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ROBERT SCHUMANN AND THE *GESANGVEREIN*:

THE DRESDEN YEARS (1844–1850)

by

Gina Marie Pellegrino

A dissertation presented to the  
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences  
of Washington University in  
partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy

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## ABSTRACT

Nineteenth-century Germany saw an expansion of choral music in a secular context, bringing about changes not only in the nature of the organizations but also in the character of the music. Often depicted in history books as the age of the *Lied*, the early nineteenth century was also the age of the *Chorgesang*, creating a demand for music for social gatherings. Amateur choruses and partsinging reached their peak of popularity in nineteenth-century Germany. *Gesangvereinen* (mixed voice choirs) soon broke into segregated choirs known as *Liedertafeln* (male voice choirs) and *Frauenchoren* (female voice choirs). These segregated choirs became a phenomenon and established themselves throughout middle-class Germany and the surrounding German-speaking regions, resulting in an abundance of compositions from every composer of significance and amateurs alike.

Robert Schumann spent just over five years in Dresden from 1844–50. It is during this period that his interest in unaccompanied choral music is most apparent. In 1847, he became director of the *Dresdner Liedertafel* and a year later he founded his own *Verein für Chorgesang*. His work with these two organizations resulted in a prolific collection of partsongs for mixed voices, male voices, and female voices — music that even today continues to be unfairly dismissed. After examining the history of the *Gesangverein* and its gendered counterparts in Dresden and Schumann's work within the traditions, a textual and musical comparison of Schumann's music for mixed choirs and his works for male and female voices will follow in an attempt to bring his partsongs back to the Schumann literature and, more importantly, back to private and public performance.

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## Chapter I: Introduction

On the evening of Wednesday, 5 January, 1848 Emilie Heydenreich, née Steffens, and her good friend Marie von Lindemann arrived at the Garden Hall of the Harmonie Society in Dresden with fifty-five other men and women to embark on a much-anticipated musical adventure. They were invited to participate in Dr. Schumann's new song club, with their good friend Clara Schumann at the piano as assistant director. According to Emilie, "nobody who had the opportunity to practise and perform with the group would ever forget the experience... The influence the Schumanns had on us was immense and we reciprocated with enthusiasm to the noble, artistic couple".<sup>1</sup> The *Chorgesangverein*, the name they adopted at that first meeting, would continue to gather on Wednesday evenings, becoming an important part of the couple's musical life in Dresden until their departure for Düsseldorf.

The nineteenth century saw a rise of this type of choral society in England, the European continent, and the United States. German and German-speaking *Gesangvereinen* (mixed voice choirs) broke into segregated choirs known as *Liedertafeln* (male voice choirs) and *Frauenchoren* or *Damenchoren* (female voice choirs), and these segregated choirs established themselves throughout middle-class Germany and the surrounding German-speaking regions. Later in the nineteenth century larger choirs began to multiply and merge, and the establishment of choral festivals throughout the German-speaking regions created a demand for more choral music. The organization,

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<sup>1</sup> "Niemand, der an unseren damaligen Übungen und Aufführungen theil genommen hat, wird diese je vergessen können... Der Einfluß Schumanns auf uns, und unsere Begeisterung, für das edle Künstlerpaar waren gleich groß." Erinnerungen von Emilie Steffens (original in the Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Archive-Nr.: zu 12899-A1/A3), reprinted in Renate Brunner, ed., *Alltag und Künstlertum: Clara Schumann und ihre Dresdner Freundinnen Marie Von Lindemann und Emilie Steffens*, Schumann Studien, 4 (Sinzig Studio: 2005), 82.

purpose, and repertoire of these societies reflect the social and political dynamics of the period.

The Biedermeier period lasted from the fall of Napoleon in 1815 until the Revolutions of 1848. Originally a derogatory term, the pseudonym “Gottlieb Biedermeier” was coined between 1855 and 1857 by students Adolf Kußmaul and Ludwig Eichrodt in their satirical journal *Fliegende Blätter*. They used the fictitious surname to publish the recently discovered laughably sentimental poems of Samuel Friedrich Sauter in the 1850s in order to mock the philistine values and lifestyle of the *Spiesburgertum* (petite bourgeoisie) in Germany and Austria during the *Vormärz* (pre-revolutionary) period.<sup>2</sup> The term is used now to refer generally to the lifestyle and mentality as well as the art and culture of the period. The Biedermeier sensibility was conservative and centered around the home, particularly the living room. Art and culture played an important role in the Biedermeier lifestyle, and the rising middle class actively supported all the various arts. Pianos became standard in every proper middle-class parlor. Their private homes became the gathering place for salons, where the middle classes, including women, could demonstrate their education and talents. The participants in some ways replaced the aristocratic patronage system, where the middle class now became the influential patrons and in effect, the salons became the homes of writers, composers, painters and sculptors as well as representatives of other areas of cultural life. Musically, friends and family gathered in intimate, social settings, where amateurs performed *Hausmusik*, including Lieder, art songs, and partsongs.

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<sup>2</sup> John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of A “New Poetic Age”* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 395.

With its prolific output of music in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Germany was a central figure in modern music publishing. In the eighteenth century, the great German music publishing companies were founded, many of them in Leipzig. Breitkopf & Härtel of Leipzig was the first of significance; a printer and publisher, Breitkopf began printing music in 1754. Härtel joined the firm in 1795 and later began the publication of the great series of the complete works of various composers for which the house is still famous. Schott was founded in Mainz in 1770. Simrock was established in 1790 in Bonn and later Berlin. Artaria of Vienna (1765-1832) was one of the original publishers of Mozart. In 1800, Viennese composer and publisher Franz Anton Hoffmeister and the Leipzig organist Ambrosius Kühnel founded a *Bureau de Musique* in Leipzig, where C.F. Friedrich Whistling, a music and book dealer, worked and which in 1814 was purchased by book dealer Carl Friedrich Peters, to whom the publishing house owes its current name. Friedrich Hofmeister founded his own publishing house in Leipzig in 1807. In 1810 Adolf Martin Schlesinger founded his publishing house in Berlin, and his son Maurice (Moritz) founded a branch in Paris. Whistling's son Friedrich Wilhelm began his own company in Leipzig in 1835 and would publish among others, twenty-five works of Schumann. Musikverlag Josef Weinberger, now in Frankfurt, was founded in 1885 in Vienna. Leipzig became the principal center of German music publishing in the early nineteenth century with the establishment of its small firms, and throughout the century would establish itself as a world-leader with dozens of foreign companies opening branches in the city, allowing Germany to advance to the top of the music publishing world.

The German choral tradition thrived throughout the nineteenth century thanks largely to this flourishing music publishing industry, as well as social and political developments, including a growing tendency towards German nationalism, which had its roots in early Romanticism. The idea of a free nation had a newfound significance for the liberal bourgeoisie. There was a sense of belonging to a community of the people. German and German-speaking *Gesangvereinen* (mixed-voice choirs) and their gendered counterparts emphasized these purposes. Renewed interest in older choral music and folksong is one manifestation of this new found national spirit which would play a part in the growing popularity of the partsong in nineteenth-century Germany.

An interest in music of the past is also characteristic of this period. There was a revival of Gregorian chant, and the "Cecilian movement" in later nineteenth-century Germany church music sought to immortalize Palestrina's music as ideal. The rediscovery of Bach is credited to Mendelssohn with the famous performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* at the *Singakademie* in 1829, but this influential event actually is rooted earlier in the century with the activities of Mendelssohn's teacher, Carl Friedrich Zelter.

Zelter, the most important contributor to the popularity of the German partsong in the nineteenth century, inherited the reins of the *Singakademie* at the death of its founder and his mentor, Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch, in 1800. For the next thirty-two years, until the end of his life, Zelter led the organization to acclaim and proved to be an influential figure in the musical life of Berlin and beyond, especially with his founding of the society's more exclusive sub-group for male voices, the *Liedertafel*, in 1809. With this group, Zelter began the aggressive movement to develop the male choral medium. An exclusive assemblage of primarily *bourgeois* members, the organization's social

gatherings sought to cultivate the art of singing, with patriotic tendencies coming to play, especially in the years leading up to the revolution in 1848. These nationalistic overtones became one of the catalysts for the formation of other *Liedertafel* choirs across Germany and the German-speaking lands. It is with Zelter that we begin the lineage of the choral society that Schumann and his contemporaries inherited.

Throughout the eighteenth century, choral music was mainly represented by church music, with only about one third being shared by the oratorio and occasional music. Nineteenth-century Germany brought about the golden age of the German secular partsong and saw an expansion of choral music in a secular context, bringing about changes not only in the nature of the organizations but also in the character of the music. Often depicted in history books as the age of the *Lied*, it was also the age of the *Chorgesang*, creating a demand for music for social gatherings. Secular partsongs were being composed for mixed ensembles, men's ensembles, and to a lesser extent, for women's ensembles. The goal of the choirs that sprang up in early nineteenth-century Germany was just as much social as it was musical. There was a need for simple music that could be sung by amateur musicians in an intimate, informal setting, and as a result, there was an abundance of amateur choruses and partsongs from just about every composer of significance.

In 1817, C.F. Whistling anonymously published his referential work, *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur*.<sup>3</sup> Originally intended for private use, it was commissioned

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<sup>3</sup> The full title reads: *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur, oder allgemeines systematisch geordnetes Verzeichnis der bis zum Ende des Jahres 1815 gedruckten Musikalien, auch musikalischen Schriften und Abbildungen mit Anzeige des Verleger und Preise (Handbook of musical literature, or general systematic catalogue of music printed up to the end of 1815, also writings and illustrations on musical topics, with information on their publishers and prices).*

by Anton Meysel, a Leipzig publisher. The project was announced publicly in advance with an invitation to those in the publishing trade to make contributions. The surnames, first names, titles, prices and publishers are listed for all musical items published in Germany, with some additions from neighboring countries, from 1780 up to the end of the year 1815, which were still obtainable in the shops. In 1819 the publication was bought by Friedrich Hofmeister, but in 1825 it was resold to Whistling. The 1817 volume was followed by ten yearly supplements. In 1828 the second “volume”, a new edition of that of 1817, appeared. This reprint of 1817, to which Whistling's name appears, is an eight-volume work totaling 1158 pages; it is divided into three parts paged consecutively, and was followed by a supplement, containing a list of the works published while the edition was at press. At the time of this edition, chorus music (*Mehrstimmige Gesänge, meistens ohne, zum Theil auch mit Pianoforte oder Guitarre*) with 29 pages of entries (pp. 975 – 1001) totaling over 1900 songs is second only to *Lieder (Gesänge, Lieder, Scenen, Baladen etc. für eine Singstimme mit Pianoforte)* — more abundant than church music, oratorios, and opera. In 1829 Whistling sold his whole business to the Hofmeisters, who again obtained possession of the work, and brought out two more supplements, in 1833 and 1838.<sup>4</sup> In 1844, the year Schumann moved to Dresden, a third edition appeared under the following title: *C. F. Whistling's Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur, oder allgemeines systematisch geordnetes Verzeichniss der in Deutschland und in den angrenzenden Ländern gedruckten Musikalien auch musikalischen Schriften und Abbildungen, mit Anzeige der Verleger und Preise. Dritte, bis zum Anfang des Jahres 1844 ergänzte Auflage. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von A. Hofmeister.* This edition

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<sup>4</sup> Rudolf Elvers and Cecil Hopkinson, “A Survey of the Music Catalogues of Whistling and Hofmeister,” *Fontes Artis Musicae*, xix (1972): 1-2.

also consists of three parts, this time with separate pagination (Part I, 144 pages; Part II, 336 pages; and Part III, 340 pages). The third part is dated 1845, and is preceded by a list of changes that took place in the various music publishing firms during the period covered by the edition. In this edition, we see the growing popularity of the movement. By the time of Schumann's move to Dresden, chorus music (*Mehrstimmige Gesänge, meistens ohne, zum Theil auch mit Pianoforte oder Guitarre*) with 36 pages of entries (pp. 52 – 88, seven more pages than the 1828 reprint) totaling more than 2600 songs is again second only to Lieder (*Gesänge, Lieder, Scenen, Baladen etc. für eine Singstimme mit Pianoforte*) — and still more numerous than church music, oratorios, and opera.<sup>5</sup> This significant influx in the number of partsongs between the two editions demonstrates a major growth industry.

In addition to being the father of the choral society movement in the German-speaking lands, Zelter also made his mark as a prolific composer for the genre, composing choral pieces, cantatas, sacred works, and secular works. The secular works include partsongs for mixed voices and, the most prolific, those for male voices. He wrote 100 male choruses for his *Liedertafel*, most of which are cheerful drinking songs

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<sup>5</sup> The categories are as follows: Kirchenmusik alle Art, mit und ohne Begleitung; Choralbücher und Liturgien; Oratorien, Messen, Cantaten und andere Kirchenmusik mit Pianoforte arr.; Opern- und andere Gesangstücke für Concertmusik mit Orchester (oder mehreren Instrumenten); Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte und eines andern Instrumentes; Mehrstimmige Gesänge, meistens ohne, zum theil auch mit Pianoforte (oder Guitarre); Opern und Sammlungen von Operngesängen im Klav. –Ausz.); Gesänge, Lieder, Scenen, Balladen etc. für mehrere Singstimmen mit Guitarre; Anweisungen zum Singen und Singübungen; and Anhang. Adolph Hofmeister, ed., *C.F. Whistling's Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur oder allgemeines systematisch-geordnetes Verzeichnis der in Deutschland und in den angrenzenden Ländern gedruckten Musikalien auch musikalischen Schriften und Abbildungen mit anzeige der Verleger und Preise. Dritte, bis zum anfang des Jahres 1844 ergänzte Auflage*, vol. 3 *Theil: Vocal-Musik. Nebst anhang: Auswahl theoretischer werke, Zeitschriften, Sammlungen vorzüglicher Werke, Textbücher und Portraits* (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1845).

and patriotic in tone, an understandable statistic given that the founding of the organization dates to the Napoleonic occupation of Berlin.<sup>6</sup>

The next composer after Zelter to contribute most significantly to establishing the sound and style of the partsong, especially with his male choruses, was Franz Schubert. His collection includes serenades, drinking songs, canons, as well as larger choral pieces and choruses from his operas. Almost two-thirds (sixty-seven) of Schubert's partsongs or choruses are for men's voices, all but one of the nineteen partsongs published before his death were for male voices only.<sup>7</sup> About 20% is for mixed voices, and six are for women's voices—the remainder is either unison or unspecified. Many of the works could be performed with one, several or many voices to a part, blurring the line between solo and choral partsongs. The songs divide almost evenly between unaccompanied and accompanied.

A number of Schubert's contemporaries who are less well-known today richly contributed to the idiom. Louis Spohr accepted the post of Kapellmeister of Kassel in 1822. In addition to his work with the orchestra, he continued subscription concerts and founded a *Cäcilienverein* to promote the city's choral activities. He composed a large number of partsongs — his songs, partsongs and other miscellaneous choral works total some 200 works — some of which were published individually, but the majority of which remain unpublished. Among the published partsongs are: *Sechs Vierstimmigen Lieder* for male voice, op. 44; *Sechs Vierstimmigeen Lieder* for male voices, op. 90; *Drei*

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<sup>6</sup> For example, his *Und sitz' ich in der Schäncke, bei einem Glase Wein, so denk' ich dein in Ehren, o lieb' Weib so hold und rein*.

<sup>7</sup> Margaret Notley, "Schubert's social music: the 'forgotten genres'," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher Howard Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 148. For an account of Schubert's male partsongs, see Maurice J.E. Brown, "The Part-songs for Male Voices," in *Essays on Schubert* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), 59 -84.

*Duette*, for soprano, tenor and pianoforte, op. 105 and op. 107 (Bonn, 1839), *Drei Duette* for two sopranos and pianoforte, op. 108 (Bonn, 1839); *Sechs Lieder* for SATB and pianoforte, 1841 – 1842, op. 120 (Kassell); *Sechs Vier-stimmigen Lieder* for mixed voices, op. 151; *Drei Lieder*, for two voices, op. 148 (no.1), 150 (no. 2) and 153 (no. 3); *Jenseits* for soprano, tenor and piano, WoO 98 (Leipzig, 1838), *Mein Heimatland* (“Wo reiner Liebe gold’ne Strahlen”) for two sopranos and piano, WoO 116 (Leipzig, 1847); and *Drei Lieder* for 2 sopranos and piano, WoO 117 (Leipzig, 1849).

Carl Loewe was perhaps most famous and admired in his day for his ballads for single voice. He wrote a number of works for a cappella mixed and male chorus as well as two SATB quartets with pianoforte accompaniment. There are eight mixed-voiced a cappella works, with two of them featuring segregated voices for a portion of the work: the first three songs of the *Fünf Gesänge*, op. 80 (Berlin, 1842) are for mixed voices, but numbers four and five are for female voices; *Gutenbergs Bild*, WoO (Mainz, 1848) is for mixed-voiced choir (SATB) or male voices (TTBB). Of the seventeen male-chorus a cappella works, the majority are in four parts (TTBB), with the exception of *Sechs Gesänge*, op. 19 (Berlin 1827) which switches from four to five parts.

Heinrich August Marschner, Robert Franz, and the Danish composer Niels Gade also composed a number of partsongs. Marschner composed twenty-six partsong and chorus collections, and an additional seventeen partsongs without opus numbers for four-part male voices were published separately in collections. Franz, known for his prolific output of Lieder (257 songs), also composed for a cappella chorus: *Kyrie*, a cappella, for four-part chorus and solo voices; the *117<sup>th</sup> Psalm*, a cappella double choir in eight parts; four partsongs for mixed voices, and six songs for male chorus. Niels Gade, known more

today as a symphonist, was also devoted to the voice. He composed sixteen cantatas for voice and orchestra, including *Comala*, op. 12 for solo voices, mixed choir and orchestra (1846), which was greatly admired by Schumann and rehearsed by his groups; *Elverskud*, op. 30 (1854) for solo voices, mixed chorus, and orchestra. He was also fond of the male choir medium; among the works composed for male voices are *Sechs Gesänge für Vier Männerstimmen*, op. 11 (1845); *Fünf Lieder*, op. 26 (1853) and op. 33 (1858) for a cappella male voices; and *Fünf Gesänge für Männerchor*, op. 38 (1862). He also composed a cantata for women's voices based on a Norse legend, *Den Bjergtagne*, op. 52 (1872) for mezzo-soprano, female chorus, and orchestra. There are almost fifty choral pieces published without opus number, including two Danish text settings arranged for male voices: *Agnete og Havmmanden* (1846) and *Wingakersflickan* (1847).

Another well-known composer who participated in the genre was Carl Maria von Weber. In the poem "Die Liedertafeln" by W. v. Waldbrühl in the *NZfM* on 27 January 1837 (reproduced in the Appendix on pp. 228-229), the patriotic tone of the *Liedertafel* is apparent.<sup>8</sup> In it, Weber is credited as being the creator of the power of song whose influence would produce an army of worthy masters ("Der Weber schuf des Lieds Gewalt, Verlieh dem Worte Geister, Es folgte dem Erreger bald Ein Heer ehrwürdiger Meister"). In fact, Weber's part-song "Lützows wilde Jagd", op. 42, no. 2 (J. 169) for four-part male voices was recalled by Wagner as the first piece of music he transcribed as a child.<sup>9</sup> Weber composed twenty accompanied choral works, about a third of which are

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<sup>8</sup> W.v. Waldbrühl is short for Wilhelm von Waldbrühl and was a pseudonym of Florentin von Zuccalmaglio (1803 – 69). Waldbrühl was the city of his birth. William Cushing, *Initials and Pseudonyms: A dictionary of Literary Disguises* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1885), 603.

<sup>9</sup> "I can remember the hesitation with which my mother for the first time gave me the money to buy the scored paper on which I copied out Weber's *Lützow's Jagd*, which was the first piece of music I transcribed." Richard Wagner, *My Life*, 2 vols., authorized translation from the German (New York: Dodd

exclusively for male voices. In addition, he started the incomplete “Deo Rosa” (J. Anh. 3) in 1821 for four male voices and pianoforte. There are twenty-six a cappella choral works of which over two-thirds are for male voices. Of the works, only six of the choruses (op. 68 nos. 1 – 6 / J 132, 261 – 263, 284-285) are specifically designated as partsongs.

Felix Mendelssohn continued in the tradition of his mentor Zelter. His work as music director in various cities provided the opportunity to compose a rich collection of choral music, numbering sixty collections, about half of which are for male voices. Mendelssohn’s works for male voices include eighteen secular partsongs (opp. 50, 75, 76, and 120) and eleven more without opus numbers. In addition, Mendelssohn composed for male voice: two larger works entitled *Festgesänge*, *Festgesang zur Säcularfeier der Buchdruckerkunst*, WoO and *Festgesang: An die Künstler*, op. 68; two sacred choruses *Zwei Geistliche Männerchöre*, op. 115; and the multi-movement sacred work, *Vespergesang für Männerstimmen mit Begleitung von Violoncell und Bass*, op. 121.<sup>10</sup> He also wrote twenty-eight partsongs (five sets) for mixed voices. It was inescapable, with this background that Robert Schumann would wish to contribute to this medium.

Schumann, like his predecessors and contemporaries, believed in the value of participating in a choral group and was an active participant in the phenomenon. In his

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and Mead, 1911), I: 34. Ludwig Geyer, Wagner's stepfather, was a painter, poet, and actor and light tenor who worked with Weber when he was conductor of the Court German opera in Dresden beginning in 1817. Geyer often took a young Wagner with him to rehearsals. Weber, in turn, was a frequent visitor to the Geyer household until Geyer's death on September 30, 1821.

<sup>10</sup> A DMA dissertation by Joseph Janisch is a more recent source which takes a look at his music for male voices, which, although he does not contextualize the genre or concentrate on Mendelssohn's participation in the songclubs, does provide an analytical survey of the music, with concentration on and suggestions for rehearsal and performance of opp. 68 and 115. Joseph H. Janisch, “Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's Music for Men's Voices” (DMA diss., The Ohio State University, 1998).

*Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln* (Musical House- and Life- Rules), Schumann

advises young musicians to participate in choirs:

Sing regularly in a choir, especially the middle parts. This makes you musical... And how does one become musical? Dear child, the most essential matter - a sharp ear and quick perception - like all such things, are sent from above. But these abilities can be developed and enhanced. You will not do this by closing yourself up like a recluse and working day after day on mechanical studies, but rather you will do so by participating in a variety of musical activities, especially those involving choirs and orchestras.<sup>11</sup>

He spent just over five years in Dresden from 1844 to 1850. It was during this Dresden period that his interest in unaccompanied choral music is most apparent. Choral societies following Zelter's model in Berlin, especially the *Liedertafeln*, were very popular in Dresden. In 1847, Schumann became director of one of those organizations, the *Dresdner Liedertafel*, a post he held for one year, and for which he composed partsongs for male voices. The growth of mixed choirs throughout Germany inspired him not only to compose choral works for mixed voices but also to develop a choral society of his own in Dresden in 1848, the *Verein für Chorgesang*. Although he did not work with a separate *Frauenchor*, Schumann did have a strong presence of female singers within his *Chorgesangverein*, which would give him an opportunity to compose and rehearse his partsongs for female voices. Within this brief five-year period, Schumann was extremely fruitful. His work with the *Dresdner Liedertafel*, his own *Verein für Chorgesang*, and his

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<sup>11</sup> "Singe fleißig im Chor mit, namentlich Mittelstimmen. Dies macht dich musikalisch... Wie wird man aber musikalisch? Liebes Kind, die Hauptsache, ein scharfes Ohr, schnelle Auffassungskraft, kommt, wie in allen Dingen, von Oben. Aber es läßt sich die Anlage bilden und erhöhen. Du wirst es, nicht dadurch, daß du dich einsiedlerisch tagelang absperst und mechanische Studien treibst, sondern dadurch, daß du dich in lebendigem, vielseitig-musikalischem Verkehr erhältst, namentlich dadurch, daß du viel mit Chor und Orchester verkehrst." Robert Schumann, "*Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln*" in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 2 vols., ed. Martin Kreisig (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1914), II: 169.

work with the women within the organization resulted in a large collection of choral works for mixed voices, male voices, and female voices.

Although amateur choruses reached a peak of popularity in the nineteenth century, the phenomenon often receives little more than a footnote in more recent scholarship, requiring interested readers to turn to all but inaccessible German sources, most dating back some one hundred years to reconstruct a more complete history. For reading on the importance of choral singing, one may consult Hermann Kuhlo's *Geschichte der Zelterschen Liedertafel von 1809 bis 1909*. There is also an account of the development of male-voice choirs in *Taschenbuch für deutsche Sänger*, edited by Eduard Kral dating from 1864. Eager readers can also find in library catalogues across Germany the occasional *Festschrift* that survived in celebration of an anniversary of the founding of a city's organization. George Schünemann wrote three books on Zelter — *Carl Friedrich Zelter, der Begründer der Preußischen Musikpflege* in 1932; *Carl Friedrich Zelter, Der Mensch und sein Werk* in 1937; and *Singakademie (Die Singakademie zu Berlin 1791 – 1941)* in 1941—which provide an extraordinary wealth of information, including documents that have since been lost or destroyed. In 1980, Peter Nitsche contributed the incredibly valuable “Die Liedertafel im System der Zelterschen Gründungen”. He revisited the wealth of studies on Zelter dating from the nineteenth- and early-twentieth century to provide a more contemporary understanding of the *Liedertafel* within the structure of the musical institutions Zelter founded and was an important source for my second chapter. In addition to Kuhlo, Nitsche turns to Schünemann and his exhaustive work on Zelter. In 1991, Gottfried Eberle recounted the history of the *Singakademie* in his *200 Jahre Sing-Akademie zu Berlin*. While it is

refreshing to have more thorough, modern studies of the history of the *Singakademie* (Eberle) and the *Liedertafel* (Nitsche), the fact remains that the works are accessible only to readers of German. The canon in English, at least anything dating after the middle of the twentieth century, leaves much to be desired, often leaving the reader with nothing much beyond the fact that these organizations existed.

Any discussion of choral music in recent literature will cite and often quote Percy Young's 1962 publication *The Choral Tradition*.<sup>12</sup> In his history of nineteenth-century music, the great Festivals of Düsseldorf and the *Liedertafel* in Dresden are mentioned in relation to the choral careers of Mendelssohn and Schumann, and Young noted how those phenomena "illustrate the vast expression of interest in choral music in Germany in general during the first half of the century."<sup>13</sup> Yet no history of the clubs or concerts is given, and one must go to a brief footnote to read a dismissive explanation of Schumann's participation in the genre:

It is not generally realized that choral music (much of it not very inspiring) formed a considerable part of Schumann's output. He conducted, never very successfully, the *Liedertafel* in Dresden (in succession to Hiller) and subscription concerts in Düsseldorf. Schumann's partsongs reflect his literary taste and judgement but he, like many other composers, found that lyrical verse and choral homophony do not mate happily.<sup>14</sup>

While his purpose was to present a general survey of choral music and not a concentrated study of the nineteenth century, it is interesting to note how the song clubs are (or rather not) dealt within any detail in the two chapters on the nineteenth century

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<sup>12</sup> Percy M. Young, *The Choral Tradition: An Historical Survey from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev. (New York: Norton, 1981).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 194 – 195.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 195. Also interesting is the fact that not a single partsong title by Schumann is named in the text nor is a single choral work discussed in Young's survey.

that comprise eighty pages of the 376-page choral musical history text. In his discussion of Germany and Austria, he later quotes from the English translation of Wagner's *Mein Leben*, which laments the convivial taste of the members of the "Dresden Glee Club." Young then continues with a paragraph on the "clichés" by Weber, Mendelssohn, Hiller, Wagner, and Schumann that resulted from these small mixed-voice choirs and their successors in Brahms, Cornelius, Wolf, Reger, and Strauss. Although the inspiration for the partsongs was the same as the *Lieder*, he felt partsongs simply lacked the poetic possibilities inherent in the more subtle combination of a single voice and pianoforte.

The heavy gait of the German partsong (see Cornelius's egregious "Beethoven-Lied", Op. 10, with its quotations from the 'Eroica'), the muddled intellectualism of the harmonic movement (see Cornelius's *Requiem* in commemoration of Hebbel), or the barren tonic-dominant seesaw to a 4/4 time signature (see Brahms' *Marienlieder*) which expose superficial cheerfulness, or the earnest contrapuntal junketings of Reger (see *Palm Sunday Morning*) all make this a tiresome field...No doubt this music is serviceable at competitive festivals, for the adjudicator is relieved from the distraction of considering music as well as its performance; but it is stagnant.<sup>15</sup>

Young then departs from the medium to discuss Brahms' *Ein Deutsches Requiem* in more detail, conceding that it is out of this style that the great work arose. This prejudice against partsongs and the dismissal of the societies continues to flavor discussions of choral music.

Both Robert Garretson's *Choral Music: History, Style, and Performance Practice* (1993) and Nick Strimple's *Choral Music in the Nineteenth Century* (2008), although certainly less dismissive of Schumann, cite Young in their works, further emphasizing the strength of Young's prejudice even today. Garretson does not mention the *Liedertafel* in his highlights of Schumann's biography, but does mention his move to Dresden and the

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<sup>15</sup> Young, 240.

organization of the *Chorgesangverein*, although nothing more than the fact that it was founded in 1848. As for choral works, he does list the bigger works, but the partsongs are not listed, instead noting the existence of “numerous choruses for mixed voices, and men’s and women’s voices”.<sup>16</sup> Strimple lists the majority of Schumann’s partsongs, but does not include any characterization of the individual pieces, justified by the following general description: “He [Schumann] composed a large number of partsongs, most of which are homophonic. They are more objective than his Lieder and less interesting rhythmically than his other music.”<sup>17</sup> His work with the Dresden *Liedertafel* and the founding of his *Chorverein* —the impetus behind these works— is not mentioned. Strimple continues by listing his larger choral works, devoting the most time to what Strimple deems the “best choral works”, the “exquisite” *Requiem für Mignon* and the “unique” *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*.<sup>18</sup> Although certainly an improvement on Young, who did not even bother to list Schumann’s choral works, the current choral history surveys as represented by Garretson and Strimple continue to dismiss Schumann’s contribution.

Two notable examples that recognize Schumann’s choral works are the eighth chapter of Gerald Abraham’s (editor) 1952 *Schumann, A Symposium* and the Choral Music Chapter of Alan Walker’s (editor) 1972 *Robert Schumann, The Man and His Music*. Simply entitled “The Choral Works”, John Horton’s contribution is the final chapter of Abraham’s collection. Horton does acknowledge Schumann’s experiments with choral forms to be a direct result of the rise of German choral unions in the mid-

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<sup>16</sup> Robert L. Garretson, *Choral Music: History, Style, and Performance Practice* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993), 109-110.

<sup>17</sup> Nick Strimple, *Choral Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Amadeus Press, 2008), 34–35.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

nineteenth century and the parallel growth of male-voice societies, both owing their origin to the *Singakademie*, especially under Zelter. Both the Dresden *Liedertafel* and the “mixed choral society he had founded” are mentioned and many of the partsong collections that resulted are listed. The pieces are not discussed in any detail, and the topic is quickly abandoned as “Schumann gave up the Dresden *Liedertafel* after about a year, its good-humoured but insensitive heartiness being too much for his temperament.”<sup>19</sup> The bigger pieces are discussed in more detail, but the chapter ends in a characteristically dismissive fashion:

From what has been said in this chapter it will be realized that little can be offered in the way of praise for Schumann’s choral works as such. But moments of beauty these works do contain, even though one comes upon them more often in the orchestral than the choral parts of the score. That Schumann found not only pleasure but also technical profit in writing them is suggested by his remark in a letter to Reinecke: “The best way of developing one’s melodic sense is to write a great deal for the voice, and especially for independent chorus.”<sup>20</sup>

Louis Halsey wrote “The Choral Music” for Walker’s project. Like Horton, Halsey mentions the *Liedertafel* and *Chorverein* by name, but quickly moves to Düsseldorf to discuss Schumann’s inadequacies at the podium. Refreshingly, almost thirteen pages are devoted to unaccompanied choral music. The opus 33 and 65 are the only two male-voice collections mentioned before turning to the enormous, *Verzweifle nicht im Schmerzenstal*, op. 93. Although written for a cappella male voices, I believe it falls outside of the designation of partsong, something I will address in Chapter IV. The *Romanzen für Frauenstimmen* (opp.

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<sup>19</sup> John Horton, “The Choral Works,” in *Schumann: A Symposium*. ed. Gerald Abraham (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 289.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 298-299.

69 and 91), the *Romanzen und Balladen* (opp. 67, 75, 145, and 146), and the opp. 55 and 59 are all briefly mentioned, although op. 55 is faulted for being simple to the point of dullness. After naming *Beim Abschied zu singen*, op. 84, Halsey discusses in the most detail the *Vier doppelchörige Gesänge für grössere Gesangvereine*, op. 141, deeming the set Schumann's most successful attempt at writing for unaccompanied choir. Halsey, however, continues with a somewhat back-handed compliment before turning to accompanied choral music:

After I conducted a performance of them [op. 141] I came to the conclusion that their success is due more to the composer's imaginative response to the poems than to the actual quality of the choral writing as such. In fact, his writing for chorus gives the impression of having been conceived in keyboard terms. This presents no insuperable problems to the singers, provided due allowance is made in performance. After all, there is a great deal of good vocal music which is basically instrumental in style (Bach being the supreme example), just as there is a lot of second-rate music which is superbly realized technically in terms of the medium in which it is written.<sup>21</sup>

Current musicologists devoted to Schumann are making strides in bringing this music relevance, but there is still much more to be done. This is in large thanks to the work of the great Schumann scholar John Daverio. Before his work entered the canon, Schumann's choral works, like the majority of his late works, were dismissed as unworthy, largely due to the fact they related them as a reflection to the composer's deteriorating mental health. If the *Liedertafel* or *Chorverein* were mentioned, they merited nothing more than a footnote and lacked any real context. The predominately negative view of Schumann's choral music changed with Daverio's works, especially, *Robert Schumann: Herald of A "New Poetic Age"* (1997) and "Einheit – Freiheit –

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<sup>21</sup> Louis Halsey, "The Choral Music," in *Robert Schumann: The Man and His Music*, ed. Alan Walker (London: Barrie and Jenkins Ltd., 1972), 364-365.

Vaterland: Intimations of Utopia in Robert Schumann's Late Choral Music" (In *Music and German National Identity*. ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, 2002). With his works, Daverio looked deeply into the medical history of Schumann, but did not use it to taint the value of the late works. In his monumental and excellent study of the composer's biography and work, *Robert Schumann: Herald of A "New Poetic Age,"* Daverio does not dismiss the choral works, but instead celebrates them, giving us the most comprehensive information on the works to date. The choice and content of some of the texts and the occasional inclusion of a brief analysis or theme is used in an effort to improve the reception of the works. When examining the political character of Schumann's music in "Einheit – Freiheit – Vaterland...", Daverio looked at the "political" music in Schumann's oeuvre, careful not to go too far and portray him as a political author. He carefully walked the fine line between blanket politicization of his compositions and deeming Schumann an apolitical coward. Daverio concentrates on the works with revolutionary themes and those directly inspired by the revolutions. Naturally, his discussion turns to some of the partsongs, including the *Drei Gesänge*, op. 62 and the three *Freiheitsgesänge*, WoO 13 – 15. Refreshingly, the music's characteristics and texts are addressed in some detail. The history of the *Liedertafel* and the *Chorverein* in his works is not at all detailed, but to be fair, it was certainly not the scope of his investigation. One only wonders how much more we would have learned and appreciated about the late works of Schumann had Daverio's life not been cut short.

Two recent books encouragingly mention the song clubs and partsongs. Elizabeth Paley's contribution to the 2007 Cambridge Companion to Schumann briefly mentions his involvement with the clubs in Dresden and names three of the male voice partsongs,

opp. 33, 55, and 59. She quickly moves on to the larger choral works he composed in Düsseldorf. To be fair, the chapter is entitled “Dramatic Stage and Choral Works” and there is limited space. I was nonetheless disheartened not to see more on the partsongs, if not merely the naming of them all. As will be discussed later, the Cambridge Companion to Bruckner is a great source for background on his participation in the genre, making the Schumann companion all the more disappointing in this regard.

Another book, released in 2010 for the bicentennial of his birth is *Schumann, A Chorus of Voices* edited by John C. Tibbets. Neither a musicologist nor historian, Tibbets undertook the challenge to record a conversation about Schumann with an international panel of musicologists, biographers, musicians, and commentators. An almost thirty-year project provides an insightful and fascinating read with thirteen topics of discussion. The tenth topic is “*Heaven Sent*”: *The Choral Works*. The commentators are Gerd Albrecht, Theodore Albrecht, Vitoria Bond, Joan Chissell, John Daverio, John Eliot Gardiner, Margaret Hillis, D. Kern Holoman, Roe-Min Kok, Erich Leinsdorf, John Nelson, Elizabeth Paley, Leon Plantinga, Laura Tunbridge, Charles Wadsworth, and John Worthen. Theodore Albrecht begins the chapter by giving a brief statement on the popularity of the *Liedertafeln* and *Liederkränze* movements, highlighting the social and political aspects and the eventual development of the *Damenchor*. He ends by mentioning the Romances and Ballades, opp. 145 and 146, but no details are given. After one page, the conversation immediately turns to the bigger works beginning with *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* and *Das Paradies und die Peri*. This continues for thirty more pages, and the partsongs are forgotten. With the progress John Daverio made in his seminal

works to acknowledge the partsongs, it is discouraging that almost ten years later, there has been so little progress.

A joint venture by the Robert-Schumann-Forschungsstelle in Düsseldorf and the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau was instrumental in the New Edition of Schumann's complete works (*Schumann Neue Ausgabe*), which to date is still in progress.<sup>22</sup> Margit L. McCorkle's, *Thematische-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, (München, 2003), provides new information on the partsongs. In addition to the fourteen opus numbers of partsongs known to exist, there are works without opus numbers that Schumann published or prepared for publishing and fragments later found in the Schumann estate and catalogued by McCorkle that were either lost or never intended for publication. These pieces will all be included in the *New Schumann Edition*'s fifth series, *Chorwerke*. The series will be divided into three different volumes of *Werkgruppe*: 1. *Werke für Männerchor*; 2. *Werke für Frauenchor*; and 3. *Werke für gemischten Chor*. The second volume (works for *Frauenchor*) edited by Irmgard Knechtges-Obrecht in collaboration with Matthias Wendt was published in 1991, and for the first time includes in print an Anhang of an alternate version of op. 69, no. 6 "Die Capelle", which will be discussed in the fourth chapter.<sup>23</sup> The volume's exhaustively researched commentary on the *Romanzen für Frauenstimmen*, opp. 69 and 91 includes a brief background before delving extensively into the origins and publication history, concentrating on manuscripts and sources to reconstruct a full picture of Schumann's compositional plans to suggest

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<sup>22</sup> Robert Schumann, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, herausgegeben von der Robert-Gesellschaft Düsseldorf, eds. Ako Mayeda and Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1991 - ).

<sup>23</sup> Robert Schumann, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke: Werke für Frauenchor*. Series V, vol. 2. ed. Irmgard Knechtges-Obrecht in collaboration with Matthias Wendt (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1991).

different orderings of the pieces he considered before they were initially published. The first (male chorus) and third (mixed chorus) *Werkgruppe* of the series are still forthcoming.

As a result of the work of those involved with the new edition, recently there have been recordings of the music available for the first time. As early as 1993, the Hilliard Ensemble included three Schumann partsongs in their *German Romantic Partsongs Collection* — nos. 1, 2, and 3 from his op. 33.<sup>24</sup> A recording of the complete male partsongs with opus numbers (opp. 33, 62, 65, and 137) was released by the Neue Detmolder Liedertafel in 2005, “*Habet acht!*” *Songs for Male Voices*.<sup>25</sup> Most recently in honor of the bicentennial of his birth, is the March 2010 re-release of SWR Vokalensemble Stuttgart’s 2000 recording of the *Romances and Ballads, op. 67, 69, 75, 91, 145, and 146*.<sup>26</sup> In fact I have found a total of fourteen recordings on the market that include at least one Schumann partsong. The most significant recording, however, is the 2006 release of a 4-CD box set by Studio Vocale Karlsruhe, *Robert Schumann: The Complete Secular Choral Works*, the first complete collection of his partsongs.<sup>27</sup> While there has been progress in recent years in acknowledging Schumann’s late choral works, a thorough study of the partsongs contextualized by an accessible history of the song clubs that influenced their creation is missing from the canon.

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<sup>24</sup> Hilliard Ensemble, *German Romantic Partsongs*, EMI B00000DNNI (CD), January 1993.

<sup>25</sup> Robert Schumann, “*Habet acht!*” *Songs for Male Voices*. Neue Detmolder Liedertafel, Thorsten Roth, DMD&G Records B0007X6T2I (CD), 2005.

<sup>26</sup> Robert Schumann, *Romances and Ballads, op. 67, 69, 75, 91, 145, and 146*, SWR Vokalensemble Stuttgart, Rupert Huber, SCM Hänssler 093.356.000 (CD), March 2010.

<sup>27</sup> The project was a series of recordings begun in 1996 under the supervision of Joachim Draheim, who also provided the excellent and informative liner notes. EBS distributed four separate volumes from 2000 to 2003, and Brilliant Classics released them as a box set in 2006. Robert Schumann, *The Complete Secular Choral Works*, Studio Vocale Karlsruhe, Werner Pfaff, Brilliant Classics 92148 (4-CD), 2006.

In the final stages of completing my dissertation I became aware of two new sources, a 2009 article in the *American Choral Review* by William H. Braun entitled “Robert Schumann’s A Cappella Choral Works” and a 2010 D.M.A. dissertation on Schumann's partsongs for male chorus by Timothy Sarsany entitled *Robert Schumann's Part-Songs for Men's Chorus and a Detailed Analysis of Fünf Gesänge (Jagdlieder), opus 137*.<sup>28</sup> Braun’s article in anticipation of the bicentennial of Schumann’s birth briefly highlights in four pages of prose—the remaining fifteen are score selections from the Choral Public Domain Library—the published a capella works that were included in the collected edition of the *Robert Schumann Werke* edited by Clara Schumann and published by Breitkopf & Härtel between 1879 and 1893. Braun mainly quotes previous work by Halsey and Daverio. There is not much historical context given (understandable given the limitations in length of the article), although we both refer to a review of the opus 59 and include a few key quotes by Schumann himself. His main point, of which I heartily agree, is that the a capella works are a charming introduction to Schumann’s choral works that deserve more widespread performance.

Sarsany on the other hand does provide some historical context on Schumann’s biography and the song club tradition. He does not go into depth, but his main purpose is to support his performance and edition of op. 137 and to provide background on Schumann’s male chorus music. Although his analysis is from a performer and conductor’s view point, mainly concentrating on vocal ranges and the level of group required to perform each work, I have been able to profit from his comments and text interpretations. His commentary and edition of op. 137 will surely help to create an

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<sup>28</sup> Timothy Sarsany, “Robert Schumann's Part-Songs for Men's Chorus and a Detailed Analysis of Fünf Gesänge (Jagdlieder), opus 137” (DMA diss., The Ohio State University, 2010).

awareness and appreciation within the choral world that hopefully will result in performances by groups of all levels.

In the second chapter, I recount a general history of the *Gesangverein* beginning with the *Singakademie* in Berlin, concentrating on Zelter's tenure with the organization and his founding of the *Liedertafel*, as well as his influence in bringing music to Berlin's middle class. Next, I will highlight his influence and its development outside Berlin, focusing on the history in Dresden that Schumann would later inherit. To close, I will construct a history of the *Frauenchor* by looking at some of the female composers who conducted and sang in organizations throughout the German-speaking lands.

Chapter Three will consider Schumann's work within these traditions, from his first dabbles in Leipzig to his Dresden period. After years of disappointment in trying to find a post as music director, he was offered the opportunity to conduct the *Dresdner Liedertafel*, which almost immediately planted the idea to found his own song club, the *Verein für Chorgesang*. A history of both of these organizations will be recounted by reference to Schumann's diaries and notebooks as well as *Festschriften* written to celebrate significant anniversaries of their founding.

The fourth chapter will be a musical survey of his partsongs beginning with mixed chorus, followed by those for female chorus, and concluding with those for male chorus. Each work's poet, key, voicing, time signature, and measure-count will be followed by critical analysis, and compositional and, when applicable, performance and publishing history.

To conclude my investigation, I will survey what happened after Schumann's move to Düsseldorf. His dream of finding a permanent musical post was at last realized

and his work would find him at the helm of the city's choruses and orchestra. This would be his final move before attempting to take his own life and being committed at Endenich. A brief examination to highlight the successors who carried on his legacy as passed on from Zelter, as well as what happened to these organizations, will close my study.

## Chapter II: *German Amateur Choral Societies (1790 – 1840)*

### Song Clubs in Berlin

The Berlin *Singakademie* is the oldest mixed choir in Germany. It was brought to life in 1791 by Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736 – 1800), who was dissatisfied with the trained singers in Berlin’s church choirs as well as at the opera. Although no constitution of by-laws seems to have been written until 1816, we can learn much about the details of its founding in 1791 from the board members of 1816.<sup>29</sup> We learn that the *Singakademie* was created as an artistic society for the promotion of “holy and serious music, especially for music in the strict style (gebundener Styl), and its goal: practical exercise at its works, for the edification of its members, because it only rarely performs in public and only under the direction of its Director.”<sup>30</sup>

The mission was to train singers to properly sing choral music of the past as well as that of their contemporaries, with an initial concentration on a cappella singing. Fasch began to direct rehearsals with his male and female voice students, which began as a small circle of twelve singers, in the garden house on Leipziger Strasse of Privy Councilor Milow, whose stepdaughter Charlotte Dietrich was a participant.<sup>31</sup> These practices soon developed into regular meetings where attendance continued to increase,

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<sup>29</sup> Then Music Director, Carl Friedrich Zelter worked with an eight-member board: August Hartung, C. F. Schulz, Friedrich Schulz, Hinrich Lichtenstein, Sidonie Voitus, Wilhelmine Alberti, Albertine Wotmann, and Henriette Rosenstiel. Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, “Grundverfassung der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1816,” <http://www.sing-akademie.de/verfass.htm> (accessed on February 3, 2005).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Paragraph 1.

<sup>31</sup> Françoise Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn*, trans. by Camille Naish (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1996), 60.

including professional singers.<sup>32</sup> In April 1791 they moved rehearsals to the home of Privy Councilor Papritz's wife. On 24 May 1791, the expanding group once again moved rehearsals, this time to the home of the widow of the Surgeon-General Voitus at 42 Unter den Linden. It is here that Fasch began his first *Präsenzbuch*, which recorded the meeting's twenty-seven attendees and the works rehearsed. It is this date that the *Singakademie* considers as the true date of its founding.<sup>33</sup> Although it sometimes appears in the musicological canon that the choir began as an exclusively male organization, gender was not a named criterion for membership. Three founding members were female, Frau Voitus, Frau Sebald and Frau Dietrich, and according to the 1816 constitution, the first Board was made up of six members, three male and three female.<sup>34</sup> Class, however, although not specifically spelled out as a factor for membership in the 1816 constitution, did play a role, as education, sponsorship by another member, and the ability to pay a membership fee were all criteria for candidacy. Potential candidates were only considered at the beginning of each quarter and had to demonstrate that they possessed the necessary degree of moral and artistic education required to actively serve the goal of the organization, prove their musicianship to the Director, be elected by the board, and be able to pay an admission fee and quarterly dues of 2 Thaler.<sup>35</sup> In September of 1791 the chorus gave its first public performance in the Marienkirche. This was the first time that a concert of an adult chorus of male and female voices, without

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<sup>32</sup> Arthur Mees, *Choirs and Choral Music* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 168.

<sup>33</sup> Internationalen Fasch-Gesellschaft e.V, "Fasch biographie," <http://www.fasch.net/deutsch/biographie.htm> (accessed on October 1, 2009).

<sup>34</sup> Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, "Grundverfassung der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1816," <http://www.sing-akademie.de/verfass.htm> (accessed on February 3, 2005), Paragraph 12.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Paragraphs 2 – 5.

children's voices, was recorded.<sup>36</sup> The membership continued to grow, making it necessary to find yet another larger place to rehearse. On 5 November 1793 they began meeting at the Martstall, a round room in the *Königliche Akademie der Künste* building, which is probably how the name "*Singakademie*" began and eventually stuck.<sup>37</sup>

When Fasch died on 3 August 1800, the *Singakademie* already had nearly 100 members. His assistant director and composition student Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758 – 1832) took over the organization. According to Zelter's recollection, an ailing Fasch kept him at his side from the very beginning with the intention of training him as his successor to lead the choir into the next century.<sup>38</sup> In an article from 1805, composer, writer, and critic Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752 – 1814) described Zelter as the savior of choral music and the leader of a new style of German singing.<sup>39</sup> The article also notes Zelter's dedication: in addition to rehearsals twice a week, he gave private lessons to select singers from the *Singakademie* and rehearsed smaller ensemble groups three mornings a week.<sup>40</sup>

Zelter greatly influenced Berlin's musical life as teacher, composer, and conductor, reforming music education and church music in the Prussian capital. He recognized a general decay in the quality of musical life, which he mainly attributed to the tendency of musicians to cater to the taste of their audiences. He believed that music

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<sup>36</sup> Tillard, 61.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Die Berlinische Singakademie," *Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung*, I/8 (1805), 1.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 3.

was capable of forming man in a deep and significant way, and he sought to create organizations that provided the conditions for the music to be most effective. His mission can be summarized with one primary thought as his driving force: "Since music, as with all fine arts, has a single social goal, it can collaborate with them. This social goal is education, which consists of an activity of internal or soul-related forces by which man himself becomes more perfect and, consequently, more noble".<sup>41</sup>

This goal was dependent upon societies participating in musical activities and on a fundamental musical education to make these activities possible in the first place. In general, in the first years of his leadership of the *Singakademie*, Zelter sought to enhance and expand the *Singakademie* as well as outline a universal concept of bourgeois music-making, which he realized in a series of memoranda dating from 1803 - 1809. In his writings, Zelter sought to further establish a relationship between the *Singakademie* and the *Akademie der Künste*. The first step had been in place since 1793, when *Singakademie* rehearsals were relocated within the building of the *Akademie der Künste*. This, however, was merely geographical; Zelter wanted the relationship to go beyond real estate. The *Akademie der Künste* was founded in 1696 as a place for advanced training

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<sup>41</sup> "Da die Musik mit allen schönen Künsten, einen gemeinschaftlichen Zweck hat; so kann sie auch gemeinschaftlich mit ihnen wirken. Dieser gemeinschaftlich Zweck ist: Bildung und dies Bildung besteht in einer Tätigkeit innerer oder Gemüthskräfte, wodurch der Mensch an sich selbst, vollkommener und also edler wird." Denkschrift [2<sup>nd</sup> memorandum] of Zelter, quoted in Georg Schünemann, *Carl Friedrich Zelter, der Begründer der Preußischen Musikpflege* (Berlin: Maz Hesse, 1932), 10; Peter Nitsche, "Die Liedertafel im Sytem der Zelterschen Gründungen," in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. C. Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Bosse, 1980), 11. I am greatly indebted to Peter Nitsche for his informative and insightful article, where he exhaustively researched the older sources for a modern reflection on the politics of Zelter's musical establishments. His second section was especially useful for my telling of the history of the founding of the *Liedertafel*. I am also grateful to Albrecht Gaub for his assistance in translating this source; as a native German speaker, he provided essential historical and cultural context.

where the most talented painters, sculptors, and architects in service to the Prussian court could gather.<sup>42</sup> Up to this point, musicians were not part of the *Akademie der Künste*. His motivation was also financial: his position at the *Singakademie* was unpaid. In order to support his family, Zelter, a mason, maintained a building business.<sup>43</sup> A link between the societies would mean that musicians could be paid for their service to the Prussian court.

This relationship between the two societies was slow to take root. Zelter's *Denkschrift* of 1803 first declared his hope of integrating music with the *Akademie der Künste*. In it he argued that it was the responsibility of the state to encourage musical participation among its citizens and provide advanced training for professional musicians, for music, along with all the fine arts, has a communal purpose, which will improve people altogether.<sup>44</sup> Three years later, he was given the title "Honorary Member and Assessor" at the *Akademie der Künste*. It was not until he wrote another memorandum in 1809 re-iterating his position that the integration really began to take shape. Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), the Prussian Minister of Education, used Zelter's words as the basis for his petition of 14 May 1809 to Friedrich Wilhelm III. Seven days later the King approved the petition. On 29 June 1809, Zelter was appointed "Professor" in a special session of the *Akademie der Künste*. This was a major milestone in the expansion of Prussian musical patronage as well as an indicator of music's growing acceptance as a

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<sup>42</sup> Thomas Kirchner, "Das Modell Akademie: Die Gründung der Akademie der Künste und mechanischen Wissenschaften," in *Die Kunst hat nie ein Mensch allein besessen*, eds. Akademie der Künste and Hochschule der Künste (Berlin: Henschell, 1996), 25.

<sup>43</sup> By 1806, as the war affected the economy in Berlin, building work had all but come to a standstill, making it even more difficult to support his family. Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 81.

<sup>44</sup> Celia Applegate, "How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Nineteenth-century Music* 21 (1997-98), 292.

scholarly pursuit. By 1810, he officially received a salary and could finally give up his practice as a builder.<sup>45</sup> This integration of music and the *Akademie der Künste* was the first wide-range step to institutionalizing public music performance by the bourgeois, but throughout this struggle, he was making similar changes closer to home in the *Singakademie*.

Zelter directed the Berlin *Singakademie* during an important period of growth. Under his care, the *Singakademie* became known as a first-rate institution for music education and performance open to all citizens. It would grow to include three new establishments or sub-organizations under his watch, the *Singschule*, the *Ripienschule*, and the *Liedertafel*.

The *Singakademie* was one of the most prestigious performing institutions in Berlin. In his promotion of music from the past and the establishment of music-making beyond class and gender demographics, Zelter broke new ground and step by step realized his goals. Serving the music-making of amateurs and professionals, his three new establishments had a specific and clearly defined function.

In 1801<sup>46</sup> Zelter formed the *Singschule nach Art der italienischen Konservatorien*, modeling it after conservatoires in Italy, which had regulated courses and small ensemble group training. This informal group was strictly voluntary, made up of members of the

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<sup>45</sup> Zelter did not officially resign from the builder's guild until 1815. Bodley, 82. Celia Applegate dates Zelter's retirement from masonry a bit later, until sometime around 1820. Applegate, 291.

<sup>46</sup> See Georg Schünemann, *Carl Friedrich Zelter: Der Mensch und sein Werk* (Berlin: Berliner Bibliophilen-Abend, 1937), 75 and Nitsche, 13. In his memorandum of 1809, Zelter writes: "In the last five years I have established a regular singing school in the manner of the Italian conservatories at the Akademie in order to provide private lessons to the members of the Singakademie." ["Seit fünf Jahren habe ich auf der hiesigen Akademie eine ordenliche Singschule nach Art der italienischen Conservatorien angelegt um die Mitglieder der Singakademie einzeln unterrichten zu können."] As Nitsche points out, one could conclude from this that the singing school was not established until 1804.

*Singakademie* who participated because they “felt like it.”<sup>47</sup> For Zelter, the *Singschule* was a way to add to the prestige of the *Singakademie* and also contribute to a forum for public civic music. His choir broke new ground in promoting choral music of the past, in the use of female altos in sacred music, and in attracting the participation of a diverse demographic of singers including professional singers and amateurs from both the middle and upper classes. This mingling of the classes did not threaten the aristocracy, since they felt they were collectively serving the noble pursuit of art.<sup>48</sup>

The second establishment Zelter formed was the *Ripienschule*, a companion small orchestral ensemble. Before establishing the *Ripienschule*, he relied on members of the *Hofkapelle* to accompany rehearsals and performances. Frustrated with the scheduling conflicts of the *Hofkapelle*, who served the opera, he felt the need for an independent orchestra. Closely related in purpose to the *Singschule*, the *Ripienschule* allowed for more specialized training and also served to accompany the *Singakademie* choir. The orchestra’s training included the rehearsal and performance of Bach and pre-classical composers.<sup>49</sup>

The *Liedertafel*, the third establishment, served as an intellectual yet informal center of this *Singakademie* circle. According to a letter from Zelter to Goethe dated 26 December 1808 explaining the practices of his planned group, twenty-five men, the twenty-fifth of whom would be appointed the Meister, would gather once a month for a two-course supper to entertain themselves with jovial German partsongs. Original

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<sup>47</sup> Schünemann, *Carl Friedrich Zelter: Der Mensch und sein Werk*, 75; Nitsche, 13.

<sup>48</sup> Reichardt, 2-3.

<sup>49</sup> In a remarkably short time, Zelter acquired a significant repertory of pre-Classical music, primarily by the Bach family. This collection includes the acquisition of the court’s holdings.

compositions were strongly encouraged in this friendly gathering, serving Zelter's higher purpose of advancing German song and poetry. As Zelter continued in his letter to Goethe:

The writer or composer of a new song reads or sings, or has it sung at a table. If it is well received, a box is passed around the table, into which everyone (if he likes the song) puts a groschen or two, if he wishes. The money is counted on the table; if it is enough to purchase a silver medal to the value of a good thaler, the conductor awards the winner the medal; in the name of the *Liedertafel* they drink to the health of the poet or composer and discuss the beauty of the song. If a member can show twelve silver medals, he has a supper at the expense of the group, he is crowned with a garland, can ask for any wine of his choice, and is presented with a gold medal worth twenty-five thalers.<sup>50</sup>

Zelter closed his letter by asking Goethe to design an attractive scroll, "a rather big one, containing the word 'welcome'", and one for a small medal and gold medal. These were to be presented as awards at future meetings. This new ensemble would have both political and social purposes, which will be explored in the next section devoted specifically to the *Liedertafel*.

Zelter continued to promote the cause of music education for the remainder of his life. In 1815, he was appointed the first instructor of music at the *Universität zu Berlin*.<sup>51</sup> Although the *Hochschule für Music* was not established in his lifetime, he did help to initiate in 1822 the Royal Institute for Church Music, a state institute for all music teachers, choir directors, and organists; that year he also instituted the Department of Music in the Royal Library.

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<sup>50</sup> Zelter to Goethe on 26 December 1808 as translated by Bodley, 122-123.

<sup>51</sup> This is Berlin's oldest university and was founded by Wilhelm von Humboldt in 1810. Beginning in 1828 it was known as *Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität*, and locally as the *Universität unter den Linden*. In 1949, it changed its name to *Humboldt-Universität*, which was meant not only to honor its founder, but also his brother, naturalist Alexander von Humboldt.

In 1827 Zelter saw the completion of the *Singakademie*'s much anticipated permanent home, Berlin's first major concert hall, on Berlin's oldest and most important thoroughfare *Unter den Linden*. The *Singakademie zu Berlin* was a hall, with its impressive acoustics, where many important artists from all over the world would make music – including Mendelssohn, Paganini, Liszt, Clara and Robert Schumann, and Brahms. It is here that the legendary performance of Bach's *St. Matthew's Passion* took place on 11 March 1829 under the baton of twenty-year-old Mendelssohn.

In 1829, Zelter received an honorary doctorate from the University of Berlin, and the following year, he founded a student "collegium musicum vocale". He died in 1832, just months after the death of his cherished friend Goethe, and was succeeded at the *Singakademie* by Carl Friedrich Rungenhagen (1778-1851). In 1833 a formal music section was finally founded at the *Akademie der Künste*; early members included Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer. By 1882 masterclasses in composition were established, furthering a closer link between music and the state, and providing opportunities for younger musical talent. Zelter's efforts to further the cause of musical education continued to be realized.

### **The Liedertafel in Berlin**

In order to understand the political aspects of the *Liedertafel*, a brief historical background of early nineteenth-century Berlin is needed. Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III declared war on the French in August of 1806. Napoleon soon gained

victory over Prussia at the twin battles of Jena and Auerstädt both fought on 14 October. He then entered and occupied Berlin on 27 October and as a result, he soon occupied all Prussian territory west of the Elbe. The state was forced to sever all federative ties with the other German lands. Zelter became a member of the “Comité administratif”, a committee created by Napoleon. This democratic parliament made up of select Berlin citizens represented the voice of the Berlin people, but was still subordinate to the authority of the occupying forces. This French presence soon provoked a movement by the citizens of Berlin for the unification of the German lands.

According to legend, a motive for the *Liedertafel* may have been a sense of nationalism, to create an organization to praise the monarch. During this chaotic time, King Friedrich Wilhelm III escaped to Königsberg on the Baltic and settled in Memel, now known as Klaipėda in Lithuania. For Zelter, the King was an important symbol of the state. According to one of the founding members, poet Wilhelm Bornemann, their choice for organizing a men’s choir was directly influenced by the King. After hearing Russian soldiers singing at a small village gathering on the Russian border at Tauerlaken, the King wanted such choirs to be set up in Prussia. He wrote to Bornemann and summoned him to Memel, where they went to Tauerlaken for tea. In the distance they could hear a choir of male voices. The King ordered Bornemann to accompany him to the bank of the river Dange to hear the Russian song. They came across a gondola with Russian soldiers. The soldiers saluted the Prussian King and his guest and proceeded to sing a song in four-part harmony in a minor key. Bornemann and the King waved and thanked the singers, who performed a total of four songs in this style for them. Knowing that Bornemann was a member of Zelter’s *Singakademie*, the King instructed him to go

back to Berlin and bring this style of singing to Prussia.<sup>52</sup> Bornemann then reported the King's wishes to Zelter in November 1807, resulting in the formation of the *Liedertafel*. This account is found throughout the early literature although Hermann Kuhlo in his *Geschichte der Zelterschen Liedertafel von 1809 bis 1909* criticizes it as an overstatement, believing firmly that these Russian *Gesänge* could not have had a significant impact. It also implies that the King and Bornemann conceived the notion of the *Liedertafel* some years before Zelter would initiate it.<sup>53</sup> It seems unlikely that Zelter would sit on a direct order from the King for two years. This theory also limits the role of Zelter's innovation and invention with his founding of the society.

Another explanation for the founding given in the literature also results from the defeat of Prussia, namely the reassignment of Otto Grell (1773 – 1831), a member of the *Singakademie*, from his position as *Beamter* (state official) to a position as singer at the court chapel of Prince Esterhazy in Eisenstadt.<sup>54</sup> A farewell party was given and sixty-five members of the *Singakademie* performed at the celebration. Among the selections performed were pieces for mixed voices and works for male choir composed by various members of the *Singakademie* with texts by Bornemann — all around a table.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> A. Richard Scheumann, "Major Einbeck: Der Organisator der Militär-Kirchenchöre unter Friedrich Wilhelm III und des Königlichen Hof- und Domchores zu Berlin", in *Die Musik: NS-Kulturgemeinde (Germany), nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter – Partei. Amt Musik, Reichsjugendführung (Germany)*, Band XXV, ed. Bernhard Schuster (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1907 – 1908), 323.

<sup>53</sup> Hermann Kuhlo, *Geschichte der Zelterschen Liedertafel von 1809 bis 1909* (Berlin: Horn & Raasch, 1909), 21; Nitsche 15.

<sup>54</sup> He also would sing first tenor in the chorus of the Oper Wien. Heinrich Bellerman, *August Eduard Grell* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1899), 9 – 12.

<sup>55</sup> Nitsche, 15-16.

Audience response was positive and Zelter was pleased with the format of a grand dinner party with everyone singing from the table, giving him the idea to form the *Liedertafel*.

Regardless of how directly influential the King was, how long it was planned, or if the inception of the *Liedertafel* was based on the success of the performance at Otto Grell's farewell celebration, or a combination of the two theories for that matter, the notion that the *Liedertafel* should praise the monarch is made clear in the first draft of the institution's founding by-laws: "The *Liedertafel* views itself as an institution celebrating and commemorating the longed-for return of the King's house, for one of the principal priorities of the Tafel is the praise of its King."<sup>56</sup>

Further testament to the political aspects of the *Liedertafel* is the democratic organizational structure of the society. There were four ranked officers (Ämter): *Meister* (master), *Beimeister* (assistant master), *Schreibmeister* (secretary), and *Tafelmeister* (master of the "table"). These officers ran for re-election every year, and Zelter was no exception. He himself insisted on this policy and it was not unheard of for an officer to fail to be re-elected.<sup>57</sup>

Further politics within Zelter's organization are reported in the letter to Goethe of 26 December 1808 quoted earlier. Members were fined for uttering dishonorable or offensive words regarding members or the society itself. Satirical verses about individuals were not performed. Basically, "everyone has complete freedom to be himself provided that he is liberal."<sup>58</sup> The maximum number of rules was twelve; there

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<sup>56</sup> "Die Liedertafel sieht sich al seine Stiftung an, welche die ersehnte Zurückkunft des Kgl. Hauses feiert und verewigt, wie überhaupt das Lob ihres Königs zu den ersten Geschäften der Tafel gehört." Kuhlo, 16; Nitsche, 16.

<sup>57</sup> Nitsche, 18.

<sup>58</sup> Zelter to Goethe on 26 December 1808 as translated by Bodley, 123.

could be less, not more. His letter to Goethe and the statutes of the society state that the first scheduled meeting was to take place the day after the King's return. The meeting, however, was postponed and the first assembly did not take place until 2 May 1809, more than seven months after the King's arrival on 23 December 1808.<sup>59</sup>

One must be careful, however, not to overstate the political motives of the *Liedertafel*. The bylaws make it clear that members gathered also for the pure enjoyment of music and socializing. At an early meeting on 21 December 1808, members of the *Singakademie*, men and women,<sup>60</sup> met at the apartment of Madame Voitus to discuss the sponsorship of a male choir. Here Zelter addressed his colleagues on the importance of celebrating the social aspects of their mission:

The purpose and goal of this institution should be to sing at a frugal meal for enjoyment and edification, and poetry and music should have a place there in order to rejoice in their works. It is hard to imagine a dinner meeting without singing, if a cheerful, social mood is to prevail. Only through the words and melody of a Lied can the heart and soul unite. If sorrow or joy dominates in the singing, hearts will connect, and camaraderie will ensue, awakening geniality.<sup>61</sup>

The foundation and mission of the *Liedertafel* were thus both political and social in nature. Music served to foster socialization and to unify the members in their pursuit of

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<sup>59</sup> Bodley, 123.

<sup>60</sup> The members listed were: Herren Zelter, Schulze, Jordan, Hellwig, Rungenhagen, Flemming, Wollank, Bornemann, Madame Voitus, and Demoiselle Voitus. Kuhlo, 18; Nitsche, 16.

<sup>61</sup> "Bei einem frugalen Mahle durch frohe Gesänge sich zu erheitern und zu erbauen, das sollte Zweck und Ziel dieser Stiftung sein und Dichtkunst und Tonkunst einen Ort dort finden, ihrer Werke möglichst vollkommen sich erfreuen zu können. Nicht leicht sehen wir eine Tischgesellschaft, die des Gesanges entbehren kann, wenn eine fröhlich gesellige Stimmung allgemein werden soll. Nur durch des Liedes Wort und Melodie kann Herz und Gemüt zu einem gemeinsamen Annäherungspunkt hingeführt werden. Mag die Klage oder die Freude vorherrschen im Gesange, immer werden die Herzen sich finden, und ausströmen wird ein gemeinschaftliches gleiches Gefühl, Geselligkeit zu erwecken." Kuhlo, 22; Nitsche 16-17.

honoring the King and also to reinforce its bourgeois position within the government. Membership was soon to become exclusive and very much sought after.

The *Liedertafel* was largely made up of the upper layers of society, with the focus on academics and artists: the original members were recruited from the higher ranks of state officials (*Beamtschaft*), from academia, professionals like doctors and lawyers, and from the arts; factory owners and craftsmen were less numerous. This demographic is not coincidental, but consistent with the history of the society, having its origin in the by-laws themselves. Members were only accepted if they were professional or amateur poets, composers, or singers of good standing. This was not only a status issue, but a practical one as the *Liedertafel* really did not rehearse — everything was sung at sight. In addition, participants had to be members of the *Singakademie* and to be able to bear the considerable expenses of participating in the *Liedertafel*: besides the expense of a two-course meal, an admission fee and quarterly dues had to be paid. Members met once a month on a Tuesday night, immediately following rehearsals of the *Singakademie*. Members occasionally gathered in private homes, but they also met at the “best and most respectable” restaurants in Berlin.<sup>62</sup> In fact one of the founding members of the *Liedertafel*, Johann Philipp Schmidt, music critic of the *Spenersche Zeitung*, could only be a member for a little over a year “because of unfavorable financial circumstances.”<sup>63</sup> The restrictive prerequisite of demonstrable talent and the financial constraints of membership contributed to the exclusivity of the circle.

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<sup>62</sup> Bornemann refers to two respected eating establishments, the English House (*Englisches haus*) and the Stock Exchange House (*Börsenhaus*). Kuhlo, 41; Nitsche 18.

<sup>63</sup> Kuhlo, 35; Nitsche, 17.

A further restriction was the thorough application process and acceptance ritual. A “Petent”, an applicant seeking membership, not only had to have artistic ability and financial resources, but he also had to win the approval of the members. Besides Zelter, the occupations of the other known twenty-one founding members (three members are not named anywhere in the literature) included two councilors of war, a jeweler, a physician, a general director of the lottery, three law councilors, a bookstore owner, three academic professors (one was principal of a school), an artist, a cathedral organist, the director of the royal mint (*Münzwardein*), a merchant, two court actors, a police inspector, a music critic, and a philologist.<sup>64</sup>

The *Liedertafel*'s twenty-five members comprised twenty-four singers and a director. The organization soon became a sensation and sparked great interest, causing a flood of applicants desiring membership. As a result, there were *Exspectanten* (wait-list members) and honorary membership positions created. Although membership was kept at twenty-five, five *Exspectanten* members were later admitted, replacing regular members in case of departure (temporary and permanent), and the status of honorary membership was given to prominent persons to allow them to participate when regular membership was not possible — whether regular membership was already capped at twenty-five or if the person lived too far away to participate regularly.

The text and music of the a cappella songs performed by the *Liedertafel* were contributed almost exclusively by its members. Zelter's good friend Goethe also offered

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<sup>64</sup> Hartung, Schulz, Jordan, Flemming, Bornemann, Wollank, Müller, Rungenhagen, Theielemann, Hellwig (organist), Hellwig (law councilor), Loos, Lortzing, Gern, Woltman, Loest, Bechthold, Beschort, Jachtmann, Schmidt, and Pfund. Kuhlo, 35; Nitsche, 18.

several of his poems for musical settings.<sup>65</sup> References to the pieces composed for the *Liedertafel* as well as occasional references to meetings can be found in their correspondence. Zelter's letter of 1-2 March 1822 recounts for Goethe King Friedrich Wilhelm III's visit to the *Liedertafel* on 28 February 1822. On this particular evening the meeting was at the home of Prince Radziwill, a member of the group. All of the members sat at a long table. In addition to the regular members, Princess Radziwill served as hostess and sat at a separate round table for the remainder of the royal guests, which included the King, the Crown Prince, and the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and his wife Marie. At the meal, the King asked Zelter the meaning of the large goblet, which was also a pitched bell, and also the aims and organization of the whole foundation. Zelter was pleased to explain all of it, but was especially delighted that even after almost fifteen years, the club had "substance" and had "not gone out of fashion".<sup>66</sup>

Another thing that stands out about this account is that it implies this is the first visit by the King. When evaluating the extent of the King's role in the creation of the society, I am more prone to dismiss Bornemann's account of the King demanding such a club after hearing the Russian singers. It is hard to believe that if the *Liedertafel* was the result of a direct order from the King, that he would wait almost fifteen years to visit, especially since in Bornemann's account he was so moved by this style of singing. The King likely also would not have needed an explanation from Zelter for the aims and organization of the club if he had been a crucial part of the conception.

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<sup>65</sup> Julius Bautz, *Geschichte des deutschen Männergesangs in übersichtlicher Darstellung* (Frankfurt am Main: Steyl & Thomas, 1890), 87.

<sup>66</sup> As translated by Bodley, 288 – 289.

The exclusivity and reputation of the *Liedertafel* left a demand for those men who wanted to gather to sing. A new group, the *Jüngere Berliner Liedertafel* was founded by Ludwig Berger, Ludwig Rellstab and Bernhard Klein in 1819 with Zelter's blessing. He accepted honorary membership of the club and composed songs for the group.<sup>67</sup> The group was made up of both amateur and professional musicians including E.T.A. Hoffmann, Theodor Körner, and Rheinlied composer Gustav Reichardt. Reichardt's setting of "Was ist des deutschen Vaterland?" composed for the club, was popular in its day.<sup>68</sup> In 1829 Julius Schneider founded a *Liederverein*, which would later merge with the *Jüngere Berliner Liedertafel* in 1844. After 1850 there was a great increase in the activities of mixed choruses and especially, male choruses in Berlin, thanks in large part to the political and social developments of the post-revolutionary period. The *Taschenbuch für deutsche Sänger* of 1864 noted no less than 89 choral societies for mixed voices and male voices in Berlin.<sup>69</sup>

### **Singing Societies Outside of Berlin**

The middle classes throughout Germany followed Zelter's Berlin example and established their own choral traditions: in 1801 an *Akademischer Chor* was founded in Würzburg; in 1802 a *Singakademie* in Leipzig by Johann Gottfried Schicht and Jacob

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<sup>67</sup> A letter to Goethe dated 1 – 14 July 1824 mentions a setting Zelter wrote three years earlier for the group, a drinking song on a text by Friedrich Förster, "Es wollt einmal in Königreich". Bodley, 320. Also in Wilhelm Bornemann, *Die Zelterische Liedertafel in Berlin, ihre Entstehung, Stiftung und Fortgang* (Berlin, 1851), xvf.

<sup>68</sup> Richard Kötzchke, *Geschichte des deutschen Männergesanges* (Dresden: Wilhelm Limpert, 1927), 74.

<sup>69</sup> *Taschenbuch für deutsche Sänger*, ed. Eduard Kral (Vienna, 1864), 16.

Bernhard Limberger; in 1804 a *Singverein* in Münster; and in 1806 – 1807 choral societies emerged in Dresden, Erlangen, and Kassel. Goethe not only contributed poetry to be set by his friend's group, but had a musical group of his own in Weimar, which he founded in 1807 to sing four-part songs in the tradition of his friend's *Singakademie*.<sup>70</sup> Johann Georg Heinrich Düring (1778-1858) founded a choral society in Frankfurt in 1809. Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut (1772-1840) founded and led the *Heidelberger Singverein* in 1811.<sup>71</sup> A song society was founded and led by organist Johann Schneider in Görlitz in 1813. Potsdam (1814), Bremen (1815) and Chemnitz (1817) followed. The *Cäcilien-Verein* of Frankfurt am Main was founded in 1818 by Johann Nepomuk

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<sup>70</sup> Goethe engaged Weimar court violinist Karl Eberwein (1786-1869) to conduct the group, whom he later sent to Zelter to study composition. The singers rehearsed once a week on Thursdays, and gave performances on Sunday afternoons, both in his home. The first Sunday concert took place at lunch on 18 November 1807. Music from the old masters, including sacred works by Haydn, Salieri, Mozart, Cherubini, Beethoven made up the repertoire as well as newly-composed settings of his own poems by Zelter and partsongs by Eberwein. A brief history of these musical gatherings as well as a program from one of the private "invitation only" performances can be found in E. Heyse Dummer's "Goethe's Musicales," *The German Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 4 (Nov., 1937): 198 – 202. Goethe's personal choir is also mentioned in Romain Rolland's "Goethe's Interest in Music," *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 17, no. 2 (April, 1931): 157 -194.

<sup>71</sup> Thibaut held a chair of law at the University of Heidelberg but was also a collector of sacred vocal music of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries and folksongs. This collection caught the attention of Zelter, whom Thibaut has been paired with as a leader of the nineteenth-century German movement to honor the past and bring back the sacred music of Palestrina. The chorus met four times a year to give performances for invited guests featuring music from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. By 1814, the chorus rehearsed weekly in his home; the choir grew in size and soon used a space at the University. The reputation of the choir was notable enough to be visited by Goethe, Mendelssohn, and Schumann. Schumann in fact was a regular visitor during his year studying law in Heidelberg; Thibaut was the instructor of one of the classes Schumann was famously enrolled in, but never attended. Thibaut, however, was an important musical influence and likely played a role in Schumann's own appreciation for music of the past. His regular attendance that year at the musical gatherings in Thibaut's home exposed him to among other things, Handel oratorios. Vincent Duckles, "Patterns in the Historiography of nineteenth-Century Music" *Acta musicologica*, vol. 42, Fasc. I-II (February, 1970), 78; Leeman L. Perkins, "Published Editions and Anthologies of the nineteenth Century: Music of the Renaissance or Renaissance Music?" *Le Renaissance et sa musique au XIX siècle*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (TOUTS: CESR, 2004): 93.

Schelble (1789-1837).<sup>72</sup> Innsbruck (1818), Hamburg (1819), Odlenberg (1821) and Kassel (1823) also followed suit.<sup>73</sup>

*Liedertafeln* based on Zelter's exclusive offshoot of the *Singakademie* also sprang up through Berlin's example in Frankfurt an der Oder (1815), Leipzig (1815), Thüringen (1818), Weida (1818), Magdeburg (1819), Münster (1822), Hamburg (1823),<sup>74</sup> Danzig (1823), Minden (1824), Königsberg (1824), Potsdam (1826), Bremen (1827), Görlitz (1828), Tübingen (1829)<sup>75</sup>, Bielefeld (1831), Mainz (1831),<sup>76</sup> Mannheim (1840), Linz (1845),<sup>77</sup> Salzburg (1847), Pattensen (1862),<sup>78</sup> and Dauchau (1879).<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Mendelssohn had a long association with the choir, conducting a performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* in 1829 and the *B minor Mass* in 1833. He more regularly conducted the society in the early thirties during the years of his Düsseldorf post when Schelbe was ill. The group commissioned Mendelssohn's overture *Das Märchen von der schönen Melusine* and his *St. Paul* was dedicated to the group. Caecilien-Chor Frankfurt, "Caecilien-Chor Frankfurt," <http://www.caecilienchor.de> (accessed on July 2, 2009).

<sup>73</sup> Waldo Selden Pratt, *The history of music: a handbook and guide for students* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1907), 600-601.

<sup>74</sup> The *Hamburger Liedertafel* was founded by Albert Methfessel (1785-1869) who composed the Hamburg Hymn "Stadt Hamburg an der Elbe Auen". *Hamburger Liedertafel*, "Geschichte," <http://www.hamburgerLiedertafel.de> (accessed on June 3, 2010).

<sup>75</sup> Friedrich Silcher (1789-1860) founded the *Akademische Liedertafel* at the University of Tübingen, where he served as its president and Music Director for over thirty years. For the club, he collected, composed and edited hundreds of folk songs, tunes, and hymns, and wrote settings and arrangements for choir and *Hausmusik*. One of his best-known original compositions was "Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten," the "Loreley", a setting of a text by Heinrich Heine.

<sup>76</sup> Founded as the *Mainzer Liedertafel* in 1831, the Damenchor was established in 1836. The society became to be known as the *Mainzer Liedertafel und Damengesangverein von 1831*. Today the official name of the organization is the *Mainzer Singakademie e.V.* *Mainzer Singakademie, e.V.*, "Wir über uns," <http://www.mainzer-singakademie.de> (accessed on July 2, 2009).

<sup>77</sup> The choir was founded by the city's mayor, Ignaz Figuly Szep (1807-1875). In 1849, the choir's name was changed to *Liedertafel Frohsinn*. Anton Bruckner was a member from 1856 to 1869.

<sup>78</sup> *Liedertafel Pattensen 1862, e.V.*, "Geschichte," <http://www.Liedertafel-pattensen.de> on (accessed on July 3, 2010).

<sup>79</sup> Kuhlo, 4-5; Otto Elben, *Der volkstümliche deutsche Männergesang. Geschichte und Stellung im Leben der Nation; der deutsche Sängerbund und seine Glieder* (Tübingen: H., 1887; Reprint, Möseler: Wolfenbüttel, 1991), 25-30.

Hans Georg Nägeli (1773-1836) founded a singing society for mixed voices, the *Zürcherische Singinstitut* in Zurich in 1805. As a result many choral societies, *Schweizerbund*, were established throughout Switzerland. Soon he formed an offshoot for children, a *Kinder-institut*, in 1807 followed by a not-so-distant cousin of the *Liedertafel* tradition when he formed a *Männerchor* in Zürich in 1810.<sup>80</sup> In 1824 he gave ten lectures on musical aesthetics and the merits of amateur choral singing in various cities in southern Germany. During his absence, the *Singinstitut* collapsed; in its place he founded the *Sängerverein der Stadt Zürich (Züricher Stadtsängerverein)* in 1826.<sup>81</sup> The *Stadtsängerverein* groups were open to singers from all social levels. With the Lied as a tool, he strived to present music as a universal legacy of the people.<sup>82</sup> Nägeli's *Männerchor* was less exclusive than the German *Liedertafel*, modeling itself on accessibility and egalitarianism, and soon led the way for male singing societies throughout Switzerland and Southern Germany. His model, which he lectured about on his tour, inspired Kocher's *Sonntag-Abend Gesellschaft* to become the *Stuttgarter Liederkrantz* on 9 May 1824 in Stuttgart,<sup>83</sup> which in turn led to similar groups in Ulm (1825), Munich (1826), Frankfurt (1828), Schweinfurt (1833) and elsewhere. These southern regions generally used the term *Liederkrantz*, literally song wreath, instead of

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<sup>80</sup> The *Männerchor* remained in existence until 1924.

<sup>81</sup> The institution remains in existence today as the *Männerchor Zürich*. Thomas Meyer, *Musikverlage: 1807 – 2007* (Zürich: Hug & Co., 2007), 21.

<sup>82</sup> In his *Gesangbildungslehre für den Männerchor* of 1817, Nägeli voiced a preference for male voices because of the gender's ability to better enunciate texts and penetrate tone quality. Bautz, 8-9.

<sup>83</sup> Stuttgarter Liederkrantz, "Geschichte/Chronik," <http://www.stuttgarter-Liederkrantz.de/geschichte.html> (accessed on 3/6/2005).

*Liedertafel*. These clubs with their larger and less exclusive membership followed Nägeli's model, and played a substantial and vital role in the musical life of these cities.

The northern *Liedertafeln* gradually abandoned Zelter's requirement of professional membership and limitations on membership numbers, and soon more amateurs were allowed into the societies. The less exclusive model was becoming closer to the egalitarian model of the south, making the terms *Liedertafeln*, *Liederkrantz*, and *Männergesangvereine* all but interchangeable. By the 1830s organizations of all three types flourished in all mid-sized and large cities, and even in some small towns.<sup>84</sup>

The life and songs of the *Liedertafel* promoted a fellowship and camaraderie that had not existed before. The middle-class professions represented in the less exclusive *Liedertafeln* of the day included artists, students, professors, shopkeepers, editors, critics, councilmen, and even police officers. With the rise of the middle class, these men identified with one another and gathered over song and drink, and soon they used song to voice their united, national political cause.<sup>85</sup> The "volkstümlich" character of the clubs and their music fostered social and artistic purposes combined with an intensifying, liberal patriotism. For instance, on the Lower Rhine, twenty-eight *Liedertafeln* were established between 1840 and 1848, coinciding with the publication of hundreds of *Rheinlieder*.<sup>86</sup> Song-clubs would soon join voices to participate in larger, regional song

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<sup>84</sup> One example is in Leipzig, where the foundation of the *Liedertafel* in 1815 was followed by a university men's chorus, *Pauliner-Verein* (1822); three men's choruses by Carl Friedrich Zöllner: the *Leipziger Kunst*, *Leipziger Gewerbeverein* (both in 1854), and the *Lehrergesangverein* (1876); and the *Leipziger Männerchor* (1891).

<sup>85</sup> James Brinkman, "The German Male Chorus of the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Research in Music Education*, (18/1, 1970): 18. Not meant to be an in-depth history of the organizations, but should be consulted, as Brinkman nicely highlights the patriotic sentiments behind their founding.

<sup>86</sup> Cecilia Hopkins Porter, *The Rhine as Musical Metaphor: Cultural Identity in German Romantic Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 27. In her many articles and especially this book, which

festivals. The first of these regional festivals took place in Plichingen in June 1827. Throughout the 1830s, these regional festivals with hundreds of participants became regular events.<sup>87</sup> In 1839 the German-speaking countries brought their male choir organization into a larger association known as the *Vereinigte Liedertafeln*. The growing political overtones of these associations met with disapproval in Austria and delayed the establishment of the tradition there. With the founding of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des Österreichischen Kaiserstates* (*Society of Friends of Music of the Austrian Imperial State*) in 1812, money was provided to sponsor instrumental concerts and talented young musicians, as well as the establishment of a conservatory and library in 1817. Despite the popularity of amateur choral singing, there was not a rise in song clubs as in other German-speaking lands, and the *Gesellschaft* wisely adhered to their amateur status. Vienna had a long history of power being placed in the hands of appointed civil servants, and as a result Klemens von Metternich held a great deal of power; from 1815 to 1848, Metternich governed with an extremely conservative hand. Metternich, in his suppression of liberalist efforts, regarded any kind of popular movement with suspicion.<sup>88</sup> A grass roots nationalistic movement by liberal university

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are referenced throughout, one can find an excellent history of the music of the Rhine and the festivals they inspired.

<sup>87</sup> Excellent histories of the cultural phenomena of these song festivals and their growing political context as well as the music produced are explored by Hopkins Porter in her work on the Rhine and most recently by James Garratt with his *Music, Culture and Social Reform in the Age of Wagner* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>88</sup> Klemens von Metternich was the chief minister of the Austrian Empire from 1815 to 1848. He was extremely conservative and a key player in the "Concert of Europe" that followed the Congress of Vienna, the alliance of powers (Austria, Prussia, the Russian Empire, and England) that sought to maintain the structure of the old regime against liberalism and nationalism. Nationalists within the Austrian Empire sought to break up the empire to establish small autonomous nation-states. By the 1840's the Viennese were growing extremely impatient with Metternich's oppressive and stifling rule. His power came to an end with the Revolutions of 1848: a Viennese mob of students and workers stormed his administrative offices and demanded his resignation. Metternich resigned and the emperor accepted his resignation on 13

students and professors was taking place and growing more violent. Rampant censorship of universities and especially the press in the form of the Carlsbad Decrees were introduced by Metternich, which extended to the arts and music. His regime prohibited larger gatherings with any underlying political character and as a result, the establishment of independent choral societies was forbidden during this time. In 1842 the bans were lifted and membership soared in nationalistic societies, especially by students and professors. The founding of the *Wiener Männergesang-Verein* in 1843 was an important step and provided the necessary impetus for the song club tradition to finally begin to take root.<sup>89</sup> The movement took off in Vienna and the major cities, and soon, as in Germany, every town had at least one song club. In 1858, the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* founded a *Singverein* in Vienna, becoming one of Vienna's two principal choral societies for mixed voices. The *Wiener Singakademie*, the other principal society, was also founded in 1858. By Bruckner's tenure in Linz (1855 – 1868), there were two clubs for male voices, the *Liedertafel Frohsinn* (1845) and the *Männergesang-Verein Sängerbund* (established in 1857) as well as the amateur mixed chorus and orchestra of the *Linzer Musikverein*.

Music appreciation, the rise of *Hausmusik* and choral societies, including *Liedertafeln*, all provided an influential community for amateur musical activity in

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March 1848; Metternich fled to London in disguise. Among the changes in civil rights was the founding of the National Guard as well as the lifting of censorship, giving Vienna a free press for the first time.

<sup>89</sup> For a history of the “WMGV” (a standard abbreviation for the club), one can consult the organization's website (<http://www.wienermaennergesang-verein.at>) or consult a collection of festschrifts, copies of which are housed in their onsite museum. Rudolf Hofmann and August Schmidt, eds., *Der Wiener Männergesangverein, Chronik der Jahre 1843 bis 1893 aus Anlass der fünfzigjährigen Jubelfeier des Vereines und im Auftrage desselben verfasst* (Vienna: Wiener Männergesang-Verein, 1893) and Elizabeth Anzenberger-Ramminger. *150 Jahre Wiener Männergesang-Verein*, (Vienna: Wiener Männergesang-Verein, 1992).

German-speaking Europe. In 1862 the *Deutscher Sängerbund* (German Singers' League), founded under the direction of Müller von der Werra, united seventy federations and over 80,000 singers. Academic and choral associations were also organized later in the century.<sup>90</sup> The aesthetic ideals of amateur musical associations eventually reached beyond the bourgeoisie to the working-class. Perhaps the most important of these working-class song clubs was the *Deutscher Arbeiter-Sängerbund* (German Worker Singers' League) founded in 1908.<sup>91</sup>

## **Dresden**

Zelter's legacy is instrumental in understanding the tradition Schumann inherited in his composition of partsongs, especially as an active *Chorleiter* in Dresden beginning in 1847. In 1807, the Dresden Court organist Anton Dreyssig (1774-1815) founded the *Dreyssigsche Singakademie* (1807 – 1936). In the tradition of the Berlin model, an appreciation for past German masters dictated the repertoire they rehearsed, including Bach and Handel, with a keen interest in oratorio; works by Mozart and Beethoven were also regularly rehearsed. The first public performance recorded was on 9 November 1812 in the Neustädter Dreikönigskirche. Their program of regular performances of oratorio began with an inaugural performance of Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* in 1814. J.G. Schneider,

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<sup>90</sup> Friedhelm Brusniak, "Chor und Chormusik," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994 – 2000), 803.

<sup>91</sup> Dieter Dowe, "The Workingmen's Choral Movement in Germany before the First World War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 13:2 (1978): 269 – 96.

whose tenure with the *Dreyssigsche Singakademie* lasted from 1832 to 1857 was a great advocate of this program and upheld Dreyssig's tradition. Under his direction, Beethoven's *Missa solennis* had its first German performance outside Vienna in 1839.<sup>92</sup>

As in other areas, the *Männergesangverein* tradition gained popularity in Dresden as well. The *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* of 15 November 1847 quotes a head-count from the magazine *Teutonia*, Nr. 23. While most cities, big and small, had at least one male-voice song club by this time, the power of the phenomenon is evident in Dresden.

According to the count, there were five male-singing societies in Dresden by 1847:

*Arion*, *Liederkranz*, *Liedertafel* (1839), *Odeon*, and *Orpheus* (1834), which altogether accounted for some 220 members.<sup>93</sup> This number included seventeen honorary, thirteen extraordinary members, and 190 singers. *Arion*, directed by Friedrich Schulz had seventeen members. The *Liederkranz*, led by Julius Otto, had one honorary member,<sup>94</sup> thirteen extraordinary (non-singing) members and twenty-two regular members —thirty-six altogether “of whom one, very active and loyal, died on 2 August.”<sup>95</sup> It is curious that this very active and loyal person, so dear to the group, is not mentioned by name in the *Zeitschrift*; perhaps he was not that beloved after all. *Liedermeister* Ferdinand Hiller led the *Liedertafel* of sixty-seven members, six of which were honorary members.<sup>96</sup> *Odeon*,

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<sup>92</sup> More information on the history of the *Dreyssigsche Singakademie* can be found in a festschrift celebrating the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the society. Otto Schmid, *Geschichte der Dreyssigschen Sing-Akademie zu Dresden. Zur 100jährigen Jubelfeier* (Dresden: *Dreyssigsche Singakademie*, 5. März 1907).

<sup>93</sup> These numbers are given by a name directory on the *Sängertag*. Diamond, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, no. 40 (15 November 1847).

<sup>94</sup> E.F. Adam, a famous male-voice song composer and one time *Liedermeister* of the club who was by 1847 serving as Cantor in Leißnig. Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Diamond.

<sup>96</sup> Dr. Auerbach in Heidelberg, Baron von Burgk, Court Lithographer F. Fürstenau, hotelier Gerstkamp, City Music Director Hartung, and Court Councillor Dr. J. Mosen in Oldenburg. Ibid.

led by *Liedermeister* Franz Gnüge had twenty-five regular members and seven honorary, for a grand total of thirty-two members.<sup>97</sup> The final Dresden *Männergesangverein* was *Orpheus*, led by J. G. Müller, with seventy members, three of whom were honorary in status.<sup>98</sup> The total membership is 222, two more than noted in the count at the beginning of the paragraph. This is explained by the fact that two gentlemen were members of two societies.<sup>99</sup>

In 1889 Richard Hartwig wrote a history of the *Dresdner Liedertafel* in honor of the fiftieth Jubilee of the society.<sup>100</sup> He reported that in January 1839 a group of professional men convened in Dresden; the first thing they decided upon was the name *Dresdner Liedertafel*. According to the records kept by the original members, the first statute of the society mandated that each member would have to be a singer, although there was room for exceptions. It was also preferable that members be both poet and composer. The group decided that the total membership should not exceed thirty-three members, including the *Liedermeister*, and should comprise sixteen tenors and the same number of basses. There were three *Vorstandsämter* (Committee Leaders): the *Liedermeister*, the *Tafelmeister* and the *Schreibmeister*. The first *Kapellmeister*

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<sup>97</sup> Honorary members were the northern German painters J. and P. Ehlers, A. and J. Grüder, Kindermann, Stammam, and Steffen. Diamond.

<sup>98</sup> The three honorary members were Kapellmeisters C. G. Reissiger of Dresden and Dr. Fr. Schneider in Dessau as well as Diaconus Edelm Wagner in Marienberg, who was formerly secretary of the society. Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Richard Hartwig, 1839–1889: *50 Jahre Dresdner Liedertafel* (Dresden, 1889), 1-2. Hartwig at the time of press served as *Schreibmeister* of the society.

(*Liedermeister*) was Carl G. Reissiger. Herr Trendelenburg took the position of *Schreibmeister* and the position of *Tafelmeister* was given to Herr Thode.<sup>101</sup>

By 26 December 1839, however, there was trouble. *Kapellmeister* Reissiger and *Hoforganist* Schneider withdrew from the society, leaving the status of the remaining members in question. Although the majority of the members agreed in writing to the dissolution of the society, ten of the men<sup>102</sup> dissented and summoned a general meeting at 7 o'clock on 3 January 1840 at Vogel's Coffee House. Here the ten men declared that the society would be saved and expanded. In a meeting following soon after, Stein was elected *Tafelmeister*, and Jäckel was elected *Schreibmeister*.<sup>103</sup>

In July 1840, the *Liedertafel* appeared in concert in support of the Pedagogic Society in a joint production with other local song clubs including *Orpheus*. The first independent Concert, however, was held on 26 March 1841 at the Hôtel de Saxe. It was dedicated to the memory of Carl Maria von Weber in order to collect money for the erection of a Weber monument. King Friedrich August and his queen attended the concert. Under the direction of *Liedmeister* Adam the concert raised 380 Thaler.<sup>104</sup> The eight-piece program included a Prologue on a poem by Julius Mosen and vocal and instrumental works by Weber. The chorus sang "Schwertlied", "Jubelcantate" for soloists, chorus and orchestra, "Lützow's Jagd" for four male voices, Terzett mit chor for

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<sup>101</sup> Hartwig, 3.

<sup>102</sup> Herrn Adam, Näke, Frankenberg, Barchewitz, Krug, Jäckel, Cori, Pröwig, Stein and Löwe. *Ibid.*, 3 – 4.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

men's voices from *Euryanthe*.<sup>105</sup> The instrumental works that interspersed the program were "Jubelouverture", "Piano Concerto in C major", and the Overture to *Oberon*.

The Concert was a great success celebrated as a "Highly Honorable Day" for the *Liedertafel*. It did not occur without drama within the *Liedertafel*, however. As of 2 October 1840, Julius Otto had become the new *Liedmeister*. Although the concert was originally under his direction, he left midway through the rehearsal period due to what amounted to a money dispute, passing responsibility of the concert to Adam, the previous *Liedmeister* (3 January 1840 – 2 October 1840), who was currently serving as second *Liedermeister*. The money collected was supposed to go solely towards the Weber monument, but Otto learned that part of the money was going to be used to induct honorary members into the organization, influencing his abandonment. Ultimately a portion of the money raised from this Concert allowed Herr Gerstkamp, lithographer Fürstenau and the poet Julius Mosen to be appointed as honorary members.<sup>106</sup>

The third anniversary of Founders' Day was celebrated on 9 January 1842 with a Concert and Ball, which included two toasts by Julius Otto, one a tribute honoring the organization and the power of song that brings them together and the other a joke, roasting the delicate nature of a first tenor.<sup>107</sup> The good times did not continue: on 27 December 1842, Julius Otto along with several other key members abandoned the society in disgust and protest when a gentleman they proposed for membership was not admitted to the *Liedertafel*.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Hartwig, 5.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>107</sup> Both toasts are quoted in their entirety on pages 5 – 7 of Hartwig.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 7.

The Founders' Day Meeting on 23 January 1843 honored as their guests Richard Wagner, who had recently been appointed Hofkapellmeister to the Dresden Court, and his wife. The official report on the occasion records: "a deep, joyful impression left behind by Dr. Löffler's parody of the 'Nächtlichen Heerschau' which honored Richard Wagner". In this poem, the general wish of the *Liedertafel* was expressed that Wagner should become the head of the society to replace Julius Otto.<sup>109</sup> After the 27 January 1843 meeting, *Schreibmeister* Prof. Dr. Löwe visited him and officially passed on the wishes of the society, offering him the head position of the *Liedertafel*, which Wagner accepted. On 31 January 1843, the members of the society wrote a declaration in celebration of their new Kapellmeister to thank him for taking on the new post, which once again sang the praises of the esteemed composer, this time in greater detail than Dr. Löffler's parody.<sup>110</sup>

When the *Liedertafel* met on 11 February, Wagner attended a rehearsal for the first time, but asked members Eves and Naumann, who served as interim *Liedmasters*, to direct the rehearsal. Wagner explained that he wanted to "exercise his new role of *Liedmeister* today by only observing".<sup>111</sup> According to the records of *Schreibmeister* Dr. Löwe, Wagner's genius was not lost on the group. Wagner actively conducted the society's rehearsals for the first time on 18 February. On 4 March, Dr. Pusinelli, an enthusiastic and outstanding member, gave Wagner a gold framed-lithographic portrait of the composer. To reciprocate the generous gift, Wagner made an arrangement for forty

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<sup>109</sup> "Das Wort geht in die Runde, Es tönt von Ort zu Ort; 'Wagner' heisst die Parole, Er lebe fort und fort", Hartwig, 7.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>111</sup> "...heute nur betrachtend, nicht dirigierend sein Amt als Liedermeister ausüben wolle", Ibid.

voices of music from his *Fliegender Holländer* and presented it to the group on 18 March.<sup>112</sup> The piece, now lost, is only mentioned in Hartwig's *Festschrift*; there is no mention of a male-voice arrangement having been presented to the *Liedertafel* in the *Wagner Werk-Verzeichnis*.<sup>113</sup>

Wagner was a badge of honor for the *Liedertafel*. He composed four “occasional works” for the male chorus. These were written for specific occasions, including memorial services. To unveil a bronze statue of King Friedrich August I rendered by Ernst Rietschel (1804-61), Wagner was commissioned by King August II in 1843 to compose the festal *Weihegruss* (“Der Tag erscheint”), WWB 68. It is a setting of a text by Dresden court poet and Literat Otto Hohlfeld, for male voices and brass orchestra.<sup>114</sup> Wagner also composed a version with brass inserts. The *Liedertafel* joined select singers from other song clubs in Dresden to make up a choir of 250 men. Ernest Newman, who was given proofs and access to manuscripts of Wagner's unpublished works in 1914, describes *Weihegruss* in the style of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Hartwig, 9.

<sup>113</sup> The WWV does mention an arrangement of the “Liedes der norwegischen Matrosen” for 4-part choir. Now lost, the arrangement is mentioned in a letter to Theodor Uhlig (1822 – 1853) from December 1851. In it Wagner, then in Zurich, says Baumgartner [Wilhelm Baumgartner (1820-1867)] through the music-seller Hug [Jakob Christoph Hug (1801–1852)] has been requesting a version of the Sailor's Chorus for his choral society. Wagner emphasizes that he “expressly arranged it for men's voices *only*.” Letter translated by J.S. Shedlock. Richard Wagner, *Richard Wagner's Letters to His Dresden Friends, Theodor Uhlig, Wilhelm Fischer, and Ferdinand Heine*, trans. J. S. Shedlock (London, 1890), 162-163. It could likely be the same piece, but the dedication to the *Dresdner Liedertafel* is not mentioned in the letter.

<sup>114</sup> The choral portion was published in 1906 and the entire work was, according to Ernest Newman, to be published in an upcoming *Gesamtausgabe*, a complete edition of Wagner's works edited by Michael Balling for Breitkopf & Härtel, who gave Newman a set of proofs and disposal to the manuscripts of the unpublished works. Ernest Newman, “Some Unknown and Little-Known Works of Wagner,” *Musical Times*, vol. 55 (1 March 1914): 154–157.

<sup>115</sup> One may also find brief descriptions and background of the occasional works in a D.M.A. dissertation by Jeffrey Allen Jahn, which devotes the most time, an entire chapter in fact, to the largest of the occasional pieces, *Das Liebesmahl der Apostel*. Jeffrey Allen Jahn, “Richard Wagner's “Occasional Works” for Male

In August 1844, to mark the return of King Friedrich August II of Saxony from England, he composed *Gruss seiner Treuen an Friedrich August den Geliebten* (Greeting of Friedrich August the Beloved by his Faithful Subjects), WWV 71 for TTBB and wind band. A celebration was scheduled in Leipzig to honor the monarch's return from England, and this time without commission, Wagner composed the occasional work. He learned that the King did not plan to stop in Dresden, but would instead continue from Leipzig directly to the summer palace in Pillnitz. Plans were put into action to have the *Liedertafel* travel to Pillnitz to sing for the royal family. He assembled 120 musicians and gathered forces from the other Dresden song clubs to secure 300 singers for the celebration. He had Reissiger conduct the choir, so that he could sing tenor. There was even a bit of "choreography" for dramatic effect. The first stanza was sung in a traditional, semi-circle formation. The second, however, was sung as the musicians marched through the garden, so that "the final notes could only reach the royal ears as an echoing dream-song".<sup>116</sup> According to Wagner's recollection, the royal family was moved enough to request to hear it again as an encore.

Perhaps the highpoint of *Kapellmeister* Wagner's tenure was the general male-voice festival (*Männergesangfest*) in Dresden that was held on the 6 and 7 July 1843. This was one of the first German male-voice choral festivals to take place in Dresden. The festival held at the Frauenkirche was a monumental event involving over 1200 singers, tapping what must have been just about every chorus member in greater Saxony, directed by Wagner and *Orpheus* Director J. G. Müller. It was here that the united choirs

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Chorus (1843-44): Aspects and Influences on Wagner's Emerging Compositional Style During The Dresden Years (1843-49)" (DMA diss., The University of Arizona, Tucson, 1990).

<sup>116</sup> Wagner, I: 334.

premiered Wagner's *Das Liebesmahl der Apostel*, WWV 69, his most substantial occasional work for male voices.<sup>117</sup> The logistics of this first performance truly stretch the imagination. Twelve hundred men, divided into three separate choirs, sang on a raised platform which almost completely filled the nave of the Frauenkirche. On a platform suspended from the top of the cupola of the dome of the church sang forty select singers, representing the "Voices from on High". The voices were joined by an orchestra of a hundred. Wagner rehearsed the work for a week, and aware that the amount of amateur singers involved made staying on pitch a huge challenge, he employed two harps to sound keynotes from time to time.

The fourth occasional piece, *An Webers Grabe*, "Hebt an den Sang", WWV 72, was written for the re-interment of Weber's remains, a four-part male chorus that again recalls Wagner's operatic works of the time. It was sung by the *Liedertafel* and reinforced by local members of two other *Liedertafeln*, *Orpheus* and *Arion*; men from the *Dreyssigsche Singakademie*; and even some professional opera singers. Newman noted that although it is the most expressive of the occasional pieces, it is on the whole "disappointing; his heart was so thoroughly with Weber that one would have thought the occasion would have wrung some music of the first class out of him".<sup>118</sup> Historically, the piece has greater significance.

*Schreibmaster* Professor Löwe organized a committee to initiate the transfer of Weber's remains from London to Dresden, which would be an enormous cost.

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<sup>117</sup> The other works on the program for the first day of the festival: 1) Ein Choral: "Allein Got in der Höh' sei Ehr'", arranged by J.G. Müller; 2) "Requiem by Cherubini; 3) "Hymne für 2 vierstimmige Männerchöre" von Fr. Schneider; 4) Premiere of "Hymn" by C.G. Reissiger based on the 97<sup>th</sup> Psalm "Ein König ist der Herr, dess freue sich die Erde". Hartwig, 10.

<sup>118</sup> Newman, 157.

Numerous benefit concerts by the *Liedertafel* as well as fellow Dresden song clubs were performed to raise money for the cost of the transfer, including the *Liedertafel*'s first independent concert on the 26 March 1841 at the Hôtel de Saxe mentioned earlier. Wagner also offered his support, enlisting the help of Meyerbeer to secure a benefit performance of Weber's *Euryanthe* in the Berlin Court theater.

After three years of fundraising in Dresden and beyond, the money was finally raised. Weber's two oldest surviving sons were sent to London for their father's remains, and on 15 December 1844 his remains were finally buried in his homeland. Wagner orchestrated a dramatic event. The coffin arrived the evening before and a torchlight procession was made to the cemetery in Friedrichstadt. He arranged two themes from *Euryanthe* as processional music. The morning of the 15<sup>th</sup>, the coffin was lowered into the vault, and Wagner delivered a eulogy, after which *An Weber's Grabe* was performed. He had the following to say about the performance: "...though it presented many difficulties for men's voices, it was splendidly rendered by some of the best opera singers."<sup>119</sup>

The official connection between Wagner and the *Liedertafel* soon ended as Wagner sought to move on to bigger and better things. In a farewell letter of 6 November 1845 Wagner wrote of the impossible time commitment of the *Liedertafel* and went on at great lengths with various reasons, proclaiming that although they may lose a negligent conductor, they would gain a good and loyal member, willing to serve with "happy heart".<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Wagner, I: 361.

<sup>120</sup> "Was mich nun betrifft, so bin ich durch mein Recht, die Steuern zu bezahlen, Bürger der Liedertafel geworden; ich habe der Liedertafel bei einer mich tieführenden Veranlassung zugeschworen, ihr nie untreu

On 13 November 1845, Ferdinand Hiller took the post of *Liedmeister*. Two days into his tenure, the group gathered and unanimously agreed their goal was to further the artistic value of the *Männergesang* and should be the driving mission statement of their bylaws. They also voted to make Wagner an honorary, extraordinary member of the Board of Directors (he would serve no specific function). *Schreibmaster* Pusinelli records that the society felt very lucky indeed to have two musical stars, Richard Wagner and Ferdinand Hiller, to call their own, and that this honor was in recognition of Wagner's extraordinary talent and his important and poetic position [as a composer and in Dresden as *Hofkapellmeister*].<sup>121</sup> Wagner happily accepted the honor, which was a brilliant strategic move on the club's part in further establishing their status in Dresden society. Interestingly, this establishment of statutes and bylaws ("Gesetze der *Liedertafel*") that gave the society a more professional mission and recorded under the *Schreibmaster's* pen was a driving force behind Pusinelli's request by letter not to be considered for re-election. Herr Kaiser, theologian and Director of Education (Director einer Erziehungsanstalt) was elected *Schreibmaster*, which he served for three years.

Hiller must have gone on an extended trip in early 1846, as there was a banquet on 11 April 1846 officially celebrating his return from Berlin. His tenure also included the first of the larger festivals that would meet in the *Grossen Garten*. These *Liedertafel*

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zu werden; das werde ich halten, ich werde so lange die Liedertafel besteht und sie mich nicht ausstösst, Bürger der Liedertafel bleiben; ich werde ihr dienlich und förderlich sein, wo ich kann, sei es durch meine schlechte Tenorstimme, hie und da durch eine möglichst wenig langweilige Composition, oder sonst durch Rath und That. Von nun an werde ich mit frohem Herzen, ohne drückende Selbstvorwürfe der Vernachlässigung und mit heiterem Muthe mich in der Liedertafel einfinden, und wenn sie somit in mir einen nachlässigen Dirigenten verliert, so erhält sie dafür jedenfalls ein gutes Mitglied." Hartwig, 14 – 16.

<sup>121</sup> "...in anerkennung seiner ausgezeichneten Talente und Verdienste, seines hohen Rufes und seiner bedeutenden dichterischen und künstlerischen Stellung zum permanenten, ausserordentlichen Vorstandsmitgliede ohne specielle Function, jedoch mit berathender Stimme". Ibid., 17.

fairs (“Liedertafelkirmes”) were annual suppers of conviviality and toasts (in the *Liedertafel* tradition) which invited other local male song clubs. The first supper was on 24 October 1846, and the following year on 23 October the celebration (“Kirmesfeier der *Liedertafel*”) in the Grossen Garten was even bigger, this time participants coming from beyond Dresden into the surrounding areas.<sup>122</sup> It is at the first on 24 October 1846 that poet Berthold Auerbach, at Hiller’s request, was elected an extraordinary member of the *Liedertafel*. The group under his direction began to perform regular, smaller concerts for invited guests in the *Garten der Harmoniegesellschaft*. They also regularly participated in the subscription concerts and lectures he began in Dresden: On 15 December 1846, the subscription concert included the Dresden premiere of Mendelssohn’s *Festgesang an die Künstler*, op. 68.<sup>123</sup>

For the Founding Day Celebration on 29 January 1847, Hiller composed two works, *Deutscher Gesang* (“Du deutsches herz, der glocke gleich”) on a text by Robert Reinick (1805 – 1852) and *Frauenlob* (“Hört! Noch vor dem Schlag der Stunde und noch eh’es Mitternacht, sei von dieser Tafelrunde auch der Frauen hold gedacht!”) on a text by Uffo Horn (1817 – 1860). A large festival concert to raise money for the poor people of the Erz mountains, (*Grosses Konzert zum Besten der Armen im Erzgebirge*) took place on 16 March 1847 in the Saale des Hôtel de Saxe, which raised 436 Thaler. The program included instrumental works: Gade’s overture *Im Hochland* and Hiller’s *Concertouverture in D-moll*. The *Liedertafel* sang the Dresden premiere of Schubert’s

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<sup>122</sup> Hartwig, 18.

<sup>123</sup> Mendelssohn composed the piece for the German-Flemish Songfestival in Cologne (*Sängerfestes in Köln*). Magdalena Havlová, “Dimitrij, der Zar – ersehnt, gemacht, gestürzt,” *Schiller und die Musik*, Helen Geyer, Wolfgang Osthoff, Astrid Stäber, eds. (Köln: Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, 2007), 247. Also on the program was Cherubini’s “Soldatenchor” from his *Der Wasserträger*. Ibid.

*Salve Regina*, D.811 (Op.149), Johannes Dürner's *SchifferLied*, (which by the time of Hartwig's writing was known as *Sturmbeschwörung*) for horns and male choir, Heinrich Lübke's *Im Meeresgrunde*, *Ständchen* by Seiffert [Seifert?],<sup>124</sup> *Jagdlied* for four horns and male chorus by Reissiger, and Hiller's own *Reiterlied*.<sup>125</sup>

Hiller had settled in Dresden a few months before the Schumanns. Moving to Dresden in December 1844, it would be nearly three years before Schumann would find himself at the helm of a professional group. Hiller's decision, in October of 1847, to accept the post of municipal music director in Düsseldorf left an opening for the position of *Liedmeister* of the *Dresdner Liedertafel*. On November 10, 1847, the *Liedertafel* gave their *Liedmaster* a banquet in his honor, where he was celebrated with song and made an honorary member of the group.<sup>126</sup> Schumann took over the group, to be discussed further in the next chapter.

Dresden's musical legacy is important for discussion of Schumann's role in the song club tradition, and beyond that, it had a prominent role in the German nineteenth-century male-voice choir movement. The first major German male-voice choral festivals were held in Dresden in 1842 and 1843. By 1850, there were some fifty male-voice choirs, *Liedertafeln*, *Liederkränzen*, *Männergesangsvereine*, in Dresden. In July 1865, they hosted their first *Sängerbundfest*, in which 16,000 singers participated.

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<sup>124</sup> Likely it is "Seifert". I. Seifert and Seifert II are listed as members who joined in 1843. Hartwig, 197. There is also an R. Seifert listed as a tenor in Schumann's *Chorverein*, to be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>125</sup> Also programmed was Beethoven's incidental music "Die Ruinen von Athen", Op. 113 and a poem by Uffo Horn, read by Eduard Devrient. *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

## The Frauenchor

But what about the women? They certainly were singing in the mixed choral societies that sprang up across the German-speaking lands, but it is debatable whether or not they had their own gender-specific clubs as the men did with their *Liedertafeln*. Occasionally we find mention of women in histories of an organization or the mention of the existence of a corresponding *Damenchor* when investigating the history of a specific *Liedertafel*, but that is an exception. It was not the norm for women to perform publicly in the nineteenth-century, especially on their own, which means one cannot even refer to publications of reviews to piece together a sketch. Assumptions about the likelihood of social, musical gatherings by women in their homes can certainly be made, but the history of the *Frauenchor* is much more difficult to reconstruct than its male counterpart.

Throughout the last third of the eighteenth century a typical girl from a good family received a very general musical upbringing at best and often her musical training was neglected. With the pedagogic ideals of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) influencing German musical life, women made new strides in music.<sup>127</sup> Soon the *Singschulen* emerged. In 1771 a co-educational *Singschule* was established in Leipzig, where Johann Adam Hiller (1728 – 1804)

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<sup>127</sup> Rousseau is an interesting case. Although he felt the education of women should be relative to men, it was not because he felt women were equally creative, but rather as a way to live up to her parental duties as educator to young boys and her role as parent throughout childhood (consoling, advising, etc.) — musical training would also make women more lovable and worthy of male admiration. Rousseau, reflecting contemporary socio-politics, felt women did not possess artistic sensibility or genius. Although able to acquire knowledge through hard work, the “sublime ecstasies that reside in the depths of the heart are always lacking in women’s writing”. As quoted from *Rousseau’s Lettre à M. d’Alembert sur les Spectacles* and translated by Marcia J. Citron in “Women and the Lied, 1775 – 1850,” *Women making music: the Western art tradition, 1150–1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 225.

advocated the participation of women in church music.<sup>128</sup> Other *Singschulen* began to appear around Germany, including Ludwigsburg in 1770 as well as Mannheim and Erlangen in 1806. As the nineteenth-century progressed, educational opportunities for women became more abundant. With the recognition of the benefits of a well-reared child nurtured by his mother's song, singing became an integral part of the female curriculum.<sup>129</sup> The city of Berlin mandated in 1834 that elementary training for girls must include vocal studies, making *Chorsingen* obligatory. These institutes as well as the numerous private, amateur *Singvereins* and the larger societies helped the rise of the women's choir repertoire, the prime example being Fasch's *Singakademie* in Berlin at the beginning of the century.

These women's choral groups soon merged with male choruses to form the mixed chorus societies. The mixed choirs would most profit from the new social status of women and their participation in musical life. Individual *Frauenchoren* likely met in private homes, but occasionally used the rehearsal spaces of the male choirs for their own practice purposes. Thibaut, mentioned earlier as the leader of the *Heidelberger Singverein*, allowed a local amateur women's choir to rehearse at the University during semester vacations.<sup>130</sup> One may assume this was not uncommon and likely happened in other university cities as well. We also find that women's clubs joined the male choirs to

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<sup>128</sup> While in Leipzig, Hiller founded a singing school, and four years later, he founded his own concert society, the *Musikübende Gesellschaft*. In his Leipzig school, he trained young musicians in singing and playing instruments. His most famous female vocal students were Corona Schröter and Gertrud Elisabeth Mara (née Schmebling). Nancy Reich, "Clara Schumann", in *Women making music: the Western art tradition, 1150–1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 256.

<sup>129</sup> A mother singing her to her child was deemed an ideal way to instill basic morals as well as aid family bonding. Peter Petschauer, "Forum," in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 9 (1975-76), 260 as quoted by Citron, 227.

<sup>130</sup> Duckles, 78.

form larger mixed choral societies for occasional performances. During wartime, the opposite happened, female choirs formed from the mixed choirs took on an expanded role while the male members were away.

It is important to highlight that these are predominantly private spheres. Despite the inclusion of singing in public and private schools and the growing number of female singers (and pianists for that matter) around the turn of the nineteenth century, very few female singers received professional training. The scarcity of professional singing instruction for women is a direct reflection of the contemporary concern of the impropriety of women performing in a public sphere. The result is a lack of public record to piece together a thorough history. Instead, we are left to consider some known compositions for the medium in order to at least attempt to offer a fragmented account.

Earlier in the chapter, Goethe's personal choir in Weimar was mentioned. Even when he had to leave town, the group continued to meet for rehearsals. In his absence, it appears that his wife Christiane took over his responsibilities. In a letter to Goethe of 13 January 1811, she gives a report to her husband, who was away in Jena, on the perfect attendance of their group, the ten choirboys that were also present that morning, and the lunch that followed.<sup>131</sup>

Schubert's choral music for women's voices and piano from 1820 to 1827 was written for the vocal students of his friend Anna Fröhlich at the Vienna conservatory.<sup>132</sup> The first was a setting of Moses Mendelssohn's translation of the 23rd Psalm, (op. 132 posth / D 706), composed in December 1820. The setting was popular in Fröhlich's circle

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<sup>131</sup> Christiane's letter of 13 January 1811 as quoted and translated by Dummer, 200.

<sup>132</sup> *Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien* was founded in 1817. Antonio Salieri was the conservatory's first director.

and received many performances by her students over the years, including a semi-public exam concert in 1821 under the auspices of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* and a “Grand Pupil’s Concert” in 1828 at the Kärntnerthor Theater.<sup>133</sup> Fröhlich also commissioned *Gott in der Natur* op. 133 (D 757), *Mirjams Siegesgesang* (D 942), and a concert piece composed for the birthday of one of her students, Louise Gosmar, *Ständchen* for alto solo, two sopranos, two altos and piano (op. 135 posth. / D 920).

In Hamburg, a *Frauenchor* for musical training was established by Louise Reichardt (1779–1826). The daughter of Johann Friedrich Reichardt and singer and Lieder composer Julia (née Benda, 1752-1783), the daughter of Franz Benda (1709–1786), Louise composed spiritual songs for her choir. In 1809, Louise moved to Hamburg and studied piano with Johann Friedrich Clasing (1779-1828) and took on singing students. In 1816 she co-founded with Clasing a *Musikverein*. Deeply religious in her later life, perhaps the result of losing two fiancés,<sup>134</sup> she organized and conducted several women’s choruses in 1817 for the concerts in Lübeck and Hamburg commemorating the Reformation. In 1818, she helped organize a well-attended music festival in Hamburg where Handel’s *Messiah* and Mozart’s *Requiem* were performed for an audience of 6,000. In 1819 she founded a *Gesangverein*, teaching and conducting rehearsals of Handel’s oratorios. The public performances in Hamburg, however, were conducted by her male colleagues at the *Gesangverein*. Between 1800 and her death in 1826, she wrote more than 75 songs, including songs with piano and guitar

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<sup>133</sup> Notley, 150.

<sup>134</sup> She was engaged to poet Friedrich Eschen and then painter Franz Gareis, who both died before the wedding. After that point, Reichardt concentrated on her musical activities in Hamburg and put her focus on her students. Diane Peacock Jezic, *Women Composers, The Lost Tradition Found*, foreword and revisions to the Second Edition by Elizabeth Wood (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1994), 67.

accompaniment, and some religious choral works for women's voices including a *Choralbuch* (published in Hamburg in 1822 and again in Basle in 1832), *Sechs geistliche Lieder unserer besten Dichter* for four female voices and piano (published in Hamburg in 1823), and an arrangement of her father's choral work *Weihnachts-Cantilene* (published in Hamburg in 1827).

Upon his return from Germany, as mentioned earlier, Nägeli discovered that the *Züricher Singinstitut* which led to the formation of the *Züricher Stadtsängerverein*. Two years later, in 1828, he founded the *Musikalischer Frauenverein*, of which for reasons already discussed, much more than the existence of the organization is not found in the literature.

In Stuttgart, one of the oldest women choirs in Germany was founded in 1830 by Emilie Zumsteeg (1796-1857). Her father was composer Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg (1760-1802), who died when she was six. Her mother ran a music store in Stuttgart, which was later taken over by her older brother Gustav Adolf Zumsteeg (1794–1859), a co-founder of the *Stuttgarter Liederkrantz* in 1824. Praised for her lovely alto voice, she taught singing and piano in Stuttgart, was a member of the *Verein für Klassische Kirchenmusik*, and soon played a central role in the city's musical life. She succeeded Julie Schubart, daughter of the poet Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, as director of the *Frauenzimmerchor* in Stuttgart around 1812 and held that position until her death in 1857. Under Zumsteeg, the *Frauenzimmerstimmen* would become associated with her brother's *Stuttgarter Liederkrantz* by becoming the *Frauenzimmerchor* of the society.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Stuttgarter Liederkrantz, "Geschichte/Chronik," <http://www.stuttgarter-Liederkrantz.de/geschichte.html> (accessed on March 6, 2005).

She wrote several piano works, over sixty Lieder, and sacred choral music.<sup>136</sup> Some of her compositions are lost, and today her work is largely forgotten.<sup>137</sup>

Fanny Caecilie Hensel (née Mendelssohn, 1805-1847) who was given the same musical education as her younger brother Felix, is of course an extraordinary example. They studied piano with Ludwig Berger and later had theory and composition with Zelter. In 1820, they joined the Berlin *Singakademie*. Fanny was an active participant in the choral activities of the *Singakademie* until 1833. Her musical activity, however, really centered around the Mendelssohn family *Sonntagsmusik* (Sunday musicales) held at her parent's home on Leipzigerstrasse 3 and then later in the garden house, where she lived with her own family.<sup>138</sup> These private musicales, which featured performances by both Felix and Fanny, were attended by aristocracy and bourgeois alike. When Felix left Berlin to travel, she took over as music director of the musicales. She was responsible for the programming, performed as soloist and accompanist, and conducted a choir of skilled amateurs along with an orchestra of professional musicians hired from the Königstadt Theater. The repertoire included works by Felix, Bach, Gluck, Beethoven, and Handel. She also composed her own works for these musicales as well, which included more than four hundred compositions, including a string quartet, an orchestral overture, as well as other chamber works, piano and organ sonatas, and a piano cycle.

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<sup>136</sup> Her piano works include *Trois polonaises*, published in 1821, which was reviewed by the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (vol. 23, 479-80). Of her 60 Lieder, her six songs of op. 6 were also favorably reviewed by the *AmZ*, this time in 1842 (vol.44, 935 – 936).

<sup>137</sup> Arthur Elson, *Woman's work in Music* (Boston: L.C. Page & Company, 1903), 160.

<sup>138</sup> The musicales began before the Mendelssohns' move to the house on Leipzigerstrasse, in late 1822 or early 1823. Felix led them until he left Berlin in 1829, at which point Fanny took over the directorship. Sebastian Hensel, *The Mendelssohn family 1729-1847: from letters and journals*, trans. Carl Klingemann and an American collaborator with a notice by George Grove, 4<sup>th</sup> revised edition (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1884), 121 – 176.

Her 28 choral works, both a cappella and with orchestra, include a double chorus, a setting of a scene from Goethe's *Faust*, concert arias, and several cantatas, as well as shorter partsongs for mixed chorus.<sup>139</sup>

Johanna Kinkel, née Mockel (1810–1858) was born in Bonn. Her father, a teacher at the French Gymnasium, and mother encouraged their daughter's musical talents, choosing Franz Anton Ries (1755-1846), to be her piano and composition teacher. With Ries' support, she began a career as a coach, accompanist and choral director while still in her teens. She formed a *Gesangverein* with other pupils of Ries. Following an abusive marriage of just six months to Johann Paul Mathieux, she moved to Berlin and performed in Fanny Hensel's *Sontagsmusik*. During this period in Berlin, her *Lieder*, op. 6 - 12 were published.<sup>140</sup> She returned to Bonn in 1839 for divorce proceedings. Here she re-established and conducted her *Gesangverein* with an extensive repertoire of old and new works. She also conducted her own compositions which included choruses, secular cantatas, and sacred works. She married again in 1842, this time the Protestant theologian, poet and university lecturer Gottfried Kinkel. Together they founded a literary group, the *Maikäferbund* ("Maybug Group", a bug which also served as their emblem).

The upheaval of the 1848 Revolution would eventually lead the family to exile in London.<sup>141</sup> Fortunately, Kinkel was proficient in English and was able to earn a

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<sup>139</sup> An excellent and authoritative account of her life and music can be found in the recent and exhaustively researched book by R. Larry Todd, *Fanny Hensel: The Other Mendelssohn* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>140</sup> She published these under the name Mathieux, as she was still not officially divorced from her husband.

<sup>141</sup> Gottfried Kinkel was chosen democratic electorate to represent Bonn in the National Assembly in Berlin. There he was arrested and condemned to death for his political activities. Johanna, with the help of Bettina von Arnim and others, was able to have his death sentence overturned to life imprisonment in

livelihood for her family by giving piano lessons, vocal instruction to small children, and publishing two books on music education. In London, she again directed a choir and wrote music, librettos, poetry and a two-volume novel until her suspicious death in November of 1858.<sup>142</sup> Her compositions included songs, duets, staged works, piano works, a sacred choral work, and partsongs, including *Die Vogel-Kantate*, op. 1 for 5 voices and piano and *Trinklied* for solo voice, four voices, and piano, both published in Berlin in 1838.

Robert and Clara Schumann would also work with and write for female voices as part of their activities in Dresden. Although he did not work with a separate *Frauenchor*, Schumann did have an impressive female membership within his *Chorgesangverein*. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

It is important to note that all of these women have famous associations, coming from a musical family. We know of them because of their father or brother. Most of these women are not just conductors, but composers as well, a natural starting point, as if they compose for the genre, we can infer that they likely participated in a *Frauenchor*. One can also find occasional references to *Damenchors* in writings about a city's male song club. In the *Dresdner Liedertafel's Festschrift*, we find mention of a female song

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Spandau prison. Karl Schurz organized Gottfried's escape from Spandau prison and assisted in his exile to London. Johanna and their four children joined him there in 1851.

<sup>142</sup> Although supportive of her husband's political stances and her active cultural life, it appears that her time in London was not completely joyous. It has been suggested that Gottfried was unfaithful. On 15 November 1858, Kinkels's body was found in the garden of her home. She had either fallen or had jumped from the window of her third floor bedroom. While suicide was suspected, it could not be proven. Beatrix Borchard, "Between Public and Private," in *Women Composers in Germany*, ed. Roswitha Sperber and trans. by Timothy Nevill (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1996), 28.

club led by Weber's widow, Caroline.<sup>143</sup> An unnamed writer for the *AmZ* (16 January 1839) reviewed a group of Lieder that had recently been composed for the *Mainzer Liedertafel* and the city's *Damen-Gesangverein*.<sup>144</sup> The composer of the Lieder settings of texts by Heine was Franz Messer, who was the conductor of both groups. It is safe to assume that other large cities with a *Liedertafel*, *Liederkrantz*, or *Männergesangverein*, would have similar organizations for women, which were led by a woman or, as in the case of Mainz, led by the same conductor as the "brother" song club.

The women highlighted here were able to surpass society's conceptions of proper women's activities by becoming creators of music and because of their exposure to musical circles, therefore, have survived to be rediscovered in more recent musicological scholarship. Although it is a wonderful contribution to scholarship to learn of these women, further research and in-depth evaluations of their music, Fanny Hensel and Clara Schumann excepted, are still lacking. There are no doubt thousands of women who participated in these clubs, who because of a lack of family association and the contemporary role of women in nineteenth-century German society, will remain anonymous. Barring a discovery of more partbooks for a specific club, the history of the female song clubs will remain a fragmented puzzle.

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<sup>143</sup> The other ladies of the club were: Frau Löwe, Frau Barteldes, Frau Pusinelli, Fräulein Stein, Frau Ziller, Frau Koldewey, Frau Barchewitz, Frau Krause, Fräulein Schüller, and Fräulein Brauer. Some of them, Löwe and Barteldes for instance, were wives of the members of the *Liedertafel*. Hartwig, 219.

<sup>144</sup> "Mainzer Liedertafel und Damen Gesangverein," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (16 January 1839): 42.

### CHAPTER III: *Schumann and the Song Clubs*

#### Early attempts at choral music in Leipzig

Schumann attempted a setting of the 150<sup>th</sup> Psalm for chorus and orchestra and a “Chor der Landleute [Chorus of Peasants]” for an opera in 1822 at the age of 12 or 13, but it was not until 1840<sup>145</sup>, his “Liederjahr”, when he was thirty, that he wrote his first works for several voices. It is the year he finally married Clara, after a very public three-year battle with his intended’s father, Friedrich Wieck (1785–1873).<sup>146</sup>

In this emotionally tumultuous year, Schumann composed his first collection of a cappella partsongs, *Sechs Lieder für vierstimmigen Männergesang*, op. 33, which were dedicated to Gustav Adolph Keferstein.<sup>147</sup> The popular “Zigeunerleben” for small chorus,

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<sup>145</sup> The pieces found in Schumann’s Estate (Fragments, Works Not Intended for Publications, Lost Works, Compositional Planes) are listed in Margit McCorkles’s *Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* as “Allgemeiner Anhang” [General Appendix] (Anh.) Anh.=I refers to the category Chor und Orchestra. Psalm 150 for Choir and Orchestra, Anh: I10; “Chor von Landleuten” Overture & Chorus for Choir and Orchestra, Anh: I9. According to a program for the Fourth International Robert Schumann Chor competition in Zwickau from 16 – 19 May 2002, the chorus on the 150 Psalm “Halleluja! Lobet den Herrn in seinem Heiligtum; lobet ihn in der Feste seiner Macht!” received a premiere in Düsseldorf in 1997 and was performed in Zwickau for the second International Robert Schumann Chor Festival in 1998. Margit L. McCorkle, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke: Werke für Frauenchor*. Series VIII, vol. 6 (Mainz: Schott, 2003).

<sup>146</sup> Nancy B. Reich and Anna Burton in their important article of 1984 re-examining Berthold Litzmann’s monumental biography of Clara Schumann credit Dr. Gerd Nauhaus for clarifying the reason for Robert & Clara’s legal appeal. Nauhaus discovered that Saxon law actually required the approval of both parents of the bride-to-be. Schumann scholarship previous to this article noted Clara’s legal appeal as necessary because she was under the age of twenty-one. Nancy B. Reich and Anna Burton, “Clara Schumann: Old Sources, New Readings”, *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 70, no. 3 (Summer, 1984): 332 - 354. The couple already had the blessing of her mother, Marianne Tromlitz (1797–1872), but Wieck would not give up his public smear campaign. On 11 August, the Courts granted Robert and Clara the right to marry—the declaration was actually made on 1 August, but Wieck had ten days to protest. He didn’t, so the motion became official on 11 August—and on 12 September, one day before her twenty-first birthday, they were married in a small church in Schönfeld, near Leipzig. Sadly this would not mean a mending of the relationship between Wieck and the Schumanns, nor would it be the end of their legal battles: The *Denunciation* of June 1840 resulted in a ruling against Wieck in April 1841, making him guilty of slander and sentenced to eighteen days in prison. A second part of the suit pertaining to Clara’s earnings and piano, was settled later out of court.

<sup>147</sup> The actual dedication reads “Herrn Doktor K. Stein freundschaftlichst zugeeignet”. Keferstein helped secure an honorary document for Schumann, which was important in his defense against Wieck in the battle for Clara’s hand. This will be discussed further in my discussion of op. 33 in the next chapter.

the third song from his *Drei Gedichte von Emanuel Geibel für mehrstimmigen Gesang*, op. 29, and *Der Deutsche Rhein*, WoO 4, a setting of Nicholas Becker's popular *Rheinlieder*, were also composed in Schumann's year of song.

The newlyweds settled in Leipzig. With its emergence as an important center for music, Leipzig seemed a good choice to call home. The history of Bach and the St. Thomas Church, the *Gewandhaus* concerts, the printing house Breitkopf und Härtel, and the presence of Mendelssohn helped to bring Leipzig into the forefront of musical life. Mendelssohn, with whom Schumann struck up a friendship in 1835, would be an important alliance for the newlyweds, and Leipzig would be their home for four years. Their first two children, daughters Marie and Elise, were born there (1 September 1841 and 25 April 1843).

Compositionally, Schumann moved on after his year of song in 1841 and embarked on a symphony. His "Spring Symphony" (*Symphony No. 1 in B-flat major*, op. 38) premiered at the *Gewandhaus* concert of 31 March 1841 under the baton of Mendelssohn. The first version of a second symphony, later published as *Symphony No. 4 in D minor*, "Clara's Symphony," was completed that year as well. He also sketched a *Symphony in C minor* that year, of which he only completed two movements. In 1842, he turned his attention to chamber music, composing *Three String Quartets*, op. 41, the *Piano Quartet in E-flat major*, op. 47, the *Fantasiestücke*, op. 88, and the *Piano Quintet in E-flat major*, op. 44. The Quintet received its first performance in December with Mendelssohn at the piano. Schumann suffered a spell of melancholy and illness in that year.<sup>148</sup> The oratorio was

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<sup>148</sup> *TB*, III: 206–207. Interestingly, John Daverio points out that this bout of illness was concurrent with a planned tour for Clara in Copenhagen (which he bowed out of at the last minute) and likely had psychological reasons as well. Prior to that tour, Clara gave a concert and was invited to a gathering in her honor at the Oldenburg court, where Schumann was not on the guest list. Clara attended alone despite this offensive lack

Schumann's next compositional concentration. In 1843, he completed *Das Paradies und die Peri*, op. 50 and a year later began his *Scenen aus Goethe's 'Faust'*, WoO3. We also find the chamber piece *Andante and Variations in B-flat major*, op. 46 for two pianos.<sup>149</sup>

In March of 1843, Mendelssohn founded a music conservatory in Leipzig, an idea he first discussed with Schumann in November 1842. It would attract some big names. Mendelssohn secured Ignaz Moscheles (1794–1870) to teach piano, Ferdinand David (1810 – 1873) for violin, Moritz Hauptmann (1792–1868) for theory, and Schumann for composition, score-reading, and piano. Also on staff, aside from Mendelssohn himself (who taught piano and composition), were organist and conductor Christian August Pohlenz (1790–1857) and Carl Ferdinand Becker (1804–1877) for organ, music history and music theory. Schumann had hoped that a “proper salary” would be offered to Clara to eventually join the faculty as well, but that would not come to fruition until August 1844.<sup>150</sup> In addition to Mendelssohn and his colleagues at the Conservatory, their Leipzig circle included Danish composer Niels Gade (1817–1890), and English composer William Sterndale Bennett (1816-1875).

Schumann believed the founding of the Conservatory would not only be profitable, but that it would prove a “support for good music and a significant influence on the whole

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of decorum in Schumann's eyes. The diary entries begin to reflect a conflicting jealousy and pride Schumann felt regarding Clara's success. Daverio, *Robert Schumann, Herald of a "New Poetic Age"*, 242 – 246.

<sup>149</sup> There is an unfinished original version for two pianos, two cellos and horn. This compositional exception in the Oratorio year, reminds us that it is important to remember that while the categorizations of “Liederjahr”, “The Symphonic Year”, “The Year of Chamber Music”, and “The Oratorio Year” are reflective of Schumann's majority of output for a given year, they are not exhaustive - there are some overlaps and departures in musical genres. This compartmentalizing of genres for a given year are convenient for biographers and useful in consideration of Schumann's exploration of composition, but must not be thought of as absolute.

<sup>150</sup> Robert Schumann, *The Marriage Diary*, vol. II, 17 February, 1843.

German youth.”<sup>151</sup> He eagerly assumed his duties as instructor of composition, score reading and piano, stating that the conservatory gave the entire staff “work and worry, but also pleasure.”<sup>152</sup> He viewed his teaching of piano for the nearly forty students enrolled as merely temporary, taking on piano students “ad interim” in hopes of later creating a different position for himself, concentrating solely on instruction in composition.<sup>153</sup> By the middle of the summer this eagerness began to wane as he was already starting to complain about the caliber of students, noting that few of his nearly fifty composition students demonstrated genuine talent. The students were not thrilled with Schumann either. His occasional bouts of depression, or as he referred to it, “melancholy”, made it difficult for him to speak, and ultimately made him an ineffectual teacher. Students complained that even should the moment require a word or criticism, they were often faced with a lesson or rehearsal of silence from their instructor.<sup>154</sup>

The first three years in Leipzig, aside from the bout of “melancholy” in 1842, was a relatively stable time. Schumann had successes with the symphony, chamber music, and especially *Das Paradies und die Peri*, establishing a respected reputation. He was on his way to securing the artistic renown he envisioned for himself. Unfortunately these years of stability came to an end, giving way to professional frustrations and disappointments exasperated by physical and psychological distress.

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<sup>151</sup> Robert Schumann, *The Marriage Diary*, vol. II, 17 February, 1843.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 June 1843.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: the Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 94.

In January 1844 Clara took Robert with her to Russia for a four-month tour; their children stayed with Robert's brother Carl. They travelled to Königsberg, Riga, Mitau, and Dorpat, followed by St. Petersburg and Moscow. They returned to St. Petersburg before finally heading home to Leipzig on 24 May. Their travels introduced them to leading figures in the Russian musical scene, including Mikhail Glinka (1804–1857) and Anton Rubinstein (1829–1894). The tour was a financial success, but would lead to professional, health, and psychological setbacks.

Schumann's health began to deteriorate. In Dorpat, in Estonia, a severe attack of illness left him weak and confined to his bed for almost a week. The good people of Dorpat were very kind and looked after him as Clara performed. After her concert on 15 February, the students followed her back and serenaded her and her ailing husband with the first two songs from his op. 33, "Der träumende See (no.1) and "Die Minnesänger" (no. 2).<sup>155</sup> The group was the *Fraternitas Rigensis*, a male-voice choir, led by Julius Otto Grimm (1827–1903). Clara noted her gratitude for such a "beautiful moment".<sup>156</sup>

Schumann described St. Petersburg as "the most wondrous of the world's cities".<sup>157</sup> It is here that Clara and Robert were introduced to Russian choral singing. They attended a rehearsal of the imperial court choir, conducted by Alexei Fyodorovich Lvov (1799-1870). Although he found the repertory mediocre, he writes of the choir's nuanced and beautiful performance: "the resonance of the basses called to mind the organ's deepest

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<sup>155</sup> Joan Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1983), 88. According to Litzmann, as translated by Hadow, they also sang Mendelssohn's "Wer hat dich du schöner Wald". Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: An Artist's Life, Based on Material Found in Diaries and Letters*, trans. and abridged from the 4th edition by Grace E. Hadow, 2 vols. (New York: Vienna House, 1972), 358.

<sup>156</sup> Schumann, Clara. *The Marriage Diaries*, 12 February–15 February, 1844.

<sup>157</sup> "...über diese Wunderstadt der Welt (wie Robert sagt)", 5 March 1844, *TB*, II: 331.

register; the all-male discants produced an ‘otherworldly’ sound, ‘more beautiful than the loveliest female voices’.<sup>158</sup>

While Clara succeeded in further establishing herself as an international artist, Robert’s ego took a blow when he found himself to be not much more than “Clara’s husband”. She was invited to an audience with the imperial family and was elected an honorary member of the St. Petersburg Philharmonic. Although the *Piano Quintet* was enthusiastically received at one of the Wielhorskis' soirées as well as at Clara's third concert in St. Petersburg, he was unable to arrange a Moscow performance of his *First Symphony*. Adding to his professional frustration, he barely found time to compose — the extent of his compositional output for 1844 was the start of *Scenen aus Goethe's 'Faust'*. Yet in Moscow, his daily visits to the Kremlin, especially Ivan III’s bell-tower, did provide the time and inspiration to write five extended poems: the four poems of *Die Glocke von Iwan Welikii (The Bell of Ivan Veliky)* and *Die Franzosen vor Moskau (The French before Moscow)*.<sup>159</sup> Health concerns continued throughout the tour, and by the end Schumann’s health began to deteriorate rapidly.

Schumann's illness intensified after he and Clara returned to Leipzig, and as a result, he had to resign his teaching post. He took the opportunity to devote himself wholly to composition, taking a break from *The Marriage Diary* and in early June, deciding to sell

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<sup>158</sup> 8 March 1844 as translated in Daverio, *Robert Schumann, Herald of a “New Poetic Age”*, 287.

<sup>159</sup> Clara writes: “We visited the Kremlin again and Robert made a beautiful poem ‘The Bell of Ivan Veliky’ followed later by two others that were about Napoleon, about whom one is automatically reminded in the Kremlin.” 4 April 1844. “In the morning Robert always wrote poetry, while I played and received visitors”. 5 April 1844. The four poems of *Die Glocke von Iwan Welikii* and *Die Franzosen vor Moskau* are included at the end of the *The Marriage Diaries*.

the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.<sup>160</sup> By August, however, Schumann was complaining of wretched melancholy and a generally dreadful state of health. When his condition did not improve, despite a brief holiday in the Harz Mountains from 10–18 September, he consulted a homeopathic physician, Moritz Müller, on 1 October. Unfortunately, he did not make a full recovery.

### **The Move To Dresden**

On 3 October 1844 the Schumann family travelled to Dresden, where Wieck had recently made his home. There he consulted yet another homeopathic physician, Carl Helbig, who recommended that Dresden, with its many spas, would be a better place for them to live, where he could undergo hydrotherapy. In addition to consideration of his health, their decision would be a professional one. He was passed over in his pursuit of directorship of the *Gewandhaus* concerts in favor of Assistant Director Niels Gade, who was picked by Mendelssohn as his successor when he moved to Berlin.<sup>161</sup> With this latest blow, Schumann had few hopes of advancing his career in Leipzig.<sup>162</sup> They decided to extend their stay, but by winter they had decided to make Dresden their new home.

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<sup>160</sup> Oswald Lorenz (1806–1889), who took over as temporary editor for Schumann during the Russian tour, became head editor. A deal was finally closed on 20 November with Franz Brendel (1811 – 1868) who purchased the magazine for only 500 thalers. Franz Brendel officially took over editorial duties on 1 January 1845. Eric Fredrick Jensen, *Schumann* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 189.

<sup>161</sup> Hiller conducted the 1843 – 1844 season, with Gade becoming the official successor the following year. Jensen, 191.

<sup>162</sup> Interestingly, Nancy B. Reich feels the move was entirely about Schumann's illness and even suggests that perhaps Clara felt it a good choice because of the proximity to her father. Unlike most, Reich doesn't think that "losing the Gewandhaus post" was an issue for Schumann, as she maintains he never made an official

The Schumann family officially moved to Dresden on 12 December 1844, and moved to Waisenhausstrasse 7. Soon after their move, Schumann's health crisis sank to its nadir. According to the notes of Dr. Helbig, who would remain Schumann's doctor for his five years in Dresden, he suffered from exhaustion, insomnia, auditory delusions, depression, tremors, and various phobias, including heights and sharp metal objects.<sup>163</sup> Dr. Helbig attributed these disturbing mental and physical disturbances to Schumann's focus on composition, and at its worst, he suggested that he give up music altogether. Fortunately, Schumann did not follow this advice. His tenure in Dresden would prove to be one of his most productive periods. More than one third of his complete works were created in this period from 1844 to 1850.

Schumann kept notes of his daily affairs in his *Haushaltbücher*. Here we read entries of his strolls through the Tharandt Forest, the meals he enjoyed in the city's many restaurants, and their attendance at various operas and concerts in Dresden. The Schumanns would have four more children during this time: Julie (March 1845), Emil (February 1846), Ludwig (January 1848), and Ferdinand (July 1849). Dresden, with its artistic life centered around the court of Friedrich August II, was filled with artists, writers, painters, sculptors, architects, and musicians.

Schumann quickly rekindled his association with Hiller, whom he knew from the Leipzig *Gewandhaus*. Many of Dresden's artistic elite made up the Schumann's new circle of friends, including physician and painter Carl Gustav Carus (1789-1869), painter Eduard Julius Friedrich Bendemann (1811–1889), sculptor Ernst Friedrich August Rietschel

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request for it, nor would he have enjoyed the numerous public appearances and the tedious administrative duties. Reich, *Clara Schumann: the Artist and the Woman*, 101.

<sup>163</sup> Walker, 25.

(1804–1861), painter and poet Robert Reinick (1805-1852), soprano Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient (1804–60), soprano Caroline von Weber (nee Brandt, widow of Carl Maria von Weber), and in the beginning, Wagner. In a letter to Mendelssohn dated 18 November 1845, Schumann wrote: "We — Bendemann, Rietschel, Hübner, Wagner, Hiller, Reinick — are now getting together once every few weeks and there is always much to discuss and read out loud, and in general, things are rather lively here."<sup>164</sup>

Interestingly, as culturally rich as the Dresden court was, there was relatively little professional musical life outside of that of Court functions apart from the Royal Opera, with Wagner and Reissiger at the podium. This shortage of music actually excited Schumann initially, as he found it an inspirational challenge to tap the potential of the city. Soon he embarked with Hiller on organizing subscription concerts, using the Leipzig *Gewandhaus* as model. This attempt to generate musical activity in Dresden was not an easy task. Discouraged, Schumann wrote to Mendelssohn on 24 September 1845 that the Royal Opera Orchestra was refusing to sign on for these concerts, as they feared they would draw audiences away from their own major concert on Palm Sunday, which paid the bills.<sup>165</sup> Within a month, things looked more promising, and the first concert was scheduled. Clara, who was scheduled to perform on the inaugural performance of 10

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<sup>164</sup> "Wir kommen jetzt nämlich alle Wochen einmal zusammen - Bendemann, Rietschel, Hübner, Wagner, Hiller, Reinick -, da findet sich denn immer allerhand zum Erzählen oder Vorlesen, und es geht recht rege dabei her." Robert Schumann, *Briefe. Neue Folge*, ed. F. Gustav Jansen. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904), 255.

<sup>165</sup> "Man will hier Abonnementskonzerte einrichten doch zweifle ich, ob sie zustande kommen. Mit der Kapelle ist nichts anzufangen und ohne sie auch nichts. Der Zopf hängt ihnen hier noch gewaltig. So will die Kapelle in Extrakonzerten nie Beethovenische Symphonien spielen weil das ihrem Palmsonntagkonzert und Pensionsfond schaden könnte". Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann, Ein Künstlerleben nach Tagebüchern und Briefen*. 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1920), II: 105. See also, *Briefe, Neue Folge*, 250.

November, was sick and had to cancel. Joseph Joachim, aged fourteen, with the help of Wieck, was quickly engaged as a substitute, performing Mendelssohn's *Violin Concerto*.

Although the subscription concert venture was initially successful and provided a promising start, the concerts never attained the status of the *Leipziger Gewandhaus* as Schumann unrealistically hoped. Artistic life there was centered around the Royal Court, on which Schumann had no influence. There simply was a lack of interest by the people of Dresden. Besides playing at the opera and in church, the royal orchestra of Dresden gave a public performance only once a year, for the benefit of the widows and orphans of former members. It was customary on these occasions to produce an oratorio and a symphony, conducted in rotation by the two Kapellmeisters. I don't believe it was snobbery or dissatisfaction on the part of the Dresdeners, but rather that they were content with the way music was currently organized and presented, happy to support it within the existing structure, but finding no reason to go beyond that.

In January of 1845, in an attempt to distract him from his illness and concentrate on music, Clara and Robert began an intense study of counterpoint together. He continued this study through November of that year. As a result, we come to the year of "Fugenpassion", which resulted in the *Vier Fugen*, op. 72, the *Sechs Stücke in canonischer Form* for Pedal-flügel or four-hands, op. 56, and *Sechs Fugen über den Namen BACH*, op. 60 for organ or pedal-piano. The *Vier Skizzen*, op. 58 for pedal-piano or piano for four hands, although not fugal or canonic, "shares the same neo-Baroque tendencies," according to John Daverio.<sup>166</sup> This fugal trend foreshadows techniques Schumann later employed in

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<sup>166</sup> Daverio, *Robert Schumann, Herald of a "New Poetic Age"*, 306–312.

some of his partsongs, especially the *Ritornelle von Friedrich Rückert*, op. 65 for male voices.

It was not until January 1846 that a cappella choral music began to take a bigger role in Schumann's compositional endeavors. His attitude towards choral music at the time is documented in comments made to a number of composers, who sought his advice. To Ludwig Meinardus (1827-1896), a composer and music historian, he said in 1848; "Write for choir especially; in my opinion, this is what is most beneficial."<sup>167</sup> He followed his own advice and soon began to devote time to the unaccompanied choral song, what would later become *Fünf Lieder* op. 55 and *Vier Gesänge*, op. 59.

Discouraged by the lack of interest in the subscription concerts in Dresden, Robert and Clara felt there was no choice for propagating their music other than to tour. Between 24 November 1846 and 4 February 1847 Robert and Clara toured in Vienna and Prague. After a week home in Dresden they went to Berlin, where the *Singakademie* planned to perform *Das Paradies und die Peri*, op. 50 on 17 February, and they remained there until late March. The Viennese leg of the tour was not a triumph for them. The performance of his *First Symphony* and *Piano Concerto* at the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* on 1 January 1847 was poorly attended and coolly received. Clara's concert on 10 January fared better only because Jenny Lind was engaged. The performance of the *Peri* in Berlin, with Schumann conducting, was well-received, but it was not without struggle. There were difficulties with *Singakademie* directors Eduard Grell and K.F. Rungenhagen, and cases of ill-prepared vocal soloists and technical hiccups at the performance itself.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> "Schreiben Sie besonders viel für Chor; dies bleibt meiner Ansicht nach das Förderndste." Letter to Ludwig Meinardus, 16 September 1848, *Briefe, Neue Folge*, 289–90.

<sup>168</sup> Walker, 27.

The remainder of the year brought devastating loss. The death of Mendelssohn's sister Fanny Hensel on 14 May came as a shock to Clara and Robert. Not long after on 22 June, they suffered the loss of their 16-month-old son Emil. Their stay in Zwickau between 2 and 13 July for a two-week festival devoted to Schumann's music was a welcome distraction.

Karl Emanuel Klitzsch (1812–1889), a friend of the Schumanns, one of the co-founders and contributors to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Music*<sup>169</sup> and Musikdirektor of Zwickau, invited the Schumanns to a music festival organized in his honor. There was a procession by torchlight and a serenade in his honor.<sup>170</sup> Schumann composed *Beim Abschied zu singen*, for chorus and winds, op. 84 for the festival, which was listed as “Lied zum Abschied” on the concert program of 10 July and performed under his baton.<sup>171</sup> Also on the program were his *Second Symphony* and the *Piano Concerto*, which featured Clara as soloist.

Good fortune would come their way with Hiller's decision, in October 1847, to accept the post of municipal music director in Düsseldorf, which left open the position of *Liedmeister* of the *Dresdner Liedertafel*. Schumann was elected the new *Liedmeister* on 18 November (he was one of fourteen new members initiated that year),<sup>172</sup> but the joy of finally obtaining a salaried post to remedy the Schumanns' growing dissatisfaction with

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<sup>169</sup> Klitzsch contributed to *NZfM* sometimes using the pseudonym Emanuel Kronach.

<sup>170</sup> Jensen, 226.

<sup>171</sup> Schumann's correspondence with Klitzsch regarding the composition of op. 84 and his cold feet about having it premiere there will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>172</sup> At the time, the society had fifty-five members: forty-seven voted for Schumann and three against—the remaining five opted not to vote. Karl Pembaur's “Ein Gedenkblatt für Robert Schumann. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Wirksamkeit in der Dresdner Liedertafel”, *Die Lyra*, Jahrgang 30, Nrs. 6–9. (Vienna: 1906), III: 107. Pembaur, the Dresden court organist, led the *Liedertafel* beginning in 1903. He would later take over the helm of Schumann's *Chorverein* from 1910–1913. Written in four installments (numbers 6–9 of Jahrgang 30), I will from here forward refer to the four installments as Pembaur I–IV.

Dresden was overshadowed by the unexpected and devastating loss of Mendelssohn on 4 November 1847. Conducting proved therapeutic following these years of ill health and tragic loss, which helped to restore his self-confidence and his joy in composing. The *Liedertafel* provided the inspiration for a series of works for male chorus, including the *Drei Gesänge*, op.62, *Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen*, op.65, and the pieces posthumously published as *Drei Freiheitsgesänge* WoO 4, with optional wind and brass accompaniment.

Five new members joined the *Liedertafel* in Schumann's one-year tenure. The first big event was the Founding Day Celebration on 6 February 1848 held at the Saal der Harmonie. There the group performed two works by Schumann, "Zum Anfang", op. 65, no. and "Schlachtgesang", op. 62, no. 3 as well as Hiller's "Kriegslied", with a text by Emanuel Geibel.<sup>173</sup>

The next concerts were months later on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of May, the first for the benefit of the people of Schleswig-Holstein, and the second for the Erzgebirge. The latter was a large joint choral concert of the Dresden choirs (*Allgemeinen Dresdner Männergesangvereine*) that took place for the benefit of the needy of Schleswig-Holstein and held in the *Grossen Garten*. For this concert, Schumann composed and the group premiered his "Deutscher Freiheitsgesang" (WoO 4, no. 3). The same group of singers reunited a month later on 7 June in a concert to raise money to equip the German fleet. This time, the group of singers premiered his "Schwarz-Roth-Gold", WoO4, no. 2.<sup>174</sup> Two more benefit concerts followed on the 24 June, benefitting the Lacemakers of the Ore

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<sup>173</sup> Hartwig, 219.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 19; Pembaur, III: 108.

Mountains (der Spitzenklöpplerinnen des Erzgebirges), and on 26 July, benefitting unemployed business people (brotloser Geschäftsleute).<sup>175</sup>

Between concerts, on the 17 May, the *Liedertafel* received an embroidered “flag leaf” from a female song club, mentioned in the previous chapter, led by Kapellmeister Frau von Weber. The leaf was embroidered with the emblem of the *Liedertafel* containing songs in a red frame.<sup>176</sup> The flag for which that leaf was made was not completed until September, and on 28 September, there was a handing-over ceremony between the *Liedertafel* and female Verein.<sup>177</sup>

Schumann’s pleasure in leading the *Liedertafel* was only temporary. He felt the men had little musical ambition.<sup>178</sup> And finally he confessed in a letter to Johann Verhulst on 4 November 1848: “When one has created music all day for oneself, one cannot savor these eternal six-four chords of the men’s chorus style.”<sup>179</sup> On 21 October 1848, not even a year after his appointment, he wrote to then *Tafelmeister*, Herr Barteldes in a gentler manner, letting the group down easy:

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<sup>175</sup> Hartwig, 167.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 219.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>178</sup> Although his first rehearsal with the group was attended by a large number of singers, Schumann’s second rehearsal apparently only had one tenor present. Pembaur, III: 108.

<sup>179</sup> “Und hat man den ganzen Tag für sich musiziert, so wollen einem dies wenigen 6/4 Akkorde des Männergesangstils auch nicht munden.” Georg Eismann, *Robert Schumann, Ein Quellenwerk über sein Leben und Schaffen*. 2 vols. (Leipzig: VEB Breitkopf & Härtel Musikverlag, 1956), 157; Briefe, *Neue Folge*, 294. Schumann must not have been shy about proclaiming this frustration, for Max Büttner refers to it in the preface of his Festschrift honoring the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the *Chorverein*, stating that Schumann became tired of his position “because he soon became dissatisfied with the, as he put it, ‘perpetual four-six chords of male singing style’. Even then he was already an artist striving for the highest ideals and did not find the enjoyment and satisfaction he had expected in male-singing [jedoch bald wurde Schumann dort seiner Stellung müde, weil ihn nachseinem eigenen Ausspruche ‘die ewigen Quartsextakorde des Männergesangstiles’ für die Dauer nicht zu befriedigen vermochten].” Max Büttner, ed., *Robert Schumanns Singakademie zu Dresden. Begründet am 5 Januar 1848. Festschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Jubelfestes am 5. Januar 1898* (Dresden: 1898), 7.

Dear Herr Barteldes! The copious amount of work I have to complete in the coming months means that sadly I can no longer serve as *Liedmaster* of the *Liedertafel*. Kindly communicate this to the Board and explain that I would be very happy, should the group need my assistance at some point, to continue my association with the group. Yours very truly, R. Schumann.<sup>180</sup>

Tired of the eternal 6/4 chords typical of the groups' repertoire, Schumann officially ended his involvement with the *Liedertafel*, barely a year after he started, and passed the baton to Julius Otto.

### **The Verein für Chorgesang**

Not long after he had assumed leadership of the *Dresdner Liedertafel* and his return from Leipzig to attend Mendelssohn's funeral, Schumann began plans to form a society for mixed choral singing. First mentioned in the *Haushaltbücher* on 29 November 1847, Schumann originally hoped to call it the *Cäcilienverein*.<sup>181</sup> It soon was discovered, however, that a name change would be necessary because a society called *Cäcilia* under the direction of Otto Kate already existed in Dresden. Schumann was able to secure the

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<sup>180</sup> "Geehrter Herr Barteldes! Vielfache Arbeiten, die ich in der nächsten Zeit zu vollenden habe, mahnen mich daran, wie ich mir der Liedertafel als Liedermeister vorzustehen leider versagen muss. Wollen Sie so gefällig sein, dies dem Vorstande mitzuteilen und zu erklären, dass ich, wo die Gesellschaft meiner Beihilfe irgend einmal bedürfte, dazu mit Vergnügen bereit sein würde, so verbinden Sie mich dadurch zu Dank. Ihr sehr ergebener, R. Schumann". Hartwig, 19; Pembaur, III: 108.

<sup>181</sup> "Idee wegen Chorverein," 29 November 1847, *TB*, III: 445. The name *Cäcilienverein* appears a week later in the *Haushaltbücher*: "Caecilienproject," 8 December 1847, *Ibid.*, 446; "Liste d. Cäcilienverein," 12 December 1847, *Ibid.*, 447; "An Gottschalk für Notenschriebener: Caecilienvereinsgedanken—" 13 December 1847, *Ibid.*, 447; and "Oppenheim—Caecilienverein 95 Mitgl." 15 December 1847, *Ibid.*, 447. See also, Büttner. 8.

backing of a number of musical families in Dresden who were willing to join the new society.<sup>182</sup> The organization was officially founded in January 1848.

The newly-christened *Verein für Chorgesang*, which included some of the members from the *Liedertafel*, met for the first time in the garden hall of the *Harmonie* Society on 5 January 1848 with the founder at the podium and his wife at the piano as assistant conductor. After a short speech, where Robert Schumann declared his view that a singing society must first and foremost be founded on *Tonbildung*, the chorus sang as a warm-up choral a solfeggio based on a scale composed by Schumann. Before moving on to other choruses, he expressed his hope to foster new music, without excluding older, classical works.<sup>183</sup>

The *Verein*, which at its founding had 117 members, 57 active, participating members and the remainder, subscribing honorary members,<sup>184</sup> would regularly meet on Wednesday evenings for the next two and half years and have an important place in Schumann's musical life for the remainder of his stay in Dresden.<sup>185</sup> By October of 1848, membership would grow to 112 active participating members. It is at this time that

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<sup>182</sup> Litzmann, II:175-176 and Robert Schumann, "letter to Friedrich Whistling of 22 December 1847", Hermann Erler, *Robert Schumann's Leben aus seinen Briefen geschildert*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Ries and Erler, 1887), II: 39 - 40.

<sup>183</sup> Büttner. 8. The *Chornotizbuch* lists Solfeggien No. 1 -3; the next gathering was Solfeggien 1, 2, 4.

<sup>184</sup> "The chorus-club, too, is becoming a reality; the 5<sup>th</sup> of January is the first meeting. There are now a hundred and seventeen members; that is, fifty-seven active ones, and the rest passive." Letter to Hiller dated 1 January 1848 as quoted and translated in, Joseph Wilhelm Wasielewski. *Life of Robert Schumann, with Letters 1833-52*. Trans. by A.L. Alger, with introduction by Leon Plantiga (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1871. Detroit Reprints in Music: Information Coordinators, 1975), 254.

<sup>185</sup> By October 1848 there were 43 sopranos, 20 altos, 16 tenors, and 30 basses making up the ordinary (Ordentliche Mitglieder) members and 60 non-singing honorary (Ausserordentliche) members. Büttner, pp. 43 – 45. There are some discrepancies, however, with the *Chornotizbuch*, which lists 44 sopranos, 21 altos, 16 tenors, and 31 basses making up the ordinary members and 69 (70 are listed, but he skips number 30 in his count) non-singing members. *Chornotizbuch*, 3-9.

Schumann started to compile a *Chornotizbuch*, which he continued to keep during his time in Düsseldorf as well. His entries in the *Chornotizbuch* begin with the first rehearsal in Dresden, on 5 January 1848, and end with a concert directed by Schumann in Düsseldorf, on 16 October 1853. The last entry regarding his choral activity in Dresden, dates from 7 August 1850, which was the 144<sup>th</sup> meeting of the club. In the *Chornotizbuch*, he recorded the names of all the members of the society, the names of soloists, dates, works rehearsed, distinguishing between more informal gatherings/meeting (*Versammlung*) and the more formal rehearsals (*Hauptproben*) before performances. He also detailed the performances he conducted, as well as the dates and destinations of the society's social outings (*Spaziergang*; *Ausflug*) and singing trips (*Sängerfahrt*). The Dresden portion of the *Chornotizbuch* contains an entry for a *Spaziergang* to the Villa on 2 August 1848, where the group sang motets and Lieder by Mendelssohn as well as some Schumann Lieder and a purely social (no music documented) trip (*Ausflug*) to the Elysium on 17 October 1849. Three singing trips to Meißen, Pillnitz and Bad Kreischa will later be discussed in further detail.

Much of this information is also recounted in a *Festschrift* by Max Büttner in January 1898 in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Schumann's founding of his *Chorgesangverein*. Büttner, secretary of the Royal Institution for the Blind (Königl. Landesblindenanstalt), was at the time of writing Chairman of the organization, for which he sang bass. *Chornotizbuch* entries for the Dresden period are included, save some minor date and program discrepancies, in Büttner's *Festschrift*. Also included in the first fourteen pages of the *Festschrift* is an abridged version of the *Erinnerungen* written in 1898 by

Marie von Lindemann (1818-1903).<sup>186</sup> She sang in the *Chorgesangverein* as a contralto and was also a piano student and friend of Clara, and in fact, Clara would exchange letters with her for the rest of her life.<sup>187</sup> These recollections and Schumann's *Chornotizbuch*, however, are the only extant reliable sources and are, sadly, incomplete: more detailed records about the society's origins, such as archived files, letters, official membership lists, attendance reports, and treasury accounts from this period are lost.<sup>188</sup>

Schumann's tenure with the choir proved influential in his compositional output. It was during his time in Dresden that his interest in composing unaccompanied choral music is most prominent. The first fruits of his work with his own *Chorverein* included the twenty *Romances and Ballads* for mixed Chorus, written in the spring of 1849 and later

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<sup>186</sup> Von Lindemann, a writer, had been approached along with Emilie Steffens, another friend, *Chorgesangverein* member and talented piano student of Clara, by Friedrich Niecks, who was preparing a biography on Schumann, to write their recollections of the song club. The recollections give a more expanded, prose account, save some very minor discrepancies in date and program to be expected fifty years after the fact, to some key events. The biography simply titled *Robert Schumann* was edited by Niecks' wife Christine and published a year after the author's death in 1925. Excerpts of these *Erinnerungen* were also published in the *Monthly Musical Record* as "Supplementary and Corrective to Biography of Robert Schumann" from February 1921 – December 1923.

<sup>187</sup> Clara's letters to von Lindemann have been published in Renate Brunner, ed., *Alltag und Künstlertum: Clara Schumann und ihre Freundinnen Marie von Lindemann und Emilie Steffens. Erinnerungen und Briefe, nach den Quellen* (Sinzig: Studio, 2005).

<sup>188</sup> Büttner explains that his intention to present an extensive account of the history of the club was precluded by the death of one of the society's members in the 1880s, which meant a loss of most of the society's archives, "among them the only certified reports by Robert Schumann on the society's founding, valuable letters and other important writings by Schumann, all member lists, treasury reports, and all communications regarding the society's activity from its earliest days. Therefore we must for the most part rely on oral history. For that reason the present account can never claim to be comprehensive. However an effort has been made to give as extensive a history of our society as the flawed sources have allowed (...die einzigen beglaubigten Nachrichten über die durch Robert Schumann erfolgte Begründung des Vereins, ferner wertvolle Briefe und andere wichtige Niederschriften Schumanns, die sämtlichen Mitgliederverzeichnisse, Kassenberichte, sowie alle auf die Vereinsthätigkeit bezüglichen Mitteilungen von der frühesten Zeit des Bestehens an. Wir müssen uns deshalb jetzt zum größten Teile auf mündliche Überlieferungen stützen. Dieser Bericht kann deshalb keineswegs Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit erheben. Es ist jedoch versucht worden, die Geschichte unseres Vereins so ausführlich wiederzugeben, wie es die immerhin mangelhaften Quellen erlaubt haben.)" In addition to von Lindemann's account, Büttner had access to select primary materials through the generosity of Schumann's grandson Ferdinand. A request by the then President of the *Verein* to Clara for any manuscripts or personal memories was unfortunately sent too late and would remain unanswered, coming after yet another serious stroke and two weeks before her death. Büttner, 6-7.

included in four volumes of works for mixed choir, opp. 67, 75, 145, and 146. He also began a series of twelve *Romanzen* for women's voices, opp. 69 and 91, which were completed in May of that year. That year the club worked through his *Vier doppelchörige Gesänge*, op. 141 as well.

They also supported public and private performances of Schumann's choral works (some with solo voices), with orchestra and oratorios, including *Das Paradies und die Peri*, *Das Adventlied*, op. 71, *Requiem für Mignon*, op. 98b, and *Szenen aus Goethes Faust*. As Büttner points out, the early years of the *Verein* allowed for occasional orchestral collaborations, whereas in 1898, musical life in Dresden was a different animal and such a luxury would come at great expense—he comments on the increased cost of organizing concerts in general.<sup>189</sup> *Das Paradies und die Peri* was rehearsed in part for the first time in May 1848 and would be a regular fixture in the Wednesday rehearsals. It was performed by the *Verein* twice in January 1850 with the Orchestra of the *Königlichen Kapelle*; the first took place in the concert hall of the *Harmonie* on 3 January 1849. The second, a benefit for the poor, took place on 13 January also in the concert hall of the *Harmonie*. Soloists for the performances were Fräuleins Schwarzbach and Jakobi, Frau Dr. Böttcher, Herr Regisseur Schmidt and Herr Reichardt. According to von Lindemann these concerts were a great success. She writes how the club delighted in preparing for those concerts and how deeply moved they were the first time they rehearsed “Schlaf' nur und ruh' in Träumen voll Duft”. This memory took on an even more special meaning for her as the “supernatural” [überirdische] music would not long after be sung in memory of its composer and at the time of writing her memoir, had just been sung at the funeral casket of

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<sup>189</sup>Büttner, 22.

Clara as well. Her reviews of some of the soloists over the years are as follows: Fräulein Schwarzbach sang the *Peri* with a miraculously lovely voice; Fräulein Jacobi and later Frau Dawison, sang the Angel. Dawison, who had a “very sympathetic voice and sang with poetic attitude” studied music in Leipzig, and like Fräulein Schwarzbach, was a student of Frau Büнау née Grabau.<sup>190</sup> *Mignon* was given a preliminary runthrough with piano beginning 19 September 1849 and was again rehearsed in April and May of 1850, but was never publicly performed by the *Verein*. The *Schlußscenen from Faust* began preliminary rehearsals in February of 1848, and was performed in celebration of Goethe’s 100<sup>th</sup> birthday on 29 August 1849.

Interestingly, alongside these large choral works, two of Schumann’s more intimate, one-to-a part vocal ensembles from his op. 29 and *Zweistimmige Lieder mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, op. 43 (“Altdeutsches Lied”, likely “Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär” by an unknown poet, op. 43, no. 1 and “Ländliches Lied”, op. 29, no.1) were programmed as well, being heard on 30 April 1848, the second official performance, alongside selections from Beethoven’s *Missa solemnis* (“Kyrie”), and Bach’s *St. John Passion*. Schumann’s “Nord und Süd” (op. 59, no. 1) and three songs for mixed choir by Mendelssohn, “Morgengebet”, “Der erste Frühlingstag”, and “Abschied vom Walde” were also programmed that day, and Clara performed Beethoven’s *Piano Sonata* in F minor.<sup>191</sup>

In the first meetings and performances of the *Chorgesangverein*, the main repertoire consisted of works by Bach, Beethoven, Cherubini, Gade, Hauptmann, Mendelssohn,

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<sup>190</sup> “...hatte eine sehr sympathische Stimme und sang mit poetischer Auffassung.” Büttner, 11.

<sup>191</sup> *Chornotizbuch*, 17; Büttner, 16.

Schubert, Handel, and Palestrina as well as Schumann's own songs, which was summarized by von Lindemann follows:

We often witnessed Schumann's non-partisanship, his whole-hearted recognition of every talent, and also the great, warm enthusiasm he had for our classics—J. S. Bach, Handel, Haydn, Beethoven, Mozart, etc. Under his baton we studied the *St. John Passion* by J. S. Bach, *Jephtha* by Handel, a cappella choruses by Palestrina and others. We also studied Mendelssohn's *Athalia* and *Lobgesang* as well as Ferdinand Hiller's *Gesang der Geister über den Wassern*. That winter we sang for the first time from Schumann's own music: *Das Adventlied* by Rückert, *Requiem für Mignon*, "Ein Schifflin ziehet leise" [op. 146, no. 5]; and the *Zigeunerleben* [op. 29, no. 3]. We received some smaller, new compositions directly from Schumann's pen, the quartet "Schön Rotraut" [op. 67, no. 2] among them, whose beautiful melodies made us truly enthusiastic.<sup>192</sup>

Von Lindemann specifically mentions Mozart, but the *Chornotizbuch* does not list a single selection, either rehearsal or performance, by the master, which means at least while Schumann was at the helm, Mozart was not part of the picture. Lesser-known composers Clari (*De Profundis*) [Giovanni Carlo Mari Clari (1677 - 1754)], J. Boy (*Miserere für 2 Chöre*), A. Jürgeli from Zürich (*Gesang der blinden Sängerin*), Gallus [Handl, Jacob (1550 – 1591)?] (*Medio in vita für 2 Chöre*), and from Moritz Hauptmann (Lieder including "Über allen Gipfeln"), and Lieder by Ritter [Alexander Ritter (1833 – 1896)?] were also rehearsed. Schumann even rehearsed music by three of the club's members, tenors

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<sup>192</sup> "Schumanns stets bewiesene Unparteilichkeit, die freudige, herzliche Anerkennung jedes Talent, haben wir überhaupt oft erfahren, sowie die grosse warme Begeisterung, die er unsern Klassikern: J.S. Bach, Haydn, Beethoven, Mozart, etc. Wir studierten unter seiner Leitung die Johannes-Passion von J.S. Bach, Jephtha von Händel, Gesang a cappella von Palestrina und anderes. Auch Athalia von Mendelssohn und dessen Lobgesang führten wir auf; ferner von Ferdinand Hiller: Gesang der Geister über den Wassern. Von Schumanns eigener Musik sangen wir noch diesen Winter neu: Das Adventlied by Rückert, Requiem für Mignon, Ein Schifflin ziehet leise; auch das Zigeunerleben kam zur Aufführung. Kleinere, neue Kompositionen von Schumann erhielten wir zum singen direct aus seiner Feder, darunter das Quartett 'Schön Rotraut', dessen schöne Melodien uns wahrhaft enthusiastierten.", Büttner, 11-12.

Seifert<sup>193</sup> and Krug, and Naumann [Neumann], honoring the tradition of the *Liedertafel*, where amateur musicians contributed their own pieces.<sup>194</sup>

In addition to the 144 Wednesday evening rehearsals and two social outings (Spaziergang and Ausflug), there were twelve performances (formal performances [Aufführung] in Dresden and informal performances in neighboring cities [Sängerfahrts]), six of them in the first year alone. The first performance took place on 26 March 1848 in the hall of the *Coselschen Palais*, behind the Frauenkirche, and by 1898 had become a police building. The performance was for guests and subscribing “extraordinary” members (Aufführung vor Gästen und aufserordentlichen Mitgliedern). Programmed for the event was *Comala* [op. 12] by Niels Gade (accompanied by Clara), *Motette*, op. 69 [Walpurgisnacht] by Mendelssohn, *Fuge für Pianoforte* in A minor by Bach, Schumann’s “Hochlandsmädchen” [op. 55, no. 1], “Hochlandsbursch” [op. 55, no. 5] and “Mich zieht es nach dem Dörfchen hin” [op.55, no. 3], and “Fratres ego”, for double choir by Palestrina. Von Lindemann’s recollection of the first concert in terms of program is correct, but she gives the date as 11am on 30 April, which according to the *Chornotizbuch* was the date of the second performance (given at the same location, but with a different program).<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Seifert actually led the club in the Schumanns’ absence on the 10<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and 24<sup>th</sup> of January 1849. *Chornotizbuch*, 34- 35; Büttner, 18.

<sup>194</sup> Schumann lists Neumann in the *Chornotizbuch*, which is repeated by Büttner. Given it was a Sängerfuhr where music by Clara, Neumann, and member R. Seifert were included, I’m presuming it was likely meant to read Naumann. Nothing from a Neumann or Naumann is rehearsed or programmed again, and the Sängerfuhr was an appropriate, informal venue for such a “sharing” of members’ own music (in addition to the Lieder by Mendelssohn and Scumann himself sung that day). There are two Naumann entries in the *Chornotizbuch* register: J. Naumann and Emile Naumann, both basses. Emile did not join until May of 1848, but both would have been members by the July excursion. The answer, thanks to von Lindemann’s account, is likely Emile Naumann. Her recollection of things sung in the winter of 1849 included the oratorio *Der Tod Jesu* by Emil Naumann. The *Chornotizbuch* does not list this work specifically or highlight a piece by Naumann in the winter. Although von Lindemann’s account is often inaccurate in date, it does appear to be truthful. Büttner, 11.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-9.

According to von Lindemann, the first concert also included a performance by Clara on the piano of Mendelssohn's *Rondo capriccio* and some pieces from the *Album für die Jugend*, op. 68. Von Lindemann recalls the selections including: "Der fröhliche Landmann" [no. 10], "Knecht Ruprecht" [no. 12], "Reiterstück" [no. 23] "Mignon" [no. 35], "Weinlesezeit", [no. 33] and more.<sup>196</sup> Her memory, writing fifty years after the fact, appears to be a conflation of two other performances. The *Chornotizbuch* notes Clara's performance of the *Capriccio* at the third concert on 25 June and non-specified selections from the *Jugendalbum* having been performed by Clara at the Stiftungsfest on 7 February 1849.<sup>197</sup>

Schumann's work with the *Chorgesangverein* gave him great pleasure. Büttner includes a quote by the composer himself:

We often gather outside town, wander back under the light of the stars, and then Mendelssohn's Lieder and others [his own] sound in the still night, and all are so happy that one becomes happy oneself.<sup>198</sup>

He wrote to Hiller on 10 April 1849:

I get great pleasure from my *Chorverein* (60 – 70 members), where I can prepare, to my great delight, all the music I love. I have given up the male-voice choir [*Dresdner Liedertafel*], however. I found there to be too little real musical effort involved – and I did not feel like I fit in, although they were fine people. They are once again under the direction of MD. Otto.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Büttner, 16.

<sup>197</sup> *Chornotizbuch*, 22, 36; Büttner, 16, 18.

<sup>198</sup> "Wir kommen oft ausserhalb der Stadt zusammen, wandeln bei Sternenschein zurück und dann erklingen Mendelssohnsche und andere (seine eigenen) Lieder durch die stille Nacht und alle sind so fröhlich, daß man es mit werden muß." Büttner, 8.

<sup>199</sup> "Viel Freude macht mir mein Chorverein (60 – 70 Mitglieder), in dem ich mir alle Musik, die ich liebe, nach Lust und Gefallen zurecht machen kann. Den Männergesangverein hab' ich dagegen aufgegeben; ich fand doch da zu wenig eigentlich musikalisches Streben – und fühlte mich nicht hinpassend, so hübsche Leute es waren. MD. Otto hat sie wieder unter sich." Letter to Ferdinand Hiller of 10 April 1849, *Briefe Neue Folge*, 302. Also quoted in Wasielewski, 416.

According to von Lindemann, before going home he usually spent an hour with some of the gentlemen after singing practice.<sup>200</sup> Despite the early success of the choral society, Schumann's father-in-law, Friedrich Wieck continued his hostility toward his son-in-law and forbade his youngest daughter Marie (step-sister to Clara) and his pupil Minna Schulz to attend rehearsals of the *Chorgesangverein*, although Schumann includes both of them in his register of soprano members.<sup>201</sup>

Clara was at her husband's side for each of these meetings. She took her role as accompanist seriously and took the opportunity to have the group perform a new work of hers, *Drei gemischte Chöre nach Gedichten von Emanuel Geibel* as a present for Robert's birthday on 8 June 1848.<sup>202</sup> She was able to rehearse the three songs — “Abendfeier in Venedig” (no. 1), “Vorwärts” (no. 2), and “Gondolier” (no. 3) — with a few of the members without him finding out and had them performed as a serenade the morning of his birthday. These pieces must have been especially dear to Schumann, for he later had the full chorus sing them on 16 July on an excursion [“*Sangfahrt*”] with the *Verein*.<sup>203</sup> He rehearsed them twice more in August (on the 9<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>) and then had the choir perform them in an evening serenade as a gift to his wife on her twenty-ninth birthday on 13 September, where the chair, Dr. Krug, presented his song and Frau Kölz recited a

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<sup>200</sup> Von Lindemann mentions a time he did not stay with the gents and walked home with Clara and some of the other ladies. She started a conversation with Schumann about transposition, giving her opinion that Lieder should remain in the original key because the character of the musical work would change if transposed. He agreed with her and the following day sent her his then unpublished Lied for alto “O du mein Schirm, mein Schild” from the *Spanisches Liederspiel*, [actually, no. 6 from the *Minnespiel*, op. 101 on a text from Rückert], with a handwritten title and a small dedication]. Büttner, 13.

<sup>201</sup> Litzmann, as translated by Hadow, I: 381.

<sup>202</sup> Throughout their marriage, Clara presented her husband with a new composition each year as a birthday present. The *Drei gemischte Chöre nach Gedichten von Emanuel Geibel* were not published until 1989, when they were edited by Gerd Nauhaus and published by Breitkopf & Härtel.

<sup>203</sup> Perhaps Emil Naumann; see footnote 194 for my reasoning. *Chornotizbuch*, 24; Büttner, 17.

declamation. In addition, Schumann's *Ritornelle für Männerstimmen*, op. 65 and the chorus from Handel's *Jephtha* were sung. Clara also played three piano pieces that evening: Robert's *Romanze*, Mendelssohn's *Lied ohne Worte*, and the last movement of Beethoven's *Sonata* in D minor.<sup>204</sup> According to von Lindemann's recollection, Krug's piece was a cantata, setting poetry by his wife, who wrote under her maiden name, Charlotte Schnorr von Carolsfeld.<sup>205</sup> The declamation of the prologue was "artfully recited" by Fräulein Fanny Kölz, a court actress. The ladies of the society also stitched and presented a rug to Clara. The evening ended in dance.<sup>206</sup> It appears that Clara was very dear to the members of the *Verein*; von Lindemann said that bouquets of fresh flowers were often left on the grand piano for her.<sup>207</sup> In addition to the *Verein* performances where she was featured, the society provided a venue for Clara to practice. Von Lindemann writes that she and another fellow student Emilie Steffens stayed after meetings in order to watch her play (they also were her escorts home, since the gentlemen regularly continued their evening at the pub afterwards): "how often in our presence she played something for us or studied something else, on which occasion we witnessed the intensity and thoroughness with which she practised even the smallest of things."<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> *Chornotizbuch*, 25-26, 28; Büttner, 17.

<sup>205</sup> The name is famous: Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1836-1865) was the first Tristan.

<sup>206</sup> Büttner, 10-11.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>208</sup> "Wie oft hat sie uns da noch manches vorgespielt oder auch in unserem Beisein studiert, wobei wir mit Staunen sahen, mit welchem Ernste und mit welcher Gewissenhaftigkeit sie selbst die kleinsten Sachen übte." *Ibid.*

In addition to Clara's chorus above, Lieder by Mendelssohn, Neumann, R. Seifert and Schumann himself were sung at that first outing on 16 July.<sup>209</sup> While the *Chornotizbuch* provides the program, von Lindemann gives much more detail of the day-trip, noting this excursion, their first, was to Meißen. They all traveled there by steamboat. Their guest was a recent graduate of the Leipzig Conservatory and future Dresden opera fixture, Fräulein Schwarzbach. They climbed the many stairs up to the Cathedral Square and sang in a wine bar where they enjoyed a magnificent view of the Elbe valley. She noted that the Lieder "sounded fresh and cheerful through the pure morning air".<sup>210</sup> They obtained permission to sing at the ornate cathedral, where their "serious chorale rang solemnly in the tall pillared space."<sup>211</sup> They wandered to the Triebischthal and had lunch, "singing joyously there as well...even a thunderstorm did not disturb our merriment." They ended their excursion satisfied and traveled by train back to Dresden that evening.<sup>212</sup>

A second excursion followed the next month on 20 August —this time to Pilnitz. There they serenaded King Friedrich August with *Motette* by Mendelssohn and Lieder by Gade and Schumann.<sup>213</sup> According to von Lindemann, His Majesty graciously thanked them and the lunch that followed later in the afternoon was "spiced with song".<sup>214</sup> The evening's travel plans were changed due to inclement weather. Prince Albert had offered

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<sup>209</sup> *Chornotizbuch* , 24; Büttner, 17.

<sup>210</sup> "Die Lieder klangen hier frisch und froh in die reine Morgenluft hinaus." Büttner, 10.

<sup>211</sup> "Ein ernster Choral erklang feierlich in diesen hohen Säulenhallen." Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> "Auch hier erfreute uns Gesang. Selbst ein Gewitterregen störte nicht der Fröhlichkeit, und wir gelangten mit der Bahn abends befriedigt nach dem lieben Dresden zurück." Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> *Chornotizbuch* , 26; Büttner, 17.

<sup>214</sup> "Majestät dankte in huldvollen Worten. Auch hier hatten wir ein heiteres, durch Gesang gewürztes Mittagsmahl und sollten gegen Abend das Vergnügen haben, in den Gondeln der Königl. Prinzen nach Hause zu fahren." Büttner, 10.

Dr. Krug, the First Chair, use of his gondolas, but the imminent thunderstorm forced them to seek alternate travel back to Dresden.

Choral conducting continued to be important and beneficial to Schumann. Leading the group provided a remedy for his ailments and personal demons, and he healed himself with Palestrina and Bach.<sup>215</sup> Unfortunately, this musical therapy did not prove enough in the long run. It has been remarked that Clara, at the piano at rehearsals, marked the entrances more sharply with her head than he with the baton. Von Lindemann gives a more positive description of his conducting, but even so, it is clear that Clara was the one keeping the group together:

It has been disputed that Schumann had a gift for conducting; nevertheless his influence as the *Chorgesangverein*'s leader was inspiring. He didn't have a commanding stare or voice; he lacked what would result in immediate obedience. His voice was mellow, a pleasant tenor; his movements calm; but his entire being showed the nobility of high artistry and it was marked with genius. Without being aware of this he raised the whole gathering to a higher level of understanding. Everyone felt that this was a serious artistic effort and that one had to use one's best strengths to serve the whole. Schumann was a *Volksfreund* in the best sense of the word, and still his nature, his outward appearance, had something innately noble and aristocratic that under his direction a noble interpretation and educated sound resulted. If one also considers what influence the excellent artist Frau Clara Schumann had on us all, when she accompanied our singing and brought us closer to comprehend the music by means of her wonderfully inspired playing, one will be able to imagine how all forces were elevated by this double direction... In spite of all this spiritual influence I will not forget about precise rehearsal. Schumann often made us repeat passages five or six times to achieve a more solid entrance or finer nuances. I remember very well how precisely we studied the solo quartets in *Das Paradies und die Peri*—"Peri ist's wahr" and "Denn in der Thrän."<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Schauffler., 221.

<sup>216</sup> "Es ist bestritten worden, daß R. Schumann die Gabe des Dirigierens gehabt habe; dennoch war sein Einfluß als Leiter des Chorgesangvereins in hohem Grade begeisternd. Wohl hatte er weder einen Herrscherblick noch eine Herrscherstimme, nicht das zum augenblicklichen Gehorsam Zwingende. Seine Stimme war weich, ein wohlklingender Tenor, seine Bewegungen ruhig; aber sein ganzes Wesen zeigte den Adel einer hohen Künstlerschaft und trug den Stempel des Genies. Ohne sich dessen bewußt zu sein, hob er dadurch die ganze Versammlung auf eine höhere Stufe des Verständnisses. Jeder fühlte, daß es sich hier um ein ernstes Kunststreben handle, und daß er dabei seine besten Kräfte einsetzen müsse, um dem Ganzen zu

Progressively he took less interest in his colleagues and his family, and grew more sensitive, irritable, and silent. His unfitness as teacher and conductor grew. This of course is a familiar description, as it is what the students felt about his teaching at the Leipzig Conservatory, not to mention Livia Frege's gentle criticism in a letter to Clara of Schumann's first time conducting the orchestra in Leipzig for the premiere of *Das Paradies und die Peri*, where she wished he were more involved in the process: "if only your dear husband could resolve to scold a bit..."<sup>217</sup> And despite von Lindemann's enthusiastic recollection of Schumann's behavior on the podium quoted above, it was no secret that he had difficulties keeping the group together, likely a factor in the declining attendance of the male members. This all foreshadows the difficulties Schumann would face with his new post in Düsseldorf.<sup>218</sup>

Even early on, the members were separated into gender-specific groups to rehearse and perform specific works. His *Drei Gesänge*, op. 62 and "Nord und Süd" were rehearsed beginning 28 March 1848. Schubert's *Ständchen für Altsolo mit Frauenchor* was rehearsed

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dienen. Schumann war im besten Sinne des Wortes Volksfreund, und dabei hatte doch sein Wesen, sowie seine äußere Erscheinung, etwas so angeboren Edles und Vornehmes, daß eine edle Auffassung, ein gebildeter Ton sich unter seiner Leitung von selbst ergab. Bedenkt man nun noch, welchen Einfluß die treffliche Künstlerin, Frau Clara Schumann, auf uns alle ausübte, indem sie unsern Gesang begleitete und uns das Verständnis der Musik durch ihr wunderbar durchgeistigtes Spiel näher brachte, so wird man sich vorstellen können, wie unter dieser Doppelleitung alle vorhandenen Kräfte gehoben wurden. Wer Clara Schumann einmal spielen gehört hat, der weiß, daß sich dabei die von ihr empfundene Musik in ihren herrlichen Augen widerspiegelte, und wir sahen diese Augen verständnisvoll auf ihren Gatten gerichtet— mußte da nicht auch in uns eine begeisterte Hingebung für die schöne Kunst erwachen? Ich bin überzeugt, daß nicht allein ich, sondern die meisten Mitglieder unseres Vereins so gefühlt haben. Bei alle diesem geistigen Einflusse wurde doch auch das eigentlich strenge Üben nicht vergessen. Schumann ließ uns Stellen oft fünf- bis sechsmal wiederholen, um einen festeren Einsatz oder eine feinere Nüancierung zu erzielen. Es ist mir noch sehr erinnerlich, wie genau wir die Solo-Quartette in der Peri — 'Peri ist's wahr', und 'Denn in der Thrän' ist Zaubermacht'—studierten." Büttner, 9-10.

<sup>217</sup> Livia Frege sang the title role of Peri. Reich, *Clara Schumann: the Artist and the Woman*, 114. Also quoted in Litzmann, as translated by Hadow, I: 352.

<sup>218</sup> To be discussed in Chapter V.

on 12 April 1848.<sup>219</sup> On 10 May he rehearsed parts of his *Faust* with only the women. As mentioned earlier, Clara's birthday celebration included the op. 65 for male voices. Attendance by the male members dwindled, perhaps a combination of their unhappiness with Schumann's conducting, the volatile and revolutionary politics of the period, as well as the popularity of the other five all male *Liedertafeln* in Dresden. In fact, the 139<sup>th</sup> meeting on 10 April 1850 was cancelled because there were not enough men present.<sup>220</sup> That same day, his entry in the *Haushaltbuch* describes his frustration at finding such poor attendance: "Society in evening —gave them a piece of my mind (Strafpredigt)."<sup>221</sup> As highlighted in the previous chapter, there is a connection between Schumann's compositions for female voices and his activities as *Chorleiter* in Dresden. Although he did not work with a separate *Frauenchor*, he did have a strong female membership within his club. Beginning 27 December 1848 he regularly rehearsed Schubert's *Psalm für Frauenstimmen* and soon added Mendelssohn's *Motette für Frauen* to the repertoire. More importantly he took this opportunity to write for female choir; his *Chorgesangverein* first rehearsed the *Frauenromanzen*, opp. 69 and 91 on 1 April 1849,<sup>222</sup> soon after they had been completed.

The Schumanns' lives were disrupted on 3 May of that year by dramatic political events. Fighting broke out in Dresden after the King of Saxony dissolved the Landtag. After an attempt to draft Schumann into the fight, he, Clara, and their eldest daughter

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<sup>219</sup> Schumann lists it as op. 126, which is the Ballade, "Ein Fraulein schaut vom hohen Turm", D 134. The actual number is D 921, op. 135. *Chornotizbuch*, 17; Büttner, 15.

<sup>220</sup> "Wegen fehlender Herren aufgehoben", *Chornotizbuch*, 59; Büttner, 21.

<sup>221</sup> *TB*, III: 524.

<sup>222</sup> This rehearsal was without piano accompaniment, as Schumann did not complete the piano accompaniment until May.

Marie, fled Dresden through the back gate of their home.<sup>223</sup> They left the younger children, Elise, Julie, and Ludwig with their maid. They escaped by train to Maxen. Four days later, at 3 o'clock in the morning Clara, seven months pregnant,<sup>224</sup> returned to Dresden partially by foot to bring back the rest of the children, while Robert remained with Marie in Maxen. Clara returned with the children by 11 am that morning. Dresden was recaptured by the Royalists on 9 May, and the next day Schumann and Clara traveled back to Dresden to collect their belongings. Uncomfortable with the anti-republicanism of those camped in Maxen, they decided to relocate to the spa town of Bad Kreischa, where they lived for another month.<sup>225</sup>

While residing in Bad Kreischa, Schumann closely followed the news of the Revolution, took long hikes with his children and continued to compose. During this month of exile, he completed a number of new works, among which were the *Fünf Gesänge* for male chorus, op.137. He also added piano accompaniments to the *Romanzen* (opp. 69 and 91). It is astonishing how prolific he was during such tumultuous times. He produced forty works, many under the category of *Hausmusik* in the year of 1849, which has been called Schumann's most fruitful year. The *Chornotizbuch* and von Lindemann's recollection both give accounts of devoted members of the *Chorverein* traveling to visit Bad Kreischa that June for their 83<sup>rd</sup> – 85<sup>th</sup> meetings (7<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, and 20<sup>th</sup> June). A

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<sup>223</sup> This is not the first time that Schumann "escaped" official service. In 1841 he was called to serve in Leipzig's Communal Guard, which on 1 February he petitioned for a release from service due to a lame right hand and a severe case of nearsightedness. After a year of negotiation, his request was approved. Daverio, *Robert Schumann, Herald of a "New Poetic Age"*, 229. Daverio cites in footnote 39 on p. 538, Hans-Joachim Rothe. "Neue Dokumente zur Schumann-Forschung aus dem Leipziger Stadt-Archiv.", *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Leipzig 1966* (Kassel: Bärenreister, 1970), 318 – 320.

<sup>224</sup> Their son Ferdinand was born 16 July.

<sup>225</sup> Daverio, John. "Einheit – Freiheit – Vaterland", in *Music & German National Identity*, ed by Celia Applegate & Pamela Potter (University of Chicago Press, 2002), 60.

“Sängerfahrt” performance in Kreischa followed on 24 June. Programmed for the performance were *Motette* by Mendelssohn and *Lieder* by Mendelssohn, Gade and Schumann, as well as a birthday song (*Geburtsagsgesang*) by Dr. Krug.<sup>226</sup>

On the Schumanns’ return to Dresden, rehearsals for the *Chorverein* resumed in the hall of the *Kaufmännischen Vereins* (their former venue in the *Harmonie* had been destroyed in the uprising), beginning with excerpts from his *Scenen aus Goethe’s Faust*, which was to be performed on the occasion of Goethe’s 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Von Lindemann credits the rehearsing of this music for allowing everyone to forget about “the dreary outside world.” *Faust* was performed on 28 August 1849 in the hall of the palace in the *Royal Großer Garten*. Schumann noted the soloists as Fräulein Schwarzbach, Fräulein Jakobi, Fräulein von Lindemann, Frau Dr. Büttcher, Frau Schulz, Herr Wixelsdorfer, Herr Mitterwurzer, und Herr Reichard.<sup>227</sup> Von Lindemann thought the music was wonderful, but “the great work was understood by few; it has found a wider reception only in recent times [almost fifty years later].”<sup>228</sup>

Throughout his residency in Dresden, Schumann tried in vain to secure a salaried post. He had hoped his growing success as a composer and direction of the *Liedertafel* would open the door to other, better paid positions. In 1847 he wrote to Gustav Nottebohm to ask about a vacancy for director of the Vienna Conservatory.<sup>229</sup> The Royal Saxon Opera declined to première his first and only opera *Genoveva*, which was later premiered in

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<sup>226</sup> *Chornotizbuch*, 41-42; Büttner, 19.

<sup>227</sup> *Chornotizbuch*, 47; Büttner, 19.

<sup>228</sup> “Verstanden wurde das große Werk damals wohl nur von wenigen, erst die Neuzeit hat es dem Verständnis der Mitwelt näher gebracht.” Büttner, 12.

<sup>229</sup> Joan Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit, A Study of her Life and Work* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1983), 107.

Leipzig. His work with his beloved *Chorverein*, although more artistically satisfying than his position as *Liedmeister* of the *Dresden Liedertafel*, was not a salaried post, and upon his return from Bad Kreischa, he renewed his quest to obtain a salaried position. In July of 1849 he wrote to Härtel in Leipzig to inquire about the recently vacated directorship of the *Gewandhaus* concerts and also allowed members of the *Chorverein* to inquire on his behalf into Wagner's vacated post at the court theatre.

In mid-November 1849 he received a letter from Hiller, who had just accepted a post in Cologne, inviting him to replace him as municipal music director in Düsseldorf. Schumann replied on 19 November to request more information about the details of the position and informed Hiller that should he accept he would not be able to assume the post before the Leipzig première of *Genoveva*. When he and Clara went to Leipzig in February 1850, they were disappointed to learn that Meyerbeer's *Le prophète* was programmed instead, although Schumann did receive positive response to the *Concertstück* for four horns and the *Genoveva* overture that were performed.<sup>230</sup> Clara and Robert then continued their travels and gave concerts in Bremen, Altona, and, with soprano Jenny Lind, in Hamburg. Following a brief visit to Clara's relatives in Berlin, they finally returned to Dresden, and on 31 March, Schumann officially accepted the Düsseldorf position.

The meetings of the *Chorverein* continued under their leader's direction until 7 August 1850, noted in the *Chornotizbuch* as the last rehearsal together. They rehearsed the *Psalm für Frauenstimme* by Schubert, a motet by Mendelssohn and some Lieder by Schumann. A farewell party was given by the *Verein*, which was also attended by Professors Eduard Bendemann and Rudolf Hübner and their wives. According to von

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<sup>230</sup> *Genoveva* would finally receive its premiere six months later in June 1850. Some of the ladies from the *Chorverein* traveled to Leipzig to attend the premiere, including Marie von Lindemann. Büttner, 12.

Lindemann, the night was bitter-sweet and “with sadness we sang Schumann’s Lied ‘Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath’ [*Beim Abschied zu singen*, op. 84]”<sup>231</sup>— the same farewell piece composed for and performed in Zwickau at the festival in his honor three years earlier.

Even with his work with the *Gesangverein* in Düsseldorf, his output of choral music never compared to that during his residency in Dresden. Schumann’s output of a cappella choral music all but came to an end with his move to Düsseldorf in 1850, aside from some remaining romances and ballads that would be included in op. 145, which as mentioned earlier were begun in Dresden in 1849. He did, however, compose an astonishing ten works for chorus and orchestra, since as municipal music director, he was in charge of the *Gesangverein* and the orchestra of the *Allgemeiner Musikverein*. In addition to continuing the *Faust* and *Neujahrslied*, these large works include: *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* for solo voices, chorus and orchestra, op. 112 (1851; published 1852); *Der Königsson* for solo voices, chorus and orchestra, op. 116 (1851; published 1853); *Festival Overture on the ‘RheinweinLied’* for orchestra with chorus, op. 123 (1853, published 1857); *Des Sängers Fluch* for solo voices, horns and orchestra, op. 139 (1852, published 1858); *Vom Pagen und der Königstochter* for solo voices, chorus, and orchestra, op. 140 (1852, published 1858); *Das Glück von Edenhall* for solo voices, chorus, and orchestra, op. 143 (1853, published 1860); *Mass for chorus and orchestra*, op. 147 (1852, published piano reduction in 1862 and score in 1863); and *Requiem* for chorus and orchestra, op. 148 (1852, and published 1864).

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<sup>231</sup> “Mit Wehmut sangen wir das Lied: Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rat, nach einer Schumannschen Komposition”. Büttner, 12.

#### *Chapter IV: The Music*

In the world of concerts and musical life Robert Schumann is primarily known as a composer of piano music, Lieder, and symphonies. The years 1840-1851 were a great period of vocal music for Schumann, which included songs, large-scale choral works, and partsongs. The fact that, especially during his later years, he regarded the composition of choral music as at least one of the principal elements of his creative work is largely overlooked, although the composer himself often emphasized how important this genre was to him: “To develop one’s own melodic sense one should write a great deal for voice, for unaccompanied choir”, he wrote in a letter to Carl Reinecke (1824 –1910) in January 1846.<sup>232</sup> He practiced what he preached, as Schumann turned to a cappella choral music and would continue to visit it for the next seven years.

In addition to some 250 songs, Schumann composed over seventy partsongs, including works for men’s voices, women’s voices, and mixed voices. In addition to the fourteen opus numbers of partsongs, there are works without opus numbers that Schumann published or prepared for publishing and fragments later found in the Schumann estate that were either fragments, lost or never intended for publication.<sup>233</sup> These works are catalogued as *Allgemeiner Anhang* (General Appendix), given the designation Anh + a number and are scheduled to be included in the *New Schumann Edition’s* (*Schumann Neue Ausgabe*) fifth series, *Chorwerke*, which as mentioned in the introduction are to be divided

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<sup>232</sup> “Zur Ausbildung eigenen melodischen Sinnes bleibt immer das Beste, viel für Gesang, für selbständigen Chor zu schreiben, überhaupt so viel wie möglich innerlich zu erfinden und zu bilden” (22 January 1846). *Briefe, Neue Folge*, 228.

<sup>233</sup> There is some ambiguity with the designation WoO in the case of Schumann. Hofmann and Keil’s list of WoO, noted as WoO H/K, was intended to be chronological, but because the dates are not individually documented and the specific source of information is undocumented, McCorkle’s numbering differs.

into three different volumes of *Werkgruppe*: 1. *Werke für Männerchor*; 2. *Werke für Frauenchor*; and 3. *Werke für gemischten Chor*. The second volume (works for Frauenchor) edited with a foreword by Irmgard Knechtges-Obrecht has been published, but the first (male chorus) and third (mixed chorus) to date are still forthcoming. The *Anhänge* will be published in the collection, which I will individually comment on later in the chapter. I am dependent on the incipits included in McCorkle's catalogue, as unfortunately I was unable to view any of the existing manuscripts during my visits to the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau or the Robert-Schumann-Forschungsstelle in Düsseldorf .

The majority of his partsongs fall within the nineteenth-century tradition: brief, simple, and chordal, with the main tune confined to the top voice. Schumann's choice of texts represents a rather comprehensive anthology of German romantic verse, which covers a broad range of themes. The partsongs include twelve texts from Rückert, nine from Burns, six each from Eichendorff and Uhland, five from Laube, four each from Goethe and Mörike, two each from Heine, Kerner, J. Mosen, Reinick, and Zedlitz, and one for Herder and Klopstock — many of whom he turned to for his solo songs also. The remaining partsongs were settings of texts by lesser poets<sup>234</sup> or from the collection of German folk poems titled *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.<sup>235</sup> Schumann chose texts that deal with love in all its complexity. Likewise, he set poems that addressed madness, patriotism, wandering,

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<sup>234</sup> Nikolaus Becker, Adelbert von Chamisso, Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Josef Fürst, Karl Gottlieb Lappe, Count August von Platen, and Titus Ulrich.

<sup>235</sup> This collection of German folk poems was edited by Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano and published in Heidelberg between 1805 and 1808. It became very popular across the German-speaking lands and served as an important source of folklore throughout the nineteenth century.

isolation, and death. Drinking songs, dance songs, and folksongs appear side by side with lullabies, dreams, and joyous celebrations.

In terms of form, Schumann favored strophic, modified strophic and tripartite (ABA) forms. His approach to form in these partsongs is a rather straightforward response to the relatively simple verse form that characterized the majority of his chosen texts. Sometimes the opening strophe or strophes are harmonically open, leaving closure for the final moments of the song. It is also interesting to note that Schumann generally ends a set with a much longer work that is very often more highly stylized and demanding, perhaps saving the best for last.

While some of the partsongs are accompanied by piano or even winds, most of them are intended to be sung a cappella. A provided accompaniment is often noted as *ad libitum*, and if it isn't, it generally does no more than reinforce the voices — this music was written for amateurs, after all. Counterpoint is not common, although occasionally a solo voice will sing in imitation of the chorus.

As discussed in the introduction, while one can find some discussion of the larger choral and dramatic works, the partsongs continue to be overlooked in the vast Schumann literature. In the following survey, I will divide the partsongs by voice-type, beginning with mixed chorus, followed by those for female chorus, and concluding with those for male chorus. They will then be discussed in order of opus number unless they fall within a particular grouping or theme-type.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Although written for a cappella male voices, I have decided not to examine *Verzweifle nicht im schmerzenstal*, Op. 93 on a text by Rückert. I believe it falls outside of the category of partsong for two reasons. First, it is a massive work for double male chorus and optional organ, which Schumann later orchestrated. Secondly, because of the religious text it is better categorized as a motet. It has been published in the third volume of the fourth series of the *New Schumann Edition (Geistliche Werke)*.

## I. Music for Mixed voices

In the partsongs there are subtle musical distinctions between those written for men's voices (*Liedertafel*) and those for women's (*Frauenchor*) and mixed voices (*Gesangverein*). When writing for mixed voices, Schumann's partsongs are generally more simply designed and homophonic than those for male voices. Women were of course less educated and as a result were considered to need simpler music. That said, his particular group of women must have been fine musicians, as some of the pieces are actually quite sophisticated.

### *Drei Gedichte für mehrstimmigen Gesang mit Begleitung des Pianoforte, op. 29*

Schumann composed *Drei Gedichte von Emanuel Geibel für mehrstimmigen Gesang mit Begleitung des Pianoforte* in July - October 1840, in the period often referred to as his year of song; they were published the following year by Breitkopf & Härtel. The poet Emanuel Geibel was very popular in his day. Composers of Schumann's generation and beyond, including Wolf, were inspired to set a number of Geibel's poems, which Geibel first published alone (*Volkslieder und Romanzen der Spanier, im Versmasse des Originals verdeutscht*, 1843) and later with Paul Heyse (*Spanisches Liederbuch*, 1852). Schumann's opus 29 increases the number of voices in each piece: the first, "Ländliches Lied", is a lively duet for soprano and alto; the second, "In meinem Garten die Nelken" is a sad, lyrical trio for Soprano, Alto and Tenor; and the third movement, —the lively, dance-like "Zigeunerleben"—is for SATB and optional tambourine and triangle accompaniment. There is no written out part for the tambourine and triangle, suggesting that the singers

were meant to improvise the parts. The first two of the three vocal chamber pieces with their limited voices do not qualify as mixed partsongs, but “Zigeunerleben” with its SATB breakdown, falls more closely within the categorization of partsong. Clara writes in her entry for 7 October 1840 of *The Marriage Diary* that “Robert is composing very industriously. Today he composed a ‘Gypsy Chorus’ that had a uniquely magical effect on me when I heard it —how beautiful that must sound well sung!”<sup>237</sup> She would have the opportunity to hear it sung two and half months later: on 28 December, Therese Fleischer and her daughters Fräulein Schloss, Emma Meyer, and Frau Schmidt visited Clara. Herr Schmidt arrived later in the evening and they all gathered around the piano to sing various duets, terzets, and the “gypsy chorus by Robert, which I was extraordinarily pleased to hear once.”<sup>238</sup>

**Zigeunerleben, op. 29, no. 3  
(Gypsy Life)**

Text: Emanuel Geibel (1815-1884)

For small SATB choir (für kleinen Chor), piano, and ad lib triangle and tambourine  
Belebt, 4/4, E minor, 98 measures

Describing a night in the forest where the exotic gypsies  
“with their flashing eyes and glowing hair” gather and dance  
to the enticing sounds of guitars and cymbals. The  
celebration comes to an end and dreams bring memories of  
their homeland only to awake to a new day, where the harsh  
reality of their nomadic life is clear as day.

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<sup>237</sup> Clara Schumann, *The Marriage Diaries*, 7 October 1840.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 December 1840.

Schumann uses characteristic dance-like rhythms to suggest the exotic gypsies in a safe, accessible manner for Western ears: dotted rhythms along with dactylic (long-short-short) patterns. The ad lib tambourine and triangle, although not written out and meant to be improvised, also adds gypsy flavor. The piano part is independent and essential to the movement. In measure 23, there is a nod to Weber, with a quote from *Der Freischütz*, “Und Sagen und Lieder.” The energetic drive of this piece makes this romanticized view of Gypsy life irresistibly appealing. Rhythmic independence begins with the pick-up to measure 19 where the voices enter imitatively, but it is short lived. In measure 46, the soprano solo enters followed by the alto in measure 50, the tenor in measure 55, and finally the bass in measure 58. Two sopranos then sing a duet in measure 60 followed by the tenors in measure 63. Schumann ends the section with a soprano solo four measures, repeated by the tutti chorus and followed by a return to the opening material. The close repeats the final question “The gypsies depart - who knows where they are going? (Fort ziehn die Gestalten. —Wer sagt dir wohin?)”

The “Zigeunerleben” was the most successful of the three pieces and became one of Schumann’s most popular pieces. It was later arranged for women’s chorus by Ferdinand Hummel and for male chorus and piano duet by Johann Herbeck, as well as several orchestrations including those by Niels Wilhelm Gade and Carl Reinecke.

**Der deutsche Rhein, WoO5 ; H/KWoO1  
(The German Rhein)**

Text: Nikolaus Becker (1809-1845), *Rheinlied*  
SATB, with solo voice and piano  
Mit Begeisterung, 4/4 time, C major, 74 measures

The poet swears to defend the Rhine. As long as it exists, it shall be the German Rhine.

Also composed in 1840, the *Rheinlied* “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben (They shall not have it)” was composed in late October and published in Leipzig by R. Friese within weeks. The German-French conflict over the Rhine was nothing new. Their common border made the Rhine a source of contention for hundreds of years and had shifted many times. The conflict came to a head in the Rhine in July of 1840: French Prime Minister Adolph Thiers voiced demands that France should own the left bank of the Rhine (described as France's "natural boundary"), as France had done decades earlier during Napoleon's reign. Although France never declared war, many Germans found themselves inspired to write about this powerful symbol of German identity; a flood of “Rheinlieder” resulted in 1840, was launched by Becker's “Der deutsche Rhein.”<sup>239</sup> The text was set by nearly two hundred composers, including Conradin Kreutzer, Heinrich Marschner, and Carl Löwe.<sup>240</sup> Schumann's folkish and accessible setting was a hit and within a month was in its fifth printing.<sup>241</sup> Thrilled by this success, Schumann rearranged the patriotic Lied for male

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<sup>239</sup> Becker, Nikolaus.” *Encyclopedia Americana*. (Danbury, CT: Grolier, Inc., 1920). Cecelia Hopkins Porter gives an excellent history of the period and takes an in-depth look of the phenomena of Becker's “Rheinlieder” in her article “The ‘Rheinlieder’ Critics: A Case of Musical Nationalism.” Cecelia Hopkins Porter, “The ‘Rheinlieder’ Critics: A Case of Musical Nationalism,” *The Musical Quarterly* 63/1 (January, 1977): 74 – 98.

<sup>240</sup> Daverio, *Robert Schumann, Herald of a “New Poetic Age”*, 200.

<sup>241</sup> “The ‘Rheinlied’ by Robert is selling very well at Friese's, which makes me very happy...The ‘Rheinlied’ has now seen its fifth printing.” Clara Schumann, *The Marriage Diaries*, Twelfth Week, 17 November 1840 and 2 December 1840.

chorus and also for mixed chorus and orchestra, neither of which survives today.<sup>242</sup> The mixed voices version was entered in a “Rheinlied contest” in December of 1840, but the prize went to Gustave Kunze.<sup>243</sup> This did not seem to upset Schumann, for he still was making plenty of money from it, and he knew that the public loved it.<sup>244</sup> Dotted rhythms, a syllabic setting, as well as *forte*, *fortissimo*, and *sforzando* markings provide for a simple, but powerful anthem to unite in the sentiment “They shall not have the free German Rhein!”<sup>245</sup>

### **Fünf Lieder, op. 55 and Vier Gesänge, op. 59**

These two collections date from 1846. In both opus numbers one finds a contrast between pieces of a simple, popular style and a more challenging and expressive style. The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 10 May 1848 reviewed them together and commented:

In these unaccompanied songs, Schumann’s melodic talent takes on a greater clarity than in some of his other vocal works, which are draped in instrumental figures and leave us guessing at their melodic ideas, rather than enjoying them in clear and vivid perfection. How simply Burns’ passionate words are treated! His harmony reflects a keen understanding of the Scottish national character. The vocal writing is organic. The second collection (op. 59) is a fine selection of lyrical poems including Lappe’s well-known *Nord oder Süd*, which leans towards didactic analysis and as a result introduces elements more characteristic of the motet than of the song.

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<sup>242</sup> The setting for orchestra and chorus was for the Rheinlieder Contest on Sunday, 6 December at the Schützenhaus. Clara Schumann, *The Marriage Diaries*, Twelfth Week, 2 December 1840.

<sup>243</sup> Robert Schumann, *The Marriage Diaries*, Thirteenth Week, 6 - 13 December 1840.

<sup>244</sup> “The public’s enthusiasm still remains great. Friese sold around 1,500 copies of mine.” Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, den freien, deutschen Rhein!”

The Mörike song “Zierlich ist der Vogels Tritt” unfolds in happy and suitable rhythms.<sup>246</sup>

The first collection, *Fünf Lieder* op. 55, published by Heinze in 1847 with a dedication to Mendelssohn’s *Leipziger Liederkrantz*, is based on the poetry of Robert Burns, whose work at this time was very popular throughout Europe. Schumann must have felt a certain connection to the Scottish poet, since he set nine solo songs, two vocal duets and eight partsongs to Burns texts, all translated into German by Wilhelm Gerhard. This collection contains some of his simplest choral writing, with slow harmonic rhythm, static bass lines, and a homophonic texture throughout. It is set for soli SATB quartet and SATB chorus, with some of the pieces structured with a solo quartet singing a verse and the chorus responding with the refrain, nothing too challenging for the singers.

**Das Hochlandmädchen, op. 55, no. 1  
(My Highland Lassie, O)**

Text: Robert Burns (1759-1796), tr. Wilhelm Gerhard (1780-1858)  
SATB soli with SATB chorus.

Nicht schnell, 4/4, F Major, 32 measures (or 80 measures, 5 verses of 16 bars each)

The highland lover knows his lassie will be true to him, as he  
will be to her, even though he has to travel beyond the sea.

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<sup>246</sup> “Schumann’s melodisches Talent wird durch diese Lieder ohne Begleitung gewiss entschiedener, als durch andere seiner Gesangstücke, welche den melodischen Gedanken in der Bekleidung mit instrumentalen Figuren mehr errathen lassen, als in plastischer Vollkommenheit zur Anschauung bringen, bewährt. Wie einfach sind die innigen Worte von Burns behandelt! Die Annäherung an den schottischen Nationalcharakter ist in den harmonischen Wendungen nicht zu verkennen. Den Singstimmen ist nur Naturgemässes zugemuthet. Die zweite Sammlung (Op. 59) behandelt gutgewählte lyrische Texte, worunter Lappe’s bekanntes ‘Nord oder Süd’, das sich didaktischer Betrachtung hingibt und daher auch in der Musik Wendungen bringt, die mehr dem Charakter der Motette, als des Liedes angehören. Das Lied von Mörike: ‘Zierlich ist des Vogels Tritt’ bewegt sich in einem sehr glücklichen und passenden Rhythmus”. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (10 May 1848).

Schumann sets the second verse as a chorus after the first, third, fourth, and fifth verses, as proposed by Burns. He omits verse 7, but combines verses 6 and 8 as his final verse. He keeps the basses on a dominant drone for each of the verses, which are sung by solo voices, with the full chorus reserved for the verse: “Within the glen sae bushy, O, aboon the plain sae rashy, O, I set me down wi’ right guid will to sing my Highland lassie, O”<sup>247</sup>.

**Zahnweh, op. 55, no. 2**  
**(Address to the Toothache)**

Text: Robert Burns (1759-1796), tr. Wilhelm Gerhard (1780-1858)  
SATB  
Mit Humor, 4/4, c minor, 60 measures

Cursing his toothache, the poet describes it as the worst of all pains, even worse than plague or poverty.

This is the most humorous and musically interesting of the set. Dramatic in its humor, Schumann uses unisons for contrast in measures 1 – 2, 7 – 8 (see Example 1 on the next page) and briefly in measures 11 – 12 as well towards the end in measures 54 – 56.

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<sup>247</sup> “In grünen Tales Schatten, o, Auf sonn' ger Heide Matten, o, Da sitz' ich gern und singe gern, Von meinem Hochlandmädchen!”

### Example 1: measures 1 – 9

Mit Humor.

Wie du mit gift'gem Stachel fast die Kiefern, die Kiefern mir zer-ris-sen hast, mein  
Ohr durchdröh-net oh-ne Rast, oh-ne Rast dein Mar-ter-stich, dein Mar-ter-stich; du bist der Ner-ven

The melody is marked by large intervals. The chorus splits into five parts for the climax in measures 17–19, which breaks up the monotony of the SATB choir. In measures 32-35 and again at the last two measures, six-part divisi (SAATTB) further breaks up that uniformity. The humorous rant ends with his wishing a year of pain on all who hate Scotland.

### **Mich zieht es nach dem Dörfchen hin, op. 55, no. 3 (I'll ay ca' in by yon town)**

Text: Robert Burns (1759-1796), tr. Wilhelm Gerhard (1780-1858)  
SATB  
Langsam, 4/4, C major, 18 measures

The melancholy and evocative tale of a lad drawn to the town of his lovely Jean, where he'll gladly travel just to see her. For there in town, she'll wander by the oak tree where they can have a tryst.

The two verses have the same music. With its three-part harmony (soprano and alto are in unison) and static bass line, this is perhaps the simplest and least exciting of the set.

**Die alte gute Zeit, op. 55, no. 4  
(Auld Lang Syne)**

Text: Robert Burns (1759-1796), tr. Wilhelm Gerhard (1780-1858)  
SATB soli with SATB chorus  
Mit Wärme, 4/4 with 3/2, A major, 50 measures

“Auld Lang Syne” translates from the old Scottish dialect literally as “Old Long Ago” and is about love and friendship of days gone by.

Schumann effectively alternates between soli and chorus to define the refrain. He also briefly alternates the time signature within the refrain, having the chorus sing one measure of the refrain in 3/2: “My heart, the good old days” before completing the chorus in 4/4 about living life to the fullest.<sup>248</sup> Aside from the repeats of the refrain, Schumann changes the music for the fourth and last verse, this time giving the solo voices a chance to briefly sing in 3/2 by having the solo come in with a 3/2 measure for “And there’s a hand, my trusty, fiere” (Bruder, gieb mir deine Hand, die Meine). The strict, four-part writing throughout the piece creates a slightly old-fashioned effect— a rather appropriate technique for reminiscing about the good ole’ days.

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<sup>248</sup> “Im vollen Becher lebe sie, Die alte gute Zeit”.

**Hochlandbursch, op. 55, no. 5**  
(Highland Laddie)

Text: Robert Burns (1759-1796), tr. Wilhelm Gerhard (1780-1858)  
SATB soli with SATB chorus  
Frisch, 3/4, D major, 48 measures

An ode to a handsome lad who courageously fights for his King.

The last piece in the set alternates a solo quartet with the tutti in a double chorus, and they are united in four-part harmony at the closing phrase of each verse. It is the only piece of the set not in common time. Schumann closes the ode to the Highland Laddie in a lively manner, once again using call and response.

**Vier Gesänge , op. 59**

The *Vier Gesänge*, op. 59, was published by Whistling in 1848 with a dedication to Raimund Härtel. A fifth song “Hirtenknabengesang”, although composed at the same time as the other four in 1846, was not added to the opus until 1930, when the collection was published by Breitkopf & Härtel as *Fünf Gesänge*, op. 59. The volume demonstrates more vocal independence and rhythmic variety than op. 55. Although still homophonic in texture, the voices are broken up to alleviate the monotony of the four-part chordal harmony.

**Nord oder Süd, op. 59, no.1**  
(North or South)

Text: Karl Gottlieb Lappe (1773–1843)  
SATB  
Kräftig und markirt, 4/4, A major, 144 measures

An examination of the contrasts and stages of life.

There are four stanzas of repeated musical material devoted to seeming opposites: north or south (Nord oder Süd!) in measures 1- 24; town or country (Stadt oder Land!) in measures 25 - 48; servant or gentleman (Knecht oder Herr!) in measures 49 - 72; and young or old (Jung oder alt!) in measures 73 – 96. At measure 97, Schumann sets a fifth stanza with new music. The dynamic is at *piano* (the rest was sung at *forte*) and the instruction is to sing somewhat slower. The final seeming opposites sleep or death, are welcomed as twin brothers. The texture also changes as a solo soprano line in measure 102 is answered by a solo group and then the full chorus. Instead of continuing to follow a twenty- four measure pattern, the final line is stretched out and repeated into a coda beginning at measure 113, with a homophonic entrance at *piano* that increases in dynamic intensity with each repeat, ending with the final message, “The dawn! Sleep is not death!” — a positive reassurance to make the most of life.

**Am Bodensee, op. 59, no. 2**  
**(At Lake Constance)<sup>249</sup>**

Text: Count August von Platen (1796-1835)  
SATB Two sections, (I) Lebhaft, freudig, E-flat major, 4/4, 30 measures  
(II) Langsam, 3/4, C minor, 36 measures

The first part finds a narrator who loves to be at sea. In the second part he comes home, but finds his beloved has died.

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<sup>249</sup> Lake Constance is a lake on the Rhine at the northern foot of the Alps situated between Germany, Switzerland and Austria. Three bodies of water make up the Lake: the *Obersee* ("upper lake"), the *Untersee* ("lower lake"), and the *Seerhein* —a connecting stretch of the Rhine. Euregio Bodensee, “Statistik,” <http://www.statistik.euregiobodensee.org/main/projekt.html> (accessed on July 5, 2010).

The song is lively and strophic with each of the three strophes beginning and ending with the text: “Fill the sails, fair wind (Schwelle die Segel, günstiger Wind!)”, the final utterance is *fortissimo* on the tonic. The second section is an abrupt change to the relative minor and sung slowly at *piano*, highlighting the tragic poetic surprise of the narrator who returns home to find his beloved has died and gone to a much better homeland. *Fortepiano* markings in measures 14 and 16 mimic the narrator’s weeping, which Schumann repeats (“Wehe mir, wehe mir”..., Example 2).

**Example 2: measures 8 – 22**

The musical score for Example 2 consists of two systems of staves. The first system covers measures 8 to 14, and the second system covers measures 15 to 22. The vocal line is written in a soprano clef, and the piano accompaniment is in a bass clef. The key signature has one flat (F major), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "traut're Bande würden uns, so hoff' ich, dann be-glücken, wieder kehrend nach dem Va-ter lan-de! We-he mir, we-he mir, da bist vor-an-ge-gan-gen, du bist vor-an-ge-gan-gen nach viel". The score includes dynamic markings such as *fp* (fortepiano) and *pp* (pianissimo). Measure numbers 10, 15, and 20 are indicated above the staves.

This remarkable section is ambiguous tonally: Eb major– c minor -f minor– g minor– D-flat major– B-flat minor – and finally, F major (Example 3 on the next page).

**Example 3: measures 1 – 36**

Langsam.

Wie-der kehrend nach dem Va-ter lan-de, hofft' ich deine Li-lienhand zu drücken,  
hofft' ich dei-ne Li-lienhand zu

10  
traut-re Ban-de wür-den uns, so hoff't ich, dann be-glücken, wie-der kehrend nach dem Va-ter lan-de! Wü-  
drücken, dann be-glü-cken!

15  
- he mir, we-he mir, da bist vor-an-ge-gan-gen, du bist vor-an-ge-gan-gen nach viel

20  
bes-ser'm Va-ter lan-de, we-he mir, we-he mir! Welch' Ver-lan-gen, dass auch ich bald mei-nen

25  
bes-ser'm Va-ter lan-de,  
bes-ser'm Va-ter lan-de,  
bes-ser'm Va-ter lan-de,

30  
Na-chen sten-re nach viel bes-ser'm Va-ter-land, nach viel bes-ser'm Va-ter-land, o Then-rel!

35  
nach viel bes-ser'm,  
nach viel bes-ser'm,

This outstanding song closes with his wish to join his treasured love and steer his boat to the much better homeland.

### **Jägerlied, op. 59, no. 3**

#### **(Hunter's song)**

Text: Eduard Friedrich Mörike (1804-1875)

SATB

Mässig, 2/4, E-flat major, 43 measures

A bird hunter sings of his distant love.

The sopranos begin the through-composed setting, followed by the lower voices, echoing a measure later. In the twelfth measure, the entire chorus is finally in homophony. For the final line regarding the thoughts of true love (“die Gedanken treuer Liebe sind”), Schumann provides an effective throw-away ending, repeating the line twice: the sopranos begin the first iteration in measure 35 with the remaining voices entering two counts later, which is reminiscent of the relationship of the lines at the start of the piece. The final time the line is sung by the entire chorus with a grand *ritardando*.

### **Gute Nacht, op. 59, no. 4**

#### **(Good Night)**

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)

SATB with solo soprano

Langsam, 4/4, A-flat major, 16 measures

A lovely lyrical setting of a good night wish.

The beautiful solo soprano line of this short song begins the second, fourth, and final lines. Each time the tutti chorus echoes the line.

**Hirtenknabengesang, op. 59, no. 5 / RSA V/3, Anhang Nr. 1 / H/K WoO 18  
(Shepherd Boy's Song)**

Text: Annette von Droste-Hüsloff (1797-1848), from "Das Hirtenfeuer (Bonfire)"  
SSTT

No instructions given, 6/8, C major, 63 measures

A dark poem about a bonfire in the pagan night and a shepherd boy with his sheep.

Schumann departs from SATB to feature only the higher voices for his setting of two verses of von Droste-Hüsloff's sinister poem which give a more cheerful context when set without the rest, which details the pagan ritual around the fire. Folk music comes to mind with Schumann's initial use of octaves for Soprano I in measure 1 followed by Soprano II in measure 8 (Example 4) and developed in canon by Tenor I in measure 16 and Tenor II in measure 24 (Example 5 on the next page).

**Example 4, measures 1 – 10:**

The musical score for Example 4, measures 1-10, is presented in three systems. The first system (measures 1-3) features the 1. Sopran part with the lyrics: "He-lo - el! He-lo - el! Komm du auf uns - re". The second system (measures 4-6) continues the 1. Sopran part with the lyrics: "Hei - de, wo ich mein'Schäflein wei - de, komm, o komm in un - ser". The third system (measures 7-10) features two parts: the 1. Sopran part (marked with a fermata over the first measure) with the lyrics: "Bruch, da gibts der Blü - me - lein ge-nug, da gibts der Blümleinge-", and the 2. Sopran part with the lyrics: "He-lo - el! He-lo - el! Ich sit - ze auf - dem".

**Example 5, measures 16 - 26:**

16

1. Sopran  
wei-de, da gibts der Blüm-lein-ge-nug, da gibts der Blümleinge-

2. Sopran  
Kamp, da wächst das Gras wie Bram so lang, da wächst das Gras so

1. Tenor  
He-lo-e! He-lo-e! Komm du auf uns'-re

20

nug, He-lo-e, He-lo-e, da gibts der Blüm-lein-ge-nug,

lang! ich sit-ze auf dem Wal-le, die

Hei-de, wo-ich mein'Schäf-lein wei-de, komm, o

23

1. Sopran  
o komm, o komm, He-lo-e, He-lo-e,

2. Sopran  
Schäf-lein schla-fen al-le, o komm in un-sern Kamp, o komm in

1. Tenor  
komm in un-ser Bruch, da gibts der Blü-me-lein-ge-nug, da

2. Tenor  
He-lo-e! He-lo-e! Ich

Although we do not know why it was initially left out of the set, the odd voicing featuring the higher voices in relation to the others in the collection may certainly have been a contributing factor. Interestingly the pieces are not mentioned in the *Haushaltbuch*, as the other pieces of the set are.

## **Additional Song**

McCorkle notes a second Anhang in addition to the “Hirtenknaben Lied”. Anhang, Nr. 2 is simply listed as “Lied von Hebbel”. The lost work was mentioned by Schumann in the *Projectenbuch* in 1847 and like “Hirtenknaben Lied”, was voiced for two sopranos and two tenors. Not much is known about the origins of the mysterious piece. No other information is provided aside from a possible relation to another of Schumann’s settings on a text by Hebbel, “Sag an, o lieber Vogel mein”, op. 27, no. 1 — McCorkle offers the possibility that Schumann originally set the Lied for four-voices.<sup>250</sup>

## **Romances and Ballads**

Schumann began composing the *Romances and Ballads*, collected in four volumes (op. 67, op. 75, op. 145 and op. 146), for his own *Chorverein* in 1849, a year Schumann regarded as one of his most productive despite the political disturbances in Dresden. The first two volumes were published by Whistling that same year; the last two volumes, however, were completed in 1851 and published posthumously by Arnold in 1860. Conceived as a collection, the songs are numbered consecutively, with the first song of the second volume (op. 75), called number 6.

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<sup>250</sup> McCorkle, 260.

**Romanzen und Balladen, Heft I, op. 67**

The first volume (op. 67) has many subtle touches. The first and third songs are by Goethe. The second is by Mörike and is followed by a poem by Adelbert von Chamisso. The set concludes with a German translation of Robert Burns's "John Anderson".

**Der König von Thule, op. 67, no. 1  
(The King of Thule)**

Text: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832)  
SATB with Tenor solo  
Langsam, 4/4, A minor, 50 measures

The dying King gave away all his belongings to his heirs except for his beloved golden goblet, which he had brought to every feast. He decided to have a royal banquet surrounded by his knights in his castle by the sea. There he drank from his goblet one last time and then threw it into the sea. He watched his beloved goblet sink into the sea and as it went deeper, his eyes began to sink —the King drank his last drink. He died naturally and content.

A setting of Gretchen's song, "Es war ein König in Thule" from the first part of Goethe's *Faust*. The poem attained wide popularity and was set by many composers including solo songs by Zelter (1811), Schubert (D 367 / Op. 5, no. 5, 1816) and Liszt (*Buch der Lieder*, S. 531 in 1843). The modally-inspired melody of the first half helps to paint a "once upon a time" atmosphere. The solo tenor is doubled an octave higher by the sopranos. This unison continues through measure 25, when on the third count it follows the tenor group. It is not until measure 30 that the solo tenor contributes its own harmony, but that is short-lived. In measure 33 the homophony is broken up not by the solo, but the tenor group, singing eighth-note figures in measures 33-35 and again in measures 41-43 — both times the solo tenor is at rest. It is in this second half that Schumann explores

dynamics: while the first half was all at *piano*, the second half includes *forte*, *sforzando* *piano*, and *pianissimo*. Harmonically the section becomes more interesting as well, departing from the modal character of the first section and using chromaticism, especially in the last fifteen measures (Example 6).

**Example 6: measures 36 - 50**

40  
gluth, und warf den heiligen Becher hinunter in die Fluth. Er sah ihn stürzen und trinken und  
45  
sin-ken tief ins Meer, die Augen thü-ten ihm sin-ken, trank nie einen Tropfen mehr!  
50

**Schön-Rohtraut, op. 67, no. 2  
(Fair Rohtraut)**

Text: Eduard Mörike (1804–1875)  
SATB with SATB solos  
Im frischen Tempo, 4/4, A major, 65 measures

King Ringang's tomboyish but beautiful daughter Rohtraut captured the heart of a young servant boy from the King's castle. Although he knows as a servant he can never be worthy of this royal beauty's love, he is in bliss for he has kissed the Fair Rohtraut's lips.

The dialogue is divided between men's and women's voices. The graceful alternation of the SATB chorus and the soli groups highlights the shift from narrator to

dialogue in the text. Dynamics, pauses, alternating voices, and the triplets on “küset Schön” (measure 46) provide added drama for this wonderfully expressive piece. (Example

7)

**Example 7: measures 46 – 65**

**Heidenröslein, op. 67, no. 3  
(Little Wild Rose)**

Text: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832)

SATB

Nicht schnell, 2/4, A major, 48 measures (16 measures a verse)

A young boy was enchanted by a perfect little rose in the heather. He was determined to pick it, but the little rose warned she would prick him if he did, and he would regret such cruelty. Unmoved the boy plucked the rose from the heather, and the rose defended herself. Sadly the cries of woe and pain did not help her and the little rose had to bear her fate.

The chromaticism of this strophic SATB is striking, perhaps highlighting the disturbing character of a boy who so carelessly picks a rose, not to mention the sad fate of the rose itself. This is especially apparent in the last six measures on the repeat of “Röslein”, where those that fall on the first beat of the measure are additionally highlighted with dynamics (*piano* on measures 11 and 13) and accents (measure 12, Example 8).

**Example 8: measures 11 – 16:**

The musical score for Example 8 consists of four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in D minor (three sharps) and 3/4 time. The lyrics are: "Rös-lein, Rös-lein, Rös-lein roth, Rös-lein auf der Hei-den, sah's mit vie-len Freu-den. und ich wills nicht lei-den! musst' es e-ben lei-den!". The score includes dynamics such as *p*, *cresc.*, and *fp*. Measure 15 is specifically marked with *fp* 15.

**Ungewitter, op. 67, no. 4  
(Thunderstorm)**

Text: Adelbert von Chamisso (1781-1838)  
SATB

Ziemlich langsam, 3/4 and 2/4, D minor, 61 measures

An old King stands at the castle battlement and surveys the clouded land as a great thunderstorm erupts. The King’s mistress tugs at his sleeve desperate for attention asking if he still loves her. He replies with a question, asking “what is love and pleasure and romance? (Was Lieb’ und Lust’ und Minne?)”. Requesting she desist, he laments that in the power of the thunderstorm he is not the virile King with sword and crown, but rather a weak, grieving son. Aware of his impotence against the violence of the storm, the king repeats his rhetorical question about love, requesting his mistress desist as the powerful storm roars on.

Adelbert von Chamisso, author of *Frauen-Liebe und-Leben*, was the son of French immigrants.<sup>251</sup> The through-composed song subtly changes in rhythm and tempo — “Ziemlich langsam (rather slowly)” at the beginning and “Etwas rascher (somewhat quicker)” at measure 25 — achieve impressive declamation for clarity of the text. The demanding and dramatically rewarding song also has quick rhythmic changes, depicting the storm ahead. Like the second partsong, the text has both narrative and dialogue. This time Schumann is especially masterful by marking the distinction by alternating declamatory (for the troubled king) and lyrical (for the beloved) vocal styles.

**John Anderson, op. 67, no. 5**  
**(John Anderson My Jo')**

Text: Robert Burns (1759-1796), tr. Wilhelm Gerhard (1780-1858)

SATB

Langsam, 3/4, G major, 32 measures

The devotional poem tells the realities of love, aging, and death. Told through the voice of an aging wife's recollection of years gone by, she remembers her John whose hair is now like the snow (“der schönen Stirne blieb”) when his locks were raven (“Wie rabenschwarz dein Haar”). “But blessings on your frosty pow” makes firm her belief that they will share happiness beyond the grave.

The hymn-like and rather solemn setting highlights the religious and reflective overtones of the set. Robert Burns wrote the poem as an ode to his good friend John Anderson.

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<sup>251</sup> Schumann set eight of the nine *Frauenliebe und Leben* poems in 1840.

**Romanzen und Balladen, Heft II, op. 75**

There is an unpublished Anhang to the opus listed by McCorkle, “Jäger Wohlgemuth” for mixed-choir and piano, which Schumann also set for female voices as op. 91, no. 2, to be discussed later in the chapter. It appears that Schumann did not want the song included in the collection. In a manuscript of the opus copied by Carl Gottschalk in Dresden, with title heads by Schumann himself, there appears a note from a different hand with the warning not to include them (“NB bleibt weg”). This was likely Schumann’s direction to the engraver.<sup>252</sup>

**Schnitter Tod, op. 75, no. 6  
(Grim Reaper)**

Text: *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*  
SATB  
Langsam, 4/4, D minor, 67 measures

The Grim Reaper cuts down the fairest flowers that will  
bloom again in Heaven's garden.

Schumann set four of the six verses of the poem, leaving out the third and fifth, perhaps in the interest of economy: the two deleted verses are much like the fourth (Schumann’s third), naming specific flowers that will meet their fate.<sup>253</sup> Each of the stanzas conclude with a warning to the fair little flower about to be cut (“hüte dich, schön’s Blümelein!”), except for the last stanza which concludes with the narrator’s instruction to the flower to be grateful (“freu’ dich, du schön’s Blümelein!”), for a cut is not really death

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<sup>252</sup> (Anhang, “Jäger Wohlgemuth”) mit Anweisung von fremder Hand: “NB bleibt weg!” Anweisungen von Schumann an den Stetcher. McCorkle, 328.

<sup>253</sup> The third verse names roses, lilies, and crown imperials, and the fifth names lavender, rosemary, little roses, irises, basil, and violets.

but merely a wound that will grant you entrance into heaven’s garden. What is perhaps most interesting is that Schumann does not highlight or wordpaint the joys of heaven’s garden that concludes the piece; the most striking part of the piece is the text about “Defiance” (Trotz!) that immediately precedes it. Schumann does nothing musically to paint the word, but does set it apart from the rest of the text: he moves to the key of D major and measures 49 and 52 are marked *fortissimo* as the choir holds on “Defiance!” (Trotz!). Three measures later when the word again appears in the text, Schumann has the choir sing a whole note on the D-major chord at *fortissimo* (see Example 9).

**Example 9: measures 43 – 54:**

The entire section (measures 49–54) highlights the importance of the text for Schumann:

“Trotz! Tod, komm her, ich fürcht dich nicht, Trotz, eil daher in einem Schritt.”<sup>254</sup>

Although instructed to be sung faster, the harmonic rhythm slows down and the call for defiance is chorale-like and serene, especially in the last nine measures.

<sup>254</sup> “Defiance! Death, come here - I do not fear you, for all that; Defiance! Hasten here in one step”.

**Im Walde, op. 75, no. 7**  
**(In the Forest)**

Text: Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff (1788–1857)  
SATB soli and SATB choir  
Ziemlich schnell, 6/8, D minor, 58 measures

The narrator describes a merry hunt and a wedding in the forest. The fear of loneliness leaves the narrator shuddering in the mountains.

Schumann had set this text earlier in 1840 for solo voice (*Liederkreis*, op. 39, no. 11). The texture alternates from solo group to full chorus. Schumann adds an additional stanza between Eichendorff's two verses, likely written by Schumann himself. This second stanza is about the pale bride in the wedding. The nervous bride sounds as if she was married against her will: the bridegroom kisses his nervous bride as her mother complains about the sound ("Der Bräutigam küsste die blasse Braut, die blasse Braut, die Mutter sprach leis' 'nicht klagen'!"). Twelve bars later Schumann continues with Eichendorff's last stanza about the fear of loneliness that leaves the narrator shuddering in the mountains.<sup>255</sup> This sense of loneliness in the mountains is highlighted by a change of meter to 2/4 in measure 42.

**Der traurige Jäger, op. 75, no. 8**  
**(The Sad Huntsman)**

Text: Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff (1788–1857)  
SAATB  
Langsam, 4/4, F major, 32 measures

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<sup>255</sup> "And before I thought about it, everything had died away, the night covers me around, from the mountains the forest rustles, and deep in my heart I shudder." (Und eh' ich's gedacht, war alles verhallt, Die Nacht bedeckt die Runde, Nur von den Bergen noch rauschet der Wald, Und mich schauert im Herzensgrunde.)

A huntsman mourns the death of his beloved. After his hunt, the hunter becomes emotional and bursts into a panic attack, puffing wildly as if his heart might split.

The steady tempo and *pianissimo* dynamic at first glance lead to a rather deadpan representation of the hunter's panic. Schumann paints the hunter's madness through a series of dissonant chords (measures 21- 24) which could be analyzed as an E-flat dominant chord with a diminished ninth. The dissonant notes are in the soprano and are not notated as F-flat and D-flat, if they were in fact the ninth and seventh of the E-flat chord, but instead are notated as E-natural and C-sharp, which belongs to D major, giving the passage a dual tonal identity filled with tension, painting the splitting of the hunter's heart. In measure 24, the tenors move from E-flat to E-natural leaving the world of E-flat and joining the sopranos into D-major, further delineating the two tonalities (Example 10).

**Example 10: measures 21 – 25:**

20 25

bei, der blies so ir - rer Wei - se, als müsst' das Herz ent - zwei, - und still dann in der

*pp*

Schumann's masterful harmonic expression of the hunter's heartbreak is rather daring for an amateur choir—the tonal ambiguity would make it quite difficult to sing without careful rehearsal.

**Der Rekrut, op. 75, no. 9**  
**(Cock Up Your Beaver)**

Text: Robert Burns (1759-1796), tr. Wilhelm Gerhard (1780-1858)  
SATB  
Munter, doch nicht zu rasch, 3/8, D major, 40 measures.

A foolish girl sends her lover to war to show off his fur cap.

Burn's text was originally a satire on Scots seeking to improve their plight by following James VI (young and wearing a blue bonnet to England. A third stanza not from Burns' original poem is added, probably by Gerhard, about her love for her dear, brave Johnnie as the bullets whistle by his face and blow across his cheek: the more scars he receives, the more she will love him. The top voice is full of wide leaps.

**Vom verwundeten Knaben, op. 75, no. 10**  
**(The Wounded Lad)**

Text: *Volkslieder*, ed. by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) in 1778-1779  
SATB with alto solo  
Langsam, 4/4, D minor, 58 measures

A girl finds a boy wounded and bleeding lying in the forest.  
The boy bleeds to death before the two can become fully  
acquainted and the girl sings out about the loss of her lover.

The lament takes a different form in the second part of the song beginning in measure 24. A fifth voice, a solo alto singing the melody (sung by the sopranos an octave above) is added here and provides a voice for the mourning young girl. The four part choir serves as narrator in the first part of the song, but now Schumann also provides a subjective voice for the girl. Schumann moves to 2/4 in measure 25 and the tenors and basses form a drone (measures 25 – 35), bringing to mind the ringing of funeral bells, for the young girl

must now mourn the lad and wonder out loud who will help her with the funeral: “Where can I find two female mourners, To mourn at my beloved's grave? Where can I find six young squires, To carry my beloved to his grave?”<sup>256</sup> (Example 11)

**Example 11: measures 24 – 34:**

25 30

„Wo krieg' ich nun zwei Leidfräulein, die mein fein's Liebchen zu Grabe wein'n! wo krieg' ich nun sechs  
Eine Solo-Alt-Stimme. Bei starkem Chor mehrfach zu besetzen.

Schumann has the music come to a halt by suspending a dissonant chord and holding for the words “Grabe tragen”. The tension of the words about carrying her love to the grave is not resolved in a traditional way. Rather than moving to a consonance, Schumann continues with more dissonances. The girl then asks herself “How long shall I bear this sorrow? Until all the waters have come together?” and soon realizes that just as the waters will never come together, neither shall her mourning ever come to an end.”<sup>257</sup> To underscore the endlessness of her pain, Schumann has the first part of the song repeated via a da capo.

<sup>256</sup> Wo krieg' ich nun zwei Leidfräulein, Die mein fein's Lieb zu Grabe wein'n? Wo krieg' ich nun sechs Reuterknab'n, Die mein fein's Lieb zu Grabe trag'n?

<sup>257</sup> Wie lang soll ich denn trauern gehn? Bis alle Wasser zusammengehn? Ja, alle Wasser gehn nicht zusamm'n, So wird mein Trauern kein Ende han.

**Jäger Wohlgemuth, op. 75, Anhang  
(The Happy Hunter)**

Text: *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*  
SATB and piano  
Frisch, 4/4, D minor, 30 measures

Having not seen the manuscript myself, I can only give the information provided by McCorkle. From the opening incipit it appears that the melody in Soprano I begins identically to that of the version for female voices he published as op. 91, no. 8. While not specifically listed as being part of the upcoming volume in the *New Schumann Edition*, it is possible that it will be part of the “Fragmentarische Chorwerke” which will end the volume.

**Romanzen und Balladen, Heft III, op. 145**

The third volume (op. 145) was composed over two years from 1849 to 1851, begun in Dresden, and completed in Düsseldorf: “Die Nonne”, no. 12, was completed in January of 1851 and “Der Sänger”, no. 13, was composed in May that same year.

**Der Schmied, op. 145, no. 11  
(The Smith)**

Text: Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862)  
SATB  
Munter, 3/8, B-flat major, 67 measures.

A blacksmith is observed by his beloved as she passes by.

“Der Schmied” was later set by Brahms (op. 19, no. 4). Schumann sets the text in a characteristic folk-style. Uhland’s text is quickly set in its entirety by measure 25.

Schumann then repeats the first verse of text (not the music) multiple times, beginning a third time in measure 42, and a fourth in measure 52. This final time, however, Schumann does not set the final line “Durch Gassen und Platz (Through streets and squares)” opting instead to close with the first line “Ich hör' meinen Schatz (I hear my treasure)”. Dynamic contrasts and sixteenth-note rhythms throughout the song highlight some of Uhland’s more picturesque and onomatopoeic words: “Hammer”, “rauschet”, “klinget”, “Bälge”, “sausen”, “lodern”, and “Weite” (Example 12).

**Example 12: measures 16 - 31:**

20  
 steht mein Lieber, doch geh ich vor über, die Bälge dann sausen, die Flammen aufbrausen und  
 lodern um ihn, ich hör' meinen Schatz, den Hammer er schwinget, ich hör' meinen Schatz, den  
 ihn, ich hör' meinen Schatz, den Hammer er schwinget, den Hammer er schwinget, den Hammer er schwinget,

25 30

**Die Nonne, op. 145, no. 12**  
**(The Nun)**

Text: unknown

SATB

Ziemlich langsam, 4/4, G minor, 30 measures

A nun gazes longingly out the window of her convent cell.  
She looks sadly at the beautiful countryside outside her cell  
and remembers the lad who broke his promise to her, causing  
her to be cloistered.

Notable about this heartbreaking song are the dynamics and the power of rest. The entire song is noted to be sung at *piano* or *pianissimo*, except for measure 5 which after a measure of *crescendo* is marked *forte* to highlight the word “gebrochen” before returning to *piano* on the “and” of the second count. In the second and third verse, the measure of *crescendo* returns, but the *forte* is not noted as the arrival point before returning again to *piano* a beat and a half later. In these instances, the words “Eisengittern” (the second verse) and “Nonne” (the final verse) are highlighted by the dynamics. A fermata on an eighth rest ends each verse, providing a dramatic pause before moving on to the next.

**Der Sänger, op. 145, no. 13**  
**(The Singer)**

Text: Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862)

SATB

No instructions given, 4/4, D major, 39 measures

A singer performs at the royal palace and all are moved. The  
fairest ladies crown him with flowers, which brings tears to  
his eyes and a glow to his cheeks.

Dotted rhythms, dynamics, and chromatic harmony provide interest and color to a simple, homophonic setting.

**John Anderson, op. 145, no. 14**  
**(John Anderson My Jo')**

Text: Robert Burns (1759-1796), tr. Wilhelm Gerhard (1780-1858)

SATB

Langsam, 3/4, E major, 18 measures

Schumann must have felt a particular connection to this poem, for he wrote this second, more masterful version of eighteen measures only two days after the first (op. 67, no. 5). This setting is four bars longer with the insertion of an additional John Anderson, my Love (“John Anderson, mein Lieb!”) in the middle of each stanza (measure 9). The keys shift and the harmonies are dissonant whenever “John Anderson” is sung. The first full measure has the dominant B against the subdominant chord in the upper voices; this dissonance is repeated at the third and final invocations in measure 17 (Example 13).

**Example 13: measures 9 – 18:**

The image displays a musical score for the song 'John Anderson, mein Lieb!' in E major, 3/4 time, spanning measures 9 to 18. The score is arranged for SATB (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) voices and piano accompaniment. It is divided into two systems. The first system covers measures 9 through 14, and the second system covers measures 15 through 18. The lyrics are written below the vocal staves. Measure 9 is marked with a '10' above it, and measure 15 is marked with a '15' above it. Dynamics such as *fp* (fortissimo piano) and *pp* (pianissimo) are indicated throughout the score. The key signature is E major, and the time signature is 3/4. The score shows a key change to D major at the beginning of measure 15. The lyrics for the first system are: 'Haar, die Stir - ne glatt und schön, John An - derson, mein Lieb! Nun Glät - te nicht und Lo - cke der Tag be - grüssten wir im Lauf! John An - derson, mein Lieb! Nun abwärts Haml in Hand, — froh'. The lyrics for the second system are: 'schö - nen Stir - ne blieb, doch seg - ne Gott dein schnee - ig Haupt, John An - der - son, mein - Lieb! wie's berg - auf uns trieb, und un - ten sel - ges - Schla - fen - gehn, John An - der - son, mein Lieb!'. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and moving lines in the right and left hands.

**Romanze vom Gänsebuben, op. 145, no. 15**  
(Romance of the Goose-Boy)

Text: tr. Ernst Friedrich Georg Otto Freiherr von der Malsburg (1786-1824)  
SATB with SATB solos  
Maestoso, 2/4, G major, 121 measures

A goose-boy, afraid of losing his flock as he did his beloved,  
wishes his heartache could fly away.

The solo voices have wonderfully expressive music. In measures 17 – 24 (and again in 68 -74 and 100 -105) the dynamic markings are incredibly effective. *Forte* and *piano* trade off back and forth with each eighth note. Each soli section ends with a trill: the first time in measure 40 by the soprano and alto; the second in measure 83 by the soprano and tenor; and the third by the solo soprano in measure 115. An eight-bar coda at measure 116 concludes the piece and expands the texture to five voices—in addition to the chorus (who at this point join the choir group), a solo soprano is added.

**Romanzen und Balladen, Heft IV, op. 146**

The final book contains five songs setting the texts of three poets popular within the series, Burns (the second), Rückert (the fourth), and three texts by Uhland (nos. 16, 18, and 20).

**Brautgesang, op. 146, no. 16**  
(Bridal Song)

Text: Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862)  
SATB with tenor solo  
Frisch, 4/4, G major, 69 measures

A blessing for a beautiful bride and her new home.

The relationships between the male and female voices as they alternate—both by gendered groups and soloistically— with the full group is the stand-out feature of this otherwise straightforward, but pleasing song. The sopranos and altos open with a three-measure introduction to bless the bridal home. That phrase (“Das Haus benedei’ ich und preis’es laut, das empfangen hat eine liebliche Braut”) is repeated by the entire chorus before moving on to the rest of the setting.

**Der Bänkelsänger Willie, op. 146, no. 17**  
(O rattlin, roarin Willie)

Text: Robert Burns (1759-1796), tr. Wilhelm Gerhard (1780-1858)  
SATB soli with SATB choir  
Nicht zu schnell, 2/4, G minor, 57 measures

A fiddler resists the temptation to sell his instrument in order to pay for his drink.

Schumann begins the humorous tale in G minor and then goes to G major. Dynamic contrast provides interest throughout and the triplet section (measures 21-30) at the key change to G major breaks up the sometimes hypnotic syllabic setting by providing a triple feel in duple time.

**Der Traum, op. 146, no. 18**  
(The Dream)

Text: Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862)  
SATB  
Langsam, 4/4, G minor, 24 measures

Two lovers walk in a beautiful garden hand in hand. But these ghostly figures are nothing more than a dream, for in reality the girl sits in a convent, and he lies in his grave.

A simple, but morbidly effective setting portrays the tragic tale.

**Sommerlied, op. 146, no. 19**  
(Summer Song)

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)  
SATB  
Nicht schnell, 2/4, F major, 34 measures

As the start of fall promises to bring death to the days of glorious May, so does the narrator's loss of his beloved bring him to accept his fate as he asks the nightingale to lead him to the grave.

Mostly at *piano* or *pianissimo*, the *forte*, *forte piano*, and swells provide interest to the simple, lament for the passing of earlier, happier days.

**Das Schifflein, op. 146, no. 20**  
(The Little Boat)

Text: Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862)  
SATB  
Nicht schnell, 4/4, E major, 58 measures

A little boat filled with strangers travels down the stream.

Schumann later penned an arrangement of this very pretty song that included a soprano solo as well as the addition of horn and flute, highlighting the words of the poem: "Ein Horn, das sanft erschallet; das Ufer wider hallet...und mischt mit Flötentönen sich in des Hornes Drönen".<sup>258</sup> The lovely song is flavored with chromaticism. A striking Alla

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<sup>258</sup> A horn that sounds softly; the bank echoes back...and mingles with flute music in the drones of the horn.

breve section in cut time sets the final verse to mark that the ship has arrived at their destination. The travelers disembark on land, wondering when they will see each other again.

### **Beim Abschied zu singen, op. 84**

*Beim Abschied zu singen*, op. 84, a lovely farewell piece, was written in 1847 for the Zwickau Schumann Festival. It was published by Whistling in 1850 in two versions, one with winds as performed in Zwickau and one with piano accompaniment. As mentioned in the previous chapter, family friend and Zwickau Musikdirektor Emanuel Klitzsch organized and invited Schumann to his hometown for a festival in his honor. Schumann wrote to Klitzsch during the preparations that he was composing an encore: “a little song for chorus with wind instruments on Feuchtersleben’s ‘Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath’, which I composed a few weeks ago for the Zwickau festival, but have not yet copied out. Perhaps I shall get around to writing it out and send it to you. The piece is very easy and can be sung directly from the music.”<sup>259</sup> Days later he sent it with the following note: “Here is my farewell song. I find it a little melancholy, but we should at least give it a try! If we feel it is too sad as a final piece, then we can omit it. Do not include it in the program yet.”<sup>260</sup> Because the piano part (and later winds) is not specifically listed as optional, the

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<sup>259</sup> “Als Zugabe dachte ich an ein kleines Lied für Chor mit Blasinstrumenten über das Feuchtersleben’sche ‘Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath’, was ich vor wenigen Wochen mit Rücksicht auf das Zwickauer Fest componirte, noch aber nicht aufgeschrieben habe. Vielleicht schreibe ich es noch auf und schicke es Ihnen. Die Composition ist ganz leicht und vom Blatt zu singen.” Letter to Klitzsch, 10 June 1847, Erler, II: 25.

<sup>260</sup> “Hier auch mein Lied zum Abschied: mir erscheint es ein wenig larmoyant. Probiren wir es wenigstens! Scheint es uns dann als Schlußstück zu traurig etwa, so lassen wir es aus. Auf das Programm setzen Sie es noch nicht”. Letter to Klitzsch, 29 June 1847. Erler, II: 27.

work lies on the border of the category of partsong. Mostly set in four-part block harmony, however, the accompaniment (whether the wind or piano version) do little more than double the voices, perhaps out of necessity for an outdoor performance. Therefore it will be discussed as part of the partsong collection.

***Beim Abschied zu singen, op. 84***  
**(A song of parting)**

Text: Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben (1806-1849)  
SATB soli and SATB chorus  
Langsam, 4/4, F major, 63 measures

In God's wisdom even our dearest loved ones must part. The inevitability of loss, however, comes with the comforting promise that we all will see each other again.

The beautiful work with its simple, tuneful writing is reminiscent of the *Romanzen* and *Balladen*. The almost chorale-style permeates the text with its moralizing message stressing the need of acceptance in the face of loss. This simplicity and the religious overtones of the work encompass both the secular and sacred sphere. There is an achingly beautiful solo line in measure 43 that begins with a striking minor 6<sup>th</sup> leap from g to e flat followed by a conjunct, weeping descent to f sharp for "dann weine, dann weine" (Example 14 on the next page).

**Example 14: measures 41 – 46**

The image shows a musical score for measures 41 to 46. It consists of five systems of staves. The top system includes a piano accompaniment with a treble and bass staff. The second system is for vocal soloists, with lyrics: "sein, da lässt sie dich so gar al - lein, dann wei - ne, dann wei - - - ne,". The third system continues the soloist part with lyrics: "sein, da lässt sie dich so gar al - lein, dann wei - ne, dann wei - - ne, da lässt sie dich so gar al -". The fourth system shows the chorus entering with lyrics: "SOLO dann wei - - ne, CHOR". The fifth system is the piano accompaniment. The number 45 is written above the first staff in the second system.

Klitzsch later gave a glowing review of the work in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*:

“A rather warm and passionate composition which swelled from the composer’s heart.

This song radiates this passion and is so close to Schumann’s character that we cannot expect a different interpretation than the one presented. The entire piece is very simple: the chorus alternates with the soloists, whereby there are many shadings to enhance the attraction of the sonorities, further enhanced by the discreet support of the wind

instruments. While it is a simple song and easy to perform, it still requires great delicacy in treatment”<sup>261</sup>.

<sup>261</sup> “Eine recht warm und innige Composition, die dem Componisten so recht aus dem Herzen quoll. Ist doch gerade das Element, welches in diesem Liede sich ausspricht, dem Grundtone Sch.’s [Schumann’s] so verwandt, daß wir eine andere Auffassung als die vorliegende nicht erwarten konnten. Das Ganze ist sehr einfach gehalten: der Chor wechselt mit den Soli’s ab, wodurch viel Schattirung für den Reiz der Klangwirkung entsteht, den die äußerst discreet unterstützenden Blasinstrumente noch erhöhen. Leicht in der

### *Vier doppelchörigen Gesänge, op. 141*

The *Vier doppelchörigen Gesänge*, op. 141 were written specifically for larger choral societies in a short span of time in October of 1849, but were published posthumously by Kistner in 1858. Their scoring for eight parts (double SATB chorus) gives these four songs a tonal and structural richness that the four-part pieces lack. The accompaniment included in the original edition explicitly states that the accompaniment is to serve merely as a rehearsal aid, which is extraordinary given the more complex nature of the pieces.<sup>262</sup> The texts Schumann used, though secular, are full of religious imagery. Much of the writing is polychoral.

#### **An die Sterne, op. 141, no. 1** (To the Stars)

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)  
Double SATB chorus  
Langsam, 4/4, G major, 83 measures

An ode to the night lights as they shine down on mankind,  
offering hope for a better world.

After a solemn beginning of typical double-chorus antiphony, the song becomes imitative, turning to various choral combinations, and as a result provides a dreamy quality. The first two stanzas (measures 1 – 22 and 23 – 42) are strophic. The third stanza however, immediately begins to vary the material. The final stanza beginning at measure 59 is entirely new with instructions for a faster tempo. The second choir is secondary to the first throughout the song, always repeating a part of the text and rhythm already introduced by the first, except at measure 67 when the solo voices in the second choir are suddenly

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Ausführung, da es ein bloßes Lied ist, verlangt es vor allen Dingen eine zarte Behandlung". *NZfM* 21 (August 1850).

<sup>262</sup> McCorkle, 377.

*pianissimo*. The choirs are in full antiphony by measure 25. In the closing measures, however, the second choir briefly takes on a different role. In measures 72-74 and repeated in 76-78, an arioso sequence occurs—the second chorus introduces its own material and begins the last line, “Oh, you fair beautiful one (O, ihr holden, schönen]”), which the first choir then concludes with the line, “Could you possibly deceive? (Könnt ihr täuschen wohl?)” (Example 15).

**Example 15: measures 64 -83**

The musical score for Example 15, measures 64-83, is presented in three systems. The first system covers measures 65 to 70. The second system covers measures 71 to 76. The third system covers measures 77 to 83. The score is written for a vocal soloist and a four-part choir (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass). The soloist's part begins at measure 65 with the lyrics "schwebt, hang' an euch, hang' an euch mein Sehnen, hof - fend, glau.be.voll!". The choir enters at measure 70 with the lyrics "hof - fend, glau.be.voll!". The score includes dynamic markings such as "cresc." and "pp", and a key signature change to D major at measure 70. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and arpeggiated figures in both hands.

**Ungewisses Licht, op. 141, no. 2**  
(Uncertain Light)

Text: Joseph Christian Freiherr von Zedlitz (1790-1862)

Double SATB chorus

Lebhaft und sehr markirt, 4/4, B minor, 52 measures

Life is a journey through a stormy night with a guiding light shining in the darkness. The light, however, is ambiguous: is it love or is it death?

The lively song has rhythmic energy, clever antiphonal writing and bright dynamic contrasts. Solo lines in measures 22-27 add textural interest. Schumann's angular melody and plentiful dotted and triplet rhythms nicely depict the life of the wanderer without a certain path. The energetic piece gradually subsides for its conclusion by closing with a question about the light at *pianissimo*: "Is it love or is it death?"

**Zuversicht, op. 141, no. 3**  
(Confidence)

Text: Joseph Christian Freiherr von Zedlitz (1790-1862)  
Double SATB chorus  
Langsam, nicht schleppend, 4/4, G major, 53 measures

The poet seeks the comfort of heaven.

Intensity is increased as the voices enter and the chords begin to spread out.

Schumann modulates until he finally finds a resting place on the dominant in measure 12 followed by a remarkable transition in measure 16 (Example 16).

**Example 16: measures 10 – 20**

The musical score for Example 16, measures 10-20, is presented in three systems. Each system contains four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano staves (Right and Left Hand). The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is 4/4. The score includes dynamic markings such as *p*, *fp*, *pp*, and *sfz*, and a section marked **A**. The lyrics are in German and are distributed across the vocal staves. The piano accompaniment features a steady bass line and a more active upper line with chords and melodic fragments.

10

*fp* **A** *pp*

tief-ster Schmerz, sich bald dein tief-ster Schmerz. Nach o-ben musst du bli-cken, ge-  
sich bald dein tief-ster Schmerz, dein Schmerz, Nach o-ben musst du bli-cken, ge-  
dein Schmerz. Nach o-ben musst du  
sich bald dein tief-ster Schmerz, dein Schmerz.  
Nach o-ben, nach



**Talismane, op. 141, no. 4**  
**(Talismans)**

Text: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832)  
Double SATB chorus  
Mit Kraft und Feuer, 3/4, C major, 194 measures

A simple, but powerfully profound prayer that declares: "God is Orient and Occident. His name is justice. In all things, let God be my right guide." God is a grandiose power that is "able to set me straight" and offer guidance "whenever I compose."

The final song "Talismane" is a big work; Schumann also previously set the brilliantly affirmative text as a solo Lied in 1840 (op. 25). Although conventional in modulation, the chorus chords provide a dazzling conclusion with its repetition of "Gottes ist der Orient! Gottes ist der Occident". Schumann gives an anthem-like coda in measure 166, in answer to where the listener must reconsider the "Orient" and "Occident" before Schumann develops the closing "Amen". With such clever and passionate writing, it's unbelievable that the song has practically fallen into oblivion.

**Additional Songs for Mixed Voices**

There are a small number of fragments and unpublished works that do not originally belong to a set of partsongs, but need to be mentioned. Schumann's ballade "Der Handschuh", op. 87, published in 1850 for voice and piano was originally set as an a capella partsong for mixed voices. It is not known why Schumann opted to publish the work as a solo song instead, but his original choral version exists today only as an incomplete sketch, with eighteen bars missing towards the end of the piece. In 1988

Bernhard Appel completed the eighteen bars based on the piano part of the solo song and published the choral partsong for the first time. It was recorded by studio vocale Karlsruhe and included in *Robert Schumann: The Complete Secular Choral Works*.

**Der Handschuh, op. 87 Anhang**  
(The Glove)

Text: Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805)

SATB

Mit kräftig deklamatorischem Vortrag, 4/4 and 6/8, D major, 115 measures

The king and his court are spectators in an arena filled with four powerful beasts. Lady Kunigunde drops her glove by the animals and challenges a knight to prove himself by retrieving it. The knight picks up the glove, as if it were no challenge at all, and the crowd cheers. Lady Kunigunde welcomes the knight affectionately, but he rejects her gratitude, and instead throws the glove in her face and leaves.

The a capella partsong is basically the same as the solo song that was published: the melody of the solo song is mostly intact in the soprano part, with the remaining voices harmonizing with pitches that later were incorporated into the piano accompaniment of the published song. Staccato declamation of the text alternates with two brief lyrical passages during the attack of the tiger and when the glove is dropped. Dynamic markings are broad and are full of markings of *crescendo*, *decrescendo*, and *sforzando*, adding to the drama. The song ends suddenly, highlighting the abrupt rejection by the knight when he throws the glove in Lady Kunigunde's face. The setting of the tale about the meanings of love, courage, honor, and self-respect is powerful and translates just as effectively as a partsong.

At the end of the catalogue, McCorkle lists six works for mixed voices that are not associated with a particular work, which she gives the designation of "Anhang L".

"Sofeggien", Anhang L1 refers to the exercises referred to in the *Projektenbuch* and

mentioned in the previous chapter as having been sung in the early meetings of the *Chorverein* in 1848. The *Projecktenbuch* also makes reference to a “Chorstücke” on a text from Rückert’s *Makamen des Hariri*, which McCorkle designated Anhang L2. “Wenn zweie auseinandergehen”, Anhang L4, begun before September 1850, is lost. Sometime after September 1850, Schumann planned choruses on texts from Schiller’s *Die Braut von Messina*, Anhang L5. Finally, McCorkle cites Schumann’s plan for an eight-part chorus, Anhang L6.

The sixth of McCorkle’s group of additional “L” songs is “Glockentürmers Töchterlein”, on a text by Rückert. Composed in Düsseldorf in 1851, it is one of the last partsongs written before Schumann abandoned the medium. “Glockentürmers Töchterlein” was composed on the 28<sup>th</sup> of May, the same day as “Das Sängers”, op. 145, no. 13. In 1988 Bernhard Appel prepared an edition from an autograph in the collections of the Heinrich Heine Institut, which Schott published on behalf of the Robert-Schumann-Forschungsstelle in Düsseldorf. It was also recorded by the Studio Vocale Karlsruhe and is included in their recording of Schumann’s complete choral works.

**Glockentürmers Töchterlein, L3 / WoO 39  
(The Belltower-keeper’s Daughter)**

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)

SATB

No instructions given, 3/4, F major, 30 measures

The belltower-keeper’s daughter lives up in the tower alone and rings the bell while he maintains everything on the grounds. With every strike, he thinks of her, missing her. The tower is beginning to fall apart, and soon they will be together on level ground.

Rückert's text was set as a solo song by Carl Loewe, op. 112 a. Schumann set four of the six verses, leaving out the third and fourth of the poem, which simply repeat the sentiment of the belltower-keeper's daughter being high-born. They contribute nothing of consequence to the narrative. Each verse opens with "Mein hoch-gebornes Schätzelein". The simple, homophonic setting is not adventurous tonally, moving safely to the relative minor and ending in the home key, but is a highly spirited piece. The dotted eighth/sixteenth figure that accompanies each "Mein hoch-gebornes Schätzelein" and des Glockentürmers Töchterlein", is charmingly bell-like.

On 13 September 1853, Schumann presented Clara with a new piano from Klems of Düsseldorf, in honor of her 34<sup>th</sup> birthday. Seated at the piano that was strewn with flowers, was a student of Clara's who was there to accompany two ladies and two gentlemen in a performance of "Die Orange und Myrthe hier", *Bei Schenkung eines Flügels*, Anhang M15. Schumann wrote the poem thirteen years earlier to accompany the new piano he gave Clara two months before they were married. Since it was performed with only four voices, McCorkle gives the Anhang the categorization of "M" (solo voice/s and piano) instead of "L" (mixed choir). The song was first published as a facsimile with transcription in 1996 by Edition Dohr. It was recorded by Studio Vocale Karlsruhe and included in their recording of the complete choral works. The song, like op. 29, no. 3, works for small choirs as well, and therefore falls within my discussion of partsongs.

**Bei Schenkung eines Flügels, Anhang M15**  
(In Giving this Piano)  
SATB with piano  
In ruhigem Tempo, 4/4/, E major, 18 measures

The short, personal poem sets the scene of a garland of flowers around a piano, which is given as a gift of his love. After the flowers wither, the piano will still be there to create art. And although he can not always be with her, he hopes the piano will remind her of him.

The brief, charming song begins with gentle arpeggios in the piano. The quick pace of the sixteenth notes and chromaticism are demanding and surely required rehearsal before the performance. The poem is bittersweet, the first time he presented it to her, they were still fighting for permission to be married — the piano was to remind her of him since they could not currently be together. This second time, it is eerily prophetic, as it was the last time they celebrated her birthday together: five months later, Schumann attempted to take his own life.

## II. Music for women's voices

Frustrated with the declining attendance by the men of his *Chorverein*, Schumann composed in 1849 two sets of six choruses for women in his group, *Romanzen* (op. 69 and 91), which originally were to be a single collection of twelve songs.<sup>264</sup> Schumann appears to have composed the entire set of Romances in merely days. He sketched the six songs of the first volume (nos. 1 – 6) of *Romanzen* over a period of three days in March of 1849, quickly followed over the next three days by a second group of six partsongs (nos. 7 – 12),

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<sup>264</sup> As mentioned in my introductory chapter, one should consult Irmgard Knechtges-Obrecht's exhaustively researched and exquisitely detailed discussion of the compositional, organizational, and publication history of the twelve songs found in the *New Schumann Edition*'s volume *Werke für Frauenchor* (Series V, vol. 2). Knechtges-Obrecht, 64 – 86.

what would become op. 91. Both volumes were published by Simrock: the first volume that same year and the op. 91 two years later in 1851. Written for soloists or choir, these Romances for women are filigreed and poetic, and have more structural variety and arguably more musical interest than those for mixed chorus. As mentioned earlier, this particular group of women must have been fine musicians, as some of the pieces for women's voices are very sophisticated.

An optional piano accompaniment is provided for nine of the twelve songs, much of which does no more than double the vocal parts. While ten of these songs are written in four parts (SSAA) and are strophic and homophonic, two have more interesting textures. The sixth piece in each set—“Die Capelle”, op. 69, no. 6 and “In Meeres Mitten”, op. 91, no. 12—is a double canon, which will be discussed in further detail below.<sup>265</sup>

### **Romanzen für Frauenstimmen, Heft I, mit Klavier *ad libitum*, op. 69**

The first volume contains three settings of texts by Eichendorff (nos. 1, 2, and 5), and one each by Kerner (no. 3), Mörike (no. 4), and Uhland (no. 5).

#### **Tamburinschlägerin, op. 69, no. 1** (The Tambourine Player)

Text: Josef von Eichendorff (1788-1857) taken from the Spanish by Alvaro de Ameida  
(dates unknown)

SSAA chorus with piano *ad libitum*  
Rasch, 2/4, A minor, 17 measures

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<sup>265</sup> McCorkle cites a lost “Liederheft” (Anhang K1) for four female voices dating from 1840, which is referenced in Litzmann, I: 407. Since nothing is really known of the work, I will not further discuss it. McCorkle, 723.

The tale of a lover who, although her/his heart is far away,  
gaily shakes her/his tambourine to cloak the heartache.

Schumann gave his choir a good piece that is quite difficult to sing. He moves the piece along rhythmically, even imitating the rhythm of the gaily shaking tambourine in measure 4. He cleverly builds anticipation for the melody to reach the long awaited “a” in measure 11, which he emphasizes with a *Sforzando piano* by repeating measure 9 in measure 10.

**Waldmädchen, op. 69, no. 2**  
(Forest Maiden)

Text: Josef von Eichendorff (1788-1857)  
SSAA chorus with piano *ad libitum*  
Flüchtig, schlüpfend, 3/8 and 2/8, A major, 54 measures

The fiery maiden puts a hex on the deer hunters who chase  
her, as the maiden cannot be found and will not be bound.

The maiden’s ominous hex of forewarning that she will burn her pursuers is represented by sixteenth notes at *pianissimo*. Further emphasis on her threat is provided by the first of the animated alternations from 3/8 to 2/8. Melodically, we are directed upward as “A” is reached twice in each of the three strophes by the first soprano part. The striking disjunct descent and forte pianos in measures 14 – 16 (and repeated in measures 32 – 34, and 50 – 52) in the first soprano as the line leaps from f-sharp to g natural, provide emphasis for her warning to the hunters not to approach (“komm’ nicht nach mir, ‘ Ich verbreenn’ dich!, Example 17 on the next page”).

**Example 17: measures 13 - 18**

schlanken Lohen wend' ich: komm' nicht nach mir, ich ver - brenn' dich, komm' nicht nach mir, ich ver - brenn' dich!

schlanken Lohen wend' ich: komm' nicht nach mir, ich ver - brenn' dich, komm' nicht nach mir, ich ver - brenn' dich!

These wild intervals are very difficult to sing and speak to the level of singing of the women in his *Chorverein*.

**Klosterfräulein, op. 69, no. 3**  
(The Nun)

Text: Justinus Andreas Christian Kerner (1786-1862)  
SSAA chorus with piano *ad libitum*  
Langsam, 4/4, D minor, 16 measures

The narrator is a girl who has been sent to a nunnery by her family and wonders, “Oh, mother what have you done”.<sup>266</sup>

The touching, aching tune is carried by the first alto and the choir sings at *piano*, but although Alto 1 has the tune, it is not always on top. The only dynamic changes are Schumann’s powerful use of “< >” that swells over “Lenz” in the fourth measure and “viel” in the twelfth measure. The beauty of spring and the happiness it brings to the lambs and

<sup>266</sup> “O Mutter, was hast du gemacht!”

birds beyond her walls and across the valley is bittersweet for the unhappy girl: Spring brings meadows of flowers, but nobody brings her a single flower, and the birds that are free to return home each spring are so much happier than she is.<sup>267</sup>

**Soldatenbraut, op. 69, no. 4**  
(The Soldier's Bride)

Text: Eduard Mörike (1804-1875)  
SSAA chorus with piano *ad libitum*  
Nicht zu schnell, 4/4, A minor, 32 measures

A sympathetic portrayal of a girl's longing as she awaits the return of her young lover who fights bravely for the king although he will never be a decorated general. The young girl wishes her king would know how brave her sweetheart is. She looks out to the stars above the chapel where she dreams they will someday be wed.

Schumann earlier set the poem as a solo Lied (op. 64, no. 1). Both of the first two Strophes are similar: m 1 - 7 = 8 - 14; the third, is new and in major. Each of the verses begin in 6/8 and close with 2/4, except for the third which is entirely in 2/4 (measure 15). Schumann closes the wistful song with a reprise of the first strophe that proclaims the bravery of the girl's beloved: Für den König, da ließ' er sein Blut, Für mich aber eben so gut (He'd lay down his life for the king, and likewise for me) in measure 23, but this time concludes with an additional three measures of 2/4 for firmer closure with an augmentation of the authentic cadence, repeating one last time the sentiment "mich aber eben so gut!".

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<sup>267</sup> "Lenz ging am Gitter vorüber, hat mir kein Blümlein gebracht...viel Glück, ihr Vöglein, ihr flieget der besseren Heimath zu."

**Meerfey, op. 69, no. 5**  
(Mermaid)

Text: Joseph von Eichendorf (1788-1857)  
SSSAA soli with piano *ad libitum*  
Sehr leise, 3/4, A minor, 36 measures

A tale that warns of a spirit that lures sailors to their deaths. Many a sailor before them was captivated by the glances of the tender mermaids combing their hair and singing to their rocks, their magic splendor aglow in the moonlight. The tragic tale concludes by setting the scene of the next morning. At dawn, the enchantresses are nowhere to be found, and their admirers were swallowed up by the sea. Nothing remains of the drowned sailors, and the ship has sunk.

Schumann begins his setting of the creepy and tragic tale not only with explicit instructions for the women to sing “very quietly”, but also reducing the ensemble to five solo voices at *pianissimo*, a more harmonious and unexpected twist in texture and flow from the previous songs. The constant sixteenth notes in pairs throughout the song represent the waves. The first two Strophes are similar: m 1 - 12 = 12 - 24; the third (measures 25 - 36), varies the form. The final strophe is fraught with tension, expressed in longer note values and chromatic part-writing.

**Die Capelle, op. 69, no. 6**  
(The Chapel)

Text: Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862)  
SSAA with piano or physharmonica *ad libitum*  
Langsam, 4/4, F major, 39 measures

High in the mountains a chapel stands and below is a fountain where a young shepherd joyously sings. The chapel bells toll and soon hush the shepherd's happy song: for they ring for a funeral. The family is burying their loved one, who also once sang a happy tune. The young shepherd is asked to

ponder the solemn moment and its irony, for one day he too will be sung to his rest.

The piece is yet another exception to the *ad libitum* accompaniment, as it is the only song of the sets to include a note to offer the choice of physharmonica. With its organ-like timbre, the instrument would certainly help paint the atmosphere of the subject matter. The song is a double canon, with the first soprano and alto paired, and the second soprano with the second alto. The relationships between the strophes in this final song of the collection are much like in the previous "Meerfey", no. 5. The modulation in the third strophe results in clearer polyphony, especially at "Hirtenknabe, Hirtenknabe, dir auch singt man dort einmal (shepherd lad, shepherd lad, one day they will sing for you as well)" in measures 32- 35 (Example 18).

**Example 18: measures 28 - 39**

30  
Gra-be, die sich freu-ten in dem Thal, freu-ten in dem Thal. Hir-tenkna-be,  
bringt man sie zu Gra-be, die sich freu-ten in dem Thal.  
Dro-ben bringt man sie zu Gra-be, die sich freu-ten in dem Thal, freu-ten in dem Thal.  
por. Dro-ben bringt man sie zu Gra-be, die sich freu-ten in dem Thal.

35  
Hir-tenkna-be, dir auch singt man dort ein-mal, dir auch singt man dort, auch dir ein-mal!  
Hir-tenkna-be, dir auch singt man dort ein-mal, dir auch singt man dort ein-mal!  
Hir-tenkna-be, dir auch singt man dort ein-mal, dir auch singt man dort ein-mal!  
Hir-tenkna-be, dir auch singt man dort ein-mal, dir auch singt man dort ein-mal!

Apparently the song was revised several times before it was published. Schumann's first draft was dated 20 March 1849. According to Irmgard Knechtges-Obrecht, this version was crossed out by Schumann because he was unable to complete it in strict canon—a new version was soon begun. American William Batchelder Bradbury embarked on an European tour from 1847–1849 to study in Leipzig with Wenzel, Hauptmann, and Moscheles. During his studies, he compiled an album of music, for which the Schumanns contributed during his visit to them on 16 April 1849. In the album, Schumann included for his entry, a sketch of *Die Cappelle*. He wrote out the two soprano parts and presented Bradbury with the challenge of completing the puzzle in strict canon a fourth below. Schumann later made his own copy, and completed it by 2 May 1849, as it was rehearsed later that day.<sup>268</sup> This version in thirteen measures, listed as an Anhang (with incipit) by McCorkle, was edited and published by Knechtges-Obrecht and Matthias Wendt for the first time in the *New Schumann Edition*. More interesting, is the identity of a physharmomnica part we now know Schumann sketched for the song. He likely drafted it between 18 and 21 May 1849, the time of the op. 137: as the physharmonica part was found on the backside of a manuscript for the horn accompaniment of op. 137, no. 4. The first account of the autograph is in 1932 in a catalogue of Berlin auctioneers. The description in the catalogue noted a piece in two movements in F major and 4/4, consisting of 39 bars, which was gentle in character and to be played *pianissimo* throughout.<sup>269</sup> Martin Kreisig of the Robert-Schumann-Haus did not know the source, as in 1933 he listed it as a

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<sup>268</sup> Knechtges-Obrecht, 71-72.

<sup>269</sup> Liepmannsohn, Berlin, catalogue No. 63, 9 December 1932, p. 25, no. 164 as cited in Knechtges-Obrecht. *Ibid.*, 73.

“previously unknown, autonomous short canon-like work for physharmonica”.<sup>270</sup> Because the auction’s winning bid went to a private buyer and remained in that family, the belief of the existence of a separate canon for physharmonica persisted in the literature until very recently, when it was finally identified in 1991 as belonging to *Die Capelle* in the *New Schumann Edition*.

**Romanzen für Frauenstimmen, Heft II, mit Klavier *ad libitum*, op. 91**

The second book is a collection of settings by Kerner (no. 9), Mörike (no. 10), Reinick (no. 11) and Rückert (no. 12), and two settings from the old German *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (nos. 7 and 8).

**Rosmarien, op. 91, no. 7**  
(Rosemary)

Text: from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*  
SSAA with piano *ad libitum*  
No instructions, 2/4, G minor, 22 measures

The sad tale of a lovely maid in her father’s garden gathering flowers for a wreath. Instead of assembling red roses to wear for her wedding, she collects rosemary to make a wreath for her beloved beneath the lindens, for her love has died.

An achingly beautiful melody treated simply, but still effective in portraying the young girl’s mourning.

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<sup>270</sup> Knechtges-Obrecht, 73.

**Jäger Wohlgemuth, op. 91, no. 8**  
(The Happy Hunter)

Text: from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*  
SSAA with piano *ad libitum*  
Frisch, 4/4, B-flat major, 30 measures

The cheerful text finds a happy hunter having returned with his dog from a successful hunt. Exhilarated from his chase of the deer through the hills, he sounds his horn to return to his true love. He relaxes in the grass with her and tells her how nothing can shake his love or tear them apart, for they will lie together forever, as two roses of the field.

The work stands out for its simple, uncomplicated treatment. It is almost entirely homophonic and there is no chromaticism.

**Der Wasserman, op. 91, no. 9**  
(The Merman)

Text: Justinus Kerner (1786-1862)  
SSAA with piano *ad libitum*  
Ziemlich lebhaft, 4/4, G minor, 45 measures

A mysterious stranger joins the dance and selects the fairest girl to dance around the linden trees, offering a wreath and a tender glance. Soon the stranger, with his icy arms and pale skin, reveals himself as a merman and kidnaps the fair maiden, taking her home as her bride.

The song begins rather innocently setting the scene of an impromptu dance by the girls gathered in the town square on a lovely day in May. The piece is quite conventional, tuneful, and conjunct melodically. The first two stanzas are identical (measures 1–8 = 9–16). The third stanza, however, begins in a freer form, highlighting the dramatic dialogue between the victim and abductor. Staccato eighth notes sung by the sopranos highlight the young girl's fear as she asks the man about his cold arms ("Warum ist so kalt dein Arm?").

The lower voices (as the waterman) answer in legato with slurred eighth notes that Neckar's waters are cold ("Neckars Tiefen da ist's nicht warm", Example 19).

**Example 19: measures 17 – 25**

O Jüngling! warum ist so kalt dein Arm? O Jüngling! warum  
 O Jüngling! warum ist so kalt dein Arm? „In Neckars Tiefen da ist's nicht warm.“ O Jüngling! warum  
 ist so bleich deine Hand? Er tanzt mit ihr von der Linde weit:  
 ist so bleich deine Hand?, „In's Wasser dringt nicht der Sonne Brand.“ Er tanzt mit ihr von der Linde weit:

The slow final three measures bring the sad tale to a close as the young girl weeps goodbye to her sisters (“Ade, ihr Schwestern allzumal, Ade!”).

**Das verlassene Mägdlein, op. 91, no. 10**  
(The Abandoned Maiden)

Text: Eduard Mörike (1804-1875)  
SSAA with piano *ad libitum*  
Im Volkston, 3/4, A minor, 32 measures

A bittersweet tale of a heartbroken girl waking to the sound of the rooster and going to light the fire. She finds herself starting yet another day fighting back tears, for she is unable to put behind her the degradation she feels from the betrayal of her faithless love.

The four verse partsong "in the popular style" was set as a solo song by Schumann in 1847 (op. 64, no. 2) and by Wolf in 1888. While the piano part is optional, it is not merely a vocal reduction as in some of the other songs, but quite descriptive, adding a lot to the song.

**Der Bleicherin NachtLied, op. 91, no. 11**  
(Night Song of the Laundress)

Text: Robert Reinick (1805-1852)  
SSAA with piano *ad libitum*  
Nicht Schnell, 4/4, D minor, 14 measures

A laundress bleaches linen, all the while praising the purity of the palest whites. She implies her own ruin as a youth was due to her red cheeks, and concludes that all in the world must be bleached as white as linen.

Schumann sets the second through the fifth stanzas (leaving out the opening stanza) of painter and poet Robert Reineck's poem. Each of the four stanzas ends with the same sentiment: Bleach, Bleach, white linen! All must be pale in the end! (bleiche, bleiche, weißes Lein! Bleich muß alles Ende sein). In the sixth measure all the voices meet on a unison g followed by an angular unison. The rhythmic motive of the first two bars appears

again slightly modified in measures 9 and 10, all four iterations emphasizing the virtues of purity with the text: Bleach, Bleach, white linen (bleiche, bleiche, weißes Lein)!

**In Meeres Mitten, op. 91, no. 12**  
(Beyond the Sea)

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)  
SSSAAA  
Feierlich, 2/4, A minor, 81 measures

In this tale, a merchant's beautiful daughter sells silky threads and ribbon. There is an altar where women come with wreaths of roses to offer to Jesus. The narrator asks them to say a prayer for him.

The collection ends with a six-part setting of the poem he set two years earlier in 1847 for male voices (op. 65, no. 7), which will be discussed later in the chapter. This is the only piece of the twelve songs that does not include a piano part, perhaps because of its complex six-voiced texture, which also makes it stand apart from the rest of the set. Like the last song in op. 69, the first half of this song is a double canon, this time soprano 1 is paired with soprano 3, and soprano 2 with alto 1. The song is bold, powerful, and solemn with its eighth notes, triplets, and chromaticism. The song is also demanding in range, as alto 3 needs a low E. This solemn setting is an ambitious piece to end the set, yet it seems a fitting choice, with its final prayer to a young Jesus for intervention (o bittet ihn für mich, Jesum den Knaben!), which is marked by a switch to major.

The partsongs for mixed and especially those for female voices certainly demonstrate a certain charm and finesse, highlighting Schumann's love of experiment, his sensitivity in the choice and treatment of texts, and his detail in the shaping of a

homophonic setting. The declamatory, harmonic and expressive character of these songs at first glance appear simple, but there are also complicated surprises which, from a choir with appropriate ability and experience, can provide a rewarding challenge filled with beautifully expressive moments.

### III. Music for Männerstimmen

The pieces for *Liedertafel* are more vocally demanding, more harmonically and rhythmically complex, often contrapuntally conceived, and perhaps as a result can be argued to be more musically rewarding.

#### *Sechs Lieder für vierstimmigen Männergesang, op. 33*

Schumann's first collection of a cappella partsongs were for *Liedertafel*; his *Sechs Lieder* (op. 33) were composed in 1840, the same year as his prolific output of solo songs. On 19 February, he wrote to his friend, Gustav Adolph Keferstein, the theologian, pedagogue, music aesthetician and critic, who contributed to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* using the pen-name "K. Stein":

I now write only song pieces, small and large, and also male quartets which I would like to dedicate to my honored friend who at this moment reads these words, that is as long as he kindly promises to no longer prevent me from composing. May I? I can hardly state what a pleasure it is to write for the voice in comparison to instruments, and how the ideas weigh and rage within me when I sit to work. I have been flooded with new ideas and am even considering an opera which, of course, is only possible if I can finally be freed from my editorial work completely.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> "Ich schreibe jetzt nur Gesangsachen, großes und kleines, auch Männerquartette, die ich meinem verehrten Freund, der eben dieses Zeilen liest, zueignen möchte, wenn er mir freundlich verspricht, mich nicht mehr vom Componiren abzuhalten. Darf ich? Kaum kann ich Ihnen sagen, welcher Genuß es ist, für die Stimme

Keferstein was an important ally in Schumann's bitter legal battle with Wieck for Clara's hand, as he was also the deacon of the Garrison Church in Jena. Schumann, looking to restore his credibility, asked him to help secure an honorary doctorate from the University of Jena. Although at the time known more as a critic than a composer, Schumann was granted the honor of "artifex ingeniosus et iudex elegans (brilliant artist and fine judge of art)."<sup>272</sup> In thanks for his help, Schumann dedicated the *Sechs Lieder für vierstimmigen Männergesang*, op. 33 with the words "with profound cordiality to Doctor K. Stein". These pieces were published two years later in 1842 by Schuberth & Co. in Hamburg & Leipzig.

The texts for the *Sechs Lieder* (op. 33) include popular poems such as Heine's "Die Minnesänger" and "Die Lotosblume" as well as Goethe's "Rastlose Liebe". The collection also contains texts by Julius Mosen, "Der Träumende See" and "Der Zecher als Doctrinair", and Robert Reinick's "Frühlingsglocken". The prevailing mood of the a cappella songs is cheerful and sometimes humorous, as is the case with "Der Zecher als Doctrinair".

**Der träumende See, op. 33, no. 1**  
(The Dreaming Sea)

Text: Julius Mosen (1803-1867)  
TTBB  
Zart, langsam, 4/4, A major, 18 measures

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zu schreiben im Verhältnis zur Instrumentalcomposition, und wie das in mir wogt und tobt, wenn ich in der Arbeit sitze. Da sind mir ganz neue dinge aufgegangen und ich denke wohl auch an eine Oper, was freilich nur möglich, wenn ich ganz einmal von der Redaction los bin." *Briefe, Neue Folge*, 184.

<sup>272</sup> Wasielewski, 128.

A cheerful and flowery text that paints the scene that surrounds the dreaming sea: twittering birds, swaying rushes and butterflies as blue as the sky do not disturb the blue sea's rest.

The opening material returns in measure nine and is repeated almost verbatim: harmonically it is the same, but by measure 13, the rhythm changes in its use of rests and staccato — the first time (measures 5 – 8) evoking the twittering of the birds and the second time (measures 13 – 16) imitating the fluttering of the butterflies (Example 20).<sup>273</sup>

**Example 20: measures 5- 18:**

5 10

Vöglein hoch im Fichtenbaum, dass ihr mir nicht den Schläfer weckt! Doch lei-se weht das Schilf und wiegt das

Doch lei-se... wiegt das Schilf das

Doch lei-se wiegt das

15

Haupt, das Haupt mit leichtem Sinn, ein blauer Fal-ter a-ber fliegt da-rü-ber einsam hin, ein-sam hin.

Haupt.

Schilf einsam,

<sup>273</sup> “Ihr Vöglein hoch im Fichtenbaum, dass ihr mir nicht den Schläfer weckt! Das Haupt mit leichtem Sinn...ein blauer Falter aber fliegt darüber einsam hin.”

**Die Minnesänger, op. 33, no. 2**  
(The Minnesingers)

Text: Heinrich Heine (1797-1856)  
TTBB  
Leicht, kurz, 2/4 and 3/4, C major, 57 measures

The Minnesingers' "battle" with their songs of heartbreak, as the fair ladies watch on the balcony above. The battle is described in the terms of a jousting match, where fantasy is the horse, art the shield, grace and beauty the lances, and speech their only sword.

The spirit of the competitions of these troubadours is depicted with animated, chattering declamation. Homophonic throughout and in rondo form (A-B-A-C-A-coda), Schumann keeps things moving and adds interest by alternating between duple and triple time as well as with varying dynamics and *ritardandos*.

**Die Lotosblume, op. 33, no. 3**  
(The Lotus)

Text: Heinrich Heine (1797-1856)  
TTBB  
Langsam, aber nicht schleppend, 6/4, D-flat major, 26 measures

The lotus waits for nighttime when she is at her most beautiful because of the cool light of her lover the moon; it is at night, in the glow of her lover, that the lotus grows and glows and blooms.

Schumann set the beautiful text again for solo voice the same year in *Myrthen*, op. 25, no 7. The poignant tale of the lotus flower is a flowing through-composed song and perhaps the loveliest of the group. Rich in textural variety, Schumann briefly changes in

measure 8 from a homophonic to an imitative texture at “Der Mond, iht ihr Buhle”. He abruptly moves to E major with a gorgeous harmonic progression as the flower welcomes the moon upon awaking to the moon’s light (“und ihm entschleiert sie freundlich”) in measure 13, and returns to Db major in measure 21 when it weeps and trembles with sighs of love, Example 21).

**Example 21: measures 13 – 26**

15  
 ihm entschleiert sie freundlich ihr frommes Blumenge-sicht, sie blüht und glüht und leuch-tet, und starret stumm in die  
 20  
 Höh, sie duf-tet und weinet und zit-tert vor Lieb' und Lie-bes-weh, vor Lieb' und Lie-bes-weh!  
 ritard. 25  
 ritard.

**Der Zecher als Doctrinair, op. 33, no. 4**  
 (The Reveler as Theorist)

Text: Julius Mosen (1803 – 1867)  
 TTBB soli and TTBB choir  
 Mässig, 3/4 and 2/4, c minor, 54 measures

A humorous text on the woes of love and the joys of drinking.

There are two opposite emotions in the text, the heartache of love gone wrong and the happy cure of good old wine. Schumann begins the woeful tale with a call and response where two solo voices ask the questions and the group gives the answer.<sup>274</sup> He changes the meter to 2/4 and increases the tempo as the solo lines sing for the last time, ranting how this should never be and with a *ritard*, that love causes nothing but woe, “ja, ja, ja!”. The chorus enters at measure 25, now in the parallel major to sing of the cure for love, which is drinking of course!

**Rastlose Liebe, op. 33, no. 5**  
(Restless Love)

Text: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832)  
TTBB soli and TTBB choir  
Rasch und sehr markirt, 6/8 and 3/8, E-flat major, 78 measures

A victim of restless love cannot find peace. Through rain, snow, storm and wind, love continues on, over hill and heather, where the clouds are drifting and the mists are lifting, love follows, no matter how stormy, or in what direction (north, south, east or west). There is no relief or escape, as love continues to pursue him.

The poem was also set for solo voice by Zelter and Schubert (D. 138 / op. 5, no. 1).

This chromatic song must have been a favorite of Schumann's, since he chose to publish it in his *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.<sup>275</sup> Familiar expressive techniques include tempo changes,

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<sup>274</sup> For example, in the first four measures, [SOLI TTBB] “Was quälte dir dein banges Herz? [TUTTI] Liebesschmerz! (What was it that pierced your aching heart? Cupid's dart!)”; the next eight measures do the same thing, [SOLI] “Was machte dir dein Augeroth? [TUTTI]: Liebesnoth (What fired the shaft that hurt you so? Cupid's bow!)”, [SOLI] “Was gab dir Sorgen? [TUTTI] Liebesqual! (What gave you such woe and pain? Cupid's chain!).”

<sup>275</sup> *NZfM* 13/21 (9 September 1840).

exaggerated dynamics, a brief section for soli, as well as a brief move to 2/4 (measures 58 – 61).

**Frühlingsglocken, op. 33, no. 6**  
(Spring Bells)

Text: Robert Reinick (1805-1852)

TTBB soli and TTBB choir

Nicht zu schnell, 3/8 and 2/4, A major, 114 measures

Ringling, tingling, birds singing, budding flowers, and fluttering butterflies depict the happiness of spring's arrival, while the ringing of the blue bells foreshadows the sadness of spring's inevitable departure.

The final song is the longest of the group. Rhythmic interest is achieved by alternating between 3/8 and 2/4 as well as by playing with the tempos. Solo passages bring textural interest, highlighting the onomatopoeic effects with words/sounds like “klingling”, “bim baum”, and “bim bim”. In the opening 4 measures the “klingling” of the snowbells are highlighted. A similar passage beginning at measure 39, this time in F-sharp minor, softly imitate the ringing of a bell with “Bim baum” entrances (Example 22 on the next page).

**Example 22, measures 39 – 47**

40

SOLO. *p* Mai - glück - ehen that läu - ten, bim baum, bim baum! Was

SOLO. *pp* bim baum, bim baum!

SOLO. *pp* läu - ten, bim baum.

SOLO. *pp* hat das zu be - deu - ten? bim baum, bim baum! Früh - ling ist Bräu - ti -

SOLO. *p* bim baum, bim baum!

SOLO. *p* bim baum, bim baum!

SOLO. *p* bim baum!

TUTTI. *pp*

TUTTI. *pp*

TUTTI. *pp*

TUTTI. *pp*

45

A third entrance beginning at measure 77, this time with the word “bim bim”, represents the sound of funeral bells, for spring is coming to an end. Although the entrance begins as the first, the ringing of the bells notes that we are not in A major, but A minor. The first and only use of triplets in measure 106 on single melodic pitches with a dynamic marking of *piano* also highlights this change of mood.

The published set was not popular in its day. Perhaps in an effort to make it more appealing and marketable, Carl Reinecke, with Schumann’s approval and guidance, arranged them with piano accompaniment. Nos. 1, 2, and 5 were arranged as songs with piano accompaniment, and Nos. 3, 4, and 6 as duets with piano. Unfortunately this did not further their market appeal. Schumann would not write for male voices for another seven years, when, after his move to Dresden, he was appointed to direct their *Liedertafel*.

## **Additional song**

An *Anhang*, “Der stolze Gallier”, was recently discovered, whose autograph was put up for auction. The title is listed by Margit McCorkle (pages 138-139) as an unpublished *Anhang* to Op. 33, with the source of the text listed as undetermined (“Nicht ermittelt”). The previously unknown song was never published; McCorkle provides a description but does not include a musical incipit. The *Anhang* is set for four male voices, according to the description by McCorkle and of the manuscript at auction by Sotheby’s in 2005 (Lot 167: Schumann, Robert. The Autograph Manuscript of “Der Stolze Gallier”). The autograph includes drafts of other songs and partsongs, is two pages long (oblong 4to, c.20.5 x 25.2cms) on 12-stave paper by Diabelli of Vienna, watermarked “A. Schmid”; there is a musicological annotation in pencil “unknown male choir piece” (“Unbekannte Männerchor”) “Leipzig, February, 1840”. “Der stolze Gallier”, is the second of four sketches on the autograph. It is notated for four voices on four systems of two staves each, with treble and bass clefs, comprising a work of twenty-two bars, apparently complete, in 6/8 time, in F major. The sketch is preceded (no. 1) by a sketch of the opening four bars of the part-song “Der träumende See” op.33 no.1, notated on two staves and followed by (no. 3) the opening eight bars of “Der träumende See”, notated on two systems, each of two staves, different from the ultimate, published versions; and (no. 4) an early working sketch of “Schöne Wiege, meiner Leiden” from the Heine *Liederkreis*, op.24 no.5, the vocal line only without words, comprising a twenty-bar melody, different from the final version, and corresponding to the opening eighteen bars of the published song.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> McCorkle, pp. 136-140 and Sotheby’s auction lot entry from 2005: ArtFact, “Lot 167, Schumann, Robert,” <http://www.artfact.com/auction-lot/schumann,-robert.-1-c-ij7pdyaok> (accessed on September 5, 2009). Although McCorkle does not include an incipit, one can take a look at the manuscript on the

### **Ritornelle, op. 65**

Of Schumann's partsongs composed in 1847 for the *Liedertafel*, perhaps the most musically interesting is the group of *Ritornelle*, op. 65, which was published in 1849 by Breitkopf & Härtel. Although there appears to be no key relationships between the songs, they are related in that these seven short verses by Friedrich Rückert, to whom the opus is dedicated, are each treated as canons. Schumann's fondness for canon, discussed in the previous chapter, was not uncommon; it is a tradition cultivated by many of his predecessors, including Mozart and Beethoven.

#### **Die Rose stand im Tau, op. 65, no. 1** (The Rose at Daybreak)

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)

TTBBB

Langsam und zart, 4/4 time, A minor, 12 measures

A dewy, pearl-grey rose is at its fullest splendor in the  
sunshine, when it is ruby red.

Schumann composed this touching and expressive piece the day after Mendelssohn's death. The canon at the fifth below between first tenor and first bass creates, with its dissonances, much of the power of Schumann's expression. The partsong is sung three times, each with at a different dynamic: *piano*, *mezzo-forte*, and *pianissimo*. The three remaining voices are accompanimental, rhythmically identical to the first tenor, and provide harmonic structure. The song ends with a two-measure coda, where an augmented sixth chord resolves to I 6-4 to V to I, ending on a Picardy third.

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Sotheby's link, where a copyrighted photo of the manuscript with zoom capabilities is included on the lot description.

**Laßt Lautenspiel und Becherklang, op. 65, no. 2**  
(Play on Lutes and Clink your Glasses)

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)  
BBB, with directions for four voices on each part (Vier Stimmen)  
Frisch, Cut time, C major, 52 measures

A brief toast to youth, which passes too soon in our brief  
lives.

All three voices in this spirited drinking song are in canon at the unison. The first bass sings the entire twenty-four melody and then repeats the first sixteen measures. Bass II enters after eight measures, singing the entire twenty-four bar melody and then repeating the first eight measures. The third Bass enters after sixteen measures and sings the entire twenty-four-measure melody without repetition. There is a striking clash in harmony that occurs three times throughout the song. Measures 17, 25, and 33 produce striking note clusters on the pitches A, F sharp, and G as the harmony shifts from V – I (measures 16-18, 23-25, and 32-34). This is a result of the unison canon playing throughout the piece. A homophonic coda, at *fortissimo* concludes the song with a final cadence that resolves into an open fifth.

**Blüt'oder Schnee!, op. 65, no. 3**  
(Blossom or Snow!)

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)  
TTT soli and TTBB chorus  
Langsam, 4/4, B-flat major, 19 measures

The wind flutters the tree of life to and fro with the potential  
to flutter away all our dreams: will there be rapture or woe,  
will it blossom or snow?

Schumann composed a strict canon at the unison between the three solo tenors. The three tenor solo voices are in canon and the four-part male chorus enters at cadence points. The first solo tenor sings the fourteen-measure melody. The second solo tenor enters four measures later and only sings the melody for ten measures. Finally, the third solo tenor enters nine measures later and sings the melody for five measures. Every four measures, the chorus homophonically interjects with the words “Blüth oder Schnee” in a rhythmic pattern based on the opening measure of the canon. The structure of the canon is similar to that of the second song, but where all voices sing the entire melody in no.2, here the second and third parts sing only portions of the melody. A six-measure, non-canonic coda concludes the piece. The first bass part sings in rhythm with the three solo tenor voices. An antiphonal effect between these voices and the three-voice chorus is achieved by Schumann’s use of rhythmic and melodic ideas from the opening four measures. Further rhythmic interest is produced by the cross-rhythm (three against two) between the two groups of voices.

**Gebt mir zu trinken, op. 65, no. 4**  
(Hurray for Drinking)

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)  
BBB chorus  
Frisch und kräftig, 4/4, F major, 28 measures

A brief laud to the merits of drinking, for whatever is in your future —no matter how dire — can be forgotten by simply raising and clinking your glass.

This superbly entertaining piece begins with a really effective opening on the words “Gebt mir zu trinken!” and stands out every time it is repeated. The canon begins with a

fifteen-measure melody introduced by Bass I, followed by ten measures of repeated material. Bass II enters after five measures, singing the fifteen-measure melody in its entirety and concluding with five measures of repeated material. The third bass enters in the eleventh measure and sings the entire melody without any further repetition. The canon ends with a three-measure homophonic coda.

**Zürne nicht des Herbstes Wind, op. 65, no. 5**

(Blame Not the Autumn Wind)

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)

TTBB chorus

Langsam, zart, 3/4, B-flat major, 22 measures

The poet tells us not to blame the autumn for the death of the rose that summer brought. The rose should be plucked while it is still in bloom so that it may be enjoyed in its prime.

The double canon at the fifth is twenty measures in length with a twelve-measure theme. The canon concludes on the fourth voice's completion of the theme. Tenor II sings the theme followed by eight measures of repeated material; Tenor I enters after two measures to sing the theme and six measures of repeated material. Bass II enters in the seventh measure to sing the theme and repeat two measures, and Bass I enters in the ninth measure to sing the answer. A two-measure homophonic coda in which Bass I and II sing the first four measures of the theme in diminution, concludes the piece at *pianissimo* with a *ritardando* at the cadence (Example 23 on the next page).

**Example 23: measures 1 – 22**

Langsam, zart.

Tenor I. Zür - ne nicht des Herb - stes Wind, der die Ro - sen raubet,

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

Bass I.

Bass II. Zür - ne nicht des

sondern Ro - sen - geh' ge - schwind pflü - cken, eh' er schnaubet. Zür - ne

- geh' ge - schwind pflü - cken, eh' er schnaubet. Zür - ne nicht des Herb - stes

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

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

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

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

Ro - sen - geh' ge - schwind pflü - cken, eh' er schnaubet. zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht!

schwind pflü - cken, eh' er schnaubet. Zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht, zür - ne nicht!

Coda. ritard. pp

**In Sommertagen Rüste den Schlitten, op. 65, no. 6**

(Prepare your Sleigh in the Summertime)

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)

TTBB chorus

Frisch und markirt, 3/4, C major, 28 measures

The reader is advised to fit out the sleigh in summer and repair the wagon in winter.

A double canon with the theme, sung by Bass I, is four measures in length and sequentially based upon a descending diatonic scale. A real answer sung by Tenor I follows. Bass II enters next, answered by Tenor II. The fugal exposition is sixteen measures long, after which the voices repeat the subject for twelve measures in the same order as the original statement. Unlike the previous songs in the collection, Schumann does not end with a coda, but instead closes on the second tenor's completion of the subject.

**In Meeres Mitten, op. 65, no. 7**  
(Beyond the Sea)

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)

TTBB chorus

Langsam, feierlich, 8/4, C-sharp minor, 20 measures

In this tale, a merchant's beautiful daughter sells silky threads and ribbon. There is an altar where women come with wreaths of roses to offer to Jesus. The narrator asks them to say a prayer for him.

The final song of the set is a "Canon infinitus". Schumann set an expanded version of Rückert's text two years later in 1849 for female voices (op. 91, no. 12 discussed earlier in this chapter). Although also canonic in conception, this song is taken in a different direction than the others in the set. Tenor I introduces the four-measure subject, and Tenor II enters half a measure later. Two measures of two-part canon follows before Bass II begins the subject, and again after two counts, the answer enters, this time presented by

Bass I. The second pair is a fifth lower than the first. Only twenty measures in length, the piece, which like the sixth song has no coda, is a brief exercise in modulation — each repetition begins one whole tone lower. As a result, the piece modulates in a series of subdominant relationships from the original key of C-sharp minor through F-sharp minor, b minor, and finally, e minor. Rather than continue the modulating scheme, Schumann concludes with a final cadence on E major, a Picardy third (Example 24).

**Example 24: measures 1 – 20**

*Langsam, feierlich.*

5

In Mee-res Mit-ten ist ein off-ner La-den und ei-ne jun-ge Kaufmanns-frau da-

10

den. In Mee-res Mitt' ist ein Al-tar er-ha-ben, mit Rosenkränzen kommen al-le  
fa-den. In Mee-res Mitt' ist ein Al-tar er-ha-ben, mit Rosenkränzen  
Kaufmannsfrau da-rin-nen, die feil hat gol-den Band- und Sei-den  
rin-nen, die feil hat gol-den Band- und Sei-den-fa-

15

Frau-en! O bit-tet ihn für mich, Je-sum den Kna-  
kommen al-le Frau-en! O bit-tet ihn für mich Je-sum den  
fa-den. In Mee-res Mitt' ist ein Al-tar er-ha-ben, mit Rosenkrän-zen  
den. In Mee-res Mitt' ist ein Al-tar er-ha-ben, mit Rosenkränzen kommen al-le

20

ben! O bit-tet ihn, o bit-tet ihn für mich, o bittet ihn für mich, Jesum den Kna-ben!  
Kna-ben! O bit-tet ihn, o bittet ihn für mich, Je-sum den Kna-ben!  
kommen al-le Frau-en! O bit-tet ihn für mich, Jesum den Kna-ben!  
Frau-en! O bit-tet ihn für mich, Je-sum den Kna-ben!

This last bar is a device to end the piece, but if he had extended the piece to continue the modulating scheme of subdominant relationships, it could theoretically arrive back at the beginning key of C-sharp minor, which would explain the subtitle “Canon infinitus”.

### **Additional Songs**

McCorkle includes incipits for two additional songs: the lively, 34-measure Anhang no. 1, “Hätte zu einem Traubenkerne” (H/K WoO12) was first published in 1906, and the 56-measure Anhang no. 2, “Zum Anfang” (H/K WoO17) was published in 1926 and again in 1928. A manuscript of op. 65 housed at the Robert-Schumann-House in Zwickau, originally ordered the movements “Anhang no.1, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, Anhang no. 2, 7.”<sup>277</sup> While I do not know why they were not included in the original publication, it is interesting to note that “Zum Anfang” is not in canon, and perhaps did not make for a cohesive set. Both are to be included in the upcoming *Werkgruppe 1: Werke für Männerchor* and can be heard on the recording by Studio Vocale Karlsruhe, *Robert Schumann: The Complete Secular Choral Works*.

### **A return to Political Themes**

The patriotic sentiments that inspired Schumann to set Nikolaus Becker’s *Rheinlied* “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben” (*Der Deutsche Rhein*, WoO4) in 1840 resurface later in the decade. With political uprising in the air, it is significant that in 1847 through 1849 Schumann composed the *Drei Gesänge* “Songs of War and Freedom” (op. 62, composed in

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<sup>277</sup> McCorkle, 281.

1847 and published by Whistling a year later), five hunting songs *Jagdlieder* (op. 137, composed in Kreischa from 18 – 21 May 1849 and published posthumously in June 1857 by Rieder-Biedermann) to which Schumann added optional accompaniment for natural and valve horns, as well as three revolutionary pieces composed in Dresden in April 1848 which also remained unpublished in Schumann's lifetime: "Zu den Waffen", "Schwarz-Rot-Gold", and "Deutscher Freiheitsgesang" (WoO 4, H/K WoO 13 – 15, *Drei Freiheitsgesänge mit Begleitung und Harmoniemusik*),<sup>278</sup> which all include ad lib accompaniment for winds. In an effort to represent the freedom proclaimed by his chosen texts, Schumann's patriotic partsongs tend to include dotted rhythms, ascending triadic figures in the tradition of brass fanfares, accelerating tempi, and dramatic interjections. The texture is usually homophonic; this rhythmic unity represents a greater unity of not only choir, but country.

### **Drei Gesänge, op. 62**

As noted in a letter to Friedrich Kistner, Schumann referred to his *Drei Gesänge*, (op. 62) as his "patriotic songs" (patriotischen Lieder). These three songs, all composed for four-part male voices with folk-like melodies, were composed for his *Dresden Liedertafel* in response to the victory of the Swiss federalists in November, 1847.<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> The partsongs are catalogued individually by Hofman and Keil: "Schwarz-Rot-Gold" (WoO 13), "Zu den Waffen" (WoO 14), and "Deutscher Freiheitsgesang" (WoO 15).

<sup>279</sup> Letter to Friedrich Kistner, 9 December 1847, in *BNF* 451 – 452; cited in Daverio "Einheit – Freiheit – Vaterland: Intimations of Utopia in Robert Schumann's Late Choral Music", 62.

**Der Eidgenossen Nachtwache, op. 62, no. 1**  
**(Nightwatch of the Swiss Confederates)**

Text: Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff (1788-1857)  
TTBB

Nicht zu schnell, aber muntern Geistes, 3/4, F-sharp minor, 119 measures

Everything is dark, and everyone else is asleep, but the guards keep faithful watch, not making a sound, in order to keep everyone safe. The enemy thinks they are crafty as they arrive with their ropes, chains and ladders to scale the walls. But no plan could be madder, as the Swiss confederates with God on their side, casts a net around them, a fortress will protect them. The veterans are fighting.

Schumann repeatedly begins verses with one or both bass groups entering before the entire choir sings. Rhythmically it is simple, with characteristic dotted-rhythmic patterns, and it is homophonic in nature. When all four voices are not in complete homophony, the tenors are rhythmically identical and the basses are together rhythmically when they begin a phrase together, otherwise, the first bass sings homophonically with the tenors. Although there are chromatic flirtations, the song stays predominantly in minor throughout. Aside from a *fortissimo* in measure 30, the dynamics are soft throughout. Measures 1-14 return verbatim (text and music) in measures 71-84. The B section (beginning with measure 15) also returns modified (beginning at measure 85). The return initially begins by repeating the text and rhythm with measures 15-24 being rhythmically and textually identical to measures 85-94. Schumann then repeats and further develops the beginning text and rhythmic ideas of the B section “gebt um und um, um’s land her-um, mit seinen gold’non Schaaren die Frommen zu bewahren” in measures 95 through 106. He ends the song with familiar opening material from the A section re-setting the phrase “die Berge rings steh’n auf der Wacht”, ending in F-sharp major.

**Freiheitslied, op. 62, no. 2**  
**(Nightwatch of the Swiss Confederates)**

Text: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866)

TTBB

Mit Begeisterung, 2/4, A minor, 115 measures

Freedom appears in the form of a great thought that awakes  
by ruffling its feathers.

This song is more dynamically fitting for a patriotic song than the first, with strong dynamic contrasts, *crescendos* and *fortissimos*. Schumann writes in strophic form (A is repeated musically intact with measures 1-30; 31-60 and 61-90), which is familiar from folk music and hymns. The song closes (measures 91–115) with a coda based on rhythmic material from the A section and a repeat of the first verse of text, this time with a striking c sharp in the first tenor part, highlighting the subdominant in major with the final resolution on the tonic in minor (Example 25).

**Example 25, measures 91 - 115**

The image displays a musical score for the final section of the song, measures 91 to 115. It features four staves: a vocal line (Tenor 1) and three piano accompaniment staves (Right Hand, Left Hand, and Bass). The vocal line includes the following lyrics: "Zittr', o Er-de, dunk-le Macht, bis zum Ab-grund nie-der, der Ge-dank' ist auf-ge-wacht, schüt-telt sein Ge-flie-der, will ge-flü-gelt dir ent-flieh'n, wenn du nicht wirst fes-seln ihn, sprich, sprich, ob du's wirst kön-nen!". The score is marked with dynamic instructions such as *p*, *f*, *ff*, and *sfz*. Measure numbers 95, 100, 105, 110, and 115 are indicated above the vocal line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 2/4.

**Schlachtgesang, op. 62, no. 3**  
**(Battle Song)**

Text: Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724-1803)

TTBB

Sehr kräftig, 4/4, C major, 93 measures

It has been a long fight, and although they do not fear death and bravely battle the dance of war, they know they cannot win without the Lord Almighty on their side. Although they have so far been denied victory, they have not fought in vain. The trumpets can be heard and they must boldly continue their fight and trust in God, to lead them on to victory.

Composed in three large sections, the eight-bar A section repeats three times.

Almost a shout, the B section brings more movement and flow as triplets come into play.

The addition of descending quarter notes and accented half notes (twice heard in measures 28 and 30) continue that momentum. Schumann quickly shifts to a strictly homophonic (beginning at measure 53) and at times monophonic texture, emphasizing a unison g (measures 41 – 43; 45 – 47). An imitative approach ends the section with ascending, chromatic scales in imitation from measure 54 – 60 resolving the section in G major (Example 26).

**Example 26: measures 46 – 60**

50

auf-ge-hob-ne Schwert, des Feldherrn Hut und Schwert! Fern ord-net er die kühl- ne, die Fern ord-net er die Fern ord-net er die kühl- ne Schlacht, und

The third section beginning at measure 68 resembles the opening, and Schumann instructs the singers to return to the first tempo, but somewhat slower. The text “Fern ordnet” is treated imitatively. This final section takes rhythmic ideas from the first two, re-introducing the triplets in measure 77 to quicken the pace to the conclusion with a triumphant final “Hurrah!” in C major rallying the warriors to fight on, making for the most heroic of the partsongs thus far.

### **Drei Freiheitsgesänge mit Begleitung und Harmoniemusik, WoO 4;H/K WoO 13 – 15**

The *Freiheitsgesänge* were written for the *Dresdner Liedertafel* in the traditional four-part male chorus format (TTBB) and date from early April 1848. The partsongs were written with an optional wind band accompaniment (1 piccolo, 1 flute, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 4 valve horns, 4 trumpets, 1 alto trombone, 1 tenor trombone, 1 bass trombone, timpani and serpent).<sup>280</sup> According to the diaries the work was written during a politically

<sup>280</sup> Schumann notes that two bassoons may be substituted for the serpent.

crucial time when Schumann and his Dresden colleagues were keeping a close eye on Schleswig's demand for independence from Denmark.<sup>281</sup>

Schumann originally gave the *Drei Freiheitsgesänge* the opus number of 65—a number he subsequently gave to his “Ritornelle” on texts by Rückert—but scratched off the designation on the title page of the autograph. Schumann would not successfully publish the set in his lifetime: in March 1849 he submitted the set to C. Luckhardt in Kassel, but was rejected.<sup>282</sup> An a cappella version of the third song was published in 1848 by Ed. Bote & Bock, Berlin, in the “Album Zum Besten des Frauvereins zur Erwerbung eines Vaterländischen Kriegsfahrzeuges (Album for the good of the Women's Association for the acquisition of a patriotic war vehicle).”<sup>283</sup> When the revolution was crushed, their controversial lyrics also crushed any hope of having the set published—it would be sixty-five years before that would happen. The set was first published in 1913 for voice and piano, arranged and edited by Julien Tiersot as “3 Choeurs de Robert Schumann, Pour la Révolution de 1848” in the April 1913 *Revue Musicale*.

**Zu den Waffen, WoO 4, no. 1; H/K WoO14  
(Call to Arms)**

Text: Titus Ulrich (1813-1891)

TTBB

No instructions, 4/4 time, B-flat minor, 22 measures

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<sup>281</sup> Daverio, “*Einheit—Freiheit—Vaterland*: Intimations of Utopia in Robert Schumann’s Late Choral Music”, 62-63.

<sup>282</sup> McCorkle, 635.

<sup>283</sup> Gustav Bock wrote Schumann on 3 October 1848 (Hirschberg, 148) and Schumann sent the piece with a note stating “for the Album of the German Fleet (Für das deutsche Flottenalbum)”, BV 1357. McCorkle, 635.

The poem draws upon imagery of renewal and ascent, with freedom characterized as “the spirit arising from the grave to stand in the dawn of a new day.”<sup>284</sup>

Written on 19 April 1848,<sup>285</sup> the song opens with a unison fanfare of dotted rhythms. Characteristic dotted rhythms, syllabic setting, punctuating *sforzandos*, alternation of unison and harmony, and triplets are used throughout. The opening fanfare is followed by an imitative section of triplets that gives the duple meter a triple feel in measures 17 – 22 (Example 27).

**Example 27: measures 17-22**

17

*ff*  $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$

Oh - ren zu ha - ben und Au - gen-licht, Und se - hen nicht dür - fen, und

*ff*  $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$

Oh - ren zu ha - ben und Au - gen-licht, Und se - hen nicht dür - fen, und

*ff*  $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$   $\overset{3}{\text{triple}}$

<sup>284</sup> “Der Geist erseheth aus dem Grab/ Mit neuem Tag im Bunde!”

<sup>285</sup> Schumann was especially inspired by the political writings of Ulrich at this time. Days later on 24 April, he wrote to the publisher Whistling: “you should read Titus Ulrich’s *Victor* — he is the true prophet of the revolution (Sie sollten Titus Ulrichs *Victor* lesen — das ist der wahre Revolutions-prophet gewesen)!” Eismann, 159.

20

hö . ren nicht! Und se . hen nicht dür . fen und hö . ren nicht! Ihr Schla . ger nicht

hö . ren nicht! Und se . hen nicht dür . fen und hö . ren nicht! Ihr Schla . ger nicht

I. II III

*ff* *ritard.* *D.C.*

**Schwarz-Rot-Gold, WoO 4, no. 2; H/K WoO13  
(Black-Red-Gold)**

Text: Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810-1876)

TTBB, with optional wind accompaniment

Nicht zu schnell, 3/4 time, D major, 18 measures

The song has a direct connection with the spirit of the 1848 – 1849 Revolution, calling for an armed struggle for an all-German union and glorifying the three colors adopted by moderates and radicals as an emblem for national unity: “black was for gunpowder, red for blood and gold was for the glow given off by fire.”

Dating from 4 April 1848 this march-like song continues with common patriotic traits: dotted rhythms, some triplets, the use of *forte*, *fortissimo*, and *sforzando*, and a syllabic setting provide for a simple, but powerful call to unite. The shortest of the three songs, Schumann alternates between homophonic and imitative textures.

**Deutscher Freiheitsgesang, WoO 4, no. 3; H/K WoO15  
(German Freedom Song)**

Text: Josef Fürst (dates unknown)

TTBB

Feurig, 4/4 time, C major, 23 measures

Victory is yours!

Berlin journalist Josef Fürst sent his text to Schumann, which he set to music on 1 - 3 April 1848. The voice writing is homophonic with occasional imitative passages.

Each stanza of Fürst's poem starts with "Der Sieg ist dein, mein Heldenvolk! Wer dürfte dir ihn nehmen!" and ends with "Dein ist der Sieg, dein ist der Sieg!"<sup>286</sup> In measures 6 -7, Schumann briefly strays from the declamatory style of the piece to opt for more motion when the tenors and basses take their turns with ascending lines to highlight that they will not be paralyzed in flight ("Der Raben unheilkündend Schrein wird deinen Flug nicht lähmen").

As mentioned in the previous chapter, two of the pieces (nos. 2 and 3) were given public performances. "Schwarz-Rot-Gold" was performed without winds on 7 June 1848 in the "Grossen Gartens" with a united group of various Dresden male song clubs (*der vereinigten Dresdner Männergesangvereine*) and the *Musikchöre* under the direction of Johann Wilhelm Hartung and Heinrich Gustav Kunze in a concert to raise money to equip the German fleet.<sup>287</sup> "Freiheitsgesang" was performed with winds the previous month on 10 May in the "Grossen Gartens" with the Dresden Mixed Song Clubs (*allgemeinen Dresdner Sängvereins*) and the *Musikchöre* under the musical direction of Johann Wilhelm

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<sup>286</sup> The victory is yours, my heroic nation! Who will let you to seize it?"... "Yours is the victory!"

<sup>287</sup> Announcement in the *Dresdner Journal*, number 67, 6 June 1848, 536; cited in McCorkle, 635.; Hartwig, 19. Also see Pembaur, III: 108.

Hartung at a benefit concert to give aid to the needy in the Erzgebirge.<sup>288</sup> The world premiere performance of all three pieces with the original optional wind band took place one hundred and fifty years after Schumann composed them at the Konzerthaus Karlsruhe on 16 May 1998 with the choirs of the *Badischer Sängerbund* under the baton of Herman Stösser, which subsequently was edited by Joachim Draheim and published by Tre Media in Karlsruhe.<sup>289</sup>

**Jagdlieder, Fünf Gesänge aus H. Laubes Jagdbrevier, op. 137**

In May 1849, while temporarily residing in Bad Kreischa to avoid the fighting that broke out in Dresden after the King of Saxony dissolved the Landtag, Schumann composed his *Jagdlieder (Hunting Songs)*, subtitled *Fünf Gesänge aus H. Laubes Jagdbrevier*, scored for four men's voices (TTBB) and optional four horns. They were published posthumously in 1857 by J. Rieter-Biedermann.

The texts are by Heinrich Laube (1806-1884), playwright, historian, novelist, critic, editor and theater-director whose work as a political polemicist landed him in prison twice: in 1834 he served a nine-month term in Berlin for "subversive activities" connected with his association with the radical *Junges Deutschland* movement, and in 1837 he was

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<sup>288</sup> *TB*, III: 460, 765, footnote 638 and *Dresdner Anzeiger* Nr. 153, 8 May 1848, 4 as cited in McCorkle, 635; Also see Pembaur, III: 108.

<sup>289</sup> Schumann, Robert: *Drei Gesänge für Männerchor aus dem Revolutionsjahr 1848*, Erstausgabe der Urfassung mit der originalen ad lib.- Bläserbegleitung von Robert Schumann, ed. by Joachim Draheim. Karlsruhe: Tre Media, 1998.

imprisoned for a year due to his revolutionary sympathies.<sup>290</sup> A hunting trip in 1841 resulted in his *Jagdbrevier*, a collection of poems about the hunt. The first edition also included an extensive glossary of terms associated with the chase.

**Zur hohen Jagd, op. 137, no. 1**  
**(On the High Hunt)**

Text: Heinrich Laube (1806-1884)

TTBB and four horns *ad libitum*

Sehr lebhaft, 6/8, D major, 54 measures

A paean depicting the joys of the hunt.

If the four horns are used, the piece is framed by a five-measure prologue and seven-measure closing. The first four measures of the choir's entrance "freshly on to the cheerful hunt" are in unison. The uniformity continues with measure 5 as the piece continues homophonically. Texturally the piece thins in measures 31 - 32, where the first bass rests. Bass I continues to be rhythmically independent, with rests and often serving to answer the other three voices, through measure 89, when the voices return to homophony.

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<sup>290</sup> "Junges Deutschland" (Young Germany) was a social reform and literary movement in nineteenth-century Germany that was at its peak from around 1830–50. Influenced by French revolutionary ideas, the name was first used in Ludolf Wienbarg's *Ästhetische Feldzüge (Aesthetic Campaigns)*, 1834). Members of *Junges Deutschland* were greeted more regularly with animosity rather than enthusiasm by their fellow countrymen—despite the intellectual, political awareness, and literary talents of its members. This was partly due to their lack of social standing and higher education, but the fact that many of the members were Jewish also proved an obstacle. The movement's leaders were Ludolf Wienbarg, Karl Gutzkow, and Theodor Mundt; Heinrich Laube, Georg Ludwig Börne, Georg Herwegh, and Heinrich Heine were also associated with the movement. They were identified collectively as *Junges Deutschland* in a resolution of the *Diet of the German Confederation* which passed on 10 December 1835, which demanded the suppression of their writings by strict censorship in all the German states—this included the writings of Laube. *Junges Deutschland* also aimed for a vital democratic and national theatre and, here is really where their legacy exists. It prepared the way for dramatic realism in Germany. The revolutionary movements of 1848–1849 led to its decline. Encyclopædia Britannica "Encyclopædia Britannica Online, Young Germany," <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/654029/Young-Germany> (accessed on 26 August 2009). "See also, "Laube, Heinrich" *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 1911.

Harmonically, the piece moves characteristically in D major. The C major chord in measure 26 and the diminished seventh chord in measure 40, however, provide striking moments before a direct modulation back to the home key.

**Habet acht!, op. 137, no. 2**  
**(Take care!)**

Text: Heinrich Laube (1806-1884)  
TTBB and four horns ad libitum  
Nicht Schnell, 3/4, A minor, 18 measures

Hunters are warned to take care and pay attention so that they  
don't shoot each other.

The voices move homophonically in dotted rhythms until the eleventh measure where the bouncy motion stops with a sustained dotted half note on B major, the dominant of e minor. In measure 12 the basses homophonically enter with each of the tenors consecutively following on the second beat of the measure (Tenor II in measure 13 followed by Tenor I in measure 14). The piece ends with a return of material from the first four measures: measures 15 and 16 are a repetition of measures 1 and 2 in D minor and measures 17 and 18 are similar to measures 3 and 4. In the return of material, Schumann is ambiguous as to the tonality of the e chord, this time having the voices sing in unison on e.

**Jagdmorgen, op. 137, no. 3**  
**(Morning Hunt)**

Text: Heinrich Laube (1806-1884)  
TTBB with optional horn  
Frisch, 4/4, A major, 18 measures

The hunt and the glorious wonders of the early morning hours are promoted.

The setting is characteristically homophonic for the majority of the piece with dotted rhythms throughout. In measure fifteen, all the voices move to rather disjunct lines that stand apart from the overall conjunct shape of the piece (excluding the opening where the first tenor begins with a sixth). Within these closing four measures, Bass I provides animation as it breaks away from the homophony to provide some rhythmic interest to the piece. The voices briefly split to five parts (TTBBB) in the penultimate measure to create a richer texture and harmony before closing in A major.

**Frühe, op. 137, no. 4**  
**(Dawn)**

Text: Heinrich Laube (1806-1884)  
TTBB with optional horn  
Langsam, 3/4, D minor, 57 measures

Notes the advantages of getting an early start to the hunt.

The horns mark the voices' main entrances by beginning this beautifully heroic song with a three-measure chromatic intro, providing an interlude at measures 23-24, and introducing the final phrase in measures 54 – 55, making the “optional” horns in fact, essential in this piece. The voices consecutively enter on the second beat one measure apart, beginning with Bass II and followed by Tenor II, Bass I, and Tenor I. Characteristic dotted rhythms are used throughout. From measures 16 – 22 and again in measures 30 – 35 and 49 - 57, the voices are homophonic providing a nice distinction from the staggering of

voices in the remainder of the song. Harmonically, the piece is adventurous in its ambiguity and prominent chromaticism throughout. Measures 8-12 (and again in measures 41-43) for instance explore half-step relationships: D minor — F Major — F sharp dim — E flat (Example 28).

**Example 28: measures 39 - 46**

40

*mp*

Früh steht der Jä-ger auf und be-ginnt den Ta-ges-lauf,  
 Jä-ger auf, steht der Jä-ger auf und be-ginnt den Ta-ges-lauf,  
 Früh steht der Jä-ger auf und be-ginnt den Ta-ges-lauf,  
 früh steht der Jä-ger auf und be-ginnt den Ta-ges-lauf.

45

und be-ginnt den Ta-ges-lauf.  
 lauf, und be-ginnt den Ta-ges-lauf.  
 lauf, be-ginnt den Ta-ges-lauf.  
 lauf, den Ta-ges-lauf. Das er-ste Licht auf's Büch-sen-

*p*

The chromaticism continues and the piece ends on a Picardy Third.

**Bei der Flasche, op. 137, no. 5  
(Bottoms up!)**

Text: Heinrich Laube (1806-1884)

TTBB with optional horn

Frisch, 4/4, D major, 26 measures

A laughable drinking song describes the hunters enjoying a good drink after the hunt. The “foolish” French shoot at still targets like sitting partridges and even hunt song birds, while the British with their industrial factories and “foul” air could never truly play the game of the hunt, being able “to raise nothing more than chickens”.<sup>291</sup>

Laube’s nationalistic text is set with characteristic dotted rhythms, punctuating *sforzandos*, and triplets throughout.

**Additional songs**

There are two additional works, not associated with a particular set of partsongs for male voices. McCorkle categorizes male-voice *Anhänge* with the letter “J”. An autograph dated 5 June 1840 for a fragment of a song for four solo voices and four-part male chorus on “The Rigs O’ Barley” by Burns (translated by Gerhard) exists. “Gerstenmehlbrode”, Anhang J1 will be included in the *New Schumann Edition*. According to the *Projectenbuch*, he also composed a series of exercises for the men of the *Dresdener Liedertafel* in 1847. These “Solfeggien”, Anhang, J2 are lost.

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<sup>291</sup> “Die ernste strenge Jagerei, die kennen wir allein...ist deutsches Jagdgedeih’n...Hoch deutsches Jagerblut!” (The serious art of hunting is known to us alone...it’s in Germans’ blood and bones...Long live our German sport!)

## In Summary

Schumann has given us a rich collection of works with the a cappella partsongs. Sadly, they are not a strong presence in today's choral repertoire, remaining widely unknown and neglected by organizations today. Many argue that the partsongs do not compare to the artistry of Schumann's instrumental works or Lieder. Perhaps the composer himself said it best in his *Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln*: "When judging compositions, you must distinguish between those which are true works of art and those written for amateurs. Support the former, and don't be angered by the latter!"<sup>292</sup> An understanding of his partsongs must begin with an appreciation of his conception of the function of the music. Schumann's first official experiments in the genre were during the "Lied-jahr" of 1840, and interestingly are very Lied-like in their melodic construction and form, effectively Lieder for chorus. The majority of this music, however, was written while in Dresden and Düsseldorf, where, as throughout Germany, a choral society was as much a social club as a musical fraternity, and the artistic idiom essentially came down to "a good sing". Schumann was writing for amateurs and understood the spirit of the choral societies. The lines are limited in range, often major in key, very often homophonic — much like the music they would sing in church. German chorales would be what the people would be familiar with and capable of singing. And of course they would be simple — the purpose of these societies was social after all. Interestingly, these come years later from the "Lied-jahr", after which instrumental writing became a focus. The later partsongs explore the

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<sup>292</sup> "Bei Beurtheilung von Compositionen unterscheide, ob sie dem Kunstfach angehören, oder nur dilettantische Unterhaltung bezwecken. Für die der ersten Art stehe ein; wegen der anderen erzürne dich nicht!" Martin Kreisig, ed., II: 169.

more polyphonic and instrumental possibilities of a choir. Therefore, the partsongs were not examples of a lack of passion or artistry, but rather a conscious effort on Schumann's part to find a way to offer music in which the popular style is combined with artistic aspiration. In fact the brief descriptions of the works in this chapter reveal the charm, lyricism, and often humor of the works. There are expressive musical moments and clever, folk-like and dramatic techniques within the partsongs that point toward the artistry of his songs, as well as an eclectic choice of texts from the common to the controversial, and textural variety including the occasional use of double choir which adds layers of interest. While there are a handful of rather brief and far from challenging pieces, there are also dramatic and complex pieces that are rewarding and even difficult sings. They do not merit their dismissive treatment in the canon and deserve to be performed and not reserved for collections of complete works and novel musicological recordings. In all of these partsongs the practical experience of Schumann the choral conductor, understanding the abilities and needs of his choir and audience, works with Schumann the composer in a quest for reconciling utility and artistry. They provide a wonderful entrance into the world of Schumann's vocal music and deserve much more widespread performance. If these works are considered in this fashion, perhaps this neglected segment of Schumann's oeuvre will find a more positive reception in music history and become a more regularly programmed component in a cappella choir groups.

## Chapter V: Conclusion

### Relocation to Düsseldorf

Despite his fondness for his *Chorverein*, Schumann had not made notable progress in his professional aspirations in Dresden. A salaried post at the head of a well-respected organization continued to elude him. So after thorough consideration, it was with high hopes that Clara and Robert set out for the Rhine. On 2 September 1850 they arrived in Düsseldorf, which Clara noted:

...lies in an unexpectedly friendly situation, and is even surrounded by a small mountain ridge. We were met by Hiller and the board of directors of the concerts. The latter welcomed Robert in a most friendly way with a speech.<sup>293</sup>

That evening the *Liedertafel*, under the direction of Julius Tausch, greeted them with song. Five days later on 7 January, a concert, featuring the composer's music, was held in their honor. The people of Düsseldorf made it their mission to convey how honored they were to welcome such distinguished guests and pulled out all the stops in a grand gesture to bring the point home—Schumann was even greeted by a trumpet fanfare when he entered the hall. These spirited Rhinelanders and their zest for life (not to mention wine and song) was a refreshing contrast to the “bloodless crew of Court-obsessed Dresdeners” whom Clara had come to think of as relics.<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> Schauffler, 227.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid. See also her diary entries of 10 July (“It is really as if the people here had no blood in their veins...no enthusiasm for anything”) and on 31 July 1850 (“I must say that I shall leave this place with pleasure, and I am glad that Robert is no way fettered to it...They are altogether a fine and worthy company now....who throw ‘dear colleague’ and ‘my good friend’ about on all sides, and would then like to scratch out each other’s eyes.” Litzmann, as translated by Hadow, I: 477-478.

Unlike Dresden, the position in Düsseldorf was salaried. As Musical Director of the city, he was to give ten subscription concerts a year and four concerts of church music on important feast days, for which he was also responsible for the programming of the events — all for the annual salary of 700 thalers (200 of it paid by the *Musikverein* and the remaining 500 paid by the city). He worked with the choral society and an orchestra made up of both professional and amateurs. The choral society was made up of one hundred and thirty members and rehearsed once a week. With these ensembles, Schumann continued to share his love of music of the past and continued to explore the choral music of the sixteenth – eighteenth centuries. A more able orchestra than he had in Dresden at his ready disposal allowed him to tackle the bigger and more demanding works on his wish list, providing the opportunity to conduct, among others, Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, *St. John Passion*, and the *Mass in B Minor*, as well as select oratorios by Handel. In addition, he continued to rehearse his own music, conducting performances of his choral ballads for soloists, choir and orchestra, opp. 116, 139, 140, and 143, the chamber oratorio *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, op. 112, and excerpts of his *Missa sacra*, op. 147. He also continued to compose and rehearse partsongs: the *Romanzen und Balladen* Heft III und IV, opp. 145 and 146, started in Dresden, were completed here.

In Düsseldorf Schumann once again formed a special singing society made up of some of his better singers. In July 1851, the Schumanns moved to a new residence. In celebration, they hosted an open house on 6 July and invited twenty-four of the choral society's best singers for a musical evening to “break in” their new parlor room. Schumann took the opportunity to read through his recently completed *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* with Clara on the piano. Inspired by the pleasurable evening, Schumann

founded and led two new amateur clubs a few months later: an instrumental quartet chamber club, *Quartettkränzchen*,<sup>295</sup> and the song club, *Singerkränzchen*. The two clubs met every other week in rotation in the homes of its members. Schumann took the opportunity to rehearse Lieder, motets by Bach, and Renaissance choral repertoire with the *Singerkränzchen*. The new, more intimate ensembles gave him much pleasure and allowed him to indulge in repertoire that he admired. This cheery sentiment was short-lived, however. As in Dresden, attendance began to dwindle. Familiar complaints about Schumann's behavior and conducting abilities began to resurface. Both societies lasted only a few months, and Schumann would cease from writing a cappella partsongs in 1851, never to return to the genre. Unfortunately, this was just the beginning of his problems.

His time in Düsseldorf and the growing problems have been well-documented in the literature on both Robert and Clara from the very beginning. Later biographers like to elaborate on his difficulties with members of the association and tend to do so to point to growing disturbances in Schumann's mental health, allowing for various diagnoses of what ultimately killed him. In my opinion this concentration on his mental health during his Düsseldorf appointment and his growing inadequacies at the podium, while clearly an issue, has done little to help the reception of his later works and has contributed significantly to their dismissal in the literature. Schumann's personality quirks and health scares throughout his life are well-accounted for in the literature, and while the various medical opinions are a fascinating read and certainly a valuable contribution, I am

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<sup>295</sup> The group performed chamber music, concentrating on recent nineteenth-century works.

surprised just how much time has been devoted to it.<sup>296</sup> One must remember that a professional post continued to elude Schumann throughout his career, and there were reasons for it. We have accounts from students of his ineffective and detached instruction much earlier on during his time at the Leipzig Conservatory. He did not have a lot of experience conducting—Düsseldorf was his first professional conducting post and by this time he was 41 years old—and his limited time at the podium for premieres of his own works were not without fault, which likely was a factor in his not being appointed Mendelssohn's successor in Leipzig. And complaints about his conducting did play a role in the dwindling attendance for the *Chorverein* in Dresden: although he was admired by many of the members, there were problems with attendance, especially with the men. Many of these men were also members of the *Liedertafel*, and that appointment lasted merely a year before Schumann resigned the post—perhaps even suggesting there might have been more than just the composer growing tired of “six-four chords”. I don't mean to underestimate his suffering and mental and physical decline in the final years and swing the pendulum the other way by over-emphasizing previous problems with his professional endeavors, but they should definitely be kept in mind when considering the Düsseldorf period. Since one can go to just about any source on Robert or Clara to find a detailed account of his struggles with the *Musikverein*'s Executive Committee, especially the excellent and thorough account by Cecelia Hopkins Porter, I will only highlight the key events.<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>296</sup>More recent biographies, such as John Daverio and Eric Jensen's work, provide a more balanced view of his abilities. And Daverio especially, as mentioned in my introduction, was instrumental in defending the late works.

<sup>297</sup>Cecelia Hopkins Porter, “The Reign of the ‘Dilettanti’: Düsseldorf from Mendelssohn to Schumann,” *The Musical Quarterly*, (Vol. 73, No. 4: 1989): 500-507. See also Joseph Neyses, “Robert Schumann als Musikdirektor in Düsseldorf,” in *Der Düsseldorfer Almanach* (Düsseldorf, 1927), 71 – 84.

The first concert of the subscription series on 24 October 1850, which began with Beethoven's *Leonora Overture*, was a great success. Rehearsals must have gone well in their eyes, as the Schumanns were pleased with the level of musicianship. In the diary entry of 17 September, Clara writes that Robert is pleased with the choral society, noting that "it is very large, and the sopranos especially sound quite beautifully fresh..."<sup>298</sup> A month later she noted how satisfied her husband was with the orchestra, which was "quite excellent for a small town."<sup>299</sup> While the first season ended successfully with a performance of Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony*, complaints about Schumann's conducting already began to surface. The *Düsseldorfer Journal* reported the complaints of Schumann's conducting by a member of the Executive Committee.<sup>300</sup> Critical members of the choral society noted a lack of skill for giving clear direction, while others cited his reserved and distracted demeanor. His quiet, detached manner was unsuccessful on the podium. He habitually lost himself in the music and neglected to interact with the musicians. Eugenie Schumann's memoirs of her parents recounts:

My mother used to tell me that the piece of music to be played absorbed him to such an extent that he forgot all around him, including the musicians waiting with their eyes fixed on him.<sup>301</sup>

There were complaints about his choice of tempos, and reminiscent of his distracted teaching days in Leipzig, he was deemed an inconsistent and ineffective instructor. Big errors were often ignored without mention, and yet at other times, he would focus on

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<sup>298</sup> Litzmann, as translated by Hadow, II: 4.

<sup>299</sup> 22 October 1850. Ibid., 5.

<sup>300</sup> *Düsseldorfer Journal*, No. 147 (June 21, 1851), cited in Hopkins Porter, "The Reign of the 'Dilettanti': Düsseldorf from Mendelssohn to Schumann", 501.

<sup>301</sup> As quoted by Brion, 319. Marcel Brion, *Schumann and the Romantic Age*, trans. by Geoffrey Sainsbury (London: Collins, 1956).

relatively minor issues. When he was unhappy with an element, however, he was unable to fix it: instead of going over the trouble spot, he would instead endlessly repeat the entire work with no suggestion for improvement.<sup>302</sup>

In December of 1852, the Executive Committee wrote a critical letter to Schumann, in regards to his handling of rehearsals and informed him of their vote that his assistant Julius Tausch should conduct rehearsals, and that Schumann should only conduct the performances. Schumann was of course devastated by the blow and tensions between the committee and a group of the musicians increased. If he was such a terrible conductor, surely this arrangement of only conducting performances was doomed to fail, and it did. An unsuccessful and frustrating final rehearsal<sup>303</sup> followed by a disastrous performance (Schumann uncharacteristically stood his ground and demanded to conduct the dress rehearsal and performance) of a mass by Hauptmann on 16 October 1853 proved calamitous. The musicians were embarrassed, the Executive Committee angered, and disapproval of his conducting erupted among the audience as well. The chorus refused to sing under him again. A meeting between the Executive Committee and Schumann to discuss the program of the upcoming subscription concert was scheduled a few days later. He must have felt somewhat blindsided, for instead of programming, the conversation quickly turned to his conducting, where he was told of the choir's refusal to sing with him. Ultimately he was forced to give up leadership of the choir to Tausch, with the consolation of remaining conductor of the orchestra. He left so angered, humiliated, and devastated,

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<sup>302</sup> Jensen, p. 264.

<sup>303</sup> The account of the final rehearsal reported Schumann to be so distracted that he continued to conduct after the conclusion of the mass.

that a few members later came to his home and offered the compromise that Schumann could conduct his own works with the Choir, but everything else remained with Tausch.

Unfortunately, his conducting at the subscription concert that followed later that month on 27 October was poorly received by the audience, and as a result, the situation grew increasingly tense and hostile.<sup>304</sup> On 6 November he was asked to surrender leadership of the orchestra to Tausch (again for all but his own works), until his health improved. Schumann refused to comply and in protest didn't show up for the next subscription concert on 10 November. As music director he was still in charge of programming and expected to attend. His absence was seen as a breach of contract, and the committee moved to remove him entirely. Tensions were high to say the least, but he did have some influential supporters among the musicians and throughout the city. The mayor himself offered to mediate by forming a subcommittee from the city council to investigate the situation, with a guarantee from the city to pay him his salary through mid-1855. Unfortunately, due to increased health issues, he would not have the chance. The nervous anxiety and fits of depression that ailed him in the past were at their worst. New symptoms, including unrelenting aural delusions, plagued him. Wasielewski recounts a report from violinist Ruppert Becker describing an episode at a local establishment in 1853 where Schumann threw down his newspaper in disgust and exclaimed: "I can read no more. I hear an incessant A".<sup>305</sup> Doctors were consulted and made home visits. He began to fear in his madness that he would hurt his family and moved into a separate bedroom, which he kept locked. On 27 February 1854, he attempted to take his life by jumping off a

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<sup>304</sup> Walker, 33-34.

<sup>305</sup> Wasielewski, 183.

nearby bridge into the Rhine River. Schumann was saved by two fishermen, who brought him back home. This suicide attempt was initially kept from Clara, who was pregnant with her eighth child. With Clara distracted and the children with a neighbor (although at least one of the children, twelve-year-old Marie saw things unfold at the house, as it is her tragic account as given to and later published by her sister Eugenie that is quoted throughout the literature), Schumann was quietly isolated for observation. He would never return, as the children were told, and on 4 March, he was committed to a private asylum at Endenich where he lived out his remaining years.

### **Dresden Post-history**

In 1862, the German Choral Federation included *Liedertafeln* in Germany, Austria, and German choirs in countries throughout Europe and America. Due to several factors beginning in the 1870s, the trend began to lose steam and diversify into something different. First, competition among the ensembles became much fiercer, both in terms of recruitment and in adjudicated singing festivals, which took away from the friendly, social aspects of the early songclubs, and as a result began to turn singers off. This competitive spirit required more complex music and as a result, more educated, disciplined organizations, a far cry from the amateur roots. On the other hand, the competitions led to jealousy and rivalry which caused some choirs to withdraw from the competitive circuit altogether, the reason some of the more competitive men joined the ensemble. Nationalist overtones were influential and more pronounced in some ensembles, while other groups

withdrew completely from any political affiliation. This led to two distinct types of ensembles, the bourgeois group with no political affiliation focusing on the more complex and refined “art” music and the workingmen ensembles with a focus on patriotic music and German folk song. Both manifestations had become rather distant cousins of the original, convivial songclubs of the *Vormärz* era.

Schumann’s beloved *Chorverein*, however, managed to live on in Dresden. After his move to Düsseldorf, the group did not disband, although they failed to meet regularly for the next five years as it did under its founder. On 5 January 1855, the anniversary of its founding, the organization resumed regular activity under the direction of Robert Pfitzchners. For a short time, 1857 – 1858, it merged with the *Dreysigsche Singakademie*. In 1873 it was christened the *Robert Schumannsche Singakademie* in his honor. Since Schumann’s own time, there was membership crossover from the *Dresdener Liedertafel* and his *Chorverein*. This continued into the next century when Karl Pembaur, who was appointed the court organist in Dresden in 1901, conducted the *Liedertafel* (beginning in 1903) as well as the *Schumannsche Singakademie* (1910 – 1913). In 1915, when Edwin Lindner was conducting the *Philharmonische Populäre Künstlerkonzerte*, he changed the name of the orchestra to the *Dresdner Philharmonisches Orchester*. Lindner then changed the name of the *Schumannsche Singakademie* to the *Dresden Singakademie*, combining that choir and the Dresden *Männergesangsverein* as the *Philharmonischer Chor*. After various mergers and name changes, the choir continued through the first third of the twentieth century. The end of the organization is not documented, but it did not survive the bombing of Dresden in February, 1945. Although the original did not survive,

Schumann's *Chorverein* is today acclaimed as one of the prestigious precursors of what today is known as the *Singakademie Dresden*.<sup>306</sup>

### **To America and Beyond**

While these song clubs and their partsongs were a quintessentially nineteenth-century German phenomenon, emigrants took this tradition with them to their adopted homelands. German immigrants in the United States and Australia began song clubs that flourished, especially the Männerchor tradition, well into the early twentieth century. In the mid – late nineteenth-century United States, the tradition was strong in, among others: New York, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Chicago, and St. Louis. The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle Almanac* of 1900, has nearly three pages of choral societies in the Manhattan area, most with names that include “Verein”, “Maenner-Gesangverein”, “Liederkrantz”, “Liedertafel”, “Ario”, “Orpheus”, and “Saengerbund”. In Queens alone, four of the six choral societies listed are German in origin: *Arbeiter Liedertafel* (70 members), *Frohsinn Singing Society* (130 members), *Harmonie Singing Society* (125 members), and *Maenner-*

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<sup>306</sup> This is the current name, as of 1991. It began as a *Liedertafel* and was christened the *Dresdner Lehrergesangverein* in 1884. In 1928, the group branched out to women and began a *Frauenchor*. In 1946 they acquired the name, *Volkschor Dresdner Lehrer*, until 1953, when they were known as the *Beethovenchor*. In 1985 the institution founded a *Kinderchor* and named themselves *Singakademie Dresden*. In 1991, they registered themselves as *Singakademie Dresden e.V.*, and has since added a seniorchor in 2001. Although this ensemble should not be confused with the *Dresden Singakademie* that Lidner renamed Schumann's ensemble in 1915, they do claim Schumann's ensemble as part of their heritage. This is not a claim of direct lineage, but more of an inspiration. Singakademie Dresden, “125 Jahre Singakademie,” <http://www.singakademie-dresden.de> (accessed on July 2, 2010).

*Gesangverein Eisenkranz* (45 members).<sup>307</sup> St. Louis had a *Liederkrantz Club*, founded in 1887.<sup>308</sup> In neighboring Belleville, Illinois, there was a *Liederkrantz* (1873) and the *Kronthal Liedertafel Society* (1881).<sup>309</sup> While the tradition lost steam in the twentieth-century, some of these clubs survive even today as a way for Americans to celebrate their German heritage.

As the immigration of free settlers (i.e. not those in penal settlements) to Australia began to increase after 1830, music began to thrive. Choral societies on the European model sprung up in all the major cities along the eastern coast. The majority of German immigrants settled in South Australia during the 1850s gold rushes. Naturally, choral music was dominant, and organizations on the German model flourished, especially the *Liedertafel*, and became an important part of South Australian musical culture. The oldest of these surviving choirs in Australia is the *Adelaider Liedertafel*, founded in 1850.<sup>310</sup> The phenomenon continued to develop and migrate throughout Australia: the *Liedertafel Harmonia*, today known as the *Liedertafel Arion*, was founded in Melbourne in 1860,<sup>311</sup> and settlers in Tanunda formed the *Tanunda Liedertafel* in 1861. As in their former

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<sup>307</sup> *Brooklyn Daily Eagle Almanac and Guide to New York* (New York: Bulkley, Dunton & Company Paper, 1900), 277–279.

<sup>308</sup> They originally met at 13<sup>th</sup> and Chouteau and then moved to a building at 2626 S. Grand, which later became the Alhambra Grotto. Genealogy St. Louis, “St. Louis Landmarks, Liederkrantz Club,” <http://genealogyinstlouis.accessgenealogy.com/landmarks.htm> (accessed on September 9, 2009).

<sup>309</sup> *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois And History of St. Clair County* edited by Newton Bateman, Paul Selby, A.S. Wilderman and A.A. Wilderman. (Chicago: Munsell Publishing Company, 1907), II, 1103.

<sup>310</sup> The club was an offshoot of its parent mixed choir *Adelaide Choral Society* founded six years earlier in 1844.

<sup>311</sup> German Club Tivoli, “Liedertafel Arion,” <http://www.germanclubtivoli.com.au/liederfafelarion.htm> (accessed on November 15, 2010). Early into my research I was contacted by Dr. Kerry Murphy, who was researching the German *Liedertafel* tradition in Melbourne. For further information on the *Liedertafel*'s migration to Melbourne, you can consult her article: K.R. Murphy, “*Volk von Brüdern*: The German-speaking Liedertafel in Melbourne”, *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* (2/2, 2005), 55-76.

homeland, the song clubs combined for large, national festivals, *Sängerfest*. As in the United States, the tradition is still alive today.

### **The Legacy**

Schumann's legacy of the partsong continued throughout Germany for at least another fifty years. In his final article published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* of 28 October 1853, Robert Schumann introduced to the musical world the 20-year-old newcomer, Johannes Brahms, as the future master: "When he waves his magic wand, where the powers of the orchestra and chorus forces will aid him, wonderful glimpses into the secrets of the spirit world will be revealed."<sup>312</sup>

In addition to his knowledge of the partsongs of Mendelssohn and Schumann in particular, Brahms maintained a lifelong interest in folksong and in early polyphony. These influences are present in his sacred and secular choral works, which are mainly a cappella or with minimal accompaniment. These works, the majority of which are for mixed voices, include: song cycles of waltzes (opp. 52 and 65); quartets (opp. 31, 64, 92, and 112a); canons (op. 11); motets (opp. 29, 30, 74, 110, and WoO18); folksongs (opp. 103, 112b, WoO 33, WoO34, and WoO 35); and both sacred and secular songs (opp. 12, 17, 22, 27, 37, 41, 42, 44, 62, 93a, 93b, 104, 109, as well as *Kleine Hochzeitskantate*, WoO posth. 16 and *Dem dunkeln Schoß der Erde*, WoO posth. 20).

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<sup>312</sup> "Wenn er seinen Zauberstab dahin senken wird, wo ihm die Mächte der Massen, im Chor und Orchester, ihre Kräfte leihen, so stehen uns noch wunderbarere Blicke in die Geheimnisse der Geisterwelt bevor." Robert Schumann, "Neue Bahnen", *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (October 28, 1853).

Although more work has certainly been devoted to his instrumental music and songs, one can find literature devoted to his choral music, including analysis, in the literature. Siegfried Kross wrote the oft-cited dissertation *Die Chorwerke von Johannes Brahms* in 1958. Twenty-five years later, Virginia Hancock produced a dissertation, followed by Hans Michael Beuerle in 1987.<sup>313</sup> Perhaps the most useful of recent years, at least in terms of analysis, can be found in the Vocal and Choral music section (Part V) of Leon Botstein's (ed.) 1999 *The Complete Brahms: a guide to the musical works of Johannes Brahms*. The guidebook has various entries written by prominent Brahms scholars, and the Vocal and Choral section provides brief summaries and a general analysis of each of the pieces, divided by category.<sup>314</sup> Contributors of the a cappella works section include Virginia Hancock, Daniel Beller-McKenna, Jan Swafford, and Botstein himself. It is a useful tool for students and scholars unfamiliar with Brahms' contribution to the choral repertoire alike wanting to learn more about the history behind each of the works.

Brahms' career as a choral conductor provided the opportunity to explore his appreciation for early music as well as the impetus to make his own mark in the choral repertoire. At the young age of fourteen, Brahms conducted a small amateur men's chorus in the village of Winsen during the summer of 1847.<sup>315</sup> He held his first regular paid

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<sup>313</sup> Siegfried Kross, *Die Chorwerke von Johannes Brahms* (Berlin, 1958); Virginia Hancock, "Brahms's Choral compositions and His Library of Early Music," (PhD. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor: 1983); Hans Michael Beuerle, *Johannes Brahms: Untersuchungen zu den A-cappella-Kompositionen: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Chormusik* (Hamburg, 1987). Kross and Hancock continued their work on Brahms and followed up their dissertations with articles: Siegfried Kross, "The Choral Music of Johannes Brahms," *Journal of the American Choral Foundation, Inc.* vol. XXV, no. 4 (October, 1983): 5 – 30; Virginia Hancock, "Brahms's Performances of Early Choral Music," *Nineteenth-Century Music*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Autumn, 1984): 125-141.

<sup>314</sup> The categories are: Vocal Duets; Vocal Quartets; Canons; A cappella choral music; and Accompanied Choral music. Leon Botstein, *The Complete Brahms: a guide to the musical works of Johannes Brahms* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1999).

<sup>315</sup> Hancock, "Brahms's Performances of Early Choral Music", 125.

position for the three autumn seasons of 1857 through 1859 at the court of Detmold. His duties included conducting the court choral society, performing in concerts, along with giving piano lessons to the Princess. With the *Detmolder Chor* he had the opportunity to perform some of the Renaissance and Baroque vocal music that he had begun studying and collecting several years earlier. He also began to work separately with the ladies of the *Detmolder Chor*. Meanwhile, during the months spent at home in Hamburg, he began to direct a women's choir, for which he also arranged a number of pieces of early music.

The story of Brahms and the *Hamburger Frauenchor*, a choir numbering 40 members, has been well told in books by both Walter Hübbe and Sophie Drinker; both authors list the repertoire they found in the surviving partbooks copied by the singers themselves.<sup>316</sup> Drinker looked at the diaries, letters, and recorded recollections of original members like Marie Völkers, Franziska and Camilla Meier, and Friedchen Wagner. They mostly rehearsed in private homes, often in the home of Friedchen Wagner. They did give a concert at Petrikirche, one of Hamburg's oldest churches. There was also another occasion where the choir joined with Karl Grädener's Conservatory (*Hamburger Akademie Chor*) for a private concert. In the home rehearsals, Brahms accompanied and conducted from the piano, but in the church rehearsals and performances, he conducted and had an organist play the accompaniment. Although not well-organized, professional groups by any means, the gathering of ladies of the *Detmolder Chor* and especially the *Hamburger Frauenchor* were an important and enjoyable social venture that provided life-long friendships, and Brahms arranged and composed a significant amount of music for the organizations.

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<sup>316</sup> Walter Hübbe, *Brahms in Hamburg*, (Hamburg: Lütcke & Wulf, 1902); Sophie Drinker, *Brahms and His Women's Choruses* (Merion, Pa., 1952)

In fact, one could argue that the enrichment of the female choir literature found its greatest advocate in Brahms. In addition to many arrangements of folk-music and music of past masters, his own compositions for female voices were written for or inspired by the *Hamburger Frauenchor: Gesänge für Frauenchor*, for female chorus, two horns and harp, op. 17; the first part (nos. 1 and 2) of the *Marienlieder* op. 22; *Der 13. Psalm "Herr, wie lange"* op. 27; *Drei geistliche Chöre*, op. 37; *12 Lieder und Romanzen* op. 44 with optional piano ad libitum; and the *13 Kanons*, op. 113. Brahms was inspired both by the sacred and secular; the seven *Marienlieder*, for example, are a hybrid of these inspirations, combining secular folk-song and religion. The first two were rehearsed by the group in the summer of 1859. Numbers four through seven were completed by September and sent to Julius Otto Grimm to rehearse with the women of his choir. Grimm and the contraltos felt the parts were too low, and Brahms suggested adding tenors, which was a successful experiment. The six songs, along with the now complete third song, were first offered for publishing to Simrock that September scored for SAT, but they were turned down. Brahms revised all seven for SATB for Rieter-Biedermann, who published the work in October, 1862.

Interestingly, the *Fünf Lieder* for men's chorus, op. 41 (composed between 1861 and 1865) are the only a cappella works for male voices that Brahms composed<sup>317</sup> — this is surprising given it was a genre that thrived in his day. The nationalist works are settings of Lemcke's militarist texts, including the lovely first song "Ich schwing mein Horn ins

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<sup>317</sup> There are, of course, two large works for men's chorus and orchestra: *Rinaldo*, Op. 50 and the "Alto" *Rhapsody*, op. 53.

Jammertal (I Blow my Horn into the Vale of Tears)” on a text from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and the moving third song “Geleit (Last Respects)”.<sup>318</sup>

After a successful first visit to Vienna in 1862, Brahms accepted an invitation to conduct the *Wiener Singakademie* the following season, whose founding director, Ferdinand Stegmayer, had just died. With his move to Vienna, the *Hamburger Frauenchor* disbanded. The predominantly historical repertoire of the *Singakademie* and what he deemed their inferior musicality, made the appointment short-lived – he turned down the offer for a three-year appointment. In 1872, he accepted the appointment as musical director of the *Musikverein*, the performing subset of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*. With it he was responsible for both the *Singverein* and its orchestra. In his three seasons there, he successfully introduced to Vienna a number of works by Bach and Handel, along with a few smaller pieces of early music. But in 1875 he resigned, having once again become dissatisfied with the bureaucracy of such a position. He never again took the helm of an organization and for the remainder of his life opted only to guest-direct choirs and orchestras, and of course, compose for mixed voices. Brahms was the direct descendant of Schumann’s legacy, and Brahms’ contemporaries greatly contributed to the tradition as well.

Anton Bruckner was very active in the genre: at the age of thirteen he was a boy chorister for *Florianer Sängerknaben* and later organist at St. Florian’s monastery. In

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<sup>318</sup> Drinker actually proposes that an early version of no. 1 may have existed as early as 1847, when the young Brahms was conducting the amateur men’s group in Winsen. Drinker, 95.

1841, he founded a male quartet in Kronstorf. His choral works have been well researched by Andrea Harrantdt and most recently analyzed by A. Crawford Howie.<sup>319</sup>

His earliest surviving work for male chorus, *An dem Feste* (WAB 59), was composed for the birthday of a pastor in nearby Enns, Josef von Pessler, and first performed in his church on 19 September 1843. Following his relocation to Linz in 1855 for his appointment as town and cathedral organist, he joined the town's prestigious *Liedertafel*, *Liedertafel "Frohsinn"*, founded in 1845. In the organization's archives, he is incorrectly listed as a first bass, but Bruckner actually sang second tenor.<sup>320</sup> On Halloween of 1856, he was elected second archivist for the season, which surely helped him attain an intimate knowledge of the club's holdings and as a result, the *Liedertafel's* standard repertoire. *Frohsinn* proved to be an important social outlet for Bruckner as well, who was a frequent participant in its parties and excursions. In 1857, the choral group *Sängerbund* was founded. The two groups often performed together, especially to perform large-scale oratorios.<sup>321</sup> He left the *Frohsinn* in 1858 as an active member due to vocal hoarseness and a chronic cough, but continued as a supporting member. Following the retirement of Chormeister Storch in the autumn of 1860, Bruckner was asked to conduct one selection

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<sup>319</sup> *The festschrift of the Liedertafel Frohsinn [Karl Kerschbaum, Chronik der liedertafel 'Frohsinn' in Linz über den 50jährigen Bestand vom 17. März 1845 bis anfangs März 1895 (Linz, 1895)]* survives and has been documented. See the following works by Andrea Harrantdt: "Bruckner and the Liedertafel Tradition: His Secular Music for Male Voices." *The Choral Journal*, vol. 37, no. 5 (December 1996): 15-21; "Aus dem Archiv der Liedertafel 'Frohsinn': Zum Chorwesen im 19 Jahrhundert," Bruckner-Symposium, 'Musikstadt Linz; "Bruckner und die Chormusik seiner Zeit", Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter 51 (Wien: 1997): 184 – 195. See also A. Crawford Howie, "Bruckner and Secular Vocal Music," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 64 – 76.

<sup>320</sup> Harrantdt, "Bruckner and the Liedertafel Tradition: His Secular Music for Male Voices", 15. The *Linzer Singakademie* a brief history on their website and devotes an entire section to Bruckner, correcting the archives by crediting Bruckner as having sung second tenor. Linzer Singakademie, "Geschichte," <http://www.linzersingakademie.at/> (accessed on November 24, 2010).

<sup>321</sup> In fact, in 1909, the two organizations officially merged to become *Sängerbund Frohsinn*. Ibid.

for a program they were doing in October. They must have been pleased, as one month later he was officially given the appointment of Chormeister. He held the post only from November 1860 to September 1861, but again from 15 January 1868 until his departure for Vienna later that year. Why he resigned as director in autumn 1861 is not clear; in a letter of 3 October to his friend Rudolf Weinwurm he referenced “nasty slanders”, but did not elaborate.<sup>322</sup> Contemporary reports indicate that he was an exacting choral conductor, and often hard to please, being especially demanding about dynamics.

Despite the rocky relationship, under his direction the *Frohsinn* achieved a number of critical successes, specifically in 1861 at the Sängerkreis Krems (29–30 June) and Nuremberg (20–22 July). And whatever the nature of the disagreement, clearly all was eventually forgiven, as Bruckner continued to write several compositions for the choir, including *Vaterländisches Weinlied*, WAB 91 (1866) and *Vaterlandslied*, WAB 92 (1866).<sup>323</sup> A few months after his re-appointment in 1868, Bruckner was appointed to a teaching position at the Conservatory in Vienna. The *Liedertafel* held a celebratory farewell dinner, where in jovial tributes they apologized for past troubles (the 1861 – 1868 hiatus). On 9 June 1869 – after he had moved to Vienna – he was unanimously elected an honorary member of the society, which since 1960 has been known as the *Linzer Singakademie*.<sup>324</sup> He continued to associate with other *Liedertafel* organizations; his friend Rudolf Weinwurm conducted the *Wiener Männergesang-Verein* from 1866 – 1880. He

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<sup>322</sup> Linzer Singakademie, “Geschichte,” <http://www.linzersingakademie.at/> (accessed on November 24, 2010).

<sup>323</sup> His sacred work, *Inveni David*, offertory for male chorus and four trombones, WAB 19 was also written for the group in 1885.

<sup>324</sup> Linzer Singakademie, “Geschichte,” <http://www.linzersingakademie.at/> (accessed on November 24, 2010).

was elected an honorary member of the organization and other societies in Wels, Steyr, and Vöckelbruck privileged him with honorary membership.<sup>325</sup>

Bruckner's secular vocal works make-up a relatively large part of his oeuvre, but are still often forgotten. In total, Bruckner wrote thirty-eight secular works for vocal ensemble with WAB numbers spanning his entire career. The themes are typical of the time: songs about love, nature, drinking songs, patriotic songs, and folk songs. Most of the pieces are unaccompanied, some have soloists, others are accompanied with piano, organ, strings, and/or wind instruments, and some feature special effects such as humming and even yodeling.<sup>326</sup> The majority of the works are for male-voice choir, but there are also four male-voiced quartets, two “mottoes”, and five for mixed voices. Interestingly his participation in the genre comes full circle: *An dem Feste*, WAB 59 was his first and for his last, he revisited it fifty years later in 1893, revising it and setting new words by Karl Ptak, which was finished in February and premiered in March with a new title, *Tafellied*, WAB 86.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, there was a growing tendency for unaccompanied choral music (both sacred and secular) to be composed for performance by more highly accomplished choirs. This affected the partsong and is certainly demonstrated in the late works of Bruckner, and especially composers whose work continued into the twentieth century, like Hugo Wolf, Richard Strauss, and Arnold Schoenberg.

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<sup>325</sup> Howie, 65.

<sup>326</sup> The male-voiced quartet *Ständchen*, WAB 84 features a tenor solo over a three part humming chorus and *Das hohe Lied*, WAB 74 also features an exposed humming chorus. *Abendzauber*, WAB 57 (1878) which also begins with humming, is scored for tenor soloist, three yodelers, TTBB choir and four horns.

Hugo Wolf, although best known for his contributions to the development of the Lied, also composed for the choral world. In addition to his works for chorus and orchestra, there are at least 18 smaller-scale works (14 extant complete partsongs, one fragment, and three lost works) that range from March 1876 to 1881<sup>327</sup>— these partsongs are mostly a cappella, but some do have piano accompaniment. Six of the seven partsongs for male a cappella voices (four extant plus three lost) were composed in 1876: *Drei Lieder für Männerchor a cappella*, op. 13;<sup>328</sup> the seven-bar fragment, *Trinklied im Mai* (text by Hölty); and the 3 lost works, *Wanderers Nachtlied* (text by Goethe), *Die schöne Nacht* (text by Goethe), and a fragment dating from 1883, *Wahlspruch*. The remaining eleven partsongs were written for mixed voices: his earliest surviving work, *Die Stimme des Kindes* (text by Lenau), op. 10. for soli baritone, mixed choir, and piano of 1876; *Drei Chöre*, op. 17 of 1876;<sup>329</sup> *Gottvertrauen* (text by Mahlmann) for mixed voices a cappella of 1876; and culminating with *Sechs geistliche Lieder* (texts by Eichendorff) for mixed voices a cappella of 1881.<sup>330</sup> In general, the partsongs are rather short, homophonic pieces using earlier, more conservative harmonic language, interspersed with chromaticism. The later pieces become more chromatic and complex, requiring a more educated choir. Although not at the same level as his songs, they are charming, and at times demonstrate the emotional power and craftsmanship of his songs. Perhaps the most masterful are the *Sechs*

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<sup>327</sup> All 14 complete surviving partsongs are published in volume 10 of the 1974 critical edition: Hugo Wolf, *Sämtliche Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Band 10: Kleine Chöre a cappella oder mit Klavierbegleitung*, ed. Hans Jancik (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag 1974).

<sup>328</sup> “Im Sommer” (text by Jacobi), no. 1; “Geistergruss” (text by Goethe), no.2; and “Mailied” (Goethe), no. 3.

<sup>329</sup> “Fröhliche Fahrt” (text by Hofer) for mixed chorus a cappella, no. 1; “Im stillen Friedhof” (text by Pfau) for mixed chorus and piano, no. 2; and “Grablied” (text by Lorenzi) for mixed chorus a cappella, no. 3.

<sup>330</sup> “Aufblick”, no. 1; “Einkehr”, no. 2; “Resignation”, no. 3; “Letzte Bitte”, no.4; “Ergebung”, no. 5 (there is a 5-bar fragment of an arrangement for 5 voices dated around 1899); and “Erhebung” (no. 6).

*geistliche Lieder*, especially “Aufblick” (no. 1), “Resignation” (no. 3), and “Ergebung” (no. 5), which was performed by the *Wiener Chorverein* at his funeral on 23 February 1903.

Richard Strauss is known for his numerous orchestral pieces, operas and solo songs, but little attention has been given to his choral works.<sup>331</sup> There are a significant number of works for mixed voices and for male voices, both with orchestra and without; they span Strauss’ entire career. The twenty-two published, beautiful a cappella choral works illustrate Strauss’s characteristic harmonic writing and tone-color. As Judith Blezzard points out, these same qualities that have positively flavored his orchestral music, likely repressed the widespread acceptance of his a cappella choral works. These pieces are written for large ensembles of well-educated singers; most are complex and demanding both in range and tessitura, not to mention intonation and breath-control. Despite their beauty, these challenges placed the works outside the abilities of most choral societies, and therefore were not often performed or deemed publishable—there are still a number of unaccompanied mixed choral pieces from before 1897 that remain unpublished. These earlier pieces do not contain the highly-colored harmonic language, found in the later works described above, demonstrating not only the progression in Strauss’ tonal language throughout the years, but a shift in the a cappella partsong. The charming, accessible, partsong characteristic of the nineteenth-century German song club was disappearing.

Arnold Schoenberg worked with various Viennese choral societies in his early twenties. In 1895 became leader of the *Mödling Choral Society “Freisinn” (Mödlinger Gesangsverein »Freisinn«)* and the *Meidling Men’s Choral Society (Dem*

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<sup>331</sup>.An exception is Judith Blezzard’s 1991 article “Richard Strauss a Cappella”. An excellent introductory study, the article was the first time the choral works of Strauss were discussed in English in any sort of detail. Judith Blezzard, “Richard Strauss a Cappella”, *Tempo*, No. 176. (Mar., 1991): 21-28.

*Männergesangsverein Meidling*); he also served as chorusmaster of the *Stockerau Metalworkers' Singers' Union (Chormeisterstelle des Metallarbeiter-Sängerbunds Stockerau)*. His *Ei du Lütte* for mixed chorus a cappella was composed that same year. In 1899 he became Director of the Men's Chorus, *Beethoven*, in Heiligenstadt, and Director of the city's workers' choruses, *Leitet Arbeiterchöre* the next year. In 1907 he composed *Friede auf Erden*, op. 13, for mixed chorus a cappella. Originally composed for a competition, it was an extremely difficult sing, and at the time deemed “unsingable”. Schoenberg composed an optional supporting wind accompaniment in 1911, although today it is sung a cappella as he originally intended.<sup>332</sup> In 1925 he composed *Four Pieces for Mixed Chorus*, op. 27 and *Three Satires for Mixed Chorus*, op. 28. In 1929 he completed *Three Folk Songs for Mixed Chorus* as well as the German Workers' Choral Society's (*Deutsche Arbeiter-Sängerbund*) commission for a male chorus, *Glück*, which later became part (no. 4) of the *Six Pieces for Male Chorus*, op. 35, (all of these on his own texts) in 1930.

Schoenberg continued to write for the medium after his move to the United States in 1934 and would do so right up until his death. *Three Folk Songs*, op. 49, for mixed chorus and *Dreimal tausend Jahre*, op. 50A, for mixed chorus a cappella date from 1948. In 1950, *Psalms 130 "De Profundis"*, op. 50B, for a cappella mixed chorus, which received its première in Cologne on 29 January 1954, with the Cologne Radio Chorus. In September of 1850, he wrote the texts for *Psalms, Prayers and Other Conversations with God*, published posthumously by Rudolf Kolisch in 1956 under the title *Modern Psalms*. From these texts, he composed between 29 September and 2 October 1950, *Modern Psalm*, op.

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<sup>332</sup> Malcolm MacDonald, *Schoenberg* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 164.

50C, for Speaker, mixed chorus and Orchestra, which received its première in Cologne on 29 May 1956.

Later in the twentieth century the German partsong tradition continued with the work of composers such as Paul Hindemith, Anton Webern, Hans Pfitzner, Ernst Pepping, and Hugo Distler. With them, as is foreshadowed in the later works of Bruckner, Wolf, and especially Schoenberg, the partsong began to evolve into something quite different. The demands were much more technical and required increasingly larger resources. Their increasing chromaticism and complex harmonies eventually pushed beyond the limits of tonality. This complex diversification is in contrast to the spontaneity of the early nineteenth-century conception of the partsong as created for amateur song clubs, something that encapsulated the appeal of the nineteenth-century German partsong.

### **Closing thoughts**

Secular choral singing by groups of men and/or women was a nineteenth-century phenomenon resulting from the desire of the middle class to participate in musical life. The social upheavals that followed the French Revolution not only brought about great change in the European political map, but were also important in the rise of choral societies in the European continent and beyond. In Germany, the Romantic revival of music of earlier periods and an appreciation for *das Volk* was a popular sentiment—choral music was able to capture these romantic ideals. The political and Biedermeier sensibilities of the rising middle class in German-speaking Europe in large part explains their renewed interest in

music of the past and the formation of amateur musical groups. The nineteenth-century German and German-speaking amateur a cappella choir represented the musical purity of the sixteenth century and socially, it took on democratic and “völkish” qualities during the post-Napoleonic era. This German phenomenon in turn inspired the creation of new music, primarily the partsong.

The tradition can be traced back to the Berlin *Singakademie*, especially during the tenure of Zelter and the founding of his *Liedertafel*. This history is fascinating and mostly left as a footnote in modern literature, especially in English. Because one must refer not only to German sources, but often German sources dating from the nineteenth century, much of this history remains unknown to musicians and students. Finding these outdated sources has certainly become easier in very recent years thanks to digitalization and growing access on the internet through the newer websites of extant German songclubs. I began this research in 2003 and had the adventure of searching through German libraries and archives for *Festschriften*, as searching keywords such as “Gesangverein”, “songclub”, “Liedertafel”, “Frauenchor”, and even “German nineteenth-century partsong” on the internet was all but a dead end. In the last two or three years, however, more and more sources have become available on the internet to read on the screen of your personal computer. Various *Singakademien* and *Liedertafeln* have dug out their *Festschriften* and records from their archives and have begun to chronicle and outline their own history on their websites, proudly establishing their heritage or lineage to older, now-defunct organizations. The sources, especially the surviving *Festschriften* themselves, are spellbinding. It is a snapshot into the social history and musical tastes of the German middle-class amateur musician with the politics and recollections sometimes reading like a

modern day soap opera. Even with the advances in “google” searches and the availability of more information at the fingertips of savvy searchers, there still is a need to construct a lineage in one source in English. I hope my history has helped to do that and provide a starting place for students to learn more about these organizations and a fascinating era in musical and social history.

Some of the best composers of the era wrote partsongs for these groups, a genre that was hugely popular during the nineteenth century, but today that music has been largely cast aside. Their legacy is a diverse repertory of partsongs that celebrate the spirit of Romanticism and camaraderie. Robert Schumann, like his contemporaries, recognized both the popular and artistic appeal of such organizations and composed a considerable repertoire of partsongs, continuing the lineage established by Zelter.

Today we are very familiar with his orchestral and piano works, as well as his lieder, but Schumann’s choral works, especially his partsongs, until very recently have been a novelty and a rarity in the musicological literature. When they do appear in the literature, they have either been dismissed entirely, or discussed in minimal detail. His partsongs have a broad accessibility and can be performed by forces of various size and levels, and yet to date are still not widely known or programmed. We find this with the German partsong in general in terms of its performance today by groups, but more so with Schumann. Certainly the fact that the music was for a very specific time in German history plays a part, but Schumann’s partsongs are also victim to their designation as “late music”, an often derogatory association with his mental state that helps to perpetuate their dismissal in the literature.

Perhaps recent recordings and the promised remaining volumes of the *New Schumann Edition*'s fifth series, *Chorwerke*, will allow for better accessibility and hopefully inspire a growing representation in choral programs. The recent bicentennial of his birth brought Schumann back to the forefront, and likely inspired many of the recent recordings. Sarsany's DMA dissertation and arrangement of the *Jagdlieder*, op. 137 is the most recent and promising sign that Schumann's partsongs will not remain in obscurity and will again be performed by choirs and a cappella groups. My hope is that my study will also assist in this cause and sprout not only future, more in-depth investigations in the musicological and theoretical literature, but perhaps more importantly, will also convince conductors to bring back this music into their repertoires, allowing the masses to enjoy this forgotten music.

## Appendix: “Die Liedertafeln”

Als Deutschland seine Ketten brach,  
Und in den Waffen stürmet,  
Abwälzend von sich alle Schmach  
Die frech der Feind ihm thürmte,  
Da glühte manch ein edles Herz  
Dem Lande, dem erlösten,  
Und manchen herben Seelenschmerz  
Die Wonnen niederstößten.

When Germany broke its chains  
And stormed into battle,  
Discarding all dishonor, which  
The enemy had rudely piled on her,  
Then glowed many a noble heart  
For the land, for those liberated,  
And for many, bitter pain of the soul  
Was knocked down by bliss.

Und die durch wilden Schlachtenbraus  
Gerungen und gefochten,  
Und die im kühnen Ritterstrauß  
Den Heldenkranz sich flochten,  
Sie sangen manch begeistert Lied  
Zum Trutz dem fremden Dränger,  
Der beste Kämpfer nimmermüd  
War auch der beste Sänger.

And those who in wild slaughter's rage  
Have wrestled and fought,  
And who within a bold knightly garb  
Braided themselves into a hero wreath,  
They sang many an inspired song  
To the defiance of the foreign horde,  
The best warrior, never tired,  
Was also the best singer.

Und als verstoßt der wilde Streit,  
Als heim die Sieger zogen  
Im Vaterlande neu geweiht,  
Ward da ein Sang gepflogen!  
Wie nie erhört in einem Land  
Reiht es sich da zum Bunde,  
Im jugendlicher Blüte stand  
Die Liedertafelrunde.

And when the wild fight was cast aside,  
As the victors moved homeward,  
In the newly-consecrated fatherland,  
Singing became a custom!  
As never before heard in any land  
It formed into a union,  
In the bloom of youth arose and stood  
The Liedertafel groups!

Der Weber schuf des Lieds Gewalt,  
Verlieh dem Worte Geister,  
Es folgte dem Erreger bald  
Ein Heer ehrwürdiger Meister;  
Da klangen aus der heil'gen Schaar  
Ehrwürd'ge Bardenstimmen,  
Wer nennt die Namen wunderbar  
Wie Sterne rings sie glimmen.

Weber created the power of song,  
Lending his spirited words,  
Soon, following his lead  
Came an army of worthy masters;  
Then came sounds from the holy troop  
Of worthy troubadour voices,  
Who can name the wonderful names,  
That glimmer around them like stars?

Erlöschen mag die Flammengluth  
Des Siegs auf allen Höhen,  
Im Liedersturme wird die Fluth  
Stets schürrend uns durchwehen.  
Und durch des Volkes Herz und Mark  
Dringt auf der Quell der Strahlen,  
Vereint zum Guten alle stark,  
Aus allen unsern Thalern.

Though extinguished be the glow of flames  
From the very pinnacles of victory,  
In the storms of song its tide slides  
Immediately through us.  
And through the people's heart and soul  
Breaks the origin of these beams,  
Purifies to goodness and strengthens  
From all our valleys.

Was jetzt in Liedersprudeln gährt,  
Der Freiheit Preis und Wonne,  
Und was den Tag uns festlich klärt,  
Der Strahl der neuen Sonne,  
Es kann in Männerthaten glühn,  
Wie nur die Feinde drohen.  
Das Lied wird dann vom Schwerte sprühn,  
Gesang zu Schlachten lohen!<sup>333</sup>

What now in bubbling song effervesces,  
The prize of freedom and delight,  
And what festively lights the day for us,  
The beams of the new sun,  
Can also glow in the deeds of men,  
If ever the enemy threatens.  
The song will then sparkle from the sword  
Ablaze with singing to battle!

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<sup>333</sup> W.v. Waldbrühl, “Die Liedertafeln”, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 27 January 1837.

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