann, letter to Felix Mendelssohn, 24 September 1845 from Dresden. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS M Deneke Mendelssohn c 34, No. 141

[418] TB II, p. 140.

[419] Felix Mendelssohn, letter to Robert Schumann, 4 December 1840 from Leipzig. In: SB II/1, pp. 168f.

[420] Robert Schumann, letter to Felix Mendelssohn, 24 September 1845 from Dresden. In: SB II/1, p. 229.

soirées, Robert Schumann considered these gatherings to be more than just musical events.

A good illustration of the connections of chamber music making with personal interaction and relationships are the birthday parties organised by Robert Schumann for his wife. In 1843, he noted in the marriage diary: 'We celebrated the 13th [September] quite pleasantly, Klara's 24th birthday. Two children already? They came to the bed in the morning with floral wreaths. Later that day, Mendelssohn, David, Hauptmann, and, by chance, Heinrich Dorn. We played quite a bit of music.'[421] Besides the usual visitors, the Schumanns also welcomed unexpected guests, such as the composer and Robert's onetime teacher Heinrich Dorn. In a later letter to Schumann's biographer Wasielewski, Dorn described the events for these birthday festivities in more detail: 'When I saw [Schumann] in Leipzig again in the year [18]43, at his wife's birthday, there was music being played in the morning (Mendelssohn brought her his *Frühlingslied*), David played quartets – we barely had time to exchange a few words, there were always new well-wishers coming.'[422] The social and musical range of this birthday party included visitors like Dorn who just came by to pass on his congratulations, musical gifts such as Mendelssohn's *Frühlingslied*, and music being played at the party like David's quartet performance – all this happened at the same time without Schumann or Dorn giving it much consideration. Such seamless transition between social and musical activities seems to have been the norm at domestic events in Leipzig in the Schumanns' time.[423]

[421] TB II, p. 271.

[422] Heinrich Dorn, letter to Wilhelm von Wasielewski, 7 September 1856 from Berlin. In: Eismann I, p. 74.

[423] While nearly all events which included playing music in this context seem to intermingle musical and social activities, there were, of course, many social events and gatherings which music making was not a part of. Hence, the above statement relates mainly to the former kind of gatherings including both musical and social interaction.

Not all of the leading Gewandhaus musicians, however, gained entrance to this close circle. The violinist Uhlrich, for instance, of whom Henriette Voigt became so fond in 1835, was a frequent member of her chamber music events and even participated as first violinist in some of Robert Schumann's 'Quartettmorgen' in 1838/39.[424] However, despite his musical skills and connections as a Gewandhaus musician to Mendelssohn and David as well as to Schumann, Uhlrich does not feature regularly in either Clara or Robert Schumann's diaries and letters, and he was rarely a guest at chamber music events organised by anyone other than the Voigts. About one of the evenings at Carl Voigt's home in July 1840, Clara wrote quite judgementally in her diary: 'In the evening playing at Voigt's – Robert and I were actually too weary to listen to such music. Ullrich [sic] played quite well – his playing is more liberal than his lifestyle.'[425] It seems more down to his character than his performances that Uhlrich did not participate in many musical gatherings other than Voigt's. Personal relationships, thus, were an equally important criteria within Schumann's Leipzig circle as participants' musical capabilities.

In summary, from being a guest at Friedrich Wieck's or Henriette Voigt's musical societies and hosting small and exclusive musical gatherings himself, Robert Schumann and his wife became central protagonists in Leipzig's musical circle in the early 1840s. Despite having to arrange their new home, fulfilling childcare duties, and sorting out their professional lives as an artist couple, the Schumanns found enough time to maintain their friendships and to attend and organise domestic chamber music meetings. It is therefore difficult to differentiate between musical and merely social or conversational meetings and events. My examinations of Robert and Clara

[424] See Erler (1887) vol. 1, p. 165.
[425] Jugendtagebücher, p. 388.

Schumann's private chamber music making demonstrate that for them, there was no real distinction of their social and their chamber music circles, and that their closest friendships of that time were also their most regular musical partners and guests. However, in addition to these many occasions of music making with friends, the Gewandhaus musicians like Mendelssohn and David equally had to fulfil their public duties of concerts in and around the Gewandhaus. In the following section, I juxtapose and complement the study of the Schumanns' private chamber music making with their participation and involvement in public performances in Leipzig.

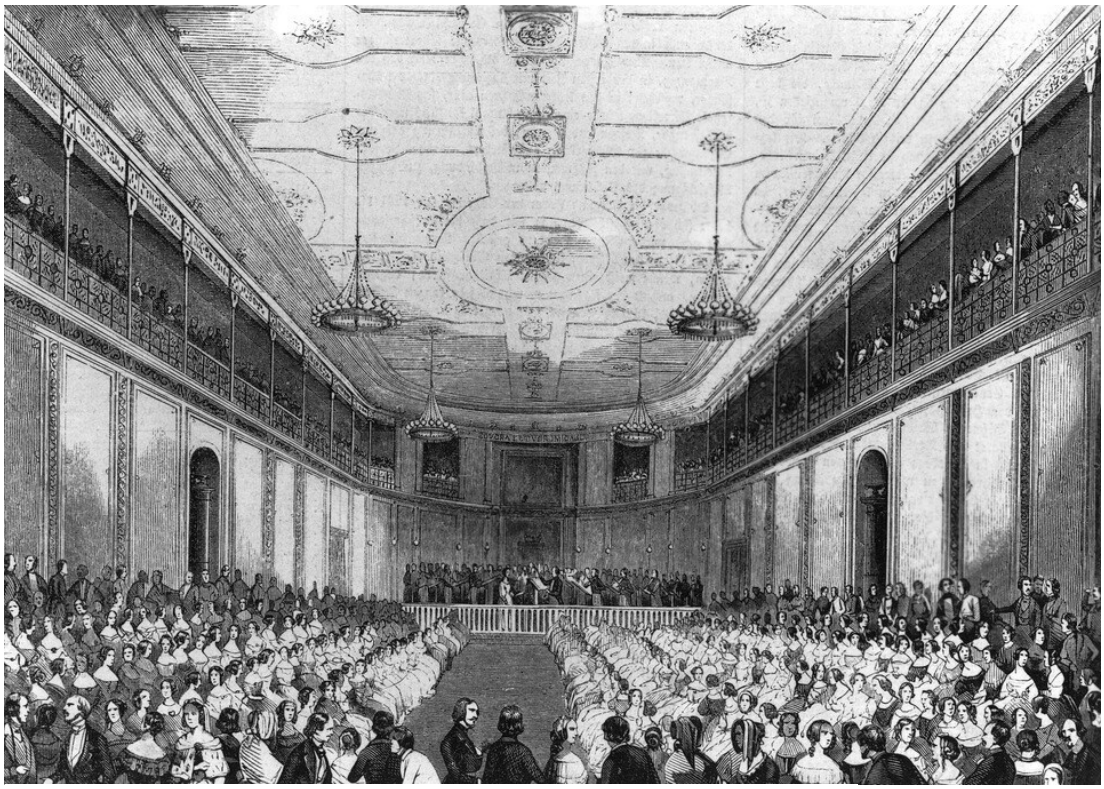


Figure 31 Hall of the old Gewandhaus in Leipzig, around 1840 (anon.)

The Schumanns and the Gewandhausquartett in Leipzig's Public Musical Life

In late July 1831, at the beginning of his second and main Leipzig period, Robert Schumann had listed a collection of 'contemporaries, of my acquaintance' in his diary: Kalliwoda, Kalkbrenner, Pixis, Lyser, and Mendelssohn are mentioned first, and then

recent acquaintances: Ortlepp, Pohlenz, Müller, Matthäi, Queisser (all from Leipzig), Fritz Kummer, Grabau, and Reißiger from Dresden.[426] While the former were mostly members of the *Koffebaum* circle or musicians from other cities (including Mendelssohn at the time), the latter ones from Leipzig were (bar the poet Ortlepp) exclusively members of the Gewandhaus orchestra, as was Andreas Grabau whom Schumann located in Dresden. Among those, August Pohlenz was the director and Heinrich August Matthäi the leader of the Gewandhaus orchestra, with the others, namely Christian Gottlieb Müller (violin), Karl Traugott Queisser (viola and trombone), and Andreas Grabau (cello), all being chamber musicians (i.e. section leaders) of the Gewandhaus orchestra. Having made his acquaintances with these leading figures of the Gewandhaus orchestra early on, Schumann was equally familiar with Matthäi's chamber ensemble, the Gewandhausquartett.

The violinist Matthäi was not only Ferdinand David's predecessor as leader of the Gewandhaus orchestra, but was also founder of the Gewandhausquartett, which first appeared in February 1807 with a performance of Anton Reicha's Quintet Concerto for glass harmonica.[427] While this was probably a rather spontaneous formation of a string quartet in favour of the special performance occasion of this rather unusual piece, two years later, in autumn 1809, the Gewandhausquartett commenced its first series of regular public performances. Matthäi and his colleagues established a now more than two-hundred-year long history of chamber music tradition at the Gewandhaus – all of which can be looked up in Claudius Böhm's comprehensive empirical survey of the Gewandhausquartett.[428] The initial cast of this ensemble in 1809 comprised the two leaders of the Gewandhaus orchestra, Matthäi and Bartolomeo

[426] See TB I, pp. 366f.
[427] See Böhm (2008) p. 18.
[428] See Ibid.

Campagnoli, as first and second violinists respectively, Georg Hermann Voigt at the viola, and the cellist Friedrich Dotzauer. In the 25 years between its foundation and Mendelssohn and David's takeover of the direction of the orchestra, this quartet had established a respected tradition of chamber music recitals, which happened outside of the main Gewandhaus concert hall and stood under the organisational but also financial responsibility of its leader Matthäi. When David arrived in Leipzig in the mid 1830s, the by then famous quartet ensemble he encountered was manned by the late Matthäi, Carl August Lange as second violinist, the aforementioned Queisser on the viola, and the young cellist Friedrich Wilhelm Grenser.[429]

Given this tradition of chamber music at the Gewandhaus and David's own background as long-serving leader of Baron Liphardt's quartet in Dorpat (now in Estonia), it is not surprising that David chose to first perform three quartet evenings on his arrival in Leipzig in autumn 1835, when he had to make himself known to the local audience and musicians before being appointed as leader of the orchestra. Clara Wieck also recalled that upon his arrival, David 'intends to give several quartet entertainments in January [1836]'.[430] His quartet partners were, besides the violist Queisser, the aforementioned Carl Uhlrich and Johann Andreas Grabau. When David became leader of the Gewandhausquartett, succeeding the deceased Matthäi, he took on Uhlrich as the second violin and Grabau on the cello as permanent members of the quartet. Grabau eventually retired just a year later from the quartet and Grenser was reinstated as cellist of the quartet.

With this ensemble, David immediately introduced a subscription series which was received with huge interest by the public, and some of their recitals had to be

[429] See Ibid., p. 34.
[430] Jugendtagebücher, p. 203.



Figure 32 Drawing 'Leipziger Gewandhausorchester' by Christian Reimers, 1850. Sammlung Musikgeschichte Max-Reger-Archiv der Meininger Museen, Druck 145; showing the orchestra's cello section with Wittmann, Grabau, and Grenser

repeated for larger audiences. Thereby, David quickly placed the Gewandhausquartett at the centre of the Leipzig music scene. During the 1839/40 season, this ensemble became even more institutionalised when the concert direction of the Gewandhaus took over the management of the quartet performances from David and awarded them the title of 'Musikalischen Abendunterhaltungen' ('Musical evening entertainments').[431] In David's era of institutionalised chamber music at the Gewandhaus, all of the official quartet evenings took place in the concert hall, were subscription based, came with programme notes for each concerts, and often included distinguished guest musicians, such as Mendelssohn, Ole Bull, Ignaz Moscheles, Nils Gade, Ferdinand Hiller, and Clara Schumann.

Especially through the contributions by Mendelssohn, the repertoire of these evening entertainments was expanded towards the wider genre of chamber music, as the Gewandhaus chronicler Alfred Dörffel in his centenary history of the Gewandhaus concerts from 1884 described:

> Mendelssohn participated in those [musical evening entertainments] very enthusiastically, and it is due to him that since this time the chamber music works

[431] See Böhm (2008) p. 48; and Dörffel (1884) vol. 1, p. 93.

> for piano, besides the ones for strings, were performed for the audience in support of the even larger benefit for their musical education; amongst others, these were the grand Trio in B flat major and the Kreutzer Sonata by Beethoven, the recently composed Trio in D minor by Mendelssohn, [etc].[432]

This change of repertoire and collaborations with pianists fall together with one further significant change of the line-up of the Gewandhausquartett in January 1840: Moritz Klengel took over the second violin from Uhlrich, Carl Eckert replaced Queisser at the viola (and was himself succeeded by Hermann Otto Hunger in 1842), and Carl Friedrich Wittmann was taking Grenser's seat as cellist.[433] It was this formation in combination with the aforementioned collaborations with Mendelssohn and other musical celebrities which helped the Gewandhausquartett achieve its peak popularity and significance within the Leipzig music scene for decades. Dörffel's claim that the performances of this chamber music ensemble were contributing towards the musical education of the Leipzig concert audience was probably not overstated, given the quality and scale of these events. Not least, it seems representative for the standing of public chamber music in Leipzig of that time that Mendelssohn's farewell concert as director of the Gewandhaus orchestra in November 1843 was not one of the orchestra's subscription concerts, or even more likely, an out-of-the-series celebratory orchestral concert, but a 'quartet entertainment'. At this occasion, Mendelssohn not only performed Beethoven's Trio in D major with his most loyal chamber music partners Ferdinand David and Carl Friedrich Wittmann, but also his own string octet with many of the Gewandhaus's chamber musicians who had shaped the chamber music scene with Mendelssohn over the last few years.[434]

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[432] Dörffel (1884) vol. 1, p. 93.

[433] See Böhm (2008) p. 50.

[434] See Emil Kneschke (1893) *Die Hundertundfünfzigjährige Geschichte der Leipziger Gewandhaus-Concerte 1743-1893*, Leipzig and New York: Internationale Verlags- und Kunstanstalt J. Laurencic, pp. 80f.

It was during this heyday of the Gewandhausquartett under David's leadership that Robert Schumann commenced his 'chamber music year' in 1842. As the above diary entry on Schumann's early acquaintances in Leipzig has shown, he had become familiar with the members of the Gewandhausquartett around Matthäi before David's arrival. However, Schumann's engagement with this quartet formation properly took off with David taking over the leadership of this ensemble in 1836. In November 1837, just at the beginning of David's second season as leader of the Gewandhaus, Schumann noted the start of the chamber music concert series quite drily: 'In the evening 1. quartet entertainment with David – F-minor [Quartet] by Beethoven and D-minor [Quartet] by Schubert'[435] – ignoring Haydn's B-flat-major Quartet, which also featured in this first chamber recital of the new season, given by David, Hunger, Queisser, and Grenser.[436] Schumann seems to have been more engaged by the second of the quartet recitals in November 1837, which featured Mendelssohn's new Quartet in E minor, op. 44 no. 2, performed from the manuscript. On 18 November 1837, he noted: 'Against my expectations meeting Vieuxtemps in the quartet [recital]; talked a lot with him and Mendelssohn; new quartet by M.[endelssohn] very delicate, clear and inspired apart from the slow movement, nothing new in there'.[437] As the Mendelssohn work discussed by Schumann was not even published yet, one can assume that the recital had been its first public outing, during which Schumann was in close contact to and conversation with Mendelssohn. The latter of these two diary entries signals that Schumann actively took part in shaping the public concert life and was engaged in promoting and supporting new works from and for the Leipzig public.

[435] TB II, p. 44.
[436] See TB II, p. 469, fn. 125.
[437] TB II, p. 46

Another public contribution by Schumann to the promotion of these chamber music series in particular were his reviews in the *NZfM*. While Schumann was not able to support the Gewandhausquartett as a performer, he frequently reviewed their recitals and sometimes whole seasons in his journal. After the first season under David's leadership, and by announcing the second in 1837, Schumann recommended the quartet evenings to the readership in his 'Fragments from Leipzig III':

> If one had not had enough with 32 concerts in the Gewandhaus and the Hotel de Pologne, one could indulge more calmly in the quartets which were given by Mr David, leader of the orchestra, with Mr Uhlrich, Grenser, and Queißer. Unfortunately, there were only four of them, which are at least to be doubled next winter. The gentlemen are well-known; God take care especially of this leader.[438]

Schumann publicly requested an increase in the number of quartet evenings for the next season.[439] More importantly, he also illustrated in his review the atmosphere which placed these official recital series somewhere between the large-scale concerts and the private soirées happening at the same time. In the retrospect of the 1837-38 season, he called these evenings a 'treasure of art', which ties in with the exclusivity and delicacy of such evenings, as described above.[440]

The change of administration of the Gewandhausquartett recitals did not go unnoticed by Schumann, of course. In an anonymous review in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*, he promoted this process: 'The quartet, founded by Matthäi, has now gained in scope and importance under the influence of the management of the Gewandhaus concerts.'[441] Schumann substantiated this valuation in a review in his

[438] 'Hatte man nun noch nicht genug an den 32 Konzerten im Gewandhaus und Hotel de Pologne, so konnte man sich ruhiger in den Quartetten ergehen, die Hr. Konzertmeister David mit Hrn. Uhlrich, Grenser und Queißer veranstaltet. Leider gab es nur vier, die nächsten Winter wenigstens zu verdoppeln wären. Die Herren sind bekannt; namentlich erhalte uns der Himmel diesen Konzertmeister.' GS I, p. 317.

[439] His wish was granted the following season, in which 24 chamber works were offered in eight recitals. See GS I, p. 380.

[440] GS I, p. 380.

[441] Boetticher (1940) p. 336.

own journal through the change of venues, but also through the extension of the repertoire while maintaining the quality of the performances:

> In a certain agreement with the demands of the audience, they expanded the previous realm to the extent that larger ensemble pieces as well as solo performances were featured in these soirées. Furthermore, the small concert hall was abandoned and one settled in the large concert hall, in favour of the music as well as the audience. The masterful compositions and performances, promised in the concert notices, always attracted an exquisite and numerous audience; one can hardly hear anything more excellent in a more excellent rendition. The participants in the quartet were the gentlemen David, leader of the orchestra, Klengel, Eckert, and Wittmann.[442]

Schumann depicted himself in this review as the spokesperson for the audience, though his evident bias towards this chamber ensemble rings through. Naming the individual members of the Gewandhausquartett aims to highlight their role within Leipzig's music scene for the public. It also works as a gesture of respect for their efforts in providing excellent chamber music performances. Still presuming to speak for the recital's audience, Schumann then suggested further changes, mainly in terms of repertoire, in both articles, wishing for more Schubert and Beethoven, suggesting Prince Louis' works, and welcoming the potential addition of songs to the recitals.[443] By means of such reviews, and contributions to Leipzig's musical journals, Schumann took part in shaping the role of the public Gewandhausquartett series while, at least since 1838, also inviting largely the same performers to his own home for his 'Quartettmorgen'. Being acquainted with all these Gewandhaus musicians as well as appreciating their high-quality chamber music playing, he fulfilled his part in honouring and promoting these musicians through his written publications.

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[442] 'Im gewissen Einverständnis mit den Wünschen des Publikums hatte man die früheren Grenzen dahin erweitert, daß in diesen Soireen auch größere Ensemblestücke wie Solovorträge zur Ausführung kamen. Auch war zum Vorteil der Musik wie der Zuhörer der kleine Vorsaal, in dem früher die Quartette stattfanden, verlassen und in den großen Konzertsaal gezogen worden. Die auf den Konzertzetteln versprochenen Meisterkompositionen und Vorträge hatten immer ein auserlesenes und zahlreiches Publikum herbeigelockt; man kann nicht leicht Trefflicheres in trefflicherer Ausführung hören. Die im Quartett mitwirkenden waren die HH. Konzertmeister David, Klengel, Eckert und Wittmann.' GS I, pp. 510f.

[443] See GS I, pp. 510f.; and Boetticher (1940) pp. 336f.

Through his marriage to Clara Wieck in 1840, Robert Schumann also became involved in the more practical side of organising, rehearsing, and performing chamber music for Leipzig's public. First, one can read in their newly commenced marriage diaries that the couple visited the concerts in the Gewandhaus regularly; in the first season after their wedding the diary accounts for at least two concerts with the Gewandhaus orchestra (22 October and 16 December 1840),[444] and three recitals by the Gewandhausquartett (12 December 1840, 30 January and 13 March 1841).[445] No matter who of the two authors composed the diary entries after their concert visits, in either case their reviews usually end with praise for Mendelssohn's executions.[446] For the second season, 1841/42, the diary reveals that the couple deliberately missed the first quartet on 14 November 1841, as this evening was preceded by an incident with Mendelssohn ('[Talking] To Kl. [Clara] about Mendelssohn').[447] Most likely because of this not further specified quarrel with their friend, the couple was not in the right mood to attend his chamber recital later that day. The second 'Musikalische Abendunterhaltung' on 12 December, however, was visited by the Schumanns and the performance of Beethoven's Trio in E flat major, op. 70 No. 2, which Robert Schumann heard for the first time that evening, even inspired him to 'look through it occasionally in more detail'.[448] In the third evening of the Gewandhausquartett's recital series of that season, on 11 January 1842, Clara Schumann was among the performers, playing Mozart's Piano Quartet in G minor (K. 478) with David, Hunger, and Wittmann, alongside a Beethoven sonata (Figure 33).[449]

[444] See TB II, pp. 116 and 133.

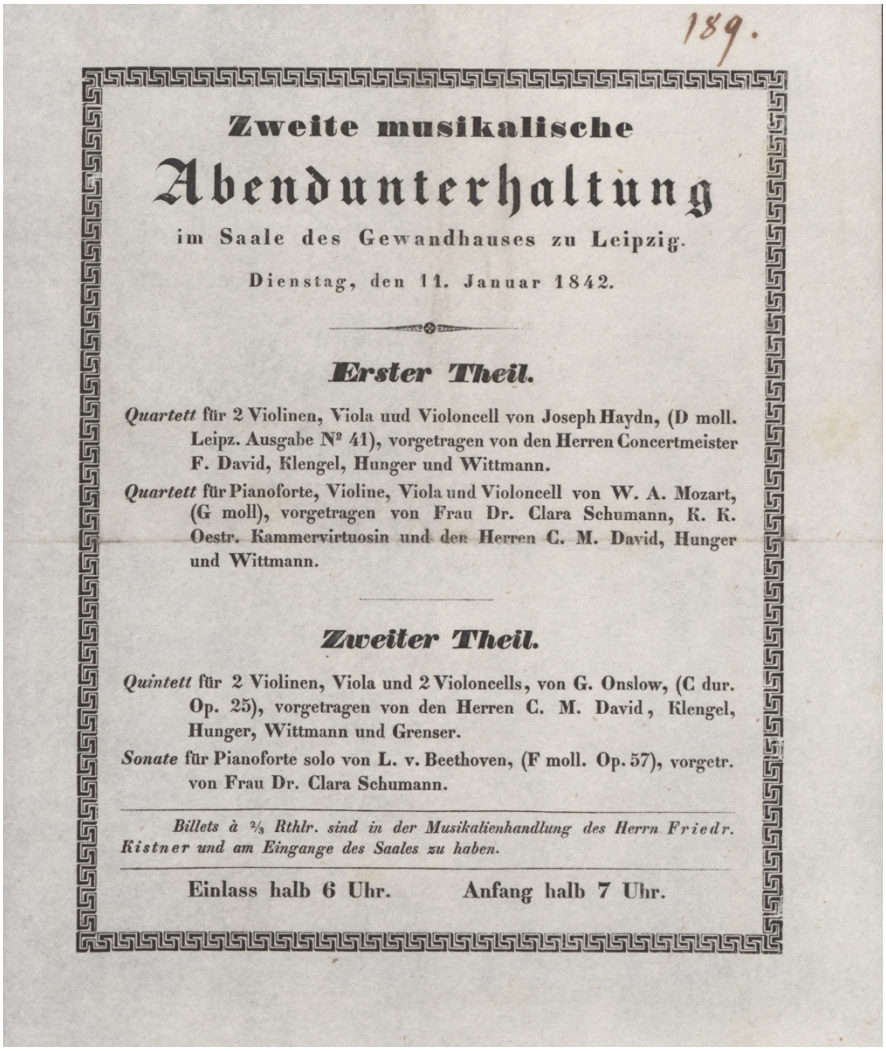
[445] See TB II, pp. 132, 144, and 153. Clara Schumann went without husband to the quartet recital on 30 January 1841.

[446] With the only exception of Clara Schumann's critique of Mendelssohn's playing at the quartet recital in March 1841, which she perceived as 'not very animated', and did not 'feel pleasantly touched by his performance'. TB II, p. 153.

[447] TB II, p. 166.

[448] See TB II, p. 707, fn. 204.

[449] See CSPr, no. 189; and TB II, p. 199.



189.

Zweite musikalische

Abendunterhaltung

im Saale des Gewandhauses zu Leipzig.

Dienstag, den 11. Januar 1842.

Erster Theil.

Quartett für 2 Violinen, Viola uud Violoncell von Joseph Haydn, (D moll. Leipz. Ausgabe N^{o} 41), vorgetragen von den Herren Concertmeister F. David, Klengel, Hunger und Wittmann.

Quartett für Pianoforte, Violine, Viola und Violoncell von W. A. Mozart, (G moll), vorgetragen von Frau Dr. Clara Schumann, K. K. Oestr. Kammervirtuosin und den Herren C. M. David, Hunger und Wittmann.

Zweiter Theil.

Quintett für 2 Violinen, Viola und 2 Violoncells, von G. Onslow, (C dur. Op. 25), vorgetragen von den Herren C. M. David, Klengel, Hunger, Wittmann und Grenser.

Sonate für Pianoforte solo von L. v. Beethoven, (F moll. Op. 57), vorgetr. von Frau Dr. Clara Schumann.

Billets à ⅔ Rthlr. sind in der Musikalienhandlung des Herrn Friedr. Kistner und am Eingange des Saales zu haben.

Einlass halb 6 Uhr. Anfang halb 7 Uhr.

Figure 33 Programme note, 11 January 1842. Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Clara Schumann Programmzettelsammlung, Archiv-Nr. 10463, no. 189

Litzmann interpreted her participation in the concerts around the turn of the year 1841/42 as foremost a personal favour:

> Indeed, David's request directed to her on 28 December, to play in the Gewandhaus on 1 January, depicted a great imposition, as not only her piano playing had 'rested for three weeks', but the request also involved studying Mendelssohn's G-minor Concerto. What's more, 10 days later she appeared again at the Gewandhaus as partner in one of the quartet evenings, first for the piano part in Mozart's G-minor Quartet, then also with her solo performance of Beethoven's F-minor Sonata.[450]

[450] 'Wohl aber stellte die am 28. Dezember von David an sie gerichtete Bitte, am 1. Januar im Gewandhaus mitzuspielen, eine große Zumutung dar, da nicht nur das Klavier „drei Wochen geruht hatte", sondern es sich auch noch um die Einstudierung von Mendelssohns G-moll-Konzert handelte. Und nicht genug damit, 10 Tage später erschienen sie wieder im Gewandhause als Mitwirkende an dem Quartettabend, zunächst für das Klavierstück in Mozarts G-moll-Quartett, dann aber mit dem selbstständigen Vortrag von Beethovens F-moll-Sonate (Op. 57).' Litzmann II, p. 39. It seems not fully

Clara was usually cautious about her public appearances as a pianist, preferring to prepare her recitals well, which makes her agreement to play in the Gewandhaus on such a short notice and without much preparation a confirmation of her support of David's ensembles. Equally, it is a sign of her personal affection for this friend and musician whom she apparently could not turn down. A similar last-minute collaboration happened later that year when Clara Schumann returned from her concert tour to Copenhagen in late April 1842, according to Litzmann:

> The shocking news of the fire in Hamburg, which Clara received a few days after her return, first cast a shadow over the celebratory mood of the reunited couple, and due to a quickly arranged concert by Clara, David, and the Gewandhaus orchestra in favour of the victims of the fire, also more unrest came into their outer life than they would have liked at that moment. However, neither these events nor the ever-growing flood of arts enthusiasts who were calling by on their journey through Leipzig in the Schumann house, could seriously shake their inner balance.[451]

While, unfortunately, no programme note for this concert can be found in Clara Schumann's collection, Litzmann confirmed her involvement. Again, her close contacts to David and the Gewandhaus musicians made her agree to participate. Mendelssohn, on the other hand, benefitted from Clara Schumann's generosity as he took advantage of her offer to use her new Graff grand piano in the 'Second Musical Evening Entertainment' of the 1839/40 season in the Gewandhaus, when he performed his D-minor Piano Trio.[452]

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clear why Clara Schumann apparently abstained from playing the piano for three weeks in December 1841. She reported on 3 December that she had pricked her finger that day and thus could not practice for her recital, but she publicly performed the *Hexameron* duo with Liszt two days later. She also joined Liszt again in a recital on 16 December, again playing the duo. In the following two weeks, Clara was occupied with preparing the first Christmas for their new-born daughter Marie and composing two sonata movements, before she received the request by David on 28 December to play in the New Year concert. Therefore, this account seems, at least slightly, exaggerated. See TB II, pp. 195-199.

[451] 'Zwar warf die Schreckenstunde vom Hamburger Brande, die sie wenige Tage nach Claras Rückkehr erreichte, zunächst einen Schatten in die Feiertagsstimmung der Wiedervereinigten, und durch ein von Clara und David und dem Gewandhausorchester zu Besten der Abgebrannten schnell veranstaltetes Konzert kam auch gleich in das äußere Leben mehr Unruhe, als ihnen jetzt [p. 52] gerade erwünscht sein mochte, aber das innere Gleichgewicht vermochten weder diese Vorgänge noch die anschwellende Flut der auf der Durchreise im Schumannhause vorsprechenden und zuströmenden Kunstfreunde ernstlich zu erschüttern.' Litzmann II, p. 51.

[452] See SB II/1, pp. 52 and 149.

Within this busy network of musical collaborations, David sounded at times (ironically) jealous of Robert Schumann's position of being exempt from performance duties: 'Dear Schumann! You are luckier than me, as you can stay at home with the flu, while I was forced to play quartets in my fever on Sunday evening, what is more, my own Quartet. According to your wish, I have attached the score.'[453] Exchanging and sending around scores seemed to have been a frequent occupation in these Leipzig years, either requesting feedback for their own compositions (such as David's String Quartet in the above quote) or preparing scores for upcoming rehearsals and performances. Schumann pragmatically announced his plans for a rehearsal: 'Dear David, Wittmann and Hunger will be coming – tomorrow at 9 o'clock. For now, here are the voices – and soon myself. Many thanks for your friendly readiness'.[454] Such correspondences give a glimpse into the busy life the Schumanns led in Leipzig, constantly (re-)scheduling, rehearsing, organising, and performing concerts with the Gewandhaus musicians besides their private musical gatherings.

Even when the Schumanns were about to settle in Dresden in late 1844, Robert continued his correspondence with David on organisational matters. His letter from 25 November 1844 summarises many aspects that the Schumanns were involved with during their time as a couple in Leipzig:

> Dear David, at the end of this week I hope to meet and talk to you in person in Leipzig, in the meantime I am sending the parts for the [Piano] Quartet [op. 47] because they are treated so awfully due to the corrections which you may excuse, please. If you don't mind, have a look through the violin part, and ask Gade and Wittmann whether they would like to take over the other ones, in which case you may send the parts to them for a look through. The matinée on the 8th is still set? – Here [in Dresden], one can regain the lost longing for music, such little there is to hear! … Regarding the pieces which my wife would like to play in the subscription concerts, she will decide at the end of this week. She would prefer only to play one piece, the concerto by Beethoven in E flat. Does this suit the programme, by any chance? Send my wishes to Gade and also to Ernst if he is

[453] Ferdinand David, letter to Robert Schumann, 22 February 1841 from Leipzig. In: SB II/20, p. 240.

[454] Robert Schumann, letter to Ferdinand David, between autumn 1841 and December 1843 from Leipzig. In: SB II/20, p. 245.

> still with L.[eipzig?] I am very much looking forward to seeing you again for warming up with your good humour. Thank you for all your favours for us and let us not be your debtors for too long.[455]

Besides the personal messages in this letter, such as Schumann's greetings to mutual friends or his complaint about the lack of regular concerts and recitals in Dresden, there are several points of an administrative kind. First, Schumann sent quartet parts to David, for him to distribute to their respective performers in Leipzig. He apologised for the state of these parts as he evidently had worked in corrections and reviews of this piece. In his request for David to 'look through' the violin part and for the other musicians to do the same for their parts, it is actually not clear whether Schumann would have liked them to practice the parts for the matinée, or whether he wanted to hear their feedback on his corrections – both seems equally plausible. He then enquired of David about the matinée scheduled for 8 December 1844, the farewell recital of Robert and Clara Schumann before their eventual move to Dresden. It seems likely that Robert Schumann entrusted David with organising and corresponding with the performers involved as his Leipzig proxy. And finally, on behalf of his wife, he discussed the repertoire for a subscription concert with the Gewandhaus orchestra, scheduled for 5 December. From the programme note in Clara's collection, one can see that her suggestion of Beethoven's Fifth Piano Concerto had been taken into account; however, she ended up playing three solo pieces for piano as well, against

[455] 'Lieber David, Ende dieser Woche hoffe ich Dich persönlich in Leipzig zu sehen und sprechen, sende aber Dir schon vorher die Stimmen des Quartetts, da sie durch die Correcturen so abscheulich zugerichtet sind, was Du entschuldigen mögest. Sei dann so gut, die Violinstimme Dir einmal anzusehen, und zugleich Gade und Wittmann zu bitten, ob sie die andern übernehmen wollen, in welchem Fall Du ihnen die Stimmen gleichfalls zur Durchsicht zusenden wollest. Mit der Matinée bleibt es doch wohl am 8ten?– Hier kann man sich die verlorene Musiksehnsucht wiederholen, so wenig giebts zu hören! ... Wegen der Stücke, die meine Frau im Abonnementconcert spielen will, wird sie Ende der Woche sich entscheiden. Am liebsten mögte sie nur einmal, das Concert von Beethoven in Es. Paßt das vielleicht gerade ins Programm? Grüße Gade vielmals und auch Ernst, wenn er noch bei L. ist. Recht sehr freue ich mich, Dich wieder zu sehen um an Deinem guten Humor mich zu wärmen. Hab' Dank für alle Deine Gefälligkeiten für uns und laß uns nicht zu lang Dein Schuldner bleiben.' Robert Schumann, letter to Ferdinand David, 25 November 1844 from Dresden. In: SB II/20, p. 286.

her initial proposal.[456] This kind of letter, portraying Robert Schumann's organisational efforts somewhere between being a music librarian, a concert manager, and his wife's agent, with almost the same amount of personal notes and cultivating his friendships, is representative of many of his conversations with and involvement in the circle of Gewandhaus musicians around Mendelssohn and David during the early 1840s. It depicts the composer as a highly active member of this small group of musicians who dominated Leipzig's musical life and the Gewandhaus' day-to-day business.

While the subscription concerts of the Gewandhaus orchestra continued throughout Schumanns' time in Leipzig and beyond, the 'Musikalischen Abendunterhaltungen' were suddenly curtailed by the Gewandhaus during the 1842/43 season, despite having two very successful seasons. The reasons behind their cessation are unknown; however, Böhm suggested that after Mendelssohn's departure to Berlin, David was too overwhelmed with orchestral duties to keep the quartet evenings going.[457] With the appointment of Hiller as the new Gewandhaus director in 1843, the 'Musikalische Abendunterhaltungen' were resumed, though without continuity and with a varying number of concerts per season; there were as few as three between 1849 and 1853. In the meantime, the replacements were then organised as 'Musikalische Morgenunterhaltungen' ('Musical Morning Entertainments') by the Schumann couple. It is not surprising that between October 1842 and February 1843, Clara Schumann appeared in seven public concerts in Leipzig. The stepping in by the Schumanns for this particular season, on the one hand, demonstrates their involvement in the Gewandhausquartett's recital series, as well as the trust the musicians of the

[456] See CSPr, no. 227. The solo piano pieces are Robert Schumann's *Fantasiestücke*, op. 12 no. 7, one of Felix Mendelssohn's *Songs without Words*, op. 62, and Chopin's *Polonaise*, op. 53.
[457] See Böhm (2008) p. 52.

quartet held in the Schumanns to take care of the quartet's recital administration, which they had institutionalised over the past few years. In addition, this season marked the end of a period of the Schumanns' time in Leipzig which coincided with the first peak of the Gewandhausquartett's activities, a highpoint to which the couple contributed to a large extent.

It was no coincidence that this particular year, when the chamber music events in Leipzig were in the Schumanns' hands, also marked the season in which the fruits of Robert's engagement with the chamber music genre in 1842 could have been introduced to the public. However, before discussing Schumann's compositional processes and output of the chamber music year against the background of his friendships, engagements with and involvements in the chamber music and Gewandhaus circle around Mendelssohn and David, the juxtaposition of private and public musical activities in the above sections poses further questions about the conditions of the Leipzig music scene and the discussed circle of musicians. First, where do we place Robert and Clara Schumann's activities, and his chamber compositions, in the common distinction between the private and the public sphere? And, second, is this categorisation at all adequate for the Schumanns' episode in Leipzig from the 1830s to mid-1840s?

'A strange medium': Public vs Private, vs Sociability

Reflecting on the years outlined above, Daverio argued that 'we should keep in mind that both Schumann and Mendelssohn reached maturity as composers during a period in which chamber music had come to occupy an intermediary position between private

and public entertainment'.[458] Daverio then justified this estimation by stating that chamber music maintained its 'private' character because of the limitation of the audience to invited guests only. At the same time, the growth in numbers of these guests and thereby of the chamber music audiences resembled the move towards the 'public' sphere. This narrow definition reflects the common opinion which classifies chamber music in the nineteenth century into these two realms. At least for the situation of Robert Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn, whom Daverio mentioned by name, this definition falls short. My examination of their mutual chamber music making in Leipzig, in nuancing the manifold spheres in Leipzig in which these composers generally engaged with chamber music, demonstrates that their chamber music activities at the time resist a clear classification into the 'semi-public' sphere. Instead, it seems that such chamber music events traversed the realm of both the domestic as well as the stage.

According to Bashford, chamber music was 'intended for performance either in private, in a domestic environment with or without listeners, or in public in a small concert hall before an audience of limited size'.[459] Bashford explained this clear distinction between public and private purposes of chamber music through the development of public concert life in Western European metropoles in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, exemplified by the rise of public chamber series in Vienna (from 1818), Paris (from the 1830s), and London (from 1836).[460] During the same period, the concept of *Hausmusik* was flourishing, particularly in

[458] Daverio (1997) p. 254. As outlined in the prologue, public and private spheres of chamber music in the eighteenth century has been widely discussed, amongst others, in Klorman (2016) and Nancy November (2003) *Haydn's Vocality and the Ideal of 'True' String Quartets*, PhD Diss.: Cornell University.

[459] Bashford (2001).

[460] See Ibid. Bashford's account remains narrowly focused on these three European capitals, omitting other centres of public chamber music series such as Berlin or Leipzig around the same time.

German cities but generally throughout Europe as a whole. The genre of chamber music thus serves as the prime example for scholarly discussion of the public-private distinction, because of its ability to cater for both these areas of early nineteenth-century music making – while 'to cater for both these areas' in Bashford's words means to either meet the private or the public demand and not to combine both aspects in one chamber music style. This perception of different styles for different spheres has persisted throughout decades of scholarship, whereas the historic notion of public and private spheres in connection to chamber music changed constantly in the decades leading to the period of Schumann and Mendelssohn in Leipzig referred to by Daverio.

The Spheres of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music

In a letter to her friend, the painter Julius Elsässer, Fanny Mendelssohn described the nature of her 'Sonntagsmusiken' as 'a remarkable cross between private and public in character'.[461] Fanny Mendelssohn was aware of the distinction between the private and public characters of events, though she confirmed that her events towards the later 1840s depicted a somewhat intermediate position in Berlin's musical scene, which is nowadays often described as semi-public.[462] However, there was no need for her to ascribe a specific character to her events – instead, according to Robert Eshbach, 'there seems to have been no sharp division between public and private performance, between professional and amateur. For [the Mendelssohns], public performance evolved as a natural outgrowth of their family traditions of salon *Geselligkeit*.'[463]

[461] Cited in: Robert W. Eshbach (2014) 'The Joachim Quartet concerts at the Berlin Singakademie: Mendelssohnian Geselligkeit in Wilhelmine Germany'. In: Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges (Eds.) *Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall. Between Private and Public Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 27.

[462] See Sumner Lott (2015) p. 18; Byrne Bodley (2015) p. 54; Ronyak (2018) p. 21; Bunzel and Loges (2019) p. 10.

[463] Eshbach (2014) p. 28.

Hence, the atmosphere of sociability ('Geselligkeit') was the essential and persisting factor for the events at the Mendelssohn home, and it could be applied to both private and public performances, which for Fanny Mendelssohn, only differed in terms of the size of the audience. The pieces being performed at her gatherings did not fall under such categories and were also not different to those being performed on public concert stages in Berlin.

The main difference in character of Fanny Mendelssohn's musical events was in their forms of social and anonymous performances. Gerber explored the same situation in Fanny Mendelssohn's salon as described above and in Leipzig, concerning this theory:

> Fanny Hensel's 'Sonntagsmusiken' as well as Leipzig's musical societies demonstrate the dealing with music being integrated in social life. Private music making opposed a medialised concept of music in terms of its performance models and circle of guests (which, in contrast to the anonymous concert audience, demanded a personal acquaintance or invitation).[464]

Gerber used the term 'private music making' as counterpart to the supposedly 'public' concept of music making on the concert stage. Apart from the difference in definitions of terminology to Fanny Mendelssohn, the distinction remains the same: whether labelled as public or private (which only referred to the number of invitees), not the character of the event), the guests were always connected to a close core circle, were personally invited, and the musical events were embedded in general social interaction and exchange – during these events as well as by being talked about within this circle outside of the Mendelssohn house. Thus, to follow Gerber's definition, one could equally speak of an opposition of medialised versus social concepts of music, rather than using the terms private and public contradictory to their historical meanings.

[464] Gerber (2016) p. 266.

Evaluating the sources for such musical events in social contexts in Leipzig during the same time, Gerber came to the conclusion that 'taking the historical accounts literarily, private music making was preferred to the anonymous public and the concert life. The private was pursued and strictly separated from the public.'[465] As in the Mendelssohns' case, these events were more or less happening outside of public awareness, and a public discussion of these events was to be avoided. Gerber traced local newspaper reports on gatherings in Henriette Voigt's, Clara Schumann's, and Livia Frege's homes in Leipzig, and concluded that the reports usually only mentioned the event taking place but then explained that due to the private nature of these events, nothing further can be reported.[466]

Such secrecy was, at the same time, part of aesthetic believes and prerequisites for artistic fulfilment in the early nineteenth century. According to Jennifer Ronyak, 'salons were one of the most important and documentable secular venues where the dynamics of the inner self and sociability could play out'.[467] Such dynamics, connecting intimacy with sociability, are exactly the aspect of salon music making which could only persist through being protected from the outer, public world – and which, if perceived, offered the ideal environment for the early-Romantic composers and musicians. In this protected social context, the inner self of the artist, as Ronyak put it, could become one with the artwork, in opposite to the concert stage, which lacks such privacy.

Henriette Voigt's Leipzig home was the first to offer such true artistic intimacy to Schumann – his late-night piano improvisations there seem like the best example of his growing self-confidence within this environment. Voigt herself also preferred these

[465] Ibid., p. 268.
[466] See Ibid., p. 269.
[467] Ronyak (2018) p. 21.

more intimate and convivial forms of music making; according to her diaries, most of the time Voigt played together with other musicians but without any audience (133 times, which she called 'Kammermusiken') or in front of a small audience (132 times, usually within her 'Kränzchen'). Voigt noted in her diaries 76 occasions when she played the piano by herself, and only 28 times when there were performances for a larger audience (still limited to her 'Gesellschaften', as Voigt refused to play publicly).[468] These numbers reveal a preference for convivial chamber music making in intimate settings, over playing alone and especially over less private occasions, in contrast to the later Leipzig salonnière Livia Frege. Frege's musical events often became large-scale concerts with larger audiences, involving choirs and orchestras – the reasons for this possibly including her early career as a professional singer in contrast to Voigt's life-long amateurism. In general, however, one can find 'the concept of an exclusive circle of experts [or connoisseurs] as the ideal image of an audience. The concentration on private music making even resulted in public concerts being perceived as successful if they managed to create an atmosphere of a private event among friends', according to Gerber's evaluation of contemporary sources in Leipzig.[469]

This description of an ideal audience was certainly applicable to Voigt and the Schumanns' own circle in Leipzig, and their musical events were therefore the model rather than a preliminary stage for public concerts. This view was shared by the Schumanns who saw the sphere of intimate private circles as the 'true' space of artistic practice.[470] A letter by Felix Mendelssohn to Clara Schumann in early 1846 testifies to the importance of intimacy in musical events within this circle. Mendelssohn ended

[468] See Gerber (2016) p. 199.
[469] Ibid., p. 258.
[470] See Ibid., pp. 260f.

the letter, in which he requested Clara to join him and Gade for playing one of her husband's latest chamber music works, with a promise: 'I would appreciate it very much if you would fancy one of these two pieces, because, besides my enjoyment of it, this would give my sister, who unexpectedly arrived here yesterday, the highest pleasure. As promised, you won't find any other listeners!'[471] Apparently, who would be there was discussed beforehand, and Mendelssohn had to reassure Clara Schumann that Fanny Mendelssohn's unexpected presence would not be followed by other guests attending without Clara's knowledge. As she had already moved to Dresden with her husband for just over one year by then, she might have feared that there were other members of Mendelssohn's circle coming whom she was not familiar with, who would counteract the special atmosphere of social musical gatherings during her time in Leipzig where each guest was well-known to and involved in her circle.

At the same time, Clara Schumann could not (and moreover did not want to) avoid the Gewandhaus stage for performances in front of Leipzig's public audience. Robert similarly contributed to the public awareness of musical events through his concert reviews and his own journal. The main difference of concerts on the public stage such as the Gewandhaus, compared to large private events at Voigt's or Fanny Mendelssohn's, was the open access for everyone who was interested and could afford it, so the atmosphere and the composition of the audience was less predictable than in a more social and domestic event. Klassen fittingly summarised the similarity of these events with regard to class in her monograph on Clara Schumann's music and the public:

> In this case [the new bourgeois culture in the early nineteenth century], the public meant the sphere of private individuals assembled to an audience. People gathered as a community of like-minded individuals, whose interests were culture and education. The boundaries between private and public remained fluid in the bourgeois sphere, as the community consisted of the number of culturally

[471] Felix Mendelssohn, letter to Clara Schumann, 4 January 1846 from Leipzig. In: SB II/1, p. 262.

> educated individuals… There was only a gradual difference between the intimate family circle, expanded by some friends, and the salons and musical events at which these friends gathered, whereas a difference of principal persisted towards the political public in the first half of the nineteenth century. Still in the 'Quartettmorgen', organised by the Schumanns in the 1840s at their home or in the Gewandhaus, the intersection of private and public bourgeois culture is apparent. The privately held concerts in the domestic salon in front of invited guests became a public affair and were reviewed by the Leipzig's *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.[472]

Klassen here captured the complex situation of a merging private and public sphere in the case of Leipzig's music scene – including that the performers themselves were part of the city's elite of cultural individuals and equally at home on concert stages and in domestic salons. The audience of the Gewandhaus concerts and the readers of the *AmZ* or the *NZfM* did not consist of a different kind of class to the ones that visited the recitals given by the Gewandhausquartett and even to the ones meeting in private by invitation for domestic music making. This theory corresponds, besides its affinity to Habermas as discussed further below, to Fanny Mendelssohn's notion of a public concert simply welcoming a larger audience than a private one – whether this was in her own garden house, or in the main hall of the Gewandhaus, the composition of the audience mainly remained the same. The major difference was simply that guests were not invited but individuals had to purchase concert tickets themselves in the latter case; hence the criteria for a public concert's audience was the wealth of the ticket buyers, rather than personal contacts.[473]

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[472] Klassen (2009) pp. 14f.

[473] The programme note to a 'Musikalische Abendunterhaltung' with the Gewandhausquartett and Clara Schumann on 11 January 1842 states the ticket price for this single chamber music event at 2/3 of a thaler (See CSPr, no. 189), whereas a concert given by the Gewandhaus orchestra usually asked for 1 thaler per ticket around 1840. Alfred Dörffel noted that in 1838/39 the Gewandhaus management set the price for a personalised subscription of all 20 Gewandhaus concerts at 8 thalers (with discounts for purchasing several personalised subscriptions for a family), a non-personalised subscription was 10 thalers. See Dörffel (1884) vol. 1, p. 126. For comparison, an average weekly cost of a 5-person household around 1850 was an estimated 3.5 thalers, hence one Gewandhaus subscription equalled two to three weeks' cost of such a household. (See http://wiki-de.genealogy.net/Geld_und_Kaufkraft_ab_1803; accessed 7 August 2020). In 1865, Wilhelm Seyfferth observed that the Gewandhaus concerts were generally a place for the rich, but not to the extent that subscription concerts were inaccessible to a middle-class audience at a subscription cost of 15 thalers.

Klassen mentioned the 'Quartettmorgen' as an example of private concerts becoming public affairs by being discussed in cultural newspapers and establishing a readership. Her use of 'Quartettmorgen' is, however, misleading as the events titled 'Quartettmorgen' happened in 1838 and were reviewed by Robert Schumann himself in the *NZfM*. The events Klassen referred to are presumably the 'Musikalischen Morgenunterhaltungen' which replaced the official Gewandhausquartett recitals in the 1842/43 season. These events were indeed reviewed in the *AmZ* as part of Leipzig's public musical life, and therefore were not meant for invited guests only, as Klassen wrote, but remained open for Leipzig's public. In general, Klassen's exemplification of the fluidity of private and public audiences within Leipzig's bourgeois class through the musical events in the Schumanns' home is representative of the Schumanns being at the heart of both 'sides' of Leipzig's musical scene.

Challenging the Public Sphere: Schumann's 'Quartettmorgen' Articles and the Bourgeois Society

The 'Quartettmorgen' articles from 1838 depict Robert Schumann's first contribution to the merger of the wider Leipzig audience with his own intimate musical circle. When announcing in his journal that he would report on these chamber music events from the performer's perspective, conveying the intimate atmosphere of such occasions to the outer world, Schumann attempted to actively involve his readers, to fashion them into a community of like-minded, cultural individuals, in his private, domestic world. This approach brings to mind historian Benedict Anderson's ground-breaking work on 'Imagined Communities', particularly his notion of how novels and

See Wilhelm Seyfferth (1865) *Die Gewandhaus-Concerte in Leipzig*, Leipzig: Alexander Edelmann, pp. 17f.

newspapers helped these communities to develop the sense of a nation and, consequently, nationalism.[474] Anderson's description of the reading of newspapers replacing the modern man's morning prayer is characteristic for his understanding of newspapers and journals shaping society:

> The obsolescence of the newspaper on the morrow of its printing… creates this extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost precisely simultaneous consumption ('imagining') of the newspaper-as-fiction… Each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion… What more vivid figure for the secular, historically clocked, imagined community can be envisioned?[475]

The pieces in the *NZfM* fall somewhat between Anderson's notion of the different roles of the novel and of the newspaper. Appearing on a regular basis, though not daily, and relating to actual events, these newspaper characteristics of the *NZfM* were complemented by the journal's novel-like prose and protagonists in form of the *Davidsbund* pseudonyms. One could roughly compare this hybrid with the publication of Charles Dickens' novels, which combined the newspaper aspect of the staggered publication of parts of the novels in journals with the continuous thread of plot and characters of the novel.[476] A comparison to Anderson's role model of the novel, Honoré de Balzac's *La Comédie Humaine* is similarly fitting. In this (unfinished) collection of novels, Balzac's imaginary figures and characters appear multiple times throughout different novels, all with specific characteristic traits, while presenting a panorama of post-Napoleonic French life. On a smaller scale than reflecting a whole society like Balzac, the *NZfM* articles and specifically the recurrence of the imaginary

[474] See Anderson (2006).
[475] Ibid., pp. 34f.
[476] See also Daverio's comparison of Schumann's piano works and journalistic practice: the indications 'Fortsetzung und Schluß' in the last piece of the *Novelletten*, op. 21, Daverio wrote, lends 'to the music the appearance of an essay or long review published in serial format'. Daverio (2011) 'Piano Works I: A World of Images'. In: Perrey, B. (Ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 69. The earliest of such serial newspaper instalments of novels in Germany seems to be in the journal *Die Gartenlaube*, which started to publish serialised stories in the 1860s.

Davidsbund figures aimed to create a specific aesthetic principle and class throughout its issues.

In her response to Anderson's work, Harwell Celenza confirmed that 'Robert Schumann was fully aware of the power and impact a serialized publication could have on the establishment of intellectual communities, and he designed his journal, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, with this power in mind'.[477] As proof, she examined two circles, the 'Copenhagen Davidsbund' and Liszt's 'Neu-Weimar-Verein', which arose directly as a response to the portrayal of the *Davidsbund* in the *NZfM*. The impact of the *Davidsbund*'s publications in the *NZfM*, however, far exceeded such formation of local circles. I would argue that involving a wider public had always been Schumann's intention when founding and shaping this league, as the pseudonyms of the members of his circle secured the privacy of the actual contributors and the circle's members while allowing the readership of the journal to get to know the members of the *Davidsbund* through their writings. The discursive writing style in the articles of the *NZfM*, which takes the role of language on the wider scale of Anderson's theory, was crucial for involving the readership, the 'imagined community':

> By allowing various members of the Davidsbund to speak in his articles, Schumann invited readers to participate in, or at least to witness, a dialogue on the topic of interest instead of merely imbibing a single point of view, as was usually presented in other publications. Readers were encouraged to become interlocutors in the 'discussions' presented in the journal, and as such they became part of an imagined community that was fully inclusive—a community that welcomed the participation of the journal's readers, no matter where they were or what they thought about the topic at hand. This feeling of inclusivity was the defining characteristic of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.[478]

Similar to his early diaries,[479] the *Davidsbund* was created by Schumann as an apparent ideal of private collaboration and an intimate society that was always meant to involve

[477] Harwell Celenza (2005) p. 2.
[478] Ibid., pp. 6f.
[479] Daverio explained that Schumann's first diaries with illustrative titles such as *Tage des Jünglinglebens* (TB I, pp. 20-32, 1827) – the following ones include *Hottentottiana* (TB I, pp. 71-243, 1828–1830), and an earlier collection of literary sketches named *Blätter und Blümchen aus der goldenen Aue*

and be shared with the public. In the letter to Zuccalmaglio quoted earlier (p. 120f.), Schumann mentioned the 'special power' of the *Davidsbund*, the mysterious identity of this league which came with its own inclusive literary style. Both the league and the writings thereby formed a symbiosis which made especially the earlier articles in the *NZfM* so effective and appealing to its readership.

Regarding the categorisation of the articles in the *NZfM* into novel and newspaper-like styles as suggested by Anderson, the journal took a development from the former to the latter toward the end of the 1830s. The colourful and imaginative articles written as conversations between members of the *Davidsbund* dominated the earlier volumes of the journal, and corresponded to what Anderson has defined as the community-forming qualities of novels: readers following returning characters throughout the story (even when they are not currently featured), witnessing their actions and dialogues, and thereby being involved but not actively participating in their plot and conversation. The articles at the end of that decade, especially the 'Quartettmorgen' reviews, on the other hand, belong to the newspaper category: the reviews related to specific and recent events, directly focussed on the readership instead of telling a rounded story, and so they were most similar to what Anderson described as replacing the morning prayer. Schumann actively addressed his imagined community in these articles and invited them to share his impressions of these chamber music events. The difference in the 'Quartettmorgen' articles to the newspaper style was the maintained chatty and friendly tone, as Sumner Lott observed. Like the earlier *NZfM* articles, these chamber music reports 'would emulate letters or conversations among musicians with similar interests, reflecting and perhaps serving as a model for

(Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archiv-Nr.: 4871, I, 1-A3, 1823) and their journalistic and poetic style indicate that the young Robert Schumann felt the artistic significance to share an artist's inner world and thoughts, his private feelings and early creative outputs with the public. See Daverio (1997) p. 28.

similar gatherings within the newspaper's virtual community of readers and followers'.[480] Hence, while this epistolary style in the earlier, more principled articles engaged the journal's followers to form their own 'leagues of David', such as in Copenhagen and Weimar as outlined by Harwell Celenza above, the same approach in the 'Quartettmorgen' reports motivated their readers to recreate similar chamber music events, according to Sumner Lott.

For that purpose, the 'imagined community' of the *NZfM*'s readership was invited to take part in the 'ideal sphere' of chamber music performances in Schumann's collaborative, spontaneous, and highly intimate domestic setting – corresponding to the general idea of the home and the private environment as the only real Romantic sphere. Instead of opening this ideal private environment to the public, Schumann attempted to let 'his' imagined community, specifically the bourgeois citizens of Leipzig, witness this real experience of chamber music performances. Instead of creating a 'semi-public' sphere, Schumann simply declared, in accordance with his 'Zeitgeist' as outlined before, that conventional public performances for the aristocrat and courtly sphere, were redundant.[481] Instead, the new bourgeois class demarcated itself from this public which then became the political public, and formed its own public domain out of its private roots, according to Jürgen Habermas.

Most notably, Habermas described the emergence of journals and newspapers as a medium for the new urban and intellectual public in the eighteenth century. The bourgeois class as an assembly of private persons constituted the 'literary public' which found itself between the private sphere and the sphere of public power (the authorities).[482] Habermas argued that this bourgeois public sphere was challenged

[480] Sumner Lott (2015) p. 127.
[481] See Habermas (1990) pp. 60-67, and 101f.
[482] See Ibid., pp. 88f. A recurring criticism of Habermas' eighteenth-century model of the public sphere is his category of inclusivity. Especially Nancy Fraser argued that Habermas' notion of

(politicised after the French Revolution), transformed (expanded and consumption-centred), and displaced (through mass media) throughout the course of the nineteenth century. The 1830s and 40s in Germany fall into the former two stages of this development. The result was that the private sphere, the only possible room for free self-expression according to Richard Sennett, shrunk to the very core of the family.[483] Hence, the portrayal of an intimate and enclosed environment for true art performances was equally an ultimate goal for the Romantic artist as well as a lost desire of the general public. Schumann's mission to engage the audience through his articles in becoming part of the small circles of connoisseurs where true chamber music performances could evolve, was therefore a social duty towards the public sphere. Through the fusion of being art critic and artist himself, Schumann achieved this in his own, special way. He realised early on what Habermas described as the proper end for the message of art works being achieved in critical journals.[484] In the works of his chamber music year, however, Schumann somewhat reversed this conclusion, bringing his own art criticism as seen in the 'Quartettmorgen' articles to an end in his chamber music compositions.

The interrelation of Schumann's written criticism and his 1842 chamber music is reflected in his repeated requests to his publisher Raimund Härtel to print the String Quartets in full score. Sumner Lott explained this request by Schumann with a characterisation of the op. 41 String Quartets' interaction with their audience:

> The didactic or pedagogical tone in the quartets mirrors that of the Quartett-Morgen reports. Clearly, the audience for the quartets themselves was similar to the intended reading audience for the reports: musical or artistic insiders and

inclusivity is flawed, as the public sphere in Habermas definition only admitted 'public' men. This excludes women in general and limits the public sphere to economically successful and educated men, i.e. the upper class. See Nancy Fraser (1990) 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text*, 25/26, pp. 56-80.

[483] See Richard Sennett (2002) *The Fall of Public Man*, London: Penguin Books, p. 196.

[484] See Habermas (1990) p. 105.

> experimenters looking for guidance in the critique and creation of a new poetic art.[485]

The combination of this didactic tone and the proclaimed 'new poetic art' manifests itself in Schumann's 'Quartettmorgen' articles as well as in the chamber works, as Chapter 3 will demonstrate. The audience and prospective performers of these works seeking a poetic insight as described by Sumner Lott were expected to study the works, which the following section takes as its theme, ideally in copy of the full score. Only then will the recipient be granted a musical chamber music experience close to the journalistic portrayals in Schumann's 'Quartettmorgen' articles, as Sumner Lott suggested.

Musical Sociability in Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music: Contemporary Demands on Chamber Music in Leipzig

In 1810, almost three decades prior to Schumann's essays in the *NZfM*, a newspaper article in the *AmZ* was published in Leipzig, attempting to educate its musical audience about the ideal approach to quartet music.[486] Its author, who only signed as 'P', was the theologian and music critic Johann Conrad Wilhelm Petiscus.[487] Petiscus described the new role of string quartets as a sociable pastime among early-nineteenth century friendships:

> Not merely everywhere in larger cities, [but] also in the smaller[;] indeed in many villages, where there are only music lovers who cultivate string instruments, there they come together to play quartets. The magic of music makes everyone equal and binds together with friendship that which rank and relationships had otherwise forever kept apart. One plays, and the soul, uplifted and calmed by the power of the notes forgets or becomes in this enjoyment contemptuous of the remaining life-burden, pain, or need, and is strengthened for new activity and efforts. Those

[485] Sumner Lott (2015) p. 133.

[486] [Johann Conrad Wilhelm] P[etiscus] (1810) 'Ueber Quartettmusik', *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 12, pp. 513-523.

[487] See Nancy November (2003) *Haydn's Vocality and the Ideal of 'True' String Quartets*, PhD Diss.: Cornell University, p. 129 (including a full translation of the article in appendix 2 of her dissertation, pp. 248-256). See also Klorman (2016) p. 3; Hunter (2012) pp. 53–74; and November (2013) pp. 11-13.

> who otherwise drank with one another became friends: the quartet table will soon replace the bar. It is impossible to hate someone with whom you have once seriously made music; and those who through the course of a winter have of their volition joined together in playing quartets are good friends for the rest of their lives.[488]

Published in 1810, Petiscus' prediction of the role of the string quartet in the domestic sphere was a bold claim, given that the genre only freed itself from the aristocratic chamber towards the end of the previous century and started to be featured in public concerts around the time of the date of this article. Petiscus realised the sociable capacity of private chamber music making, exemplified in the string quartet. He boldly predicted the popularity of the string quartet repertoire, claiming it would replace the pub as a social centre of bourgeoisie life – Schumann's diaries prove that these two pastimes can well exist in symbiosis. At the same time, the sociable impact as described by Petiscus on those playing the quartets was experienced by the Schumann circle, fostering their relationships through mutual chamber music making. In explaining these sociable aspects of participatory performing of string quartets, Petiscus touched the otherwise strictly protected private sphere of the bourgeois family, a fitting example of Habermas' fictional familiarity in the arts. Thereby, as Hunter explained, Petiscus' description results in an 'intermixing of public and private social spheres in the quartet', as earlier in his article, Petiscus gave 'validity by its association with a great composer (Haydn), whose works occupied a prominent place in public life and consciousness'.[489] The distinction of these spheres has thus been

[488] 'Nicht blos in grössern Städten überall, auch in kleinern, ja auf manchen Dörfern, wo nur Musikfreunde sind, die Saiteninstrumente cultiviren, da finden sie sich zu Quartetten zusammen. Der Zauber der Musik macht alles gleich und bindet freundlich zusammen was Rang und Verhältnisse sonst ewig geschieden hätten. Man spielt, und das von der Macht der Töne erhobene und beruhigte Gemüth vergisst oder verachtet in diesem Genuss der übrigen Lebens-Last, Sorge oder Nothdurft, und stärket sich zum neuen Wirken und Tragen. Was sonst mit einander trank, war Freund: der Quartetttisch wird bald den Schenktisch verdrängen. Man kann keinen Menschen hassen, mit dem man einmal im Ernste musicirt hat, und Menschen, die einen Winter hindurch aus freyem Triebe zum Quartett vereinigt mit einander gespielt haben, sind zeitlebens gute Freunde.' P[etiscus] (1810) p. 514. Translation in: November (2003) pp. 248f.

[489] Hunter (2012) p. 56.

offered a counter argument, as at least for the case of the string quartet, Petiscus claims that these spheres overlap in terms of repertoire as well as performance sociability.

In another section of his article, Petiscus gave his own advice for amateurs and professional musicians on how to do justice to such a 'very perfect genre in music' in performance.[490] While first the critic demanded dilettantes not to form their opinions of string quartet works by means of their own imperfect renditions, he then required professional performers to subordinate their own performing habits to the perfect and self-less performances of the masterworks of the genre. Besides cultivating 'a *clear, beautiful* tone from their instruments' in order for them to merge into one harmonic sound,[491] Petiscus addressed the musical intellect of the performers to agree on a mutual perception of a piece prior to its performance:

> it is the duty of every quartet player to come to terms properly with the character of the piece, and to communicate about it with the other players. That is, however, a matter of his own musicality about which no specific set of instructions can be given. If one is in agreement over these characters, then everyone should endeavor, with self-denial, only to belong to the whole.[492]

For Petiscus, there was an emphasis on the work as the centre of the performance, valuing the score higher than the performers' personalities. His choice of the word 'Selbstverläugnung' is hardly translatable, and Nancy November's solution of 'self-denial' captures the meaning but not the intensity of Petiscus' implication. What is more, there is an ambiguity in the word 'anzuhören', which in this context can be translated as 'belonging to' the whole performance, as in November's above interpretation. However, the word can equally mean 'listening to'. Hence, whether or not Petiscus was intending to use this twofold meaning of the word, the agreement of

[490] P[etiscus] (1810) p. 517. Translation in: November (2003) p. 251.
[491] P[etiscus] (1810) p. 520. Translation in: November (2003) p. 254.
[492] 'Ausser diesem ist es die Pflicht des Quartettisten sich in den Character des Tonstückes gehörig zu finden, und sich mit seinen Gehülfen darüber zu verständigen. Das ist aber eine Sache des musikal. Sinnes, worüber im Einzelnen keine Anweisung gegeben werden kann. Ist man über diesen Character einverstanden, so bestrebe sich jeder mit Selbstverläugnung nur dem Ganzen anzuhören.' P[etiscus] (1810) p. 521. Translation in: November (2003) p. 255.

the performers on the work's character and their consequential self-denial does not only result in the performers 'becoming' a part of the whole work; they simultaneously become their own audience, 'listening' to the whole as well.

November's assessment that 'when Petiscus and like-minded writers focused on the role of the performer in the string quartet, they did so mainly to draw attention to an idealised, purely aural experience',[493] is substantiated through this ambiguity in Petiscus' word choice. The ideal of a string quartet, whether in the home or on the concert stage, was for the performance to become a kind of bodiless sublime experience of the work itself, while the performers were closer to being members of the audience than being part of this perfect rendition of the quartet composition. This view of performances of the string quartet in the early nineteenth century was shared, besides Petiscus, by various critics dealing with Beethoven's aftermath as well as the new presence of this repertoire in concert life and musical homes.[494]

An early example of the awareness of Petiscus' ideology in Schumann's wider Leipzig circle is an article by Friedrich Rochlitz in Leipzig's *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, published in 1828. Despite being a political adviser and editor by profession, Rochlitz published his understanding of the ideal quartet performance as leading towards 'the end-goal of spiritual interpretation', as Hunter described it.[495] Reviewing a performance of Beethoven's late string quartet op. 131, Rochlitz wrote:

> Once the group has played it through it can begin properly to rehearse it... The score is shared among the players, which makes rehearsal hugely easier… The host points out a third issue, which lies in between conquering the mechanical difficulties and the truly spiritual, and makes perfect performance much more difficult. This issue is that the Master has fragmented, hidden and varied the basic melodic ideas, which are in any case characteristic of him in being sometimes odd and not easy to grasp. Nevertheless, the performance must have sequence, coherence and clarity, the performers must give each idea-fragment sufficient weight and the listener must be able to follow them. In the end the performance

[493] November (2013) p. 12.
[494] See Hunter (2012) p. 54.
[495] Ibid., p. 64.

> was successful, and each player had salvaged his honour as a virtuoso, in knowing that he could bring off the most difficult music.[496]

Thereby, Rochlitz demanded a thorough study of the score by the performers through collaborative discussion, with the players working out the course of the main ideas towards a coherent and clear interpretation. Essentially, this is a repetition of Petiscus' points in slightly more concrete terms. Rochlitz finally claimed in his article that the performers can be said to have succeeded in their task if they have managed to take the audience on their encounter of Beethoven's work.

20 years later, Schumann himself confirmed the importance of such democratic preparation of quartet pieces to his publisher Härtel in a request to print the op. 41 Quartets in full score:

> An edition of the parts of such a work would appear to me to be somewhat like a man cut into four pieces— one doesn't know where to grasp it or seize it; one can derive no enjoyment from it. It is seldom that one finds four musicians together who are able to comprehend the difficult combinations of such a piece of music without a score, even after they have played it repeatedly. What is the consequence? After a cursory run-through it is set aside. With score in hand, however, they will more easily do justice to the composer, etc.[497]

Even though the rest of the letter to Härtel suggests that Schumann's arguments were aimed equally at self-promotion as well as at prospective performances, this request shows that the same demands on chamber music performances still applied in Schumann's assessment of his own quartets as they were phrased by Rochlitz two decades earlier. The ultimate goal, to 'do justice to the composer', could only be achieved by thorough studies of the work prior to any performance, according to both men's claims.

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[496] Friedrich Rochlitz (1828) Review in: *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung,* 30, columns 485-495 and 501-509. Translated in: Hunter (2012) p. 63.

[497] 'Eine Stimmenausgabe derartiger Werke kommt mir wie ein geviertheilter Mensch etwa vor— mann weiss nicht, wo ihn anpacken und festhalten, man kann zu keinem Genuss kommen. Es finden sich selten vier Musiker zusammen, die ohne Partitur die schwierigen Combinationen eines solchen Musikstuckes auch nach öfterem Zusammenspiel zu fassen wüssten. Was ist die Folge? Sie legen es nach flüchtigem Durchspielen bei Seite. Mit der Partitur in der Hand aber werden sie dem Componisten leichter Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lassen etc.' Robert Schumann, letter to Raimund Härtel, 14 December 1847 from Leipzig. Translated in: Roesner (1973) pp. 383f.

Goethe and the Perfect Chamber Music Experience

In the time between Rochlitz's article and Schumann's letter, the latter became a regular guest at the former's literary 'Kränzchen' (see pp. 186f.). Given that both men pursued the literary form of music criticism, it seems likely that Rochlitz shared and discussed his views with Schumann. Rochlitz was also acquainted with the late Goethe, thus he probably was aware of the discussion captured in an 1815 essay by Goethe himself, which is performers being subordinate to the autonomous performance of the pure artwork. Titled 'Shakespeare und kein Ende' ('*Shakespeare and again Shakespeare*'), this essay shows Goethe applying the same standards to a performance of Shakespeare's dramas as Petiscus and Rochlitz have done to string quartet renditions as discussed above. In her study of early nineteenth-century Lied performances, Ronyak cited the respective section from this essay:

> There is no higher and purer pleasure than, with closed eyes, to have a Shakespeare play recited (not declaimed) to oneself, through an artless, fitting voice… We do indeed form certain figures in our minds according to the delineation of the characters, but actually, we should experience what happens inside us, through a progression of words and speeches.[498]

Goethe's imagined ideal experience of a Shakespeare play corresponds to the aforementioned claims of a string quartet performance in which the musicians mutually work towards a pure and informed rendition of the work. More importantly, however, the other aspect of Goethe's assessment links back to Schumann's 'Quartettmorgen' articles: as the composer stated in the first of his reviews of chamber music performances in his own home, he aimed to capture and report back the impression that the work itself made on Schumann as listener and the musicians as performers.[499] Similarly to Schumann, Goethe imagined the ideal experience of a

[498] Ronyak, (2018) p. 47.

[499] See GS I, pp. 333f. For such a style of criticism in the 'Quartettmorgen' articles, see for example the pronoun 'we' (instead of 'I' or 'the author') used by Schumann throughout these articles. In the first Quartettmorgen, Schumann wrote that after the encounter of a composition by Verhulst, 'the quartet

Shakespeare work as listening inside oneself, crystallising the impressions of the artwork in the listener through a reading without any subjective additions. This counteracts the general development of the arts in public at that time, which Sennett saw as dominated by the personality of the performer rather than by the work itself.[500] Ronyak argued that 'Goethe therefore asserts this alternate mode of reading against practices and theories that recognized the intersubjective entanglement of performing poetry on the stage and the resulting subjective consequences'.[501] This statement could equally be applied to Schumann's reviews of the impressions he gathered from the chamber music performances in his 'Quartettmorgen'. Even though Schumann frequently praised the masterful renditions of the discussed chamber music works, his reviews were aiming to evoke the same impressions the music had on the performers themselves as well as on Schumann as listener, and thereby evading the intermediate stage of subjective colouring of the work through the personality of the performer (not the listener).[502]

The similarity of opinions between Goethe's and Schumann's ideals of inward listening also calls to mind another connection where Schumann, deliberately or not, reflected on Goethe's views on the string quartet. In the first 'Quartettmorgen' review of 1838 cited above, discussing the C-minor String Quartet by Leopold Fuchs, Schumann assessed the aesthetics of quartet compositions: 'a true quartet, in which

played a new one by Spohr *for itself*.' GS I, p. 334 (my emphasis), describing the quartet to be its own audience. He then concludes that, because most features of the new quartet by Spohr seemed so familiar to the players from his earlier works, that 'it seemed that the quartet players had a conversation about this work as if about a well-known object.' Ibid. Following this, Schumann quoted a remark by 'one of the quartet players' about the difference between young artists and true masters of composition. Ibid., p. 335. This first 'Quartettmorgen' article as well as the following five ones continue in this style of Schumann 'reporting' about the conversations with the quartet players and 'their' insights into these works.

[500] See Sennett (2002) pp. 183 and 197.

[501] Ronyak (2018) p. 48.

[502] Listening practices, as discussed in the prologue, have been explored by Johnson (1995), Thorau and Ziemer (2018), and others.

everyone contributes something, a mostly really beautiful, often peculiar and abstrusely woven conversation of four people, in which the weaving of threads follows the masterpieces of the previous epoch.'[503] Evidently, this quote compares to Goethe's famous letter to Friedrich Zelter from November 1829, in which the poet describes his impressions of Carl Moeser's quartet soirées in Berlin: 'one hears four rational persons conversing together, and imagines one gains something from their discourse and becomes acquainted with the peculiarities of their different instruments.'[504] These strikingly similar statements are not opposed to the previously quoted views, particularly by Goethe, preferring an as much as possible 'objective' performance over subjective addition by the performers. Against this background, the impression of witnessing conversations among the quartet players by both Goethe and Schumann leads back to the above concept of the performers being the first among the listeners. In the light of Goethe's Shakespeare essay, the conversation he experienced in the string quartet performance is no dialogue between the members of the Moeser quartet, but a musically composed discourse carried out by the players. Schumann's subsequent description of a true quartet is not different in this regard, as he clearly spoke of the quartet composition itself, in which the conversation takes place and the threads are woven.

Connecting all these theories concerning the performer's role and musical discourse, Daverio applied Schumann's perception of true string quartet compositions to his own work:

> the general impression one derives from listening to and playing his [op. 41] quartets is that of a discourse, 'by turns beautiful and abstrusely woven,' among equals. There is no better evidence for the esoteric quality of the motivic web in these pieces than Schumann's insistence that players should study them from the

[503] GS I, p. 335.

[504] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, letter to Friedrich Zelter, 9 November 1829 from Weimar. In: Lorraine Byrne Bodley (2010) *Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues*, Aldershot: Ashgate, p. 445.

> full score. Schumann's quartets, in short, may number among the last representatives of the true chamber idiom where players and listeners are one.[505]

The first connection within this quote links back to the demands for the performers of string quartets to study the score together before commencing rehearsing and performing, exemplified in the critiques by Petiscus and Rochlitz. Daverio recalled the idiom of these ideologies that the performers thereby become their own listeners. This, however, links his claim to the above statements by Goethe and Schumann himself through the notion of discourse, which in Daverio's view is exemplified through closely spun motivic links in the String Quartets. Finally, as the role of the performers seems somewhat detached from the work through studying the score and becoming their own listeners, Daverio confirmed Hunter's theory of 'democratic sociability' in such works, in contrast to the merely personifying and subjective notion of the conversation. This last connection draws back to the beginning of this discussion, as it constitutes Daverio's assessment concluding his examination of public and private styles in chamber music. In short, Daverio claimed that 'the split between private and public concerns manifests itself in the decidedly orchestral textures that encroach more and more on the nineteenth-century string quartet'.[506] Despite this concise definition, however, Daverio subsequently admitted that the aspect of discourse is far more fundamental to Schumann's string quartets than the change between textures.

I argue therefore that Schumann had no intention of incorporating distinct private or public styles in his chamber music. Instead, he invited the public, his 'imagined community', initially through his written reviews, to experience chamber music in what he perceived to be its ideal context: intimate performance. Schumann was, furthermore, aware that there were means of performance (such as through the

[505] Daverio (1997) p. 255.
[506] Ibid.

reviews by Petiscus and Rochlitz), and of the music itself (as in Goethe's or his own assessments about discourse) that suggested that chamber music could itself portray this ideal, and make it audible to the wider listenership. In my analysis of his early Piano Quartet from 1829 I suggested that Schumann already used modes of reflection on the social context of the composition through narrative musical structures. This way of musically conveying an ideal social construct can be subsumed under the concept of 'musical sociability'. In what follows I discuss the few recent scholarly contributions to this theory, concluding with Hunter's notion of 'democratic sociability' for the period and repertoire directly preceding Schumann's lead-up to his chamber music year. The discussion shows that, in his case, Schumann's way of 'narrative sociability' in his chamber music was the logical continuation of the development of this concept.

Defining Sociability

As W. Dean Sutcliffe has pointed out on multiple occasions, sociability has been widely acknowledged as a shortcut to characterising social and cultural developments of eighteenth-century Enlightenment but has not yet become more than an incidental feature in musical scholarship.[507] My aim here is to extend the study of sociability to Schumann's chamber music, towards which I have been inspired by Daverio's above analysis of the string quartets, and Hunter's study of sociability in the early nineteenth-century string quartet in general.

[507] See Sutcliffe (2019) p. xi and 1; W. Dean Sutcliffe, (2013) 'The Shapes of Sociability in the Instrumental Music of the Later Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 138 (1), p. 1; and W. Dean Sutcliffe (2009) 'Before the Joke: Texture and Sociability in the Largo of Haydn's Op. 33, No. 2', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 28 (2-3), p. 98.

In the Brothers Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, the term *Geselligkeit*, which comes closest in its historical use to the modern concept of sociability,[508] is defined in three related but distinct areas:

> 1) The being together as fellows or friends; the amicable relationship of fellows with each other.
> 2) The sociable being together, the amicable contact and conduct, as well as the inclination and capability for such.
> 3) The living together in a social order: the active impulse to lawful sociability, as a result of which a people constitute a persisting common entity.[509]

The first point covers an aspect better translated as fellowship or companionability (the word *Geselligkeit* is derived from the noun *Geselle*, meaning fellow, companion, or apprentice), and the third point relates to the, at that time, often interchangeably used term of *Gesellschaft* (society). It demonstrates how generally *Geselligkeit* was used in the nineteenth century to describe social structures and conducts. Only the second point can probably be translated to what is nowadays associated with sociability (or sociality).[510] What is noticeable throughout nineteenth-century encyclopaedic descriptions of *Geselligkeit* is what Grimm called inclination ('Neigung') to sociability, an inherent urge of cultured people to be sociable.

Much closer to the era discussed in this dissertation (the volume including *Geselligkeit* of Grimm's *Wörterbuch* was published in 1897), is Heinrich August Pierer's *Universal-Lexikon der Gegenwart und Vergangenheit, oder neuestes encyclopädisches Wörterbuch des Wissenschaften, Künste und Gewerbe*. In the 1842

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[508] Ronyak remarked that other common translations of *Geselligkeit* include 'conviviality, chumminess, or, oddly, folksiness.' Jennifer Ronyak (2010) *Performing the Lied, Performing the Self: Singing Subjectivity in Germany, 1790-1832*, PhD Diss.: University of Rochester, p 28.

[509] '1) das zusammensein als genossen oder freunde, das freundschaftliche verhältnis von gesellen zu einander...
2) das gesellige zusammensein, der freundliche umgang und verkehr, sowie die neigung und fertigkeit dazu...
3) das zusammenleben in einer gesellschaftsordnung: der rege trieb zur gesetzlichen geselligkeit, wodurch ein volk ein dauerndes gemeines wesen ausmacht.' Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm et al. (1897) *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 4 (Abtheilung 1, Zweite Hälfte), Leipzig: S. Hirzel, p. 4047.

[510] See David Warren Sabean (2018) 'Constructing middle-class milieus in nineteenth-century Germany: The labor of Geselligkeit'. In James Williams and Felicitas Hentschke (Eds.) *To be at Home: House, Work, and Self in the Modern World*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, p. 40.

volume, regarding '*Geselligkeit'*, he distinguished between the word's societal and sociable meaning:

> 1) The inclination to live with others in a community; based on an impulse, which even constitutes itself in animals, though in humans it establishes itself through the closer or wider associations which form wherever several people meet, see *society*. 2) The predominant inclination to spend one's life as much as possible in contact with other people. It is based on a predominance of sociable qualities, such as: goodwill, kindness, indulgence, good nature, generally a spirit perceptive to light and cheerful impressions.[511]

Only shortly after Pierer's publication, the author K. H. Schneider addressed this two-fold definition of *Geselligkeit* directly in his contribution to Ersch's and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*:

> Sociability (*Geselligkeit*), society (*Gesellschaft*) and fellowship (*Gesellung*) in general: these words, commonly regarded as synonyms, generally describe the fact that several living and animated beings, of which each constitutes an existing entity in itself, cannot isolate themselves as such, but enter a coexistence and interaction with others, especially of the same kind, and create some kind of lasting connection or community. It is, therefore, especially the feature of a *definition of will* (*Willensbestimmung*), utterance of the so-called capacity to desire (*Begehrungsvermögen*), the energy, in the term as such, from which this certain connection evolves.[512]

Schneider then attempted to disentangle the synonymous use of the terms *Geselligkeit* and *Gesellschaft* through the lens of personal sociable qualities: 'Apparently it is especially the *inclination*, which is the main characteristic in the term "sociable"

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[511] '1) Neigung, mit And. in Gemeinschaft zu leben; gründet sich auf einen Trieb (G-strieb), der selbst bei Thieren sich häufig geltend macht, bei Menschen aber durch die überall, wo Mehrere zusammentreffen, von selbst sich bildenden engern od. weiteren Vereine sich beurkundet, s. Gesellschaft. 2) Die vorherrschende Neigung, so viel als möglich sein Leben im Umgang mit andern Menschen zuzubringen. Sie gründet sich auf ein Uebergewicht geselliger Eigenschaften, als: Wohlwollen, Freundlichkeit, Nachgiebigkeit, Verträglichkeit, überhaupt auf einen leichten u. für heitere Eindrücke empfängl. Sinn.' Heinrich August Pierer (1842) *Universal-Lexikon der Gegenwart und Vergangenheit, oder neuestes encyclopädisches Wörterbuch des Wissenschaften, Künste und Gewerbe*, 2nd ed., vol. 12, Altenburg: A. H. Pierer, p. 179.

[512] '*Geselligkeit, Gesellschaft* und *Gesellung* überhaupt. Diese Wörter, im gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauche als Synonyme geltend, bezeichnen im Allgemeinen die Thatsache, daß mehre lebende und beseelte Wesen, deren jedes ein für sich bestehendes Ganzes bildet, doch nicht als ein solches sich isoliren, sondern mit andern, insbesondere ihres Gleichen in das Verhältniß der Coexistenz und Wechselwirkung treten, irgendeine Art von bleibender Verbindung oder Gemeinschaft stiften. Es liegt sonach in dem Begriffe derselben vor Allem das Merkmal einer *Willensbestimmung*, Aueßerung des sogenannten Begehrungsvermögens, der Thatkraft, woraus eine solche Verbindung erst hervorgeht.' K. H. Schneider (1856) 'Geselligkeit und Gesellschaft'. In: Johann Samuel Ersch and Johann Gottfried Gruber (Eds.) *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, section 1, part 63, Leipzig: Brockhaus, p. 434.

("*gesellig*"), the word (because of the *-able*) describing those in the first place in whom it is *inherent* to join others.'[513] What Schneider summarises here, and what also is apparent from the above encyclopaedic entries, is that, besides its topical overlapping with society, sociability seemed to be understood as a human quality, an inclination to socialise and enjoy contact with others.[514]

There are also non-encyclopaedic accounts from the early nineteenth century about the place and role *Geselligkeit* could take in society, particularly in the light of Habermas' abovementioned theory of the decline of the public sphere. David Warren Sabean has studied the diaries and accounts of Karl Ewald Hasse, professor for medicine and teacher of Wilhelm Wundt and Robert Koch, who was born in Dresden only fifteen days after Schumann in Zwickau, and grew up in Dresden and Leipzig – hence, Sabean's study covers the exact same time and locations as my work on Schumann's circles.[515] Perhaps more akin to Mendelssohn in Berlin than to Schumann in Zwickau, however, Hesse grew up in sociable houses, his family home and in his student years in Leipzig, where he met his relatives as well as artists and intellectuals alike in a familiar atmosphere. Sabean stressed the fact that kinship and family relations were the basis for the sociability these houses provided, and only through such an environment real sociability could be extended to guests and friends of the family. Combining the two worlds of men (the professional world) and women (the domestic world), Hasse saw *Geselligkeit* as a mediating factor, according to Sabean: 'Hasse's

[513] 'Offenbar ist es vor Allem die *Neigung*, welche das Hauptmerkmal in dem Begriffe „gesellig" bildet, welches Wort (wegen des ig) zunächst denjenigen bezeichnet, dem es *eigen* ist, sich zu anderen zu gesellen.' Ibid., p. 435.

[514] No entry to *Geselligkeit* could be found in Joseph Meyer (1853) *Das grosse Conversations-Lexicon für die gebildeten Stände. In Verbindung mit Staatsmännern, Gelehrten, Künstlern und Technikern*, Leipzig and Vienna: Bibliographisches Insitut. In Herder's *Conversations-Lexikon*, the entry on 'Social' only provides linguistic origins and associations, but no context or interpretations. See Johannes Bumüller (Ed.) (1857) *Herders Conversations-Lexikon*, vol. 5, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, p. 238.

[515] See Sabean (2018).

autobiography is fascinating for the transitions it demonstrates in his reflections on professional milieus and family networks. The key intersection for him seems to lie in *Geselligkeit*.'[516] The term here functions as a common ground of these two spheres, providing the familiarity of the home to the professional circles, which are otherwise characterised as narrow-minded (due to the homogeneous mix of people in the workplace) and unsociable.

The linking feature of *Geselligkeit* is even more so evident in Sabean's discussion of the lawyer and Enlightenment writer Ernst Brandes, who examined the role of women in the home in 1802. Describing the sphere which Hasse a few decades later reported on in his autobiography, Brandes noted that, according to Sabean, 'mediating between the public and the private was a sphere where men and women met on an equal basis, an area he called *Geselligkeit*.'[517] This area of *Geselligkeit* defines the intermediate sphere which links the public and the private; an area which in regard to chamber music has often been labelled semi-private or semi-public, as discussed in the previous section. This sphere is, furthermore, most dominated by the world of salons, which is, as discussed earlier, the sphere of the highest possible emancipation of women in the early nineteenth century. Not least, the role of *Geselligkeit* as described as a form of familiarity for professional networks also calls to mind the loss of discourse in the public sphere as described by Habermas above.

This aspect of *Geselligkeit*, the attempt to restore privacy and familiarity outside the family circle, has at the time most prominently been addressed in an anonymous publication by Friedrich Schleiermacher in 1799, *Versuch einer Theorie des geselligen*

[516] Ibid., p. 41. Sabean also made an important point about the role of women and their work in sociable households to maintain and nurture the networks of families and professionals, an aspect which has hitherto been largely underestimated.
[517] Ibid., p. 42.

Betragens ('Toward a Theory of Sociable Conduct').[518] Schleiermacher propagated the idea of 'free sociability' which allows men and women to express themselves freely and to broaden their *Bildung* through the interaction with others liberated from the professional as well as the domestic sphere.[519] Schleiermacher himself being a member of the Berlin salons of Henriette Herz and Rahel Varnhagen, the connection of this publication to salon culture in Germany is evident, and Schleiermacher uplifts the free sociability of the salon to an aesthetic principle: comparing the society and conduct in such salons with a stage and virtuosi, for Schleiermacher free sociability becomes an art form itself. Peter Seibert, in the context of his research on sociability in the Berlin literary salons, explained the parameters for this art form:

> The 'sociable life as a work of art' can, according to Schleiermacher's theory, only be realised in places where sociability constitutes itself as a 'free' one, as 'not being bound or defined by any outer purpose'. The relevance of the claim for such conduct is considered by him socio-historically as a reaction to the breakdown of the human sphere of activity into a private-domestic and a public-professional one.[520]

This interpretation of Schleiermacher's 'free sociability as art' as a reaction to the demise of public discourse conveys the same importance of sociability as an intermediate meeting place for professional and domestic circles as in Sabean's accounts of Hasse's autobiography. Ronyak confirmed that, for Schleiermacher, free sociability as a third sphere provided the escape from the limitations of professional life for men and domestic life for women, and while ideally achieved in one-to-one conversation, the salon provided the most suitable place for this sphere.[521] The other connection to Habermas' theory of the public sphere is the role of the arts as the only remaining enabler of privacy outside the family circle at the turn of the century. For

[518] Friedrich Schleiermacher (1984) *Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Schriften aus der Berliner Zeit 1796-1799*, ed. by Günter Meckenstock, Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 163-184.
[519] See Ronyak (2010) pp. 29f.
[520] See Seibert (1993) p. 314.
[521] See Ronyak (2010) pp. 37-39.

both Schleiermacher and Habermas, sociability becomes an aesthetic principle: Schleiermacher saw free sociability as art in itself, whereas Habermas considered it art criticism, which for him took the main role in the public discourse at that time.

The most prominent group to realise sociability as art and art criticism at the same time, and to cross the boundaries between family household and professional circles, were the early nineteenth-century German poets and philosophers, including the Schlegels, Novalis, Tieck, Wackenroder, and notably Schleiermacher himself, and their proximities in Jena, Weimar, and Berlin. According to Ronyak, those Romantics used 'sociability as the generator of inner development and worthwhile subjective expression or exchange'.[522] Their close friendships and local proximities served these Romantics for their own development through inspiration from each other. In their mutual journalistic venture, the *Athenaeum Fragments*, Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis gave their ideals of artistic collaboration the titles of 'symphilosophy' and 'sympoetry' in 1789.[523] Since then, such close circles with their practising of sociability were regarded as the ideal environment for the development and expression of Romantic artists and their works. Various articles in the *NZfM* copied the discursive style of the *Athenaeum Fragments,* including the sociable interaction between anonymous authors. The proximity of the involved individuals, around the *Koffebaum* table as well as in Schumann's musical circles in Leipzig, contributed to the possibility of such close exchange and interaction. Even Schumann's own perceived divide of personality into the two characters of Florestan and Eusebius and their virtual literary exchanges and

[522] Ronyak (2018) p. 29. See also Inge Hoffmann-Axthelm (1973) *'Geisterfamilie': Studien zur Geselligkeit der Frühromantik*, Frankfurt/Main: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft. Unfortunately, this source was inaccessible for the author at the time of writing.

[523] *Athenaeum Fragment* no. 125: 'Perhaps there would be a birth of a whole new era of the sciences and arts if symphilosophy and sympoetry become so universal and heartfelt that it would no longer be anything extraordinary for several complementary minds to create communal works of art.' Friedrich von Schlegel (1971) *Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde and the Fragments*, transl. by Peter Firchow, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 177f.

interactions can be considered as using the 'sympoetry' concept of literary sociability, namely reciprocal inspiration.

Modes of Musical Representations of Society

Translating forms of sociability into instrumental works, however, is made more difficult by music's abstractness, which challenges the analysis of similar sociable patterns. Sutcliffe proposed two different shapes of musical sociability in order to classify the means of instrumental music to convey social meaning: 'affective sociability, encompassing our feelings of good fellowship, ease, warmth, friendliness, relaxation, good humour and the like, and technical sociability, which encompasses all the communicative principles and devices that can be applied in order to court a listener.'[524] Focussing on late eighteenth-century repertoire and Haydn's string quartets in particular, for Sutcliffe the first category of affective sociability is central in his approach to emotion and expression in music, and many of his examples address concepts such as language, humour, topics, and structural analysis as essential features of Haydn's style. For the examination of sociability in the analytical part of this dissertation, however, the technical communicative category is more useful to apply the above concepts of sociability in the discursive sphere Schumann establishes with his environment in his music, and to support the narrative reading.

Communicative strategies in eighteenth-century music, though, can only serve as a first step towards the proposed sociability of narrative structures in Schumann's music. Sutcliffe analysed phrase structures and symmetries, cadences, and rhythmical and syntactical patterns and manipulations in late eighteenth-century instrumental music as communicative utterances of music. As a technical category, for Sutcliffe

[524] Sutcliffe (2019) p. 12.

these utterances are independent from the music's emotive character: 'the music at issue need not only convey what I am defining as sociable emotions or affects. It is more a question of a social contract, of defining musical images of how one should interact with the world.'[525] I argue that the same applies to narratives in nineteenth-century music, and that a narrative category could form a second step to the technical category of this social contract. This nineteenth-century social contract was less behavioural (compared to Haydn's utterances of social interaction, as it does not attempt to mirror human behaviour of sociability) but more discursive (as it will enter an imaginative dialogue with the listener about forms of sociability) – both of which will be explained in detail in the following sections.

Sutcliffe's conclusion about the unique capacity of music to provide sociability to a higher degree than actual conversation can equally be applied to his notion of technical sociability as well as to narratives. Sutcliffe argued that

> we should understand sociability as a 'structure of thought' as much as necessarily a reality. If sociability was as much ideal or aspiration as practice - and the existence of so many conduct books and conversation manuals at the time suggests as much - then perhaps music was uniquely well equipped to embody it. It was at least one degree removed from those points of contention or difference that might inhibit any real-life social conduct. It could, I believe, embody the rhythms and the ethos of sociable exchange more vividly than any other medium.[526]

This nearly Schopenhauerian approach to the abstract representation of human ideals in music exceeds the mere depiction of conversational or emotive structures. Sutcliffe recognised that sociability in music is not so much about mirroring human behaviour and interaction but incorporating the imagined ideal form of a society's conception of its own social principles (even though in his case, Sutcliffe specified this with the sociability found in contemporary descriptions from the late eighteenth-century). For

[525] Sutcliffe (2009) p. 99.
[526] Sutcliffe (2013) p. 6.

now, I assume that musical narrativity can serve as a valid method for the early Romantics, or at least for Schumann's personal social environment, to embody their perception of sociable exchange and interaction. First, however, I will exemplify Sutcliffe's above statement through two earlier societies.

As discussed in more detail in the section about salon culture (pp. 176ff.), sociability in eighteenth-century Parisian salons was centred around the art of conversation. Barbara Hanning reviewed the chamber music styles featured in Parisian salons in the later eighteenth century and concluded that this culture of civilised conversation was adopted and idealised in the string quartets composed especially for the salons.[527] Hanning looked at the rules of conversational etiquette in Parisian salon culture, in particular by Abbé Morellet, who defined several points of sophisticated conversation: for example, to converse in one large group rather than several separated groups, not to interrupt one other's speech, to aim for continuity of thought and argument, and for the conversation not to be dominated by particular individuals but for the contributions to be shared evenly. Hanning argued that these principles are adopted in 'the so-called *style dialogue*, a musical texture in which each of the instruments of a chamber music ensemble at some time or other is assigned to play the melody in a given composition'.[528] This style, which elevated musical discourse as its essential feature, is, in Hanning's view, the idealised embodiment of conversational principles as laid out by Morellet for Parisian salons.

Another, similar example of a society's developments adopted in music was discovered by Sutcliffe for the outgoing eighteenth century in Germany. Sutcliffe

[527] See Hanning (1989).
[528] Ibid., p. 512.

referred to this critique by William Jones from 1784 of recent developments of musical style:

> As for Haydn and Boccherini, who merit a first place among the Moderns for invention, they are sometimes so desultory and unaccountable in their way of treating a Subject, that they may be reckoned among the wild warblers of the wood: And they seem to differ from some pieces of Handel, as the Talk and the Laughter of the Tea-table (where, perhaps, neither Wit nor Invention are wanting) differs from the Oratory of the Bar and the Pulpit.[529]

What Jones described here is the result of the transformation of society after the Enlightenment, the origin of the bourgeois public sphere as Habermas defined it, characterised through vivid interaction and discussions. With it, the change in musical style came through the 'Moderns' around Haydn and Boccherini. Jones, deliberately or not, testified that at the end of the eighteenth century, music was regarded as the mirror of society, or the embodiment of the society's idealised self-conception, as has been described above – even though, for the clergyman Jones, this development appeared to be an unfortunate one. The link to the places where these two different styles could be heard, the sacred space for the pre-1750 style and the secular space of conversation and socialising for the Moderns, relates these styles to their social context. What is more, however, Jones also equated the musical styles with the expected behaviour in and nature of these social circles. Handel's music, as a prime example for the 'old style', resembled the style of a sermon, 'being delivered in authoritative fashion from the centralized figure of the composer', as Sutcliffe interpreted Jones' account of agency in the old style.[530] In contrast, in the modern approach of Haydn and Boccherini Jones saw this stringent way of delivering a subject replaced with 'an informal, unpredictable flow of thoughts',[531] which corresponds to the way of conversation at the new social centre of these composers. The 'multiple

[529] Sutcliffe (2019) p. 17.
[530] Ibid.
[531] Ibid.

points of view' from the tea table, according to Sutcliffe, are mirrored in the agency of the Moderns as described by Jones.[532]

Summarising a range of contemporary accounts of the changing musical style of Haydn's time, Klorman confirmed this view of the new aesthetics of expression by drawing

> a distinction between an older aesthetic of musical rhetoric as a formal, public proclamation on a serious subject and with a specified aim (persuasion), and a newly emerging mode of expression that celebrates the more impromptu – but no less artful – private discourse of the drawing room.[533]

This evaluation describes the general development of musical styles as well as cultural and social centres which was exemplified by Sutcliffe in the quote by William Jones. Klorman, thereby, also connected these two phenomena, even though he refrained from the comparison of the 'public proclamation on a serious subject' with the authority of the church in pre-Enlightenment times. The 'private discourse of the drawing room', on the other side, was the model for the 'impromptu' character of the musical style which Jones found 'desultory and unaccountable'.

These two examples of the different developments of sociability in string quartets, regarding the music of the Parisian salon and of the German drawing room, show that the musical styles followed the changes of the society and culture they were part of, or better, were used by these societies to depict their own idealised form of social conduct.[534] In Hanning's case, the *style dialogue* resembled the focus of the Parisian salon culture on the strict rules and norms of conversation, through a fair and

[532] The concept and theories of agency in music are related to the discussion of both sociability and narrativity but would exceed the frame of this theoretical part of the present study. However, the discussion of agency has been influential in my understanding of agency as part of the narrative discourse, as well as to the above accounts of sociability. See Klorman (2016); Seth Monahan (2013) 'Action and Agency Revisited', *Journal of Music Theory*, 57 (2), pp. 321-371; and Edward T. Cone (1974) *The Composer's Voice*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

[533] Klorman (2016) p. 23.

[534] Further examples could include the Viennese salon, which was often put in rivalry with the French, as discussed by, amongst others, Hanson (1985) and Peham (2013).

varied share of melodic material in all voices. For the Austro-German situation around Haydn and Mozart, in contrast, Sutcliffe and Klorman singled out spontaneity and witty discourse as musical principles typical of the retreat of society from the political sphere and its more informal, free and easy way of conversation in their new, bourgeois public. Robert Schumann himself referred to the latter version of musical sociability – without naming it as such – in his aforementioned quote about the 'often peculiar and abstrusely woven conversation of four people' he heard in a perfect string quartet. Schumann's assessment, however, challenges the idea of sociability in chamber music after the Haydn-Mozart-era: while the accounts by Schumann and Goethe somewhat correspond to the impromptu, spontaneous conversational style explored by Sutcliffe and Klorman above, I previously linked these statements to contemporary contributions by Petiscus and Rochlitz, and Hunter's and November's writings thereof. These accounts, in contrast, laid out the demand of the later repertoire (which almost exclusively means Beethoven's string quartets) for preparation such as rehearsals and discussions on the works' nature. This depicts an evident contradiction of notions of sociability in this repertoire, as the former relied on the ad-hoc improvisatory character and informality of tea-table conversations, whereas the latter presumably prevented such spontaneity through intellectual and mutual comprehension of the work prior to its rendition.

Forms of Musical Sociability: Acting and Narrating

Against this background, I interpret narrative strategies, at least in Schumann's case, as replacement for the mode of conversation practiced in late eighteenth-century chamber music. Hunter suggested this development in her analysis of Haydn's late String Quartets, written for the Salomon quartet in London:

> Not only do these quartets enact an apparently direct communication from the composer (author) to the listener (reader), but they are also 'about' intimate dialogue or discourse among fully characterized individuals speaking, as it were, for themselves (there being no narrator). The illusion of conversation is an important part of this model, not only because of the way it enacts intimacy in public, but also because it requires that the actual performers become subsumed within the line they perform.[535]

While, for Haydn's Quartets, Hunter maintained the notion of conversation as the dominating feature of sociability in the music, she acknowledged the narrative competence of the discourse, which she called 'the illusion of conversation'. This ties in with Sutcliffe's theory of sociable structures in music being the ideal of real sociability, and thereby being one degree removed from the forms of actual social interaction and behaviour. This concept seems to cover the same idea as Hunter's 'illusion of conversation', which essentially ascribes meaning to musical sociability: the quartets are 'about' dialogue and discourse, as well as enacting it. The 'about' suggests that there is a plot, a strategy in the course of the quartet, a pre-existing issue or story that the quartet is about. This contradicts the notion of spontaneity of the conversation that has been written about by contemporaries and analysed by Sutcliffe and Klorman as discussed above. Hunter's 'illusion' of this conversation, however, does not deny that the conversation enacted in the quartet can be perceived as impromptu – which is part of the 'direct communication' between composer and listener, at the beginning of the above quote. Instead, she added that the performers themselves tell the story of their interaction by adopting the lines of the composer's communication with the audience. This shifts the issue of sociability in music from mere rendition of sociable interaction to the structured communication among the performers about their intimacy.

[535] Mary Hunter (2012) 'Haydn's London Piano Trios and His Salomon String Quartets: Private vs. Public?' In: Elaine R. Sisman (Ed.) *Haydn and His World*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 125.

Hunter confirmed and expanded this concept of enacted conversation being replaced with the performer's awareness of the quartet's story of sociability in her exploration of quartet performances of Beethoven in Vienna, Berlin and Paris. She argued that the conversational model, which she saw motivated by the 'irresistible temptation to map the four parts onto the persons of the performers',[536] does not suffice anymore for change of musical style in the early nineteenth century. Instead, she noticed 'a different kind of worthy sociability' described by contemporary critics.[537] This kind of sociability traces back to the initially discussed articles by Petiscus and Rochlitz, which involves all players of the quartet discussing the nature and matter of the work beforehand. Combined with accounts of the role of the first violin, who was seen as the inspirational leader of the ensemble, Hunter called this the 'democratic ideal'.[538] She argued that this ideal contradicts statements like Goethe's remark about hearing four people conversing in a string quartet. In her concept of democratic sociability every player is constantly involved, whether leading or not, which connects to Anderson's notion of an imagined community following the protagonists through a novel even if these are not constantly part of the events. Goethe's quote, in contrast, suggests that the players take turns in their utterances.

Such a juxtaposition is, however, only valid in Hunter's focus on the performative aspect of sociability in string quartets. Taking a step back from the performance perspective, this democratic ideal is also evident, and perhaps even more relevant in rehearsals as well as performances. What is more, the ideal of the players being their own listeners and attempting to examine the work's nature in discussions and rehearsals is independent from the musical structures of conversation or equal

[536] Hunter (2012) '"The Most Interesting Genre of Music"', p. 54.
[537] Ibid., p. 56.
[538] Ibid., p. 64.

participation and leader-centred behaviour. Instead, the kind of sociable democracy laid out by Petiscus and Rochlitz represents a more general demand of the players to perceive and render an ideal sociability embodied in the work. For the earlier nineteenth century, Hunter interpreted these 'aesthetics of seriousness and elevation' being mirrored in the forms of sociable and spiritual democracy she discovered in contemporary music reviews and exemplified in Beethoven's String Quartet, op. 59 no. 2.[539] I do not aim to conduct a similarly comprehensive approach to sociability for the mid-nineteenth century. However, in Schumann's case, certain features of sociability within his circles can be defined to represent social structures which have been the subject of what musical sociability has idealised in the previous examples.

Communicating the Ideal: Finding Schumann's Musical Sociability

Generally, studies of sociability in string quartets of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century suggest that the perception of sociability in music developed towards the musical discourse about sociability itself, in contrast to the direct rendition of an idealised concept of social conduct. Hunter's notion of musical sociability being 'about' conversation instead of depicting it corresponds to the contemporary idea of attentive quartet players listening to their own musical interactions.[540] Continuing this development would necessarily lead to an expansion of utterances of sociability to a narration of it. In the analysis of narratives in the early C-minor Piano Quartet, I argued that Schumann reflected on how he was inspired for the composition of his first

[539] Ibid., p. 56.

[540] A further strand of thought in this context would be the new philosophy of personhood. For further reading, see, amongst others, Roderick M. Chisholm (1976) *Person and Object*, La Salle (IL): Open Court; David Wiggins (1980) *Sameness and Substance*, Oxford: Blackwell; and Lynne Rudder Baker (2000) *Persons and Bodies: A Constitution View*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. See also Kok (2006) regarding the concept of personhood in connection to children's education in Schumann's time, specifically with regard to the pedagogues Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and Friedrich Froebel.

chamber music work by the collaboration and friendships with his ensemble as well as wider social circles. The narrative, therefore, is not so much a mirror of general developments of sociability as it is a glance into Schumann's own social situation. The intimacy which Schumann cultivated within the circle around Mendelssohn, David, Voigt, and his wife Clara, moreover, is exactly what was commonly considered as the ideal form and place for chamber music. Hence, the depiction of Schumann's own social environment in musical narratives fulfilled the aim of musical sociability to portray the sociable ideal.

Schumann's 'Quartettmorgen' articles can, in this regard, be considered as another, a literary forerunner of his chamber music works of 1842 – and in turn, his chamber music as another newspaper-like creator of an imagined community. By inviting their readership to witness the intimacy of the private chamber music playing of Schumann's 'clover', the articles provide a literary model for the role of the narrative in musical sociability in my reading of the 1842 chamber works in Chapter 3. Through narratives in his chamber music, Schumann replaced his reporting on the musicians' impressions from the discussed chamber music works with a more distinguished and subtle method: he let the music and the performers themselves 'be his articles', so to speak.[541] The music and the players 'are telling' the audience about this intimate and ideal social context through and within Schumann's compositions. Such a form of musical sociability appears to be exactly the means which Schumann aimed for in order to communicate the artistic ideal, the intimate sociability to the outer world. Not least this hypothesis of a narrativity in sociability is, furthermore, particularly relevant for Schumann's case in the light of his own twofold personal

[541] Given that especially instrumental music has no 'absolute' language but can be read in a variety of subjective approaches, this interpretation is only one of many possible ways and depicts my own application of narratives onto the music.

destiny between music and literature, and his interest in the narrative models in novels by Jean Paul, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and others.

Finally, one could argue that this specific form of sociability *in* music is limited to the sociability *of* music, as it only narrates the social context of Schumann's chamber music circle. Previous examples of musical sociability have depicted more general social phenomena, such as conversation in the Parisian salons and around the Austro-German tea table. However, a depiction of *Geselligkeit*, exemplified in the chamber music making within Schumann's circle, addresses the general development of society as explained by Habermas and Sennett, but also by Schleiermacher. In traversing the 'private-public-spectrum', Schumann's chamber works provide a public form of privacy, helping the public man in the nineteenth century overcome the loss of real privacy and familiarity in public life through contemplation of the arts and art criticism in one, as described by above scholars. In Schumann's case, his musical circles overlapped with his social life, with his wife being as equally part of this circle as his closest friends and supporters in Leipzig. The boundaries between his family home and his professional colleagues diminished to an extent in which *Geselligkeit* as described by Hasse (see Sabean's discussion) could become the prevalent 'sphere'. This sphere, I argue, is reflected in a form of musical sociability which portrays these circumstances, in which not only the ideal context for chamber music playing was given, but in which also Schumann's own sociability could fully unfold.

An Afterthought: The Piano, the Female Sphere, and the Salon

Scholarship on musical sociability so far has almost solely focussed on string quartets as the representative genre of chamber music, apart from Sutcliffe's recent volume

including all genres of instrumental music.[542] This exclusivity might still stem from Goethe's assessment of an equal dialogue of four strings, which the piano would clearly unbalance. However, as noted above, Schumann's chamber music is resolved from this notion of dialogue and aims to represent more general social constructs. Schumann's first chamber music experiences, what is more, were with himself at the piano, either as a protegee in his early circles, or with his own first chamber ensemble in Leipzig. One result of this was that his first chamber music work was a piano quartet. Since being unable to participate himself as a pianist after his hand injury, Schumann's closest friends in Leipzig – Mendelssohn, Voigt, and above all Clara Schumann – played the piano at many of their musical gatherings. In conclusion, it seems unlikely that Schumann considered chamber music with piano a less sociable genre, reflected in his 1842 compositions comprising both chamber music with and without the piano.

Instead, the scholarly focus on sociability in string quartets stems, I assume, from the notion of 'gendered spheres': while the string quartet was the representative, male-dominated genre suited for public appearances, chamber music with piano was commonly located in the female-dominated domestic sphere. Sumner Lott and Lorraine Byrne Bodley have critiqued this association, which has recently been challenged in many disciplines but 'remains stubbornly pervasive in music history because of the specialized circumstances that live music performances creates'.[543] These circumstances are socially determined, through the near exclusion of women from professional music business, with the exception of pianists and singers. This led Sumner Lott to the conclusion that 'when a composer or a publisher created a string chamber work for the marketplace, he (nearly always he) addressed a social setting

[542] See Sutcliffe (2019).
[543] Sumner Lott (2015) p. 18. See also Byrne Bodley (2015) p. 55; and Botstein (2005) pp. 161f.

and group of participants different from those he imagined when writing a piano trio or a wind quintet'.[544] While Beethoven and others considered the educated, intellectual private sphere as the real sphere for artistic fulfilment (as I have argued, this was also the case for the Romantic ideal promoted by Schumann and others), notions about the difference between the male dominated string chamber music and the piano's role in chamber music connected to the female domestic sphere in the early-nineteenth century suggest that the former is equally the more sophisticated one as well as the more publicly oriented. To me, this dilemma highlights the flawed conversation about gendered spheres.

Hence, the situation of Schumann's Leipzig circle demands another definition of an intermediate sphere, which I described through the concept of sociability. In the section about salon culture, I argued that in the case of Schumann's circles in Leipzig, the distinction of a private female and public male sphere for chamber music was less evident than commonly assumed. The free interchange of musicians between public concert life and private musical gatherings in this circle not only allowed women like Clara Schumann to be involved in the public concert scene and male musicians to host private events, it encouraged all members of the circle to develop a certain sociability among each other beyond the limits of the separated and gendered spheres. With regard to the character of her 'Sonntagsmusiken', Fanny Hensel's called this phenomenon a 'strange medium' between the spheres.[545]

Robert Schumann's impression when he gathered his clover, as he wrote in his first 'Quartettmorgen' review, is worth reading again at this point:

> Comparing the faces of some shivering musicians climbing up the stairs of the Gewandhaus, possibly about to perform a solo, with the faces of my quartet

[544] Sumner Lott (2015) p. 5.

[545] See Fanny Mendelssohn, letter to Julius Elsasser, 6 May 1846 from Leipzig. In: Hans-Günter Klein (2006) 'Sonntagsmusiken bei Fanny Hensel'. In: Ibid. (Ed.) *Die Musikveranstaltungen bei den Mendelssohns – Ein 'musikalischer Salon'?,* Leipzig: Mendelssohn-Haus, p. 49.

> players, the latter seem much more enviable to me, as our quartet is at the same time its own audience, and thus not showing any kind of anxiety, while an eavesdropping child at the window and an intruding nightingale were not at all hindered in listening.[546]

In the light of the above discussion of sociability as the decisive factor for Schumann's chamber music composition, his comparison of the chamber music scene in his home with public performances in the Gewandhaus confirms that he was striving towards a character and atmosphere of musical events in such a 'strange medium'. Schumann saw intimate performances as being neither sealed off from the outer world – poetically described through the child and the nightingale by Schumann, both widely understood to represent 'nature' in all its innocence, which can be compared to Habermas' and Sennett's theory of the lost connection of the public man to the purity of intimacy outside the family home. The musicians neither needed to pay attention to anything else than their own playing, the quartet being 'at the same time its own audience' – surely, Petiscus and Rochlitz would have agreed with such a performance context.

The reciprocity of free interchange between spheres in a somewhat common semi-public or semi-private environment was therefore perfect for Schumann's approach to chamber music – regardless of whether with or without the piano – and to the sociability within his circle. In Schumann's case, this intermediate space was extended from salon culture to a larger realm, essentially embracing all aspects of Leipzig's musical life at the time. This comprised instances from the most private – the scenes of Schumann improvising at Voigt's home late at night, his close friendships to Mendelssohn and David, and his love relationship with Clara – to the public – their involvement in Gewandhaus orchestra and quartet recitals, the

[546] 'Vergleich' ich die Gesichter manches die Gewandhaustreppen hinaufsteigenden und zitternden Musikers, der etwa ein Solo vorzutragen, mit denen meiner Quartettspieler, so schienen mir letztere um vieles beneidenswerter, da unser Quartett zugleich sein eigenes Publikum ist, folglich nicht die geringste Angst zeigte, obwohl einem vor dem Fenster lauschende Kinde und einer hereinschmetternden Nachtigall das Zuhören keineswegs gestört wurde' GS I, p. 336.

organisation of the Gewandhausquartett season 1842/43, and publications in the *NZfM* such as his 'Quartettmorgen' articles. Hence, I suggest not to categorise Schumann's chamber music activities in Leipzig into a sphere 'between' the two spheres of public and private, but 'around' them, 'embracing' both spheres rather than 'connecting' them.

The Compositional Processes of Schumann's 1842 Chamber Works

Schumann began to consider resuming chamber music compositions soon after his circle with Mendelssohn and David was established. He had disregarded the genre for about five years, since the early Piano Quartet in C minor. Daverio noted that especially the private meetings that were held at one of the musicians' homes and often reviewed by Schumann for the *NZfM* were incentive for him: 'the group's renditions of Beethoven's late quartets, often carried out at Schumann's new lodgings in the Rote Collegium on Ritterstraße… inspired him to try his hand at a piano quintet and piano trio, plans that apparently did not get very far.'[547] Indeed, Schumann's diaries reveal that in summer 1836 there was an unusually high frequency of private chamber music gatherings. Starting on 28 July, Schumann visited Henriette Voigt's, where Rochlitz and the composer Wilhelm Taubert from Berlin were present. Taubert had brought his own string quartet and played it that evening with the Gewandhaus musicians Uhlrich, Müller, and Grenser, and Schumann approved.[548] Three days later, at a morning gathering at David's, Schumann listened to the rendition of the B-flat-major String Quartet by Beethoven, op. 130, and, began to consider it as an 'end goal'.[549] One week

[547] Daverio (1997) p. 148.
[548] See TB II, p. 22.
[549] TB II, p. 23.

later, events happened even faster: on 6 August 1836 the Gewandhaus musician C. F. Müller presented his own quartets, followed a day later by a meeting at Schumann's with the quartet David, Klengel, Hunger, Grenser, and four invited guests. The programme contained again Beethoven's Quartet, op. 130, and a Quintet by Fuchs (probably with Müller as the fifth player), as well as Mendelssohn's early A-minor String Quartet, op. 13. Following this, Schumann reported of 'David playing a fugue for violin by the old v. Berg [?]. Enjoyed this very much. Then four-hand playing with David.'[550] And just one day after this gathering again, Schumann noted in his diary for the first time: 'I am planning a quintet for strings and piano for four-hands.'[551]

There are no known sketches for such an unusual setting of a quintet, but it is likely that the combination of Beethoven's late Quartets and Fuchs' String Quintet motivated Schumann to try something unconventional. In the third of his 'Quartettmorgen' reviews, from about two years after his initial thought of composing a quintet, Schumann revisited the Fuchs Quintet, as well as a Piano Trio by Eduard Gobolewski and two Quartets by Wenzel Heinrich Veit. As these events were originally designed to discover quartet music only, Schumann wrote in his review that 'our third gathering achieved a very special sound due to the participation of a pianist and a violist, who were necessary for the performance of a piano trio and a quintet'.[552] While Schumann did not attempt to compose a string quartet at this time, even though he engaged so heavily in this repertoire, the 'special sound' of a quintet and a piano trio perhaps made him think of exploring these genres, already back in 1836. Just a few days after him considering a quintet composition, in fact, Schumann reviewed two piano trios by Klein and Reissiger. He also started reading the biography of Rahel

[550] TB II, p. 23.
[551] TB II, p. 23.
[552] GS I, p. 340.

Varnhagen, which had probably been recommended to him by Mendelssohn. Soon after, on 22 August 1836, Schumann briefly mentioned 'ideas for a trio', and again two days later: 'Rahel. Trio phantasies.'[553] While the connection between his reviews of two contemporary piano trio compositions and his own thoughts about writing in this genre seems logical, the context of the close succession of these thoughts and his literature about the life of the famous Berlin salonnière is more intriguing. While acknowledging the possibility that these events could be entirely unrelated, it seems striking that Schumann's reviews of Klein and Reissiger and following his first thoughts of composing his own piano trio are simultaneous of him commencing the Rahel biography, as piano trios were the chamber music genre which was probably most associated with domestic music making and musical salon culture.

The 'supreme' genre of string quartets was then tackled by Schumann for the first time in, fittingly, the year of his 'Quartettmorgen' reviews, 1838. An exchange of letters between Robert Schumann and Clara Wieck from the first half of this year illustrates the sort of expectations there were on composers attempting to write string quartets. On 11 February 1838, Schumann wrote to Wieck:

> For 4 weeks I haven't done much else other than composing, as I have written to you; it flows to me, I was always singing with it as well – that way it worked most of the time. I am playing around with the shapes. Generally, it seems to me that for about one and a half years now I am carrying a secret with me; this sounds strange. Much of it is still in me. If you remain loyal to me, everything will be revealed; if not, it will remain buried. Next, I will write 3 string quartets.[554]

On 3 March 1838, Wieck sent off her response to Schumann's plan to commence quartet compositions:

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[553] TB II, p. 24.

[554] 'Seit 4 Wochen habe ich fast nichts als componirt, wie ich Dir schon schrieb; es strömte mir zu, ich sang dabei immer – und da ist's meistens gelungen. Mit den Formen spiel ich. Ueberhaupt ist es mir seit etwa anderthalb Jahren, als wär ich im Besitz des Geheimnißes; das klingt sonderbar. Vieles liegt noch in mir. Bleibst Du mir treu, so kömmt Alles an den Tag; wo nicht, bleibts begraben. Das Nächste, ich mache 3 Violinquartetten.' Robert Schumann, letter to Clara Wieck, 11 February 1838 from Leipzig. In: SB I/4, p. 227.

> You are so diligent, it seems overwhelming. You want to write quartets? Just one question, please don't laugh at me for it: do you know the instruments well enough? I am very excited about them, but please, write quite clearly; it is such a pain for me if the people fail to appreciate you.[555]

Schumann then tried to reassure Clara Wieck in his letter from 17 March 1838:

> But Clara, what have you become? You say I should write quartets – but 'please quite clearly' – This sounds like from a Dresden Fräulein – You know what I said to myself when I was reading this: 'Of course, so that she will see stars for a week'… And then: 'do you know the instruments well enough?' – Dear, that goes without saying, my Fräulein – how else could I dare such![556]

Later on in the same letter, Schumann left no doubt that his plans were serious: 'I am looking forward myself to writing the quartets; the piano is becoming too limited for me',[557] and in the following letter from mid-April, Schumann sounds even more assertive: 'In summer I will write a few string quartets, of which I have told you already.'[558] Despite Clara Wieck's hesitation whether Schumann was ready yet to commence with this genre without having written much for string instruments before, he seemed determined to execute his plan. His diary reveals, on 25 February that year, that Schumann was 'always composing and living properly – quartet enthusiasm. At David's for a rehearsal of the C sharp minor [String Quartet by Beethoven, op. 131]'.[559] In April, Schumann was still confident that he would complete a string quartet in due course, writing to Joseph Fischhof: 'Soon I will publish a lot. It never was flowing to me as easily as recently – three volumes of *Novelletten*…, *Kinderscenen*… – then a quartet for string instruments, which occupies me and makes me happy these

[555] 'Du bist ja so fleißig, daß Einem die Sinne schwindeln. Quartetten willst Du schreiben? Eine Frage, aber lache mich nicht aus: kennst Du denn die Instrumente genau? Ich freue mich sehr darauf, nur bitte, recht klar, Es schmerzt mich gar zu sehr, wenn die Leute Dich verkennen.' Clara Wieck, letter to Robert Schumann, 3 March 1838 from Vienna. In: SB I/4, p. 242.

[556] 'Aber Clara, was ist denn mit Dir geworden? Du schreibst, ich solle Quartetten machen – aber „bitte recht klar" – Das klingt ja wie von einem Dresdener Fräulein – Weißt Du, was ich zu mir sagte, als ich das las "ja klar, daß ihr Hören und Sehen vergehen soll" ... Und dann "kennst Du denn auch die Instrumente genau?" – Ei, das versteht sich mein Fräulein – wie dürfte ich mir sonst unterstehen!' Robert Schumann, letter to Clara Wieck, 17 March 1838 from Leipzig. In: SB I/4, p. 260.

[557] Robert Schumann, letter to Clara Wieck, 18 March 1838 from Leipzig. In: SB I/4, p. 266.

[558] Robert Schumann, letter to Clara Wieck, 15 April 1838 from Leipzig. In: SB I/4, p. 288.

[559] TB II, p. 51.

days, though it can only be considered as an attempt.'[560] In June, Schumann was still not able to commit fully to his quartet ambitions, complaining that he had 'not composed anything recently – commenced a quartet – working hard for the journal'.[561] And ten days later: 'quartet in the afternoon – I wouldn't dream of composing'.[562] Consequently, this first attempt to a quartet came to nothing.

Nicholas Marston argued that Schumann's enthusiasm also stemmed from his correspondence with the composer Herrmann Hirschbach, whose own string quartets were subject to positive reviews by Schumann in two of his 1838 'Quartettmorgen' articles, and who contributed discussions of Beethoven's quartets to the *NZfM* in 1839.[563] Schumann found a kindred spirit in Hirschbach through their shared fondness for Beethoven's quartets, such as the op. 131 he heard being rehearsed on the same day that he noted his quartet enthusiasm. Hirschbach was therefore the first to whom Schumann announced, in a letter from 28 May 1839, that he was again 'thinking of writing quartets this summer'.[564] Although it was one year after his first quartet attempts, circumstances had not changed much. In his diary, Schumann noted for the week 9-14 June 1839: 'Worked a lot for the journal, little at the piano. Yesterday, I commenced a quartet again; though I am lacking the courage, but also the peace for such a work. But it has to succeed.'[565] In a letter to his fiancée from the same week, however, Schumann does not appear to miss the confidence as described in his diary: 'Am I not quite diligent now? Though I didn't find the time to compose; I commenced two quartets – I can tell you, they are just as good as Haydn's – but now I am lacking

[560] Robert Schumann, letter to Joseph Fischhof, 3 April 1838 from Leipzig. In: BNF, p. 118.
[561] TB II, p. 58.
[562] TB II, p. 58.
[563] See Nicholas Marston (1991) 'Schumann's Monument to Beethoven', *19th-Century Music*, 14 (3), p. 249.
[564] Robert Schumann, letter to Herrmann Hirschbach, 28 May 1839 from Leipzig. In: Boetticher (1940) p. 250.
[565] TB II, p. 91.

the time and inner peace – and the next time won't provide those either.'[566] At least for that year, the sketches of the beginnings of both these quartets Schumann mentioned in the letter have survived, one in E flat major and the second in D major.[567] During these weeks of quartet attempts, Schumann was diligently studying Beethoven's late Quartets, as he admitted in another letter to Hirschbach later that summer.[568]

The enthusiasm for Beethoven's Piano Trios, which he encountered with his early chamber ensemble in Leipzig in 1828-1829, prompted Schumann to use a reference to one of these Trios as a focal point of his conception of the following composition of the C-minor Piano Quartet within only a few weeks, shown in chapter 1. The study of the String Quartets in 1839, on the one hand, turned out to be much more academic and less spontaneous, and thereby might have initially hindered Schumann to overcome his lack of courage to execute his quartet ambitions. Naturally, Schumann was also not involved as a performer in any of the rehearsals or recitals he heard of these pieces, as he was with the Beethoven Piano Trios at the beginning of his Leipzig period. On the other hand, Schumann had by then established a much more extensive and intensive social and contextual environment for his next chamber compositions. The study of Beethoven's Quartets took a large part of his musical and conversational interactions with his circle in the years prior to the chamber music compositions of 1842. The analysis of the pieces of that year will demonstrate that this shared interest especially in Beethoven's late Quartets heavily influenced Schumann's musical sociability as well.

[566] Robert Schumann, letter to Clara Wieck, 13 June 1839 from Leipzig. In: SB I/5, p. 544.
[567] See Marston's transcription of the sketches in Marston (1991) pp. 250f. The original sketches are in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Signatures: Mus.ms.autogr. 36, no. 2 and 11.
[568] See BNF, p. 158. See also Marston (1991) p. 250; and Daverio (1997) p. 184.

In the three years between the last quartet sketches being drafted and the chamber music year, Schumann concentrated on other compositional activities – his 'Lieder year' 1840, and the following 'symphony year' kept him busy. Furthermore, when Schumann returned from Vienna, he did not resume the 'Quartettmorgen' gatherings and reviews. A possible reason is mentioned in his review of some recent piano trios in the *NZfM* in 1840: 'Seeking everything that appeared recently, we have to be surprised how little there has been published in the above genre within the last 2-3 years – written? Possibly more. Who knows! At the moment, we only have four trios and one quartet at hand.'[569] The lack of new publications in the chamber music genre was among the causes for far fewer reviews of chamber music in the journal, despite an ever increasing contact to the Gewandhaus musicians after his return to Leipzig, and a high activity of chamber music events and gatherings within the circle. In the following year, Schumann criticised this circumstance again in his comment on the 'quartet competition' of 1841:

> The thought by the organisers of the competition alone, especially for a quartet, was good. First, as the genre itself is such a delicate one, demanding a higher education of the competitor, and second, as it reached a concerning standstill. Haydn's, Mozart's, Beethoven's quartets, known to everyone, who could throw a stone on them? It is certainly the most illustrative proof of the everlasting liveliness of their creations that even after half a century they are still speaking to everyone's hearts; at the same time it is certainly not a good sign for the later generations of artists that in such a long period of time they did not manage to create something comparable. Onslow alone found favour, and later Mendelssohn, to whom the aristocratic-poetic character of this genre must appeal particularly. Furthermore, the later Beethoven Quartets are treasures barely known to the world, still to be encountered over years.[570]

[569] GS I, p. 497.

[570] 'Schon der Gedanken der Preisausschreiber, gerade auf ein Quartett, war gut. Einmal, da die Gattung an sich eine so edle ist, eine höhere Bildung der Kämpfenden voraussetzt, dann, da in ihr ein bedenklicher Stillstand eingetreten war. Haydns, Mozarts, Beethovens Quartette, wer kenne sie nicht, wer dürfte einen Stein auf sie werfen? Ist es gewiß das sprechendste Zeugnis der unzerstörbaren Lebensfrische ihrer Schöpfungen, daß sie noch nach einem halben Jahrhundert aller Herzen erfreuen, so doch gewiß kein gutes für die spätere Künstlergeneration, daß sie in so langem Zeitraume nichts jenen Vergleichbares zu schaffen vermochte. Onslow allein fand Anklang und später Mendelssohn, dessen aristokratisch-poetischem Charakter diese Gattung auch besonders zusagen muß. Außerdem liegen noch in den späteren Beethovenschen Quartetten Schätze, die die Welt kaum kennt, an denen sie noch jahrelang zu heben hat.' GS II, p. 71.

Just twelve months before his chamber music year, Schumann's criticism of recent generations of composers highlights his ongoing admiration for the string quartet of the Viennese Classics, particularly the aforementioned late Beethoven Quartets.[571] More importantly, however, he recognised the problem of the few recent compositions not meeting the standard set by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. It is not certain whether Schumann had a sense of duty towards music history in mind when early in the following year, he noted for first time again in his household books: 'constant quartet thoughts'.[572] His assessment of a standstill in quartet compositions, followed by his rediscovery of his own quartet ambitions half a year later seems too unlikely a coincidence.

Between these thoughts and the start of the writing process, Schumann revisited the quartets by the three Viennese classics mentioned in his review above – Mozart on 1 April 1842, Beethoven on 28 April, and Haydn on 6 May, according to his household books.[573] Eventually, on 2 June 1842, Schumann briefly mentioned 'quartet attempts', and two days later: 'commenced Quartet in A minor, movements in F major and A minor'.[574] Within less than two months, Schumann finished all three Quartets that comprised his op. 41, writing in the marriage diaries on 22 July 1842: 'On the 22nd my 3 Quartets finished on paper.'[575] His household books show that he worked on the Quartets almost every day for seven weeks.[576] On 8 September 1842, Schumann took

[571] For the reception history of Beethoven's late Quartets, see for instance, Kristin Marta Knittel (1992) *From Chaos to History: The Reception of Beethoven's Late Quartets*, PhD Diss.: Princeton University; Robert Winter (1994) *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press; Robin Wallace (Ed. and transl.) (2018) *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by His German Contemporaries, Op. 126 to WoO 140*, Boston University: Center for Beethoven Research; and Megan Ross (2019) *The Critical and Artistic Reception of Beethoven's String Quartet in C♯ Minor, Op. 131*, PhD Diss.: University of North Carolina.

[572] TB III/1, p. 207.

[573] See TB III/1, pp. 210–213.

[574] TB III/1, p. 216.

[575] TB II, p. 233.

[576] See TB III/1, pp. 216-220.

the Quartets to David for a first rehearsal, which caused the composer 'great joy'.[577] Two days later, Schumann received David's praise for these compositions, followed by a second rehearsal at David's on 12 September. This schedule of rehearsals was timed for a surprise performance of all three Quartets in honour of Clara Schumann's birthday on 13 September 1842, as she recalled in the marriage diary:

> The 13th was a day full of joy and pleasure. My dear Robert surprised me with all kinds of things, but the gift of his three Quartets was my greatest joy, which he let *David, Wittmann*, and others perform for me at the same evening. This was a great delight! Such compositions, such performing, and all such wonderful things by my Robert! My respect for his genius, his spirit, generally for the complete composer increases with each work! I cannot say anything about these Quartets other than that they delighted me in every detail. Everything is new, while clear, delicately executed and always quartet-like, but who cares about my judgement![578]

Almost as a matter of course, Clara Schumann noted that the Quartets that her husband presented to her were also performed on the same day by members of the Gewandhausquartett. As discussed earlier, Clara's birthday was usually a special occasion for the Schumann couple as well as their friends. In 1835, her birthday was the first private gathering with both Robert Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn present (see p. 155). And in 1843, the year after the quartet surprise, Dorn reported that there had been a lively party, with many acquainted musicians visiting and music being played spontaneously throughout the day (see p. 199). Hence, the participation of the Gewandhausquartett members in this performance of the newly composed String Quartets was possibly the least surprising aspect of this event. As Robert Schumann's aforementioned diary entries show, he had worked with the quartet towards this

[577] TB III/1, p. 223.

[578] 'Der 13te war ein Tag voller Freude und Genuß. Mein Robert überraschte mich mit Vielerlei, doch die gröste Freude machte mir das Geschenk seiner 3 Quartette, die er mir noch am selben Abend von *David, Wittmann u. a.* vorspielen ließ. Das war ein großes Entzücken für mich! diese Compositionen, diese Ausführung, und all das Herrliche durch meinen Robert! meine Ehrfurcht vor seinem Genie, seinem Geiste, überhaupt vor dem ganzen Componisten steigt mit jedem Werk! ich kann über die Quartette nichts sagen als daß sie mich entzückten bis in's Kleinste. Da ist Alles neu, dabei klar, fein durchgearbeitet und immer quartettmäßig, doch was soll mein Urtheil!' TB II, p. 245.

performance during the previous days, and within the tradition of Clara's birthday celebrations, the musicians were fully on board with his plan.

The leader of the quartet, David, remained involved in the promotion of the Quartets after their first outing at Clara's birthday. When Mendelssohn returned from his tour to Switzerland at the end of September, David organised a morning gathering at his place to perform the Quartets for Mendelssohn. Schumann enthusiastically reported: 'Mendelssohn later told me when saying goodbye how much he liked my music. This pleased me very much; as M.[endelssohn] is the highest critic for me; he has the clearest eye of all musicians alive.'[579] Here, Schumann confirmed his view of Mendelssohn as the 'highest authority' for his works as mentioned a year earlier regarding his First Symphony. His friend's affirmation of the Quartet compositions even encouraged Schumann to write to his Leipzig friend and publisher Raimund Härtel on 15 October 1842 that the Quartets 'seemed to give all players and listeners, Mendelssohn in particular, great pleasure. It is not for me to say anything more about them, though be assured that I spared no efforts to produce something quite respectable, I sometimes even think, my best.'[580]

The opportunity to work with the Gewandhausquartett under David's leadership on his compositions was of great advantage to Schumann at that stage. Clara Schumann reported in late November 1842 that they had arranged for the first Quartet in A minor to be played again, 'in order to hear it once more before handing it to the copyist'.[581] This rendition of the A-minor Quartet not only gave Robert the opportunity to review his work after already three different occasions where he was able to hear it being performed, but it also made Clara reconsider her aesthetic regards for this genre:

[579] TB II, p. 249. See also TB III/1, p. 225.
[580] Robert Schumann, letter to Raimund Härtel, 15 October 1842 from Leipzig. In: BNF, p. 433.
[581] TB II, p. 254.

'I was incredibly enraptured by it, and only now I am beginning to find pleasure in quartet music, as hitherto, I have to admit, I was mostly bored by such music, I was not able to distinguish the beauty in it.'[582] Hence, the multiple rendition of the A-minor Quartet by the Gewandhausquartett had an equally important impact on Clara Schumann's opinions about the genre as on her husband's work. At the end of the year, David also offered a further quartet meeting to Schumann in a letter from 10 December 1842:

> Dear Schumann, I assume that you might want to listen your 2nd and 3rd Quartet once more before publishing. I'd love to offer to do so at my place, but my wife's condition is not yet of a sort that we could invite anyone to ours. If you wish, however, to host it at any morning you'd like (Sunday, for example) at yours, I'd join happily. Just send a line with your opinion to me. My regards to your dear wife.[583]

Apparently, David was suggesting that while the first Quartet in A minor was ready to be sent off to the publisher after its second rendition in late November, the other two pieces would need more work which Schumann could try out in a private meeting with David and his quartet ensemble. An important context for this suggestion is David's own request in the previous October for Schumann's opinion and advice on his First Symphony.[584] Hence, the collaboration in artistic matters with David, also in the compositional realm, was fully underway. In fact, even though the exact dates of these proposed meetings in December 1842 are not clear, on 3 January 1843, Schumann commenced first corrections of his Quartets. David, therefore, seems to have had a major impact on the final shape of these works through his abovementioned encouragement and providing the earliest rehearsal and performance opportunities.

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[582] TB II, p. 254.

[583] 'Lieber Schumann, Ich denke mir daß es Ihnen erwünscht sein könnte Ihr 2tes u 3tes Quartett vor dem Publizieren noch einmal zu hören. Gern böte ich Ihnen an es bey mir zu veranstalten aber es geht nicht an da der Zustand meiner Frau noch nicht von der Art ist daß jemand zu mir bitten könnte. Wollen Sie es aber an irgend einem beliebigen Vormittage (etwa Sonntag) bey sich machen so bin ich mit Freude bereit. Lassen Sie mich mit einer Zeile Ihre Meinung wissen. Viele Grüße Ihrer lieben Frau.' Ferdinand David, letter to Robert Schumann, 10 December 1842 from Leipzig. In: SB II/20, p. 260.

[584] See Schwarz (1966) p. 288.

Many years later Schumann sent an edition of the Quartets to David in Leipzig, accompanied by a letter, written at Christmas 1848, from Dresden: 'The attached Quartets were meant to be yours for a long time; I always thought I could hand them to you personally… When you will look through them, remember all our shared joys and sorrows.'[585] There was a personal connection to David that Schumann felt in these compositions, reminding him of their friendship during the composition and early performance process. David then answered in his typical humorous tone on 27 December:

> It would make me even more happy if you would soon write anything quartetish or quintetish again. There is nothing new out there, so please, have mercy; I guess that after the composition of a grand opera [*Genoveva,* op. 81], a four-staved score would be a welcomed change to the clarinets in B flat, the valve trumpets, and high soprano As. I wish I could fire your ambition again to write a volume of quartets. Please do.[586]

Even though Schumann did not follow up this suggestion and never composed for quartet or quintet again after the chamber music year, David did not give up trying to motivate his friend to do so.[587] As late as April 1853, the violinist was still asking for what was possibly his favourite genre: 'We've played quite a lot of your music this winter. How is the violin concerto going on? Won't there be some string quartets or quintets coming soon again?'[588] Apparently, Schumann's String Quartets from 1842,

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[585] Robert Schumann, letter to Ferdinand David, 24 December 1848 from Dresden. In: SB II/20, p. 298.

[586] 'noch mehr würde es mir aber [Freude] machen wenn Du bald wieder etwas 4$^{\underline{ett}}$ oder 5tettiges schriebest. Es kommt so gar nichts Neues, erbarme Dich also; ich denke mir nach der Composition einer grossen Oper [op. 81] müßte Dir eine 4 zeilige Partitur eine rechte Erholung von allen b Clarinetten Ventil Trompeten und hohen Sopran a's seyn. Ich wünschte ich könnte Dich anstacheln bald wieder ein Hefte 4$^{\underline{ette}}$ zu machen. Bitte thu's.' Ferdinand David, letter to Robert Schumann, 27 December 1848 from Leipzig. In: SB II/20, p. 299.

[587] The implications and reasons of Schumann's turning away from the larger chamber forms after the chamber music year are discussed in the epilogue of this dissertation. In short, Schumann did not lose interest in the idea of musical sociability. Instead, he simply did not find another equally sociable and musically proficient circle of close friends after the Leipzig circle with David and Mendelssohn dismantled shortly after the chamber music year and with the Schumanns' move to Dresden. Robert Schumann then turned to smaller forms of chamber music to honour individual friends and to nurture his memories of the Leipzig circle. He might have also found other compositional outlets for sociability, for example in his choir music, though further research into other musical genres is far beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[588] Ferdinand David, letter to Robert Schumann, 7 April 1853 from Leipzig. In: SB II/20, p. 336.

which David had witnessed developing from their first thoughts until their final appearance, remained in the violinist's mind and indeed had become a constant part of his ensemble's repertoire. Ute Bär concluded that it was 'clear that Ferdinand David undoubtedly was among the people who significantly influenced Robert Schumann's life and work, who supported him through their efforts for his compositions, and who, in return, challenged him for new works through their inspiration'.[589] For no work from Schumann's Leipzig period could this statement be said to be more fitting than for the three String Quartets op. 41, the first chamber music works Schumann had written for over thirteen years.[590]

On the same day that he began to correct the Quartets, Schumann visited Mendelssohn in the evening and 'talked a long time about the dedication of the Quartets', according to his household books.[591] Eventually, Schumann decided to dedicate the op. 41 Quartets to Mendelssohn, and asked his publisher Härtel to send him a finished copy of the edition before Mendelssohn's birthday, 3 February 1843.[592] While David appears to be the more active one of these two friends within the composition process of the Quartets, Schumann considered Mendelssohn to be the artistically more inspiring person, himself being familiar with the latter's own string quartet compositions. After Mendelssohn's early death in 1847, Schumann again wrote a letter to Härtel: 'My Quartets, which you published, have taken on a special meaning for me through the death of Mendelssohn, to whom they're dedicated. I still view them as the best works of my earlier period, and Mendelssohn often expressed a

[589] Bär (2002) p. 82.

[590] Generally, it was not uncommon for performers to ask befriended composers to write pieces for their instrument or voice. This example of David's request seems to be more proof of his personal friendship with Schumann rather than the discussed notion of the sociability within the Leipzig circle.

[591] TB III/1, p. 234.

[592] See Robert Schumann, letter to Raimund Härtel, 4 January 1843 from Leipzig. In: BNF, p. 435.

similar opinion to me.'[593] As in the letter to David from 1848, this comment by Schumann reveals that the String Quartets had a special meaning to him, some five years after their creation, in terms of his own relationships, in this case to Mendelssohn.

The second block of three chamber music works of Schumann's chamber music year was, in contrast, closer to Mendelssohn as a performer, namely at the piano, as the Quintet, the Quartet, and the Trio which Schumann composed in the last quarter of 1842 were all written for piano and strings. Like the String Quartets, Schumann also composed these pieces at an almost impossible pace. Ten days after his wife's birthday, Schumann noted for the first time 'approach to a quintet', whereas after the following day the first movement was already completed. Only five days after this 'approach', Schumann had finished a first draft of the entire piece. It took Schumann another week from 5 to 12 October to write a clean copy of the Piano Quintet.[594] Later in October, the process from the first idea of 'a new quartet' to its first complete draft only lasted another seven days, and the Piano Quartet was completed as a fair copy on 26 November 1842 – despite a temporary illness preventing Schumann from continuing his work for a few days in mid-November.[595] More often, however, Schumann's household books account for 'diligent' work, 'sleepless nights', and 'complete satisfaction' with his own composition, rather than complains about his bad health. Already, by the end of November, Schumann had organised a first rehearsal of the Quintet at his place, of which Clara Schumann reported: 'In the evening we tried out Robert's just recently completed Quintet for the first time, which is a marvellous work, very *brilliant* and effective. It didn't yet work the way Robert imagined, but I

[593] Robert Schumann, letter to Raimund Härtel, 3 December 1847 from Dresden. In: BNF, p. 450. Translated in: Daverio (1997) pp. 247f.
[594] See TB III/1, pp. 225-227.
[595] See TB III/1, pp. 227-230.

believe it will come together later, and I am already looking forward to hearing it the next time.'[596] While Clara Schumann's diary entry is ambiguous as to whether her husband imagined the performance to go differently or the composition itself, Robert Schumann did not rework the Quintet following this performance, which suggests that he was pleased with the composition.

The next time Schumann was to hear his Quintet, in contrast, resulted in major changes. One week after the mentioned rehearsal at Schumann's place, Carl Voigt invited the Schumanns while trying to coordinate with Mendelssohn and David to be present as well, in order to 'finally hear the beautiful Quintet'.[597] As Clara Schumann was 'unfortunately so unwell that she could not attend' this gathering, Robert happily reported that 'Mendelssohn played the Quintet at sight in a way that my heart jumped'.[598] Given the complexity of the piano part of the op. 44 Quintet, this can certainly count as ultimate proof of Mendelssohn's pianistic skills. What is more, after sight reading the Quintet and thereby hearing it for the first time, Mendelssohn made some important suggestions to Schumann which have been recollected in Jansen's early biography, according to information provided by Theodor Kirchner of this event:

> [The Quintet] should have been performed for the first time, namely in Voigt's house. As Mrs Schumann was suddenly prevented from playing, Mendelssohn requested the manuscript from Schumann and asked him, after having leafed through it, whether he should play it? 'They are certainly very small notes, but he might try it.' Schumann, of course, was very pleased, where after Mendelssohn played the piece at sight in his incomparable style. After having expressed his pleasure in it, he told Schumann his opinion that the effect of the second movement could have been improved if instead of the second alternativo (– A flat major and in the same tempo –) a more vivid movement would be inserted. Schumann listened to this amendment suggestion silently, however, he did agree as soon after he added the F-minor movement. When Mendelssohn saw this movement again in the shape in which we know it nowadays, he gave his approval

[596] TB II, pp. 253f.
[597] Carl Voigt, letter to Robert Schumann, 3 December 1842 from Leipzig. In: SB II/15, p. 117.
[598] TB II, p. 256.

> and said that only in the rarest occasions a piece composed subsequently would fit into the context as fortunately as the present case.[599]

In the previous year, Mendelssohn had already encouraged Schumann to revisit his First Symphony and suggested changes of which Schumann approved. During the composition process, Schumann noted in his household book for 10 November: 'Mendelssohn at ours in the evening. Talked a lot'.[600] While Mendelssohn's influence on his friend's most recent work through this conversation is hardly to be determined, at least we know that after Mendelssohn's first playing of the Piano Quintet, Schumann trusted his judgement once more and started working on the second movement of the Quintet again. The corrections did not start before early in the next year, however, as Schumann was busy pursuing his 'trio thoughts' that started, incidentally or not, at the exact same day as the above gathering at Voigt's. The Trio that was to be published as *Fantasiestücke* op. 88 almost eight years later was worked on throughout December 1842, but Schumann did not call it 'finished' in his diaries, in contrast to all previous chamber works of that year.[601] The Trio was quickly followed by what Schumann called his 'Quintet Variations in B flat' later in January,[602] and which were to become

[599] 'Es sollte das erste Mal zum Vortrag kommen und zwar im Voigt'schen Hause. Da Frau Schumann plötzlich behindert war zu spielen, so erbat sich der gleichfalls anwesende Mendelssohn das Manuscript von Schumann und fragte, nachdem er darin geblättert, ob er es spielen solle? »es seien zwar sehr kleine Noten, aber er wolle es versuchen.« Schumann war's natürlich gern zufrieden gewesen, worauf denn Mendelssohn in seiner unvergleichlichen Weise das Werk vom Blatt gespielt hatte. Nachdem er seine Freude über dasselbe ausgesprochen, hatte er gegen Schumann die Ansicht geäußert, daß die Wirkung des zweiten Satzes erhöht werden würde, wenn an Stelle des zweiten Alternativos (– As Dur und in demselben Zeitmaß –) ein lebhafterer Satz eingeschoben würde. Schumann hatte den Abänderungsvorschlag schweigend angehört, ihm aber jedenfalls zugestimmt, da er bald darauf den F-Moll-Satz einfügte. Als Mendelssohn den Satz in der Gestalt, wie wir ihn jetzt kennen, wiedergesehen, hatte er demselben seinen ganzen Beifall geschenkt und gemeint, daß in den seltensten Fällen ein nachcomponirtes Stück sich so glücklich in den Zusammenhang füge, wie das hier der Fall sei.' Jansen, p. 247, fn 186.

[600] TB III/1, p. 229.

[601] See TB III/1, pp. 231-233.

[602] TB III/1, p. 236.

Herrn Dr. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy
mit Frau Gemahlin

laden zu einer musikalischen Morgenunterhaltung

Sonntag den 8. Januar früh elf Uhr

im Saale des Gewandhauses ergebenst ein

Robert und ***Clara Schumann.***

60

PROGRAMM.

Quartett in A Moll für 2 Violinen, Viola und Violoncello von R. Schumann.

Präludium und **Fuge** von J. S. Bach.

„**Warum willst du andre fragen**“ Gedicht von Rückert, componirt von Clara Schumann.

„**Du meine Seele, du mein Herz**“ von Rückert, componirt von R. Schumann.

Sonate in A Dur (Op. 101.) von Beethoven.

Ciaconna für Violino Solo von J. S. Bach.

„**Wachst du noch Liebchen?**“ von R. Burns für Sopran und Tenor
und
„**Wer ist vor meiner Kammerthür?**“ v. R. Schumann.

„**Liebeszauber**“ Gedicht v. E. Geibel, componirt von Clara Schumann.

Quintett für Pianoforte, 2 Violinen, Viola und Violoncello von R. Schumann.

Figure 34 Robert Schumann, programme note and invitation letter to Felix and Cécile Mendelssohn, 8 January 1843. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS M Deneke Mendelssohn, d. 43, GB XVII, No. 60

his unpublished work for two pianos, two horns, and cello (WoO 10), later arranged for two pianos as his op. 46.[603]

In early January 1843, Schumann worked on 'corrections of the Quintet'[604] in preparation for a private 'musical morning entertainment' on 8 January in the Gewandhaus which the Schumann couple organised for a private circle (Figure 34). The Gewandhausquartett, consisting of David, Klengel, Hunger, and Wittmann, performed the Piano Quintet with Clara Schumann, and the A-minor String Quartet. It was the first 'semi-public' outing of these two pieces. Schumann enthusiastically noted in his diary regarding this event: 'The audience is starting to show interest in my works as well. I was pleased to notice it in a private matinée which we hosted. We have to keep the programme note. It was a great pleasure for us. Klara was a hostess and played incomparably well.'[605] This pride Schumann took in the first performances of both these works was certainly even more meaningful as the applause was granted by a selected, intimate audience, most likely many of them members of Schumann's own Leipzig circle. The report of the positive reception of the two pieces agrees with the one by Dörffel, who declared that since this invitation-only premiere of these works their 'attraction remains undiminished to the present day' (meaning 1884).[606] This matinée apparently went so well that Clara Schumann subsequently dared to try to attract her father's interest in her husband's works again. Two weeks after the

[603] Piano pieces for four hands are excluded from this list simply because Schumann did not write for four-hand piano, even though he was fond of playing and listening to such, until the *Pictures from the East*, op. 66 in 1848 (excluding the unpublished *Eight Polonaises* from 1828), and therefore, these pieces do not fall into the period of Schumann's life and compositions covered in this dissertation. The op. 46 variations also remain Schumann's only arrangement for two pianos and is excluded from the present study because it stands somewhat aside from the chamber music works for strings with and without piano, and would open up a different way of research in terms of sociability, as such pieces are aimed for different performance circumstances and would usually not feature in chamber recitals in Leipzig.

[604] TB III/1, p. 234.

[605] TB II, p. 255.

[606] Dörffel (1884) p. 102.

mentioned matinée, Clara Schumann wrote to her father: 'I wished you were here for our matinée! You would have certainly been satisfied. Robert's Quartet and Quintet enjoyed undivided applause, which made me very happy; you can imagine that in such an atmosphere my playing wasn't bad either.'[607] Even though her father did not follow her invitation to attend the next outing of the Quintet in Leipzig, it was her performance of the Quintet on 20 November 1843 in the Hôtel de Pologne in Dresden, which according to the diary was extraordinarily successful and well received, that convinced her father to re-establish his correspondence with and artistic interest in her husband.[608]

Returning to Mendelssohn's proposal to rework the Quintet's second movement, on 7 February Schumann finished his alteration of this movement once more just in time for another performance – this time a fully public rendition as part of the festive farewell concert for the singer Sophie Schloß in the large Gewandhaus hall on 9 February, featuring the orchestra under Mendelssohn's direction. The same ensemble as in the private January matinée performed the Quintet with the new version of its slow movement as part of the extraordinary concert, earning 'cheering' from the audience, according to Schumann.[609] It was most likely this occasion when Mendelssohn heard and approved of the slow movement as mentioned in Jansen's account.

The Piano Quartet, in contrast, had to wait quite a while to be heard. In the 'Interlude' (pp. 123ff.), I argued for the late premiere of the op. 47 Quartet to be a fitting personal circumstance, as the respective matinée on 8 December 1844 was the farewell event of the Schumann couple from Leipzig, just like the first Piano Quartet Robert Schumann wrote some 15 years before the premiere of the op. 47 Quartet was

[607] Clara Schumann, letter to Friedrich Wieck, 23 January 1843 from Leipzig. In: Litzmann II, p. 11.
[608] See TB II, p. 272.
[609] TB III/1, p. 237.

performed in a similar context. The musical contributions of his new circle were, in comparison with what I analysed in the early Quartet, more thorough and far-reaching, equating Schumann's much more mature and sincere friendships. Hirschbach, with whom Schumann so passionately corresponded a few years earlier regarding Beethoven's String Quartets, reviewed the op. 47 Piano Quartet only a year after its premiere in his encyclopaedia of recent works:

> The times have changed towards a more favourable perception of Schumann's efforts, they have started to make concessions to him; he shall not make too many of those himself! – he recently had to listen to the accusation that he inclined towards the Mendelssohnian style, and not without reason.[610]

For Hirschbach, such a tendency appears to be unfavourable, not least because of his own anti-Semitic views. He thereby criticised Schumann for abandoning his poetic and fantastic style of his earlier piano works in favour of a smoother, more conventional one, which he attributed to Mendelssohn's influence. Schumann, by contrast, would probably have welcomed that accusation – whether he did receive it personally, as Hirschbach claims, or not. It only serves as further proof that when Schumann premiered the Piano Quartet in E flat major at their farewell matinée in late 1844, it was recognised that the composition had been shaped by the musical and social circle that he established in Leipzig.

'The year… has not failed to leave its mark on us, and I look back to a lot of it with pleasure. Domestically and artistically we have been doing well'[611] – Robert Schumann wrote to his friend Dr Keferstein at the end of 1842, amidst the busy period of composing his Piano Quartet and first performing the Quintet. The Schumanns

[610] 'Doch ist die Zeit zu einer günstigeren Auffassung Schumannscher Leistungen etwas bereitwilliger geworden, sie fängt an, ihm Zugeständnisse zu machen; möge er dagegen nur nicht zu viele machen! – hat er doch neulich gar den Vorwurf hören müssen, er neige sich Mendelssohnscher Art zu, und nicht mit Unrecht.' Herrmann Hirschbach (1845) *Musikalisch-kritisches Repertorium aller neuen Erscheinungen im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, vol. 2, Leipzig: Gustav Braun, p. 191.

[611] Robert Schumann, letter to Dr Gustav Adolf Keferstein, 2 December 1842 from Leipzig. In: Unger (1910) p. 371.

taking over the management of the officially paused Gewandhausquartett recitals towards the end of the year was one reason for this assessment, the first year of life of their daughter Marie another. One ‘mark’ of that year, at which Schumann enjoyed looking back, was the composition of the chamber music pieces in the second half of 1842. The processes of their creation and the history of their first performances demonstrate how much Schumann involved his close musical allies in Leipzig and the personal significance of these works for his Leipzig friendships that he was to leave behind only two years later. In these events, Schumann eventually managed to make his social circle, mostly comprising of Gewandhaus musicians and other musical friends in Leipzig, as close a part of the creation of his chamber works as with no other works before. In the following analysis, I explore how Schumann managed to portray this familiarity and collaboration in the narratives of the pieces themselves.

III

Re-Composing the 'Quartettmorgen':

Schumann's Musical Narration of Friends

At this point, a dilemma occurs. In Chapter 1, in my analysis of Schumann's C-minor Piano Quartet from 1829 – which shall serve as a case study for this much more extensive and detailed study his opp. 41 and 44 from 1842 – I concluded that the homage to his friends of his first year in Leipzig, as which I interpreted this work, was a highly private matter, as the Piano Quartet was neither published nor reworked into a symphony. Instead, its purpose remained the final meeting of his ensemble and of the circle involved in the 'Quartett- bzw. Trioabende'. The stylistic influences, and in particular the allusion to Beethoven's Piano Trio, op. 1 no. 3, which I interpreted as the focal point of the work's narrative, were sourced from the previous musical gatherings of this ensemble and would probably only have conveyed any meaning to them alone. In Chapter 2, however, I argued that Schumann gradually changed his focus, from the strict privacy such as in the circle with Schunke and Voigt, to a more public outlook, aiming to restore some of the public discourse through his criticism in the *NZfM*, not least by introducing his readership to the Gewandhausquartett's 'Quartettmorgen' in his own home. As I have indicated at various points in Chapter 2, I will approach Schumann's String Quartets and the Piano Quintet of 1842 in the same light, an artistic expression of Schumann's mission to invite the public to the privacy of his circle.

The dilemma, now, is that simply extending the narratives about this circle and their chamber music experiences to the wider audience through easily recognisable allusions to well-known composition was not an option for Schumann. The reason for

this problem is the common musical 'sport' of early-nineteenth audiences that Newcomb called the 'hunt for reminiscences'.[612] Newcomb explained that before the 1860s, allusions to works of others were commonly considered negative and going against the work's originality. Hunting melodic reminiscences was associated with amateurs and feared by composers.[613] Therefore, I suggest, a subtler approach to thematic and motivic allusions, and to using those for references to the past in a narrative context, was needed by Schumann. At the same time, he was, I believe, able to still utilise this strategy of creating a narrative to allusions to the past exactly because of this awareness by the audience. If it was his aim to communicate with the players and listeners of his chamber music in the early nineteenth century, he could have expected them to be attentive to and look out for motivic allusions and thematic developments, probably rather than, for example, tonal relationships or form and structure. Hence, Schumann might have had to find a fine middle ground by conveying a meaningful narrative through thematic allusions without being caught by the public's 'hunt for reminiscences'.

The pseudonyms of the members of the *Davidsbund* in their articles for the *NZfM* offer a model for how Schumann put them into the public discourse without disclosing their identities. They allowed and invited their readers to feel part of the conversation, the actual as well as the ideological one, to even feel amicable towards the characters these pseudonyms enacted in their writings, while maintaining their anonymity. As discussed previously (see pp. 223-227), this imagined community between authors and

[612] See Anthony Newcomb (2005) 'The Hunt for Reminiscences in Nineteenth-Century Germany'. In: Karol Berger and Ibid. (Eds.) *Music and the Aesthetics of Modernity. Essays*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, pp. 111-135.

[613] See Ibid., pp. 112f. In 1842, Robert Schumann himself criticised the beginning of his friend Verhulst's String Quartet composition, op. 6 no. 1, as too close to Beethoven's Third Symphony. Johannes Brahms even deleted the allusion to the last *An die ferne Geliebte* song in his Piano Trio op. 8 in its second edition, after the allusion was mentioned favourably but publicly by the critic Hermann Kretzschmar in 1884. See ibid., pp. 119ff; and Daverio (1997) p. 265.

readers, and between readers themselves, enforced the objective of many of the *NZfM*'s articles for the readership to re-experience, even re-live the sociability between the *Davidsbund'*s members. Hiding the identities of these members avoided any distraction to this imagined community.

I argue that Schumann adopted this concept for the compositions of his opp. 41 and 44, which I previously suggested were following the same means. By opening up the narratives about his social environment and chamber music circles to the public, the allusions constituting the narrative had to remain somewhat 'incognito', as did the members of the *Davidsbund*. Instead, the readers of their articles, vis-à-vis the players and listeners of Schumann's String Quartets and Piano Quintet of 1842, are subconsciously drawn into a web of relationships and meaningful allusions. The musical method for this is what Carl Dahlhaus called, with regard to Beethoven's String Quartets, the subthematic nature of these motives (see p. 313).[614] Some motivic allusions to the past, and in particular to Beethoven, constantly restore what I will discuss below as 'narrative distance' through being signposted as interruptions of the narrative flow. The majority of the allusions, however, will create a finely wrought motivic web within the narrative, akin to the multifarious connections and relationships within Schumann's circle, while the protagonists within his circle as within the motivic web remain the same.

As a model for such an interpretation one could look at Newcomb's narrative analysis of Schumann's Second Symphony in C major, op. 61, sketched some three and a half years after the chamber music year. His reading is based on the thematic development of two motives which permeate the entire symphony and resemble,

[614] See Carl Dahlhaus (1991) *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to His Music*, transl. by Mary Whittall, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 204.

according to Newcomb, the two sides of Schumann's self, *Eusebius* and *Florestan*. These two motives then merge in Newcomb's interpretation to form an allusion to Beethoven, the final song 'Nimm Sie hin, denn, diese Lieder' from his song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*, op. 98. At the same time, this allusion signals the most important moment in the work's narrative as a point of utmost distance.[615] The assumption that Schumann incorporated his personal agenda into motivic developments and at the same time links those motives to allusions of earlier composers, specifically Beethoven, to signify narrative moments has hence been established. Whether the public perceived such an agenda which is only fully comprehensible through forensic thematic analysis, rather than real-time listening, is a different issue. As mentioned in the outline of this dissertation, my study is not primarily concerned with listening practices, but with the composer's side of the message, the sender's perspective rather than the receiver's, alone. Studies of nineteenth-century listening of such works as art criticism and the ability and willingness of audiences to enter the discourse offered by Schumann and others, therefore have to remain for further research.

Concepts of Schumann's Musical Narrativity

The reference to Beethoven's Lied 'Nimm Sie hin' has generally been a focal point of discussions of narratives in Schumann's works, in the first movement of the *Fantasie* in C major, op. 17, as well as in the finale of the Second Symphony. In his aforementioned analysis, Newcomb considered the finale to eventually reveal, when the *Florestan* and the *Eusebius* motives unite, the identity 'of our protagonist' who 'hears a new element'[616] just before the beginning of the movement's recapitulation,

[615] See Anthony Newcomb (1984) 'Once More "Between Absolute and Program Music": Schumann's Second Symphony', *19th-Century Music*, 7 (3), pp. 233-250.
[616] Ibid., p. 244.

referring to the first echo of the Beethoven song. This remark by Newcomb about a protagonist hearing a foreign sound suddenly places the listener in the middle of the plot and makes them realise that they have been following this protagonist throughout the previous three movements via the motivic development of 'his two characteristic sides'. What is more, it also introduces the aspect of time, as the new element is the harbinger of the revelation of the Beethoven tune. Musically, this is not only an element seemingly from outside the musical context, but also a temporary shift towards the past of Beethoven's works as part of the protagonist's identity, which Newcomb substantiated in the thematic developments leading towards this allusion.

Newcomb's analysis of the appearance of a Beethoven allusion as a voice from outside fulfils a role similar to my interpretation of the narrative significance of such distant voices as signifiers of temporality in Schumann's early C-minor Piano Quartet. It is striking for me that Newcomb, as one of the most influential promoters of post-structuralist narrative theories in musicology, did not connect his narrative reading to post-structuralist theories of narrativity, like Paul Ricœur's work, whom Newcomb referred to elsewhere.[617] Ricœur's 'Narrative Time' in particular is one of the most influential works on narrative theory from a post-structuralist point of view, discussing the notion of 'plot', his subject of temporality in literary narratives, and connected to it, the 'quest', which Ricœur adopted from the analysis of Russian folktales by Vladimir Propp. In short, Ricœur laid the foundations with what he called 'the imaginary travel', the recalling of a primordial time and space, which forms a fundamental part of narratives for Ricœur, and 'contributes to the fairylike atmosphere of the quest'.[618] This notion of 'timeless' but not 'a-temporal' digressions became

[617] See Newcomb (1987) pp. 164–174.

[618] Paul Ricœur (1980) 'Narrative Time', *Critical Inquiry*, 7 (1), p. 185. For the adaptation of Ricœur's theories into music, see Márta Grabócz and Ryan McClelland (1999) 'Paul Ricœur's Theories of Narrative and Their Relevance for Musical Narrativity', *Indiana Theory Review*, 20 (2), pp. 19-39.

essential for many analyses of nineteenth-century musical narratives, especially for views on narrative as a digressive feature, such as those of Carolyn Abbate and Jean-Jacques Nattiez.

Abbate considered narratives in music not as an overall concept for a work, but as local and infrequently appearing occasions.[619] These occasions disrupt the musical course of events, which allows the listener to escape from the immediacy of music's 'unscrolling' into a distance. 'Music has… moments of diegesis—musical voices that distance us from the sensual matter of what we are hearing, that speak across it',[620] Abbate argued. She drew on the classical distinction between mimesis (the mere acting out of events, discursive but not narrating) and diegesis (a distanced recounting of phenomenal events). Diegesis becomes the place of narrative moments, which only occur when a musical voice switches from the directness into the distance to these events. Abbate called such voices the 'numinous intruders' of nineteenth-century music, just like an uncanny stranger who disrupts, or even upsets ordered arrangements. The diegesis moments also provide an alternative solution to what appears to be the main problem of musical narratives: 'Music seems not to "have a past tense"',[621] Abbate famously claimed in *Unsung Voices*. Music fails to create real narrative by its lack of one of the essential elements of narrative, past tense. However, the distancing action of such diegetic moments in nineteenth-century music can help

[619] Whereby she confirmed her scholarly proximity to Jean-Jacques Nattiez's semiology, which claims that only distinctive and local citations or stylistic borrowings can evoke a sense of literary narrativity. See Jean-Jacques Nattiez and Katharine Ellis (1990) 'Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 115, pp. 240–257. Abbate is, what is more, the translator of Nattiez's *Music and Discourse*. A similar approach to narrative as temporary events in a musical piece can also be found in Michael Klein's discussion of narrative in Chopin's fourth ballade. See Michael Klein (2004) 'Chopin's Fourth Ballade as Musical Narrative', *Music Theory Spectrum*, 26 (1), pp. 23-56.

[620] Carolyn Abbate (1991) *Unsung Voices. Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. xii.

[621] Ibid., p. 52.

to imitate the notion of narrated time and narrating voices, the key elements of the theories of French post-structuralism in literary criticism.

A prime example for the scholarly acknowledgment of connections of Schumann's works to literary theories of narratives is the aforementioned *Fantasie* op. 17, which Schumann wrote in 1836 and revised in 1839. In its first movement, the mentioned Beethoven allusion is preceded by an interlude titled 'Im Legendenton', which has evoked various associations with Jean Paul's narrative concepts.[622] The essential similarity between the piano piece and Jean-Paulian narratives are the disruptive moments within the work's trajectory. Daverio mirrored the digressive character of the *Fantasie*'s narrative onto Schumann's literary and musical generation:

> The circularity that is such a vital aspect of the first movement of Schumann's Fantasy has an analogue in the early nineteenth-century novelists' retreat from the strictly chronological narrative… In any event, both the break with traditional narrative modes, and the capricious play with musical time are again but parallel aspects of an overriding Romantic formal conception.[623]

Both aspects mentioned by Daverio, the departure from chronological narratives and importance of time for musical narratives, correspond to my narrative discussion of Schumann's C-minor Piano Quartet. Refined in the *Fantasie*, however, these narrative tools provide a model for Schumann's following works in conventional forms, such as his 1842 chamber music and the symphonies.

The pioneering role of this piano piece for the Second Symphony is obvious, not only through the use of the same material of the Beethoven tune, but also in terms of the position and recapitulatory role of the material. Daverio's analysis of the *Fantasie*'s form and thematic development is aimed at the Beethoven reference at the

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[622] See Brown, (2005) p. 522; Nicholas Marston (1993) '"Im Legendenton": Schumann's "Unsung Voice"', *19th-Century Music*, 16 (3), pp. 227-241; ibid. (1992) *Schumann: Fantasie, Op. 17*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Linda Correll Roesner (1991) 'Schumann's "Parallel" Forms', *19th Century Music*, 14 (3), pp. 265-278; and Newcomb (1987) p. 169.

[623] John Daverio (1987) 'Schumann's "Im Legendenton" and Friedrich Schlegel's "Arabeske"', *19th-Century Music*, 11 (2), p. 161. See also Gernot Gruber (1984) 'Robert Schumann: Fantasie op. 17, 1. Satz, Versuch einer Interpretation', *Musicologia Austriaca*, 4, pp. 101-130.

end of the first movement, which situates the 'Im Legendenton' in the middle of a continuous trajectory of thematic modifications towards the eventual character of the Beethoven reference.[624] Daverio equally acknowledged the distinct identity of this passage through the comparison with Schlegel's notion of the literary 'arabesque'. His application of Schlegel's recourse to 'Parekbasis' is especially illuminating, as this allows him to relate the composer to the 'real time' of the work, from which he escapes in passages like 'Im Legendenton' and 'spins out a dreamy legend in sound'.[625] This seems a perfect model of what Abbate just a few years later described as the only possible way to create a sense of narrative distance and illusion of past tense in music. Furthermore, Daverio exemplified Ricœur's notion of an 'imaginary travel' outside the episodic condition of a narrative. Just like the Symphony, this imaginary travel to the past is musically confirmed through the connection to Beethoven's works.

My analysis of Schumann's Piano Quartet from 1829 ties in with the above notions of narrative prerequisites such as by Abbate and Daverio. In my narrative reading, Schumann used the motif from Beethoven's Piano Trio, op. 1 no. 3, to suggest a sense of past time, similar to the 'Nimm Sie hin' material in the abovementioned works. The Beethoven Trio motif works at most points as signifier of an 'imaginative travel', often interrupting the musical flow in favour of more reflective episodes. This motif regularly appears within digressive moments which establish the necessary distance to the narrative for it to be recognised. I would argue that this particular Beethoven reference in Schumann's early chamber work takes on a highly personal meaning and importance for the composer – not only because it was from one of the last works he played with his chamber ensemble before parting (and to which he

[624] See Ibid., pp. 152ff.
[625] Ibid., p. 158.

subsequently dedicated the work according to his remark to Töpken), but also because he reworked it as the marker for his story about his previous year in Leipzig in the narrative of his Piano Quartet.

I suggest that a similarly personal import can be attributed to the *An die Ferne Geliebte* reference which Schumann applied at structural points to signify narrative digressions in the works as argued above. Especially the *Fantasie*, op. 17, seems to convey such a personal connotation, foremost to Clara Wieck and their 'unfortunate summer of 1836',[626] which has been widely noted.[627] Schumann also intended to donate the profit of the publication of the *Fantasie* to a planned Beethoven memorial in Bonn, initiated by Liszt.[628] Martin Geck summarised this account illustratively: 'Beethoven's music helps over the dark times dominating the culture industry, while Clara functions as the embodied anchor in the face of existential needs.'[629] The narrative of the first movement of the work, thus, possesses a twofold meaning for Schumann. While it comes to terms with a past and personally tragic time, and thereby holds on to Clara Wieck as the emotional fixed point and addressee, it also combines the past and future of Schumann's Beethoven veneration through the intended contribution to the monument.

'Once upon a time': Framing the Two-Work Narrative

In the String Quartets, op. 41, Schumann's first chamber music pieces of 1842, the allusion of the final *An die ferne Geliebte* song has been largely overlooked with regard

[626] Robert Schumann, letter to Clara Wieck, 22 April 1839 from Leipzig. In: SB I/5, p. 425.
[627] See, among others, Geck (2010) pp. 103f.; Berthold Hoeckner (1997) 'Schumann and Romantic Distance', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 50 (1), pp. 110ff.; Marston (1992) p. 38; and Kohlhase I, pp. 48f.
[628] See Geck (2010) p. 103.
[629] Ibid., p. 104.

to its importance for Schumann's narratives. The allusion appears most clearly in the finale of the second String Quartet in F major. The beginning of this movement conveys a light-hearted, almost scherzo-like atmosphere. Its P recalls the gallant Viennese style and folkloristic elements rather than a dramatic ending to a large-scale



Example 10a R. Schumann, String Quartet in F major, op. 41 no. 2, IV, bars 26-40

form, which on first sight seems to contradict Schumann's growing interest in large-scale resolutions. Example 10a shows the flow of semiquavers of P being interrupted by the transition TR to the secondary theme S. The ensuing lyrical S thereby receives a prominent entrance through the textural and structural break with previous events – more so by contrasting the *crescendo* of its introductory passage with a *dolce* beginning, marked to be played *piano*. Most strikingly, however, the theme resounds as a clear reference to the last song of Beethoven's 'Nimm Sie hin denn, diese Lieder' (Example 10b). The reference appears as S only briefly; it is but three bars long (b. 37-39, ending in the EEC). Its sudden lyricism and remoteness starkly contrast with the main character of this movement, not least as it is immediately juxtaposed with the *sforzato* entry of C. Thereby, the reference takes on an elevated, somewhat estranged position within the course of the exposition, providing a perspective from outside the linear disposition of the movement.



Example 10b Beethoven, *An die ferne Geliebte*, op. 98, VI, bars 9-12

The role of the reference becomes more evident and pivotal in the development, of which Example 11 shows the beginning. When the 'Nimm Sie hin' allusion reappears in A flat major, it forcefully brings the flow of the movement to a halt, harmonically and rhythmically. In the position of S, the allusion was prepared by eight bars of TR. By comparison, its reappearance at the beginning of the development sounds much more disruptive and alienated. This sudden change of character enhances the impression which was only suggested by the allusion's first appearance – a shift out of the ongoing narrative into a different sphere or tense. A further immediate transposition of this motif a fourth higher to D flat major (b. 56-60) makes it harmonically clear that this section escaped the straightforward unfolding of the



Example 11 R. Schumann, String Quartet in F major, op. 41 no. 2, IV, bars 48b-67

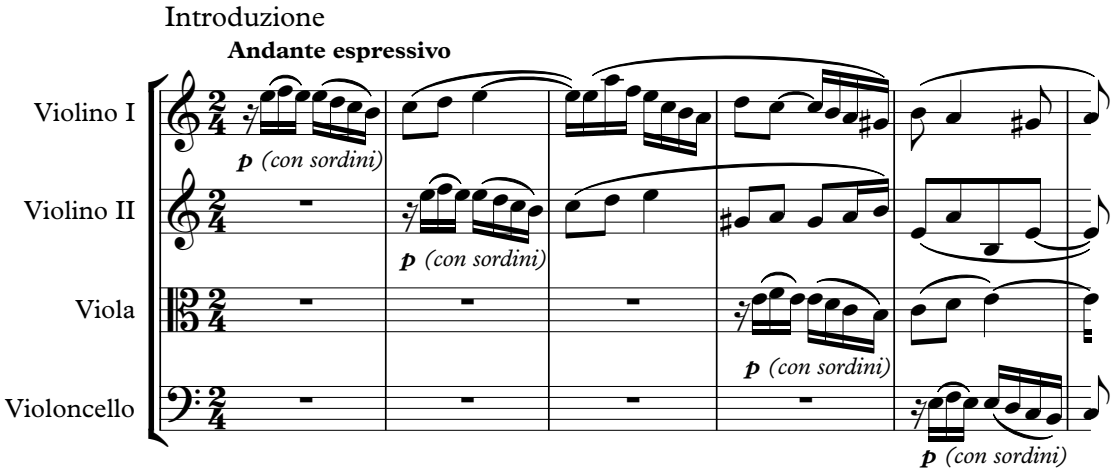
exposition and takes the observer of the narrative to a place distant from the previous events through the allusion to Beethoven. The allusion is answered by a minor second

step being imitated the other way round from the lower to the higher strings (b. 60f.), mirroring the octave leaps travelling down through voices preparing the Beethoven allusion. This motif eventually develops into a new theme (b. 64ff.), a chain of rising fourth or third leaps followed by a descending step. It continues the faltering course of the development following the Beethoven allusion, and the harmonic shift to D flat has changed the narrative perspective.

The new theme derived from the Beethoven allusion in the development of the final movement of the second Quartet resounds an important motif in the op. 41 Quartets, first heard as a decisive phrase in the slow introduction to the first Quartet, bars 20ff. through transformed into the nearly opposite character. In fact, this relationship between the beginning of the first and the end of the second Quartet is substantiated through their framing position of a two-work-complex. Roesner discovered in her study of the quartet manuscripts of op. 41 that Schumann originally intended to write only two quartets for this opus.[630] It is not only the mere location of these two episodes which connects them, however. It is also the impression of travelling back in time, which I argued to be signified through the Beethoven allusion and its character at the end of the second Quartet.

At the very beginning of his first chamber music works of 1842, in the slow introduction to the first Quartet of op. 41 in A minor, Robert Schumann already ushers his listeners to a moment in the past. This introduction takes the listener on a short

[630] Roesner (1973) p. 84.



Example 12 R. Schumann, String Quartet in A minor, op. 41 no. 1, I, bars 1-5

journey that arrives at an anticipated point, the first authentic cadence in A minor at the end of the section. The deliberate choice of 'old style', fugal structure and polyphonic texture as seen in Example 12, suggests a past time from which this introduction is sprung, or into which it leads. A further four bars then transitions to the movement by removing the mutes from the introduction and decisively shifting towards F major, the tonic of the *Allegro* movement. The *Allegro*'s primary theme P exhibits a completely contrasting character from the introduction, spinning off a jolly homophonic tune in triple metre in major mode.

The distinct worlds of the introduction and the *Allegro* thus signal a shift in the narrative from the outset of the first Quartet. In the early C-minor Piano Quartet, I interpreted the references to Beethoven at significant structural junctures for the work's narrative as travels to the past, going as far as Baroque figures in the slow movement suggesting a reinforcement of this impression of past tense. At the beginning of his next completed chamber work, the A-minor String Quartet, Schumann ranges much further afield. The polyphonic introduction is not a mere glance into something past like I argued for the early Piano Quartet to look back at Schumann's first period in Leipzig in 1828/29. Instead, it transports the listeners and

players altogether to a former, distant place. After the arrival of the cadence in the introduction and, hence, at the aforementioned anticipated point in the past, the four-bar *stringendo* transition figuratively lifts the curtain to a narrative in which the movement unfolds, seemingly now in the present tense.[631]

Compared to the sporadic narrative digressions in the C-minor Piano Quartet, this opening and travel to a point in the past raises a different narrative question. Instead of an ongoing narrative that needs points of reflection and distancing for the narrative to be realised as such, the introduction makes clear that the following movement(s) will be staged as a narrative from the beginning. It figuratively opens a narrative frame, comparable to a framework story or textbook fairy tales.[632] As mentioned before, the closing part of the frame can be found in the allusions to Beethoven's 'Nimm Sie hin', and the development theme in the finale of the second Quartet. As this theme resembles a gesture from the midst of the introduction, the narrative frame of the two Quartets as previously anticipated materialises and builds the bridge to the beginning of the first Quartet. Both appearances of the theme seem to be outside of the actual narration of the movements, and thereby fulfil a similar framing role. In the introduction to the first Quartet, the up-swinging character of the chain of rising thirds/fourths and descending steps in the first violin caused the section

[631] A model for this strategy can, for example, be found in the opening of Schubert's String Quartet in G major, D. 887. While being first published in 1850, Schumann's enthusiasm for Schubert's chamber music might have made him encounter this work before 1842, for example in Ferdinand Schubert's home in Vienna. Walter Frisch argued that in the opening of Schubert's Quartet, 'when the piece has ostensibly no 'past' of its own', the composer evokes a sense of memory in the listener through applying features known from Baroque music, as well as giving the impression of a Classical slow introduction and even discovering harmonic allusions to Beethoven's 'Waldstein' Sonata, op. 53. See Walter Frisch (2000) '"You must remember this": Memory and structure in Schubert's string quartet in G major, D. 887', *Musical Quarterly*, 84 (4), p. 582-584.

[632] Schumann's correction process of the Quartets according to the sketches shows this to be a deliberate choice. Schumann added the slow introduction to the first Quartet subsequently and replaced the four-bar *stringendo* section from the opening of the second Quartet to its eventual position between the introduction and the *Allegro*. See Roesner (1973) pp. 86f; and Julie Hedges Brown (2003) 'Study, Copy, and Conquer: Schumann's 1842 Chamber Music and the Recasting of Classical Sonata Form', *The Journal of Musicology*, 30 (3), p. 417.

to approach the hitherto avoided authentic cadence towards the end of the section, which I interpret as the point of arrival in the past. In the development of the finale to the second Quartet, the theme re-establishes the distance to the narrative through its affinity to Beethoven and with it, the new tonality. Eventually, it is the same thematic material which in my analysis will become the important motivic link throughout the 1842 chamber works.

Narrating the Personal: Clara Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn in the Narrative Frame

When Robert Schumann presented the String Quartets op. 41 to his wife for her 23rd birthday, she probably recognised the reference to the Beethoven Lied in the finale of the second Quartet and understood the personal meaning of the *Fantasie*. Kohlhase also suggested another association of the reference to 'Nimm Sie hin', indicated by the dedication of the published quartets to Mendelssohn: 'It is truly possible that the text of the song section being associated ("Take, then, these songs") has to be considered as a secret dedication to Mendelssohn.'[633] Schumann had reviewed a concert in March 1841 featuring Mendelssohn accompanying the song cycle: 'The beauty and gem of the evening was the song cycle by Beethoven, love songs which have since not been heard again in such pure natural sounds, in such heartfelt depth. Singing them demands a poet rather than a singer… Mendelssohn's performance of the accompaniment felt the liveliness of the original.'[634] Apparently the performance had left its mark on Schumann, two years before his String Quartet compositions. In this context, Jansen told an anecdote regarding Mendelssohn and the finale of the second Quartet:

> One day (proven to be 5 July 1842) Mendelssohn wanted to collect Schumann for a walk just when the latter was in his composition fever and thus preferred to stay

[633] Kohlhase I, p. 49.
[634] GS II, p. 58.

> at home. At a later point, Schumann handed over the Quartets to Mendelssohn and indicated the finale of the second Quartet to be the composition for which he declined the walk. Mendelssohn quickly skimmed through the movement, turned to Mrs Schumann with a comical-regrettable shoulder-shrugging, and said: 'Schumann might as well have come on the walk instead!'[635]

While this is clearly an anecdote passed on to Jansen some 40 years later, it illustrates Mendelssohn's familiarity and intimacy with the Schumann couple. More concretely, it shows that Mendelssohn interacted directly with Robert Schumann (even though being rejected in this instance) while the latter was writing on the finale of the second Quartet.

This moment in the finale was not the only borrowing from a Beethoven work in Schumann's op. 41, as discussed further below. Yet, Manfred Hermann Schmid speculated whether they were as much about Mendelssohn as Beethoven. Schumann knew of the Beethoven references in Mendelssohn's early String Quartet, op. 13. Thus, his own Beethoven references in his String Quartets respectively acknowledged Mendelssohn as well.[636] The dedication of the Quartets to Mendelssohn, Schumann's previous enthusiastic review of the song cycle performance, and his knowledge of Mendelssohn's own Beethoven citations all suggest that through this particular reference Schumann added a personal connection linked to Mendelssohn to the pre-existing association with Clara Schumann.[637]

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[635] 'Mendelssohn hatte nämlich eines Tages (nachweisbar am 5. Juli 1842) Schumann zu einem Spaziergange abholen wollen, als dieser eben im Compositionsfeuer war und daher vorzog, zu Hause zu bleiben. Einige Zeit darauf übergab er Mendelssohn die Quartette und bezeichnete das Finale des zweiten Quartetts als die Composition, derentwegen er den Spaziergang abgelehnt. Mendelssohn überflog den Satz rasch, wandte sich mit komisch-bedauerlichem Achselzucken zu Frau Schumann und meinte: "wenn doch Schumann da lieber spazieren gegangen wäre!"' Jansen, p. 246, fn. 183.

[636] See Manfred Hermann Schmid (2005) 'Drei Streichquartette op. 41'. In: Helmut Loos (Ed.) *Robert Schumann. Interpretationen seiner Werke*, vol. 1, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, p. 224. The Beethoven references in Mendelssohn's op. 13 will be discussed later on, see pp. 353f.

[637] Christopher Reynolds furthermore discovered that Fanny Hensel Mendelssohn also quoted this specific Beethoven Lied in her choral setting from 1846 of Eichendorff's poem 'Lockung', over the words 'Do you remember the mad songs from former, beautiful times?' – a further evidence that this reference was deliberately used as reference to former times, evoking past tense, in the circle around Mendelssohn, even though he himself is not known to have quoted this Lied. See Christopher Reynolds (1994) 'An die ferne Geliebte'. In: Albrecht Riethmüller, Alexander L. Ringer, and Carl Dahlhaus (Eds.) *Beethoven: Interpretationen seiner Werke*, vol. 2, Laaber: Laaber Verlag, p. 107.

Such references were generally less obvious at the time than the above suggests, however. While at least Mendelssohn and Clara Schumann might have recognised the Beethoven Lied in the finale of the second String Quartet, the public probably perceived this allusion subconsciously if at all. Beethoven's song cycle was initially reviewed in the Leipzig *AmZ* in 1817 after its publication but not performed publicly in Leipzig until the nineteenth subscription concert of the Gewandhaus season 1840-41, by a singer named Mr Schmidt on 4 March 1841 (it was this performance that Schumann reviewed).[638] Hence, the Leipzig public was introduced to these Beethoven songs only shortly before Schumann's String Quartet compositions (and years after the op. 17 *Fantasie*), while Schumann himself reported on private performances of the Beethoven song cycle as early as 1828 during an evening in Ernst August Carus' household in Leipzig.[639]

Newcomb's work on the reception of Schumann's Second Symphony confirms this view of the public being unaware of the Beethoven references, as he detected the first mention of the allusion in the second edition of Hermann Abert's *Robert Schumann* in 1910, regarding the *Fantasie.*[640] Given that according to Newcomb's

[638] This Leipzig premiere of *An die Ferne Geliebte* was probably programmed as a replacement for the fourth 'historical concert' of the season from 11 February 1841, which was dedicated entirely to Beethoven. Schmidt was scheduled to perform the song cycle at this occasion but fell ill and was spontaneously replaced by Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient who sang Beethoven's 'Adelaide'. Schmidt also sung the entire cycle again in the following season, in a subscription concert on 10 March 1842. See Dörffel (1884) p. 7; GS II, p. 58; Barbara Pearl Turchin (1981) *Robert Schumann's Song Cycles in the Context of the Early Nineteenth-Century Liederkreis*, PhD Diss.: Columbia University, pp. 62f.; Lorraine Gorrell (1993) *The Nineteenth-Century German Lied*, Portland: Amadeus Press, p. 83; and Ruth Otto Bingham (1993) *The Song Cycle in German-Speaking Countries, 1790—1840: Approaches to a Changing Genre*, PhD Diss.: Cornell University, p. 233.

[639] See TB I, p. 146.

[640] See Anthony Newcomb (2004) 'Schumann and the Marketplace: From Butterflies to *Hausmusik*'. In: Larry R. Todd (Ed.) *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, Abingdon: Routledge, p. 295; and Hermann Abert (1910) *Robert Schumann*, Berlin: 'Harmonie' Verlagsgesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst, p. 64. Newcomb also claimed that in 1880, Wasielewski discovered the same allusion in Schumann's Second Symphony. Only one year later, however, Newcomb revised this view, saying that Wasielewski did not claim an intentional allusion but instead an accordance of motives without being plagiarism. In fact, Newcomb even considered the fact that Wasielewski did not call it a quotation or allusion, or that Robert or Clara Schumann mentioned it themselves, as proof against it being a conscious or intentional allusion by the composer. See Newcomb (2005) pp. 122f.

research not even nineteenth-century critics had discussed the rather prominent appearance of the Beethoven reference in the Symphony's finale – a much better-known work than the String Quartets – it seems unlikely that the importance of this very reference, personally and musically, was noted outside of Schumann's private environment. In fact, the unfamiliarity of the Leipzig audience with Beethoven's song cycle was Schumann's advantage in this instance, because the audience would have been rather critical of such an allusion if recognised, as explained by Newcomb (see p. 281). This assumption is supported by recalling Schumann's comments on the *Fantasie* and its personal link to Clara Wieck: if the first movement can only be understood in the hindsight of the dreadful summer of 1836, perhaps one has to be a member of, or be at least familiar with, the personal links within Schumann's circle and the involvement of figures like Mendelssohn to appreciate the full meaning of the resumption of the same reference in the second String Quartet.

In conclusion, the narrative frame for the two-work complex not only provides a reason to consider the narratives of the two quartets as one unit. It also adds a deeply personal note at the end of this narration, when Schumann takes the listener back to the frame and out of the narrative in the last movement of the second Quartet. In hindsight, and with detailed study one can see that the slow introduction to the first Quartet is linked to this finale through the anticipation of the new theme of the latter's development section. What is more, Robert and Clara Schumann conducted frequent fugue studies together in the time immediately before the chamber music compositions were commenced. The fugal texture of the introduction can be seen as a fruit of these common efforts as well as a hint to the time the couple spent together over their shared

interest in fugues.[641] Hence, Schumann appears to address as well as describe his personal environment as the narrative frame for the two Quartets that unfold within it. In doing so, he created an expectation that the narrative content within these works can be considered as equally personal.

A Musically Depicted 'Quartettmorgen': The Narrative Course of the Slow Movement of op. 41/1

The *Adagio* of the first Quartet is the most promising starting point for a closer narrative analysis, as it follows a clear trajectory and resembles a miniature version of what I described above as the large-scale narrative frame binding the two Quartets together. The theme of the movement begins as a long-drawn cantabile melody in a 16-bar periodic structure. The first four notes are reminiscent of a Beethoven work that was well-known to the Leipzig audience: the slow movement of the Ninth Symphony (rehearsal mark 'A' in the annotated score in appendix 1, pp. 417ff.).[642] This allusion does not appear like a sound from afar or as a resolution to a large-scale form, compared to the *An die Ferne Geliebte* moments. Instead, it emerges as thematic development within the work complex. This development becomes more obvious in the last four bars of the theme (B), where its character suddenly becomes more dramatic and agitated and the texture abandons the melodic flow in favour of semiquaver lines accompanied by distinctively dotted chords. In the repeat of the first section (C), the counter melody of the first violin inverts the semiquaver figure not only in terms of character and mood, but also musically as a descending figure. The inversion – a variation tool anticipating the thematic developments in the finale of the

[641] A detailed account of Robert and Clara Schumann's Bach studies 1840-1843 can be found in Lee (2011) pp. 100-112.

[642] This allusion was first acknowledged in Kohlhase I, p. 46.

second String Quartet – reveals the connection between this figure and the movement's theme: the melody that alludes to Beethoven's Ninth is a prolonged inversion of the figure that makes the movement continue the motivic development of the previous movements (In the *Scherzo*, this motif is the main thematic material) and links it to the finale of the following Quartet. In order for this realisation to set in, the theme has to undergo its own narrative.

The first section ends with a repeat of the theme in the lower strings (D), with the two violins taking over the accompaniment. In the last bar of this section, the *pizzicato* figure in the first violin, marked *diminuendo*, suggests that the theme, which does not continue into the consequent of its original period outline, vanishes into the distance, or the narrative line zooms out of the theme. The middle section then starts with a clear cut from the previous ongoing. It creates the impression of the events zooming back in, though at a different place. In fact, it appears to work like a magnifying glass, as this section sheds a closer light on two features of the first section which hitherto remained in the background. The first is the accompaniment figure that appeared in the viola for most of the first section, awarding the main theme a serenading character especially when repeated *pizzicato* in the first violin at the end of the section. This figure is imitated up- and downwards through the two violins and the viola for four bars, granting it the prominence that most accompaniment figures conventionally lack. The other feature from the first section are the agitated semiquaver chains which have established the closest thematic connection to the previous movements. In contrast to previously being a rather short and strange episode interrupting the melodious flow, these bars comprise the main part of the middle section, as if it was their duty to ensure that the connection to the previous movements was understood.

In light of the theories about narrative digressions explained earlier, the middle section appears to trigger another shift in perspective. Instead of distancing itself from the narrative flow or creating a different temporality, this section 'zooms' even deeper into some aspects of the plot, functioning like a comment or an explanation to the events rather than a remote point of observation. The unprepared and disruptive transition to the repeat of the first section, therefore, establishes again a notion of distance. The middle section continues in full force until suddenly the main theme resounds in A flat minor (E). This tonality is distinctly remote from the original F major and the sudden change of dynamics and character enforces this sense of distance. It leads to the impression that the primary theme is approaching from afar, perhaps from where it 'zoomed out' in bar 27. The beginning of the first section's repeat sets in three bars after this approaching of the primary theme. Without a dominant or any cadence in the tonic, however, the theme reappears harmonically unstable.

The narration is suspended in this section between the commentary of the previous section and the returning theme, which strangely keeps its distance at the conventional point of utmost certainty, the entrance of the recapitulation. Schmid fittingly described this conflict:

> Schumann reverses this fact [the point of the recapitulation] in one of the most somnambulistic parts of his entire oeuvre in an almost alarming way. The theme does not dominate through a self-confident entry but gropes its way in gradually. In doing so, it loses any gravity and is set in a different sphere, in a sphere of imagination. Schumann managed once more to create the effect of transformation that corresponds fully to his idea of poetic music, which has the peculiarity of shifting into the perspective of subjective awareness.[643]

Schmid poetically described a sense of reflection: on being distanced from the events preceding it, the theme sounds closer to the players and listeners by providing an image

[643] Schmid (2005) p. 236.

of wonderment at what just happened. The representational course of time that was expected to be reinstalled at this decisive moment is denied in favour of a subjective stance on the previous events. Possibly because of the deeper insight into elements of the first section that the middle one offered through its 'magnifier', the repeat of this section has to respond to the new insights through changing its course of events.

When continuing the repeat of the first section after the impression of suspense is resolved in bar 47, it is first the accompanying triplets that maintain the sense of a 'new reality', of a slightly more distanced view on the theme unfolding. The most notable change, however, happens to the consequent of the theme (F). At the same time as the triplet figure moving to the viola, the first violin abandons the unison rendition of the theme and introduces a counter voice. It is this new voice that sums up the insights from the middle section: it inverts the semiquaver figure into the descending version that uncovers its resemblance with the theme of the movement (C). Following this realisation, the remaining course of the da capo of the first section does not go off as planned, especially because the next section is designated for the four bars of the more dramatic semiquaver chains. Due to the revelation of the affinity of these figures with the primary theme through the previous bars, this section is now made part of the theme. In return, the theme itself reveals its own affinity to the rising semiquaver figure in its final bars. Here, the exchangeability and thematic equality of the theme's melody and the semiquaver figure becomes discernible as the eventual purpose of the thematic and motivic transformations throughout this movement.

The remaining eight bars of the da capo of the first section which originally brought back the theme in the cello lapse after these developments of and amendments to the semiquaver section. Schmid described this discontinuation of the section as an 'interruption of time', as originally sequential episodes are now appearing

simultaneously, amending the course of the narration of the main theme: '"Representational" music metamorphosed into imaginary music with schizophrenically unreal shifts and flashing secondary thoughts in creatively changing memory.'[644] I would argue that the changes in the da capo section are a sign of a reflective and combinatory process. Rather than a schizophrenic memory confusing the order of past events as suggested by Schmid, in my reading the movement's memory logically combines the experiences of the first and the middle section to the conclusion about their affinity.

The trajectory of the movement corresponds to the three stages of the hero's quest, Vladimir Propp's theory of the plot archetype adopted by Ricœur and others. First being confronted with a problem (the opposition and incompatibility of the disruptive semiquaver bars in the first section with the general melodic character of the theme), the hero has to overcome quests challenging this problem (the closer examination of particular parts in the middle section), in order to achieve victory (the recognition of the affinity of the two previously opposed aspects). The 'imaginary travel' to the hero's past, necessary for the perspective of distance to the plot and the atmosphere of the narration, is established, once again, not by digressive but by framing features. The first three bars of the movement conceal what is about to come as the tonic is not reached before the actual movement and the theme begin. Despite the seamless transition into the theme, Schumann clearly demarcated this as an introduction through the double bar line between bars three and four. This introduction is repeated almost identically at the end of the movement, and the transition to the main theme is now replaced by two further bars confirming the final cadence in the tonic.

[644] Schmid (2005) p. 237.

Kohlhase compared the return of the first three bars at the end of the movement with 'the frame of a framework story, symbolising different spheres of time'.[645] A framework story can only be perceived as such at the end of the movement with the return of the introduction. It makes the listener realise that they have been following a story within the story. This concept of a narrative frame recalls the beginning of this chapter in which I explored the framework to the complex of the first two String Quartets of op. 41. The obvious difference to the larger frame of the two String Quartets is that the finale of the second Quartet does not repeat the introduction to the first one and is markedly different. The frame of the *Adagio* of the first Quartet shares its main feature: both versions secretly incorporate pivotal motifs of the narrative content they frame while sounding superficially detached – namely the rising semiquaver motif in both cases. As both the first movement of the first Quartet and the finale to the second do not directly feature this motif, the two parts of the larger frame that these movements contain can incorporate it in its actual form, in order to establish their connection. Because this motif is so prominent in the narration of the *Adagio* movement, on the other hand, the frame to this movement has to use a deconstructed version of the motif in order to maintain the narrative distance, the frame's main purpose (G). The semiquaver lines, first in the cello and later in the first violin, omit the motivic reference. The elongated and more accompanimental part of the second violin, at the same time, introduces the motif in its F-E-A-G shape. At the end of the movement (H), this deconstruction of the motif is more or less revealed when the first violin takes over the second half of the second violin's melodic line which contains the motivic material. The end of this melodic fragment is then merged with the beginning of the semiquaver run. Hence, the frame itself acknowledges the

[645] Kohlhase II, p. 36.

developments of the narration that has unfolded in the meantime by making its own connection to the central element of this development clearer – just like the usual concluding remarks by the narrator when returning to the framework of the story at the very end.

Friedrich's Landscapes and Mendelssohn's Back: The 'Quartettmorgen' as 'Rückenfigur'

The late reconsideration of the theme's development in the postlude to the movement prompted Schmid to refer to another analogy which illustrates the process described above graphically:

> The conventional ABA form and its mechanical recurrence become a jeopardised form of experiencing and re-experiencing. The view back on the theme makes the observer – similar to Caspar David Friedrich's well-known 'Rückenfigur' [figure scene from behind] – a part of the portrayal themselves. The music, thereby, gains an unexpected distance and becomes strangely 'out of reach'.[646]

The comparison with Friedrich's characteristic portrayal of figures from behind – just imagine his *Wanderer above the Sea of Fog* (Figure 35) or *The Stages of Life* – describes the possibly subconscious process that the listener has undergone throughout this movement. Only at the end of the second 'A' section and particularly in the postlude, the listener can notice the course the movement has taken and the realisation that has set in during this progress.[647] The image of a wanderer looking at the mountainous route they have completed or are about to cross is thereby not only fitting

[646] Schmid (2005) pp. 237f.

[647] It seems likely that Schumann was, at least to some extent, acquainted with Friedrich's works. Two early works by the artist, *Aus der Dresdner Heide I and II* (*From the Dresden Heath I and II*), were first exhibited in the Leipzig Easter Fair around 1828, just when Schumann settled in Leipzig the first time. The Leipzig physician, painter, and philosopher Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869), a member of the wider Carus family which also included Schumann's patrons Ernst August and Carl Erdmann Carus, was a friend of Friedrich. Carus himself was also an artist of 'Rückenfigur' paintings and his account of the 'Rückenfigur' in his memoires 'as site of identification or mediation between painting and viewer, nature and consciousness, finite and infinite, remains to this day the dominant interpretation of Friedrich's master-trope'. Joseph Leo Koerner (2009) *Caspar David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape*, 2nd ed., London: Reaktion, pp. 245f.; see also pp. 16 and 22.



Figure 35 *Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer* by Caspar David Friedrich, around 1818. Hamburger Kunsthalle

through an analytical lens but also justified by a contemporary description by Wasielewski. He used a similar image to convey his view of Schumann's Piano Quintet, op. 44:

> The work offers the image of a wanderer who is strolling through the richly blossoming countryside stretching along the foot of the hill, and who is climbing higher and higher in order to eventually enjoy the view over the covered route at the panorama of the mountain's summit. The highest conditions of artistic creation meet in this artwork.[648]

[648] 'So gewährt dies Werk gleichsam das Bild eines Wanderers, der durch die blühend reiche, am Bergeshange sich ausbreitende Landschaft dahinziehend, immer höher steigt, um sich auf der Spitze des Gipfels umschweifenden Blickes noch einmal der Betrachtung des zurückgelegten Weges zu erfreuen. In diesem Kunstwerke treffen die höchsten Bedingungen künstlerischen Schaffens zusammen.' Wasielewski, p. 314.

Despite this comment addressing the finale of the Piano Quintet and its approach to large-scale resolution, which I discuss further below, Wasielewski's evocation of the wanderer looking back is helpful, for it describes the observer of the piece becoming part of the reflective process. The art historian Joseph Leo Koerner added that the halted traveller is indeed a common rhetorical device in Romantic literature, as for instance in the poetry of William Wordsworth, and in particular in Friedrich's paintings.[649]

In the last bars of the *Adagio* of the first String Quartet, Schumann gave the listener a clue who the 'Rückenfigur', the halted wanderer of the movement's mountainous route might be: the semiquaver figure in the penultimate bar (four bars after H) following the return of the introduction of the movement is a nearly identical quotation from Mendelssohn's String Quartet, op. 12, in which the very same figure concludes the finale to the Quartet. As both the Schumann couple and the Gewandhaus quartet were familiar with this early work by the Gewandhaus director, this quotation might have sounded to them as if a comment by Mendelssohn was completing the movement. Hence, the 'Rückenfigur' is likely to be imagined amidst Schumann's circle. Continuing this thought, Schumann could have intended to portray a particular instance or event with this one-movement narration. Mendelssohn's quote appearing at the end of the *Adagio* might signal a concrete and personal content of the narrative – not least because this quote appears at exactly the point after the three bars from the introduction where, at the beginning of the movement, the reminiscence of the slow movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony entered this narration, and Schumann was aware of this Beethoven movement being one of Mendelssohn's favourites.[650]

[649] See Koerner (2009) pp. 213f.

[650] See Robert Schumann (1947) *Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. by Georg Eismann, Zwickau: Predella, p. 36. The manifold resemblances in Mendelssohn's op. 13 to Beethoven's works have already been mentioned and will be discussed in more detail in pp. 321f.

Through this ‘musical comment’ and its personal link to the theme of the movement coming from the midst of Schumann’s Leipzig circle, hypothetically, this *Adagio* can be interpreted as the impressions of a generic ‘Quartettmorgen’, re-composed into music by Schumann.

As if looking over Mendelssohn’s shoulder, at the end of the movement the listener has witnessed a musical discussion about the essence of this piece in the larger context. Propp’s three stages of the quest for the hero can be equated with the musical confrontation, then a closer examination, and as a result, a more informed and insightful rendition of the thematic development and relations within the movement and its place in the overarching work complex. Such a narrative sounds in keeping with the contemporary demands for informed chamber music practice through the writings by the two Leipzig locals, Petiscus and Rochlitz. Their claims for professional chamber musicians to come to terms with the score first, working out the main aspects of the piece and discussing among themselves ‘what the work is about’ before attempting a more informed and fitting performance, can musically be traced in the narration of the *Adagio*. The middle section, which I described as ‘zooming into’ particular details of the previous theme, discussing them in more detail and more extensively, can be interpreted as a musical metaphor for such a detailed examination of the piece among the players, as the figures prominently featured in this section are shared between the violins and the viola. In fact, both figures, the accompanying arpeggio figure and the disturbing semiquaver one, occurred in the viola in the first section (apart only from b. 16), so perhaps it is the imagined viola player of the quartet who comes up with the important insight in the middle section and leads the discussion. While I generally abstain from personifications of instruments and voices in my analysis, there is a clue that suggests Schumann had a particular person in mind

for this role. Looking again at the last bars of the movement, the final comment on the previous events, the descending semiquaver line sounds as if it was to express its content with the outcome of this discussion, like an approving last look back – it also comes from the viola. As well as this figure being a quote from an earlier string quartet by Mendelssohn, we know that, when there was no piano involved or it was occupied, for instance, by Clara Schumann, Mendelssohn often took the viola part. Thus, if Schumann was to imagine Mendelssohn being involved in his Quartets, it was most likely as the violist.

The notion of the final semiquaver line, of Mendelssohn's voice, in the postlude as a comment on the previous events also ties in with Petiscus' and Rochlitz's demand on nineteenth-century chamber music making: the players being their own listeners, their own audience. The appearance of the Mendelssohn quote in the postlude expresses exactly this awareness of being player and listener in one, similar to the 'Rückenfigur' being simultaneously observer and observed. The quote sounds somewhat like an intermediary between the stringent semiquaver lines of introduction and its repeat at the end of the movement, and the semiquaver motif that plays such an important part in the narrative throughout the movement. The last viola utterance is therefore somehow similar and yet distant to this semiquaver motif, and hence, it sounds like the above content and concluding judgement over the movement's progress. Again, the image of the 'Rückenfigur' makes it easier to picture: this last comment by the viola corresponds to the very moment where one would expect the wanderer to halt in order to contemplate the panorama unfolding.[651] The scene

[651] The interpretation of the last comment being Mendelssohn's voice seems the more fitting as his *Hebrides Overture*, op. 26, has been read to depict such a 'Rückenfigur' itself, most notably by Thomas Grey. Grey argued that the first theme, which Mendelssohn sketched during his visit to Fingal's Cave in Scotland in 1829, 'paints' the vastness of the Scottish landscape and the waves and winds to be heard around the cave. The second theme then, according to Grey, introduces through its *cantabile* style and noticeable melodic quality, contrasting the first theme, a 'first person' perspective, which Grey

illustrates the reflective process of the protagonist in the painting, or in this case the quartet ensemble that has been portrayed. As in a painting the protagonist is *looking* at the landscape through which the journey led or will lead, in the musical movement the quartet players are *listening* to the outcome of their own musical way – in other words, while the wanderer is their own observer, the quartet players are their own audience.

Koerner described Friedrich's paintings as 'Erlebniskunst', the 'originary act of experience itself' through the 'Rückenfigur'.[652] The experience of the landscape by the artist is personified in the 'Rückenfigur', Koerner wrote: 'His face turns from us and his gaze, the painting's origin, lies hidden. What we see is the artist in the landscape of a remembered *Erlebnis*.'[653] The depiction of an experience rather than an object, on the one hand, suggests the notion of a past tense, a former experience relived by the artist in the painting.[654] On the other hand, an 'Erlebnis' is always personal and individual, and the 'Rückenfigur' reflects the impressions on the individual artist. In

compared to the 'Rückenfigur' as described above. This perspective adds a 'narrative voice' that invites us 'to share its central situation or perspective within the composition.' Thomas Grey (2000) 'Fingal's Cave and Ossian's Dream: Music, Image and Phantasmagoric Audition'. In: Marsha L. Morton and Peter L. Schmunk (Eds.) *The Arts Entwined: Music and Painting in the Nineteenth Century,* New York: Garland, p. 70. Benedict Taylor followed on from this interpretation, reading the second subject of Mendelssohn's Overture as 'the idea of *embodied* subject' in the painting of a 'seascape', which is similar image to the Rückenfigur, though more sensory and less representational, but still relating to either or all of Mendelssohn, the listening subject, or the virtual aesthetic subject. Taylor (2016) 'Seascape in the Mist: Lost in Mendelssohn's *Hebrides*', pp. 213f. Taylor also quoted a remark by Mendelssohn about the performance of this subject: 'The whole thing is to be played pianissimo, with the softest possible rise and fall, as if from an extreme distance [*aus der äußersten Ferne*]".' Felix Mendelssohn, letter to Franz Hauser, 14 May 1834, cited in: Ibid., p. 207. Thus, Mendelssohn himself seems to have considered this second subject as a moment of musical diegesis, constructing narrative distance. Both readings compare well with the 'Rückenfigur', I argued above, to resemble Mendelssohn as well, though not while viewing the Hebrides, but while witnessing one of his circle's Quartettmorgen.

[652] Koerner (2009) p. 193.

[653] Ibid., p. 222.

[654] 'The *Rückenfigur* confers upon a landscape an aspect of pastness or belatedness', according to Koerner. Ibid., p. 267. The impression of the past in Friedrich's 'Rückenfigur' paintings stems from the early Romantics' concept of historicism as something gone and past, a former bond with nature (and thereby, God) which current society had lost. Like journals such as the *NZfM*, such paintings conveyed an illusioned familiarity with a former system of real fulfilment of human life. Another aspect of the notion of pastness in Friedrich's 'Rückenfigur' is the creation of a narrative, which Koerner omits throughout his book.

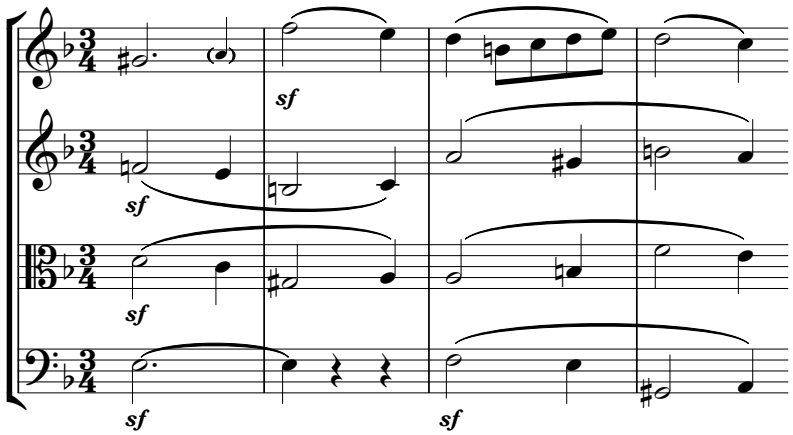
the light of this 'Erlebniskunst', my comparison of the *Adagio* with the 'Rückenfigur' ties in with Schumann's own demands for the purpose of his 'Quartettmorgen': to portray and share the impressions by his chamber players, to report on the works played from a performer's perspective. In the light of this reading of the *Adagio*, I would argue that Schumann did exactly this, in musical instead of journalistic writing. It is as if Schumann is inviting the listener to observe the musicians' psychological and communicative progress through the movement over Mendelssohn's shoulder, or even from his perspective, much as we put ourselves in the position behind or of the wanderer looking over the sea of fog.

Quoting the Past: Schumann's Reference to Beethoven's Reference to Bach

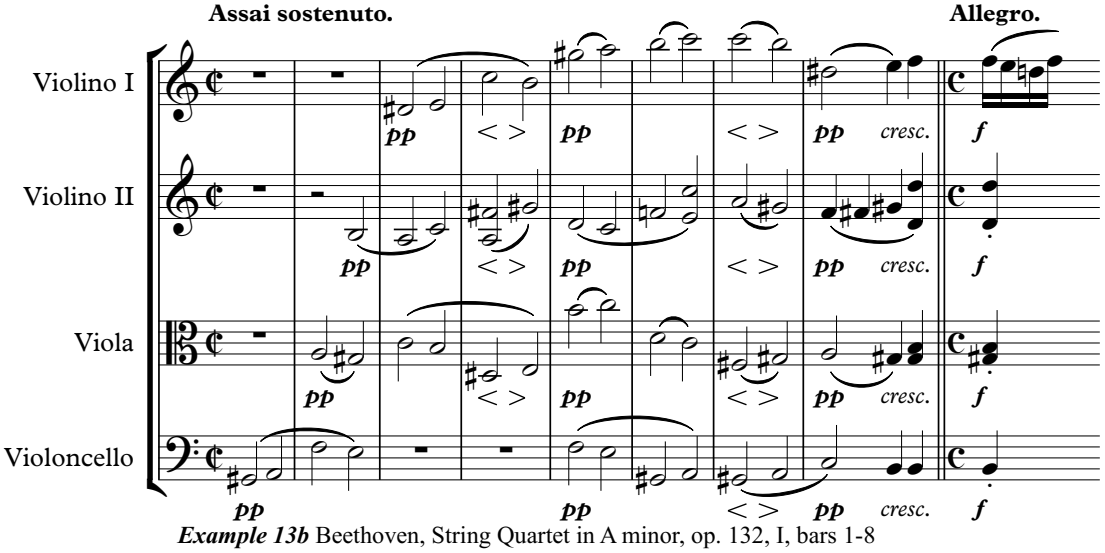
The composed impression of a 'Quartettmorgen' in the second quartet's *Adagio* is embedded in a greater narrative. On the one hand, the short introduction and postlude sound as idyllic and lyrical as the general mood of the movement. Hence, it is portraying the perfect frame for chamber music playing in the nineteenth century which has been idealised by Schumann and others: an intimate, friendly and collaborative environment sealed off from worldly trouble in order to fully submerge the participants into the intellectual and aesthetic merits of chamber music making. On the other hand, this narrative also remains part of the larger picture – it is, in a Jean-Paulian sense, a digression in itself, a narrative within the narrative. Such a 'meta-narrative' corresponds to the concept of a private and social context for the ideal chamber music evening: the intimate and trustful atmosphere of a private chamber music event can only be created in a larger social environment as the players and the few listeners have to be entirely comfortable with each other. I argued for Schumann's case that the members and musicians within his Leipzig circle were equally chamber

music partners as well as close friends outside the musical context. In the same way, the interpretation of the *Adagio* of the first String Quartet as a 'Quartettmorgen' can only be valid within a larger context of relationships, connections, and context.

The musical creation of Schumann's personal environment, I propose, begins with a motivic cell. This cell is a motif of four notes which featured in the *Adagio*, namely in the sixth bar of the primary theme in the first violin, C-B-D-C (b. 9). The origin of this motivic cell is most evident in its appearance in the exposition of the second Quartet's first movement, thus in the middle of the intended two-work complex. Beginning in bar 57 of this movement, the sequence G#–(A–)F–E and its inverted versions in the lower voices have been acknowledged as a close reference to



Example 13a R. Schumann, String Quartet in F major, op. 41 no. 2, I, bars 57-60



Example 13b Beethoven, String Quartet in A minor, op. 132, I, bars 1-8

Beethoven's String Quartet in A minor, op. 132 (Examples 13a and 13b).[655] The slow introduction, *Assai sostenuto*, to Beethoven's A-minor Quartet begins with a canonic motif, G#–A–F–E in the cello. This motif, in *pianissimo* slowly ascending through all voices, reinvents its appearance already throughout the eight bars of the introduction, indicating that it is a motivic idea rather than a sequence of fixed notes. The essence of this motif, which Carl Dahlhaus called the 'fundamental idea as an "abstract" configuration',[656] turns out to be two steps, mostly semitones, connected through a larger interval leap. Beethoven's application of this configuration throughout his late Quartets was of interest for Schumann because of, I propose, the following three reasons:

First, the configuration permeates the first movement of the A-minor Quartet, both locally and from a large-scale perspective, even resulting in the movement's form and harmonic structure being determined by this sequence of notes.[657] For Dahlhaus, this configuration is an example of what he labelled 'subthematicism' which displaces the Classical formal process from the surface into a 'subthematic' realm.[658] The result is an impression of disunity, in which this configuration continuously disrupts the superficial course of the movement,[659] similar to what I described as digressive episodes in narratives, which use such disruptions to create narrative distance.

Second, suggested by the strict polyphonic texture of the introduction, the configuration has roots in the most iconic of Baroque motifs, as it is foremost a reshaping of the B-A-C-H theme. Daniel Chua confirmed that this motif can be found

[655] Once more, this allusion was first discovered in Kohlhase I, pp. 47f.
[656] Dahlhaus (1991) p. 204.
[657] See Beethoven's 'motivic scheme' of the movement in Daniel K. L. Chua (1995) *The Galitzin Quartets of Beethoven*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 66 (table Ex. 3.11.).
[658] Dahlhaus (1991) p. 204.
[659] See Chua (1995) p. 103; and Michael Spitzer (2006) *Music as Philosophy. Adorno and Beethoven's Late Style*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p. 27.

in various places within the sketches for the late Quartets and was eventually remoulded by Beethoven at the beginning of op. 132.[660] Not least in combination with allusions to other works by Bach and Beethoven's obsession with counterpoint throughout his late String Quartets, Chua admits that the incorporation of the B-A-C-H motto into the motivic core of op. 132 'may indicate some kind of connection with the past inspired by Bach'.[661]

Third, the configuration and the 'Es muss sein' opening motif of op. 135 (which in itself is derived from the configuration), are said to constitute a thematic thread through all of Beethoven's late Quartets, and most notably the middle three, opp. 130, 131, and 132.[662] What is more, in most of the moments where this configuration occurs throughout his late String Quartets, Beethoven utilises its contrapuntal design for fugal themes, such as the closing fugue in op. 130, the opening one of op. 131, as seen above in op. 132, and most strikingly in various shapes throughout the *Große Fuge* op. 133.[663] Hence, it seems likely Schumann was intrigued by Beethoven's pioneering

[660] See Chua (1995) p. 251, fn. 14. See also Joseph Kerman (1967) *The Beethoven Quartets*, London: Oxford University Press, p. 354.

[661] Chua (1995) p. 251. See also Chua's references to writings by Kirkendale, Basil Lam, Leonard Ruttner, and Martin Zenck for further discussion about Beethoven's use of the B-A-C-H motto. Schumann himself would explore the contrapuntal qualities of this motto in the *Scherzo* of his Second Symphony op. 61: the second trio of the *Scherzo* features the original B-A-C-H version in the first violins, first integrated in the choral-like beginning of the trio (b. 230-232), and expanded to a cantus firmus (b. 257-262). Schumann apparently remembered the finale of the F-major Quartet at various points when working on his C-major Symphony, and at both instances the evocation of the past seems to prompt this memory, whether via a direct Beethoven or a Bach reference that was linked to Beethoven's late Quartets. Stephen Hefling likened the fugato introduction to the first of Schumann's Quartets with the canonic, minor-mode openings of Beethoven's opp. 131 and 132. See Stephen E. Hefling (2003) 'The Austro-Germanic Quartet Tradition in the Nineteenth Century'. In: Robin Stowell (Ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 235-239. I associated the introduction to Schumann's A-minor Quartet with polyphonic style of J. S. Bach and his contemporaries. Hefling thus confirmed that this use of canonic style for evoking past tense might also have been taken from Beethoven's quartet works.

[662] See Chua (1995) p. 11; and Deryck Cooke (1963) 'The Unity of Beethoven's Late Quartets', *The Music Review*, 24, p. 32. Cooke's view that due to their motivic connections, 'the three works obviously belonged closely together as a unified, homogenous group' (p. 33) has since received widespread criticism, from 'going too far' (Spitzer) to 'anachronistic and dangerously mistaken' (Kerman). See Spitzer (2006) p. 72; and Kerman (1967) p. 226 and 229.

[663] See also: Robert Winter (1977) 'Plans for the Structure of the String Quartet in C Sharp Minor Op. 131'. In Tyson, A. (Ed.) *Beethoven Studies 2*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 106-137; William Kinderman (2006) 'Beethoven's Last Quartets: Threshold to a Fourth Creative Period?'. In:

approach to connect several chamber music works through motivic continuation which itself is laden with an overarching meaning of historicism and the past.

Beethoven's late Quartets were much in Schumann's mind as he commenced his String Quartet compositions. He had heard Beethoven's late Quartets being played by the Gewandhausquartett under David's leadership in the late 1830s and early 1840s (see pp. 259-264). A performance of the opp. 127 and 131 Quartets in the 1837-1838 season even left the otherwise eloquent critic Schumann speechless.[664] The influence of the cyclic coherence and tonal structure of Beethoven's C-sharp-minor Quartet on Schumann's *Fantasie* op. 17 and his *Dichterliebe* song cycle from 1840 have most notably been discussed by Marston.[665] Schumann also exchanged his thoughts on the Quartets with his fellow Beethovenian, Hirschbach, who published a review of Beethoven's op. 131 Quartet in the *NZfM* in 1839. Already in November 1837, Schumann reported his 'fugue fever',[666] attempted and abandoned numerous fugue sketches, and studied Bach's works with Clara Schumann throughout the late 1830s and early 1840s (as well as arrangements of Beethoven's late Quartets). Naturally, it seems that the linking element between these two passions, the configuration in Beethoven's Quartets, must have had a certain fascination for Schumann at that time. He wrote in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* about the Quartets:

> There can hardly anything more remarkable be offered to the human spirit than these creations, which can be compared, in their profound design and their course of ideas exceeding all human conventions, to nothing at all in recent music, and if at all, only to something by Lord Byron or some later works of J. Paul and Goethe.[667]

Ibid. (Ed.) *The String Quartets of Beethoven*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 279-322; and William E. Caplin (2006) 'The Genesis of the Countersubjects for the Grosse Fuge'. In: William Kinderman (Ed.) *The String Quartets of Beethoven*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 234-261.

[664] See GS I, p. 380.

[665] See Marston (1991) pp. 247-264.

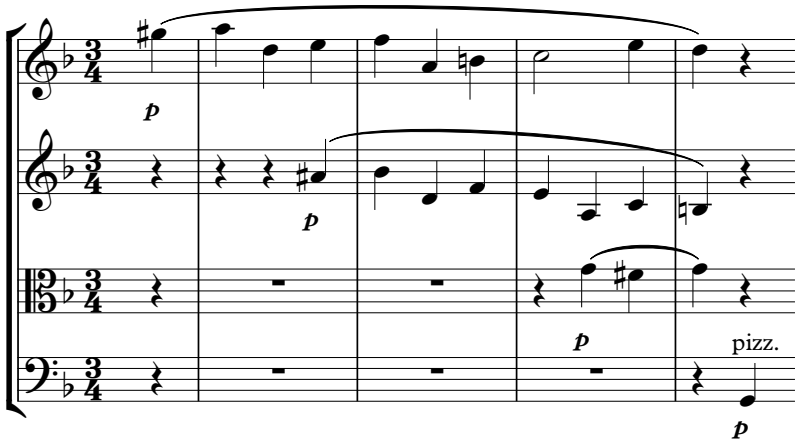
[666] TB II, p. 44.

[667] '[Es könne] dem menschlichen Geists kaum etwas Wunderwürdigeres geboten werden, als jene Schöpfungen, denen in ihrer tiefsinnigen Gestaltung, ihrem alle menschlichen Satzungen

Comparing the 'profound design' of Beethoven's late Quartets to major works by Byron, Jean Paul, and Goethe, suggests that Schumann saw their overall construction and motivic unity as a form of narrative that had not been achieved in music so far. The assumption that Schumann recognised the configuration as a 'meta-motif', as the pivot of the narrative of these quartets, can, in my view, be testified by his own reworking of this configuration as the unifying narrative thread of his chamber music works of 1842. With regard to the origin of the configuration in both Beethoven and Bach, I will continue to refer to it as 'B-motif'.

Allusions and Digressive Moments in the First Movement of op. 41/2

In the first movement of the F-major Quartet, the entry of the B-motif – in this case, as a three-note version, omitting the A – ends the flow of the movement's exposition, as shortly after the motif's appearance it comes to a halt through a cadential gesture to G major (b. 65-68). Only at this point, one might say belatedly, does some sort of reflection on the Beethoven allusion set in. Instead of resuming the flow of the movement, Schumann interrupts the course of the movement with a canonic passage



Example 14 R. Schumann, String Quartet in F major, op. 41 no. 2, I, bars 69-72

überschwebenden Ideenfluge von anderer neuerer Musik gar nicht und im Uebrigen nur Einiges etwa von Lord Byron oder von J. Paul's und Goethes spätern Werken verglichen werden kann.' Erler (1887) vol. 1, p. 202.

which immediately remodels the allusion (Example 14, b. 68-72). This interruption showcases the versatility of the motif's shape, but it also causes a hiatus, signalling that something important has happened. Even when the movement attempts to continue its previous light-hearted and uplifting character through a closing zone-like gesture in bars 81-88, the reflective episode interrupts again (b. 88-96a) and ends the exposition of the movement, leaving the listener to contemplate on the appearance of the B-motif.

Schumann then adopts Beethoven's use of this motif to mark important structural moments through clear digressions of the movement's narrative. Before the entrance of the recapitulation, the B-motif constitutes the necessary 'interruption' at the end of the development (Example 15a), somewhat 'shaking up' the misdirected course of the development. In the coda, it replaces the canonic ending from the exposition (Example 15b). This time, the digressive episode is prolonged, featuring eight bars of the rising gesture from the period in Example 15a and eight answering, descending bars. The role of the second half of the digressive episode is to counterbalance the ascending first half, but more importantly, to establish an actual sense of distance and thoughtfulness. While the interruptive episode from before the recapitulation as well as the first half of this episode sounded like a rousing or shaking



Example 15a R. Schumann, String Quartet in F major, op. 41 no. 2, I, bars 169-174



Example 15b R. Schumann, String Quartet in F major, op. 41 no. 2, I, bars 258-276

move through its alternating dynamics and ascending direction, the answering half with the inverted Beethoven motif properly fulfils the expectation of a digressive moment, or of an imaginary travel and dreamlike atmosphere in narrative terms. The recall of the original motif and the reference to its source also reinforces the sense of past time within this digression. What is more, the leap to the top-note E♭ (b. 263f.) gives a first glance into the future as well: what I will interpret as Schumann's final

remodelling of Beethoven's B-motif, the opening of his Piano Quintet op. 44 begins with a minor seventh leap.[668]

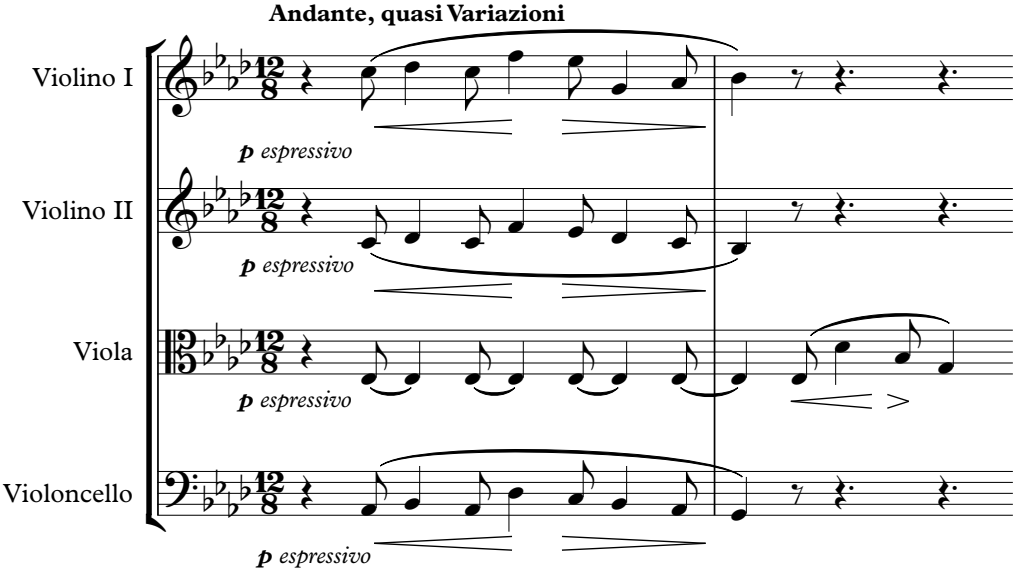
Whether the subsequently added juxtaposition of past and future at the end of the movement was intended in that way by Schumann, naturally, cannot be substantiated. The first movement of the second op. 41 Quartet, though, provides a convincing starting point for considering Schumann's sourcing and treatment of the B-motif and its role in the narrative structures of his chamber music. Arnfried Edler also saw this movement's narrative as being defined by interval combinations and 'inserted episodes, of which the meaning is only revealed in hindsight and which create overarching references to the tradition of the genre by way of quotation'.[669] Edler confirmed that Schumann created a web of motivic connections that infiltrate and then dominate the course of the movement, which results in a narrative that demands the recipient, whether player or listener, to entangle and re-combine the strings of this web in order to fully comprehend the narrative. By means of the moments of re-occurrences of the allusion to Beethoven, the movement frequently leaves and rejoins the linearly unfolding narrative. These digressive episodes also function as signifiers for the various designs of this motif and focus on the material that creates the narrative web of relations and familiarity among this group of chamber music works.

[668] Kohlhase mentioned that this section (b. 259-272) is missing in the sketches to the movement and was inserted subsequently during the process of corrections. Schumann might only later have noted in which direction his modelling of the motif was heading and what his eventual shape and significance would be. He perhaps deemed it appropriate to indicate this development at the end of the movement during his correction process, and to balance this with another reference to the Beethoven Quartet. See Kohlhase I, p. 48.

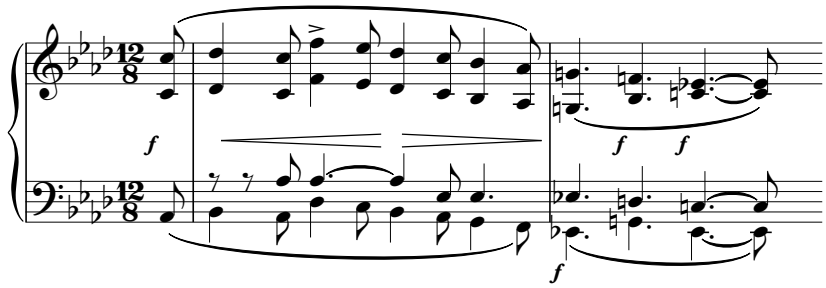
[669] Arnfried Edler (2004) 'Zur Kategorie des Erzählerischen in Schumanns Kammermusik'. In: Ibid. (Ed.) *Die Kammermusik Clara und Robert Schumanns: Musikhistorisches Symposium – 24. Mai 2002*, Hannover: Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover, p. 105.

From the Motivic Web to the Narrative Thread of the String Quartets

The next movement adds further layers of musical meaning through its use of the motif which recalls a composition from 1832, *Larghetto*, not published until 1853, as number 13 of Schumann's *Albumblätter* collection, op. 124 (Examples 16a and 16b). Also in



Example 16a R. Schumann, String Quartet in F major, op. 41 no. 2, II, bars 1-2



Example 16b R. Schumann, *Albumblätter*, op. 124 no. 13, bars 1-2

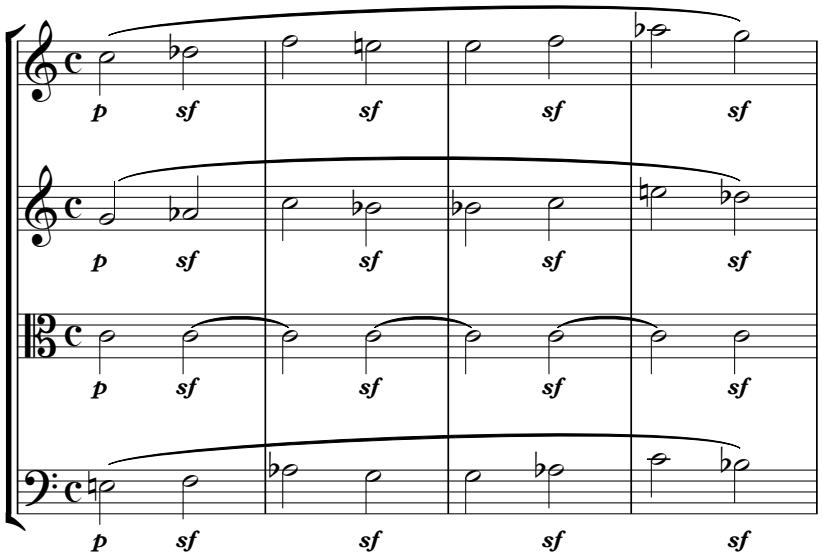
A flat major, the *Larghetto* miniature piece opens with the same C–D♭–C–F–E♭ sequence in exactly the same rhythm and metre as the slow movement of the F-major Quartet. This melodic idea contains a version of the B-motif. The reworking of this opening gesture in the context of the op. 41 complex, therefore, hardly seems arbitrary. Schumann awards a new contextual meaning to the earlier piano piece through this self-quotation in the later Quartet. At the same time, the motif in the context of the

String Quartet setting gains a new, personal significance through the acknowledgment of the motif already, even if unconsciously, infiltrating Schumann's early piano works.

The context of these two movements – the first one introducing and reshaping the Beethoven motif, and the second one connecting it to an earlier work by Schumann – sheds new light on the last movement of the F-major Quartet. Against the background of the above examinations, the new theme of the development (b. 64-68, Example 12, p. 293) following the *An die Ferne Geliebte* reference is a result of the motivic developments and borrowings from throughout the movements of the two Quartets. The proximity to the Lied material poses a juxtaposition: Schumann combines this suggested personal musical context of the *An die ferne Geliebte* song with concrete musical events, namely the performances of the late Beethoven Quartets by the Gewandhausquartett and the fugue studies with his wife. Both of those experiences possibly inspired Schumann to use the meta-motif of these Quartets as his own one for his chamber music. The combination of allusions, when assigning them to Schumann's personal environment, suggests in the short space of the development of the second Quartet's last movement that he considered his personal life (the *An die Ferne Geliebte* reference) and his musical circle (the B-motif) to be overlapping. The implications of Clara Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn in the former reference are also linked to the latter, as seen in Mendelssohn's case in my reading of the *Adagio*'s narrative, and as the Piano Quintet will show for Clara Schumann.

Through the connection between the B-motif and Schumann's social and musical circle, the whole motivic web between the movements of the Quartets gains meaning as an underlying and implied personal background to these works. First of all, Schumann makes the motif a protagonist in most of the movements, seen in the

first, second, and fourth movement of the second String Quartet.[670] Starting with the short mention in the slow introduction of the first Quartet, within the first movement the motif reappears as S (b. 102-116). In the second movement, P begins with an ascending chain of various shapes of the movement, taking up the gesture from the introduction to the first movement.[671] This gesture also played a main role in my reading of the *Adagio* of the first Quartet. In the wider context of the significance of the motif for the entire work complex, the reference to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony now sounds integrated in the overall development of the motif. The last movement, which Kohlhase surprisingly claimed does not show any motivic references to the other three movements,[672] answers the rising semiquaver chains from the previous movements with a descending version. Especially in bars 148-151 (Example 17), this



Example 17 R. Schumann, String Quartet in A minor, op. 41 no. 1, IV, bars 148-151

[670] Only the third movement of the F-major Quartet does not feature obvious allusions to this motif. Its subsequently added coda will be discussed later on.

[671] Besides the obvious thematic connection to the previous movement, Schmid also linked this theme to two further potential role models: the *Scherzo* from the first of Beethoven's 'Razumovsky' Quartets, op. 59, but more directly the one from Mendelssohn's fifth Quartet, op. 44/1. See Schmid (2005) p. 229. See also Hans Kohlhase (2006) 'Critical Report'. In: Robert Schumann, *Drei Quartette für zwei Violinen, Bratsche und Violoncello op. 41* (*Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*, Serie II, Werkgruppe 1, vol. 1), ed. by Hans Kohlhase, Mainz: Schott, p. 144.

[672] See Kohlhase I, p. 67.

movement anticipates the ‘shaking awake’ moments of the first movement of the second Quartet, in which the motivic reference is overtly dominant.

The highest density of the B-motif throughout a single movement, however, can be found in the slow movement of the third Quartet, leaving the complex of the first two Quartets behind. The first appearance of the motif in this movement is hidden in the viola in the first bar (in the annotated score in appendix 2, pp. 425ff.). In A, the motif dominates the melodic shape of all four voices, creating the most close-knit motivic structure of all the chamber works of 1842. This density of motivic reworking and counterpoint prompts the movement to continue with what strikingly recalls the psychological process of the *Adagio* of the first Quartet. After a smooth ‘coming to an end’ (b. 18), a dotted third fades in, as if from afar, suggesting a shift of scenery or consciousness. At that moment, in the first violin a fragment of the motif returns, though markedly different in character. The augmentation to crotchets, the missing fourth note, and the *mezza voce* dynamic of this fragment combine to a contemplative atmosphere against the continuous dotted accompaniment in the second violin, and is echoed in the viola and later in the cello. This episode, seemingly lost in thought over the core of its motivic context, soon becomes the actual narration of the movement. The attempts to reintroduce the opening character of the movement bounce off the persistent dotted ‘reality’ of the contemplative episode. This ‘reality’ is, what is more, not one-dimensional either, but amends its continuous flow to a new dotted pattern in the viola (B), an arpeggio like rocking gesture in the second violin (C), and eventually to a more melodic and consoling triplet accompaniment (two after C) when the main theme returns. The da capo now recalls almost exactly the events in the *Adagio* of the first Quartet, where after a similar contemplation of the theme’s features, it returns

accompanied by triplets. The theme in its original form only reappears for five bars (D) just before the coda concludes the movement.

As if proof that the extensive contemplation of the motif's features bore fruit, the coda (E) resumes the dotted rhythm and its character, ending the movement not with a thematic or conclusive statement but on a reflective and thoughtful note. The character of remembering, of re-living the earlier events in hindsight, is evident in the 'half-motif' in the violin, which only recalls the opening fourth leap from its previous thought process. The coda therefore creates an atmosphere of inward-listening and self-reflection, almost painfully realised by two minor mode alternations. I attributed such reflective methods in my reading of the *Adagio* of the first Quartet to Schumann's own approach to the 'Quartettmorgen', comparable to Friedrich's 'Rückenfigur'. This interpretation showed Schumann musically conveying the impressions of the musicians themselves as well as meeting the contemporary demands by Petiscus and Rochlitz for the players to become their own listeners and to advance to the musical cores of a piece by contemplation and discussion. I can see a similar way of composing these chamber music ideals into music in this coda, in which the B-motif is unravelled and reconstructed. The coda creates the necessary distance to these events, a 'localised time, a "temps espace" composed into music' as Rainer Cadenbach read it.[673] This new sense of time and space recalls the concept of narrative digressions. The coda informs us of two important aspects of Schumann's treatment of the motif within the narrative: first, the different stages of the development of the motif are equally protagonist within the narrative as well as the addressee of the narrative's digressions, whether they are interrupting the course of the narrative or reflecting on it as a coda;[674]

[673] Rainer Cadenbach (2005) 'Streichquartett op. 41 Nr. 3 A-Dur'. In: Helmut Loos (Ed.) *Robert Schumann. Interpretationen seiner Werke*, vol. 1, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, p. 267.

[674] Another example of such reflective functions of a coda section can be found at the end of the third movement of the second Quartet, also featuring major-minor mode alterations.

and second, the contemplation of the different components of the motif and singling out of the rising fourth in the coda suggests that Schumann had already started to make the motif his own by re-evaluating a single part of it and awarding this part a new meaning. Both the digressive functions of the motif, and highlighting the originally middle interval, can be explored in a few further moments within the op. 41 Quartets, before testing whether they also hold true for the Piano Quintet, op. 44.



Example 18 R. Schumann, String Quartet in A minor, op. 41 no. 1, II, bars 79-110



Example 18 continued

Thematic Developments and Reconstructions in the First Quartet

Schumann often signals moments of 'moving away' from a movement's narrative through a change in texture, dynamics, and most commonly, elongated notes (minims or semibreves). Visually, these changes can be accompanied by a change in metre and key and are demarcated through double bar lines. In the second movement of the first Quartet, all of these features are present in an episode entitled 'Intermezzo' (Example 18). Its melody takes up the characteristic third leap from the first movement's P,[675] and by inserting semitone crotchets, combines it with the B-motif. I interpret this

[675] See Kohlhase I, p. 68.

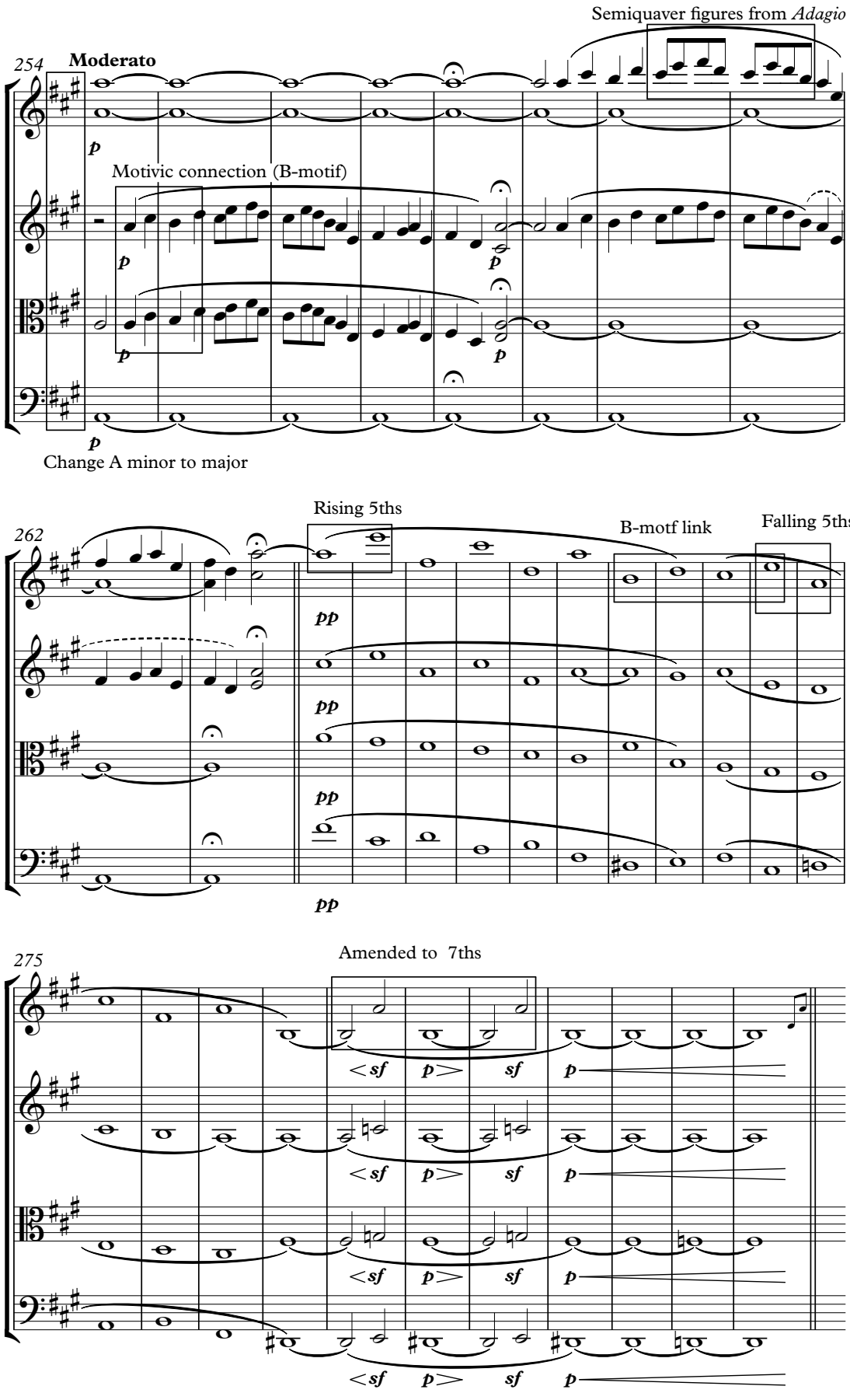
merging of motives from previous and future themes as creating a sense of presentiment, especially as the pedal note, the *messa di voce* dynamics, and Schumann's fast metronome suggestion contribute to the dream-like and fleeting atmosphere. In the last eight bars, two further features are anticipated that will play an important role in Schumann's overall narrative later on: the alternation of the middle interval of the motif to an octave leap, and the cadential progression C-F-G-C.

Example 19 shows a similar dream-like episode at the end of the first Quartet, in the recapitulation of the fourth movement. Indicated through a change in key (the Beethovenian minor to major change), metre, and tempo indication, this digression, according to Sumner Lott, 'comes out of nowhere in this quartet; it has not been prepared in any way, and the tempo and texture changes are jarring in a movement with so much forward momentum. That Schumann draws such attention to this passage lends it extra significance.'[676] First, regarding the attention: the pedal note and the octave drone in cello and first violin accompanying the unison melody in octaves in second violin and viola create the sound image of a 'musette', which Sumner Lott linked to a similar episode in Beethoven's op. 132 Quartet.[677] This musette-like sound world could even be said to be a lullaby for the following dream-like *pianissimo* episode, 'a solemn hymn-like passage, the white notes of which produce a distant, archaic-seeming effect', according to Brown, confirming the creation of a narrative distance as 'clear a break from the preceding sound world'.[678] This chorale-like

[676] Sumner Lott (2015) p. 132.

[677] See Ibid. Sumner Lott did not specify the episode in Beethoven's Quartet she referred to, but I assume it is the beginning of the trio of the second movement. Sumner Lott also did not mention the other connections between Schumann's op. 41 Quartets and Beethoven's op. 132, but simply labelled this musette passage as 'the most conspicuous allusion to Beethoven in these works'. She is, in my opinion however, right to say that, with regard to quoting Beethoven's op. 132, 'Schumann saves it for the end as though he wished to make perfectly clear the relationship between his quartets and the quartet legacy that he inherited'. Ibid.

[678] Brown (2003) p. 415.



Example 19 R. Schumann, String Quartet in A minor, op. 41 no. 1, IV, bars 254-285

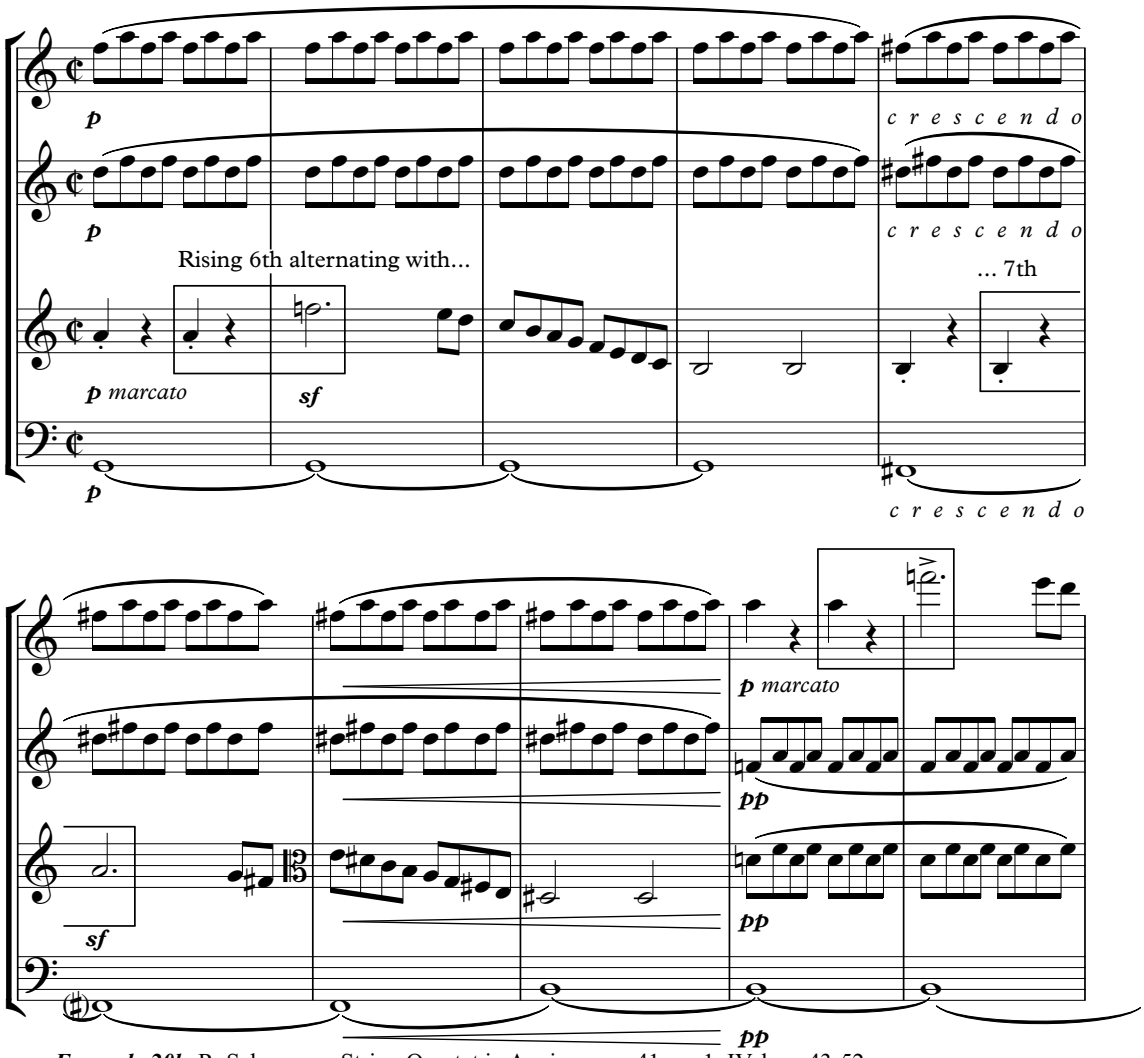
passage, for Sumner Lott, again references 'the calm, quasi-religious tone of Beethoven's op. 132 and Mendelssohn's op. 13'.[679]

The significance, secondly, endowed to the music by these references to weighty role models is also of motivic importance. The melody of the 'musette' passage consequently alternates steps with third leaps (apart from b. 257), thereby creating a chain of motivic occurrences, but also responds to the semiquaver chains at the beginning of the movement and the end of the preceding *Adagio*.[680] The passage then transitions from the sound world of the movement to the dream-like chorale passage. This second part of the digressive section first emphasises the rising fifth, a main aspect of P, before the sequence alternates, via the version of the B-motif from the musette, to falling fifths. By means of the links to the B-motif between the two sequences and earlier in the musette, this episode does not only seem to reflect on the initial interval of the movement, but it also makes its connection to the overarching motivic development clear. The last interval of this passage, the amendment of the fifth to a rising seventh (b. 279-281), eventually indicates that the horizon of the passage exceeds the fixed interval of the fifth and hints to the shape of the motif at the beginning of the Piano Quintet. In hindsight, this flexibility and exchangeability, characteristic of the B-motif, has been suggested throughout the previous course of the movement, as Examples 20a-c show. Hence, the chorale-like episode of the final digression of the movement might also revisit these relations between the intervals. Only thereby does it uncover the importance of these relations for the overall motivic development.

[679] Sumner Lott (2015) p. 132.
[680] Sumner Lott also rightly remarked that the semiquaver figure of this melody is repeated in b. 101-105 of the finale of the third Quartet. See Ibid.



Example 20a R. Schumann, String Quartet in A minor, op. 41 no. 1, IV, bars 31-34



Example 20b R. Schumann, String Quartet in A minor, op. 41 no. 1, IV, bars 43-52



Example 20c R. Schumann, String Quartet in A minor, op. 41 no. 1, IV, bars 63-68

Thematic Developments and Reconstructions in the Third Quartet

In the third Quartet of op. 41, such motivic development, particularly the deconstruction of the B-motif, is the central narrative goal. The slow movement, discussed above, is the conclusive episode of a three-movement sequence of Schumann's musical examination of the B-motif. The first movement clearly emphasises the falling fifth. In the slow introduction, this interval appears five times but never in the tonic (Example 21). The struggle to reach root position defines the trajectory of the falling fifth throughout the movement. P begins in the subdominant and consists of a falling fifth and an answering cadential chain of semiquavers. Its harmonic progression leads through four different keys in the exposition – most notably the sudden and violent change to the remote key of C major in b. 36ff. – without managing to gain any resolution in the tonic.[681] Joel Lester interpreted this 'tonal/thematic interaction lasting until the end of the movement as the main narrative

[681] The motivic focus on the falling fifth in a first movement has been linked to Beethoven's 18th Piano Sonata, op. 31/3. In the first movement of this Piano Sonata, the falling fifth also permeates the entire movement and avoids tonic resolution. See Kohlhase I, p. 50; and J. Barrie Jones (1988) 'Beethoven and Schumann: Some Literary and Musical Allusions', *The Music Review*, 49, p. 121.

thread of the movement',[682] as also the lyrical S does not contribute to tonal stability while prominently featuring the falling fifth.[683]



Example 21 R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, I, bars 1-9

It is not before the closing bars of the movement that the problem of the falling fifth is resolved. In the short coda (Example 22), the motif soars up in the first violin emphatically reaching the redeeming E-A leap for the first time in the entire movement, repeated two times. Not even in this moment of triumph, however, is a full tonal resolution granted, as the anticipated A major chord is in first inversion and slips

[682] Lester (1995) p. 194.

[683] This outline of S, combining a stepwise filled interval with a fifth leap constitutes its affinity to the second theme of the Piano Quintet's first movement, which brings these two components in reversed order.

to D minor just when the fifth leap reaches the A. Only in the last bar, the prominent interval creates both motivic and tonal closure at last through the leap from E to A in the cello – or in Lester's words, 'the first theme finally finds its home'.[684]



Example 22 R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, I, bars 210-227

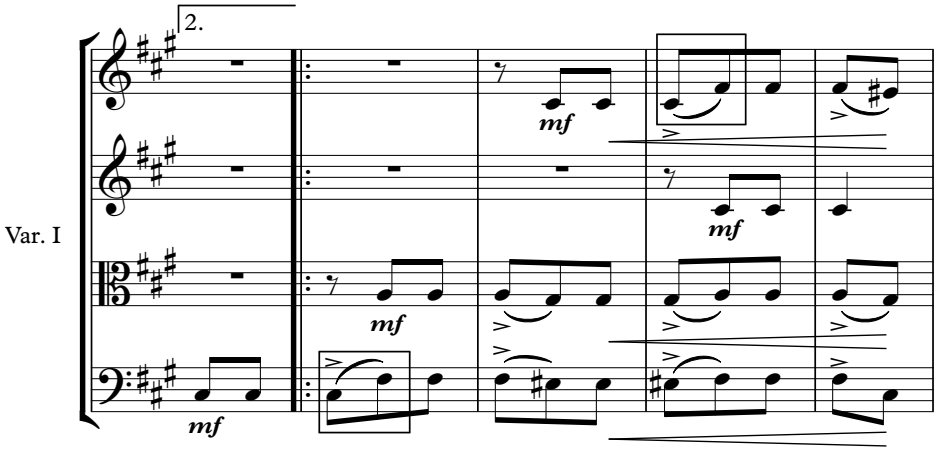
The following movement, *Assai agitato*, then, recomposes the B-motif: The theme of this variation movement mainly consists of two semitone steps (C#–D; F#–E#), separated by a rising fourth (complementing the falling fifth of the previous movement, Example 23a). Hence, the motif's components are reunited but the emphasis slightly tips towards the semitone step, as the fourth is split up by a crotchet

[684] Lester (1995) p. 195.



Example 23a R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, II, bars 1-4

rest. It is inherent to its nature as a variation movement that the course of the movement appears like a narration 'in chapters', each of which illuminates the two aspects of the motif in the Gigue-like theme.[685] Examples 23b-e show that the beginning of each variation places special emphasis on the theme's fourth leap. Within the variations, the semitone steps reconnect with these intervals to continuously reshape the deconstructed motif.



Example 23b R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, II, bars 48b-52



Example 23c R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, II, bars 97-104

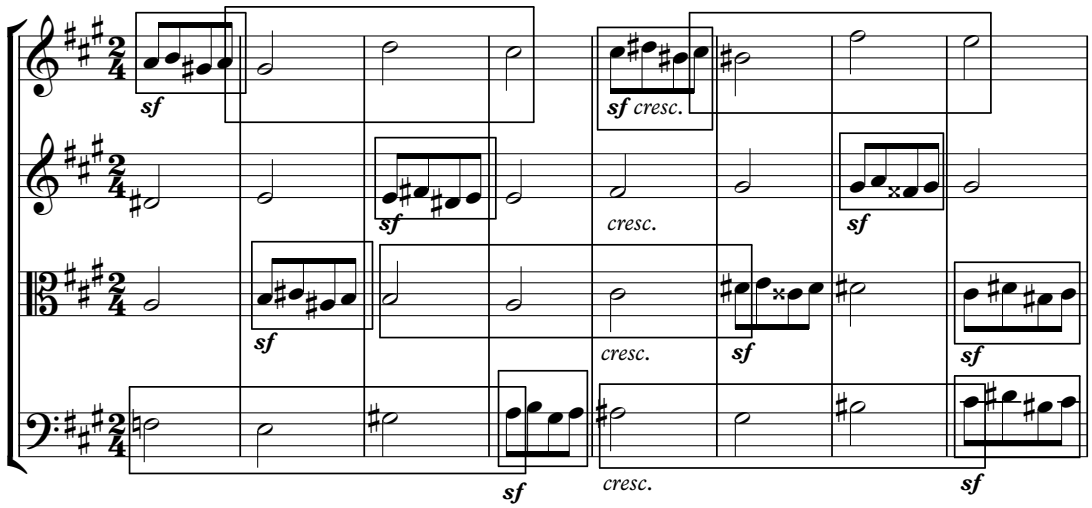
[685] Gigue-like features of this theme are the 3/8 metre, the dotted rhythm and the 'sautillant' figure, the emphasis on the third beat of each bar and the resulting rhythmical unpredictability. The texture lacks the typical imitative play of Baroque gigues; however, this is of lesser concern as the above analysis focusses on motivic aspects of the theme.



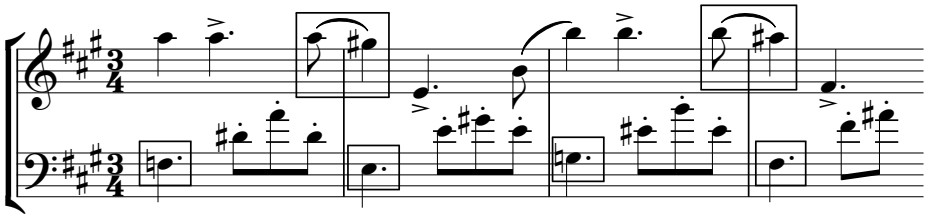
Example 23d R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, II, bars 145-148



Example 23e R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, II, bars 193-196



Example 23f R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, II, bars 121-128



Example 23g R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, II, bars 205-208

Most importantly, these motivic reconstructions occur synchronously with evocations of Baroque styles and tropes. The strictly fugal setting of the second variation (Example 23f) consist of nearly nothing else than figurations of the B-motif. In the fourth variation (Example 23g), I discovered the only exact transposition of the

B-A-C-H cipher of all chamber music works of 1842. Especially in association with the dance-like characters of the theme (*gigue*, Example 23a) and the third variation (*siciliano*, Example 23d), and the fugal texture of the second one, this direct quotation of the famous counterpoint theme after Bach's name in the fourth variation creates the sense of the past, or the 'atmosphere of the long gone', as Cadenbach interpreted the impression left by the Picardy third in the movement's final chord.[686] The movement, therefore, combines to the highest extent the features of the B-motif with signifiers of the past, namely the keyboard suites of J.S. Bach.

The slow movement takes the notion of the distant past back to 'real-time' contemplation, whereas the reflective character of its coda signifies that even those contemplative processes are somewhat 'staged' and included in a narrative of a 'Quartettmorgen' (see pp. 323-325). The sharp contrast between this coda and the following finale of the third String Quartet is conventional, but also a shift of the overall narrative level. While the themes of the previous three movements of this Quartet emphasised the two components of the B-motif, the theme of the finale seems to actively erase these traces, as in the accentuated repeat of the final A natural in bar 2, replacing the appoggiatura ending of the previous themes (Example 24). The



Example 24 R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, IV, bars 1-2

movement appears to be thematically not connected to the preceding development of the motif and its personal meaning for Schumann. Taking the example of the double A contrasting the appoggiatura endings of the previous themes, Cadenbach concluded:

[686] Cadenbach (2005) pp. 263f.

> One could say that the final movement eventually realises the ideas as they have only been drafted imaginatively in the preceding three movements – as presentiment, sketch, or dream by means of sheer imaginative powers… Only in the finale, music is played in the mode of reality: affirmatively, so to speak, and even categorically.[687]

Indeed, the striking absence of thematic connections as well as the sudden accentuated and syncopated *forte* entry and the fast tempo indication contrast anything heard previously in this Quartet and shift the impressions from the dream-like and reflective to the presence, outside of the sphere of ideas and into reality – not least indicated by the unconventional grouping of seven renditions of the two-bar theme.

Such an uneven statement at the beginning of the movement inevitably requires resolution and thus, initiates its own narrative instead of following the previous thread.[688] The only two links suggesting any association with the previous movements are, therefore, not involved in any thematic progress or creating a digressive moment. Instead, they are fleeting recollections of previous moments from the second movement of this Quartet. The second couplet section of the finale begins with a rising fourth, followed by the B-motif as shown in Example 25a. The bass line of this section, however, is identical with the one of the fourth variation (*Tempo risoluto*) of the second movement, which also began with a rising fourth, and later on featured the transposition of the B-A-C-H theme. The second recollection are the alternating falling



Example 25a R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, IV, bars 49-50

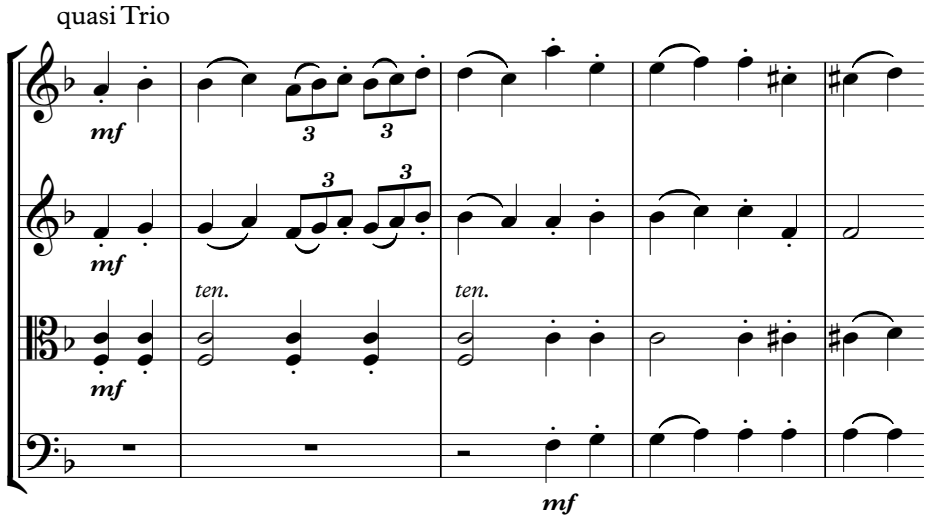
[687] Cadenbach (2005) p. 269.

[688] See Julie Hedges Brown (2011) 'Schumann and the Style Hongrois'. In: Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (Eds.) *Rethinking Schumann*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 266; and Newcomb (1987) pp. 170f.



Example 25b R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, IV, bars 89-91

fifths and fourths at the beginning of the second half of the *quasi Trio* (Example 25b). This could be interpreted as mirroring the alternating rising fifths and fourths in the second variation (*L'istesso tempo*) of the second movement (see Example 23c, p. 334). The latter correlation between the second and fourth movements gives insight into the role of the finale for the overall narrative. The second movement in particular, I argued, recalled the pre-1750 era, exceeding the 'Beethoven' past and coming closer to the era of Bach through its alternation of polyphonic and dance styles. The abovementioned trio section in the fourth movement then brings back the fugal application of the



Example 26a R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, IV, bars 73-75



Example 26b J. S. Bach, French Suite no. 6 in E minor, BWV 817, IV, bars 1-3

fourths and fifths intervals from the second movement. The *quasi Trio*, in which this section appears, also evokes another baroque dance, the Gavotte (Example 26a). What is more, it is a nearly identical quotation of the Gavotte from Johann Sebastian Bach's sixth *French Suite*, BWV 817 (Example 26b).[689]

The Baroque styles and the direct Bach reference now clarify the finale's narrative role for the op. 41 Quartets: the narrative frame links back to the slow introduction of the first Quartet, which is written in fugal style, and is concluded by the *Gavotte* dance style in the final movement of the third Quartet. Both the slow introduction and the *quasi Trio* share some affinities with the B-motif: the introduction more clearly, but due to its position at the very beginning of op. 41 without the context and origin of the motif being established yet; and the *quasi Trio* already in a form which is hardly recognisable as a motivic descendant from the B-motif and can only be explained through the extended motivic developments throughout all three Quartets. Schumann builds a narrative frame for the entire op. 41 complex by imitating styles that are more distant and further in the past than Beethoven. Therefore, the initially planned group of two quartets, which ended with the *An die Ferne Geliebte* reference to conclude the narrative, had to be extended by a third quartet in order to close the narrative frame on the same level.

Within this new concept of a narrative frame, the narrative digressions and thematic developments created by the allusions to and variations of the B-motif from Beethoven's late Quartets represent Schumann's impressions and recollections of his circle of friends engaging in mutual chamber music making. This is supported by the personal connections of the Beethoven Quartets being played by the Gewandhausquartett, with Schumann listening, just before he commenced his op. 41

[689] Discovered, once again, by Kohlhase: Kohlhase I, p. 50.

compositions. The *An die Ferne Geliebte* references also bear their own personal links to Clara Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn. My interpretation of Schumann's C-minor Piano Quartet corresponds to this reading, as Schumann employed these narrative methods, by means of another personally linked Beethoven reference, at a much earlier stage to reflect on his own chamber music making with his first chamber ensemble.

The return to Bach's era suggests an additional third narrative level.[690] The developments within the third Quartet and the establishment of a narrative frame in its last movement nearly without any Beethoven connection create a form of an 'outer narrative layer'.[691] This 'outer layer' of the narrative places the recipient in a position to realise that the narrative of these three Quartets is not only about the process of playing chamber music together ('the inner layer') but also about the social context necessary for this ideal form of chamber music making to take place ('the middle layer'). The web of motivic connections and threads Schumann applied in the Quartets can be read as a musical portrayal of the web of personal connections of Schumann's own social environment and friendships. The fact that the Quartets were premiered by the Gewandhaus quartet at Clara Schumann's birthday in the Inselstraße home, after all, represents the ideal extra-musical 'frame' for this message to be heard and understood.

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[690] The attribution of such meaning to the device of Bach's fugal style in Schumann's works is supported by Lee's discoveries: she argued that Schumann actually saw 'the Bach fugue as reconciling the genre with Romantic sensibilities; Schumann approached his fugue as a thematic characteristic piece in which he and other Romantics could portray extra-musical qualities.' Meebae Lee (2014) 'Schumann's Romantic Transformation of Fugue: "Fugengeschichte," "The Well- Tempered Clavier", and "Vier Fugen" op. 72', *Acta Musicologica*, 86 (1), p. 91. Before Lee, Leon Plantinga studied Schumann's views on the origin of the Romantic movement and confirmed that Schumann saw the roots of the Romantics in J. S. Bach – even considering Bach among the first of the Romantics – and 'its most powerful representation in Beethoven.' Plantinga (1966) p. 230.

[691] This interpretation is supported by my previous biographical and historical examinations of the circle, from which I concluded that Beethoven's works, especially his late String Quartets, were among the most discussed and performed repertoire within this circle, while Schumann's studies of J. S. Bach's fugues happened mostly in private, either alone or with his wife and were, hence, of more importance to Schumann as an individual. Therefore, one could interpret the return to Bach's music in the 'outer layer' of the narrative as Schumann's own voice as a critic, writing about the sociability within his circle ('the middle layer'), to which the outer layer has the necessary critical and narrative distance.

Getting Personal: The Piano Quintet's Narrative between Tradition and Biography

The addition of a piano to the string quartet to form the Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, seems like a logical continuation of developments from the op. 41 Quartets. The piano was the main instrument of Robert and Clara Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn, which suggests that there might be an even higher density of personal associations throughout this work, compared to the elaborate motivic developments within the String Quartets. I suggest that the Piano Quintet continued the motivic and narrative progress of the op. 41 String Quartets, and thereby the proposed meaning of Schumann's social environment as a familiar chamber music context. The inclusion of the piano to this portrayal in the Quintet, hence, adds the personal associations to his wife and Mendelssohn in order for Schumann to clarify that the motivic web and narratives of the Quartets were indeed musically depicting his own social context. This combination then resulted in a chamber ensemble which was mostly unprecedented in history.[692]

From the opening, Schumann utilises the new broader soundscape of the ensemble to triumphantly begin the *Allegro brillante* with a homophonic and chordal P that could be easily transformed into a fully orchestrated opening of a symphony.[693]

[692] The piano quintet conventionally featured either woodwind instruments rather than strings in the Classical era or scored a double bass rather than a second violin. Most notably Franz Schubert's 'Trout' Quintet, but also works by Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Ferdinand Ries, Johann Peter Pixis, and George Onslow were familiar to Schumann. I mentioned earlier that Schumann was impressed with the composition of a String Quintet (op. 2, with two violas) by Johann Leopold Fuchs (see p. 260). As mentioned earlier, the study of Kleinmeister is deliberately excluded from the present study, and Schubert's 'Trout' Quintet does not take as prominent a place in the years leading towards Schumann's chamber compositions of 1842 as the discussed works by Bach, Beethoven, and Mendelssohn do.

[693] The resolute up-swinging gesture could be seen to recall the opening of Schumann's *Rhenish* Symphony in the same key which he sketched in 1841. Another symphonic affinity can be found in Peter H. Smith's categorisation of themes of the exposition of the Piano Quintet into Florestan and Eusebius like sections, which corresponds to Newcomb's reading of the first movement of Schumann's C-major Symphony and its thematic juxtaposition which Newcomb classifies as a Florestan and a Eusebius theme. See Smith (2011) p. 237; and Newcomb (1984) p. 240 and 245.

The novel sound character of the Piano Quintet has prompted scholars to declare this piece as the most 'public' of Schumann's chamber music works from 1842.[694] Daverio also considered as the reason for the Quintet's public character Schumann's 'serious engagement with a structural problem more readily associated with that most public of musical genres, the symphony'.[695] He, of course, referred to the double fugue at the end of the finale of the Quintet, which combines the opening motif of the first movement with the theme of the finale; a clue which Piotr I. Tchaikovsky regarded as 'a very special mastery of the polyphonic technique'.[696] This moment of framing the entire piece with the combination of the outer movements' themes was unprecedented and has attracted considerable attention. On the surface, it comes much closer to Schumann's approaches to the symphonic form and development, rather than to his motivic web from the String Quartets which took its point of origin from Beethoven's late Quartets, and in this specific instance, from the fugue in the finale of Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony, K. 551.[697] The final double fugue is hardly to be mistaken for anything other than the closure of the large-scale approach of this chamber music piece – which would certainly not have been necessary if Schumann only wanted to clarify his approach to his musically highly educated circle of friends; thus the theory of the Quintet's novel 'public' outlook. What can now be added to Daverio's notion of the 'finely wrought web' of the Quartets is that this is the precise prerequisite for the 'extroverted counterpoint' and thematic recollections throughout the movements of the Quintet. At the same time, this widely acknowledged and emphatically displayed

[694] See Daverio (1997) pp. 255-259; and Rosner (2007) p. 133.
[695] Daverio (1997) p. 259.
[696] Peter Ilich Tschaikowsky (2000) *Musikalische Essays und Erinnerungen*, ed. and transl. by Ernst Kuhn, Berlin: Verlag Ernst Kuhn, p. 295.
[697] See, for example, Daverio (1997) p. 257. For a juxtaposition of this view, see Brown (2000) pp. 147f. Schumann assigned the final fugue in Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony an untouchable standing, comparable only to some of Shakespeare and Beethoven. See GS I, p. 120.

thematic frame embraces highly intimate messages and emotions in the inner movements which in combination awards this piece another strongly personal narrative. This prompted William Henry Hadow as early as 1893 to describe this work as 'a first-rate musical novel, with a good plot, an interesting style, and an abundant display of humour and incident'.[698]

The Outer Movements: Large-Scale Resolution and the Return of the Wanderer

In the first movement, P (Example 27a) recalls the transformation of the B-motif featuring the seventh leap, as already seen in Examples 19 and 20a for the first and second Quartet. The affect of these episodes from the Quartets, however, is markedly different to the opening of the Quintet, as the former appear in the context of 'dream-like', digressional sections, hesitatingly anticipating this transformation, whereas the latter opens with this fairly remote version from the original motif in a self-assertive and up-swinging manner. It seems as if Schumann had fully adopted this motif as his

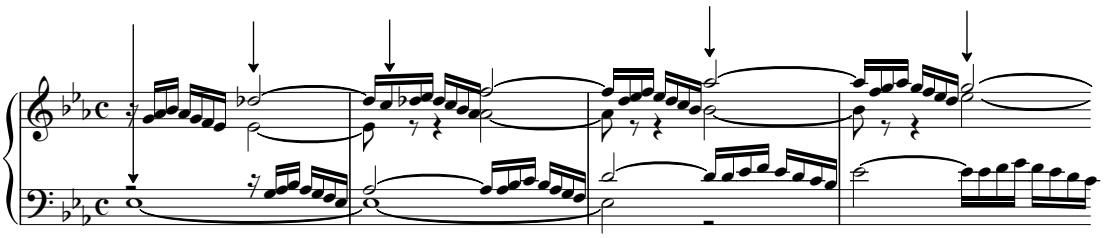


Example 27a R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, I, bars 1-4

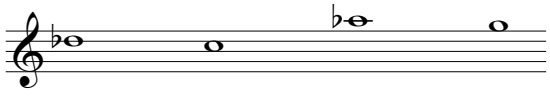
[698] Hadow (1893) p. 176.

own when commencing the novel setting of chamber music, while simultaneously stating from the beginning of the piece that thematically and motivically, it draws from the developments of the Quartets.

To reiterate the above connection, the forefathers of the motivic developments and narrative references from the Quartets, Bach and Beethoven, persist in P. In her insightful essay on this theme's relationship with Bach's works, Susan Wollenberg interpreted the design of P and the theme of the finale of the Quintet as being conceptualised towards the final double fugue, as both themes do not initially display their fugal capacities but eventually achieve their 'final consummation as fugue subject' and 'countersubject' in the double fugue.[699] Her article describes the trajectory of a non-fugal exposition of contrapuntal themes, its juxtaposition with a fugal subject and their eventual combination as a double fugue as a model which J. S. Bach had applied in the seventh prelude from the first book of *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* (BWV 852, Example, 27b, which also shares the same key of E flat major as the Quintet). In the prelude, Bach first displays an imitative prelude style, then a *stretto* fugal style, and eventually a 'combination fugue' with subjects from both these



Example 27b J. S. Bach, Prelude in E flat major (Das Wohltemperierte Klavier I, VII), BWV 852, bars 1-4



Example 27c 'Urform' (after Susan Wollenberg)

[699] Susan Wollenberg (1991) 'Schumann's Piano Quintet in E-flat: The Bach Legacy', *The Music Review*, 52, p. 300.

styles.[700] The same principle can be attributed to the op. 44 Quintet, spread over the two outer movements rather than a short prelude, for which reason Wollenberg considered 'Schumann's format… as an expanded version of the Bach model'.[701] The other relationship between these two works is a thematic affinity, as the beginning of the Bach prelude features the same main melodic points as the opening bars of op. 44, both over an E flat pedal (marked by the arrows in the Example). Wollenberg extracted these points as the 'Urform' D♭–C–A♭–G (Example 27c), which are notes two to five in the Quintet's main theme.[702]

The 'Urform' resembles the configuration from the opening of Beethoven's op. 132 (Example 13b, p. 281), featuring the rising minor sixth embraced by two semitone steps. The 'Urform' of the Bach-Schumann relationship is nearly identical with the meta-motif explored by Deryck Cooke and others in Beethoven's late Quartets. It also resembles the B-motif which I set out as the narrative thread throughout the three op. 41 Quartets, signifying the past tense for the narrative as well as the web of relationships in Schumann's own environment. The 'final consummation' which is achieved in the fugal realisation of the theme not only reaches back to the beginning of the Quintet, but more so over all three op. 41 Quartets, in which Schumann already explored the fugal qualities of the B-motif. As the purpose of Wollenberg's essay is to assess the 'Bach legacy' in Schumann's works, she concluded that the 'direct relationship between Bach's "48" and Schumann's *opus* 44… adds detail and breadth to our understanding of a crucial phase in the history of Schumann's encounters with Bach's music as well as to our understanding of the rhetoric of *opus* 44 itself'.[703] In

[700] See Ibid., pp. 300ff.
[701] Ibid., p. 304.
[702] See Ibid., p. 301.
[703] Ibid., p. 305.

the light of the above comparison with the motif from the Beethoven Quartets that Schumann had already applied in his op. 41 Quartets, I would add that especially in combination of the two role models, these relationships provide insight not only into the rhetoric of the Quintet, but into the overall narrative aims and compositional processes – the development from the op. 41 Quartets to the op. 44 Quintet, and Schumann's preceding studies of Beethoven's late Quartets and Bach's fugues – of the 1842 chamber works.

In this regard, it is worth recalling Wasielewski's metaphor for the Piano Quintet's narrative of a wanderer journeying through a mountainous region, which I compared to the image of Friedrich's 'Rückenfigur' and applied to the *Adagio* of the first String Quartet. The narrative of the op. 44 Quintet grants a much larger panorama to the wanderer looking back than the single movement from the String Quartet, and in my view this panorama reaches even further than assumed hitherto. Brown introduced a biographical aspect to this image, complementing the metaphor with a trip by the Schumann couple to the Bohemian mountains in August 1842: 'The piano quintet seems to enact this idea of artistic journeying. Composed just weeks after their Bohemian trip, the quintet manipulates tonal and thematic returns so that they continually yield new perspectives.'[704] Brown related this idea of a musical wanderer mostly to her examinations of the tonal forms in the final movement, combined with stylistic references to Gypsy music, going as far as to describe Schumann himself as becoming 'a heroic Gypsy wanderer, building upon past accomplishments by continually seeking out new possibilities from the *style hongrois*'.[705] For my narrative reading, the notion of a retrospective view at the end of an artistic journey is of even

[704] Brown (2011) p. 291.
[705] Ibid., p. 291.

more relevance. As Brown rightly remarked, there are not only tonal manipulations but also thematic recollections that shine light on the previous route of the mountain climber. In the run-up to the double fugue of the final movement, or metaphorically speaking, during the final ascent on the route to the mountain's peak, the wanderer seems to look around twice to consider the different perspectives from these points of the incline. In musical terms, these points are C in the movement's exposition (b. 85-118), and the immediate preparation for the double fugue in the coda (b. 300-308).

First, the closing zone: in a kind of 'epilogue', Schumann lets the previous events fade out before the following development section (Example 28). While not demarcated as a clear narrative digression, this episode employs the atmosphere of a retrospective and distance to the previous events. Besides the relaxation in motion and texture and the reduced dynamics, the two horn-like fanfares in the piano and lower strings (b. 87 and 91) indicate this atmosphere. The imitation of horns in the lower register evokes a pastoral character, perhaps the sound of the Bohemian mountains and forests, corresponding to the above metaphor. The fanfare also recalls the opening broken triad from the beginning of the finale, which Kohlhase heard as the horns 'letting the beginning of the primary theme sound across like from afar, from a different world'.[706] P's opening triad echoed by the horn sound in C confirms the impression of a distance covered by the wanderer to the starting point of this stage, and perhaps now, once again metaphorically, the wanderer just needs a moment of rest, which appears as a first opportunity to cast a glance back over the route so far.

[706] Kohlhase (1981) p. 156.



Example 28 Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, IV, bars 85-118



Example 28 *continued*

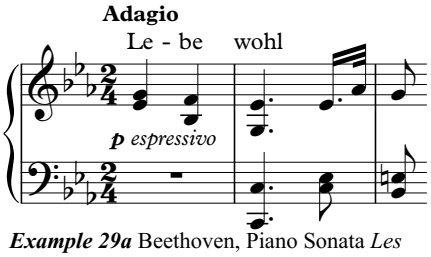
Daniel Beller-McKenna considered the horn in Schumann's vocal settings 'naturally a symbol of distance'.[707] Additionally to my mountain metaphor suggesting an imaginative local distance similar to a landscape painting, Beller-McKenna related the traditional mountainous character of the horn with personal distance, memory, and pastness. His example of the postcard Brahms sent to Clara Schumann for her 49th birthday in 1868 is helpful: on this postcard Brahms notated the alphorn melody he would famously reuse in the finale of his First Symphony and added the alpine greeting 'High on the mountain, deep in the valley, I greet you several thousand times!'[708] The image of Brahms in the Swiss alps, superficially, points out his physical distance to Clara Schumann. Beller-McKenna, however, assigned a more personal meaning of this distance:

> The horn also captures the separation implied by the division in their friendship. Again, one can only speculate as to Brahms's motives, but reference to a horn with words that recall a piece for horns (and harp) seems to invite the reader (i.e. Schumann) to look back to a happier moment in the relationship as something in their romanticized personal history, a call from the past that could be evoked in no better way than through the romantic aura of the horn.[709]

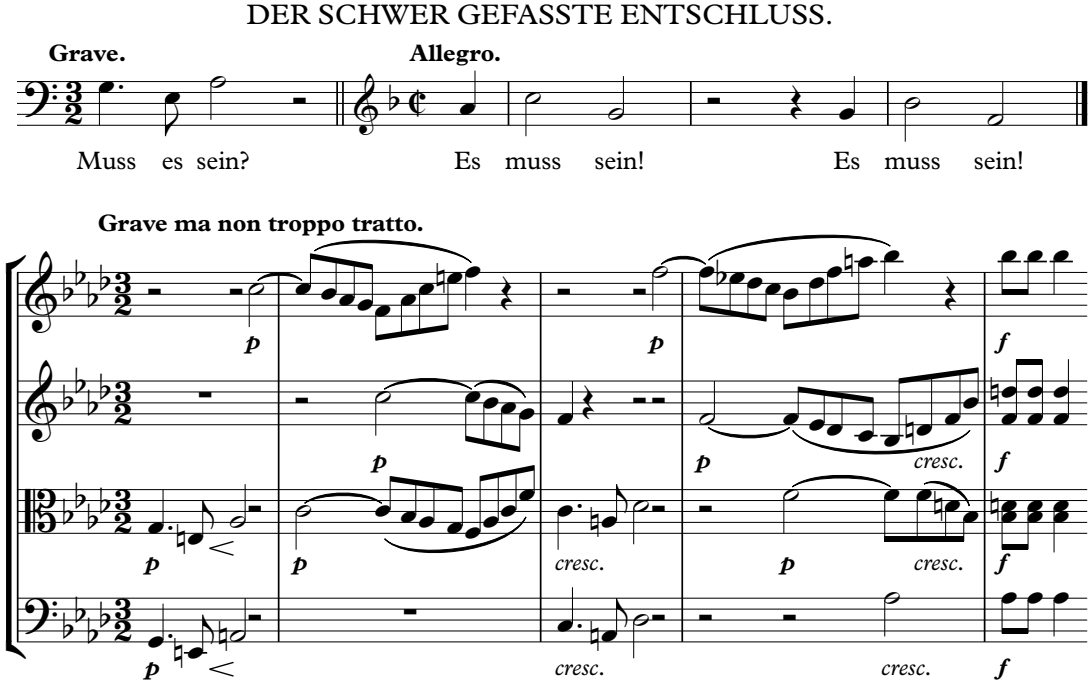
I propose to see the horn calls in the finale of the Piano Quintet by Robert Schumann, from whom Brahms inherited the Requiem idea including the above associations of the horn, according to Beller-McKenna, in a similar light of an impending separation and a remembrance of a better past.

Preceding Schumann and Brahms, the horn call in instrumental works can at least since Beethoven's *Les Adieux* Piano Sonata op. 81a (also in E flat major, a typical horn key) signal a sense of farewell (Example 29a). This association is especially relevant as the first three horn fifths of the Sonata's opening *Adagio*, over which

[707] Daniel Beller-McKenna (2005) 'Distance and Disembodiment: Harps, Horns, and the Requiem Idea in Schumann and Brahms', *The Journal of Musicology*, 22 (1), p. 60.
[708] Ibid., p. 69.
[709] Ibid., p. 71.



Example 29a Beethoven, Piano Sonata *Les Adieux*, op. 81a, I, bars 1-2



Example 29b Beethoven, String Quartet in F major, op. 135, I, bars 1-4

Beethoven wrote the words '*Lebe wohl*', can be related to the final movement his last String Quartet op. 135 in F major, entitled 'The Difficult Decision' ('*Der schwer gefaßte Entschluß*', Example 29b). In the manuscript, Beethoven wrote over the opening motif the question 'Must it be?' ('*Muß es sein?*'), which is then answered at the beginning of the *Allegretto* by the confirmative answer 'It must be!' ('*Es muß sein*') – the same juxtaposition of a questioning and hesitating slow introduction and the affirmative answer in the entry of the faster movement as in the *Les Adieux* Sonata. The '*Es muß sein*' motif of the last String Quartet is, beside the B-motif from the opening of op. 132, the other motif that 'mushrooms profusely in all the late

quartets'.[710] The attraction to Schumann to rework this motif into his motivic web seems evident, and indeed he planned to display a motif strikingly similar to the opening of Beethoven's op. 135 Quartet in the sketched middle movement of the Quintet, titled '*Scena*' (figure 36).[711] While this movement never materialised apart from a half-page-long sketch, Schumann reused his idea of quoting the '*Es muß sein*' motif in the final movement, with the question and answer sections linked through the aforementioned horn triplets. Moreover, Schumann's application of the '*Es muß sein*' motif, both the question and the answer version, features a semitone step at the end, incorporating this motif into the overall motivic development from the String Quartets, as it comprises of three of the four notes from the op. 132 motif.

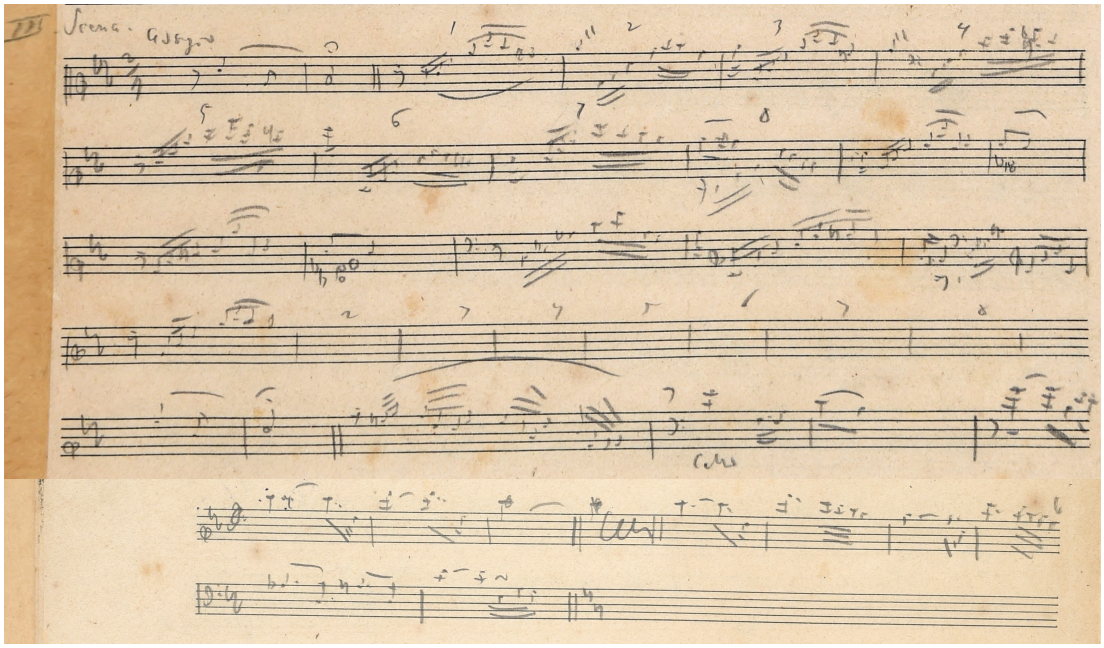


Figure 36 Autograph of Robert Schumann, *Première pensée (manuscrit original) du célèbre quintette de Schumann*, pp. 5-6. Bibliotheque-Musée Inguimbertine, Carprentras, Signature: Ms. 2141 (1)

Altogether, the C section of the Quintet's finale combines the above associations to a double narrative meaning. By recalling the previous associations of the B-motif while on the surface displaying the fatal message of 'It must be!' and the farewell

[710] Chua (1995) p. 11.
[711] See Kohlhase (1981) pp. 155f. and 173.

fanfare, I wonder whether at this point, Schumann announces the 'grande finale' to the motivic developments for the first time, metaphorically speaking the final approach of the mountain's peak. Schumann started, at this point, to close the motivic circle that he opened so widely in the String Quartets. With Beethoven's motivic help, the echo sounding across the musical mountains of this motivic construct transports the answer to the question of the wanderer with the confirming answer of the inevitable – which is that the motivic web will soon come to a conclusion, and by implication, the anticipation of the Leipzig circle's disintegration.

The other, more personal meaning relates to my reading equating the motivic web with Schumann's social circle. Admittedly at a very early stage, Schumann might have anticipated a homage, in similar fashion to the Piano Quartets, to his later and bigger circle of friends in Leipzig, when the inevitability of the '*Es muß sein*' motif overlaps with the B-motif of the 1842 chamber works and is introduced by the farewell fanfare. Mendelssohn had applied this exact combination of motives in his String Quartet, op. 13, which Schumann knew well. Mendelssohn also acknowledged the influence of Beethoven's cyclicism of the late Quartets,[712] and quoted his own song 'Thema' in the Quartet's introduction and again at the end of the last movement



Example 29c Mendelssohn, String Quartet in A minor, op. 13, I, bars 13-17

[712] See Benedict Taylor (2010) 'Cyclic Form, Time, and Memory in Mendelssohn's A-Minor Quartet, Op. 13', *The Musical Quarterly*, 93 (1), pp. 73ff.; and Ross (2019) p. 129.

(Example 29c). Such a Lied quotation at the end of a cycle reminds of Schumann's use of Beethoven's 'Nimm Sie hin', in the op. 17 *Fantasie* as well as in the second String Quartet from op. 41. I previously associated these references with Robert Schumann's friendship with Mendelssohn (see pp. 295ff.).

Despite not actually being present in the finale of Schumann's Piano Quintet, Beethoven's Lied, then, offers another linking element between the sense of farewell to Schumann's friends and the metaphor of the echo sounding across the mountain valley. The first stanza of 'Nimm Sie hin, denn, diese Lieder' translates as: 'On the hill I sit and gaze upon the blue, misty country toward the distant valleys where I found you, beloved. Far from you have I been separated, mountain and valley lie between us and our peace, our happiness and our suffering.'[713] The poem highlights Schumann's ingenious idea to combine the question motif replacing the song reference in combination with the horn calls to which Beller-McKenna attributed a nearly identical significance.

In the year prior to the composition of op. 44, Mendelssohn was asked by the Prussian king to return back to Berlin, and only two years after the chamber music year the Schumann couple finalised their move to settle in Dresden. It is not clear to what extent a sense of farewell was in Schumann's mind during the compositional process of the Piano Quintet. The manifold criss-cross connections between Mendelssohn's op. 13, Beethoven's late Quartets, including the question motif, the *Les Adieux* Sonata with its horn calls, and Schumann's mountain association and *An die ferne Geliebte* references suggest that he realised the end of his Leipzig era as a musical foreshadow. On 1 April 1836, Schumann described himself in a letter to his sister-in-law Therese as 'looking up to Mendelssohn as to some lofty mountain

[713] Translation in: Hoeckner (1997) p. 114.

peak'.[714] In 1842, Schumann composed Mendelssohn's metaphorical mountain peak into music, but instead of looking up to it, he let his greetings echo across from the heights of their friendship.[715]

The realisation of 'moving on' is then, I propose, composed into the beginning of the last movement's development. The linking element is the '*Muß es sein*' question phrase, which is repeated three times (b. 93-109, Example 28) – as if the wanderer, when continuing their journey towards the mountain peak, is wavering whether to move on, the question still echoing in their mind. Kohlhase has described this passage as 'composing the imaginary simultaneity of opposite emotions'.[716] The imaginatively reverberating questions are first juxtaposed in the viola (b. 98f.), recalling a forwards-striving and rolling theme that has been introduced earlier (Example 30). This theme



Example 30 R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, IV, bars 52-54

originally featured, besides the rising step as upbeat, two descending scales connected by a rising third, which places a version of the B-motif at the centre of this theme.[717] When attempting to counteract the hesitating '*Muß es sein*' episodes, however, the forceful entrance of this theme breaks up at exactly the point where the B-motif would

[714] Robert Schumann, letter to Therese Schumann, 1 April 1836 from Leipzig. In: SB I/1, p. 438.

[715] This interpretation is also reflective of Schumann's and Mendelssohn's mutual regard for each other. While their personal appreciation and friendship persisted and enhanced throughout their time together in Leipzig, their estimation of each other's creative talent and output changed. From Schumann's perspective, with the growing confidence in his personal contact with Mendelssohn, he became more critical of the latter's work and, in some instance, found a lack of originality (see, for example, the letter to Dr Keferstein, p. 160). Mendelssohn, in contrast, could not warm to Schumann's creative output in the early years in Leipzig, which, however, was a common judgement on the latter's piano works. During the early 1840s, in the light of Schumann's creations of the Lieder, the Symphony, and eventually the Chamber Music Year, Mendelssohn revised this valuation and considered Schumann an equally accomplished composer and colleague. See, for example, the introduction in the Schumann Briefedition: SB II/1, pp. 40–71.

[716] Kohlhase (1981) p. 157.

[717] In doing so, this theme is also a reminiscence of various themes from the String Quartets which were constructed similarly (for example, the theme for the variations of the op. 41/2 *Andante, quasi Variazoni*).

be placed, effectively failing to provide the confidence to overcome the doubts expressed by the '*Muß es sein*' questions. Only after the third iteration of this question is broken apart ('hiatus-like' according to Kohlhase[718]), can the aforementioned theme in the viola 'move on' and overcome the 'B-motif threshold' in a more conciliatory manner, with the help of a countertheme in the first violin (b. 115ff.).

The lyrical countertheme provides the necessary psychological prospect for the metaphorical wanderer, as it not only inverses the descending sixth of the '*Muß es sein*' question motif, but also recalls the uplifting and positive character of the opening theme of the Quintet's first movement. This opening theme is prominently recast in the final double fugue which I defined as the peak and goal of the wanderer's journey. Hence, the anticipation of the return of this theme, on the one hand, offers a first glance at the peak, as if the clouds were lifting, and thereby helps the wanderer to overcome the doubts and callings from the past. On the other hand, by mirroring the '*Muß es sein*' question it also reveals the motivic connection between this motif and itself, and thereby suggests that what has to come next will still maintain its affinity with the previous motivic web, and thus with the past.

The second thematic recollection, shown in Example 31, immediately preceding the double fugue, is more direct in its message: the emphatic semibreves in the first violin resemble the up-swinging gesture of the first movement's P, though the variable interval constellations, including the 'Urform' as explored by Wollenberg, from the beginning are ironed out in favour of three basic intervals: rising octaves, falling fourths, and falling fifths. In order for this affinity not to be overlooked, the cello halfway through announces the original P of the first movement in its original key.

[718] Kohlhase (1981) p. 157.



Example 31 R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, IV, bars 300-307

Calling in the metaphor for a last time, this moment could resemble a last look around before reaching the peak, already within sight and reach (the theme in the cello), the majestic intervals in the first violin illustrating the efforts of the climb and the breath-taking panorama over the journey. In fact, the clarification of the relationship between P of the opening movement and the empty intervals also resembles Schumann's own way and his own take on the motivic journey through the three String Quartets and the Piano Quintet.

The essence of the Quintet's journey can be identified as the motivic web and developments out of the Beethoven and Bach related B-motif. The emphasis on these very intervals, especially the rising octave and the falling fifth, however, is Schumann's own take on the motif, notably in the Quintet's first movement, as

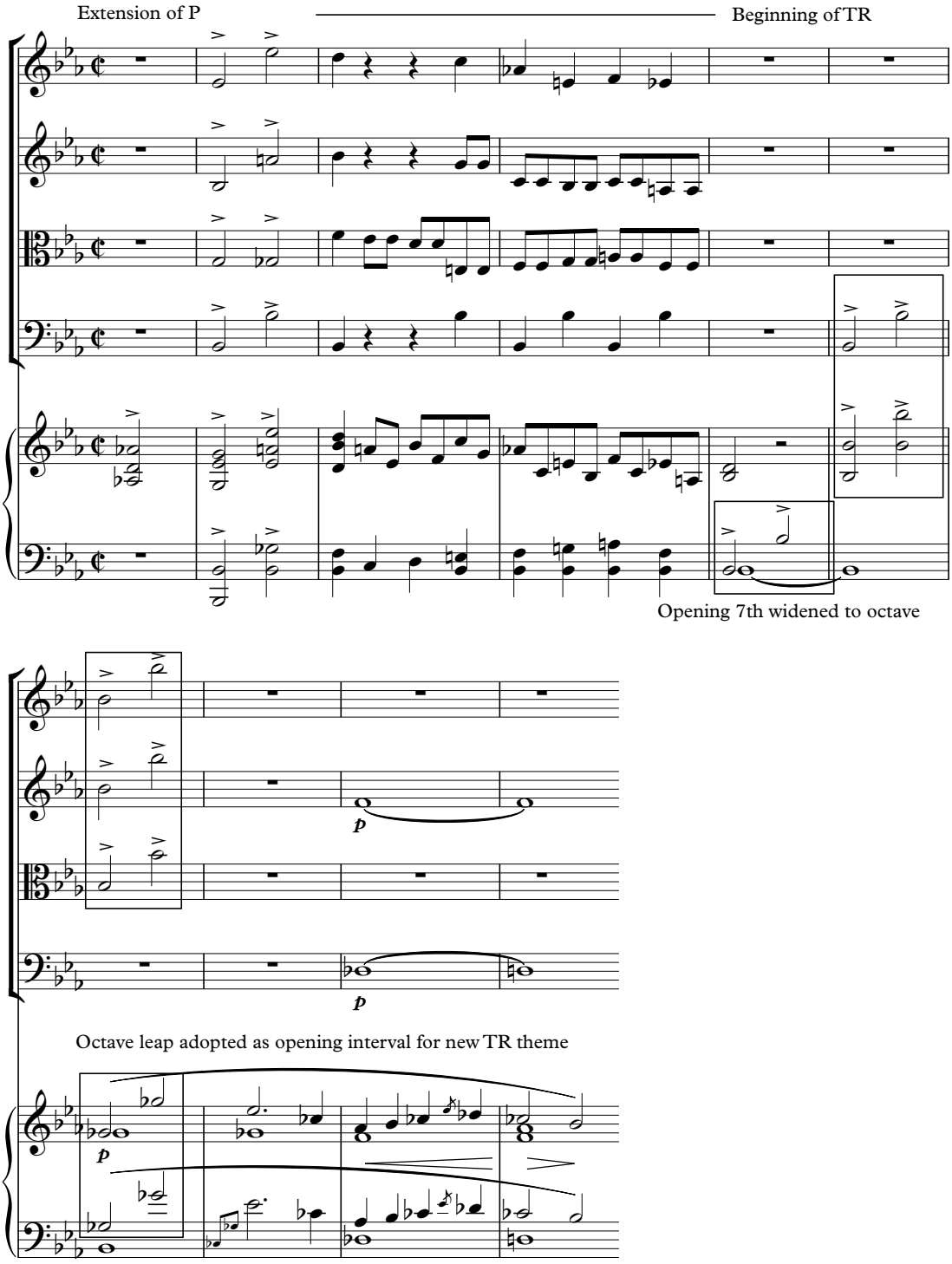
Examples 32a-f present.[719] This movement, as a result, fulfils a twofold motivic function: it establishes the linking element to the String Quartets through motivic continuation and allusions, and it singles out and introduces the elements of this motivic web which will be of importance for the narrative of the rest of the work. Therefore, the musical wanderer, having reached the peak at the end of the final movement of the Quintet overlooks not only this work's journey but can even cast their view as far back as the beginnings of op. 41. In doing so, the wanderer's prospect embraces the same set of performers and friends involved, namely the Gewandhausquartett under David's leadership, and has now been joined along the way by the pianists Clara Schumann and Mendelssohn. The middle movements preceding this final incline help clarifying the nature of this journey. In fact, Hans-Günther Ottenberg considered the importance of the motivic connections as essential for the work's narrative:

> The structurally determined nature of the movements through a dense thematic-motivic tangle of relations that exceeds the single movements, awards the composition latent narrative structures; the motto-like character of particular thematic formations makes them convey meaning.[720]

The content of this meaning is filled in in the two middle movements of the Quintet, of which the slow one will reveal emotive, and the *Scherzo* personal meaning.

[719] Regarding the octave leap in the cello in Example 32b: Donald Francis Tovey acknowledged the abovementioned motivic connection, considering it 'impossible for the violoncello to throw in a casual leap of an octave in minims without implying the first theme'. Donald Francis Tovey (1989) *Essays in Musical Analysis: Chamber Music*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, p. 150.

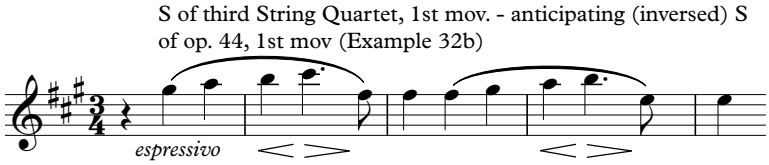
[720] Hans-Günther Ottenberg (2005) 'Klavierquintett Es-Dur Op. 44'. In: Helmut Loos (Ed.) *Robert Schumann: Interpretation seiner Werke*, vol. 1, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, p. 288.



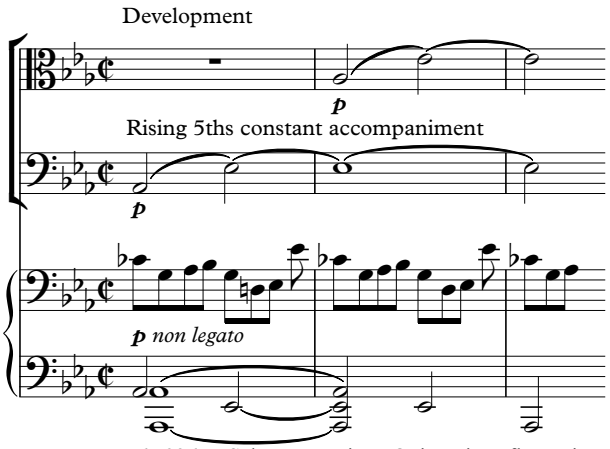
Example 32a R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, I, bars 22-30



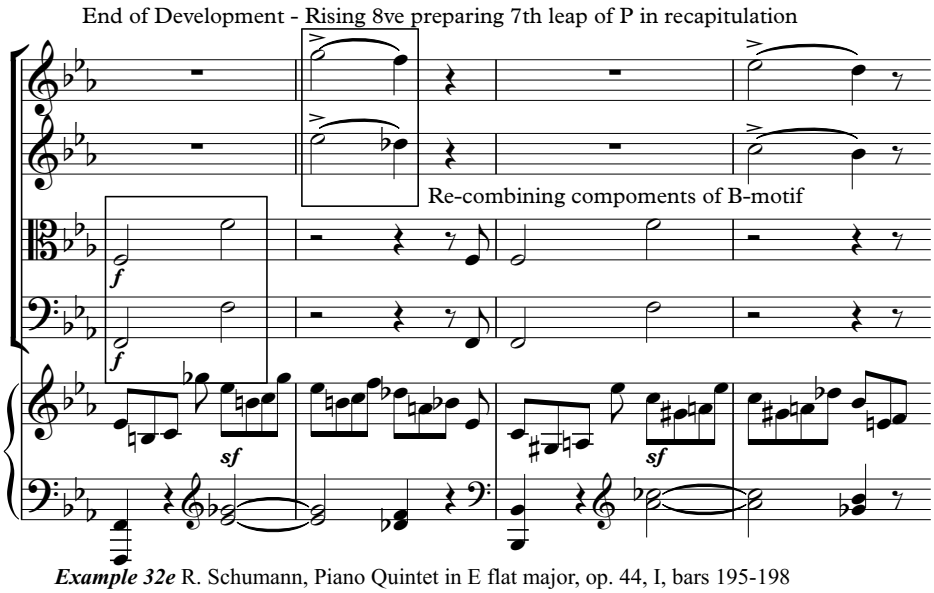
Example 32b R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, I, bars 51-58



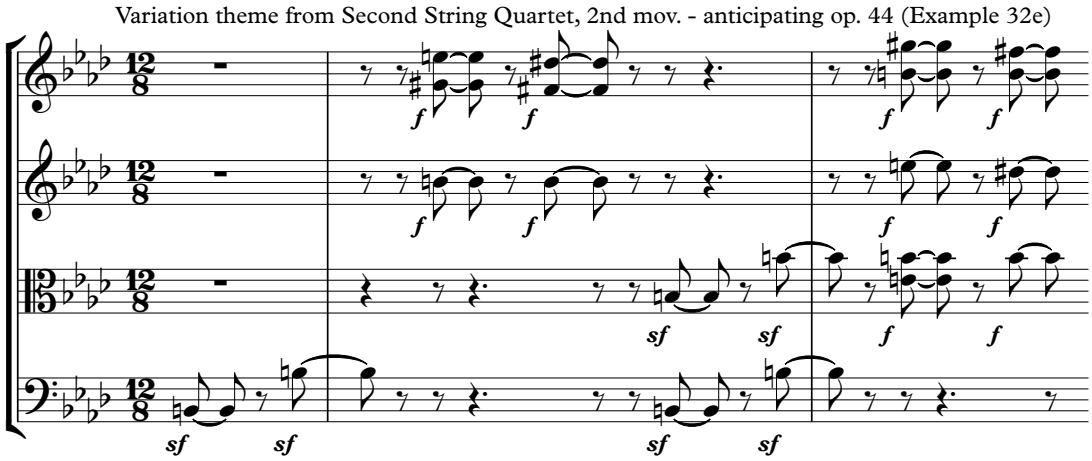
Example 32c R. Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, I, bars 46-49



Example 32d R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, I, bars 134-135



Example 32e R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, I, bars 195-198



Example 32f R. Schumann, String Quartet in F major, op. 41 no. 2, II, bars 25-26

The Second Movement and its Personal Funeral March: The Fifth has Fallen

If the outer movements look back at the time in Leipzig shared with the Mendelssohn-David-circle, the *In modo d'una Marcia* movement goes back even further: as a funeral march in the chamber music genre with strings, it is only preceded by the *Andante* in Schubert's Trio in E flat major, which played an important role in Schumann's first year in Leipzig and for the composition of his early Piano Quartet.[721] Schumann

[721] Jeffrey Kallberg pointed out that funeral marches in the repertoire for piano four-hands, whether as genuine compositions or arrangements, however, were not at all uncommon in the second quartet of the nineteenth century. See Jeffrey Kallberg (2001) 'Chopin's March, Chopin's Death', *19th-Century Music*, 25 (1), p. 6.

described Schubert's movement in late 1828 as 'a sigh intensified to the point of an anguished cry of the heart'.[722] In 1875, Tchaikovsky noted his impression of the funeral march in Schumann's op. 44 that this movement 'outlines, in a tight frame, an entire tragedy'.[723] He continued to provide an illustrative but fitting account of the emotional trajectory this movement is commonly said to portray. In fact, this movement has attracted widespread discussion within musical scholarship, due to its inherent narrative and dramatic plot. The two middle episodes contrasting the funeral march thereby appear less like a narrative shift or digression than as a change in the perspective on the funeral march – as Kohlhase put it, Schumann was guided by the idea to 'compose an imaginary simultaneity of impressions and feelings'.[724] Instead, it is the juxtaposition of the two essential intervals singled out in the first movement, the rising octave and the falling fifth, which create a sense of narrative distance at the outset of the movement.

The opening lyrical idea in the piano, a rising E♭ octave followed by a descending *legato* C minor arpeggio, clearly contrasts with the rhythmically faltering and harmonically ambiguous funeral march that follows (Example 33). The falling fifth works as the pivotal point of the march, symbolising something between an extended sigh and a fall into a bottomless abyss. It becomes clear that the falling fifth is the other side of the coin of the rising octave, motivically as well as emotionally. While the lyrical idea in the piano appears six times during the exposition of the main theme (counting in the repeat), after its last rendition in b. 26f. it will only return once

[722] Gibbs (2014) p. 241. In this article, Gibbs explored 'the idea that Beethoven is in fact the ghost haunting Schubert's E-flat Piano Trio' – which could also be said to be true, though in less a gloomy way, for Schumann's 1842 chamber works.

[723] Tschaikowsky (2000) p. 294.

[724] Kohlhase (1981) p. 154. Such changes of perspectives are customary of funeral marches in early nineteenth-century music, notably in Schubert's Trio but also in the slow movement of Beethoven's *Eroica*, and the third movement of Chopin's op. 35; thanks to Joe Davies for pointing this out to me.



Example 33 R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, II, bars 1-10

in the following recapitulations of the march theme, leaving the recipient alone with the outer course of the march and the contrasting inner emotions it will evoke.

By means of the gradual withdrawal of this lyrical idea and the octave leap, the movement's narrative once again evokes a narrative frame, in association with the remarkable coda of the movement. This view is enforced by both Kohlhase's and Geck's readings of the contrasting episodes within the movement's narrative as emotional reactions to the events related to the funeral march, rather than being digressive episodes themselves.[725] Instead, it is the coda's role to close the frame opened by the initial lyrical thought by means of creating the necessary narrative distance to comprehend the plot as a whole (Example 34). It does so not by returning to the lyrical piano idea but by suggesting a gradual distancing of the funeral procession from the observer – initially anticipated by the dynamic reduction to *pianissimo* and further *diminuendo* and the band-like accompaniment being played

[725] See Geck (2010) pp. 203f; and Kohlhase (1981) pp. 154ff.

pizzicato (b. 177ff.), whereafter from bar 184 only fractions of the funeral march remain audible, and the course of the march seems stuck (b. 185). The coda's character then transforms into the transgressional and surreal – or in Tchaikovsky's description:



Example 34 R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, II, bars 184-193

'the shaken soul steadies and casts its view towards the ever-beautiful heaven after the reconciliation with the horrors of the earthly existence.'[726] First, with the Phrygian third in b. 187, which Kohlhase read as an 'unexpected, dynamically unconventionally accentuated horror dissonance', the harmonic gloominess of the march starts to brighten towards its major mode (b. 188-191). It is eventually concluded by a 'seemingly ethereal major chord in an unconventionally high register'.[727] This transformation towards a conciliatory ending in major mode is, so to speak, seeking its justification in the baroque model of inserting a major third in the final chord of a minor mode movement, as well as Beethoven's heroic minor to major transformations. Such playing around with minor and major mode tonalities was common practice for Schumann in several codas within his op. 41 String Quartets, mostly signalling a contemplative ending.

Another feature of various movement endings from op. 41 is a last rendition of the characteristic interval of the respective movement, for example the falling fifth at the end of the third Quartet's opening movement. The same interval of the falling fifth, the prominent centre of the funeral march theme, reappears at the end of the Quintet's slow movement in the piano; twice within its context of the theme, and the third isolated at the end, like a last vanishing thought about the now distant procession. The impression of 'humming' or remembering the funeral march theme in the piano resembles a similar way of reflecting and contemplating the actions of the movement from a remote perspective. In contrast to the String Quartet movements, however, this time the interval was not subject to motivic transformations and developments, but a central actor within the movement's narrative. Furthermore, the placing of this last

[726] Tschaikowsky (2000) p. 295.
[727] Kohlhase (1981) p. 155.

reflection on the march theme in the piano seems significant, as throughout the movement the piano did not play the melody of this march at all but was responsible for the lyrical side thoughts. Hence, the narrative frame comes to a close in this motivic inclusion of the piano, the new instrument of this ensemble after the composition of the String Quartets.

The presence of the piano also signals that the content of the narrative in the movement was a more personal one to Schumann than achieved so far in the String Quartets. As I argue in the following analysis of the Quintet's *Scherzo*, the falling fifth that the piano quietly repeats at the end of the slow movement might indeed bear further personal meaning to Schumann than just being a result of the previous motivic developments. This makes the deep-felt emotions throughout this movement even more relevant for the comparison with Schumann's own social context. Concluding the narrative discussion of this movement, Geck summarised its narrative strategy fittingly:

> At the end, when the 'marcia' motif collapses in exhaustion, it becomes fully clear that one has witnessed a course with narrative qualities. This is also composed against the basic form: the rounded sequence of the sonata rondo mutates to a narrating process… All this reminds of moments in the oeuvres of Bach and Beethoven – Schumann's declared role models. They also often managed to create a musical movement in which 'objective' and 'subjective' perspectives, 'general' and 'particular', 'form' and 'content' support each other mutually.[728]

This juxtaposition of the funeral march and the emotional reactions, or the objective and subjective episodes in Geck's words, are reminiscent of similar strategies in the slow movements in the String Quartets: this particular narrative method of the movement's reflection on its own course developed in this funeral march to an extent far exceeding the String Quartet movements, and the imaginary impressions and thoughts of players and audiences composed into the movement itself. These strategies

[728] Geck (2010) pp. 204f.

are once again an expression of what I labelled Schumann's 'musical sociability', corresponding to his journalistic approach to his 'Quartettmorgen' critiques. The impressions and emotions of the players and himself, which Schumann aimed to capture in his writings, are already clearly noticeable in the course of this movement. The motivic focus on the falling fifth, taken from the motivic web established in the String Quartets, as the context and 'objective' sphere (as well as 'subjective' sphere in the piano in the postlude), thereby provides the setting with the context of Schumann's social environment. That the lament within this movement, however, is not a generic chamber music event but a highly personal matter to Schumann becomes clear in the third movement.

The Third Movement and the Clara Theme

> In the evening I played through six Bachian fugues with Clara, four hands from sight. I gave our Dutch maid a quiet, beautiful kiss, and when I came home at around nine o'clock, I sat down at the piano and it came to me as if many flowers and gods were shooting from my fingers, in that way the idea was flowing along. This was the idea C F. G C.[729]

As early as May 1832, Robert Schumann noted this short musical idea in his diary, with clear poetic associations and after a pianistic study session with the only 12-year old Clara Wieck. Since then, according to Kohlhase's extensive examination of this motif, these two falling fifths linked through an ascending step signify the early friendship between Clara Wieck and Robert Schumann and their unbroken love ever since. Exploring the origin of this motif, Kohlhase identified two early pieces as the starting point, Clara Wieck's *Romance variée pour le piano*, op. 3 (Example 35a), and Robert Schumann's *Impromptus on a theme by Clara Wieck*, op. 5 (Example 35b) –

[729] 'Abends riß ich mit Clara sechs Bacchische Fugen ab, vierhändig a vista prima. Der holländischen Maid gab ich einen leisen, schönen Kuß u. als ich nach Haus kam gegen neun Uhr, setzt' ich mich an's Klavier u. mir war's, als kämen lauter Blumen u. Götter aus den Fingern hervor, so strömte der Gedanke auch fort. Das war der Gedanke C F. G C. –' TB I, p. 400.

both composed in 1833 – of which the latter uses the melody of Wieck's *Romance* for its variations and underlies a new bass line, using the falling fifths motif. In a much later work, in two passages of the '*Dritte Abteilung*', the third section of Schumann's *Faust Scenes* (WoO 3), the same motif coincides with topics of united love and the 'double I'. Kohlhase concluded that the motif mirrors the early stages of Clara and Robert Schumann's relationship, the idea of the twofold nature of the self (connecting to the idea of the Doppelganger, and Schumann's alter egos Florestan and Eusebius), and of the infinity and supernatural entity of Clara and Robert Schumann's love.[730]



Example 35a C. Wieck, *Romance variée pour le piano*, op. 3, bars 6-13



Example 35b R. Schumann, *Impromptus on a theme by Clara Wieck*, op. 5, bars 1-24

[730] See Kohlhase (1981) pp. 157-163. In a letter to Clara Wieck from 13 April 1838, Schumann jokily remarks: 'I have just noticed that marriage [*Ehe*] is a very musical word, and a fifth too.' See Jones (1988) p. 123.

At the same time, the falling-fifth motif evokes further associations in the background of the above examinations of Schumann's chamber works. One might hear the horn call from the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony; the shaping of the trio melody is also reminiscent of Schumann's adaptations of Beethoven's 'Nimm Sie hin', which bears personal associations to Clara Schumann (from the *Fantasie*, op. 17) as well as Mendelssohn (from Schumann's review of Mendelssohn's performance of the song cycle, see p. 295). Most importantly, it seems a logical continuation of the motivic transformation of the B-motif originated from Beethoven's late Quartets – not least through the comparison with the *Adagio* theme from the first Quartet, which comprises of falling fourths connected to rising semitone steps (a somewhat 'shrunk' version of the C-F-G-C idea, see p. 299) and is in itself an allusion to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Eventually, in the third String Quartet and in the first two movements of the Piano Quintet, the motivic emphasis has been shifted towards the falling fifth interval. The penultimate movement of the Piano Quintet accumulates

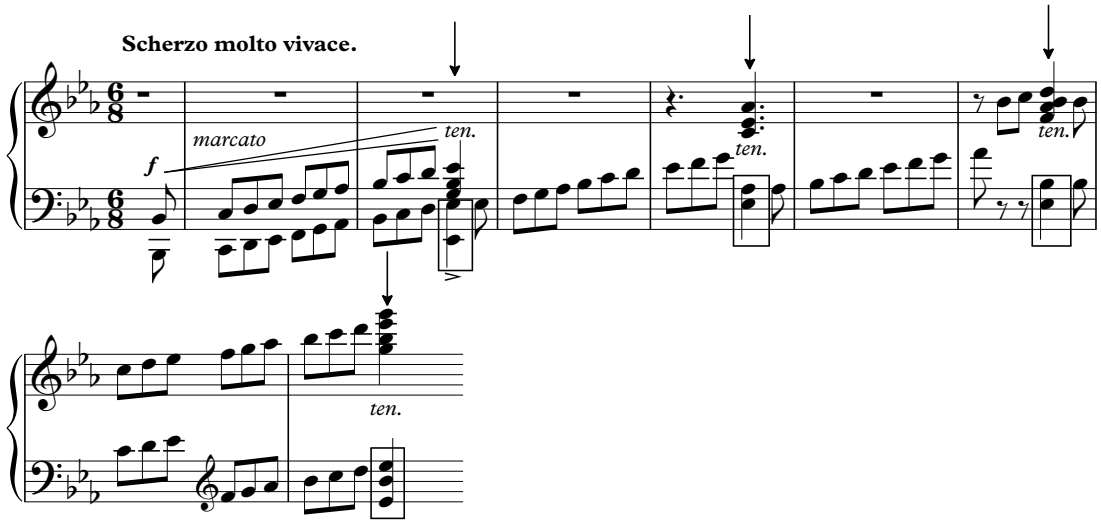


Example 36 R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, III, bars 45-52

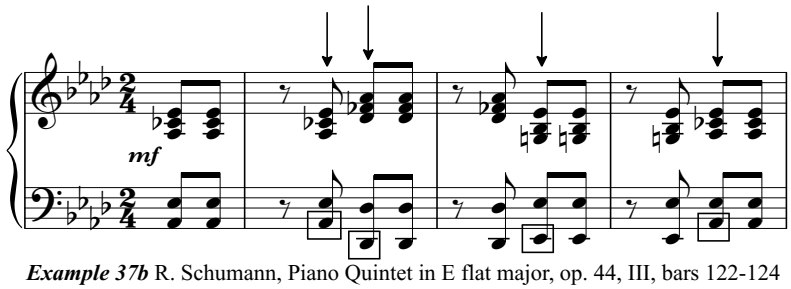
these highly intimate musical ideas. In the first trio of the *Scherzo*, the motif of the two falling fifths (in G flat major) is the dominating element of this section (Example 36). Led in canon between first violin and viola, the parallel rendition of the motif, in Kohlhase's view, further resembles the message of the united double nature.[731]

The first trio of the *Scherzo* movement takes the place of the revelation of the personal association, connecting the falling fifth theme with the preceding motivic developments. In this role, it reminds once again of Schumann's early Piano Quartet of 1829: the section Schumann later remembered as the first truly 'Romantic' music he had written is also the trio in the *Scherzo*. It appears to be this section which Schumann associated with his dreams of Agnes Carus, subject of his unattainable passionate longing at the beginning of his time in Leipzig. While there is no similar account by Schumann about the trio in the Piano Quintet's *Scherzo*, the placing of this theme so similar to the early Piano Quartet seems hardly a coincidence. Hence, the moment of highest intimacy through a theme with personal links probably finds its precursor in Schumann's early chamber work. Another similarity is the integration of the trio section in the thematic events of the surrounding movement: Both the *Scherzo* refrain and second trio are based on the cadential harmonic progression I–IV–V–I (Examples 37a and 37b), which equals the melodic profile of the theme of the first trio. While this cadential progression is not exceptional or noteworthy in itself, the persistence of these steps throughout the *Scherzo* noticeably establishes a motivic link to the theme of the first trio. Not least, as early in the motivic developments as in the second movement of the first String Quartet, Schumann already used this harmonic progression (Example 18, p. 295) at the end of its dream-like digressive episode.

[731] Kohlhase (1981) p. 160.



Example 37a R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, III, bars 1-8



Example 37b R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, III, bars 122-124

The harmonic adaptation of the trio theme eventually mutates back into a melodic shape in the second half of the second trio, where it appears in the violins. Example 38 shows how the motif's first half is inverted and then extended to even exceed the octave range. This integration of the first trio's theme into the overarching motivic web with its personal attributions at the same time prompted Kohlhase to ascribe a double meaning to this episode:

> Apparently, Schumann changes the structure in the *Scherzo* in order to indicate different levels of consciousness. The first trio evidently has the function of a recollection with a double sense. Besides the quotation-like character, it serves as a reminder of the mutual bond, psychologically communicated through the harmonic allusion of the falling-fifth motif.[732]



Example 38 R. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E flat major, op. 44, III, bars 147-160

[732] Kohlhase (1981) p. 167.

Hence, while the contrasting episodes in the second movement are commonly seen as emotional responses to the funeral march, this trio in the third movement can be considered as a digressional moment, indicating not only a return of the B-motif but also a shared and personal past between Clara and Robert Schumann.[733]

Conclusion

The emphasis on the falling fifth in the slow movement of the Piano Quintet gains a new perspective in the context of its intimate meaning for the Schumann couple. The personal message of heartfelt emotions and the tragic content of the funeral march, which Kohlhase associated with the difficult time for the couple towards the end of 1836, were clearly audible.[734] Only in the course of the *Scherzo*, however, does its linking function become clear: it connects the preceding motivic development and especially the falling fifth with the following reshaping of this interval to a theme so closely connected to Schumann's personal circumstances and relationships. This level of intimacy clearly exceeds the previous slow movements from the String Quartets where Schumann evoked a similar 'narrative in the narrative' (especially in the first and third Quartet), framed by reflective introductions and postludes. On the one hand, this is explicable through the addition of the piano, which not only was the instrument with the most personal associations for Schumann, but also made the Piano Quintet his own unique and unprecedented setting, in contrast to the historically laden string quartet. On the other hand, and this is my more important hypothesis, I would interpret this trajectory – from what I metaphorically described as looking over Mendelssohn's

[733] For further examples of the 'artistic marriage' between Clara and Robert Schumann and its manifestation in their musical works through mutual quotations and artistic borrowings, see especially Klassen (2009) pp. 199, among others.

[734] See Kohlhase (1981) p. 165.

shoulder witnessing a 'Quartettmorgen' in the *Adagio* of the first String Quartet, to the more intense and intimate emotions in the funeral march of the Quintet – as an attempt by Schumann to draw the listener of these works step by step into his personal environment.

I would describe this process not as a linear, one-directional development from 'public' to 'private' content, however, but as circular form, by means of the thematic recollections and large-scale closure in the final movement of the Piano Quintet. Schumann thereby musically circumscribed all aspects of his social life as the context to these compositions of 1842, from official and organisational matters (the construction of the overarching motivic web) to the finest nuances and most intimate emotions in his relationships. This musical depiction could either work as an homage directed to the members of this circle being portrayed, or as an underlying guide for a public audience. The audience is unconsciously involved in this web of relationships in order to feel a similar sense of intimacy and familiarity as Schumann's circle itself, providing the ideal chamber music context. In contrast to his unpublished early C-minor Piano Quartet, the 1842 works were not meant to be 'cobbled into a symphony' later on but always intended for publication as they were, so while the former work was a composition only 'for his friends', the 1842 ones seem equally directed to educate their audience about chamber music making with friends.

The role narrative aspects play within the above works and their ties with the motivic links that convey personal meaning helps to portray this direction towards educating the audience through establishing the affinity between musical and literary realisations of Schumann's chamber music ideal, as suggest earlier by Sumner Lott.[735] Categorisations of Schumann's early and middle styles often differentiate between the

[735] See Sumner Lott (2015) p. 133.

poetic and narrative qualities in the former, and formal and structural emphases in the latter style. Brown, by contrast, rightly claimed that particularly Jean Paul's narrative techniques remained present in the works of the new genres Schumann encountered in the early 1840s.[736] Irmgard Knechtges-Obrecht, in her overview of the chamber music works, came to a similar conclusion:

> Especially the poetic aspect remained dominating in Schumann's aesthetical mindset, which he tried to realise compositionally in all his chamber music works from the beginning. This is another essential trait in Schumann's entire creative process, as his musical criticism and the actual production of music were always influencing each other mutually.[737]

Schumann's 'Quartettmorgen' essays featured a personal view of chamber music not through his typical pseudonyms and allusions in the *NZfM* but clearly and directly as mirroring the actual performers' impressions of the works. Thus, my readings of Schumann's op. 41 and op. 44 works correspond neatly with Knechtges-Obrecht's account of Schumann's enduring poetic ambition within his chamber music compositions.

In this light, the famous 'Goethean' assessment in one of Schumann's first 'Quartettmorgen' reviews reveals its meaning on another level: 'a true quartet, in which everyone contributes something, a mostly really beautiful, often peculiar and abstrusely woven conversation of four people, in which the weaving of threads follows the masterpieces of the previous epoch.'[738] I suggest that Schumann exceeds the mere aspect of discourse of the four voices and their equal treatment in the quartet setting. Instead, I interpret this poetic account with regard to the proposed concept of 'musical sociability': the conversations do not only happen within the quartet but are also 'about' the quartet, an instance which itself is again composed into the music and

[736] See Brown (2005) pp. 522 and 525.
[737] Irmgard Knechtges-Obrecht (2006) 'Kammermusik'. In: Handbuch, pp. 304f.
[738] GS I, p. 335.

confirms the demands on 'real' chamber music performances. Furthermore, it seems rather odd to describe real musical dialogue as 'peculiar and abstrusely woven'. This description fits much better as a metaphor for the various motivic and thematic relationships and transformations and their conveyed meanings of the actual manifold personal relationships within Schumann's Leipzig circle. Not least, the requirement of the 'weaving of threads following the masterpieces of the previous epoch' is quite literally met in using 'existing threads' from both Beethoven's and Bach's works as the main material for Schumann's narrative course and motivic allusions.

The narratives of Schumann's chamber music compositions are, at the same time, markedly different to his narrative strategies in the earlier piano pieces while continuing their poetic ambition. Such differences were noted as early as in Moritz Hauptmann's letter to his former teacher Louis Spohr, reporting on his impression of the op. 41 Quartets:

> I heard three String Quartets by Schumann at David's, the first ones he has ever written, which I enjoyed very much, they even surprised me in terms of his talent, which I did not imagine being that significant at all following the piano pieces with which I was familiar previously, which were so aphoristic and fragmentary, and which fancied themselves in oddness. There is no less of exceptionality in form and content [in the String Quartets] either, but it is all set and held together with intellect and lots of it is very beautiful.[739]

Hauptmann's assessment demonstrates the reasons why Schumann was able to musically recreate the environment he pictured his chamber music works to be played in. Hitherto, portrayals of and references to Schumann's own environment appeared rather individualistically, such as Ludwig Schunke, Henriette Voigt, Ernestine von Fricken, and himself, being associated with the A-S-C-H motif in the *Carnaval*. In

[739] 'Bei David habe ich drei Quartette von Schumann gehört, die ersten, die er geschrieben, die mir sehr gefallen, ja mich in Verwunderung über sein Talent gesetzt haben, das ich mir bei weitem nicht so bedeutend vorgestellt hatte, nach den Klaviersachen, die ich früher vom ihm kennen lernte, die gar so aphoristisch und brockenhaft waren, und sich in bloßer Sonderbarkeit gefielen. An Ungewöhnlichem in Form und Inhalt fehlt es auch hier nicht, aber es ist mit Geist gefaßt und zusammengehalten und recht Vieles ist sehr schön.' Wasielewski, p. 318.

contrast, Schumann's new interest in large-scale closure and overarching musical unity comprising an entire work complex of four major compositions seems much more appropriate to suggest a musical depiction of a circle and the relationships within as large and complex as Schumann's Leipzig one. The commitment to 'cyclic' forms and Schumann's adoption and reshaping of these forms in the 1842 chamber works already bear the notion of a 'circle' in itself, and Schumann's motivic and narrative grouping of the op. 41 and op. 44 works even increases this aspect of cyclicism – in Hauptmann's words, everything being 'set and held together with intellect.'

Finally, let us revisit a famous anecdote recorded by Litzmann: on 9 June 1848, Franz Liszt spontaneously visited the Schumann couple in Dresden, on his way back from Vienna. Clara Schumann, quickly trying to organise a chamber performance upon Liszt's request to hear her husband's latest D-minor Piano Trio composition, also scheduled the Piano Quintet besides Beethoven's D-major Trio. 'But she was to have no reward for her pains', Litzmann wrote, as Liszt appeared some two hours late, bursting into the end of the Beethoven performance. Liszt then tried to ease the atmosphere by 'express[ing] great pleasure over the trio of Schumann's which now followed, but he thought that the quintet was too "Leipsic-ish" ["*Leipzigerisch*"]. That did not exactly improve their tempers', Litzmann assumed.[740] As Liszt also offended his host by comparing Mendelssohn with Meyerbeer, Schumann had to take a stance for Leipzig's music scene and refuted Liszt's implied accusation of being unoriginal – an instance which coloured the tone of letters between the two composers for years. As if defending Liszt's position, in the context of my above readings of the 1842 chamber works, I could agree with these works being indeed 'Leipzigerisch' – not in

[740] Berthold Litzmann (2014) *Clara Schumann. An Artist's Life, based on Material Found in Diaries and Letters*, 4th ed., vol. 1, transl. by Grace E. Hadow, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 394. On this episode, see also BNF, pp. 305ff. and 522ff.; Daverio (1997) pp. 391f.; and Armin Gebhardt (1998) *Robert Schumann. Leben und Werk in Dresden*, Marburg: Tectum Verlag, p. 35.

the sense of being overly conventional or unoriginal, however. My analyses described Schumann's approach to these forms and genres as more than simply original by reinventing the narrative of traditional forms in order to achieve a poetic and highly personal outline of these works. Instead, I regard these works as 'Leipzigerisch' in their compositional context: these works were strongly rooted in and indebted to Schumann's Leipzig circle and his social environment, an environment which was an important influence as well as a channel for his views on chamber music-making, which he musically immortalised in his chamber works of 1842.

Alternative Reading: Socialising with Bach and Beethoven

The above analyses and interpretations of Schumann's chamber works are, naturally, only one of several possible ways to approach the depiction of sociability in music. It is also a strongly Schumann-centred approach, given that no other composer at his time was nearly as involved with journalism and art criticism as him. The comparison with his journalistic style and the means and aims of the *NZfM* are a main part of the justification of my narrative readings of his chamber works. His sense of a mission from his writings, responding to the social developments and needs of the public of his time, are, I believe, appropriately represented in analyses of his music that reflect this imaginary discourse with his recipients, whether readers or listeners, or even players. Hence, my readings were centred around musical communication by Schumann to his audiences, interpreting references to other performances or composers as signifiers of a common ground, of digressions from the narrative, of travels to distant and past goals. Schumann invites his audiences to join him on these journeys, but only to make them realise that he is musically describing his own experiences, his own chamber music environments from his time in Leipzig.

One could, however, figuratively look at the other side of this coin, of combining Schumann's own and his circle's sociability with references to past composers who were so important for the musical and historical understanding of this group of musicians themselves. Instead of using those references to the past to signify a narrative describing Schumann's own sociability, one could interpret such references to Bach and Beethoven as broadening the notion of musical sociability itself, beyond the scope of Schumann's personal encounters. The frequent recurrence of allusions to Bach and Beethoven, but also the stylistic influences by Mendelssohn and Schubert, could make these composers themselves 'characters' within Schumann's works. Instead of comparing those moments to real life sociability as in the above narrative readings, this approach would lead towards a purely musical form of sociability. In this concept, composers from outside Schumann's social circle, including those no longer alive, become subsumed within a new, purely musical social circle – 'an exclusive community of musical insiders', as Sumner Lott called it.[741]

This idea corresponds to what she referred to as a redefinition of the 'progressive style' regarding the tradition of the string quartet specifically. As Beethoven's late String Quartets fundamentally changed the prospects of the genre, composers following him had to either ignore the string quartet setting completely, or they actively responded to its tradition. Sumner Lott exemplified the small group of the latter through Robert Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn, as well as Norbert Burgmüller and Franz Berwald. 'Their works', Sumner Lott wrote, 'often demonstrate a response to Beethoven and to more recent composers, representing a private conversation not just among the four members of the performing quartet… but also

[741] Sumner Lott (2015) p. 108.

among the composers of the past, present, and future.'[742] Such a private conversation with the forefathers of the genre could even be said to resemble the *sacra conversazione* depictions of the Italian Renaissance artists, in which saints or angels assemble aside Madonna and Child, entering a form of silent conversation.[743] The composers venerated by Schumann specifically around 1842, Bach and Beethoven, could be seen to figuratively appear as musical saints, entering the dialogue about the genre as the Holy Child, with Schumann and his contemporaries as the Madonna, bringing life to this genre again.

Robert Schumann saw the abovementioned composers as kindred spirits and musical mentors. To have them stand virtually at his side, as in the sacred image evoked above, when approaching his chamber music works of 1842, would certainly have been a desirable impression for him. Thus, extending the concept of sociability to include Bach and Beethoven to his musical circle would grow out naturally from my definitions of *Geselligkeit* and sociability. It would also take into account that Schumann's allusions to these composers were not only references to instances when he heard or played their works, as I argued for in the above analysis, but an agenda of establishing a musical canon largely dominated by the tradition of Austro-German masters. Instead, by taking into account his own social environment and way of chamber music making in the Leipzig years, and his art criticism as an early form of a public display of privacy, a narrative reading as in the analysis of this chapter appears

[742] Ibid., p. 107. The combination of her analytical methods, however, also results in creating a musical narrative, according to Sumner Lott, 'that other musicians follow upon exploring the work in performance or study' (p. 108). Hence, even when approaching the analysis of references to past and present composers by entering a dialogue with them, rather than through them, narrative readings seem to be the natural mode of musical communication in the early nineteenth century.

[743] See 'Sacra Conversazione' reference entry in: Tom Devonshire Jones, Linda Murray, and Peter Murray (Eds.) (2013) *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art & Architecture*, 2nd ed., Oxford Reference Online: Oxford University Press.

to be the most appropriate to interpret Schumann's own, actual sociability in the music, and to 'read' it like just another article of a 'Quartettmorgen' with his Leipzig friends.

Epilogue: Schumann after Leipzig

'It's so dead here': The Schumann Couple and their Chamber Music in Dresden

Nearly two years after their move to Dresden, Robert Schumann reported back to Felix Mendelssohn: 'we still sustain ourselves on memories of the last days we spent in L[eipzig]. It is so dead here in comparison.'[744] Despite the couple's dissatisfaction with cultural politics in Leipzig and their move away in 1844 in response, they soon became frustrated with the social and cultural life in Dresden, which did not enable them to form a circle comparable to the one they enjoyed especially in their last Leipzig years.[745] Schumann could not establish a working relationship with the Royal Saxonian Orchestra in Dresden, despite being acquainted with both its directors, Carl Reissiger and Richard Wagner.[746] In 1847, Clara Schumann established a new chamber ensemble with the orchestra's leading musicians, the brothers Franz and Friedrich Schubert, the former the orchestra's leader and violinist, the latter a cellist, as well as with the more famous cellist Friedrich August Kummer.[747] Even though Clara Schumann had played and performed with these Dresden musicians as early as 1834 and throughout her time in Leipzig,[748] the first chamber recital series in Dresden only commenced in December 1848 and was followed by just one further season, after which the Schumanns had already left Dresden for Düsseldorf. The two seasons of 'Trio Soirées' held in the Hôtel de Saxe were organised by the Schumann couple and

[744] Robert Schumann, letter to Felix Mendelssohn, 27 October 1846 from Dresden. In: SB II/1, p. 275.

[745] See Daverio (1997) p. 296. For Clara Schumann's retrospective damning verdict of the musical establishment in Leipzig from 1849, see Litzmann II, p. 215.

[746] See Gerd Nauhaus (2004) 'Robert Schumanns Kammermusik der Dresdner Jahre'. In. Anette Müller (Ed.) *Schumann-Studien 7*, Sinzig: studio Verlag, p. 23.

[747] See, for example, Moritz Fürstenau (1849) *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Königlichen Sächsischen musikalischen Kapelle*, Dresden: Meser, p. 192; and Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski (1911) *Das Violoncell und seine Geschichte*, Leipzig Breitkopf & Härtel, pp. 134f.

[748] See Jugendtagebücher, pp. 172f.; 203-210; 233; 250-262; 294; and 307.

the Schubert brothers, and turned out to be popular and successful.[749] According to an account by Clara Schumann's piano student Emilie Steffens, it was only in their last year in Dresden that Schumanns began to invite an intimate circle of musicians weekly to their home, which provided 'incredibly beautiful afternoons' in strict privacy.[750]

The late resurgence of domestic and public chamber music making in the Schumann couple's life in Dresden, however, is at odds with, or at least not as linked to, Robert Schumann's own output in the genre as it was during his time in Leipzig. The trio Clara Schumann formed with the Schubert brothers seems in keeping with Schumann's continued production of piano trios, which he had begun with his last piece of the chamber music year in Leipzig. However, the two Piano Trios, opp. 63 and 80, were composed in the autumn of 1847, shortly before the couple took up their chamber music activities again. Hence, I suggest that the beginning of the trio ventures with the Schubert brothers, Kummer, and others in Dresden, were motivated by the search for performance opportunities for the Piano Trio pieces and Schumann's early chamber works. The inspiration for the Dresden chamber works, however, was still found in his Leipzig circle rather than in a new one Dresden. In the case of the Piano Trios from 1847, they have once again been linked to Schumann's wife Clara and to Mendelssohn.

Clara Schumann completed her own Piano Trio, op. 17, in the second half of 1846. After that, Schumann repeatedly noted 'trio thoughts' in his diary and promised a work in this genre to his publisher Schuberth. Daverio argued that Robert Schumann's 1847 Piano Trios were 'composed in response to Clara's Piano Trio' by

[749] See Gerd Nauhaus (2010) 'Robert und Clara Schumann im Dresdner Musikleben 1844 bis 1850'. In: Thomas Synofzik and Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Eds.) *Schumann und Dresden*, Köln: Verlag Dohr, pp. 281-284; and Nauhaus (2004) p. 23.

[750] Thomas Synofzik (2016) 'Wagner, Schumann und ihre Dresdner Musiker'. In: Ortrun Landmann, Wolfgang Mende, and Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Eds.) *Richard Wagner – Kgl. Kapellmeister in Dresden* (Dresdner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 4), Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Georg Olms, p. 163.

emphasising stylistic affinities in form and texture.[751] At the same time, Robert's two Trios are, in a nearly uncanny way, once more an anticipation of farewell to Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn's masterpieces of Piano Trios, opp. 49 and 66, composed in 1839 and 1845 respectively, were first of all an obstacle for Schumann to take up this genre, according to Geck.[752] Schumann's 1847 Trios overcame this threshold, partly by addressing Mendelssohn's models directly.[753] More importantly, Schumann's Trios once more apply narratives and narrative digressions which Daverio interpreted as introducing 'voices as if from afar, incursions into the "real" time of the piece from distant realms', not least through polyphonic textures or references to Beethoven.[754] The most obvious and acknowledged of these moments of 'sublime removal' as Daverio called them, is the quotation from Schumann's own Lied 'Dein Bildnis wunderselig' (from the Eichendorff song cycle, op. 39), in the first movement of the F-major Trio. Like the Beethoven Lied 'Nimm Sie hin, denn, diese Lieder' which Schumann used at various digressive moments in his Leipzig works, this song's poetic model deals with the artistic representation of lost love. I argued that the references to the Beethoven song were an important part of Schumann's narratives of farewell in the chamber works of 1842, a mere year after Mendelssohn left Leipzig and the circle started to disband. When Schumann resumed composing chamber music in 1847 with two pieces which clearly allude to these narratives and to Mendelssohn in particular, and which feature another song reference with nearly identical meaning, these compositions became a harbinger of an even more devastating loss:

[751] Daverio (1997) p. 323.
[752] See Geck (2010) pp. 215f.
[753] See amongst others, Daverio (1997) pp. 327f.; and Markus Waldura (2002) 'Vier romantische Klaviertrio in d-moll im Vergleich: Mendelssohn–Schumann–Hensel–Berwald'. In: Bernhard R. Appel, Ute Bär, and Matthias Wendt (Eds.) *Schumanniana Nova. Festschrift Gerd Nauhaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, Sinzig: Studio Verlag, pp. 787-805.
[754] Daverio (1997) p. 326.

Mendelssohn's death in November 1847. Schumann wrote Mendelssohn, as Daverio described it, 'a requiem, but before the fact'.[755]

For the above reasons, it makes sense that both Trios were first performed publicly in Leipzig rather than Dresden. Like the String Quartets, op. 41, the D-minor Trio was presented to Clara for her birthday in September 1847, having first been performed privately by herself, Ferdinand David, and Andreas Grabau the previous April. It received its first public outing the week after Mendelssohn's death in Leipzig by Wasielewski, Grabau, and Heinrich Encke at the piano, with neither Robert nor Clara Schumann present. The second Trio's first public performance was as late as February 1850, again in Leipzig, with Clara Schumann, David, and Julius Rietz, after substantial revisions of the score by Schumann the year before. The Piano Trio production of 1847 remained directed towards Leipzig, musically as well as in performance, and the Dresden trio ensemble with the Schubert brothers did not result in further trio compositions by Schumann. Instead, the success and delightful chamber music events of 1849 led to a different inspiration, namely for Schumann's *Hausmusik* pieces for various solo instruments. His pieces for horn (op. 70), clarinet (op. 73), and oboe (op. 94) depict mostly overlooked chamber instruments. These pieces were initiated by musicians of the Royal Orchestra who were irregular guests of the 1849 chamber music circle, and with whom Schumann had rather loose personal connections. The only chamber work for a string instrument from 1849 is his *Fünf Stücke im Volkston for Cello and Piano*, op. 102. However, these five miniature pieces were again dedicated to and publicly first performed by Andreas Grabau in Leipzig.

Gerd Nauhaus assumed that personal reasons were the cause for the lack of compositional results from the musical collaborations with the Schubert brothers.

[755] Ibid., p. 328.

Despite the chamber events of 1849 providing an intimate and delightful atmosphere, Schumann never established a personal bond to or affection with the Schuberts as strong as with Ferdinand David, or later, Joseph Joachim, for whom 'it really was worth to compose a duo sonata or a concerto'.[756] Schumann left the Dresden circle without having dedicated a single piece to Franz or Friedrich Schubert. Furthermore, Knechtges-Obrecht argued that Schumann's compositional development in the chamber genre via the Piano Trios to the smaller *Hausmusik* pieces also resembled his personal circumstances: 'Schumann's gradual withdrawal into the personal and intimate provided the basis for the smallest possible duo ensemble as well as for the detachment from the conventional cyclic forms.'[757] The strongly established and lasting circle of friends in Leipzig, and Schumann's sociability within it, motivated him, I proposed, to compose in the larger cyclic forms in order to portray his experiences of chamber music making within this circle. Schumann's tendency during the Dresden years towards a private personal interaction with individual musicians, and often with contacts still in Leipzig rather than new acquaintances in Dresden, is thus reflected in the development towards the duo ensemble and smaller forms. This approach would be fully achieved after the Schumann couple's move to Düsseldorf in September 1850.

Circles Old and New: The Schumanns in Düsseldorf

> Just a short time ago I initiated a society for chamber music, in which, besides older ones, all recent important works shall be performed. Generally, much is being done for good music here, and I often deem myself lucky to have found a circle which meets my demands to a large extent.[758]

[756] Nauhaus (2004) p. 23.
[757] Knechtges-Obrecht (2006) p. 314.
[758] 'Noch vor Kurzem habe ich hier einen Verein für Kammermusik angeregt, in dem, außer älteren, auch alle neuern bedeutenden Werke vorgeführt werden sollen. Ueberhaupt wird hier sehr viel für gute Musik getan und ich schätze mich oft glücklich, einen meinen Wünschen zum größten Theil so

Almost exactly a year after his and Clara's arrival in Düsseldorf, Robert Schumann thanked Ignaz Moscheles with this letter for the latter's dedication of his Cello Sonata, op. 121, in 1851. The letter comes from a time when, after an initial period of adjustments in Düsseldorf, the Schumanns founded a quartet society ('Quartettkränzchen') and a choral society ('Singekränzchen'). Compared to the musically and culturally much richer but socially difficult Dresden, the Schumanns found Düsseldorf a gregarious and friendly town without much institutionalised music making. The 'Kränzchen' they initiated in the autumn of 1851 were, therefore, the only ones of such kind in Düsseldorf but were received enthusiastically by the local musical society.[759] Not long after these biweekly gatherings flourished, however, they were ceased and replaced with what Clara Schumann called her 'Kleine Musik'. This was a more intimate circle of the few professional musicians in Düsseldorf, based around the former musical director Ferdinand Hiller, cellist Christian Reimers, and Schumann's student Wasielewski, who had recently been appointed leader of the city orchestra.[760]

Wasielewski and Reimers were 'the pillars of the Hausmusik which was most keenly nurtured especially in the last years', according to Litzmann.[761] The trio playing which Clara enjoyed with the two young musicians, and the duos with Wasielewski, were a much more essential stimulus for Schumann's last chamber works than the larger 'Kränzchen'. Clara Schumann waited eagerly for Wasielewski to return to Düsseldorf in October 1851 in order to play through her husband's newly composed first Violin Sonata, op. 102, on the day after her friend's arrival.[762] Schumann's third

entsprechenden Wirkungskreis gefunden zu haben.' Robert Schumann, letter to Ignaz Moscheles, 20 November 1851 from Düsseldorf. In: Erler (1887) vol. 2, p. 163.

[759] See Beci (2000) pp. 63-69.

[760] See Ibid., pp. 68f; and Cecilia Hopkins Porter (1989) 'The Reign of the "Dilettanti": Düsseldorf from Mendelssohn to Schumann', *The Musical Quarterly*, 73 (4), p. 501.

[761] Litzmann II, p. 236.

[762] See Ute Bär (2006) '"Ich möchte junge, so ehrlich strebende Künstler gern fördern." Robert Schumanns Beziehungen zu Rupert Becker, Albert Dietrich und Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski'. In:

Piano Trio, op. 110, completed just weeks later, also benefited from Clara's collaboration with Wasielewski and Reimers, who played the work at various stages of its compositional process. When Wasielewski decided to move to neighbouring Bonn after two years with the Schumanns, Robert honoured his friend with the dedication of his *Märchenbilder* for piano and viola, op. 113. In the dedication edition which Clara sent to Wasielewski in July 1852, the composer wrote: 'This book shall remind you, dear Wasielewski, of some hours spent together, which made your art unforgettable for me.'[763] Once again, a dedication of a chamber work by Schumann served as a farewell gift and recall of a period of worthwhile chamber music making. That this last episode of inspiring chamber events came to an end with Wasielewski's departure also resonates in her letter following her visit to Bonn in February 1853 to play chamber recitals with Wasielewski: 'I can assure you that I have lost all enthusiasm for a trio or another ensemble here.'[764] Only a few months later, she dedicated her own *Three Romances for Violin and Piano*, op. 22, to Wasielewski.

This short-lived musical collaboration, however, cannot hide the fact that Robert Schumann's main motivation for resuming chamber music compositions remained in Leipzig. Ferdinand David had written to him from there on 18 January 1850:

> I enjoyed your *Fantasiestücke* for piano und clarinet [op. 73] very much; why don't you write anything for violin and piano? There is such a lack of substantial new works, and I could not image anyone better to do it than you. How nice it would be if you could write something of that kind now, and I could then play it for you with your wife… dear Schumann, the A-major Sonata by Beethoven time and time again is simply too much.[765]

Ingrid Bodsch and Gerd Nauhaus (Eds.) *Zwischen Poesie und Musik. Robert Schumann – früh und spät*, Bonn, Frankfurt, and Basel: StadtMuseum Bonn and Stroemfeld, p. 158.

[763] See Ibid., p. 160.

[764] Clara Schumann, letter to Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, 7 March 1853 from Düsseldorf. In: Renate Federhofer-Königs (1975) *Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski im Spiegel seiner Korrespondenz: 1822-1896* (Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 7), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, p. 46.

[765] 'Deine Fantasiestücke für Piano und Clarinette gefallen mir ungemein; warum machst Du nichts für Geige und Clavier? Es fehlt so sehr an was Gescheidtem Neuen und ich wüßte Niemand des es besser könnte als Du. Wie schön wäre es wenn Du jetzt noch etwas derartiges machtest was ich Dir dann mit deiner Frau vorspielen könnte… lieber Schumann, immer und ewig die a dur Sonate von

Despite Wasielewski's involvement in the compositional process of Robert Schumann's first Violin Sonata, I would suggest that this kind of letter from David tipped the scales for Schumann, encouraging him to approach the violin sonata genre at the beginning of his Düsseldorf period. Perhaps for that reason, the three works that Schumann composed in the autumn of 1851, the two Violin Sonatas, opp. 102 and 121, and the third Piano Trio, op. 110, were not performed outside of the rehearsal stage in Düsseldorf. Instead, all of these works had their premieres in a long-anticipated trip by the Schumann couple back to Leipzig in the spring of 1852. In a public recital in the Gewandhaus on 21 March that year, Clara premiered the first Violin Sonata and the Trio with David and Grabau, while together with the second Violin Sonata, all three pieces were performed in private matinées in Leipzig. At the first of those gatherings, David played the first Sonata from sight, which once more prompted enthusiastic responses from both Clara and Robert Schumann to his style and tone.[766]

As a result of these happy reunions in Leipzig and the successful first outings of Schumann's new chamber works, the dedication of the second Violin Sonata to David and Schumann's accompanying note to the violinist is not surprising: 'Dear David! Here you are receiving the sonata which I dedicated to you. You may kindly accept it as a sign of remembrance of happy hours spent together in youthful age.'[767] The memory of the time with David in Leipzig could be said, what is more, to be composed into the music of the Sonata. Thereby, this work comes closest to Schumann's narratives of the 1842 chamber works but changes the depiction of a circle and the

Beethoven wird einem doch auch bald zu viel.' Ferdinand David, letter to Robert Schumann, 18 January 1850 from Leipzig. In: SB II/20, p. 313.

[766] See Bär (2002) p. 79.

[767] Robert Schumann, letter to Ferdinand David, 9 October 1853 from Düsseldorf. In: SB II/20, p. 338.

sociability displayed within circle from the 1842 chamber work to the reference to a close friendship with a single person. The theme of the first movement opens with a D-A-F-D motif, which remains a main thematic source throughout the movement, and has frequently been considered a cipher of David's surname, while a following motif in the piano, F-E-D, might resemble his first name, Ferdinand.[768] Larry R Todd, furthermore, discovered an allusion in the Sonata's slow movement to Mendelssohn's Cello Sonata, op. 58.[769] The reference to Mendelssohn as the third member of David's and Schumann's innermost Leipzig circle, as well as the motivic cell linked to David, lend this work a retrospective edge on their inspiring time together in Leipzig, as Schumann acknowledged in his letter.

The second Sonata, dedicated to David, was first performed publicly after some revisions in October 1853 in Düsseldorf, by Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim. The young and promising violinist, newly appointed leader of the orchestra in Hanover, stayed with the Schumanns on one of his numerous visits to Düsseldorf. Besides such appearances on stage with Clara, he frequently enjoyed private chamber music making within the Schumanns' Düsseldorf circles.[770] Joachim's visits initiated a whole new group of musical 'disciples' under the Schumanns' patronage, rather than forming a homogenous circle such as the Leipzig one. Clara Schumann noted one of his visits in her diary: 'Joachim surprised us again today – he returned from Karlsruhe… in the afternoon we played a lot of music with Joachim. First, Robert's Sonata in D minor [op. 121], then the first Trio [op. 63]. Brahms played too…'[771] The young composer

[768] See, amongst others, Michael Struck (2006) 'Die Werke aus Robert Schumanns Düsseldorfer Jahren'. In: Ingrid Bodsch and Gerd Nauhaus (Eds.) *Zwischen Poesie und Musik. Robert Schumann – früh und spät*, Bonn, Frankfurt, and Basel: StadtMuseum Bonn and Stroemfeld, p. 277.

[769] See Larry R. Todd (2003) 'The Chamber Music of Mendelssohn'. In: Stephen E. Hefling and ibid. (Eds.) *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, New York and London: Routledge, p. 196.

[770] See, for instance, Federhofer-Königs (1975) pp. 53ff.

[771] Litzmann II, p. 283.

Johannes Brahms visited and lived with the Schumanns in Düsseldorf for extended periods from autumn 1853. His impression on Robert Schumann prompted the latter to announce him as a musical messiah in his emphatic last contribution to the *NZfM*.[772] In the Schumanns' home, Brahms was introduced to Carl Reinecke, teacher at the conservatory in Cologne by then,[773] and Schumann's student Albert Dietrich (the dedicatee of the *Märchenerzählungen*, op. 132), amongst others. The musical collaborations of this new circle, centred around the senior Robert Schumann, culminated in the joint composition by Dietrich, Schumann, and Brahms of the *FAE-Sonata* for Joachim, which would open up an entire new perspective on musical portrayals of friends and joint chamber music making within Schumann's circles, as have been explored in this dissertation.[774]



Figure 37 Pastel drawing of Joseph Joachim and Clara Schumann by Adolph von Menzel, 1854. Reproduction

[772] See Robert Schumann (1853) 'Neue Bahnen', *NZfM*, 39 (18), pp. 185f.

[773] See Karl Gustav Fellerer (1965) 'Carl Reinecke und die Hausmusik'. In: Ursula Eckart-Bäcker (Ed.) *Studien zur Musikgeschichte des Rheinlandes*, vol. 3, Köln: Arno Volk-Verlag, p. 103.

[774] See, amongst others, the early analysis of the *FAE-Sonata* as a 'document of friendship' in Valentin (1935).

Legacy and Continuing Circles: Clara Schumann, Brahms, and Joachim

The above survey of the Schumanns' life in Dresden and Düsseldorf can only provide snippets of what became productive stages in Robert Schumann's chamber music output. At the same time, however, they were socially frustrating times compared to the sociability Schumann enjoyed within his Leipzig circles. Still, these episodes deserve much more thorough examinations with regard to the interdependence between sociability and chamber music than such a brief summary. This is the most immediate implication for further studies arising from my research. The extension of the approach of this dissertation to Schumann's entire chamber music oeuvre and his circles in Dresden and Düsseldorf could include the concepts and contexts of dedications (most notably in his violin sonatas), musical collaborations in the nineteenth century (with the example of the *FAE* Sonata), and *Hausmusik* (specifically the pieces for various instruments and piano from the Dresden period). Other genres and their connection to sociability in Schumann's circles, such as, as mentioned before, his choir music and his involvement in social activities with choral societies, could also shed further light on the intersection of sociability and music in Schumann's case.

Another route of further research following on from this dissertation is the study of listening practices, specifically to chamber music in the early- to mid-nineteenth century, which had to be excluded from my approach, as mentioned in the prologue. While this dissertation is exclusively concerned with 'Schumann's side' of the 'mission' to incorporate his ideal chamber music environment in his 1842 works, only a comprehensive study of the reception, audiences, and impact of these works could suggest whether this message could have been received as such. Regarding the analytical methods and approaches, alternative readings of musical sociability (see pp. 377-380) and the broadening of composers and repertoire towards Schumann's

contemporaries and Kleinmeister which influenced these chamber works has been mentioned. A fruitful further way of consideration would be a deeper exploration of the concept of the musical 'Rückenfigur', as suggested by Grey and Taylor for Mendelssohn's *Hebrides* Overture.[775] Especially within the context of listening practices, this notion of a 'subjective voice' within the music, the composed reflection process of the composer, would be a promising starting point to examine how nineteenth-century composers aimed to musically portray their perspectives on a work for their audience.

What emerges from the above considerations on Robert Schumann's time in Dresden and Düsseldorf is that the inspiration for and purpose of his chamber music ventures remained rooted in his time in Leipzig, and that his later chamber music mostly was written in honour or memory of his Leipzig friends and circles. While in Dresden, Schumann benefited from the close proximity to his former city but could not establish a comparable social environment. Düsseldorf may have been further away, but there Schumann was able to relive his Leipzig circle, to some extent, through a new generation of composers and performers who met and valued each other as fellow students at Mendelssohn's conservatoire in Leipzig: Joachim and Wasielewski studied the violin with Ferdinand David, and Dietrich and Reinecke composition. Of this new generation, only Brahms was first introduced to Schumann's circles through his household in Düsseldorf. Perhaps due to being detached from Schumann's former Leipzig colleagues and therefore being able to create his own musical sociability without copying 'alte Bahnen', Brahms' works are among the first and most acknowledged successors of Robert Schumann's personal, sociable chamber music.[776]

[775] See Grey (2000), and Taylor (2016) 'Seascape in the Mist: Lost in Mendelssohn's *Hebrides*'.

[776] For Brahms' chamber music in particular, see David Brodbeck (1991) 'Medium and Meaning: New Aspects of the Chamber Music'. In: Michael Musgrave (Ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Brahms*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 98-132; and Marie Sumner Lott (2012) 'At the

Without attempting to cover any of Brahms' chamber music in this regard, a letter to him by Clara Schumann illuminates how intrinsic the modes of musical referencing within such circles were to the Schumanns' remaining friends. On 29 July 1861, Clara wrote with regard to Brahms' recently finished Piano Quartet in A major, op. 26: 'The second motif reminds me very much of a passage in Robert's String Quartet… not precisely in the melody but in its design and feeling.'[777] Shortly after, Joachim also remarked to Brahms about the similarity between the themes in the Scherzo of the latter's Piano Quartet, and the first movement Schumann's A-major String Quartet.[778] Centred around an accentuated falling fifth, it was this movement in Schumann's third String Quartet which I interpreted as the starting point of the development of the B-motif towards the falling fifth motif (pp. 331ff.), which in the Piano Quintet I argued established a strong personal link to Robert and Clara Schumann's bond. It seems hardly arbitrary that, nearly thirty years later, Clara Schumann would pick out this very resemblance and even transcribe it into score in her letter to Brahms.

David Brodbeck also examined 'a remarkable allusive web'[779] of motivic and structural references to both Bach and Beethoven, in particular the latter's late String Quartet, op. 127, in Brahms' Piano Quartet, op. 26.[780] Through allusions to these two

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Intersection of Public and Private Musical Life: Brahms's Op. 51 String Quartets', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 137 (2), pp. 243-305. Regarding Brahms' works in general as successors of the sociable style and personal meaning in Schumann's oeuvre, see, amongst others, chapters 4 and 7 in Daverio (2002); Dillon R. Parmer (2007) 'Musical Meaning for the Few: Instances of Private Reception in the Music of Brahms', *Current Musicology*, 83, pp. 109-130; especially Part III of Berry (2014); and Hamilton and Loges (2014). A comprehensive recent survey of Brahms' relationship with the Schumanns can be found in Thomas Synofzik (2019) 'The Schumanns'. In: Natasha Loges and Katy Hamilton (Eds.) *Brahms in Context*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 14-22.

[777] Clara Schumann, letter to Johannes Brahms, 29 July 1861 from Kreuznach. In Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms (1973) *Letters of Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms, 1853-1896*, ed. by Berthold Litzmann, vol. 1, New York: Vienna House, p. 133.

[778] See Brodbeck (1991) p. 109.

[779] Ibid.

[780] See Ibid., pp. 109ff.

composers, Brahms continued his mentor's practice of combining musical heritage as a signifier of the past with musical tributes to his own circle. In his later chamber music, Brahms combined the simultaneousness of past and present, acknowledging his own generation as part of music history, with the mission to impart this importance to a wider public. In his op. 51 Quartets, Sumner Lott concluded, 'Brahms constructs a multi-layered musical community that bridges the private and the public spheres, including personalities from his past and from music's past, and extends an invitation for membership to generations of musicians who would follow in his footsteps'.[781] There could hardly be a better description than such a multi-layered musical community for what was one of Brahms' main inspirations, Schumann's own chamber works within their time and their social context.

Conclusion: Toward a More Social Musicology

Admittedly, much of the above is, musicologically, rather slippery ground. In my analysis of Schumann's chamber works, I relied heavily on motivic relations, clear and less clear allusions and references, and speculation about the meanings of narratives. For the above examples of motivic allusions alone, scepticism began with Donald Francis Tovey's polemics against Brahms' Bach quotation,[782] and continued with Newcomb's criticism of Brodbeck's examination of Schumann's legacy in Brahms.[783] In fact, Newcomb argued in his article that basically all reminiscences in nineteenth-century music before the mid 1860s were accidental, even negligent, 'something against which one had to defend the composer and the piece'.[784]

[781] Sumner Lott (2012) p. 305.

[782] See Donald Francis Tovey (1949) 'Brahms's Chamber Music'. In: Ibid. and Hubert J. Foss (Eds.) *The Main Stream of Music and Other Essays*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 243f.

[783] See Newcomb (2005) p. 123.

[784] Ibid., p. 112. Joanne Cormac recently proposed a counterargument in her work on nineteenth-century intertextuality and subjectivity, which 'after a flurry of interest… now hovers in the background

Daverio, less averse to general acknowledgment of musical allusions, considered interpretations of poetic elements and personal references in Schumann's 1842 chamber works as 'castles in the air' – most notably the falling fifth in the Piano Quintet as a 'Clara theme', as Mayeda and Kohlhase had proposed.[785] Daverio then wonders, 'if the poetry of Schumann's chamber music does not lie principally in its allusiveness, where can it be situated?' – only to answer his own question by proposing that Schumann located the roots of the proclaimed 'new poetic era' in the formal novelties of Beethoven's late String Quartets.[786] A main element of the radical overhaul of form in these quartets, however, was Beethoven's 'subthematicism', to recall Dahlhaus' term. The motivic manipulation and infiltration in formal procedures, and the motif itself being a stereotypical Baroque counterpoint subject relating to Bach's name, I suggested (in pp. 311ff.), inspired Schumann to adopt Beethoven's strategy of renewing conventional forms through motivic interrelations and historicism by alluding to the past. Schumann, then, connected these motivic-formal procedures with signifiers of his own 'social past', a tribute to and public portrayal of his personal circle of friends already being part of musical history.

Instead, I would like to propose a stronger consideration of historical, biographical, and contextual circumstances when attempting to 'get to the core' of music, especially from the nineteenth century. Schumann's own 'new poetic era' of chamber music is more literally poetic than turning away from conventional forms. It is a communicative strategy to publicise his aesthetic beliefs and those of his like-

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of many studies without being fully addressed, suggesting a need for further investigation'. Joanne Cormac (2019) 'Intertextuality, Subjectivity, and Meaning in Liszt's *Deux Polonaises*', *The Musical Quarterly*, 102 (1), p. 111. For further literature on allusions and intertextuality in nineteenth-century music, see footnote 1 of her article; Christopher Reynolds (2003) *Motives for Allusion: Context and Content in Nineteenth-Century Music*, Cambridge (MA) and London: Harvard University Press; and Michael Klein (2005) *Intertextuality in Western Art Music*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

[785] See Mayeda (1992) p. 519; and Kohlhase (1981) pp. 157-164.

[786] Daverio (1997) pp. 264f.

minded contemporary artists by embedding their own way of music making and socialising into the score. Instead of confronting the audience of his music and writings with demands of an aesthetic renewal, Schumann invited chamber music players and listeners to relive his circle's sociability as an example of an intimate environment he envisaged for ideal chamber performances. My impression of the performance of Schumann's Piano Quintet, which I attended over four years ago as described in the introduction to this dissertation, makes me believe that, as listeners or as players of Schumann's chamber works, we do not even have to dig that deep into Schumann's biography or analyses of the works in order to accept Schumann's invitation. Instead, it is precisely the indistinct atmosphere of familiarity that traverses the String Quartets and the Piano Quintet, which derives its meaning not from the explicit listening to allusions or the knowledge of the Leipzig circle's interaction, but from the novel and possible unconscious sense of familiarity created by a musical motivic web and narrated in a quasi-*Davidsbündlerian* criticism. Despite my various discoveries of musical reminiscences of Schumann's colleagues past and present in the discussed works, I therefore propose to acquit him of the charge of 'allusionism'. These musical tributes to his friends and musical forefathers were, most likely, hardly recognised by recipients and critics of the chamber works outside of his inner circle. Even without them being recognised, however, I suggest that the reminiscences and resemblances are one of the main means for creating and delivering Schumann's aforementioned message.

As musicologists and historians, though, it is necessary to study the social context and environment in which such works were created. Especially for the age and aftermath of Schlegel's 'sympoetry', it seems unrealistic to think that musical works of the same aesthetics and ideology were created in social isolation. And Schumann

indeed socialised in and collaborated closely with his Leipzig circle. As a result, my reading of Schumann's chamber works up to 1842 highlights the significance of social factors and contexts in musical analysis. In the case of these particular works, the combination of narrative and motivic analysis works well because the narratives reflect Schumann's poetic and communicative approach, whereas motivic development and manipulations musically contribute intimacy and Schumann's personal connections. Different analytic methods can certainly shed further light on aspects of musical sociability. Thus, I would argue for the notion of the interactivity between sociability and composition, whether labelled 'musical sociability' or other, to obtain a stronger role in the field of contextual and critical musicology and analysis.

Let us return one last time to Schumann's 'new poetic era' and his chamber music. Volker Kalisch summarised the aesthetic concept behind Schumann's message, the meeting place of sociability and chamber music, rather poetically himself:

> In the sheltered, the protected, and in the first place only revealed to friends and like-minded ones, there is the seed of an aesthetic future, the hope of a musical inner reflection, determined by the concept of the poetic and thereby, the true. This corresponds, however, to a missionary idea which, starting from the circumscribed and established protective space of 'domesticity', wants, as it were through windows and doors, to have an effect on the artistic-social reality.[787]

Schumann's aesthetic mission was indeed for his chamber music ideal to musically waft through the doors and windows of his and his circle's homes to the streets of Leipzig and beyond. This picturesque conclusion once more recalls a passage from Schumann's first 'Quartettmorgen' article, in which he described the ease and comfort of the quartet players he invited to his home, to engage in chamber music for its own sake, 'while an eavesdropping child at the window and an intruding nightingale were

[787] Volker Kalisch (2007) '... das Ganze auch in einer Krisis entstanden scheint, in einem Kampf zwischen alter und neuer Musikdenkweise. Bemerkungen zu Schumanns (spätem) kammermusikalischen Schaffen'. In: Bernhard R. Appel and Matthias Wendt (Ed.) *Robert Schumann, das Violoncello und die Cellisten seiner Zeit* (Schumann-Forschungen 12), Mainz: Schott, p. 33.

not at all hindered in listening'.[788] If we want to understand the true personal implications of Schumann's chamber music in its contemporary context, we are invited to be child and nightingale. We only have to know where Schumann's cloverleaves are playing, and then listen inwards, because they left the windows open for us.

[788] GS I, p. 336.

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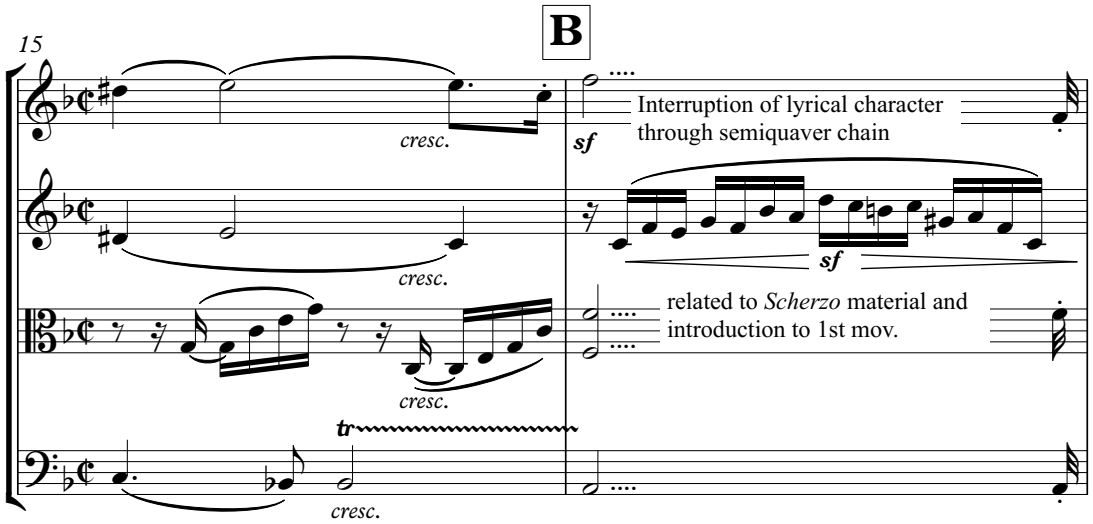
Appendix 1

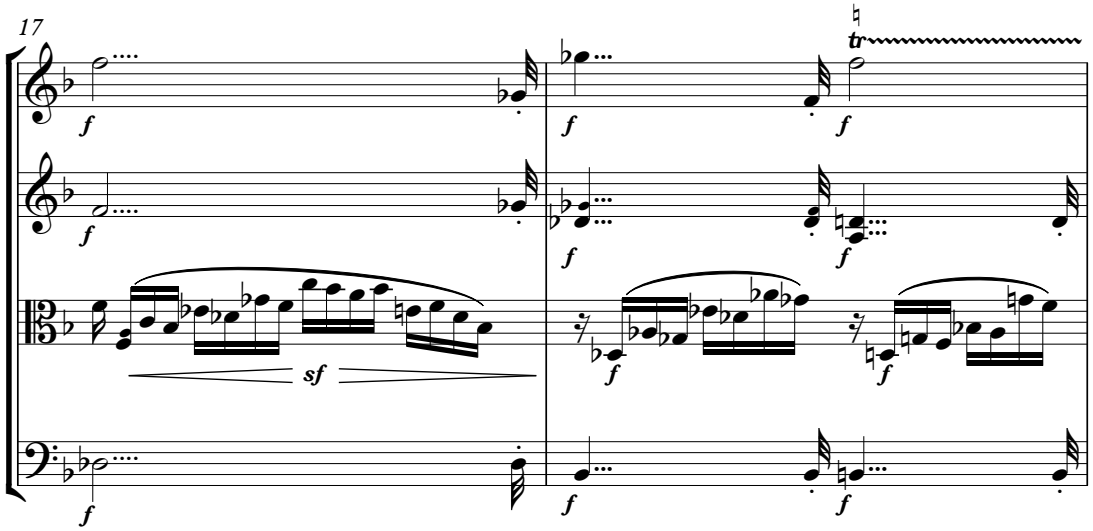
Robert Schumann, String Quartet in A minor, op. 41 no. 1, 3rd movement

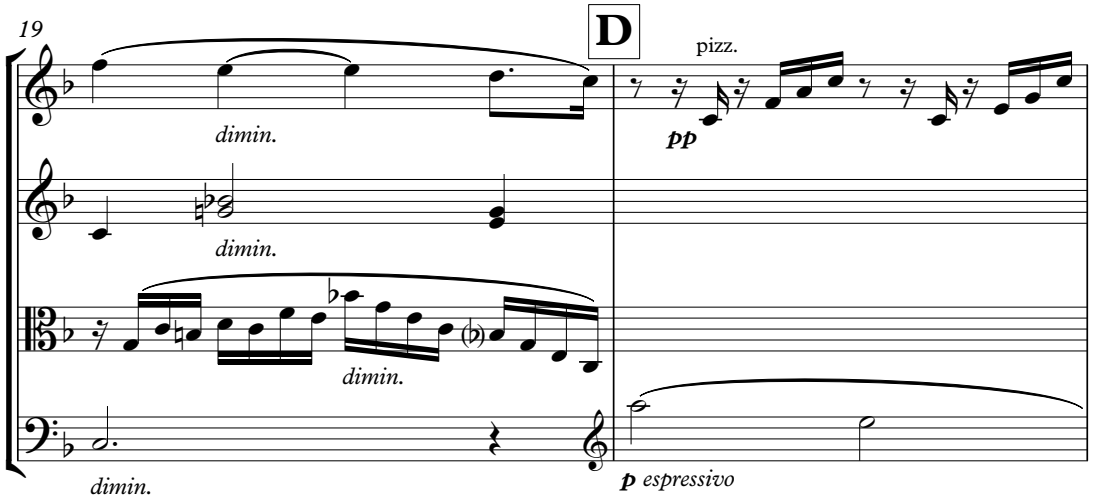




Scherzo theme (2nd mov.)









Melody in high register in cello and *pizzicato* accompaniment in 1st violin contributing to serenading character

End of theme in cello, and accompaniment in 1st violin 'vanishing into the sky' (*pizz.* and *dim.*)



Middle section beginning with clear break:

General pause

Homophonic chords leading to

A flat major



Accompaniment figure from first section in focus, alternating up and downward versions through violins and viola



Second focus: semiquaver chains from 'B', now doubled to eight bar-long section

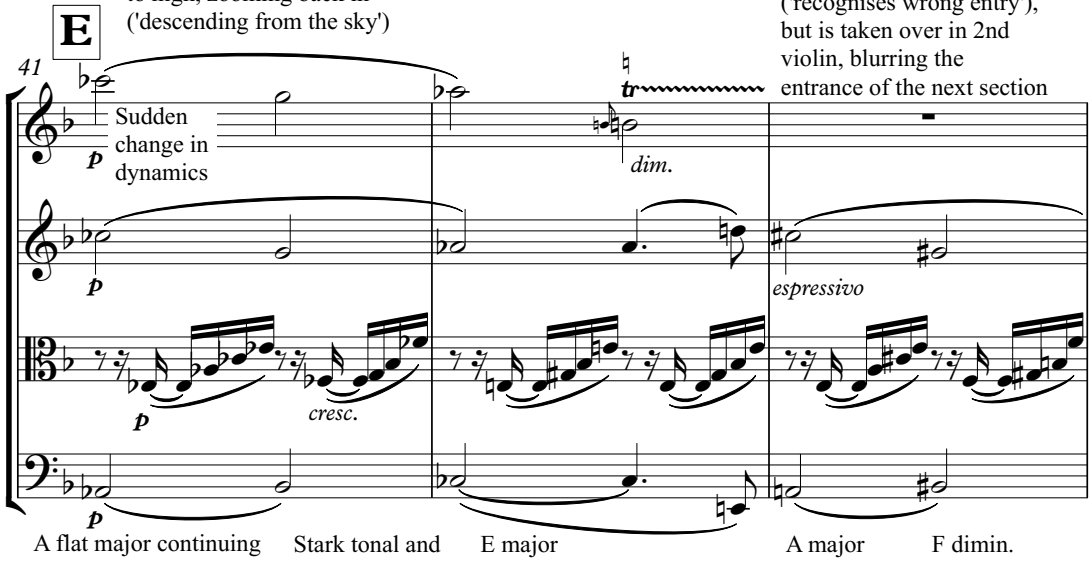


End of middle section: no transitioning features (e.g. *dimin.* or general pause as in bars 27-28)



Theme approaching minor 3rd to high, zooming back in ('descending from the sky')

Theme fades out again ('recognises wrong entry'), but is taken over in 2nd violin, blurring the entrance of the next section



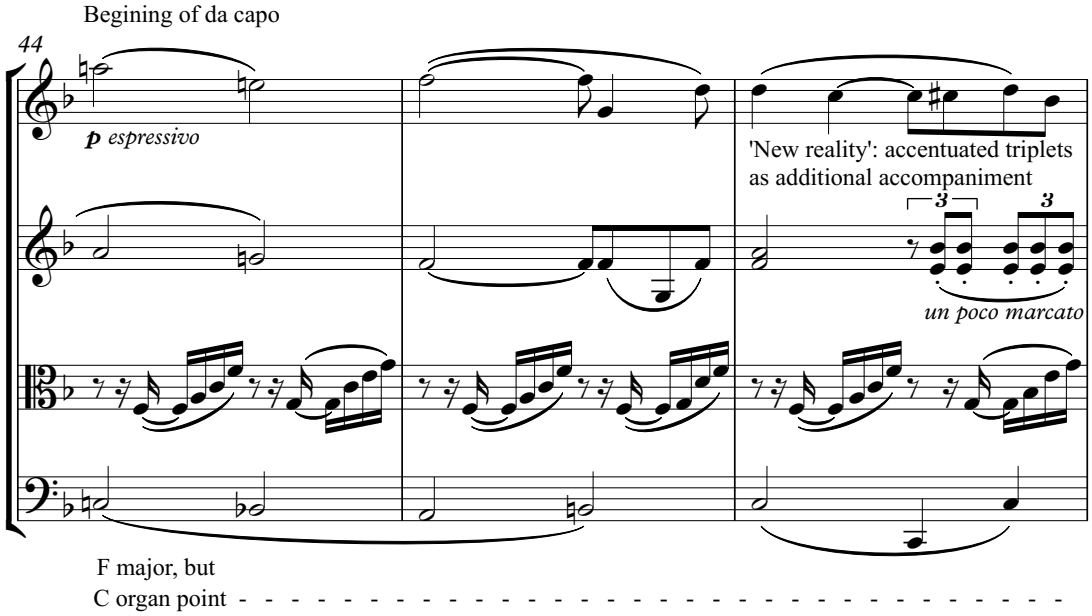
A flat major continuing falling fifths sequence from middle section

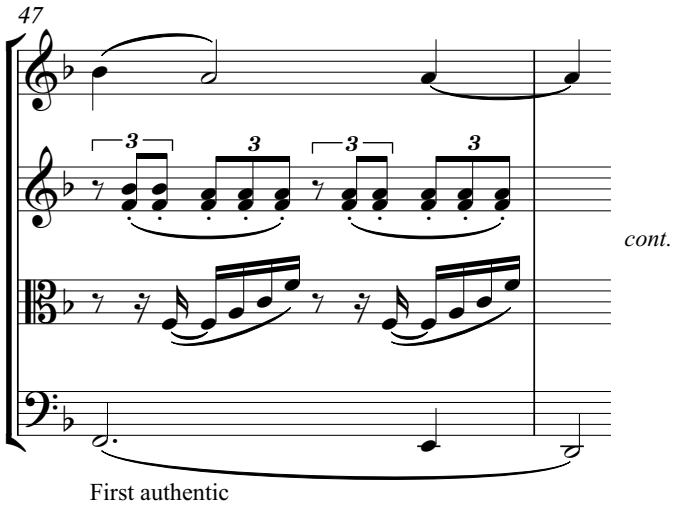
Stark tonal and enharmonic transition:

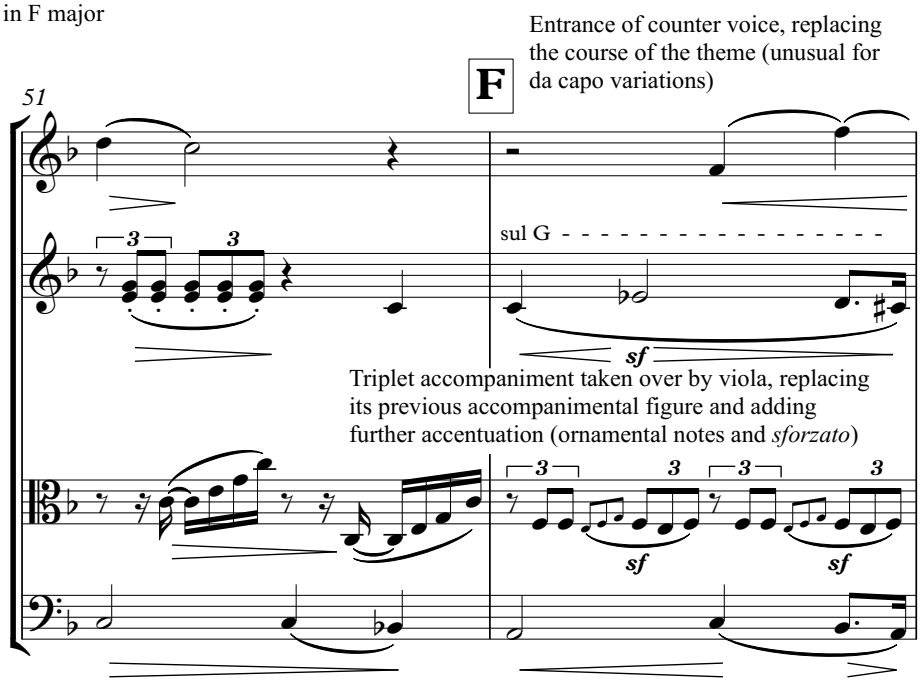
E major

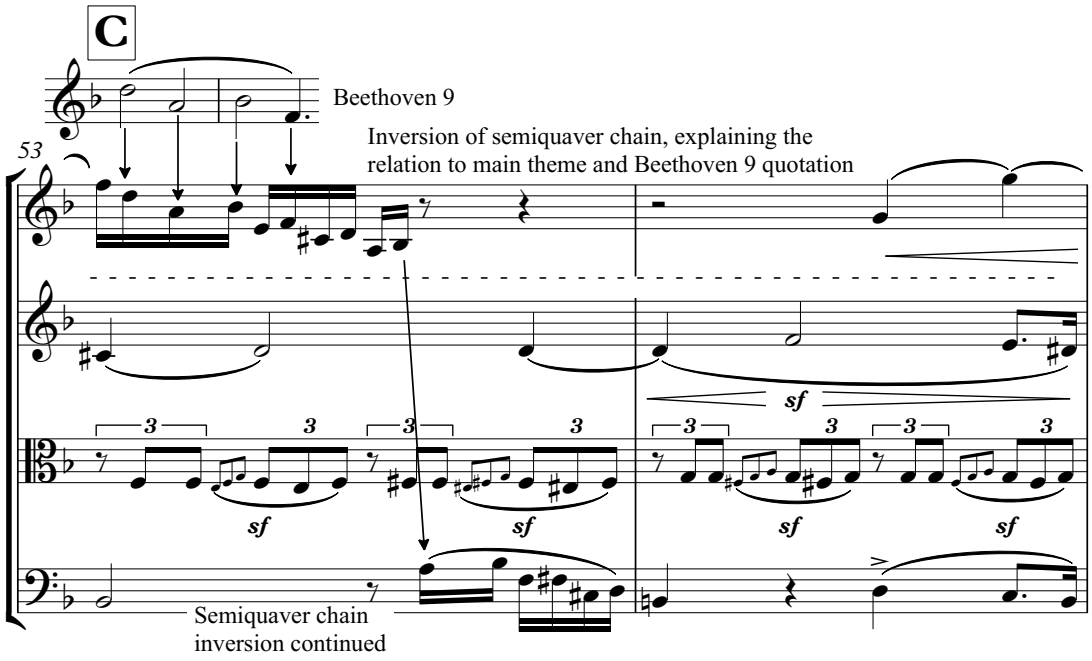
A major

F dimin.

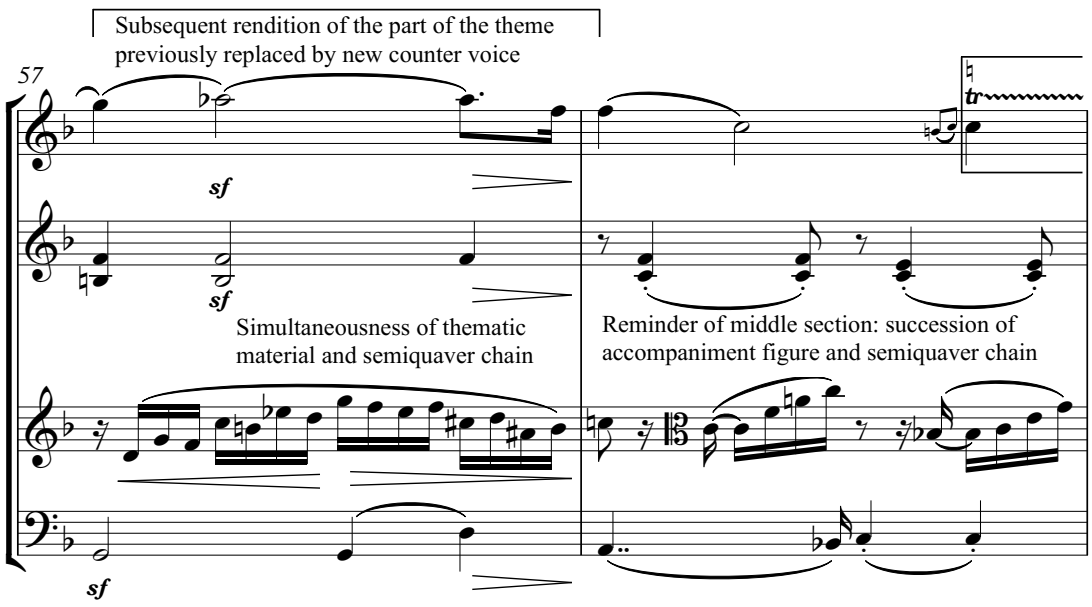

Begining of da capo
44
p espressivo
'New reality': accentuated triplets
as additional accompaniment
3
3
un poco marcato
F major, but
C organ point

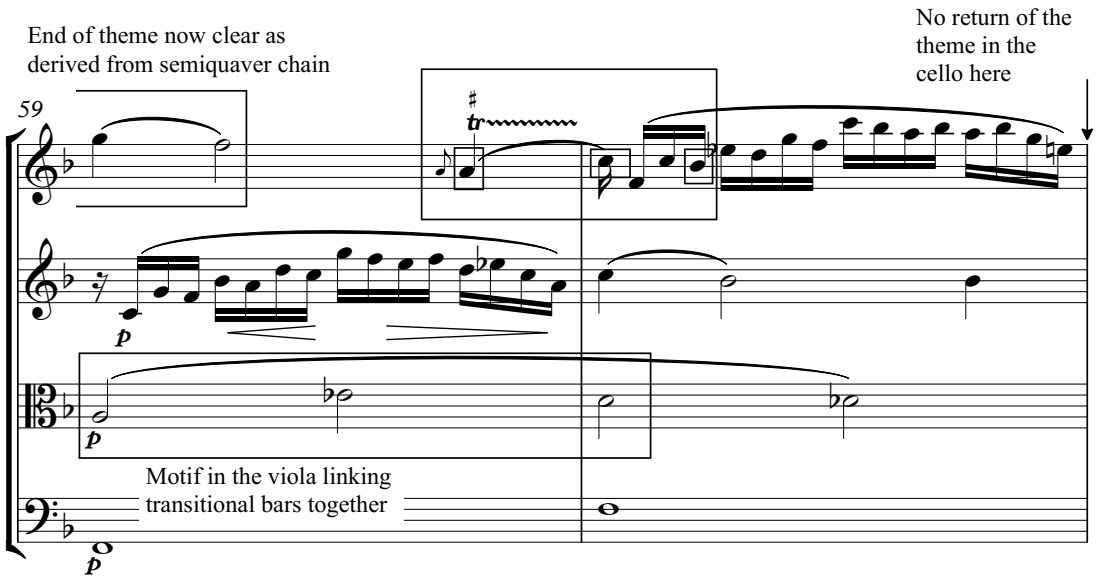

47
3
3
3
3
cont.
First authentic
cadence in F major

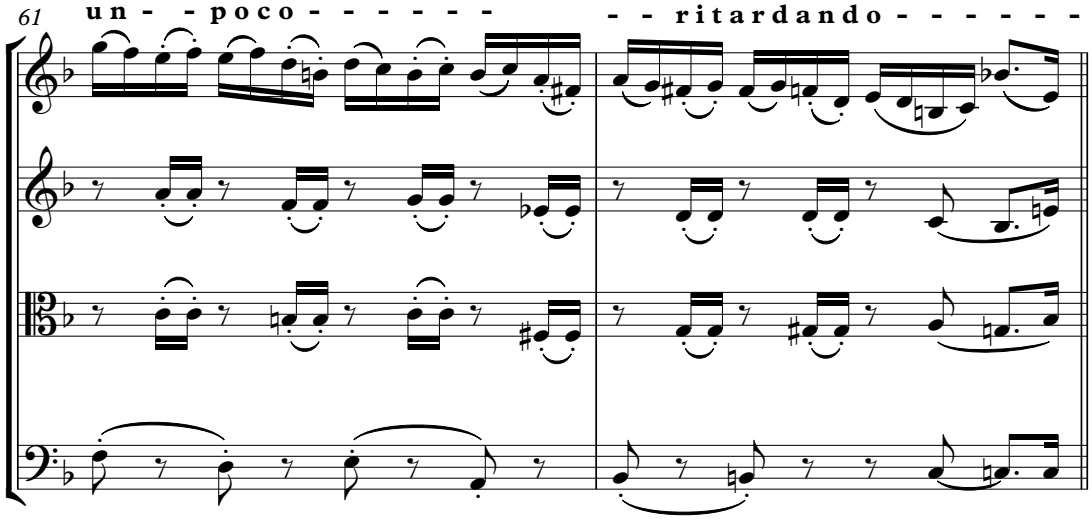

Entrance of counter voice, replacing
the course of the theme (unusual for
da capo variations)
F
51
sul G
sf
Triplet accompaniment taken over by viola, replacing
its previous accompanimental figure and adding
further accentuation (ornamental notes and sforzato)
3
3
3
3
sf
sf

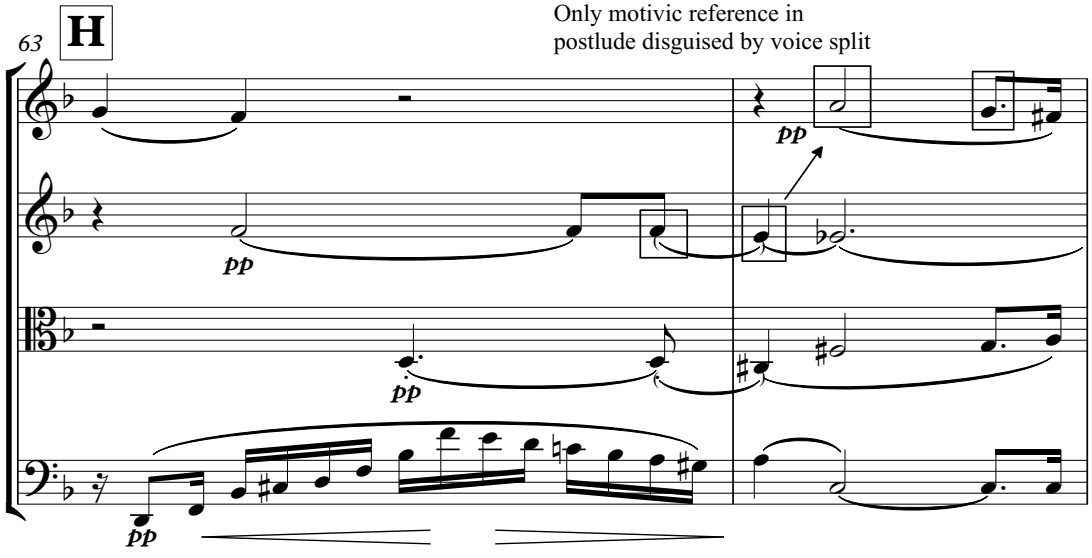

C
Beethoven 9
Inversion of semiquaver chain, explaining the relation to main theme and Beethoven 9 quotation
53
Semiquaver chain inversion continued


55
Immediate juxtaposition of the inverted figure with the original semiquaver chain


Subsequent rendition of the part of the theme previously replaced by new counter voice
57
Simultaneousness of thematic material and semiquaver chain
Reminder of middle section: succession of accompaniment figure and semiquaver chain


End of theme now clear as derived from semiquaver chain
No return of the theme in the cello here
59
tr
p
p
Motif in the viola linking transitional bars together
p


61
un - - poco - - - - - - -
- - ritardando - - - - - -

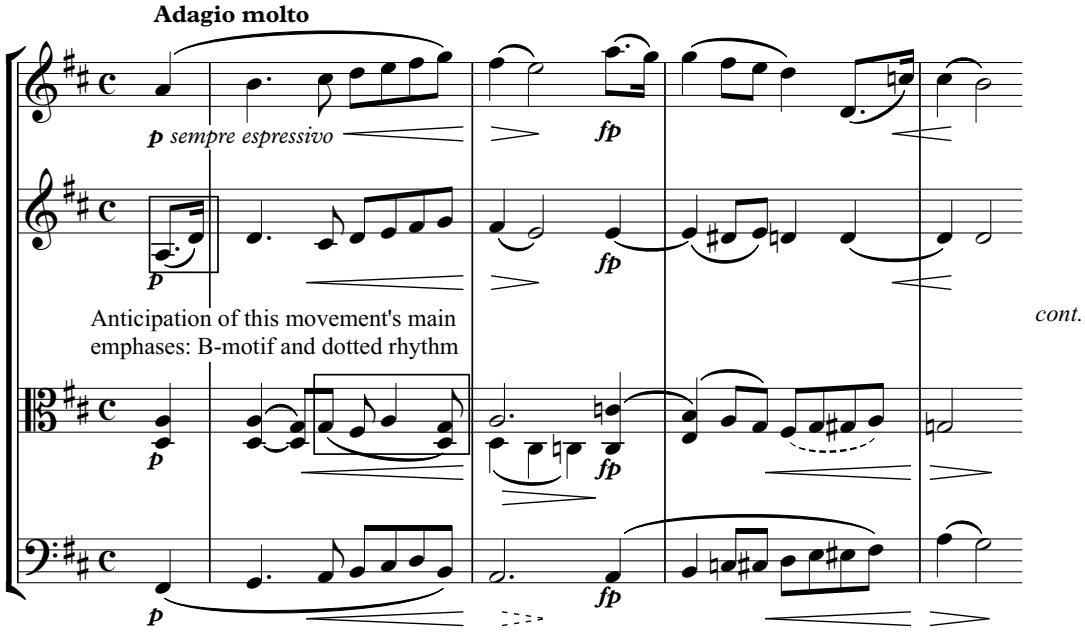

63
H
Only motivic reference in postlude disguised by voice split
pp
pp
pp
pp

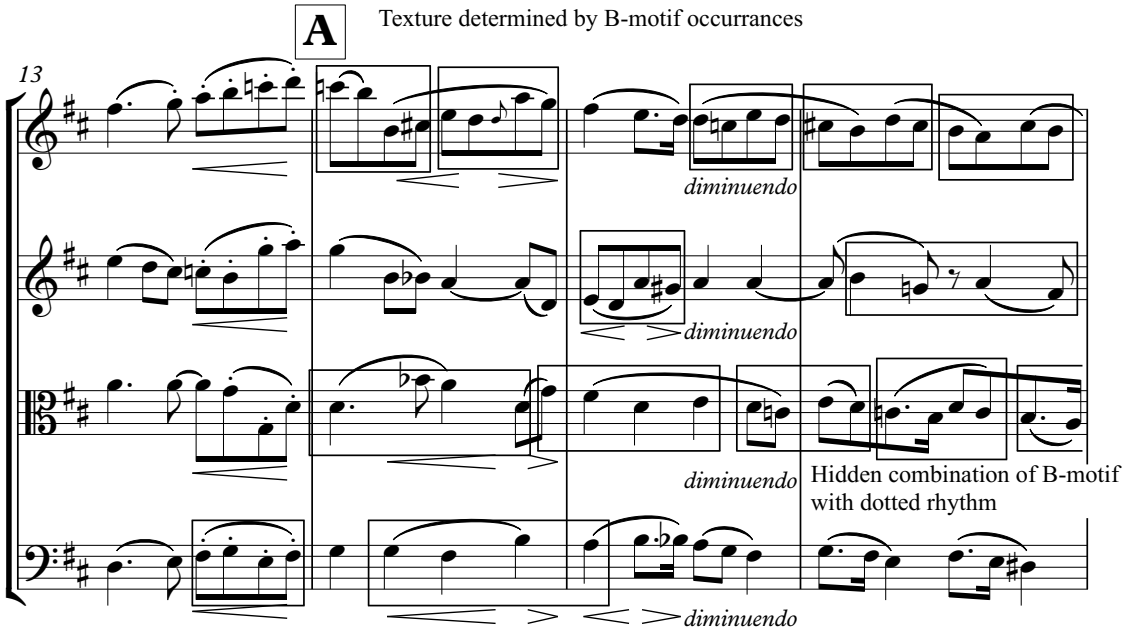


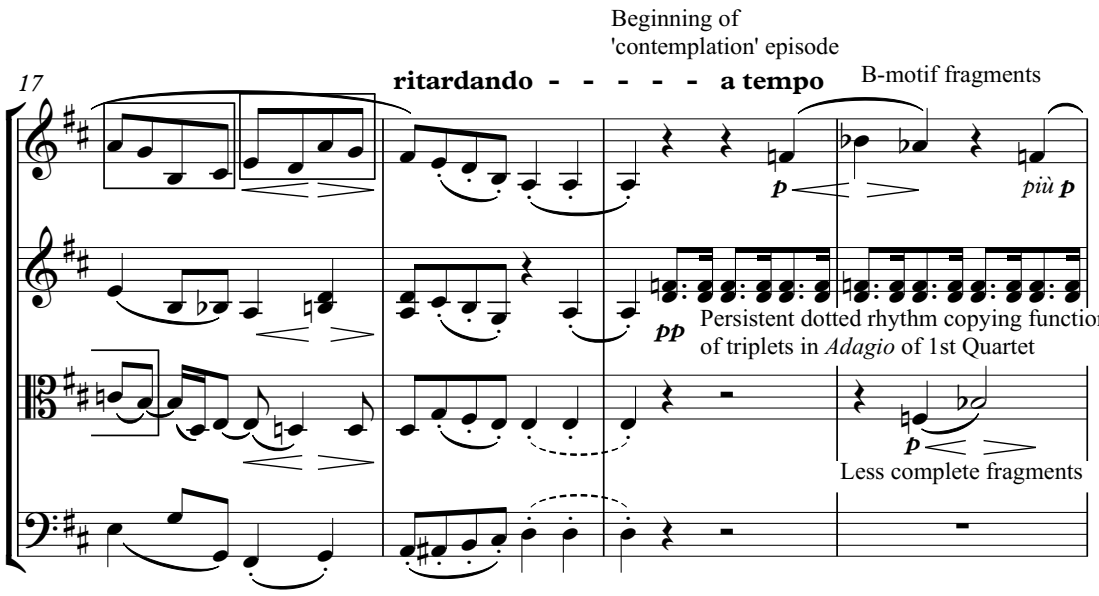
Felix Mendelssohn, String Quartet No. 1 in E flat major, op. 12, IV, bars 307-314

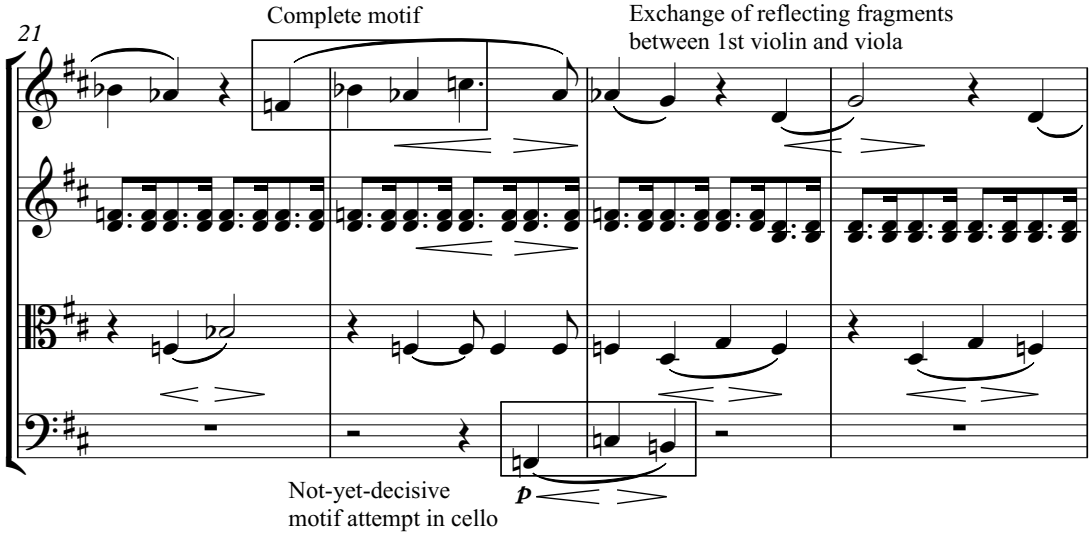
Appendix 2

Robert Schumann, String Quartet in A major, op. 41 no. 3, 3rd movement



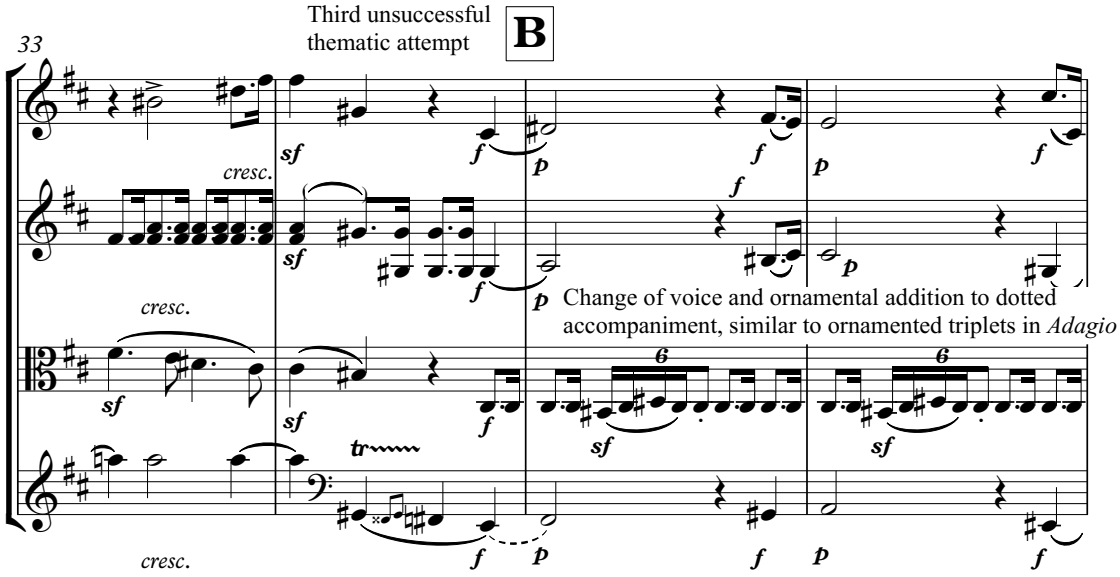


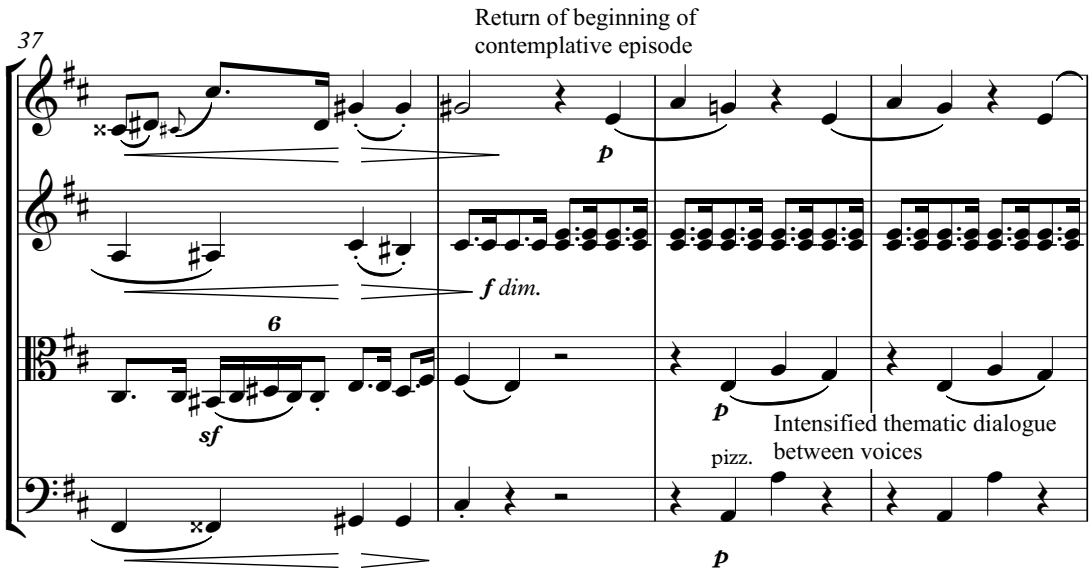

Beginning of
'contemplation' episode
17
ritardando - - - - - a tempo
B-motif fragments
p
più p
pp
Persistent dotted rhythm copying function
of triplets in *Adagio* of 1st Quartet
p
Less complete fragments

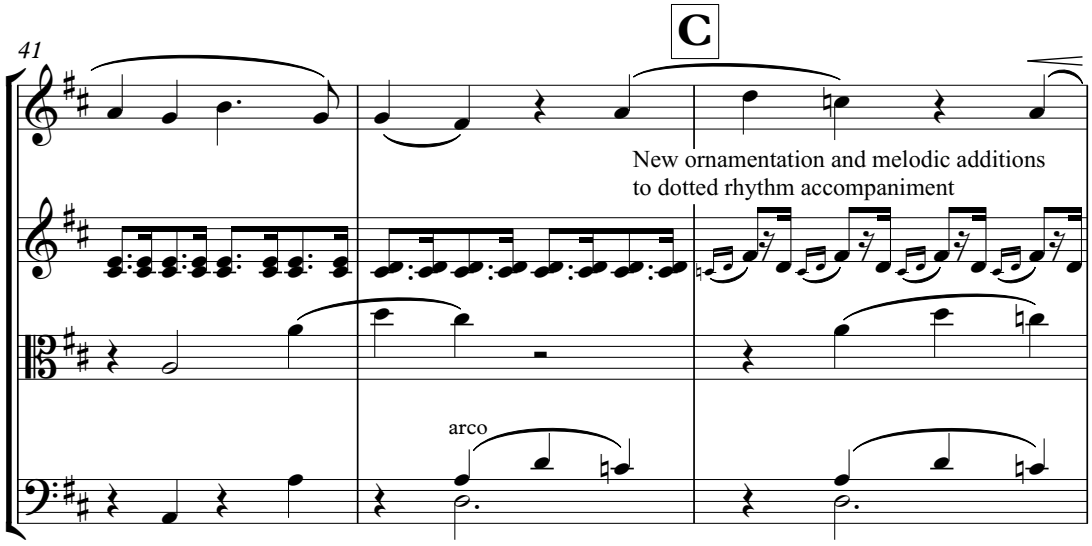

Complete motif
Exchange of reflecting fragments
between 1st violin and viola
21
Not-yet-decisive
motif attempt in cello
p

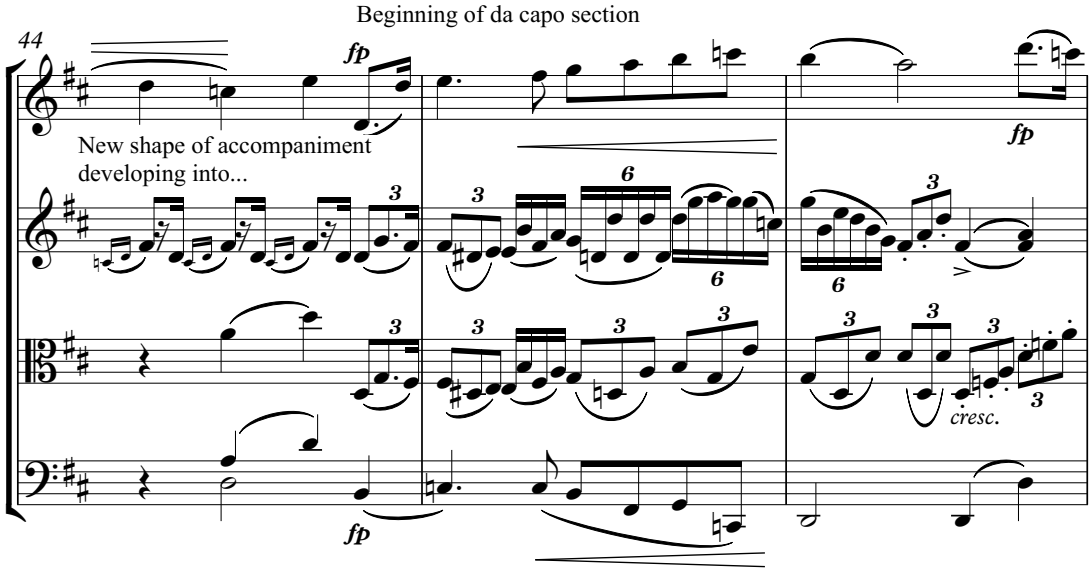

First attempt to reintroduce
main theme forcefully
25
cresc.
f
f f
Attempt
averted by
return of
dotted rhythm
in *piano*
cresc. sf
f
sf
f f
p
sf
f
f f
f
f f
p
More decisive and complete attempt in
cello, leading towards first interruption


29
Second unsuccessful thematic attempt
cresc.
sf
f
p


33
Third unsuccessful thematic attempt
B
cresc.
sf
f
p
tr
6
Change of voice and ornamental addition to dotted accompaniment, similar to ornamented triplets in *Adagio*


37
Return of beginning of contemplative episode
f dim.
p
6
sf
pizz.
Intensified thematic dialogue between voices





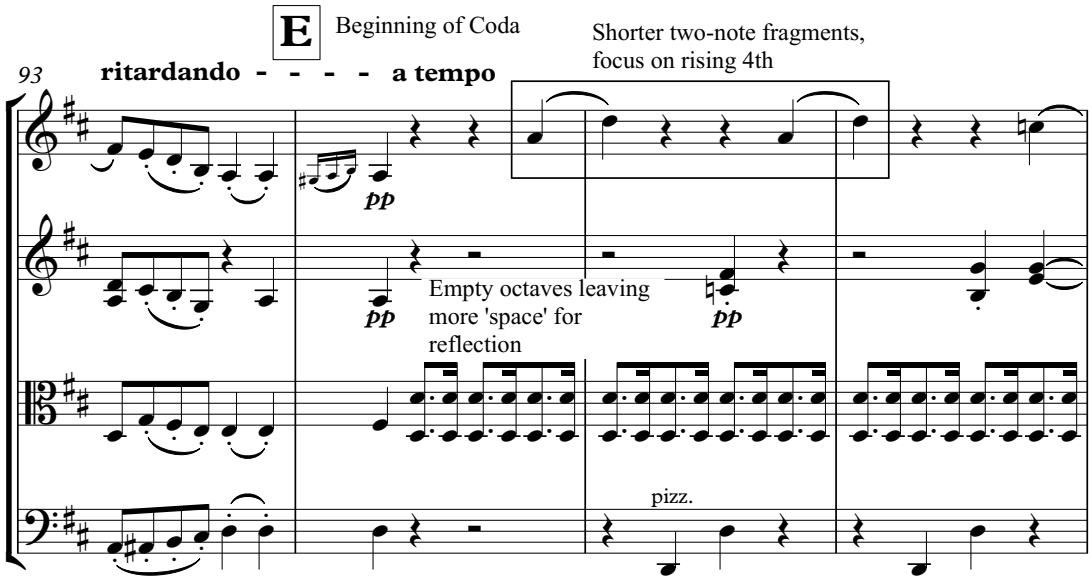


Similar to *Adagio* of 1st Quartet: da capo with triplet accompaniment, suggesting informed repeat of the theme after contemplative middle section

cont. (omitting the da capo)


87
D
tr
3
mf
3
sf
3
3
mf
3
sf
mf


89
diminuendo
diminuendo
diminuendo
diminuendo


E
Beginning of Coda
Shorter two-note fragments,
focus on rising 4th
93
ritardando - - - - a tempo
pp
pp
Empty octaves leaving
more 'space' for
reflection
pp
pizz.


97
arco
sempre p
First D minor alteration
101
pp
pp
pp
pp
morendo
pp
Second D minor alteration