THE CHORAL WORKS
OF ROBERT SCHUMANN
(1810-56)
by
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A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Arts
of the
University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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SYNOPSIS

The choral music of Robert Schumann (1810-56)
by Maxine Elizabeth Mott

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music examples and appendices
submitted to the Faculty of Arts,
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for the degree of Ph. D.

Schumann's choral music provides a focus for an account of his later compositional career. Various original contributions to research are made. The Handelian influence behind his early choral writing is identified in *Das Paradies und die Peri*. An account of Schumann's choral societies gives an insight into the smaller-scale works. The *Manfred* music and the *Corsar* fragment show his use of melodrama. The *Faustscenen* are illuminated by the occasions which inspired them, especially the 1849 Goethe Festival. The unachieved oratorio *Luther* is described; and in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* the Biedermeier influence on Schumann is demonstrated. The Mass and Requiem show his response to Düsseldorf liturgical practice, and the four choral ballads stand on the threshold of opera, if not music drama.

Consideration of Schumann's libretti shows his obsession for a type of redemption drama, possibly influenced by his struggle in the late 1830s to marry Clara Wieck.

Appendices contain a worklist and select list of MS. sources; relevant diary entries; synopses of the narrative works; transcriptions of unpublished or unavailable works from 1847 and 1848; a transcription of Schumann's *Luther* scenario; the repertoire of his choral societies; and information on the size of his orchestra.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the summer of 1979 I was a member of the BBC Symphony Chorus, and amongst other concerts we gave two performances of Schumann's *Scenen aus Goethes Faust*, conducted by Michael Gielen. The first concert was in the Royal Festival Hall, and used the first ending to the Chorus Mysticus; the second took place in the Royal Albert Hall, one of that year's Promenade Concerts, where we gave the second ending. I was at once attracted, mystified and irritated by the music, which was in many ways unlike what I expected from Schumann. Soon afterwards I had a look in Cambridge University Library to see what other choral works there were, and was astonished to find several large volumes of the Collected Edition devoted to them. I wanted to know more; I looked for information, and could find very little. Thus began my eleven-year preoccupation with Schumann's choral works.

This thesis could never have been finished without the help, support and interest of many friends, relations and colleagues. Firstly I should like to thank my two supervisors: Nigel Fortune, who alone among university teachers saw any merit in this project back in 1980, and Jan Smaczny, who took over after Nigel's retirement. Numerous libraries and their staffs have also helped: the Britten - Pears Library, Aldeburgh; the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek and Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin; Birmingham Public Library; Birmingham University Library; the British Library; Cambridge University Library; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; and the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau. In particular I must thank Paul S. Wilson, who in his consecutive posts of Barber Music Librarian in the University of
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This study was undertaken without grant aid, which goes a long way towards explaining why it took so long to complete; earning a living often had to take precedence. I must however mention with thanks the Sir Richard Stapley Educational Trust, who let me have £150 at a time when my need was most pressing. I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to my parents, Freda and Bernard Smith, for their unhesitating and generous support during what must have seemed an interminable piece of work, and to my husband Graham, who joined me at the Chapter 6 stage. Graham's own experience of thesis-writing has been an invaluable source of advice, while his role as 'innocent observer' prevented me on many occasions from taking too much for granted in my readers. As for our son Michael, born in the tenth year of this study, I cannot exactly thank him for his help except insofar as he has been a most co-operative and obliging infant in allowing me to finish this thesis at last.

To all of the above-mentioned I express my thanks for everything they have done to help; nevertheless any errors in the finished article are entirely my own responsibility.
## THE CHORAL WORKS OF ROBERT SCHUMANN
### (1810 – 1856)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>Das Paradies und die Peri</em> op. 50</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Some smaller-scale choral works</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>Manfred</em> op. 115 and <em>Der Corsar</em> (1844)</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>Scenen aus Goethes Faust</em> WoO 3</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The proposed oratorio <em>Luther</em> and <em>Der Rose Pilgerfahrt</em> op. 112</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>Der Königssohn</em> op. 116 and <em>Des Sängers Fluch</em> op. 139</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The <em>Mass</em> op. 147 and the <em>Requiem</em> op. 148</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>Vom Pagen und der Königstochter</em> op. 140 and <em>Das Glück von Edenhall</em> op. 143</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>List of Schumann's choral works</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>The evidence of the diary entries</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Synopses of the narrative works</td>
<td>538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Editions of MS. sources:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Patriotic Choruses WoO 13, 14 and 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hätte zu einem Traubenkerne!</em> WoO 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Zum Anfang</em> WoO 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Draft scenario for <em>Luther</em></td>
<td>610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Repertoire of Schumann's choral societies</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in Dresden and Düsseldorf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Schumann's orchestra</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Select Bibliography
My intention in this study has been to provide a reference work for those who wish to learn more about Schumann's choral music. There is a pressing need for a full-scale survey in English of these works, and so I include here biographical information about when and under what circumstances they were written, discussion of interesting features of the works themselves, and details of the poems or libretti used. This latter aspect is important because of the great influence it had on Schumann's work, and so it has been necessary to look in some detail at what sort of changes to existing texts he required, who was responsible for making the changes, and what happened if the changes were not forthcoming or to his liking. Of the large-scale works only the Faustscenen escaped textual editing, save for some slight improvements to Goethe's grammar. In the face of the lack of reliable information about the choral works, I have also included a worklist with detailed bibliographical information and a summary of diary entries, as well as other relevant appendices.

The scope of this study has had to be slightly curtailed, in view of the large amount of material, and therefore I have had to omit most of the unaccompanied partsongs for female voices, male voices and mixed voices, and there are only passing references to Schumann's opera Genoveva. However, the partsongs are included in the worklist, Appendix A, and basic information about them may be found there.
Schumann's earlier compositional career was divided neatly into piano music (up to 1839), Lieder (1840), symphonies (1841) and chamber music (from 1842) but the choral works are not so easy to categorise. \textit{Das Paradies und die Peri}, which Schumann worked on from 1841-43, was the obvious candidate for the opening chapter. There then follows a discussion of the smaller-scale choral works in a chapter to themselves, for as they date from 1840 to 1853 they are accompanied by the biographical background necessary for a complete understanding of the choral works as a whole, with particular reference to the choral societies with which Schumann was involved. The \textit{Manfred} incidental music and the \textit{Corsar} fragment come next, for although the \textit{Corsar} chorus and the earliest of the \textit{Faustscenen} are probably contemporary, the \textit{Faustscenen} were being added to up to 1850 (1853 if we count the overture) and so take their place after \textit{Manfred}. Having now reached the era of Schumann's move to Dusseldorf in 1850, the ensuing chapters on the unachieved \textit{Luther} and the completed \textit{Der Rose Pilgerfahrt}, the first two choral ballads, the Mass and the Requiem, and the other two choral ballads all fall neatly into the correct chronological order.

The translations of Schumann's letters, diaries and texts are my own, except where stated otherwise. The only general exception to this is the text translations for \textit{Manfred} found in chapter 4, where Byron's original has been used wherever possible.

Kingsley Amis's Jim Dixon starts a history article with the memorable words: 'In considering this strangely neglected topic...' and goes on to ask himself, with pardonable ferocity, 'This WHAT neglected topic? This strangely WHAT topic? This strangely neglected WHAT?'

Schumann's choral music is indeed neglected, for none of it has achieved the popularity of the song-cycles, piano music, symphonies or concertos.
There are shortcomings in the choral works which I shall attempt to isolate and define as we meet them. But this in no way detracts from the value of the choral music as a focus for a historical and biographical account of Schumann's later compositional career, and its intrinsic significance still remains considerable.

The choral music does not deserve the almost total silence which has descended over it. Over the last ten years Radio 3 has broadcast Das Paradies und die Peri three times and the Faustscenen, Adventlied, Motette, Requiem and Requiem für Mignon once each; the major London concert venues have heard no Schumann choral music at all. We are denying ourselves many beauties and some surprises by ignoring it, and if this study were to encourage public performance of more of Schumann's choral works then I should consider, with Schumann, that

...'what you are doing is not quite in vain.'

CHAPTER 2

DAS PARADIES UND DIE PERI, Op. 50

The history of oratorio has been closely connected with opera, and in Schumann's case it sometimes happened that when he was most intent on writing an opera, what eventually emerged was a work of the oratorio/cantata type.

Das Paradies und die Peri sprang from his operatic plans of the early 1840s. After devoting his earliest years of composition - and his first 23 opus numbers - to piano music, he had turned to Lieder in 1840; and as early as the May of that year we find him making plans for an opera:

Now farewell, forgive these hasty lines, Doge and Dogaressa is going round and round my head.¹

This project, after the story by E.T.A. Hoffmann, came to nothing, as did plans for subjects from Calderón² and, in 1842-47, Der Wartburgkrieg, the story later used by Wagner for Tannhäuser.³ But Tom Moore's Paradise and the Peri proved more serviceable, though unsuitable ultimately for operatic treatment.

The story was first brought to Schumann's notice by his old school and university friend, Emil Flechsig, who arrived on a visit to the Schumanns in June 1841 with a German translation - his own - in his pocket. Flechsig recalled these events, some years later:

1. Boetticher (2), p. 338
2. Abraham, p. 839
3. Schnapp, p. 753
...I had studied English in the late thirties, in the course of which I had translated Lala [sic] Rookh for my own pleasure, without any further purpose. When I was going to visit Schumann in Leipzig on my summer holiday in 1841, it suddenly occurred to me that the pretty little poem Paradise and the Peri might perhaps be a subject that he could use for some composition or other. I took it along, so that he could at least look at it, ... Only, the piece made on him an even greater impression than I had expected: he drew up on the very same day a plan for the whole thing, which in the main he kept to, and I still have it in my desk. Later on he made some alterations to the text, shortened some passages, and added some very pretty bits himself, in the main keeping to my concoction. ...When I walked into his room with my Peri in my pocket, I found him in the happiest of moods; he had only just got married, and was still more or less on honeymoon; he cried out, delighted: "I'm enjoying work so much now, I'd like to do something quite special - I'd really like to go to the East, to the rose gardens of Persia, to the palm groves of India, oh, it's as if someone was going to bring me the means to take me there." 

Flechsig, astounded, produced his translation of Paradise and the Peri, the second story in Lalla Rookh, which answered almost exactly to Schumann's description of the text he wanted.

This notable coincidence was certainly helped by the then enormous popularity of Oriental themes in literature. The first in the field had been Byron, with poems such as The Giaour (1813) and The Corsair (1814); and Byron it was who had advised the Irish poet Tom Moore - celebrated at that time for his verse translations of Anacreon (1801), and later remembered for his Irish Melodies (1807-35) - to try his hand at an Oriental theme. This led eventually to some dissension, for Moore was a slow worker, and by the time he had made some progress on Lalla Rookh Byron had already gone into print with The Bride of Abydos, on a subject

4. The wedding had taken place on 13 September 1840, but it is reasonable to suppose that its effects were particularly long-lasting, especially in view of the struggle with Clara's father that had dominated Schumann's life since 1837.
5. Flechsig, pp. 392-96
very similar to one of the projected *Lalla Rookh* tales. Nevertheless, *Lalla Rookh* finally appeared — minus the contentious story — in 1817, and was a considerable popular success. It is a long narrative poem with four separate stories inside the overall story: the princess Lalla Rookh, daughter of the Emperor Aurungzebe, is on her bridal journey to Kashmir, where she is to marry the King. She is entertained on the way by the young poet Feramorz, who recounts the stories of the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan, Paradise and the Peri, the Fire-Worshippers, and the Light of the Haram. The consequence of all this is the arrival of Princess Lalla Rookh at her destination, most unwilling to marry the King on account of the young poet whom she now loves, only to find that Feramorz is in fact the King in disguise.

*Paradise and the Peri* tells of a Peri (a Persian fairy) who longs to enter Paradise. To do this she must bring 'the gift most dear to Heaven.' She brings the last drop of blood shed by a hero defending his country, then the sigh of love from a maiden sacrificing her life for her betrothed; but Heaven's gate opens only when she returns with a tear of penitence shed by a sinner.

The European Grand Tour had for long been an accepted part of the upbringing of the sons of the aristocracy, and Byron had extended his travels to Greece and Turkey; but Tom Moore knew the terrain only from books on the subject. This may account for his somewhat laboured style, in which every colourful local reference is weighed down by a learned footnote, for example:

```
But whither shall the Spirit go
To find this gift for Heaven? — "I know
"The wealth," she cries, "of every urn,
"In which unnumber'd rubies burn,
"Beneath the pillars of CHILMINAR;"  
"I know where the Isles of Perfume are
"Many a fathom down in the sea,
"To the south of sun-bright ARABY;"
```
"I know, too, where the Genii hid
"The jewelled cup of their King JAMSHID,"
"With Life's elixir sparkling high -
"But gifts like these are not for the sky..."

8 The Forty Pillars; so the Persians call the ruins of Persepolis. It is imagined by them that this palace and the edifices at Balbec were built by Genii, for the purpose of hiding in their subterranean caverns immense treasures, which still remain there. - D'Herbelot, Volney.

9 The Isles of Panchaia.
1 "The cup of Jamshid, discovered, they say, when digging for the foundation of Persepolis." - Richardson.

Indeed, a criticism voiced in the poem by the stuffy old courtier Fadladeen (a figure of fun) seems unwittingly apposite here:

The profusion, indeed, of flowers and birds, which this poet had ready on all occasions, - not to mention dews, gems, &c. - was a most oppressive kind of opulence to his hearers...

After the first flurry of activity caused by Flechsig's visit, there was a long period of gestation. We will later find that Schumann would normally work flat out for a few days on sketching a piece and have it basically finished in a very short time, even though orchestration might take longer or be left for a while. The delays which beset a few works seem entirely due to problems with the libretto. The best-known example of this is Genoveva; we shall also see this in some detail in the case of Der Rose Pilgerfahrt (see chapter 6). Even the long period of years which elapsed over the Faustscenen can be viewed in the same terms, as Schumann was moved to set more and more excerpts from the Faust drama. It seems clear from the diary entries that the two-year delay over Das Paradies und die Peri was due to Schumann's efforts to get the libretto right before he started. Despite the ascription 'Deutsch von E.

7. Moore, p. 136
8. Moore, p. 336
Flechsig' on the title-page of both vocal score and full score in the
Gesamtausgabe of 1883, Flechsig's version and that of Theodor Oelckers,
published in Leipzig in 1839, were used only as a basis, and the finished
libretto coincides only sporadically with Flechsig's translation. The
poet Adolf Böttger was brought in to work on the libretto soon after
Flechsig's visit, on 30 August 1841 and again on 21 December 1841. Schumann was already acquainted with Böttger's work, particularly the
poem of the Spring, 'Du Geist der Wolke, trüb und schwer', whose final
line had recently inspired the motto-theme of the First Symphony:

Ex. 1 Symphony no. 1 in B flat major, 'Frühling',
opening of first movement:

But Schumann himself also contributed to the text of Das Paradies
und die Peri, which comes as no surprise from the man who wrote of
himself, in his student days, that 'his talent as poet and musician
reaches the same level'. His first biographer, Wasielewski, listed the
movements which were Schumann's work:

The departures from the original poem in the text of Das
Paradies und die Peri come altogether from Schumann's hand ...

10. Nauhaus (1), pp. 192 and 202
They consist, with the exception of a few practical abbreviations, of the addition of the chorus for the Genies of the Nile, the chorus of Houris, the Peri's solo, 'Verstossen', the quartet, 'Peri, ist's wahr?', the solo 'Gesunken war der goldne Ball', and the closing chorus...

Comparison of Schumann's text with Moore's original bears out the truth of most of these assertions. However, I believe that 'Gesunken war der goldne Ball' was included in error on Wasielewski's list, for it corresponds to the stanza in the original text beginning 'Twas when the golden orb had set'; and even the characteristically Schumannesque effusion several lines later,

\[ \text{doch weiss die Peri wohl, der Schein,}\]
\[ \text{es muss des Engels Lächeln sein}\]

is taken wholesale from Tom Moore's

But well th'enraptured PERI knew
'Twas a bright smile, the Angel threw
From Heaven's gate.

Schumann's instinct in making additions, however, was absolutely right, for the work owes much of its charm to the picturesque choruses of the Nile Genies, Houris, Peris and so on; in fact, without them there would be very little for the chorus to do in the second and particularly the third part of the work. It remains a matter of regret that he was unable to enliven Part III more in this way, but in view of the action (or rather the lack of it) it is difficult to see how a choral element with any dramatic credibility could have been introduced.

The text was not ready until 6 January 1842. Work was then held up by a period of illness, followed by depression during Clara's absence on a concert tour. Schumann's next compositions were in the realm of

13. Boetticher (2), p. 357. Boetticher has '6. Jan. 1841' but it is clear from the context that this is a misprint for 1842, and this is confirmed by Nauhaus (1), p. 204.
chamber music: the three string quartets op. 41 and the Piano Quintet and Piano Quartet. In the meantime, he had returned to the idea of opera; while reading the story of Tristan and Isolde in September 1842 he wrote to Carl Kossy mal:

Do you know my morning and evening prayer as an artist? It is German opera. There is my work ... 14

But after another period of illness he returned to Das Paradies und die Peri, which was finished on 25 May 1843. A letter to Eduard Krüger, dated 3 June 1843, shows Schumann happy and proud of his own achievement:

Excuse the handwriting - I've almost forgotten how to write words. And so you must know that I've written many hundreds of thousands of notes recently, and that I finished a big work on Ascension Day, the biggest I've yet undertaken. The piece is Das Paradies und die Peri by Thomas Moore - an oratorio, but not for the chapel - only for cheerful people ... 15

This last revealing comment gives rise to an interesting question. Given that Schumann had thought to write an opera, but had no opera-house training or connections, it was the obvious solution to write a concert work instead. In that case, why did he not turn to that useful and established standby, oratorio, but feel that he had to create what he described as 'a new genre for the concert hall'? 16

One clue may be found in Schumann's own attitude to religion: he had described himself as 'Religious ... without religion' 17 - admittedly, at an early age; but later evidence, such as it is, appears to confirm this acknowledgement of generalised religious sensibility without adherence to any specific faith. 18 It is certainly true that the Scriptures had no attraction for him as material for musical setting, and his Mass and

15. Boetticher (2), p. 393
17. Boetticher (2), p. 22
18. Zwickau, in Lower Saxony, was in the Evangelical or Reformed part of Germany.
Requiem were both written after he had had some experience of the musical needs of the Düsseldorf churches, as part of his job as municipal music director there. So Schumann was by nature and temperament far more inclined to take a non-biblical, non-hagiographical subject; and the vaguely religious leanings of Paradise and the Peri accord well with that part of Schumann's psyche illuminated by his choice of texts by Adalbert von Chamisso (Frauenliebe und -leben, op. 42), Moritz Horn (Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, op. 112), and Elisabeth Kulmann (Mädchenlieder, op. 103).

Das Paradies und die Peri, then, seems to have fulfilled an important need for Schumann. But more difficulties arise when we look for links with the past. Upon what did he (or could he) model this 'new genre for the concert hall'? A model was certainly necessary, for the quasi-improvisatory manner of composition of his early piano pieces would not serve for much larger forces. But its precursors are few indeed: Schumann attended the first Leipzig performance of Mendelssohn's Die erste Walpurgisnacht, after Goethe, on 2 February 184319 (which seems to have encouraged him to start Das Paradies und die Peri) and he reviewed Karl Loewe's Johann Huss for the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik in the same year. Johann Huss, however, is perforce explicitly Christian in a way that Das Paradies und die Peri is not; so, too, are the immensely popular oratorios of Spohr. It is also significant that Schumann spent the first paragraph of his Johann Huss review in speculating on the need for new terminology:

Loewe's new oratorio ... is, right from the pen of the poet, not intended for the church, and stands between opera and oratorio, suitable for the concert hall or for a music festival. As yet we have no word for this hybrid; 'spiritual

19. Godwin, p. 66; Nauhaus (1), p. 236
opera' makes you think of something else, and 'dramatic oratorio' doesn't give the right impression either.\textsuperscript{20}

He could just as well have been describing \textit{Das Paradies und die Peri} as Johann Huss.

\textit{Die erste Walpurgisnacht} seems at first sight to share some of the characteristics of \textit{Das Paradies und die Peri} (particularly in the choral movements and the use of recitative for narration) but it has at least as many points of difference, such as the extensive, programmatically-titled overture (\textit{Das schlechte Wetter - Die Übergang zum Frühling}) instead of the brief prelude; the absence of arias for solo voices; and the style of the choral movements, which in the Mendelssohn seem to derive equally from the German choral tradition and (more specifically) from the chorale, whilst in the Schumann their ancestry is somewhat different, as we shall see.

Is German Romantic opera a more likely model, as may be suggested by Schumann's preoccupation with it? In fact, the conventional set-pieces of the day, \textit{Kavatine}, \textit{Preghiera}, \textit{Opernpolacca}, \textit{Opernballade}, are conspicuous by their absence; nor does Schumann - in this work at any rate - make any use of the melodrama, used with such success by Weber and Marschner. Gone, too, is the spoken dialogue of German Romantic opera; and in fact it is in Schumann's decision to employ continuous arioso melody for the narrative and descriptive portions that he appears most modern, as ex. 2 shows.

\textsuperscript{20} Schumann, R., p. 201
Ex. 2 Das Paradies und die Peri, opening of Part II:

[The Peri appeared with timid gesture before Eden's gate, in her heart the happiness of the hope of Heaven.]

Some of the music of Part III, for instance the baritone solo 'mit ihrer Schwestern Worten wächst ihr Schmerz', would be quite at home in the first act of Die Walküre, anticipating Wagner by some thirteen years:

Ex. 3 Das Paradies und die Peri, Part III, no. 22:

[With her sisters' words awakes her grief]
Schumann was quite aware of this progressiveness; in a letter to Franz Brendel written from Berlin and dated 20 February 1847, about the Berlin première of Das Paradies und die Peri, he remarks:

... I only want to ask you to give your full attention to the lovely fairy. Heart's blood hangs on this work. Anyway two objections that were made here to her - the lack of recitatives, and the continuous following-on of the musical numbers - these seem to me to be merits in the work, real technical progress - I wish you could see it like that. 21

We must look nearer home for Schumann's model for his 'aria' movements. Despite the progressiveness of the arioso passages, the style of his arias is nothing like so modern; in fact they are Lieder writ large. While this has certain advantages in the way of ensuring a fine vocal line, there are also disadvantages in the transfer of Lieder to a large-scale narrative work with orchestral accompaniment. Schumann achieves many felicitous touches of orchestral colour and detail, but far too often the accompaniment consists only of those repeated chords so effective on the piano, here blown up to many times their normal size by the instrumentation; see ex. 4.

[Deserted youth, one thing alone remains to give him comfort, that she whom he has loved truly for many years is protected from the plague in her father's princely house.]

The Lied character of the arias extends to a certain similarity with real Lieder: the Peri's aria in Part III, 'Hinab zu jenem Sonnentempel!' recalls 'Im Rhein, im heiligen Strome' from Dichterliebe, and the introduction to her 'Es fällt ein Tropfen auf's Land Egypten' bears at least a passing resemblance to 'Auf einer Burg' from the Eichendorff Liederkreis, as shown in ex. 5.
Ex. 5a Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 23, 'Hinab zu jenem Sonnentempel':

N°23.

Nicht zu schnell, dopp.

Hinab zu jenem Sonnentempel!

[Down to that Temple of the Sun]

Ex. 5b Dichterliebe, 'Im Rhein, im heiligen Strome':

VI.

Ziemlich langsam.

Im Rhein, im heiligen Strom... da spie... jett

[In the Rhine, in the holy river, there is mirrored in the waves...]

Ex. 5c Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 25, 'Es fällt ein Tropfen':

N°25.

Langsam, $\frac{1}{4}$ so, Nach und nach belebter.

(Die Viertel wie vorher die Halben)

Horn

Viol.II.
Ex. 5d Liederkreis (Eichendorff), 'Auf einer Burg':

[Asleep up there on the lookout is the old knight...]

The passage beginning 'Es fällt ein Tropfen' in ex. 5c also recalls The Art of Fugue, but there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that Schumann knew this work in 1843. He made a detailed and comprehensive study of fugue in 1845, and was a founder-member of the Bach-Gesellschaft, set up in 1850; but this earlier attempt at a Baroque style extends only to the first half of the aria, and it may well derive from the model for his choral movements, which will be described later in this chapter.

A look at the work as a whole discloses a surprising lack of purely orchestral passages. Typically, each movement for a solo voice has only a short prelude of four bars, with similarly brief interludes and postludes, exactly in the manner of a Lied; the chorus movements in general have even less than that. Only one part, the first, has any extended prelude, and no part has any concluding orchestral music. The only big solo orchestral passage is the music representing the battle between the Indians and their oppressors in the first part, but even this appears again shortly as the accompaniment to the next choral section.22

The nature of the work is such that Schumann had no overwhelming reason

22. There is a parallel case in Berlioz's Grande messe des morts, where the celebrated passage in the Dies irae for the four brass bands is heard a second time as the accompaniment to the Tuba mirum.
to include purely orchestral passages. It is not a stage work, despite the narrative, there is no action, and therefore no practical need to allow time for it in the score - except that need which communicates itself as a sense of breathlessness in the face of such unrelieved singing. (Bach's B minor Mass, as currently performed in its entirety as a concert work, has much the same effect.) It is debatable, too, whether Schumann would have had sufficient dramatic sense to realise that such instrumental passages are necessary to pace the action, even when it is imaginary; and this is particularly important in a score such as Das Paradies und die Peri where he had blurred the distinction between recitative and aria by his use of arioso narrative. Schumann had none of the salutary experience of Weber or Wagner in conducting opera over whole seasons in a provincial repertoire house, and although he was an opera-goer (as his reviews for the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik demonstrate) he was on the whole not pleased by what he saw, and is, I believe, unlikely to have derived any worthwhile lessons from it.

Schumann's method of composition also left its mark on the work. Up to 1845, the year of his intensive studies of fugue, he always composed at the piano. This may well explain such pianistic devices as ex. 6 - the broken chords in the accompaniment are effective and easy on a keyboard instrument, but ungrateful and undistinguished for strings; while in the case of ex. 7 the vast expanses of repeated dominant seventh chords can be made acceptable and even graceful by elaborate piano figuration, but in plain semibreves for full chorus and orchestra, with no superficial relief, the effect is downright dull.

23. Schumann, R., e.g. pp. 128-32 (Les Huguenots); pp. 69 ff (Rossini)
Ex. 6 Das Paradies und die Peri, opening of no. 11:

[Her first hope of Heaven vanished]

Ex. 7 Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 9, closing chorus of Part I:

[Sehr lebhaft. $d = 132$. – Nach und nach immer rascher.]
Let us now seek Schumann's model for his movements for full chorus.

It is clear that the solid fugal-style movements are unconnected with operatic or Lied-like styles, but neither do they owe much to the obvious model of Bach fugues. The most significant influence can be traced back to Schumann's student days.
When he had spent a year at the University of Leipzig, pretending to read law, Schumann induced his long-suffering guardian and mother to agree to a move: he wished to go to Heidelberg for a year, alleging that the best professors of law were there and that he really should go and attend their lectures. The real reason was that his friend Gisbert Rosen had gone to Heidelberg, and wrote so delightedly of it that Schumann longed to join him there. In the event, the move to Heidelberg was decisive, for there Schumann finally opted for music and wrote again begging to be allowed to return to Leipzig to study with Wieck, since at that stage he was still intending to make a career as a concert pianist.

The stay in Heidelberg, however, had another important consequence. One of the very law professors with whom Schumann was supposed to study was Justus Thibaut, an enthusiastic amateur musician, whose particular interest was the choral music of Palestrina, Lassus, Victoria and their contemporaries, and of Handel, Bach and Cherubini. Thibaut held weekly rehearsals at his house (two sectional rehearsals and one full one) and twice in each term invited an audience of friends to hear the results. Schumann did not take part but he did go along to listen; although there is only one specific mention of a Thibaut concert in his Heidelberg diary (the fourth volume of the rather impressionistic Hottentottiana, 21 May 1829 - 1 April 1830) it is clear from his comments in letters and elsewhere that he went several times (possibly to the Thursday full rehearsals as well as to the performances) and that the most lasting impression was made by the Handel works which he heard.

24. Boetticher (2), p. 35
25. Niecks, pp. 82-84
At first he was rather dismissive of Thibaut's efforts; in a letter to Wieck dated 6 November 1829 he said,

Opposition is growing against Thibaut, and I'm forming part of it; you'll scarcely believe what glorious, pure, noble hours I have spent with him and how I'm pained by his biased and really pedantic opinions on music ... 27

and on a later page, after requesting Wieck to send him lots of Schubert and some pieces by Moscheles, Hummel, Herz and Czerny, he returned to the attack:

Thibaut will have to get under the table with his Handel opera arias. 28

But by the following February he had altered his opinion. In a letter to his mother dated 24 February 1830 he wrote

...Thibaut is a wonderful, divine man; I spend my most enjoyable hours with him. When he has a Handel oratorio sung at his house (every Thursday more than 70 singers are there) and accompanies so enthusiastically on the piano, and then at the end two big tears roll down from his fine large eyes beneath his beautiful silver-white hair, and then comes to me so delighted and cheerful and shakes my hand and says not a word from sheer emotion, then I really don't know how a beggar like me can have the honour to be a listener in such a holy house. 29

On the day after this letter was written Schumann attended the performance of Handel's *Samson* at Thibaut's house, and was inspired to make a long entry in his diary about it, chiefly about fancied literary parallels between Handel and Shakespeare and between Handel and Schiller. 30

Two comments from years later go to show what a profound impression had been made on him by Thibaut's Handel performances. In 1841 Zuccalmaglio contributed an essay on Thibaut (who had died the previous

27. Schumann, C., pp. 80-81
28. Schumann, C., p. 85
29. Schumann, C., p. 105
year) to the first two numbers for that year of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. He criticised Thibaut for incomplete performances of Handel oratorios, and Schumann added a footnote: 'Yet in 1829 I heard many a whole oratorio.'

(One can only honour Schumann for his defence of his former master, and yet his own diary entry for the *Samson* performance on 25 February 1830 records that only the first part was given.)

Perhaps more significant is his reference to *Das Paradies und die Peri* as 'my *Sam[s]on*' in a diary entry for 26 September 1843; he had heard a performance of *Samson* conducted by Hiller three days earlier, which must have brought the comparison most forcibly to mind. In writing his own large-scale choral work, Schumann based much of his writing for full chorus on his recollections of Handel, even to the extent of using the archaic time signature so that it looked similar on the page.

Strangely enough, the writing for groups of solo voices within the choir, or for SA or TB forces, is much more original in conception, as if Schumann no longer felt the need to lean on his Handelian walking-stick. A possible parallel could be Mendelssohn; certainly the latter's 'fairy music' manner as exhibited in his incidental music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* has much in common with, for instance, the chorus of *Nile Genies* and the closing aria with chorus of Part II. There could also be some influence from Haydn, whose use of full chorus with soloists is sometimes recalled by Schumann's. The foregoing elements may account in some measure for the sometimes imperfectly integrated style of the piece, for the deliberate archaisms of Schumann's choral manner and the modest

31. Niecks, p. 84
32. Eismann (3), p. 230
33. Nauhaus (1), p. 353
tone-painting of his Lieder accord ill with proto-Wagnerian endless melody.

But the piece has many successful moments, foremost amongst which may be numbered the 'picturesque' choruses:

the battle scene in Part I;
the chorus of Nile Genies in Part II;
the chorus of Houris in Part III;
and the quartet of Peris in Part III.

It is hardly concidence that, firstly, the three last named are for combinations other than SATB, and secondly, the four correspond broadly to the numbers which Schumann contributed to the text.

It has already been remarked that Tom Moore derived his Orientalisms from textbooks; Schumann, likewise, had been no further east than Vienna, but in musical language a ready-made shorthand was available to signal 'the East' to audiences, namely the 'Turkish' or 'janissary' music familiar as a colouristic device in the Classical period. It is a deliberately primitive style, owing much to droning bare fifths and the superimposition of bass drum, cymbals and triangle upon the normal orchestra. The question of whether this has anything to do with real Eastern music is not at issue; it was merely a way of indicating Oriental provenance to the hearer and was understood as such in works throughout the Classical era and beyond, for instance in Mozart's Die Entführung, Haydn's 'Military' Symphony, Beethoven's Ruins of Athens and his Ninth Symphony.

It is to Schumann's credit that he does not over-use this obvious device. The battle scene in Part I, beginning with the declamatory 'Doch seine Ströme sind jetzt roth' for chorus tenors, is enlivened with percussion effects in the passage for orchestra alone - which could
equally well represent the clash of arms in the fight as the essentially Oriental nature of the piece.

The chorus of Houris, beginning Part III, is the only piece of traditional 'Turkish' music, with its swaying dominant-tonic chords over a tonic pedal and its triangle, bass drum and cymbals. Yet the strength of this movement lies not in its superficial exoticisms but in the success of its canonic theme. This is carried on strictly at two bars' distance, accommodating itself only to final cadences. The canonic theme itself may be related to the opening theme of the piece, about which there is more to be said later.

Ex. 8 Das Paradies und die Peri, canonic theme of no. 18:

[Deck the steps to Allah's throne, deck them with flowers, companions]
The chorus of Nile Genies, 'Hervor aus dem Wasser geschwindt', and
the quartet of Peris, 'Peri, ist's wahr?', have so much in common that
one could be seen as a recomposition of the other; for instance,
both are marked Lebhaft and are in $\frac{4}{4}$ and B minor;
in both the orchestral texture consists of rushing or tremolo
semiquavers in a middle voice, staccato woodwind chords above and
pizzicato or staccato bass notes;
both main themes are triadic;
both have a middle section of trills or tremolo accompaniment with
octave leaps in the vocal parts.

Ex. 9a Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 11, chorus of Nile Genies,
opening section:
Ex. 9a continued

[Quick, out of the waters and see the sweet lovely child]
Ex. 9b Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 22, quartet of Peris, 
opening section:

[And as she soared downwards, a group of Peris surrounded her: 'Peri, is it true that you want to go to Heaven?']
Ex. 9c Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 11,
middle section with octave leaps:

[Lebhaft.  \( \dot{\text{J}} = 138 \)]

[It is a Peri, what a pretty face ... but she takes no notice of us!
'Ah, Eden, how my heart longs for you'; listen to her singing!]
Ex. 9d Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 22, middle section with octave leaps:

\[ \text{Lebhaft. } \mathcal{J} = 120 \]

[Don't you like the sunshine?]

Despite these remarkable points of similarity, the Nile Genies' chorus is entirely transformed by Schumann's masterstroke, bringing in the voice of the Peri singing as though to herself her refrain of longing for heaven. This is a piece of dramatic juxtaposition unhappily all too rare in Schumann.
Ex. 10 Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 11, chorus of Nile Genies,
entry of the Peri:

[Lebhaft, $J = 138$.]
Ex. 10 continued

[Look at the pretty child! It is a Peri, what a pretty face - but she takes no notice of us! 'Ah, Eden, how my heart longs for you, when will the gates open to me?' Listen to her singing! Quick, out of the waters and see the sweet lovely child...]
Another example of well-sustained invention is the chorus 'Weh', er fehlte das Ziel' in the first part. The young hero's last arrow, launched in defiance at the tyrant, has missed its target. The chorus is a deceptively simple matter of juxtaposing pairs of voices in thirds against each other, with striking harmonic results.

Ex. 11 Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 8:

The first statement is by SSAA, then TTBB; later, divisi sopranos and basses repeat it, followed by altos and tenors. The postlude is a shortened repeat with coda. The other two elements in the movement are a flowing countermelody for middle strings and a sustained pedal note. The
latter is not easy to define: the movement has the key signature of three sharps throughout, but seems to begin in B minor, over a pedal B; at the end of the first statement, the theme cadences in E minor, and the next statement begins in that key, turning the B into a dominant pedal. This second statement, however, continues exactly like the first (Schumann has a predilection for real fugal answers, wherever they might take him) and moves at its close to A minor, still over the pedal B. In the course of his next phrase he unobtrusively shifts his pedal note to C sharp, and the process is repeated with the C sharp acting first as tonic, then dominant, then supertonic pedal, until the final cadence (at last in F sharp minor) is reached. To counteract all the earlier remoteness, the postlude is all in F sharp minor over a tonic pedal.

The other choruses in the work do not, in the main, reach this high degree of interest. Schumann frequently has recourse to unison or octave writing for the chorus, which can be a bold stroke (as, for example, in the quasi-recitative 'O Land der Sonne, wessen Schritt geht über deinen Boden' in the chorus 'Doch seine Ströme sind jetzt roth') or can seem merely inadequate (for instance at 'und Sterne, Mond und Erde, so nimm uns eilig mit!' in the quartet of Peris); see ex. 12.
Ex. 12a Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 6, quasi-recitative for chorus:

[Allegro]

[O land of the sun, whose stride goes over your ground...]
However, his quasi-Handelian style is much more effective, and even in the lengthy imitative movements of the first part the interest is held by the skill he shows in interweaving his material. Although Schumann leads us to expect a full-dress fugue at points like 'Doch seine Ströme' and 'Denn heilig ist das Blut' (in the concluding chorus of Part I) it is really only fugato, for the fugal exposition is the limit of his exploration of genuine fugue. Nevertheless the Handelian appearances are kept up with his use of terse, bold subjects and with the use of the alla breve time signature. The latter convention causes some considerable difficulty in construing the faster movements; for example, at the words 'Und würde nicht trüben die klarste Fluth', where the finale to Part I in effect begins, the metronome mark is $\text{d} = 132$, and presently the indication Nach und nach rascher brings the basic beat to a semibreve, or whole bar. By this time the acres of semibreves, many of them tied, are
very difficult to read, although the speed is no more than a brisk \( \frac{4}{4} \) would be if the note-values were quartered.

Schumann is adventurous in his use of remote keys and distant key relationships in this work. In the Peri's early recitative, 'Wo findest du die Peri?', leading to her aria, 'Ich kenne die Urnen', there is a rapid move from A major via C sharp minor and E major to D sharp major, enharmonically E flat major, which is then seen as the dominant of the A flat major aria - all accomplished within eighteen bars.

Ex. 13 Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 4,

modulation from A major to A flat major during recitative:

[Where shall I find it? Where blooms, where lies the gift which is pleasing to Heaven? I know the urns filled with treasure...]
The expressive purpose of this distant modulation could be thought of as characterising the Peri's worldwide search for the gift most dear to Heaven.

At the end of the solo quartet, 'O süsses Land, o Götterpracht' in Part I, the tonic F immediately becomes the mediant note of a D flat major chord, which itself immediately becomes, by way of an emphatic cadence, the tonic of the next movement, 'Doch seine Ströme sind jetzt roth', as shown in ex. 14:

Ex. 14 Das Paradies und die Peri, transition to no. 6:

[But its rivers now run red with human blood]
Here the purpose of the remote modulation could be to point the contrast between the 'Paradise' described in no. 5 and the land whose rivers run with men's blood in no. 6.

The modulation between the end of the mezzo-soprano aria, 'Verlassener Jüngling', and the beginning of the tenor's 'Doch sieh', wer naht dort leise schleichend' in Part II moves between two keys a tritone apart in five bars. C, the established tonic, becomes the leading note of D flat major by a Schubertian semitone sidestep, and with the addition of C flat to complete the dominant seventh, G flat is reached.

Ex. 15 Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 15, transition to tenor solo:

[Deserted youth, one thought alone remains to give him comfort. But see, who comes slipping softly towards the gloomy thicket,...]
The tenor solo that has been reached is remarkable for twice modulating a tone higher in each succeeding phrase: having started in G flat major, the first phrase goes to A flat major, the second to B flat minor, and the third phrase achieves a semitone step to C flat major. This could well portray the youth's astonishment at the appearance of his beloved when he thought she was far away from him in his dying moments.

Ex. 16 Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 15,

modulations in the first four phrases:

[See, who comes slipping softly towards the gloomy thicket, resembling the goddess of health, with rosy cheeks of springlike freshness! It is she, illuminated by the moon's ray; it peacefully shines on the faithful bride approaching.]
A closer look at Schumann's modulatory procedure shows that it does not normally follow the usual classical model, but relies more on the device of letting the note at the top of the final chord become the tonic or dominant (or, occasionally, the mediant) of the succeeding movement. The bass note of the final chord is of comparatively little influence. A concise example of this usage within a movement can be found in the final section of no. 6, the chorus 'Doch seine Ströme sind jetzt roth', beginning at the words 'Gazna lebe, der mächtige Fürst'. Here the basses of the chorus, in unison, represent the forces of the tyrant Gazna, while the tenors, divisi, shout defiance as the oppressed Indians:

Ex. 17 Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 6, chorus of Indians and Conquerors:
Ex. 17 continued

[Long live Gazna, the mighty sovereign - Death to the tyrant!]

The chorus is in B flat minor, but the tenors never sing in that key; instead, the note on which the basses end their phrase becomes the dominant of the tenors' answering phrase, thus:

- basses end on A flat: tenors begin in D flat major;
- basses end on C: tenors begin in F minor;
- basses end on G flat: tenors answer in C flat major.

The two groups coincide in D flat major only at the very last cadence, so that the tenors' determination to modulate away from the basses could be seen as depicting their gallant but in the end unsuccessful opposition to their conquerors.
These unconventional modulations also show us that at this stage the
top note in the harmony was more important than the chord underneath, an
unusual view which underlines Schumann's relative lack of formal
instruction in music theory; his studies of thoroughbass and counterpoint
with Heinrich Dorn in Leipzig in 1831-32 had lasted for only ten months. 34

Let us now examine Schumann's structural handling of one of the
longer movements in this work. In any work with a text, the form can be
said to depend on that text as its prime mover, and on the constraints of
purely musical form and symmetry as a secondary consideration. Although
Schumann prided himself on the fact that he had made the movements
continuous, it should be borne in mind that they are still discrete
movements; it is the joins between them that he has provided. But in
Part III we find the scena beginning 'Hinab zu jenem Sonnentempel!', a
longer stretch of music in which some repetition and development might
well be thought advantageous; so let us see how Schumann tackles this
problem.

We have reached that point in the story where the Peri, cast down
after the rejection of her two earlier gifts, takes fresh courage and
descends to Syria in search of the prize. The scena, no. 23, opens with
her words of defiant hope, and thereafter it is all narration: the tenor
soloist describes her flight over the valley of Baalbec, where she sees a
child playing among some wild roses; and then a weary traveller stops his
horse nearby to drink at a spring. The horseman has a wild and savage

34. Boetticher, (2), p. 60
expression in which the timorous tenor reads

Dark tales of many a ruthless deed;
The ruin'd maid - the shrine profan'd -
Oaths broken - and the threshold stain'd
With blood of guests! 35

The mezzo then describes the child kneeling in prayer at the muezzin's evening call, and the tenor tells how the traveller is forcibly reminded of his childhood state of innocence which is in such marked contrast to his present state of sinfulness, so that a tear of remorse steals to his eye.

In this scena Schumann makes use of blocks of three contrasting kinds of material. The first section, A, is announced in E minor, moving in minim chords at march tempo, with the vocal part very declamatory and aggressive, characterised by double- and even triple-dotted notes. It is used for the Peri's defiant bolstering-up of her hopes and her determination to make one final effort to find the gift most dear to Heaven.

Ex. 18a Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 23, 'A' section material:

35. Moore, p. 155
Ex. 18a continued

[Down to that Temple of the Sun! there I can see an amulet, on whose stone a symbol shines, fused on to it by a flash of lightning, and a leaf on which Solomon's seal glitters in purity;]

The second section, B, 'Sie schwebt herab im frohen Hoffen', is in A major, and although the pulse is the same, the harmonic speed slows from $\frac{d}{d}$ to $\frac{d}{d}$ or at most $\frac{d}{d}$ - a gentle stroll. This section is much more calm and flowing in style; the vocal part has no violent dotted notes, but is mostly in plain minims. It is used for the description of the Peri's flight to Baalbec, the little boy playing, and later on the boy at prayer.
[She floats down in joyful hope, the lovely eye of heaven still
laughs; and the portals of the sunset still stand (open in the west)]

The C section appears first of all as a purely orchestral interlude
(one of the very few in the work, and all the more welcome), but later on
it reappears to the words 'dann kehrt er schnell sein wild Gesicht'; it
is characterised by a dotted rhythm played by horns in octaves, and
canonic semitone stepwise movement, and it is used for the passages about
the menacing horseman.
Ex. 18c Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 23, 'C' section material:

[Nicht zu schnell. d = 100]

Excerpt from the score:

[...as] wild-rosy as they themselves. Near the boy, who, now tired of play, was (lying down) amid the flowers...

[Then he turns his wild countenance upon the pretty child, who sat unafraid, although the light of day had never (seen such a savage face)]
The stages of the story and the three types of material used are kept very much separate as described above, with one exception: at the words 'jetzt einen müden Mann und schnell', about the horseman, the original A section material returns for several bars, as shown in ex. 18d:

Ex. 18d Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 23,

'A' section material recurs to words about the horseman:

[Now she sees dismounting from his sweating horse an exhausted man who quickly bends down to drink from an overgrown spring,]
This unexpected combination could serve to emphasise the horseman's desperation to quench his thirst, in much the same way as we see the Peri's desperation to find the gift.

Although the ensuing movement is clearly marked as starting with the chorus entry 'O heil'ge Thranen inn'ger Reue', there are overwhelming musical reasons for treating the final 23 bars of baritone solo of no. 23 as belonging to that chorus rather than to the preceding scena, for they share the same key and time signatures, metronome marking, instrumentation and general atmosphere. Besides, the baritone has played no part in the scena and only enters now with the words of the evil stranger.

As regards the 293 bars of the scena, it is interesting to note that it is roughly symmetrical in form: two unequal parts each with its own arch form, thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
A & \quad B & \quad C & \quad B & \quad A & \quad B & \quad C & \quad B \\
& \text{bars 1 - 138} & \text{139 - 293}
\end{align*}
\]

However, the only caesura in the movement is at bars 183-184, which falls some way into the second half.

The plan can be broken down as follows:

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<td>'Hinab...'</td>
<td>'Sie schwebt herab'</td>
<td>(menacing semitones)</td>
<td>'Beim Knaben'</td>
<td>'noch einen mütten Mann'</td>
<td>'dann kehrt er schnell'</td>
<td>'doch horch, wie Vesperruf'</td>
<td>'Und was fühlt er'</td>
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<td>E minor</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>E tonic</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>E major</td>
<td>C sharp minor</td>
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Schumann, then, makes quite a feature of repetition of his material in this movement. His manner of varying it can be described simply:
The 'A' section material is at its second appearance a more or less exact repetition of the opening 12 bars of the movement, with a short cadence into D major.

The 'B' section is varied like this: at the second time, the vocal line now has the melody first heard on the flute, and the original voice part does not appear. At the third appearance, the material is heard as for the first time but a fifth higher (the vocal line now assigned to the mezzo); then after 15 bars an altered cadence brings the music back into the original key. It continues as an almost exact repeat for about 20 bars, then changes to incorporate new material. The latter cannot truly be said to be a development of earlier themes - the bass often moves by semitone steps, but is not the same as the semitone movement in the 'C' section. The harmonic speed alternates between $\begin{array}{c|c|d} d & d & d \end{array}$ and $\begin{array}{c|c|o} d & o & o \end{array}$, the latter expressed in syncopated repeated chords. The singularity of this section may well be due to the fact that it forms a climax of the movement, where the child kneels to pray, and such a flowering of lyrical melody is fitting at this point. (By contrast, at the next dramatic climax, the tear of the repentant sinner, the music has wound down almost to a standstill and the harmonic speed is only $\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c} o & o & o & o & o & o \end{array}$ at $d = 80$.)

The material in section C is the most developed of all: the orchestral episode recurs in different keys (or, to be more accurate, with different dominants - the fanfare note of the horns in octaves proves to be the dominant of the phrase to which it leads) based on E, D, F, G sharp and C sharp. To this is added a vocal line based on octave leaps and minatory semitones, coming to a musical climax at the C sharp minor imperfect cadence at bar 183. The final appearance of the 'C' material is much more conventional: the octave fanfares remain, but the
clashing semitones have given way to a sequence of chords around the inverted pedal. The vocal part of this last section is much more lyrical, more like that in section B; perhaps this is a reflection of the horseman's impulse to penitence for his years of crime.

Modulations are usually treated in the manner described earlier in this chapter (as, for instance, in the join between the A and B sections at bars 57-58, where the tonic C sharp becomes the mediant at the top of an A major chord), but also as conventional V-I cadences in conventionally related keys, which by and large are not so well handled. For instance, in bars 105-7 (the junction of C and B material) the E-A flat dyad reached by the semitone movement and horn calls dissolves into octave Gs, and with a perfunctory filling-out of a dominant chord goes straight into C major:

Ex. 19a Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 23, V-I cadence at bars 105-7:

[...as wild-rosy as they themselves]
By contrast, between the B and A material a few bars later at 123-24 an inverted cadence in E minor is dovetailed in so well that the join is barely perceptible.

Ex. 19b Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 23,
inverted cadence at bars 123-24:

[...lying down (amid the flowers), she sees dismounting from his sweating horse an exhausted man who quickly (bends down to drink from an overgrown spring)]

The 'mosaic' method of construction – repetition of entire blocks of musical material transposed to new keys – has been noted elsewhere in Schumann, even (or especially) in his symphonic development sections. Such a method is quite unexceptionable in this scena, where no symphonic development is at issue; but the difficulty lies rather in the technique of juxtaposing somewhat ill-assorted blocks of material. They are well-

36. Roesner, pp. 20 and 342-43
contrasted, it is true, but much as separate Lieder might be, and they are placed even closer together than Lieder and tend to suffer from their enforced proximity.

Schumann uses a rather rudimentary form of reminiscence-motif technique in *Das Paradies und die Peri*. He is at his most consistent early in the work, and seems to lose sight of the idea towards the end, so much so that it is not entirely possible to say whether his use of this device is deliberate or involuntary, or (which is perhaps more likely) a kind of sleepwalking in which he fumbles his way almost unconsciously towards a new compositional principle. It is, of course, a great drawback to this sort of technique if the reminiscence-motifs are so subtly employed as to be undetectable by the listener, and Schumann comes perilously near to this in *Das Paradies und die Peri*, as he also does later in *Genoveva*.37

R.C. Godwin38 detects only one of these themes, the opening melody for strings, ex. 20a:

Ex. 20a *Das Paradies und die Peri*, opening theme of prelude:

\[
\text{Andante. } J = 60.
\]

\[
\text{Violin I}
\]

37. Abraham (2), p. 854
38. Godwin, p. 125
He labels it 'the Peri theme' and remarks ingenuously that it does not refer only to the Peri. In fact, it refers only tangentially to the Peri herself: it seems more likely that it represents a generalisation of the mood of the piece, that is to say, longing - perhaps even a sigh of longing, portrayed by its sighing cadence. Sehnsucht is the emotion above all others that the Romantics coveted and cultivated, and this could well be seen as the specific longing of the banished Peri to enter heaven. This is borne out by the other appearances of the theme or its variants, which tend to be at points where the Peri's longing is stressed:

Ex. 20b Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 1:

[Andante J = 60]

Alto solo

stand e.ine Peri schmerzhe, fangen:

[...a Peri, griefstricken:]
Ex. 20c Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 3:

No. 3. Recitativ.

[The noble angel, who guarded the portals of light, overheard the words,...]
Ex. 20d Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 18, Chor der Houris:

[Deck the steps of Allah's throne, deck them with flowers, companions...]
Ex. 20e Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 20:

Ex. 21a Symphony no. 4
in D minor, motto theme:

Ex. 21b Symphony no. 4
in D minor, motto theme as heard in coda of first movement:

[Cast out! The golden gate shut anew! Judged! Annihilated...]

But the most singular feature of this theme is its opening turn of phrase; the first five notes need only to be put into D major for them to be immediately recognisable as the motto theme of the Fourth Symphony, in its major guise as it appears in the coda to the first movement and the finale: compare ex. 21a and 21b with the ex. 20 material.
This symphony had been begun in 1842 but was not finished until 1851, after much revision. Its motto theme, and thus the opening of the 'Sehnsucht' theme, is deemed by Eric Sams to be an encipherment of the name CLARA in musical notation. Sams's work on the use of ciphers in Schumann is convincing up to a point, but it is difficult to follow him all the way in his attempts to derive whole sentences as well as significant words from some of the themes. The problem lies in his claim that the use of ciphers explains otherwise inexplicable oddities in the music; unfortunately the 'oddities' quoted in support of this view sound neither odd nor unnatural, and in no way in need of any artificial explanation. But Sams is surely right in saying that such encoded key words as EHE (marriage) and CLARA do in fact permeate the musical material.

If the opening theme is identified with 'Sehnsucht', then the Peri herself can be depicted in her first theme, ex. 22a:

Ex. 22a Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 2:

Wie glücklich sie wandeln, die seligen Geister, im Duft von Blumen, die immer verblühen

[How happily the blessed spirits wander in the fragrance of flowers which never fade]

40. Sams (1), pp. 586-7
This reappears in a slightly altered version (ex. 22b) when she returns with her first gift:

Ex. 22b Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 9:

[Ziemlich langsam. $J = 60$.]

(Notation of the music)

"Let this be my gift"

and in its entirety as a counterpoint to the Nile Genies' music as the Peri approaches Egypt (ex. 22c):

Ex. 22c Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 11:

[Lebhaft. $J = 138$.]

(Notation of the music)
Ex. 22c continued

[Oh Eden, how my heart longs for you - Listen to her singing]

The theme associated with grief for the dead hero of Part I, 'Weh', er fehlte das Ziel' (ex. 23a):

Ex. 23a Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 8:
Ex. 23a continued

[Woe, woe, he has missed the mark]

is prefigured in the piled-up thirds of the battle music, ex. 23b:

Ex. 23b Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 6:

and it later makes a brief and somewhat puzzling appearance in the jubilant chorus concluding the first part (ex. 23c):
Ex. 23c Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 9:

[Sehr lebhaft. - Nach und nach immer rascher.]

Für die Freiheit versprüzt, für die Freiheit

Strings

81 denn heilig ist das Bluth

[For holy is the blood shed for freedom]

It appears at the words 'für die Freiheit versprüzt von Heldenmuth', and here entries of the fugato subject 'denn heilig ist das Bluth' supply the place of the strings and bassoon countermelody in ex. 23a. This presumably serves to recall to us simultaneously grief for the hero's death and rejoicing for his bravery.

Another theme, of ambiguous tonality because of its semitone movement and outlining of a diminished seventh, may be associated with 'Edens Pforten' (the gates of heaven), the words at which it is first heard (ex. 24a):

Ex. 24a Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 9:

[Ziemlich langsam. \( \text{d} = 60 \)]

Strings

Harp
but it also sounds familiar because of its later role as the scherzo theme of the Second Symphony, to be written in 1845 (ex. 24b):

Ex. 24b Symphony no. 2 in C major, opening of scherzo:

Allegro vivace.

A more obscure motif can be detected at moments of special intensity, such as the pronouncement by the Angel that the Peri can indeed be redeemed (ex. 25a):

Ex. 25a Das Paradies und die Peri, outline of no. 3:

Etwas langsamer. \( j = 60 \).

[I can now reveal one joyful hope to you, child of a race which is beautiful, yet full of sin]

the end of the Peri's aria 'Ich kenne die Urnen' (ex. 25b):
Ex. 25b Das Paradies und die Peri, outline of the end of no. 4:

Did the diamond in a crown ever shine like the steps of Allah's wonderful throne?

the Peri sorrowing over the fate of mankind in no. 12 (ex. 25c):

Ex. 25c Das Paradies und die Peri,

outline of part of the Peri's recitative in no. 12:
Ex. 25c continued

[If you have any blooms left from Eden, the serpent creeps over them all!]

and when the Youth bids his beloved flee from him lest she catch the plague (ex. 25d):

Ex. 25d Das Paradies und die Peri, outline of part of no. 15:

[Nach und nach schneller.  \( \text{j} = 120 \).]

[You here? One breath from me brings you death!]
Perhaps too many expectations are aroused by dignifying it with the status of a 'motif', as it consists only of a rising or falling tetrachord, and it always appears in the accompaniment. But it does appear in recognisable form at many climaxes, and reference to Eric Sams shows that he has listed just such a motif as another of the 'Clara' themes that permeate Schumann's works. 41

Recent scholarship has shown that not only did Das Paradies und die Peri have a long period of gestation, but part of it was also subject to a major revision three months after the Ascension Day on which Schumann had first deemed it to be finished; the exact dates are given in Appendix B. 42 It appears that the original finale would have consisted of the opening arioso, 'Die Peri sah das Mal der Wunde', the Peri's 'Sei dies mein Geschenk', the ensuing solo and chorus which begins 'und würde nicht trüben die klarste Fluth' and the fugato chorus on 'Denn heilig ist das Bluth', giving a movement only half the length of the replacement. It is a matter of some regret that Schumann made this finale so much longer, for as remarked earlier he thereby fell into the trap of writing vast expanses of dominant seventh chords which destroy rather than build the climax. However, some happy touches can be found in the longer version, such as the trumpet fanfares which herald the new section, the interweaving of the 'Wen!' motif (see ex. 23c) and the use of solo voices towards the end as a contrast to the choral tutti. Schumann may also

41. Sams (2), p. 23
42. Nauhaus (1), p. 353, and (2), p. 741. The confirmation from the manuscript source was provided by Dr Rudolf Elvers of the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
have felt that the work as a whole did not have enough for the chorus to do (they appear in three of the nine movements of Part I, three out of eight in Part II, and four out of nine in Part III) and took this way of increasing their contribution to the work.

Das Paradies und die Peri had numerous performances in the 1840s and 1850s; but the work was in an unfamiliar style, and the many problems which beset it in performance (whether deliberate or not) did nothing to help its cause. Even such a partial friend and experienced musician as Wasielewski found the idiom difficult, though he conscientiously attended extra rehearsals in order to learn the work thoroughly. A play-through took place in October 1843, for which he was engaged as the viola player: there were soloists, a small chorus, five strings, and Clara filling in the remaining parts from her own piano reduction, under the direction of the composer. Wasielewski continues:

Soon after the run-through of Das Paradies und die Peri the full chorus rehearsals also began. They took place in the small hall of the Gewandhaus, which served in the beginning as a classroom for the pupils of the Conservatory. Although I found ample opportunity for getting to know the work better through being in the orchestra for the performances on 4 and 11 December 1843, I also assiduously attended the numerous piano rehearsals whereby I was able to impress upon my memory the tempi which Schumann took, as well as his intentions as regards the performance of the whole. Frau Clara Schumann gave the choir the necessary support with her perfectly judged piano accompaniment, whilst her husband took the baton. Mendelssohn was also present at one of these rehearsals. He sat down by Frau Schumann, turned the page for her, and sang in the solo entries in a few places in his pleasant light tenor. This incident did as much for the friendly relations between the two men, as the artistic care and devotion with which Mendelssohn

43. The Leipzig Conservatory had been started by Mendelssohn in April 1843. Schumann was on the staff as a teacher of piano, composition and score-reading; Clara also taught the piano.
went to work on the study and performance of Schumann's works in the Gewandhaus concerts. 44

The première on 4 December 1843 in aid of needy students at the recently founded Leipzig Conservatory went well, and the second performance on 11 December, also in Leipzig, was even better received. But performance problems increased substantially at the Berlin première in 1847. Schumann gave a brief outline in a letter of 20 February to Franz Brendel in Leipzig:

... A couple of words about the performance of the Peri. It was over-hasty; and I wanted to withdraw from conducting it myself, but I couldn't because it would have caused even more confusion. Some of the choruses went splendidly, the orchestra was passable - but the solo parts, the Peri and the tenor! In a city like that, to offer the audience such inadequate performances in spite of the [high] ticket prices! The blame, however, lay in the vagaries of two members of the theatre company, Tuczek and Herr Kraus, who suddenly cried off two days before the performance - the traitors - so that the tenor and soprano parts had to be taken by a couple of amateurs. They hardly got the notes - not to speak of anything else. So the piece made quite a good impression in many particulars - the Romanticism, the oriental character was not quite destroyed; but on the whole it was not understood. 45

Clara went into more detail in her diary: the inclusion of the work, she says, was a mere concession to modernity on the part of the Singakademie conductors Rungenhagen and Grell, and on account of this it was insufficiently well prepared, particularly by the soloists. Tuczek (the Peri) cried off, but Rungenhagen said that Madame Burkhardt would do it. Then Tuczek retracted and said she would sing after all, so Burkhardt had to withdraw. Then Kraus, the tenor, said he would not sing, and Rungenhagen suggested that he should be replaced by an amateur; Schumann found this so unacceptable that he declared he would not conduct, but would let the gentlemen of the Singakademie get on with it.

44. Wasielewski (2), pp. 5-6
45. Jansen (2), p. 233-34
Rungenhagen persuaded Schumann to go ahead with an orchestral rehearsal which went well - but the troubles were only just beginning.

On Sunday the fourteenth at 11 am there was a full rehearsal in the Singakademie ... Frl. Tuczek came to the rehearsal and sang pleasantly (as is customary with singers, she hadn't looked at the part) and efficiently; but Herr N. was dreadful, and Herr Z. so rough that we felt like beating him up. The altos were well served in Frl. Caspari and Madame Busse, née Fesca. The Maiden (Frl. Z.) yields nothing to her father in insensitivity and does him proud!

... On the afternoon of the fifteenth we had to have another rehearsal, and at two o'clock I went round to rehearse at Frl. Tuczek's, who said she would be at the Singakademie at five; but instead of coming, she sent a message to say that she wouldn't be able to sing, as she had been called away. As if this wasn't enough, Herr Kraus was already in the hall as we came in, but only to say that he couldn't sing, because Küstner (the Intendant) wouldn't let him. That was just too much, and we would rather have left straight away! Robert was very offended, and got Grell on the raw by reproaching him for his impertinence - he was forever trying to tell Robert how to conduct; and one of the directors, Herr Justizrat H., also got mixed up in this argument, and tried to advise Robert how he ought to stand to conduct; in short, everything conspired today to put us in the worst of humours ...

Later, while Schumann, made ill by the business, was spending much of his time in bed, Clara had separate rehearsals with the Peri and the bass soloist. There was an evening chorus rehearsal, for which Grell played abominably. Eventually, on the seventeenth, the performance took place (there had not been time for another full rehearsal).

It began at 6.30. Robert forgot all his worries at the sight of the orchestra and the many well-dressed women, and went cheerfully on stage. The King was there from beginning to end, and listened very attentively; the hall was packed and the attention great. Robert conducted very well ... The first two parts went well, apart from Neumann, who was horrible, but the third part went badly, the three principal soloists got completely lost, so that Grell had to play the tune on the piano, so they could find their places again. I stood up, horrified, and thought I should have sunk into the ground, so how must it have felt to the poor composer! In spite of the bad casting the work pleased very much and was spoken of

46. Litzmann, pp. 155-56
appreciatively in the papers, although one or two could not agree because the recitatives were treated as *arioso.*

The later history of *Das Paradies und das Peri* has not been happy: the first London performance, too, was beset by difficulties. It formed the last of the 1856 series of Philharmonic Society concerts, and was given on 23 June, a mere month or so before Schumann's death at Endenich. Clara was in London on a concert tour; she had had to work very hard at giving concerts and lessons in order to keep her large family of children since Schumann's departure for the asylum. She was active in helping the conductor, Schumann's old Leipzig friend William Sterndale Bennett, to prepare his forces for the performance:

Madame Schumann, who sang in the chorus at the concert, had actively assisted Bennett during the long and laborious rehearsals, upon which both he and all concerned had bestowed great pains ... The singing of Madame Lind-Goldschmidt was by itself sufficient to attract 'one of the largest and most brilliant assemblages' that George Hogarth had ever seen in the Hanover Square Rooms... The performance was praised by the critics; but three hours of music in a style as yet unfamiliar to English ears failed to hold the audience, and the work was very coldly received. 'With many beauties', wrote Hogarth - that kindest and most cautious of judges - 'it was on the whole laboured and heavy.'

Bennett's biographer, J.R. Sterndale Bennett, evidently felt that he had not said enough in explanation or extenuation, for he later made special mention of the circumstances of that 1856 performance:

As this performance failed to create a favourable impression of Schumann as a composer, and as the failure appears to have retarded the acceptance of his music as a whole, it seems only fair ... to observe that there were physical reasons sufficient of themselves to render success on the particular evening hopeless. The limits of the Hanover Square Rooms were stretched beyond endurance. The body of the hall ... could

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47. Litzmann, pp. 154-57
50. If the performance took three hours, some of the tempi must have been excessively slow.
51. Bennett, p. 248
seat, with little margin for comfort, 600 persons ... In the 1856 season, the Members, Associates, and Subscribers numbered 604 ... On very attractive occasions, ...100 extra tickets are said to have been sold ... The night on which the 'Paradise and the Peri' was produced under the aegis of Royalty, and with the assistance of the greatest and most attractive singer of the age, saw, according to every account, one of these overcrowded gatherings. The advent of the Royal Family with their Royal visitors, who came in an unusually large party, necessitated ample room being reserved for themselves and their attendants in front of the orchestra, and considerably reduced the space otherwise available for the audience. On the orchestra matters were as bad, and had more immediate effect. The stage, with its organ, looked well-filled when occupied by the band alone. When 80 chorus-singers were added, and six Soloists occupied seats in front, inches had to be counted before the stringed-instrument players could use their bows. The immediate proximity of Royalty naturally caused a certain restriction on the ease of performance. The conductor was not allowed to take up his usual position, and awkwardly faced his forces at the 'half-turn'. There was no method of ventilation in the Hanover Square Rooms other than by the opening of large sash-windows, a proceeding which was, of course, always violently resented by a section of the audience. The critic Davison, in his denouncement of the 'Paradise and the Peri', outdid himself in the direction of forcible expression, but he was not beyond bounds when he wrote of the poor audience being, as the oppressive evening wore on, half of them suffocated and the other half asleep.

A bizarre note is struck by the fate of Das Paradies und die Peri in the Third Reich: it was performed at the Schumann Festival held in Zwickau in 1943, with the structure of the work altered to conform with Nazi ideals - not the tear of the repentant sinner, but the last drop of blood shed for the Fatherland was the gift which redeemed the fallen Peri! This volte-face was achieved by one enormous transposition: the first four numbers of the work remained the same, then the rest of the first part was exchanged with the corresponding portion of the final part. This act of vandalism was perpetrated by a Nuremberg teacher in homage to the National Socialist regime.

52. Court protocol forbade anyone to turn his back on royalty.
53. Bennett, p. 454
54. Rehberg, p. 700
Performances this century, however, have been few. There are numerous obstacles to programming it: it is of an uncomfortable length - at just under two hours (pace William Sterndale Bennett), not including intervals, it is on the long side for a concert; the three sections dictate two intervals, unless a lop-sided effect is preferred; it requires an expensively large number of soloists - two sopranos, mezzo, alto, two tenors, baritone and bass, with little opportunity for doubling; it further requires a full complement of solo voices within the chorus, which must itself be of sufficient size to allow for divisi passages in all parts.

And yet this is not enough to account for the singular lack of popularity of a work which demonstrably contains so many beauties. There are similar difficulties in the way of presenting major repertoire works such as Bach's B minor Mass and Mahler's Eighth Symphony, but no-one would consider that sufficient reason for ignoring them. It may perhaps be suggested that Das Paradies und die Peri suffers from being not quite an oratorio, in the sense that it is neither biblical nor overtly Christian, so that audiences are perhaps unsure of how they should react to it. But if Handel's audiences could understand his oratorio librettos such as Israel in Egypt or Judas Maccabaeus not as mere slices of Jewish history but as demonstrations of the bond between God and nation, then there seems to be no reasons why Schumann's audiences cannot make the larger interpretation of personal salvation from this and other texts chosen by him. Whether the Peri is the most appropriate symbol for salvation will be a matter for consideration in the final chapter.

Das Paradies und die Peri, then, suffers from a number of weaknesses which on closer examination seem to stem from one fundamental flaw. Some of these weaknesses have already been exposed, such as the relentlessly
Lied-like character of the arias (which of course is aggravated by the studied avoidance of recitative), and the lack of purely orchestral passages to give breathing-space to the work; and there is a further serious error of judgement, which is that in this work - by definition a choral work - the choruses are by and large the least interesting things in it. The inimitable sound of massed voices should be the glory of such a work as well as its backbone, but (with a few notable exceptions) the choral movements of Das Paradies und die Peri lead one to wish that Schumann had restricted himself to his assortment of soloists. And here we approach the heart of the matter, the central mis-handling of the piece from which derive all the other weaknesses already detected: although it is certainly a narrative work, it cannot be called dramatic. There are numerous examples of missed opportunities, lack of pacing, mistiming of climaxes, and so on, of which the most egregious are:

the trumpet fanfare at the end of the battle music in no. 6, which seems to herald a climax but tails away to the arioso of no. 7;

the bathetic interjection 'Das sollst du büßen' ('You'll regret that') from Gazna, which ruins the dramatic contrast between the Youth's accusation and the chorus 'Weh!';

the holding-up of the action after the Peri has seen the plague-stricken land of Egypt by the gratuitous no. 13, 'Die Peri weint', with its unnecessary and premature emphasis on tears;

the use in no. 17, 'Schlaf' nun und ruhe', of choral recitative for the basses alone while the rest of the chorus repeat the opening phrases - it cannot possibly be heard or comprehended;

the juxtaposition of too many slow movements in Part III, for instance:
end of no. 23, Etwas langsamer. \( J = 80. \)

no. 24, \( J = 80. \)

no. 25, Langsam. \( J = 80. \)

which accounts in terms of time for approaching half of Part III;

and the less than humane demands made on the Peri, who after a full evening's singing is asked to sing the words 'wie selig' ('how blessed') on top As and then on top Cs.

This evidence forces us to the conclusion that Schumann, despite his wide knowledge of music and literature, had no idea where to start as a dramatist. To return to the Handelian example, we can see that Schumann succeeded in imitating the style of the oratorio choruses without being able to infuse them with the dramatic life which is inseparable from the originals. The most one can claim for Das Paradies und die Peri is that it is lyrical, in which case perhaps Schumann was unwise to erect such an elaborate superstructure upon such slender foundations.

The principal question at this stage is whether Schumann's lack of dramatic sense was due only to lack of experience, or to some blind spot in his artistic outlook. As it stood in 1843, the vast majority of his works, both musical and literary (certainly the most successful of them), were short-breathed and of limited span, so it is hardly surprising that he should find difficulty in covering a larger canvas; and the temptation to view the work as a sequence of miniatures is defeated by the size of the forces involved and the length of the tutti choruses in particular. We shall see, as we survey his later works, how he developed as he gained more experience in writing for different combinations of these larger forces.
CHAPTER 3

SOME SMALLER-SCALE CHORAL WORKS

Ritornelle op. 65 and WoO 12 and 17 (1847)
[3 Patriotic Choruses] WoO 13, 14, 15 (1848)

Der deutsche Rhein WoO 1 (1840)

Jagdlieder op. 137 (1849)

Motette, 'Verzweifle nicht im Schmerzenstal' op. 93 (1849)

Beim Abschied zu singen op. 84 (1847)

Adventlied op. 71 (1848)

Requiem für Mignon op. 98b (1849)

4 doppelchörige Gesänge op. 141 (1849)

Nachtlied op. 108 (1849)

Neujahrslied op. 144 (1849–50)

Festouvertüre über das Rheinweinlied op. 123 (1853)

For a number of years Schumann did not follow up his first major essay in the field of chorus writing, Das Paradies und die Peri. It is true that in 1844 he began to sketch what was eventually to become the Scenen aus Goethes Faust, but that remained incomplete for the time being, and it was not until the later 1840s that he turned in earnest to choral forces. The impetus for this was undoubtedly the responsibility of having choirs which he had to rehearse and which needed music to perform. The first of these was an ad hoc chorus for the Robert Schumann Festival staged in Zwickau in 1847, then came the Liedertafel (male voice choir) and Chorgesangverein (choral society) in Dresden, and latterly
there were similar organisations in Düsseldorf. In both Dresden and Düsseldorf he was involved with meetings of the Kränzchen, or private music club, and in Düsseldorf there was also the annual commitment to the Lower Rhine Music Festival. The points of particular musical interest here are to what extent Schumann kept to the conventional style of choral writing for each genre, and how far he travelled down new paths; and whether the existence of real choirs, available week by week to sing through his music and bring it ultimately to public performance, made any material alteration to his writing.

The Liedertafel

Each of the two choirs with which Schumann was associated in Dresden conveniently exemplifies an aspect of the German secular choral tradition, then in the early stages of its modern manifestation. The Liedertafel type of society was of comparatively recent origin. Carl Friedrich Zelter founded the first such in Berlin in 1809, with 24 members. As the name implies, the men did not arrange themselves in serried ranks for rehearsals but sat more convivially around a table (frequently on licensed premises) where they sang unaccompanied, and had their refreshments and smoking materials to hand. They were, of course, social clubs as much as musical societies, and their growing numbers in the first half of the nineteenth century testify to their popularity, helped no doubt by their informal character. Another feature was their patriotic fervour, expressed by the numerous songs in praise of the German fatherland. These were new and invigorating in a Germany that had been a mosaic of petty kingdoms since the Middle Ages and was only now, through the prosaic means of the customs union in 1840, achieving some kind of unity beyond that of a common language.
The original Berlin Liedertafel drew its musical material from its own members. Compositions were tried through, and those which found particular favour won a medal for their composers. This democracy of effort soon ceased, and certainly by the 1840s the Liedertafel organisations were being provided with music by most contemporary German composers. Dresden was the venue for the first two meetings of the great Saxon music festival for male voice choirs, in 1842 and 1843; and for the second year Wagner had written Die Liebesmahl der Apostel for the festival choir to perform. When Schumann took over the Dresden Liedertafel from Ferdinand Hiller in 1847, they looked to him to provide the novelties of their repertoire. Schumann's own connection with the choir did not last very long - about a year. The reason is given in his letter to the Dutch conductor Johannes Verhulst, dated 4 November 1848 (the first anniversary of Mendelssohn's death):

I also used to conduct a male voice choir, but I gave it up because it took up far too much time. And when you've been making your own music all day, you don't relish those eternal six-four chords of the male voice idiom.¹

The limitations imposed by the total range of male voices (excluding falsetto) will of necessity create just such an effect in the music of all but the most careful in part-writing and spacing. Again, in a letter to Ferdinand Hiller, dated 10 April 1849, we read:

However, I've given up the male voice choir; I found there was too little real musical effort - and I felt out of place there, charming people though they were. Julius Otto has got them now...²

But Schumann's compositions for groups of male voices did not cease with his relinquishing of the conductorship. Indeed, one of them, Das Glück von Edenhall, dates from his last creative year, 1853. That work

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1. Jansen (2), p. 250
2. Jansen (2), p. 257
properly belongs to the series of choral ballads and will be dealt with there; but in this chapter the other works for male voice choir, from 1847 to 1849, will be considered.

It seems undeniable that the first few settings of songs for male voice choir were indeed written in response to a pressing need for material for the weekly Liedertafel rehearsals. The time-scale was as follows:

20 September 1847 'In the evening, Hiller and his plan for Düsseldorf'³
(viz. that Hiller should succeed Rietz there, and that Schumann should then take over Hiller's Dresden Liedertafel)

20 October - 16 November 1847 Ritornelle op. 65
20 November 1847 'In the evening, first Liedertafel meeting'⁴
24-27 November 1847 More Ritornelle
29 November 1847 'Idea about a choral society'⁵
6-9 December 1847 3 Lieder op. 62
5 January 1848 '1st meeting of Chorgesangverein'⁶

It is also clear that Schumann's dissatisfaction with the Liedertafel type of ensemble must have been present almost from the start, for after only two rehearsals he notes in his diary the 'idea about [starting] a choral society'. The first rehearsal of the choral society took place a mere five weeks later.

Now let us return to the autumn of 1847 and see what music Schumann was writing for his new men's choir.

Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen op. 65 and WoO 12 and 17 (1847) for men's voices, unaccompanied.

That most prolific of poets, Rückert, was Schumann's source for these miniatures. *Ritornelle* does not refer to the musical form, for no musical ritornello appears; it is the poet's title for a series of epigrammatic four-line stanzas. *Lasst Lautenspiel, Gebt mir zu trinken* and *In Meeres Mitten* (the latter a conflation of three separate stanzas) come from the *Ritornelle* in Rückert's collection of Italian Poems. The remainder, including an unpublished setting, are taken from Rückert's *Vierzeiler*.

The *Ritornelle* in one sense are in marked contrast to Schumann's earlier works. After his intensive studies of counterpoint in 1845, he was able to sustain a credible canonic texture for a whole movement, instead of sketching a fugal exposition and then lapsing into free writing, as we saw in *Das Paradies und die Peri*. The *Ritornelle* are exemplary in their use of counterpoint, while the exigencies of the canon do not detract from the musical effect. At the same time, Schumann can be seen returning to an earlier manner in these pieces; after the larger-scale works of the early 1840's, the *Ritornelle* look back to the miniaturist vein of his piano genre pieces and Lieder.

Schumann contrives a good deal of contrast in his choice of voices. The first is for five solo voices, TTBBB; the second for three groups of four basses each; the third for three solo tenors and TTBB chorus; the fourth for three-part basses; the fifth for TTBB solo voices; the sixth for TTBB chorus; and the seventh song for TTBB again, presumably for chorus, although for once it is not stated whether chorus or solo voices is intended. It seems quite appropriate that nos. 2 and 4, with the preponderance of bass voices, should be hearty drinking songs with plain
diatonic harmonies, and that as more tenors are introduced, so the music becomes more chromatic and the atmosphere of the song more reflective. A notable exception to this general trend is the final song, *In Meeres Mitten*, which although scored for TTBB is clearly of the contemplative and chromatic kind.

Schumann's canonic procedures are also appropriately varied throughout the set, with simple rounds for the two drinking songs and more complex and subtle contrapuntal techniques for the more serious songs. In *Die Rose stand im Thau* the tenors and second and third basses sing in block harmonies, and the first bass sustains the canon at the distance of one bar and a fifth below the first tenor, who carries the melody.

Ex. 1 *Ritornelle* op. 65 no. 1, *Die Rose stand im Thau*:

Langsam und zart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenor I</th>
<th>Tenor II</th>
<th>Bass I</th>
<th>Bass II</th>
<th>Bass III</th>
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<tr>
<td>**Das er mal&gt;, das 2. mal auf, das 3. mal pp,</td>
<td>**Das er mal&gt;, das 2. mal auf, das 3. mal pp,</td>
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<td>**Das er mal&gt;, das 2. mal auf, das 3. mal pp,</td>
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*Langsam und zart.*

Composed 1845.
Ex. 1 continued

[The rose stood in the dew, pearl-grey; when the sun shone on it, it turned to rubies.]

For the main part of Blüth' oder Schnee! the three solo tenors sustain a canon at the unison, at a distance of 4 1/2 bars, while the chorus voices provide a perfect cadence at the end of each statement. It ends with a coda in antiphonal style, the three tenors and chorus first basses deployed against the chorus tenors and second basses.

Ex. 2 Ritornelle op. 65 no. 3, Blüth' oder Schnee!:

Langsam.

Tenor I.
Solo
[Ex. 2 continued]

Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind and In Sommertagen both follow a pattern in which the canon enters at the fifth at the distance of two and four bars respectively. In Meeres Mitten is described as a 'canon infinitus', but it differs from the infinity of the simple round in that at the end of each section the voices are a tone lower than at the beginning. The sensation of floating ever lower in the depths of the sea
is (fortunately for the basses) brought to an end by a short coda before the furthest limits of the second basses have been sounded.

Ex. 3 Ritornelle op. 65 no. 7, In Meeres Mitten:

[In the midst of the sea is raised an altar, all the women come with wreaths of roses, O pray for me to him, the boy Jesus!]

Perhaps the most successful of these songs are Die Rose stand im Thau and In Meeres Mitten; in both Schumann compounds his difficulties by the use of chromaticism, and yet not only are the canons strict, but the songs transcend their nature as contrapuntal studies. It is possible to
be unaware that the themes are subject to canonic restraints, because the songs are equally successful as Romantic miniatures without any perception of the technique that has shaped them.

There were originally eight canonic Ritornelle and, it seems, another Rückert setting associated with them. The manuscript source seen by Erler gives the following order:

Zum Anfang

I. Zürne nicht
II. Gebt mir zu trinken
III. Lasst Lautenspiel
IV. Die Rose stand im Thau
V. In Sommertagen
VI. In Meeres Mitten
VII. Hätte zu einem Traubenkerne!
VIII. Blüth' oder Schnee!

Not only was this order completely changed, but no. 7, Hätte zu einem Traubenkerne! (WoO 12) was dropped altogether. In fact the only similarity with the published order was that In Sommertagen and In Meeres Mitten already formed a pair. As for the opening title, Zum Anfang, Erler admitted in a footnote that he did not grasp its significance; but when we know that the Rückert text Mache deinem Meister Ehre (which Schumann set at this time) also has the title Zum Anfang, then we may conclude that Schumann at first intended this setting to stand at the head of his op. 65. Otherwise, it does not readily match the Ritornelle; although it too is for unaccompanied men's voices, it is not canonic, and perhaps on those grounds Schumann decided not to include it.

The rejected song, _Hätte zu einem Traubenkerne!_ (WoO 12), set for TTBB, is transcribed in appendix D. It is a light-hearted confection on a merry epigram of Rückert:

If only Heaven had destined me for a grape-pip – I know of no-one, far and near, who swims in pleasure quite like that!

It is set as a simple round, each voice entering on the same note. This produces something of a problem, as the tenors must go rather low and the basses rather high; but it does not seem a sufficient reason to withdraw it from publication, as Erler has suggested. Indeed, the opposition between $\frac{6}{\text{}}$ diatonic bars and the suddenly interjecting bars of $\frac{6}{\text{}}$ with stepwise chromatic movement is highly successful, and the repeated cries of 'Niemand!' are as amusing as the poem requires. It may be that it was ultimately rejected because it would have meant that the prevailing mood of the set would have been light-hearted or frankly comic, rather than serious as it now stands.

_Zum Anfang (Mache deinem Meister Ehre!)_ (WoO 17), also in appendix D, is a largely syllabic setting of the first six lines of a very extensive Rückert poem which runs to 86 lines in all. By repeating the first two lines Schumann contrives a refrain, with contrasting 'verses' in between. The harmonies are simple to the point of tedium, with occasional chromatic relief. Schumann also falls into the trap of doubling voices, thus reducing the harmonic texture, something which was impossible in the canonic songs; and for this reason and in its musical material it does not reach the level of interest of the _Ritornelle._ In fact, it seems to have much more in common with the songs written four months later during the political disturbances of 1848, which were also at one stage designated 'op. 65'.

These unpublished songs do not carry a collective title. Robert Elvin Plucker concluded that as they bore the opus number 65 they were intended to form part of the same series as the Ritornelle, but this seems hardly likely on the grounds of both style and subject matter. An edition of the Patriotic Choruses is included in Appendix D.

Schumann was twice inspired by political events. The May Rising of 1849 in Dresden, in which Wagner took a leading part, was the impetus behind his Four Marches (also called 'barricade marches') for piano, op. 76; and similarly in the previous year, political ferment gave rise to these three songs.

1848 was the year of revolution for many European countries. In Italy, riots against foreign rule became focused on the goal of national unification and liberation, and most of the revolutions in Germany, Austria and Hungary followed this popular and nationalist pattern. In France, a false move by a government losing its majority provoked riots and the setting up of barricades in Paris, the abdication of Louis Philippe, and the establishment of the short-lived Second Republic. There was a revolution in Switzerland, too, and riots in Britain and Belgium, which were likewise based on popular demands for social and democratic reforms.

The Confederation of Germany and Austria was ripe for revolution by 1848 for a number of reasons: in Prussia, there were stresses caused by the superimposition of a progressive bureaucracy on an old-style military and police state; in Austria, there was the suffocating repression of the administration of Prince Metternich, Chancellor of Austria, which had

8. Plucker, pp. 7-8
endured for thirty years; and on the Confederation as a whole there weighed heavily the dead hand of the governing Bundestag. This body misrepresented and virtually disenfranchised much of the population, and carried on its proceedings with exaggerated slowness. In Bavaria, King Ludwig I's infatuation with the notorious Lola Montez also furnished an excuse for riots, and brought about his abdication. The focus of revolutionary activity in Germany was Frankfurt-am-Main, where rioting began in March 1848; then Metternich fell from power in Austria on 13 March, which occasioned much popular rejoicing. On 15 March riots began in Berlin; by 18 March the amount of bloodshed brought about a period of public mourning, coupled with increasing resentment against King Frederick William IV, who would not accede to any of the demands for reform. On 18 May a new national constituent assembly was opened at Frankfurt-am-Main, which took a year to deliberate over a new federal constitution. This concerned only Germany, for Austria had withdrawn. The assembly had no power over the constituent states, and the constitution was not adopted; yet it did not ultimately fail, because Bismarck made some unacknowledged use of it in his constitution of 1867, and it was also drawn upon by the architects of the Weimar Republic in the aftermath of the First World War.

Schumann was very much on the side of the revolutionaries in 1848, though it never crossed his mind to give them anything more than passive support. For 18 March his diary entry reads Völkerfrühlings - 'the peoples' spring' - and the following day has 'In the evening, the great news from Berlin.' In early April he sketched his patriotic choruses. He chose suitably revolutionary texts: Zu den Waffen by Titus Ullrich,

Schwarz-Roth-Gold by Ferdinand, Freiherr von Freiligrath and Freiheitssang by Friedrich Fürst. They are set for four-part men's chorus, TTBB, and wind band consisting of the following: flute and piccolo, two oboes, four clarinets, two bassoons, four horns (valve horns are specified), two trumpets, alto, tenor and bass trombones, serpent (doubling the bass trombone part) and timpani. Schumann presumably expected these choruses to be published, for the manuscript in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris bears the opus number 65 - eventually allotted to the Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen.

The first song, Zu den Waffen, is perhaps the most successful of the three, as it is not so relentlessly homophonic as the others; variety is afforded by the use of imitative points and striking unison passages. There is a curious repeated false relation between E natural and E flat brought about by the juxtaposition of harmonic and melodic minor scales (although the piece is really in B flat minor, not F minor).

The second piece, Schwarz-Roth-Gold (referring to the colours of the republican flag), starts off rather plainly as a German student song in close harmony (one may compare it to Tannenbaum and Gaudeamus igitur) which may imply that Schumann was influenced by the Burschenschaften in at least one way, loath though he would have been to admit it. However, the song becomes more interesting when we reach the enumeration of the colours:

    Pulver ist schwarz,
    Bluth ist roth,
    Goldenflackenden Flammen!
    [Gunpowder is black, blood is red, golden flickering flames!]

The voice parts imitate bugle calls here as befits a refrain in such a belligerent vein.
The final chorus, Freiheitssang, seems the least inspired, with voices set in close spacing and plain root-position harmonies. However, with a sufficiently large chorus and a good resonant acoustic it would probably take on a quality of somewhat primitive monumental grandeur, enhancing its character as a rather dignified call to revolution. The connection to be made here ought to be with the massive, ultra-simple outdoor choruses written for the people of post-Revolutionary Paris by such composers as Méhul and Lesueur, but there is no evidence that Schumann was acquainted with any of these works, which by their nature would not necessarily travel far or well.

The wind band accompaniment is perhaps the most interesting feature of these choruses, emphasising the militaristic side of revolutionary fervour, although it seems unlikely that it has ever been heard in its entirety. The only performance in Schumann's lifetime was of the third song, Freiheitssang, on 10 May 1848 as part of a charity concert by the Allgemeine Dresdner Sängerverein and the Musikchor von Hartung in the Große Wirtschaft. Since the songs were eventually published without their wind band accompaniment, it seems reasonable to suppose that this performance remains unique. Schumann helpfully titled the choruses 'Für Männerchor mit Begleitung der Harmoniemusik ad libitum' but while the option of omitting the accompaniment makes performances easier to stage, it also makes them much less interesting. Furthermore, the phrase 'ad libitum' points to another flaw in the construction of the choruses: the wind band accompaniment is ad libitum precisely because the voice parts are complete in themselves, and therefore the wind parts add nothing essential to them, but are for the most part mere doublings of the vocal

10. Nauhaus (2), pp. 460 and 765 (note 638)
lines. Schumann has succeeded in supporting his voices adequately, but has also thickened the texture without adding any interesting or decorative detail.

Only one of the choruses was published in Schumann's lifetime, and again it was the third song, Freiheitssang. It was part of an album sold in aid of the Women's Union Fund 'to purchase war transport for the Fatherland' (that is to say, the Kingdom of Prussia) in that same revolutionary year of 1848. Presumably this meant that Schumann did not receive any payment for the song, but donated it to help the cause - a strange move for one who earlier had applauded the revolutionaries. The other two remained unpublished until the set of three were brought out as unaccompanied choruses in the Revue musicale of April 1913. The editor, Julien Tiersot, described them as Trois chœurs de Robert Schumann: pour la révolution de 1848, and provided them with French words. A German edition followed, in response to further political excitement: Zu den Waffen, for chorus and piano, and Schwarz-Roth-Gold, for chorus alone, were published by the Deutscher Arbeiter-Sängerbund in early 1914 and late 1913 respectively. After war was declared, Freiheitssang, for unaccompanied chorus, was published in an appendix to Die Musik of October 1914. This was apparently a reprint of the 1848 publication and it ends at bar 20 with a final cadence. The complete version of the three choruses with wind band accompaniment remains unpublished, but can be examined in Appendix D.

11. Hofmann, pp. 350-51
Der deutsche Rhein WoO 1 (1840) for soloist, chorus and piano.

This isolated example of a patriotic chorus for mixed voices and piano pre-dates the male voice choruses by eight years, but it seems sensible to consider it here because it shares similar sentiments with the Liedertafel compositions.

Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, 
den freien deutschen Rhein
- 'they shall not have the free German Rhine' - runs the couplet which recurs throughout this piece. The poet Nicolaus Becker wrote this popular poem in 1840, which was a prolific year for patriotic effusions - Schneckenburger's Die Wacht am Rhein also made its appearance. Schumann worked on his own setting in November 1840, and it seems to have been his first popular success. In the diary to be kept alternately by the newly married Robert and Clara he wrote for 8-15 November 1840:

I have also composed the beautiful Rheinlied by Bekker [sic], which all Germany is talking about, it will be published in a few days. I have already seen on that account how difficult it is to write tunefully for the people."12

His publisher, Friese, brought out several different versions of Schumann's Der deutsche Rhein. In the joint diary Schumann began by listing visitors for 22-29 November:

... and a musician called Hauschild, who has made a galop out of my Rheinlied. The Rheinlied has given rise overall to a great deal of emotion and hullabaloo. Friese has arranged a school edition, which we want to study really thoroughly with our future children (if God will).13

On 2 December 1840 Clara added:

The Rheinlied has now gone through its fifth edition. Robert has sent it to Weimar [arranged] for four-part men's voices, and it will be performed there. He has also set it for orchestra and chorus, which will be performed next Sunday in the Schützenhaus. There all the settings of the Rheinlied will

be performed, and votes will be taken, as to which has the most appeal. This is an agreeable joke for the public, but not for the composers. 14

The school edition, the male voices edition and the version for chorus and orchestra are all lost; only the version for soloist, chorus and piano in the Collected Edition is extant. The competition took place in early December 1840 and the prize was won by Gustav Kunze, who was later to be army bandmaster in Dresden during Schumann's years there. Schumann wrote in the joint diary for 6-13 December 1840:

On the 6th was the Rheinlied competition at the Schützenhaus, and we must have been mad to go. G. Kunze won the prize. The enthusiasm of the public is still very great. Friese has disposed of about 1500 copies of my version. 15

Despite its early popularity, however, Der deutsche Rhein proved to have no staying power after the first patriotic gush of enthusiasm, and survives only because of its inclusion in the Collected Edition.

The plan of the song is simple: the solo voice alternates with the chorus over a chordal piano accompaniment, and most unusually (the more so as by now Schumann was an experienced Lieder writer) it starts straight off with the voice and piano, with no introductory bars. Such a crude approach, however, could be said to suit the style of the piece, which yields nothing in obviousness and insensitivity to the patriotic choruses of 1848. The resemblance does not end there: there is a melodic correspondence between the third line of Der deutsche Rhein, with its rising scale, and the third line of Freiheitssang (see ex. 4) - a striking example of a similar sentiment calling forth a similarity in the setting.

Ex. 4a  Der deutsche Rhein WoO 1 (1840), third line:

[Mit Begeisterung]

\[
\text{ob sie wie gier'ge - Ra'-ben}
\]

[though they, like greedy ravens]

Ex. 4b  Freiheitssang WoO 15 (1848), third line:

[Feurig]

\[
\text{Der Ra' - ben un-heil-kün-dend [Schrei'n] wird de - ren [Flug nicht bürren]}
\]

[The ominous croaking of ravens will not (impede your flight)]

The lack of subtlety in the words is matched well by the four-square setting: two four-bar phrases in the tonic, two four-bar phrases in the dominant, repeat of the two tonic phrases by the chorus. This plan is strictly adhered to without any variation, even in the accompaniment, except for gradually weightier chords as the piece progresses, so that the three-bar coda comes as a great relief. Schumann is not the only composer to have found this sort of material unsuitable for development; we need only to recall Berlioz's relentless setting of seven verses of the Marseillaise to realise that the only thing to do with a patriotic song is to sing it with more and more emphasis.
In the long term, *Der deutsche Rhein* has never caught on as a popular patriotic song, let alone found favour as a work of art, and there is no reason beyond that of historical interest for it to survive.

5 Gesänge aus H. Laube's Jagdbrevier op. 137 (1849) for men's voices and horns *ad libitum*.

With the *Jagdlieder* we enter the Romantic forest world familiar from *Der Freischiitz*. These five songs for men's voices and four horns were finished on 21 May 1849, just over a week after the insurrection in Dresden from which the Schumanns had fled; and the songs show no sign of having been influenced by revolutionary fervour. Despite his much-canvassed shortcomings as an orchestrator, Schumann wrote fluently and idiomatically for the horn, as witness the horn parts in the 'Rhenish' Symphony and the *Faustscenen*, and of course that unique achievement in the concerto repertoire, the *Konzertstück* for four horns and large orchestra op. 86. With the improvements in instrument design which led to the development of the valve horn, the orchestral horn was liberated from the tonic and dominant underlinings which had been staple fare up to the end of the eighteenth century, and Schumann was one of the earliest to realise its full Romantic potential.

Schumann had already found in Laube's *Jagdbrevier* the impetus for his *Waldscenen* for piano, op. 82, composed between 28 December 1848 and 6 January 1849. The words in op. 137 are set for two tenors and two basses throughout; the instrumental parts are for four natural horns, although the fourth can be a valve horn. The horns are all designated '*ad libitum*', presumably in the hope of removing obstacles to performance, though (as in the case of the patriotic choruses) the most interesting, progressive and characteristic feature of the work would thereby be
removed. In the Jagdlieder, too, the harmonies of the vocal parts are complete in themselves; but the horns add so much in textural interest and independent rhythmic effects, as well as the preludes and postludes to three of the songs, that it would be a waste of a golden opportunity to leave them out, even with the composer's sanction.

The first song, Zur hohen Jagd, is a call to join the huntsman, with merry tonic and dominant horn calls; the limitations of the latter are neatly extended by the use of related and more remote keys. The atmosphere is reminiscent of the chorus which opens Act III of Der Freischütz. The third and fifth songs, Jagdmorgen and Bei der Flasche, are in a similar vein of open-air merriment. No. 5 also voices the patriotic sentiments without which no male-voice chorus is really complete: 'Germany is the only country where hunting is worthwhile - France is too light and open, England too full of clattering factories.'

The second song, Habet Acht!, makes great play with sudden dramatic silences as the huntsmen creep through the forest, with sudden fortes and sforzandi to increase the tension.

The fourth song, Frühe, is the most interesting of the set. It almost belongs with the op. 65 Ritornelle - it is not strictly canonic, but the voices enter in imitative style, very much in the manner and atmosphere of Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind.
Ex. 5 Jagdlieder op. 137 no. 4, Frühe:

[The huntsman rises early and begins the daily round]

(The D flat in bar 6, first horn, must be a misprint; probably it should be B flat, to double the first tenor part.) The text of Frühe could well have been taken for another of the hearty, convivial choruses, but instead we find a bias towards the minor key, a slow tempo, wistful downward chromaticisms in the horns and unexpected falls of a major seventh in the vocal lines. The harmony is pulled between dominant sevenths in opposing keys (G minor and B flat major), but after a central
section in which the major becomes more and more prominent, the opening music returns and leads to a coda where the key of D minor is eventually established. Even then, the final chord is a tierce de picardie, as though to underline the modal ambiguity.

Motette: Verzweifle nicht im Schmerzensthal, op. 93 (1849, orchestrated 1852) for double choir of men's voices, with organ ad libitum or orchestra.

In this piece Schumann departs from the strict Liedertafel orbit in size, scope, forces involved and subject matter. Verzweifle nicht is very much longer than Schumann's other male voice choir compositions, so much so that it is divided into discrete movements. The double choir of men's voices with four soloists from each choir would have strained the resources of any contemporary Liedertafel, and the Motette was clearly felt to be too long and difficult to perform a cappella, for in late June 1850 Schumann added a part for organ accompaniment which was used on 4 July in a performance by the Leipzig University choral society. The orchestral accompaniment was provided in May 1852.

Alone amongst Schumann's compositions for men's voices, the title of the Motette suggests that it might be a religious work. 'Schmerzensthal' inevitably suggests to Western minds the image of 'the valley of the shadow of death' of Psalm 23. Indeed, it is a religious work, but 'religious ... without religion', 16 as Schumann once described himself. Its ecumenical - not even specifically Christian - flavour results from the use of a text which is a translation of a Muslim writer by a Christian poet. Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866) was a minor figure in

16. Eismann (3), Beylage zur Hottentottiana, p. 242
German literature who suffered from too great facility in writing and from a complete inability to destroy anything he had ever written. Thus the occasional jewel among his verses is hidden in the immense mediocrity of his Collected Works. However, composers have found them a source of inspiration: Schumann made several Rückert settings, as did Mahler, who owed some of his most celebrated songs to Rückert, including the Kindertotenlieder. The text for Schumann's Motette comes from Rückert's later years, in which he was gripped by an enthusiasm for Oriental studies, resulting in the publication of several translations from the Arabic and some Nachdichtungen, poems after (Arabic) models.

The work in which the poem Verzweifle nicht appears is Die Verwandlungen des Abu Seid von Serug oder die Makame des Hariri (The Metamorphoses of Abu Zaid of Serug, or the Maqamat of Hariri), first published in Stuttgart in 1837. Hariri, a scholar from Basra, was one of the later classical Arabic writers, and the prose style of his period (c. 1110 AD) was marked by a great increase in literary artifice, which is considered to have reached a particularly high point in his Maqamat. Rückert's word Makame is a transliteration of Arabic script rendered variously as Makam(e) or Maqam(at) in roman. Rückert explains:

Makame means a place where you can meet and converse, then a conversation itself, a conversational recital or extract, or as we should say a story or a novel." These 'conversations' are short stories with interpolated poems, but closer examination reveals that the stories too (in Rückert's version, at any rate), although run-on like prose, are also written in verse. They revolve around the character and adventures of Abu Zaid, a witty and amiable rogue, who turns up in all kinds of disguises in every

17. Rückert, p. III
conceivable situation. Schumann also based his op. 66 piano duets, Bilder aus Osten, on the exploits of Abu Zaid, and in the preface to that work he compared him to that other practical joker, Till Eulenspiegel.

Verzweifle nicht comes from the sixteenth Makame, Der Krankenbesuch ('Visiting the sick'); Abu Zaid's witty sayings and doings are not mentioned in the poem, which although ostensibly Islamic in outlook has acceptably Christian precepts, recommending patience and faith until the purposes of the Lord shall be revealed. This is another work from the immediate post-revolution period in Dresden, and like the Jagdlieder (which preceded the Motette by two days) it shows no sign of the influence of external convulsions.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty Schumann faced at the outset is the one posed by the metre; the octosyllabic line

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^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^
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which remains constant throughout gives little scope for rhythmic interest, especially to a composer whose style rarely departs from the syllabic. His initial solution of triple time is potentially hazardous, but where performers can be relied upon to keep up a sufficiently fast tempo (almost one in a bar) it accords well with the gentle, resigned character of the text. Although much of the work remains in triple time it is interesting to note that the two further themes based on the opening motif ('Und hoffe Gut's vom Hauch des Herrn', no. 4, and 'Und Freuden ohne Zahl lässt blüh'n', no. 5) are set in C and F; see ex. 6, in particular comparing exx. 6a, 6e and 6f. But the unusual feature of this work is the wide range of diverse thematic material:
Ex. 6a Motette: Verzweifle nicht im Schmerzensthal,

opening of no. 1:

[Do not despair in the valley of pain]

Ex. 6b Motette, no. 1, imitative theme:

[The cloud threatens, there falls from it a ray of light, not a shower of rain]
Ex. 6c Motette, opening of no. 2:

Ziemlich langsam. \( J = 72 \).

\[ \text{Ex. 6c Motette, opening of no. 2:} \]

\[ \text{Ex. 6d Motette, opening of no. 3:} \]

and noch ist's nicht kahl.

[Many winters have passed over your head, and it is not yet bald]

[Persevere in suffering, until it gives way to the one who ordained it]
Ex. 6e Motette, opening of no. 4:

[And hope for good things from the breath of the Lord]

Ex. 6f Motette, opening of no. 5:

[(the gracious Lord) lets bloom joys without number]

Ex. 6g Motette, fugato subject in no. 5:

[who lets bloom joys without number]
Ex. 6h Motette, final fugato subject in no. 5:

[alla breve. \( J = 100 \)]

[and hope for good things from the breath of the Lord]

This is a lengthy work and it is divided into five movements, thus:

1. Verzweifle nicht  
   B flat major  
   \( \frac{3}{4} \) (145 bars)

2. Viel Winter  
   G minor  
   C (49 bars)

3. Harr' aus im Leid  
   B flat major  
   \( \frac{3}{4} \) (115 bars)

4. Und hoffe Gut's  
   G flat major  
   C (22 bars)

5. Und Freuden ohne Zahl  
   B flat major  
   \( \frac{3}{4} \), then \( \frac{1}{4} \) (264 bars)

The fifth movement is much longer than the others, almost twice the length of the other extensive movements, nos. 1 and 3. In practice this is rather unfortunate, as such long-drawn-out climaxes can prove very trying for both chorus and audience, who may already be prone to flagging towards the end of such a long work.

The theme heard at the opening (ex. 6a) with its rising semitone movement is of great importance, for it recurs throughout the work, both in its original form and in inversion. However, the work is not monothematic: there are sufficient themes unrelated to the principal one to give variety and contrast (see again ex. 6). Its rather muted colours may be the result, firstly, of the use of male voices - none of which (even the most stratospheric of tenors) has the ringing brilliance of a soprano line - and, secondly, of the almost universal use of B flat major
and G minor. The only exceptions to this are G flat major for the brief fourth movement, and a passage in G major at 'Vertrau' dich' in the second movement, which lasts only 19 bars. This short passage, however, contains some of the most striking harmonic touches, juxtaposing G major, E major and C major in the first three bars; see ex. 7.

Ex. 7 Motette, no. 2, bars 28-32:

[Trust in the concealed hand]

The lack of adventurous modulation in the piece as a whole is probably explained by the relentless pull towards B flat major exerted by the rising or falling semitone passage; it rarely appears at any other pitch. B flat major, too, is particularly suitable for the tessitura of male voices, for its outer limits include a high tonic for tenors and a low dominant and subdominant for second basses.

Schumann's handling of his choral forces is exemplary. There are two main pitfalls in the use of this particular range of voices, one the 'ewige Quartssextakkorde' of which he complained so bitterly in his letter to Verhulst, and the other the temptation to misuse the double choirs by
merely doubling a basic four-part texture. Schumann easily avoids the latter snare. He has two main procedures: one is using the choirs (or groups of solo voices) antiphonally, so that one echoes, or completes the phrases of, the other; the second is the use of one choir or group of voices to form the basis of a whole phrase, bringing in some voices of the other choir to thicken the harmony and add weight, particularly at climaxes. The antiphonal technique can be seen in ex. 7, and the adding of voices in ex. 8.

Ex. 8 Motette, opening of no. 1:

[Do not despair in the valley of pain]
As for the 'eternal six-four chords', they are more conspicuous by their absence, appearing only at cadences, as might be expected in any piece of music from this period.

One aspect of the work seems particularly idiosyncratic, and that is the handling of the climaxes. Schumann works up to a grand dramatic point at such moments as 'der heisst, der ihm zu nah'n befahl' or 'da fällt aus ihr ein Lichtstrahl, nicht ein Wetterstrahl', and here the harmony is simplified to basic I - V and (more frequently) I - IV progressions in a plain homophonic style, while the climax as such is provided by the use of all voices, as shown in ex. 9.

Ex. 9 Motette, climax of no. 1 at bars 93-97:

[Die Halben wie vorher die Gange.]
This reliance on added weight and monumental simplicity can all too easily descend into bathos, however, and it calls for extremely careful handling in performance.

On the whole, the Motette works extremely well, extraordinarily so considering the limitations that Schumann imposed on himself: unity of key to a large extent, unity of texture, a largely syllabic style with its attendant danger of monotony in such an extended piece, the chiaroscuro of two choirs of men's voices, and the deliberate avoidance of Orientalisms in the setting of a work which, unlike Das Paradies und die Peri, genuinely did originate from the Middle East.

The Chorgesangverein and Liederkranz

The history of choral societies in Germany goes back slightly further than that of the male voice choirs, to the founding of the Berlin Singakademie in 1790. This society, like the Berlin Liedertafel, was later conducted by Carl Friedrich Zelter.

The social organisation of the choral societies was quite different from that of the Liedertafel meetings. They met in large halls where a piano would be available to accompany their rehearsals, sat in rows according to what part they sang, faced the conductor, and were very much more 'family' associations, on account of their lady members. They gave concerts of unaccompanied choruses, or works with piano accompaniment, as well as forming the choir for performances of works such as Haydn's Creation or Beethoven's Choral Symphony. This was the type of choir exported to England by such diverse figures as Mendelssohn and Wilhelm Mainzer, who organised the hugely successful mass singing classes and choral festivals in London. (There was, to be sure, a home-grown English article. Choirs of amateurs, suitably stiffened by professionals such as
church and cathedral choristers, had been formed for occasions like the Handel Commemoration in 1784, and for the Birmingham and Norwich Festivals; but it is worth observing how different this is from countries with several permanent opera houses all with resident choruses and soloists, and how the music has differed as a result.) The German choral societies also met socially. Schumann mentions outings from both Dresden and Düsseldorf which gave opportunities for music-making as well as sightseeing; details will be found in Appendix F.

In both Dresden and Düsseldorf Schumann attended meetings of the Kränzchen ('little garland') or music club, an informal organisation meeting at the homes of its members. His diary entries give few details of the music performed, but it seems that their chief preoccupation was contemporary music. For instance, on 23 January 1845 he records

> In the evening, Kränzchen at Hiller's - my quintet - compositions by Hiller - songs by Tichatschek - Bendemann - ...  

Schumann attended very few Kränzchen evenings in Dresden, although he was present on the evening of 17 December 1845 (again at Hiller's) when Richard Wagner read his text of *Lohengrin* to the company.

In Düsseldorf Schumann initiated the Kränzchen meetings. A single meeting on Sunday 30 March 1851 to sing through Der Rose Pilgerfahrt generated such enthusiasm that about thirty members agreed to meet fortnightly; and a separate Quartettkränzchen was also started. Diary entries show Schumann attending Kränzchen meetings once or twice a week at various houses during the period 7 September 1851 to 18 April 1852, but again very little detail of works is given, only the following:

Sunday 30 March 1851
Sunday 7 December 1851 Der Rose Pilgerfahrt
Sunday 18 January 1852 Der Königssohn
Sunday 25 January 1852
Sunday 18 April 1852 Messe

Both Robert and Clara Schumann were appalled at the casualness with which the Düsseldorfer treated their musical evenings, and were relieved to see them end at Easter 1852. The choral society Kränzchen was marred by people who would sit and chat instead of singing, and the quartet Kränzchen failed very early because the members (most of them professionals) would not practise, and could not play their parts. The seeds of Schumann's troubles in Düsseldorf were already apparent in the Düsseldorfer's attitude to their musical recreation and in Schumann's reaction to it.

The Dresden Chorgesangverein was actually founded by Schumann. The diary entry for 29 November 1847 includes 'Idea about a choral society.' He referred to its inception in a letter to Ferdinand Hiller, dated 1 January 1848:

And the choral society is coming to life - on the 5th we have our first meeting. Up to now there are 117 members - that's to say 57 real ones, the others associates. All this has kept me very busy.

There are more details about the early days in the book which commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the choral society, Festschrift zur Feier des 50-jährigen Jubelfestes am 5. Januar 1898, published in that year by the Schumann'sche Singakademie zu Dresden. A founder member, Fräulein von Lindemann, has left this description:

20. Litzmann, pp. 235-36
22. Erler (1), p. 41
It was on 5 January 1848 that a group of musical ladies and gentlemen met at the written invitation of Dr Robert Schumann in the Gartensaal of the Harmoniegesellschaft in Dresden, to found a new choral society. The assembled company, received and greeted by Robert and Clara Schumann, received from both artists a personal impression that gave quite a feeling of consecration to this first meeting. After a short speech, in which Robert Schumann expressed the opinion that the most important basis of a choral society had to be the development of tone, we sang - I sang alto - a solfeggio for chorus, which Schumann had composed for this purpose; it was a tuneful piece based on the musical scale. Before we got on to other choruses, Robert Schumann expressed the view that the new society should cultivate new music, however without excluding the older classics. Then we talked about the name of the new society. Schumann at first wanted to call it 'Cäcilienverein', but as there was already a choral society of that name in Dresden, it was simply called 'Chorgesangverein' on Robert Schumann's suggestion. From now on the society met every Wednesday evening and grew in membership. The first concert took place on 30 April 1848 at 11 am in the hall of the then Coselsches Palais, behind the Frauenkirche ... We sang Gade's Comala, then songs by Robert Schumann, Mich zieht es nach dem Dörfchen hin, Hochlands Bursch, and Hochlands Mädchen. [from the op. 55 Burns settings]

The extant solfeggio for SATB is marked 'Nro. 4' in Schumann's hand; it is in A major and consists of three eight-bar phrases of block chords. Fräulein von Lindemann's phrase 'based on the musical scale' does little to prepare the sight-singer for its complexities. In the first phrase, the tenor part has a descending chromatic scale of which every second note is harmonised by a diminished seventh chord. The soprano to this is remarkably angular, with leaps of sixths up and sevenths down. In the second phrase the soprano has the scale, which is now diatonic and in E major, while the angularity moves to the bass, which has descending

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23. This solfeggio and a companion piece for male voices remain unpublished; the manuscripts are at the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau. Two further solfeggi mentioned in Schumann's own list of pieces rehearsed with the Chorgesangverein have disappeared.

24. The concert on 30 April 1848 was the second performance given by the Chorgesangverein; its debut performance was on 26 March 1848, as shown in the diary entries (Nauhaus (2), pp. 456 and 764, note 630); see also Appendix F.

25. Festschrift, p. 8. Additions in square brackets are my own.
sevenths and ascending ninths. The third phrase is a repeat of the first, with the soprano and tenor parts interchanged and the alto and bass remaining virtually the same.

We catch a glimpse of a rehearsal in one of Schumann's letters to Franz Brendel, dated 3 July 1848:

I get a lot of pleasure out of my choirs, particularly the full chorus. At the moment we're sight-singing Beethoven's Missa Solemnis, so that we'll at least get the hang of it - and I do enjoy it when they persevere through thick and thin. But we also study, when a performance is approaching: at the moment, Gade's Comala.  

The meetings of the choral society were suspended during the 1849 May Insurrection in Dresden, but recommenced a few weeks later with rehearsals for the Goethe Centenary Festival concert; this will be described in more detail in chapter 5, Scenen aus Goethes Faust.

The Dresden Chorgesangverein continued long after the Schumanns had left the town, and eventually adopted the name 'Robert-Schumann-Singakademie' in honour of its founder.

Beim Abschied zu singen, op. 84 (1847) for SATB soli and chorus with wind band or piano accompaniment.

This little piece, which of course predates the formation of the Dresden Chorgesangverein, was written to provide a work with which to close the 1847 Robert Schumann Festival in Zwickau. This festival stemmed from a proposal by Emanuel Klitzsch, the municipal music director in Zwickau, that Schumann should conduct a charity performance of Das Paradies und die Peri in the town, in aid of the poor in the Upper Erzgebirge. From this grew the idea of mounting a small music festival, originally planned for 30 June and 1 July 1847.  

Beim Abschied zu singen was still in the process of being scored when Schumann wrote to the organisers of the Zwickau festival on 10 June 1847 with his suggestions for the closing concert:

Part I 1) Symphony 28  2) Aria from Figaro (Dove sono)  
3) My concerto  
Part II 1) Overture to Cherubini's Water Carrier  2) Lieder  
3) Solo pieces for piano (Bach Fugue (the A minor, really for organ) Mendelssohn Song without Words, and a bravura finale).  
As an encore I wondered about a little song for chorus and wind instruments on the Feuchtersleben 'Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath' which I composed a few weeks ago with the Zwickau festival in mind, but haven't written out yet ... It's a very easy composition and can be sight-read.  

On 21 June 1847, the day on which he had finished the score of Beim Abschied zu singen, he wrote again:

Herewith too my Song on Parting; it seems a bit sentimental to me. Let's try it through, though, at least! If it then seems a bit too sad for the closing item, we can leave it out. Don't put it into the programme.  
But it would be lovely if I could hear it at the Wednesday rehearsal. Try it with just your choir. The chorus doesn't have to be very strong - eight to a part would do - without the soloists. I want it to be really softly and tenderly sung and played.  

But by the next day all the arrangements had been thrown into confusion by the sudden death of the Schumanns' youngest child, Emil, aged eighteen months. Schumann wrote again to Klitzsch, asking for a postponement, and after one or two suggestions the festival was rescheduled for 10 and 11 July. Beim Abschied zu singen was put in as an encore in the concert of 10 July, oddly enough in a programme containing no other choral music; Schumann's original suggestion was adopted and it was given as the final item, though not included on the printed programme.  

The wistful, charmingly valedictory verse by Ernst, Freiherr von Feuchtersleben is divided into two parts which Schumann sets as two

28. Schumann's own C major symphony, no. 2  
29. Erler (1), p. 25  
30. Erler (1), p. 27
strophic verses; the number of lines is unequal, but repetitions in the second part bring it to the required length. The second part, too, has an important change to the minor at the words 'dann weine'.

Ex. 10 Beim Abschied zu singen, second stanza:

[There will only be less time, and she will leave you quite alone, so]
Schumann uses simple block harmonies in a syllabic style throughout, but contrast is provided by the solo voices, alone or in combination, between the phrases for chorus. The accompaniment is almost entirely a doubling of the vocal parts, except for the little phrase that forms a prelude, interlude and postlude to the piece.

The opportunity of having a farewell song proved too good for anyone to waste, and thereafter Schumann found this song being sung to him on the occasion of any and every parting, for instance on leaving Dresden for Düsseldorf in 1850, when the Dresden choral society sang it for him.

Adventlied op. 71 (1848) for soprano solo, chorus and orchestra.

Like the Motette op. 93, this work (written in November 1848) is a setting of a religious text by Rückert, and was referred to by Schumann as a 'church piece'. The poem comes from Rückert's collection Pantheon and is found in the third of its five sections, Kirchenjahr, the Church's Year. Again and again its imagery awakes echoes of New Testament references; for instance,

... empfang' ihm froh, Jerusalem;
trag' ihm entgegen Friedenspalmen,
bestreu' den Pfad mit grünen Halmen...

[... receive him joyfully, Jerusalem;
meet him with palms of peace,
strew his path with green branches ...]

recalls the entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, and

Und wo du kommest hergezogen
da ebnen sich des Meeres Wogen,
es schweigt der Sturm, von dir bedroht

32. Matthew, xxi, vv. 8-9
[And where thou comest drawing near,
the waves of the sea become smooth,
the storm is silenced, threatened by thee]

reminds us of the stilling of the waves on the Sea of Galilee. 33 This overwhelmingly Gospel-based imagery may well have had a special appeal for Schumann's humanitarian, vaguely religious feelings; the Lutheran faith in which he had been brought up placed great emphasis on Bible reading (and in the vernacular, too) as opposed to liturgical observance. Then in the final stanza of the poem we find sentiments that would surely have appealed to him even more strongly:

O lass dein Licht auf Erde siegen,
die Macht der Finsternis erliegen
und lösche' die Zwietracht Glimmen aus,
dass wir, die Völker und die Thronen,
vereint als Brüder, immer wohnen
in deines grossen Vaters Haus!

[O let thy light be victorious upon earth,
the might of darkness give way
and extinguish the smoulders of discord,
so that we, peoples and thrones,
united as brothers, live for ever
in thy great Father's house!]

This recalls the world-view of Schiller's Ode to Joy in which the essential brotherhood of mankind is the point emphasised. Since 1945 many scholars based in East Germany have tried to show that Schumann was a good socialist, as we understand it today. The evidence is very slender, and the whole attempt is misguided in the sense that nothing like modern socialism existed in the 1840s and 50s. Nevertheless it is true that Schumann was on the people's side against the oppressors in the revolutionary convulsions of 1848-49, and the idea of universal

33. Mark, iv, vv. 35-39
brotherhood was as attractive as ever. But it must be observed that Schumann was happy for this to include monarchs (in Rückert's text, 'die Völker und die Thronen, vereint als Brüder'); there seems no thought there of revolutionary overthrow.

The Adventlied is described as being for soprano solo and chorus with orchestral accompaniment, but closer examination discloses a whole quartet of solo voices in the fifth movement. This division into movements is really only an organisational convenience; the music is constructed without pauses between the movements, like Das Paradies und die Peri, and the only break occurs between movements four and five, roughly halfway through. At first, a mixture of Handelian and Lied style (consecutive, not simultaneous) is in evidence. The opening soprano solo, 'Dein König kommt', and no. 3, 'Und wo du kommest', are both Lieder, while the beginning of no. 2, 'O mächt'ger Herrscher ohne Heere', for choral tenors and basses, is a Jagdlied, complete with hunting horns. But this soon gives way to a 'Handelian' passage, where the tenor and bass hammerstrokes on 'O Mächtiger! Gewaltiger!' recall a celebrated passage in Messiah:

Ex. 11a Handel, Messiah, no. 12, 'For unto us a child is born', bars 33 - 38:
Ex. 11a continued

[Die Viertel etwas langsamer wie vorher]

O nicht! gebe Wunder oh ne Herr, ge ne Schlacht, O Macht li. ger!

walt ges Kämpfer oh ne Speer, o Frie. denfürst von gro. ser Macht! Es wollen dir ge wel li. ger! O Frie dens fürst!

[O mighty ruler without an army, powerful warrior without a spear, o Prince of Peace of great might!]
We should notice that the 'Prince of Peace' occurs in both passages.

Handel's music is not the only Baroque influence this time, for Bach also makes an appearance. The most obvious place is in the use of chorale for no. 4, which is in rather un-Bachian alternating C and \( \frac{5}{4} \), to accommodate the metre; and Bach is also the influence behind the solo quartet in no. 5, 'Noth ist es'. It is significant that Schumann chooses solo voices for this section, which is probably the most complex contrapuntal setting in the piece. Moreover, a letter he wrote shortly afterwards shows that this was a deliberate move to avoid giving difficult music to the chorus:

"Have a look sometime at the Rückert Adventlied; it's written from the outset with a weaker (not so accomplished) choir in mind."

Perhaps Schumann's experience with the Dresden Chorgesangverein had taught him to moderate his ideas of what a choir could be expected to tackle.

The opening theme of the work also appears in the second, fourth and sixth movements, see ex. 12.

Ex. 12a Adventlied, no. 1, opening theme:

[Nicht schnell, \( J = 100 \).

Dein König kommt in niedern Hül-len

[Thy King comes in lowly guise]

34. In a letter to Eduard Krüger, dated 29 November 1849, cited in Abert, p. 106
Ex. 12b Adventlied, no. 2, bars 48-50:

[Die Viertel etwas langsamer wie vorher.]

Bewaffnet mit dem Glaubens Worten

[Armed with the words of faith]

Ex. 12c Adventlied, no. 4, bars 12-13:

O komme du zu uns

[0 come to us]

Ex. 12d Adventlied, no. 6, bars 27-31:

O lass dein Licht auf Erde

[0 let thy light be victorious upon earth]
Schumann is putting this motif through a process of transformation during the course of the piece. It is not a reminiscence-motif, because it has nothing in particular to remind us of; it serves rather to give some unity to the total structure. On the whole this is extremely successful; however, towards the end contradictory styles begin to threaten this unity. In no. 5 the Bach-like solo quartet progresses to some quite alarming chromaticisms:

Ex. 13 Adventlied, no. 5, bars 9-10:

[You yourself must (come) here below]
it then leads straight into the concluding 'Freudenchor' which is characterised by the simple diatonicism resorted to by Schumann at grand climaxes. The ending, in fact, comes dangerously close to banality, but is rescued by a final reference to the opening theme and the entry of the quartet of soloists in a subdominant-inclined coda.

Considered as a whole, however, the Adventlied is one of the most successful of this intermediate genre between sacred and secular. Its naïve text calls forth Schumann's best lyrical manner, and although the climaxes can be somewhat mechanical, much of it is extremely beautiful. There are even moments of drama, for instance the pianissimo entry of the men's voices for the chorale in no. 4; the stirring horn-calls in 'O mächt'ger Herrscher ohne Heere' in no. 2; and the extraordinary spine-chilling cadence which ends the reprise of the chorale theme at the end of no. 4 (see ex. 14).

Ex. 14 Adventlied, no. 4, final cadence:

It is heartening to see that Schumann for once can make the most of this sort of opportunity in this piece.
Requiem für Mignon op. 98b (1849) for solo voices, chorus and orchestra.

This was published as a companion piece to Schumann's settings of ten of the solo songs from Goethe's Wilhelm Meister. The Lieder had been written in May 1849 while the family took refuge in Kreischa during the Dresden insurrection, and the Requiem für Mignon was sketched on 2 and 3 July. This could well have been in response to the growing national preoccupation with Goethe and how most suitably to celebrate the centenary of his birth in the following month, on 28 August 1849. We shall see in chapter 5 how thought of Goethe in the summer of 1849 prompted Schumann to further work on the Faustscenen. Perhaps he hoped to offer the Requiem für Mignon as a suitable concert piece for the Goethe celebrations; however, the orchestration was abandoned after one day's work on it, on 12 July 1849, and he started work on the Cathedral Scene from Part I of Faust on the following day. In the event it was the closing scene of Faust (the present Part III) that was performed at the Goethe Festival, and in early September 1849 Schumann returned to the orchestration of the Requiem für Mignon, which he completed on 12 September. It was not performed until the following year, when it was given at a private soirée by the Dresden choral society on 8 May 1850 to bid farewell to their conductor and his wife. (The Schumanns departed for Düsseldorf in the autumn of that year.) Also performed on that evening was the Cathedral Scene from Faust.

The description of Mignon's funeral rites belongs to the eighth chapter of Book 8 of Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, one of a group of picaresque novels recounting the adventures of Wilhelm Meister with a troupe of travelling actors. Mignon is a mysterious young girl who becomes devoted to Wilhelm Meister because he has treated her with friendliness and consideration, qualities that have been very much absent
from her young life. After her death, a rather humanistically-inclined ceremony is performed around her bier; a priest takes part, it is true, and he preaches a sermon afterwards, but the text makes no mention of the Almighty, and although it seems to take for granted the fact that Mignon's spirit lives on in some plane of existence, there is no reference to Heaven except for the oblique phrase 'the wreath of immortality'. Again, this is a work which is non-specifically religious, and as in the case of the Adventlied it brings forth some of Schumann's best work.

Schumann is remarkably faithful to his given text, even to the extent of preserving the distinction between the parts assigned by Goethe to the four boys and to the chorus. The four boys are represented by SSAA solo voices, and the full chorus takes all the verses labelled 'Chor', except for the exhortation 'Kinder, kehret in's Leben zurück!', which is given to a bass soloist. Schumann takes such care to follow Goethe's original that one wonders why he did not take equal notice of the preceding paragraphs (reprinted in the score) which tell us that two choruses began to sing. However, to have set the piece for double chorus as well as soloists would have increased the scale at the expense of the intimate atmosphere.

As in his earlier choral works, Schumann makes a point of linking almost all the movements. The only break occurs after no. 4, just at the point where the bass soloist enters with a new thought.

The success of this piece stems from a matching of scale and means. The atmosphere of the text is on the whole optimistic and unsentimental after the sombre opening, and Schumann contrives to reflect this in his musical setting. The opening movement is almost conversational in style, until a more lyrical mood is reached with 'Erstling der Jugend'. No. 2
is breathless, almost sobbing, with short two-bar phrases to emphasise this characteristic. No. 3 is the first movement to approximate to a musical form. It begins as a fugato, although this is soon abandoned in favour of antiphony, first between SA and TB, later between chorus and solo voices. Schumann sets the opening of no. 4 as a chorale for men's voices, then for full chorus; but sadly the block chords seem to lack the rhythmic impulse of the previous movements, and the chorale section sags by comparison. Fortunately he very soon returns to his lyrical style, with antiphonal passages between soloists and chorus, and interest revives once more. In the next movement, the bass solo, an arioso melody is combined with a Lied-like accompaniment.

Ex. 15 Requiem für Mignon, no. 5:

die Verstirnte wie vorher die Holben. Bass solo

Kraftig

Kinder, kehret in's Leben zurück! [Children, return to life!]
The final movements are divided only by Goethe's verse-structure. Together they form another of the *Freudenchöre* found here and there in Schumann's choral works, although in this instance Schumann does not limit himself to plain diatonic harmonies — they include such notable passages as those seen in ex. 16.
Ex. 16 Requiem für Mignon, some modulatory and chromatic passages in no. 6:

(a) [Lebhaft.]

In der Schönheit reinem Gewande,

In der Schönheit reinem Gewande,

(b) [Lebhaft.]

dem Kranz der Unsterblichkeit,

dem Kranz der Unsterblichkeit, der

länglichkeit, der Un-(sterblichkeit)

[In the pure garment of beauty]

[the wreath of immortality]
The style of the Requiem für Mignon is remarkably well unified, without sharing the 'Baroque' tendencies of other works. The effect of this is to withdraw the work from the platform of the public, overt utterance which is the normal realm of choral music, to the much more intimate atmosphere of the salon; and it is significant that its first performance took place under such conditions, at the private concert given by the Chorgesangverein on Schumann's departure from Dresden. The concept of 'salon music' does not carry any pejorative meaning here, but merely gives some indication of scale, style and possible audience (which echo the size and type of the rites described in Goethe's original); and it demonstrates how far, in this most inwardly felt of his choral works, Schumann has gone towards the world of his piano music and Lieder.

Vier doppelchörige Gesänge op. 141 (1849) for double chorus of mixed voices.

Schumann's diaries indicate that he worked on these songs between 11 and 10 October 1849. The poets are Rückert (An die Sterne), von Zedlitz (Ungewisses Licht and Zuversicht) and Goethe (Talismane). This is the second setting Schumann made of Goethe's 'Gottes ist der Orient' from the West-Östlicher Diwan, for he had included a version for solo voice and piano in his Myrthen op. 25, nine years before.

The published order of the songs follows that of their composition. Schumann's diary entries for October 1849 show 'An die Sterne' for the 11th, 'Ungewisses Licht' for the 12th and 'Zuversicht' for the 14th. The manuscript of Ungewisses Licht is dated 13 October 1849, and rough jottings for Zuversicht appear on the same pages. The

35. Nauhaus (2), p. 506
36. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. 328
diary entry for Talismane is somewhat ambiguous: for 20 October we read 'In the morning, Tittel with the song - Gottes ist der Orient"-'. It seems likely that this may have been the solo song already in existence (Rosalie Tittel, daughter of the Zwickau music director Heinrich Schulze, was a singer) but this may well have given Schumann the idea of finishing his set with a version for double choir.

Schumann is at his best with the sonorities available from the double-choir format. An die Sterne uses the antiphonal effect of the two SATB groups poised against each other, with intervening imitative sections. In Ungewisses Licht different groupings of the voices are used antiphonally, and the desperation characteristic of the minor-mode unison writing contrasts piquantly with the subdominant-inclined block harmonies and peaceful atmosphere of the first song. Zuversicht gives rise to a certain tonal ambiguity caused by its procedure of adding thirds downwards and then upwards from a third which is itself ambiguous, construed as it may be as the top or bottom of two different triads.

Talismane is the most chordal of the set, inviting comparison with keyboard music, though it seems that Schumann may for once have been thinking in terms of the organ, not of the piano. Formally it is the most ambitious of the set, corresponding roughly to a rondo wherein the refrain 'Gottes ist der Orient' is the main rondo theme, and the three verses form the episodes. It is worth noting that Schumann's earlier setting of the text is entirely different in the crucial area of accentuation. The first lines, heard in 1840 as

\[
\begin{align*}
\frac{4}{4} & \quad \text{Got - tes ist der O - ri - ent!} \\
& \quad \text{Got - tes ist der Oc - ci - dent!}
\end{align*}
\]

37. Nauhaus (2), p. 506
now become

\[
\begin{align*}
\frac{3}{4} &  \quad \text{Got-tes ist, Got-tes ist, Got-tes ist der} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O-ri-ent!} &  \quad \text{Got-tes ist der Oc-ci-dent!} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The later version shows not only an accentuation which is closer to that of the actual words, but also a well-judged building up of tension towards the climactic outburst 'Gottes ist der Occident!' which is given to both full choirs.

Ex. 17 *Vier doppelchörige Gesänge*, no. 4, Talismane:
Whenever I transact business, whenever I write poetry, give righteousness to my path. The east is God's, the west is God's!
These four songs are Schumann's most important and successful pieces for unaccompanied chorus, and as a set their interest is heightened by the contrast between them. Schumann's achievement of the quality of 'Innigkeit' in the first and third songs is set against his mood of desperate recklessness for Ungewisses Licht and triumphant thanksgiving in Talismane. The basis for this is a much surer feel for the possibilities of his unaccompanied forces, perhaps reflecting a gradual improvement in his Dresden choir, certainly illustrating Schumann's own greater confidence and facility.

**Nachtlied op. 108 (1849) for SATB chorus and orchestra**

This setting of a short text by Hebbel - the poet whom he had approached, not very successfully, for a version of the libretto for his only opera Genoveva - occupied Schumann between 4 and 11 November 1849. He sketched it in four days, and orchestrated it in another four. It was one of his favourite pieces; he mentioned in a letter to Strackerjan of 17 January 1854 that he had 'always regarded it with particular love.'

This is hardly surprising, for in the Nachtlied Schumann generally succeeds with things that had sometimes eluded him before: the atmospheric orchestral opening for the night and stars, the motto theme in the lower strings, the idiomatic choral writing, and the fully integrated orchestral postlude. Apart from a few weaknesses of repetition in the central section, it can stand with the best of Schumann's contemporary work. In connection with this, two significant points may be noted: there is for once no recourse to solo voices, and the text has no real climactic point. The only approach to a dramatic

climax is at 'riesenhaft fühle ich's weben', and interestingly this is the very place where invention almost flags; but the subdued manner of most of the text is perfect for Schumann, who is thus spared the problem of dealing with a real climax.

Nachtlied is through-composed, but it falls naturally into three sections. First there is a slow introduction marked Ziemlich langsam; at the words 'steigendes, neigendes Leben' a gradual accelerando begins which culminates in the A tempo at 'Schlaf, da nähst du dich leise'. Curiously, the A tempo is actually slower than the preceding section, for the minim of the new alla breve section is marked slower than the previous crotchet. Could this be an involuntary avoidance of anything that might remotely be suspected of being a climax?

The opening theme, which is reserved for the orchestra, is tonally rather ambiguous:
Ex. 18 Nachtlied, opening theme:

First the notes D and F are heard (flutes and divisi violins), then B flat appears to complete the triad and begin the main theme. But this turns out not to be the tonic, which is not reached until the fourth bar, and the initial B flat proves to be the flattened submediant of D minor.
The fifth bar of the theme is where modulation occurs, by the simple expedient of putting a major second on top of the D–F dyad and treating these notes as part of a chord of the seventh.

The chorus entry is dovetailed into the second bar of the orchestra's restatement of the theme. Each part divides at some point (perhaps a gesture in the direction of using soloists) and the chorus is largely antiphonal, TB followed by SA. Many of the phrases are only two bars long (particularly short for Schumann) and they are characterised by stepwise movement of a tone or a semitone in the bass.

At the accelerando there is a subjective slackening of tension. Despite the faster speed, the harmonic rate has slipped from \( \frac{1}{4} \) to three and a half bars for each chord. However, a G major chord on 'riesenhaft' changes magically to a first inversion of E flat major, then five bars later comes the dramatic masterstroke, the opening orchestral theme heard fortissimo while the chorus continue with 'Riesenhaft'.

Ex. 19 Nachtlied, entry of orchestral theme at bar 66:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[Bis zum Allobrevore das Tempo noch und noch zu beschleunigen]} \\
\text{riesenhaft, riesenhaft, welches das}
\end{align*}
\]
Ex. 19 continued

This also has the effect (as it starts on the submediant, as we have seen) of converting the cadence at that point from a plain perfect cadence in D minor to an inverted interrupted one.

The Alla breve in D major begins with a simple chordal progression above which various voices intone the word 'Schlaf' on the note A, the only note common to all the chords. This introduces the chorus's one and only real theme in this work, at 'da nahst du dich leise'. The ghost we can hear behind this is the little theme which Schumann twice used in passing in his symphonies, once in the First and once in the Third, of which Brahms tapped the true potential in his own Third.
Ex. 20a Nachtlied, chorus theme in final section:

[Allabreve. \( \text{d} = 72 \).]

[there you draw near softly]

Ex. 20b Symphony no. 1 in B flat major, 'Spring', second movement:

[\text{Larghetto} \ (J^\prime = 64)]

Ex. 20c Symphony no. 3 in E flat major, the 'Rhenish', first movement:

[\text{Lebhaft}]

Ex. 20c Brahms, Symphony no. 3 in F, first movement:

[\text{Allegro con brio}]

[Allegro con brio]
According to Boetticher's taxonomy in his *Einführung in Persönlichkeit und Werk*, images of light and dark evoke specific colouristic responses from Schumann. He refers to a Neapolitan sixth chord at 'da nahst du dich leise', but in fact this chord appears only in the first section of the work. However, as this is the only section which refers specifically to the night and the stars, his connection of the Neapolitan sixth with this sort of image still holds good. He also mentions that night pictures are frequently characterised by pizzicato effects, and this is certainly true of the final section, particularly the coda.

The *Nachtlied* was performed in Dresden in 1850 by the choral society, and in the winter subscription season in Düsseldorf in 1852. Schumann wrote to Carl Debrois van Bruyck on 17 December 1852:

> I want to wait for the score of the *Nachtlied* before I send it to the poet. It will be out in the next few weeks. The piano reduction gives only a faint picture. It lacks the nocturnal colouring, for which only the orchestra has the right timbres.  

Later on he sent Hebbel a score of the *Nachtlied* in time for his birthday, 18 March, with the following note:

> I should like best to enclose with the *Nachtlied* an ensemble of wind and strings, together with a choir, so I could sing the poet ... to sleep in a lovely dream with his own poems ...  

The composer who at the time of his first orchestral works was finding orchestration a particular problem, sometimes putting 'yellow instead of blue' as he described it in connection with his youthful G minor *symphony*, is now sufficiently certain of his technique to let the

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40. Boetticher (2), p. 440
41. Jansen (2), p. 306
42. Dated 14 March 1853; Jansen (2), p. 340
43. Chissell, p. 146 (quoting her translation)
instruments play a truly colouristic role, and to use the full choir and the separate parts within it in his range of timbres to evoke the atmosphere of night.

Neujahrslied op. 144 (1849-50) for chorus and orchestra.

This work spans Schumann's move from Dresden to Düsseldorf. It was begun on 27 December 1849 and the sketch was completed on 2 January 1850. Not only does it represent the musing on the turn of the year common to all of us, but it may also reflect the deeper wondering about the future and what decisions to make that Schumann was experiencing at the time. Despite the high hopes with which he had gone to Dresden, he had never felt particularly settled there (he had never been accepted by the court theatre people, for example, either in Wagner's time or after his flight) and over the past couple of years he had been angling for new jobs in a rather disorganised manner. He had hoped to be offered the post of Dresden Kapellmeister, left vacant on Wagner's departure; and there had been the Gewandhaus directorship in Leipzig after Mendelssohn's death, but Schumann was disappointed in both of these. Then Hiller, his predecessor with the Dresden Liedertafel, wrote to say that he was going to move to a post in Cologne, that his music directorship in Düsseldorf would thus be vacant, and that he thought this post would suit Schumann very well. Schumann received this letter on 17 November 1849, and noted in his diary 'Düsseldorf plans'. The responsibilities were to prepare and conduct a winter season of subscription concerts with the orchestra and chorus, to arrange the music for four services a year in the Maximilianskirche and Lambertuskirche, and to provide the Düsseldorf

44. Nauhaus (2), pp. 513-14
45. Nauhaus (2) n. 509
contribution for the Lower Rhine Music Festival, held yearly at Whitsuntide in Cologne, Aachen and Düsseldorf in turn. Schumann replied two days later that if the Düsseldorf Musikverein Committee would write direct to him offering the job, he would be able to send his provisional acceptance, with no final decision to be reached until the beginning of April 1850; he was still hoping to be offered Wagner's post. Schumann seems to have had no qualms about his ability to cope with the heavy conducting schedules of these posts. It is true that he had been putting on concerts in Dresden and on tour, and conducting his weekly Chorgesangverein rehearsals; but to go into a taxing series of professional concerts with little time left free for composition was quite a different thing, as he was to discover.

In the event, Schumann accepted the post on 31 March 1850 (just before the deadline) and finally took up residence in Düsseldorf with his family on 2 September 1850. It proved difficult to find suitable apartments, and so it was amid the upheaval and noise of removals, and exhausted and depressed by the experience, that Schumann turned again to the Neujahrslied and completed the orchestration. It was performed in his first season of subscription concerts, appropriately enough on 11 January 1851.

Schumann chose the poem (like that of the Adventlied) from Rückert's Kirchenjahr. He set it in its entirety, with one addition, the chorale tune and words of 'Nun danket alle Gott', and one alteration, the substitution of the word 'drängend' (pressing) for 'schwanger' (pregnant)

46. Nauhaus (2), p. 778 (note 717)
47. Boetticher (2), p. 474, gives 7 January, but this was the first chorus rehearsal; the correct date is given in Abraham (2), p. 855, and Nauhaus (2), p. 550
in no. 4. A possible explanation for the latter and for textual alterations in other works will be put forward in chapter 10.

Schumann's title page describes the work as 'for chorus and orchestra', but this conceals the prominent bass solo with which the work opens, and the recitative allotted him in no. 4. There is also a duet for soprano and alto soloists.

A comparison with the Adventlied inevitably suggests itself, for similar forces are used here: bass as against soprano solo, and minor soloists drawn from the ranks of the chorus. The similarity is not merely superficial, but extends to Schumann's large-scale formal layout, which can be illustrated thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADVENTLIED</th>
<th>NEUJAHRSLIED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Solo &amp; chorus (S + SA)</td>
<td>Solo &amp; chorus (B + SATB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus leading to fugato</td>
<td>SA duet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solo &amp; chorus (S + SA)</td>
<td>Chorus leading to fugato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Chorale'</td>
<td>Bass recit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SATB soli, accompanied recit.</td>
<td>'Chorale'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closing chorus with opening theme</td>
<td>Closing chorus with Nun danket</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The atmosphere of the Neujahrslied is, however, quite different. The Christian imagery is altogether absent, so that the chorale tune Nun danket comes as something of a surprise, even though it ends with 'Heil!' rather than 'Amen'. It is also much more declamatory than the lyrical Adventlied, as we can see from the opening of the piece, a fanfare with nervous dotted rhythms and a triadic flourish for the bass:
Ex. 21 Neujahrslied, opening tutti and bass solo:

a) Feierlich. ($d=63.$)

b) [Feierlich. ($d=63.$)]

The mood changes dramatically at the first chorus entry, where references to darkness and night call forth minor harmonies and chromaticisms; but the optimistic diatonic simplicities of the opening dominate the work. The most striking passage is the chorus 'In dunkelen Zügen', no. 4, where the melody outlines a ninth (made up of two superimposed fifths), and the cellos have semiquaver D minor scales whispering up and down to represent the flames referred to in the text.
Ex. 22 Neujahrslied, no. 4, 'In dunkelen Zügen':

[In dark processions, in flaming embers,]
It owes much of its success to the fact that it has an independent orchestral part, not merely doubling the voices. Schumann has become very unwilling in this piece to allow the orchestra to do anything beyond doubling the voice parts, and there are only four points where the orchestra escapes from this straitjacket: in the opening tutti for orchestra alone, in the chorus 'In dunkelen Zügen', in the final chorus, and in the chords punctuating the recitative-like sections. In the final chorus the basses sing the chorale tune 'Nun danket alle Gott', but this does not form the bass of the harmonies; the true bass is supplied by the orchestra. Because of this increase of initiative in using the orchestra, the later movements of the Neujahrslied are the most interesting, beginning with 'In dunkelen Zügen,' going on to the almost complete fugue 'Lernt Sicheln zu schleifen', followed by the chorale-style movement 'O Fürst, auf dem Throne des Zeitlaufs erwacht!' and the finale with the real chorale quotation.

A further important constraint in this work is the metre of the text. It runs in a steady

```
\frac{1}{4} \frac{3}{4} \frac{3}{4} \frac{3}{4} \frac{3}{4}
```

and the relentless dactyls threaten to become an infuriating jog-trot rhythm. Schumann's efforts to avoid this are numerous and praiseworthy, for instance

```
\begin{align*}
\hline
\text{Mit e-her-ne Zun-ge da ruft es:} & \text{ ge} \text{b} \text{t A} \text{c} \text{h!}
\end{align*}
```

```
\frac{7}{16} \frac{7}{16} \frac{7}{16} \frac{7}{16} \frac{7}{16} \frac{7}{16} \frac{7}{16} \frac{7}{16}
```
- elongated in the introduction to

\[ \text{(orchestral butti)} \]

Was führt du im Schuld? Was zeigst du im Bild?

Heil! Heil! Neuer Gebiet der herren-den Welt

Wir al-le, die deinen, wir kom-men, erschei-nen

lernt Si-cheln zu schlie-fen, noch eh' wir's be-dür-fen, sonst ist es zu spät

Fortunately Nun danket, when it arrives, is iambic, so that this, with Schumann's evasive measures, well counteracts the march of the dactyls.

The central problem of the Neujahrslied is the corollary of the earlier remarks about the lack of independent orchestral writing: it is too relentlessly choral, with little chance of a breathing-space between one choral movement and the next. Schumann does his best to instil variety by using different kinds of chorus textures and structures, but it is hard to escape the conclusion that a few passages for the orchestra alone would have made all the difference to what is otherwise an over-enthusiastically choral piece.
Festouvertüre Über das Rheinweinlied op. 123 (1853) Orchestral overture with choral finale for solo voices and chorus, SATB or TTBB.

This occasional overture was Schumann's last piece of choral music. He wrote it between 15 and 19 April 1853, in time to be performed on 17 May at the thirty-first Lower Rhine Music Festival, held that year in Düsseldorf.

Despite the initial enthusiastic reception given to the Schumanns on their arrival in Düsseldorf in September 1850, helped no doubt by the recommendation of Hiller, the outgoing music director, things quickly became difficult. For a while the situation was mitigated by the appearance of celebrated soloists who were happy to play in Schumann's concerts. Clara performed on many occasions, of course, and the violinist Joachim often appeared, both as soloist and as composer. But Schumann's deficiencies as a conductor were becoming too obvious to be ignored. Friedrich Niecks's succinct account of the circumstances can scarcely be bettered:

It must plainly be stated in unqualified terms that Schumann was entirely unsuited to become a conductor. His mental ailment was gradually obliterating ... the very abilities and qualities, mental and physical, that are indispensable for that activity - alertness, authoritativeness, concentration, energy, presence of mind, sympathy, tact, even the ability to speak audibly. He lived mentally aloof, his thoughts busy within him, out of reach of, and out of touch with, his fellow-men, for most practical purposes.  

The Schumanns and the Düsseldorfer were set on course not so much for collision as for ever more widely diverging aims. Clara was almost beside herself with rage, fancying she saw insults being directed at her husband; the intransigence of the Schumanns was perhaps largely due to

48. The Faustscenen had their last item added in August 1853, but this was the overture, rather than a choral movement.
49. Niecks, p. 262
her. The Düsseldorf musicians and concert committee tried vainly to come to some compromise to improve the situation, chiefly by rather tactlessly suggesting other conductors, and were accused of double-dealing. Matters came to a head in 1853. The winter concerts had been of a very poor standard, and further attention was focused on the musical resources of the town and its unfortunate music director by the fact that Düsseldorf was the venue for that year's Lower Rhine Music Festival. The Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung, whose anonymous Düsseldorf correspondent had already reported in gloomy terms on the 1852-53 subscription season, was provoked by a disastrous concert on 27 October 1853 to thunder forth a denunciation of Schumann's circle, whom it accused of hiding from him the truth about his inadequacy, and of the beleaguered Concert Committee. It referred to the scandalous High Mass in the Maximilianskirche on 16 October, when Schumann had let the choir limp its way through a mass by Hauptmann and some of the congregation had become convinced that an insult to the Divine Office had been intended. The article ended thus:

However, we proclaim to Schumann's friends, who might mistake our intention, the words found in these pages in the reports on our last Rhine Music Festival: "Artistic creation is Schumann's calling, and whosoever demands of the man whom genius has chosen, that he should also concern himself with practicalities like other sons of earth, misjudges the very nature of genius." 50

It was in wholly inauspicious circumstances, then, that the Festouvertüre über das Rheinweinlied was written and performed; and it is perhaps a measure of Schumann's loss of contact with the troubles besetting him that he could write such a simple, good-humoured piece of music for the people who seemed to be persecuting him. The overture had a mixed reception. Schumann wrote to the publisher Simrock on 30 May 1853 to tell him not believe anything in the Cologne papers about the

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50. Anon., p. 159
work: it was a mere lampoon, claimed Schumann, and to counteract it he enclosed a review from the Augsburger Postzeitung of 24 May. This reported the enthusiasm of the audience on hearing the overture, and the lively and increasing interest with which they joined in the tune along with the chorus.  

The Festouvertüre is scored for Schumann's usual orchestra (double woodwind, two each of valve and natural horns, three trombones - alto, tenor and bass - timpani and strings) and the chorus parts are for SATB, with soloists for the second verse; a transcription for TTBB also exists, and is sanctioned by the Collected Edition edited by Clara Schumann and Brahms. The linking recitative between the orchestral opening and the choral finale, which is in strict time, is given to the tenor. The given theme is the so-called 'Rheinweinlied', 'Bekränzt mit Laub', a popular favourite with Rhineland audiences. It is heard in its entirety in the choral finale, and it is also alluded to thematically right from the outset. The work begins with a slow introduction, like most of Schumann's overtures (and indeed his symphonies); it is based on the rising fourth of the opening of the song, and treats the melody with great seriousness. This slow introduction has been described as 'Handelian' on account of its double dots, but in fact such double dotting is a consistent feature of Schumann's own style, as can be seen in ex. 23.

51. Jansen (2), pp. 195-96

52. Abraham (1), p. 243
Ex. 23a Festouverture Über das Rheinweinlied, slow introduction:

Ex. 23b Overture, Julius Caesar, opening theme:
Ex. 23c Piano sonata no. 1 in F# minor, opening theme:

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INTRODUZIONE

Un poco Adagio
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Ex. 23d Dichterliebe, 'Im Rhein, im heiligen Strome':

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Ziemlich langsam
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Im Rhein, im heiligen Strome,
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[In the Rhine, in the holy river]

Ex. 23e Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 23, 'Hinab zu jenem Sonnentempel!':

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Nicht zu schnell. d = 100.
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Peri
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Hin-ab zu je-nem Son-nen-
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[Down to that temple of the sun! An amulet, on whose stone a token gleams,]`
It seems that double dotting had a certain symbolical meaning still; on the evidence of these pieces it would appear that seriousness and intensity of purpose is signalled by these little explosions of nervous energy represented by semiquavers or smaller.

The *Lebhaft* section is based on another characteristically Schumannesque theme, with its opening flourish of semiquavers like a long upbeat:

Ex. 24a Festouvertüre über das Rheinweinlied, theme at 'Lebhaft':

It is reminiscent of a theme from Mendelssohn's *Ruy Blas*, but there is a still closer parallel, the principal theme from the overture to the *Faustscenen*, which was written in the same year.

Ex. 24b Overture to the *Scenen aus Goethes Faust*:
The Festouvertüre and Faust overture share many similarities in construction. In these two works Schumann departs from his established pattern of slow introduction - sonata-form allegro, sometimes with coda, which he had used in his other overtures. The slow introduction is retained, but the sonata-form section is eroded by means of both extra development and insufficient development, as it were. The first subject is developed almost as soon as it has been heard, being repeated at other pitches and with varying endings, but there is no formal development section as such. From the beginning of the Lebhaft onwards the movement could have been notated as a vast repeat, only with rather long first-time and second-time bars. In the latter, too, symmetry would have been preserved for the music heard in the tonic in the 'first-time bars' is then in the dominant in the 'second-time bars'. The only thing that saves it from being an exact repeat is that Schumann provides a dominant pedal over which the recapitulation begins. He follows the same procedure in the Faust overture. Yet this is far from being a binary form movement, for there is a distinct second subject, heard in the tonic in the recapitulation. In the Festouvertüre the coda is formed by the tenor recitative and the chorus's three verses of the Rheinweinlied; in the Faust overture, the tonic major section is the coda.

The linking recitative in the Festouvertüre produces a genuinely dramatic moment: after fortissimo downward scales the woodwind are left playing a repeated secondary seventh chord in triplets; horns sound the rising fourth of the theme, and the tenor echoes them: 'Was lockt so süß?' The Rheinweinlied itself is handled very sympathetically, so that the simple tune does not outstay its welcome. The first verse is for SATB chorus and full orchestra, the second for SATB soloists with reduced scoring, and the final verse for SATB chorus again - the same harmonies,
laid out differently - and the orchestra playing fortissimo. A particular feature of the last verse is the emphatic woodwind triplet arpeggio which underlines the upbeat into each new phrase.

It is unfortunate that comparisons have been made between the *Festouvertüre* and Beethoven's Choral Symphony, solely because of the superficial similarity of linking recitative and choral finale; but it is clearly of little help to compare a light-hearted occasional overture with a *locus classicus* of symphonic thought. However, the *Festouvertüre* bears comparison tolerably well with a closer relative like Brahms's *Academic Festival* Overture or Beethoven's *Consecration of the House.* Schumann's given theme is too slender to support much of weight in his formal structure, but he handles it well within its limitations to produce a work of undeniable charm and infectious good humour.

Schumann's smaller-scale choral works cover a very wide range, from the relatively large structures with orchestra and soloists such as the *Neujahrslied* to the miniatures such as the *Requiem für Mignon* and the positively epigrammatic *Ritornelle* (to say nothing of the partsongs for unaccompanied chorus, which perforce have had to be omitted from this study). They also span several years, 1847 to 1853, the last period of his compositional career. This fact has been adduced both in support of and in opposition to the thesis that Schumann's late works were largely choral. It is perhaps tempting to see it as a term in the progression that ran: piano music, Lieder, symphonies, chamber music, ...; but it does not really fit as neatly as that, firstly because Schumann had begun writing choral music in earnest as far back as 1843, and secondly because from 1847 he was working on all kinds of different pieces for different
forces, and thus the late period cannot be regarded as containing only choral music. It is much simpler and more convincing to see the upsurge in choral pieces as the response to a particular need of the choral societies with which he was associated for new music to perform.

A glance at Appendix F will show that a good deal of this 'new music' was in fact by established masters. Both in Dresden and Düsseldorf Schumann's own works formed the bulk of their contemporary repertoire, and then the next biggest group is formed by the Bach - Beethoven - Handel works. Works by Mendelssohn, Gade and Hiller are mentioned (and Mendelssohn seems to have been a particular favourite in Dresden) but by and large there are not many contemporary choral works apart from Schumann's own.

One of the most striking things about the works discussed in this chapter is that Schumann became more original when his choral groupings departed from the conventional SATB. It is hard to escape the impression that SATB meant harmony exercises to him, with all the slavish adherence to traditional rules that that can imply. Thus the Motette and the Ritornelle, for varying combinations of men's voices including groups of soloists, are much the most interesting of his male-voice pieces, and the Requiem für Mignon and the Adventlied are amongst the most inventive of his works for full chorus. The exception here is the Nachtlied, which despite its adoption of a conventional SATB grouping reaches a much higher standard of invention than others of the same type. This may well be due to the independence of the orchestral accompaniment, with its own thematic material, as opposed to the mere doubling of the voices which often has to suffice. It is to be regretted that Schumann did not emancipate the orchestra to a greater extent in these works, although
there is more independence for it in some of the larger-scale choral works.

In the case of virtually all the works considered in this chapter (the sole exception is Der deutsche Rhein) it is important to bear in mind that Schumann was by now on the other side of the ground he had covered in 1845, the year of his systematic study of fugue. This was the means he had used to ease himself back into composition after his serious breakdown in 1844, and it is entirely typical of this almost wholly self-taught composer that he should subject himself (and his wife) to the rigours of contrapuntal study. Schumann was already familiar with Bach's works, having been an early proponent of the '48', although as a young man he had valued Bach chiefly as a source of poetic inspiration rather than technique. In fact, he regarded the preludes and fugues as miniature genre pieces, rather like his own opus 2 Papillons.\(^{53}\) The contrapuntal studies of 1845 resulted in a number of works: the op. 72 Four Fugues for piano; the op. 56 canonic studies for pedal piano; the op. 60 Six Fugues on the name BACH for pedal piano; the op. 126 Seven Piano Pieces in Fugato Form; the op. 65 Ritornelle; accompaniments to the Bach violin sonatas (an effort at popularising what were then thought to be particularly inaccessible Bach works); and of course the contrapuntal sections found in the larger works, for instance the slow movement of the 'Rhenish' Symphony. They differ from the fugato sections of the 1843 Das Paradies und die Peri in two ways (apart from being full fugues rather than fugato): the contrapuntal subjects tend to be longer and more melodic, or short and chromatic, and Schumann also begins to make use of older forms, principally the canon. As a result of this new emphasis on

\(^{53}\) Dadelsen, p. 49
horizontal rather than vertical lines, a gradual increase in the importance of inner voices is apparent in his compositional procedures; and the earlier reliance on 'phantasieren' is replaced by a more craftsmanlike attitude to form.

Schumann's innovations in the field of choral music continue in the path begun by Das Paradies und die Peri, the 'oratorio ... not for the chapel'. One cannot fail to be struck by the fact that the vast majority of his choral works are secular. Even the Adventlied, which he casually referred to as a 'church piece', is by no means conventional church music, and it is in the same lyrical style as the other works. Schumann also broke away from established norms in his use of solo voices and unconventional groupings, which as we have seen often drew from him his best work. But over the final years of his compositional life, it is possible to detect a less and less adventurous approach in these works, as if having a real choir to conduct (particularly in Düsseldorf, where problems of discipline grew enormous) did not in the end have a beneficial effect on the music. By then, Schumann was above all concerned with writing within the capabilities of those involved (including his own conducting), and this goes a long way towards explaining such characteristics as the relatively unenterprising use of chorus voices, as opposed to solos and semichoruses, the lack of an independent role for orchestra, found in for instance the Neujahrslied, and the vocal and instrumental doubling, particularly in something like the 3 Patriotic Choruses of 1848, as contrasted with the more interesting parts given to the solo singers. Schumann's over-generous provision of safety nets in performance could only result in a secure, confident, but in the end unexciting work, lacking in challenge to both performers and audience.

54. See chapter 2.
CHAPTER 4

MANFRED Op. 115 AND DER CORSAR (1844)

 Manaferd represents Schumann's only essay in the direction of writing incidental music for a play. He had been familiar with the works of Byron since his adolescence, for his father, the bookseller and publisher, had in his enthusiasm for the English poet undertaken translations of his own, in the original metres. August Schumann had completed three cantos of Childe Harold and the whole of Beppo before his death (hastened by overwork) in 1826. Schumann, who helped him in preparing works for publication, would surely have known these almost as well as the translator himself, and his diaries bear witness to the number of times he re-read Byron, particularly Manfred, in later life. His music consists of an overture, songs as indicated in the text, an entr'acte, and various melodramas for some of Manfred's monologues and the closing scene.

The fragment Der Corsar is all that was sketched of a projected opera on Byron's The Corsair. It finds a place in this chapter because the only completed music is a chorus of corsairs followed by a melodrama to accompany a speech of Conrad, the corsair chief. We shall look first

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3. Schumann consistently wrote 'Corsar' and there seems no necessity to alter his spelling.
at the completed Manfred music, written in 1848, even though the Corsar fragment predates it by four years.

After finishing his only opera Genoveva on 4 August 1848, Schumann began work the next day on his incidental music for Manfred. He sketched the overture first, noting in his diary that it was 'almost finished' on 19 October; the music for the first act was sketched in a single day on 6 November, the second act followed by 12 November, and the whole piece was orchestrated by 22 November. 4

Manfred is a locus classicus of Romantic literature, particularly of its earlier, more Gothic, manifestations. The hero (a projection of Byron) is a prey to overwhelming guilt and remorse for an act which remains for the present obscure. He conjures up various spirits in an attempt to achieve the oblivion which eludes him, tries to end his life but is saved by a chamois-hunter, and at the last expires unrepentant, despite the Abbot of St. Maurice's injunctions to penitence.

Manfred's crime, hinted at rather than explicitly stated, we guess to be incest with his sister Astarte, which has caused her to commit suicide. There is a parallel here with Byron's own career, for a celebrated rumour alleged that Byron was guilty of incest with his half-sister Augusta Leigh - a rumour that Byron seemed anxious rather to disseminate than to deny. Whatever the truth of the matter, the atmosphere of Manfred, full of gloomy remorse, accords ill with Byron's sardonic cheerfulness during the Alpine sojourn of 1816 when he started to write the play, as shown in his letters and diaries; and only in the final paragraph of his 'Alpine Journal' do we find him in agreement with his latest hero:

But in all this - the recollections of bitterness - & more especially of recent & more home desolation - which must accompany me through life - have preyed upon me here - and neither the music of the Shepherd - the crashing of the Avalanche - nor the torrent - the mountain - the Glacier - the Forest - nor the Cloud - have for one moment - lightened the weight upon my heart - nor enabled me to lose my own wretched identity in the majesty & the power and the Glory - around - above - & beneath me.5

Byron finished his tale of guilt-ridden despair in the congenial surroundings of the Carnival of Venice, February 1817, and in a letter to Tom Moore of 25 March 1817 claimed disingenuously that he had written Manfred 'for the sake of introducing the Alpine scenery in description.'6 Byron in fact identified very strongly with Manfred, whether he was willing to admit it to Moore or not; and moreover, Manfred's abrupt changes of mood from the depths of gloom to the heights of gaiety parallel the experience of the manic-depressive Schumann, who suffered periodic bouts of suicidal despair balanced by phases of frantic activity. He too could claim kinship with the unhappy Manfred; and the special nature of Manfred for him is revealed in the words which Wasielewski quotes, 'Never have I devoted myself to a composition with such love and energy as to "Manfred".'7

Manfred's place in Schumann's output is in the middle of one of his manic phases of creativity, his most prolific year, 1848. He used the translation by K.A. Suckow ('Posgaru')8 and intended the music to be used for a staged performance, as he later wrote to Liszt on 31 May 1848:

I have just finished an important work, music to Byron's Manfred, which I have arranged for dramatic performance, with overture, entr'actes and other pieces of music ...9

5. Marchand (5), pp. 104-105
6. Godwin, p. 152
7. Quoted in Draheim, p. XV
8. Karl Adolf Suckow, the professor of theology at Münsterberg, wrote fiction under the name of Posgaru. Zanoncelli, p. 130, note 6
Liszt himself conducted the first complete performance at Weimar on 13 and 17 June 1852. The fact that Schumann's conception was of a staged work brings its own problems: although Byron cast Manfred in the form of a play, he took pains to make it unstageable, and said:

I have at least rendered [Manfred] quite impossible for the stage, for which my intercourse with D[rury] Lane has given me the greatest contempt. ¹⁰

Perhaps it is only since the invention of radio that Manfred and other problem texts such as Peer Gynt and of course Goethe's Faust can be performed convincingly. The difficulty of stage performance was apparent to Richard Pohl, who worked on libretti with Schumann in the early 1850s, and who discussed the matter with the composer during his visit to Düsseldorf in September 1851:

When I entered his study next day at noon, Schumann was busy with a full score. 'Liszt wants to put on a performance of my Manfred in Weimar', he said. 'I was intending to make the drama suitable for the stage. If Manfred is printed, I want to have this shortened text printed in the full score. And then in concert performances it can be read, with the roles assigned.'

I observed that he could not have counted upon many stage performances, which is why he wished to undertake immediately the revisions of the text for concert performances. I pointed to the connecting texts of the Egmont and Midsummer Night's Dream music as a model. 'This would make a complete reworking necessary', replied Schumann, 'and that isn't my job. You have a go at it; but is isn't easy. [Pohl's footnote: I did this later, but not until after Schumann's death. My concert version was brought out by Breitkopf and Härtel in 1858, and is in general use.] I must limit myself to the condensing of the drama. I chose Posgazu's [sic] translation because I prefer it to Böttger's ...' ¹¹

As Pohl's version was not completed until after Schumann's death, perhaps Schumann did indeed prepare a shortened version of the text for Liszt to use in his 1852 performances.

¹⁰ Marchand (3), p. 170
¹¹ Pohl, pp. 179-80
Schumann uses a slightly larger orchestra than usual: three flutes with the third doubling piccolo, two oboes and cor anglais, two clarinets and two bassoons, two valve and two natural horns, three trumpets, three trombones (alto, tenor and bass), tuba, timpani, percussion, organ and strings. SATB soloists and chorus sing the words of the various spirits; none of the principal characters sings, although some of Manfred's monologues are set as melodramas.

Some of Schumann's most inventive orchestration is to be heard in this work. The four Spirits in the first number are characterised thus: the first, the spirit of air, is accompanied by strings with a flute and a muted solo violin; the second, the spirit of water, has strings and an oboe; the third, the earth spirit, is heard with low strings, bassoon and clarinet; and the fourth, the spirit of fire, has strings, woodwind and horns.
Ex. 1 Manfred, no. 1, Gesang der Geister, 'Dein Gebot zieht mich heraus':
Langsam. J. en.

[Staff notation of the music score, including clefs, key signatures, and musical notations for various instruments and voices.]

[Mortal! to thy bidding bow'd
From my mansion in the cloud,
Which the breath of twilight builds,
And the summer's sunset gilds,
Though thy quest may be forbidden,
On a star-beam I have ridden:
To thine adjuration bow'd,
Mortal - be thy wish avow'd!
In the blue depth of the waters,
Where the wave hath no strife
Where the wind is a stranger,
And the seasnake hath life,
Where the Mermaid is decking
Her green hair with shells,

Like the storm on the surface
Came the sound of thy spells;
To the Spirit of Ocean
Thy wishes unfold!
[Where the roots of the Andes
Strike deep in the earth,
As their summits to heaven
Shoot soaringly forth;

I have quitted my birthplace,
Thy bidding to bide -
Thy spell hath subdued me,
Thy will be my guide!]
[My dwelling is the sun's ball;  
Why doth thy magic torture me with dark?  
Air, ocean, earth and fire]

12. Thus in the German; Byron's original has  
My dwelling is the shadow of the night;  
Why doth thy magic torture me with light?

13. Thus in the German; Byron's original has  
Earth, ocean, air night, mountains, winds, thy star
[Are at thy beck and bidding, Child of Clay!
Before thee at thy quest their spirits are -
What wouldst thou with us, son of mortals - say?]
In no. 3, the Incantation, trombones with their 'supernatural' connection are prominent, with woodwind, strings and trumpets. The two-part passage in octaves is given to bassoons, cellos and double basses, sounding appropriately sinister. In a very different mood, the 'fairy music' of no. 6, the conjuration of the Witch of the Alps, is as effective as anything Mendelssohn ever wrote in this vein, with its delicate scoring for harp, flute and strings. The shepherd's pipe of the Alpenkuhreigen, no. 4, is represented by the cor anglais. Possibly the most striking moment, however, comes with the very last chorus entry in the final scene, when the organ is heard for the first time. It is comparable both in means and effect to that startling organ entry towards the end of Tchaikovsky's own Manfred. We know that Tchaikovsky greatly admired Schumann's music and was influenced by it, and it is tempting to suggest that Tchaikovsky took the idea from Schumann; but given the fact that both composers were aiming at an ending with some measure of Christian reconciliation in it, it is hardly surprising that they should both choose the instrument with the strongest ecclesiastical connections.

Schumann makes considerable use of melodrama in his incidental music, chiefly for Manfred's monologues; and this is a comparatively late example of that hybrid form. Its real vogue came in the eighteenth century - the union of the spoken word and music had been attempted as early as 1762 in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Pygmalion, and Benda's melodrama Medea (1775) had been greatly admired by Mozart - but it was still popular in the nineteenth century. We may note among operas such important examples as the Wolf's Glen scene from Weber's Der Freischütz (1821), the moonlight scene from the first act of Marschner's Der Vampyr (1828), the mother's ballad in the second act of his Hans Heiling (1833), the scene where the guards examine the fugitives' documents in
Cherubini's *Les deux journées* (1800) and of course the prison scene in Beethoven's *Fidelio* (1805). Beethoven also used melodrama in his incidental music to *Egmont* (1809-10) and to *King Stephen* (1811). Schumann's melodramas in *Manfred* and *Der Corsar*, as well as the single-movement ones, all come late in the life of the genre. He may well have known Mendelssohn's music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1842); he certainly did know Mendelssohn's *Antigone* music (1841), which he had heard in Leipzig on 16 March 1842. In a letter to Clara (who was visiting her father in Dresden) dated 24 March 1842 he voices his grave reservations about this type of work in general and *Antigone* in particular:

I heard *Antigone*. I wish I could say that I was very enthusiastic. The tragedy itself has become completely unrecognisable. Much too much music and that not deep and significant enough. Of course, it was a difficult task. But I think that for instance Beethoven would have set about it in quite a different way. - The overture is beautiful, tender and passionate. But the whole thing, as I said, gives no purely artistic experience, it's half opera and half tragedy ...  

Schumann succeeded in avoiding these particular pitfalls in his *Manfred* music: it is limited almost entirely to the entr'actes, soliloquies, and places where music is actually specified in the text. The only infringement of this rule is for the 'Requiem aeternam' in the final scene, an unauthorised addition to the original.

The examples of melodrama previously mentioned demonstrate that it is most often used when there are supernatural or other frightening elements in the drama (which also points towards its modern meaning of tending towards the sensational and startling). Similarly, in *Manfred* we find Schumann using melodrama to express the summoning of a magic apparition, the Alpine cattle call which heralds Manfred's attempted
suicide, the conjuration of the Witch of the Alps, the calling up of Astarte, Manfred's presentiment of his impending death and farewell to the sun, and the final scene of his dissolution.

The melodramas at the beginning of Manfred tend to be continuous music, but as the action proceeds Schumann makes more and more use of a recitative-like style, as though he felt it increasingly necessary to emphasise and give close expression to the text. In no. 13, the farewell to the sun, a still higher form of organisation is attempted with the use of rhythmic notation for some of the spoken words.

Ex. 2 Manfred, no. 13, Abschied der Sonne:

[Langsam. $J = 50.$] Manfred:

[Fare thee well! I ne'er shall see thee more. As my first glance Of love and wonder was for thee, then take My latest look; thou wilt not beam on one To whom the gifts of life and warmth have been Of a more fatal nature.]
Ex. 3 Manfred, no. 15, Klostergesang:

[Abbot: Cold - cold - even to the heart -
But yet one prayer - Alas! how fares it with thee?
Manfred: Old man! 'tis not so difficult to die. (Manfred expires.)
Abbot: He's gone - his soul hath ta'en its earthless flight;
Whither? I dread to think - but he is gone.
Chorus: And may perpetual light shine on him.]
The idea of notating the speech could have been Schumann's own; it is certainly an unusual technique in melodrama. However, it is also found in Mendelssohn's Antigone music, which we already know Schumann to have heard in Leipzig; unfortunately he makes no reference in the letter already cited (at least as far as the quotation in Boetticher goes) to the existence of notated speech rhythms, and it is of course possible that without a score and in an indifferent performance he might have remained unaware of Mendelssohn's intention. I feel inclined to give Schumann the benefit of the doubt and to claim that he arrived independently at the idea of notating the rhythm of speech in his melodramas.

With melodramas of the continuous-music type it is obviously of great importance to score the music sufficiently thinly not to obscure the words. The orchestration is routinely reduced when Manfred speaks, but the most novel solution of this problem is no. 4, the Alpenkuhreigen, consisting solely of a cor anglais. This is suggested by the 'stage' direction 'The Shepherd's pipe in the distance is heard'. The German version also mentions cowbells, on the authority of Manfred's Mix'd with the sweet bells of the sauntering herd. This mild confusion between cows and sheep (and possibly also goats) allows Schumann to introduce a pastiche of an Alpine Ranz des vaches, a Swiss mountain melody played on the alphorn to summon the cattle for milking. He does not have to invent an orchestral equivalent for the alphorn, for ready to hand are the pastoral associations of the oboe family, and there are illustrious examples before him such as Beethoven's 'Pastoral' Symphony, Rossini's William Tell and Berlioz's Scène aux champs from the Symphonie fantastique. Schumann had written in his review of the latter in 1835:
Only wander about in the Alps and suchlike regions of shepherds and listen to the shawms or alphorns; it sounds just like that.\footnote{Schumann R., p. 45; he had visited Switzerland in August 1829 on his way to Italy.}

Neither Berlioz nor Schumann, as it happens, was writing exact representations or quoting directly from Alpine melodies; but the pastoral associations of the cor anglais were enough to suggest the Alpine grazing pastures. Schumann intensifies the mountain atmosphere of his \textit{Alpenkuhreigen} by making use of a echo effect, usually of the last two notes of a phrase, in his first, slow section.

\textbf{Ex. 4 Manfred, no. 4, Alpenkuhreigen:}

\begin{verbatim}
Manfred. Horch, der Ton! Des Alpenrohrs natürli.

ebe Musik—denn hier ward nicht zu blosser Hirntendichtung die Patriarchenzeit in freien Lüften verkläht dem Klingeläute munterer Heerden, die Töne trinkt mein Geist. O wür'd ich solch' angöten le., benäge Stimme.
\end{verbatim}

[(A shepherd's pipe is heard in the distance, and then cowbells.)\footnote{Thus in the German; Byron does not mention any cowbells here.}]

Manfred: Hark! the note,
The natural music of the mountain reed -
For here the patriarchal days are not
A pastoral fable - pipes in the liberal air,
Mix'd with the sweet bells of the sauntering herd.
My soul would drink those echoes. Oh, that I were
The viewless spirit of a lovely sound,
A living voice]
The fully choral movements are nos. 7, 8, 9 and 15; there are also passages for solo voices together in nos. 1 and 3.

No. 1, Song of the Spirits, is a truncated version of the passage beginning 'Mortal, to thy bidding bow'd,' in Act I, scene 1. Byron's seven spirits are conveniently reduced to four - alto, soprano, bass and tenor - and each sings a solo stanza in arioso style. When they join together for the final verse they sing in octaves, with a running bass, breaking into harmony only for the final, imperfect cadence.

Ex. 5 Manfred, no. 1, Gesang der Geister, final verse for the four spirits together:

[Langsam.  \( \frac{d}{\text{Bar.}} = 69. \)]
Ex. 5 continued

[Excerpt from a musical notation]

[Air, ocean, earth and fire]
Are at thy beck and bidding, Child of Clay!
Before thee at thy quest their spirits are -
What wouldst thou with us, son of mortals - say?]

In no. 3, Incantation, Byron's passage beginning 'When the moon is on the wave' is cut to three stanzas. The first is sung in unison by four basses, the second by a solo bass, beginning with the same music but then diverging. The final verse begins with triads in E flat minor for second, third and fourth bass, goes on to a solo for first bass, and ends with the four basses together - again in unison - for the cadence. The movement begins with a self-quotation: it is the theme which Schumann used as the basis for his Études symphoniques for piano, op. 13. This theme was attributed to the father of Ernestine von Fricken, Schumann's

17. Thus in the German, because only four spirits appear; Byron's original enumerates
Earth, ocean, air, night, mountains, winds, thy star
fellow-pupil at Wieck's and for a while his fiancée. The theme is here transposed from C sharp minor to E flat minor, and is used as the accompaniment to the arioso vocal line.

Ex. 6 Manfred, no. 3, Geisterbannfluch:

When the moon is on the wave
And the glow-worm in the grass,

It is difficult to explain why the theme should have been recalled in this way, whether it should be taken as representing Ernestine, or her father, or any generalised feeling of love and loss which Schumann associated with that episode, or whether (as seems more likely) no reference is intended. A superficially more likely idea occurs when we recall that op. 13 was dedicated to his old friend William Sterndale Bennett, and that the theme 'Du stolzes England, freue dich' from Marschner's Templer und Jüdin was quoted in the finale as a patriotic tribute. Unfortunately for this promising beginning, there is no connection between Byron and any of these. Nevertheless it is hard to believe that Schumann, the enthusiast for ciphers and musical messages of all kinds, intended no larger significance by this lengthy quotation.
Until such a significance is demonstrated I prefer to believe that the importance of this quotation lies in its harmonies. Having transposed it to E flat minor (although it is notated in three flats throughout) Schumann has provided himself with an object lesson in the juxtaposition of E flat minor and A flat minor. The overture, which is the only movement of this incidental music usually to be heard in performance, depends quite heavily upon the chords of E flat minor and A flat minor, particularly in the first subject:

Ex. 7 Manfred, first subject of overture:

Here the E flat minor and A flat minor are used melodically (e.g. bars 25, 29, 30) as well as harmonically (e.g. bars 26 and 27) and they provide nearly all the musical material of the first subject. The Geisterbannfluch has similar features: the borrowed theme, which forms
the accompaniment to the first stanza, is also in E flat minor notated in a key signature of three flats, and it too relies a good deal on tonic and subdominant minor harmonies. The given theme is altered in the coda to use these chords melodically, too, as shown in ex. 8:

Ex. 8 Manfred, no. 3, coda to Geisterbannfluch:

We shall see how later movements confirm the significance of the E flat/ A flat harmonic juxtaposition.

The true choral movements, of which No. 7 is the most extensive, all fall within scene 4 of Act II. (Scene 3 was evidently cut, as no music is provided for the Destinies.) Byron's 'Hymn of the Spirits' is set in its entirety for SSATB. A march introduction is repeated as accompaniment to the first lines of the chorus, a technique Schumann first used in the chorus 'Er ist's von Gazna' from Das Paradies und die Peri.
Ex. 9a Manfred, no. 7, Hymnus der Geister Ariman's:

[Hail to our Master! - Prince of Earth and Air!]

[Herrn der Erd' und Luft!]

[Illegible notation and musical notation with labels: "[Majestätsisch. J = 80] CHORUS SECOND TIME ONLY Heil uns'hem Hei - ster!

[Hail to our Master! - Prince of Earth and Air!]
The emphasis in this chorus is on pictorialism; thus, at 'Sturm zerwühlt' the chorus howls onomatopoeically, with tremolo lower strings; diminished seventh arpeggios roll downwards at 'der Wogen Tanz'; and peals of thunder are heard in the timpani at 'der Donner rollt'.
Ex. 10  Manfred, no. 7, Hymnus der Geister Ariman's:

[Majestätisch.  \( \dot{=80} \)]

[Tempest shakes (the sea)]

Nos. 8 and 9 are mere sentences, outbursts from the spirits at Manfred's temerity.

At the very end of the scene, after two melodramas and some spoken dialogue, the march theme (the introduction to no. 7) returns as a coda. Here it is heard in B minor, as the previous movement ended on a dominant-sounding F sharp minor chord.

Despite the fact that we should still be in Manfred's castle at the moment when he expires, a distant chorus (SATB) marked Klostergesang (monks' hymn) is heard singing the 'Requiem aeternam'. In this movement, which has organ accompaniment, the key area E flat minor/A flat minor mentioned in connection with the overture and with no. 3 is very prominent. Moreover, the harmonies from halfway through bar 2 to bar 4 are the same as in the borrowed theme of no. 3, bars 3 and 4.
The chorus parts begin with a canon between soprano and tenor at two bars' distance and an octave apart, combined with another canon between alto and bass at the same distance and interval, beginning a bar later.

Ex. 11 *Manfred*, no. 15, Klostergesang:

\[ \text{Langsam. } J = 50. \]

Ex. 12 *Manfred*, no. 15, Klostergesang:

\[ \text{Grant them eternal rest} \]
This unauthorised final chorus induces in us a much more sanguine frame of mind about Manfred's ultimate destination than was intended by Byron, and it is paralleled by Tchaikovsky's use of the organ at the same point. It suggests that neither Schumann nor Tchaikovsky was willing to let Manfred depart unredeemed; they were both compelled to tone down the starkness and gloom of Byron's unrelievably pessimistic ending with heavenly voices and organ music. Certainly, the idea of redemption is central to Schumann's dramatic works, as we shall see, and so it is not surprising that even such an unpromising mortal as Manfred should come in for his share of redemption. But there is also in Schumann's music an approximation to Byron's intentions. The end of the overture shows us his portrayal of the death of Byron's Manfred, leaving him free to treat the final scene quite differently.

We shall find other instances of the use of a half-heard liturgical piece as a background to dramatic scenes in the Faustscenen and in the projected oratorio Luther.

The evidence for the use of reminiscence-motifs in Manfred is rather sparse, despite the confident claims of some writers. The second subject of the overture has been identified as the 'Astarte' theme, chiefly because it is heard at the moment of Astarte's disappearance in no. 11, and possibly also because conventional nineteenth-century programmatic analysis demanded that a second subject should both represent and be of a feminine character.

Ex. 13a Manfred, second subject of the overture:

[In leidenschaftlichem Tempo. \( \mathfrak{d} = 144 \).]

Ex. 13b Manfred, no. 11, Astarte's disappearance:

[Langsam. \( \mathfrak{d} = 50 \).]

(Astarte's Geist verschwindet)

[(Astarte's spirit disappears)]
Its only other appearance is at the end of the 'Requiem aeternam' in the final scene,\(^{19}\) where it is heard in the orchestra at the final cadence:

Ex. 13c *Manfred*, end of no. 15, Klostergesang:

\[\text{... shine upon them!} \]
\[(\text{Abbot) He's gone!}]\]

\(^{19}\) Zanoncelli, p. 142, puts it in bars 14-17; it is heard in bars 28-29.
Another motif heard throughout the piece is a phrase based on a descending major or minor triad, prefaced by the subdominant (occasionally the submediant):

Ex. 14a Manfred, end of overture:

[Langsam. (Tempo wie zu Anf.)]

Ex. 14b Manfred, close of no. 5, Zwischenaktmusik:

[Hässig. \( \text{\textit{d}} = 120 \)\text{.}]

Ex. 14c Manfred, opening of no. 6, Rufung der Alpenfee:

Nicht schnell. \( \text{\textit{d}} = 76 \).
Ex. 14d  Manfred, opening of no. 9:

\[ \text{Mit Wuth. } d = 120. \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{C} \\
\text{Zermalt den Wurm,}
\end{array} \]

[Crush the worm,]

Ex. 14e  Manfred, opening of no. 10, Beschworung der Astarte:

\[ \text{Langsam. } d = 45. \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{PPP}
\end{array} \]

But this fragmentary theme seems to have no consistent use, and so it is difficult to guess what it might be intended to represent. We may perhaps be dealing here with an understated and oversubtle leitmotivic technique such as is found in *Genoveva*, where the use of motifs is so over-refined that the ear has difficulty in distinguishing them at all.

More significant is the use of E flat minor and A flat minor chords in juxtaposition. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, it is important in the overture and plays a large part in nos. 3, 10 and 15. On two occasions it has to do with the summoning of spirits (nos. 3 and 10), and the departure of Manfred to the spirit world in no. 15 can be perceived as belonging to the same general area; from there it is but a short step to claiming that the similar material in the overture is also concerned with spirits. The overture, however, is clearly concerned with
Manfred's own character and the topic of paramount importance in the play, his guilt and remorse, much in the manner of a symphonic poem. In fact it is possible to draw a distinction between the overture and the incidental music, in that the overture shows us Manfred himself, while the incidental music deals with the more accessible topics of the moods of nature, magic apparitions, and Manfred's longings for the lost Astarte. Nevertheless, if pressed to assign a significance to the E flat/A flat tonal juxtaposition I should suggest that it does call to mind the spirit world which looms so large in Manfred's thoughts, as in the play as a whole.

The question we cannot avoid in examining this music - and nor would we wish to - is, why is only the overture ever played? The reasons are overwhelmingly practical. In spite of its many beauties, the incidental music contains many movements that are only fragments, such as nos. 8, 9 and 14, which would be unintelligible out of context. It also contains movements that would be nonsense without the words, such as nos. 13 and 15. Nevertheless we can cite the example of Mendelssohn's music for A Midsummer Night's Dream which is rarely performed in its entirety, but the complete numbers for orchestra alone are quite frequently heard. I confess I cannot understand why a similar policy cannot be pursued with the Manfred music; a selection of orchestral numbers such as the following would be appropriate to a concert programme:

Overture
no. 2, Summoning of a Magic Apparition
no. 5, Entr'acte
No. 6, Conjuration of the Witch of the Alps
No. 11, Manfred's address to Astarte

(beginning at bar 12, where the music becomes continuous)
This would perhaps contain too much slow music, but no. 6 would stand as a Scherzo and the march coda of no. 11 would be a suitably conclusive ending. If a chorus and soloists were available, then the following numbers could also be used:

- no. 1, Song of the Spirits
- no. 3, Incantation
- no. 7, Hymn of the Spirits of Arimanes.

No. 15, the 'Requiem aeternam', could perhaps be used as the finale if the gap in the middle were edited out.

I commend both of these schemes to programme planners with a plea to give audiences the chance to hear what they have been missing. The overture is undoubtedly the finest thing in the incidental music as a whole, but it too can gain from being heard with the contrasting numbers that follow it.

Schumann had considered Byron's The Corsair as one of the many opera subjects that preoccupied him during the 1840s, but all that emerged was a chorus of corsairs, 'Auf den Wellen', with a melodrama, and the opening of an aria for the corsair chief Conrad. It was eventually published, in the interests of completeness, by Breitkopf & Härtel as Der Korsar - Opernfragment, edited by Joachim Draheim, in 1983. It was given a first concert performance in Karlsruhe on 25 April 1981 by the choruses of the Baden State Opera and Baden State Theatre, with the Baden State Orchestra; the conductor was Frithjof Haas.²⁰

²⁰ Draheim, p. XIII
Byron's tale *The Corsair*, written in 1814, was one of a number of works of that time with Oriental colouring; it has a Mediterranean setting, presumably around the Greek and Turkish coasts. The story concerns Conrad, a man of mystery, who rules his pirate crew with iron discipline. He makes his way into his enemy Ali Pasha's court in disguise, but is recognised and captured amongst scenes of carnage. Ali Pasha's slave, Gulnare, falls in love with him and rescues him by betraying her master and murdering the guard. This act of devotion only serves to disgust Conrad at such bloodthirstiness on the part of a woman, and he repudiates her; but when he returns to his pirates' lair he finds that Medora, his love, is dead, and he sets sail alone to end his sorrows.

Schumann's work on *Der Corsar* was closely connected with his earliest ideas on portions of Goethe's *Faust*. During Clara's concert tour of Russia in early 1844 Schumann re-read Part II of *Faust*, and while ill at Dorpat he selected certain scenes for possible setting, and probably sketched music for the closing scene. At the end of May, back in Leipzig, he relinquished the editorship of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* so as to be able to concentrate on composition. In June he approached Anton von Zucalmaglio, a *Neue Zeitschrift* contributor from the early days, about the possibility of providing him with a libretto for either *Der Corsar* or *Till Eulenspiegel*. This came to nothing, and he made another approach on 2 July, this time to Dr Oswald Marbach, for a libretto of *Der Corsar*. By August, though, he had reverted to *Faust*;

21. The complete evidence about the extent of Schumann's work on *Faust* in 1844 will be found in chapter 5.

22. Draheim, pp. XIV-XV

and perhaps the most interesting feature of the Corsar fragment is its close resemblance to certain contemporary passages in the Faustscenen, as we shall see.

First, however, we must examine the problem of the libretto. We must distinguish clearly between a translation, which must follow the original fairly faithfully, and a libretto, which is allowed to paraphrase, omit or expand as appropriate to the dramatic action. The text given for the fragments of Der Corsar must be from a libretto, not a translation, because it bears little resemblance to Byron's original. The chorus of corsairs, 'Auf den Wellen', is a paraphrase of some of the sentiments of the opening canto; but the aria, 'Gewöhnt an Kampf von Jugend auf' is nowhere to be found in Byron. Who, then, provided this libretto?

Schumann wrote to Dr Marbach on 2 July 1844:

... Recently I read the Corsair of Lord Byron - my great desire, to try out my dramatic inclinations, awoke again, and I wondered whether you might find yourself well-disposed towards a musico-dramatic treatment of the poem. Only the ending would need some alteration, in my opinion; for the rest, everything is arranged as in a three-act opera.

Schumann's diary records meetings with Marbach on 13 and 14 July, but it seems that Marbach did not then produce a libretto for him: Draheim is of the opinion that Schumann had not received a complete libretto at that time, and Erler even believes that Marbach declined the invitation to produce a libretto, although this is by no means clear from the diary entries. For one thing, no such text has ever been found, and the

24. It is certainly not the passage beginning 'Ay! at set of sun' as Abraham (1), p. 272, suggests.
25. Erler (1), p. 313
27. Draheim, p. XI and pp. XIV-XV
words to the chorus and the aria are not in Marbach's hand. There are two possibilities: either Marbach sketched these two numbers as a specimen of his ideas of how to treat the drama, and documentary evidence of this has since disappeared; or Schumann assembled the text himself.

It surprises me that Schumann, with his extensive knowledge of literature and early experience as a writer, never attempted his own libretto save for the additional sections of Das Paradies und die Peri (see chapter 2) and his work on Genoveva. He sketched scenarios for operas, showing the order of scenes with indications for big arias, but never went any further. It is tempting to surmise that the text of this fragment may be Schumann's own, but in the circumstances it seems more likely that it was a prototype by Marbach. The exact provenance of the libretto for Der Corsar remains obscure.

Schumann's chorus writing in this fragment is remarkable for its simplicity. Much of the tenor and bass parts is derived from octave doubling of soprano and alto, and there is also a good deal of unison singing for the whole chorus. The orchestral parts by and large do little more than double the voices. This kind of texture looks forward to the rules for chorus-writing which Schumann formulated later in the decade:

The choruses are to be kept as easy as possible. Unison of tenors and basses, with octave doubling in alto and soprano, makes the most powerful effect. Pure four-part writing ... is suitable only in its place. The chorus must show its power and vigour. High range must be avoided in all voices.29

Boetticher gives no date for this extract but places it in the midst of letters dated late 1847, and suggests that it was formulated as a result of work on Genoveva. However, in that work these rules are not followed

29. Boetticher (2), p. 432
at all, except for a short passage at the end of Act II in which sopranos
and tenors, and alto and basses, both move in octaves. They apply far
more closely to the chorus from Der Corsar, which contains instances of
each prescription.

The form of the chorus is broadly binary, emphasised by a repeat of
the whole piece. After the second time it goes straight into a melodrama
in D major, depicting the pirate camp at sunset, for a speech by Conrad
which begins 'Die tapferen Guten ...' and ends 'mein letzten Kampf auf
Erde sei.' No more of this speech is known, and presumably it comes from
the putative libretto; there is no equivalent in the original poem. This
must be Schumann's earliest use of melodrama, for it pre-dates the
incidental music to Manfred and the voice and piano melodramas of 1849
and 1852. It is scored for strings, horns and bassoons only, and with
its economy of means makes a much greater effect than does the relatively
over-orchestrated opening chorus. Over a gentle drone bass in the
strings an onstage horn gives the night signal, answered by a horn in the
orchestra, followed by a pair of bassoons. Another horn and part of the
cello section makes up the contrapuntal web - a simple diatonic melody,
with flattened sevenths, used in canon at the unison and fifth to convey
an atmosphere of peace.
It remains only to connect Der Corsar with the closing scene of Faust, for they were probably written at about the same time, and there is also a resemblance between their themes. The resemblance is most marked in their opening themes, each with descending fifths:
Ex. 16a  Der Corsar, opening theme of the chorus 'Auf den Wellen':

\[\text{Allegro vivace}\]

\[\text{Ein Corsar},\]

later appearing as:

[A Corsair!]

Ex. 16b  Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part II no. 7, opening of Chorus Mysticus:

\[\text{Ein Corsar},\]

Die Halben etwas langsamer als vorher.

Altes Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis,

[Everything transitory is only a metaphor]
But we can also judge the similarity of the secondary theme based on semitone stepwise movement:

Ex. 17a Der Corsar, from the chorus 'Auf den Wellen':

But we follow him, a merry hunt

and

You will not escape us,
Ex. 17b Scenen aus Goethes Faust, from Part III no. 7,
the Chorus Mysticus:

\[ \text{[Die Halben ehmas langsamer als vorher.]} \]

\[ \text{das Un-zu-läng-liche} \]

\[ \text{hier und's Er-eig-nis;} \]

[the inadequate here becomes fulfilled]

There are some wider problems of melodrama which deserve attention here. One of them is what to do about form — how to articulate a movement. To a certain extent this is solved by the presence of the text, for the text itself perforce lays out the form of the movement. But the text cannot be of such paramount importance to the form as it is in a wholly sung setting, for in melodrama, as we have observed, the text may well fall into pauses between musical phrases; and if the music is more or less continuous, with no particular reference to the text being declaimed, then it must have some kind of form of its own, especially in the case of those melodramas where omitting the text is sanctioned.

Schumann solves this problem by using various structures based on simple repetition, usually of a single piece of melodic material, sometimes of two or more themes. Nos. 2, 10 and 11 of \textit{Manfred} are all based on single themes; no. 6 is ternary, as is the \textit{Alpenkuhreigen}. We may see a parallel here with the very short piano genre pieces such as \textit{Papillons} op. 2: the procedure is very similar in each case, and perhaps the unstated programme of \textit{Papillons} stands in the same relationship to the music as does the spoken text of \textit{Manfred}. 

-196-
A more fundamental problem of melodrama is the difficulty of assimilating music and text when they are not merged in song. A declaimed text has its own rhythm and its own rise and fall, perhaps even its own specific pitches, and only rarely do these coincide with the pitches and rhythms of the accompanying music. This makes it hard to attend to the text without to some extent ignoring the music, and vice versa. Whether Schumann felt this tension between music and words in melodrama is not recorded, but his idea in the examples towards the end of *Manfred* of notating the rhythms of the speech would go some way towards solving this difficulty.

Schumann's own problem with melodrama (and indeed with dramatic music as a whole) seems to lie in the fact that 'dramatic' music is not what he was most successful at. He can set a mood, convey an atmosphere, and even tell a story (as we have noted in his piano music and songs) and this is what we find him doing in the individual movements of larger-scale works too. The drama of *Manfred* is entirely Byron's; Schumann's music only carries along the narrative. Significantly the most successful movement of all is the overture, which is not bound to any specific point in the action. As we examine more and more of Schumann's larger-scale choral works it becomes evident that opportunities for drama did not bring out the best in him, but lyrical moments gave him the chance to shine; no wonder that his large number of operatic projects were, save one, all stillborn.
Schumann's Scenen aus Goethes Faust (also referred to as the Faustscenen) is unique among his choral works in that it was written over a period of many years, starting with the closing scene in 1844 (later to be Schumann's Part III) and ending with the overture in 1853. Parallels can be drawn here with Goethe himself, who occupied himself with Faust for most of his working life (about 60 years), and with Wagner's Ring cycle. In Schumann's own oeuvre a similarity can be seen with the Piano Concerto op. 54, which existed as a single-movement torso for four years and was extended to its present length only after entreaties from Clara to make it into a three-movement concerto for her.

But the Faustscenen can be said to belong to that group of choral works whose completion was delayed (or, in the case of Luther, put off altogether) by the necessity for work on the text. In chapters 6 and 7 we will examine in detail Schumann's delays in the composition of Der Rose Pilgerfahrt and Des Sängers Fluch because of problems with the libretto; another notorious example is of course Genoveva, the text of which Schumann was finally compelled to put together himself after fundamental disagreements with his librettist, Robert Reinick, and a fruitless appeal to the poet Hebbel. This is not to suggest that the text of Faust presented quite the same sort of problem, but in this case the enormous length and scope of the play must surely have created difficulties in deciding what to set and what to omit. Schumann followed the precedent (in a temporal, not a causal sense) set by Berlioz in his
Huit scènes de Faust (1828-29), later La damnation de Faust (1845-46). Both composers solved the problem by composing the scenes which they found particularly interesting and ignoring the rest, without considering whether this made for a coherent plot. The Faustscenen have no narrator, a distinction which they share with Das Glück von Edenhall amongst those of Schumann's choral works which have a plot.

It is perhaps surprising that Schumann did not set any of the lyrics included in the play; he made a setting of Lied Lynceus des Türmers for his op. 79 Liederalbum für die Jugend, and Der König von Thule appears in the op. 67 partsongs. In the Faustscenen he chose to set moments of dramatic intensity such as the Evil Spirit's confrontation of Gretchen in the Cathedral Scene. In the rest of his choral works his response to dramatic climaxes was usually disappointing, and so it is the more extraordinary both that he should have selected such moments particularly and that in this work at least he should have risen so nobly to the challenge. Schumann, too, was the first composer to include any of Part II of Goethe's Faust, which was not published until 1832, after the author's death. Goethe's two parts became three: Part I comes from Goethe's Part I, Part II from Goethe's Part II, and Part III is the complete final scene of Goethe's Part II.

The Faustscenen as they now stand present an overture, six self-contained movements and the extended closing scene. The first vocal movement, Scene im Garten (Garden Scene) is a lyrical love duet between Faust and Gretchen. Gretchen vor dem Bild der Mater Dolorosa (Gretchen before the shrine of the Mater Dolorosa) is Gretchen's impassioned prayer to the Virgin for help. The Scene im Dom (Cathedral Scene) is the first choral movement: the Evil Spirit is taunting Gretchen with her wrongdoing, while the choir sings the Dies Irae in the background.
Part II opens with *Ariel: Sonnenaufgang* (Ariel: Sunrise) in which the orchestra depicts the sunny landscape where Ariel awakens Faust, while the spirit chorus exhorts him to renewed efforts on behalf of mankind. *Mitternacht* (Midnight) introduces the ensemble of the Four Grey Women, one of whom, Care, has a long dramatic dialogue with Faust. *Fausts Tod* (Faust's Death) begins with a jaunty chorus of zombies digging Faust's grave. After an extended arioso Faust dies and his epitaph is pronounced by Mephistopheles and the chorus. *Fausts Verklärung* (Faust's Transfiguration) is the collective title given to Part III, the closing scene, which itself is divided into seven numbers (choruses, arias and ensembles), although the music is almost always continuous.

The chronology of the *Faustscenen* does not appear to have been assembled before and it is important not least because of certain structural and stylistic differences between the earlier and later parts. A precise chronology can be deduced from dates of diary entries and dates on the MS. full score, and the development into its final form clearly had a close connection with the impetus given by opportunities for performance. Here are the salient dates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part III</th>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sketched in part</td>
<td>June–December 1844</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finale, first ending</td>
<td>17–23 April 1847</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second ending</td>
<td>22 May – 29 June</td>
<td>and 28 July 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'chorus in B flat'</td>
<td>(probably 6 May – 3 June 1848)</td>
<td></td>
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The extent of the sketches made in 1844 is particularly problematical and will be dealt with below.
Part III was given its premiere by the Dresden Chorgesangverein before an invited audience on 25 June 1848. The 'Gerettet' chorus was written with this in prospect, not as a result of the performance. The reasons why I have identified 'Gerettet ist das edle Glied' as the 'chorus in B flat major from Faust' written between 6 May and 3 June are as follows. The only other candidate is 'Dir, der Unberührbaren', which is also in B flat major and contains a chorus, but that section begins as a solo for Dr Marianus, repeated by the chorus. Also, the text of 'Dir, der Unberührbaren' could scarcely have been left out of the original sketches only to be included in 1848, whereas Schumann had already set 'Gerettet ist das edle Glied' as the fanfare-like opening chorus of no. 4 and had no textual reason for repeating it as the B flat chorus after 'Freudig empfangen wir'. Furthermore, the imitative theme of 'Gerettet' is remarkably like that of the opening of the 'Rhenish' Symphony, written in 1850, which makes it slightly more probable that 'Gerettet' was written in 1848 than 1844.

1. Nauhaus (2), p. 460
La Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, closing chorus of no. 4,
'Gerettet ist das edle Glied'

[The noble member of the spirit world is saved from evil]
Ex. 1b 'Rhenish' Symphony (no. 3 in E flat major), opening theme of first movement:

**Symphony, No. 3**

I

Let us return to the chronology of the Faustscenen.

Part I no. 1 (Garden Scene) 15-18 July 1849

Part I no. 2 (Gretchen) 18-20 July 1849

Part I no. 3 (Cathedral Scene) 13-14 July, orchestrated 24 July 1849

Part II no. 4 (Ariel) 24-25 July and 14-20 August 1849
The celebrations of the Goethe Centenary took place on and around 28 August 1849. On 29 August there were performances in Dresden, Leipzig and Weimar of Part III of the Faustscenen. Part I no. 3, the Cathedral Scene, was rehearsed in Dresden but not performed on this occasion. Again, the four movements dating from 1849 were written while a performance of previously written material was in preparation, not after it had occurred.

Part II no. 5 (Midnight) 26 April and 4 May 1850
Part II no. 6 (Faust's Death) 28 April and 10 May 1850
Both of these movements were orchestrated 30 April - 10 May 1850.

At Schumann's farewell to the Dresden Chorgesangverein the Cathedral Scene, Gretchen's scene, and the Requiem für Mignon were given before an invited audience on 8 May 1850. Nos. 5 and 6 were begun while the Cathedral Scene was in rehearsal and were largely complete by the day of its performance.

The overture is dated 15 August, revised and orchestrated 16-17 August 1853.

We must now return to Schumann's work on Part III and examine what little evidence there is about the scope of his composition in 1844, as compared with the claims made by some commentators. Schumann was unhelpfully unspecific about his work on the closing scene of Goethe's Faust - in his diary entries he uses the word 'Faustiana'. Moreover, the earliest date recorded on the MS. full score is 1847. However, many writers on Schumann have been convinced that Part III was sketched, as a whole or in part, in 1844; they include Wasielewski, Niecks, Abraham.

2. Wasielewski (1), pp. 228-29
3. Niecks, p. 236
4. Abraham (2), p. 841
Boetticher and Sams. Claims range from 'sketches of music to the closing scene... for soloists, chorus and orchestra' (Wasielewski) to Sams's more thoroughgoing 'There are stylistic and technical grounds for supposing that Part III was complete, at least in outline, by summer 1844.' Unfortunately he is not explicit about these grounds, and so in the absence of concrete evidence the extent of reasonable belief seems to be as follows: firstly, that the Chorus Mysticus setting was sketched in 1844, whether during the concert tour to Russia, as Niecks and Abraham suggest, or later in the year, or at both times. Schumann was indeed working on the closing scene in October 1844, for in that month he visited Dresden in preparation for moving his family there, and we learn from Dr Helbig, his medical adviser in Dresden, that

he was in fact so engrossed in the composition of Goethe's Faust, that he fell ill while working on the finale of this piece of music. Schumann implied that his work on Faust had been extensive in a letter to Dr Krüger, his colleague on the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik. The letter is undated, but Jansen thought it had been written in Leipzig in December 1844. After a description of his illness during the concert tour to Russia, Schumann continued:

I think I had been doing too much music, and finally I was very much preoccupied with my music to Goethe's Faust... I haven't been able to listen to music at all recently, it cuts my nerves to pieces.

... I am still very preoccupied with Faust. What do you think to the idea of treating the whole thing as an oratorio? Isn't that daring and noble? For the moment I can only think about it.'

5. Boetticher (1), p. 166
7. Wasielewski (1), p. 230
In support of this contention as to the scope of work in 1844 we may also note the singular melodic correspondence between the opening of the Chorus Mysticus and that of the instrumental opening of the chorus of corsairs, 'Auf den Wellen', for the unachieved Der Corsar, written in June and July 1844; this was discussed in chapter 4.

Ex. 2a Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III no. 7:

[Everything transitory is only a metaphor]
Ex. 2b  Der Corsar, opening of 'Auf den Wellen':

Nr. 1 Chor der Korsaren

![Musical notation]

"Auf den Wellen luschweben die"

Secondly, there is some evidence which seems to imply that the great majority of Part III was written in 1844, and this includes an undated letter from mid 1849 written to the publisher Dr Hârtel. It gives the arrangements for the Goethe Festival (about which more later) and goes on:

The piece [Faust] will also be given in Weimar - and I'd like to have Faust's cloak just for this day, to be able to be everywhere and hear everything. How strange, the piece lay in my desk for five years, unknown to anyone, and virtually forgotten by me - and now it will come to light on this unique festival!"

Schumann was clearly in the habit of thinking of this part at least as having been essentially finished in 1844. One further point adds support to the 1844 view, and it concerns Schumann's habits as a diarist. He usually wrote down after his notes of daily expenditure (it was, first and foremost, an exercise in book-keeping) a few words about what music he had been engaged on or which friends he had seen, except for periods away from home, when he usually kept a separate travel diary, again primarily for noting outgoings. Thus in 1844 when the Schumanns were touring Russia it is not surprising to find little in the regular diaries about work on Faust, whereas in 1848, when they were at home in Dresden, if there had been a lot of work done on Faust one would expect to find this reflected in the diary entries. As it is, only the B flat major chorus is specifically mentioned in 1848 which leads me to suppose that it was the only section left till 1848, and that the great majority of Part III (with the exception of the two versions of the closing chorus) was composed in 1844, when normal diary-keeping methods were in abeyance during periods of travel and possibly eroded yet further by Schumann's episodes of illness that year.

We have noted that prospective performances of excerpts from the Faustscenen were a powerful impulse to further composition, so let us look at the circumstances of these performances. As we have seen, the first performance of the closing scene (later Part III) of the Faustscenen was a private one, given by Chorgesangverein forces before an invited audience on 25 June 1848. Schumann's diary shows that the last portion to be composed, the chorus in B flat major, had only just been finished on 3 June, three weeks earlier. Rehearsals were held in May and June 1848 (while the 'Gerettet' chorus was still being written); particular mention is made in the diaries of 19 May, which was a
rehearsal at the Schumanns' house, probably with soloists only; 28 May, the first run-through with the Chorgesangverein; 21 June, the first rehearsal with a quartet of strings; and 24 June, the first rehearsal with the orchestra. A letter to Carl Banck, inviting him to the performance on 25 June, revealed that the orchestra were taking part without fee, so that it was not possible to call them for more than one rehearsal. For this reason Schumann referred to the performance as a 'run-through', though in the event he spoke of it as having gone very well and seemed delighted with it.

Two letters tell us more details about the concert; the first, dated 3 July 1848, was to Franz Brendel.

As time was pressing, I chose as an introduction to the closing scene of Faust something from the book by Deyks. Do you approve of this? - The performance (before an invited audience) went splendidly; the total effect appeared good to me, and to outweigh that of the 'Peri', and that is the consequence of the greater poem, which also urged me to a greater exertion of my strength. I should be very pleased to give this music before my Leipzig friends, and hope to God to do so at the beginning of winter. The nicest thing was hearing from lots of people that the music had made the poem clear to them for the first time. For I had always feared the reproach: 'why music to such perfect poetry?' On the other hand, I have felt ever since I have known this scene that the right music could give it a greater effect. Now, perhaps you can soon give your opinion! - Consider the foregoing as a private intimation only, and don't make any reference to it in the Zeitschrift.

The second letter was to the publisher Whistling and was dated 17 June 1848, with the following P.S. dated 26 June:

In the musical and other worries of last week this letter got forgotten. Meanwhile, we heard Faust yesterday and I enclose a few words for my Leipzig friends about the performance. The orchestra (the court one, as a favour) played splendidly after one rehearsal; the solos in particular were very good, as well as the choruses. The text and naturally the music too were

13. Erler, p. 44
reminiscent of the Peri in that both, having for a long time erred and striven, reached heaven. In its musical character Faust should be as separate from the Peri as west and east - or at least that's what I intended. Many people told me that the music made it easier to understand the text - and that pleased me very much. The impression made by certain sections, in particular the first chorus, and then the chorus: 'Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis' was just what I wanted. And Gretchen's first entry with the words, 'Neige, neige' pleased the composer very much. The final chorus, 'das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan', over which the comp.[oser] was in total despair once or twice, and which he set more than once, always in the belief that it wasn't right yet, created about the strongest effect in its first version - quite unexpectedly.  

Later on we shall look in more detail at the curious provision of two alternative endings for the final chorus; we must proceed now to the Goethe Centenary celebrations of 1849, which prompted another period of composition on Faust.

Strange to relate, it seems that the idea of actually performing some of Schumann's music for this festival came at quite a late stage. The first enquiry came from Liszt, who, as music director at Weimar, where Goethe had spent the latter half of his life, would have been expected to take the lead in organising celebrations. Liszt wrote to Schumann on 5 June 1849 to ask about progress on the Faustscenen and to offer help in arranging a performance. Schumann's reply, dated 21 July 1849 (only just over a month before the actual centenary, 28 August 1849), runs as follows:

It occurred to me yesterday, wouldn't next month's Goethe Festival - which I'm sure will be celebrated in Weimar too - be a fine opportunity to perform my Scenes from Faust; the thought of hearing them done in public for the first time at such a festival is quite delightful. Moreover, kindly spirits have also helped me fulfil the intention, about which I have already written to you, of composing more scenes from Part I of Faust; the Garden Scene and the Cathedral Scene with the Dies Irae are finished, and the whole thing (with the final scene of Part II

15. Erler (1), pp. 43-44
[viz. Goethe's Part II, Schumann's Part III]) would last an hour at the most... Please would you let me know as a matter of importance how things stand with the Festival in Weimar, whether you can find room for Faust and whether you will undertake to negotiate between the committee and me, and that will fulfil the main purpose of this letter. My final decision, however, cannot be given in this letter, because I do not yet know whether I can be away from Leipzig at that time, 28th August, for my Genoveva is to be given there about then...\(^{17}\)

In the event, the Leipzig premiere of the opera did not take place until 25 June 1850, and Schumann was able to take part in the Goethe Centenary celebrations in Dresden.

An organising committee had been set up in Dresden to co-ordinate the celebrations. It numbered 28 gentlemen, including the physician Carl Gustav Carus, the painters Eduard Bendemann and Julius Hübner, the sculptors Ernst Hähnel and Ernst Rietschel, the engraver Hugo Bürkner, some professors from the Academy, the actor Eduard Devrient, the poet Karl Gutzkow, and the musicians Karl Gottlieb Reissiger and Schumann.\(^{18}\)

The first committee meeting mentioned by Schumann was on 14 July, which perhaps seems rather late by modern standards (six weeks before the event), and he attended further meetings on 20 July, 25 July, 27 July, 31 July, 14 August and 21 August. (From the night of 31 July/1 August to 4 August he was ill; rumours of cholera in the town had convinced him that he had contracted the disease.)\(^{19}\)

The most important piece of evidence about the festival arrangements and Schumann's own ideas of what should be done can be found in an undated note which he sent to Julius Hübner. It comments on the decisions already taken and asks Hübner to put forward his (Schumann's) point of view at a forthcoming committee meeting. The note is headed

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18. Hübner, p. 311
only 'Saturday' but in fact it must have been 21 July 1849 as no other Saturday in that period fulfils all the criteria; by 28 July, the following Saturday, all the arrangements had been agreed for the performance of Schumann's *Faust* music and he was writing to convey all the details to Dr Härte, of the Leipzig publishing firm; this letter will be quoted in due course.

Schumann began his note to Hübner by deprecating the decision reached by the committee virtually to exclude music from the celebrations. He continued:

But what exactly is the committee offering? A series of lectures (not very accessible), a festival banquet (ditto), and a dubious Garden Festival, - while the most rosy prospects of a successful concert are being offered through the involvement of important artists, the orchestra and the [musical] societies, and finally and most importantly through the selection of the compositions themselves, dedicated to characterising Göthe in his many guises as a poet.

Would you then please put forward this view, which I am sure is yours too, at the next meeting; I would do it myself, but as you know I am no great orator. If music were to be excluded it seems to me it would be an injustice to music as the art celebrated by Göthe, who esteemed it so highly and spoke of it so often.

And now just one thing more. Perhaps you will think, 'Aha - he wants to perform his Faust' - yes, certainly, I should like that very much, and I know that when they finally sing 'das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan' my heart will pound with joy... But - so much the more does impersonal interest lead me to see that the place of music is being usurped in this festival, for which it is so appropriate, and the singing of four-part men's choruses in the open air does not make up for it.

These lines, as I scarcely need to observe, are only for you (and of course Bendemann)... 20

It should be remembered that the above note was written on the same day, 21 July 1849, as his reply to Liszt which was quoted earlier; Schumann's views on the Goethe Centenary celebrations had crystallised and he was now concerned only with putting his plans into operation.

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20. Hübner, p. 312. Additions in square brackets are my own.
Schumann's ideas quickly prevailed, and on 28 July 1849 he wrote to Dr Härтel:

I have now decided in favour of the performance of the Scene [note singular] from Faust on 29 August. The concert will be in the Palais im Grossen Garten, and besides that the [Erste] Walpurgisnacht [by Mendelssohn] will be given. At the same time, or really after this performance, there will be singing, playing and rejoicing in various parts of the Grosser Garten; they want to have a sort of People's Festival, providing that Jupiter Pluvius raises no objection. Perhaps you would like to come to the Festival here; I would then let you know the whole Festival programme. Or perhaps Leipzig is celebrating the day itself, as I do believe.  

On the following day, 29 July, he wrote again to Liszt:

Your answer suits me very well. There has been set up here a committee for a great commemoration of the Goethe Festival, and they have decided to finish up with my Faust music. (Sorry about the pun.) I haven't yet accepted here; but even if it meant that they thought badly of me, I should prefer a performance in W.[eimar] to one here...  

However, as it turned out Schumann was not forced to choose between Dresden and Weimar (except insofar as he could be in only one place) as the Faust music was given in both towns and also in Leipzig for the Goethe Centenary. The Leipzig performance may have been proposed by Dr Härтel, acting on the implied suggestion in Schumann's letter to him. Schumann himself conducted the performance in Dresden, Julius Rietz that in Leipzig, and Liszt the Weimar concert. Mendelssohn's Die erste Walpurgisnacht was given in the same concert in Leipzig and Dresden, but not in Weimar, which may have had something to do with partisan feelings.

21. This is presumably the 'Garden Festival' referred to in Schumann's note to Hübner.
23. On 'beschliessen' and 'beschlossen', which of course does not survive in translation.
24. This contrasts strangely with his certainty to Dr Härтel. Was Schumann being disingenuous to his publisher in speaking of the matter as settled, or disingenuous to Liszt in letting him think the composer might be present at the performance?
Mendelssohn had of course been conductor of the Gewandhaus orchestra in Leipzig until his early death two years previously, and he had been a personal friend of Schumann. Both Leipzig and Dresden would have wished to honour him as well as Goethe. Liszt's well-known antipathy to Mendelssohn and the sort of music he wrote is enough to explain the omission of the work in Weimar.

As the composer was unable to be present in Weimar some important points on performance have been preserved in correspondence between Schumann and Liszt. Most of them occur in a letter from Schumann dated 10 August 1849:

I have only got time for a few remarks today which struck me when I was checking through. I have most recently checked only the wind parts. As you have the corrected single parts for chorus and strings for your copyist, I have omitted to revise both the chorus and the strings in the score. In the metronome marks you and Montag,26 to whom many greetings, have a clue to my intentions. The changes of tempi must above all be done gently, merging into one another. The movement in C sharp minor, Nebelnd um Felsenhöh always creates the greatest problems. The tempo is about half as slow as the previous A flat major; but the rhythm remains the same.27 As the six solo voices always create difficulties at the point: Du schwebst zu Höhen, I have simplified the whole part for four voices only (two sopranos and two altos) on an extra page, which you will find in the score.28 Have you got a harp? If not, the part will have to be played on the piano. You will want to print the text in any case. If you like Faust's Transfiguration as a collective title for the piece, then use it in the programme.

At the beginning of no. 5 ['Hier ist die Aussicht frei'] there must be only 4 firsts, 4 second violins, 2 violas and 2 cellos

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26. Montag was the director of church music in Weimar.
27. Schumann later resolved this difficulty by notating Nebelnd um Felsenhöh in so that the crotchet beat did not alter. The MS. full score shows the original notation to have been in, with the opening triplet phrase as \[
\begin{array}{c}
\frac{\text{\textsuperscript{3}}}{\text{\textsuperscript{8}}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \\
\frac{\text{\textsuperscript{3}}}{\text{\textsuperscript{8}}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \\
\end{array}
\]
28. The printed vocal score has five soloists at this point, two pairs of sopranos and an alto; but on checking with the full score we find that the alto solo is labelled Mater Gloriosa, who appears in the succeeding section. This does not necessarily contradict Schumann's intention.
playing; this sounds very gentle and pretty after the foregoing loud chorus in B flat major. 29
The biggest climax in the work lies in the poco a poco crescendo in no. 7 [the final chorus] from the words 'Alles Vergängliche' up to 'Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan.' You cannot begin the final chorus [viz. 'Das Ewig-Weibliche', first version] too fast, even though it's Alla breve, although I should like to characterise the whole composition above all as a gentle and deeply peaceful one. With your penetrating method of interpretation this will be clear to you in a moment without my help. If only I could be there! But I'm also pleased about the performance here, which promises to be quite a good one... 30

A later letter to Montag noted in Schumann's Briefbuch for 21 August 1849 records that the composer had by then decided that the whole composition - Part III, as it now stands - should be sung from beginning to end without a break, just a short pause between nos. 4 and 5 (i.e. between the end of the 'Gerettet' chorus in B flat major and the beginning of 'Hier ist die Aussicht frei' in G major). 31

Schumann had sight-read Faust's Verklärung with the choral society as long ago as 28 May 1848, and further rehearsals had taken place in preparation for the private première on 25 June 1848. But in 1849 the first chorus rehearsal was held on 8 August, a mere three weeks before the performance. They were probably prevented from starting earlier by the lateness of the decision about the concert and by Schumann's illness between 31 July/1 August and 4 August. At the 8 August rehearsal the Cathedral Scene was tried, but this was not in the end performed at the Goethe concert; the lack of rehearsal time probably made Schumann decide in favour of performing only the final scene, which had already been fully rehearsed the previous year.

29. This reduced orchestration has been preserved into the published full score.
The programme printed in the *Dresdner Anzeiger* shows the celebrations lasting from 27-30 August, with a significant amount of music. On the evening of Monday 27 August there was a performance of Goethe's *Tasso* at the Hoftheater. On Tuesday 28 August, the centenary day, commemorative ceremonies were held, and at noon three open lectures were given in the Harmoniesaale, the first by Dr Carus, the second by Dr Schütz and the third by Dr Reichenbach. The entrance tickets for this event bore a lithograph of a drawing by Julius Hübner. At 6 pm in the Hoftheater there were *tableaux vivants* from Goethe's poems, with performances of *Die Laune des Verliebten* and of a two-act version of *Der Raub der Helena* by Gutzkow after the episode in Part II of Goethe's *Faust*, with music by Reissiger. Later the same evening the official banquet took place in the Harmoniesaale; tickets for the banquet showed a lithograph after Bendemann. Wednesday 29 August was the musical festival. At 4 pm in the Palais im Grossen Garten were performed Mendelssohn's *Die erste Walpurgisnacht*, conducted by Reissiger, and Schumann's setting of the closing scene of *Faust* under the title *Fausts Verklarung*, conducted by the composer. At the same time as the concert there was a free performance by the Allgemeine Dresdner Sängerverein in the Grosse Wirtschaft (the 'four-part men's choruses in the open air' of which Schumann was so dismissive) followed by a recital of Goethe songs. On Thursday 30 August there was a performance of Gutzkow's *Der Königsleutnant*, based on Goethe's early life.

Reactions to the closing scene of the *Faust* were not uniformly encouraging. Schumann wrote to Franz Brendel on 1 September 1849:

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32. This is not the same as the 'Walpurgisnacht' episode in *Faust*; Goethe's poem *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* is a separate, much earlier work.
According to a notice in the Leipzig paper my Faust piece appears to have found little sympathy in L. [Leipzig]. Just as nowadays I never like to see myself overrated, so a work cherished for so long with such love and industry shouldn't be underrated either - but to hear something only once never leads to a complete appreciation. - I would be very pleased to send you the score, if you wish. Drop me a line about that.

The performance which took place here was as good as could be expected after only two short orchestral rehearsals. The choruses went splendidly and they sang with the greatest enjoyment. The soloists too were exceptional, besides Fräulein Schwarzbach and Herr Weixelstorfer, in particular Mitterwurzer, who sang beautifully as Dr Marianus in the aria with harp and entranced everyone. The audience listened with the most concentrated attention...

... It was perhaps a mistake in the Leipzig concert arrangements to put the piece at the beginning of the concert. The organisation of the whole scene gives it a character of finality; the individual parts are not complete in themselves; everything must interlock quickly and smoothly etc., so as to reach the big climax, which seems to me to be the first appearance of the words: 'Das Ewig-Weiblich[e] zieht uns hinan' (shortly before the beginning of the Lebhaft final chorus)...

Brendel's own reaction may be deduced from the notice in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik dated 12 September 1849 (the Schumanns' wedding anniversary). The Leipzig Goethefeier concert had been mentioned in the previous issue of 5 September, and Brendel held over his long review of the Faust music till the 12th. He began by talking about the Faust poem and the difficulties of understanding Schumann's text, which, he declared, was a barrier to concert audiences comprehending the music fully:

Here is the parting of the ways, here is the point where, as with Beethoven's 9th Symphony, a concert audience as a whole cannot follow any further.  

He stated twice that he could not be sure of his ground after hearing the music only once, and was on the whole disappointingly unspecific about

34. Jansen (2), p. 267
35. Brendel, p. 114
36. Brendel, pp. 113 and 114
his opinion of it, confining himself almost entirely to sweeping statements such as:

... the conviction has gripped me that we have before us one of the most important musical creations, particularly as regards its spiritual content. 37

and

... it has a more electrifying and immediately striking effect than many another work by this composer, provided that the listener brings with him the correct point of view for the conception of the whole... 38

The exception to this was his reaction to the final chorus (Schumann's first setting) which he wholeheartedly condemned in the following terms:

In the matter of the ensuing section of this chorus, I find myself in opposition to the composer, and believe myself to be sufficiently sure of this impression to invite him to alter it before it is printed... Although everything preceding gripped me deeply, I felt myself chilled and turned to indifference by this final chorus. At the beschleunigtem Tempo this chorus appears to me personally to be too long and too worldly in its effect, to be giving up the tender secret to public praise. 39

Brendel ended his review by stating his conviction that in Schumann's closing scene of Faust he discerned 'the elements of the church music of the future.' 40 This may surprise a late twentieth-century reader who does not in general draw any stylistic distinction between sacred and secular music, but Brendel was certainly right insofar as Schumann wrote the Schlussscene aus Faust in a style indistinguishable from his overtly secular pieces, thus blurring the perceived division between sacred and secular music even further.

Schumann wrote again to Brendel on 18 September 1849:

I have been absolutely delighted with everything of yours about 'Faust' that I have read. The outward result was clear to me before the performance; I expected nothing else. But I also

37. Brendel, p. 114
38. Brendel, p. 115
39. Brendel, p. 115
40. Brendel, p. 115
knew that a few people would think that the music had hit the
mark. I was never very pleased with the final chorus, in the
shape in which you heard it; the second version is much to be
preferred, as you know. But I chose this one because the parts
of the second version had not yet been copied. For a repeat
performance in L.[eipzig] I would certainly choose the other
one. And then I would also perform some bits of the first part
of 'Faust.'

In fact, the only movements from the earlier parts of the
Faustscenen that were performed in Schumann's lifetime were the Cathedral
Scene and Gretchen's 'Ach, neige' which as we have noted were given at
the Schumanns' farewell to the Dresden Chorgesangverein on 8 May 1850.
Schumann referred to this performance as 'the two Requiems', one being
the Requiem für Mignon op. 98b and the other the Cathedral Scene itself
which contains verses of the Dies Irae heard in the background against
Gretchen's torments. The inclusion of the Requiem text seems to have
loomed very large in Schumann's perception of the movement for he usually
made some reference to it instead of calling the movement merely
'Cathedral Scene': thus he referred to it not only as one of 'the two
Requiems' but also as 'the Cathedral Scene with Dies Irae'. I comment
upon and compare Schumann's settings of the Dies Irae in chapter 8.

It is a matter of some surprise that after writing more Faust scenes
in spring 1850 around the time of the Chorgesangverein farewell
performance, the piece was never given, either as a whole or in part, in
Düsseldorf. It would have seemed the perfect opportunity, with choir and
orchestra ready to hand. But a look at the Schumann works given in
Düsseldorf reveals that of the nine mentioned in Appendix F, five were
written entirely in Düsseldorf and one, the Neujahrslied, was

42. Nauhaus (2), p. 526
already quoted.
orchestrated there. Only the Adventlied, Requiem für Mignon and Nachtlied remained from the Dresden years and these were all programmed in the 1850-51 season, before he had had time to write new works for Düsseldorf. It would seem that Schumann was far more interested in performing his new works than in taking the opportunity to hear old ones again.

There are several interesting features about the Faustscenen which are worthy of more discussion.

The first of these is that extraordinary and (so far as I can see) unique feature, the provision of two different settings of the final 'Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan.' Schumann never quite managed to say which version he preferred, despite his championing of the second version in the letter to Brendel of 18 September 1849 quoted above.

It should be explained that both versions start the same and remain so for 36 bars, but that they then diverge so that the imitative settings of 'Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan' differ markedly from each other.
Ex. 3a Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, no. 7, beginning of
final chorus (common to both versions):

Die Halben etwas langsamer als vorher.

[Everything transitory is only a metaphor]

At bar 12 a long crescendo starts which reaches a climax on the dominant chord at bar 24 and fades immediately, where a quintet of soloists takes over with the line 'Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan' at bar 26. The choice between first and second versions comes at bar 37, where the first ending is a forte F major Lebhaft setting for antiphonal double choirs SATB, and the second ending is only slightly faster than the opening, F major again, pianissimo, with imitative passages. The written length of each is almost exactly the same, 217 and 218 bars, although this means that the second version, because a good deal slower, will take nearly twice as long as the first.
Ex. 3b Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, no. 7,
final chorus, first version:

[The Eternal Woman leads us onward]
Ex. 3c  Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, no. 7,

final chorus, second version:

Die Viertel etwas schneller als vorher die Halben.

Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan;

Die Viertel etwas schneller als vorher die Halben.

Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan;

[The Eternal Woman leads us onward]

The first version is dated 23 April 1847 on the manuscript full score and the second, 28 July 1847.

There is no thematic correspondence between the two versions although there is a certain structural similarity. Despite the fact that the text begins with the very last line of the play, 'Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan!', Schumann repeated two of the earlier lines of the Chorus Mysticus, 'Das Unzulängliche hier wird's Ereignis' and 'Das Unbeschreibliche hier ist's getan'; he never repeated the opening line
'Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis' which was used solely for the opening section common to both choruses. In each version he brought in new themes for use with his repeated lines; he also used fugato themes in both, for 'das Ewig-Weibliche' in the first and for 'das Unzulängliche' in the second. Both versions have a reprise of their opening themes towards the end (at bar 179 in the first and 145 in the second) and a long coda. The coda in the first version, at bar 211, is a long fade-out; that in the second, beginning at bar 181, is a long pianissimo passage followed by a crescendo and diminuendo to a similarly muted ending.

But we still have to address the question: why two quite separate and distinct versions of this chorus? The reason for them both surviving into the published score is probably that Schumann did not prepare the work for publication himself. Although he wrote on 1 December 1847 to the publisher Whistling that

there is naturally no question of printing the Scene from Faust yet, until I have performed it once in public, I hope before the end of winter.  

the Faustscenen were published posthumously by Friedländer in 1858. The only portion to appear in Schumann's lifetime was the overture, in various piano arrangements. It seems that Joachim was a prime mover in getting the Faustscenen published after Schumann's death. Hans Joachim Moser, the violinist's godson, wrote that Joachim had spoken to Clara in his letter of condolence on Schumann's death about bringing out the unpublished compositions, arguing that they should be available to scholars even though the public reaction to them might at first have been less than favourable.  

44. Erler (1), p. 37
45. Moser, p. 116
Concerto, which Clara and Brahms did agree to withdraw; but he referred to the *Faustscenen* by name as 'and then, the most glorious - Faust!'\(^{46}\) Undoubtedly if Schumann had had to prepare the work for publication he would have been forced to choose; as it was, his editors took the prudent course of printing both versions. This of course puts the burden of choice on to the conductor, and a difficult burden it is.\(^{47}\) We are not dealing here with various revisions of what is fundamentally the same material, but a complete recomposition along thematically different lines. Schumann offers us two readings of Faust's transfiguration and reception into heaven, and we have to choose between two visions of 'das Ewig-Weibliche', a robust and earthy one and a rather more delicate manifestation. It seems extraordinary that the composer who spent much of his earlier career in delineating Clara Wieck in music should have had such trouble in deciding what 'the Eternal Woman' should be like. Perhaps it was the very unspecificity of the concept which proved an obstacle; certainly, Schumann seems to have experienced no difficulties in portraying Gretchen when he began work on Part I.

The root of the problem with the two versions of the chorus lies in the fact that neither is very inspired. Whereas the opening 'Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis' (quoted as ex. 3a) has a certain grave simplicity, the first version of 'das Ewig-Weibliche' is hearty, loud, and suffers from an undignified scramble on the words 'zieht uns hinan'; the second is bland to the point of dullness. (See again exx. 3b and 3c.) Despite Schumann's contrapuntal skill with the material of the

\(^{46}\) Moser, p. 116

\(^{47}\) Benjamin Britten chose the first ending for his performance of the *Faustscenen* in 1972 and the subsequent recording. His markings in the conducting score in the Britten-Pears Library, Aldeburgh, show that the second ending was not considered.
first version, his themes are all so plain that the movement, far from being the climax of the work, fails to hold our interest. In the second version we get a glimpse of what might have been achieved by the use of the subsidiary theme (ex. 4) but by and large this is not explored.

Ex. 4 Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, no. 7, subsidiary theme in second version of 'das Ewig-Weibliche':
Ex. 4 continued

[The Eternal Woman leads us onward]

As we have seen, Schumann admitted in the P.S. dated 26 June 1848 of his letter to Whistling of 17 June that he had had a lot of trouble in composing the final chorus, 'always in the belief that it wasn't yet right.'\(^{48}\) It is a pity that he did not persevere with further settings of this problematical text, for neither of the alternatives he has left us seems quite suitable as the climax to the whole piece.

\(^{48}\) Erler, p. 44
As a companion piece to the discussion of Schumann's structure in Das Paradies und die Peri in chapter 2, I should like to examine here his use of an extended scene in the Faustscenen. I have deliberately chosen the last one to be written, Fausts Tod, so as to give the largest possible contrast with the work which began his choral output.

I should start by pointing out that the structure of the pieces overall differs as follows: Das Paradies und die Peri consists of single numbers (arioso, aria, chorus) joined together in various ways, with occasional longer movements such as the finale of the first part and the scena 'Hinab zu jenem Sonnentempel.' While the third part of the Scenen aus Goethes Faust follows a similar scheme, Parts I and II consist of large-scale movements which cannot be interconnected because they do not follow on dramatically; as we have seen, Schumann seems to have left out everything in the play but the portions which interested him most.

Fausts Tod is dated 10 May 1850 in the MS. full score, just before the Schumanns left Dresden and two days after the performance of the Cathedral Scene at the farewell meeting of the Chorgesangverein.

It falls into four sections:

- Mephistopheles & chorus of zombies bars 1-82 D minor
- Faust & Mephistopheles bars 83-152 D minor; A flat major; C major
- Faust alone bars 153-243 C major
- Coda: Mephistopheles & chorus bars 243-306 (end) C major

The most important difference here is that whereas in Das Paradies und die Peri Schumann used contrasting blocks of material which were repeated at various pitch levels to provide a formal pattern, in this
movement there is no such repetition. Instead there is a motif always heard in the orchestra, which combines the rhythm \( \{ \frac{1}{4} \} \) \( \{ \frac{1}{4} \} \) \( \{ \frac{1}{4} \} \) \( \{ \frac{1}{4} \} \) and the interval of a sixth, sometimes rising, sometimes falling, sometimes major, sometimes minor. It appears first in its entirety at bar 83, the beginning of the second section, over a bass derived from the zombies' music:

Ex. 5a Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part II, no. 6, Faust's entry:

[Faust (leaving the palace): How delightful is the jingle of spades! It is the crowd which makes me happy, the earth has become reconciled with itself]
But it was foreshadowed in the opening music of the scene, in the fanfare which precedes and punctuates the zombies' chorus:

Ex. 5b Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part II, no. 6, opening fanfare:

To return to the second section, the motif quoted as ex. 5a permeates the whole musical fabric of the accompaniment as far as bar 98, and then is heard again in the gaps between vocal phrases. It disappears at the turn into A flat major at bar 121 but reappears at the end of the section to herald Faust's soliloquy. At this point the notation halves to \( \frac{1}{2} \) with the music marked at half speed, and this continues as the accompaniment figure until bar 182.
Ex. 5c Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part II, no. 6, Faust's soliloquy:

Um die Hälfte langsamer.

Faust.

Ein Sumpf zieht um Ge.″, verpe.sst al le.s schon Er. ″ runge; den

[A swamp leads to the mountains, everything achieved is already polluted]

We may perhaps hazard the guess that the motif refers to Faust himself. It is always heard when Faust is singing, does not appear at all in the zombies' chorus, and forms the basis (as we shall see) of Faust's funeral march.

The third section is even more dominated by the 'Faust' motif, whose rhythm and harmonic pattern continue right up to 'Ha! diesem Sinne bin ich ganz ergeben' at bar 183. We are approaching the fatal moment where Faust speaks the words which entail his death and damnation. As he does so, the long pulsating dominant seventh over the tonic pedal C dissolves into fluttering diminished sevenths over the same pedal note. After a pause, Mephistopheles delivers the envoi. This is set as recitative, in stark contrast to the arioso employed for the rest of the movement, and ends with a pianissimo chorus entry on a G flat chord, as remote as it can be from the prevailing C major tonality before and after it. The movement ends with a reverent funeral march in C major, based on Faust's rising sixth motif.
Ex. 5d  Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part II, no. 6, closing funeral march:

There is some interesting voice-leading in this march which maintains the rising sixth G – E as a cadence figure leading to the tonic C, while other voices have A – B – C at the same point, giving some clashes unusual in Schumann's writing: vestigial dominant ninths and dominant thirteenths.
Ex. 6 Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part II, no. 6, cadence in funeral march:

[Um die Hälfte langsamer.]
Schumann has thus made use of an organisational principle used in his Lieder, that of repeating a motif throughout most of the accompaniment; this must pre-date his structural methods used in Das Paradies und die Peri. It is highlighted by the proximity of Fausts Tod to Part III of the Faustscenen, dating from some 6 years earlier, where he was still using methods found in Das Paradies und die Peri. In Part III, which is divided into seven shorter sections, Schumann often used his familiar device of letting the top note of the final chord decide the harmonic centre for the following movement.

Ex. 7a Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, join between nos. 1 and 2 where F tonic becomes F mediant:
Ex. 7b Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, join between nos. 2 and 3
where D tonic becomes D mediant:

[As the chasm descending at my feet rests on the deep abyss, as a thousand streams flow to the dreadful fall of the spray of the flood]
The only motif in the Faustscenen which appears in more than one movement is often associated with Mephistopheles, for it is heard at the moment of his entry at the end of the Garden Scene. Like the motif tentatively identified above with Faust, it is always heard in the orchestra:

Ex. 8a Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part I, no. 1, Garden Scene:

\[
\text{[Nicht schnell. } \cdot \cdot \cdot 60.]\]

Faust

\[
\text{Quasi Recit.} \quad \text{Mephistopheles.}
\]

Marthe.

\[
\text{Tempo I.} \quad \text{Faust.}
\]

\[
\text{[(Faust):} \quad \text{which must be eternal!} \\
\text{Mephistopheles: It is high time to part.} \\
\text{Marthe: Yes, it is late, sir!} \\
\text{Faust: May I not escort you?]}
\]

It also plays an important part in the opening of the Cathedral Scene, where the evil spirit hovers behind Gretchen during the Requiem for her mother:
Ex. 8b Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part I, no. 3, Cathedral Scene:

[Evil Spirit: How different it was, Gretchen, when you came here to the altar still full of innocence]

This theme is related to the one heard at the entry of the Four Grey Women, Want, Need, Care and Debt, at the beginning of 'Midnight':
But I should like to dissent from the identification of the motif with Mephistopheles on the grounds that, firstly, it is not always associated in the Faustscenen with Mephistopheles, and, secondly, it occurs frequently elsewhere in Schumann's works and is more likely to be just a favourite turn of phrase. In the overture to the Faustscenen it is sweet, tender and consolatory, and Mephistopheles in nowhere in sight:
This is predated by two uses of the motif in the earlier written Part III. It forms the accompaniment to Pater Ecstaticus's 'Ewiger Wonnebrand', and is a subsidiary theme in the first version of the final chorus.

Ex. 8e Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, no. 2, 'Ewiger Wonnebrand':

Ex. 8f Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, no. 7, first version of final chorus:

[...here it is fulfilled]
Mephistopheles of course has no part in the final scene in paradise of Faust; nor does it seem plausible that Schumann might have intended a sly reference to the character either in the overture or in the closing scene. In fact there are many instances elsewhere of his use of this motif or something based on it, as the following examples show.

Ex. 8g Requiem, no. IV, 'Quid sum miser':

[In gemessenem Tempo, doch nicht zu langsam. (d = 76.)]

What shall I then have said, wretch that I am?]

Ex. 8h Frauenliebe und -leben, no. 6:

Sweet friend, you look at me in amazement]
Ex. 8i 'Rhenish' Symphony, fourth movement (the motif inverted):

Ex. 8j Einsamkeit, op. 90 no. 5:
Ex. 8j continued

[Densely growing dark wild figs]

It appears more likely that the motif was included in Part III of the Faustscenen purely for its musical usefulness, and that Schumann lighted upon it again to represent Mephistopheles in the earlier parts because of its sinuous, tonally unreliable nature. The function of this motif is largely to support the musical structure, rather than wholly programmatic or symbolic.
For the first three numbers of Part III and the final chorus of the Faustscenen (1844-47), Das Paradies und die Peri was Schumann's only comparable essay in the form; but by the time he came to write 'Gerettet ist das edle Glied' he had written many other choral pieces (everything up to the Adventlied, in fact), and by the summer of 1849, when the Goethe celebrations provided the impetus for more composition, he had also completed six volumes of partsongs, the Jagdlieder, the Motette and the Requiem für Mignon. The last two movements to be completed, Mitternacht and Fausts Tod (Part II, nos. 5 and 6), seem to have been Schumann's last sizeable project before leaving Dresden for Düsseldorf; over that final summer he spent a number of weeks in Leipzig for the première there of Genoveva, and wrote songs when he had any time for composition.

To what extent can we see a change of style between the earlier and later parts of the Faustscenen? The difference in structure is clear: Part III is written in separate numbers joined in the sort of way we first noted in Das Paradies und die Peri (see exx. 7a and 7b), whereas Parts I and II are written in six much longer continuous movements. It is also possible to detect structural grounds to support the claim that 'Gerettet' is the chorus written in 1848; whereas the fugal style movements of Das Paradies und die Peri were confined to fugal expositions, by the time of 'Gerettet' Schumann had had the benefit of his year of fugue study (1845) and handled the form with much more confidence. 'Gerettet' has an exposition and middle entries and some stretto entries before it diverges to a coda to accommodate more text.

Schumann's musical language, on the other hand, has not changed very radically between the earliest and latest parts of the Faustscenen. The Lied-like Garden Scene is recognisably from the same mould as Dr
Marianus's 'Höchste Herrscherin der Welt!' (Part III, no. 5) and the solo and chorus 'Jene Rosen' (Part III, no. 4), while the use of chorus and solo voices together in the final chorus foreshadows the similar technique of such passages as 'Nacht ist schon hereingesunken' in Part II, no. 4. This is not to say that the join is invisible; it is obvious that, say, 'Dir, der Unberührbaren' is in an earlier style than the chorus of Zombies with Mephistopheles:

Ex. 9a Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, no. 6,

'Dir, der Unberührbaren':

[You, the virgin one, are not amazed that those who are easily led astray come trustingly to you]
Ex. 9b Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part II, no. 6:

[Out of the palace into the narrow house, it runs stupidly to its end! - When I was young and lived and loved...]

But the consciousness that some years intervened before the work was carried further does nothing to diminish our pleasure in the music, although it would perhaps have been more satisfactory to a chronologically orientated mind to have had the later music coming last, as in Wagner's Siegfried.

Despite the shortcomings of the final chorus the Scenen aus Goethes Faust are amongst the finest things that Schumann ever wrote. The work is of astonishing range, including such extremes of characterisation as Gretchen's prayer to the image of the Mater Dolorosa, the Zombies'
chorus, the ecstatic utterances of Dr Marianus and the muttered threats of the Four Grey Women. Schumann succeeded in allowing the orchestra to have more to do on its own than was the case in other choral works, and thus created the opportunity to give us some of the most beautiful parts of the score. The funeral march at the end of Part II no. 6 has already been mentioned, and there is a livelier march to conclude no. 5, but best of all is the opening orchestral prelude to Ariel's Scene, where a cantabile melody in the strings in triple metre is counterbalanced by hemiola effects in the harp and woodwind.
Ex. 10 Scenen aus Goethes Faust, opening of part II, no. 4,

Ariel's Scene:

ZWEITE ABTHEILUNG.

Anmutige Gegend. Faust auf blumigen Rasen gebettel, ermuidel, unruhig schlaufend.
Hommnung. Geisterkreis schwebend bewegt, anmutige kleine Gestalten.

2 Flöten.
2 Hohoren.
2 Clarinetten in B.
2 Fagote.
2 Ventilhörner in E.
Waldhörner in Basso.
Ventil Trompeten in B.
Alt Tenor.
Posaunen.
Bass.
Pauken in F.E.

Ruhig.

Harfe.
Violine I.
Violine II.
Bratsche.

ARIEL.
(Verse)

Violoncell.
Contrabass.

Componirt 1839.
Perhaps the most conclusive way in which the Faustscenen succeed is in that aspect which we have such cause to deplore in most of Schumann's other choral works, the handling of dramatic climaxes. In the Faustscenen Schumann chose some of the most dramatic moments in Goethe's play: Gretchen in the cathedral, Faust's blinding, his death, and his entry into heaven. In all of these he was able to handle the dramatic climax just as convincingly as the narrative or reflective passages; even the entry into heaven is contrived with reverent simplicity as far as the first part of the final chorus is concerned, and it is only the equally unsatisfactory first and second endings to this chorus which come as an anticlimax.

As a rule I cannot agree with the principle of playing single movements of larger works out of context, but in the case of the Faustscenen the effect of the final chorus is so inappropriate that it may be preferable to urge programme planners to include single scenes, so that audiences can judge of their beauties without being distracted by the final chorus. Schumann may even have contemplated incomplete performances himself; Chissell quotes him as saying of the complete score that 'at the most it might be done only as a curiosity.' It is also possible to argue that Schumann would have made yet another version of this chorus if he had lived to see it through the press, and thence one could even be bold enough to treat it as Schumann's Edwin Drood and try one's own hand at a solution to the mystery, namely by recomposing 'Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan.'

49. Chissell, pp. 173; her translation; no reference.
It is only by reason of its position as the finale that the problem of 'Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan' bulks so large in our perception of the Faustscenen as a whole. If we can but redress the balance and give proper emphasis to the highly successful earlier scenes then we shall have done justice to Schumann's finest choral work and rewarded ourselves with the opportunity of hearing it performed much more frequently.
Early in 1851, when Schumann had been in Düsseldorf for only a few months, he began work on two choral pieces remarkable not least for their antithetical qualities. The projected oratorio on the life of the sixteenth-century monk Martin Luther was to be an epic and dramatic work of some considerable length, at least a whole evening if not more. Schumann's collaborator was a 25-year-old philosophy student from Leipzig, Richard Pohl, who had never before written a libretto. The cantata *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* did reach completion, but apart from that important respect it is weaker in conception in every way: it is a 'fairy tale' of cloying sentimentality and stupendous naïveté, it is a short work of about an hour's duration, and it was first intended to have piano accompaniment only, although Schumann later gave way to pressure and made an orchestration. The text was from a poem by Moritz Horn, who was later to prepare the libretto of *Der Königsohn*.

In 1850 *Genoveva* had been given its Leipzig première. It was coldly received, but amongst those who perceived worth in it was Richard Pohl, who wrote intelligently and sympathetically about the work to Schumann. Pohl had reached the conclusion that the failure of *Genoveva* was principally due to weaknesses in the libretto, and he offered to help

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1. It seems to have become traditional to refer to Moritz Horn as 'the young poet' (e.g. Chissell, p. 70). This is probably Schumann's own fault, for he called him 'ein junger Chemnitzer Poet' in his letter of 9 August 1851 to Dr Klitzsch (Jansen (2), p. 293). Horn was 37 in 1851, only four years younger than Schumann himself.
with the preparation of a libretto for Schumann's next operatic subject. Schumann, who had been casting around for new subjects, was happy to make use of this new-found supporter, despite his lack of obvious qualifications and experience as a librettist. Pohl's first proposal was for an opera based on Schiller's *The Bride of Messina*, and he actually drafted a libretto for this; but Schumann lost interest after completing the overture, which he sketched in the last days of 1850 and orchestrated in early January 1851. His failure to continue with the project may have been due to pressure of work in his new post, although he said in his reply to Pohl, 'Such well-known material always has its danger, as you say yourself.'

It seems logical that after meeting with disappointments in his operatic projects, Schumann should have reconsidered the idea of oratorio, especially as he now had an orchestra, a chorus and a concert hall at his disposal. The exact type of work, though, needed careful consideration. We have noted that Schumann is rare amongst choral composers in that his secular works heavily outnumber his sacred ones; Biblical subjects were clearly uncongenial to him, as he never attempted one. But he had reviewed Carl Loewe's oratorio *Johann Huss* with some favour in 1842 (though with reservations about what kind of work it was), and we find him considering similar Protestant historical subjects in a letter to Pohl dated 19 January 1851:

> I should so much like to write an oratorio. Would you perhaps give me a hand? I'd thought of Luther or Ziska; but Biblical material would suit just as well.  

2. Dated 19 January 1851; Pohl, p. 171.
3. Schumann, R., pp. 201-204; this passage is quoted in chapter 2.
4. Jan Žižka (?1370–1424) was a Bohemian soldier who successfully led the Hussite rebellion of 1420–24.
5. Pohl, p. 171
Notwithstanding this last comment, it is noticeable that he did not suggest any Biblical subjects by name, and it is hardly surprising that Pohl chose the first one he mentioned.

Two months later, in the midst of the correspondence with Pohl about Luther, Schumann received Horn's poem Der Rose Pilgerfahrt and decided to set it. A further seven months later, he began Des Sängers Fluch to a text by Pohl. The histories of these very disparate works are thus closely intertwined, a fact that it is easy to forget when considering each work separately. The inter-relationship can be charted as follows:

**LUTHER and DES SÄNGERS FLUCH** (Pohl)  
**DER ROSE PILGERFAHRT** (Horn)


19 Jan. 1851: Schumann declines Braut (although he has written an overture), and asks for help with an oratorio, and perhaps a comic opera.

6 Feb. 1851: Pohl chooses Luther from Schumann's suggestions, and sends a draft.

14 Feb. 1851: Schumann sends Pohl his own Luther scenario, a list of ideas about the
setting, a reading list, and a request for Pohl to collate his and Schumann’s versions.

Feb. - May 1851: Pohl sends a number of detailed sketches and the whole of the first part, to try to win Schumann over to his ideas.

30 March 1851: Schumann receives the poem of Der Rose Pilgerfahrt from Moritz Horn, and it is read aloud at that evening’s Kränzchen meeting.

3 April - 2 May 1851: Schumann works on his setting.

8 May 1851: Schumann finishes the vocal score.

13 May 1851: Schumann and Pohl cannot agree about the length and scope of Luther.

May-June 1851: Pohl reluctantly produces a much shortened version.

25 June 1851: Schumann sends excuses of having been very busy, and suggests they should meet to make more progress. Would Pohl edit Des Sängers Fluch for him to set?
June-August 1851: Pohl reluctantly shortens his Luther text again.

3 Sept. 1851: Pohl visits Schumann in Düsseldorf with texts of Luther and Des Sängers Fluch.

4 Sept. 1851: Schumann discusses with Pohl a connecting text for his Manfred music, a second verse for the song Frühlingsnacht and the Geibel poem Page und Königskind.  

October 1851: Pohl sends revised text for Des Sängers Fluch.

7–27 Nov. 1851: Schumann orchestrates Der Rose Pilgerfahrt in response to demand from his friends.

7 Dec. 1851: Schumann wonders whether they can still manage Luther; he claims to be very keen to make a start. He has set

Des Sängers Fluch, with a few cuts.

14 March 1852: Schumann and Pohl meet at the Leipzig première of Der Rose Pilgerfahrt.

18 March 1852: Schumann begs Pohl not to give up Luther. He would also like to work on a comic opera, and suggests Hermann und Dorothea.

No communication followed for six months; Pohl was busy on the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, and Schumann fell ill with a nervous complaint. In December 1852, Schumann wrote a congratulatory letter to the anonymous author of the poem Rolands Graalfahrt. The author, Max Maria von Weber (son of the composer), was a close friend of Pohl's, who was thus stimulated into writing to Schumann again to recommend Max Maria's poem Ritter Mond as a possible dramatic subject. On 27 December 1852 Schumann replied, reminding him that he still wanted to get on with Luther. Pohl's reasons for failing to reply to this were complex, as he explained:

It was painful for me to have to tell Schumann that I had given up the 'Luther' to which he held fast with such great perseverance. I took up the text again but could decide even less than before for an alteration of it after Schumann's requirements. Since I had got to know R. Wagner's dramatico-musical poems, I had entirely abandoned the concert oratorio. I could see as valuable only the church oratorio, which was and must remain divorced from the stage in its material and style. It went against the grain to tell Schumann this openly..."
On 21 February 1853 Schumann wrote again, wondering whether his December letter had gone astray, and asking Pohl if he would edit the ballad *Das Glück von Edenhall* for him to set. Pohl was mortified to be asked for another ballad arrangement, for he was displeased with Schumann's cuts and alterations to *Des Sängers Fluch*. However, he finally decided to comply, and also persuaded Max Maria von Weber to send the text of *Ritter Mond*. But it was all to no avail, for Schumann's final despatch of 18 March 1853 contained the texts of *Ritter Mond*, *Luther*, and *Des Sängers Fluch* and the news that *Das Glück von Edenhall* had been edited by someone else.8 *Luther* was returned without any comment beyond that Schumann still wanted to pursue this project; *Ritter Mond* he rejected on the grounds that 'one could not risk showing the moon as a person, still less as a singer'; and *Des Sängers Fluch* was returned to show where Schumann wanted some further alterations to the text - even though the musical setting was already complete!9 Schumann was clearly irritated by Pohl's insistence on texts he, Schumann, thought unsuitable, and Pohl was infuriated by Schumann's high-handed attitude with the *Sängers Fluch* libretto. There was no further communication, and then Pohl heard the news of Schumann's suicide attempt in February 1854. Pohl had the grace to feel ashamed of having let Schumann down, but his remarks on the whole Düsseldorf furore demonstrate that his misunderstanding of the affair was almost total. This and the tenor of the correspondence with Schumann leads one to wonder whether there had ever been any chance of success in a collaboration between two such different and difficult personalities.

8. Dr Hasenclever, a medical practitioner and amateur composer in Düsseldorf.
To summarise, during the protracted correspondence over Luther Schumann completed not only Der Rose Pilgerfahrt but also the ballads Der Königsohn and Des Sängers Fluch, to speak only of choral works. The poem Des Sängers Fluch was edited and arranged by Pohl, and the choral ballad was thus the unique fruit of their 2½ years of attempted collaboration. It will be studied in chapter 7; we shall now look more closely at Luther first, as befits its slight temporal priority over Der Rose Pilgerfahrt.

The history of Martin Luther, the great Reformation divine, was evidently congenial to Schumann, who had been born and brought up in the Lutheran part of Germany. Pohl, too, found reasons for preferring it to the other subjects suggested, and wrote to Schumann on 6 February 1851:

... I have chosen Luther because I believe it is the only subject that is suitable for a specifically Protestant church work, as opposed to Catholic, Jewish or purely spiritual subjects. Luther is thus a genuinely German national work in the true middle ground of religious art ... Are you in agreement to rate the national element as high as the ecclesiastical ...? I believe it must be so. Luther is not only the man of God and the founder of the Church, but also the man of the people and the representative of a literary and national idea. Where we are dealing with the German national element, we mustn't forget the popular style ...¹⁰

As we have seen, Pohl and Schumann went through several versions of scenario and portions of text for Luther. The version which survives in Schumann's Projektenbuch is reasonably detailed, and represents the scenario sent to Pohl by Schumann in February 1851 in response to Pohl's much longer draft. It was transcribed by Boetticher "¹¹ and a translation

¹⁰. Boetticher (1), p. 196-97
¹¹. Boetticher (1), pp. 188-89
is given as Appendix F. The monk Luther, in an agony of grief for a dead friend, can find no comfort in a church which he sees as being profaned by Rome. The spirit of Huss appears and commands him to go to Wittenberg to preach the gospel. A scene portrays the selling of indulgences, then Luther meets Melanchthon, a fellow-reformer. News comes from Rome that Luther has been declared a heretic, and the first part ends with Luther nailing his 95 Theses to the church door in Wittenberg.

Part II recounts Luther's excommunication and introduces Katharina von Bora, a nun released from her vows. It ends with the Diet of Worms, featuring the Emperor Charles V, the Cardinal, and choruses of the various factions, and the dramatic scene of Luther's proscription.

Part III is much shorter, showing Luther's sojourn in the Wartburg, translating the Bible into German, and being visited from time to time by a devilish Tempter; it cuts to Luther's marriage to Katharina (which was some years later) and ends with the Augsburg Confession and Luther's own confession of faith.

There is division into scenes, indication of recitatives, arias and choruses, and occasional details of instrumentation (for instance 'organ' for the 95 Theses scene). In the opening scene there was to have been an offstage chorus singing the Dies Irae, while Luther fulminated against the corruption of Rome. In the final section of Part I there was to be division of the chorus into Catholic and Protestant factions, with appropriate music, and a student element represented by their traditional songs; and Schumann suggested the chorale melody 'Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort' to provide the musical climax. Luther's own chorale, 'Ein'
feste Burg', was to form the climax of the whole work in the finale to Act III.¹²

Schumann's ideas on treatment were given in some detail (though rather haphazardly) in the letter to Pohl which accompanied his own scenario:

Above all I must make the musical form clear to myself. It is a tremendous story; we must cut everything that isn't essential for the development - even, I believe, the intervention of supernatural beings. Only the spirit of Huss insists on appearing to me in its proper place ...

The oratorio must be suitable for church and concert hall. It should last for not more than 2½ hours, including intervals between the separate parts.

All the merely narrative and reflective portions should if possible be avoided, to emphasise the dramatic form above all. Historical accuracy if at all possible, particularly in the quotation of Luther's well-known words of wisdom.

Give me 13 opportunities for choruses wherever you can. You know Handel's Israel in Egypt quite well; I consider it as the ideal choral work.

I should like the chorus to have an equally important role in the Luther too.

Give me double choruses as well, particularly in the closing scenes of each part.

All the historically significant characters must be included in the narrative, particularly the setting as a whole if we wanted to increase the number of solo parts...

¹². Almost twenty years earlier, Schumann had objected violently to hearing this chorale shrieked from the stage in Meyerbeer's Les Huguenots (Schumann, R., p. 129). But this objection would of course not apply to its use in oratorio, or indeed to Mendelssohn's use of it in his 'Reformation' Symphony.

¹³. Pohl's text actually says 'Geben Sie nie', never give, instead of 'Geben Sie mir', give me. That this is a misprint is clear from the citing of Israel in Egypt as a model. Jansen (2), p. 283, prints 'Geben Sie mir' without comment in his transcription of the same letter.

¹⁴. All these characters were included in Pohl's much longer draft.
To interweave the German mass with the separate parts seems to me scarcely practicable. But the chorale will do instead. Luther's relationship to music in general, his love for it expressed in a hundred beautiful sayings, mustn't go unmentioned. We should also consider an alto or 2nd soprano part. As for the rest, I completely agree with everything you said about the treatment of the text from a metrical point of view, as about the popular/Old German style which would be given to the poem. The music, I think, must also be like that, not so much artificial as making its effect through brevity, strength and clarity. 16

The 'popular' style (manifested chiefly as folk song pastiche) was evidently uppermost in Schumann's mind at this time, for it is paramount in the music he wrote for Der Rose Pilgerfahrt two months later. We shall examine this in more detail later in the chapter.

On 25 June 1851 he wrote again to Pohl:

The oratorio must be thoroughly popular in style, one which peasant and town-dweller will understand - like the hero, who was such a great man of the people. And in this sense I would also endeavour to make my music only in the slightest degree artificial, complex and contrapuntal, but rather simple and emphatic, making its effect chiefly through rhythm and melody. 17

Despite these promising beginnings, Luther still got no further, even while other works came to fruition over the next few months. Schumann succumbed to nervous illness in the latter half of 1852, but even after that he was still hoping to get down to work on Luther:

I don't want to give up Luther yet - I hope you don't either! 18

he wrote to Pohl on 27 December 1852.

But it was too late. Pohl had begun to lose interest at an early stage when it became obvious that Schumann's ideas on treatment differed widely from his own. By 1852 his free time had become very limited,

15. Another of Pohl's suggestions.
16. Pohl, pp. 172-73
17. Jansen (2), pp. 283-84; also in Pohl, p. 175.
18. Pohl, p. 313
firstly through his marriage, and then through his close involvement with the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, now edited by Franz Brendel; but more importantly he had become unsympathetic towards Schumann's aims, now that he had become acquainted with the writings of the exiled Richard Wagner. Pohl embraced Wagner's theories wholeheartedly, and found that the music of the future had no place for the concert oratorio.\textsuperscript{19} His later advocacy of Max Maria von Weber's Ritter Mond as a text for Schumann was met with a conspicuous lack of enthusiasm which Pohl found irritating and incomprehensible. Their aesthetic positions were getting further and further apart. A final letter from Schumann (dated 6 February 1854, a mere eleven days before the onset of his final illness and only three weeks before his suicide attempt) expresses the surprise and disapproval he had felt on learning that the Neue Zeitschrift critic who signed himself 'the Hoplite', the champion of Liszt and Wagner and new music generally, was none other than Richard Pohl.

\begin{quote}
I certainly didn't know you were the Hoplite. For I don't particularly agree with his and his party's Liszt-Wagner enthusiasm. What you consider as musicians of the future, I consider to be musicians of the present, and what you consider as musicians of the past (Bach, Handel, Beethoven) seem to me as the best musicians of the future. I can never regard spiritual beauty in its loveliest form as 'an antiquated point of view'.\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

Pohl gave other, more specific reasons why Luther remained unachieved. There was the disagreement over the basic length and scope of the piece, envisaged by Pohl as a trilogy over three separate evenings, whereas Schumann wanted no more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours altogether including intervals. There were, too, fundamental differences in their conception of the style of the libretto; Pohl proposed to take as his model

\textsuperscript{19} Pohl, pp. 313-14
\textsuperscript{20} Jansen (3), p. 111
neither Handel nor Bach, nor even Mendelssohn, but on the contrary to turn away from these into new paths. I rejected explanatory recitative as a necessary connecting medium between the musical numbers; in its place I put the chorus, as it were accompanying the action and reflecting upon it, in the style of Greek tragedy... 

It is hard to tell whether this would have accorded with Schumann's avowed intentions of using a simple, popular, emphatic style; but there is a basic contradiction here with Schumann's own model, Israel in Egypt, which in itself was probably enough to ensure that the collaboration would come to nothing.

Schumann's own acquaintance with Israel in Egypt dated from his time in Heidelberg, where he was supposed to be studying law, and where one of the formative experiences of his musical development was provided by the musical evenings at Thibaut's house. Here a group of amateurs met to sing through choral pieces of which the most important and popular were Handel's oratorios. A full account has been given in chapter 2. It is particularly interesting that Schumann should cite Israel in Egypt as his model because it is justly celebrated as being a feast of choruses; of its twenty-eight numbers there are only seven arias and duets, a mere four recitatives, and the remaining seventeen are single and double choruses. Pohl may have agreed with Schumann about the intrinsic importance of the chorus in such a work, but its precise use was a matter of contention. Israel in Egypt is a brilliant display of techniques of choral writing in use in 1739; Pohl wanted to use the chorus 'in the style of Greek tragedy.' It is a pity he is not more specific as to how he would have gone about this, but it is reasonable to conjecture that this would have entailed long speeches given to the chorus rather than the epigrammatic one- or two-liners which Handel used as the basis of a

21. Pohl, p. 173
choral movement; and this would inevitably have led to rather extensive use of choral recitative. This technique is unexceptionable in small amounts; there is even a short passage of it in Israel in Egypt, as ex. 1 shows.

Ex. 1 Handel, Israel in Egypt, no. 8, chorus, 'He sent thick darkness':

\[ \text{[Largo]} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S} & \quad \text{T} & \quad \text{B}
\text{e\'en darkness, which might be felt,} & \quad \text{a thick darkness}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o\'er all the land, a thick (darkness)}
\end{align*}
\]
The fifteen bars of choral recitative do not cause problems in performance, and neither do the short sections near the beginning of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* ('The deeps afford no water' at the end of the opening chorus, and the refrain 'Lord, bow thine ear to our prayer' in the next movement). More extensive use of this technique, however, brings considerable problems, as exemplified in the case of Holst's First (sic) Choral Symphony. There are long passages of choral recitative at the beginning, in the Invocation to Pan, and the effect of this in performance is monotonous obscurity. The words are unintelligible, even when the chorus make heroic attempts at clarity, and the musical material is as unmemorable as recitative usually is. In the case of *Luther* I fear it is unlikely that Pohl's text would have been able to elicit anything more satisfactory from Schumann, and so it seems that Schumann is wholly vindicated in holding out for the text that he wanted.

In striking contrast to the prolonged discussion over *Luther*, *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* was completed very quickly at the beginning of May 1851, with piano accompaniment only - although it must be admitted that Schumann went on asking Horn for alterations and extra stanzas right up to the time of sending his manuscript to the publisher Kistner in February 1852. In November 1851 he made an orchestral version of the piano accompaniment, in response to pressure from friends.

After the theological, philosophical and political world of *Luther* the fairytale ambience of *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* seems somewhat

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incongruous. It has the same artificial air found in all literary (as opposed to truly mythical) legends, and added to this weakness is an unashamed sentimentality which threatens to suffocate the most hardened auditor. The story concerns a Rose who wishes to be mortal, so that she can experience a maiden's joys and sorrows. The Fairy Queen grants her this wish, and gives her a rose to carry, which she must never give up or she will die. The Rose, now named Rosa, is repulsed from the first door at which she begs admittance, but then she meets a gravedigger. He tells her the sad story of the seduction and death of the miller's daughter, whose funeral procession then appears. The gravedigger gives Rosa shelter for the night, and the first part ends with Rosa's prayer of thanksgiving and the voices of the fairies pleading with her to return to them. In the second part the miller and his wife take Rosa as their foster-child, and she grows up beloved of everyone. The forester's son falls in love with her; a merry wedding scene is followed at once by a recitative telling that she has a baby girl, and that Rosa relinquishes her rose to the infant, content to leave this world in the knowledge that her earthly bliss is complete. But her destination is not a return to flowerhood, but a translation to the sphere of the angels.

It would be otiose to rehearse here all the inconsistencies of the plot: clearly, it cannot be taken seriously either as literature or as theology, so the most we can hope to attempt is an appraisal of the musical setting unhampered by our negative reactions to the libretto. It is worth pointing out that what seems to the twentieth-century listener as full-blown sentimentality is not unique among Schumann's vocal and choral works. An early example is Frauenliebe und -leben from 1840, and there are also Das Paradies und die Peri of 1843, Beim Abschied zu singen (1847) and the op. 104 Sieben Lieder to poems by Elisabeth Kulmann. This
kind of self-indulgent emotionalism seems to have appealed to some fundamental aspect of his nature, and we shall have something to say about this in later discussion of his sources in general.

The letters about Der Rose Pilgerfahrt give us the best insight yet into Schumann's work on getting the text precisely as he wanted it; he gave Moritz Horn very specific instructions as to the alterations he needed. On 21 April 1851 his initial response to the poem was as follows:

Surely the work is suitable for setting to music, and a number of melodies for it have already come to mind. But it would have to be shortened considerably and many things made more dramatic. This is only as regards the musical composition, I am far from making this criticism of the poem as a poem. On the enclosed note I have taken the liberty of making a few remarks concerning alteration. Up to the words 'und bittet freundlich hier um Obdach' just about everything is good for musical treatment. From there on, however, the action should be given more lively, more dramatic development. If you can decide to change a few things just for the sake of the musical composition, I should be most delighted to set the work. It is so alive and fresh in my mind that the sooner you could undertake these changes, the better it would be. 24

The changes required after the words 'und bittet freundlich hier um Obdach' are listed as follows:

Rosa

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bin ein armes Waisenkind} & & \text{&c &c} \\
\text{Old Woman (Alto)} & & \\
\text{Geh Du nur fort} & & \text{&c} \\
\text{should be set as dialogue in short question-and-answer phrases (about 12-16 lines)} \\
\text{Betrübt geht sie von dammen to} \\
\text{Wallt still die Blumenkönigin} \\
\text{should be condensed into about four lines.}
\end{align*}
\]

24. The letter is quoted in part in Kast, p. 83; a longer quotation appears in the sleeve notes by Julius Alf (translated by E.D. Echols) to the recording of Der Rose Pilgerfahrt by Düsseldorfer forces.
Ein einsam Häuschen, unscheinbar to
- - ein Grab in's Land
stays as in the text. But the next scene between Rosa and the
gravedigger should again be set as dialogue (in 16-20 lines at
the most). Instead of the ensuing description of the cortege,
the latter should itself lead into a funeral dirge of about 8-
12 lines.

The following section could remain, up to the words
Da tritt der Greis aus seinem Haus
Sie tragens so zu ihr heraus:
The next scene between Rosa and the gravedigger should be
further dramatised.

A prayer for Rosa would end the section. To be sure, it
would be very suitable musically if it could be combined
somehow with a chorus, perhaps of fairies, who sing to entice
the maiden back again, or suchlike.

In the second half of the second part, from the words:
Bist du im Wald gewandelt,
up to the end, almost everything is to be kept in. However in
the first half everything should be shortened, to dramatise the
scene between Rosa and the gravedigger and that between the
same and the old miller.²⁵

Horn's reply has not survived, but we can judge from the finished article
how closely he was able to meet Schumann's requirements. The section
between Rosa and Marthe, beginning 'Bin ein armes Waisenkind', is indeed
in short lines of question-and-answer dialogue, though it has been cut to
ten rather than the suggested twelve to sixteen lines. Between the end
of that section and the line 'wallt still die Blumenkönigin' there are
now four lines. Rosa and the gravedigger have twelve short lines of
dialogue, and the funeral chorus duly follows, with ten lines plus
commentary by Rosa, the gravedigger and an unnamed alto. The lines
beginning 'Da tritt der Greis' have disappeared, but Rosa's prayer 'Dank,
Herr, dir dort im Sternenland' is there, and it is followed by a chorus
of fairies pleading with her to return with them, exactly as Schumann
suggested. It seems likely that this was – perhaps unconsciously –
prompted by the very similar passage in Das Paradies und die Peri, where

²⁵. Erler (1), p. 142
the chorus of Peris try to persuade the heroine to give up her search and return to them.

Ex. 2a Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 10:
[Little sister! Don't you hear our song in the starlight?]

Ex. 2b Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 22:
[Peri, is it true that you want to go to heaven?]
The resemblance of style, tempo and mood extends to the orchestration too: both have tremolo upper strings, and the Rose chorus has pizzicato as well; both have staccato woodwind, with some doubling of the chorus parts in held notes; and both have a filling-in of the middle range with shorter notes, woodwind quavers in the Peri example and violin semiquavers in the Rose.

On 3 May 1851 Schumann, in the midst of composing Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, wrote again to Horn requesting some more alterations:

...I have the following extra suggestions: no. 4 of the second part should likewise be dramatised into a trio or quartet, perhaps on the following model:

Gravedigger: Auf diese Bank von Linden &c &c mein Kind du glücklich sein. (4 lines)
Solo ([Rosa (alone) das langersehnte Glück, einem treuen Herz anzugöhören, werde ich finden &c &c (4-8 lines)

Gravedigger (calling from the house)
Komm herein, Töchterlein

Greeting of the miller and his wife and joy over the pretty child with a short mention of the loss of their departed daughter. Rosa is taken as their foster child. (12-16 lines)

Then no. 5, as in the original. 26
At the same time let me observe that for this quartet form shorter sections (one-line stanzas []) are the most suitable.

Then, another remark about the final song: '0 Frühlingslust, noch kaum gegösst' [. . ] I understand it very well as poetry... but the music is hardly suitable for an ending, as it stands. It's preferable to close with a choral piece. Couldn't an edifying thought be brought in here somehow?

If you could send me first the scene in the mill, I would be very pleased; there is less hurry for the final chorus. In fact I did think of having one piece of the work performed this month; quite a lot is nearly ready. 27

Horn responded equally readily to these requests. There are four lines after 'Auf dieser Bank', followed by a quartet for Rosa, the gravedigger,

26. In the final version the numbering of the sections is continuous throughout the two parts.
27. Erler (1), pp. 143-44
the miller and his wife, which now begins, 'Komm, liebes Kind, zu uns herein.' Twelve short lines of dialogue lead into four lines of concerted singing to conclude the number.

The original finale, the song beginning 'O Frühlingslust, noch kaum gegrüsst' did not survive into the finished version. The problem of the final chorus was eventually solved by Schumann a couple of months later.

On 9 June 1851 he wrote to Horn:

I have been deep at work on the 'Rose': it has come on a long way. But I shall have to call upon your help, particularly with regard to the end. How would it be if we brought in an angels' chorus after Rosa's death: Rosa doesn't change back into a rose, but into an angel:

zu deinem Blumen nicht,
zu höh'rem Licht
schwing dich empor &c &c

The progression rose, maiden, angel seems poetic to me and besides it alludes to that teaching of the higher transformations of being to which we all so gladly adhere. And in this way we also lose the dry reflection, which I never liked right at the end. If only one could express such a thing! Perhaps you will understand what I mean. The whole idea can be expressed in twelve lines...

It is unpleasant to find that the composer himself was responsible for suggesting this remarkably bathetic climax for the piece; however, recovering from this shock, we find more practicality in Schumann's PS. to the letter:

One more thing occurs to me. Many of the single numbers in the Rose have taken on the form of a Lied in the process of composition, and would therefore be greatly (or to some extent) improved if they could be repeated. It would not be a good expedient to sing the same text twice over running. Of course it would be hard for you to invent still more verses to such complete pieces, but nevertheless you will perhaps find the inclination to try. These numbers are:

the fairies' chorus
Schwesterlein - in der Menschenbrust
and then the whole number:
Bist du im Wald gewandelt - deine Wunden zu,

29. Schumann's emphasis
And the bridal chorus:

Im Hause des Müller - schallt Hussah darein, -

Of course it is not only the metre, but also, if I might say so, the punctuation that has to be the same as in the first verse, so that the repetition of the music works. Finally I need a four-line stanza more for the song: Zwischen grünen Bäumen - Locken, Haar u. Brust in which the description of the idyllic situation of the mill can be expanded further. The stanza: Aber in dem Hause can all be cut, and could be followed by the new stanza, going into 'Von dem Greis geleitet'. Of course I should very much like to have this last stanza soon; as to the repeats of the bigger numbers, there is more time.

From the appearance of the finished score one might have imagined that Horn was to be congratulated on his ample provision of opportunities for simple, strophic, folk song-like musical forms; but on the evidence of this letter we see that Schumann gave him explicit instructions to make the shorter numbers into strophic songs. This is an important point, for without it there would have been no strophic numbers at all; the remaining ones not mentioned in the above letter were asked for in the same way in February of the following year. The value of the strophic form in this work resides partly in the fact that there is very little repetition or development and no use of returning motifs, so that the strophic movements provide something for the ear to recognise, and partly in its connection with folk song, a suitable model for this consciously naïve and rustic work.

In July 1851 Der Rose Pilgerfahrt was given its first performance. It seems (with hindsight) that Schumann may still have been uncertain about the final form of the piece, for the première on 6 July was a private performance at his own house. The Dresden tenor Ernst Koch was by chance present on that occasion, which he described as follows:

30. Schumann uses the word Punktierung, punctuation. Perhaps 'scansion' is what he meant.
31. Erler (1), p. 149
In mid July 1851 I went to Düsseldorf with my young wife, to present her to Schumann. As we entered the drawing room, we were not a little surprised to find a great assembly there. Schumann came up to me, and said he was sorry not to have heard of my visit or of my return from the wedding journey, because he had so heartily wished to hear me in the tenor part of his newest work, written for me. Then the performance began. Near Frau Schumann, who played the piano accompaniment most poetically, sat Schumann in happy dreams and conducted. It seems ironic that Koch should have arrived unexpectedly at the last moment, for there had been problems about the tenor soloist, who as narrator and forester's son has the most extensive role in the work. Schumann wrote apologetically to Moritz Horn on 29 September 1851:

You could accuse me of great ingratitude. We performed the 'Rose' a few months ago, and you won't be able to understand why I didn't let you know. It was like this. We have no good tenor here, so I had to ask a gentleman from Cologne to take over the part. But he wrote to me confirming only two days before the performance, so that it was impossible to get the news to you in time. I would have liked to have written to you straight after the performance, to let you know about the pleasant effect which the work made. But shortly after the performance we travelled to Switzerland for a longish stay, and a few weeks later to Belgium, so the summer slipped away without my being able to purge my guilt. May all this go some way towards excusing me to you.

As to the publication of the composition, it looks pretty far off still. As you know, I originally composed the piece just with piano accompaniment, which seemed to me and still seems wholly adequate for the delicate material. But now I am being pressed by friends and acquaintances to orchestrate the whole piece. The composition will thereby be accessible to a wider circle, which is undeniable. But this orchestration is an important piece of work, and I can hardly finish it in under two months, and then I am engaged to do a lot of other things as well in the near future. In toto, I believe I can scarcely get the edition out within a year. On these grounds I have not yet contacted a publisher, but that cannot prevent your 'Rose' from coming to publication as quickly as possible.

---

32. It was, as stated, 6 July 1851.
33. Erler (1), p. 155
34. Jansen thought that this was Koch, but we know that he was (a) from Dresden and (b) on holiday. Erler thought it was Andreas Pütz (sic) but we know from the diary entries that it was Andreas Pütz (Nauhaus (2), p. 565).
35. The poem, as distinct from the setting.
It is necessary here to be quite clear about Schumann's opinion as to the accompaniment; things have been complicated by the deliberate omission in some sources of the words 'and still seems' from the sentence in the second paragraph quoted above. Erler thought that it was Wasielewski who had suppressed these words,\textsuperscript{37} and they are certainly lacking (along with some other phrases) in the version of this letter published in Jansen (2), p. 295. Fortunately Erler was able to reinstate the crucial words and we are left in no doubt that Schumann still preferred the piano accompaniment, undertaking the orchestration only in response to outside pressures. Nevertheless, the orchestration is undoubtedly successful. Certain of the effects in the piano part imitated orchestral sounds, and they are happily restored: for instance, the horns and bass trombone in the huntsmen's chorus, and the bare fifths of fiddles tuning as the wedding celebrations begin.

\textsuperscript{37} Erler (1), pp. 160-61
Ex. 3a Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, opening of no. 22 in the original version with piano accompaniment:

[In the miller's house the violins are sounding]
Ex. 3b Der Rosen Pilgerfahrt, opening of no. 22 in orchestral version:

[In the miller's house the (violins) are sounding]
Schumann was also able to allot particular tone colours on less obvious occasions, such as the staccato oboes which lend such force to Marthe's rejection of Rosa, and the bassoons which accompany the gravedigger's work in the churchyard. Particularly appropriate is the low woodwind and brass for the funeral dirge; the combination is dominated by the three trombones (alto, tenor and bass, as is usual in Schumann's orchestra) which of course have a long and honourable history of association with funeral rites. Hanslick (who believed that Schumann had changed his mind about the piano accompaniment) was very enthusiastic about the orchestral version:

How differently now do the fairy choruses achieve their effect with the fine, glittering web of violins, and the churchyard scene, pictured by the melancholy sound of low wind instruments? Who hasn't up till now sorely missed the four natural horns in the chorus 'Bist du im Wald gewandelt', and trumpets and drums in the country wedding?  

Despite Schumann's tendency to over-orchestrate works from this period, there are few places in this work where he doubles unnecessarily, and he restricts his use of tuttis to those sections where they are actually appropriate, for instance the country wedding festivities in nos. 21 and 22.

Two important and fundamental facts about Der Rose Pilgerfahrt are indicated in Schumann's letter to his old Zwickau friend Dr Emanuel Klitzsch, dated 9 August 1851:

It is a fairy tale ... somewhat like the Peri in form and expression, only the whole thing more rustic and German.  

The similarity between Der Rose Pilgerfahrt and Das Paradies und die Peri has already been commented on as regards the structure, mood and context of the fairy choruses (see ex. 2 above) but it also extends to other

---

38. Hanslick, p. 508  
movements. The alto solo 'Im Wald, gelehnt am Stamme' recalls 'Im Waldesgrün am stillen See', as ex. 4 shows.

Ex. 4a Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 16:

No. 16. Ziemlich langsam.

[In the wood, leaning against the trunk of an old oak tree lingers the forester's son, deep as it were in a dream.]

Ex. 4b Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 14:
[In the green wood by the calm lake, there sighs a young man in deep distress, transfixed by the murderous thrust of the plague he comes here to end his torment.]
Ex. 5a continued

[Midsummer day had come, the earth's wedding day, on which she lay on the heart of the Spring as a bride.]

Ex. 5b Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 19:

[And hark, from the trees of heaven is heard the sound of a little crystal bell]

The musical correspondence may well have been suggested by the similarity between the two stories, containing as they each do the figure of a non-human heroine rewarded at last with heavenly blessings.
The *Rose* and the *Peri* also have similar structural features. Recitative is replaced by a much more lyrical form of narration, arioso verging towards aria, with strictly notated rhythms. The use of the top note of a final chord as a pivot to the new key is found in the *Rose* too, but not to the exclusion of other methods of modulation. It is slightly outnumbered by instances of movement a semitone up or down, such as the move between nos. 18 and 19 from D (heard as the top note of a G minor chord) to E flat (used as the dominant of A flat major), and the move between nos. 19 and 20 from A flat to G (again the dominant). As before, it is still the top note sounded which controls the modulation. There are also some examples of enharmonic change between numbers, for instance the move from A flat minor at the end of no. 7 to G sharp minor for no. 8. Again, as in *Das Paradies und die Peri*, many movements are not self-contained but tend to carry straight on from one to the next. As we have seen from the evidence of the correspondence, the original text to the *Rose* would have afforded no musical repetition, and it was due to Schumann's ideas and persistence that the work contains any strophic numbers at all.

How the *Rose* departs from the model of *Das Paradies und die Peri* is neatly described, in Schumann's own words quoted above, as 'rustic and German'. A number of movements, particularly in the second part, are clearly intended as folk song pastiches. This is signalled by the use of tonic pedals, simple melodies and rhythms, and the key of C major or F major. The huntsmen's chorus is a special case: it partakes of the nature of a Jagdlied, and is allowed three flats. (Schumann's own Jagdlieder are described in chapter 3.) On closer examination of the text it seems that the four main movements in folk song style (illustrated in ex. 6) are evoked in response to the stimuli 'Mühle',
mill, 'Müller', miller, or 'Wald', wood. No. 21, the wedding chorus, mentions the mill only in periphrasis, but shares the same character. There is no further mention of the mill or the miller; every time they are referred to, therefore, the folk song style is heard.

Ex. 6a Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 12:

Lebhaft. \( \cdot \cdot \cdot 108. \)

\[
\text{Zwischen grünen Bäumen schaut das Müller's Haus}
\]

[The miller's house peeps out between green trees]

Ex. 6b Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 15:

Frisch. \( \cdot \cdot \cdot 100. \)

\[
\text{Bist du in Wald ge-wan-delt?}
\]

[Have you wandered in the forest?]
Ex. 6c Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 20:

[Im munteren Tempo. $d = 80$]

\[\text{Ei Müh-le, lie-be Müh-le, wie schau'st so schmuck ihr heut'?.}\]

[Dear mill, why are you looking so fine today?]

Ex. 6d Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 21:

[Kräftig. $d = 120$.]

\[\text{Was klingen denn die Hörner im Morgen-dämmer-schein?}\]

[Why are the horns sounding in the morning light?]

Ex. 6e Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 22:

[Etwas lebhafter.]

\[\text{Im Hause des Müllers, da tören die Geigen}\]

[In the miller's house the violins are sounding]
Although we can easily say what is rustic about this piece, it is harder to say what gives it its German quality. The huntsmen's chorus, of course, was a familiar feature of nineteenth-century German music, and Rosa's prayer, 'Dank, Herr, dir dort im Sternenland', is of a type current in contemporary German opera (albeit borrowed from the favourite preghiera of Italian models). But as for pointing to specific musical characteristics that mark it out as German, there is little to go on except for a certain quality of stolidness, plainness, squareness and solidity, particularly in the writing for full chorus. A look back at ex. 6 will give some idea of what is meant. There is a conspicuous lack of elaboration or complication of any kind: no imitative writing, and very little variation of the full chorus complement in its movements. The settings are overwhelmingly syllabic, and the use of more than one note to a syllable is something of a rarity. We are irresistibly reminded of Schumann's intentions in the treatment of his Luther text, ...

...only in the slightest degree artificial, complex and contrapuntal, but rather simple and emphatic, making its effect chiefly through rhythm and melody.40

This is not a novelty, though, for it is the sort of writing that Schumann used in his settings for unaccompanied four-part mixed chorus; and this does not help us to detect any specifically German qualities, either, because he used it impartially for settings of Robert Burns as well as for German poets.

Ex. 7a John Anderson (Robert Burns), op. 145 no. 14:

"John Anderson, mein lieb. wir haben uns gesehen"

[John Anderson, my dear! we have been looking at each other]

Ex. 7b Romanze von Gänseuben (from the Spanish by O. von der Malsburg), op. 145 no. 15:

"Helf mir Gott, wie flie-gan die Gän-se, helf mir Gott, wie flie-gen sie all?"

[God help me, how the geese are flying, God help me, how they are all flying]
Ex. 7c Der König von Thule (Goethe), op. 67 no. 1:

Es war ein König in Thule, gar treu bis an das Grab.

[There was a King of Thule who was true unto death]

It seems that the German quality of the Rose is transferred from its libretto, rather than inherent in the music. After all, it inhabits much the same world as Die schöne Müllerin, another work which we have no difficulty in seeing as rustic and German (not Viennese), though it too has no specifically German qualities in its musical language.

By the beginning of 1852 Der Rose Pilgerfahrt was almost ready for public performance. Schumann at first notified Horn that this would be on 22 January, but (fortunately for Horn who did not make the two-day journey) it was held up for several days, as we read in Schumann's letter of 6 February 1852:

Not until yesterday was the 'Rose' able to make her appearance - to the great interest of the whole town of Düsseldorf. Through being let down by the copyist, who didn't keep his promise, we were held up for 14 days in all. What a good thing that you didn't make the trip here on the twenty-second."

Notwithstanding this first public performance, Schumann was still asking for changes to the libretto:

41. Erler (1), pp. 168-69
A few places still aren't as I wish; I have marked them on the enclosed text. In the wedding chorus, for which you have already been so kind as to give me extra verses, the words or the thoughts are not really suitable for the robust and sturdy character of the music to the first verse.\textsuperscript{42}

This was one of the movements Schumann had wanted to convert to a strophic form, and this could explain why, after the initial merry-making of 'Hochzeit wird gefeiert', the mood changes to a less frantic one at 'Feire froh' and a still more sober one at 'Die Kirchenglocken klingen'.

The enclosure also listed the following:

Page 6 a) Fairies' chorus (Farewell to Rose & good luck)
   8 lines in metre just like the first fairies' chorus:
   \begin{quote}
   Wir tanzen, wir tanzen - sich die Lerche schwingt
   Then perhaps a few short lines of dialogue between
   Rosa and the Fairy Queen as well.
   \end{quote}

Page 22 b) In the Mill song twelves lines more with the same punctuation,\textsuperscript{43} in cheerful character

Page 23 c) In the wedding chorus six lines more to fit with 'Im Hause des Müllers - Hussah darein' again in strong, robust mood.\textsuperscript{44}

In the published work the fairy chorus 'Wir tanzen' is actually repeated word for word as the background to the end of no. 4, so perhaps Horn did not provide any fresh text for this. The dialogue between Rosa and the Fairy Queen is there, however, at the point where Rosa is given the magic rose. The twelve lines of second verse for no. 20, 'Ei Mühlle', and three lines for no. 22, 'Im Hause des Müllers', account for the only remaining strophic movements.

Schumann was preparing the work for its Leipzig première, which took place in early March 1852, but it seems unlikely that the additions requested on 6 February could have been incorporated in time. As in Düsseldorf, a private performance came first, on 2 March, and the public

\textsuperscript{42} Erler (1), pp. 168-69
\textsuperscript{43} As previously suggested, it seems that Schumann probably meant 'scansion'.
\textsuperscript{44} Erler (1), pp. 168-69
première followed on 14 March. The Schumanns did not leave for Leipzig until 5 March, thus missing the private performance by the Singakademie under Ferdinand David. Even if Schumann had had time to receive the extra text from Moritz Horn and incorporate it into the work, it seems unlikely that he would also have had time to get the parts altered and sent to Leipzig in time for their rehearsals. Werner Schwarz claims that the 14 March performance, conducted by Schumann in the presence of Liszt and Joachim, was the première of the orchestral version, but it seems more likely that it had been given on 5 February 1852, at the fifth subscription concert of the Düsseldorf season. It is true that Schumann does not say specifically either in his letter to Horn of 6 February or in his diary that this was the orchestral version. However, the performance was part of a series of orchestral concerts, and moreover he alludes to the fourteen-day delay occasioned by the copyist - surely because they were awaiting a set of orchestral parts, not merely amended versions of the already available chorus parts.

Much of the music for Der Rose Pilgerfahrt is of great charm - perhaps almost too much: but this is relieved, particularly in the second part, by the numbers in folk song style, which are of a stronger and more cheerful character. The opening number, for two sopranos later joined by the women's chorus, is chiefly notable for the very successful canonic treatment of the opening theme:

45. Schwarz, p. 300
Uniform charm follows in the next few numbers until at no. 6, 'Bin ein armes Waisenkind', Rosa begs shelter from the redoubtable Marthe and is rebuffed in fierce and energetic style. This leads to one of the most successful passages in the piece, the dialogue between Rosa and the gravedigger. This is given interest and unity by the following simple motif.
Ex. 9a Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 7, motif heard in accompaniment:

This is first heard as the thuds of the digging, then it turns gradually into the chromatic line which leads to the funeral dirge:

Ex. 9b Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, end of no. 7:

The end of the first part is considerably enlivened by the fairies' chorus requested by Schumann, the voices of the Rose's erstwhile companions urging her to return to them. Two-part female voices, pizzicato bass, and rushing semiquaver accompaniment give this movement a sense of urgency and tension that have been almost entirely lacking in the piece so far.
At the opening of Part II the mood is cheerful once more, and only the folk song-style numbers break the monotony of charm. The first of these is no. 12, 'Zwischen grünen Bäumen', which features the following unifying motif, heard in the bassoon.

The motif is carried over into the following number, 'Von dem Greis geleitet,' although here it is used more sparingly; there is a final reference to the music for the miller's house in the coda.
The huntsmen's chorus, no. 15, is worthy of note for the curious complexities of metre in its opening bars. It is notated like this:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bist du im Wald ge-wan-delt?} & \quad \text{Wenn's drinn so heim-lich rauscht,} \\
\text{wenn aus den höhen Büschen das Wild-auf-hor-chend lauscht?}
\end{align*}
\]

However, far from sounding in triple metre, the actual sense of the rhythm appears like this:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bist du im Wald ge-wan-delt?} & \quad \text{Wenn's drin so heimlich rauscht,} \\
\text{wenn aus den höhen Büschen das Wild-auf-hor-chend lauscht?}
\end{align*}
\]

This is unusual for Schumann, whose tendency to plainness and foursquareness in his choral writing we have already noted. There is another example of metrical ambiguity in the wedding chorus, no. 21, 'Was klingen denn die Hörner?' At the entry of the full chorus the music is notated

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hoch - zeit wird ge-fei-ert,} & \quad \text{Wört -lein, ach, so süß,} \\
\text{Schlüss -lein} & \quad \text{Schlüss -lein}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jeden trau -be} & \quad \text{E-he - pa-ra - dies!}
\end{align*}
\]
Again, this has no relation to the triple time, but sounds thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textbf{Hoch genzt wird ge-fei-ert, Wort-lein, ach, so auss,}} \\
\text{\textbf{Schluss-lein gud dem trau-te E-he-pa-ra-dies!}} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The trick of starting a chord early, usually on the last beat of the bar, and tying it over to the strong beat where it would normally be heard, is a characteristic of Schumann's which can be found in his earlier and later pieces, as ex. 12 demonstrates. But the complex examples of this rhythmic trick in Der Rose Pilgerfahrt make the music difficult both to read and to construe.

Ex. 12a Faschingsschwank aus Wien op. 26 First movement, second episode:
Ex. 12b Symphony no. 1 in B flat major op. 38, second movement:

[Allegretto]

Ex. 12c Symphony no. 1 in B flat major op. 38, scherzo:

[Molto vivace]
Ex. 12d Symphony no. 3 in E flat major op. 97, first movement:

[Lebhaft]

Ex. 12e Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part II, no. 4, Ariel's scene:

[Lebhaft]

Wunsch - um Wün-sche zu er-lan-gen, schau-e

nach dem Glan - ze dort!

lan-gen, schau - e dort!

[To attain your wishes, look at the radiance there!]
Ex. 12f Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part II, no. 5, Mitternacht:

[Longsam, feierlich. (J = 100.)]

Faust: dass ich das grösste Werk voll-

[That I finish the greatest work, one spirit is sufficient for a thousand, thousand hands!]
Ex. 12g 3 Lieder für Männerchor op. 62 no. 3, Schlachtgesang:

Sehr kräftig.

Mit unserm Arm ist nichts getan, steht — uns der Mächtige nicht bei,

[Our arm can accomplish nothing, if the Almighty is not by our side]

Ex. 12h 5 Lieder von Robert Burns für gemischten Chor, op. 55 no. 2,

Zahnweh:

[Mit Humor]

dein Mör-ster-stich, du — bist der Ner-ven Pain und Last, Fluch

— ü-ber dich, Fluch ü-ber dich!

[Your martyr’s stab; you are the pain and nuisance of the nerves, a curse on you, a curse on you!]
We must retrace our steps to take notice of no. 17, which turns into
a love duet between the forester's son and Rosa. It is the emotional
climax of the piece (though hardly recognisable as such); the unifying
motif here is its opening phrase (after the opening duet for soprano and
alto, which merely sets the scene):

Ex. 13 Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 17:

\[ J = 94. \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Tenor} \\
\text{Ich weiß ein Röslein pon-gen}
\end{array}
\]

[I know a rosebud glowing]

It recalls the effortless lyricism of the Lieder; and indeed the whole of
the tenor and soprano duet is a reminder that we are still listening to
the composer of Mondnacht.

The next movement, the chorus 'O sel'ge Zeit' should by rights be in
a cheerful, if charming mood:

0 blessed time, when love begins to flower in the heart,
and the pretty face glows in wonder like the brightness of
morning!
Ex. 14 Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 18:

Schumann surprises us by setting this in a tender, melancholy vein, outdoing in elegiac qualities the funeral dirge itself. What could he have been thinking of here? It is not the most obvious and natural response to the text, nor is it of the same atmosphere as the rest of the work. It is, to be sure, a relief not to have any more charm just here, but it seems unaccountable to have this melancholy reaction to the dawning of love, for in Der Rose Pilgerfahrt above all the sorrows of love are wholly absent. But to Schumann they must clearly have been so
real as to compel him to go against the tenor of the work in this movement.

At the end of no. 22, 'Im Hause des Müllers', is a coda which can be taken to represent the wedding festivities. It recalls in happier vein the wedding feast so ruefully pictured in the song Es ist ein Flöten und Geigen from Dichterliebe:

Ex. 15a Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 22, theme of instrumental postlude:

\[ \text{Flute, oboe, clarinet, first violin} \]

Ex. 15b Dichterliebe op. 48, no. 9, figure in piano accompaniment:

\[ \text{Nicht zu rasch.} \]

Both of these are in the same style as the vigorous Ländler-like peasant dance in the first scene of Act I of Weber's Der Freischütz, but it is remarkable to what extent the emotional temperature differs between them. Schumann had long given up writing such bitter music as the Dichterliebe.
example, and it is doubtful whether the 'charming' version found in Der Rose Pilgerfahrt is of comparable artistic worth.

Schumann's response to this type of story and in particular its emphasis on rustic charm and sentimentality makes Der Rose Pilgerfahrt the most notable example so far in his work of the Biedermeier tendency in art. Gottlieb Biedermeier was the supposed author of verses in the satirical magazine Fliegende Blätter (perhaps a precursor of Private Eye's E.J. Thribb) where he represented the comfortable middle classes and their proprieties. The surname was given to a trend in interior decoration, and was extended to artistic movements which invoked homely, bourgeois, simple and decorous values as against the foreign, outré, original, bounds-bursting and by implication immoral values of Romanticism. Biedermeier's greatest appeal was to classes with a great sense of national pride, for instance the bourgeoisie of the newly-unified Germany, or Great Britain under Victoria. It is a natural reaction, too, to periods of upheaval such as the European cataclysm produced by Napoleon.

Examples of Biedermeier art are numerous. Schubert is the earliest composer who could be described thus, which is partly due to the public he was aiming at: aristocratic patronage had waned, and Schubert's performers and audiences were drawn from the middle classes. His early symphonies, written for an amateur orchestra, and the piano duet works are illuminating examples of this. Schumann (whose enthusiasm for Schubert's duets was unbounded) followed very much in Schubert's footsteps, and the Biedermeier tendency is enhanced in Schumann's choral
works because they were written for amateur choirs of middle-class ladies and gentlemen, as opposed to the hardened professionals of the opera chorus. A remark made by Richard Pohl in his *Erinnerungen* sheds much light on this question:

Above all, [Schumann] was now looking for texts that would be suitable for female ears.\(^46\)

One is irresistibly reminded of Mr Podsnap in Dickens's *Our Mutual Friend*, whose infallible criterion in life as in art is whether something 'would bring a blush into the cheek of the young person.' Dickens gets a lot of fun out of Mr Podsnap, but Schumann takes the whole thing absolutely seriously. This is on the face of it surprising when we recall the young student of spectacularly irregular habits, the impetuous lover and the valiant fighter against the 'Philistines'. Gottlieb Biedermeier is one of those very Philistines who applauded Herz, Hänten and Meyerbeer, but instead of opposing him, Schumann is now giving him exactly what he wants. Perhaps on a personal level this was a reaction to the violence and stress of life in his twenties, followed by the security of marriage to Clara and the responsibilities of a growing family. It must have been difficult for a husband and father to keep up the life of the headstrong and wild Romantic artist of ten or twenty years previously. Schumann's artistic position underwent a change between 1835, when he stated his tenets in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, and the end of his composing career, and without understanding this it is difficult to make sense of his late works in the context of his early ones (and vice versa).

\(^{46}\) Pohl, p. 180
The oratorio on the life of Martin Luther was not the only unfinished project from Schumann's first eighteen months in Düsseldorf. There are also Die Braut von Messina and Hermann und Dorothea, both intended for operas but neither progressing beyond an overture. The usual explanation given is the fact of Schumann's ill-health 47 - and it is true that he had a long period of nervous illness in 1852 - but this is surely not the whole story, for numerous other works were completed at this time. There are a number of inter-related reasons why Schumann was unable to complete Luther and the proposed opera subjects, one of which was the difficulty of working with Richard Pohl. We have seen in detail in the case of Luther how Pohl continued to submit unsuitable drafts of the text after Schumann had made it clear that something much shorter was wanted. However firmly Pohl believed that his method was right, he should surely have been prepared to provide what the composer wanted or to give up the project at an early stage. As it was, the delays and silences from Pohl were prolonged until Schumann's last illness supervened.

Apart from the problems of the collaboration with Pohl, I believe that Schumann would in any case have been unable to complete Luther because he was subconsciously unhappy with the subject, despite his conscious praise of it and appreciation of its potential. He must have realised that, situated as he now was in the Catholic Rhineland, the chances of getting Luther performed by his own local forces without incurring opposition were slight. And despite his emphasis on the story's dramatic possibilities I find it hard to believe that after all these years of wasting dramatic opportunities he would have made any

47. e.g. Jansen (2), p. 308
better use of those in *Luther*. We can judge of the likely result from his words in the letter of 14 February 1851 quoted above: 'All the merely narrative and reflective portions should if possible be avoided, to emphasise the dramatic form above all.' Such a policy would be far-reaching and disastrous. An oratorio without any narrative or reflection upon the drama would consist only of dialogue, and the action would move far too quickly for the audience to assimilate it satisfactorily. No wonder Schumann proposed to deal with the whole history in under 2½ hours; one can only feel thankful that the plan was not carried out.

Another important way in which *Luther* was wrong for Schumann is that it centres upon a strong hero-figure. The scenarios which attracted him were more often based on a central female figure, usually innocent of sin, but nevertheless in need of some kind of redemption: the Peri seeking admittance to heaven, Genoveva wandering in the desert, or Rosa desiring human form. The two queens in *Der Königsohn* and *Des Sängers Fluch* are peripheral characters who also form part of this series. Faust is by no means a strong hero-figure in Goethe's tragedy, and in Schumann's setting, as in others, the figure of Gretchen assumes immense importance. Against this background Luther cannot fit in, and Katherina is hardly a substitute - her part in the story is far too circumscribed to let her assume this significance.

Again, it does not seem that Schumann was sufficiently interested in religious or ecclesiastical matters *per se* to be much moved by this aspect of his subject. It is clear that his enthusiasm for Luther was entirely directed towards the national hero, not the man of God; the man of the people, with a special meaning for Germany. It is wise here to

---

48. Pohl, p. 172
make allowances for a certain amount of bias, firstly in Wolfgang Boetticher's seminal works on Schumann, which were both published in Hitler's National Socialist Germany, and secondly in the work of post-war scholars based in the German Democratic Republic; but emphasis on Luther as the national hero can be found in the collection of letters published by F. Gustav Jansen in 1886.

The reasons given by Pohl in his reminiscences and those presented above go some way towards explaining why Luther remained unachieved; and Schumann, declining the task of writing a German epic about a celebrated national figure, turned back instead to the familiar landscape of his earlier choral works, to fairies, magic and the quest for heaven. We have noted Schumann's lengthy prescriptive writings on Luther; did these have any influence on his work on Der Rose Pilgerfahrt?

We must first make allowances for the fact that the Rose is a much smaller-scale work than Luther (even in Schumann's reduced version): it runs for only an hour, was clearly conceived as suitable for salon rather than concert hall performance (as witness the early private hearings), and is on a scale compatible with piano rather than orchestral accompaniment.

We can now consider Schumann's revealing

Give me opportunities for choruses wherever you can. You know Handel's Israel in Egypt quite well; I consider it as the ideal choral work. ⁴⁹

⁴⁹. Jansen (2), pp. 283-84; Pohl, pp. 172-73
In fact there is no trace of any Handelian influence in *Der Rose* Pilgerfahrt. The choruses are by and large either for SA or TB; the only full SATB choruses are no. 8, the funeral dirge, no. 18, 'O sel'ge Zeit', and the wedding choruses, nos. 21 and 22. None of these shows any characteristic earlier than the nineteenth century: they are reminiscent of Mendelssohn and Marschner, if anyone. Imitative writing is almost entirely absent, as befits a piece in such a popular, folk idiom. This gives an indication of the way in which the *Rose* does follow a precept laid down for *Luther*:

The treatment of the text should give a popular/Old German character to the poem. I think that the music has got to be the same, not so much elaborate as making its effect through brevity, strength and clarity.  

And again:

...I would also endeavour to make my music only in the slightest degree artificial, complex and contrapuntal, but rather simple and emphatic, making its effect chiefly through rhythm and melody.  

This is certainly true of the *Rose*. The only contrapuntal passage is the opening movement, 'Die Frühlingslärme bringen', which turns into a canon at the unison for the final appearance of the main theme, as ex. 8 shows. But although undoubtedly contrapuntal it is hardly complex and certainly not artificial - a model of that simplicity and strength towards which Schumann was striving.

The lack of drama in this piece, such a grave disadvantage to the plot and overall structure, may actually be viewed as an advantage in one way. As we have repeatedly seen, Schumann had the greatest difficulty in dealing with dramatic climaxes, and tended to fall back on a monolithic and grand but plain and unexciting musical style. Where he has no overt

50. Jansen (2), pp. 283-84; Pohl, pp. 172-73  
51. Jansen (2), p. 290; Pohl, p. 175
drama to deal with, the musical style remains at a much more satisfactory level of invention. Variety is provided specifically by the use of a simple folk song style. No doubt if Schumann had completed *Luther* the use of chorale melodies would have added weight and substance to his musical material. However, the slight stature of the *Rose* and the banality of its expression go right against the mid nineteenth-century tendency for ever larger works and more complex musical material. Schumann's theoretical position had been well thought out and is adequately documented in the correspondence with Pohl, but from a late twentieth-century perspective we can see that he was marching confidently down a blind alley.
CHAPTER 7


It occurred to me that quite a few ballads could be treated as concert pieces for solo voices, chorus and orchestra, with a little effort and with good effect.1

When Schumann wrote these words to Richard Pohl on 25 June 1851 he had already completed one attempt at this genre, Der Königssohn, and in inviting Pohl to collaborate on the text of Uhland's Des Sängers Fluch clearly he felt that the exercise would bear repeating.

Der Königssohn was written in the spring and early summer of 1851, when Schumann had finished work for the time being on Der Rose Pilgerfahrt and was awaiting Pohl's much shortened revision of a text for Luther (see chapter 6). The diary entry 'Uhland's Königssohn' for 25 April 18512 may imply only that he read the poem that day; yet musical ideas may have begun to suggest themselves already, for he worked on it on the two following days, and noted in the diary 'finished up to the final ending' on 27 April 1851.3 He was able to use Uhland's poem more or less as it stood, up as far as the ending, which he knew would have to be changed for the musical setting. Such mild alterations as the excision of an 'Er spricht' and the rearrangement of lines at the beginning of no. 3, 'Was spähest du nach der Angel?', he carried out silently, but for the problem of the ending a collaborator had to be found. The story is as follows:

1. Pohl, p. 176
3. Nauhaus (2), p. 559
A dying king divides his kingdom between his two elder sons, and asks his third son, his favourite, what he will have. The King's Son answers, 'Give me only the old, rusty crown, and three ships - I will travel hence and seek a throne'. He sets sail, but a storm wrecks his ships. He swims to shore, where a fisherman sees him and thinks how kinglike he looks. The King's Son claims all the land as his kingdom. He fishes for the kingly splendour he saw in the deep and foretells that he will kill lions and eagles singlehandedly. Next he tames a wild horse; all the people recognise this as a portent and hail him as their king. Finally he goes to the cave where dwells a fearsome dragon, kisses it three times, and releases from the spell a beautiful maiden who becomes his queen, while on the ruins of its lair rises a kingly palace.

In the court a blind minstrel has his sight restored by the miraculous appearance of all the splendour around him. In the original poem, this is followed by the minstrel's death, and Schumann was right in thinking this conclusion to be unsuitable for musical setting. Schumann's own proposal for the new ending was outlined in a postscript to his letter of 3 May 1851 to Moritz Horn:

One request more, - would you consider it unreasonable? A short time ago I set the ballad: der Königssohn by Uhland for soloists, chorus and orchestra, - but only up to the ending, which will have to be changed. Perhaps you know the poem, or could get hold of it. In particular, for a better musical effect, after the words -

und wird nicht satt
der Herrlichkeit und Fülle, -
the Minstrel himself must not die but come to the fore, singing in praise of his healing and the splendour he sees only now - and the chorus join in the praise at the end.

In total this should not need more than 3 four-line verses. If you are in good poetic vein for my ideas, perhaps you will also think of this request.4

4. Erler (1), p. 144
This obviously contradicts Joan Chissell's suggestion that Schumann himself arranged the text of Der Königssohn. 5

A month later more details are given in another letter to Horn, dated 9 June 1851:

My thanks too for your communication about the Uhland ballad! I am quite in agreement. After the words 'und wird nicht satt der Herrlichkeit u. Fülle' the Minstrel must strike up, and immediately after the piece already finished he must sing four verses in the same metre as Uhland's no. 8, to which then is joined a general chorus, which could also be written in another free poetic metre, and would also have the praise of the royal couple as its subject. If it were possible for you to get fairly close to Uhland's manner of speaking, which is, I grant, very characteristic, this would surely be the best of all. 6

Uhland had divided the poem into numbered sections corresponding with new events in the story, but Schumann did not take over this division. 'Uhland's no. 8' is the stanzas beginning

Der König und die Königin,
sie stehen auf dem Throne,
da gliüht der Thron wie Morgenroth,
wie steigende Sonn' die Krone.

that is to say, Schumann's no. 6, the last part completed before the revised ending. Horn's contribution must therefore be the lines beginning

Welch' Wunder enthüllt dem Auge sich
welch' gleichenloses Wunder!

It is not exactly as Schumann requested, though whether Horn or Schumann was responsible for the asymmetry is not now evident. The first two lines, quoted above, are given to the chorus; the next two four-line stanzas are sung by the Minstrel, as are the following two lines. He then embarks on his song of praise, 'Gepriesen sei der Königssohn', which consists of one four-line stanza and two lines which neither scan nor

5. Chissell, p. 186
rhyme, though the musical setting irons out much of their singularity of metre. The chorus repeats the 'Gepriesen' verse and adds numerous 'Heils' of its own.

Given the successful completion of Der Rose Pilgerfahrt on Horn's text and the continuing delay over Pohl's Luther it was only to be expected that Schumann would turn to a secular text and enrol Horn's help again for his new project. Despite Schumann's own predilections and efforts in that direction, the secular cantata was by no means common yet; Mendelssohn's Die erste Walpurgisnacht remained the only well-known contemporary example, and that work still has religious overtones, even though of a pagan and druidical description. Schumann believed that he was breaking new ground with the choral ballads, and Wasielewski agreed, although in the latter's opinion the resulting pieces were not worthy of the effort that had gone into them.\footnote{Wasielewski (1), p. 276} Leaving aside this tendentious judgment, let us first examine the notion that the choral ballad is a new form.

It certainly contains novelties, but none of them seems to be concerned with formal structure. The opening chorus is a Volkslied rather like the setting of Der König von Thule of op. 67 (see ex. 1) and the ensuing dialogue is in the spirit of Das Paradies und die Peri, recalling, for instance, the opening narrative of Part II, 'Die Peri tritt mit schüchterner Geberde'.
[The old grey king sits on the throne of his fathers; his robe shines like the red sky in the evening, and his crown like the setting sun.]
[There was a King of Thule, true unto death, to whom his dying mistress gave a golden goblet. He valued nothing more than this, he drained it at every feast; his eyes filled with tears whenever he drank from it. And when he came to die, he counted up the towns in his kingdom, and bequeathed them all to his (heirs)...]

DIE OBSTIMMTE IST HIER STARKEN CHORENFÜHRER NACH BEFINDEN MEHRFACH ZU BESETZEN.
The duet, no. 2, for sopranos and altos belongs to that great family which also includes 'Ei Mühle, lieber Mühle' from Der Rose Pilgerfahrt and 'Ach, wie ungern' from the Requiem für Mignon.

Ex. 2a Der Königsohn, no. 2, duet for chorus sopranos and altos:
Ex. 2a continued

[The King's Son stands on the deck, watching his ships' progress. The sun shines, the wind plays with his golden hair. The helm resounds, the sail fills out, the colourful pennants stream; mermaids with play and song weave themselves around the hull.]

Ex. 2b Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, no. 20, duet for chorus sopranos and altos:

[Music notation]

Im munteren Tempo. $d = 80$. Treble.

Alto. Ei Mühl, lie- be
Ex. 2b continued

Mühle, wie schaust so schmuck heut', du trägst, ge getrilt

Blumen, ein sonn'glück'es Kleid. Du hast selbstdein-ne
Oh mill, dear mill, how fine you look today, you are in your Sunday best, decked with flowers. You have arrayed your gable with garlands, and you have never looked out into the valley with such happiness.
Ex. 2c Requiem für Mignon, no. 2, duet for solo soprano and alto:

No. 2.
Etwa bewegt, (d. too.)
Sopr. I Solo.

Alt I Solo.

Etwa bewegt.

[Ah, how reluctantly we bring her here! Ah, and she must remain here! Let us stay too, let us weep at her coffin...]

The storm which ensues recalls the Hymn of the Spirits of Arimanes in the incidental music to Manfred.
[Lightning flickers out of the night, the masts burst into splinters, and waves crash on to the ship, wild, like mountains: the King's Son is overwhelmed...]
Ex. 3b Manfred, no. 7, part of the Hymn of the Spirits of Armanes:

\[ \text{Majestätsch. } J = 80. \]

\[ \text{Gluth he rolden die Kometen sejen Lauf;} \]
\[ \text{Planeteu brennt zu Asche seien Lauf;} \]
\[ \text{Gluth he rolden die Kometen he rolden die Kometen sejen Lauf;} \]
\[ \text{Pla.} \]
\[ \text{rol den die Kometen sejen Lauf he rolden die Kometen sejen Lauf;} \]
\[ \text{Pla.} \]

[(through the heavens')] glow the comets herald his course; his rage burns planets to ashes. War makes sacrifice to him on the bloodstained altar;

There is no need to go through the whole of Der Königssohn and point out the structural parallels and stylistic similarities to passages from Schumann's earlier works; it is sufficient to say that it differs in no important respect from his earlier choral works, save that there is no attempt to join the movements together and make the music continuous, so
that in fact it is less advanced than some of the earlier works. The key relationships between movements, despite this disjunction, are much as described in the discussion of *Das Paradies und die Peri*, in chapter 2, with the use of the top note of a final chord forming the pivot to the next key:

Ex. 4 *Der Königsohn*, key relationship between nos. 5 and 6:

[Hail, he is our King!]

although there is much more use within movements of the tonic minor to tonic major modulation, for instance from F sharp minor to F sharp major in no. 4:
Ex. 5 Der Königssohn no. 4:

[Sehr lebhaft. J = 96. (In der Partitur J = 100.)]

S

A

springt herab der Königssohn, umwallt vom Fell des Leuens des
den Rosses Mähne fliegt, die Hufe Feuer streuen.
[...they hear how the storm and thunder roar from the mountains: the King's Son gallops down, encircled by the lion's skin; the wild horse's mane streams, his hoofs scatter sparks: then all the people press forward with song and rejoicing: Hail, he is our king!]

Thus the F sharp minor music describing the career of the wild horse becomes the F sharp major chorus of praise for the King's Son who has tamed it.
The respects in which Schumann does break new ground as far as he is concerned are the use of the orchestra, the use of more advanced harmonies, and motivic unity.

The use of the orchestra is more progressive in two ways: in the orchestration itself, and in the role played by the orchestra in the piece as a whole. The latter aspect shows an interesting development when we look at the choral works in general. Whereas in Das Paradies und die Peri Schumann had been able to give the orchestra a role reasonably independent of the chorus, in later works he often relegated the orchestra to the function of mere accompaniment, doubling the vocal or choral parts, much as if he was inflating a chordal piano accompaniment. In Der Königssohn the orchestra takes on an independent part again. Ex. 6 illustrates this progression:

Ex. 6a Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 6, showing an orchestral part reasonably independent of that of the chorus:
Ex. 6a continued

It is Gazna, he approaches in his terrible wrath!
Ex. 6b Adventlied, showing an orchestral accompaniment which doubles the choral parts:

[...and extinguish the smoulders of discord so that we, peoples and thrones, may live for ever united as brothers in thy great Father's house]
Ex. 6c Neujahrslied, another orchestral accompaniment which doubles the choral parts:

[Hail! Hail! new ruler of the expectant world]
Ex. 6d Der Königssohn, no. 4, in which the choral parts are doubled by 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, and 2 cornets, while a more independent role is given to the strings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 4.</th>
<th>(Schr lebhaft. $\text{C.}\text{A..}\text{KL. A}\text{. em.}$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kleine Flöte.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: D, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flöten.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: A, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hohen.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: D, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinetten in A.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: A, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fagotte.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: G, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ventilhörner in E.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: E, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waldhörner in E.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: B, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornets à piston in A.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: A, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ventilh. in D.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: E, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alt. Trax.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: A, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posaunen.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: B, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bass.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: E, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauken in Fis, Cis.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: A, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violinen I.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: C, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violinen II.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: F, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bratsche.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: D, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soprano.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: D, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alt.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: D, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: D, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bass.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: D, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violoncell.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: D, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrabass.</td>
<td>![ Clef: C, Note: D, Time: $\frac{4\cdot4}{4}$, Beats: 4 ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schr lebhaft.
[In the wood a horse runs wild which has never known the bridle, golden, with a long, thick (mane)...]
The other main improvement in Schumann's handling of the orchestra is its much greater use alone, for preludes and postludes to the choral and vocal numbers. This gives the whole piece a much more spacious feel and avoids the short-winded effect noted in works such as Der Rose Pilgerfahrt. Schumann still could not bring himself to extend the final number by more than the customary three tonic chords (which is the more surprising when we recall the extended postludes of many of his early Lieder) but in the rest of Der Königssohn he used his orchestral material, particularly march themes, very skilfully to provide short paragraphs to round off the movements.

Ex. 7a Der Königssohn, postlude to no. 2:
[(In her giant arms she cradled) me and my brothers. The others all did not survive; she brought me here to the shore: she has chosen for my kingdom all this broad land.]

Ex. 7b Der Königsohn, postlude to no. 4:

[Sehr lebhaft. $\frac{3}{2}$: $\frac{3}{2}$ (In der Partitur $\frac{3}{2}$:100.)]
Schumann's actual choice of instruments has many interesting features. His standard orchestra (listed at the beginning of Appendices A and G) is joined by piccolo, valve trumpets, triangle, and (for no. 4) a pair of cornets. The cornet was brought into the nineteenth-century orchestra to obtain chromatic notes where valve trumpets were unavailable; having said which, it seems odd that Der Königssohn has parts for valve trumpets and cornets, but this can probably be explained by the fact that the smaller instrument would be able to reach higher notes much more easily, giving greater agility in a higher range. The full brass complement for no. 4 is:

Valve horns in E

Natural horns in E

Cornets in A
Valve trumpets in D

Alto, tenor and bass trombones.

Other touches of orchestration worthy of mention include the simultaneous sounding of F sharp and C sharp in the timpani at the beginning of no. 4 (Berlioz had written chords for sets of timpani in his Symphonie fantastique (1831) and Grande messe des morts (1837), but this is the first time that Schumann, the more conventional orchestrator, had used such a device); the triangle in no. 2 as the King's Son sets out on his adventure; the emphasis given by the use of double- and treble-stopped strings to the words of the King's Son; and the divided lower strings which accompany the incantation-like passage for men's voices in no. 5.

A particular mention must be made of the pictorial details which can be found in this piece. We are told by Albert Dietrich, Schumann's friend and collaborator (with Brahms) in the 'FAE' sonata for Joachim, that Schumann intended some very specific effects in Der Königssohn:

Schumann talked a lot more to me about the work. The beginning, with steady trombone chords, seems to be a solemn state ceremony. After the shipwreck, while the King's Son is swimming to the shore, there are heard one or two mysterious chords of oboes, clarinets etc out of the roaring of the basses, as if from time to time the white shoulders of the King's Son surface from the waves. At last, at the clear trumpet calls, he pulls himself up out of the waves and sings. In the F sharp minor women's chorus, where the heroic deeds of the King's Son (taming of the wild horse etc) are described, Schumann makes use of cornets. The sound of these has something savage and half-animal, which should here be a very subtle effect; and the Master told me of all this in a cheerful, lively discussion of things which are of the greatest interest to me... 8

Ex. 8a shows the passage described above where the 'shoulders' appear above the waves:

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Ex. 8a Der Königsohn, no. 2, the passage depicting the King's Son swimming to the shore after the shipwreck. The wind chords indicated are his shoulders appearing through the waves:

[Lebhaft. \( \text{J} = 100 \) (In der Partitur \( \text{J} = 110 \).)]

Fischer. (Bariton)

Ver. sunken, wehr, Mast und Kiel, der Schiff'ser Ruf ver.

schollen! Doch sieh'! wer schwimmt dort herbei,

um den die Wagen roll'en? Er schlägt mit starken Arm die Fluth, und
Ex. 8a continued

[Alas, mast and keel gone under, the sailor's cry vanished! But look! who swims over there, with waves rolling round him? He strikes the flood with strong arm and fears the waves but little, he holds high his head with the golden crown, it seems he must be a king.]

Encouraged by Dietrich's confirmation of some very precise effects intended by the composer, the following further examples can be proffered:
Ex. 8b Der Königssohn, no. 2, the storm at sea begins; note the string tremolos and the rushing semiquavers in the cello part, followed by pounding timpani:

Liebhaft. \( \text{d} = 100. \) (In der Partitur \( \text{d} = 110. \))

[Then dark clouds gather,]
Ex. 8c  Der Königsohn, no. 4, the wild horse galloping free in the wood; note the headlong scale passages in the cello and viola parts:

No. 4.

Sehr lebhaft. J = 96. (In der Partitur J = 100) Sopran.

Pferd, hat nie den Zaum ge- lit- ten, gold- farb, mit lan- ger di- ch- ter

Mähn, schlägt Fun- ken bei al- len Trit- ten:

[In the wood a horse runs wild, which has never known the bridle, golden, with a long, thick mane, he strikes sparks at every step:]
Ex. 8d Der Königsohn, no. 5; the wide leaps in the accompaniment suggest the high, rugged cliff where the dragon's lair is found:

No. 5.

Ziemlich langsam. \( J = 60 \). (In der Partitur \( J = 62 \).)

Mit Pedal.

[There stands a high, rugged cliff with eagles flying round, but no-one dares to venture near: they see the dragon's lair.]
Ex. 8e Der Königssohn, no. 2; the wide melodic range at the moment of the shipwreck suggests the mountainous appearance of the waves:

[Lebhaft. \( \text{L} = 100 \). (In der Partitur \( \text{L} = 110 \).)]

The score of Der Königssohn also gives evidence of Schumann's returning harmonic adventurousness. It is true that most of the first number hinges on the subdominant chord whose fascination for Schumann was perennial, but later on he breaks away from the harmonic simplicity of
his more recent choral works and allows unusual key signatures to carry him to very remote keys, rather as had happened in Das Paradies und die Peri.

Ex. 9a Der Königssohn, no. 4, modulation from F sharp minor to F sharp major, with some chromatic alteration:

[Then all the people press forward with rejoicing and song: Hail, he is our king!]
Ex. 9b Der Königsohn, no. 5, linking passage shows modulation from B major to A flat major:

Schumann's use of a repeated motif to give unity to an otherwise discrete series of movements is also more sure than formerly. It represents the King's Son, and is heard on almost every occasion when he is referred to; sometimes, as in the passage where he swims to shore, it warns us that he is present before the text tells us so.

Ex. 10a Der Königsohn, no. 1, first appearance of the King's Son motif introducing his first entry:
Ex. 10b Der Königsson, motif at beginning of no. 2, where the King's Son sets out on his adventures:

\[\text{Lebhaft. } J = 100. \ (\text{In der Partitur } J = 110.)\]

Ex. 10c Der Königsson, 'exhausted' version of the motif in no. 2 as the King's Son swims to shore:

[\text{Lebhaft. } J = 100. \ (\text{In der Partitur } J = 110.)]

Ex. 10d Der Königsson, triumphal version of the motif as the King's Son claims his new kingdom (end of no. 2):

[\text{Lebhafter.}]
Ex. 10e Der Königsson, motif introducing no. 3:

In mässigem Tempo. \( \text{d} = 56 \) (in der Partitur \( \text{d} = 74 \))

Ex. 10f Der Königsson, motif which accompanies the King's Son's confident prophecies in no. 3:

Ex. 10g Der Königsson, motif in linking passage to chorus of rejoicing in no. 5:
Ex. 10h Der Königssohn, motif in finale (another chorus of rejoicing):

\[ \text{[Mit Kraft. Etwas bewegter.]} \]

\[ \text{\[\text{\textcopyright 100}\]} \]

It is noticeable that this motif only ever appears in the orchestral accompaniment, thus confirming the importance already noted of the orchestral part in this work.

An aspect of the choral ballads which can only be seen in contemporary correspondence is the question of the size of choir intended in performance. After the première at the ninth Düsseldorf subscription concert of the 1851-52 season on 6 May 1852 (which was Schumann's benefit concert), Schumann wrote to the publisher Whistling on 25 May 1852:

You will find enclosed the "Königssohn", which I have already told you about. We performed it here recently and I believe it to be the most strongly effective of all my compositions. It made such an effect here, and the evening of the performance was a great joy for me... Next year, of course, the Music Festival\(^9\) will be held here in Düsseldorf - and as in that case I shall be invited to conduct one of my own works, I can think of nothing more suitable than the ballad, and people have already said as much to me. Clearly it would be necessary to have the choral parts (20 plates in all) ready by February at the latest, so that they can be sent in good time to the various [choral] societies. I don't know whether you'll want to engrave the orchestral parts (Kistner did, for the Rose). Obviously it's a big undertaking. In that case the score and vocal score would have to be ready by about the end of March, which with so much time to spare would be no problem. The score is about 90 plates, the vocal score about 50. I should think you could count on a significant sale of chorus parts in any case.\(^{10}\)

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9. The Lower Rhine Music Festival, held yearly at Whitsuntide in Aachen, Cologne and Düsseldorf in rotation.

However, the festival committee prevailed upon Schumann to conduct his D minor symphony instead of Der Königssohn, and so he had to foot the bill himself for the chorus parts; he was therefore eager to offer them to the Dutch conductor Johann Verhulst, who was considering performing Der Königssohn with his Rotterdam choral society, the Maatschapij tot bevordering von Toonkunst. His first letter to Verhulst describes the piece thus:

The Königssohn is well suited for massed performance; it consists mainly of crowd choruses. The solo parts are alto, tenor and two basses. The whole thing lasts, as far as I can remember, about 28 minutes. You can at least get the vocal score in Rotterdam, for it came out a few weeks ago.\(^{11}\)

A gloss on the phrase 'massed performance' is provided by the letter dated 23 July 1853, in which Schumann offers Verhulst the chorus parts he has had to pay for himself and enumerates them thus:

Of course there are only 70 soprano, 60 alto, 60 tenor and 70 bass parts.\(^{12}\)

This needs to be considered in context: the parts had been ordered for a Music Festival performance by three combined choral societies, so that the original forces at the Düsseldorf première would have been something like 23 sopranos, 20 altos, 20 tenors, and 23 basses. This estimate is supported by the mention of the '80 chorus-singers' at the London première of Das Paradies und die Peri,\(^{13}\) and the original numbers for the Dresden Chorgesangverein at its foundation on 5 January 1848: 27 sopranos, 16 altos, 16 tenors and 23 basses.\(^{14}\) It seems clear that although Schumann had written Der Königssohn with his usual Düsseldorf

\(^{11}\) van der Straeten, p. 98. No date is given. The publication date for the vocal score is actually July 1853, but it could have been promised for earlier.

\(^{12}\) van der Straeten, p. 98

\(^{13}\) Bennett, p. 454

\(^{14}\) Festschrift, pp. 43-44
forces of about 80-90 singers in mind, he had no objection to a massed performance with three times that number; indeed, he welcomed the idea and was disappointed when it did not reach fruition.

We have already seen how much descriptive writing and actual pictorial effects Schumann included in the orchestral accompaniment, and it is there that we must look for the most interesting features of the piece. In Der Königsohn he succeeded in giving a distinct role to the orchestra which comments on the action as well as pacing it by means of interludes and postludes. This ballad, more than most of Schumann's choral works, demands the justice of performance to give a fair estimate of the composer's aims and achievements.

Schumann's second choral ballad Des Sängers Fluch has already been mentioned in connection with his collaboration with Richard Pohl, which has been described in some detail in chapter 6. As we have seen, Des Sängers Fluch was the only work from this collaboration to be completed, and Pohl clearly felt that it was a side-issue compared with the main work on Luther, which remained unachieved. Pohl's fundamental attitude was revealed later on when Schumann asked him in a letter dated 21 February 1853 if he would arrange another choral ballad (Das Glück von Edenhall, eventually edited by Dr Hasenclever) for musical setting. Pohl's frustration found vent in his heartfelt 'Yet another concert ballad!' and he went so far as to describe Des Sängers Fluch as having

15. I am excepting the overtures to Hermann und Dorothea and Die Braut von Messina, which, although prompted by suggestions from Pohl, cannot be called truly collaborative.
been 'a large and thankless task'\(^\text{16}\); but these comments, written some 25 years after the events, become somewhat more understandable when we go on to read Schumann's next request in his letter of 18 March 1853, that Pohl should re-cast a portion of the text which he had already set to music.\(^\text{17}\) Pohl was far from flattered by this easy reliance on his gifts as a poet, and felt that Schumann had gone too far.

Schumann had again turned to the poet Uhland as a source for his second choral ballad. He noted the title 'Der Sänger v. Uhland' in his diary for 28 May 1851,\(^\text{18}\) while he was still completing the orchestration of Der Königsson, and although the subject matter seemed at first sight highly appropriate for a musical setting, in fact a good deal of work had to be done before the libretto was accepted. Uhland's story tells of the visit of not one but two minstrels, father and son, to the court of a wicked king. The queen, moved by their songs of spring and love, throws the minstrels a rose, and the king murders the younger minstrel in a frenzy of jealous rage. The father takes his son's corpse and pronounces a collective anathema on the king, his family, his retainers and all his possessions.

The problem was that while there was a good deal of scope for songs in the minstrels' performance before the king and queen, Uhland had provided no text for them, devoting merely a single stanza to a description of the minstrels' subject matter. Schumann was in the midst of corresponding with Pohl about the Luther libretto, and he soon enlisted Pohl's help for Des Sängers Fluch:

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16. Pohl, p. 314  
17. Pohl, p. 315; my emphasis.  
25 June 1851

...Now another question and request. It occurred to me that quite a few ballads would be suitable for concert pieces with little effort and good effect. Above all I thought this of the 'Sängers Fluch' of Uhland. But I haven't got a poet who could shape one or two places into musical form. On the enclosed sheet, which of course stands very much in need of your forbearance, I have roughly indicated where the original should be retained, and in no. 2 and the ensemble in no. 3 where it should be altered. Of course, I want to retain Uhland's metre in it, and his characteristic style to some extent as well. If perhaps you had the time and inclination to think of this request, I would be very grateful to you!19

Schumann's enclosure gave the following sketch:

No. I. Chorus with solos
Es stand in alten Zeiten - blühender Genoss.
No. II. Duet (about 10 lines in all).
   Old Man and Youth:
   Nun sei bereit - steinern Herz.
No. III. Recitative (Soprano).
   Schon stehen - zum Ohre schwoll.
   Ensemble
   Old Man. Youth. King. Queen. Chorus
   (To be extensively developed.)
No. IV. Recitative
   Und wie vom Sturm zerstoben - Gärten gellt:
   No. V. Harps
   Weh Euch!
No. VI. Chorus
   Der Alte hat's gerufen - Das ist des Sängers Fluch. 20

It is interesting to see how closely this early synopsis agrees with Schumann's final setting. Nos. II, IV and VI are just as described, and in no. III the only discrepancy is that the recitative is given to the alto 'narrator' rather than the soprano voice, which is now reserved for the queen. No. I is for the alto without chorus; but the mention of 'chorus with solos' in the synopsis prompts the idea that Schumann may have first intended his chorus to set the scene, as they had done in the opening movement of Der Königssohn.

19. Pohl, p. 176
20. Pohl, p. 176
We must also look back to Uhland's poem to see how this synopsis forms a link between it and the finished libretto. The passage which Schumann calls 'No. I' is Uhland's first three stanzas, which set the scene for the story. 'No. II' comprises the words of the elder minstrel in Uhland's fourth verse, and 'No. III' is the next stanza and a half, describing the scene in the court as the minstrels begin their performance. At this point Schumann omits the two verses which outline the minstrels' subject-matter and end with the queen throwing her rose to them. In their place he asks for a big ensemble using all his soloists and the chorus. He returns to Uhland's text for 'No. IV', two stanzas describing the aftermath of the murder, 'No. V', two verses giving the substance of the minstrel's curse, and 'No. VI', the last three verses which describe how the curse was fulfilled.

Pohl felt compelled by duty to fall in with Schumann's request. Neither Die Braut von Messina nor Luther had come to anything, and so he felt he had to make a success of this third project.

...The first he had given up; I myself had given up the second; I felt I had given a pledge to bring this third attempt to a successful conclusion, to justify Schumann's confidence; of course I knew in advance that there would be little thanks and even less fame to be reaped from it. 21

His solution to the 'extensive development' needed for the new ensemble section was to choose from amongst Uhland's other poems material which seemed to him suitable as solo songs and duets for the two minstrels. He also made some alterations to the action leading up to the murder: he felt that the queen's act in throwing a rose to the minstrels was far too innocent to provoke such a bloody deed, particularly when there would be

21. Pohl, pp. 176-77
no stage action to help in explaining it. He therefore included the ballad of König Sifrid for the old harper, at which the evil king begins to fear that his dreadful secret (never made explicit) is known; and himself wrote a duet of love and longing for the youth and the queen, so that the king's final outburst is attributable to jealous rage.  

Schumann was pleased with this solution, although he still had reservations about the size and scope of the ensemble section. In his letter of 18 July 1851 he said:

...And now, above all, thanks for the enthusiasm with which you fell in with my idea. It is glorious musical material, and your thought of choosing from Uhland's other poems for the minstrels' performance is quite splendid. But, frankly, there is some obscurity about the context, which nevertheless should be easy to dispel with a few connecting passages (speeches of the king, the queen and the chorus) and in any case the whole thing is much too long and the extensive middle section will have to be limited to a song for the youth, one for the old harper, a duet for the two of them and a trio or quartet of these with queen and king, whereupon the king interrupts everything with his 'Du hast mein Volk verführt.'

A comparison with Uhland's original shows that the following set pieces have been interpolated:

No. 4, 'In der Thalen der Provence,' Provençal song for the youth;  
No. 7, 'In der hohen Hall' sass König Sifrid', ballad for the harper;  
No. 9, 'Den Frühling kündet der Orkane Sausen', duet for the two minstrels;  
and No. 11, 'Lausche, Jungfrau', in which the youth is joined first by the queen and then the harper.

22. Pohl, p. 177
23. Pohl, pp. 177-78
These sections correspond exactly to what Schumann had asked for; and the intervening numbers 5, 6, 8 and 10 are connecting dialogue given to the king, the queen and the chorus, also exactly as he had specified.

Efforts to locate the source of the set pieces in Uhland's copious output have been unsuccessful. Presumably nos. 4, 7, and 9 are all taken from Uhland, and no. 11, 'Lausche, Jungfrau', is the one which Pohl wrote himself to lead up to the climax of the murder.

A couple of months elapsed before Schumann saw the latest version of the libretto; Pohl had planned to visit Düsseldorf in August 1851, but this was put off till September because Schumann was away in Antwerp. On 3 September 1851 they met for the first time. At first Pohl had to suffer the usual ordeal by silence, but when he produced his current texts of Luther and Des Sängers Fluch Schumann became much more communicative. He tried to persuade Pohl to stay on in Düsseldorf for a few weeks so that they could work together on these projects, but Pohl was unable to do that, although he was keen to settle permanently there before long - a plan which Schumann actively discouraged.  

The outcome of the trip as far as Des Sängers Fluch was concerned was that Pohl undertook to provide a further version along the lines of Schumann's latest wishes in two months' time. In the meantime, in response to Schumann's wish to compose further choral ballads, Pohl suggested Emanuel Geibel's Ballade vom Pagen und der Königstochter, particularly suitable from his point of view as he thought the text would not need any editing! This was composed in June 1852, almost a year later.

24. Pohl, p. 179
Pohl fulfilled his part of the bargain by sending Schumann the revised libretto at the beginning of October 1851; but Schumann was now in the thick of the new subscription season of concerts and there was no response from him until 7 December 1851:

Again I send you belated thanks for your last despatch, which I liked very much. I did believe and wish I would be able to let you know something about compositional progress on the ballad. But I have been held back by other work and unfortunately have not yet made a start. But thank you very much for your hard work on the new version. Apart from a few cuts I think it is a success, and I can scarcely wait to get started on it.26

After all this delay, once Schumann made a start on sketching the piece, on 2 January 1852, it was very quickly completed; by 6 January it was finished and Clara was able to play it through to him. The orchestration was begun on 10 January and finished by 19 January. The work was revised in the following October; a diary entry for 3 October 1852 reads 'Worked on "Sängers Fluch" -'27 and the manuscript is annotated 'Revised 9 Oct. 52.'

The prominent harp part in Des Sängers Fluch was obviously suggested by the description of the elder minstrel's playing. Schumann had intended to include a harp or harps right from the beginning: the first synopsis which he sent to Pohl in June 1851 included the instruction 'Harps' for No. V, 'Weh Euch!', and Pohl remembered that it was in Düsseldorf in September 1851 that Schumann told him the ballad included an important part for the harp, and that it would be too difficult for the resident Düsseldorf harpist, a lady amateur.28 At the time Schumann was intending to make the harp part suitable for piano as well, so as not

26. Pohl, pp. 306-7
27. Nauhaus (2), p. 604
28. Pohl, p. 308
to hinder performances; but in the finished score it is not piano but pizzicato string quartet which is cued in, in case the harp is lacking.

By coincidence it was Pohl himself who at this juncture provided access to a concert harpist, for in the autumn of 1851 he had become engaged to the famous harp virtuoso, Jeanette Eyth from Karlsruhe, whom he married in 1852. Fräulein Eyth was keen to visit Düsseldorf and play in one of Schumann's concerts there. Schumann's letter of 7 December 1851 continues:

It would give us a lot of pleasure to see your fiancée as well as yourself in Düsseldorf. The next concerts, apart from one on 11th December, are on 8th and 22nd January. We are having a committee meeting at the end of the week, at which the concert programmes will be settled. Could you perhaps let me know by Saturday whether you are still planning a trip to Düsseldorf, and whether Fräulein Eyth would perhaps like to play in a concert on the 8th or the 22nd of January, then I can put it to the gentlemen at the meeting next Saturday, and let you know further details."

On receiving this letter Pohl determined to put off the concert trip to Düsseldorf until the première of Des Sängers Fluch, when a competent harpist would be more than ever necessary and when he too would have a particular interest in the work to be played. Schumann sensibly took this opportunity of asking for expert help with the harp part:

10 January 1852

In haste but with great joy I write to let you know that perhaps very soon a proper harp part will reach your fiancée. The sketches of the piece are finished, and of course the orchestration is still a huge task, but perhaps it can be completed before too long. I have worked with great ardour and the whole thing seems to me to have a great dramatic effect."

29. Pohl, p. 308
30. Pohl, p. 307
31. Pohl, p. 308
However, the part did not materialise, and Pohl and Schumann, drawing further apart in their aims for the realisation of Luther, lost contact for a while. On 27 December 1852 Schumann wrote again:

'Sängers Fluch' is finished at long last. I postponed the première because I haven't got a harp here and I really didn't want to leave it out in the first performance. Perhaps next winter we might have the chance of your wife undertaking the part? In any case, I should like to venture to send her a copy so as to hear her opinion on one or two difficult passages.32

The early arrival of the harp part was forecast again in another letter, dated 21 February 1853,33 but it did not appear till March, in a parcel dated 18 March 1853 which also contained Pohl's proposed version of Max Maria von Weber's Ritter Mond (rejected as too fantastical by Schumann), the latest Luther draft (also rejected) and the complete text of Des Sängers Fluch.34

Although Pohl was greatly irritated by the two rejections, Schumann's latest demands for Des Sängers Fluch caused him even more annoyance:

...his repeated cutting of my text for 'Sängers Fluch' was not agreeable to me. Schumann had simply struck out the big ensemble (quartet of King, Queen, Youth and Harper with chorus) from the big middle scene, the ensemble which foreshadows catastrophe - according to my point of view the most dramatically pointed number - and in its place had put a few words in prose, which I couldn't alter any more because they were already set, but had somehow to put into metre, to say nothing of putting it into verse.35

(Pohl was being a little unfair to Schumann here, who had specifically said in his covering letter that he would like some more rhymes to be provided, but that he thought it would be impossible to accommodate the new text to the metre of the ballad as well.)36

32. Pohl, p. 313
33. Pohl, p. 314
34. Pohl, p. 315
35. Pohl, pp. 315-16
36. Pohl, p. 315
Pohl, in some dudgeon, ignored the request, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary it seems that his wife did nothing about the harp part. But time was running out for Schumann; already by the winter of 1853 he was no longer in charge of the Düsseldorf concert season, and in February 1854 his suicide attempt brought his career to an end. *Des Sängers Fluch*, therefore, was not performed until after Schumann's death, under Liszt's direction at the 1857 Lower Rhine Music Festival, held that year in Aachen.\(^{37}\) It was also published posthumously, as Schumann's op. 139, with a vocal score prepared by his Düsseldorf friend Albert Dietrich.

Who, in the end, was right about the text? The final answer is probably neither Schumann nor Pohl, though Schumann was more nearly right than Pohl was. Pohl wanted the piece to be very much longer (we recall his plans for a trilogy on *Luther*) and was mortified by the cuts that Schumann made. However, *Des Sängers Fluch* still strikes me as being far too long in that we are made to wait for two movements for the murder instead of finding it in its obvious place after no. 9; Schumann could well have dispensed with the dialogue of no. 10 and the Youth's song of no. 11. *A fortiori* Pohl's preferred version would have been worse in this respect, so it is perhaps as well that Schumann adopted such a cavalier attitude to his librettist.

There is little to be gained from a minute description of every movement of *Des Sängers Fluch*, because the manner and idiom are so close to that of *Der Königssohn*. Where it does differ most noticeably is of course in the inclusion of a number of set pieces, dictated by the

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37. Pohl, p. 313, footnote. It is not clear whether Pohl actually attended the performance or not, or whether his wife played the harp part.
dramatic device of the minstrels' performance before the court. This has echoes of the song contest in Wagner's Tannhäuser (1845), a precursor of the much more famous one in Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg (1868), even to the commands with which the songs begin:

Ex. 11a Des Sängers Fluch, end of no. 3:

[I want to listen to the songs which I have gone without for so long, that they might lead me to my hearth and home. - Begin now!]

Ex. 11b Wagner, Tannhäuser, Act II, scene iv:

[Allegro. \( \text{\textit{D} = 60.} \)]
Ex. 11b continued

[ Wolfram von Eschinbach, begin! ]

Ex. 11c Des Sängers Fluch, opening of no. 11:

[ Begin! - Hearken, maiden, to a song from on high... ]
Ex. 11d Wagner, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, Act I,

Walther's first attempt at a song before the Mastersingers:

In spite of the different key areas of these examples (F sharp minor/ B flat major; F major/D major/C minor; E flat major; A minor/F major) the similarity of intervals and indeed pitch allotted to these commands is striking, especially in exx. 11a and 11b; we may also note the rising arpeggio fanfares in exx. 11a and 11b, and the falling one in ex. 11d.
The orchestration of *Des Sängers Fluch* is remarkable chiefly for the virtuoso harp part whose gestation we have already traced. It appears in the set pieces (nos. 4, 7, 9, and 11) and also in the intervening no. 5, where it is specifically commented on by the chorus's 'Wie schlägt der Greis die Saiten'.

In no. 4, the Provençal Song, the harp plays all the chordal accompaniment (which is very much like a piano part), while the strings put in the little echoes and continuations of the melody heard at each line-ending. Some supporting chords in the woodwind give a certain amount of variety for verse three, and in the postlude the lower strings join in to provide the melody. The harp continues with its chords and launches straight into the rich arpeggios of no. 5, where the old harper's playing is complimented.

The polonaise rhythm of no. 7, the Ballad, is announced by harp, bassoons and horns, although the harp is limited to the strong beats \( \frac{3}{4} \) because of the difficulty of rapidly repeated chords. It plays only in the opening four bars and in the interludes between the verses, and then reverts to the arpeggiando style in the coda, at the entry of the king and the chorus.

In no. 9, the minstrels' duet, the harp takes a much more prominent accompanying role. The strings play short chords \( \frac{4}{4} \) while the harp has continuous demisemiquaver arpeggios filling out the harmonies and texture. In the final verse, with the chorus, the chords supporting the minstrels' voices are given to the wind section while the harp continues with its arpeggios; unusually for Schumann, the chorus parts are not doubled by any instruments.
For no. 11, the ensemble leading up to the murder, the harp returns to its almost pianistic style of accompaniment, here with the rhythm
\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{C} \quad \text{\scalebox{0.8}{\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}}}
&\text{\scalebox{0.8}{\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}}} \\
&\text{\scalebox{0.8}{\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}}} \quad \text{\scalebox{0.8}{\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}}}
\end{align*} \]
The arpeggios break out again in the climactic verse 'In Liebesarmen ruht ihr trunken', moving to the particularly rich-sounding key of G flat major, but the dynamic level is kept down to p and pp right up to three bars before the final cadence, maintaining the breathless excitement of the young minstrel's utterance and pointing the contrast with the irruption of the murder into this tender moment. After the murder, the harp falls silent for the remainder of the work.

The set pieces deserve attention to see how Schumann dealt with them; the performance within a performance demands plenty of variety and also technical execution bordering on the virtuoso. The set pieces are distributed throughout the central section of eight movements. They are:

no. 4, **Provençalisches Lied**, 'In den Thalen der Provence ist der Minnesang entsprossen'

no. 7, **Ballade**, 'In der hohen Hall' sass König Sifrid'

no. 9 the duet and ensuing chorus, 'Den Frühling kündet der Orkane Sausen'

no. 11 the Youth's final song, 'Lausche, Jungfrau, aus der Höhe einem Liede, dir geweiht'.

The intervening movements are dialogue and chorus.

The 'Provençal Song' of no. 4 has no musical connection with Provence; its title is derived from its subject matter, and there seems to have been no effort to imitate a folk song style. It starts as a simple strophic song with a chordal accompaniment on the harp very
similar to the piano accompaniments usual in Lieder. There are three verses, of which the first two have the same music. The simplicity of the song is somewhat belied by Schumann's avoidance of two- or four-bar phrases; although the strophic verse begins with a four-bar phrase (with the characteristic half-bar upbeat of this song) it continues with six-bar phrases:

Ex. 12 *Des Sängers Fluch*, no. 4, *Provençalisches Lied*, melody of strophic verses:

[In the valleys of Provence the troubadours' songs sprang to life, offspring of spring and love, fair and tender companions. Shining blossoms and sweet voice can claim them as father, hearts aglow and deep yearning were their own mother.]
Only with the climactic third verse does Schumann drop back into two-bar phrases, but the dramatic tension is kept going by the use of much more chromatic harmonies than before:

Ex. 13 Des Sängers Fluch, no. 4, verse 3:
Ex. 13 continued

[Troubadours' love, high and glorious, I will portray you in passionate images, from the days of song, from the time of courtly love, troubadours' love!]

After all the instances where we have seen Schumann ending movements somewhat precipitately just after the voice or voices have finished, it is interesting to see here that the song concludes with a reprise of the first two lines of the strophic verse, altered so as to stay in the tonic and with a short coda, played by the strings with the harp accompaniment. This welcome extended postlude was probably suggested by the succeeding movement, no. 5, 'Wie schlägt der Greis die Saiten so wundervoll und mild', in which the chorus praise the old harper's beautiful playing.

The second set piece, the Ballade sung by the old harper in response to the king's request for a song of blood and battle, proves to be a polonaise. This traditional measure, although much used by Chopin, was by no means a favourite with Schumann, whose use of dance-measures is virtually confined to the waltz (e.g. in Papillons op. 2 and Carnaval op. 9), the Ländler (e.g. in the Rhenish Symphony op. 97) and some well-known quotations of the Grossvatertanz (e.g. at the end of Papillons...
op.2). The only other polonaise by Schumann which springs readily to mind comes in the finale of the Violin Concerto, which interestingly is another late work, dating from 1853.

It is left to the bassoons and horns to keep the characteristic polonaise rhythm alive, while the voice has a much more declamatory style than anything yet encountered in this work:

Ex. 14 Des Sängers Fluch, no. 7, Ballade, opening of first verse:


Sehr gemessen. 4 3 3

In der hohen Halle sass König Sigrid, Ihr

Harfner, wer weiss mir das schönste Lied? Und ein Jungling trat aus der Schar... 

Harf" in der Hand, das Schwert an der Lende, "Drei Lieder weiss ich; den ersten Sang.
Ex. 14 continued

[In the high hall sat King Sifrid: 'You harpers, who knows the song I find most beautiful?' And a youth stepped quickly out of the crowd, harp in hand and sword at his side. 'I know three songs; the first is one you forgot a long time ago:']

The second verse is not strophic, but the third begins with a repeat of the first verse material; however, at the point where the first verse diverges abruptly up a semitone into F sharp minor (bar 12 in the first verse, ex. 14) the third verse goes back towards F major and B flat major, so as not to modulate too inconveniently far away so near the end.

The strongly marked rhythm of the setting is echoed at the end of each verse by the equally strongly marked leap in the voice part after the word 'aber':

Ex. 15a Des Sängers Fluch, no. 7, Ballade, end of first verse:

[Sehr gemessen. \( \text{\textit{d}} = 58 \).]
Ex. 15a continued

((the first) is one you forgot a long time ago: you slew my brother most foully!)

Ex. 15b Des Sängers Fluch, no. 7, Ballade, end of second verse:

((you) must fight for life and death!)

Ex. 15c Des Sängers Fluch, no. 7, Ballade, end of third verse:

((King) Sifrid lies in his red blood!)
The place of the postlude is taken by the king's conscience-stricken mutterings and the chorus's comments on how pale the king has become on hearing the song. We are not told specifically what gory deed in the king's past the song has brought to mind, and the queen breaks in to restore order with her request for a song in praise of the Fatherland.

The result, after much agreement from the chorus, is the duet (no. 9) 'Den Frühling kündet der Orkane Sausen' for the two minstrels; again, the harp has a prominent part in the accompaniment.

The duet writing in this number is note for note, as shown in the next example. The two singers never sing independently of one another, and only rarely does one have, say, a passing quaver not shared by the other.

Ex. 16 Des Sängers Fluch, no. 9, Den Frühling kündet der Orkane Sausen, opening of first verse:

No. 9

Die Vierel wie vorher.

Jungling (mit Begleiters.)

Den Frühling kündet der Orkane Sausen, der

Hofnar (mit Begleiter.)

Heere Vorschrift macht die Erde dröhnen,

[The rushing of the hurricane announces the spring, the advancing army makes the earth resound,]
This style continues as far as the end of the second verse, where the chorus enters, continuing the sentiments of the two minstrels, interrupted by asides from the king. The third and final verse is set for the two minstrels and the chorus, although to begin with the chorus continues with its own text:

Ex. 17 Des Sängers Fluch, no. 9, Den Frühling kündet der Orkane Sausen,

verse 3:

[When 'Freedom! Fatherland!' resounds all about, no song sounds sweeter in men's ears... Give him the accolade of a sword and a wreath of laurel!]
Given Schumann's predilection for using block harmonies in his chorus writing, this is an interesting way of varying the texture with two groups of rhythmically independent material; and as may be expected, due weight is given to the climax of the movement by the amalgamation of chorus and soloists:

Ex. 18 Des Sängers Fluch, no. 9, Den Frühling kündet der Orkane Sausen,

climax of third verse:
[In struggle] has man chosen the finest fate. Hail to the people, where this song resounds! Praise to the hero, born to this people! Soon spring will bloom and golden peace...}
The final set piece, no. 11, is the song which the young minstrel sings at the request of the queen, and is said to be called 'Entsagung' ('Renunciation'), although this title does not appear at the head of the movement. It begins as a simple setting with harp accompaniment, rather like the Provençal Song, but becomes more and more impassioned; the first verse is for the youth alone, the second is basically a duet for the youth and the queen, with interjections of foreboding from the old harper, and the third verse (of entirely different material from the foregoing) is again for the youth alone, who has lost control of himself and sings passionately of love - another echo of Tannhäuser, perhaps.

At first sight this song seems to have little repetition in it, but closer examination shows that the first two verses are almost entirely composed of repetitions of the same strain of music, whose basic form is as follows:

Ex. 19 Des Sängers Fluch, no. 11, Lausche, Jungfrau, basic material:
Ex. 19 continued

Uncharacteristically, this basic material is a sequence of harmonies, not a melody. The first verse consists of this strain heard three times. The second verse has a new beginning (to accommodate the duet writing, which here begins imitatively) followed by the basic strain varied to modulate differently. The reason why this ubiquitous strain may not at first be recognised is partly that the opening is harmonically somewhat ambiguous, so that until the tonic is reached at bar 5 the progression may not be perceived, and partly that Schumann varies the melody over the top (particularly in his duet verse) thus disguising it even further.

The third verse, where the young minstrel 'forgets himself' as the 'stage' direction shows, is a complete contrast, spending much of its time in remote G flat major as though to demonstrate how carried away by passion he has become:
Ex. 20 Des Sängers Fluch, no. 11, Lausche, Jungfrau, verse 3:

Schneller

Jungling

Liebessor men ruht... ihr treu... ken... des liebesfrucht ingest

war ken reich... ein Blick nur ist auf mich gege... ken.

doch bin ich ver... ich... al ben reich! Das Glück der... de... mis... ich

gern... und Blick... ein... die... rer... hin.

an... denn über mir... in
[In love's arms you rest, intoxicated, the fruits of love beckon you. One glance alone has fallen upon me and thus I am richer than all! I gladly forego earth's fortune, and see, a martyr ascends, for above me in the golden distance opens heaven's gate!]

The youth thus triumphantly returns to the tonic, E flat major, in time for his murder, at which the king interrupts on an abrupt neapolitan sixth chord (written enharmonically) for the new tonic, E flat minor.
Ex. 21 Des Sängers Fluch, no. 11, Lausche, Jungfrau, coda (the murder):

King: You have led my people astray, are you now seducing my wife?
Die, cowardly son of slaves!

Queen: Ah!

Chorus: Woe! His bloodstained corpse falls to the ground.
The set piece movements are reasonably well varied in character: a Lied, a ballad in polonaise style, a rousing duet and chorus; but then the dramatic climax is almost spoilt by having another Lied, which is only saved by the excursus of its final verse. Their technical virtuosity, however, is confined to the harp accompaniment, as we have seen.

Unlike the previous ballad, Der Königssohn, there is remarkably little motivic unity. This is really only to be expected in a work which has so many set piece arias and ensembles; the minstrels' performance is naturally a sequence of separate songs which are not inter-related. The only recurrent motifs are the strophic theme of no. 1, which is varied at the beginning of no. 2 and returns in its entirety for no. 14, the final chorus; the trumpet fanfare in no. 3, heard only throughout that number, and the sinister chromatic motif heard on the G string of violins which permeates nos. 13 and 14, the curse and its result.

Ex. 22a Des Sängers Fluch, no. 1, opening theme:
Ex. 22a continued

[In olden times there stood a tall, lofty castle: it shone far and wide over the land, as far as the blue sea;]

Ex. 22b Des Sängers Fluch, no. 14:

Zurückhaltend Langsam.

N° 14.

Der Alte hat's gerufen, der Himmel hat's gehört: die
[The old man has called down the curse, and heaven has heard it: the walls lie flat, the halls are in ruins;]

Ex. 22c Des Sängers Fluch, no. 3, the trumpet fanfares:

[Both singers are already standing in the high hall of pillars,]
Instead of working on motivic unity, Schumann revives and improves the technique first seen in *Das Paradies und die Peri* of joining the movements together. Many pairs of movements are so seamlessly joined that they are not really separate numbers; indeed, some have no new time signature, key signature or tempo indication. The pairs of movements joined thus are

- no. 1 and no. 2;
- no. 3 and no. 4;
- no. 4 and no. 5;
- no. 6 and no. 7;
- no. 8 and no. 9;
- no. 10 and no. 11;
no. 12 and no. 13; and
no. 13 and no. 14.

Perhaps the best example of this seamless joining is no. 12 to no. 13:

Ex. 23 Des Sängers Fluch, join between nos. 12 and 13:

[so that it shrilled horribly through castle and grounds: woe to you, proud halls!]

The remainder of the joins between movements are handled in a similar manner to those of Das Paradies und die Peri:

no. 2 to no. 3, a semitone shift to the new key;
no. 5 to no. 6, cadence moving to a diminished seventh chord;
no. 7 to no. 8, the tonic becomes the dominant of the new movement;
no. 9 to no. 10, interrupted cadence;
no. 11 to no. 12, keys a diminished fourth apart.

Here is the join between no. 9 and no. 10, the interrupted cadence, a device not very common in Schumann's choral works:
Ex. 24  *Des Sängers Fluch*, interrupted cadence joining nos. 9 and 10:

[(with mild) airs and with tender songs. - Did you come here with your songs to bring uproar to our throne?]
Des Sängers Fluch must be the most continuous work we have yet seen; only in three places are there pauses between numbers, at nos. 2-3, nos. 3-4 and nos. 11-12. So while Schumann could be seen as having retreated from his efforts at motivic unity, as noted in Der Königsohn, he has made a conspicuous success of his earlier principle of making the music continuous, despite the use of numbered sections.

Des Sängers Fluch has often been regarded as the best of the four choral ballads, but I find this view difficult to sustain in the light of the discussion of Der Königsohn and especially in comparison with the remaining two ballads, Vom Pagen und der Königstochter and Das Glück von Edenhall, which will be examined in chapter 9. The set pieces of Des Sängers Fluch stand in the way of continuity of development without being in themselves sufficiently virtuoso in style to compensate for this deficiency.
CHAPTER 8


After a decade of writing secular choral works, Schumann turned in 1852 to the Catholic liturgy and composed in quick succession first the Mass in C minor and then the Requiem. Topics to be considered here are the possible reasons for Schumann's turning to liturgical works, the actual texts which he set, and the style of his settings.

On the first question, little is known of Schumann's reasons; there is no direct evidence and the circumstantial evidence is very inconclusive. The use of liturgical or scriptural texts amongst his contemporaries was a matter of course, so it is pertinent to ask why in Schumann's case it took so long for him to start using the liturgy. The answer seems to be twofold, firstly that he was personally more interested in writing lyrical and narrative choral works (as almost his entire previous output demonstrates), and secondly that there was no scope in his musical circumstances in either Leipzig or Dresden to make a Mass or a Requiem an obvious candidate for performance. In both cities he was involved on the side of orchestral and chamber music (particularly through Clara's performing career) rather than music for the church, and although he formed his own choral society in Dresden they rehearsed and performed works for the concert platform. Secular works formed the great majority of the Chorgesangverein's repertoire, but they did include a few sacred works. In 1848-50 they performed motets by Palestrina and Mendelssohn, the C minor Requiem by Cherubini, choruses from the Bach
Passions and movements from Beethoven's Missa Solemnis at their invitation concerts.¹

When Schumann took over his responsibilities in Düsseldorf in the autumn of 1850, part of his duty was to provide the music for four church services each year. These were held on Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Corpus Christi and the second Sunday in October. The latter may have been a local Marian celebration falling within the octave of the Maternity of the Blessed Virgin (8 October), or perhaps something like a civic service. There was also the series of winter subscription concerts for which works had to be found, so at once there was the impetus not only to write new works but also to consider liturgical settings as a possibility. In fact, as it turned out, during Schumann's time as musical director no concert of his contained any liturgical music until 3 March 1853, when the Kyrie and Gloria of his Mass were given their première. The choral works he did perform were usually either secular narrative ones, such as one of his own, Haydn's Die Jahreszeiten or Mendelssohn's Die erste Walpurgisnacht, or an oratorio such as Handel's Israel in Egypt.²

Another possible reason for these two late liturgical works is that Schumann's own religious leanings might have provided the impulse to composition. This is the view taken by Eugen Schmitz³ and Wolfgang Boetticher⁴ who both emphasise Schumann's increasing religious tendencies in his last years; however, the evidence produced in support of this is not particularly convincing when examined in depth. Firstly, Schmitz alleges that Schumann's late choral works exhibit a growing

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1. See Appendix F
2. See Appendix F
3. Schmitz, p. 645
religious tendency. In fact, of the thirty-six choral works mentioned in
the worklist in Appendix A, only about four can be said to have a
religious basis: the Adventlied, op. 84, the Motette, op. 93, based on an
Islamic text, the Mass, op. 147 and the Requiem, op. 148; there may be a
case for including the Neujahrslied, op. 144, since it uses the chorale
melody (and words) of Nun danket alle Gott. This tiny proportion of
Schumann's choral output is somewhat increased if we take into account
the unachieved oratorio Luther; but it must also be borne in mind that
Pohl and Schumann saw Luther as 'not only the man of God and the founder
of the Church, but also the man of the people and the representative of a
literary and national idea. However, the picture alters significantly
if we include all the choral works with a 'spiritual' tendency, however
vague: Das Paradies und die Peri with its longings for heaven, Der Rose
Pilgerfahrt with its final apotheosis, the Faustscenen with Faust's
transfiguration, and the funeral rites of the Requiem für Mignon, to name
only the most salient examples. This shows that the tendency to write
works with vaguely spiritual rather than religious leanings was present
right from 1841, when work started on the text of Das Paradies und die
Peri, and that this was by no means a development peculiar to Schumann's
last years.

Secondly, a letter to August Strackerjan is brought forward by both
Schmitz and Boetticher to show Schumann's attitude to sacred music. This
deserves close attention because it is usually quoted only in part, which
gives rather a different emphasis. Here is the letter in full: the two

5. Pohl's letter to Schumann of 6 February 1851, cited in Boetticher
(1), pp. 196-97
sentences usually quoted are emphasised, so that the reader can judge the
effect of reading them first in isolation and then in context.

13 January 1851

Dear Sir,
I have not been able to acknowledge receipt of your letter
until today, because of pressure of work. I am quite unable to
express how delighted I am by this evidence of deep interest.
This is especially so, as recently similar attentions were paid
me by other officers of your rank. To turn one's strength to
sacred music certainly remains the highest goal of the artist.
But in our youth we are all rooted so firmly in the earth, with
its joys and sorrows; with increasing age we strive for higher
things. And thus I hope that the time of my striving will not
be too much further off.
Many thanks again, and accept my assurances of friendly
sympathy,
Yours faithfully,
Robert Schumann. 7

It is clear from the formal language of the letter that Strackerjan
was a stranger to Schumann, and it seems that Schumann was answering a
specific enquiry in Strackerjan's original letter; otherwise there would
be no reason for him to launch straight into an opinion on the importance
of sacred music. Under these circumstances it is perhaps not so
surprising that Schumann gave first of all the expected conventional
reply about sacred music being 'the highest goal of the artist', and then
(as though to excuse himself for his failure to strive for this goal)
 implied that he had not yet reached the age appropriate to such striving.
The tendency of the whole letter (rather than just the two sentences
usually quoted) supports and amplifies the bias towards secular works
which is evident in the whole of Schumann's oeuvre.

Schumann's own attitude to religion is difficult to assess because
of lack of evidence. In his autobiographical jottings of 1830 he

7. Boetticher (2), p. 475. Strackerjan was an Army lieutenant in
Oldenburg, a singer, amateur musician and member of the 'Bande Bob'
group of Schumann enthusiasts.
described himself as 'religious, without religion'\(^8\) and this was probably the limit of his spiritual tendencies. It seems from the evidence of his diaries that he never attended church services except when compelled by duty - for his wedding, his children's baptisms, and the Düsseldorf services that were part of his responsibility. The celebrated Feierlich movement of the 'Rhenish' symphony is rightly linked with the Schumanns' visit to Cologne Cathedral on 29 September 1850,\(^9\) but the service of enthronement of the Cardinal Archbishop which it is often alleged that they attended did not take place till the following day.\(^10\)

Boetticher has tried to make a Catholic of Schumann by referring to his 'veneration of the Blessed Virgin'\(^11\) but he brings no concrete evidence for this claim, and indeed some of the material from Schumann's own draft scenario of Luther (1851) could scarcely come from a Catholic sympathiser:

'Aren these terrible words [the Dies Irae] the promise that we so sorely need?' etc. The spirit of Hus appears, exhorting him to carry on the work began by Hus. 'He must go to Wittenberg, to teach the true gospel.'\(^12\)

It is likely that Schumann's basic viewpoint remained the Lutheran faith in which he had been brought up, however lapsed or lukewarm he later became, and thus it seems improbable that the Mass and Requiem were the fruit of a new interest in religion. A much more convincing argument is that they sprang from the circumstances of Schumann's musical life in Düsseldorf, which brought him into close contact with very specific conditions of liturgical performance, as we shall see.

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10. Abraham (2), p. 846
12. See Appendix E for the complete transcription of this draft.
The known facts about the composition of the Mass and the Requiem are few indeed, and there are some discrepancies between the dates given in diary entries and those inscribed on the manuscript sources. The Mass and the Requiem come in the middle of the group of choral ballads, between Des Sängers Fluch and Vom Pagen und der Königstochter. The chronology of the Mass runs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diary entries</th>
<th>MS. source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sketched</td>
<td>13-22 February 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchestrated</td>
<td>24 Feb.- 30 Mar. 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocal score arranged</td>
<td>10-19 April 1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run-through at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kränzchen</td>
<td>18 April 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run-through at Chorgesang-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verein rehearsal</td>
<td>20 April 1852</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This version lacked the Offertorium, 'Tota pulchra es'. Despite the two rehearsal run-throughs, no performance followed in that year. Schumann began work straight away on the Requiem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diary entries</th>
<th>MS. source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sketched</td>
<td>27 April - 8 May 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchestrated</td>
<td>16 - 23 May 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocal score begun</td>
<td>18 November 1852. (There is no date given for the completion of the vocal score.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kyrie and Gloria of the Mass were eventually performed in the subscription concert of 3 March 1853, with rehearsals on 1 and 2 March. According to the diary entries it was after this, on 23 March 1853, that the 'little offertory for the Mass' was composed; but the manuscript source shows the date '2 March 1852' written at the end of the 'Tota pulchra es'. I believe this date to be wrong, for these reasons: 2 March
1852 was in the middle of the first phase of composition. No other section is dated separately, therefore there would be no reason to date this one alone unless it was added later. The microfilm also shows that the pages containing 'Tota pulchra es' seem to have been put into the manuscript later, between the Credo and Sanctus; and the copyist who wrote in the vocal line of the Offertorium is not the same as the one who copied the rest of the work.

The Requiem was not performed in Schumann's lifetime. Both it and the Mass were published posthumously, along with a group of other works that had missed publication along the way, and this accounts for the position of the Requiem as Schumann's final opus number, in which some commentators have professed to see sinister overtones!\textsuperscript{13}

An examination of both the Mass and the Requiem shows that neither sets quite the text that might be expected, from the point of view either of present-day liturgy or of concert performance. Whether concert performance was always an option in Düsseldorf is a nice point, given the fact that no other liturgical music was performed in any of the concerts which Schumann conducted; however, concert performance was the eventual fate of the only two Mass movements to be performed, and certainly by the 1880s concert performances of liturgical works were commonplace. The discrepancies in the text (at least in the case of the Mass) were used at that time by Philipp Spitta\textsuperscript{14} to support his theory that concert

\textsuperscript{14} In Sammlung musikalischer Vorträge (Leipzig, 1882).
performance had been intended from the first; and some seventy years
later the same discrepancies were used by Eugen Schmitz\(^{15}\) to support the
contradictory view that liturgical performance, and the liturgy of a
specific feast at that, was intended.

In examining the text setting of the Mass certain departures from a
much earlier norm can be discounted straight away, such as setting the
phrases 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' and 'Credo in unum Deum' for chorus
rather than leaving them to be intoned; such settings were already common
in the Austro-German tradition and no significance can be attached to
them. Similarly, the frequent repetitions of 'Credo, credo' throughout
the Credo were fairly usual by the nineteenth century, particularly for
composers who were trying to impose a musical form on what is otherwise a
rather intractable series of propositions. Schumann probably took as his
model the Credo from Beethoven's \textit{Missa Solemnis}, a work familiar to him
from the days of the Chorgesangverein in Dresden,\(^{16}\) for his 'credo'
repetitions fall in the same places as Beethoven's, viz.

\begin{itemize}
\item many repetitions at the beginning of the movement;
\item some after 'et invisibilium';
\item none in the 'Et incarnatus' or 'Crucifixus' sections;
\item more repetitions after 'non erit finis' as far as 'et exspecto'.
\end{itemize}

Schumann added to this more statements of 'credo' as a counter-subject to
his 'Et vitam venturi saeculi' fugue subject.

There are also examples of omissions from the text (such as 'et
conglorificatur' and 'et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum') and
unexpected repetitions (such as 'omnia' in the phrase 'per quem omnia
facta sunt' in the Credo, and 'et resurrexit') which again are not

\begin{itemize}
\item \(15\). Schmitz, pp. 645-66
\item \(16\). Jansen (2), p. 245
\end{itemize}
necessarily significant of any novel religious stance; they are more likely to stem from Schumann's comparative unfamiliarity with the text. However, the larger deviations from the textual norm are more surprising:

- an Offertory, 'Tota pulchra es', appears between the Credo and the Sanctus, which is indeed its correct liturgical place, but the Offertory is not part of the ordinary of the Mass;
- a setting of 'O salutaris hostia' after the Benedictus;
- the usual repeat of 'Hosanna' directly after the Benedictus is replaced by an unauthorised repeat of the opening section of the Sanctus, which then leads into a new and unexpected 'Amen' chorus;
- the third 'Agnus Dei' petition is omitted.

A comparison with the text setting of the Requiem shows a rather similar pattern, viz.

- no repeat of 'Requiem aeternam' at the end of the Introit, but a repeat of 'Te decet hymnus' instead;
- the repeat of the Dies Irae verse 'Juste judex ultionis' just before 'Qui Mariam absolvisti';
- the omission of the prescribed repeat of 'Quam olim Abrahae' after the Hostias;
- the omission of the prescribed repeat of 'Hosanna' after the Benedictus;
- the omission of the third 'Agnus Dei' petition.

Certainly if Schumann had been copying the example of other Mass composers such as Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven (or Cherubini, as far as the Requiem is concerned) these departures from the norm would not have occurred. There seems no reason for him to interfere with the texts of his own volition, so it seems reasonable to agree with Schmitz that Schumann was following the local customs of Düsseldorf. Schmitz points
out that 'Tota pulchra es' was often used as an Offertory at Marian feasts (it is an Alleluia verse proper to the feast of the Immaculate Conception) and that 'O salutaris hostia' was frequently sung at the Elevation at Marian celebrations. It could also have been that the local liturgy included a Benediction service during Mass, represented here by the Benediction hymn 'O salutaris hostia'. It is a pity that Schmitz is silent about the missing Hosannas and the repeat of the Sanctus music, and does not address the problem of the Requiem text, but again it seems reasonable to conclude that Schumann was working from his knowledge of local conditions. The Requiem, of course, is a less rigid text for musical settings in that composers feel much more free to include or omit sections or whole movements as they please. But the repeats and omissions made by Schumann go beyond the usual range of textual options. Those who include 'Quam olim Abrahae' usually contrive to repeat it after the end of the Hostias (Schumann was joined in his avoidance of this by Fauré in 1887); and composers who set the Hosanna usually repeat it after the Benedictus: Schumann is the only composer known to me who does not.

It is not so easy to decide from the foregoing evidence (as Schmitz does) that Schumann always intended these works for liturgical use. Although Masses were celebrated in the services directed by Schumann, Requiems were not: they may have been required for public acts of mourning, but no such occasion took place during Schumann's tenure of the musical directorship. If indeed Schumann based his settings on local liturgical practice, that need not rule out the possibility that he

17. Liber usualis, p. 1318
18. Schmitz, pp. 645-46
19. Liber usualis, p. 1854
intended them for concert performance, and as we have seen the Kyrie and Gloria of the Mass were indeed given their première in the concert hall. It is also worth reiterating that one of the very additions which Schmitz considers so significant in the shaping of this Mass according to local customs, the offertory 'Tota pulchra es', was not written until 23 March 1853, slightly more than a year after the composition of the rest of the text and three weeks after the première of the Kyrie and Gloria. It would be helpful to know whether this late addition was as a result of a suggestion from a Catholic friend or colleague (perhaps with a specifically Marian celebration in mind), but history is uniformly silent about the impetus behind both Mass and Requiem.

The Requiem text looms much larger in Schumann's work than might be expected, for it plays a supporting role elsewhere in his choral and dramatic works: in the Scenen aus Goethes Faust and in Manfred. We should also remember that Schumann's draft scenario for Luther showed a Dies Irae sung in the distance. 20 These extra-liturgical Requiem settings throw an interesting light on his 'official' op. 148 Requiem.

20. See Appendix E
Dies irae

This text occurs in the Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part I, no. 3, the Cathedral Scene. It forms a background to and a commentary upon Gretchen's desperate remorse and the Evil Spirit's taunting words. The portion of the text used by Goethe is:

Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvet saeclum in favilla.

Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet apparebit,
Nil inultum remanebit.

Quid sum miser tune dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus?
Cum vix justus sit securus.

This is particularly appropriate for the situation portrayed, with its emphasis on God's judgement and the wretchedness of the sinner. Schumann sets these verses with frequent internal repeats, but does not add any further lines. The date of this setting is 24 July 1849 (as given on the manuscript source) as against May 1852 for the Requiem op. 148.

The first section is set very simply, in unison and octave writing, in a style something like an intonation (though it bears no relation to the real Dies Irae plainsong):
Ex. 1 Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part I, no. 3,
chorus entry with 'Dies irae':

[Chorus: Day of wrath, that day...
Evil Spirit: Wrath seizes you!
Chorus: ...the earth vanishes into ashes,
Evil Spirit: The trumpet sounds! the graves quake!]
A similar harmonic and melodic line to the first phrase is also to be found in no. 4 in Part II of the Faustscenen, written a few days later on 18 August 1849:

\[\text{Ex. 2 Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part II, no. 4:} \]

\[\text{[Etwas bewegter.]}\]

\ll[The hours are already extinguished]\rr

The simplicity deliberately adopted in this section shows that the Dies Irae is in the background and rather distant from Gretchen and the Evil Spirit. Care is taken not to mask the soloists' words: to begin with, the Evil Spirit confines his remarks to the rests between the choir's phrases, and later, where he sings at the same time as the chorus, he is at the top of his range and will easily penetrate the choral texture. Only after this is the chorus left to sing alone, in an extended four-part setting of this first section of text. It is still rather matter-of-fact and lacking in frightening qualities, until they reach their final shout of 'Dies Irae' in major seconds:
Ex. 3 Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part I, no. 3,  
end of first choral section:

For the next choral section, the 'Judex ergo', the chorus is now  
very much in the foreground of the action, marked ff with bold, clear-cut  
four-part harmony:
Ex. 4  Scenen aus Goethes Faust, Part I, no. 3,
opening of second choral section:

[Therefore when the Judge shall take his seat, whatever is hidden will appear]

Again, as the solo voices join in the chorus fades into the background.

The final choral section, 'Quid sum miser', is at half speed; it is background music for the Evil Spirit's interjections once more, until after Gretchen has fainted, when 'Quern patronum rogaturus' is set as a coda to the whole scene.

In the op. 148 Requiem the whole of the Dies Irae sequence (18 verses) is set, of course; there is hardly any repetition, which perhaps is to be expected with such a long text, although many composers such as Mozart and Berlioz had already written settings of the Dies Irae of considerable length divided up into several different sections. Interestingly, Schumann's only repeat is of the stanza 'Juste Judex' which he reintroduces after 'Ingemisco tamquam reus'; we should note that (as in the Faustscenen) it is a verse about judgement which is thus emphasised.
The style of the setting does not make many concessions to the hellfire-and-damnation drama of the text. The opening phrase for 'Dies irae' has, it is true, the outline of an unmelodic minor ninth:

Ex. 5 Requiem, no. III, Dies irae;

and if choirs could be persuaded to sing this passage with confidence it might well have the desired dramatic effect; as it is, it usually comes out so carefully and feebly that the drama is lost. However, things are managed better with a later phrase set to the same text, which has some hair-raising chromatic movement for the chorus basses:
Ex. 6 Requiem, no. III, Dies irae:

[Day of wrath, that day when the earth vanishes in ashes]

However, by and large the fine pictorial opportunities of the text are ignored: the 'Tuba mirum' (bar 39) elicits no new material, but only the addition of trumpets and trombones to the texture already established; 'Mors stupebit' (bar 48) is sung to a repeat of the opening 'Dies irae' theme. This may well be an attempt at giving an A-B-A form to the opening section of the Dies Irae, but it also has the effect of
glossing over that tremendous image of Death standing awestruck at the Day of Judgement.

A new movement is begun with 'Liber scriptus', which starts more promisingly with a striking declamatory passage for men's voices.

Ex. 7 Requiem, no. IV, Liber scriptus:

IV.

[A handwritten book is brought forward, in which everything is contained, whence the world will be judged]
Some emphasis (by means of repetition) is placed on the phrase 'nil inultum remanebit' which was similarly emphasised in the Faustscenen; there is no musical correspondence between the two settings.

A new movement starts with the only really extended setting of any Dies Irae text, the 'Qui Mariam absolvisti' for alto solo. (This movement will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.) By contrast, the ensuing 'Confutatis maledictis', which often brings forth the most dramatic music in the sequence, is relatively short and perfunctory, as is the 'Lacrymosa.'

This matter-of-fact and rather arid setting of the Dies Irae is enlivened only by the high points of the 'Liber scriptus' and 'Qui Mariam absolvisti'. Although there are no specifically musical resemblances with the Faustscenen Dies Irae, the atmosphere of both is very similar. Both settings are low-key and understated by comparison with other Dies Irae compositions; but whereas in the Faustscenen it is dramatically and contextually apposite, belonging as it does to a choir singing in the distance, this kind of setting is not appropriate for the Requiem. It is too self-effacing; it should have been occupying the foreground, not giving the impression of edging apologetically into the background. When we remember too that Schumann had thought of including a distant Dies Irae heard from the monastery in his Luther oratorio, it seems likely that this would have been in the same mould, giving a series of three 'background' settings of the Dies Irae. The question of why this most dramatic of texts should have elicited such a flat response will be considered later in this chapter.
Requiem aeternam

This text appears in Schumann's incidental music to Byron's drama Manfred, op. 115, as an unauthorised addition to Manfred's death scene. It accompanies, as part of a melodrama setting, the final colloquy between Manfred and the Abbot, and thus begins in subdued vein, as the Faustscenen Dies Irae did:

Ex. 8 Manfred, no. 15, closing scene with monks' hymn:

SCHLUSS-SCENE.
No.15 Klostergesang.
Ex. 8 continued

[Abbot: How pale thou art - thy lips are white -
And thy breast heaves - and in thy gasping throat
The accents rattle: Give thy prayers to heaven -
Manfred: 'Tis over - my dull eyes can fix thee not;
Chorus: Give them eternal rest.]

After Manfred's expiry the 'Et lux perpetua' suddenly rings out, and
the 'luceat eis' phrase dies away sufficiently to allow the theme
associated with Astarte to make a final brief appearance:
Ex. 9 Manfred, no. 15, end of closing scene:

[Longsomal. J = 50.]

Abt. Kalt... bis zum Herzen kalt... hette noch... Wohintirht das da dahin?

Manfred. So schwer ist's nicht zu sterben, aller Mann!

Abt. Etwas schneller. Er ist da hin, seine Geisteskörner Erde... wohl... am

Manfred stirbt. Etwas schneller.

denk ich's gern. Er ist da hin!

Abt. Etwas schneller.
Ex. 9 continued

[Abbot: Cold - cold - even to the heart -
But yet one prayer - Alas! how fares it with thee?

Manfred: Old man! 'tis not so difficult to die. (He expires.)

Abbot: He's gone - his soul hath ta'en its earthless flight;
Whither? I dread to think - but he is gone.

Chorus: And may perpetual light shine upon them.]

In the opus 148 Requiem this text naturally occurs twice, once in
the first movement (Introit) and again at the end, where it follows the
Agnus Dei without a break. Many composers elect to mirror this textual
repetition with a reprise of the opening music; Schumann does not take
this option, but is content to move back into the opening key, D flat
major, for the end of the work (although the final section is in $\frac{3}{4}$,
not $\frac{4}{4}$).
Ex. 10a continued

[Give them eternal rest, Lord]

Ex. 10b Requiem, no. XI, final section, 'Et lux perpetua':
[Hangsom. (f = 104.)]
The setting in *Manfred* seems much more successful than either of the ones in the Requiem, as well as fulfilling its dramatic function in the incidental music. It is also the only setting with any contrapuntal interest, for both the Requiem versions keep almost entirely to block harmonies. As it seems that the Requiem text settings which occur outside the liturgical context are more interesting, we should also remember the 'secular' Requiem, that for Mignon, op. 98b, which again is a work of unique character and one of Schumann's most deeply felt compositions.

Although the Mass and Requiem were both written during the phase of Schumann's choral ballad composition, in which he made certain innovations in the direction of through-composition and sustained lyrical
style, one would be wrong to expect these trends to be continued here; of
their nature both works have to be composed in separate movements, and
both have far more work for the chorus than for soloists, which makes
them less amenable to a lyrical vocal style. Moreover, Schumann is by no
means the only composer to feel that liturgical works call on occasion
for a consciously more archaic idiom, such as fugues occurring at certain
traditional moments like 'Cum sancto spiritu'.

There are several fugal sections in both the Mass and the Requiem,
although (as Popp has pointed out) none of them is a fully worked-out
fugue. The two major fugato sections in the Requiem are probably the
nearest Schumann comes to writing a full fugue; both 'Libera animas
omnium fidelium' and 'Pleni sunt coeli' have an exposition and middle
entries, and 'Pleni sunt coeli' even has a stretto section to follow, but
that is all. In both these cases, however, Schumann is setting a portion
of text which is not the end of a movement, so it is questionable whether
final entries would ever have been feasible; the 'Libera animas' needs to
end with its final lines

...defunctorum de poenis inferni, et de profundo lacu, libera
eas de ore leonis, ne absorbent eas Tartarus, ne cadant in
obscurum

and the 'Pleni sunt coeli' has to give way to the final 'Hosanna in
excelsis'. Neither of these, therefore, would have been suitable for
concluding a fugue in strict style. Strangely enough, Schumann did not
write even the beginning of a fugue at the other obvious place where it
would be expected, 'Quam olim Abrahae'.

The Mass has more fugato sections, but again none of them develops
far enough to be a fugue. Two of them, however, are worthy of notice in

21. Popp, p. 52
another respect: they are in fact canons. The first is the opening Kyrie, where the same procedure is used as for the 'Requiem aeternam' in Manfred: pairs of voices are heard in canon at the octave, alto and bass at the fourth below soprano and tenor, and following them at 2½ bars' distance:

Ex. 11a Mass, opening Kyrie:

[Ziemlich langsamer]

[Lord, have mercy upon us]

The second of these is the 'Amen' fugato which comes at the end of the Sanctus. The voices are here paired SA and TB, at a fourth below and a bar's distance:
Another conscious archaism in the Mass could well be the use of the minim as the beat in several movements: the Credo (\(\frac{3}{2}\)), the Sanctus (\(\frac{4}{2}\)), 'Pleni sunt coeli' (\(\phi\)), Benedictus (\(\phi\)), Agnus Dei (\(\frac{3}{4}\)), and 'Dona nobis pacem' (\(\phi\)). Of these the Sanctus looks the most anachronistic with its breves for whole bars, although there are inconsistencies in the use of either a breve or two tied semibreves for a whole bar. The manuscript full score reveals that the copyist who wrote out the choral parts used breves for full bars, as did Schumann in his corrections to the choral parts; however, the orchestral parts, which are entirely autograph, have pairs of tied semibreves for full bars throughout. This distinction has been maintained in the published score, and it would seem to support the view that sacred choral music was perceived as requiring a more traditional orthography as well as style:
Ex. 12 Mass, opening of Sanctus:

[Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth]
Side by side with these archaisms we can also find some examples of a more modern idiom, particularly where solo voices are involved. The prime example in the Mass is the Offertory, 'Tota pulchra es', which, as we have seen, was added almost a year later to the score:

Ex. 13 Mass, Offertory, 'Tota pulchra es':

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Offertorium.
Soprano Solo.

[Tune and notation of the Offertory 'Tota pulchra es']
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Ex. 13 continued

[Mary, you are all beautiful, and there is no stain upon you. You are the glory of Jerusalem and the happiness of Israel. You are the one who brings honour to our people, you are the one who pleads for our sins. Mary, most prudent virgin, most forbearing mother, pray for us, intercede on our behalf to the Lord Jesus Christ.]

This short movement shows how well Schumann could succeed with his customary manner of a single concept for a section or movement. But in other texts, such as the Credo, which are lists of different concepts, this habit made things difficult for him, for he could not reflect the varying ideas without spoiling the single emotional standpoint. The 'Tota pulchra es' thus shows to what extent we are now back in the world of the Lied, if not quite in the same style as the choral ballads. It is perhaps not surprising that it should be so different from the rest of the Mass, given that another year elapsed before it was composed. It has no thematic correspondence with the rest of the work, which as a whole has no themes or motifs common to more than one movement. The scale of
the 'Tota pulchra es' is much smaller: the accompaniment is set for organ and solo cello, in sharp contrast to the full orchestra heard just before in the Credo. The vocal style is simple and syllabic, and the crotchet is restored as the basic beat, again in contrast to the preceding Credo in $\frac{3}{2}$ and indeed the succeeding Sanctus in $\frac{4}{2}$. A similar movement is to be found in the Requiem at 'Qui Mariam absolvesti', even to the extent that the $\frac{3}{4}$ time signature recurs along with the opening rhythm $\frac{1}{|\text|}$, as ex. 14 shows:

Ex. 14 Requiem, no. V, 'Qui Mariam absolvesti'

V.

In mässigem Tempo. (J. xx)

Alt Solo

Qui Mar i am ab so lv i s ti, et la tro nem ex au.

pdolce

dis ti, mi hi quo que spre m de dis ti, mi hi quo quespre m de dis ti

Pre ces me ne non sunt di g nae, sed tu, bons, fac be nig re, ne per en mi crene rer ig.
[You who gave absolution to Mary, and heard the prayer of the thief, you have also given hope to me. My prayers are not worthy, but you, good as you are, can make them acceptable, lest I should burn in the everlasting fire.]

It is interesting to speculate whether it is the name 'Maria' in both these texts that has called forth such a similar musical reaction in Schumann. In fact, an examination of the 'ex Maria virgine' passage in the Credo of the Mass reveals no musical correspondence with the movements already quoted, nor are there any in the 'Marian' portions of the Faustscenen, so it must be concluded that it was temporal proximity as well as subject matter which elicited this response.

There remain three further sections of the Requiem which could be said to be in a more modern style than the rest of the music: the opening of the 'Te decet hymnus', the 'Recordare', and the 'Hostias'.

'Te decet hymnus' recalls nothing so much as Mendelssohn, particularly at the beginning, where the trombone intones the vocal phrase in a way irresistibly reminiscent of the opening of the Lobgesang (1840):
Ex. 15a Requiem, no. II, 'Te decet hymnus':

[Thou, O God, art praised in (Sion)]

Ex. 15b Mendelssohn, Lobgesang, opening of Sinfonia:
Ex. 15c Mendelssohn, Lobgesang, no. 2,
imitative use of theme from Sinfonia:

[Everything that has breath, praise the Lord]

The 'Recordare' and the 'Hostias', however, revert to the Lied-like style that we saw first in Das Paradies und die Peri (see chapter 2) and which was a constant ingredient of the large-scale choral works right up to the end of Schumann's compositional career:
Ex. 16a Requiem, no. IV, 'Recordare':

[Remember, holy Jesus, that I am the cause of your coming, do not lose me on that day! Seeking me you sat down exhausted, you redeemed me by suffering on the cross, such great toil should not be wasted!]
Ex. 16b Requiem, no. VII, 'Hostias et preces':

VII.

Dasselbe Tempo. [• • • 84 •]
Sopran Solo

We offer you sacrifices and prayers with praises, Lord! Accept them on behalf of the souls of those whom we remember today.
Again, this more modern, Lied-like style lasts for only a short movement before a more traditional setting supervenes; as can be seen from the end of ex. 16b, the chorus takes over the melody sung by the soprano for a four-part setting, and they continue with the second half given to the alto, beginning a semitone higher and altering the remainder to make room for the lower voices.

It seems clear that Schumann has abandoned the more progressive style of his choral ballads and has largely reverted to the traditional idioms which have always been characteristic of liturgical works. The 'traditional idiom' includes the various fugato sections already mentioned, and the long stretches of four-part diatonic block harmonies, such as the 'Quoniam' and the final 'Dona nobis pacem':

Ex. 17a Mass, Credo, 'Quoniam tu solus sanctus':

[Schneller]
Ex. 17a continued

[For thou only art the Lord, thou only art most high... Glory to God in the highest! With the Holy Ghost...]

Ex. 17b Mass, Agnus Dei, 'Dona nobis pacem':

Schneller
However, the 'progressive' idiom is recalled in some movements because of the harmonic advances they employ. The most striking of these passages are the Sanctus (see ex. 12 again) with its E flat dominant seventh with suspensions of the tonic and flattened submediant notes at the word 'Deus' in bar 14; the central section of the Credo, from 'Qui propter nos homines', with the semitone movement in the bass gradually slipping downwards:
Ex. 18a Mass, Credo, 'Qui propter nos homines':

[Nach und nach etwas bewegter]
[who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man. He was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, he suffered and was buried.]

and the Agnus Dei, where the flowing crotchets of the alto part (shared at first by the tenors) provide some interesting chromatic effects:

Ex. 18b Mass, Agnus Dei:
Schumann's use of the orchestra in the Mass is unremarkable; the only uncommon instrument he includes is an organ part, and that might be considered an obvious addition to a liturgical work. Nevertheless, Schumann seems to have been by no means sure that it would always be performed in places where an organ was available; in the Offertory he cued in a string quartet to replace it if necessary, and in the Benedictus, originally set for organ and strings, optional woodwind parts were provided in case of its absence.
The Requiem op. 148 is such a low-key setting that we can only wonder why; it is the more unexpected given the dramatic possibilities of the words, most notably in the Dies Irae. We have, for example, Berlioz's own word that the text of the Requiem was a quarry which he had long coveted and how he 'fell upon it with a kind of fury' when it was at last his own; but Schumann seems, by contrast, to have kept it at arm's length. This may stem partly from the tendency we have already observed to fail to respond to dramatic climaxes, and from the fact that Schumann was not such a 'public' person as Berlioz, and did not belong to a tradition of public statements. It may also have been a deliberate (if subconscious) strategem to save himself from the full implications of the work. Schumann was very strongly affected by bereavement. We have copious documentary evidence of his intense despair, verging on mental breakdown, at the deaths of those dear to him: in the 1830s, his sister Emilie, his sister-in-law Rosalie, his brother Julius and his collaborator on the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, Ludwig Schunke; in 1847, his infant son Ludwig, and later in the same year, Felix Mendelssohn. Schumann was affected with nervous troubles, depression and severe anxiety attacks as a result of these bereavements, and he was surely unwilling to court a repetition, or even the memory, of those breakdowns by exposing himself to the full literal meaning of the Requiem. Rather, he might be expected to do as he did here and distance himself from the meaning of words which could have had such a disastrous effect on his mental health.

Many writers ignore the Mass and Requiem altogether, beyond stating the mere fact of their existence, and as a justification for this the

22. Berlioz, p. 228
impression is conveyed that they are somehow unsatisfactory, which for many years has been the received opinion (however misguided) about Schumann's late works. It is true that the Requiem setting does seem to lack excitement in comparison with other celebrated versions of the nineteenth century, which we are not in a position to ignore and which colour, whether we will or no, our expectations of such a work. But it must be remembered that Schumann may have damped down his musical response to such terrific texts as the Dies Irae in order not to do himself any more psychological injury. As for the Mass, it is a good deal more interesting than commentators usually allow, with its mixture of styles, occasional innovative harmonies, and use of counterpoint; the latter, in particular, saves it triumphantly from one of Schumann's worst mannerisms, the over-use of syllabic block harmonies for his chorus. The sheer chronological fact of the lateness of these sacred works in Schumann's oeuvre is not significant, for he then went on to write *Vom Pagen und der Königstocher* and *Das Glück von Edenhall*, two of his most forward-looking works, to which we shall turn in the remaining full chapter.
CHAPTER 9

VOM PAGEN UND DER KÖNIGSTOCHTER Op. 140

and DAS GLÜCK VON EDENHALL Op. 143

During Richard Pohl's visit to Schumann in Düsseldorf in September 1851 the conversation turned to ideas for further compositions:

Then Schumann expressed the wish to compose still more ballads after 'Sängers Fluch' which he wished to make a start on as soon as possible. He was looking in Uhland for further texts. I recommended Geibel's 'Page und Königskind' to him, partly because of the fantasy-like material, partly because this cycle of ballads would have the advantage of needing no further work on the text. It could be set to music just as written by Geibel. Schumann did not remember this ballad clearly, but kept my recommendation in mind.1

In spite of the statement that Schumann wanted to make a start as soon as possible, ten months elapsed before he began work on Geibel's Ballade vom Pagen und der Königstochter, to give the poem's full title. In the meantime he finished off Des Sängers Fluch and wrote the Mass and Requiem. But once he had started on the new ballad, it was very quickly finished: it was sketched in five days, 18-22 June 1852. The orchestration was delayed by Schumann's departure for a course of spa treatment at Godesberg, but he began work on it on 19 July and finished it during August and September at Scheveningen for a trial of sea-bathing.2

Therein lies a clue to part of the explanation for the long delay in getting to work: Schumann had been hampered by increasing illness resembling 'rheumatic attacks' with incapacitating sleeplessness and

1. Pohl, p. 180
depression, and (partly as a result of the illness and partly causing it) his relationship with the concert committee in Düsseldorf was deteriorating further. Another reason for the delay may well have been the usual one, that the libretto was not yet in a satisfactory state, for although Pohl had deemed the poem to be fit for setting with no alterations, in reality numerous small changes were necessary before Schumann made his sketches.

The first ballad of Vom Pagen und der Königstochter recounts how the king and his courtiers go hunting in the forests one day; the king's daughter and her page become separated from the party, and the page seizes the opportunity of speaking of his love.

The second ballad begins with the king and the page riding towards the seashore. The king asks the page who gave him the rosebud he wears in his hat; 'My mother', replies the page. The king asks whose is the lock of hair he carries next to his heart; 'My sister's', replies the page. The king asks who gave him the ring he wears on his finger. 'The fairest maid in all your kingdom, who has given me her heart as well', replies the page. The king recognises his daughter's ring and murders the page for his presumption, throwing the body into the sea.

In the third ballad we hear how the watersprites, mermaids and mermen find the page's corpse; the merman Schilfbart (Reedbeard) makes a harp from his bones, and strings it with the golden hair of the Queen of the Mermaids. When it is played, the sound of the harp stills the sea, and all living creatures pause to listen.

The fourth ballad opens with the wedding banquet for the princess and her bridegroom, a foreign prince. But the princess cannot forget her true love, the page who disappeared. At the height of the festivities the musicians fall silent, for the merman's harp is heard outside the
castle. The sound drives the king mad and he flees from the hall; the princess dies of a broken heart.

In passing we may note that this is another version of the legend known as 'The Singing Bones', where a musical instrument made from the corpse of a murdered man brings about the downfall of the murderer; a further version is familiar as the plot of Mahler's *Das klagende Lied* and it also appears in Dvořák's *The Golden Spinning Wheel*.

The vocal score baldly describes *Vom Pagen und der Königstochter* as 'Four Ballads by Emanuel Geibel' as if no editorial alterations to the text had been made, but comparison with the original poem shows that there have been a number of changes and additions.

These are of two main kinds. The first is the addition of words suitable for the chorus, which otherwise would have had little to do, for example

_Auf zur Jagd! Ihr Jäger, auf zur Pirsch!_  
_Wir woll'n den Hirsch erjagen, den edlen, rothen Hirsch_  

[To the hunt! Huntsmen, on the trail! We will hunt the deer, the noble red deer]

and so on, in the first ballad. The whole of this chorus is an editorial addition, for none of it appears in Geibel's original; in fact, as Susanne Popp points out, it is taken from Laube's *Zur hohen Jagd*, which Schumann had set in 1849 as his op. 137 no. 1. However, he does not set the whole of Laube's poem again, as Popp implies, but only the first of the four verses, and the opening line is omitted, perhaps to disguise the borrowing.

The second kind of alteration is the replacement of narrative by dialogue, or the omission of narrative altogether; this, especially the

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3. Popp, p. 151
former procedure, is important in a work which is unstaged, because a large part of the interest lies in varying the voices involved. Examples of this may be found in the third ballad, where the narrative about the merman making the harp is altered to form his own words, e.g.

Er nimmt von der Königin goldenem Haar
und spannt es darüber als Saiten

[He takes golden hair from the queen and stretches it over as strings]

in the original is turned into

Leih', Königin, mir vom gold'nen Haar,
das spann' ich darüber als Saiten.

[Lend me some of your golden hair, Queen, I (will) stretch it over as strings]

In the second ballad several lines and indeed whole verses of narrative are omitted in favour of concentrating on the crucial dialogue between the king and the page that ends in the page's murder.

There is a third and rather minor type of alteration which seems to be due to bowdlerisation. In the second ballad, Geibel's line

Wagtest du in frecher Lust um ihrem Leib zu werben?

[Did you dare, in insolent desire, to sue for her body?]

has been altered to

Wagtest du in frechem Muth um ihre Lieb' zu werben?

[Did you dare, in insolent courage, to sue for her love?]

This recalls one of Pohl's statements about Schumann's textual requirements, 'Above all he was looking for texts which would be suitable for female ears', a statement made during his recollection of that very day's meeting when the Geibel text was first suggested. We shall see in

4. Pohl, p. 180
chapter 10 how this principle operated in Schumann's choice of libretti throughout his life.

The alterations to the text were not always successfully managed. For instance, in Ballad II the stanza

Er wirft die Leichnam in die Flut
und steht so hoch dein Sinnen,
so magst du um die Königin jetzt
der Wassernixen du minnen!

[He throws the corpse into the waves, and if your pretensions run so high, then you will be able to make love to the queen of the water sprites!]

becomes

und deinen Leib verschling' die Fluth
und steht dein Sinnen so hoch,
so magst um die Königin jetzt
der Wassernixen du minnen!

[And the waves engulf your body, and if your pretensions run so high, then you will be able to make love to the queen of the water sprites!]

thus ruining the rhyme 'Sinnen' - 'minnen' and doing violence to the scansion.

There is a disappointing lack of evidence as to whose hand was responsible for altering the text. One is led once more to the tempting speculation: did Schumann edit the text himself? Joan Chissell certainly thought that Schumann had arranged the text of Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, but as she also claimed that he had written his own libretto for Der Königssohn, which we know to have been the work of Moritz Horn, this assertion is robbed of some of its weight. The autograph sketches of Vom Pagen und der Königstochter contain the same text as in the printed score. An intermediate version would have made it seem more likely that Schumann was in the process of altering it himself,

5. Chissell, p. 180
but as things stand, it proves nothing either way. There are, besides, two major objections to identifying Schumann as the editor: firstly, there is no mention of it in his diary. The five days' work on this piece already cited would easily be taken up just by the process of composition of a work of this size, without undertaking any editing of the text. Secondly, Schumann's custom was to call in someone to help, even (as we have seen) when that person seemed to have few qualifications for the task. The only instances in which he took a hand are *Das Paradies und die Peri*, his very first attempt, and *Genoveva*, born of desperation.

Nevertheless, if an editor *was* employed, why is there no credit on the title-page? The most likely explanation is that it was a composite effort, and that there was some dissension about the final form. A precedent for this is *Genoveva*, whose full score says 'after L. Tieck and F. Hebbel', as if it had been based solely on their existing plays. This does not of course take into account the work done by Reinick on the libretto, which was then altered by Schumann in Reinick's absence; the final product differed so much from Reinick's version that he refused to be associated with it.

Who, then, could the collaborator(s) have been? The only name which can be put forward even tentatively is that of Rudolf Nielo (1816-?), a singer and man of letters in Düsseldorf. He is mentioned twice in connection with *Vom Pagen und der Königstochter*: in the very first diary entry of 6 June 1852, 'With Herr Nielo about "Pagen"', and much later, on 29 October 1852, 'In the evening, Dietrich and Nielo (ballad played

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through by Clara). The fact that there is no mention of this libretto in any letters indicates that Schumann must have worked with someone in daily reach.

As to the lack of credit on the title page of this work, we have already seen the cavalier manner in which Schumann treated the text prepared by Richard Pohl for Des Sängers Fluch. There may have been a similar experience here which led the collaborator to remove his name from the score. If indeed it was Rudolf Nielo, a further explanation is found in the fact that in 1853 he was associated with the Chorgesangverein committee in their attempt to induce Schumann to give up his conductorship. This was certainly enough to make him persona non grata with the Schumann family, and could have led to his deletion from the score.

It must always be borne in mind that Vom Pagen und der Königstochter was cast by Geibel himself in the form of four ballads, and that Schumann took over this organisation unchanged in his setting, whatever happened to individual lines or stanzas. The piece therefore consists of four main sections with no internal division into numbers, and presents an immediate answer to the question of form and unity: it was to be musical continuity rather than motivic unity which would characterise Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, the model being Des Sängers Fluch (and before it Das Paradies und die Peri) rather than Der Königssohn.

There is a very small amount of musical repetition in and between the four ballads, particularly of the opening theme, which recurs as an interlude in the first ballad and in a festive, major guise for the wedding celebrations of Ballad IV:

Ex. 1a Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, opening theme as heard in tutti:

[Lebhaft, nicht zu schnell. M.M. \( \text{\textit{j}} = 126 \).]
Ex. Ib Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, opening theme as sung by alto narrator:

[Lebhaft, nicht zu schnell. M.M. J = 126.]

[The old king went forth to the wood, there is a hunt today! The steed is panting, the horn rings out, the pack gives tongue in the thicket.]

Ex. 1c Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, opening theme as it recurs in the introduction to Ballad IV:

[Rauschend festlich. (M.M. J = 144.)]
The fact that the opening theme recurs towards the end is another link with *Des Sängers Fluch*, in which, it will be remembered, the opening theme 'Es stand in alten Zeiten' returns as the closing chorus 'Der Alte hat's gerufen'. In both works, too, it is the alto voice which is chosen for the narrator, though this may mean no more than that Schumann had a trustworthy alto soloist. Unusually, however, the tenor part is not very extensive. It is assigned to the Page, and therefore has the love duet with the Princess (about a third of the first ballad) and the dialogue with the King in the second (about half of the ballad); after the murder, there is no more for the tenor soloist, as both the other principal solo roles, the King and the Merman, are basses, and have a good deal more to do.

Returning to the first ballad, the only other theme that is repeated is that of the men's hunting chorus. It is heard as an echo in the background at the end of the love duet.
Ex. 2 Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, closing bars of Ballad I

with recurrence of hunting chorus:

[...the fairest of princesses has forgotten you and the world in your page's arms!

Huntsmen, stalk the deer, huntsmen, to the hunt!]
The first ballad does fall into three fairly distinct sections: the alto narrator with the men's hunting chorus, followed by a slower, more lyrical section in which the alto describes the page and the princess wandering in the forest; finally there is a love duet to which the material of ex. 2 appears as a coda.

The second ballad is entirely through-composed, despite the fact that the text would seem to suggest some necessary repetition; a large part of it is dialogue between the king and the page, in which the king puts the three questions about the rose, the lock of hair, and the ring. Surprisingly perhaps, there is no musical repetition, but rather an increase of intensity as the questioning goes on, to culminate in the page's murder. As though to match the intensity, the key area reached at that point is D sharp major followed by F sharp major, still with a key signature of four sharps:

Ex. 3 Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, Ballad II,

the murder of the page:

[Mässig. (M.M. J = 104-)]
Ex. 3 continued

[King: ... I do not spare your young, fresh life, you must suffer death!]
Page: I must suffer death!
King: Death! Out, my sword, chill the little heart of my companion!
Page: Woe, woe, woe!]

After the murder there is a long coda, back in C sharp minor, in which the alto forms an extra element, describing the aftermath:

Ex. 4 Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, Ballad II, coda with alto solo:
Ex. 4 continued

[A dark rider rides home along the shore to the king's castle; the corpse swims in the sea, the waves murmur further.]
Schumann's earlier choral works have many movements which end rather abruptly, but in both Der Königsohn and Vom Pagen und der Königstochter this problem seems to be overcome.

The third ballad, again largely through-composed, falls into distinct sections, beginning with the scene-setting chorus for sopranos (a unison melody, so that one could be forgiven for asking why it is allotted to the chorus), followed by the merman Schilfbart's first solo with some dialogue with the mermaids, and his second solo as he plays the harp made from the murdered page's body. This latter solo is then repeated by the chorus sopranos and altos to conclude the ballad, but, apart from a single bar of imitation at 'es horcht die Luft', the chorus is confined to unison and octave writing. At the making of the harp, the key changes to F sharp major and a harp is heard in the orchestra for the first time. By the time the chorus enters, the accompaniment has become busier and busier, with semiquaver figuration to suggest that Schilfbart is accompanying on the new harp. The accompaniment then modulates to remote flat keys (including G flat major) although the chorus part continues to be notated in F sharp major:

Ex. 5 Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, Ballad III, closing chorus:
[Now the harp sounds bravely, the waves leave off their murmuring, the wind gently holds its breath and falls asleep while listening. The seagull flies to the shore,...]

The fourth ballad demonstrates the most extensive use of repetition in the whole piece: not only is it based on a major version in triple time of the opening theme (see ex. 1c) which is used to furnish the whole opening chorus but also the characteristic turn of phrase of its first bar, the rising sixth, permeates the accompaniment of the ensuing narrative. Sometimes the sixth becomes minor, as the catastrophe approaches, and then as the merman approaches the castle playing the harp the accompaniment figuration recalls that of the third ballad:
Ex. 6  Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, Ballad IV, approach of the merman; compare the accompaniment figuration with that of ex. 5, above:

["Rauschend festlich. (M.M. \( \text{d} \) \( \text{j}=144 \) - Die halben Takte wie vorher die Gagen.]"

[Vom Pagen und der Königstochter is ignored by most commentators, who merely observe that it exists, but in fact it does represent a significant formal advance on its fellows. Schumann was spurred on by his previous attempts and by Geibel's layout of the poem into writing much more continuous music than usual, like the 1850 portions of the Faustscenen, while retaining a certain amount of repetition, particularly of the important opening theme, to give coherence to his design. The four movements are well varied in character and atmosphere, perhaps comparable to four symphonic movements of which the slow movement is placed third; and this serves as a reminder that symphony had loomed
relatively large in his Düsseldorf experience, with the 'Rhenish' Symphony and the final version of the Fourth, as well as the numerous symphonies he was called upon to conduct in the subscription concerts. Nevertheless, the composer who is recalled most clearly by the continuity of the music is in fact Wagner, who essayed in *Lohengrin* the same kind of continuity that we have seen in *Vom Pagen und der Königstochter*. Of *Lohengrin* only a concert performance of the Act I finale was ever given in Dresden, in a celebratory concert for the 300th anniversary of the court orchestra. It was held on 22 September 1848 and Schumann was present in the audience, as his diary shows. However, the score of *Vom Pagen und der Königstochter* differs in an important respect, as it is in a far more lyrical style than *Lohengrin*. Even the sections of dialogue are more akin to Lieder than to anything approaching recitative. In this it reminds us of the later Wagner, who by the early 1850s was working on *Das Rheingold* and *Die Walküre*, although no performance was to be possible for many years.

Ex. 7a Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, Ballad II,
dialogue between the King and the Page:

[Mässig. (M.M. = 104.)]
[King: Now speak and tell me the truth, comrade, your life hangs upon it. Who gave you the ring, the golden ring on your finger?
Page: She who gave me the ring gave me her heart at the same time; she is the most beautiful maid in the whole of your kingdom!
King: The ring is my child's ring! I ought to know its twinkling.
Page: Woe! Your brow threatens anger! I see blood runes burning there.
King: Ha! Did you dare, in insolent courage, to sue for her love?]

Ex. 7b Wagner, Lohengrin, dialogue between the King and Friedrich,

Act I, scene i:

[Nicht schleppend.]

**König.**

Welch fürchterliche Klage sprichtst du aus! Wie wäre möglich solche grosse

**Friedr. (immer heftiger).**

Schuld! O Herr, traurige lieg' ist die edle Maid, die meine Hand voll Hochmuth von sich
Ex. 7b continued

immer mehr einen bitter gequälten Zustand verrathend)

stiess, Ge. heil, mer Buhlschaft klag'ich drum sie an: sie wöhn te wohl, wenn sie des Bruders

ledig, dann könnt sie als Her. rin von Brahaut mit Recht dem Lehnsmann ihre Hand ver.

Sehr lebhaft.

König.

wehren und offen den ge heimnen Buh den pfleg gen. Ruft die Bé.

(wehrfertig)

klang - te her! - Be gin - nen soll nun das Ge - recht!

(wehrfertig)
Ex. 7b continued

[King: What fearful accusation are you making? How could such a dreadful crime be possible?

Friedrich: My lord, the conceited girl is in a dream world, who proudly put my hand from her. I charge her with a secret love affair: she probably thought that if she got rid of her brother, then as Queen of Brabant she could rightfully reject the hand of her subject, and openly take her lover.

King: Summon the accused! The trial must now begin! God grant me wisdom!]

Ex. 7c Wagner, Die Walküre, dialogue from the Annunciation of Death in Act II, Scene 4:

[Sehr feierlich und gemessen.]
Ex. 7c continued

**BRÜNNHILDE**

Zu Wal-va-ter, der dich ge-waMt, führ' ich dich, nach Wal-ball
Hel-den?

folgst du mir.

Ge-fall'-ner Hel-den heh-re Schaar um-

-fant dich hold mit hoch-hei-li-gem Gruss.
Siegmund: Where do you lead the hero who follows you now?
Brünnhilde: I lead you to Walfather, who chooses you; you follow me to Valhalla.

Siegmund: Shall I find only Walfather in Valhalla's halls?
Brünnhilde: A noble group of fallen heroes will surround you with most holy greeting.

Siegmund: Shall I find in Valhalla Walse, my own father?
Brünnhilde: The Wålsung will find his father there!
Siegmund: Will a woman greet me cheerfully in Valhalla?
This comparison does not imply anything about reminiscence-motifs or indeed full-blown leit-motifs; Schumann used his motifs inconsistently and cannot be said to have been working along similar lines to Wagner in that respect. But in the expansive continuity and lyricism of his score he does indeed seem to be looking forward to the breadth and style which we now associate with the mature Wagner; and this is the more impressive in a composer such as Schumann, whom we have seen having such difficulties earlier with his handling of large-scale forms. That his late period of composition is characterised by much greater confidence with large-scale forms is borne out when we look at the non-choral pieces from this time. The two symphonies already mentioned (of which the Fourth, of course, achieved a much greater degree of continuity than before), the Cello Concerto and some of the late chamber music all testify to this.

Das Glück von Edenhall falls into the sequence of choral ballads, and yet differs from them in three important respects: in its shortness, in its use of men's voices only, and in its organisation as a single long movement, with no division into numbers or sections. It seems strange at first that only men's voices should be required, in view of Schumann's well-known dislike of the typical male voice choir idiom (see chapter 3 above), but this may be simply explained as an exigency of the drama: the two choruses needed in the work personify, firstly, the drinking companions of the Lord of Eden Hall, and, secondly, the foes that attack his castle; obviously there is no scope for female voices here. The
three soloists are male, too: the Lord of Eden Hall, tenor, Schenk, the old retainer, bass, and the enemy leader, baritone. Although there are other works entirely for male voices in Schumann's oeuvre, this is the only narrative work of this kind. The question of the narrative, too, brings forward another important point in which this work differs from the other choral ballads and indeed most of the other choral narrative works: there is no formal 'narrator' voice, whether soloist or chorus, but the entire tale is told through dialogue and soliloquy. Having recognised this it can be seen that Das Glück von Edenhall stands on the brink of opera, as does the only other of Schumann's choral works of the same type, the Faustscenen.

Das Glück von Edenhall is the only one of the four choral ballads to be based on a 'real' (that is to say, pre-existing) legend, rather than an imitation of legendary material from the brain of the poet. It tells of the crystal goblet preserved as an heirloom by the family dwelling at Eden Hall in Cumbria, in which was thought to reside the fortune of both family and mansion; if the goblet was broken, the luck would run out and disasters ensue. According to the English version, the lords of Eden Hall took pains to allow each guest to drink from the goblet, which was thought to preserve the luck better than keeping the vessel locked away. However, in Uhland's poem there is no such suggestion; the goblet is produced at the climax of the carousal, much against the will and advice of the old retainer, Schenk. The Lord is urged to clink the goblet in a toast, and this action shatters the crystal, precipitates the turn in fortune and the simultaneous storming of the castle by enemy hordes.
There is no mystery this time about the identity of Schumann's librettist: it was Richard Hasenclever, a doctor in Düsseldorf, who was not Schumann's regular medical practitioner but who did attend him during the final crisis which included his suicide attempt in February 1854. It was Hasenclever who arranged for Schumann's departure to the asylum in Endenich. Hasenclever was a man of letters and an amateur composer and in considering Schumann's choice, we must remember first of all his preference for using men of demonstrable goodwill rather than exceptional literary talent, and secondly the trouble he had suffered at the hands of his recent librettists. Rudolf Nielo (if it was indeed he who had edited Vom Pagen und der Königstochter) was entirely out of the question, for in January 1853, a month or so before the beginning of work on Das Glück von Edenhall, he had aligned himself with the committee of the Chorgesangverein, who, distressed at the decline in standards and membership of the choir during Schumann's conductorship, had tried once more to induce Schumann to give up, either de facto or de jure.

Schumann's diary entry for 19 January 1853 includes: 'In the evening, [Choral] Society and Nielo's impudence.' As for Richard Pohl, Schumann did in fact ask him if he would be interested in editing Das Glück von Edenhall. This request came in a letter dated 21 February 1853.

I have recently been reading Uhland's ballad 'Das Glück von Edenhall'; it seems to me splendidly designed for musical setting. May I hope for your poetic aid again? The work would in no way be so extensive as on 'Sängers Fluch.'

11. Nauhaus (2), p. 866
13. Pohl, p. 314
Pohl's reaction has already been described - 'Yet another concert ballad!'\textsuperscript{14} - and in fact it seems strange that Schumann should have bothered to ask him, after the failure to agree on the Luther libretto, Pohl's headstrong behaviour over Des Sängers Fluch, and more especially the complete loss of contact between March and December 1852 which was restored only by a chance letter from Schumann to the publishers of the anonymous Rolands Graalfahrt. (The author, Max Maria von Weber, son of the composer, was a Government official in Dresden - director of the Royal Railway - and so had to publish anonymously.) However, Schumann wisely did not wait very long for Pohl's reply, and as he had heard nothing by 26 February he began discussions about the text with Dr Hasenclever. Pohl claimed that he had eventually decided to undertake this work for Schumann, but gave no date for this, and in the event work on Das Glück von Edenhall progressed so rapidly that by 18 March 1853 Schumann was able to let Pohl know that it was already completed:

\begin{quote}
As to the 'Glück von Edenhall', a musical friend here arranged it for me to set before you kindly undertook it; what is more, it is finished.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

This speed of working is a likely indicator that there were few problems with the text from Schumann's point of view.

We have noted that all formal narration has been left out in favour of telling the story in direct speech; we might therefore expect to see quite extensive changes to Uhland's poem, which as it stands is in the same narrative style as Der Königsohn and Des Sängers Fluch. However, the changes are by no means as great as they might have been, for the original material is used throughout when altering the utterance from

\textsuperscript{14} Pohl, p. 314
\textsuperscript{15} Pohl, p. 315
description to dialogue. For instance, the second verse of Uhland's poem, describing Schenk's reaction to the order to bring forth the goblet, runs

Der Schenk vernimmt ungern die Spruch,
Des Hauses ältester Vasall,
Nimmt zögernd aus dem seidnen Tuch
Das hohe Trinkglas von Krystall,
Sie nennen's: Das Glück von Edenhall.

[Schenk, the oldest retainer of the house, receives the order unwillingly, and takes hesitatingly from its silken cloth the great crystal drinking vessel, they call it: the Luck of Eden Hall.]

This is altered to direct speech from Schenk, thus:

Mit Zagen, Herr, erfüllt dein Spruch
mich, deinen ältesten Vasall!
Sieh', wohl verhüllt in seidnem Tuch
birgt sich das Trinkglas von Krystall,
wir nennen's: Das Glück von Edenhall.

[Your order, my lord, fills me with trembling, your oldest retainer! See, well shrouded in the silken cloth, the crystal drinking vessel is concealed, we call it: the Luck of Eden Hall.]

There are very few lines not derived directly from Uhland's original matter; the chief exceptions are the words of defiance uttered by the Lord after Schenk's warning, the chorus given to the attackers of the castle, and the final verse, which is also set for the chorus. As a result, of course, the libretto is slightly longer than the original, with fifteen verses as against eleven.

The most successful facet of the libretto (after the change to direct speech throughout) must be the preservation of the original rhyme scheme. Each stanza has five lines of which the rhymes occur as ABABB; and as every final line ends with 'Glück von Edenhall' then every 'B' rhyme must likewise end in -all. This feat is continued throughout the poem, in Hasenclever's additions as well as in the portions edited from
Uhland, and it is a measure of the doctor's skill with words that he was able to keep it up. There is only one line in the whole libretto which breaks the rhyme scheme ('Es bebt der Gewölbe', a short line included in the chorus of horror as the goblet shatters) and this departure from the norm is at least as likely to be due to Schumann's high-handed manner with his texts, of which we saw an example in *Des Sängers Fluch*. Hasenclever obviously took great pains to use Uhland's narrative material to provide the direct speech in his version and to keep to the style of the original, and his libretto is remarkably successful.

A special feature of the circumstances surrounding this work that might have a bearing on it is Schumann's relationship with the other Düsseldorf musicians at this time, and particularly with their official manifestations such as the committee of the Chorgesangverein. The 'honeymoon' period was long over; the Düsseldorferers had a conductor who was inadequate in most respects, which was bad enough in its effect on the orchestra but disastrous for the choral society, which like any body of amateurs required far more positive leadership than Schumann was able to give. His increasingly frequent periods of illness in 1852 gave the Concert Committee a short breathing-space in which they were able to engage Julius Tausch as substitute for the first two subscription concerts of the 1852-53 season and to conduct the non-Schumann works in the third; and Tausch also deputised for Schumann in the Chorgesangverein rehearsals. On Schumann's return to his duties, he arranged for Tausch to continue to conduct the preliminary rehearsals of any new work, and then he would take over for the final rehearsals and concert. The choir
were up in arms over this as they wanted Tausch to take all their rehearsals; the society's committee at first made matters worse by their intervention to try to secure this, but by the beginning of 1853 a newly elected committee had successfully brought matters to the position where Tausch conducted all the choral society rehearsals, and Schumann conducted the orchestral rehearsals and the concerts.

One of the results of this chaos in the Chorgesangverein was the loss of many members, which was a particular problem when Das Glück von Edenhall came to be programmed later in the year. Schumann wrote to the Düsseldorfer Musikverein on 2 November 1853 to try to secure more voices:

In the second concert, amongst other things a ballad of mine will be performed, 'Das Glück von Edenhall' for men's voices. As this composition... requires as big a chorus as possible, I should like herewith to request the committee to invite the members of your society to participate. The ballad is neither very long nor very difficult to perform. 16

There are two points for comment here; the first is the need for 'as big a chorus as possible.' Schumann has made things rather difficult by juxtaposing two full-size choruses but giving them very little to do together. Assuming that the voices are divided equally into guests and enemies (both TTBB), the enemies remain silent until bar 414, where they take over altogether (with the exception of a few cries of 'Entflieht!'). There is no specific indication, but it seems likely that both choruses should join in for the final 'Vertilgt ist Edenhall's Geschlecht.' It seems a pity that Schumann, having assembled all these voices, cannot find more for them to do at the moment when they clash; ex. 8 gives an idea of the extent of their combination:

Ex. 8 Das Glück von Edenhall, the guests flee as the enemies attack:

[Lebhaft.]
Ex. 8 continued

| Guests: | Flee, flee, all you guests, flee with the breaking Luck of Eden Hall! |
| Enemies: | All together to the attack, press on with might, in dark night - |
| Guests: | Flee! Flee! |
| Enemies: | – climb the ramparts, the splendour of the castle is destroyed in flames, and the Luck of Eden Hall shatters in the ruins with the downfall of the last enemy! |

The other point is Schumann's remark about the piece being not very difficult to perform. The chorus parts are in fact very easy, quite within the sight-reading capabilities of the most modest chorus; and while this is not in itself a new trend (by and large Schumann's choral writing, never very intricate to begin with, became easier and easier the more he had to do with real choral societies) it is likely that this especially simple style of block chords and unison writing was influenced by the particular difficulties he had experienced recently in piloting the choir through more complex works. In fact, he scarcely escapes in
this work from the charge of writing the 'eternal \( \setminus \) chords of the male voice choir idiom'\(^{17} \) of which he had been so disdainful in 1848; ex. 9 demonstrates this.

Ex. 9  

[The race of Eden Hall is exterminated! Castle and ramparts lie in ruins]

Despite Schumann's expressed intentions for a performance, he had already conducted his last concert in Düsseldorf (on 27 October 1853) when he wrote to the Musikverein in November, and he did not hear Das Glück von Edenhall performed in public. The première took place in Leipzig on 23 October 1854.

We have seen in the earlier choral ballads how Schumann departed from his first ideas of using reminiscence-motifs and went instead for making the music more and more continuous. This trend is continued in

\(^{17}\) Jansen (2), p. 250; the letter to Verhulst in which this phrase appears is dated 4 November 1848. It is quoted in full in chapter 3.
Das Glück von Edenhall, where the whole work is one continuous movement with only a single brief pause at bar 521, after the chorus of triumphant enemies and before the scene of Schenk in the ruins of the castle.

Ex. 10 Das Glück von Edenhall, end of the enemies' chorus and beginning of Schenk's solo:

[Enbjas mässiger.]

**Vor der Feinde.**


**Ein-stürmt der Feind mit Brand und Mord,**

und Nacht be-deckt unsern Fall. Dich traf das Schwert, mein jun-ger Lord,

[**Enemies:** Press on with might!  
**Schenk:** The enemy attacks with fire and bloodshed, night conceals our downfall. The sword met you, my young lord]
It is true that the movement is divided naturally into a number of sections, each with its own characteristic accompaniment figure or motif, but with the sole exception noted above the sections are continuous, moving on from one to the next with scarcely a perceptible join; interrupted and imperfect cadences are the usual means, as the following examples show:

Ex. 11a Das Glück von Edenhall, cadence between sections at bars 298-99

(Etwas mässiger):

[Lebhaft.]

[Chorus]

[Clink glasses (with the Luck of) Edenhall!]

Ex. 11b Das Glück von Edenhall, cadence between sections at bars 366-67:
Ex. llb continued

[0 glorious Luck of Eden Hall! - a courageous race took (the fragile crystal) for its treasure]

Ex. llc  Das Glück von Edenhall, cadence between sections at bars 561-62:

[Longso%]  

The orchestra seems to assume a more important role in Das Glück von Edenhall than in the other choral ballads, chiefly on account of the fact that it has more to do on its own and does not figure only as accompaniment to the voices. There is a fairly lengthy introduction for orchestra alone, where the pervasive triplet figures are established (see below, ex. 13); and there are two further interludes for the orchestra, the first when the goblet is produced and the second when it is clinked.
In these interludes there are in fact occasional single lines for the chorus, but they appear as part of the orchestral texture, rather than as melody to which the orchestral accompaniment becomes subordinate; a similar idea was used for the coda of Ballad II in Vom Pagen und der Königstochter. Ex. 12 gives an idea of this technique:
Ex. 12 Das Glück von Edenhall, orchestral interlude as the goblet is clinked:
Ex. 12 continued

[Clink glasses (with the Luck of) Eden Hall! - How gently it sounds, deep and full, like the song of the nightingale, then like the loud sound of the river in the forest, and now like distant thunder! O glorious Luck of Eden Hall! - A courageous race took (the fragile crystal) for its treasure]

As there are no motifs of symbolic significance in the orchestral part, the importance of the orchestra is that it gives continuity and psychological background to the action.

It has already been remarked that the various sections of this work are characterised by particular accompaniment figures or motifs, and a good deal of tension is generated, particularly in the opening chorus and the chorus of fleeing guests, by the use of straight $\frac{3}{4}$ for the music of the chorus and solo voices combined with the triplets which pervade the orchestral part:
Ex. 13 Das Glück von Edenhall, introduction, with triplet figures in the orchestra and ordinary \( \frac{2}{4} \) for the chorus:

At first sight we might believe that Schumann intends the \( \frac{3}{4} \) in bar 2 ff. to coincide with the \( \frac{3}{4} \) in the accompaniment, but remembering that we are now in 1853 and that Schumann has more than
adequately demonstrated his familiarity with dotted rhythms, double and triple dotting and triplets throughout his compositional career, it becomes more likely that he intends a 'modern' reading of this rhythm, in which the semiquaver is sounded slightly behind the third quaver of the triplet.

The triplet rhythms disappear altogether for the passage marked 'Etwas mässiger' beginning at bar 299, and then reappear as sextuplets at the point where disaster looms; the 'Weh!' chorus of fleeing guests has a running bass of triplets throughout, which contrasts sharply with the chorus of enemies, in straightforward $\frac{2}{4}$ throughout.

Ex. 14 Das Glück von Edenhall, chorus of fleeing guests with running bass of triplets:

[Woe! the wondrous goblet shatters! the arches tremble!]

Thus far we might associate the triplet figures with the lord and his guests (although they are always in the accompaniment, never in the
voice parts), but right at the end they make an appearance - still in the accompaniment - in the final verse of rejoicing at the castle's downfall; at 'Lasst künden nun' the metre changes to $\frac{3}{4}$, and the triplet rhythm occupies the second half of the bar:

\[ \frac{3}{4} \]

Ex. 15 *Das Glück von Edenhall*, triplet rhythm in accompaniment to final chorus:

[Cry aloud now, as is the victor's right, with trumpets blaring, the end of the Luck of Eden Hall]
This tension between ordinary duple and quadruple metre and the triplet variety permeates the piece, except for the passages allotted to the chorus of enemies and the section marked 'Langsam' where Schenk is discovered among the ruins.

We have noted how Das Glück von Edenhall builds on certain new trends found in the earlier choral ballads, and also its departures from the established norms. Probably the most important of the latter is the disappearance of the 'narrator' voice (or voices) which has always been such a feature of the narrative works. The only other work to dispense with a narrator is the Scenen aus Goethes Faust; and the difference here is that Goethe wrote his drama as a play, not a poem, and so had no need of a narrating voice. Das Glück von Edenhall is a narrative poem exactly on the model of those others by Uhland used earlier by Schumann, so that a far-reaching policy decision was necessary at an early stage to remodel the libretto to dispense with all narration. It is interesting to speculate whether it was Hasenclever or Schumann whose idea this was; however, the idea was clearly approved by the composer, and as a result we have a choral work which approaches more nearly to opera than anything in his oeuvre bar the Faustscenen. After Schumann's experiences with Genoveva a work such as Das Glück von Edenhall is probably the nearest he could bear to come to opera, especially as he had a concert platform and not an opera house at his disposal; and it is a matter of great regret that his periods of illness now became so much worse, culminating in the final breakdown in February 1854, that no successor to it (save for the Rheinweinliedouvertüre, an occasional piece of quite a different type) ever appeared. I should like to suggest, however, that the 'operatic'
form of Das Glück von Edenhall and the lyrical style of Vom Pagen und der Königstochter which is continued in the later work would have eventually brought him very close to the line of development of music drama.
Schumann’s major choral works all belong to the last ten years of his compositional career. Various criteria can be employed to demonstrate changes in them over the years: size and scope, harmonic and structural advances, the turn to liturgical texts in 1852, and the gradual simplification of the chorus parts. But their points of similarity are as numerous: the use of the orchestra, the melodic language, the occasional use of recurrent motifs, and the subject matter. These aspects will each be considered briefly here in turn. It will be useful, however, first to obtain some idea of the influences at work upon his later choral style by considering the music he heard in his youth and the composers and indeed authors whom he particularly revered.

It may seem extraordinary to cite authors as musical influences, but we have Schumann’s own word for it that he enjoyed a kind of synaesthesia wherein he claimed to draw parallels between writers and composers, much as others have seen connections between keys and colours or even (Schumann again) keys and months of the year.¹ It must be pointed out that these parallels are inconsistent and often contradictory, but nevertheless they give an important insight into the relative significances for him of music and literature at a remarkably impressionable age. His abiding enthusiasm and reverence for the novelist Jean Paul began in his teens, and at that time he was also busy

¹. Eismann (3), p. 88
helping his father with his translations of Byron. Schiller was a
favourite author in the Literary Society which he founded at school, and
although no Goethe was read there Schumann soon met his works
independently in his student days.

We have already seen in chapter 2 how an amateur performance in
Heidelberg of Handel's _Samson_ had inspired Schumann to compare Handel
with Shakespeare and with Schiller, in particular with the latter's _Götz
von Berlichingen_. In an earlier letter to Wieck from Heidelberg, dated 6
November 1829, he says:

> Schubert is still my 'own' Schubert, something he has always
> had in common with my 'own Jean Paul'; whenever I play
> Schubert, it is as if I were reading a novel of Jean Paul set
to music.  

The following year, in Leipzig, he wrote in his diary entitled

_**Hottentottiana:**_

> ...The Schubert variations are related to Wilhelm Meister, as
> musical notes are related to words; but both are the Non [sic]
> plus ultra of Romanticism. Notes are above all words set to
> music. The Schubert variations are above all a novel by Göthe
> set to music, a novel which he is still trying to write.

In the same diary we also find:

> Whenever I listen to Beethoven, it is as if someone were
> reading Jean Paul to me; Schubert is more like Novalis, and
> Spohr is the very embodiment of Ernst Schulze or Carl Dolci in
> music...

This clearly prefigures some of Schumann's own piano works, which he said
he realised were literary scenes set to music _after_ he had finished
composing them; the opus 2 _Papillons_, which recalls the masked ball scene
in Jean Paul's _Flegeljahre_, is probably the best example. As we come to

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3. Schumann, C., p. 82
4. Eismann (3), p. 96. It is not clear from the context which Schubert
   variations he means.
5. Eismann (3), p. 97
consider the question of Biedermeier art later in this chapter we shall see how crucial these literary references and parallels are to a Biedermeier interpretation of Schumann's work.

His early musical enthusiasms remained with him throughout his life. As may be surmised from the foregoing, first was Schubert, in particular the works for piano duet and the Lieder. From his student days onward he studied Bach from time to time, but this was chiefly keyboard music and in particular the '48' preludes and fugues; although the Bach revival had begun, Schumann did not hear (or for that matter perform) much Bach choral music until the late 1840s, so that Bach was a somewhat later influence on his choral style. These periods of study of earlier masters were entirely typical of this largely self-taught composer, and he also embarked on a study of Beethoven's symphonies when about to attempt symphonic works himself. Going back even earlier, we find that during his boyhood in Zwickau two oratorios were given in the 1820s, Schneider's Weltgericht and Haydn's Die Schöpfung. In fact the 11-year-old Schumann played the piano in the 1821 performance of Weltgericht. At school concerts he is known to have played piano pieces such as Moscheles's Variations on the 'Alexander' March and Herz's Variations on 'A peine au sortir de l'enfance' from Méhul's Joseph. The latter, however, will have to be counted as negative influences, for these were the very kind of bravura piano showpieces he was later to condemn so heartily in the pages of the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik.

There remains one more important influence on his large-scale choral movements, the one which was identified in chapter 2, that of Handel. As we have seen, Schumann found that one of his law lecturers, Professor Thibaut, had weekly gatherings at his house to rehearse and ultimately to perform choral works by Palestrina, Lassus, Victoria, Cherubini, Bach and
Handel. Of these, the most lasting impression was made by the Handel works which he heard; and in fact many years later he was to refer to Das Paradies und die Peri as 'my Sam[s]on' in a diary entry for 1843. In chapter 2 it has been demonstrated how the large-scale movements for SATB are closely modelled on Handel, and throughout the rest of his compositional career he tended to fall back on Handel when this sort of contrapuntal writing seemed called for, as Ex. 1 shows.

Ex. 1a  Das Paradies und die Peri, no. 9, contrapuntal section on
'Denn heilig ist das Blut':

[Sehr lebhafter. $d:132$]

Ex. 1a contd.

[for the blood is holy]

Ex. 1b Adventlied, no. 7, at 'dass wir, die Völker und die Thronen':

[Die Viertel etwas schneller, wie vorher die Halben]

[that we, peoples and thrones, will always live united as brothers]
Ex. 1c Mass, stretto entries of 'Cum sancto spiritu' at the end of the Gloria:

[with the Holy Spirit in the glory of God the Father]

These examples suggest that the influence of Handel may be discerned from the earliest of Schumann's choral works of any consequence, Das Paradies und die Peri, through to the latest of them. But he never again attempted anything as large as Das Paradies und die Peri, for although the Faustscenen turned out to be of comparable length they were composed piecemeal and were not originally intended to form such a sizeable work. Schumann's other large choral works all approximate to half a programme's length, rather than a whole evening.
In chapters 7 and 9 we have seen how the late group of choral ballads contains certain harmonic and structural advances which take Schumann immediately into the area we now think of as occupied by the Wagner of Tannhäuser and Lohengrin, but which in fact derived from the common heritage of German Romantic opera as exemplified by Weber, Marschner and Spohr. Chief among such advances are Schumann's use of a truly continuous movement (not just a number of single movements joined together) as in Das Glück von Edenhall, and the sort of harmonic language found in the fourth ballad of Vom Pagen und der Königstochter.

The seemingly abrupt turn to liturgical texts in 1852 was probably impelled by Schumann's experience in directing his four church services a year in Düsseldorf, as has been argued in chapter 8. But even with these two liturgical works Schumann remains among the first composers to write mainly secular choral works, a tendency in which he was followed by Brahms.

The simplification of the chorus parts began with a gradual withdrawal from dependence on a quasi-Handelian choral style such as was identified in chapter 2, in favour of a more progressive idiom; at the same time, as the works as a whole were becoming more advanced in the ways already outlined, the simplification of the chorus parts continued. This trend answers the question of how the availability of his own choirs to sing his music week by week influenced Schumann's compositions. The Adventlied, written in November 1848 (only nine months after Schumann had started his own choral society in Dresden) was described by him as 'written from the outset with a weaker (not so accomplished) choir in
mind.' There may then have been a local improvement, for the 4 doppelchörige Gesänge, the Nachtlied and the Neujahrslied (late 1849–50) are more difficult and also more rewarding for the chorus. But after the move to Düsseldorf the chorus parts became easier and easier, as witness the final chorus in Das Glück von Edenhall, 'Vertilgt ist Edenhalls Geschlecht' and the choral finale to the Festouvertüre über das Rheinweinlied, based on the given popular theme; and this continued simplification, it must be emphasised, runs counter to the general harmonic and structural advances in the late works. I should like to suggest that it was caused by Schumann's unhappy relationship with his chorus in Düsseldorf. The choral society, demoralised by their woefully inadequate conductor (see chapter 3, particularly the discussion of the Festouvertüre über das Rheinweinlied), became less and less able to cope with passages of any complexity, and in response Schumann wrote very simple chorus parts, often in unison or octaves, which he doubled with instrumental support throughout. This is paralleled by his general habits of over-orchestration, which may have been compounded by feelings of insecurity concerning both the orchestra and his own conducting. It certainly seems as though by the 1850s he was reluctant to trust a solo instrument to play a passage correctly. A further lack of confidence can be detected in that the orchestra has little to do on its own in most of these works.

The melodic and rhythmic idiom employed in the choral works remains remarkably constant throughout. The melodic turns of phrase, the kind of thematic motifs which are Schumann's own characteristic voice, are

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7. In a letter to Eduard Krüger, dated 29 November 1849, cited in Abert, p. 106.
recognisable from beginning to end. The rhythmic impulse, however, is sometimes absent, and this is connected with the over-simplification of the chorus parts. Schumann sometimes fell into the trap of writing unexciting rhythms for the chorus, particularly as he seemed to dislike (or at least avoid) writing more than one note to a syllable; and with this went his tendency to write in symmetrical phrases, four bars answered by four bars in the same rhythm. This is by no means confined to Schumann; during the course of the nineteenth century rhythm was never so elaborately developed as melody or harmony. But in Schumann's case the over-simplification led almost to stagnation, and it is one of the most unsatisfactory features of his choral writing. Where he did attempt metrical complexity the result was often merely confusing, as examples in chapter 6 demonstrate.

Schumann's use of recurrent motifs, present in most of the major choral works, remained inconsistent. The only complete work which has a unifying motif appearing from beginning to end is Der Königssohn, but some of the later movements from the Faustscenen are similarly treated; the analysis of Mitternacht in chapter 5 shows how the movement gains from it. In the rest of the choral works, however, the recurrent motifs are few and tantalising by their relatively scarce appearances.

During this survey of Schumann's choral works we have seen many examples of the effect of the libretti upon the speed and ease of his compositional work. Where the text was suitable and congenial he would set to work very quickly and have the piece sketched in a very few days, but where the text itself needed some preliminary work, he would be held
up for days, months or even years until it was as he wished. For instance, the Nachtlied was set unaltered in a single day on 4 November 1849; the Cathedral Scene from the Faustscenen occupied only two days, 13 and 14 July 1849; and the Adventlied was sketched in five days in November 1848. This contrasts with Das Paradies und die Peri, which hung fire between August 1841 and February 1843 while the text was worked on; Des Sängers Fluch, whose libretto was not ready until six months after Schumann had first had the idea of composing it; and the oratorio Luther, the music to which was never even started after nearly three years' correspondence about the text. (The detailed comparison in chapter 6 between the work on Luther and that on Der Rose Pilgerfahrt also sheds light on this aspect of Schumann's work.) I think it is true to say that none of these works are any the worse for having been held up at the sketch stage (except for Luther, which never got started) for it is not apparent from the musical setting of any given work whether it was finished very quickly or whether it was delayed while the libretto was edited.

It remains a matter of surprise that Schumann never attempted his own libretto (aside from certain portions of Das Paradies und die Peri, listed in chapter 2, and his tinkering with Genoveva, summarised in chapter 5). As we have seen, he was passionately devoted to literature all his life. One of the very last projects which occupied him at the time of his mental breakdown in 1854 was a Dichtergarten, a compilation of poetic writings about music from the Bible onwards.\(^8\) While still in his teens, he wrote in his self-portrait that he did not know whether he

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8. Niecks, p. 286
was to be a poet in music or in words: '...his talent as musician and poet is at the same level...'. His early diaries are full of poetic attempts, some expressed in verse, some in prose. Yet the two exceptions noted above were his only efforts at writing his own libretto. His collaborators were numerous: Emil Flechsig and Adolf Böttger for Das Paradies und die Peri, Oswald Marbach for the unfinished Der Corsar, Robert Reinick for Genoveva, Moritz Horn for Der Rose Pilgerfahrt and Der Königssohn, Richard Pohl for Des Sängers Fluch, an unknown hand (possibly Rudolf Nielo: see chapter 9) for Vom Pagen und der Königstochter and Richard Hasenclever for Das Glück von Edenhall. Only one librettist, Moritz Horn, worked with Schumann more than once, which may have been as much to do with Schumann's own high-handed manner with the texts he set (see, for instance, chapter 7, Des Sängers Fluch) as with his search for the right collaborator.

There are a number of reasons why the choral works are not often performed. Schumann's shortcomings in dramatic works have been noted: they can be summarised by saying that he seemed unable to mirror the dramatic or climactic moment in his music, particularly where choruses of praise or rejoicing were concerned. This was particularly unfortunate for Schumann as his works tend to have happy endings: in fact, only two of the choral works (Des Sängers Fluch and Vom Pagen und der Königstochter) end tragically. This tendency towards the happy ending can be observed in choral music generally, and is probably connected with

9. Eismann (3), p. 242; Schumann was describing himself in the third person.
its official role as a vehicle for public rejoicing and the medium for overt statements, as opposed both to the private joys and sorrows and implicit utterances found in chamber music or Lieder, and to the often tragic conclusions of opera. It may have influenced Schumann in deciding to make two tragic endings into optimistic ones: the 'Requiem aeternam' at the end of his Manfred music and the chorus of praise which replaced the minstrel's death in Der Königsssohn.

The high percentage of happy endings in the choral music committed Schumann to a similarly high percentage of Freudenchöre, which was a pity because they are often the weakest point of his compositions; for instance, both versions of the chorus 'Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan' in the Faustscenen, the final chorus 'Und löscht die Zwietracht Glimmen aus' in the Adventlied, and the wedding choruses in Der Rose Pilgerfahrt. In this sort of chorus it often happens that just when we expect the movement to reach a climax with some exciting harmonies, stirring rhythms or soaring melodic lines, what we find instead is a lapse into plain diatonicism with a preponderance of V-I and especially IV-I harmonies, a lack of rhythmic drive which makes the movement seem to lose all its impetus and melodies derived entirely from the rather jejune harmonies described above. Occasionally Schumann contrived to rise to the challenge, as he did in the chorus 'Heil, unser König ist's', which ends no. 5 of Der Königsssohn with some exciting distant modulations (see chapter 7), and the chorus 'Gerettet ist das edle Glied' from Part III of the Faustscenen, where the imitative subject is based on a triadic fanfare which looks forward to the surging opening of the Rhenish Symphony (see chapter 5). But more often than not the chorus of praise or rejoicing is a distinct disappointment instead of forming the climax to the whole piece.
It has already been mentioned that choral works tend to be essentially public, official utterances, as distinct from the private world of the Lieder (and perhaps of the Requiem für Mignon) and this had one particular effect on Schumann's libretti. Certain words and expressions were expunged or altered, presumably because they were felt to be unsuitable for general audiences (and perhaps also for the chorus which would perform them). We recall the replacement of the line

Wagtest du in frecher Lust um ihrem Leib zu werben?

[Did you dare, in insolent desire, to sue for her body?]

by

Wagtest du in f rchem Muth um ihre Lieb' zu werben?

[Did you dare, in insolent courage, to sue for her love?]

in Vom Pagen und der Königinstochter (chapter 9), and a further example is the alteration of 'schwanger' (pregnant) to 'drängend' (pressing) in the Neujahrslied. Light is shed on this practice by Richard Pohl's remark:

Above all, he was looking for texts which would be suitable for female ears. 10

The sort of bowdlerisation instanced above would be a necessary consequence of this policy.

However, this theory can be continued still further, and we must return for a moment to the concept of 'Biedermeier' art, mentioned in Chapter 6 with particular reference to Der Rose Pilgerfahrt. It was first used as a term of abuse (as with other historical terms) by the Romantics of the later nineteenth century for what they saw as the bourgeois and conventional citizens of a few decades earlier, who felt

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10. Pohl, p. 180
ill at ease with the overt passion and headstrong emotionalism of full-blown Romantic art. The name 'Biedermeier' was derived from a comic character created by Ludwig Eichrodt (1827-92) for his humorous and political magazine Fliegende Blätter. The worthy Gottlieb Biedermeier was supposed to be a schoolmaster who wrote comic verses, wherein were displayed his narrow-mindedness, ignorance and lack of taste, particularly on questions of artistic merit. This inevitably recalls the 'Philistines' against whom Schumann's semi-fictitious Davidsbund was ranged in the 1830s, and indeed 'Biedermeier' in its early pejorative sense and 'Philistine' are virtually interchangeable.

'Biedermeier' then began to be applied, in quite a different way, to the furniture and interior design of the years between 1815 (Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo) and 1848 (when revolutions broke out in various European countries; a fuller account of these convulsions will be found in Chapter 3). This was characterised by lightness, gracefulness and an emphasis on practicality, and as the term 'Biedermeier' began to be used for some general artistic trends of the period, the interiors once described as 'Biedermeier' were seen as the orderly and respectable environment in which such art could flourish.

The concept of Biedermeier principles of art can be best explained by reference to subject matter and intended audience. The question of subject matter is particularly important for music, because it means that Biedermeier music must of necessity have a subject, that is to say a text or a programme, which of course is not obligatory for music in general. Many of the most popular pieces in the Biedermeier era were operas such as Marschner's Hans Heiling or Lortzing's Zar und Zimmermann; there was a wide public, too, for Lieder and for piano genre pieces with programmatic titles. In Schumann's case the use of texts or literary references of
one kind or another is an important indicator of his conformity to Biedermeier trends. Those works of his which had no actual text very often had a programme, whether stated or suppressed. In the case of the symphonies, for instance, the programmes for the First and Third have become generally recognised through the nicknames 'Spring' and 'Rhenish' which are attached to them; but it is not always realised that the Second and Fourth also have their own particular subjects in recovery from illness and the inspiration derived from Clara.

The type of subject matter, of course, was of great significance in Biedermeier art. Biedermeier painters loved to depict the bourgeois home in finely reproduced detail, often with the intention of telling a story or pointing a moral in one almost photographic scene. A favourite example of mine is Arthur Hughes’s *The Long Engagement*, where the whole story of the betrothed couple can be seen in one moment of pathos. Biedermeier poets and novelists likewise took middle-class home life as their material and eschewed the epic subjects and tremendous passions treated by out-and-out Romantics. Examples of such works include Müller's *Die Schöne Müllerin* poems and the novels of Charles Dickens, which we can see as opposed to the Romanticism of the stories of E.T.A. Hoffmann or the dramas of Byron.

All the artists of Biedermeier tendencies were aiming at a specifically bourgeois public, one which appreciated their emphasis on what was suitable for a family audience. Dickens is a crucial figure here because of his conscious decision to omit from his works (including the weekly periodicals which he edited, *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, as well as his novels) anything which might embarrass a family audience. For instance, in *Oliver Twist*, which draws so heavily on the criminal underworld inhabited by Fagin, Sikes and Nancy, the word
'prostitute' never appears (except in the preface, which would not necessarily be read to the family audience). Dickens knew, from his own experience, that the paterfamilias would understand what was really going on from his own greater knowledge of the world, while the rest of the family would continue in their undisturbed ignorance of such distasteful matters. Here we have come back to Schumann and his 'texts which would be suitable for female ears'; and Schumann, too, was aiming at an essentially middle-class public, both to listen to and to perform his music. The aristocratic patrons whom Beethoven had still been able to find in Vienna only a decade or so before Schumann began composing were wholly absent from Leipzig; he never really gained an entrée to court circles in Dresden, and on moving to Düsseldorf he found himself once more among the bourgeoisie. So when Schumann submitted works to publishers or sought to present concert performances, it was the middle-class public as consumers whose taste both he and they endeavoured to gratify. Schumann's occasional attempts to seek royal recognition in seeking permission to dedicate major works (for example, the symphonies) to various monarchs seem unconvincing and anachronistic efforts to pretend that this patronage still had some meaning. Clara was better able to take advantage of whatever royal largesse was available, for she could delight court audiences with private recitals during her concert tours, and from an early age had held the title of Chamber Musician to the Viennese court. But even she had to rely far more on the middle-class concert-going public than on aristocratic patronage, and indeed it seems that save for the last spectacular example of Ludwig II of Bavaria's support for Wagner, royalty and nobility were largely a spent force in subsidising the arts.
In view of all this, I should like to suggest that Schumann was much more the type of the Biedermeier artist (even in the 1830s) than might at first appear. From the earliest days he shared with the Philistines a dislike of the all-pervading French art and culture, and as time went on he turned more and more to literary sources which were congruent with Biedermeier principles and aspirations. But even in his early works we can see in the subject matter and in the intended audience a truly Biedermeier approach to art. In the case of the opus 2 Papillons, it is true that he later alleged that the programme occurred to him after the composition was finished, but nevertheless the story of the events at a masked ball (in the Larventanz chapter of Jean Paul's Flegeljahre), complete with that Biedermeier anthem the Grossvatertanz, both portrays and appeals to the middle-class public from which Schumann himself sprang.

A further interesting aspect of Schumann's choral works is that not only are the plots all of the same unexceptionable moral tone, but they are also nearly all based on the same fundamental story. It is in essence a redemption drama, but with the surprising extra feature that the character seeking redemption or rescue is innocent of sin. Consider all these heroines: the Peri, Mignon, Genoveva, Rosa, Gretchen, the Queens in Der Königsohn and Des Sängers Fluch and the Princess in Vom Pagen und der Königstochter. Only Gretchen is a recognised sinner, and she is so much more sinned against than sinning that she can take her place in this series. (Even Faust and Manfred end by being redeemed in the versions which Schumann uses of their stories.) Typically the heroine is in need of redemption or rescue, despite the fact that she is guiltless; Genoveva is a particularly good example of this, for the heroine is cast into the desert on a false charge of adultery, only to be
brought back later amid general rejoicing. These sinless heroines are
the epitome of the Biedermeier virtues discussed above; and they are also
of interest in determining the significance for Schumann of this series
of variations on the same basic plot which he chose to portray in his
choral works. We can only speculate about the state of Schumann's psyche
in the 1840s and 1850s, but I should like to suggest that great
significance attaches to his four-year struggle for the right to marry
Clara against the implacable opposition of her father. We know that
Schumann, obsessed by Clara, depicted her in music in many of his earlier
pieces. It may be suggested that the sub-text of the choral works is the
battle with Wieck, as though Schumann was compelled to choose plots in
which Clara was rescued over and over again; this reading is not
invalidated by the lack of a father-figure in these plots.

By and large the best things about Schumann's choral works are not
the choruses. From Das Paradies und die Peri onwards we have seen how
the most successful features are usually the solo parts, the ensemble
music for soloists or semi-chorus, and the orchestral sections in those
few works where the orchestra is given an independent role. This, of
course, comes as no surprise when we look back on Schumann's
compositional career and consider the sort of works for which he is now
best known and loved. It is above all the aspect which makes the
Faustscenen and the late choral ballads particularly interesting, for in
Part II of the Faust music and the choral ballads Schumann created works
which although not intended for the stage were as near opera as anything
he ever wrote, and in certain cases, notably *Mitternacht* from *Faust* and *Das Glück von Edenhall*, approached the condition of music drama.

The Schumann of the choral works is the last unknown Schumann to present himself to the general reader, the music lover and the musicologist alike. I remain convinced that the key to understanding these works lies in the Biedermeier aspect of Schumann's art, an aspect which has been up till now largely ignored. When these works are properly understood then I hope it will be possible for conductors, programme planners and recording executives to give audiences the chance to hear them and judge for themselves. I would not claim that it is impossible to understand Schumann without understanding his choral music, but I do believe that it is impossible to know him fully without taking it into account, for it played a large and important part in his working life, forms a significant proportion of his complete oeuvre, and gives us a striking insight into the direction he was taking in the final years before his tragic collapse.
APPENDIX A

LIST OF SCHUMANN'S CHORAL WORKS

This appendix lists the choral works in order of composition with details of text source, forces involved, dedication (where appropriate) and bibliographical information about the first edition and appearances in the Collected Edition published in the 1880s by Breitkopf & Härtel. This is an area which has been prone to inaccuracies: in particular, some writers have confused publication dates of full scores and vocal scores of the same work, and the original publisher has often been misattributed (not least in the Collected Edition) because of acquisition of copyright or takeover of firms.

Due to the rather fluid situation of Schumann manuscript provenance, it has not been possible to give an exhaustive list of MSS. sources for every work. However, at the end of the worklist there is a select list of the important autograph MSS. known to be in public archives.

To save time and space I list here the usual line-up in Schumann's orchestra; in the worklist itself only departures from that norm are noted.

Schumann's usual orchestra

2 flutes and piccolo
2 oboes
2 clarinets
2 bassoons
4 horns (most usually 2 natural and 2 valve horns)
2 trumpets
3 trombones (alto, tenor and bass)
timpani
strings
More information on the probable size of Schumann's orchestra will be found in Appendix G.

Various publishers brought out first editions of Schumann's choral works, and they are listed here with their location and any other relevant information:

- F.W. Arnold, Elberfeld
- Bote & Bock, Berlin, Breslau and Stettin (Szczecin)
- Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig; after World War II, in two sections, the eastern part in Leipzig, the western in Wiesbaden
- Deutscher Arbeiter-Sängerbund, Berlin
- Friedländer, Berlin; acquired the firm of C.F. Peters in 1860
- Robert Friese, Leipzig & Dresden
- Heinze, Leipzig
- F.E.C. Leuckart, Breslau and Leipzig
- C.F. Kistner, Leipzig
- C.F. Peters, Leipzig
- Rieter-Biedermann, Winterthur; set up a Leipzig branch in 1862 which later became the firm's head office
- Schuberth, Leipzig
- Bartholf Senff, Leipzig
N. Simrock  Bonn
F.W. Whistling  Leipzig

Where only one publication date is given, this implies that the work was published in score format only, unless stated otherwise.

For the bibliographical details of first editions I am heavily indebted to Kurt Hofmann's study Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Robert Schumann (Musikbibliographische Arbeiten vol. VI) (Tutzing, 1980).

The abbreviation PN for plate number is used throughout this list.
**Title & description of work**

**Psalm 150** (1822; op. 1 in juvenile numbering) for SA chorus, piano, 2 violins, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 trumpets, viola, horn, bassoon and timpani

Text from the Psalms of David

**Bibliographical details**


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**Overture & Chorus of Peasants** (1822; op. 1 no. iii in juvenile numbering)

Details of text unavailable

**Bibliographical details**

Unpublished

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**3 Gedichte von Emanuel Geibel** op. 29 (1840) for voices and piano

Text from Emanuel Geibel

1. Ländliches Lied (SA soli)
2. Lied (SSA soli)
3. Zigeunerleben (small chorus SATB, with tambourine and triangle ad lib. for which no written part is provided)

**Bibliographical details**

First edition
Breitkopf & Härtel, February 1841, PN 6502, 6503 & 6504

Collected edition
vol. X.5 (1884) PN R.S. 101

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**6 Lieder für vierstimmige Männergesang** op. 33 (1840) for unaccompanied male voices

1. Der träumende See (Mosen)
2. Die Minnesänger (Heine)
3. Die Lotosblume (Heine)
4. Der Zecher als Doctrinär (Mosen)
5. Rastlose Liebe (Goethe)
6. Frühlingsglocken (Kühnel)

**Bibliographical details**

First edition
Schuberth, April 1842, PN 424 (score and parts)

No. 5, Rastlose Liebe, had already appeared in September 1840 in the Sammlung von Musikstücken alter und neuer Zeit vol. XI, pp. 10-14, as a supplement to the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik

Collected edition
vol. XI.1 (1887) PN R.S. 109

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**Der deutsche Rhein** WoO 1 (1840) for soloist, chorus and piano

Text by Nicolaus Becker

(The second edition was called 'op. 27b.1')

Versions for school use, for four-part men's voices and for chorus and orchestra have been lost

**Bibliographical details**

First edition
Robert Frieser, November 1840. No PN.

Second edition
Schuberth, October 1863, PN 3816

Collected edition
vol. X.12 (1887) PN R.S. 108
**Title & description of work**

**Das Paradies und die Perle** op. 50 (1843) for soloists, chorus and orchestra.
Text after Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, translated by Emil Flechsig and further edited by Adolf Bottger and the composer. Schumann adds to his orchestra ophicleide, harp, cymbals, bass drum and triangle.

**Szenen aus Goethes Faust** WoO 3 (1844-53) for soloists, chorus and orchestra.
Text selected by the composer from Goethe's Faust Parts I & II.

Text after Byron's *The Corsair*, possibly in a translation by Dr. Oswald Marbach.

**Bibliographical details**

**First edition**
Breitkopf & Härtel: vocal score September 1844, PN 7069
chorus parts 1844, PN 7141
full score January 1845, PN 6262
piano score 1848, PN 7892
piano duet score 1852, PN 8491
string parts 1857, PN 9310

**Collected edition**
vol. IX.1 (1883) full score PN R.S. 79
vocal score PN R.S. 79 Kl.A.

**First Edition**
Friedländer: vocal score October 1858
full score October 1858; title page has PN J.F. 263, page 1 has PN No. 255; no further PNs.
overture arranged by the composer for piano solo, 1853
overture arranged by Waldemar Bargiel (Clara's stepbrother) for piano duet, 1853.

'New' edition by Peters (who had acquired the copyright) in 1865:
vocal score PN 4362, full score PN 4441.

**Collected edition**
vol. IX. (1885) full score PN R.S. 96
vocal score PN R.S. 96 Kl.A.

**First Edition**
Breitkopf & Härtel, 1903, PN Wb 1671
Title & description of work

5 Lieder op. 55 (1846) for unaccompanied mixed voices
Texts from Robert Burns, translated by Gerhard.
1. Das Hochlandmädchen
2. Zahnweh
3. Mich zieht es nach dem Dorfchen hin
4. Die alte gute Zeit
5. Hochlandbursch
Dedicated to the Leipzig Liederkranz

4 Gesänge op. 59 (1846) for unaccompanied mixed voices
1. Nord oder Süd (K. Lappe)
2. Am Bodensee (von Platen)
3. Jägerlied (Mörike)
4. Gute Nacht (Rückert)
Dedicated to Raimund Härtel
A fifth song, Hirtenknaben-Gesang (WoO 18), to a text by
Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, was evidently intended for this
set but remained unpublished at the time.

Beim Abschied zu singen op. 84 (1847) for mixed chorus with
wind band or piano
Text from Fauchtersliebens Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath.
Orchestration for wind band:
2 flutes
2 oboes
2 clarinets
2 bassoons
2 horns

Bibliographical details

First edition
Whistling, May 1847, PN 408
Heinze bought the copyright in about 1859 and republished
them with PN G.H. 24
Collected edition
vol. XI 1.1 (1886) PN R.S. 112

First edition
Whistling, January 1848, PN 409
Heinze bought the copyright and brought out a 'new edition'
in 1861 with PN G.H. 25
Collected edition
vol. XII 2. (1886) PN R.S. 113
First edition (Hirtenknaben-Gesang)
Breitkopf & Härtel, 1930, PN 30250
The copyright was also dated 1930.

First edition
Whistling, June 1850, PN 578 (the wind parts remained
unpublished)
Collected edition
vol. IX 4 (1887) PN R.S. 82
Title & description of work

Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen op. 65 (1847) for unaccompanied men's voices.

Text selected by the composer from Rückert's Vierzeiler.

1. Die Rose stand im Tau (TTBBB solo)
2. Lasst Lautenspiel und Becherklang nicht rasten (BBB chorus)
3. Blüht' oder Schnee! Lust oder Weh! (TTT solo and TTBB chorus)
4. Geht mir zu trinken (BBB chorus)
5. Zurne nicht des Herbstes Wind (TTBB solo)
6. In Sommertagen (TTBB chorus)
7. In Meeres Mitten (TTBB chorus) [see op. 91 no. 6]

Dedicated to Rückert.

[An eighth Ritornelle, 'Hätte zu einem Traubenkerne', which was placed as no. 7 before the original no. 8, 'Blüht' oder Schnee', remained unpublished at the time, as did 'Mache deinem Meister Ehre' (Zum Anfang), a non-Ritornelle Rückert setting from the same time.]

Bibliographical details

First edition
Breitkopf & Härtel, July 1849, PN 7944

Collected edition
vol. XI.3 (1886), PN R.S. 111

'Sätte zu einem Traubenkerne' is said to have been published in the music supplement to Die Musik, Jg. V, Heft 20:2 (June 1906) edited by Hermann Erler. The British Library and Birmingham Public Library copies I have seen contain no supplement.

Zum Anfang was published in the evening edition of the Hamburger Fremdenblatt, Saturday 11 December 1926, no. 342, p. 19, by Leopold Hirschberg, then by F.E.C. Leuckart in 1928 with PN F.E.C.L. 8653.

Both these pieces are transcribed in Appendix D.

[3 Lieder] für Männerchor op. 62 (1847) for unaccompanied male voices

1. Der Eldgenossen Nachtwehe (Elchendorff)
2. Freiheitslied (Rückert)
3. Schlachtgesang (Klopstock)

Solfeggien (1848) - four sets, of which only two now survive, one for male voices, one for mixed voices, both unaccompanied

Textless

First edition
Whistling, late February 1848, PN 468

Collected edition
vol. XI.2 (1887) PN R.S. 110

Unpublished
Title & description of work

1. Schwarz-Roth-Gold (Freiligrath)
2. Zu den Waffen (Ullrich)
3. Freiheitssang (Fürst)

Instrumentation: 2 flutes (2nd doubling piccolo), 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 4 valve horns, 4 valve trumpets, timpani, 3 trombones and serpent

The MS. is labelled 'op. 65'; the original order was Zu den Waffen (WoO 14), Schwarz-Roth-Gold (WoO 13), Freiheitssang (WoO 15)

Manfred op. 115 (1848)
Incidental music to Byron's play, for soloists, chorus and orchestra

Schumann used the translation by K.A. Suckow ('Posgaru'). A connecting text for concert performance was written by Richard Pohl after Schumann's death; it was published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1858. Schumann adds to his normal orchestra cor anglais, harp, tuba, bass drum, cymbals and organ.

Bibliographical details

First published without the wind band accompaniment as Trois choeurs de Robert Schumann: Pour la révolution de 1848 by Julien Tiersot in Revue musicale, April 1913, with text in French.

Nos. 1 & 2 first published as separate items by the Deutscher Arbeiter-Sängerbund:
1. Schwarz-Roth-Gold (as unaccompanied chorus) late 1913, PN 89a.
2. Zu den Waffen (with piano accompaniment) early 1914, PN 91a.

No. 3, Freiheitssang, was published as an unaccompanied chorus in an album sold 'in aid of the Women's Union, to purchase war transport for the Fatherland' (sc. the Kingdom of Prussia) in the revolutionary year of 1848; republished in an appendix to Die Musik, Jg. XIV, October 1914 (Bote & Bock, PN B & B 1547). This published version ends with a final cadence at bar 20. All three choruses are given in their original forms with wind band accompaniments in Appendix D.

First edition
Breitkopf & Härtel, vocal score, November 1853, PN 8600
full score, January 1862, PN 10255
orchestral parts, c. 1855, PN 5356
chorus parts, 1857, PN 9955

Collected edition
vol. IX.9 (1882) full score PN R.S. 87
vocal score PN R.S. 87 Kl. A.
Adventlied op. 71 (1848) for soprano solo, chorus and orchestra
(with SATB solo from within the chorus in movement 5)
Text from Rückert's Kirchenjahr.
Schumann omits the piccolo from his normal orchestra.

First edition
Breitkopf & Härtel, vocal score by R. Pfretzschner, October 1849, PN 7970
string parts 1857, PN 9319
full score April 1866, PN 10818

Collected edition
vol. IX.2 (1882) full score PN R.S. 80
vocal score PN R.S. 80 Kl. A.

Romanzen und Balladen Heft I op. 67 (1849) for unaccompanied mixed voices
1. Der König von Thule (Goethe)
2. Schön-Rohtraut (Mörcke)
3. Heidenröslein (Goethe)
4. Ungewitter (Chamisso)
5. John Anderson (Burns) [cf. op. 145 no. 4]

Romanzen und Balladen Heft II op. 75 (1849) for unaccompanied mixed voices
1. Schitter Tod (Old German)
2. Im Walde (Elchendorff)
3. Der traurige Jäger (Elchendorff)
4. Der Rekrut (Burns)
5. Vom verwundeten Knaben (Old German)
Title & description of work

**Romanzen und Balladen** Heft III op. 145 (1849) for unaccompanied mixed voices
1. Der Schmidt (Uhland)
2. Die Nonne (Anon.)
3. Der Sänger (Uhland)
4. John Anderson (Burns) [cf. op. 67 no. 5]
5. Romanze von Gänsebuben (translated from the Spanish by O. von der Malsburg)

**Romanzen und Balladen** Heft IV op. 146 (1849) for unaccompanied mixed voices [but see no. 5]
1. Brautgesang (Uhland)
2. Bänkelsänger Willie (Burns)
3. Der Traum (Uhland)
4. Sommertale (Rückert)
5. Das Schifflein (Uhland) (with obbligato flute and horn)

**Romanzen für Frauenstimmen** Heft I op. 69 (1849) for women's voices with piano accompaniment ad lib.
1. Tambourinschlägerin (Eichendorff)
2. Waldmädchen [for solo voices] (Eichendorff)
3. Klosterfräulein (Kerner)
4. Soldatenbraut (Mörke)
5. Meerjungfrau (Eichendorff)
6. Die Capelle (Uhland)

Bibliographical details

**First edition**
Arnold, February 1860, PN A543

**Collected edition**
vol. XII.6 (1887) PN R.S. 117

**First edition**
Arnold, February 1860, PN A544

**Collected edition**
vol. XII.7 (1887) PN R.S. 118

**First edition**
Simrock, November 1849, PN 4754

**Collected edition**
vol. X.6 (1887) PN R.S. 102
Title & description of work

_Romanzen für Frauenstimmen_ Heft II op. 91 (1849) for women's voices with piano accompaniment ad lib.
1. Rosmarin (Old German)
2. Jäger Wohlgezimm (Des Knaben Wunderhorn, von Arnim and Brentano)
3. Der Wassermann (Kerner)
4. Das verlassene Mägdlein (Mörike)
5. Der Blechhorn Nachtmahl (Reinick)
6. In Meeres Mitten (Rückert) [cf. op. 65 no. 7]

5 Gesänge aus H. Laube's Jagdbrevier op. 137 (1849) for men's voices and four horns ad lib. (Schumann specifies four natural horns, but says that the fourth can be a valve horn.)
Text from Heinrich Laube.
1. Zur hohen Jagd
2. Habet Acht!
3. Jagdmorgen
4. Frühe
5. Bei der Flasche

Motette, Verzweife nicht in Schmerzenstahl op. 93 (1849; orchestrated 1852) for double choirs of men's voices, with organ or orchestra ad lib.
Text from Rückert's Makamen des Harlri
The orchestral version has an organ part which is however not the same as the version for organ alone printed in the vocal score.

Bibliographical details

First edition
Simrock, January 1851, PN 4870
Collected edition
vol. X.7 (1887) PN R.S. 103

First edition
Rüster-Biedermann, June 1857, PN 23
Collected edition
vol. IX.11 (1887) PN R.S. 89

First edition
Whistling, June 1851, PN 637
Collected edition
vol. IX.5 (1887), full score PN R.S. 83 vocal score R.S. 83 Kl. A.
Title & description of work

Requiem für Mignon op. 98b (1849) for soloists, small chorus and orchestra
Text from Goethe’s Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, Book VIII
Schumann adds an ad lib. harp part to his usual orchestra

Bibliographical details

First edition
Breitkopf & Härtel, full score September 1851, PN 8389
vocal score October 1851, PN 8373
[It was published with the other Wilhelm Meister songs which form op. 98a]

Collected edition
vol. IX.6 (1881) full score, PN R.S. 84
vocal score PN R.S. 84 Kl. A.

Vier doppelstimmige Gesänge für grössere Gesangvereine op. 141 (1849)
for unaccompanied double mixed voice chorus
1. An die Sterne (Rückert)
2. Ungewisses Licht (J.C. von Zedlitz)
3. Zuversicht (J.C. von Zedlitz)
4. Tallismane (Goethe)

First edition
Kistner, February 1858, PN 2287
Collected edition
vol. XII.5 (1887) PN R.S. 116

Nachtellied op. 108 (1849) for chorus and orchestra
Text from Hebbel.
Schumann omits piccolo, two horns, and alto and tenor trombones from his usual orchestra.
Dedicated to the poet.

First edition
Simrock, vocal score by Pfretzschner November 1852, PN 5270
full score January 1853, PN 5327
Collected edition
vol. IX.7 (1887) full score PN R.S. 85
vocal score PN R.S. 85 Kl. A.

Neujahrslied op. 144 (1849) for soloists, chorus and orchestra
Text from Rückert’s Kirchenjahr.
Schumann adds a fourth trombone to his usual three.

First edition
Rieter-Biedermann, full score February 1861, PN 192
vocal score November 1861, PN 193
orchestral parts December 1861, PN 194
chorus parts December 1861, PN 195
Collected edition
vol. IX.15 (1887) full score PN R.S. 93
vocal score PN R.S. 93 Kl. A.
Title & description of work

_Der Rose Pilgerfahrt_ op. 112 (1851) for soloists, chorus and piano or orchestra
Text by Moritz Horn

_Bibliographical details

First edition
Kistner, full score October 1852, PN 1900
vocal score October 1852, PN 1901
chorus parts October 1852, PN 1902
orchestral parts 1861, PN 2597
piano score by August Horn c. 1860-61, PN 2573

Collected edition
vol. IX.8 (1887) full score PN R.S. 86
vocal score PN R.S. 86 Kl. A.

First edition
Whistling, vocal score July 1853, PN 735
chorus parts July 1853, PN 731
full score thought by Kurt Hofmann to date from after 1873, with PN 735 (cf. vocal score).*

Collected edition
vol. IX.10 (1887) full score PN R.S. 88
vocal score PN R.S. 88 Kl. A.

First edition
Arnold, January 1858, vocal score by Albert Dietrich, PN A.500
vocal parts (i.e. solos) PN A.498
chorus parts, PN A.499
February 1858, full score PN A.502
orchestral parts PN A.502

Collected edition
vol. IX.12 (1885) full score PN R.S. 90
vocal score PN R.S. 90 Kl. A.

*Hofmann, p. 253

_Der Konigsohn_ op. 116 (1851) ballad for soloists, chorus and orchestra
Text from Uhland, edited by Moritz Horn
Schumann adds triangle and a pair of cornets to his usual orchestra.

_Das Sängers Fluch_ op. 139 (1852) ballad for soloists, chorus and orchestra
Text from Uhland, edited by Richard Pohl
Schumann adds tuba, harp and a third oboe to his usual orchestra; he also adds ad lib. parts for string quartet to be used if no harp is available.
The work is dedicated to Brahms.
Title & description of work

*Messe für vierstimigen Chor mit Begleitung des Orchesters*
op. 147 (1852) [for chorus and orchestra with soprano, tenor and bass soloists]
Text from the Ordinary of the Mass, with local variants, most notably the addition of the Offertorium, *Totae pulchrae es*, Maria, and the Benediction hymn, *O salutaris hostia*.
Schumann adds the organ to his usual orchestra, but cues in strings or woodwind for solo passages in case an organ is not available.

*Requiem für Chor und Orchester* op. 148 (1852)
[for chorus and orchestra with soprano, alto, tenor and bass soloists]
Text from the *Missa pro Defunctis*.
Schumann omits the piccolo from his usual orchestra.

Bibliographical details

**First edition**
Rieter-Biedermann, full score December 1862 PN 232
vocal score October 1862, PN 233
chorus parts October 1862 PN 235
orchestral parts January (?) 1863 PN 234
piano duet version by Franz Wülner, 1867, PN 545

**Collected edition**
vol. IX.16 (1887) full score PN R.S. 94
vocal score PN R.S. 94 Kl. A.

**First edition**
Rieter-Biedermann, full score March 1864 PN 312
vocal score March 1864 PN 313
chorus parts March 1864 PN 315
orchestral parts April 1864 PN 314
piano duet version by F.L. Schubert
October 1864 PN 370

**Collected edition**
vol. IX.17 (1887) full score PN R.S. 95
vocal score PN R.S. 95 Kl. A.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title &amp; description of work</th>
<th>Bibliographical details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vom Pagen und der Königstochter</strong> op. 140 (1852) 4 choral ballads for soloists, chorus and orchestra Text from Emanuel Geibel Schumann adds the harp to his usual orchestra.</td>
<td><strong>First edition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Das Glück von Edenhal</strong> op. 143 (1853) ballad for men's voices and orchestra</td>
<td>Rieter-Biedermann, ed. Brahms and Clara Schumann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text from Uhland, edited by Dr. R. Hasenclever</td>
<td>full score October 1857 PN 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schumann adds the tuba and the triangle to his usual orchestra.</td>
<td>vocal score November 1857 PN 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>orchestral parts c. 1857-58 PN 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chorus parts c. 1857-58 PN 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Collected edition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vol. IX.13 (1887) full score PN R.S. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vocal score PN R.S. 91 Kl. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>First edition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rieter-Biedermann, full score February 1860 PN 92</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vocal score February 1860 PN 93</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>orchestral parts February 1860 PN 94</td>
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<td></td>
<td>chorus parts February 1860 PN 95</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Collected edition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vol. IX.14 full score (1886) PN R.S. 92</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vocal score (1887) PN R.S. 92 Kl. A.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Festouvertüre über das Rheinweinlied</strong> op. 123 (1853) orchestral overture with choral finale for soloists and SATB or TTBB chorus Text of the Rheinweinlied by J. André; connecting text by Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter and M. Claudius</td>
<td><strong>First edition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simrock, October 1854, vocal score with piano duet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accompaniment, PN 5605</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April 1855, vocal score and chorus parts, PN 5731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August 1857, full score PN 5952</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Collected edition</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vol. I.5 (1887) PN R.S. 9</td>
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</table>
**SELECT LIST OF AUTOGRAPH MS. SOURCES OF SCHUMANN'S CHORAL WORKS**

Libraries are denoted by their RISM sigla, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sigla</th>
<th>Library Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AWgm</td>
<td>Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB</td>
<td>Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DBds</td>
<td>Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLEm</td>
<td>Musikhalle der Stadt Leipzig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTu</td>
<td>Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DZsch</td>
<td>Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPN</td>
<td>Bibliothèque nationale, Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBOb</td>
<td>Bodleian Library, Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USNYp</td>
<td>New York Public Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USWc</td>
<td>Library of Congress, Washington</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**3 Gedichte von Emanuel Geibel** op. 29 (1840)
DZsch Archive nos. 12046 and 10425

**Der deutsche Rhein** WoO 1 (1840)
DLEm

**Das Paradies und die Peri** op. 50 (1843)
Full score: DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 2
Sketch material: DZsch Archive nos. 7592 and 10901

**Scenen aus Goethes Faust** WoO 3 (1844-53)
Full score: DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 3, 1 (Part I, Part II nos. 4 & 5)
DB Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 3, 2 (Part II no. 6, Part III)
Vocal score by Clara: AWgm
Der Corsar (1844)
Fragment of full score bound with
DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 11 (Das Glück von Edenhall)

5 Lieder op. 55 (1846)
Sketches of nos. 4 and 5 and engraver's copy in
DZsch, Archive nos. 10596, 10599 and 8827.

4 Gesänge op. 59 (1846)
No. 2 in DZsch, Archive no. 1.
The opening page of the MS. of the cancelled song, Hirtenknaben-Gesang,
was published in facsimile in Der Bär, Jahrbuch von Breitkopf & Härtel
von die Jahre 1929-30 (Leipzig, 1930).

Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen op. 65 (1847)
Fair copy of no. 1 in GBOb. It was given by Clara to Mendelssohn's
widow, as it had been written on the day that the Schumanns heard the
news of Mendelssohn's death. It later became part of the Deneke
Collection.
Fair copies of nos. 1-8 in DZsch, Archive no. 7993 (although Boetticher
quotes the number as 7593)
Another copy of no. 6 in DZsch Archive no. 10536
Copies of nos. 2 and 4 in DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 16

Solfeggien (1847)
DZsch Archive no. 10611

[3 Patriotic Choruses] WoO 13, 14 and 15 (1848)
Fair copy of full score in FPn MS. 316

Manfred op. 115 (1848)
Full score in DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 21
Vocal score in FPn WL3 (70)

Adventlied op. 71 (1848)
Full score in DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 8
Romanzen und Balladen Heft I op. 67 (1849)
Engraver's copy in DZsch, Archive no. 5439

Romanzen und Balladen Heft II op. 75 (1849)
Engraver's copy of nos. 1, 2 and 5 in DZsch, Archive no. 3

Romanzen und Balladen Heft III op. 145 (1849)
Copy of no. 2 in DZsch, Archive no. 9955
Copy of no. 3 in FPh, MS. 343
Composition sketch in Landes- und Stadtbibliothek, Düsseldorf

Romanzen für Frauenstimmen Heft I op. 69 (1849)
USNYp, Robert Owen Lehman Foundation Collection (Cortot Bequest)

Romanzen für Frauenstimmen Heft II op. 91 (1849)
Nos. 3 and 6 in USNYp, Robert Owen Lehman Foundation Collection (Cortot Bequest)
Engraver's copy of no. 2 in DZsch, Archive no. 3

Motette, Verzweifle nicht im Schmerzenstal op. 93 (1849, orchestrated 1852)
Full score of orchestral version with vocal parts in the hand of a copyist in DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 15
Vocal score in DZsch, Archive no. 7590
Engraver's copy in the hand of a copyist, with autograph title page and corrections, in DZsch, Archive no. 5440

4 doppelchörige Gesänge op. 141 (1849)
No. 2 and sketch of no. 3 in FPh MS. 328

Nachtlied op. 108 (1849)
Engraver's copy of full score, partially autograph, in FPh MS. 323
Proofs in DZsch Archive no. 7132
A single sketch leaf in USWc, 25 ML 96 S415 (among sketches for the first movement of the First Symphony)
Neujahrslied op. 144 (1849)
Full score, with vocal parts in the hand of a copyist, in DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 10

Der Rose Pilgerfahrt op. 112 (1851)
Full score, with vocal parts in the hand of a copyist, in DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 4

Der Königsohn op. 116 (1851)
Vocal score, with vocal parts in the hand of a copyist, in DTu

Des Sängers Fluch op. 139 (1852)
Full score, with vocal parts in the hand of a copyist, in FPn MS. 325

Messe op. 147 (1852)
Full score, with vocal parts in the hand of a copyist, in DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 6

Requiem op. 148 (1852)
Full score, with vocal parts in the hand of a copyist, in DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 5

Vom Pagen und der Königstochter op. 140 (1852)
Full score, with vocal parts in the hand of a copyist, in DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 7
Fragment of second ballad in DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 37
Composition sketches of third and fourth ballads in FPn MS. 338

Das Glück von Edenhall op. 143 (1853)
Full score in DBds Mus. MS. autogr. Schumann 11

Festouvertüre über das Rheinleinlied op. 123 (1853)
Engraver's copy of vocal score in DZsch, Archive no. 3058
Engraver's copy of orchestral parts in DZsch, Archive no. 3057
APPENDIX B: The evidence of the diary entries

There follows a list of the diary entries for each work in chronological order, transcribed from Nauhaus (1), (2) and (3). Page numbers refer to Nauhaus (1) and (2) [which are paginated consecutively] unless otherwise stated. Payments to copyists are not included. Schumann's inconsistent spellings have been retained.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Page no. in Nauhaus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="First line of Der deutsche Rhein" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 November 1840</td>
<td>'Sie sollen ihn nicht haben'.</td>
<td>Publication of the Rheinlied.</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 November 1840</td>
<td>Erscheinung des Rheinliedes.</td>
<td>on the school edition of the Rheinlied.</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 November 1840</td>
<td>an Schulausgabe des Rheinliedes.</td>
<td>Orchestral arrangement of the song</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 November 1840</td>
<td>Arrangement f. Orch. des Liedes</td>
<td>Song at the Schiesshaus</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 November 1840</td>
<td>Lied auf d. Schiesshaus</td>
<td>Rheinliederspiel im Schützenhause.</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 December 1840</td>
<td>Rheinliederspiel im Schützenhause.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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</table>

1. Der deutsche Rhein

2. Das Paradis und die Peri, op. 50

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Page no. in Nauhaus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 August 1841</td>
<td>d. alte Flechsig - ... - 'die Perl'</td>
<td>Old Flechsig - ... - 'the Perl'</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 August 1841</td>
<td>Flechsig zu Tisch - Übtes Befinden - die Perl gelesen</td>
<td>Flechsig to dinner - indisposition - read the Perl</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 August 1841</td>
<td>Mit d. Durchsehen d. 1sten Symphonie fertig</td>
<td>Finished looking through the 1st Symphony</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An d. 'Perl' skizzirt -</td>
<td>Made some sketches of the 'Perl' -</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 August 1841</td>
<td>Am Text zur 'Perl' gearbeitet - zimlich fertig</td>
<td>Worked on the text for the 'Perl' - nearly finished</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 August 1841</td>
<td>Früh mit Böttger verhandelt wegen 'Perl u. Paradis'</td>
<td>In the morning discussed 'Perl und Paradis' with Böttger</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 December 1841</td>
<td>Mit Böttger [sic] d. 'Paradies u. Perl' zimlich beendigt</td>
<td>Nearly finished 'Paradies und Perl' with Böttger</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 December 1841</td>
<td>An d. Text d. Perl oft gearbeitet</td>
<td>Frequently worked on the text of the Perl</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 January 1842</td>
<td>An d. Text d. Perl gearbeitet</td>
<td>Worked on the text of the Perl</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 January 1842</td>
<td>Text d. Perl fertig.</td>
<td>Finished text of the Perl</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 September 1842</td>
<td>- Dr Lindner mit Perl -</td>
<td>- Dr Lindner with Perl -</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 February 1843</td>
<td>Perl-Gedanken</td>
<td>Perl thoughts</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 February 1843</td>
<td>Ein Stück vorwärts in Perl -</td>
<td>A bit further forward in Perl</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 February 1843</td>
<td>Vorwärts In der Perl -</td>
<td>Forward in the Perl</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 February 1843</td>
<td>Vorwärts -</td>
<td>Forward -</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 March 1843</td>
<td>den 1sten Theil der Perl in d. Skizze vollendet</td>
<td>Completed the sketch of the 1st part of the Perl</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 March 1843</td>
<td>Fleißig</td>
<td>Worked hard</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 March 1843</td>
<td>Fleißig am 2ten Theil d. Perl</td>
<td>Worked hard on the 2nd part of the Perl</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 March 1843</td>
<td>Abends Mendelssohn mit Geschenken - Verrath d. Perl</td>
<td>In the evening, Mendelssohn with presents - let him into the secret of the Perl</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 March 1843</td>
<td>Angef.[angen] aufzuschreiben a. I. Th.[s]ell der Perl</td>
<td>Began to write out Part I of the Perl</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 March 1843</td>
<td>Den 1sten Theil der Perl fertig geschrieben - d. IIten Th.[s]ell d. Perl angefangen -</td>
<td>Finished writing Part I of the Perl -</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 April 1843</td>
<td>Fleißig an d. Perl -</td>
<td>Began Part II of the Perl -</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 April 1843</td>
<td>d. 2ten Theil der Perl fertig geschrieben -</td>
<td>Worked hard on the Perl</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 April 1843</td>
<td>An d. 3ten Theil der Perl ein wenig angefangen -</td>
<td>Finished writing Part 2 of the Perl -</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 May 1843</td>
<td>Fleißig in der Perl -</td>
<td>Began a little work on Part 3 of the Perl -</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 May 1843</td>
<td>Himmelfarth - auch der Perl, die ich fertig gemacht heute -</td>
<td>Worked hard on the Perl</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 May 1843</td>
<td>Himmelfarth - auch der Perl, die ich fertig gemacht heute -</td>
<td>Ascension Day - and that of the Perl, which I completed today -</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation (where appropriate)</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>28 May 1843</td>
<td>Angefangen aufzuschr. am 3ten Theill der Perl</td>
<td>Began to write out Part 3 of the Perl</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 July 1843</td>
<td>die Perl-Durchsicht</td>
<td>Checking through the Perl</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 July 1843</td>
<td>Fertig mit der Perl durchsicht</td>
<td>Checking through the Perl [for the engraver]</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 September 1843</td>
<td>Perldurchsicht</td>
<td>In the evening Mendelssohn came round here and talked about the Perl</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 September 1843</td>
<td>Abends Mendelssohn bei mir u. Über Perl gespr.[lochen]</td>
<td>Alternative closing chorus for Part 1</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 September 1843</td>
<td>Anderer Schlussschor zum 1sten Theil</td>
<td>In the morning, Livia—the first Perl</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 October 1843</td>
<td>Früh Livia [Frege]-Perl zum 1stenmal –</td>
<td>In the evening, first choral rehearsal of the Perl</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 October 1843</td>
<td>Abends 1ste Singprobe d. Perl –</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 October 1843</td>
<td>Abends Probe der Perl</td>
<td>In the evening, Perl rehearsal</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 October 1843</td>
<td>Abends 1ste Probe im Gewandhaus u. mein Dirigieren –</td>
<td>In the evening, 1st rehearsal at the Gewandhaus and my conducting –</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Abends 2te Probe der Perl –</td>
<td>– In the evening, 2nd Perl rehearsal</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 October 1843</td>
<td>– Abends 3te Probe der Perl –</td>
<td>– In the evening, 3rd Perl rehearsal</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 November 1843</td>
<td>Abends 4te Probe –</td>
<td>In the evening, 4th rehearsal</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 November 1843</td>
<td>Abends 5te Probe –</td>
<td>In the evening, 5th rehearsal</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 November 1843</td>
<td>Früh die Frege mit Hlobspost – Melancholie</td>
<td>In the morning, Frege with the bad news [of the postponement of the Perl première] — sorrow</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 November 1843</td>
<td>Componistenleiden — Abends Probe im Gewandhaus mit Quintett –</td>
<td>Tribulations of a composer — in the evening, rehearsal at the Gewandhaus with the quintet —</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 November 1843</td>
<td>Früh R. Wagner — Probenserger — Abends Probe im Gewandhaus (mit Gade u. Kalliwoda pp)</td>
<td>In the morning, R. Wagner — annoyance over the rehearsal — in the evening, rehearsal at the Gewandhaus (with Gade and Kalliwoda etc.)</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 November 1843</td>
<td>Nachmittag 1ste Orchesterprobe d. Perl -</td>
<td>In the afternoon, 1st orchestral rehearsal of the Perl -</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glücklich</td>
<td>happy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 December 1843</td>
<td>Früh 9 Uhr Orchesterprobe -</td>
<td>Orchestral rehearsal at 9 in the morning -</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 December 1843</td>
<td>Probe zur Perl -</td>
<td>Perl rehearsal -</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 December 1843</td>
<td>Perltag</td>
<td>Perl day [sc. the première]</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 December 1843</td>
<td>Entschluss zu einer 2ten Aufführung -</td>
<td>Decision about a 2nd performance -</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 December 1843</td>
<td>Früh Brief v. Luttichau - daß Perlprobe</td>
<td>In the morning, letter from Luttichau [court theatre</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Intendant in Dresden, inviting him to conduct the Perl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>there on 23 December] - then Perl rehearsal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 December 1843</td>
<td>Abends Perl - schöner Abend - 2te</td>
<td>In the evening, the Perl - beautiful evening -</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aufführung</td>
<td>2nd performance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-26 December 1843</td>
<td>Reise nach Dresden...Aufführung der Perl</td>
<td>Trip to Dresden...Performance of the Perl</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 June 1844</td>
<td>Correctur d. Perl bekommen</td>
<td>Received proof of the Perl</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 June 1844</td>
<td>Correctur d. Perl beendet -</td>
<td>Finished proof of the Perl</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 July 1844</td>
<td>die Partitur d. Perl an Härrels abgegeben</td>
<td>Sent the score of the Perl to Härtsel's</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 August 1844</td>
<td>- Correcturen der Perl -</td>
<td>- Proofs of the Perl</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 December 1844</td>
<td>d. letzte Correctur d. Perl beendet -</td>
<td>Finished the final proof of the Perl - nervous fit,</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrenenanfall, heftiger</td>
<td>severe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 January 1845</td>
<td>die Partitur d. Perl fertig erhalten -</td>
<td>Received the finished score of the Perl - delighted</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freude</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 February 1845</td>
<td>Die Perl an den König [Friedrich August II</td>
<td>Sent the [score of the] Perl to the King</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>von Sachsen] geschickt -</td>
<td>[Friedrich August II of Saxony] -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 July 1845</td>
<td>Nachmittag Perl mit Rakemni -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 August 1845</td>
<td>- Krüger's Recension der Perl -</td>
<td>- Krüger's review of the Perl -</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 December 1847</td>
<td>Aufgeregte Zeit - die Perl in Newyork! -</td>
<td>Exciting times - the Perl in New York!</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 November 1849</td>
<td>Fr. [Uhr] kl. [eine] Perlprobe b. uns -</td>
<td>In the morning, little Perl rehearsal at our house -</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 December 1849</td>
<td>- Perlverschiebung -</td>
<td>- Perl postponement -</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 December 1849</td>
<td>Neujahrlied - früh kl. Probe d. Perl -</td>
<td>Neujahrlied - in the morning, little rehearsal of the Perl -</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 December 1849</td>
<td>Früh Probe zur Perl -</td>
<td>In the morning, rehearsal for the Perl -</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 January 1850</td>
<td>Perl-Säger</td>
<td>Perl annoyance</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 January 1850</td>
<td>Neujahrlied fertig ... - Abends Orchesterprobe d. Perl im Deutschen Hause -</td>
<td>Neujahrlied finished ... - in the evening, orchestral rehearsal of the Perl in the Deutsches Haus -</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 January 1850</td>
<td>Probe mit d. Kreuzschülern -</td>
<td>Rehearsal with the boys from the Kreuzschule -</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 January 1850</td>
<td>Früh Probe im Hotel d. Saxe</td>
<td>In the morning, rehearsal in the Hotel de Saxe</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 January 1850</td>
<td>Abends Perl m. [lt] gr. [l]oser] Freude</td>
<td>In the evening, the Perl, with great delight</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 January 1850</td>
<td>- Wiederholung der Perl -</td>
<td>- Repeat of the Perl -</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 January 1850</td>
<td>Perlwiederholungsgeschäfte -</td>
<td>Arrangements about the repeat of the Perl -</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 January 1850</td>
<td>Abends Probe zur 2ten Aufführung d. Perl -</td>
<td>In the evening, rehearsal for the 2nd performance of the Perl -</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 January 1850</td>
<td>Abends die 'Perl' zum Ztenmal -</td>
<td>In the evening, the 'Perl' for the 2nd time -</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 February 1850</td>
<td>Abends bei Brockhaus Probe zur Perl -</td>
<td>In the evening, rehearsal at Brockhaus's [in Leipzig] for the Perl -</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 February 1850</td>
<td>Abends Feste bei Brokhaus - Perl -</td>
<td>In the evening, party at Brokhaus's - Perl - [Leipzig friends had arranged a farewell party for the Schumanns, with tableaux vivants of Das Paradies und die Perl, in advance of their departure for Düsseldorf, which they already saw as certain.]</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 June 1844</td>
<td>Faust v. Göthe</td>
<td>Goethe's Faust</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 June 1844</td>
<td>Faustanfänge</td>
<td>Beginnings of Faust</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 July 1844</td>
<td>Faustiana</td>
<td></td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 July 1844</td>
<td>Fleißig im Faust</td>
<td>Worked hard on Faust</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 August 1844</td>
<td>Fleißig im Faust</td>
<td>Worked hard on Faust</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 December 1844</td>
<td>den Faust nach Kräften beendigt -</td>
<td>Finished Faust to the best of my ability -</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 February 1846</td>
<td>Faust II von Götthe</td>
<td>Part II of Goethe's Faust</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 April 1847</td>
<td>'Faust' wieder vorgenommen - Schneefall.</td>
<td>Took up 'Faust' again - fall of snow.</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 April 1847</td>
<td>Fleißig am Finale des Faust -</td>
<td>Worked hard on the finale of Faust -</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 April 1847</td>
<td>Endlich 'Faust' fertig Instrumentirt - Freude</td>
<td>Finished orchestrating 'Faust' at last -</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 May 1847</td>
<td>Kl. immer an 'Faust' arbeitend, ich an Symphonie</td>
<td>Delighted</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 May 1847</td>
<td>Kl. mit 'Faust' fertig</td>
<td>Clara finished with 'Faust'</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 May 1847</td>
<td>- anderer Schlusschor zu Faust -</td>
<td>- alternative final chorus to Faust -</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 June 1847</td>
<td>- Schlusschor zu Faust fertig gemacht -</td>
<td>- completed the final chorus to Faust -</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 July 1847</td>
<td>den Schlusschor (2ten) zu Faust fertig aufgeschrieben -</td>
<td>Finished writing out the final chorus (2nd) to Faust -</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 December 1847</td>
<td>Mit Gade über Faust II -</td>
<td>Saw Gade about Faust II -</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 February 1848</td>
<td>Abends Chorverein (Faust) -</td>
<td>In the evening, choral society (Faust) -</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 May 1848</td>
<td>Chor in $B$ dur zum Faust gemacht -</td>
<td>Did the chorus in $B$ flat major in Faust -</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 May 1848</td>
<td>- Correcturen im Faust -</td>
<td>- Proofs of Faust -</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 May 1848</td>
<td>Abends Probe z. Faust b. uns.</td>
<td>In the evening, Faust rehearsal at our house.</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 May 1848</td>
<td>Früh Chorverein - Faust i$^3$ hintereinander</td>
<td>In the morning, choral society - sight-read Faust straight through</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 June 1848</td>
<td>den Chor in $B$ v. Faust instru.,[umantiert]</td>
<td>Orchestrated the chorus in $B$ flat from Faust</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 June 1848</td>
<td>Bei C,[oncert] M,[leister] Schubert wegen Faust</td>
<td>Want to see Schubert, the leader, about Faust -</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 June 1848</td>
<td>Abends Probe d. Faust i$^3$ mit Quartett -</td>
<td>In the evening, first rehearsal with quartet of Faust -</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 June 1848</td>
<td>Um 12 Uhr 1ste Probe des Faust m.[lt] d. Capelle - Freude</td>
<td>At 12 noon, 1st rehearsal of Faust with the band - delighted</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 June 1848</td>
<td>1ste Aufführung v. Faust - Freude</td>
<td>1st performance of Faust [of the closing scene, before an invited audience] -</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>delighted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 June 1848</td>
<td>Correcturen im Faust -</td>
<td>Proofs of Faust -</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 July 1849</td>
<td>'Scene Im Dom' a[us] Faust -</td>
<td>'Cathedral Scene' from Faust -</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 July 1849</td>
<td>'Scene In Dom' beendigt - Abends Conferenz wegen Göethe-Felser</td>
<td>Finished 'Cathedral Scene' - In the evening, meeting about the Goethe Festival</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 July 1849</td>
<td>'Scene Im Garten' -</td>
<td>'Garden Scene' -</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 July 1849</td>
<td>'Ach neige'</td>
<td>[opening words of 'Gretchen before the Image of the Mater Dolorosa']</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 July 1849</td>
<td>Abends Conferenz wegen d. Göthe-felder</td>
<td>- In the evening, meeting about the Goethe Festival</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 July 1849</td>
<td>Instrumentiert an Faustscenen -</td>
<td>Orchestrated the Scenes from Faust -</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 July 1849</td>
<td>'Scene im Dom' fertig instrumen[entiert] - 'Ariel' -</td>
<td>Finished orchestration of 'Cathedral Scene' - 'Ariel' -</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 July 1849</td>
<td>'Scene des Ariel' vollendet - Konferenz [sic] wegen d. Götthesel -</td>
<td>Finished 'Ariel's scene' - meeting about the Goethe Festival -</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 July 1849</td>
<td>Recital v. Faust fertig -</td>
<td>Faust's recitative finished -</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 July 1849</td>
<td>Abends Conferenz (Götthesel) - Abends Verein - Scene im Dom I -</td>
<td>Meeting in the evening (Goethe Festival) - In the evening, [Choral] Society - sight-read Cathedral Scene</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 August 1849</td>
<td>An d. Arielscene instrumen[entiert] - Abends Götthe-Conferenz -</td>
<td>Orchestrated the Ariel scene - Goethe meeting in the evening -</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 August 1849</td>
<td>Früh Probe z. Faust - Die Ariel u. Faustscene fertig instrumentiert -</td>
<td>In the morning, Faust rehearsal - Finished orchestrating the Ariel and Faust scenes -</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 August 1849</td>
<td>Früh Probe z. Faust -</td>
<td>In the morning, Faust rehearsal</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 August 1849</td>
<td>Die Ariel u. Faustscene fertig instrumentiert -</td>
<td>Finished orchestrating the Ariel and Faust scenes -</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 August 1849</td>
<td>- Abends Göttheconference -</td>
<td>- In the evening, Goethe meeting -</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 August 1849</td>
<td>- Abends Probe v. Faust -</td>
<td>- In the evening, Faust rehearsal</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 August 1849</td>
<td>- Probe m.[It] Orch.[ester] zu Faust in d. Harmonie -</td>
<td>- Orchestral rehearsal for Faust in the Harmonie</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 August 1849</td>
<td>Götgetherel -</td>
<td>Goethe Festival [over two days; the concert was on the following day]</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 August 1849</td>
<td>Früh Probe im gr.[ossen] Garten - Freude - Um 4 Uhr Concert -</td>
<td>In the morning, rehearsal in the Grosse Garten - delighted - concert at 4 o'clock</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 April 1850</td>
<td>Fleissig in Faust II. - 'Erblindung'</td>
<td>Worked hard on Faust II - 'Blinding'</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 April 1850</td>
<td>Früh den Faust (Tod) beendigt. - Kl. vorgespielt - Freude</td>
<td>In the morning, finished Faust (Death) - Clara played it through to me - delighted</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 April 1850</td>
<td>- Instrumentiert am Faust,</td>
<td>Did some orchestration on Faust.</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 May 1850</td>
<td>Abends Verein (Hübner, Bendemanns) die beiden Requiem -</td>
<td>In the evening, [Choral] Society (Hübner, Bendemanns) the two Requiem - [i.e. the Requiem für Mignon and the Cathedral Scene from Faust which has the 'Dies irae' in the background. These and other works were performed before an invited audience at the penultimate meeting of the Choral Society.]</td>
<td>In Nauhaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 May 1850</td>
<td>Den Faust beendigt in Freude -</td>
<td>Finished Faust with delight -</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 October 1852</td>
<td>Am Clavierauszug des 'Faust'. -</td>
<td>On the vocal score of 'Faust'. -</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 November 1852</td>
<td>Den Cl. auszug v. Faust beendigt. -</td>
<td>Finished the vocal score of Faust. -</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 May 1853</td>
<td>Clavierauszug des Faust in Ordnung gebracht.</td>
<td>Sorted out the vocal score of Faust.</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 August 1853</td>
<td>Faustiana -</td>
<td></td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 August 1853</td>
<td>Faustiana -</td>
<td></td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 August 1853</td>
<td>Die Ouverture beendigt. Freude.</td>
<td>Finished the overture. Delighted.</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 August 1853</td>
<td>Die Ouverture fertig Instrumentirt. Freude.</td>
<td>Finished orchestrating the overture.</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 August 1853</td>
<td>Die Ouverture fertig Instrumentirt. Freude.</td>
<td>Delighted.</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 August 1853</td>
<td>2händiges Arr. d. Ouvert. -</td>
<td>Piano arrangement of overture -</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 August 1853</td>
<td>- Beendigung d. Arrangements der Ouverture, auch d. 3 Quartette.</td>
<td>Completion of the arrangement of the overture, and the 3rd quartet.</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 August 1853</td>
<td>4händiges Arrangem. d. Ouvert.</td>
<td>Duet arrangement of overture.</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 June 1844</td>
<td>Corsar v. Byron</td>
<td>Byron’s Corsar</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 June 1844</td>
<td>- Corsar -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 July 1844</td>
<td>An Dr Marbach geschrieben - Kl. fängt englisch an</td>
<td>Wrote to Dr Marbach - Clara starts English -</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 July 1844</td>
<td>Halbkrank - Operntextgram -</td>
<td>Rather ill - sad about the opera text -</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 July 1844</td>
<td>Corsar v. Byron</td>
<td>Byron’s Corsar</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 July 1844</td>
<td>Arbeiten im Corsar</td>
<td>Work on the Corsar</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 July 1844</td>
<td>Corsar</td>
<td></td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 July 1844</td>
<td>Dr Marbach</td>
<td></td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 July 1844</td>
<td>Früh bei Marbach</td>
<td>At Marbach’s in the morning</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. **Beim Abschied zu singen, op. 84**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Page no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 May 1847</td>
<td>Nachmittag m.[lt] Kuntsch auf d. Terrasse - 'Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath' componirt -</td>
<td>In the afternoon, with Kuntsch at the Terrasse - the music festival project - composed 'Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath'</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 June 1847</td>
<td>'Lied zum Abschied' fertig aufgeschrieben - Nachmittag Emil [Schumann] von Schärnitz herein sehr krank -</td>
<td>Finished writing out the 'Lied zum Abschied' - In the afternoon, Emil brought home from Schärnitz very ill - (the Schumann children had been taken away on holiday; the little boy died the next day)</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 October 1847</td>
<td>- Canon v. Rückert -</td>
<td>- A Rückert canon -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 October 1847</td>
<td>- Canon v. Rückert -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 November 1847</td>
<td>Canon v. Rückert 'Zürne nicht' -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 November 1847</td>
<td>Canon 'Hütte zu e.[inem] Traubenkerne'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 November 1847</td>
<td>- Canon 'In Somertagen rüste d. Schlitten'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 November 1847</td>
<td>Canon - 'In Meeres Hitten' -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 November 1847</td>
<td>'Mache deinem Meister Ehre' v. Rückert -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 November 1847</td>
<td>Abends 2te Liedertafel - mein Lied -</td>
<td>In the evening, 2nd Liedertafel meeting - my song - 'Blüth' oder Schnee' of Rückert -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 December 1847</td>
<td>Abends 3te Liedertafel - meine Canon's -</td>
<td>In the evening, 3rd Liedertafel meeting - my canons -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 December 1847</td>
<td>Abends 5te Liedertafel - 'Blüth' oder Schnee'</td>
<td>In the evening, 5th Liedertafel meeting - 'Blüth' oder Schnee'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 May 1849</td>
<td>- '0 blick[e] - Canon v. Rückert</td>
<td>- '0 blicke' - a Rückert canon</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 December 1847</td>
<td>'Schlachtgesang' v. Klopstock u. 'Freiheitslied' v. Rückert f. Märsch.[[imen]] -</td>
<td>Klopstock's 'Schlachtgesang' and Rückert's 'Freiheitslied' for men's voices -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 December 1847</td>
<td>'d. Eldgenossen Nachtweche'...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 January 1848</td>
<td>Abends Liedertafel u.m.[eine] patriotischen Lieder - Freude -</td>
<td>In the evening, Liedertafel and my patriotic songs - delighted -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1 April 1848</td>
<td>'Freiheitslied' v. Fürst componirt - Abends Liedertafel</td>
<td>Composed Fürst's 'Freiheitslied' - in the evening, Liedertafel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 April 1848</td>
<td>Nachmittag 'Schwarz Roth Gold' v. Freillgrath comp.[oniert]</td>
<td>- in the afternoon composed Freillgrath's 'Schwarz Roth Gold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 April 1848</td>
<td>'Lied' von T. Ulrich f. Männerstimmen</td>
<td>- 'Lied' by T. Ulrich for men's voices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 May 1848</td>
<td>Nachmittag Concert im gr. Garten u. main Freiheitslied</td>
<td>In the afternoon, concert in the Grosser Garten and my Freiheitslied - [WoO 15, 'Der Sieg ist dein']</td>
</tr>
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</table>

9. Manfred, op. 115

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Page no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28 July 1848</td>
<td>Fleissig - Manfred v. Byron</td>
<td>Worked hard - Byron's Manfred</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 August 1848</td>
<td>die Genoveva beendet ... Abends Kl. u. Manfred</td>
<td>Finished Genoveva ... In the evening, Clara and Manfred</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 August 1848</td>
<td>Manfred-Begleisterung - Skizze -</td>
<td>Manfred-Inspiration - sketch -</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 October 1848</td>
<td>Abends Soirée bei Carus ... Manfrediana</td>
<td>In the evening, a soirée at Carus's ... Manfrediana</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 October 1848</td>
<td>'Manfred' -</td>
<td></td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 October 1848</td>
<td>'Manfred' -</td>
<td></td>
<td>473</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 October 1848</td>
<td>Ziemlich fertig mit d. Ouv.[ertüre] zu Manfred</td>
<td>Almost finished the overture to Manfred</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 October 1848</td>
<td>Ouv. zu Manfred [zu] instr. angef.</td>
<td>Began orchestrating the overture to Manfred</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 October 1848</td>
<td>- die Ouv. zu Manfred beendet -</td>
<td>- Finished the overture to Manfred -</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 November 1848</td>
<td>1ste Abth. [teilung] des Manfred (− in einem Tage [skizziert])</td>
<td>1st part of Manfred (− [sketched] in one day)</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 November 1848</td>
<td>Instr. [umentieren] an Manfred −</td>
<td>Did some orchestration for Manfred −</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 November 1848</td>
<td>Nos. 5 u. 6 v. Manfred −</td>
<td>Nos. 5 and 6 of Manfred −</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 November 1848</td>
<td>die 2te Abtheilung [ung], v. Manfred fertig komp. [oniert] −</td>
<td>Finished composing the 2nd part of Manfred −</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 November 1848</td>
<td>den Manfred vollendet − Freudig − Verein −</td>
<td>Completed Manfred − pleased − Choral Society −</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 November 1848</td>
<td>den Manfred fertig Instrumentiert −</td>
<td>Finished orchestrating Manfred −</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 November 1848</td>
<td>Abends bei Bendemann's Manfred vorgelesen</td>
<td>- In the evening, read Manfred aloud at Bendemann's</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 November 1848</td>
<td>Cantate v. Rückert − Abends Bendemann z. Besuch u. Manfred</td>
<td>Rückert Cantata − In the evening, Bendemann's visit and Manfred</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 October 1849</td>
<td>Abends Pfretzschner d. Manfred vorgelesen</td>
<td>In the evening, Pfretzschner read Manfred aloud −</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 July 1850</td>
<td>Nachmittag d. Manfred d. Preusser'schen Familie vorgelesen</td>
<td>In the afternoon, read Manfred aloud to the Preusser family</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 October 1851</td>
<td>- Abends Probe d. Ouv. zu 'J. Cäsar' u. 'Manfred'</td>
<td>- In the evening, rehearsal of the overtures to 'Julius Caesar' and 'Manfred'</td>
<td>576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 December 1851</td>
<td>Brief v. Liszt wegen Manfred.</td>
<td>Letter from Liszt about Manfred.</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 December 1851</td>
<td>Am Cl. Ausz. des 'Manfred'. −</td>
<td>On the vocal score of 'Manfred'. −</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 December 1851</td>
<td>- Abends 'Manfred' Einlagen vorgelesen. −</td>
<td>- In the evening, read some of 'Manfred' aloud −</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 June 1852</td>
<td>Manfred in Weimar I. −</td>
<td>Première of Manfred in Weimar.</td>
<td>596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 September 1852</td>
<td>Clavierauszug d. Manfred vorgenommen... − Abends I. in den Verein. −</td>
<td>Dealt with the vocal score of Manfred...</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation (where appropriate)</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 November 1848</td>
<td>Cantate v. Rückert... Abends Bendemann z. Besuch u. Manfred</td>
<td>Rückert cantata... In the evening, Bendemann's visit, and Manfred -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 November 1848</td>
<td>Cantate -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 November 1848</td>
<td>Cantate -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 November 1848</td>
<td>Cantate -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 November 1848</td>
<td>Cantate zieml. [Ich] fertig componirt -</td>
<td>Almost finished composing the cantata -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 December 1848</td>
<td>An d. Cantate instr.[umentiert]-</td>
<td>Did some orchestration on the cantata -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 December 1848</td>
<td>- Einer instr.[umentiert] a. den Cantate -</td>
<td>Still orchestrating the cantata -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 December 1848</td>
<td>Fertig mit d. instr.[umentation] der 'Cantate' v. R.</td>
<td>Finished the orchestration of the Rückert Cantata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 February 1849</td>
<td>Abends Verein - m.[eine] Cantate zum I^[a]</td>
<td>In the evening, [Choral] Society - first run-through of my cantata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 October 1850</td>
<td>Abends 1stes Concert [in Düsseldorf] - Freude -</td>
<td>In the evening, 1st concert - delighted [premiere of Adventlied]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

10. Adventlied, op. 71

11. 5 Gesänge aus H. Laube's Jagdbrevier, op. 137

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 May 1849</td>
<td>2 Jagdlieder f. Männergesang -</td>
<td>2 Jagdlieder for men's voices -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 May 1849</td>
<td>'Zur hohen Jagd'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 May 1849</td>
<td>'Frühe'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 May 1849</td>
<td>Letztes Lied der Jägerlieder comp.[ioniert]</td>
<td>Composed the last song of the Jägerlieder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 May 1849</td>
<td>Horrible walk with Marie and Lischen — snakes and toads — started Rückert's 'Verzweifle nicht'</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 May 1849</td>
<td>'Verzweifle nicht' —</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 May 1849</td>
<td>'Verzweifle nicht' —</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 May 1849</td>
<td>'Verzweifle nicht' beendet. —</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 May 1849</td>
<td>Still working hard on the double choir piece. —</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 June 1850</td>
<td>Organ part for the men's chorus. —</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 July 1850</td>
<td>Rehearsal for 'Verzweifle nicht' in the Aula. —</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 July 1850</td>
<td>Rehearsal with the St Paulin choir. —</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 July 1850</td>
<td>- Organ in the Paulinerkirche. —</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 July 1850</td>
<td>- Performance at 5 o'clock. — Cherubini Requiem outstanding. —</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 May 1852</td>
<td>Orchestration of 'Verzweifle nicht' —</td>
<td>593</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### 13. Requiem für Mignon, op. 98b

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 July 1849</td>
<td>'Mignon-Requiem' —</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 July 1849</td>
<td>'Mignon Requiem beendet' - eignes Glück - Kl. vorgespielt —</td>
<td>496</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Finished Mignon Requiem' - particular pleasure - Clara played it through to me —</td>
<td>496</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 September 1849</td>
<td>Abends Verein Requiem f. Mignon -</td>
<td>In the evening, [Choral] Society Requiem für Mignon -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 September 1849</td>
<td>Abends Verein (Hübner, Bendemanns) die beiden Requems -</td>
<td>In the evening, [Choral] Society (Hübner, Bendemanns) the two Requems [the other being the 'Cathedral Scene' from Faust, with the Dies Irae in the background]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 May 1850</td>
<td>Abends Probe m.[lt] Orchester z. C.[oncert] ([Requiem für Mignon])</td>
<td>In the evening, orchestral rehearsal for concert ([Requiem für Mignon])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 November 1850</td>
<td>Früh 9 Uhr 2te Probe. - Abends Concert ... [Requiem für] Mignon Iª - Anstrengender Tag -</td>
<td>At 9 in the morning 2nd rehearsal. - Concert [Requiem für Mignon]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 November 1850</td>
<td></td>
<td>In the evening ... First performance of Mignon - Exhausting day -</td>
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</table>

14. 4 doppeltörende Gesänge für größere Gesangvereine, op. 141

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Page no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 October 1849</td>
<td>- 'An die Sterne' -</td>
<td>[the first song]</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 October 1849</td>
<td>'Unsicheres' [sc. 'Ungewisses'] Licht' -</td>
<td>[the second song]</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 October 1849</td>
<td>'Zuversicht' von Zedlitz -</td>
<td>[the third song]</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 October 1849</td>
<td>- 'Gottes ist der Orient' -</td>
<td>[the fourth song]</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 November 1849</td>
<td>'Nachtlied' v. Hebbel (fertlg skizzirt)</td>
<td>Hebbel's 'Nachtlied' (finished sketch)</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 November 1849</td>
<td>Instrument.[iert] am 'Nachtlied'.</td>
<td>Orchestrated 'Nachtlied'.</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 November 1849</td>
<td>- Instrument. -</td>
<td>- Orchestration -</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 November 1849</td>
<td>- 'Nachtlied' fertlg instr.[umentiert] -</td>
<td>- Finished orchestrating 'Nachtlied' -</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 April 1850</td>
<td>Abends Verein - 'Nachtlied'</td>
<td>- In the evening, [Choral] Society - 'Nachtlied'</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 February 1851</td>
<td>Abends Verein - Nachtlied I° -</td>
<td>In the evening, [Choral] Society - first</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>run-through of Nachtlied -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 March 1851</td>
<td>Abends 1ste Probe z. m. Concert - Freude -</td>
<td>In the evening, first rehearsal for my</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[benefit] concert - delighted -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 March 1851</td>
<td>Abends Concert v. mir</td>
<td>In the evening, my [benefit] concert [at</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>which the Nachtlied was premièred]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>30 August 1852</td>
<td>- Correctur des 'Nachtlilades'.</td>
<td>- Proof of the 'Nachtlied'.</td>
<td>436 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Page no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27 December 1849</td>
<td>Neujahrlied -</td>
<td>Rückert's 'Neujahrlied'</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 December 1849</td>
<td>'Neujahrlied' v. Rückert</td>
<td>Bits of 'Neujahrlied' -</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 December 1849</td>
<td>'Neujahrlied' -</td>
<td>Finished Neujahrlied -</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 December 1849</td>
<td>Einiges am 'Neujahrlied' -</td>
<td>Finished Neujahrlied -</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 January 1850</td>
<td>- Neujahrlied fertig -</td>
<td>Deal with Neujahrlied -</td>
<td>539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 September 1850</td>
<td>Neujahrlied vorgenommen -</td>
<td>Orchestrated Neujahrlied. -</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 October 1850</td>
<td>Im Neujahrlied Instrumentiert. -</td>
<td>Completed the orchestration of Neujahrlied. -</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 October 1850</td>
<td>Neujahrlied in d. instr.[umentation] beendigt. -</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 January 1851</td>
<td>Um 12 Uhr Probe bei Klems v. Neujahrlied. -</td>
<td>At 12 noon, rehearsal at Klems's for Neujahrlied. -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 January 1851</td>
<td>Abends Verein (1\textsuperscript{a} Neujahrlied)</td>
<td>In the evening, [Choral] Society (first run-through of Neujahrlied)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 January 1851</td>
<td>Abends 1\textsuperscript{ste} Orchesterprobe (Neujahrlied)</td>
<td>In the evening, 1\textsuperscript{st} orchestral rehearsal (Neujahrlied)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 January 1851</td>
<td>Abends 4\textsuperscript{tes} Concert</td>
<td>In the evening, 4\textsuperscript{th} [subscription] concert [at which the Neujahrlied was premièred]</td>
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17. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, op. 112

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 March 1851</td>
<td>Abends Kränzchen. - 'Der Rose Pilgerfahrt.' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 April 1851</td>
<td>'Rosa,' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 April 1851</td>
<td>'Rosa', -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 April 1851</td>
<td>'Rosa' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 April 1851</td>
<td>'Rosa's Tod.' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 April 1851</td>
<td>Bei Dr Müller wegen Ross. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 April 1851</td>
<td>'Rosa'. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 May 1851</td>
<td>Mit 'Rosa' bis auf die fehlenden Textnummern fertig - schon am 1\textsuperscript{sten} Mal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 May 1851</td>
<td>Des Überd. 'Rosa' bis auf d. letzten Chor beendet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 July 1851</td>
<td>Nach Köln... Probe mit Hrn. Pütz vom Pilgerrüschen.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

To Cologne... Rehearsal of the little Pilgrim Rose with Herr Pütz.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation (where appropriate)</th>
<th>Page no. in Nauhaus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 July 1851</td>
<td>Früh 1ste Probe d. Damen m. d. Rose. -</td>
<td>First ladies' rehearsal of the Rose in the morning. -</td>
<td>556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 July 1851</td>
<td>Früh 2te Probe. -</td>
<td>2nd rehearsal in the morning. -</td>
<td>566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 July 1851</td>
<td>Früh 3te Probe. -</td>
<td>3rd rehearsal in the morning. -</td>
<td>566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 July 1851</td>
<td>Aufführung der 'Rose'. - Freude. -</td>
<td>Performance of 'Rose' [original version with piano] - delighted. -</td>
<td>566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 November 1851</td>
<td>– Die 'Rose' zu Instrumentieren angefangen</td>
<td>– Began to orchestrate the 'Rose'</td>
<td>576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 November 1851</td>
<td>Die Instrumentation d. 'Rose' beendet. -</td>
<td>Completed the orchestration of the 'Rose'. -</td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 December 1851</td>
<td>Kränzchen bei Fr. Prof. Lessing (Rose I)³</td>
<td>Kränzchen at Frau Professor Lessing's house (first run-through of Rose)</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 January 1852</td>
<td>Abends Extraprobe zur Rose.</td>
<td>In the evening, extra rehearsal for the Rose.</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 January 1852</td>
<td>Kränzchen bei uns. – Die Rose. –</td>
<td>Kränzchen at our house. – The Rose. –</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 January 1852</td>
<td>Abends Probe d. 'Rose' ohne Bläser. -</td>
<td>In the evening, rehearsal of the 'Rose' without wind parts.</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 January 1852</td>
<td>Abends Probe im Verein (Rose). –</td>
<td>In the evening, rehearsal at the [Choral Society (Rose). –</td>
<td>584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 February 1852</td>
<td>Abends Hauptprobe zur 'Rose' – Freude. –</td>
<td>In the evening, full rehearsal of the 'Rose' – delighted.</td>
<td>585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 February 1852</td>
<td>Abends 1ste Aufführung d. Rose (nur leidlich)</td>
<td>In the evening, 1st performance of the Rose (only middling)</td>
<td>585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 March 1852</td>
<td>Abends Gesangprobe d. Rose in der Akademie</td>
<td>In the evening, choral rehearsal of the Rose at the Akademie [in Leipzig]</td>
<td>431 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 March 1852</td>
<td>Früh 9 Uhr Probe im Gewandhaus. (Ouvertüre zu Manfred. Rose). – Freude. –</td>
<td>At 9 o'clock in the morning, rehearsal at the Gewandhaus. (Overture to Manfred. Rose). – Delighted. –</td>
<td>431 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 March 1852</td>
<td>Aufführung der Rose. – Sehr voller Saal u. theilnehmendes Publicum.</td>
<td>Performance of the Rose. – Very full hall and sympathetic audience.</td>
<td>431-32 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 August 1852</td>
<td>- Correctur der Rose, doch mit Anstrengung. -</td>
<td>- Proof of the Rose, but it exhausted me. -</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 August 1852</td>
<td>- Correctur der Rose. -</td>
<td>- Proof of the Rose. -</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 August 1852</td>
<td>- Correctur d. Rose mit Anstrengung. Schwere Leidenszeit. -</td>
<td>- Proof of the Rose which exhausted me.</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 September 1852</td>
<td>- Correcturen d. Rosen-partitur. -</td>
<td>- Period of severe suffering. -</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 September 1852</td>
<td>- Correctur d. Partitur d. Rose. -</td>
<td>- Proof of the score of the Rose. -</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 September 1852</td>
<td>Correctur d. Rose beendigt. -</td>
<td>Completed the proof of the Rose. -</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. Der Königsohn, op. 116

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Page no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 April 1851</td>
<td>'Königssohn' v. Uhland. -</td>
<td>Uhland's 'Königssohn'. -</td>
<td>559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 April 1851</td>
<td>'Königssohn'. -</td>
<td></td>
<td>559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 April 1851</td>
<td>'Königssohn' - (fertig bis auf den letzten Schluss)</td>
<td>'Königssohn' - (finished up to the final ending)</td>
<td>559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 May 1851</td>
<td>Sehr unwohl. Einiges vom 'Königssohn' instr.</td>
<td>Very unwell. Orchestrated bits of the 'Königssohn'.</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 May 1851</td>
<td>Instr. am 'Königssohn'. -</td>
<td>Orchestrated the 'Königssohn'. -</td>
<td>562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 June 1851</td>
<td>d. 'Königssohn' fertig Instrumentirt.</td>
<td>Finished orchestrating the 'Königssohn'.-</td>
<td>565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 August 1851</td>
<td>Clavierauszug des 'Königssohn'</td>
<td>Vocal score of the 'Königssohn'.</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 August 1851</td>
<td>Das Arrangement des 'Königssohn' beendigt.</td>
<td>Completed the arrangement of the 'Königssohn'.</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 September 1851</td>
<td>Besprechung mit R. Pohl wegen 'Luther' u. Königsohn</td>
<td>Discussion with R. Pohl about 'Luther' and Königsohn</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 January 1852</td>
<td>Kränzchen bei uns. - Der Königsohn. -</td>
<td>Kränzchen at our house. - Der Königsohn. -</td>
<td>584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 April 1852</td>
<td>Abends Extraveren (Königssohn). -</td>
<td>In the evening, extra [Choral] Society rehearsal (Königssohn). -</td>
<td>591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 May 1852</td>
<td>Abends Probe z. m. Concert (Königssohn Iª)</td>
<td>In the evening, rehearsal for my [benefit] concert (première of Königsohn)</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation (where appropriate)</td>
<td>Page no. in Nauhaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 May 1852</td>
<td>Abends 2te Probe.</td>
<td>2nd rehearsal in the evening.</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 May 1852</td>
<td>Abends m.[eln] Concert. Freude</td>
<td>In the evening, my [benefit] concert. Delighted</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 July 1853</td>
<td>Reise nach Bonn... Abends Concert mit Königssohn.</td>
<td>Journey to Bonn... in the evening, concert with Königssohn.</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. Des Sängers Fluch, op. 139

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation (where appropriate)</th>
<th>Page no. in Nauhaus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28 May 1851</td>
<td>'Der Sänger['] v. Uhland.</td>
<td>Uhland's 'Der Sänger'.</td>
<td>562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 January 1852</td>
<td>Königssohn - Sängers Fluch.</td>
<td>'Sängers Fluch', - Worked hard</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 January 1852</td>
<td>'Sängers Fluch'. - Fleissig</td>
<td>Finished 'Sängers Fluch' and Clara played it through to me.</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 January 1852</td>
<td>'Sängers Fluch' fertig u. Kl. vorgespielt.</td>
<td>Began orchestrating the ballad.</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 January 1852</td>
<td>Instr. d. Ballade angefangen.</td>
<td>Finished orchestrating the ballad.</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 January 1852</td>
<td>Mit d. Instrumentation d. Ballade fertig.</td>
<td>Worked on 'Sängers Fluch'.</td>
<td>604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 October 1852</td>
<td>An 'Sängers Fluch' gearbeitet.</td>
<td>In the evening, 'Sängers Fluch' with Clara at the piano.</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 October 1852</td>
<td>Abends 'Sängers Fluch' mit Kl. am Clavier.</td>
<td>Worry about 'Sängers Fluch'.</td>
<td>628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 June 1853</td>
<td>Die Angst wegen 'Sängers Fluch'.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. Messe, op. 147

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation (where appropriate)</th>
<th>Page no. in Nauhaus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 February 1852</td>
<td>(Kyrie)</td>
<td>(On the Gloria)</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 February 1852</td>
<td>(Am Gloria)</td>
<td>(On the Gloria)</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 February 1852</td>
<td>Am Credo.</td>
<td>On the Credo.</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 February 1852</td>
<td>Die Messe ziemlich beendigt.</td>
<td>Nearly finished the Mass.</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>Page no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 February 1852</td>
<td>Anfang d. Instrumentation d. Messe</td>
<td>Began the orchestration of the Mass</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 March 1852</td>
<td>Fleissg. a. d. Messe.</td>
<td>Worked hard on the Mass.</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 March 1852</td>
<td>Die Instr. d. Messe beendigt.</td>
<td>Completed the orchestration of the Mass.</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 April 1852</td>
<td>Kl. d. Clavierauszug d. Messe.</td>
<td>Vocal score of the Mass.</td>
<td>590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 April 1852</td>
<td>Kränzchen bei H[err] Platzhof. (Messe I°)</td>
<td>Kränzchen at Herr Platzhof's. (First run-through of the Mass).</td>
<td>591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 April 1852</td>
<td>Den Cl. auszug d. Messe beendigt.</td>
<td>- Completed the vocal score of the Mass.</td>
<td>591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 April 1852</td>
<td>Abends im Verein Messe (I°).</td>
<td>In the evening, the Mass at the Choral Society (first run-through).</td>
<td>591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 June 1852</td>
<td>Schön Hedwig. Früh Messe.</td>
<td>Schön Hedwig. Mass in the morning.</td>
<td>595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 March 1853</td>
<td>Abends 1ste Orchesterprobe (die Messe)</td>
<td>In the evening, 1st orchestral rehearsal (the Mass)</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 March 1853</td>
<td>Vormittag 2te Orchesterprobe.</td>
<td>2nd orchestral rehearsal in the morning.</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 March 1853</td>
<td>Abends m.[ein] Concert.</td>
<td>In the evening, my [benefit] concert. [at which the Kyrie and the Gloria of the Mass were heard for the first time, as well as Vom Pagen und der Königstochter]</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. Requiem, op. 148

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Page no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27 April 1852</td>
<td>'Requiem' (Einges).</td>
<td>'Requiem' (bits).</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 May 1852</td>
<td>Das 'Requiem' beendigt.</td>
<td>Completed the 'Requiem'.</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 May 1852</td>
<td>Kl. d. ['Requiem'] vorgespielt.</td>
<td>Clara played the 'Requiem' to me.</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 May 1852</td>
<td>Instr. d. Requiem angefangen.</td>
<td>Began orchestration of the Requiem.</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation (where appropriate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 May 1852</td>
<td>Die Instr. d. Requiem beendigt. -</td>
<td>Completed the orchestration of the Requiem. -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 November 1852</td>
<td>Abends 2tes Concert. - C. auszug d. Requiem angef.[angen]</td>
<td>In the evening, 2nd concert. - Began vocal score of the Requiem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. Vom Pagen und der Königstochter, op. 140

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of entry</th>
<th>Original entry</th>
<th>English translation (where appropriate)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 June 1852</td>
<td>Mit Hrn. Nielo wegen 'Pagen'. -</td>
<td>With Herr Nielo [a local singer and literary man] about 'Pagen'. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 June 1852</td>
<td>'P.[age]'</td>
<td>'Page', - worked hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 June 1852</td>
<td>'Page'. - Fleissig.</td>
<td>'Page'. - worked hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 June 1852</td>
<td>'Page'. -</td>
<td>'Page'. - worked hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 June 1852</td>
<td>'Page'. -</td>
<td>'Page'. - worked hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 June 1852</td>
<td>'Page' zieml.[lich] fertig. -</td>
<td>'Page' nearly finished.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 July 1852</td>
<td>Grosse Hitze. Viel am 'Pagen u. d. Königstochter' gearbeitet. - zu viel.</td>
<td>Tremendous heat. Did a lot of work on the 'Pagen und der Königstochter' - overdid it. [During a Rhine journey to the Ahrtal and Siebengebirge]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 July 1852</td>
<td>Instr. am 'Pagen' wieder angefangen. -</td>
<td>Began orchestration of the 'Pagen' again [after a course of spa treatment at Bad Godesberg].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 August 1852</td>
<td>-Einiges am 'Pagen u. der Königstochter'.</td>
<td>- A bit of work on 'Pagen und der Königstochter'. [at Scheveningen]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 August 1852</td>
<td>-Einiges am 'Pagen'.</td>
<td>- A bit of work on 'Pagen'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 August 1852</td>
<td>Die 3te Ballade des 'Pagen' zu Ende instrumentirt. -</td>
<td>Orchestrated the 3rd ballad of 'Pagen' to the end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 September 1852</td>
<td>Einiges an der 4sten Ballade.</td>
<td>A bit of work on the 4th ballad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 September 1852</td>
<td>Einiges an der 4sten Ballade.</td>
<td>A bit of work on the 4th ballad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation (where appropriate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 September 1852</td>
<td>An der 4ten Ballade.</td>
<td>On the 4th ballad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 September 1852</td>
<td>- Mit Freude am 'Pagen' Elniges gearbeitet.</td>
<td>- Delighted to do a bit of work on 'Pagen'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 September 1852</td>
<td>Früh den 'Pagen' in der Instrumentation beendigt.</td>
<td>In the morning, finished the orchestration of 'Pagen'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 September 1852</td>
<td>Klavierauszug des 'Pagen' von Nr. 2 angefangen.</td>
<td>Began the vocal score of 'Pagen' from no. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 September 1852</td>
<td>Arrangement des 'Pagen' fortgesetzt.</td>
<td>Continued work on the arrangement of 'Pagen'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 October 1852</td>
<td>Den Causzug des 'Pagen' in Ordnung gebracht.</td>
<td>Sorted out the vocal score of the 'Pagen'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 October 1852</td>
<td>Abends Dietrich u. Nielo (Ballade vorgespielt von Kl.)</td>
<td>In the evening, Dietrich and Nielo (ballad played through by Clara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 November 1852</td>
<td>Abends 1 in d. Verein wieder. - 'Page'.</td>
<td>In the evening, the [Choral] Society again for the first time. - 'Page'. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 November 1852</td>
<td>Früh Probe mit d. Solisten z. Pagen.</td>
<td>In the morning, soloists' rehearsal for 'Pagen'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 November 1852</td>
<td>Abends Extraprobe im Verein. -</td>
<td>In the evening, extra rehearsal with the [Choral] Society. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 November 1852</td>
<td>- Abends 1ste Probe mit Orch. z. 3ten Concert. Der 'Page' u. Freude dran.</td>
<td>- In the evening, first orchestral rehearsal for the 3rd concert. The 'Page' and delighted with it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 December 1852</td>
<td>Früh Probe. - Ziemlich frisch. - Abends Concert. 'Der Page'. -</td>
<td>Rehearsal in the morning. - Fairly fresh. - Concert in the evening. 'Der Page'. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 March 1853</td>
<td>Abends m.lein) Concert.</td>
<td>In the evening, my [benefit] concert at which Vom Pagen und der Königstochter was performed, as well as the première of the Kyrie and Gloria of the Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of entry</td>
<td>Original entry</td>
<td>English translation (where appropriate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 February 1853</td>
<td>Mit Dr Hasenklever wegen Ballade. -</td>
<td>With Dr Hasenklever about ballad. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 February 1853</td>
<td>'Edenhall' fertig skizziert. -</td>
<td>Finished sketching 'Edenhall'. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 March 1853</td>
<td>'Edenhall' beendet mit Freude. -</td>
<td>Completed 'Edenhall' with delight. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 March 1853</td>
<td>Klavierauszug v. 'Edenhall'. -</td>
<td>Vocal score of 'Edenhall'. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 March 1853</td>
<td>desgl.</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 March 1853</td>
<td>Den Kl. [Klavier]auszug beendet. -</td>
<td>Completed the vocal score. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Festouvertüre über das Rheinweinlied, op. 123</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 April 1853</td>
<td>'Rheinweinliedouverture' ziemlich</td>
<td>Nearly finished 'Overture'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 April 1853</td>
<td>'Ouverture' ziemlich fertig.</td>
<td>Completed the 'Overture'. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 April 1853</td>
<td>Die 'Ouverture' beendet. -</td>
<td>Vocal score of the overture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 April 1853</td>
<td>Klavierauszug v. Ouverture.</td>
<td>Rehearsal at 8.30 in the morning (concerto and Festouvertüre) Concert in the evening... enormous enthusiasm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 May 1853</td>
<td>Früh 8:15 Uhr Probe (Concert u. Festouvertüre) Abends Concert... ungeheurer Enthusiasmus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

SYNOPSIS OF THE NARRATIVE WORKS

The following synopses summarise Schumann's libretti, which do not always coincide exactly with their literary originals.

Das Paradies und die Peri op. 50
(after Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh)

Part I

No. 1 Prelude and solo: Vor Eden's Thor

A Peri (a fairy in Persian mythology) stands before the gate of heaven, weeping because her sinful race may not be admitted there.

No. 2 Solo: Wie glücklich sie wandeln

The Peri mourns that although she knows all the wonders of the earth, they are as nothing to the joys of heaven.

No. 3 Recitative: Der hehre Engel

The angel at the gate of heaven sadly tells her that she can enter only if she brings with her the gift most dear to heaven.

No. 4 Solo: Wo find' ich sie? - Ich kenne die Urnen

The Peri wonders which of earth's treasures the gift can be.

No. 5 Solo and chorus: So sann sie nach

She flies off to begin her search, and goes to India.

No. 6 Chorus: Doch seine Ströme sind jetzt roth

Here a great battle is in progress between the Indians and their conquerors, led by the tyrant Gazna.
No. 7 Solo, chorus and recitative: Und einsam steht - Gazna lebe

- Komm, kühner Held

A youth, mortally wounded, defies the might of Gazna and aims at him his last arrow.

No. 8 Chorus: Weh', er fehlte das Ziel

It misses the target and the youth falls dead.

No. 9 Solo and chorus: Die Peri sah das Mal der Wunde

The Peri takes the last drop of his heart's blood shed for his country's liberty and flies to heaven with it.

Part II

No. 10 Solo and semichorus: Die Peri tritt mit schüchternen Geberde

The Peri approaches the gate of heaven with her gift. But the angels tell her she must bring something much holier.

No. 11 Solo and chorus: Ihr erstes Himmelshoffen schwand - Hervor aus den Wässern geschwind

The Peri flies over Egypt, watched by the Nile Genies.

No. 12 Solo: Fort streift von hier

She finds the land in the grip of the plague.

No. 13 Solo and chorus: Die Peri weint

She weeps at the human predicament.

No. 14 Solo: Im Waldesgrün

A young man is dying, racked by fever.

No. 15 Solo: Verlassener Jüngling

He believes his betrothed to be far away, safe from the plague. But she makes her way to his side to bring comfort to his dying moments.
No. 16 Solo: O lass mich von der Luft durchdringen
She dies with him.

No. 17 Solo and chorus: Schlaf' nun und ruhe
The Peri bids the lovers rest in peace.

Part III
No. 18 Chorus of Houris: Schmücket die Stufen
The Houris (nymphs already dwelling in heaven) encourage the Peri in her quest.

No. 19 Solo: Dem Sang von ferne lauschend
The Peri hopefully presents the maiden's dying sigh of love, but the angel will not accept the gift.

No. 20 Solo: Verstossen!
The Peri is downcast, but gathers her strength to make one final effort to obtain the gift.

No. 21: Solo: Jetzt sank des Abends goldner Schein
She flies to Syria.

No. 22 Solo, quartet and solo: Und wie sie niederwärts - Peri, ist's wahr - Mit ihrer Schwestern Worten
A group of Peris tries to persuade her to take them with her to heaven.

No. 23 Solo: Hinab zu jenem Sonnentempel!
She alights in the valley of Baalbec and sees a little boy playing among roses as the sun sets. An evil-looking stranger rides by. As the muezzin begins his call to the faithful, the infant kneels to pray and the stranger pauses.

No. 24 Chorus: O heil'ge Thränen
He weeps tears of bitter repentance.
No. 25 Solo and chorus: Es fällt ein Tropfen - Und Hymnen durch den Himmel schweben

The stranger's tear of repentance proves to be the gift which opens heaven's gate to the Peri.

No. 26 Solo and chorus: Freud', ew'ge Freude, mein Werk ist gethan

The Peri rejoices at her entry into heaven.

Scenen aus Goethes Faust, WoO 3

(after Goethe's Faust)

[Overture]

Part I

1. Garden Scene

Faust waylays Gretchen in the garden (with the connivance of Mephistopheles and Martha) and asks her to pardon his boldness of the previous day when he saw her leaving the cathedral. She says she was half ashamed, half angry with herself that she was not angrier with him. She plays 'He loves me, he loves me not' with a daisy and concludes that he loves her. Faust asks her to believe that as God's oracle, and speaks of everlasting love for her. Mephistopheles and Martha intervene to warn Faust that he must go.

2. Gretchen before the shrine of the Mater Dolorosa

Gretchen prays to the Virgin Mary for help: she is pregnant, despairing and full of remorse.

3. Cathedral Scene

The Evil Spirit taunts Gretchen with her lost innocence and her part in her mother's death (Gretchen gave her a 'sleeping draught',
provided by Faust, which killed her) as well as her illegitimate
pregnancy. The choir sings the Dies Irae, and Gretchen faints.

Part II

4. Sunrise

Lying in a flowery meadow, Faust is trying to sleep; little
spirits hover around him. Ariel, singing to the accompaniment of
Aeolian harps, instructs them to give him rest, refreshment and
forgetfulness of past horrors. There is a chorus of confidence in the
future, and as dawn breaks the spirits depart. Faust awakens, full of
optimism again.

5. Midnight

The four grey women, Want, Need, Care and Debt approach. Only
Care can enter Faust's palace, for he is rich enough to defy the
others; but they can see their brother Death approaching. Faust
wishes that he knew no magic and could ignore the spectres that throng
the air; he wants to be human once more and face Nature as a man among
men. Care stands before him, and announces that she will dog his
footsteps wherever he goes. Faust rejoins that he has spent his life
pleasing himself; he does not heed her threats. Care says that she
will spoil it all for him. She breathes on him and blinds him. He
summons his workmen to continue at once with his grandiose programme
of building and land-drainage.

6. Faust's Death

Mephistopheles brings in the Zombies to dig Faust's grave; the
blinded Faust thinks it is his building work progressing. He finally
says to the fleeting moment: 'Stay - you are so beautiful'. His pact
with Mephistopheles is fulfilled and he dies, mocked by his tempter.
Part III

7. i-vii Faust's Transfiguration

Various holy beings describe the scene as the immortal part of Faust is borne aloft to Paradise. A penitent woman, once known as Gretchen, has saved him by her intercession.

**Manfred** op. 115

(after Byron)

[Overture]

Part I

No. 1 Song of the Spirits: Dein Gebot zieht mich heraus

Manfred, a prey to gloom and remorse in his castle in the Alps, summons spirits to ask them to grant him forgetfulness.

No. 2 Summoning of an apparition (melodrama): O Gott, - ist's so

The last of the spirits manifests itself in the form of a beautiful female figure, which vanishes as Manfred tries to embrace it.

No. 3 Incantation: Wenn der Mond auf stiller Welle

The spirits lay the curse of everlasting sleeplessness upon Manfred.

No. 4 Alpine cattle call (melodrama): Horch, der Ton!

Manfred, out on the mountain, is about to throw himself over a precipice when he is saved by the Chamois Hunter.
Part II

[No. 5 Entr'acte]
No. 6 Summoning of the Witch of the Alps (melodrama): Du schöner Geist mit deinem Haar aus Licht
Manfred compels the Witch of the Alps to appear to him.
No. 7 Hymn of the Spirits of Arimanès: Heil uns'rem Meister
The evil spirits sing the praises of their master Arimanès.
No. 8 Chorus: Wirf in den Staub dich
Manfred refuses to kneel to Arimanès, to the spirits' fury.
No. 9 Chorus: Zermalmt den Wurm
Despite the spirits' anger, Arimanès agrees to let Nemesis call up Astarte for Manfred.
No. 10 Conjuration of Astarte (melodrama): Schatten! - Geist! - Was immer du sei' st
Nemesis compels Astarte to appear.
No. 11 Manfred's address to Astarte (melodrama): O höre, hör' mich, Astarte!
Astarte prophesies Manfred’s death on the following day, but disappears without answering any of his further questions.

Part III
No. 12 Melodrama: Ein Friede kam auf mich
Manfred muses on the peace which has come to him now he knows death is near.
No. 13 Farewell to the sun (melodrama): Glorreiche Scheibe
Manfred bids farewell to the setting sun, which he says he will soon follow.
No. 14 Melodrama: Blick' nur hierher

The Abbot of St Mauritz has come to urge Manfred to repentance and to cease his dealings with supernatural beings. Manfred raises more demons, the last of which summons him to go with them.

No. 15 Finale: Monks' hymn: Requiem aeternam

As Manfred dies, the voices of monks singing the Requiem aeternam are heard.

Requiem für Mignon op. 98b

(after Goethe's Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre)

At the head of the score stands this passage from the novel:

In the evening the funeral rites for Mignon took place. The company assembled in the Hall of the Past and found it wonderfully illuminated and decorated. The walls were covered almost from top to bottom with sky-blue tapestries, so that only the base and the frieze were visible. On the four candelabra in the corners flamed great wax candles, standing in relation to the four smaller ones which surrounded the coffin. Near these stood four boys dressed in sky-blue and silver, who appeared to waft with wide fans of ostrich feathers a breeze towards the figure which rested on the bier. The company sat down and two choirs began to ask in sweet song:

No. 1 Chorus: Wen bringt ihr uns zur stillen Gesellschaft?

We bring a weary playfellow to rest here until the rejoicing of heavenly brothers and sisters wakes her again.

No. 2 Duet: Ach, wie ungnern

How reluctantly we bring her here; let us weep at her coffin.

No. 3 Chorus: Seht die mächtige Flügel doch an!

But look at her mighty wings and her pure garments! Ah, she does not lift her wings.
No. 4 Chorus: In euch lebe

Carry life above, over the stars. But we miss her here, she no longer roams in the garden; let us weep, for we leave her here!

No. 5 Bass solo and chorus: Kinder, kehret in's Leben zurück!

Children, return to life! the fresh air will dry your tears.

No. 6 Chorus: Kinder! eilet in's Leben hinan!

Children! hurry back to life! In the beauty of a pure garment

Love goes with you with a heavenly glance and the wreath of

immortality!

Der Rose Pilgerfahrt op. 112
(after Moritz Horn)

Part I

No. 1 Trio: Die Frühlingslüfte bringen

All Nature is rejoicing in the return of Spring.

No. 2 Solo and chorus: Johannis war gekommen

It is Midsummer Night.

No. 3 Fairies' chorus: Wir tanzen, wir tanzen in lieblicher Nacht

The fairies sing and dance.

No. 4 Scena: Und wie sie sangen

One voice of sorrow is heard: the Rose laments that she cannot experience love. The Fairy Queen warns her that love also brings suffering. The Rose nevertheless begs to be turned into a human maiden. The Fairy Queen grants this wish and gives her a magic rose to carry. It will bring her the purest of earth's joys, unless she
lets it fall from her hand, in which case she will turn back into a rose again.

No. 5 Solo: So sangen sie

At daybreak, the Rose awakes to find herself a maiden. She commences her journey.

No. 6 Duologue: Bin ein armes Waisenkind

Rosa begs for shelter as a poor orphan child. She is driven away harshly.

No. 7 Scena: Es war der Rose erster Schmerz!

She tries again at a little house by the churchyard, and sees an old man digging a grave. It is for the miller's daughter, who was betrayed in love and died of a broken heart.

No. 8 Chorus: Wie Blätter am Baum'

The funeral procession appears. Rosa and the gravedigger pray for the repose of the departed soul.

No. 9 Scena: Die letzte Scholl' hinunterrollt

The gravedigger offers Rosa shelter for the night, which she gladly accepts.

No. 10 Prayer: Dank, Herr, dir dort im Sternenland - Fairies' chorus: Schwesterlein! Hörst du nicht

Rosa gives thanks to God for guiding her thus far on her journey. She wonders, as she falls asleep, whether her erstwhile companions ever think of her; and their voices answer, warning her not to expect happiness on earth.

Part II

No. 11 Scena: In's Haus des Todtengräbers

Rosa awakes next morning, thanks the gravedigger for his
hospitality and prepares to leave. But he announces that he has found foster-parents for her.

No. 12 Duet: Zwischen grünen Bäumen

They make their way to the miller's house.

No. 13 Scena: Von dem Greis geleitet

The miller and his wife can scarcely believe their eyes: Rosa is the image of their dead daughter. They adopt her.

No. 14 Solo: Bald hat das neue Töchterlein

Rosa grows up, loved by everyone.

No. 15 Chorus: Bist du im Wald gewandelt

A huntsmen's chorus.

No. 16 Solo: Im Wald, gelehnt am Stamme

The forester's son is consumed with love for Rosa.

No. 17 Duet: Der Abendschlummer umarmt die Flur - Duet: Ich weiss ein Röslein prangen

The forester's son asks Rosa to marry him.

No. 18 Chorus: 0 sel'ge Zeit

The joys of awakening love.

No. 19 Solo: Wer kommt an Sonntagsmorgen

The forester's son asks the miller for Rosa's hand.

No. 20 Duet: Ei Mühle, liebe Mühle

The mill is decked out in wedding finery.

No. 21 Chorus: Was klingen denn die Hörner

The wedding festivities commence.

No. 22 Chorus: Im Hause des Millers

The wedding breakfast gets under way with singing and dancing.

No. 23 Solo: Und wie ein Jahr - Solo: Nimm hin mein Glück

A year later, Rosa has a baby. She has now experienced all
earth's purest joys, so she gives her rose talisman into the hands of the sleeping infant.

No. 24 Angel chorus: Röslein! zu deinen Blumen nicht

But she does not become a rose again; instead, the angels take her to live with them in heaven.

Der Königsohn op. 116

(after Ludwig Uhland, edited by Moritz Horn)

No. 1 Chorus: Der alte graue König

The old grey king sits on his fathers' throne. He divides his land between his first and second sons, and asks his third son what he should bequeath him. The King's Son asks for the old rusty crown and three ships in which he will set sail to seek a kingdom.

No. 2 Scena: Der Jüngling steht auf dem Verdeck

The King's Son starts his voyage. A storm arises and his ships are wrecked. He swims to land and claims all the kingdom for his own.

No. 3 Duologue: Was spähest du nach der Angel?

A fisherman asks the King's Son what he is fishing for. He replies that he is not trying to catch fish, but the kingly splendours he saw in the deep. He prophesies that he will kill lions and eagles single-handedly.

No. 4 Chorus: Im Walde läuft ein wildes Pferd

A horse runs wild in the woods and the King's Son captures and tames it. The people rejoice and hail him as their King.

No. 5 Chorus: Es steht ein hoher, schroffer Fels

Eagles fly around a sheer cliff in which is a dragon's lair. The
King's Son approaches it, kisses the dragon three times and the spell is broken: it becomes a beautiful princess and his bride. On the ruins of the lair rises a royal palace. The people sing a chorus of praise and rejoicing.

No. 6 Solo: Der König und die Königin, sie stehen auf dem Throne

The King and Queen ascend their thrones in the hall of the palace; four armed knights guard them. An old blind minstrel has his sight restored by all the splendour around him. He sings in praise of the royal couple and the people take up his song of rejoicing.

Des Sängers Fluch op. 139
(after Ludwig Uhland, edited by Richard Pohl)

No. 1 Solo: Es stand in alten Zeiten

A harper and his son come to the castle of the cruel proud king.

No. 2 Duologue: Die Stunde ist gekommen!

The harper bids his son prepare his most affecting songs, for they have come to melt the King's stony heart, and to bring comfort to the Queen who is far from her homeland.

No. 3 Solo: Schon steh'n die beiden Sänger

The two singers are shown into the audience chamber; the King and Queen are seated there on thrones. The King says that he has summoned them from Provence specially to play to the Queen.

No. 4 Provençal Song: In den Thalen der Provence

The youth sings a song in praise of Provence, where troubadours first began.

No. 5 Chorus: Wie schlägt der Greis die Saiten
The harper accompanies him with soft, rich chords.

No. 6 Solo: Genug des Frühlings und der Lust!

'Enough of Spring', says the King. He calls for a song of blood and battle.

No. 7 Ballad: In der hünen Hall' sass König Sifrid

The old harper sings the song of King Sifrid, whose minstrel offered him three songs: one of his brother, whom the king had foully slain; the second, of a duel to the death. The minstrel and King Sifrid fought until the King was killed. Then the minstrel sang the third and best song, of rejoicing that King Sifrid was dead.

The King goes pale: the song has revealed to him that the harper knows his dreadful secret.

No. 8 Solo and chorus: Nicht diese wilden, blut'gen Lieder

The Queen intervenes to ask for a less bloodthirsty song: something in praise of valiant heroes. The youth agrees and urges the harper to sing their song of freedom.

No. 9 Duet: Den Frühling kündet der Orkane Sausen

The harper and his son sing in praise of freedom and the fatherland. The King fears betrayal.

No. 10 Solo: Kamt ihr hier her

The King demands to know if they have come to cause an uproar at court. The Queen pleads that they are only honouring the maker of the song. She asks to hear a song dear to her from her youth, 'Renunciation'.

No. 11 Solo: Fängt an! - Lausche, Jungfrau

The harper's son sings a song of youth and love in which the Queen joins. The harper realises that the King is taking it all much too seriously and becoming very angry. At the climax of the song the
King, beside himself with rage, murders the youth.

No. 12 Solo: Und wie von Sturm zerstoben

The youth slumps in his father's arms. He covers him with his cloak and sets him on his horse and leaves the castle. But before he departs he smashes his harp against the marble pillars and proclaims a curse.

No. 13 Solo: Weh euch, ihr stolzen Hallen!

Woe to you, proud halls! No more songs, only sighs and groans and the footsteps of slaves. Woe to the gardens! No more spring, only the aspect of death. Woe to the murderer! His name will be forgotten, shrouded in endless night.

No. 14 Chorus: Der Alte hat's gerufen

The walls are flattened, the halls destroyed, and the gardens laid waste. The curse is fulfilled.

Vom Pagen und der Königstochter op. 140

(after Emanuel Geibel)

Ballad I: Der alte König zog zu Wald

The old King is out hunting. At midday his daughter has lost her way in the forest with her yellow-haired page. He confesses his love for her; she says neither yes nor no. They wander in the wood for a while and at last they embrace.

Ballad II: Zwei Reiter reiten vom Königsschloss

Two riders leave the King's castle and go towards the seashore. One is the King, the other the page. The King asks the page who has given him the rose he is wearing in his hat. The page replies that
his mother gave it him. The King asks whose is the lock of hair he carries next to his heart. The page replies that it is his sister's. The King asks who gave him the ring upon his finger. The page replies that it was given him by the most beautiful maiden in the kingdom. The King recognises his daughter's ring and murders the page, throwing his body into the sea.

Ballad III: Den Runenstein in der Sommernacht

Mermaids play in the sea in the summer night. The page's golden hair and white limbs float in the water. A merman plays on a trombone made of mussel shells and the mermaids dance around; the youngest discovers the corpse of the page. The mermaid queen decrees that a harp shall be made of his bones, and the merman obeys her, using the queen's golden hair as harp strings, the page's finger-bones as pegs and his breastbone as a handle. The sound of the harp causes all creatures to listen in silence.

Ballad IV: Die Säle funkeln im Königsschloss

The King is giving a banquet on the occasion of his daughter's wedding. She dances with her bridegroom the Prince but thinks always of the page who disappeared. The merman appears and plays his harp to the company. The King's daughter is reminded again of her page; the King, driven mad by the sound, rushes out of the hall, and his daughter dies of a broken heart.
Das Glück von Edenhall op. 143

(after Ludwig Uhland, edited by Dr R. Hasenclever)

The guests at the banquet sing a drinking chorus in praise of Eden Hall and its lord, who replies with the toast 'Let sorrow be drowned in the fruit of the vine!' He rashly calls for the goblet known as 'The Luck of Eden Hall'. The old retainer, Schenk, tries to dissuade him from handling it. But the Lord is not to be persuaded and is scornful of the legend concerning it. The goblet is produced, and an eerie purple light streams from it. The Lord repeats the prophecy made to his ancestor: 'If this goblet should be let fall, farewell to the luck of Eden Hall!' He is urged to clink the goblet in a toast. It gives a deep, soft note, like a distant rumble of thunder, then it shatters and flames shoot out. At the same moment the enemies of Eden Hall pour in to the attack, while the guests flee in confusion. The enemy leader finds Schenk among the ruins, searching for the burnt remains of his lord and the splinters of the glass from 'the Luck of Eden Hall'. The victorious foes rejoice in the annihilation of the race of Eden Hall.
1. **Edition of 3 Patriotic Choruses for men's voices and wind band ad libitum (1848; WoO 13, 14 and 15)**

   Zu den Waffen (Ullrich) WoO 14
   Schwarz-Roth-Gold (Freiligrath) WoO 13
   Freiheitssang (Fürst) WoO 15

   This transcription was made from a microfilm of the composer's manuscript, Bibliothèque nationale MS. 316. All the pages filmed are of 16-stave manuscript paper, commercially produced.

   After a page of illegible pencil, which is not autograph and appears to be a description of the contents (the words 'Trois choeurs' can with difficulty be made out), the Schumann autograph commences. Using the foliation on the MS., it contains:

   f1r  Title page giving the titles of the three songs; includes the designation 'op. 65'
   f1v  Blank
   f2r-4v Zu den Waffen (Ullrich)
   f5r-6v Schwarz-Roth-Gold (Freiligrath)
   f7r-8v Freiheitssang (Fürst)

   The manuscript order followed here is not the same as the WoO order, which is

   Schwarz-Roth-Gold WoO 13
   Zu den Waffen WoO 14
   Freiheitssang WoO 15
reflecting the order of publication in 1913-14. This differs again from the compositional order, which was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freiheitssang</td>
<td>1 April 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwarz-Roth-Gold</td>
<td>4 April 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zu den Waffen</td>
<td>11 April 1848</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only one date is given in the diary for each song, which seems to imply that each was sketched in a day.

1. See Appendix A for full bibliographical details.
Zu den Waffen
(Titus Ullrich)
(Alla marcia)

Flute & Piccolo

2 Oboes

4 B♭ Clarinets

4 Valve Horns in F

2 Valve Trumpets in F

2 Trombones (alto & tenor)

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

Chorus

Bass 1

Bass 2

Bass Trombones & Serpent
stunde: der Geist ersteht aus dem Grab mit neuem Tag im...
grüßen? Ob falsch ihr Spiel, ob Gist ihr Trank, ob ihre Worte
euch so vergnügt? Ob falsch ihr Spiel, ob Gist ihr Trank, ob ihre Worte
Zu den Waffen

1. Vom Angesicht die Mask' herab!
   Es schlägt die Geisterstunde:
   der Geist erstehet aus dem Grab
   mit neuem Tag im Bunde!
   Und ihr gebt noch den Herren Dank,
   dass sie euch so vergnügen?
   Ob falsch ihr Spiel, ob Gift ihr Trank,
   ob ihre Worte Lügen?
   Weh! Ohren zu haben und Augenlicht,
   und sehen nicht dürfen und hören nicht!

2. Ihr ahnet nicht das Gaukelspiel,
   das ihr geäfft umlungert;
   ihr hoffet stets, ihr hoffet viel
   und quält euch, friert und hungert.
   Noch gibt es Linnen, gibt noch Brot,
   zu speisen euch, zu kleiden:
   ein Wort, ein Wort, und eure Not
   verwandelt sich in Freuden!
   O Qual, zu tragen ein Herz so voll,
   und knirschen müssen in stummen Groll!

3. Stolz ragt der Zwingburg Giebelfeld,
   die Zeichendeuter weisen
   empor und wollen aller Welt
   sein mystisch Dreieck preisen.
   Das Reich, die Kraft, die Herrlichkeit!
   Schaut auf, dass ihr nicht wittert,
   wie unten klafft die Fuge weit
   und Säul' und Angel zittert!
   Ha, fühlen des Armes gewalt'ge Sucht,
   und führen nicht können des Schlages Wucht!

Schumann added the text to his MS. as follows: verse 1 under the Tenor 1 part, verse 2 under the Tenor 2 part, and verse 3 under the Bass 1 part. The words of verse 1 were inserted under the Bass 2 part by a copyist, as far as bar 19, at which point Schumann had already added the text to the end of the chorus, presumably because of the difficulties of negotiating the first/second and third time bars.
Bar 5, second tenor, fourth crotchet:

the MS. gives F for the final beat, which destroys the effect of the unison passage. Possibly Schumann was uncertain about the singers' ability to move from the B flat to the E natural in the next bar. I have altered the F to B flat, thus restoring the unison passage.

Bar 8, third and fourth horns:

the first two beats are based on those in the Bass 1 part, as they have been partially obscured by the Bn stamp.

Bars 9, 10, 11, trumpets:

these bars were crossed out in their original place and rewritten at the bottom of the page. The previous rhythm was

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\end{array} \]

with the same pitches, which itself was probably altered from

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\end{array} \]

Bar 11, third and fourth clarinets, first crotchet:

the notes C and G on the first beat are conjectural as they have been partially obscured by a blot.

Bar 13, bass trombone and serpent, fourth crotchet:

the fourth crotchet F seems to lack a stem, but the note head is reasonably clear.

Bar 22:

the original ritard. was in bar 20 and the original a tempo in bar 21.
Third time bar:

the bar ends with a minim rest in all parts. In accordance with current orthography I have amended this to a crotchet rest.

Horn parts:

Schumann notated his parts for four horns in F with a key signature of four flats. I have removed the key signature and inserted accidentals as required.

The chorus is dated 19 April 1848 at the bottom of f4v.
Schwarz-Roth-Gold

(Ferdinand, Freiherr von Freiligrath)
habe'n wir sie doch befreit, Befreit aus ih-ren Sär-gen!

El, wie das blit-zt und

habe'n wir sie doch befreit, Befreit aus ih-ren Sär-gen!

El, wie das blit-zt und

habe'n wir sie doch befreit, Befreit aus ih-ren Sär-gen!

El, wie das blit-zt und

habe'n wir sie doch befreit, Befreit aus ih-ren Sär-gen!
Pulver ist schwarz, Blut ist
raucht und rollt, Hurrah! Hurrah!
raucht und rollt, Hurrah! Hurrah, du Schwarz, du Roth, du Gold! Hurrah! Hurrah! Pulver ist schwarz, Blut ist
raucht und rollt! Hurrah, du Schwarz, du Roth, du Gold!
Hurrah! Pulver ist schwarz, Blut ist
den flackert die Fl ammonie! Gol -
den flackert die Flamment!
Schwarz-Roth-Gold

1. In Kümernis und Dunkelheit,
Da mussten wir sie bergen!
Nun haben wir sie doch befreit,
Befreit aus ihren Särgen!
Ei, wie das blitzt und rauscht und rollt,
Hurrah, du Schwarz, du Roth, du Gold!
   Pulver ist schwarz, Blut ist roth,
   Golden flackert die Flamme!

2. Das ist das alte Reichspanier,
   Das sind die alten Farben!
Darunter hau'n und holen wir
   Uns bald wohl junge Narben!
Denn erst der Anfang ist gemacht,
   Noch steht bevor die letzte Schlacht!
   Pulver ist schwarz, Blut ist roth,
   Golden flackert die Flamme!

3. Zum Kampfe denn, zum Kampfe jetzt!
Der Kampf nur gibt die Weihe!
Und kehrst du rauchig und zerfetzt,
So stickt man dich auf's Neue!
Nicht wahr, ihr deutschen Jungfräulein?
Hurrah, das war ein Sticken fein!
   Pulver ist schwarz, Blut ist roth,
   Golden flackert die Flamme!

4. Und der das Lied für euch erfand
In einer dieser Nächte,
Der wollte, das ein Musikant
Es bald in Noten brächte!
Heisst das: ein rechter Musikant!
Dann kläng' es hell durch's deutsche Land,
   Pulver ist schwarz, Blut ist roth,
   Golden flackert die Flamme!

Freiligrath's poem contains twelve stanzas, of which Schumann chose the first, second, eleventh and twelfth. It bears the date 17 March 1848, so it was only a few weeks old when Schumann made his setting.

The chorus parts and text are in the hand of a copyist; it seems that the copyist began by writing them in along the bottom of the page so that Schumann could then add the instrumental parts. As
in the previous song, the words of verse 1 are written under the Tenor 1 part, verse 2 under the Tenor 2 part, verse 3 under the Bass 1 part and verse 4 under the Bass 2 part. The extra notes in bars 10-13 are allotted to extra 'Hurrahs' as in the first verse, even though the word 'Hurrah' does not appear in verses 2 and 4.

The manuscript contains the following engraver's markings:

the figure 2 at bar 8
the figure 3 at bar 12
the figure 4 at bar 16
the figure 5 at the final double bar.

In the list of instruments at the beginning, Schumann marked the lowest stave for bass trombone and serpent, then wrote 'Serpent tacet' in the first bar. However, the serpent never reappears in this chorus. This may have been an oversight (perhaps he may have intended to bring it in at bar 13, the beginning of the refrain) but in the absence of any evidence I have omitted all reference to the instrument.

The chorus is dated 4 April 1848 at the bottom of f6v.
Freiheitssang

(Friedrich Fürst)
Der Sieg ist dein, mein Helden-volk! Wer dürfte dir ihn
Läther'n. Wir stehe'n all, für einen Mann! Der deutsche Aar steigt him-

Läther'n. Wir stehe'n all, für einen Mann! Der deutsche Aar steigt him-

Fug nicht Läther'n. Wir stehe'n all, für einen Mann! Der deutsche Aar steigt him-

Fug nicht Läther'n. Wir stehe'n all, für einen Mann! Der deutsche Aar steigt him-

-578-
mein Helden-volk, der Sieg ist dein!
mein Helden-volk, der Sieg ist dein!
mein Helden-volk, der Sieg ist dein!
mein Helden-volk, der Sieg ist dein!
Freiheitssang

1. Der Sieg ist dein, mein Heldenvolk!
   Wer dürfte dir ihn nehmen!
   Der Raben unheilkündigend Schrei'n
   wird deinen Flug nicht lähmen.
   Wir stehen all' für einen Mann!
   der deutsche Aar steigt Himmel an!
   Weh dem, der heut noch wähnen kann,
   zum Hausthier ihn zu zähmen!
   Dein ist der Sieg,
   Dein ist der Sieg!

2. Der Sieg ist dein, mein Heldenvolk!
   Wer dürfte dir ihn nehmen!
   Es wird dein zornentflammter Blick
   die Widersacher lähmen.
   Ein Jubelruf erfüllt die Luft,
   die alte Weisheit geht zur Gruft,
   und lässt nicht einmal Moderduft,
   sie war ein leerer Schemen!
   Dein ist der Sieg,
   Dein ist der Sieg!

3. Der Sieg ist dein, mein Heldenvolk!
   Wer dürfte dir ihn nehmen!
   Dein Flug ist kühn, doch ist er fest,
   die Wildheit wirst du zähmen.
   Dir ist die Taumel ja verhasst,
   die Freiheit unser neuer Gast,
   du hast ihn würdig aufgefasst
   und weisst ihn aufzunehmen!
   Dein ist der Sieg,
   Dein ist der Sieg!

4. Der Sieg ist dein, mein Heldenvolk!
   Wer dürfte dir ihn nehmen!
   Dein kräft'ger Arm die Schwachen trägt,
   die heut' sich selbst noch lähmen.
   Bald giebt's dann Keinen, der da zagt
   und Allen neues Leben tagt,
   ob denen Deutschlands Banner ragt.
   Du wirst sie All' aufnehmen!
   Dein ist der Sieg,
   Dein ist der Sieg!
As in Schwarz-Roth-Gold, the chorus parts and text are in the hand of a copyist. The words of the first stanza are written under the Tenor 1 part and the first line of Tenor 2 by the copyist. Schumann wrote in various phrases elsewhere to clarify the underlay in the lower parts. The manuscript contains the following engraver's markings:

- the figure 12 at bar 5
- the figure 13 at bar 9
- the figure 14 at bar 13
- the figure 15 at bar 17
- the figure 16 at bar 21
- the figure 17 at the double bar.

**bar 20, chorus parts**

The copyist originally wrote these bars with pause signs, thus:

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= \cdot \cdot |
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This was altered to

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\cdot \cdot |
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which has been corrected in the transcription to a semibreve occupying bar 20.

The first version must have ended at bar 20, and the published edition (the 1914 reprint of the 1848 publication) also ends at bar 20, where the harmony is altered to C major, a perfect cadence. However, the MS. version transcribed here has an interrupted cadence in bar 20, save for the second bass, where the notes C and G remain from the earlier setting. This is surely an oversight, and so I have
altered them to octave As, in conformity with the voice-leading and with the bass part given to the bass trombone and serpent.

**Horn parts:**

Schumann notated his parts for four horns in F with a key signature of one sharp. I have removed the key signature and inserted accidentals as required.

The chorus is dated 3 April 1848 at the bottom of f8v.

The presence of engraver's markings (showing where a new page would begin) for the second and third choruses raises more questions than it answers. It would seem that Schumann certainly intended these songs to be published, for he wrote 'op. 65' on the title page. Perhaps only the second and third songs were to be printed, as the presence of engraver's markings would seem to indicate. Or as the numbers have a gap in the middle (2-5 for Schwarz-Roth-Gold and 12-17 for Freiheitssang) could there have been a Stichvorlage of *Zu den Waffen* which has disappeared and been replaced in this MS. by the present autograph? Unfortunately, the page numbers 6-11 seem scarcely sufficient to represent *Zu den Waffen*, the longest song of the three.

In the absence of documentary evidence it is not possible to say why these songs were not published in Schumann's lifetime, although the wind band accompaniments may have hindered this as demanding greater resources than the usual Liedertafel possessed.
The first song has no autograph tempo indication; the second and third are marked respectively 'Nicht zu schnell' and 'Feurig'. I suggest the following tempi for these choruses:

1. Zu den Waffen † = 120 (Alla marcia)
2. Schwarz-Roth-Gold † = 96 'Nicht zu schnell'
3. Freiheitssang † = 104 'Feurig'
2. Transcription of the Rückert canon, 'Hatte zu einem Traubenkerne!' WoO 12 (1847)

This canon belongs with the seven Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen op. 65 for unaccompanied men's voices. It was originally placed seventh before the then no. 8, 'Blüth' oder Schnee!' and, like the others, its text comes from Rückert's Vierzeiler. It remained unpublished in Schumann's lifetime.

It was published in the music supplement to Die Musik, volume v, no. 20:2 (June 1906), edited by Hermann Erler. I have been able to trace two copies of this number, in the British Library and Birmingham Public Library, and while they do indeed contain Erler's descriptive article, 'Ein ungedruckter Canon für vier Männerstimmen, und sechs ungedruckte musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln Robert Schumanns', neither includes the supplement.

This transcription was made from the only copy available to me, an undated copyist's copy in the BBC Music Library. Certain amendments of obvious errors have been made, but they are not listed separately because they may well be copyist's errors rather than representing any significant alterations from the hand of the composer.
Hätte zu einem Traubenkerne!

(Friedrich Rückert)
HÄTTE ZU EINEM TRAUBENKERNE!

(Rückert)

Lebhaft

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

Bass 1

Bass 2

mich nur doch der Himmel bestimmt!

[\text{\textit{d.} = d.}]

-588-
Nie mand, nie mand, 
Hät te zu e i - nem Trau - ben - ker - ne

nie - mand, nie - mand, nie - mand 
kenn' ich nah - w
mich nur doch der thim - mel be - stimmt!
Nie-mond, nie-mond,
Hätte zu einem Traubenkerne.

ganz in Genus-se schwim
Nie-mond, nie-mond, nie-mond kenn' ich nah-
mich nur doch der thun-mel be-stimmt!
Nie-mond kenn' ich
ferne, der so ganz, so
Nie-mond, nie-mond,
Hätte zu einem Traubenkerne

der so ganz in Genuss se schimmert!
ganz in Genuss se schimmert!
nie-mond, nie-mand, nie-mond kenn ich nah' und
mich nur doch der himmel bestimmt!
Hüt' te zu ei nem Trau ben ker ne

Nie mand, nie mand,
fer ne, der so ganz, so

Nie mand, nie mand,

mich nur doch der
Him mel be stimmt!

der so ganz in Ge nus se schwimmt
ganz in Ge nus se schwimmt
nie mand, nie mand, nie mand kenn ich nah u
Nie-mand, nie-mand,
Hätte zu ei-nem Trau-ben-ker-ne
Nie-mand kennt' ich,
Jer-ne, der so ganz, so

Nie-mand, nie-mand, nie-mand
ich nur doch der Himmel be-stimmt!
der so ganz in Ge-nus-se schwimmt!

Ganz in Ge-nus-se schwimmt!
Ne-mond, Ne-mond, Ne-mond
Nie-mond kenn, ich nah' und fer-ne
Nie-mond kenn, ich

Gang — in Genus-se schwimmt!
Nie-mond, Nie-mond, Nie-mond kenn ich nah', un
der so gang in Genus-se schwimmt!

der so gang in Genus-se schwimmt!
Nie-mand kenn'- ich, nah' und
Nie-mand kenn'- ich, nah' und
Nie-mand kenn'- ich, nah' und
Nie-mand kenn'- ich, nah' und

For - ne!
For - ne!
For - ne!
For - ne!

Nie-mand kenn'- ich, nah' und
Nie-mand kenn'- ich, nah' und
Nie-mand kenn'- ich, nah' und
Nie-mand kenn'- ich, nah' und

For - ne!
For - ne!
For - ne!
For - ne!
Hätte zu einem Traubenkerne
mich nur doch der Himmel bestimmt!
Niemand kenn' ich nah' und ferne
der so ganz in Genusse schwimmt!

The $\text{\$}$ bars:

In the absence of any direction as to whether the equivalence should be

\begin{align*}
\text{\$} & = \text{\$} \\
\text{\$} & = \text{\$} \\
\text{\$} & = \text{\$} \quad \text{or} \\
\text{\$} & = \text{\$}
\end{align*}

I have chosen the first alternative, preferring that the basic beat should remain the same.
3. **Edition of the Rückert setting 'Mache deinem Meister Ehre'

(Zum Anfang), WoO 17.

This is taken from the microfilm of the autograph fair copy in New York Public Library. It consists of a double sheet of 16-stave manuscript paper, commercially produced, and the song occupies ff. lr, lv and 2r; f2v is blank.

The manuscript is dated 25 November 1847 at the foot of f2r.
Zum Anfang

(Friedrich Rückert)
ZUM ANFANG
(Rückert)

Frisch und sehr markiert

Ma - che deinem Meister Eh-re, o Ge - sel-le,

Ma - che deinem Meister Eh-re, o Ge - sel-le,

Ma - che deinem Meister Eh-re, o Ge - sel-le,

Ma - che deinem Meister Eh-re, o Ge - sel-le,
nim' die Kelle, bau' recht!

Nicht um deibe

Mitgesellen sorge, wie sie mögen

Nicht um deine Mitgesel
bau'n, dafür lass den Meister sorgen, dafür
bau'n, dafür lass den Meister sorgen, dafür
bau'n, dafür lass den Meister sorgen, dafür

sorge, dafür lass den Meister sorgen, dafür

lasse den Meister sorgen, deine Stelle bau'e
lasse den Meister sorgen, deine Stelle bau'e
lasse den Meister sorgen, deine Stelle bau'e
lasse den Meister sorgen, deine Stelle bau'e

Meister Ehre, o Geselle, bau-e recht!
Meister Ehre, o Geselle, bau-e recht!
Meister Ehre, o Geselle, bau-e recht!
Meister Ehre, o Geselle, bau-e recht!
Meister Ehre, o Geselle, bau-e recht!
Wie das Maass er hat genomm'm, nimm die Kelle,

Wie das Maass er hat genomm'm, nimm die Kelle,

Wie das Maass er hat genomm'm, nimm die Kelle,

Wie das Maass er hat genomm'm, nimm die Kelle,

bauer recht!

bauer recht! Frage nicht, was mühsam

bauer recht! Frage nicht, was mühsam

bauer recht! Frage nicht, was mühsam

bauer recht! Frage nicht, was
mühsam heute deine Hand gefügt, wie bald heute deine Hand gefügt, wie bald

mühsam heute deine Hand gefügt,
schelle, baue recht!
schelle, baue recht!

schelle, baue recht!

Ha-uche dein-ern Mei-ster Eh-ke, o Gesel-les
Wie das Maass er hab genommen, bau-e recht!
Wie das Maass er hab genommen, bau-e recht!
Wie das Maass er hab genommen, bau-e recht!
Wie das Maass er hab genommen, bau-e recht!
Wie das Maass er hab genommen, bau-e recht!
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Wie das Maass er hab genommen, bau-e recht!
Wie das Maass er hab genommen, bau-e recht!
Wie das Maass er hab genommen, bau-e recht!
Wie das Maass er hab genommen, bau-e recht!
Wie das Maass er hab genomen,
Mache deinen Meister recht!
Mache deinen Meister Ehre, bau-e
Mache deinen Meister
Mache deinen Meister

Ehre, bau-e recht!
Ehre, bau-e recht!
Ehre, bau-e recht!
Ehre, bau-e recht!
Zum Anfang (Mache deinem Meister Ehre)

Mache deinem Meister Ehre, o Geselle, baue recht!
Wie das Maass er hat genommen, nimm die Kelle, baue recht!
Nicht um deine Mitgesellen sorge, wie sie mogen baun;
Dafür lass den Meister sorgen, deine Stelle baue recht!
Frage nicht, was mühsam heute deine Hand gefügt, wie bald
Wohl im Sturm der Zeiten wieder es zerschelle, baue recht!

These are the first six lines of a poem which runs to 86 lines altogether. Schumann's spelling has been modernised, e.g. 'genommen' for 'genömen'.

Editorial dynamics, accidentals and other additions are in square brackets.

On the manuscript source the words have been added as follows:
bars 1-8: under Bass 2 part
bars 9-14: under Bass 1, Tenor 1 and Bass 2 parts
bar 15: under both bass parts
bars 16-29: under Bass 2 part
bars 30-34: under Bass 1, Tenor 1 and Bass 2 parts
bar 35: under all parts
bars 36-39: under Tenor 2 and Bass 2 parts
upbeat to bar 40: under Tenor 1 part
upbeat to bar 41: under all parts
bars 41-45: under Tenor 1, Tenor 2 and Bass 2 parts
bar 46-49: under Bass 2 part
bars 50-51: under Tenor 2, Tenor 1 and Bass 2 parts
bars 52-54: under both tenor parts
bars 55-56: under Tenor 2 and Bass 2 parts.
Bar 14, Bass 2:
This bar originally contained a dotted minim B flat.

Bar 43, Bass 1, dotted quaver:
This first note was originally G, same value.

Bar 43, Bass 2, dotted quaver, semiquaver, crotchet:
These first three notes were originally low B flat, low B flat, E flat, same values.

Bar 46, Tenor 1, first three quavers:
The first three notes were originally C, C, D, same values.

Bar 46, Tenor 2, four quavers:
The notes were originally C, C, D, E natural, same values.

Bar 46, Bass 1, four quavers:
The notes were originally B flat, C, B natural, B flat, same values.

Bar 46, Bass 2, four quavers:
The notes were originally A flat, A flat, G, low C, same values.

Bar 47, Tenor 1, last two crotchets:
These were originally top C and A flat.

Bar 47, Tenor 2, last two crotchets:
These were originally G and F.

Bar 48, Tenor 1, final crotchet:
This was originally A natural.

Bar 48, Tenor 2, final crotchet:
This was originally low E flat.
Translation of Schumann's draft for Luther, transcribed from the Projektenbuch by Wolfgang Boetticher and published in his Robert Schumann: Einführung in Persönlichkeit und Werk (Berlin, 1941) pp. 188-89.

No. 1: Luther the Augustinian monk in Erfurt (grief for his friend struck by lightning. 'Where to find comfort?' In the Church, which is more and more profaned by Rome?' etc. as recitative - aria.) - In the distance in the monastery a Dies Irae (Latin words, chorus in Catholic style) - To which Luther 'Are these terrible words the promise that we so sorely need?' etc. The spirit of Hus appears, exhorting him to carry on the work begun by Hus. 'He must go to Wittenberg, to teach the true Gospel.' (recitative - duet) - At that he sets out. -

No. 2 Narration (tenor). Show the excesses of Tetzel and the selling of indulgences (in recitative). No. 3: scene with Tetzel and chorus. Monks, boy choristers, townspeople, mob (Catholic Latin church music) Ensemble with choruses. No. 4: Luther and Melanchthon join forces. Duet, then combined with the chorus. Dispersal of the crowd. No. 5: Narration (tenor). The news from Rome against the heretics (recitative). No. 6: Finale: Luther, nailing up the 95 Theses (organ). Luther, Melanchthon, Catholic and Protestant choruses. Student choruses. Townspeople and mob. Here Luther sings in German. The chorale for the first time, perhaps: Erhalt uns Herr bei Deinem Wort (big ensemble). - Part II: No. 7: Luther and
Melanchthon, the latter with the news of the excommunication from Rome (recitative and duet), No. 8: Luther (aria and chorale) decision of resistance, No. 9: burning of the bull of excommunication. Perhaps also Katharina von Bora, explaining her release from her vows and removal from the convent, promulgated by Luther. No. 10: Narration (alto) on Katharina's destiny. No. 11: Katharina: devotion to Luther's teaching (soprano): Narration (tenor, recitative). Summons to the Diet of Worms, No. 13: trio: Luther, Melanchthon, Katharina; Luther determined, the others restraining him, No. 14: narration, journey to Worms (recitative), No. 15: Diet of Worms, Emperor Charles, Cardinal, Luther, Frundsberg, choruses of the various factions. Explanation of the proscription. - Part III: No. 16: recitative or scena: narration of Luther's arrest, No. 17: Luther in the Wartburg, translation of the Bible. Apparition of the Tempter. Decision to go to Wittenberg. No. 18: Big scene of the iconoclasts. Double choruses. Luther joining in and settling the dispute. Meeting with Katharina again and marriage with her. No. 19: Confession of Augsburg, 'Ein feste Burg' appears for the first time. The last scene must also be set in Wittenberg, to maintain Luther's part in the action. - Finale: Luther's confession of faith. Closing chorus 'Ein feste Burg.'
APPENDIX F

THE REPERTOIRE OF SCHUMANN'S CHORAL SOCIETIES
IN DRESDEN AND DÜSSELDORF

Dresden (January 1848-May 1850)

This information is taken from Festschrift, pp. 14-21, where Schumann's own notes of what was sung at rehearsals, concerts and outings are transcribed.

In the many cases where he noted that Lieder by various composers had been sung, it has not always been possible to identify which particular Lieder they were.

J.S. Bach (1685-1750)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Rehearsal/Concert Dates</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Chorale, Befiehl du deine Wege</td>
<td>Rehearsal, 5 January 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St John Passion: closing chorus</td>
<td>Rehearsals, April 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aria &amp; chorale</td>
<td>Concert, 30 April 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excerpts</td>
<td>Rehearsals, May &amp; June 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choruses</td>
<td>Concert, 25 June 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opening chorus</td>
<td>Rehearsals, 5 &amp; 12 July 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chorus</td>
<td>Rehearsals, November 1848</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Rehearsals, December 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anniversary concert, 7 February 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsals, February 1850</td>
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<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>Rehearsals</td>
</tr>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gottes Zeit, Du Hirte Israel, Herr, gehe nicht ins Gericht</td>
<td>Rehearsals, July 1849</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalm 117</td>
<td>Rehearsals, September 1849</td>
</tr>
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**Beethoven (1770-1827)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Missa solemnis:</th>
<th>Rehearsals, April 1848</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Gloria</td>
<td>Rehearsals, 3 &amp; 10 May 1848</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kyrie &amp; Sanctus</td>
<td>Rehearsal, 28 June 1848</td>
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<td>Agnus Dei</td>
<td>Rehearsals, 5 &amp; 12 July 1848</td>
</tr>
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<table>
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<th>Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt</th>
<th>Rehearsals, February &amp; March 1849</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsals, April &amp; May 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsals, July 1849</td>
</tr>
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**Boy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Miserere</th>
<th>Rehearsals, 23 &amp; 30 August 1848</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal, 6 September 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsals, September &amp; October 1848</td>
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**Cherubini (1760-1842)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Requiem in C minor</th>
<th>Rehearsals, August 1848</th>
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<tr>
<td>Offertorium</td>
<td>Rehearsals, 23 &amp; 30 August 1848</td>
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1. No further details of this composer have been found.
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<th>Choruses</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>Rehearsals, November 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsals, December 1848</td>
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<td>3 movements</td>
<td>Anniversary concert,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 February 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last 3 movements</td>
<td>Rehearsals, July 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First movement</td>
<td>Rehearsals, September 1849</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Clori ²

| De profundis | Rehearsals, 23 and 30 August 1848 |
|             | Rehearsal, 6 September 1848       |

Gade (1817-1890)

| Comala          | Rehearsal, 12 January 1848       |
|                 | Rehearsal, 19 January 1848       |
|                 | Rehearsal, 26 January 1848       |
|                 | Rehearsals, March 1848          |
|                 | Concert, 26 March 1848          |
|                 | Rehearsals, December 1848       |
| Closing chorus  | Anniversary concert,             |
|                 | 7 February 1849                 |
| Choruses        | Rehearsals, March 1850          |
| Lieder          | Outing to Pillnitz, 20 August 1848 |
|                 | Rehearsals, 23 and 30 August 1848 |
|                 | Rehearsal, 6 September 1848     |
|                 | Clara's birthday choice,         |
|                 | 13 September 1848               |

2. No further details of this composer have been found.
Lieder
Rehearsals, November 1848
Outing to Kreischa, 24 June 1849
Rehearsals, February 1850

Gallus (Handl) (1550-1591)
Medio in vita
Rehearsals, September & October 1848

Handel (1685-1759)
Jepthah
Rehearsal, 28 June 1848
Rehearsals, 5 & 12 July 1848
Rehearsals, July 1848
Rehearsals, August 1848
Rehearsals, 23 & 30 August 1848
Rehearsal, 6 September 1848
Clara's birthday choice,
13 September 1848
Rehearsals, November 1848

Hauptmann (1792-1868)
Über allen Gipfeln
Rehearsal, 5 January 1848
Lieder
Rehearsals, September & October 1848

Jügerli
Gesang der blinden Sängerin
Rehearsals, September & October 1848

3. No further details of this composer have been found.
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<tr>
<td>Clara’s birthday choice,</td>
<td>13 September 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outing to Kreischa, 24 June 1849</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mendelssohn (1809–1847)</strong></td>
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<td>3 Lieder</td>
<td>Rehearsal, 5 January 1848</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal, 12 January 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal, 26 January 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Rehearsals, 16 and 23 February 1848</td>
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<td>Motet 'Herr, nun lässet du deinen Diener'</td>
<td>Rehearsals, 16 &amp; 23 February 1848</td>
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<tr>
<td>op. 69 no. 1</td>
<td>Rehearsals, March 1848</td>
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<td>Concert, 26 March 1848</td>
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<td>Lieder (sc. <em>Morgengebet</em>, <em>Der erste Frühlingstag</em>, <em>Abschied vom Walde</em>)</td>
<td>Rehearsal, 29 March 1848</td>
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<td>Rehearsal, 5 April 1848</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Concert, 30 April 1848</td>
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<td>Rehearsals, May and June 1848</td>
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<td>Rehearsals, 28 June 1848</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Rehearsals, 5 &amp; 12 July 1848</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outing to Meissen, 16 July 1848</td>
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<td>Rehearsals, July 1848</td>
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<td>Motets and Lieder</td>
<td>Outing to the Plauenscher Grund, 2 August 1848</td>
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<tr>
<td>Motets</td>
<td>Outing to Pillnitz, 20 August 1848</td>
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4. Dr Krug was a founder member of the Chorgesangverein, in the tenor section (*Festschrift*, p. 44).
Lieder

Rehearsals, 23 & 30 August 1848
Rehearsal, 6 September 1848

Motet no. 2 (op. 69?)
Rehearsals, February & March 1849

Motets and Lieder
Outing to Kreischa, 24 June 1849

Motet no. 1 (op. 69?)
Rehearsals, July 1849

Athaliah
Rehearsals, November & December 1849
Rehearsal, 9 January 1850
Rehearsals, January 1850
Anniversary concert,
31 January 1850

Motets for female voices
Rehearsals, February 1850

Motet no. 3 (op. 69?)
Rehearsals, April 1850

Motet in A (op. 69 no. 2?)
Private performance before an
invited audience, 8 May 1850
Rehearsal, 7 August 1850

Neumann

Lieder
Outing to Meissen, 16 July 1848

Palestrina (c. 1525-1594)

Lauda anima mea
Rehearsal, 26 January 1848
Rehearsal, 29 March 1848
Rehearsal, 5 April 1848

Fratres ego
Rehearsals, 16 & 23 February 1848
Rehearsals, March 1848
Concert, 26 March 1848

5. Possibly Edmund Neumann (1819-1873), a pupil of Hauptmann.
**Fratres ego**

Rehearsals, May & June 1848
Concert, 25 June 1848

**Ritter**

Ritter's Lieder
Rehearsals, September & October 1848

**Schubert (1797-1828)**

**Ständchen** for alto solo and women's voices, op. 126
Rehearsals, April 1848
Psalm 23, for women's voices
Rehearsals, December 1848
Anniversary concert, 7 February 1849
Rehearsals, March 1850
Rehearsal, 7 August 1850

**Mirjam's Siegesgesang**
Rehearsals, February & March 1850

**Schumann, Clara (1819-96)**

**Lieder**
Outing to Meissen, 16 July 1848
Rehearsals, August 1848
Clara's birthday choice,
13 September 1848

**Schumann, Robert (1810-1856)**

**Solfeggien**
1-3
Rehearsal, 5 January 1848
1, 2, 4
Rehearsal, 12 January 1848
1, 2
Rehearsal, 26 January 1848
Lieder (sc. op. 55)
Rehearsal, 19 January 1848
Rehearsal, 26 January 1848

6. Possibly Carl Ritter (1830-1891), a pupil of Schumann and Hiller.
Lieder (sc. op. 55)

Hochlandmädchen, op. 55 no. 1
Hochlandbursch, op. 55 no. 5
Mich zieht es nach dem
Dörfchen hin, op. 55 no. 3

Fragments from the closing
scene of Faust
Nos. 1 and 7 of Faust

Excerpts from Faust

Faust
Choruses from Faust

Faust (sc. Part III)

Scene im Dom

Faust (sc. Part III)

Scene im Dom

Ach, neige

Patriotic songs for men's
voices (op. 62 or WoO 13-15)

Rehearsals, 16 & 23 February 1848
Rehearsals, March 1848
Concert, 26 March 1848
Rehearsals, 16 & 23 February 1848
Rehearsal, 29 March 1848
Rehearsal, 5 April 1848
Rehearsals, May & June 1848
Concert, 25 June 1848
Rehearsals, November 1848
Rehearsals, July 1849
Rehearsals, August 1849
Rehearsals, August 1849
Goethe Centenary Concert,
29 August 1849
Rehearsals, April 1850
Private performance before an
invited audience, 8 May 1850
Private performance before an
invited audience, 8 May 1850
Rehearsal, 29 March 1848
Rehearsal, 5 April 1848

7. It must be borne in mind that the early references to Faust (before July 1849) mean Part III of the Faustscenen, the only part then in being.
Nord und (sc. oder) Süd
(op. 59 no. 1)
Rehearsal, 29 March 1848
Rehearsal, 5 April 1848
Rehearsals, April 1848
Concert, 30 April 1848

Zigeunerleben (op. 29 no. 3)
Rehearsals, April 1848
Concert, 30 April 1848
Rehearsals, July 1848

Altdéutsches Lied (op. 29 no. 2?)
Concert, 30 April 1848

Ländliches Lied (op. 29 no. 1)
Rehearsal, 28 June 1848
Rehearsals, 5 & 12 July 1848
Outing to Meissen, 16 July 1848
Outing to the Plauenscher Grund, 2 August 1848
Outing to Pillnitz, 20 August 1848

Lieder
Clara's birthday choice, 13 September 1848

Canons for male voices (op. 65)
Rehearsals, February & March 1849
Rehearsals, April & May 1849

Adventlied
Rehearsals, April & May 1849

Romanzen, for women's voices
Rehearsals, November & December 1849

Balladen
Rehearsals, April & May 1849

Der traurige Jäger (op. 75 no. 3)
Rehearsals, April & May 1849

Heidenrüslein (op. 67 no. 3)
Rehearsals, April & May 1849
Rehearsals, August 1849

Lieder
Outing to Kreischa, 24 June 1849

Balladen (op. 75)
Rehearsals, July 1849
Der König von Thule (op. 67 no. 1)  Rehearsals, August 1849  
Balladen  Rehearsals, September 1849  
Requiem für Mignon  Rehearsals, September 1849  
Rehearsals, April 1850  
Private performance before an invited audience, 8 May 1850  
Das Paradies und die Peri  Rehearsals, September 1849  
Rehearsals, November & December 1849  
Rehearsals, January 1850  
Anniversary concert, 5 January 1850  
Extra rehearsal, 11 January 1850  
Repeat performance, 13 January 1850  
An die Sterne (op. 141 no. 1)  Rehearsals, November & December 1849  
Rehearsals, February 1850  
Romanzen, for women's voices  Rehearsals, March 1850  
Burns Lieder (op. 55)  Rehearsals, March 1850  
Nachtlied  Rehearsals, March 1850  
Rehearsals, April 1850  
Private performance before an invited audience, 8 May 1850  
Lieder  Rehearsal, 7 August 1850  
  
Seifert  
Lieder  Outing to Meissen, 16 July 1848  

---

8. This could have been a member of the choir; two Seiferts, Richard and Oskar, were founder members, both in the tenor section.
Düsseldorf (October 1850 – October 1853)

The information about concert works comes from Nauhaus (2), where the programmes for the subscription concerts are listed in various footnotes between pp. 787 and 809. There is no separate list of works performed at the four services each year given in the Maximiliankirche and Lambertuskirche in Düsseldorf, but a partial idea of the repertoire can be gained from Schumann's diary entries, supplemented by the Hauptmann Mass which we know from contemporary accounts to have been given in October 1853; see chapter 3.

J.S. Bach (1685-1750)

- St John Passion 13 April 1851 (Palm Sunday)
- St Matthew Passion 4 April 1852 (Palm Sunday)
- Cantata 104, Du Hirte Israel 16 October 1852

Beethoven (1770-1827)

- Choral Fantasia 23 October 1851
- Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt 18 November 1852
- Mass in C major Sunday 13 October 1850 (church service)
  Thursday 10 June 1852 (church service for Corpus Christi)
  Thursday 26 May 1853 (church service for Corpus Christi)

Gade 1817-1820

- Comala 24 October 1850
Gluck (1714-1787)

Choruses from *Orfeo ed Euridice* 18 May 1851

Handel (1683-1759)

*Israel in Egypt* 21 December 1850
Psalm 100 18 May 1851
*Joshua* 20 November 1851
6 movements from the *Dettingen Te Deum* 8 January 1852
'Hallelujah' Chorus 18 November 1852
and 17 May 1853 (Lower Rhine Music Festival)

*Messiah* 15 May 1853 (Lower Rhine Music Festival)

Hauptmann (1792-1868)

*Mass* 16 October 1853 (church service)

Haydn (1732-1809)

*Heilig-Messe* Thursday 19 June 1851 (church service for Corpus Christi)

*Die Jahreszeiten* 17 February 1853

Hiller (1811-1855)

Psalm 125 16 May 1853 (Lower Rhine Music Festival)

Mendelssohn (1809-1847)

Psalm 42 16 October 1852
Lobgesang

Die erste Walpurgisnacht

28 October 1852

27 October 1853

Müller

Tasso in Sorrent

31 March 1853

Palestrina (c. 1525-1594)

Responsories

17 April 1851 (church service for Maundy Thursday)

Schumann (1810-1856)

Adventlied

24 October 1850 (première)

Requiem für Mignon

21 November 1850

Neujahrslied

11 January 1851 (première)

Nachtlied

13 March 1851

Der Rose Pilgerfahrt

5 February 1852 (première of orchestral version)

Der Königssohn

6 May 1852 (première)

Vom Pagen und der Königstocher

\{ 2 December 1852 (première)
  \{ 3 March 1853

Kyrie & Gloria from the Mass

3 March 1853 (première)

Festouvertüre über das Rheinweinlied

17 May 1853 (Lower Rhine Music Festival)

9. This may have been Adolf Müller (1801-86), a prolific theatre composer.
Schumann's usual orchestral line-up for the choral works is as follows:

- 2 flutes and piccolo
- 2 oboes
- 2 clarinets
- 2 bassoons
- 4 horns (most usually 2 natural and 2 valve horns)
- 2 trumpets
- 3 trombones (alto, tenor and bass)
- timpani
- strings

Further instruments are added to this in certain works, for instance percussion in Das Paradies und die Peri, organ in the Manfred music, and harp in Des Sängers Fluch; complete details are given in Appendix A.

As to the expected size of the orchestra, Kast\(^1\) gives the strength of the orchestra of the Allgemeine Musikverein in Düsseldorf in Schumann's time as follows:

- double woodwind
- 2-3 horns
- 2 trumpets
- 2 trombones
- timpani
- strings (27 players)

---

1. Kast, p. 11
giving a total of 40-43 players, who were apparently mostly amateurs.\textsuperscript{2} The wind and percussion players were members of the town band and/or the Musikverein orchestra, which could lead to rehearsal problems.

In 1864, ten years after Schumann left, there were 34 players on the strength, but again they would have been augmented by other musicians on the municipal payroll, and by amateurs. More figures are available for the Festival orchestra of 1853, when the Lower Rhine Music Festival was held in Düsseldorf, and Schumann's Fourth Symphony was performed by 160 players:

- 31 woodwind, brass and percussion
- strings: 65 first and second violins, 27 violas, 25 cellos,
- 12 double basses.\textsuperscript{3}

These gigantic forces may usefully be compared with the size of chorus used at the Festival (about 260 voices) which is described in more detail in chapter 7; and as in the case of the chorus, we may obtain some idea of the size of the string section belonging to one of the three towns involved by dividing by three. This gives approximately

- 22 first and second violins, 9 violas, 8 cellos, 4 double basses

which is a respectably large body of strings even by today's standards, even though it must be borne in mind that a large proportion of them may have been amateur players.

Comparison can be made with other well-known orchestras of Schumann's time. The Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra in 1838 consisted of about 45 players:

- double woodwind
- horns

\textsuperscript{2} See, for example, Schumann's problems in getting a competent harpist for Des Sängers Fluch, chapter 7.

trumpets
percussion
strings: 9 first violins, 8 seconds, 5 violas, 5 cellos,
4 double basses.

By 1841 three trombones and two more horns had been added (giving the brass section characteristic of Schumann) to make approximately 50 players, and by 1850 it numbered 56.

The orchestra formed for the Philharmonic concerts in Vienna in 1842 was rather larger:

13 woodwind
16 brass
harp and percussion
strings: 24 first and second violins, 24 violas, 5 cellos and
5 double basses.

This gave approximately 90 players in all.

However, Liszt's orchestra in Weimar in 1851 was smaller, more along the lines of the Dusseldorf orchestra:

double woodwind
4 horns
2 trumpets
1 trombone
timpani
strings: 5 first violins, 6 seconds, 3 violas, 4 cellos,
3 double basses. 4

Presumably extra players were brought in to augment this tiny string section, and they were probably amateurs, as also happened in the Dusseldorf orchestra.

4. Zlotnik, pp. 23-24
**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text reference</th>
<th>Full title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abert</td>
<td>Abert, Hermann <em>Robert Schumann</em> (Berlin, 2/1910)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bennett</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Work Description</td>
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<tr>
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