REWRITING THE PAST, COMPOSING THE FUTURE:

SCHUMANN AND THE REDISCOVERY OF BACH

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

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by

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Robert Schumann's conspicuous penchant for contrapuntal texture and idioms, considered the composer's characteristic musical style, is generally ascribed to the German music tradition in which Johann Sebastian Bach is the most central figure; however, concrete musical extrapolation of Bach's influence on Schumann's repertoire has been confined to rather obvious examples such as his fugal compositions or arrangements of Bach's repertoire for solo string instruments. My dissertation explores how Schumann interpreted and translated J. S. Bach's musical legacy into his own musical idiom, using it as a creative force for developing his own musical style. In this study, Schumann's life will be classified into five periods in reference to his different aesthetic, artistic, and historical imperatives, each with the following narrative pattern. The first section of each chapter lays out a chronology of Schumann's activities regarding J.S. Bach and his study of fugue and counterpoint, based on sources such as diaries, letters, and other writings. The second section discusses the significance of the main sources studied or written by Schumann in each period: Friedrich W. Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge*; Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*; Luigi Cherubini's *Cours de contrepoint et de fuge*; and his

own *Fugengeschichte* and *Lehrbuch von Kontrapunkt und Fuge*. The third part explores how the historical context and sources are related to particular Schumann's compositions: the *Impromptus*, Op. 5; *Scherzo, Gigue, Romanze, and Fughette*, Op. 32; his lieder and the *Phantasie* for piano and orchestra; *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72; and Symphony in D minor, No. 4, Op. 120. The career-spanning trajectory of the changing aspects of Schumann's pursuit of Bach—from a source of creative inspiration to a medium for achieving objectivity—will be discussed with concrete music examples. Ultimately, a reappraisal of Schumann's work in the context of his study of counterpoint and Bach sheds new light on Schumann's position in the nineteenth-century Bach revival and the role of his music as both a public and personal manifestation of Bach's enduring legacy.

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Although only my name appears on the cover of this dissertation, it would not have been possible without the support of a number of people. I would like to express my gratitude to all those people who have made my journey, from Seoul to New York for graduate study and writing this dissertation, possible. First, the Kwanjeong Educational Foundation in South Korea supported me through an International Fellowship, allowing me to pursue my coursework without too many financial concerns. An AAUW International Fellowship was the crucial resource encouraging me to jump into this dissertation project. The Franzisco Dorner Fund, established in the Music Program at The Graduate Center, helped fund my invaluable research trip to the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau in 2009. My study at The City University of New York Graduate Center has been a blessing for a music scholar: The Pierpont Morgan Library and the Juilliard Manuscript Collection fed my fascination with the musical sources, a privilege and joy for any musicologist.

Despite these blessed circumstances, writing a dissertation (in a foreign language) was a more demanding process than one could imagine. First, my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Richard Kramer, whose scholarship I greatly admire. The topic of this dissertation grew out of my little presentation in his "Creative Copies and the Anxiety of Influence" seminar, and matured in my independent study with him on Schumann's reception of Bach. In all his seminars, he inspired me to think deeply and critically, providing rich musicological discourses I used in pursuing my own academic interests. Needless to say, his critical reading and pointed comments to this dissertation greatly strengthened the clarity of my idea, arguments, and prose style. I also

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I am deeply indebted to Dr. Thomas Synofzik, the director of the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau. Himself a Bach-Schumann expert, he shared his own important articles on Schumann's engagement with Bach with me; they were a great inspiration and are frequently cited in this dissertation.

Also, I would like express my deep gratitude to David Bloom, the senior editor at RILM, for his work on the German translations appearing in this dissertation, which, unless otherwise noted, owe a great deal to him. As a language expert, both in German and English, and as an experienced editor with enormously sensitive and meticulous editorial eyes, he elevated my initial attempts at German translation to a different level. I am greatly indebted to him, but the responsibility for any inaccuracies is mine alone.

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The members of *Aksang* (Imagining Music), a music research group in Korea, gave me enormous emotional support whenever I felt overwhelmed by the reality of living as a graduate student in musicology. Sharing the musical enjoyment and difficulties that only Asian musicologists can fully understand, they always cheered me up and encouraged my work. Sunghyang Sunim, a Buddhist monk, has been a warm care-giver to me whenever I felt spiritually exhausted, and friends at the Wonjuk Temple in New Jersey were great supporters of

my mental condition during the long and lonely writing process. There are many other names that could be listed of friends who helped me stay healthy through these difficult years, but I will save them for future personal occasions.

Most of all, my parents deserve to be mentioned: This dissertation, and my studies as a whole, would have been impossible without their love and patience. Their belief in and support of me are the pillars of my life, allowing this long journey of finding myself as a music scholar. I hope to return all the best wishes I have received from the people I mention here soon.

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Introduction: Robert Schumann and the Rediscovery of J.S. Bach

> The goal is not the reproduction—after all imaginary—of the original but rather a transformation which always views Bach through the lens of new developments in music.[1]

1. Robert Schumann's Role in the Bach Revival of the Nineteenth-Century

The legacy left by Johann Sebastian Bach to future generations of musicians is enormous; no one can deny his impact on Western music history. Bach's musical influence is the font and origin of the canonization of German compositional tradition; as such, Bach's work and style play an outsize role in the creation of later musicians, in particular those who considered themselves the inheritors of that tradition.

Among such composers, the most striking and significant endeavor to revive Bach and establish him as their musical forebear was made by nineteenth-century German musicians. While the Bach revival was signaled with the performance of his *St. Matthew Passion* on 11 March 1829 in Berlin under Felix Mendelssohn's aegis, a creative response to Bach's music was manifested in contemporary compositions. These faithful followers of Bach revived music that was circulated and transmitted only to a small circle of musicians after his death. Though exponents of their own period's aesthetics, their eagerness to discover and absorb Bach's musical legacy eventually led to Bach's virtual deification.

Bach's importance to the creativity of German Romantic composers has been emphasized frequently in other research. Most prominently, in the concluding chapter of *The Classical Style*,

1 Martin Zenck, "Bach reception: some concepts and parameters," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 219.

Charles Rosen demonstrates how the musical style of the Romantic period may be closer to the music of Bach than to that of Beethoven. Using Schumann's Fantasy in C major, Op. 17, Rosen explains how a composer from the Romantic period distinguishes his style from Classic-era idioms and returns to the principles of the Baroque.[2] Furthermore, *The Romantic Generation* elucidates additional specific musical relations between the works of Bach and Romantic composers.[3] As Rosen pointed out in both books, the fundamental grounds for this explanation lies in Schumann's own writings: In a letter from 1840 to his friend Gustav Adolph Keferstein, Schumann declares his own generation's role as direct inheritors of Bach's musical legacy, explicitly denying Mozart a central position in the development of music from Bach to the Romantic era:

> Mozart and Haydn were familiar with only pages and passages of Bach's music—it is impossible to know how their productivity would have been affected had they known Bach in his entire grandeur. The origins of the profoundly combinative qualities, of the poetry and humor of new music are generally to be sought in Bach … the music of Mendelssohn, Bennett, Chopin, Hiller and all of the "Romantics" (the Germans, of course) is much closer to Bach than to Mozart, since they are all familiar with Bach down to the last details. I myself confess daily to this eminent creator and seek to purify and strengthen myself through him. However, one cannot put Kuhnau on the same level as Bach, despite his integrity and delightfulness. Even if Kuhnau had written the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, he still would only add up to a hundredth of Bach. I am absolutely convinced that Bach cannot be beaten; he is incommensurable.[4]

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[2] Charles Rosen, "Epilogue," in *The Classical Style* (New York: Norton, 1971), 513-522 (in 1997 edition).

[3] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

[4] The original text is found in *Schumanns Briefe, neue Folge*, edited by Gustav Jansen (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1904), 177-178; Translation from Joachim Draheim, "Preface" to *J.S. Bach Suite III, C major for Violoncello, BWV 1009* arranged by Robert Schumann (p.10): "Mozart und Haydn kannten Bach nur seiten- und stellenweise, und es ist gar nicht abzusehen, wie Bach, wenn sie ihn in seiner Größe gekannt, auf ihre Productivität gewirkt haben würde. Das Tiefkombinatorische, Poetische und Humoristische der neueren Musik hat seinen Ursprung aber zumeist in Bach: Mendelssohn, Bennet, Chopin, Hiller, die gesammten sogenannten Romantiker (Die Deutschen mein' ich immer) stehen in ihrer Musik Bach'en weit näher als Mozart, wie diese denn sämmtlich auch Bach auf das

The cult of Bach was strongly related to the nationalistic fervor of the nineteenth century; establishing Bach as the unapproachable and unfathomable predecessor positioned German music as a main stream in music history. However, interest in past music and ardent respect for Bach went beyond nationalism. In particular, Felix Mendelssohn's and Robert Schumann's pursuit of Bach in their music was profound and comprehensive. Mendelssohn was eager to discover Bach manuscripts, and spread the music through his own performances. As an instrumental player and conductor, and also as a composer, he passionately strove to follow Bach's musical lead; his compositions for organ, works in the sacred genres of cantata and oratorio, and keyboard fugues are the most eminent examples. Schumann's lifework manifested an even more quintessential repercussion. As a composer and historically self-taught music journalist, he was thoroughly aware of Bach's importance in music history; he actively pursued Bach's spirit in his musical endeavors, enthroned Bach as the most inspiring musical forbears, and attempted to translate and develop Bach's musical legacy into his own idiom. As a result, Schumann's compositional pursuit of Bach played a crucial role in developing his own creative style.

Defining the significance or characteristics of Bach reception in following generations is difficult in that each composer takes over varying musical issues under the banner of "Bach." Explaining why Robert Schumann's engagement with Bach's music is more significant than other nineteenth-century musicians is equally challenging. Martin Zenck, in pondering problems addressing the issue of Bach reception, suggested some parameters for selecting or categorizing

---

Gründlichste kennen, wie ich selbst im Grund tagtäglich vor diesem Hohen beichte, mich durch ihn zu reinigen und stärken trachte. Dann aber darf man doch Kuhnau, so ehrenvest und ergötzlich er ist, nicht mit Bach auf eine Linie stellen. Hätte Kuhnau nur das wohltemperirte Clavier geschrieben, so wär' er doch immer nur erst ein Hunderttheilchen von jenem. Bach'en ist nach meiner Ueberzeugung überhaupt nicht beizukommen; er ist incommensurabel."

the inheritor's attempt to pursue Bach.[5] Differentiating the "history of influence" from "reception history"—the former to be understood as the preservation of the Bach tradition, and the latter as changes within the understanding and interpretation of a particular compositional and performing environment—Zenck claims that the goal of "reception" is not creative reproduction, but "a transformation which always views Bach through the lens of new developments in music."[6] In addition, he asserts that the distinction between the histories of influence and reception structure the entire body of material on Bach in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[7] Arguing against the mythologizing of Bach, and for the historical and ontological difference between Bach's time and the present day, Zenck concludes that, "rather than preservation of Bach's music in its original historical-aesthetic meaning that fostered its influence and vitality, the transformation of the Bachian form into new ways of thinking about form and structure will serve as a better concept in categorizing ubiquitous examples of Bach reception."[8]

As Zenck's conception proposes, the direction of the inheritors' artistic vision—looking backward (past), or forward (future)—and how they appropriate Bach's legacy in their own creations are important parameters. While Zenck chooses musical examples for his argument from Liszt and Busoni, Schumann's reception of Bach clearly illuminates Zenck's argument on reception. Schumann also directed his energies toward the development of new music; his interest in Bach was derived not merely from an antiquarian search or nationalistic fervor, but from a serious inclination to create a new musical idiom.

Interestingly, Schumann's discussions about Bach reception and its implications are

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[5] Zenck. "Bach reception: some concepts and parameters," 218-224.

[6] Ibid., 219.

[7] Ibid., 220.

[8] Ibid., 225.

vividly described in Konstantin Julius Becker's novel *Der Neuromantiker* (published in 1838).[9] A composer named Waldau is the main character, and people around him—mostly musicians and artists—exchange many interesting ideas about Bach. Although it is a fictional space, it clearly depicts the contemporaneous music scenes, even casting Mendelssohn and Schumann in the conversations, and suggests important points of discussion regarding the meaning of Bach to this society. Characters discuss how to avoid mere imitation of Bach and Handel and achieve originality;[10] at one point, Bach's fugal or contrapuntal works are compared to Gothic architecture, as a symbol of consummate craftsmanship;[11] modern aspects are distinguished from the old master's work to promote views on "old" versus "modern;"[12] finally, a discussion of counterpoint tackles the argument regarding subjectivity and objectivity.[13] Such discussions touch on important issues surrounding Schumann's perception and understanding of Bach. Although the details of each argument do not concretely encompass Schumann's activities related to Bach—its publication date could not possibly allow a comprehensive review of Schumann's lifelong engagement with Bach's music—this novel reveals under what aesthetic circumstances Schumann worked on his music, and why Bach reception and counterpoint study became indispensable to understand and assess his compositions.

At this time, the argument about "old and modern" and "subjectivity and objectivity" appeared in a critical essay by Franz Brendel, who took over the editorship of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* from Schumann in 1844. In an 1845 series of articles for the *Neue*

[9] I am indebted to Dr. Thomas Synofzik, who shared with me his article "Bach-Rezeption in Julius Beckers Roman *Der Neuromantiker*," *Dortmund Bach Forschungen*. Vol. 9 (2009), 123-138.

[10] Ibid., 12.

[11] Ibid., 15.

[12] Ibid., 17.

[13] Ibid., 18.

Zeitschrift,[14] Brendel locates the differences between Schumann and Mendelssohn in terms of the direction each composer takes in artistic disposition and creative utilization of a musical legacy: "Mendelssohn has the advantages of the older classical direction; through his "classicality" he has become the man of the era, but it is also proper to criticize him for his lack of modern sympathies."[15] And Brendel continues: "he is a representative of classicism in our time, but for that reason he is not an expression of the present time in its entirety, less still of future trends." On the contrary, Schumann is described as "forced to strive for his ideal, the ideal of the younger generation, and to struggle for its manifestation."[16] By casting Schumann's efforts as manifesting subjectivity in its most pointed form, which only gradually absorbs objective elements,[17] Brendel illustrates how Schumann changed substantially in the course of his compositional activities, and likewise anticipates that Schumann's music will rise still higher as his life progresses.[18] The "modern sympathies" which Brendel finds lacking in Mendelssohn contrast with Schumann's striving towards the musical future; this juxtaposition of forward- and backward-looking musical sensibilities leads Brendel to gives more credit to Schumann as a proponent of the musical progress he envisioned in his criticism.

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[14] Franz Brendel, "Robert Schumann mit Rücksicht auf Mendelssoh-Bartholdy und die Entwicklung der modernen Tonkunst überhaupt," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* No. 22 (1845), 63, 81, 113, 121, and 145. Translation by Jürgen Thym, published as "Robert Schumann with Reference to Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and the Development of Modern Music in General," in *Schumann and His World*, edited by R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 317-337.

[15] Ibid., 332.

[16] Ibid., 334.

[17] Jürgen Thym discusses Brendel's implication of "objective" and "subjective" aspects in criticism in his article, "Schumann in Brendel's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*," in *Mendelssohn and Schumann: Essays on Their Music and Its Context* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1984), 21-36. Brendel distinguishes between two contrasting types of criticism: one which limited itself to the technical side of music and which prevailed mainly in the eighteenth century (a type of criticism he considered representative of the "objective" contrapuntal compositions of Handel and Bach); and another, more "subjective" type initiated by Rochlitz and the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* around 1800, which focused mainly on describing the psychological content of music (a type he considered representative of the new emotional ideal of music beginning with C. P. E. Bach and Haydn).

[18] Ibid., 335.

Brendel's points prognosticated current evaluations of both composers' Bach reception. Despite their shared experiences as Bach devotees—both Schumann and Mendelssohn lived for a time in Leipzig, where Bach had worked as the *Kappellmeister* of St. Thomas church; each made a serious effort to assimilate the Bachian genres of fugue and oratorio—Schumann's Bach reception is different from that of Mendelssohn's in terms of his efforts to create new material using received wisdom. As with Schumann, Bach was always an important resource for Mendelssohn; yet while Mendelssohn's genius in absorbing past elements and utilizing them for his creative force was more spontaneous—having encountered a Bachian fugue, Mendelssohn would promptly proceed to compose his own—his Bach reception seems less substantial and thoughtful than Schumann's because he sees Bach as a source for older forms and an aesthetic that he was fascinated with, rather than as an inspiration for his own compositional transformation.[19]

More substantial support for Schumann's Bach reception can be found in the discursive seeking of "modern" and "progressive" aspects in older musical styles and form. Bach himself was heavily indebted to the polyphonic tradition of the past, yet progressive aspects in his music have long been an essential element in reconstructing Bach's image.[20] While Bach was considered the epitome of German polyphony, his dexterity in utilizing past and foreign musical elements within his own musical idioms, and his ability to create new dimensions for each

[19] Another interesting observation on the difference between Mendelssohn and Schumann is found in Hans Lenneberg's article, "Around Wasielewski and his Schumann Biography," *Witnesses and Scholars: Studies in Musical Biography* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), 143. He argues, based on Wasielewski's *Schumanniana*, that perhaps Mendelssohn was forced to admit to himself that he could not achieve Schumann's depth of musical expression although in regard to form and technical devices he knew himself to be superior, and one can observe here the already prevalent notion that Mendelssohn lacked depth.

[20] Because Johann Adolph Scheibe's criticism of Bach's over-laden contrapuntal art (published in *Critischer Musikus*, 1737) provoked a long-lasting controversy, followed by many counter-attacks, the polemic assessment of Bach's image has long been a topic for critics and musicologists. Robert L. Marshall offers one example, showing how that controversy still operates as a fundamental background in defining Bach's image: "Bach the Progressive: Observations on His Later Works," *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 62 (July 1976), 313-57.

musical genre, mark him as a progressive. This dual aspect of Bach is exactly what Theodor Adorno contemplates when reflecting on the contemporary glorification of Bach. Arguing against the "unholy star of historicism" in the Bach revival, Adorno finds the true significance of Bach not in his mastery of archaic craftsmanship, but rather in his genius for meditation.[21] Given that "Bach has thrown off the burden of contemporary communication with the decline of the old theological order," Adorno prioritizes the modern and progressive aspects in Bach; furthermore, he sees Bach's compositional process as one wherein "what *was* becomes a means of forcing what *is* toward a future of its own making [emphasis mine]."[22]

> Bach, as the most advanced master of basso continuo, at the same time renounced his obedience, as antiquated polyphonist, to the trend of the times, a trend he himself had shaped, in order to help it reach its innermost truth, the emancipation of the subject to objectivity in a coherent whole of which subjectivity itself was the origin.[23]

In this context, Adorno attempts to redefine the significance of Bach in music history, and criticizes what he considers an excessive historicist movement towards restoring Bach's music in the same way as it existed during Bach's lifetime. Grasping Bach's image as an innovative figure who transformed a received legacy into a future resource, Adorno supports creative interpretation and modern modification of Bach's musical legacy as a continuation of that essentially progressive spirit; he sees a composer's attempt at reevaluating Bach as ideologically attuned to the very essence of Bach's achievement. In addition, though he is critical of the late Romantics' inflated and sentimentalized Bach image, Adorno acknowledges that "the

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[21] Theodor W. Adorno, "Bach defended against his devotees," *Prisms*, translated by Samuel and Shierry Weber (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1981), 138. Originally written in 1951, the first English translation was published in 1967.

[22] Ibid., 142.

[23] Ibid., 142.

relation to Bach apparent in Schumann's work proved to be incomparably more productive than the present punctilious purity."[24]

Schumann's attempts to rejuvenate the past elements of music intrinsically resemble this "meditation" image of Bach—to paraphrase Schumann, it might be called "spiritual affinity."[25] In this sense, Schumann's famous statement, "Bach is my spiritual father," sounds ever more meaningful. The overlapping images of these composers suggest how Schumann became the true successor of Bach on a deeply spiritual level.

Schumann's response to Bach's music was explicit, varied, and prolific. Schumann's contrapuntal awareness, inspired by his study of Bach's music and counterpoint studies, informed several early piano works including *Kinderszenen*, *Novelleten*, and *Kreisleriana*.[26] He played a prominent role in publishing Bach's works as appendices for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (1835-1850) and promoting the publication of the *Bach-Ausgabe* by the Bach Gesellschaft. Furthermore, the publication of many significant articles about Bach in the *Neue Zeitschrift* and *Damenkonversationslexikon* was crucial in establishing Bach's position as the font of contemporary music history. Schumann's passionate interest in Bach most concretely bore fruit in his canon and fugue compositions of 1845: *Sechs Studien*, Op. 56; *Vier Skizzen*, Op. 58; *Sechs Fugen über BACH*, Op. 60; and *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72. Another remarkable phase of Schumann's indulgence in Bach is revealed in his revision of the *St. John Passion* in 1851, and his "Bachiana project" of 1853. In 1851, he made revisions to the *St. John Passion*, for the performance of the

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[24] Ibid., 143.

[25] Schumann used this word in his comments on Mendelssohn's Piano Sonata, Op. 6, defending its similarity to Beethoven's and Weber's works. *On Music and Musicians*, edited by Konrad Wolff, translated by Paul Rosenfeld (New York: The Norton Library, 1946), 210.

[26] John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 164.

subscription concert in Düsseldorf on April 13 and 14, 1851.[27] Two years later, he wrote piano accompaniments for Bach's solo violin sonatas and partitas (BWV 1001-1006), and launched into the harmonization of the cello suites (BWV 1007-1012), Bach's other works for solo instruments.[28] Those were only the most visible activities among many Schumann's exertions in reviving Bach; not only as a composer and writer, but also as a teacher and conductor, he played an active role in resurrecting Bach in the Romantic period. Many documents and source materials prove that his admiration for Bach and the many manifestations of that regard, both in prose and music, were essentially life-long.

Among such activities, Schumann's interest in counterpoint and fugue are the most significant. His compositional record suggests that his recurrent study of counterpoint and fugal writing—one of the most prominent elements in Bach's music—provided momentum for developing his own musical style. Schumann was exposed to counterpoint by his first composition teacher, Heinrich Dorn, in 1831/32, using Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge*, which itself relied heavily on musical examples by Bach, as the main textbook. After Schumann

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[27] Schumann's own copy, in which he marked the revisions, is preserved in the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, Arch. No. 2382-A4/D1. The copy was published by "Verlag der Buch- und Musik- Handlung von T. Trautwein, 1831." On the front page, the title "Die Passion Nach dem Evangelium Johannis von Johann Sebastian Bach" and the printer's information „Düsseldorf, Buchdruckerei von Hermann Boß" was printed with the stamp „MUSIKVEREIN DÜSSELDORF". Under the title, Schumann wrote, "Zum erstemnmale aufgeführt den 13. April 1851 in Düsseldorf". McCorkle's *Schumann Werkverzeichnis* reads that the final chorus of the work was performed at Coselschen Palais by *Dresdner Chorgesangvereins* under the direction of Schumann on 30 April 1848; for the 1851 performance, Schumann directed the whole work. Further discussion of Schumann's arrangement appears below in Chapter 5.

[28] Schumann's arrangements of Bach's solo violin sonatas and partitas were published in January 1854; however, his arrangement of the cello suites was not published in his lifetime. While the survival of Schumann's own manuscript for the whole work was unclear, a copy of the C-major suite (No. 3), in the hand of the cellist Julius Goltermann (1823-1876), was discovered in the Landesbibliothek of the Palatinate in Speyer in the fall of 1981 by the musicologist Joachim Draheim. Draheim transcribes the title page as follows: "Violoncello / Sonate von / J.S. Bach. / Clavier Begleitung / von / Robert Schumann./ Manuscript / C. dur. / Nr. III / Julius Goltermann/ Stuttgart den 5ten/ April 1863. / Bodenbach [?] den / 30sten Sept 1863. / 2 Briefe nach Stgt / an G und E." To date, the C-major suite is the only known manuscript copy of Schumann's arrangement for cello suites in existence; the modern edition of the C-major suite arrangement was finally published in 1985 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel), edited by Joachim Draheim.

encountered the *Abhandlung von der Fuge* in 1832, he constantly returned to counterpoint and fugal practice over the following years.[29] The manuscript known as the *Fugengeschichte*, which was written in 1837—the year in which Schumann first spoke of a *Fugenpassion* (passion for fugue)[30] and a *Fugenwuth* (temper for fugue)[31]—includes drafts of fugal compositions, key passages in Marpurg's treatise, and examples of fugal procedure from the works of Bach and Muffat.[32] Yet another wave of "Fugenpassion" occurred in 1845,[33] when Schumann designed a contrapuntal study course for himself.

Shortly thereafter, Schumann produced more writings on counterpoint and fugue during the years 1847-48. This collection, which Schumann wrote in two parts—concerning counterpoint and fugue, respectively—and now published under the title *Studien zur Kontrapunktlehre* as a part of *Neue Schumann Ausgabe*, was largely unknown and unrecorded in his own diaries (the *Tagebücher*). Wolfgang Boetticher mentioned the manuscript in his 1941 publication *Robert Schumann: Einführung in Persönlichkeit und Werk*;[34] but by then the manuscript was in a private collection and inaccessible. This invaluable source emerged sometime before 1999, and was finally published by the Schumann Gesellschaft in 2003.[35] This

[29] Some music scholars, including Vivien Pui-Wen Lo, maintain that Schumann's counterpoint study can be pinpointed to three discrete occurrences. I disagree, and will argue that his study continued throughout his life in later portions of this dissertation.

[30] 2 November 1837. *Tb*, Bd.2, 44.

[31] 1 and 4 November 1837. Ibid.

[32] Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, 162.

[33] 15 March 1845. *Tagebücher*. Bd.3, 381 and 382.

[34] Wolfgang Boetticher, *Robert Schumann:Einführung in Persönlichkeit und Werk* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnefeld, 1941).

[35] It was acquired by an unknown private buyer in a Sotheby's auction in 1999; in 2003, the Schumann Gesellschaft published its facsimile edition by permission of its former owner under the title of *Studien zur Kontrapunktlehre*, as part of the New Edition of the Complete Works (RSA VII/3/5). Along with the facsimile of his writing, the Schumann Gesellschaft also provides a photocopy of Schumann's copy of Cherubini's treatise in the same volume, which shows some significant marginal notes in Schumann's hand.

pedagogical manuscript was prepared for Schumann's student Karl Ritter (1830-1891), a brother of the composer Alexander Ritter, and was not intended for publication. While Schumann's writing is essentially an abridgement of Cherubini's *Theorie des Kontrapunkte und der Fuge,*[36] Schumann supplemented the treatise with his own thoughts on counterpoint and fugue. The discovery of this new material demands a reexamination of the various concrete sources of Schumann's study of counterpoint. Marpurg and Cherubini provided the theoretical basis for Schumann's counterpoint study, but Schumann's own notes and marginalia indicate that he read those treatises with Bach examples in mind. By reviewing and comparing the relationship between the early textbooks, Schumann's own writings, and his compositions, a picture emerges of Schumann's understanding of counterpoint that ultimately comes from Bach.

In fact, Schumann's study of Bach entails many important issues in dealing with his works: How he made use of the old technique for the creation of new music; where he stood in the contemporaneous discussion about subjectivity and objectivity, and thus how his study of counterpoint engenders objectivity; how he perceived counterpoint as something between a poetic and technical device; how he managed the tension between the Romantic sentimentality and the rational Baroque genres; and ultimately, how this study affected the growth of his musical style.[37] Schumann's study of Bach and counterpoint is not the sole factor in his musical development, but it offers a compelling narrative for understanding the many significant issues surrounding Schumann's musical style.

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[36] Bilingual edition—German and French—of *Cours de contrepoint et de fugue* (1835).

[37] Charles Rosen asserts, "'the revival' of the greatest of Baroque figures was not a cause but a symptom of the stylistic change; the homogeneous rhythmic structures of Schubert, for example, can have had nothing to do with Bach," in his Epilogue to *The Classical Style*, 515. However, I believe that in Schumann's case this stylistic change did in fact stem from the study of Bach's works.

2. Schumann's Bach: A Review of Research

Bach's posthumous role for later composers—in general and also for specific composers—is a subject that has been explored extensively by generations of musicologists. However, in most cases, the point of emphasis tended toward reaffirmation of the greatness of J.S. Bach, rather than in-depth analysis of later composers' individual efforts to appropriate and revive Bach. The collection of essays titled *Creative Responses to Bach from Mozart to Hindemith* deviates from this trend, as each article focuses on the different issues tackled by individual composers;[38] curiously, the collection does not include any discussion of Schumann, despite his prominent role in the initial Bach revival. For contemporary musicologists interested in this topic, these missing pieces must be filled in and developed through closer examination of concrete musical examples.

Within Schumann studies, the significance of Bach in Schumann's life and works has been consistently acknowledged, yet it seems to receive less attention than it deserves when compared to the influence on Schumann of other figures. In his own time, and for more than a half-century after his death, Schumann's interest in and involvement with Bach was somehow neglected, and overridden by Mendelssohn's conspicuous role in the Bach revival. While Mendelssohn's achievements in this area remain monumental for nineteenth-century Bach-reception, Schumann's role was more private; Schumann advocated publically for Bach during the revival, but he may be even more significant to that movement as a composer who privately wrestled with Bach's legacy in his own works. Schumann biographies published in the second half of the nineteenth century typically describe the composer's admiration for Bach and his

[38] Michael Marissen (ed.), *Creative Responses to Bach from Mozart to Hindemith*, Bach Perspectives III (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska, 1998).

efforts to utilize Bachian elements in his own music; however, these descriptions are limited to pointing out conspicuous instances directly manifesting Bach vestiges, such as Schumann's *Fugues on BACH*, Op. 60, his arrangement of Bach's violin sonatas and cello suites, or his life-long fondness for the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.[39] As Boetticher argues in his 1941 publication, "Schumann's Bach study in his late years was, in general, rarely mentioned honorably;"[40] furthermore, "Schumann's enthusiasm for Bach has not been understood, while Mendelssohn enjoyed the triumph of Bach concerts."[41] Boetticher assesses this failure to appreciate Bach's importance to Schumann as symptomatic of the aesthetics of the time, which were "against strict style" as symbolized by Bach.[42]

There is one extremely significant exception to this trend. Among the Schumann biographies published in the nineteenth century, Phillip Spitta's is remarkable for highlighting Bach's significance to Schumann.[43] Having written the nineteenth century's preeminent biography of Bach,[44] Spitta correctly grasps Schumann's admiration and thorough appreciation of Bach as manifested by Schumann's "enter[ring] more thoroughly than Mendelssohn did into the old master's mysterious depth of feeling."[45] In addition, Spitta's discussion of Bachian

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[39] Wilhelm von Wasielewski, *Robert Schumann. Eine Biographie* (Dresden: Rudolf Kuntze, 1858); August Reissmann, *Robert Schumann: sein Leben und seine Werke* (Berlin: I. Gettentag, 1871); John Alexander Fuller-Maitland, *Schumann* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1886); Heinrich Reimann, *Robert Schumanns Leben und Werke* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1887).

[40] Wolfgang Boetticher, Robert Schumann:Einführung in Persönlichkeit und Werk, 396.

[41] Ibid., 397.

[42] Ibid., 397.

[43] Philipp Spitta, *Ein Lebensbild Robert Schumanns*, in Sammlung musikalischer Vorträge, series 4, edited by Paul Graf Waldersee (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1882). Lenneberg informs us that this short biography was the basis for the "Schumann" articles in the first three editions of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* in "Around Wasielewski and his Schumann Biography," in *Witnesses and Scholars*, 144. In the first edition of *Grove*, 'Robert Schumann' article appears in vol.4.

[44] Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1873-79), 2 vols. English version later published in London, 1884.

[45] Spitta, "Schumann, Robert," *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol.4 (published in 1890), 373.

vestiges in Schumann encompasses various genres—including chamber (trios and quartets) and orchestral music (symphony and concertos)—rather than limiting himself to Schumann's famous fugal works for piano. Spitta provides deeper and more insightful discussion on the significance of Bach in Schumann's life and music, through his understanding of Bach as both a figure epitomizing "old strict form" and a source of inspiration that freed many of Schumann's compositional expressions.

In the 20th century, the significance of the topic has begun to be addressed, but overall, research in this area is generally as Joachim Draheim described it: "attempts (to elucidate Schumann's complex relationship to Bach) have often been made, although hardly ever in a very exhaustive manner and without the critical examination of all available sources."[46] There are a few significant exceptions. Georg von Dadelsen's 1957 article led scholarly attention back to the topic most prominently. Siegmar Keil's 1973 dissertation on Schumann's fugal technique stands out for its insight, shedding new light on Schumann's fugal compositions and calling for attention to Schumann's indulgence in Bachiana.[47]

The revisiting of this topic was mostly the province of German musicologists returning to Bach's role in posterity. The trope of Schumann's ardent pursuit of Bach gradually earned

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[46] Joachim Draheim, "Preface" to *J.S. Bach Suite III, C major for Violoncello, BWV 1009* arranged by Robert Schumann. Draheim lists the earlier researches on this topic in his preface (page 10, footnote 4): Robert Pessenlehner, "Johann Sebastian Bach und Robert Schumann" (Zum 250. Geburtstag J.S. Bachs und zum 125. Geburtstag R. Schumanns), in *Zeitschrift für Musik* 102, 1935: 273-280; Henk Stam, "Schumanns Rückschau auf Bach," in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 117, 1956: 411-413; Georg von Dadelsen, "Robert Schumann und die Musik Bachs," in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 14, 1957: 46-69, also contained in Georg von Dadelsen, *Über Bach und anderes*. Aufsätze und Vorträge 1957-1982, edited by Arnold Feil and Thomas Kohlhase (Laaber, 1983) 9-17, 222-225; Uwe Martin, "Ein unbekanntes Schumann-Autograph aus dem Nachlaß Eduard Krügers (Schumanns Abschrift von Bachs „Kunst der Fuge"), " in *Die Musikforschung* 12, 1959: 405-415; Laura Bettag, *J.S. Bach im literarischen und musikalischen Werk Robert Schumanns* (Scholarly project for the final examination at the Fachhochschule für Bibliothekswesen in Stuttgart, 1984). Draheim also mentions Wolfgang Boeticher's *Robert Schumann: Einführung in Persönlichkeit und Werk*, 223-233, as "an extensive but on the whole rather uninformative contribution to this theme."

[47] Siegmar Keil, *Untersuchungen zur Fugentechnik in Robert Schumanns Instrumentalschaffen*, Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Wagner, 1973).

currency through these articles, including Bodo Bischoff's article on Schumann's Bach reception, "Das Bach-Bild Robert Schumanns," which breaks new ground in dealing with an enormous quantity of source material.[48] As the editors of this publication indicate, Schumann's reception of Bach had received less attention by the mid-1990s than that of Beethoven's and Mendelssohn's;[49] however, Bischoff's chapter on Schumann is substantial and the research is extensive and meticulous. Referring to many Schumann documents and primary sources, Bischoff encompasses virtually all the evidence revealing Schumann's knowledge of and experience with Bach. By virtue of Bischoff's research, those works of Bach familiar to Schumann have been identified and catalogued, and an inventory of primary sources substantiates thorough investigation.

Hans Joachim Köhler's essay "Bach als Katalysator der Identitätssuche Robert Schumanns" is also significant.[50] Largely based on Bischoff's primary research, Köhler approaches the topic more interested in interpretative issues, such as the various layers of meaning his Bach-related activities held for Schumann. Köhler explores what Bach meant to Schumann as a source of creativity and inspiration, a means of *poesie* and originality, a catalyst for his own historical awareness, and even a device for self-discipline and educating others.

In the English-speaking world, Vivien Pui-Wen Lo's Ph.D. dissertation, *"Fugues are Character Pieces of the Highest Type": Schumann's Reception of Bach* (Cornell University, 1982), is the first attempt to concretize Bach's influence on Schumann. Based on Schumann's

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[48] Bodo Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild Robert Schumanns," in *Bach und die Nachwelt*, Bd.1 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag. 1997), 421-499.

[49] Michael Heinemann and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, "Mit Bach" (forward), in *Bach und die Nachwelt*, Bd.1, 19.

[50] Hans Joachim Köhler, "Bach als Katalysator der Identitätssuche Robert Schumanns," in *„Zu Groß, zu Unerreichbar": Bach-Rezeption im Zeitalter Mendelssohns und Schumanns* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007), 237-254.

own writings, Lo first documents Schumann's knowledge and study of Bach; she then traces Bach's musical vestiges in Schumann's music. Suggesting that Schumann's creative development is related to his penetrating study and perception of Bach's work, she demonstrates how various elements in Bach's music were revived by Schumann. However, there are limitations in this thesis: Lo deals only with Schumann's piano works, like many other past researchers, and divides them in two categories according to the years of Schumann's study of Bach. Although Schumann's piano works show direct links to Bach, the vestiges of his musical influence on Schumann are not confined to that repertoire; Schumann's interest in and study of Bach is significantly reflected in other genres as well.

More than two decades after Lo introduced the Bach-Schumann connection in the United States, Russell Stinson has added significantly to that conversation. In his monograph *The Reception of Bach's organ works from Mendelssohn to Brahms*, Stinson pursues deep and fascinating research.[51] Integrating earlier studies of Bach reception in the nineteenth century—especially in relation to four composers, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Liszt, and Brahms—and discovering many significant primary sources located in Germany, Stinson effectively demonstrates how certain composers absorbed Bach's musical legacy, and successfully correlates those Bachian musical elements to their adaptations in specific works. However, because Stinson confines his discussion to the organ works of four composers, the more extensive musical influence of Bach remains unaddressed. More to the point, although Schumann had a strong interest in organ and edited Bach's organ music as Stinson suggests, he himself did not write many works for organ; most of his pieces currently played on organ were actually written for pedal piano (*Sechs Studien,* Op. 56 and *Vier Skizzen,* Op. 58). Stinson's

[51] Russell Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works from Mendelssohn to Brahms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

argument, especially in the Schumann chapter, is therefore less compelling than it could be because of the confines of the organ-music scope.

Stinson's succeeding work, "Clara Schumann's Bach Book: A Neglected Document of the Bach Revival" is another valuable contribution highlighting the Schumann couple's study and revival of Bach.[52] In both studies, Stinson's practical experience as a Bach organist and academic endeavors as musicologist are well-matched, showing a great synergy through correlating interpretative details of organ music to historical archival research.

What remains to be done? Schumann left many primary sources—sketches, autograph scores, diaries, correspondences and other writings—and many of them are available to us through the effort of generations of Schumann scholars; yet it is astonishing that some sources have only recently become available through the process of redistribution,[53] and some sources are still left to be investigated. Encompassing those newly available sources within my research, I will provide concrete documentary and musical evidence demonstrating Schumann's creative response to Bach. Beyond cataloguing the individual works by Bach that Schumann owned, finding and illuminating the repercussions—how those works were interpreted and translated—in Schumann's particular creative response is the ultimate purpose of this study.

While Schumann returned to Bach throughout his lifetime, he never merely copied Bach's style. Schumann proved himself a true artist by creatively interpreting and translating

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[52] Stinson, "Clara Schumann's Bach Book: A Neglected Document of the Bach Revival," *Bach: Journal of the Riemanschneider Bach Institute*, Vol. 39 (2008), 1-67.

[53] The most prominent example is the Wiede Collection, the most extensive private collection of Schumann manuscripts, owned by Alfred Wiede and his heirs. It was first reported and catalogued exclusively by Wolfgang Boetticher in his 1941 publication *Robert Schumann: Einführung in Persönlichkeit und Werk*. However, while it remained inaccessible for many other scholars since World War II, some part of the collection intermittently emerged at Sotheby's auctions, mostly in the 1990s, where it was purchased by institutions or private collectors of other countries. Another remarkable example is the establishment of the Juilliard Manuscript Collection. It was made through a huge donation by Bruce Kovner in 2006, and includes six formerly unknown Schumann manuscripts.

Bach's musical style through Romantic sentiment and into his own musical idiom. In this study, I will trace the changes in Schumann's understanding of Bach and counterpoint, and explore how these changes were reflected or modified in his actual compositional process. In addition to tracing Schumann's creative development, the various layers of Bach's emergent legacy can be clarified in the course of understanding Schumann's compositional activities as a microcosm for the total impact of the Bach revival.

In the following chapters, I will illuminate the various guises of Schumann's reception of Bach throughout his lifetime. Each chapter is tripartite. The first part lays out a chronology of Schumann's activities regarding J.S. Bach and his study of fugue and counterpoint, based on various sources such as diaries, letters, and other writings. This part will shed light on Schumann's visible activities related to Bach. The second section of each chapter will discuss the relation and significance of the main source materials studied or written by Schumann in each period—Friedrich W. Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge*; Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*; Luigi Cherubini's *Cours de contrepoint et de fuge*; and his own *Fugengeschichte* and *Lehrbuch von Kontrapunkt und Fuge*. Reviewing and comparing the relationship between those textbooks will reveal the concrete processes of Schumann's pursuit of Bach. The third part of each chapter will explore how the historical context and sources discussed in previous sections are related to Schumann's compositions. The changing aspects of Schumann's pursuit of Bach—as creative inspiration ultimately becoming a medium for achieving objectivity—will be discussed with concrete music examples. By following this pattern, the issues Schumann had at the different stages of his compositional life—classified into five periods in reference to personal and artistic changes—will be thoroughly discussed within microscopic and chronological frameworks. Ultimately, I will show how, by "always view[ing] Bach through the lens of new developments

in music," Schumann also established himself and his own work as a window towards the future of music.

Chapter 1. Schumann's Recognition of Bach: Early Years (1820s-1833)

1. Early Exposure in the 1820s and Apprenticeship Period

1.1. First Studies

Schumann's earliest exposure to Bach's music presumably took place in 1817, when he received a piano lesson from Johann Gottfried Kuntsch, the organist at St. Marien in Zwickau at that time. As many Schumann biographers suggests, Kuntsch would probably have been familiar with Bach; indeed, it would be surprising if an organist in Zwickau would have failed to make Bach a central figure in the instruction of a new keyboard pupil. Later, in a letter to Kuntsch, Schumann refers to his increasing study of Bach, further indicating that Kuntsch knew of both Bach's work and Schumann's exposure to it.[1]

The earliest documentation of Schumann's commentary on J.S. Bach appears in his personal commonplace book, *Blätter und Blümchen aus der goldene Aue* (Leaves and Flowerlets from the Golden Meadow) dated 1823. In a section titled "Kurze Biographien berühmter Tonkünstler in alphabetiser Ordnung," on page 61, he noted, "Bach (Johann Sebastian). Among German composers, one of the most famous and arguably the largest musical family: born in Eisenach 1685-1750; he became a Kapellmeister at the court of Cöthen. He has eleven sons, all of whom are very distinguished…"[2] The next document, from 1827, is *Materialien*, in which

[1] Eric Frederick Jensen, *Schumann* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 144.

[2] *Blätter und Blümchen*, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau. Arch. No. 4871-I, 1. page 61: Reprinted in Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild Schumanns," 422. "Bach (Johann Sebastian). Unter den deutschen Tonkünstlern einer der berühmtesten und wohl der größte dieser musikalischen Familie geb: zu Eisenach 1685 -1750; er wurde Capellmeister bey den Fürsten v. Cöthen. Er hatte 11 Söhne, die alle sehr ausgezeichnet sind, die berühmtesten sind folgende:-…"

Schumann refers to his awareness of the variations in G Major by Bach—the *Goldberg Variations*—in a section titled "Bildnesse der berühmtesten Menschen aller Völker und Zeiten."[3] Each entry is just a line of short and general information, but Schumann's early acquaintance with Bach is confirmed and his earliest assessments of Bach were unremarkable. In *Materialien,* he remarks, "Specifically, going mad for Franz Schubert, and Beethoven as well; less over Bach..."[4] In another document, he recalled his early years as follows:

> Until the age 20, I did many poetical searches. The most important poets of all countries were quite familiar to me. Wild about Jean Paul at the age of 18; also the period in which I first heard of Franz Schubert. Goethe and Bach had been unknown to me until then … a new life from then on … Franz Schubert and Beethoven shone to me in their full light, while Bach yet dawned … I busied myself almost permanently with Bach.[5]

Eventually, during his first year in Leipzig as a law student in 1828, "Bach yet dawned (Von Bach dämmerte es)" in Schumann's mind.[6] After that point, Schumann often recorded his practice of Bach works, such as "...Präludien und Fugen von Bach mit Glok- ..."[7] and "Bach a la

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[3] *Materialien*, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, Arch. No. 4871-VII, B3., page 2, line 14: Reprinted in Bischoff, 422. Note: Eric Frederic Jensen claims in *Schumann* (2005) that Johann Sebastian Bach is first mentioned in Schumann's diary from the year 1827, but I was unable to locate in the 1827 diary what Jensen refers to.

[4] Ibid., page 3, line 12: Reprinted in Bischoff, 422. "Namentlich Schwärmen in Franz Schubert, auch Beethoven: von Bach weniger"

[5] *Sebstbiographisches Notizen*, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, Arch. No. 4871-VII B, 1-A3; Robert Schumann, *Selbstbiographische Notizen. Facsimile*, ed. by Dr. Martin Schoppe (Düsseldorf: Robert-Schumann-Gesellschaft, 1977): Reprinted in *Robert Schumann. Ein Quellenwerk über Sein Leben und Schaffen* (hereafter *Ein Quellenwerk*), ed. Georg Eismann, Bd. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1956), p.18 and translated in Joachim Draheim, Preface to *J.S. Bach Suite III, C major for Violoncello, BWV 1009* arranged by Robert Schumann. "Bis vor dem 20sten fallen viel poetische Versuche. Die bedeutendsten Dichter ziemlich aller Länder waren mir geläufig. Im 18ten Jahr Schwärmen in Jean Paul; auch von Franz Schubert hörte ich das erstemal. Goethe u. Bach waren mir bis dahin verschlossen. [...] Neues Leben von da an ... Franz Schubert u. Beethoven gingen mir auf; von Bach dämmerte es ... Die meiste Zeit fast beschäftigte ich mich mit Bach; ..."

[6] Ibid. Reprinted in Bischoff, 422. Bischoff's citation indicates that this sentence appears on page 2, lines 2-3, but it actually appears on line 5 in the same page, under the sub-title of "Alteste musikalische Erinnerungen." The facsimile known as *Selbstbiographische Notizen* was originally called *Musikalische Lebenslauf bis 1833*, and the original manuscript includes "Selbstbiographische Notizen" and other folios such as "Älteste mus. Erinnerungen" and "Notizzettel über nach Maxen Mitzunehmendes" under those separate titles.

mode."[8] Schumann's interest in Bach, inspired by his new life in Leipzig, predates Mendelssohn's historic performance of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* on 11 March 1829 in Berlin and clearly was a gradual awakening rather than an immediate attraction.

1.2. Apprenticeship Period and Theory Lessons with Dorn

Schumann was exposed to considerable musical activity during his stay in Heidelberg in 1829-30, where he was matriculating at the university; eventually those activities led him to consider becoming a professional musician. In a letter to his mother in 1830, Schumann verbalized his plan to resume musical studies with Friedrich Wieck before spending a year in Vienna under Moscheles.[9] Schumann's mother sought Wieck's opinion of this plan; Wieck replied to her, promising that Schumann would become a great artist.[10] Upon returning to Leipzig in 1830, Schumann threw himself into playing piano under the guidance of Wieck: "diligently continuing studies," he reports, "I played about 6-7 hours every day."[11] However, his use of the 'chiroplast,' a popular finger-training apparatus, caused and aggravated a hand injury between 1829 and 1832.[12] The gradual worsening and laming of the middle finger of his right

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[7] 18 February 1829, *Tb*, Bd.1, 175: Reprinted in Bischoff, 389. Glok is Schumann's friend Christian Gottlob Glock, who studied law with Schumann in Leizpig University; Schumann consistently wrote the name as 'Glok.'

[8] 9 June 1829, *Tb*, Bd.1, 199: Reprinted in Bischoff, 427.

[9] 30 July 1829. Letter to his mother Johanna Schumann; 6 November 1829. Letter to Wieck, *Jugendbriefe von Robert Schumann*, edited by Clara Schumann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1886, 2nd edition), 62 and 85.

[10] 9 August 1830. Wieck's letter to Johann Schumann. *Ein Quellenwerk*, Bd. 1, 64-65.

[11] *Selbstbiographische Notizen*, page 2, line 12. "1830 ging ich nach Leipzig zurück. Fleißige fortgesetzte Studien; Ich spielte täglich über 6-7 Stunden."

[12] Detailed process of Schumann's hand injury, a description of the device caused the injury, and Schumann's reaction to this situation—turning himself more toward compositional work—are explained in Beate Perrey, "Schumann's lives, and afterlives: an introduction" in *Cambridge Companion to Schumann* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 11-13.

hand pushed him towards composition and thereby gave him more reason to study the works of older composers, including Bach. In autobiographical notes, he wrote:

> A weakness in the right hand that worsened continually interrupted these studies, so that [I] had to abandon entirely the plan of becoming a virtuoso. From then on I occupied myself exclusively with studies of the German masters, as well as with my own compositions.[13]

During the apprentice period under Wieck, Schumann was at times dissatisfied with Wieck's teaching and personality. He attempted to become a pupil of Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Kapellmeister in Weimar; when this failed, Schumann continued with Wieck.[14] However, following Wieck's guidance emphasizing a background in music theory for the development of a musician, Schumann chose to study music theory with Heinrich Dorn, the conductor of the city theater at that time. Although Schumann became acquainted with Dorn in 1830,[15] his first official theory lesson with Dorn is dated 12 July 1831,[16] and the lessons continue until April of 1832. During this period, he learned the 'noble figured bass,' chorale harmonization, canon and double counterpoint.[17] However, not quite pleased with Dorn's strict teaching of counterpoint and fugue, he complained about Dorn in his diary: "I'll never get any closer to Dorn; he has no

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[13] *Selbstbiographische Notizen*, page 3, line 1-8; Translation by author and David Bloom. Bischoff cites it from page.4, but it appears on page 3. "Eine Schwäche in der rechten Hand, die sich immer verschlimmerte, unterbrach diese Studien, so daß [ich] den Plan, Virtuose zu werden, ganz aufgeben mußte. Von da an beschäftigte ich mich ausschließlich mit Studien in den deutschen Meistern, so wie mit eigenen Compositionen."

[14] Jensen, *Schumann*, 59-64.

[15] 19 May 1830, first entry of name Dorn, "An Dorn" *Tb*, Bd.1, 308; 11 May 1831, second entry of the name Dorn, *Tb*, Bd.1, 329; 2 June 1831, "Bey Dorn," *Tb*, Bd. 1, 336; 5 July 1831, "Letter to Dorn," *Tb*, Bd.1, 346.

[16] 13 July 1831, "Auch fing ich gestern bey'm Musikdirektor [Dorn] mit dem edeln Generalbaß an!" (Yesterday I also began with general bass at music director Dorn's.) *Tb*, Bd.1, 349: *Selbstbiographische Notizen*, page 2, lines 16-18: Bischoff suggests that *Skizzenbuch V* in *Neue Ausgabe Robert Schumanns* shows how he worked at this period; Bischoff, 428.

[17] John Daverio and Eric Sams. "Schumann, Robert." In *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40704pg5 (accessed July 7, 2010).

feeling, and that East Prussian tone on top of it;"[18] "Counterpoint is coming along passably, even though all the rules run up against each other crazily, and one knocks down the other. The music director [Dorn] is well disposed toward me;"[19] "Music to him is a fugue, and he wants me to think the same way. God!"[20] As expected with any new theory student, and especially with the demanding Schumann, he was displeased with Dorn's imposition of strict theory rules and his method of teaching. Furthermore, having just begun his career as a composer, he might not have wanted to be confined to a specific musical genre or set of rules for music composition. Indeed, given that his *Abegg Variation*, written prior to his acquisition of theoretical knowledge, was published around this time, Schumann had proof that Dorn's methods were not strictly essential to his career.[21]

Nonetheless, his personal interest in Bach increased as he proceeded with theory lessons. He designated 1831 as "Studien in Bach-" in his *Projektenbuch*.[22] In this early period as a composer, Schumann was exploring and confronting the relationship between strict theory rules and Bach's work. His struggle to find his identity as a composer, positing himself among other great composers, is reflected in his diary:

> If genius is there, it is of little consequence what form (form is not the right word) it appears in, whether in heaviness as with Bach, or lightness as in Mozart, or warmth as in Beethoven, or darkness (that's also not the right word) in Schubert, or in nothingness, as with me! Wait!

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[18] 30 August 1831, *Tb*, Bd.1, 358; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Mit Dorn werd' ich nie näher zusammenkommen; er hat kein Gefühl und obendrein den Ostpreußenton."

[19] 13 October 1831, *Tb*, Bd.1, 371; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Im Contrapunct geht's passabel, obgleich alle Regeln wie toll gegen einander laufen u. eine die andere einreißt. Der musikdirector [Dorn] ist gut gegen mich."

[20] 11 January 1832, Letter to Wieck, *Jugendbriefe*, 162.

[21] The *Abegg Variation*, Op. 1 was published around this time: November 1831 (*Tb*, Bd.1, 372 f., 376).

[22] *Projektenbuch*. The original document is preserved in Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, Arch. No. 4871-VIII C8 (page 34, line 18): Reprinted in Bischoff, 428 and Köhler, 239.

> That's something I have, the nothingness, the infinite nothingness. Isn't nothingness [more] infinite than all in all taken together.[23]

Accepting his as yet unformed potential as a composer, Schumann decided to continue with Dorn;[24] however, it was a while before Schumann was persuaded of the significance of fugal writing. The following remarks show the gradual change in acknowledging the necessity of theory lessons:

> But I certainly feel that theoretical studies have had a good influence upon me. Formerly I wrote down everything on the impulse of the moment, but now I follow the course of my ideas more, and sometimes stop short and look round to see where I am. I dare say you have had similar twilight moments in your life; some, like Mozart, never experience them, others struggle through them like Hummel; some are always in that state, like Schubert, and others laugh at it like Beethoven—of course, this is merely an opinion.[25]

While producing his earliest works, Schumann continued his exercises in writing fugue. In a letter to Clara, Schumann remarked that he had composed fugues with Dorn: "With Dorn, I've gotten as far as fugue for three voices; apart from that, I've completed a Sonata in B minor and a booklet of *Papillons*; this last will be published within 14 days."[26] Finally, there was a

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[23] 31 November 1831, *Tb*, Bd.1, 375; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Wo Genius ist, so verschlägts ja wenig, in welcher Gestalt (Gestalt ist nicht das rechte Wort) er erscheint, ob in der Schwere, wie beym Bach, ob in der Leichtigkeit, wie bey Mozart, ob in der Wärme, wie bey Beethoven, ob in der Dunkelheit (ist auch nicht das rechte Wort) bey Schubert, ob in Nichts, wie bey mir! Halt! da hab' ich Etwas—das Nichts, das unendliche Nichts. Ist denn das Nichts nicht viel unendliche Nichts. Ist denn das Nichts nicht viel unendliche[r], als Alles in Allem zusammen genommen."

[24] 31 November 1831, *Tb*, Bd.1, 376. "....ich muß ja zum Dorn—heute—zum—Dorn—wie soll ich da hin gehen!"

[25] 11 January 1832. Letter to Wieck, *Jugendbriefe*, 162; Translation from *Early Letter of Robert Schumann*, by May Herbert (London: R. Bentley and Son, 1890), 155-156. "Mit Dorn werd's ich mich nie amalgamieren können: er will mich dahin bringen, unter Musik eine Fuge zu verstehen—Himmel! Wie sind doch die Menschen verschieden. [...] Allerdings fühl' ich, dass die theoretischen Studien guten Einfluss auf mich gehabt haben. Wenn sonst alles Eingebung des Augenblicks war, so sehe ich jetzt mehr dem Spiel meiner Begeisterung zu, stehe vielleicht manchmal mitten drinnen still, um mich umzusehen, wo ich bin."

[26] 1 February 1832. Letter to Clara, *Jugendbriefe*, 165; Translation from *Early Letters*, 159. "Bei Dorn bin ich bis zur dreistimmigen Fuge; außerdem ist eine Sonate in H-Moll und ein Heft Papillons fertig; das letzte erscheint binnen 14 Tagen, im Drucke nämlich." Lo suggests that those fugues appear in "Unpublished Early Fugues" (1832), in the Wiede Sketchbook (Universität Bibliothek in Bonn); this includes the Prelude and Fugue (1832), a sketch for

cessation of lessons in April 1832;[27] the break seems to have come from Dorn, as implied in Schumann's letter to his teacher written at the end of the same month.[28] In a pleading tone, Schumann explains that he was working hard on theory out of respect for what Dorn had taught him:

> So I have been going quietly on where we left off (after Marpurg), but I confess I do not give up all hopes of someday again studying the theory of canon with you, and I quite see the intrinsic usefulness of theoretical studies, as everything wrong and false only comes from exaggeration or misapplication.[29]

Schumann's understanding of the significance of theoretical grounding found in Dorn's lesson is again observed in a letter to his mother:

> Dorn, my theoretical master, had improved my mind immensely, and by steady application, I had succeeded in obtaining that beautiful clearness which I used so often to dream of, but never before possessed.[30]

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a fugal piece in B flat minor (?1832), a sketch for a canonic piece in A (?1832), and a Fugue, No. 3 (probably intended as a finale to Op. 5). Lo claims that one can assume that all these were written as exercises during or near the time of Schumann's study with Dorn. Lo, *Fugues are the Character Pieces*, 26, n 48.

[27] Bischoff suggests Dorn ended the theory lessons with Schumann at the end of April (Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild Schumanns," in *Bach und Nachwelt I*, 488, n.42). However, there are records suggesting that Schumann continued to meet Dorn for lessons after that time. On 15 May 1832, he comments in his diary, "Sind die Intermezzi's fertig, so wird Marpurg wieder vorgenomen u. Der doppelte Contrapunct bey Dorn beendigt." (If Intermezzi is finished, I will undertake Marpurg again, and finish double counterpoint with Dorn), *Tb*, Bd.1, 390.

[28] 25 April 1832. Letter to Dorn, *Jugengbrief*e, 168-169; *Early Letters*, 162-163. "Was konnte Sie zu plötzlichen Abbrechen unsres Verhältnisses veranlassen?"(What can have induced you to break with me so suddenly?)

[29] Ibid., "Wo wir stehen geblieben waren, bin ich daher bedächtig fortgegangen [nach Marpurg] gebe aber [ich gestehe es Ihnen] nicht die Hoffnung auf, bei Ihnen noch einmal die Lehre vom Kanon zu hören, sehe auch das durch und durch Nützliche der Theorie ein, da Falsches und Schädliches nur in übertreibung oder verkehrter anwendung liegt."

[30] 8 May 1832. Letter to his mother. *Ein Quellenwerk*, Bd. 1, 75; *Jugendbriefe*, 168; Translation from *Early Letters*, 167. "Dorn, mein theoretischer Lehrer, hatte mich innerlich welt gebracht, indem ich durch anhaltendes Studium die schöne Klarheit gewonnen hatte, die ich wohl fröh schon geahnt, mir aber oft gefehlt hatte."

His remarks in this period reconfirm an awakening to the necessity of theoretical study, which transforms the "impulse of moment" to the "beautiful clearness" of an idea. Another diary comment emphasizing theoretical study reflects this changed attitude:

> Nothing makes a more ridiculous impression than wanting to rise up over the rules before one has fundamentally and securely consumed and digested them. –Because even someone endowed with less talent, <although> he were making fundamental progress in every other way, this will unmask him the moment after you have encountered him.—.[31]

In the process of this attitude change, the study of Bach works must have played a significant role: figured bass, canon, counterpoint, and chorale harmonization—the content of Schumann's theory lessons—all find their most fascinating manifestation in Bach's works. Now, equipped with keen theoretical eyes, Schumann more clearly saw the beauty and meaning of Bach music. Although records from this time show that he studied the work of other composers such as C.P.E. Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven, his admiration of Bach conspicuously increased as he studied Marpurg's treatise along with Bach's fugues: "Johann Sebastian Bach did everything in full—he was a man through and through;"[32] "Keep Mozart and Bach, as your model of form, treatment, nature and art. These great ones have their magic wand in their hands, with which they produce a thousand other new thoughts;"[33] "a sonata by Phil. Em. Bach is not without spirit; but it lacks Sebastian's genius."[34] His perception of himself as a part of the German musical lineage

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[31] 23 May 1832. *Tb*, Bd.1, 395; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Es kommt nichts lächerlicheres heraus, als das Sich-über-die-Regel-erheben-wollen, bevor man sie gründlich u. sicher in sich verarbeitet u. verdaut hat. –Denn auch der mit weniger Talent begabte, <obw> wenn er nur sonst gründlich fortging, zieht jenem die Maske im zweiten Moment der Begegnung weg.—"

[32] 14 May 1832, *Tb*, Bd.1, 389. "Johann Sebastian Bach hat Alles ganz gemacht—er war ein Mann durch u. durch."

[33] 22 May 1832, *Tb*, Bd.1, 394-95: Reprinted in Boetticher, *Einführung*, 224 and Köhler, "Bach als Katalysator," 240. "Bleib nur immer Mozart und Bach dein Muster in Form, Behandlung, Natur und Kunstruhe. Aber dieser Mächtige hat den Zauberstab in der Hand, mit dem er wie andre tausend Gedanken hervorruft."

[34] 22 May 1832, *Tb*, Bd.1, 395. "Eine Sonate von Phil. Em. Bach ist gar nicht ohne Geist; aber das Sebastian'sche Genie fehlt ihnen wohl."

rooted in Bach appears here as well: "If only I could glorify these German names through music and word…What kind of idea is this that supports me from eternity to eternity, from age to age?"[35]

Playing Bach's works on the piano was another method of study. In 1832, Robert and Clara both enjoyed playing Bach fugues: "Clara [Wieck] played the second fugue by Bach to me, distinctive and clear in beautiful tone color;"[36] "I had sight-read at the piano six Bach fugues, four hands…"[37] In addition, Schumann recorded that he had prepared [or composed] "many contrapuntal studies" in his *Projektenbuch*.[38] His studying activities in that year are summarized in a letter to Kuntsch:

> I completed the theoretical course with Dorn several months ago, having worked my way up to the canon, which I studied thoroughly on my own using Marpurg. Marpurg is a very respectable theorist. Otherwise Sebastian Bach's "Well-Tempered Clavier" is my grammar, and is certainly the best. I have taken the fugues one by one, and dissected them down to their minutest parts. The advantage of this is great, and seems to have a strengthening moral effect upon one's whole system; for Bach was a thorough man all over, there is nothing sickly or stunted about him, and his works seem written for eternity.[39]

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[35] 27 May 1832, *Tb*, Bd.1, 398. "Und könnt'ich einmal diesen deutschen Namen verherrlichen, durch Ton u. Wort—Was ist das für ein Gedanke, der mich so stürtzt von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit, von Menschenalter zu Menschenalter."

[36] 24 May 1832, *Tb*¸ Bd. 1, 396. "Clara spielte mir die zweite Fuge von Bach vor, deutlich u. klar u. im schönen Farbenspiel."

[37] 29 May 1832, *Tb*, Bd.1, 400. "Abends riss ich mit Clara sechs Bachische Fugen ab, vierhändig a vista prima." Stinson suggest that he and his future wife played the *Six Great Preludes and Fugues* for organ, BWV 543-48, given that no other collection of six Bach fugues for any medium was in print at the time. Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 77.

[38] *Projektenbuch*: Reprinted in *Ein Quellenwerk*, Bd. 1, 82. "Viele kontrapunktische Studien." This record is also found at the Robert-Schumann-Haus homepage: http://www.schumannzwickau.de/en/work1822_1833.asp

[39] 27 July 1832, Letter to Kuntsch. *Jugendbriefe*, 187: Reprinted in Boetticher, *Einführung*, 224; Translation from *Early Letters*, 179. "Den theoretischen Cursus hab' ich vor etlichen Monaten bis zum Canon bei Dorn vollendet; den ich nach Marpurg für mich durchstudirt habe. Marpurg ist ein achtungswerther Theoretiker. Sonst ist Sebastian Bachs WTK meine Grammatik, und die beste ohnehin. Die Fugen selbst hab' ich der Reihe nach bis in ihre feinsten Zweige zergliedert; der Nutzen davon ist gross und wie von einer moralisch=stärkenden Wirkung auf den ganzen

2. Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge* as a Medium of Schumann's Bach Study

A crucial element of Schumann's studies with Dorn was his exposure to Wilhelm Friedrich Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge*. This treatise was first published in 1753-1754 (the French version was published as *Traité de la fugue et du contrepoint* in 1756) and became the standard text on fugal theory in his day.[40] The significance of Marpurg and his treatises are mainly derived from his acquaintance with J.S. Bach. Although biographical facts about Marpurg are fragmentary, he was known as a theorist, keyboardist, and writer, who left significant writings on the theory of fugue, harmony and fundamental bass.[41] Born in 1718 in Marpurgsdorf, near Seehausen, Brandenburg, Marpurg worked as a secretary to a Prussian general in Paris in 1746; he moved to Berlin around 1750, where he could devote himself to writing about music, composing and editing.[42] There, he was acquainted with the musicians working at the court of Friedrich the Great, and wrote prolifically on various topics such as theory, performance practice, composition, and temperament. To modern scholars, he is famous for a fierce argument with Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721-1783) on harmonic theory—these theorists, considered major figures in the transmission of Bach's works after his death, disputed the polemic issues derived from Rameau's harmony theory.[43] Some records suggest that

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Menschen, denn Bach war ein Mann—durch und durch; bei ihm gibt's nichts Halbes, Krankes, ist alles wie für ewige Zeiten geschrieben."

[40] Before 1830, there were three primary texts on the fugue and fugal theory. The most important was Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725), and followed by Marpurg's *Abhandlung*, then Alberchtsberger's *Gründliche Anweisung zur Komposition* (1790).

[41] The list of Marpug writings are provided in Joel Lester's article, "The Marpurg-Kirnberger Disputes," in *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 233-234.

[42] "Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved 6 July 2010, from Encyclopædia Britannica Online: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/366062/Friedrich-Wilhelm-Marpurg

[43] Gerald Krumholtz, "Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fugue* (1753-1754)," (Ph.D. Diss., University of Rochester, 1995), 8: Also in *The New Bach Reader*, edited by Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, expanded by Christoph Wolff (New York: W. W. Norton & company, 1998), 363 (No. 357).

Marpurg was a fervent follower of J.S. Bach, even visiting Leipzig to meet and personally converse with him in the 1740s.

Whether or not he ever met J. S. Bach, Marpurg did know C.P.E. Bach, one of the court musicians with whom he was acquainted in Berlin. C.P.E. Bach asked Marpurg to write a preface for the new edition *Art of Fugue,* which would be published in 1752.[44] Inspired by a study of this compendious work, Marpurg wrote the treatise, *Abhandlung von der Fuge,* of which the second volume, published in 1754, was dedicated to Bach's sons Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel (the first volume, published in 1753, was dedicated to Telemann).[45] C.P.E. Bach, in turn, testified to the significance of this treatise to publishers:

> But I may be permitted to observe this much: that it is the most perfect practical fugal work, and that every student of the art, with the help of a good theoretical instruction book, such as the one by Marpurg, must necessarily learn from it to make a good fugue, and thus needs for his instruction no oral teacher, who often charges dear enough for imparting the secret of the fugue.[46]

Marpurg's personal acquaintance with J.S. Bach and his sons, and his direct association with the *Art of Fugue*, testify to the treatise's significance in terms of Bach's legacy.

The treatise, consisting of two volumes, is ultimately a collection in which Marpurg organized the information regarding imitation, fugue, and counterpoint from all sources available through the mid-eighteenth century.[47] The defining characteristic of this treatise is Marpurg's attempt to codify and systematize his broad knowledge for teaching through a number of music

[44] The preface to the 1752 edition of the *Art of Fugue* is translated in *The New Bach Reader*, 375 (No. 374). The reception history of this work since 1752 is summarized in *The New Bach Reader,* 487.

[45] *The New Bach Reader*, 375. English translation of Marpurg's own preface to the treatise (volume 1) is available as "An eighteenth century soliloquy" in *The Musical Standard: A Newspaper for Musicians, Professional and Amateur*, Vol.16 (1887), Issues. 149 (p.355-56), 150 (p.370-71), and 151 (p.387-88).

[46] Ibid., 376. An offer to publishers for the plates, by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (September 14, 1756).

[47] Krumholz, "Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fugue*," 3.

examples taken from a broad repertory of older and more recent works. Among the hundreds of music examples, many are by J.S. Bach, primarily as excerpts from the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.[48] While the keys of three examples from the *WTC* were transposed a minor second lower than the original,[49] most examples work as a good repository of Bach's pieces. Although Schumann already knew the *Well-Tempered Clavier* and the *Art of Fugue* from independent publications, through the music examples provided in Marpurg's treatise Schumann explored theoretical ideas on fugal process and broadened his knowledge of Bach's works. However, it should be noted that Marpurg did not consider Bach the exclusive authority on fugal writing; he includes many examples from the works of other composers as well, such as Frescobaldi, Fux, Handel, Telemann, and his contemporaries such as C.P.E. Bach, W.F. Bach and Kirnberger. Therefore, while Marpurg's extensive catalogue of fugal subjects does not favor J.S. Bach, Schumann's interest in that composer developed alongside his study of Marpurg's treatise, ultimately resulting in his special interest in Bach and subsequent decision to study the *Well-tempered Clavier* separately from the treatise.[50]

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[48] Although Marpurg indicates composer's name over each music example in most cases, some examples do not have composer's name caption and from which works they are excerpted are unidentified. The Bach works used for examples in Marpurg's *Abhandlung*, as identified by myself, are provided as Appendix 1. Note that Marpurg's music examples of two Bach canons—*Canon for Eight Voices*, BWV 1072 (Marpurg Vol. II, Tab XXXVII: Fig. 3) and *Canon for Seven Voices*, BWV 1078 (Marpurg Vol. II, TAB XXXVII: Fig.7)—are mentioned as one of the rare source transmitting those works in *The New Bach Reader*, 222 (No. 237) and 236 (No. 259). Stinson describes, in terms of organ repertoires, "a treatise in which seven different organ chorales by Bach are excerpted to illustrate various contrapuntal procedures. Two of these chorales employ canon, a technique utilized by Schumann in many of his own compositions." Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 76.

[49] BWV 853 (D sharp minor to D minor), and BWV 863 (G sharp minor to G minor) in Book 1, and BWV 892 (F sharp major to F major) in Book 2.

[50] It is uncertain if Dorn had a specific reason for choosing to use the Marpurg treatise, as opposed to Fux or Alberchtsberger's for his lessons. Intriguingly, Schumann's personal library catalogue, *Musiklehre und Geschichte* (1850) also excludes these treatises. The catalogue contains the following materials: Lobe: *Lehrbuch der musikalischen Komposition*, Bd. I (1850-67): Marpurg; *Abhandlung von der Fuge*, 2 Bände und 1 Notenbend (1853-54); Mattheson: *Kern melodische Wissenschaft* (1737); Adolph Bernhard Marx: *Musikalische Kompositionslehre* (1837); *Die alte Musiklehre im Streit mit unserer Zeit* (1841); (Wilhelm Christian) Müller: *Einleitung in die Wissenschaft der Tonkunst*; *Zeitschrift für Musik*; *Verzeichnis der Werke Mendelssohns und Mozarts*; C(arl).F(erdinand). Becker: *Darstellung der musikalischen Literatur*, 2 Bände (1836); Beethoven: *Studien im*

Although the term 'fugue' was used and discussed in theoretical writings from the 14th century, publications devoted exclusively to fugue and counterpoint seem scant until Marpurg's *Abhandlung*. Among the sources influencing Marpurg's treatise, Johann Joseph Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Vienna, 1725) is the most significant and influential.[51] Compared to the Fux treatise (and other precedents), the *Abhandlung* indicates a fundamental shift in how theorists understood the fugal process.[52] Whereas Fux (and earlier authors discussing counterpoint and fugue) began with a general overview on counterpoint and proceeded to fugue, Marpurg jumps directly into a discussion of fugue, elaborating on counterpoint in the later part of the first volume. The discussion of fugue occupies less than half of the treatise, and the rest is devoted to the various types of counterpoint and to canon (the table of contents of each volume, providing an outline of the treatise, is shown in Table 1).[53] This physical rearrangement of content is meaningful to Schumann's study of Marpurg (and Bach through this source) as well, given that his first study of counterpoint in general accordingly began with fugue. This is reflected in Schumann's early output, which displays a burgeoning interest in fugal compositions, beyond the simple combining of voices in various species of counterpoint.

Generalbaß (1832), *Kontrapunkt etc. (ein unechtes Buch)*; *Beethoven-Biographie von A. Schindler*; *Beethoven in Paris von A. Schindler*; *Thematisches Verzeichnis seiner sämtlichen Werke*; Berlioz: *Die moderne Instrumentation, deutsch von Leibrock* (1843); Cherubini: *Cours de contrepoint* (1835), deutsch von F. Stöp[e]l (1836); (Ferdinand Simon) Gassner: *Partiturenkenntnis, ein Leitfaden*, 2 Bände (1838, 1842); Eduard Krüger: *Beiträge für Leben und Wissenschaft der Tonkunst* (1847); (Rapael Georg) Kiesewetter: *Geschichte der Musik* (1834); *Katalog seiner Sammlung alter Musik* (1847); *Galerie der alten Kontrapunktisten* (1847); A(ugust).Gathy: *Musikalisches Konvesationslexikon* (1835). Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau. Arch. No. 5678-A3C; Reprinted in Boetticher's *Einführung*, 296.

[51] Krumholz identifies many literary sources used for the *Abhandlung* in his dissertation. Krumholz, *Friedrich Wihelm Marpurg's Abhandlung*, 13-14.

[52] Michael Heinemann points out that Marpurg addresses the formal structure of a fugue at the outset of the text through the compendium of exemplary compositions of the fugue genre, whereas earlier authors of fugue treatise refer to fugal construction only at the end of their texts by offering a few comparative examples. Michael Heinemann, Introduction, *Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg: Abhandlung von der Fuge* (Reprint, Laaber-Verlag, 2004), no page numbers given to the Introduction.

[53] Krumholz, 11.

Marpurg opens his treatise with an explanation of the various types of imitation and the fugue in general. After detailed instruction on the various species of imitation, Marpurg proceeds to fugue; he elaborates on the all types of imitation, and then categorizes them into either periodic or canonic fugues: If the imitation continues throughout the piece, it is canonic; if the imitation breaks off at some point, then it is periodic.[54] The inclusion of canon under the "fugue" umbrella may seem unusual from a modern perspective, although Marpurg eventually deals with 'canon' separately from the chapters on fugue.[55] This categorization is significant in understanding Schumann's use of imitative techniques: Schumann adopted various techniques of imitation, canon, and fugue fragmentarily in his works, but as general imitative motion, rather than as strict workings-out of canon or fugue.

Another significant impact Marpurg had as a source for Schumann's Bach study is in his categorization of the periodic fugue as either strict or free.[56] Marpurg did not express any preference for strict versus free; he associated the strict with Bach and the free with Handel. Significantly, the description of strict fugue sounds more evocative of Schumann's style. The

[54] Ibid., 36-37.

[55] Krumholz points out that this categorization reflects the eighteenth-century view considering canon one of the two primary types of fugue, a concept that harkens back to Zarlino. Ibid., 11.

[56] Marpurg, *Abhandlung* (Hildesheim & New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970) 19-20. Translation of the original text is published as "On strict and free fugue, by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1753)" in *The New Bach Reader*, 359. I prefer this translation to that in Mann's *The Study of Fugue*; it is appended here for the reader's convenience. "The true fugue is of two sorts, distinguished according to their treatment of the fugue subject: (A) A strict fugue, *fuga obligata*, is one in which no other material than the subject is treated throughout, i.e., in which the subject, after the exposition (if not entirely, then at least in part) makes its appearance in one entry after another, so to speak, and in which, consequently, all the counterpoints and interludes are derived from the principal subject or from the counterpoint that first appears against the answer, by means of division, augmentation, diminution, contrary motion, etc.; all this, however, being bound together through imitation and a coherent and solid harmony….Such is the nature of most of the fugues by the late Capellmeister Bach. (B) A free fugue, *fuga libera, solute, sciolta*, is a fugue in which the principal subject is not continuously treated; that is, in which it does not make its appearance in one entry after another, although often enough, and in which, when the principal subject is abandoned, a brief, well-chosen interlude is worked out by imitation and transposition—which has a similarity to the principal subject or to the counterpoint that first appears against the answer, and is related to the same, even though it is not always derived from it. Such is the nature of most of the fugues by Handel."

Table 1. Table of Contents of Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge*[57]

Volume 1. 1. On the various types of imitation and on the fugue in general (Von den verschiedenen Gattungen der Nachahmung und der Fuge überhaupt) 2. On the character of a fugal theme or subject (Von der Beschaffenheit eines Fugensatzes, oder von dem Führer) 3. On the construction of the answer (Von der Einrichtung des Gefährten) 4. On the exposition and the continuation of a fugal phrase (Vom Wiederschlage, und dem Verfolg eines Fugensatzes) 5. On counterpart (Von der Gegenharmonie) 6. On episode (Von der Zwischenharmonie) 7. On counterpoint in general (Vom Contrapuncte überhaupt) 8. On double counterpoint (Vom doppelten Contrapunct)
Volume. 2 1. On triple counterpoint (Von dem dreidoppelten Contrapunct) 2. On quadruple counterpoint (Vom vierdoppelten Contrapunct) 3. On double inverted counterpoint (Vom doppelverkehrten Contrapunct) 4. On retrograde counterpoint (Vom rückgängigen Contrapunct) 5. On the setting of a composition in various motions and their solutions in various counterpoints (Von der Versetzung einer Composition in verschiedne Bewegungen und derselben Auflösung in verschiedne Contrapuncte) 6. On canon (Vom Canon) 7. On the vocal fugue and vocal canon (Von der Singfuge und dem Singcanon)

strict fugue utilizes a single theme throughout, with all of the thematic material except for countersubject; this method is apparent in most fugal compositions by Schumann. As will be discussed in the later chapter on Schumann's fugues, he used a subject and its answer almost obsessively; thus his fugal works sound monothematic. Marpurg's treatise exposed Schumann to both the strict and free fugue, but he clearly took more from Bach's model than from Handel's.[58]

[57] Translation is taken from Krumholz, 11-12.

In his records, Schumann did not specifically mention the relation of the Marpurg treatise to Bach's work. However, his interest in the one had, in all likelihood, a reciprocal effect on his understanding of the other. Schumann's own copy of Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge*, now preserved in the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, sheds further light on Schumann's reception of Bach through Marpurg.[59] This copy, a reprint published by Kühnel in 1806 (with an added preface by the publisher), consists of two volumes and a supplementary volume of music examples. Although the supplementary volume is missing,[60] the study of Schumann's own copy reveals many interesting aspects of Schumann's study of counterpoint and Bach.

The examination of the Marpurg treatise in general and Schumann's personal copy specifically illuminates Schumann's early concept of imitation and fugue, his awareness of the melodic significance of the fugal subject, and how he eventually gained interest in Bach through the Marpurg study. The overall appearance of Schumann's copy is very clean, with clear margins; however, lines in pencil conspicuously cross over the explanations on music examples in sections 2-11 in Chapter 3 (pp. 28-56 of volume 1) and partial portions of Chapter 4 (pp. 128 - 133 of volume 1).

In Marpurg's Chapter 3, these crossing-out lines are drawn only over the explanation of music examples, not over the plain text for general instructions. This was probably intended to

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[58] A rare marginal note in his copy refers to a chromatic fugal subject by Handel, listed as TAB XXIII, Fig.7; "schönes Thema von Handel"

[59] This copy was donated in 1910 by Schumann's son Ferdinand to the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau. The cover page reads as follows:"Diese Marpurg, den Robert Schumann selbst benutzt hat, und der Bleistiftnotizen von seiner Hand enthält, übergiebt dem Schumannhaus zu Zwickau aus dem Besitz der Schumann'schen Familie / Ferdinand Schumann, Marburg a.d. Lahn, 1. Juni 1910." (This Marpurg treatise, which Robert Schumann himself owned, and had pencil markings by his own hand, is donated to Schumann-Haus in Zwickau from the Schumann family's property.)

[60] Bodo Bischoff and Hans Joachim Köhler mentioned, in their articles about Schumann's Bach reception that Schumann's own pencil markings and analyses of fugue can be found in the music examples included in this copy. However, the volume for the music examples is not preserved with the other two volumes, and Dr. Synofzik, the director of Robert-Schumann-Haus, confirmed that the volume for the music examples is lost; neither Bischoff nor Köhler refer to this volume.

Table 2. The Outline of Chapter 3 of Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge*

Chapter 3. The Construction of Answer (Von der Einrichtung des Gefährten)
1. Fugal themes that begin with the tonic note and remain in the tonic key (Fugensätze die in der Octave des Haupttons anheben, und im Haupttone bleiben, Tab.X. Fig.1-Tab. XII. Fig.7)
2. Fugal themes that begin with the dominant note and remain in the tonic key (Fugensätze, die mit der Dominante anfangen, und im Haupttone bleiben, Tab. XIII. Fig.1-7)
3. Fugal themes, in which the melodic line moves to the dominant key (Fugensätze, wo sich der Gesang nach der Dominante hinwendet, Tab. XIV. Fig.1-5)
4. Fugal themes that begin on the third of the tonic key (Fugensätze die auf der Terz der Haupttons anheben, Tab. XV. Fig.1-14)
5. Fugal themes that begin on the fourth of the tonic key (Fugensätze, die mit der Quarte des Haupttons anheben, Tab. XVI. Fig. 1-3)
6. Fugal themes that begin on the sixth of the tonic key (Fugensätze, die mit der Sexte des Haupttons anheben, Tab. XVI. Fig. 4-8)
7. Fugal themes that begin on the second of the tonic key (Fugensätze, die mit der Secunde des Haupttons anheben, Tab. XVII. Fig.1-8)
8. Fugal themes that begin on the seventh of the tonic key (Fugensätze, die mit der Septime des Haupttons anheben, Tab. XVIII. Fig.1-7)
9. Fugal themes in the old modes (Fugensätze nach den alten Tonarten) Fugensätze in der Tonart D (Tab. XIX. Fig.1-9) Fugensätze in der Tonart E (Tab. XIX. Fig. 10-14, Tab. XX. Fig.1-5) Fugensätze in der Tonart F (Tab. XX. Fig.6-7) Fugensätze in der Tonart G (Tab. XX. Fig. 8-10) Fugensätze in der Tonart A (Tab. XX. Fig.11-15) Fugensätze in der Tonart C (Tab. XXI. Fig.1-2) Aufgaben nach den alten Tonarten (Tab. XXI. Fig.3-23)
10. Chromatic fugal themes (Chromatische Fugensätze, Tab. XXII. Fig.1-6, XXIII. Fig.1-7, XXIV. Fig.1-7, XXV. Fig.1-8)
11. Miscellaneous fugal themes (Vermischte Fugensätze, Tab. XXVI. Fig.1-19, XXVII. Fig.1-10, XXVIII. Fig.1-12)

mark what Schumann had studied; each marking covers the explanation of each example (see Table 2 for an outline of the chapter's contents). In Chapter 4, the lines are drawn over the "Anmerkungen (Notes)," included in (I) The General Rules of Continuation of Two-, Three-, or Four-part Simple Fugue, and most of the following section, (II) The General Rules of Continuation of Two-, Three-, or Four-part Double Fugue. It is not certain when these cross-outs were made, but Schumann must have studied these explanations in tandem with the examples,

and possibly drew the lines to indicate that the study for each example had been completed. Another possibility is that the lines were drawn when he wrote his *Fugengeschichte* in 1837, where he adopted a similar outline to this portion.[61] Volume 2, which mostly contains "counterpoint" rules, does not have any markings or writing by Schumann. It is therefore questionable if Schumann thoroughly studied the entire Marpurg treatise or only referred to the chapters on fugue; nonetheless, the physical evidence of this copy strongly supports the theory that Schumann was exposed to fugal writing prior to counterpoint.

The chapters where Schumann left pencil markings are mainly about the rules of constructing answers. According to the pitch degree beginning and ending a fugal subject, Marpurg categorizes the variants of fugal subject and its answer. Using examples under each category, Marpurg suggests how the appearance of a subject should be followed by an answer, in various combinations of voices. This content would have provided Schumann with concrete knowledge of how to construct not only an answer, but also a subject that necessitates it. This subtle construction of fugal subject and answer based on various interval relations would have instructed Schumann to take the melodic quality of the fugal subject into consideration, as well as the harmonic consequence resulting from the appearance of the answer.

The third chapter is the core of Marpurg's fugal guidance, suggesting concrete solutions to achieving the unification exemplified in Bach's fugues. Interestingly, these aspects correspond with what Marpurg described as the signal achievement of Bach in his dedication of this treatise to Bach's sons. In the dedication, Marpurg writes:

> One needs not look back even half a century to discover the happy moment when a beginning was made of combining imaginative harmonic changes with an agreeable and unified melody.

[61] A comparison of the order of this section to Schumann's *Fugengeschichte* will be made in Chapter 2.

> At the very time when the world was beginning to degenerate in another direction, when light melody making was gaining the upper hand and people were becoming tired of difficult harmonies, the late Capellmeister was the one who knew how to keep to the golden mean, and taught us how to combine an agreeable and flowing melody with the richest harmonies.[62]

The fundamental question of how to construct a good subject and answer dealt with in Chapter 3 of the Marpurg treatise thus ultimately provides an explanation of Marpurg's perception of the essence of Bach's music: the combination of "imaginative harmonic changes with an agreeable and unified melody." Significantly, this statement is very similar to Schumann's later arguments extolling Bach in his writings; Schumann was also critical of light Italian melody and sought rich harmony.

Although Marpurg's treatise does not address Bach exclusively, its fundamental basis is deeply rooted in Bach's music. Therefore, it is an inherently Bachian treatise, and as a text for Schumann offered a thoroughly Bachian take on fugal procedure. Schumann's recurrent studies of Marpurg would have given him a more thorough knowledge of fugal writing and the tools with which to analyze and comprehend the meaning of Bach works.[63]

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[62] Friedrich Marpurg, "353. Dedication for the Treatise on the Fugue, Part II," *The New Bach Reader,*, 360.

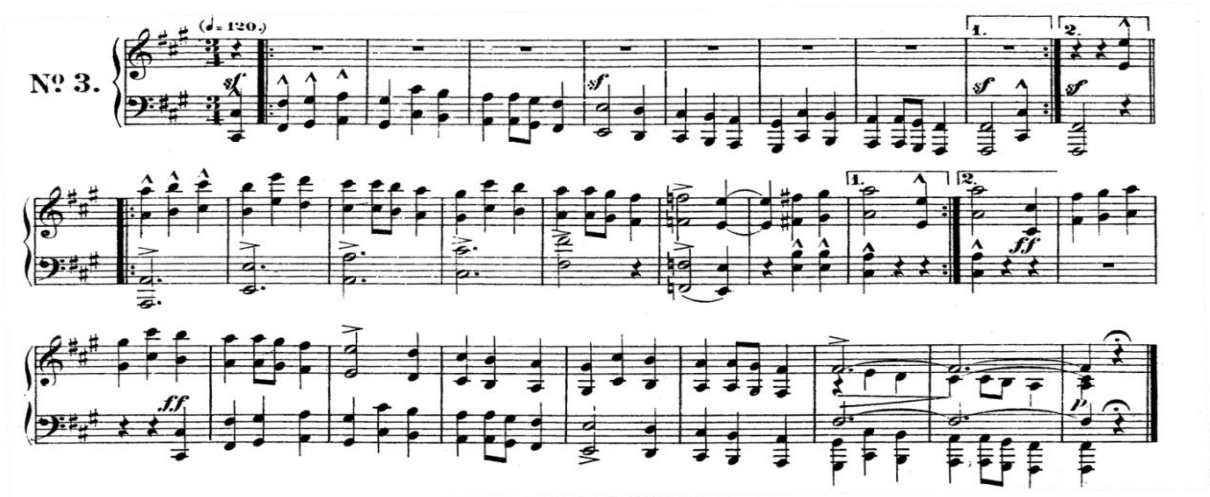
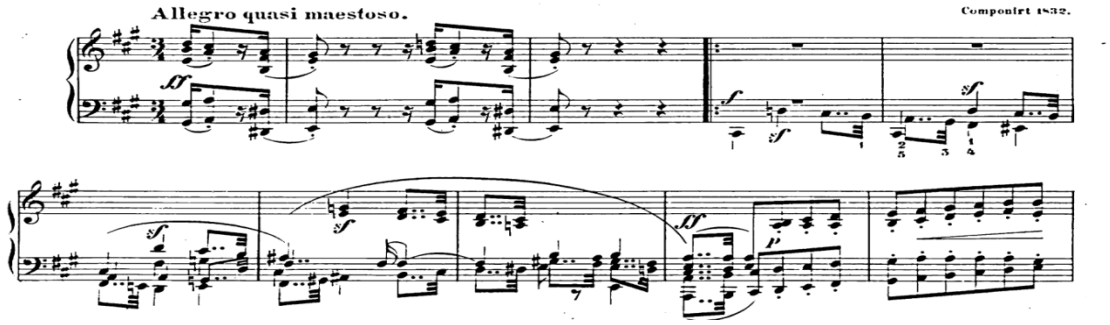
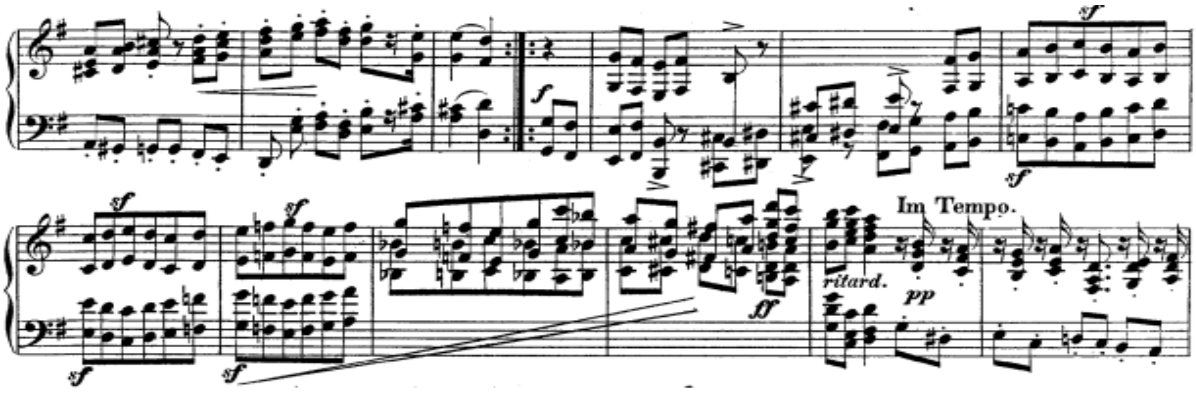
[63] As this dissertation proceeds, the significance of Marpurg's treatise to Schumann at each stage of his repetitive reference will be elaborated in terms of how the treatise could be understood and utilized in his later studies.

3. Bach as a Source of Invention: Schumann's *Impromptus*, Op. 5

Although Marpurg's treatise played a significant role in Schumann's exposure to Bach, it is difficult to trace the immediate reflections of his careful study of the *Abhandlung* and Bach's works. However, while Schumann's study of Marpurg and Bach did not seem to bear concrete fruit in the actual composition of fugue, his exploration spurred his interest in using inventive ideas to capture the impulse of a moment within a clear musical expression. In Schumann's early years, fugue was not understood as a strict form to follow, but rather as a method to reach a goal: the unimpeded linear flow of contrapuntal voices. The spontaneous and improvisatory characteristic of the fugal procedure, achieved by creative ideas, would have more appeal to Schumann than fugue as a compositional scheme.

According to Daverio, "Schumann's study of Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge* is reflected in the enrichment of keyboard texture through imitative passages."[64] Indeed, he often used imitative motions in his early piano works: In *Papillons*, Op. 2 (composed from 1829 to January 1832), most notably in No. 3; the first piece of *Six Intermezzi*, Op. 4 (composed from April to July 1832); and No. 16 of *Davidsbündler*, Op. 6 (mm.9-13). However, these imitative entries are intermittent and fragmentary, not developed according to a fugal process; thus, the use of this contrapuntal technique is very limited within these pieces, and offer only fragmentary clues to the influence of Bach, if not of Marpurg.

Schumann's *Toccata*, Op. 7, begun in 1829 and completed in 1833 and 1834, is seemingly the best candidate for association with Bach, because the genre itself and its dense

[64] John Daverio and Eric Sams. "Schumann, Robert." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40704pg4 (accessed July 7, 2010).

Example 1. Schumann, *Papillons*, Op. 2, No. 3

Example 2. Schumann, *Intermezzi*, Op. 4, No. 1

Example 3. Schumann, "Mit gutem Humor" in *Davidsbündler Tanze*, Op. 6, No. 16 (mm.6-17)

rhythmic figuration are trademark Baroque elements. However, the piece is written in sonata form, and displays a virtuosic rendering more directly associated with the influence of Paganini. There is no fugal or imitative motion in this piece, and the overall texture is more harmonic than contrapuntal.

If these preceding examples offer only partial evidence of Schumann's Bach study, *Impromptus sur une Romance de Clara Wieck*, Op. 5 (composed in May 1833), calls for special attention in light of Schumann's immersion in the works of Bach. As the composer noted:

> I was practically always preoccupied with Bach, and under the influence of this enthusiasm I wrote the *Impromptus*, Op. 5, which I would like to think of as a new type of variation form.[65]

More concrete evidence associating Op. 5 with Bach appears in Schumann's diary entry of 29 May 1832:

> In the evening I sight-read through six Bach fugues as piano duets with Clara. […] as I reached home at around 9 o'clock I sat down at the piano, and the ideas flowed forth so abundantly that it seemed as if gods and flowers emerged from my fingertips. That was the CF. GC idea.[66]

This falling fifth-fifth motive, C-F-G-C, is the simplest form of cadence and opens and closes the bass theme. The slightly altered version of Clara's melody from her *Romance varieé*, Op. 3, naturally sits over this bass theme (Example 4).

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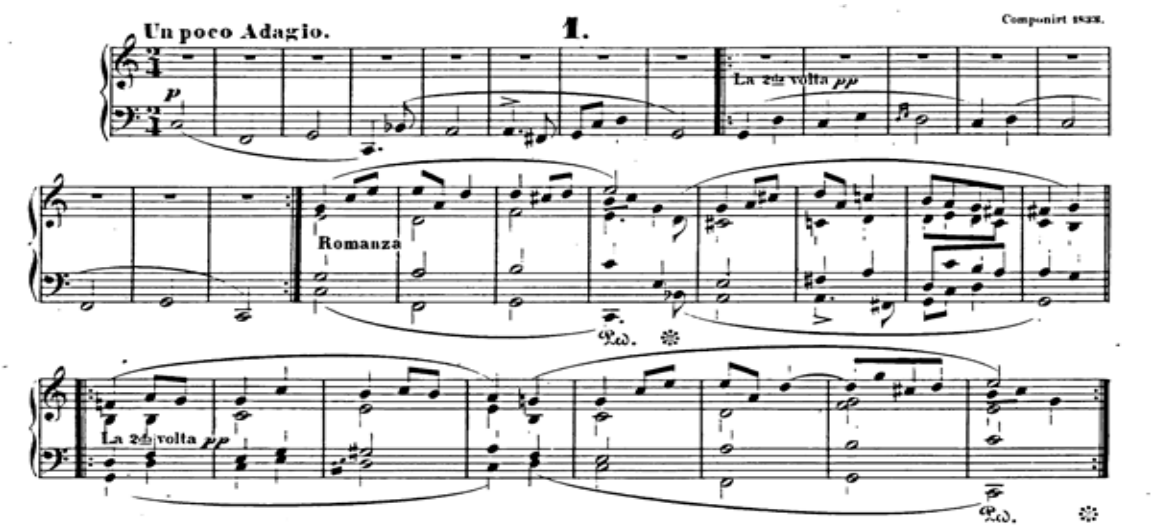
[65] *Projektenbuch* (Original in Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Sign.: 4871-VIII C8, S.34, Zeile 8). Reprinted in Hans Joachim Köhler, "Bach als katalysator der Indentitätssuche Robert Schumanns," *"Zu groß, zu unerreichbar" Bach Rezeption im Zeitalter Mendelssohns und Schumanns*, 239. "Die meiste Zeit fast beschäftigte ich mich mit Bach; aus solcher Anregung entstanden die Impromptus Op. 5, die mehr auf eine neue Form zu variieren angesehen werden mögen." Translation from "Concluding Remarks" in the Urtext Edition (ed. Hans Joachim Köhler), *Impromptu*, Op. 5, 27.

[66] 29 May 1832, *Tb*, Bd.1, 400. "Abends riß ich mit Clara sechs Bachische Fugen ab, vierhändig a vista prima. [...] als ich nach Haus kam gegen neun Uhr, setzt' ich mich an's Klavier u. mir war's, als kämen lauter Blumen u. Götter aus den Fingern hervor, so strömte der Gedanke auch fort. Das war der Gedanke CF. GC."

Example 4. Schumann, *Impromptus,* Op. 5, Introduction

Music scholars have suggested that this work is strongly associated with Beethoven, rather than Bach: Charles Rosen asserted that Beethoven's *Eroica Variations* was the model for these pieces.[67] John Daverio further clarified how the *Eroica Variations* are the technical precedent for "double theme" variation and the outward design—beginning with the bass theme, proceeding with the introduction of the melodic theme and an extended series of variations, and closing with fugal finale—used in Schumann's *Impromptus*.[68] The genre may also have been inspired by the works of Schubert labeled 'Impromptu,' although Schumann had serious reservations regarding the use of the term in his assessment of Schubert's Opus 142 [D 935].[69] His problems with Op. 142 are evident in his review of the third piece in the group:

> So far as the third Impromptus is concerned, I would have hardly taken it to be one of Schubert's efforts, except, perhaps, a youthful one; it is a set of by-and-large undistinguished variations on an equally undistinguished theme. The variations are totally lacking in **invention**

[67] Rosen, The Romantic Generation, 660.

[68] Daverio, Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age," 63.

[69] See Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic*, 223, for the passage. "Yet I hardly believe that Schubert really entitled these movements "Impromptus. […]"

> **and fantasy** [emphasis mine], qualities that Schubert has displayed so creatively in other works of this genre.[70]

However, as Schumann's aforementioned autobiographic note implies, he may have had a further reason to distinguish his *Impromptus* from past versions, including Beethoven's and Schubert's; Schumann's remarks suggest that Bach played the determining role leading to the creation of his *Impromptus*.[71]

As previously noted, a particularly significant moment in his assimilation of Bach came in 1831 during his composition lessons with Heinrich Dorn. The lessons with Dorn inspired Schumann to study several fugues from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* in their handling of the system of voices and entrance of subjects, while paying special attention to the bass figure where harmonic progress became more apparent.[72] These aspects are the clearest results of Schumann's study of Marpurg with Dorn. However, Schumann went much farther than simply appropriating fugal techniques; by synthesizing the musical form of variation and his internal poetic notions under the spell of Bach, Schumann ultimately created a "new type of variation form."

Hans Joachim Köhler points to the way in which this work recalls Bach: "when Bach writes 'Inventions'—pieces whose contrapuntal organization itself is dictated by inspiration or 'discovery' (invention)—he manages at the same time to create characteristic compositions."[73]

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[70] Reprinted in Daverio, *Crossing Paths*, 50.

[71] This piece's importance to Schumann's stylistic development stems from the particular influence of Bach's legacy; nonetheless, since Claudia Stevens Becker's 1981 essay "A New Look at Schumann's *Impromptus*," the *Impromptus* have been neglected by scholars due to a lack of source materials potentially illuminating Schumann's deliberate conception and revision of the work. Some interesting sketch leaves are now preserved in the United States, in the collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library and the Juilliard Manuscript Collection. These newly available sources shed light on how Schumann explored and synthesized two compositional ideas preoccupying him—the work of Johann Sebastian Bach, and the creation of a new variation form.

[72] Köhler, "Bach als katalysator der Identitätssuche Robert Schumanns," "Zu groß, zu unerreichbar" Bach Rezeption im Zeitalter Mendelssohns und Schumanns, 239.

[73] Köhler, "Concluding Remarks" in the Urtext Edition of *Impromptus*, Op. 5, 27

Just as Bach's *Inventions* demonstrate contrapuntal technique while exploring a wide range of musical expressions using various styles and developing the motives, Schumann, in the *Impromptus*, searches for new musical renderings of a theme on the basis of contrapuntal dexterity. To call the fragmentary use of imitative technique in his early piano works 'Bachian' is unsatisfactory; however, with Bach clearly established as a source for these early efforts at invention, his influence on Schumann's compositional process is certain, even as it has yet to move beyond simple emulation.[74]

Schumann was generally critical of the traditional variation in his criticism of earlier works, including the above statement on Schubert's *Impromptus*, D935: He was also critical of contemporary variation form. Schumann deplored the lack of meaning in variations and argued against using popular themes—notably 'the most hackneyed Italian ones'; Schumann contended that the best variation sets have themes with personal resonance for the composer, and reviled the empty virtuosity and mechanical figurations of salon variations.[75] In a review from 1836, he asserted that "in no other genre of our art is more bungling incompetence displayed … variations should create a whole, whose center is the theme…. Now one strives for *thoughts*, for inner *connections*, for poetic *totality*, with the whole bathed in fresh fantasy."[76]

While this public criticism comes in 1836, the composition of the *Impromptus* is evidence that this striving for inner connections preoccupied Schumann much earlier. Juxtaposing two different themes is an efficient way to ensure such connections and foster an intensely

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[74] Finding evidences to how early Schumann was exposed to Bach's *Inventions and Sinfonias*, and tracing Schumann's assessment of those works and intention to invoke the meaning of invention (as Bach intended) in this way are difficult; yet, it is certain that Schumann owned at least the 1840 publication of Czerny edition, if not necessarily an earlier one.

[75] Elaine Sisman, Variations, *Grove Music Online*, http://www.grovemusic.com (accessed 10 September 2008).

[76] Ibid.; *Gesammelte Schrift über Musik und Musiker* (hereafter, *GS*), Bd.1, edited by Martin Kreisig (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1969), 219, 221, and 223.

contrapuntal procedure. But Schumann's methods go beyond mere efficiency; rather than simply juxtapose lines, he explores various musical styles, on the basis of contrapuntal awareness.[77]

The extant sketch leaves for this work demonstrate that the matching of two different melodies at once, pursuing "thoughts and inner connections," was not an easy process.[78] The two sources illuminate how Schumann conceived of and treated his thematic materials: the sketch at the Pierpont Morgan Library illustrates his original attempt to stand against mere virtuosic figuration, developing the theme in various styles; the sketches at Juilliard delineate Schumann's efforts to make inner connections more thoroughly.

Two pages of sketches, preserved now in The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City, show Schumann's elaboration of Clara's theme (a transcription is shown in Example 5.1). This sketch contains the incipits of fifteen variations,[79] although the staff for variation 9 is empty: the sketched incipits 2, 3, 4, 5, 8 and 11 either explicitly or implicitly correspond to the

[77] Before exploring the compositional process revealed in Schumann's sketches, the existence of two editions of Op. 5 should be mentioned: Schumann first wrote this piece in 1832, published with the title *Impromptus sur une Romance de Clara Wieck* in 1833. In 1850, he extensively revised it, eliminating the fourth and eleventh variations, rewriting the final variation, and replacing the term "romance" with "theme" in the title (Comparison of the Variation Number in Two Editions). The problems of Schumann's revisions in the 1850s will be discussed in chapter 5 of this dissertation.

* Comparison of the Variation Number in Two Editions

1833 edition	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5	No. 6	No. 7	No. 8	No. 9	No. 10	No. 11	No. 12
1850 edition	The-ma	No. 1	No. 2	Repl aced with new No. 3	No. 4	No. 5	No. 6	No. 7	No. 8	No. 9	Elimi-nated	No. 10

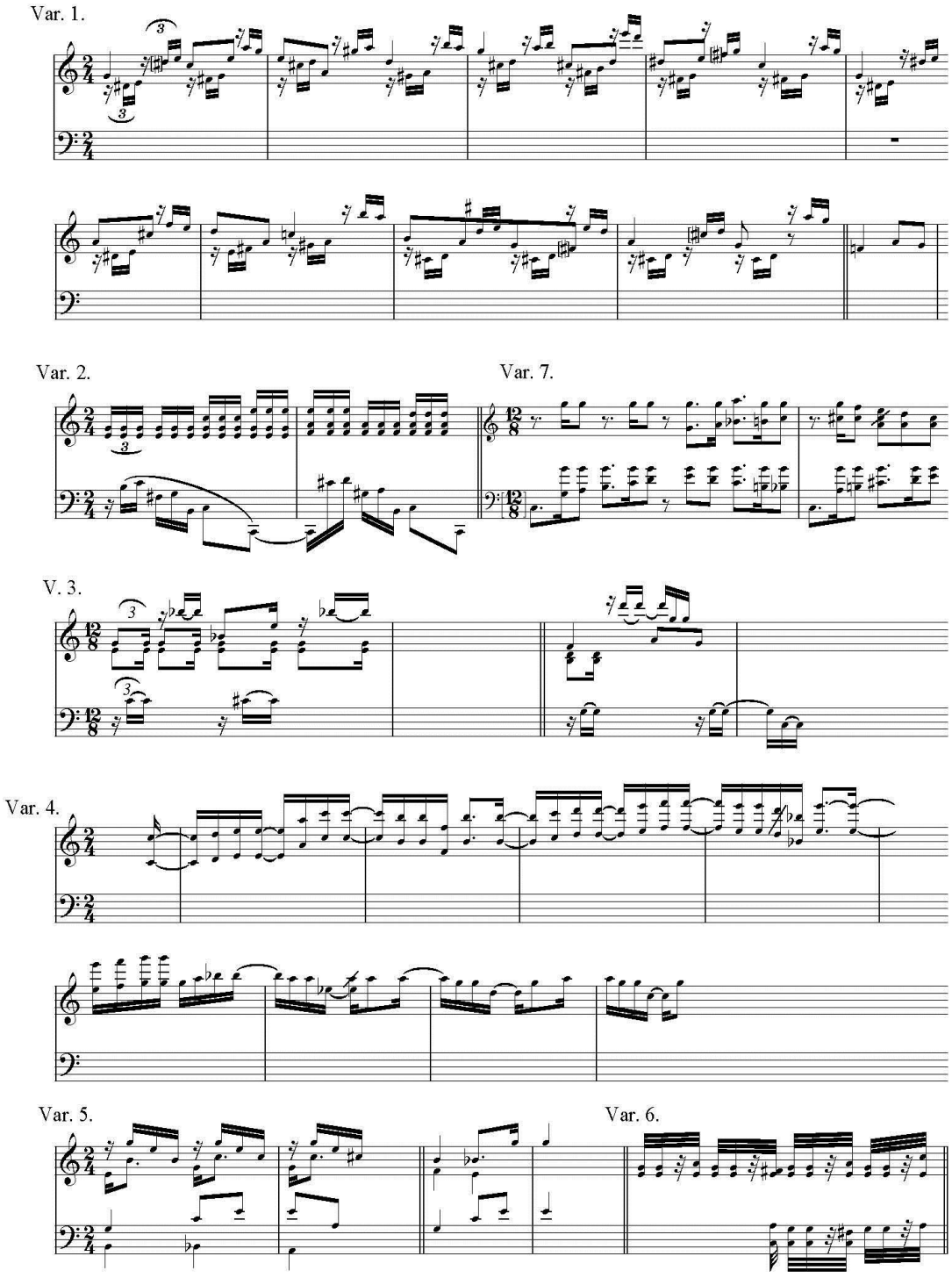
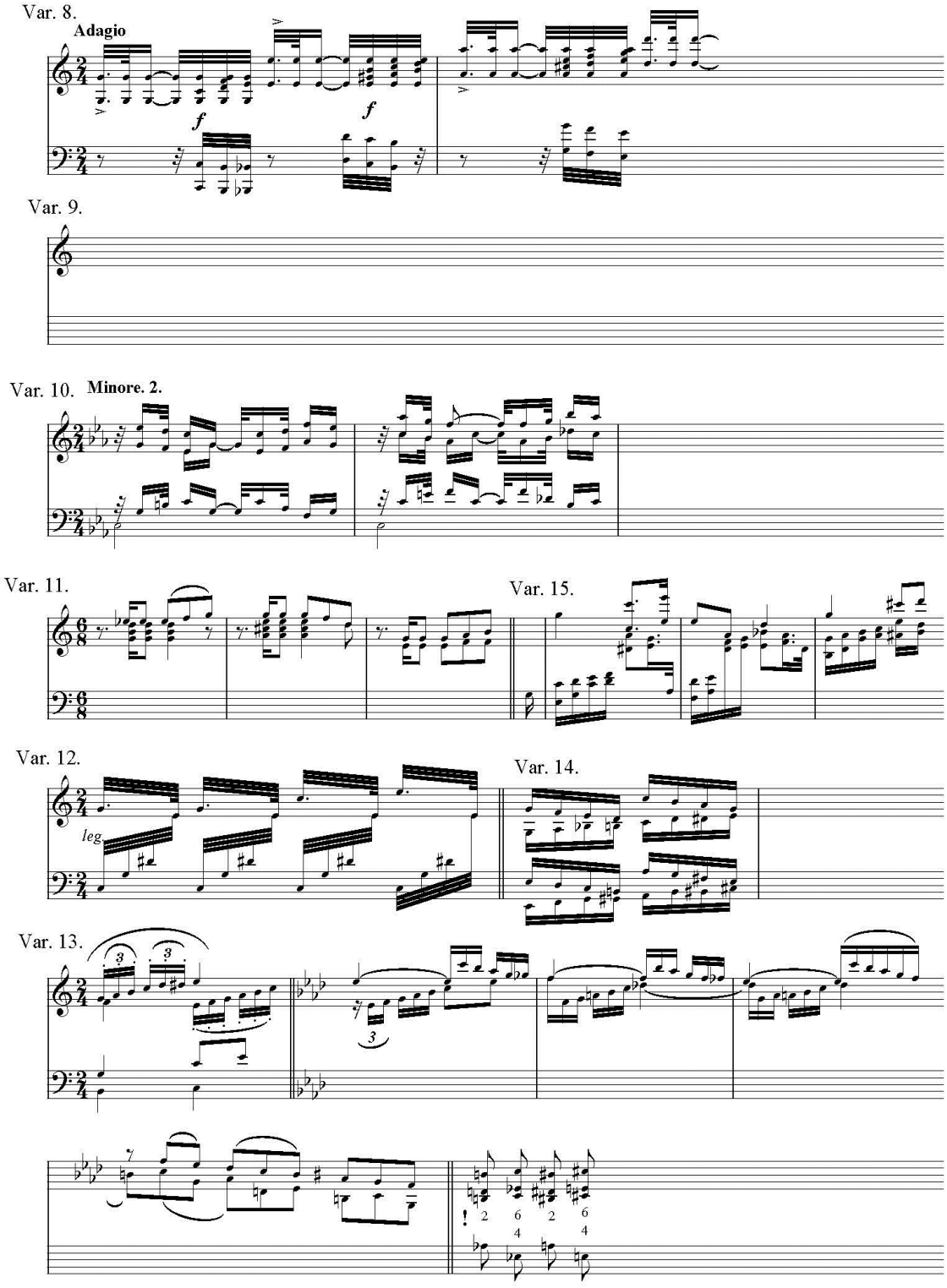
[78] Boetticher identified ten sources in his *Robert Schumanns Klavierwerke*; however, only six sources are currently listed in the Robert Schumann *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* published by Robert Schumann Gesellschaft. N.B.: The *Thematisch-BibliographischesWerkverzeichnis* dates these sketches as 1833.

[79] Since the sketch variation numbers do not correspond both to the 1833 and 1850 versions, I will call it "incipit," rather than "variation" in order to stem confusion. The "variation" number used here refers to the 1833 publication.

variations 6, 10, 7, 8, 9 and 12 respectively of the 1833 publication, while the remainder does not appear in the final product. Although each incipit is a fragmentary idea consisting of one or two measures, each displays an inventive and inspiring rendering of the melodic idea.

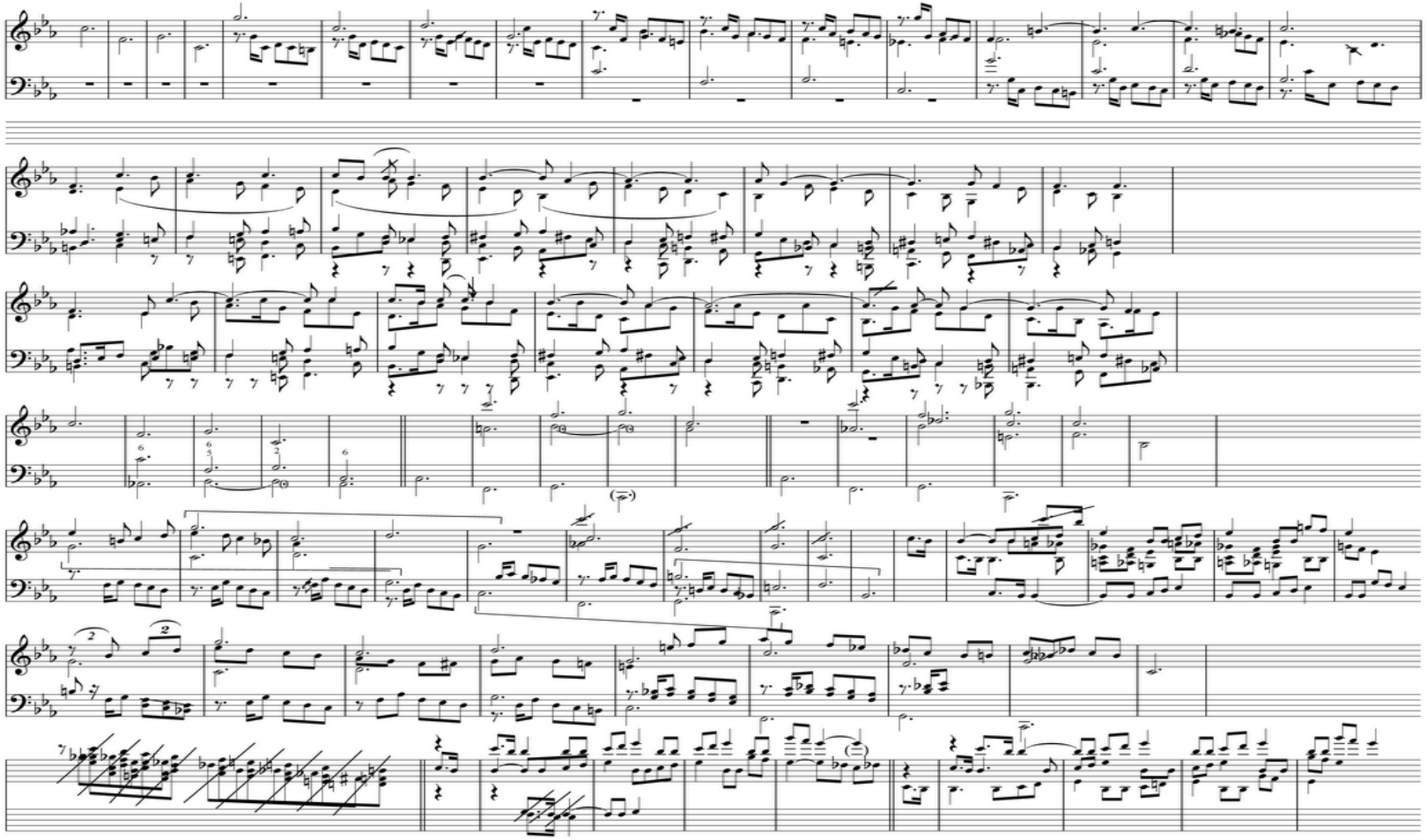
Clara's theme is identifiable in the sketch incipits 1, 2, 3, 5, 12, 13, and 15. In his first attempt (incipit 1), Schumann wrote the whole melody in two systems without lower voices, adding sixteenth-note triplet embellishment—mostly at the minor second interval—for hand-crossing. This elementary and somewhat mechanical embellishment technique was ultimately not included in the *Impromptus*. More substantial variations follow: in incipit 2, while the melody is harmonized with lower notes for the right hand, a remarkable counter-melody is added for the left hand. Although incipit 3—later used for variation 10—is particularly brief, Schumann's basic idea for thematic elaboration is clear; while maintaining melodic harmonization in the right hand, he opens new space by adding outer voices, and includes left-hand triplet notes for hand-crossing as in the first incipit.

Incipit 4 is conspicuous as the first variation in a minor key. Although no contrapuntal ideas are implied in this incipit, and the Clara theme itself is not clearly stated,[80] the sketch develops completely new material in octave succession, bringing the contrast with the other variations to the fore. In incipit 5, the theme is sent to the middle voice, under which the bass line chromatically descends; this is the first appearance of a bass part in the sketch. Incipits 6 and 7, written in the leftover space following incipits 5 and 2, display Schumann's attempts at rhythmic variety.

[80] However, a fragment of Clara's theme does appear in A major in the first edition, somewhere in the middle of this variation (from m.13); significantly, Schumann removed the statement of Clara theme in the 1850 revision.

Example 5.1. Transcription of Sketch for *Impromptus*, Op. 5 (The Pierpont Morgan Library, page 1)

Example 5.2. Transcription of Sketch for *Impromptus*, Op. 5 (The Pierpont Morgan Library, page 2)

In the second page of the sketch, incipits 8 and 11 are clearly similar to variations 9 and 12 respectively. Incipit 10, the second minor key variation (C minor), displays four-part writing, combining harmonic and linear motion over the pedal tone. While these incipits do not use the CFGC theme, the sketch reveals compositional exploration conceived through the study of counterpoint. Utilizing the theme as the center of each variation, Schumann elaborates it with truly variegated rhythmic and melodic ideas—"melody bathed with fresh fantasy." The incipits 12, 13, 14, and 15, though they are not used for the final work, vividly demonstrate how Schumann infused the theme with various musical devices: in incipit 12, the theme stands out among the repetitive left-hand arpeggiation; in incipit 13, Schumann experiments with successive imitating motions within the upper parts for the right hand, sending the Clara theme to the middle voice; incipit 14 shows juxtaposition of the two contrary motions, which concisely visualizes four-part contrapuntal writing; finally, the Clara theme appears in the top voice in incipit 15 over contrasting left-hand motions.

Whereas the incipit sketches treat Clara's theme exclusively, the later sketch preserved in the Juilliard Manuscript Collection shows Schumann's studied efforts to attain more formal contrapuntal dexterity (Example 6). Among the ten pages of sketches, including the *Impromptus*, *Burla* (Op. 124), and others, a folio page in the middle illuminates how extensively Schumann worked with the falling fifths motive of the *Impromptus*.[81] In the first system of the sketch page, the CFGC motive is firmly stated and reappears in the following voices, with additional dotted rhythmic material very similar to the fugal section at the end of variation 12 of the 1833 edition (the finale of the 1850 revision). In the fourth system, Schumann moves the motif between

[81] The provenance of this page is not fully described either in *Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* by Schumann Gesellschaft or in Boetticher's *Robert Schumanns Klavierwerke*, the most reliable bibliographic references.

Example 6. Transcription of Sketch for *Impromptus*, Op. 5 (The Juilliard Manuscript Collection, SCHR_IMPR_C_p001)

voices several times. Eventually, in the fifth and sixth systems, he creates a canonic fugue in which the falling fifth motif becomes the subject, informing other melodic materials in these conspicuously contrapuntal lines. Although the CFGC motive was here treated more as a recurring theme rather than as Bachian subject, its conspicuous melodic line and countermelody strongly evoke Bach's musical style.

Besides his experiments with the CFGC motive, some portions of this manuscript provide intriguing testimony to his effort to achieve contrapuntal dexterity: three fragments of five measures, written at the end of the fifth system and the eighth system, demonstrate how ardently Schumann attempted to interweave the material densely and closely by relocating each part.

While the outer design and double-theme structure are also seen in Beethoven's *Eroica Variations*, Schumann's detailed variations and creative rendering of each theme are quite distinguishable in terms of the details of the melodic variation. Highly charged with inventive ideas, Schumann strove to create variations with the true invention and fantasy he found lacking in the third piece of Schubert's *Impromptus*, Op. 142 (D. 935). Indeed, Schumann himself sought to distance his variation process from others; significantly, he asserted that his "preoccupation with Bach" played an important role in promoting this experiment.

When Bach wrote a preface to the *Inventions and Sinfonias* (1723), he stated that the pieces show a clear way of learning "not alone to have good *inventions* [ideas, particularly thematic ones] but to develop them well."[135] Regardless of Schumann's acquaintance with Bach *Inventions* in this early period, the two sketches demonstrate how Bach's coinage of the term "inventions" is well-fitted to the interpretation of Schumann's *Impromptus*. Schumann's occupation with Bach in this early period is made manifest through the free and imaginative

[135] "Attitude toward the art of music," in *The New Bach Reader*, 22: The original preface is translated as "Inventions and Sinfonias, BWV 772-801: title page" in the same book, 97-8 (No. 92).

transformation of a theme and adroit handling of it within contrapuntal space. This early trace of a Bachian influence is evident not in a direct application of contrapuntal technique, but in something more subtle—the interaction of the voices and textural saturation evoking the spirit as much as the technique of Bach.

Chapter 2. Schumann's Propagation of Bach through the *NZfM*, and his Study of Bach Works (1834-1839)

1. The Propagation of Bach through the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*

1.1. Entering the Public Sphere (1834-1836)

Records of Schumann's activities regarding Bach are few between March 1833 and July 1836;[1] during this period, he did not keep a diary, and entries in the *Projektenbuch* are also rare. At first glance, this seems surprising, given the many enormously important events happening then in his personal life. During the year 1833, Schumann suffered symptoms of depression and a nervous breakdown. In August, his brother Julius died; in October, his sister-in-law Rosalie died. Finally, in the same month, Schumann attempted suicide. However, this silence in personal documents is more understandable in light of Schumann transferring his writing energies from private records to a much more public venue: in 1834, he began publication of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.

From the launch of the journal on 3 April 1834, this became the vehicle for most of Schumann's critical writings. His efforts as the editor of the *NZfM* to revive and propagandize Bach are legion. Many of these pieces were later collected by Schumann in the *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, a compilation of his writings—both those published through

[1] Daverio suggests that our knowledge of the first part of this phase is hampered by the suspension of his diary for much of the period between March 1833 and October 1837. John Daverio and Eric Sams. "Schumann, Robert," in *Grove Music Online*. However, there are diary entries between July 1836 and October 1837.

the *NZfM* and some records dated "1834 and earlier."[2] Thus his ongoing interest in Bach became a matter of public interest.

Comments extolling Bach are frequent in Schumann's writings from this period. Often mentioned in comparison with other great older masters, Bach is spoken of as the most perfect composer, whose revolutionary accomplishments make him the starting point for anyone who wants to create new things. Bach, writes Schumann, is neither new nor old, but eternal. The following remark is typical of Schumann's recurring narrative of Bach:

> In the course of time the distance between sources diminishes. Beethoven, for instance, did not need to study all that Mozart studied—Mozart, not all that Handel—Handel, not all that Palestrine—because these had already absorbed the knowledge of their predecessors. But there is one source which inexhaustibly provides new ideas—Johann Sebastian Bach. *Florestan*[3]

In another short article on Bach, included in the *Damen Conversation Lexikon* (published by Herloßsohn and Lühe, 1834), he wrote:

> How great and rich was the contrast between his inner being and his exterior! It was not only industry that allowed him to triumph over all the difficulties of musical combination, but an innate acumen. When we who come after him think we have discovered some marvelous configuration of tones, we find he has already used it or even developed it further. Besides this

[2] Since this compilation was first published by Schumann as four volumes in 1854 (Leipzig: Georg Wigands; the reprint, edited by Gerd Nauhaus, 2 volumes, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985), several editions with important commentary added have followed. The second edition was published in 1875 as 2 volumes (Leipzig: Georg Wigands; reprint Adamant Media Corporation in 2001). The third edition, edited by Heinrich Simon, was published in 1888 (Leipzig: Reclam; the reprint was made by the same publisher in 1922). The fourth edition, edited by Gustave Jansen, was published in 1891 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel). The fifth edition, edited by Martin Kreisig, was published in 1914 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel; the reprint was made in 1969 (Leipzig: Gregg) and 1985 (publisher is not indicated). Additional versions include the 1922 edition by Paul Bekker (Berlin: Wegweiser); 1945-47 edition by Herbert Schulze (Leipzig: Reclam); and the 1956 edition by Georg Eismann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel).

[3] 1833? *GS*. Bd.1, 18; Translation from *On Music and Musicians*, 92-93. "Die Quellen werden im großen Umlauf der Zeit immer näher aneinander gerückt. Beethoven brauchte beispielsweise nicht alles zu studieren, was Mozart—, Mozart nicht, was Händel—, Händel nicht, was Palestrina—, weil sie schon die Vorgänger in sich aufgenommen hatten. Nur aus einem wäre von allen immer von neuem zu schöpfen—aus J. Seb. Bach!"

> consummate mastery of the craft, his works has ideas and spirit; he was a real man; he did nothing by halves; his work is always complete, written for all eternity.[4]

Clearly, Schumann admired Bach for both his expressiveness and craftsmanship; in his display of both kinds of excellence, Bach was the ultimate source of nearly all that mattered in music for Schumann.[5]

Bach performance continued to play a role in Schumann's interest. Clara publically performed a Bach Prelude and Fugue in C-sharp major on 20 March in Hamburg;[6] afterwards, Bach's Preludes and Fugues were a consistent part of her repertoire.[7] Meanwhile, on 30 August 1835, Mendelssohn arrived in Leipzig as the music director of the Gewandhaus Orchestra. Through the *NZfM*, Schumann extended a welcome to this famous conductor.[8] Spitta testifies that the two composers first came into close personal contact at a musical gathering at the Wiecks' house, the day before Mendelssohn's debut as a conductor at the Gewandhaus (4 October); on the afternoon of the 6th, there was again a gathering at Wieck's house, in which Moscheles, Clara Wieck, and Louis Rakemann from Bremen played Bach's *Concerto for 3 Claviers in D minor*, BWV 1063, with Mendelssohn adding the orchestral accompaniments on a

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[4] 1834. Reprinted in *GS*, Bd.2, 200-201; Translation from Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic*, 87-88. "Wie groß und reich stach sein inneres Leben gegen das äußere ab! Nicht allein Fleiß war es, der ihn hinaushob über alle Schwierigkeiten der musikalischen Combinationen, sondern angestammtes Genie des Scharfsinns. Was wir Nachkömmlinge für Wunderbares in der Verflechtung der Töne gefunden zu haben meinen, liegt schon in ihm angesponnen und oft ausgewickelt. Zu dieser vollkommenen Beherrschung des Physischen kommt nun auch der Gedanke, der Geist, der seinen Werken innewohnt. Dieser war durch und durch Mann. Daher finden wir in ihm nichts Halbes, sondern alles ganz, für ewige Zeiten geschrieben."

[5] Dadelsen, "Schumann und die Musik Bachs," 49-51: Cited in Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic*, 88 and Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild Robert Schumanns," 453-56.

[6] 20 March 1835. Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben nach Tagebüchern und Briefen*, Bd.3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910), 617.

[7] The *Concerto for 3 Claviers in D minor*—the work she played with Mendelssohn after his arrival to Leipzig—was also first performed by Clara in public on 9 November 1835, and became one of her favorite pieces to perform throughout her career. Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild Robert Schumanns," 443. Refer to Table 2 of the article.

[8] "Letters of an Enthusiast," *GS*, Bd.1, 117. English translation available in *On Music and Musicians*, 218. Regarding the relationship of both figures, refer to J. Finson & R.Larry Todd (ed.), "Introduction" in *Mendelssohn and Schumann* (Duke University Press, 1984), 3-4.

fourth piano.[9] The two contemporaries shared an interest in Bach that greatly influenced their respective receptions of that composer; this shared passion connected the two in musical society. Often, Schumann or Mendelssohn would make a copy of a manuscript and share it amongst other musicians; in this way, lesser known Bach works entered into their repertories.

While Schumann's personal records do not show his ongoing interest in Bach in 1836, the following writing from the *NZfM* offers Schumann's personal testimony on the contemporary public understanding of Bach, and Schumann and Mendelssohn's potential to affect this understanding:

> One evening I went to the Leipzig churchyard to seek out the resting place of a great man. I looked, crisscrossed the place, for many hours—I found no "J.S. Bach"... and when I asked the gravedigger about it, he shook his head at the man's obscurity, offering the opinion that there are lots of Bachs. Then on the way home I said to myself, "How chance rules in this place, as if in a poem! That we might not think of the bygone dust, that no image of coarse death should arise, it has scattered his ashes in every direction, and so I will still always think of him sitting upright at his organ, with its works buzzing beneath, and the congregation looks reverently upward and perhaps the angels downward as well!" Then shortly afterwards you, Felix Meritis [i.e., Mendelssohn], a man whose mind is as elevated as his heart, played one of his chorale variations; the text was *Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele* (Adorn thyself, beloved soul), wreaths of gilded leaves hung about the cantus firmus, and it was suffused with a happiness that you yourself acknowledged to me: "If life were to take hope and faith from you, then this one chorale would bring it all back." I made no reply and went back, almost mechanically, to the cemetery, and felt a sharp pain there at being unable to lay a flower on his urn, and the Leipzigers of 1750 declined in my esteem. Please excuse me from articulating my wishes on the subject of a monument for Beethoven.[10]

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[9] 4-6 October 1835. Philipp Spitta, "Schumann" in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, First Edition, Vol.4, 354.

[10] 24 June 1836. "Monument für Beethoven," *NZfM*, Vol.4, No.51, 211-213; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Eines Abends ging ich nach dem Leipziger Kirchhof, die Ruhestätte eines Großen aufzusuchen: viele Stunden lang forschte ich kreutz und quer—ich fand kein ‚J.S.Bach'... und als ich den Totengräber darum fragte, schüttelte er über die Obskurität des Mannes den Kopf und meinte: Bachs gäb's viele. Auf dem Heimweg nun sagte ich zu

While Bach was not yet as famous as Beethoven among the general public, Schumann perceived Bach's influence throughout the musical world. During these years, Schumann frequently reviews the contemporary works in terms of Bach lineage. Discussing Hummel's Études, he draws connection between the new pieces and Bach's pedagogical works:

> Études, excellent Bündler [i.e. members of the fictional Davidsbund], are studies: one should learn something from then that one did not know. The highly praised Bach, who knew a million times more than we suppose, began by writing for students, but at the same time so powerfully and with such enormous intensity that it was only after many years that he was recognized by those few who had gone along on their own way in the meantime, by the world, as the founder of a school that may have been strict but was healthy to the core.[11]

Also, the pedagogical usefulness of Bach works is increasingly emphasized, as he extols Bach as the model musician for later generations to aspire to. As he himself was an ardent student of Bach's works, Schumann was sure that Bach's teachings contained pedagogical value for the improvement of musicianship. Schumann's emphasis on Bach as a pedagogical source was one of the most important impetuses for his own study and editing of Bach's works, and his efforts to promote the publication of those works in the following years.

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mir: ‚Wie dichterisch waltet hier der Zufall! Damit wir des vergänglichen Staubes nicht denken sollen, damit kein Bild des gemeinen Todes aufkomme, hat er die Asche nach allen Gegenden verweht, und so will ich mir ihn denn auch immer aufrecht an seiner Orgel sitzend denken im vornehmsten Staat, und unter ihm brauset das Werk, und die Gemeinde sieht andächtig hinauf und vielleicht auch die Engel herunter.'—Da spieltest du, Felix Meritis, Mensch von gleich hoher Stirn wie Brust, kurz darauf einen seiner variierten Choräle vor: der Text hieß ‚Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele', um den Cantus firmus hingen vergoldete Blättergewinde, und eine Seligkeit war dareingegossen, daß du mir selbst gestandest: ‚Wenn das Leben dir Hoffnung und Glauben genommen, so würde die dieser einzige Choral alles von neuem bringen.' Ich schwieg dazu und ging wiederum, beinahe mechanisch, auf den Gottesacker, und da fühlte ich einen stechenden Schmerz, daß ich keine Blume auf seine Urne legen konnte, und die Leipziger von 1750 fielen in meiner Achtung. Erlaßt es mir, über ein Denkmal für Beethoven meine Wünsche auszusprechen."

[11] 1834. *GS*, Bd.1, 11; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Studien, vortreffliche Bündler, sind Studien, d.h. man soll etwas aus ihnen lernen, was man nicht gekonnt hat. Der hochgepreisliche Bach, der millionenmal mehr wußte, als wir vermuten, fing zuerst an, für Lernende zu schreiben, aber gleich so gewaltig und riesenübermäßig, daß er erst nach vielen Jahren von den Einzelnen, die indessen auf eigenem Wege fortgegangen waren, der Welt als Gründer einer strengen, aber kerngesunden Schule bekannt wurde."

> When we [...] go back to the exercises of Bach, more than a hundred years old, and advise someone to give to them the most painstaking study, we have reasons for it; for—if we except the effects that we have attained by extending the range of our instrument, such as the more beautiful development of sound character—he knew the keyboard in all its richness.[12]

1.2. The *NZfM* Writings as Influenced by Schumann's Interest in Bach (1837-1839)

The years 1837 and 1838 were especially worthy of notice for Schumann's reception of Bach, because Schumann's private effort to study Bach's music—through analysis and editorial efforts—manifested itself publically through the *NZfM*.[13] As a result of his personal study of Bach works, Schumann spoke up for the publication of a complete Bach edition, and planned to spread Bach's works as supplements to the journal. Furthermore, he published significant writings on issues directly or indirectly related to Bach in the *NZfM*.

The initial undertaking leading to subsequent projects related to Bach was Schumann's transcription of the *Art of Fugue*. At the end of February 1837, Schumann began to copy this work;[14] in his diary, he noted that he was copying it along with other old music, and

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[12] 1836. *GS*, Bd.1, 214; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Wenn wir ... bis auf die über hundert Jahre alten Exerzizen von Bach zurückgehen und zu deren sorgfältigstem Studium raten, so haben wir Grund dazu; denn nehmen wir das aus, was wir durch Erweiterung des Umfangs unseres Instrumentes an Mitteln, wie durch die schönere Ausbildung des Toncharakters an Effekten gewonnen haben, so kannte er das Klavier in seinem ganzen Reichtum."

[13] Schumann's role as a Bach editor is discussed in detail by Thomas Synofzik: ""Ich lass mir alles von Bach gefallen"—Robert Schumann als Bach-Herausgeber," a paper presented at Symposium des Bach-Archiv Leipzigs (October 2007). I am grateful to Dr. Synofzik for sharing this forthcoming article.

[14] Schumann gave this transcription manuscript to Eduard Krüger as a gift in 12 July1843, when Krüger visited Leipzig; the details of the manuscript was described and investigated by Uwe Martin in "Ein unbekanntes Schumann-Autograph," *Musikforschung*, 12 (1959), 405-415. Martin interprets Schumann's occupation with this work as a result of listening Mendelssohn's *Three Preludes and Fugues*, Op. 37 on 22 January 1837 (though Gerd Nauhaus, the editor of Schumann's *Tagebücher* suggests the work was probably *Six Preludes and Fugues*, Op. 35—footnote 57 in *Tb*, Bd.2, 460). *Tagebücher* (*Tb*, hereafter), Bd.2, 31: "Mendelssohn bei mir. Spielt seie neuen Fugen…"; aware of his friend's technical superiority, Schumann must have been led to study this work thoroughly in 1837 to achieve control over strict contrapuntal form.

consequently composing less.[15] He transcribed the work for himself to learn compositional technique, adding his own comments to each piece. The transcription project lasted for almost seven month, until the first day of October;[16] this activity inspired many others related to Bach in this year.

While engaged in the transcription project, in May 1837 Schumann proclaimed the necessity of a complete edition of Bach works:

> Would it not be timely and useful undertaking, if the German Nation decided to publish a *complete* collection and edition of *all* the works of Bach? One might think so, and one could use the words of an expert, who speaks about this plan on page 76 of the current volume of the *Neue Zeitschrift*, as a motto. For there you can read:
>
> "That you want to publish Sebastian Bach's works delights my heart, which beats wholly for the great and lofty art of this father of harmony, and I wish soon to see the enterprise in full swing."
>
> Just look it up.[17]

Rather than simply waiting for response to his call for a complete Bach edition, he came up with a more prompt and readily achievable solution: a concrete plan to publish Bach's (and

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[15] February 1837. *Tb*, Bd.2, 31. "Am Schluß des Monats aus der Kunst der Fuge abgeschrieben, viel mit älterer Musik verkehrt, Komponiert wenig…"

[16] March 1837.*Tb*, Bd.2, 32. "Im ganzen wenig vollbracht. Unordentlich durcheinander gelebt ... Fortgeschrieben an der <Kunst der Fuge> bis Nro. 12..."; 1 October 1837. *Tb*, Bd.2, 34. "Kunst der Fuge von Bach vollendet—Bachs Choralbuch nach und nach durchgespielt. Mit einer Seligkeit komponiert, wie noch nie, alles gelingt mir in der Form..."

[17] 5 May 1837. "Fragmente aus Leipzig II," *NZfM*, Vol.6, No.36 (1837), 146; *GS*, Bd.1, 314; Translation from *The New Bach Reader*, 503. "Überhaupt, wär' es nicht an der Zeit und von einigem Nutzen, wenn sich einmal die deutche Nation zu einer vollständigen Sammlung und Herausgabe sämmtlicher Werke von Bach entschlösse? Man sollte meinen und könnte und vielleicht dan die Worte eines Sachkundigen, der sich Seite 76 dieses Bandes d. n. Ztschr. Über dies Unternehmen ausläßt, als Motto voransetzen. Dort heißt es nämlich:

'Daß Sie Sebastian Bachs Werke herausgeben wollen, ist etwas, was meinem Herzen, das ganz für die hohe große Kunst dieses Urvaters der Harmonie schlägt, recht wohltut und ich bald im vollen Raufe zu sehen wünsche usw.'

Man schlage nur nach!"

other composers') works as supplements to the *NZfM*. He soon wrote about this plan to Ignaz Moscheles:

> I have succeeded in persuading the publishers of my paper to publish some considerable composition as a quarterly supplement. I hope to start many nice ideas in this way. It will make quite a stir among musicians. For instance, I mean to have the words of songs written out, and the most interesting printed side by side in one number, with probably a bad one thrown in to make it easier for the critic to point his moral, and for the reader to follow him music in hand. Particular attention will be devoted to the manuscripts of unknown musicians of genuine talent. They will see themselves famous all at once, for the paper has five hundred readers, to whom the compositions will be sent gratis. From time to time, the supplement will consist of old pieces which only exist in manuscript, such as the Scarlatti fugues, or even a whole Bach concerto in full score.[18]

This idea was put into practice in 1838. Schumann commented upon the musical supplements in an "Invitation" (Einladung) in 1838: "We deem it worthwhile to bring to the public's attention many of J.S. Bach's unpublished compositions, of which some of the most magnificent are in our possession."[19] The project, titled "*Sammlung von Musikstücken alter und neuer Zeit als Zulage zur Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik* (Collection of musical pieces of the past and present as supplement to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*)," came to fruition at the end of 1838, and Bach's works first appeared in March 1839. From that time to December 1841, seven organ

[18] 23 August 1837. Letter to J. Moscheles, *Briefe, NF*, 92; Translation from *The Letters of Robert Schumann*, 110. "Der Verleger meiner Zeitschrift hat sich auf mein dringendes Ansuchen bewegen lassen, dem Journal all vierteljährlich eine grössere Composition beizulegen. [...] Auf die Manuscripte Unbekannter und wirklicher Talente wird hauptsächlich geachtet; Von Zeit zu Zeit sollen auch alter Compositionen, die nur im Manuscripte vorhande, so Fugen von Scarlatti, wohl auch ein ganzes Bachsches Concert in Partitur, beigelegt werden." The same idea was stated also in *NZfM*, Vol.7 (1837), 120. "Aber auch der alten Zeit soll gedacht werden. Namentlich liegt uns an Verbreitung vieler noch ungedruckter Compositionen von J.S. Bach, deren sich bereits einige der herrlichsten in unserm Besitz befinden."

[19] *GS*, Bd.2, 30: Reprinted and translated in Joachim Draheim, "Preface" to *J.S. Bach Suite III, C major for Violoncello, BWV 1009* arranged by Robert Schumann, 7 (footnote 10).

works by Bach were published, most of them appearing for the first time in print.[20]

After he finished the transcription of the *Art of Fugue* in October 1837, Schumann played Bach chorales over and over, testifying that "they are composed with blissfulness as nowhere else" and "everything sounds to me in the form."[21] The study of the chorales may have strengthened Schumann's conception of the notion of *Satz*. Schumann then turned once more to the Marpurg treatise, on 17 October 1837;[22] he studied this for the rest of the month, along with Bach's chorales and the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.[23]

During this time, Schumann the critic wrote significant articles revealing his thoughts on fugue and Bach. One article, published in 1837 in the *NZfM,* concerns Mendelssohn's *Prelude and Fugue for Piano,* Op. 35.[24] Based on his knowledge and experience with this genre through his ongoing studies of Bach's *Art of Fugue,* Schumann described himself as someone "who can luxuriate for hours in Beethoven's, Bach's and Handel's fugues;" it was in this context that he reviewed Mendelssohn's fugue.[25] Schumann deplores contemporary composers who do not

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[20] Draheim, "Preface," 7. In McCorkle's *Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis,* these works were numbered as follows: Organ Fantasy C minor (BWV 562, Q2), Clavier-/Organ Fugue (BWV 575, Q3), Choral Prelude in a minor (BWV 614, Q4), Choral Prelude in E-flat major (BWV 622, Q5), Choral Prelude in a minor (BWV 637, Q6), Choral Prelude in c minor (BWV 639, Q7), Clavier Fugue in e minor (BWV 945, Q8).

[21] Mid-March to 1 October 1837. *Tb,* Bd.2, 34. "Kunst d. Fuge v. Bach vollendet—Bach Choralbuch nach und nach durchgespielt—Mit einer Seligkeit componirt wie nie—Alles gelingt mir in der Form—": Reprinted Boetticher, *Einführung*, 225. The edition was *J.S. Bach's Choral-Vorspiele für die Orgel mit einem und zwey Klavieren und Pedal*. Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 4 Hefte (1803-1806). Schumann's copy is preserved in Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau. Arch. No. 11831/D1-A4.

[22] 17 October 1837. *Tb,* Bd.2, 39; 21 October 1837. *Tb,* Bd.2, 40. "An Marpurg's Fugenbuch u. Bachs Choralbuch fortstudiert."

[23] 24 October 1837. *Tb,* Bd.2, 40. "Abends an Fugen vergebens gearbeitet—nach Connewitz bei trüben Himmel."; 26 October 1837. *Tb*, Bd.2, 41. "Nachmittag das Choralbuch von Bach beendigt."; 28 November 1837. *Tb,* Bd.2, 46. "Bachs Wohltempiertes Klavier wieder vollendet."

[24] 18 October 1837. *Tb,* Bd.2, 39-40. "Am Aufsatz über Mendelssohns Fugen gearbeitet."

[25] Published on 27 October 1837. "Präludien und Fugen für das Pianoforte von Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Op. 35—Breitkopf u. Härtel)," *NZfM*, Vol.7, No. 34, 135-36; *GS*, Bd.1, 252-254; Translation from *On Music and Musicians*, 214-216.,

know the fugue thoroughly, cannot write fugues, and yet complain about the fugues of others. Reviewing Mendelssohn's fugues, Schumann says:

> In a word, these fugues have much of Sebastian and might deceive the sharp-sighted reviewer, were it not for the melody, the finer bloom, which we recognize as modern; and here and there those little touches peculiar to Mendelssohn, which identify him among a hundred other composers.[26]

A more significant question is raised in the following section:

> Whether the mold, however, might not be advantageously transformed without losing the true fugue character, is a question which will elicit answers from many persons.

In answer, he writes, "the best fugue will always be that which the public takes for—a Strauss waltz;" and "in short, these (Mendelssohn's fugues) are not fugues worked out merely by the head according to formula, but pieces of music sprung from the spirit, and carried out in poetic fashion." These quotes reveal the Romantic notion of fugal subject as melody, and Schumann's recognition of melody as a modern construct. Rather than defining fugue as a genre confined to a preconceived formula, he saw the value of Mendelssohn's fugue in the combination of the poetical rendering of a melody within the genre's character. If the nature of fugue is to develop a subject, and the nature of Romanticism is to emotionally express a musical idea, a possible model for the Romantic modernization of fugue would be to create a poetic melody as a fugal subject. Schumann found this solution implied in Mendelssohn's fugue.

In November, he expresses his encompassing involvement with fugue as "*Wuth*" or "*Passion,*" and many times notes his "*Fugenpassion* (passion—or fervor—for fugue)" and

[26] Ibid; *On Music and Musicians,* 215.

"*Fugenwuth* (madness—or frenzy—for fugue)."[27] These phrases are usually referred to in association with the "contrapuntal year," 1845, when Schumann produced a series of fugue and contrapuntal works; however, he had already coined these phrases to express his passionate pursuit of fugue. This neologism perfectly captures the Romantic reception of a most learned and rational genre, and the results of this ardent endeavor were assembled in the manuscript known as *Fugengeschichte*. Excerpting Marpurg's *Abhandlung* in combination with his own examples of fugal exposition, Schumann

organized and documented his knowledge and understanding of fugue.[28]

In January 1838, Schumann wrote an important review of Czerny's Edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*. It reveals his thoughts on Bach and fugue:

> Czerny's share in this consists of a preface, fingering, metronome markings, and intimations regarding character and performance. [...] We approve, for the most part, of his tempo indications and also of his introductory remarks on the performance of the whole, as well as of his indications for shading of each piece; the latter instructions we consider especially desirable, for nothing can be more tiresome or contrary to the meaning of Bach than to drone out his fugues or to restrict one's representation of his creations to a mere emphasis on the successive entries of the principal theme. Such rules are suited to students. But most of Bach's fugues are character pieces of the highest type; some of them truly poetic creations, each of which demands its individual expression, its individual lights and shades. A Philistine accentuation of the entries of the fugue subject is far from sufficient. […][29]

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[27] 1 November 1837. *Tb*, Bd.2, 44. "Wuth Fugenanfängen gamacht u. im ledernen Marpurg weiter gelesen. [...] Nachtmittag Abermals Fugen."; 2 November 1837. *Tb*, Bd.2, 44. "Fugenpassion"; 4 November 1837, *Tb*, Bd.2, 44. "Fugenwuth, nichts Gutes zu Stande gebracht.".

[28] Boetticher suggests that Schumann wrote this manuscript not only for his own study, but also as a textbook for Clara. Boetticher, *Einführung*, 639. The examination of this source will be discussed in a later portion of this chapter.

[29] Published on 19 January 1838. The review of Czerny's edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*; *NZfM*, Vol.8, No.6 (1838), 21-2; *GS*, Bd. 1, 353-4; Translation from *On Music and Musicians*, 89. "Czernys Verdienst besteht dabei in einem Vorwort, in der Angabe des Fingersatzes, der Tempobezeichnung nach Mälzl und Andeutungen über Charakter und Vortrag. [...] In den Tempobezeichnungen und den Bemerkungen über Vortrag im ganzen zu Anfang und Schattirung im Verlauf des Stückes stimmen wir ziemlich zusammen; namentlich pflichten wir in letzler

This review, while generally agreeing with Czerny's addition of tempo markings and fingerings, focuses more on the *Well-Tempered Clavier* than on Czerny's edition itself. Again, Schumann is against an understanding of fugue as a mere succession of entries of a principle subject based on rules; instead, he evaluates portions of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* as "truly poetic creations." His provocative statement, "fugues are character pieces of the highest type," is another assertion reflecting the Romantic notion of fugue, an expansion of the concept driving his fugue/Strauss waltz metaphor. In his early 1830s writings, Schumann associated "character" in music with non-narrative ideas derived from poetic aspects—creativity, imagination, and original ideas—as opposed to pictorial or program music; "character" was moral and spiritual, in which no unethical passion could be concealed.[30] For Schumann, fugue offered the perfect model to convey this ethical aspect and absolute principle; his recurrent references to melody that contains poetry, and the moral effect of studying the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, thus relate to his understanding of the fugue as a character piece.

Hinsicht bei, da nichts langweiliger und Bach'schem Sinne zuwider, als die Fugen monoten abzuleiern und seine ganze Vortragskunst auf Hervorheben der Eintritte des Hauptgedankens zu beschränken. So eine Regel passt für Schüler. Die meisten der Bachschen Fugen sind aber Charakterstücke der höchster Art, zum Teil wahrhaft poetische Gebilde, deren jedes seinen eigenen Ausdruck, seine besonderen Lichter und Schatten verlangt. Da reicht ein philiströses Merkenlassen des eintretenden Themas noch lange nicht aus."

[30] *Damen Conversation Lexikon*, Bd.2, 330. Reprinted in Lo, "*Fugues are the Character Pieces*," 51. "Charakter, musicalischen, hat eine Komposition, wenn sich eine Gesinnung, vorherrschend ausspricht, sich so ausdrängt, dass keine andere Auslegung möglich ist. So in der heroischen Sinfonie von Beethoven und in der militärischen von Haydn. Im höheren Sinne ist er sogar der moralische Hintergrund des Kunstwerks: denn wenn auch die Musik ohne Worte nichts Böses hinstellen kann, so hängt doch der moralische Mensch mit dem ästhetischen, das sittliche Wesen mit dem künstlerischen dergestalt zusammen, daß das, was in unsittlicher Leidenschaft erzeugt ist, auch im Kunstwerk seinen Ursprung nicht verbergen kann. Charakteristische Musik unterscheidet sich von der malerischen (pittoresken), daß sie die Seelenzustände, während die andere Lebenszustände darstellt; meistens finden wir beides vermischt." (Character, musical, is possessed by a composition when a disposition expresses itself predominantly or so obtrudes itself that no other interpretation is possible, as in the Eroica Symphony of Beethoven or in the Military of Haydn. In a higher sense, it is even the moral background of the artwork: for although music without words can represent nothing evil, yet the moral man is connected in such a fashion with the aesthetic, the ethical nature with the artistic, that whatever is created in unethical passion also cannot conceal its origin in artwork. Characteristic music is distinguished from pictorial (picturesque) in that it represents the states of the soul, while the other represents the circumstances of life; mostly we find the two mixed.)

Starting in 1838, Schumann made a habit of celebrating Bach's—and Jean Paul's—birthday, on 23 March.[31] In this same year, sometime between February and March, Schumann selected and noted quotations from the Goethe-Zelter correspondence in which their strong admiration of Bach is manifested.[32] In addition, he became close friends with Johann Joseph Hermann Verhulst, a Dutch composer and conductor; both enjoyed Bach's works,[33] and Schumann spoke to Verhulst of the meaning of his activities regarding Bach (and Beethoven). In a letter to another foreign correspondent, Simonin de Sire, in Belgium, he wrote:

> Then, too, that my path is fairly solitary; no acclaiming crowd inspires me to fresh effort, but I keep my eyes fixed on my great examples, Bach and Beethoven, whose far-off images give unfailing help and encouragement.[34]

The reason for his ardent study is also mentioned in an article in *NZfM*:

> Another way, however, of making progress, of enriching oneself toward new creativity, is that of studying other characters of great individuality. People often bring forward e.g. Mozart as counterevidence to this proposition, saying that a genius has no need for this, or for anything at all; but who can tell us what Mozart would have achieved if he had known e.g. Sebastian Bach in all his greatness?[35]

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[31] 23 March 1838. *Tb*, Bd.2, 52. "J. Pauls u. Bachs GeburtsTag."; 23 March 1848. *Tb*. Bd.2, 439. "J.[ean] Pauls u. Bach's Tag—." Modern records place Bach's birthday on 21 March. March 23 is the date Bach was baptized.

[32] *Robert Schumanns Mottosammlung*, ed. Leaner Hotaki (Robmach Verlag: Freiburg im Breisgau, 1998). MS I, E182, E187, E190, E195-97, E199. The original manuscript is preserved in Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau. Arch. No. 4871-VIII, 2-A3.

[33] 6-7 March 1838. *Tb*, Bd.2, 52. "Mit Verhulst von Bach Mehreres gespielt."

[34] 8 February 1838. Letter to Simonin de Sire, *Briefe, NF*, 109; Translation from *The Letters of Robert Schumann*, 112. "mein Weg ist ein ziemlich einsamer, ich weiß es, auf dem kein Hurrah einer großen Menge zur Arbeit anfeuert, auf dem mich nur meine großen Vorbilder Bach und Beethoven aus der Ferne anblicken und es an Trostesworten, an stärkender Gabe nicht fehlen lassen."

[35] Excerpted from a series article "Etüden für Pianoforte" published on 27 March 1838 (*NZfM*, Vol.8, No.25, 97-98), 5 March 1839 (*NZfM*, Vol. 10, No.19, 73-74), and 8 March 1839 (*NZfM*, Vol.10, No.20, 77-78); *GS*, Bd.1, 390: Reprinted in Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild Robert Schumanns," 464; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Einen anderen Weg aber, vorwärts zu kommen, sich zu neuer Schöpfung zu beriechern, ist der, andere große Individualitäten zu studieren. Man führt wohl z.B. Mozart als ein Gegenbeweis dieses Satzes an und sagt, ein Genie

Around this time, he was also eager to share his study of fugue with Clara (at the time in Vienna).

> I wish that you would learn about the structure of the fugue since there are good theorists in Vienna—don't neglect to do that if you have the opportunity; it's enjoyable and helps you make progress. Bach is my daily bread; he comforts me and gives me new ideas. I think it was Beethoven who said: "Compared to him we are all children."[36]

Furthermore, in the same letter, he describes how fugue and canon have become important elements in his compositional method:

> I'm looking forward to the quartets; the piano is becoming too limiting for me; I often hear a great many things in my present compositions which I find difficult even to allude to; it's especially strange that I write almost everything in canon form and that I don't discover the subsequent voices until afterwards, often in inversions, retrograde rhythms, etc. I'm paying great attention to melody now, as you have probably noticed; here, too, one can profit a great deal from diligence and observation. But, of course, when I speak of melody I mean something different from the Italian melodies; they seem like birds singing, i.e., pleasant to hear, but without substance or meaning.[37]

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habe das nicht nötig und überhaupt nichts; aber wer sagt uns, was Mozart geliefert, wenn er z.B. Sebastian Bach in seiner ganzen Größe gekannt?" Here, Schumann seems to assume Mozart did not know Bach, but it is now understood that Mozart studied a great deal of Bach in Baron van Swieten's library, in the 1780s.

[36] 18 March 1838. Letter to Clara, *Jugendbriefe*, 279; Translation from *The Complete Correspondence*, 129. "Gewünscht hätte ich, Du lerntest den Fugenbau, da es ja in Wien gute Theoretiker gibt. Versäume das nicht, wo sich wieder einmal die Gelegenheit findet. Bach ist mein täglich Brot, an ihm erlabe ich mich, hole mir neue Gedanken—"gegen den find wir alle Kinder" hat, glaub' ich, Beethoven gesagt." Schuman is probably confusing this with a line attributed by Rochlitz (Freunde der Tonkunst) to Mozart: [about Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach] "He is the father, we are the children."

[37] 18 March 1838. Letter to Clara, *Jugendbriefe*, 280; Translation from *The Complete Correspondence*, Vol.1, 130. "Auf die Quartetten freue ich mich selbst: das Klavier wird mir zu enge, ich höre bei meinen jetzigen Kompositionen oft noch eine Menge Sachen, die ich kaum andeuten kann; namentlich ist es sonderbar, wie ich fast Alles kanonisch erfinde, und wie ich die nachsingenden Stimmen immer erst hinterdrein entdecke, oft auch in Umkehrungen, verkehrten Rhythmen usw. Der Melodie schenke ich jetzt große Sorgfalt, wie Du wohl findest; auch da kann man durch Fleiß und Beobachtung viel gewinnen. Aber freilich meine ich unter Melodie andere als italienische, die mir nun einmal wie Vogelgesang, das heißt anmuthig zu hören, aber inhalt- und gedankenlos vorkömmt." The 'quartets' refer to his own early attempt at string quartet, of which any autograph score is lost. McCorkle's *Thematisch-Bibliogphisches Werkverzeichnis* assigns "D1" as its work number, dating its composition between 25 February and 5 March 1838 (*Tb*. II, 51). On 3 April 1838, in a letter to his friend and pianist Joseph

It is difficult to draw a direct connection between his future attempts at larger scale music (chamber or orchestral works) and the compulsion to write with canon; however, these remarks suggest that Schumann was conscious of some link between the expansion of compositional genres and formal aspects of music.[38] A further significant point in this letter is Schumann's emphasis on the subject's melody and its quality, again referring to the need for substance or meaning in the melody.[39]

Studying Bach (and Beethoven as well, in this year) now became a daily, rather obsessive task for Schumann. His study of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* and chorale books is repeatedly mentioned in his diary during April and May 1838;[40] he confesses to Clara, "at the same time I've spent several hours each day diligently studying Bach and Beethoven and have done some other things …."[41] He apparently viewed his study of Bach in this period as the most productive way to channel his energies. Furthermore, his recurrent study of these composers' works led him to pointedly draw connections based on his knowledge of both; a comparison of a given work to that of Bach or Beethoven was to Schumann the highest compliment.

Fischhof, Schumann wrote he was happy with this attempt: "ein Quartett für Streichinstrumente, das mich eben hat und ganz beglückt, obgleich es nur als Versuch gelten kann." *Briefe, NF*, 118.

[38] This aspect will be further elaborated in my discussion of Schumann's song composition in Chapter 3.

[39] Schumann's remarks on melody in his "House-rules and Maxims for Young Musicians" (1848) are also interesting in this perspective: "'Melody' is the amateur's war cry, and certainly music without melody is not music. Therefore you must understand what amateurs mean by this word: anything easily, rhythmically pleasing. But there are melodies of a very different type; at whatever page you open Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, etc., they will appear to you in a thousand different guises. If you study these, you will soon tire of the monotony of modern Italian opera melodies." *On Music and Musicians*, 369: Original text from *GS*, Bd.2, 169. "'Melodie' ist das Feldgeschrei der Dilettante, und gewiß, eine Musik ohne Melodie ist gar keine. Verstehe aber wohl, was jene darunter meinen; eine leichtfaßliche, rhythmisch-gefällige gilt ihnen allein dafür. Es gibt aber auch andere anderen Schlages, und wo du Bach, Mozart, Beethoven auffschläft, blicken sie dich in tausend verschiedenen Weisen an: des dürftigen Einerleis namentlich neuerer italienischer Opern-melodien wirst du hoffentlich bald überdrüffig. –"

[40] 27 April 1838, "Bachs Choralbuch beendigt.—"; 6 May 1838, "Das <wohltemperirte Clavier> wieder einmal beendigt –" *Tb*, Bd.2, 54 and 55.

[41] 10 May 1838. Letter to Clara, *Jugendbriefe*, 287; Translation from *The Complete Correspondence*, 175. "dabei täglich mehrere Stunden strenge Studien in Bach und Beethoven und viele eigene gemacht;... "

Although consumed by both composers' music, he writes about Bach a great deal more in a series of reviews of "Leipzig's musical scene in 1837-1838." Commenting on a concert where works from Bach to Weber were performed, he again speaks up for the contemporaneous public reception of Bach, suggesting the need for a more thoughtful and intelligent understanding of that composer:

> Many people behaved as though Bach were being honored; as though we today were wiser than they were of old; and thought it all "curious and interesting"! The connoisseurs are the worst in this respect, smiling as though Bach had written just for them—he who can balance us, bag and baggage, on the tip of his little finger—or Handel steadfast as the heaven above us—or Gluck, no less. And people hear this music, praise it, and think no more about it. […]
>
> Respecting the works by Bach that were performed we can say but little; we must have them before our eyes and study them, if possible. Even then does he remain as unfathomable as before.[42]

Even his critiques of Beethoven concern Bach: In the second part of this series, Schumann mentions Beethoven's quartets in E-flat major (Op. 127) and C sharp minor (Op. 131) in reference to Bach's organ music, as "they seem to me to stand with some of Bach's choruses and organ compositions on the extreme boundary of all that has hitherto been attained by human art and imagination."[43]

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[42] Published on 3 April 1838. "Rückblick auf das Leipzig Musikleben im Winter 1837-1838" Part I, *NZfM*, Vol.8, No.27, 107-108; *GS*, Bd.1, 380; Translation from *On Music and Musicians*, 227.

[43] Published on 6 April 1838. "Rückblick auf das Leipzig Musikleben im Winter 1837-1838" Part II, *NZfM*, Vol.8, No.28, 111; *GS*, Bd.1, 380; Translation from *On Music and Musicians*, 227. In another article, Bach's Piano Concerto D minor, BWV 1052, particularly the closing section of the first movement, is compared with the Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in terms of vitality. 14 May 1839. "Ältere Klaviermusik," *NZfM*, Vol.10, No.39 (1839), 153-154; *GS*, Bd.1, 402; Translation from *On Music and Musicians*, 90. "Was nun den Inhalt der ‚Kunst der Fuge' anlangt, so ist bekannt, dass sie aus einer Reihe Fugen, auch einigen Kanons über ein und dasselbe Thema besteht. Das Thema selbst scheint für vielseitige Verarbeitung nicht geschickt und namentlich in sich selber keine Engführungen zu enthalten; Bach benutzte es daher auf andere Weise zu Verkehrungen, übereinander gestellten Verengungen und Erweiterungen usw. Oft droht es fast Künstelei zu werden, was er unternimmt; so erhalten wir zwei in allen vier Stimmen zu verkehrende Fugen: eine äusserst schwierige Aufgabe, wo einem die Augen übergehen. Das Erstaunliche hat er aus dem Thema harausgebildet, und wer weiss, ob das Werk nicht mehr als erst

As evident from many of his other remarks on the fugue, Schumann's main interest lay in how to transform the genre without losing its true character. He was preoccupied with the elements that translate the fugue to a new era, such as the emphasis given to melody as the immediate poetic expression of the spirit. These concerns also existed beyond their specific application to the fugue; his search of 'spirit,' 'poetic expression,' and 'newness' is continuously emphasized in an article published the following year:

> Now, of course, if I think of the highest kind of music, as Bach and Beethoven have given it to us in particular works, if I speak of rare states of the soul that the artist is to expose to me, if I require him to lead me a step further with each of his works in the spiritual realm of art, if I require, in a word, poetic depth and novelty everywhere, in the particular as in the whole: then I would have to look for a long time, nor would any of the mentioned works, or most of the works that come out, be enough for me.[44]

In addition, the *Art of Fugue*, which he edited and studied in 1837, now appeared as a topic for review in a discussion of "the old clavier music" in *NZfM*. Extolling Bach as "the divine master" and "the ever creating giant," Schumann delineates Bach's technical supremacy in constructing marvels from a theme:

> As to the *Art of Fugue*, it is known that the work consists of a series of fugues as well as a few canons on one theme. This theme does not warrant such multiple uses and particularly does not seem to contain in itself the possibility of overlapping imitations. Bach therefore used it differently in inversions, simultaneous augmentations and diminutions, etc. Frequently his

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der Anfang des Riesengebäudes war, da der göttliche Meister, wie man wissen will, darüber zu Grabe gegangen; es hat mich die letzte Fuge, die unvollendet, unvermutet abbricht, immer ergreifen wollen; es ist, als wär' er, der immer schaffende Riese, mitten in seiner Arbeit gestorben."

[44] 14 August 1838. "Dritter Quartettmorgen," *NZfM*, Vol.9, No.13, 51-52; *GS*, Bd.1, 343: Reprinted in Köhler, "Bach als Katalysator," 249; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Denk' ich nun freilich an die höchste Art der Musik, wie sie uns Bach und Beethoven in einzelnen Schöpfungen gegeben, sprech' ich von seltenen Seelenzuständen, die mir der Künstler offenbaren soll, verlang' ich, daß er mich mit jedem seiner Werke einen Schritt weiter führe im Geisterreich der Kunst, verlang' ich mit einem Wort poetische Tiefe und Neuheit überall, im Einzelnen wie im Ganzen: so müßte ich lange suchen, und auch keines der erwähnten, der meisten erscheinenden Werke genügten mir."

> endeavors become almost artificial; thus, for instance, there are two fugues which in all four parts are inverted—a most difficult task which makes one's eyes smart. He has constructed marvels with the theme, and possibly all this may have been only the beginning of a giant structure since the divine master, as everyone knows, died while working at it. The last unfinished fugue which suddenly breaks off has always moved me deeply. It is as if he, the ever creating giant, had died while writing these pages.[45]

In the autumn of 1838 Schumann traveled to Vienna to promote local publication of the *NZfM*, intending eventually to settle there with Clara. While in Vienna, his propagation of Bach was done through personal rather than public channels. Schumann began the new year of 1839 studying Bach in Vienna. On New Year's Day, Schumann browsed through Bach's work;[46] he also sent books on Bach—probably Forkel's Bach biography (published in 1802)—to acquaintances in January and February.[47] A month later, Schumann was asked by the philosopher and music writer Eduard Krüger to review his work;[48] however, Schumann explained that he could not judge Krüger's work because his preoccupation with the works of Bach and Beethoven prevented him from assessing the work of a composer who was not also

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[45] Published on 14 May 1839. "Ältere Klaviermusik," *NZfM*, Vol.10, No. 35 (1839), 153-154; *GS*, Bd.1, 402; Translation from *On Music and Musicians*, 90. "Was nun den Inhalt der 'Kunst der Fuge' anlangt, so ist bekannt, dass sie aus einer Reihe Fugen, auch einigen Kanons über ein und dasselbe Thema besteht. Das Thema selbst scheint für vielseitige Verarbeitung nicht geschickt und namentlich in sich selber keine Engführungen zu enthalten; Bach benutzte es daher auf andere Weise zu Verkehrungen, übereinander gestellten Verengungen und Erweiterungen usw. Oft droht es fast Künstelei zu werden, was er unternimmt; so erhalten wir zwei in allen vier Stimmen zu verkehrende Fugen: eine äusserst schwierige Aufgabe, wo einem die Augen übergehen. Das Erstaunliche hat er aus dem Thema harausgebildet, und wer weiss, ob das Werk nicht mehr als erst der Anfang des Riesengebäudes war, da der göttliche Meister, wie man wissen will, darüber zu Grabe gegangen; es hat mich die letzte Fuge, die unvollendet, unvermutet abbricht, immer ergreifen wollen; es ist, als wär' er, der immer schaffende Riese, mitten in seiner Arbeit gestorben."

[46] 1 January 1839. *Tb.* Bd.2, 84. "Auch bei Hauser u. Bach durchgestöbert."

[47] January and February 1839. *Tb*, Bd.3, 55, 57. "An Jülich <1 Buch Bach>"; "An Rössel <1 Buch Bach>"

[48] Boetticher suggests that Schumann first became acquainted with Krüger on 19 November 1838 and addresses the significance of Eduard Krüger in Schumann's Bach reception, supplying various correspondences between the two men in *Einführung*, 228-232.

preoccupied with the same things.[49] In a letter from Charles Eicheler, the Brussels correspondent for the *NZfM*, to Schumann, Schumann is symbolically described in terms of musical lineage:

> I recently quarreled with someone who wanted to place you between Thalberg and Weber. I said, "You're talking nonsense. If you insist on knowing Schumann's ancestry, then I'll tell you: on his father's side he is descended from Bach and Beethoven, on the mother's from Jean Paul and Weber. Chopin and Schubert are his brothers." You will laugh over my genealogy, which I wanted to bring you in on.[50]

Similar records of Schumann's study, extolment, and recommendations of Bach appear constantly in this period. In a letter to the pianist Henriette Voigt, Schumann asks, "I save myself again and again with Bach, and drive joy and strength to work and love. Don't you have any Sebastians?"[51] In a letter to his old teacher Dorn, Schumann calls Bach "my daily Bible"[52] His arguments for Bach's exalted status is also recorded in a letter to Clara:

> Chélard was here for a long time yesterday morning; I played a lot for him, at first like a student, but then better and better. He doesn't understand much, however, and thinks Bach is an *old* composer and wrote *in an old style*; I told him that he was neither new nor old, but rather much more, i.e. eternal. I almost flew into a rage, but I just winked ironically and held

[49] 14 June 1839. Letter to Eduard Krüger, *Briefe, NF*, 157. "Ueber Ihre Compositionen wird mir schwer [zu] urtheilen, da ich eine so verschiedene Richtung gehe, und mich nur das Aeußerste reizt, Bach fast durchaus, Beethoven zumeist in seinen späteren Werken. Denken Sie darum nicht unbillig von mir."

[50] 20 June 1839. Letter from Charles Eicheler to Schumann, from Brüssel, *Briefe und Gedichte*, 51; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Ich habe neulich mit Jemanden mich gezankt, der Sie zwischen Thalberg und Weber wissen wollte. Ich sagte, Ihr sprecht Unsinn. Wenn ihr durchaus den Stammbaum Schumanns wissen wollt, so will ich Euch sagen: von väterlicher Seite stammt er von Bach u. Beethoven, von mütterlicher Jean Paul u. Weber. Chopin u. Schubert sind seine Brüder. Sie werden lachen über meine Genealogie, in die ich Sie hinein bringen will."

[51] 11 August 1839. Letter to Henriette Voigt, *Briefe, NF*, 167. "Da rette ich mich immer wieder in Bach und das gibt wieder Lust und Kraft zum Wirken und Lieben. Haben Sie nichts Sebastianischens bei sich?" Voigt passed away on 15 October of this year for tuberculosis.

[52] 5 November 1839. Letter to Dorn, *Briefe, NF,* 171. "Der Alte ist übrigens meine tägliche Bibel…"

back my best. Mendelssohn had copied for me a number of *long* chorales by Bach, and I was still ecstatic about them when Chélard came.[53]

[53] 10 October 1839. Letter to Clara, *Jugendbriefe*, 306; Translation from *The Complete Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 417; *Early Letters*, 294. "Gestern früh war Chellard lange bei mir, dem ich viel Music gemacht, erst wie ein Schüler, dan aber immer besser. — Er versteht aber wenig und denkt, Bach ist ein later Komponist und schriebe alt; ich sagte ihm (Thellard), er wäre weder neu noch alt, sondern viel mehr, nämlich ewig—Da wäre ich beinahe hitzig geworden. Mendelssohn hat mir eine Menge großer Choräle von Bach abschreiben lassen, über die ich eben noch in Extase war, als gerade Chellard kam."

2. Schumann's Writing on Fugue: The Manuscript *Fugengeschichte* (1837)

If his contributions to the *NZfM* in the service of Bach's music were among Schumann's great public enterprises during this period, his *Fugengeschichte* was among his most important private musical efforts at the time. Schumann's study of Bach works led him to turn to Marpurg's treatise in 1837, and his efforts in this year are synthesized in his *Fugengeschichte* (November 1837).[54] The twenty-page, oblong, score-format manuscript is basically a collection of various fugal subjects, similar to Marpurg's treatise, consisting of four parts (pages 1-6, pages 7-10, pages 11-14, and pages 15-20: the part numbers are marked in red pencil, as is usually found in Schumann manuscripts). Schumann followed the basic structure of Marpurg's treatise; ultimately, his *Fugengeschichte* is a collection with limited commentary; music examples are prefaced with short explanatory descriptions. The Czerny edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* also dates from this period, and Schumann seems to consult that work more analytically in the 1840s than in his earlier review of the edition.[55] But Marpurg remains the clearest influence on the *Fugengeschichte.*

Boetticher's *Einführung* (1941) carries the only description of this manuscript, providing most of the fugal subjects Schumann wrote in this manuscript, as an appendix under the title "Thematischer Katalog der Unveröffentlichten Fugen und Fughetten Robert Schumanns" (Thematic catalogue of Schumann's unpublished fugues and fughettas). The first section of the catalogue lists the thirty-eight fugal subjects under the title "Aus den *Fugengeschichte.*" The short headings and the following examples briefly summarize various fugal techniques in a

[54] The manuscript *Fugengeschichte*, dated November 1837, was only known through Boetticher's *Einführung* (1941); it was a part of a private collection closed to other scholars. While the provenance of the manuscript had been unknown for more than fifty years, it appeared at a Sotheby's' auction in 1999, and was sold to the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, where the manuscript is preserved (Arch. No. 99.99-A1).

[55] Schumann's own copy of the Czerny edition *Well-Tempered Clavier* will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

compact textbook format, leading Boetticher (who first pointed out the existence of this manuscript) to suggest that Schumann wrote this manuscript not only for his own study, but also as a textbook for Clara. However, the analyses are too abridged to qualify as a textbook, and the examples seem intended for his own reference rather than exemplifying techniques for a student; this referential quality indicates that Schumann felt the need to organize the knowledge earned from his studies, by putting theory into practice through writing his own fugal subjects. (My transcription of the *Fugengeschichte* is provided in the appendix, with Boetticher's catalogue numbers for easy identification and comparison.)

Schumann wrote "zu Marpurg" at the beginning of the manuscript: the connection between this manuscript and the Marpurg treatise is undeniable.[56] Schumann did not use any of the Bach examples found in Marpurg, but other examples are direct copies of the earlier treatise (e.g., the Muffat theme on page 5 corresponds to Marpurg Tab XI, Fig.3, and a theme under "Muffat" in page 6 corresponds to Marpurg Tab. XIII. Fig.1). Schumann did not entirely depend on Marpurg's musical examples, but obviously referred to Marpurg in writing his manuscript.

A comparison of Schumann's headings for each example and Marpurg's chapter outlines shows a clear relation between each. Schumann's headings offer an explanation of the character of a given fugal subject and answer. All headings are about how a subject of a certain intervallic configuration is to be answered:"Fugensätze, die in der Octave [des Haupttons] anheben u. zu Hauptton bleiben (fugal subjects which commence at the octave and remain in the tonic);" "Fugensätze die in der Dominant anfangen n. zu Hauptton bleiben (fugal subjects which begin at the dominant and remain in the tonic);" "Fugensätze, wo sich der Gesang nach der Dominante

[56] On the same page, Schumann notated the headings corresponding Marpurg's chapter 3, section 1, and noted <Tab.X, Fig.5> with a marked out music example—the way which Marpurg indicates music examples. However, the Marpurg example labeled thus does not correspond to Schumann's.

wendet (fugal subjects which modulate to the dominant);" "Fugensätze, die auf der Terz des Haupttons anheben (fugal subjects which begin at the third in the tonic);" and "Fugensätze, die in der Quarte anfangen, werden in der Quarte der Dominante beantwortet (fugue subjects that begin at the fourth will be answered at the fourth of the dominant)."[57] After mentioning the relationship of subject and answer in primary structural intervals (fifth, third, fourth), he proceeds to describe other interval relations: "Fugensätze, die in die Secunde anfangen (fugue subjects which begin on the second);" and "Fugensätze, die in der Septime anfangen (fugues subjects which begin on the seventh)." Significantly, these explanations closely match the sub-headings in the third chapter of the Marpurg treatise. Following the frame of Chapter 3 of Marpurg, Schumann quoted two Muffat examples, and then composed his own. (Note that, as pointed out in the previous chapter of this dissertation, Schumann crossed out with a pencil each example in this chapter in his copy of the treatise.)

Maintaining Marpurg's outline of this chapter (though dismissing the body of the text), Schumann attempted to demonstrate what he had learned by providing his own examples. A rather distinctive addition is the section on double counterpoint. This section, on page 15, corresponds to Chapter 8 of the Marpurg treatise. The following Table 1 delineates the similarity between the outlines of Chapters 3 and 8 in the Marpurg treatise and the headings written by Schumann.

While Boetticher's catalogue is an important source of evidence regarding Schumann's special interest in fugue, Schumann's manuscript *Fugengeschichte* also reveals further aspects of

[57] Although Schumann mentioned the way of answer only in this heading, he demonstrates various answers under each category of subject.

Table 1. Comparison of the Chapter Outline of Marpurg Treatise (Chapters 3 and 8 in Vol. 1) and Headings Excerpted from Schumann's *Fugengeschichte*

Marpurg's *Abhandlung*	**Schumann's *Fugengeschichte***
3. Von der Einrichtung des Gefährten	
I. Fugensätze die in der Octave des Haupttons anheben, und im Haupttone bleiben (Tab.X. Fig.1-Tab. XII. Fig.7)	I. Fugensatze, die in der Otave anheben u. zu Hauptton bleiben
II. Fugensätze, die mit der Dominante anfangen, und im Haupttone bleiben (Tab. XIII. Fig.1-7)	Fugensätze die in der Dominante anfangen u. zu Hauptton bleiben
III. Fugensätze, wo sich der Gesang nach der Dominante hinwendet (Tab. XIV. Fig.1-5)	Fugensätze, wo sich der Gesang nach der Dominante wendet:
VI. Fugensätze die auf der Terz der Haupttons anheben (Tab. XV. Fig.1-14)	Fugensätze, die auf der Terz des Haupttons anheben.
V. Fugensätze, die mit der Quarte des Haupttons anheben (Tab. XVI. Fig. 1-3)	Fugensätze, die in der Quarte anfangen, werden in der Quarte der Dominante beantwortet
VI. Fugensätze, die mit der Sexte des Haupttons anheben (Tab. XVI. Fig. 4-8)	
VII. Fugensätze, die mit der Secunde des Haupttons anheben (Tab. XVII. Fig.1-8)	Fugensätze, die in der Secunde anfangen
VIII. Fugensätze, die mit der Septime des Haupttons anheben (Tab. XVIII. Fig.1-7)	Fugensätze, die in die Septime anfangen
IX. Fugensätze nach den alten Tonarten Fugensätze in der Tonart D (Tab. XIX. Fig.1-9) Fugensätze in der Tonart E (Tab. XIX. Fig. 10-14, Tab. XX. Fig.1-5) Fugensätze in der Tonart F (Tab. XX. Fig.6-7) Fugensätze in der Tonart G (Tab. XX. Fig. 8-10) Fugensätze in der Tonart A (Tab. XX. Fig.11-15) Fugensätze in der Tonart C (Tab. XXI. Fig.1-2) Aufgaben nach den alten Tonarten (Tab. XXI. Fig.3-23)	Fugensätze in alter Tonarten D=Dorish S=Phrigisch L=Lydisch (Canonische Fugensätze)
X. Chromatische Fugensätze (Tab. XXII. Fig.1-6, XXIII. Fig.1-7, XXIV. Fig.1-7, XXV. Fig.1-8)	
XI. Vermischte Fugensätze (Tab. XXVI. Fig.1-19, Tab. XXVII. Fig.1-10, Tab. XXXVIII. Fig.1-12)	
8. Vom doppelten Contrapunct	Doppelte Contrapunct in der Octave
Von dem doppelten Contrapunct in der Octave Von dem in der None oder Secund Von dem in der Decime oder Terz Von dem in der Undecime oder Quarte Von dem in der Duodecime oder Quinte Von dem in der Decima Tertia oder Sexte Von dem in der Decima Quarta oder Septime	In der None oder Secunde In der Decime oder Terz In der Undecime oder Quart und so weiter.

Schumann's fugue study.[58] In this manuscript, Schumann offers various fugal subjects and answers, both his own and some by Muffat, and evaluates the subjects' quality: for example, "the theme does not allow good harmonies, find a better one;"[59] "can enter one measure ahead, with different counter-harmony;"[60] "not pretty;"[61] "good theme to work out later…;"[62] "bad theme,"[63] and "difficult theme, hardly fugue-like!"[64] His emphasis on the subject's melodic quality—which he considered the defining "modern" characteristic in his review of Mendelssohn's fugues—suggests a Romantic aspect to his understanding of the fugue.

In Schumann's assessment of a subject's quality, its potential for transformation as an answer is of critical importance. Whether he determined a theme 'good' or 'bad' depended largely on its continuation potential—he typically followed his judgment with the note 'later:' as in, what made it good or bad was based on what would happen to it later in the compositional process. It is difficult to find any particular formula for a subject melody to be judged on quality; nonetheless, he searched empirically for it through many trials. Although the *Fugengeschichte* did not specifically instruct on how to add an answer in such a way as to create good harmony,

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[58] Boetticher transcribed and catalogued those fugal subjects without adhering to the order of the manuscript pages or the order within a page. It cannot be said it is in "random" order, because the overall order of the subjects from [9] to [36] has been kept, followed by [1] to [7], and [38]. By just listing the subjects and removing the order of contents which Schumann intended to show, Boetticher's catalogue does not reflect the step-by-step outline of Schumann's writing, and does not include the fugal process after the exposition—he only transcribed a subject and the entrance point of an answer, thus failed to show the following entries of the subject and answer in other voices. In addition, notational errors of pitch and accidentals occur, although they are minor. Sometimes, a portion Schumann thoroughly scratched out was recreated by Boetticher, who must have restored that part based on the reasoning of the fugal process; however, he sometimes included something that cannot be identified in this manuscript—for instance, [7] and [8] subjects are almost thoroughly scribbled out, thus hard to identify.

[59] "Das Thema läßt keine guten Harmonien zu, erfinde also ein besseres:" *Fugengeschichte*, page 11.

[60] "Kann schon eine Takt eher eintreten mit anderer Gegenharmonie." *Fugengeschichte*, page 11.

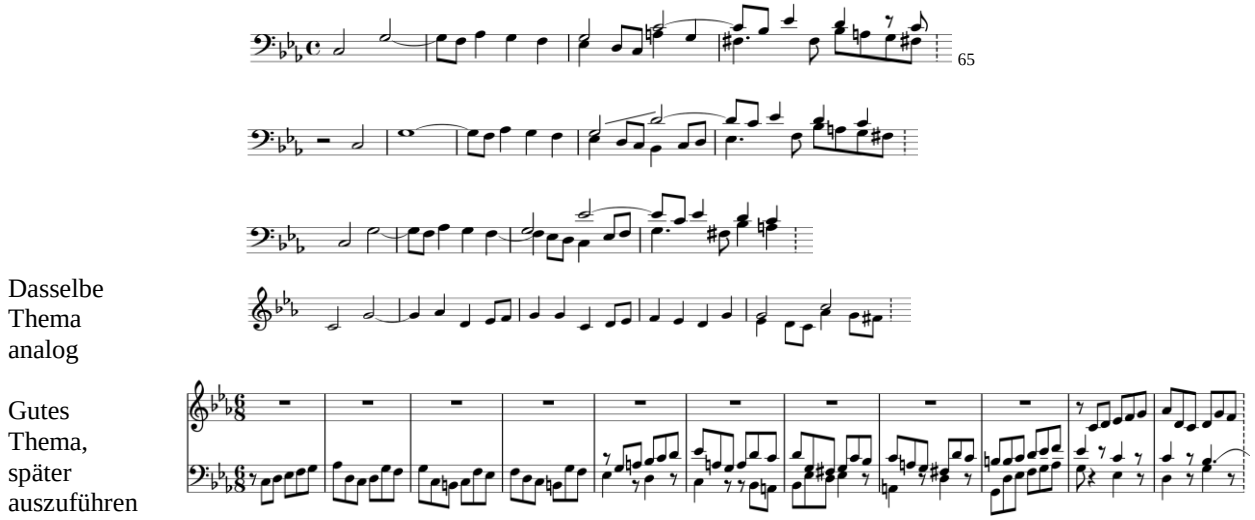
[61] "Nicht hübsch" *Fugengeschichte*, page 11.

[62] "Gutes Thema später weiter zu führen" *Fugengeschichte*, page 10.

[63] "Schulechte-Thema" *Fugengeschichte*, page 6.

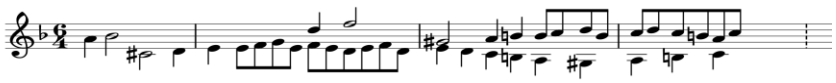
[64] "Schwerers Thema. Noch wenig fugig!" *Fugengeschichte*, page 7.

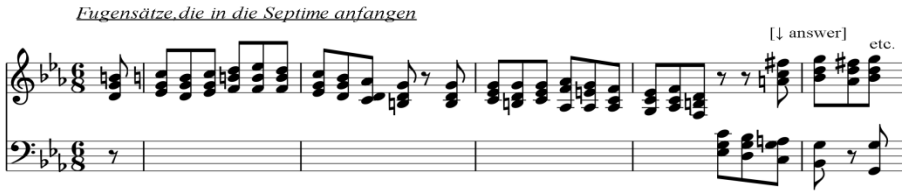
the examples reveal Schumann's careful consideration of both subject and answer; his main interest in fugal writing was a melodically "good" subject, and the musically natural entrance of an answer based on it.

Page 4 of the manuscript captures the varying ways in which answers may be attempted. On this page, Schumann demonstrates how a subject, as a melody, could be diversified in preparation and reaction to the entry of an answer, and how various answers are properly added. Schumann composes a subject in three slightly varied forms and experiments with the answer in three distinct ways (Example 1): the first effort with the interval of a fourth on G (beginning note of answer), the second with the fifth, and the third with the sixth. The fourth melody is also very similar to the above subject (Schumann himself marked "Dasselbe Thema analog"), but it is a more expanded form of the previous tune. In this case, Schumann scribbled out the continuation of the answer. Following this expansion, Schumann writes a melodic variation on the theme, remarking "Gutes Thema, später auszuführen."

Example 1. Schumann, *Fugengeschichte*, page 4

[65] Boetticher read F in m.2 as F sharp, and added sharp on the same note of the following examples [13] and [14], but sharp is unidentifiable; it also sounds musically unnatural, because it causes the augmented interval between F sharp and E flat (mm.2-3); in [13], sharp was not added to C in the real answer, thus I corrected it as F.

On page 6, Schumann uses a Muffat example; this must have been to address a specific issue:[66] "1st (Muffat example) is right subject, but otherwise dull. But quite good examples are possible in which the answer can enter at the second of the tonic without sounding unmusical."[67] Schumann's assessment of this subject is "correct but dull;"however, it is a rare occasion that one can use the second from the tonic (E in this case) as the first note of the answer. Although Muffat added a tonal answer starting on D, Schumann suggests that it could be replaced with E, and, while the subject's melodic quality remains unsatisfactory, Schumann claims that the real answer (maintaining the second interval) would not sound bad, musically.

Muffat [Marpurg Tab XIII, Fig.1][68]

Example 2. Schumann, *Fugengeschichte*, page 6

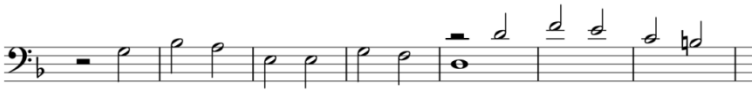
Another interesting example of subject treatment appears in the last example of page 10 (Boetticher catalogue number [36][69]). In this example, the subject is harmonized, thus creating a fuller sound than the subject as a single line. Due to the harmonization, the musical space for casting other parts becomes limited, and the entrance point of the answer must wait for the half cadence of the subject. There is no room for overlapping statements.

Example 3. Schumann, *Fugengeschichte*, page 10

[66] Daverio suggests the examples of this manuscript are culled from the works of Bach and Muffat; however, only two Muffat examples are identified, but no Bach's. Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age,"* 162.

[67] "1st richtig im führer, sonst aber matt. Es lassen sich aber recht gute Beispiele machen, wo der Gefährte auch in der Sekunde des Haupttons eintreten kann, ohne daß es unmusikalisch klänge." *Fugengeschichte*, page 6.

[68] Note that the melodic contour of the first four notes of this subject is similar to that of [28].

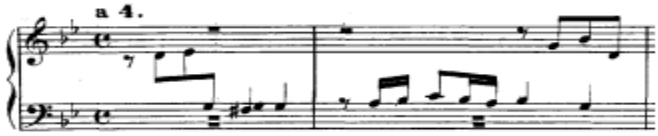
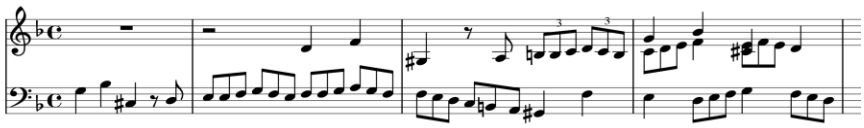
[69] Boetticher only transcribed the subject melody, not the accompanying chords in his catalogue.

The emphasis here is on the *entrance* of the answer itself, not the natural weaving of the answer with the counter-material. In addition, there are moments where Schumann foreshadows his future treatment of the fugue. On page 8 (Boetticher catalogue number [27]), Schumann notates the answer as a restatement of subject material, without accompanying parts. This focused interest in the entrance of the answer links to the monothematic characteristic of Schumann's later fugal compositions.

Example 4. Schumann, *Fugengeschichte*, page 8

Schumann's interest in fugal subject and quality must be considered a result of the influence of Marpurg's treatise and his Bach study. Schumann's particular approach to the topic is most evident in his emphasis on the qualitative aspects of fugal subjects, where he matches Marpurg's 'strict fugue' with the monothematic repetition of subject (melody) in his own works. Rather than highlighting fugal technique, or the skillful weaving of melodies of other parts, he drew more attention to the melodic quality of the subject itself, delineating how a "good subject" offered fertile ground for answering, and therefore contained within it the seed for a whole fugal composition. An answer is neither 'good' nor 'bad,' but rather a successful outcome of a good subject. The quality of the subject is exclusively the determinant of the quality of a fugue.

Although the musical ground for Schumann's aesthetic judgment on fugal subject is hard to pinpoint, some characteristics of his melodic preferences are observable in his examples: more than half of the subjects do not begin on the down beat;[70] a majority of the catalogued subjects are in minor keys; many subjects use a wide leap—specifically, a sixth, a seventh, or an octave—

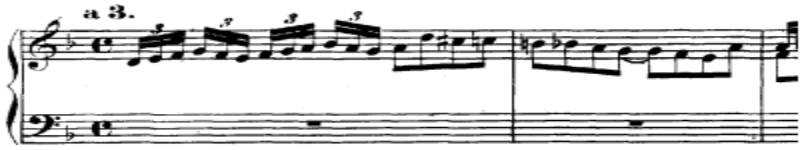
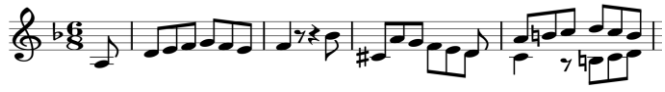
[70] Boetticher catalogue number [11], [13], [16], [20], [22], [23], [24], [25], [26], [27], [28], [29], [33], [35], [36], [1], [2], and [3].

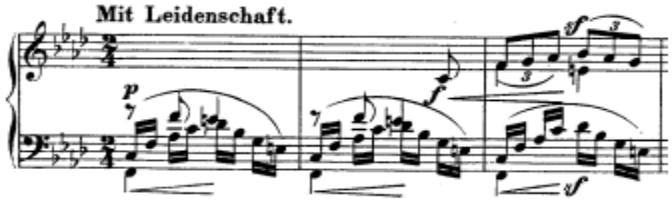
in the first portion of the subject,[71] and frequently contain diminished intervals.[72] Other stylistic devices in Schumann's subjects include triple rhythms and static melodic lines due to close intervallic motion. In many instances Schumann's subjects are reminiscent of those in the *Well-Tempered Clavier*. The following examples are most noticeable:

Example 5.1. Bach, G minor Fugue in *WTC*, Book 1

Example 5.2. Schumann, *Fugengeschichte*, page 8

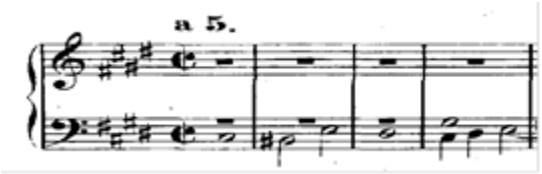
Although in Bach's example the note G mediates the dissonant leap of E flat and F sharp, this characteristic diminished seventh leap is also found in Schumann's subject (Boetticher's catalogue number [28]).

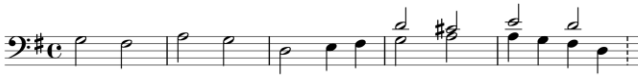
The D minor fugue in Book 2 of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* features a stepwise rising-and-falling triple-rhythm motive; this same contour, key, and rhythm appears in several Schumann examples as well:

[71] Boetticher catalogue number [7] (octave), [23] (minor sixth), [28] (diminished seventh), [30] (octave), [35] (minor sixth), [1] (major sixth), [2] (minor seventh), [4] (octave), [5] (octave), and two examples—not transcribed by Boetticher—appeared on page 20 (minor seventh, and octave, respectively).

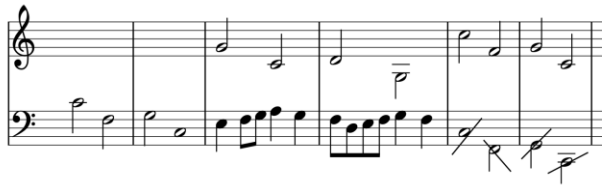
[72] Diminished seventh between B flat and C sharp in the second and third measure of [19]; diminished seventh between B flat and C sharp in the first measure of [28]; diminished third between C sharp and E flat in measure 2 [1]; augmented second between B flat and C sharp (mm.1-2), and diminished sixth between C sharp and A flat (m.2) [4], although Schumann was displeased with this subject as a whole.

Example 6.1. Bach, D minor Fugue in *WTC,* Book 2

Example 6.2. Schumann, *Fugengeschichte,* page 6

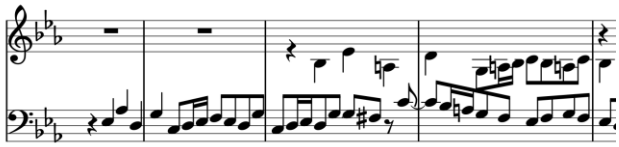
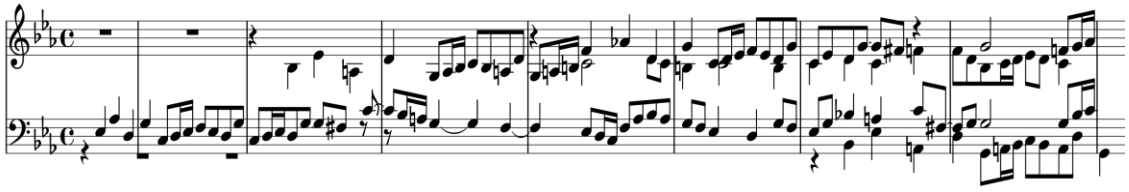
Interestingly, this motive is also found in Schumann's "In der Nacht" in *Fantasy Pieces*, Op. 12; this was completed in July 1837, the year of the *Fugengeschichte.*

Example 6.3. Schumann, In der Nacht, *Fantasy Pieces,* Op. 12

Paired stepwise motion within a static melodic contour is seen in both Bach and Schumann:

Example 7.1. Bach, C sharp minor in *WTC,* Book 1



Example 7.2. Schumann, *Fugengeschichte,* page 3

The C-F-G-C motive Schumann associated with Bach while composing the *Impromptus*, Op. 5, also appears in *Fugengeschichte* (page 5), where he makes another attempt at successive entries of the subject.[73]

Example 8.1. Schumann, *Fugengeschichte*, page 5[74]

Schumann's obsessive experimentation with a similar motion—a rhythmically regular four-note figure in a sequence of matching intervallic leaps—also appears in two examples with an identical subject and answer:

Example 8.2. Schumann, *Fugengeschichte*, page 7

Example 8.3. Schumann, *Fugengeschichte*, page 13

The *Fugengeschichte* illuminates Schumann's understanding of fugue at this stage in his compositional career. Synthesizing his past studies of Marpurg and Bach, Schumann initiates the Romantic transformation of fugue: melodic quality is paramount; the intervallic shape of the

[73] Refer to the manuscript of Op. 5 in Juilliard Manuscript Collection, which was discussed in the former chapter.

[74] Boetticher did not transcribe this portion in his catalogue, thus no number was given.

answer is no less important than how well the answer is woven in with other parts; formal procedure after the exposition is relatively neglected. This twenty-page record is a highly abridged, implicitly personal and self-referential record of what Schumann had learned and what interested him in this old genre. As he noted in the manuscript, a subject "is necessarily made through practiced art, and thereby sounds natural."[75] His various applications of fugal "technique" in many of his works, not at all confined to the works in fugal "form," are directly linked to this notion of the subject's role as theme and melody within fugal composition.

The word "Geschichte" carries multiple meanings. Schumann might have intended to create a history of fugue; the manuscript can be also read as his own 'story,' regarding fugue, a summation of his past studies and the current state of his understanding. Schumann's fugue was less a formal matter than a technique based on a single, dominating element. As this concept developed in his music, his vision of reconciliation between Romantic aims and earlier theories went beyond his personal compositional output; he propagated his theories of fugue, tinged in a Romantic historicism, through his private writings, criticism, performances, and publications.

[75] *Fugengeschichte*, page 4: "Das muß alles zu machen sein von geübter Kunst, und klingt dabei so natürlich." This note is written next to a subject; the "Das" refers to either subject or fugue based on location; in context, this is far more likely to refer to subject as the specific focus for his fugal interest.

3. The Bachian Element in the Contrapuntal Style of Schumann's Piano Works: *Scherzo, Gigue, Romanze and Fughette,* Op. 32

During the years 1838 and 1839, Schumann was prolific as a composer for piano, producing works such as *Kinderszenen*, Op. 15, *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16, *Humoreske*, Op. 20, *Novelleten*, Op. 21, 4 *Nachtstücke*, Op. 23, *Faschingschwank aus Wien*, Op. 26, and 3 *Romances*, Op. 28.[76] While the poetic ideas and musical uniqueness of each piece are topics of continual discussion among music scholars, the polyphonic style of these works in terms of Schumann's study of Bach deserves more of our attention, because they were written immediately after or simultaneously with his extensive study of Bach and the Marpurg treatise in 1837 and 1838.

In 1838, Schumann made a diary entry reading: "Fugues and the canonic spirit pervade all my fantasizing."[77] Despite the biographical circumstances, the polyphonic style of Schumann's piano works has rarely been related to his study of Bach. Schumann's penchant for polyphonic texture is apparent, and has been readily associated with the German tradition of which Bach stands as the core figure; however, whether specific aspects of his style can be ascribed to Bach remains speculation due to the difficulties in selecting Bachian elements from works necessarily consisting of various layers of influence. As Von Dadelsen (who initiated the discussion on the Bach-Schumann connection in the 1960s) concludes, the search for explicit Bachian or Baroque models in Schumann's piano compositions of the 1830s may be largely

[76] Examples of the application of canon and imitation techniques are plentiful in his piano works from 1834-1839: Variations 1, 4, 8, and 12 of *Symphonic Etudes*, Op. 13 (written intermittently from September 1834 to September 1836), "Glückes genug," No. 5 of *Kinderszenen*, Op. 15 (composed in February and March 1838), *Humoreske*, Op. 20, *Novelleten*, Op. 21 (Nos. 1, 3, and 7), *4 Nachtstücke*, Op. 23 (Nos. 1 and 4), and *3 Romanzes*, Op. 28 (especially No. 2).

[77] Early April 1838. *TB* II, 53."Fugen und canonischer Geist in all meinem Phantasiren" Around this time, Schumann was particularly working on "B flat and D major" (No. 5) of *Novelleten*, Op. 21.

fruitless.[78] However, Schumann's ardent study of Bach works and the fugue must have had some relation to his compositions in these years, even if the evidence of this relationship does not lie on the surface of the music.

To what extent may any characteristic be defined as a Bachian element? Many studies point to Schumann's frequent use of polyphonic style in his piano works; does this mean that those works are Bachian? How much did Schumann's study of Bach contribute to the evolution of his particular take on polyphony? Even the notion of a strictly musical influence is undermined by Schumann's words in a letter to Simonin de Sire:

> Don't you know our great writer Jean Paul; from him have I learned more counterpoint than my music teacher."[79]

Schumann's reference to a literary figure in a musical context suggests an interpretation of his understanding of counterpoint very distanced from Bach; is Schumann's polyphony similarly multi-dimensional in origin? If so, how do we approach it, both as the evolution of personal style and as a manifestation of past influences?

This situation is further complicated by the medium within which Schumann was working at the time. In the letter to Clara quoted previously (see footnote 37 above), Schumann referers the permeation of canon and fugue into his compositional process.[80]

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[78] In Nicholas Marston, "Schumann's heroes: Schubert, Beethoven, Bach," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, 56.

[79] 15 March 1839, Letter to Simonin de Sire. *Briefe, NF,* 149. "Kennen Sie nicht Jean Paul, unseren großen Schriftsteller; von diesem hab' ich mehr Contrapunct gelernt, als von meinem Musiklehrer." Thomas Synofzik ponders the meaning of this provocative comment, and suggests some possibilities to musical adaption of literary meaning in counterpoint. "Jean Paulischer Konrapunkt? Zur neuartigen Klavierpolyphonie in Robert Schumanns Klavierwerken der 1830er Jahre," in *Übergänge. Zwischen Künsten und Kulturen* (Metzler Verlag, 2007), 431-442. Synofzik explores the characteristic aspects of polyphonic technique as used in *Kreisleriana* and *Humoreske*, arguing for the possible connection between literary counterpoint and Schumann's music. Despite the difficulties in assessing how much Bach can be associated with these characteristics, he suggests a Bachian association in the musical rendition of Jean Paul-style counterpoint, pointing out that Schumann's remark, 'learned more from Jean Paul than other music teacher,' was only comparative.

It remains unclear whether Schumann is here feeling the limitation of the keyboard or is thinking more in terms of genre. Regardless, Schumann seems to recognize that his acquisition of a certain form has a relation to expansion of the compositional medium. Having become thoroughly acquainted with the fugue, he could write many things using it; this created an impetus to expand his musical scope.[81]

In another letter to de Sire, though the context is a bit different, Schumann explains his productivity:

> I used to rack my brains for a long time, but now I scarcely ever scratch out a note. It all comes from within, and I often feel as if I could go playing straight on without ever coming to an end.[82]

Perhaps, before he had been thoroughly acquainted with the form, or confidently utilized it as a compositional medium, he "racked his brains;" now, equipped with a musically expressive vehicle, the compositional process became more natural and his execution more prolific.

Canon as an influence dominated his output at the time he codified his characteristic polyphonic style; therefore, canon, as learned from Marpurg and Bach, is a fundamental influence on Schumann's polyphony. Canon is crucial as a stylistic influence rather than as a

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[80] 18 March 1838. Letter to Clara, *Jugendbriefe*, 280; Translation from *The Complete Correspondence*, 130. Daverio's translation of the fourth sentence reads, "[he] conceives almost everything canonically."

[81] Another intriguing Schumann's comment on his compositional process is found in another letter to Clara: "I'm writing more easily and clearly by far now and, I think, more gracefully; I used to patch smaller passages together, and the result was many strange things, but little that was beautiful; nevertheless, can artist's mistakes also belong to the world as long as they aren't really ugly. I've done almost nothing but compose for four weeks, as I already wrote you; it just flowed; I always sang along while composing—and most of the time I was successful. I'm playing with forms." 11 February 1838. Letter to Clara, *The Complete Correspondence*, I, 101-2. Original text of this letter is partially transcribed in *Jugendbriefe*, 274: "Ich schreibe jetzt bei weitern leichter, klarer und—glaube ich—anmuthiger."

[82] 15 March 1839. Letter to Simonin de Sire. *Briefe, NF,* 150. Reprinted in Spitta, "Schumann," in the *The Grove's Dictionary*, First Edition, 353-354. (Bei der letzteren bin ich soeben, und es zieht mich ans Clavier, sie zu vollenden. Vielleicht finden Sie auch, daß mein Stil immer leichter und weicher geworden.) Früher grübelte ich lange, jetzt streiche ich kaum eine Note. Es kömmt mir alles von selbst, und sogar manchmal ist es mir, als könnte ich immerfort spielen und nie zu Ende kommen.

form in itself; although Schumann studied the organ chorales in *J.S. Bach's Choral-Vorspiele für die Orgel mit einem und zwey Klavieren und Pedal* (published in 1803-6 by Breitkopf & Härtel) in 1837, over a quarter of which used canon,[83] it is difficult to find a piece in his own output of this period that is a canon. Schumann's "I write almost everything in canon form" is less a literal statement than an acknowledgement of the pervasive influence that "fugues and the canonic spirit" had on his compositional evolution.

The crucial element of this evolution—the translation of influence into the creation of a new art—is evidenced in Schumann's *Scherzo, Gigue, Romanze and Fughette*, Op. 32. These four small pieces were composed intermittently throughout 1838-39 (and published in 1841). While the use of four genre types as titles distinguishes these from other piano works with programmatic titles, the link to Bach's legacy of Baroque dance is obvious; indeed, Schumann himself considered this work his Bach study.[84]

The four pieces are divided into two pairs—a Romantic pair (*Scherzo* and *Romanze*) and a Baroque pair (*Gigue* and *Fughette*); however, the lively rhythmic gear—a vestige of Baroque dance rhythm—and imitative motions pervade in all four pieces. Among the four pieces, *Gigue* and *Fughette* presumably use forms indebted to Bach. *Fughette* is the first piece to which Schumann officially applied a fugal title; although he frequently used imitative and fugal techniques in earlier works, he had never gone so far as to indicate by title that the piece was a

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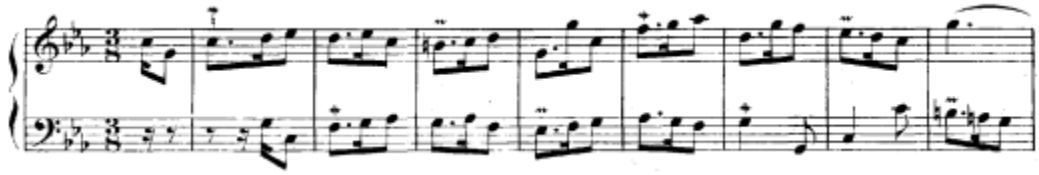
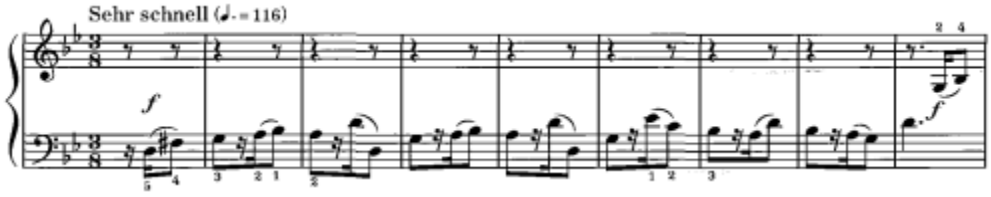
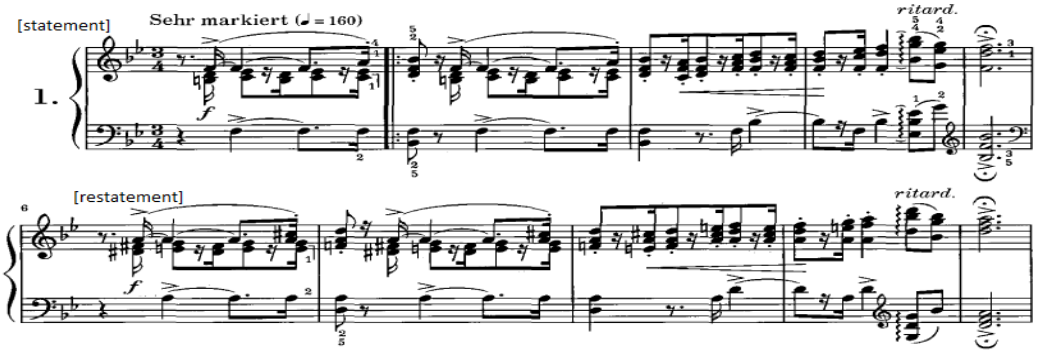
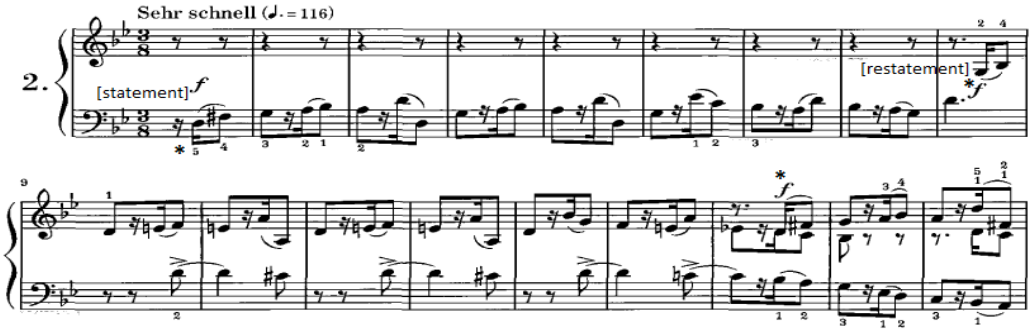
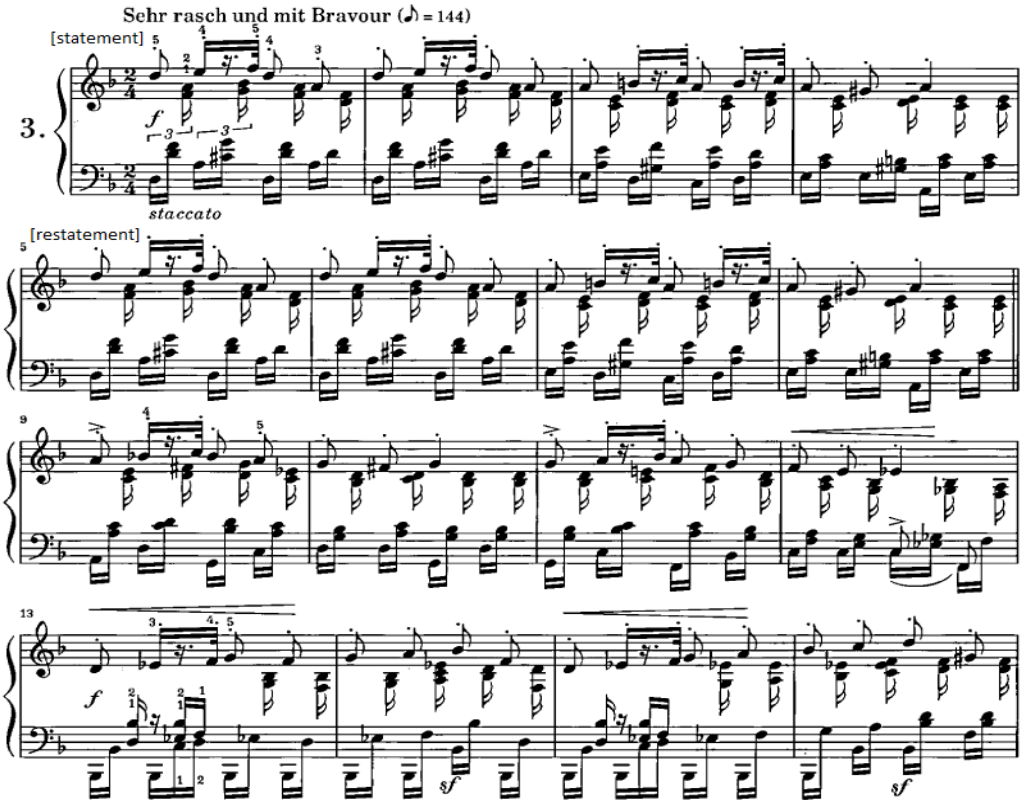
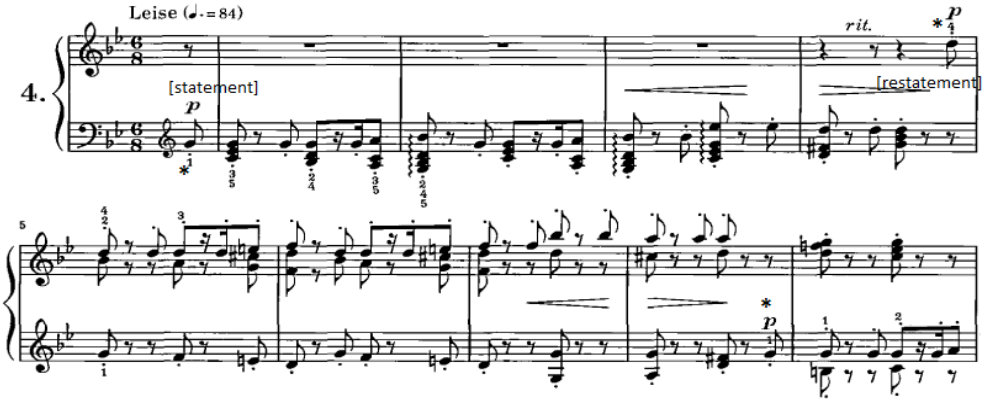
[83] Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 78.

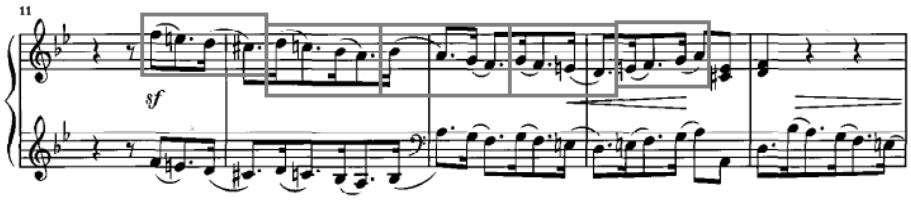
[84] In his letter to Krüger, he referred specifically to the *Gigue* as his Bach study. 19 February 1841. Letter from Eduard to Schumann. Reprinted in Boetticher, *Einführung*, 229. "Von Ihnen übrigen Instrumentalien kenne ich nur, was der Musikzeitung als Gigue beigegeben war, die vortreffliche Bachsche Studie (wie Sie mir es einmal nannten) und doch selbständig." In February 1840, Schumann published the *Gigue* (No. 2) as a supplement to *NZfM*. The *Gigue* movement was written two years earlier, and the whole work, including the *Romanze* (No. 4), was completed in 1839. Schumann published the pieces separately. "Von Ihnen übrigen Instrumentalien kenne ich nur, was der Musikzeitung als Gigue beigegeben war, die vortreffliche Bachsche Studie (wie Sie mir es einmal nannten) und doch selbständig."

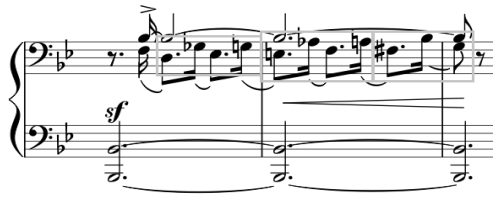
fugue derivative. However, Schumann's understanding of gigue is less than comprehensive, as he confessed to Clara: "I do not exactly know what a gigue is myself; it is an old forgotten dance in triple meter with fugal entrances. Do you like it?"[85] Nonetheless, though he did not utilize the genre in a strict sense, its dactylic rhythmic pattern is very reminiscent of Bach—in particular, the Gigue in the *French Suite*, C minor, BWV 813 (Examples 9.1 and 9.2).

Example 9.1. Bach, Gigue in *French Suite*, C minor, BWV 813

Example 9.2. Schumann, *Gigue* in Op. 32

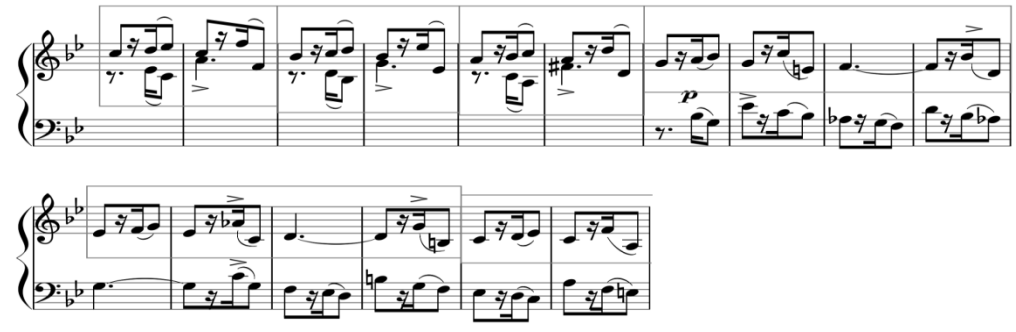
Schumann's compositional "fantasizing" resulted in a comprehensive melding of Bachian repercussions with new expressive art. "Fugues and the canonic spirit" can be understood as a comprehensive application of chasing, following, or imitating the same or similar motions, essentially evoking the repercussion of a musical idea. In Schumann's music, this spirit is revealed on multiple levels: recurrence (or repetition) of an idea within a single linear musical space; the multi-layered space created by different voices; and execution in both short and larger time spans.

[85] 9 June 1839. Letter to Clara. *Clara und Robert Schumann, Briefwechsel*, ed. Eva Weissweiler (Stroemfeld: Roter Stern, 2001) Vol. II, 562.

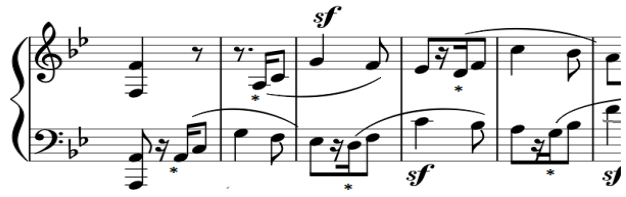
First, the statement and restatement of a theme (either in the same key or different keys) can be understood as modified fugal entries, with which Schumann was so concerned in his *Fugengeschichte*. Pseudo-fugal motion—beginning the theme on the tonic key, restating it in the dominant or other key as if in fugal answer, and freely transforming the theme in the following entries—occurs throughout the four pieces. Each invariably begins with a statement and restatement; after a statement of the theme (or the literal repetition of it, in the case of the *Romanze*), the restatement enters in a different key: mm. 6-10 of *Scherzo*; mm. 8-15 and mm. 75-79, 79-93 of the *Gigue*; mm. 9-12 and mm. 13-16 of the *Romanze* (these restatements have the characteristic of an answer), and mm. 4-8 of the *Fughette* (Examples 10.1, 10.2, 10.3, and 10.4).

Example 10.1. Schumann, *Scherzo* in Op. 32

Example 10.2. Schumann, *Gigue* in Op. 32

Example 10.3. Schumann, *Romanze* in Op. 32

Example 10.4. Schumann, *Fughette* in Op. 32

While this restatement technique provides a very straightforward sense of repetition for the listener over the span of the phrase, the local-level repetition of the same motive at different pitches is also audible. For example:

Example 11. Schumann, *Scherzo* in Op. 32, mm.11-15

While the repetitive descending fourth motive plus an ascending fourth constitute the phrase, the sequential motion within it can be interpreted as a linear unfolding of a canonic idea. In the same piece, similar sequential motion appears once more in mm. 48-50 (Example 12); the passage work within the upper voice and bass pedal on B flat is difficult to parse in terms of harmony, but can be understood as motivic entrance and repercussions.

Example 12. Schumann, *Scherzo* in Op. 32, mm. 48-50

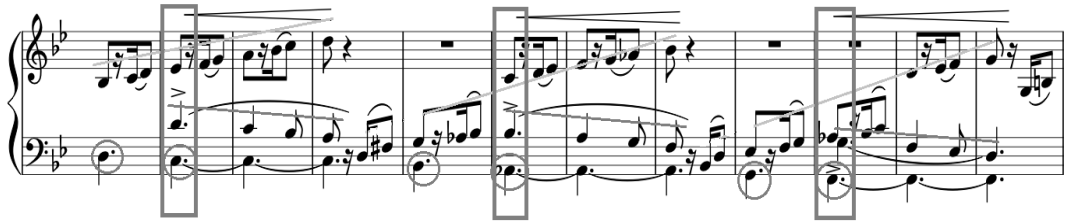
For all four pieces, the motives are generally taken from the main theme, and usually have the episodic character of fugue (Example 13; Another example appears in mm. 51-66 in *Gigue*)

Example 13. Schumann, *Gigue* in Op. 32, mm. 18-39

These episodic motivic sequences are gradually transformed to prepare a functional (cadential) moment. Sometimes, the motive enters as stretto, overlapping and finally expanding toward a structural break (Example 14).

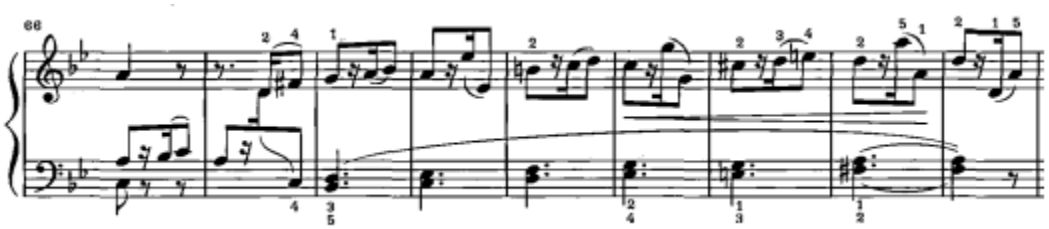
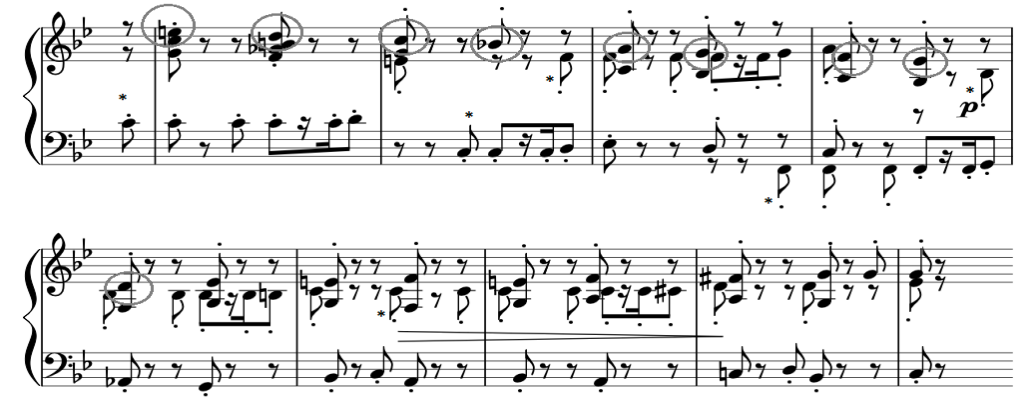
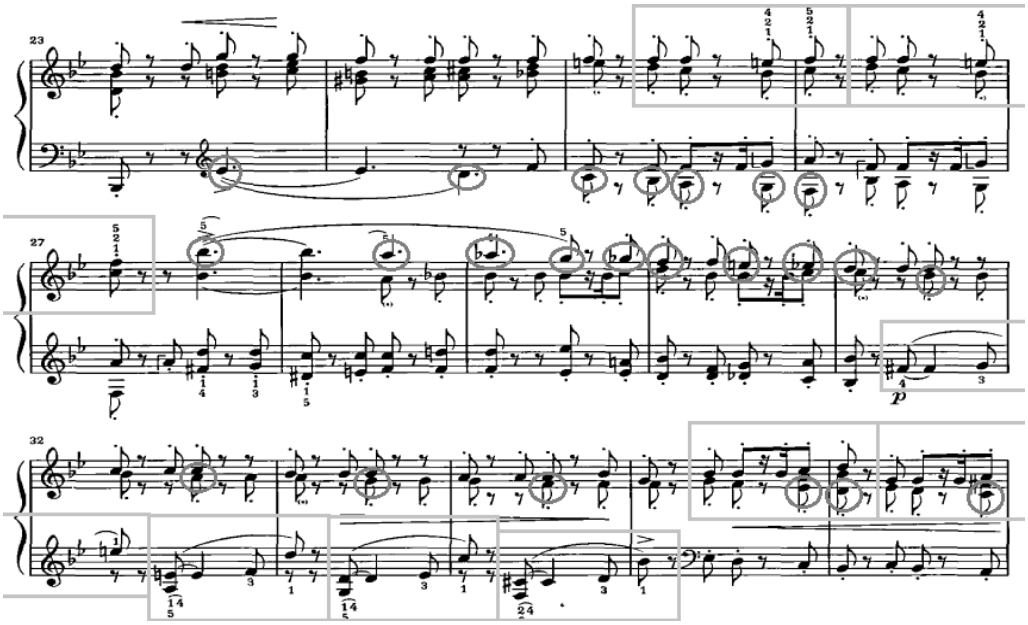


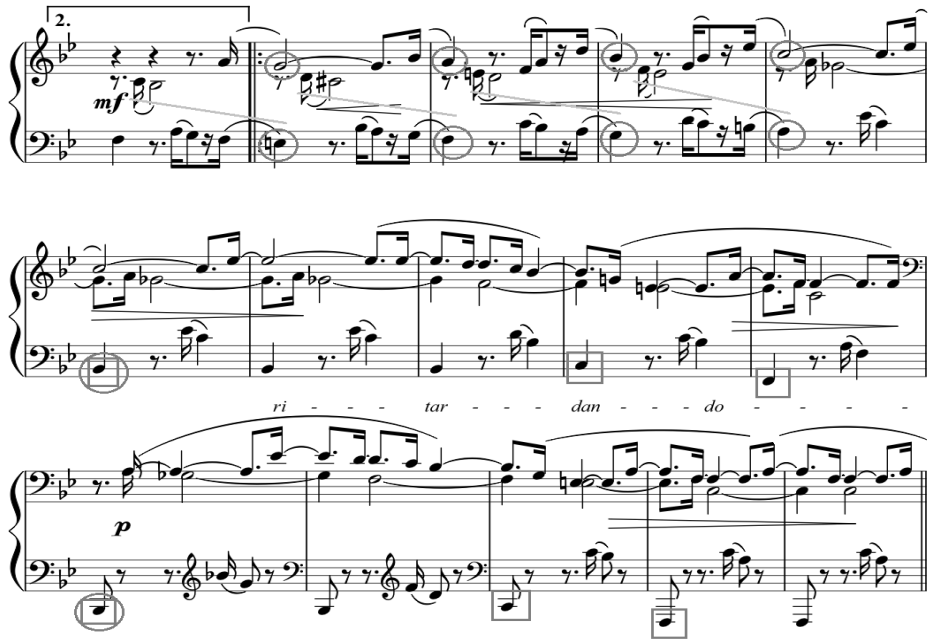
Example 14. Schumann, *Gigue* in Op. 32, mm. 83-88

In terms of development of the motive through sequential motion, a notable tendency towards motivic expansion towards a point of high tension is observable; this typically involves a (diatonic or chromatic) scalar line. In the following example (Example 15.1), three separate scalar lines are juxtaposed: the upper voice ascends a tenth over four measures; the middle voice descends a fourth over three measures; and the bass moves down to E over ten measures (mm. 41-52). The intevallically adjacent notes of each scalar line produce a very striking dissonance (C in the bass, D in the middle, and E flat in the upper voice in m.41; two more instances occur in m.45 and m.49).[86] As the motivic repetition heightens the tension, the passage contains a glimpse of resolution; yet, soon the progression seeks another route towards closure.



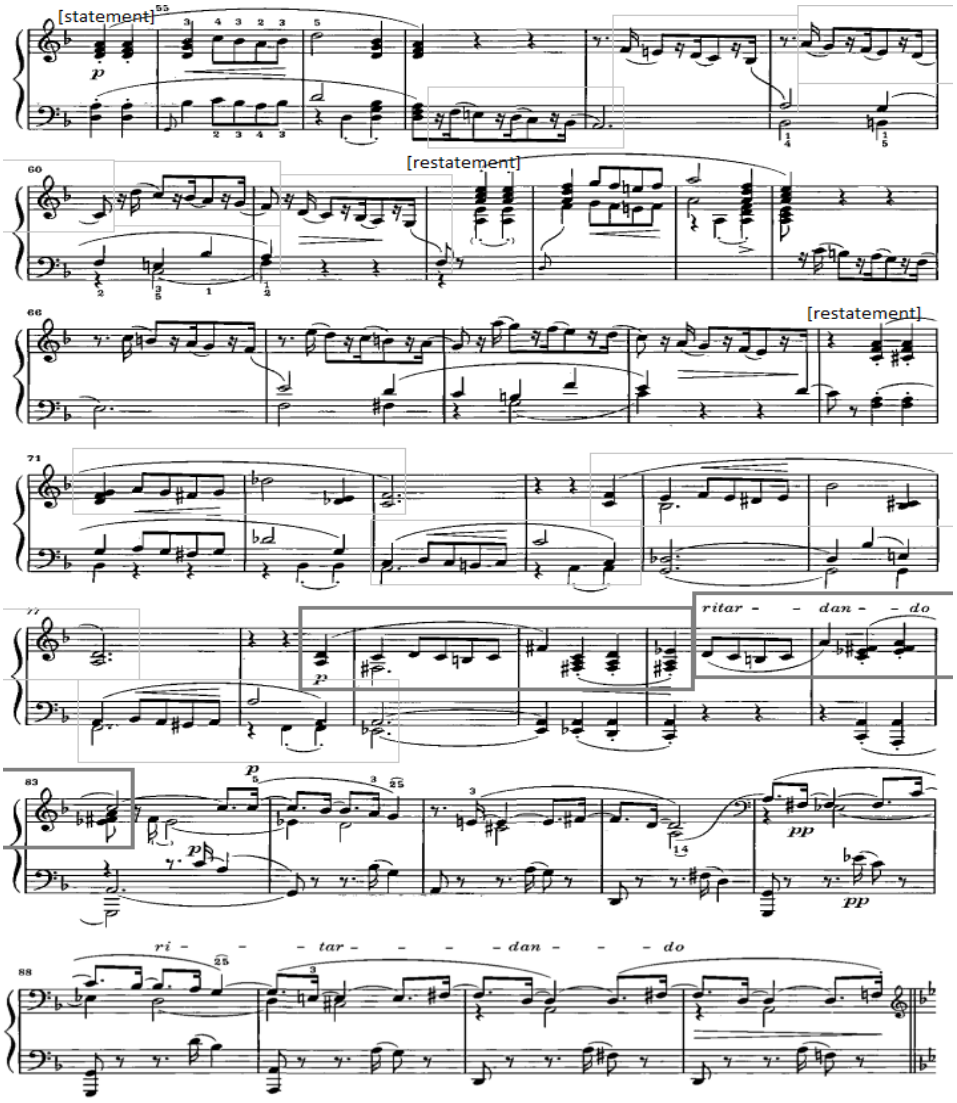
Example 15.1. Schumann, *Gigue* in Op. 32, mm. 40-51

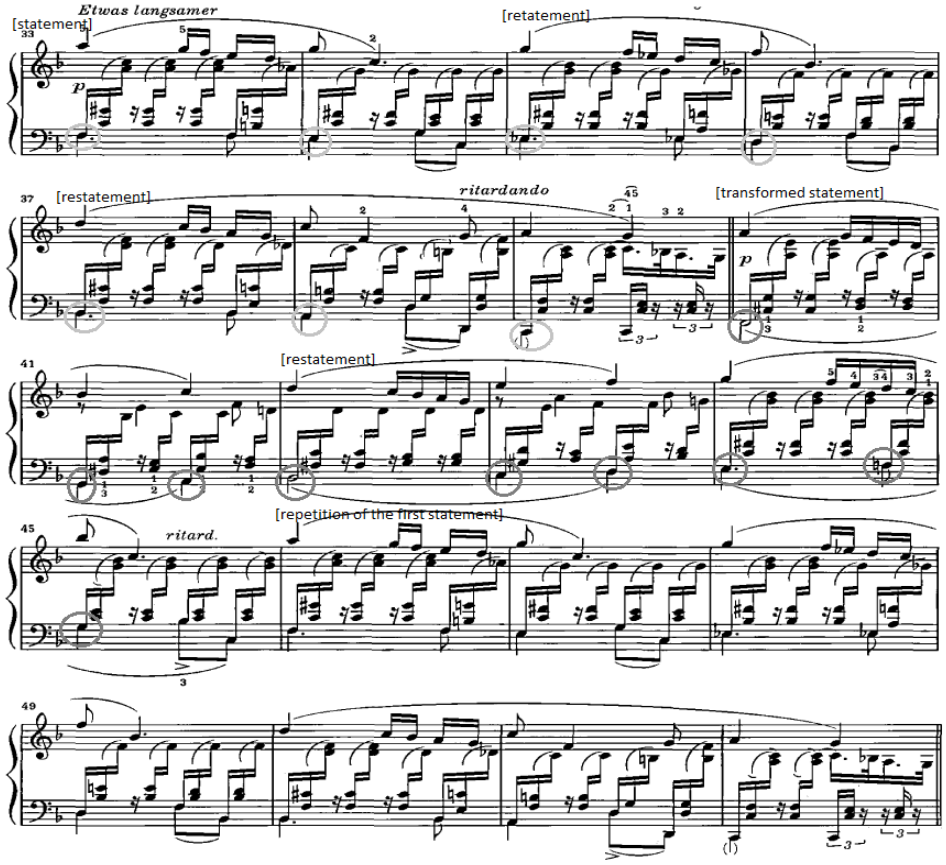
[86] This is a characteristic of Schumann's polyphony which Bo H. Alphonce calls "reckless counterpoint." Bo points to various wedge-shaped linear motions, caused by rhythmic shifts and strengthening stream segregation and the linear dimension of harmonic progressions, as characteristic of Schumann's piano music. Bo. H. Alphonce, "Dissonance and Schumann's Reckless Counterpoint," *Music Theory Online*, Vol.0, No.7 (March 1994).

Example 15.2. Schumann, *Gigue* in Op. 32, mm. 66-74

Example 15.3. Schumann, *Fughette* in Op. 32, mm. 13-17; the asterisks in this example indicate the entrance of motive.

Example 15.4. Schumann, *Fughette* in Op. 32, mm. 23-36

The use of modified repetitions is most prominent in the quasi-development section of the first part of *Scherzo*. The motive is repeated over a rising bass; as it reaches a striking dissonance with B flat in the bass (m.21; an octave lower than the expected position), the passage seems to anchor around B flat as if it was a pedal, but soon resolves with a cadential C-F in the bass. This characteristic progression recurs immediately, strengthened by a repetition of the same idea—a lingering over B flat and subsequent resolution—but with different constituent parts.[87]

Example 16. Schumann, *Scherzo* in Op. 32, mm. 17-30

Despite the division of Op. 32 into a Romantic pair and Baroque pair, these sets are only distinguished from one another in terms of formal structure. The *Scherzo* and *Romanze* have tripartite structures, in which the first and third parts are tripartite sub-structures. In the middle sections of the *Scherzo* (Example 17.1) and *Romanze* (Example 17.2), new thematic materials

[87] Although this passage work appears at a local level, there is a sense of "*déjà vu*"—the feeling that the present moment has already occurred—as Pál Richter points out in his discussion of Schumann's sonata form compositions. Pál Richter, "The Schumannian *déjà vu*—Special Strategies in Schumann's Construction of Large-Scale Forms and Cycles," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol.44, No.3-4 (2003), 305-320.

appear. In the *Scherzo*, the new theme consists of two elements—a chordal portion (mm.54-57) and leapfrogging repetition of the descending dotted rhythm motive (mm.58-61). This theme is also restated a fifth above (mm.62-69), and the leapfrogging motive is transformed and expanded; the linear scalic motion—descending D flat, C, B flat, A–governs the progression and builds up tension (mm.70-77). A similar situation is earlier seen in mm.17-25—a lingering around a highly dissonant moment is followed by a short resolution.

Example 17.1. Schumann, Middle Section of the *Scherzo* in Op. 32, mm. 55-91

In the middle section of the *Romanze*, a new melody enters with a harmonic accompaniment whose echoes are reminiscent of the canon (m.34). This recurs a major second lower (m.35) before reaching a prolongation in the dominant of the key of the first statement. This melody is transformed as the final turn ascends rather than descends (m.41: Note that the descending bass line of the first section now ascends); this in turn is repeated at different intervals. This transformed motive also goes through the three phases of the original: statement, restatement at a different pitch; and transformation (reversion to the descending turn).

Example 17.2. Schumann, Middle section of the *Romanze* in Op. 32, mm. 33-52

Finally, the thematic use of motivic transformation is extended in the coda of each of the four pieces; these motives are derived from their respective main themes [*Scherzo* (mm.107-115), *Gigue* (mm.104-114), *Romanze* (mm.83-96), and *Fughette* (mm.39-46)]. Therefore, although

each piece has a different thematic idea and formal structure, the main template for construction penetrates all four: the fugue and canonic spirit. These characteristics are frequently found in Schumann's other piano works from this period. By conceiving musical notions within a pattern of variation, Schumann arrived at an ideal vehicle for his prolific invention. This new way of conceiving music in turn created a need for expanded musical space as his imagination worked in multiple dimensions. Interestingly, Schumann's turn to mental composition instead of keyboard-based writing is an important feature of Bach's practical pedagogy; therefore, in his own maturation as a composer, Schumann recreated a path take by his musical idol.[88]

[88] The following section is quoted from Forkel's Bach biography, which Schumann read in this period: "Bach required his pupils in composition to work out their musical ideas mentally. If any of them lacked this faculty he admonished him not to compose and discountenanced even his sons from attempting to write until they had first given evidence of genuine musical gifts. Having completed their elementary study of harmony, Bach took his pupils on to the theory of Fugue, beginning with two-part writing. In these and other exercises he insisted on the pupil composing away from the Clavier. Those who did otherwise he ridiculed as 'Harpsichord Knights.' In the second place he required rigorous attention to each part and its relation to the concurrent parts, permitting none, not even an inner one, to break off before it had finished what it had to say. He insisted upon a correct relation between each note and its predecessor. If he came upon one whose derivation or destination was not perfectly clear he struck it out as faulty. It is, indeed, a meticulous exactitude in each individual part that makes Bach's harmony really multiple melody." Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Life, Art and Work*, trans. by Charles Sanford Terry (Harcourt, Brace and Howe: New York, 1920), 96-98.

Chapter 3. Bach as Latent Influence on Schumann's Genre Reinventions (1840-1843)

1. Robert and Clara's Study of Bach

Schumann's compositional maturation occurred in tandem with his creation of a family. After a long and harsh legal battle with Friedrich Wieck, Robert and Clara finally received a positive legal verdict on their marriage; they officially married on 12 September 1840, in Schönefeld. From this point on, Clara and Robert shared their musical studies. A common interest in Bach was one notable motivation for this mutual study. Clara's own records vividly delineate the couple's tandem reception of Bach:

> We have started with the Fugues of Bach; Robert marks those places where the theme always returns—studying these fugues is really quite interesting and gives me more pleasure each day. Robert reprimanded me very strongly; I had doubled one place in octaves, and thus impermissibly added a fifth voice to the four-voice texture. He was right to denounce this, but it pained me not to have sensed it myself.[1]

The study referred to is the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.[2] Schumann's strong analytical eye, gained from his meticulous examination of the *WTC* fugues, allowed him to teach Clara via Bach. This method of using Bach as a basis for compositional and critical comparisons becomes

[1] 21 September 1840. *Tb*, Bd.2, 103; Translation from *The Marriage Diaries of Robert and Clara Schumann*, ed. Gerd Nauhaus and trans. Peter Ostwald, 8. "Wir haben begonnen mit den Fugen von Bach; Robert bezeichnet die Stellen, wo das Thema immer wieder eintritt—es ist doch ein gar interessantes Studium der Fugen, und es schafft mir täglich mehr Genuß. Robert gab mir einen starken Verweiß; ich hatte eine Stelle in Octaven verdoppelt und dadurch unerlaubt eine fünfte Stimme dem vierstimmigen Satz beigefügt...." Also in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, Bd.2, 17 and Köhler, "Bach als Katalysator," 243.

[2] Schumann's copy of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, on which he marked theme entries, will be examined in the later portion of this chapter.

frequent in Clara's writings. In 1840, Clara revisited Mendelssohn's Op. 35 and approached it in reference to Bach:

> We worked rather hard this week. We went on with our study of fugue; it <is very interesting> becomes more interesting every time I play. In this natural flow, though, this great art, which one can say about nearly every one of the fugues. Mendelssohn's fugues come across as a bit shabby after Bach's, and one sees very much how they are constructed, and how difficult it sometimes is for him. It is really foolishness for me to make comparisons, but it imposes itself on me involuntarily when I play Mendelssohn's fugues after Bach's, as I nearly always do. Moreover, I believe of course that there is nobody now alive who would be able to write such fugues as Mendelssohn.[3]

At a Gewandhaus concert of Bach's *Concerto for 3 Claviers* in D minor (BWV 1063, which Clara had previously rehearsed with Mendelssohn, Moscheles, and others), she remarked that "Bach's concerto went extremely well."[4] She wrote about a "historical concert" in which Mendelssohn played the *Chromatic Fantasie and Fugue* (BWV 903) and the second part of the variations (*Goldberg Variations*, BWV 988); she also enjoyed Ferdinand David's performance of Bach's *Chaconne* (the last movement of the second violin partita, BWV 1004).[5] Clara further recorded that Schumann had spoken about certain portions of Bach's work that evening: the

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[3] 26 September 1840. *Tb*, Bd.2, 105; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Diese Woche waren wir doch auch ziemlich fleißig. Unser Fugenstudium setzten wir fort; es <ist gar interressant> wird mir mit jedem Mal Spielen interressanter. Bei diesem natürlichen Fluß doch diese große Kunst, was man doch fast von jeder der Fugen sagen kann. Die Mendelssohn'schen Fugen kommen Einem doch nach den Bach'schen ärmlich vor, man sieht auch sehr wie sie gemacht sind, und es ihm wohl manchmal schwer geworden ist. Es ist wohl Thorheit, daß ich einen Vergleich machen will, doch drängt er sich mir unwillkürlich auf, wenn ich (wie ich es fast immer thue) nach den Bach'schen die Mendelssohn'schen Fugen spiele. Ich glaube übrigens gewiß, es lebt jetzt Keiner der solche Fugen schreiben könnte als Mendelssohn." Schumann's comments on other composers' fugues are found in *GS*, Bd. 1. 252ff (1837), 314 (1837), 353 (1838), 390 (1839), and 426ff (1839).

[4] 19 October 1840. *Tb*, Bd.2, 115. "Das Concert von Bach ging ziemlich gut; ich war nicht animirt, das kann auch gar nicht sein, wenn man 2 Stunden hindurch durch Musik geistig so abgespannt ist, wie ich es war! an *Bach* muß man mit immer frischen Kräften gehen."

[5] 21 January 1841. *Tb.* Bd.2, 142. "Donnerstag d. 21 begannen die hystorischen Concerte mit *Bach* und *Händel*. [...] *Mendelssohn* begann mit der chromatischen Fantasie und Fuge von *Bach*."; "Die *Chaconne* [von Bach] (was heißt *Chaconne* eigentlich?) Machte mir großes Vergnügen und *David* spielte sie auch herrlich."

Crucifixus, *Resurrexit* and *Sanctus* from *B minor Mass* (BWV 232). Comparing Bach to Handel, Clara wrote, "Bach stands too great, too unreachable."[6] Mendelssohn's activities as composer, keyboardist, and conductor motivated the couple to more publicly propagate Bach's music; as a result, they established Leipzig as the center of the nineteenth century Bach revival.

Clara's public performances included Bach fugues. Having studied the *WTC* fugues with Robert—Clara made entries in his copy of the *WTC*—she applied that knowledge to her performances. Clara's notes on the *WTC* were performance-practice oriented, and the correct way to execute Bach remained a preoccupation for her; a few years later, she was still questioning the best way to approach performance issues. Having played several of Bach's sonatas with Ferdinand David, she questioned how to handle a particular figuration:

> Today for the first time I played some sonatas by *Bach* with *David*. I cannot as yet lay down any judgment for myself, for one has to play these things often to conquer them really nicely. I noticed very frequently that David played all the running figures staccato—could that be how Bach wanted them! It seems to me that Mendelssohn must play them that way, since David doesn't do it out of his own conception, it interests me all the more whether it is right![7]

Eventually, the Schumanns' efforts went beyond propagation of Bach's music. Schumann conceived a plan to commemorate Bach with a monument in Leipzig. Mendelssohn held an organ concert (14 August) to raise funds for the monument, and Schumann supported this effort with a favorable concert review. The concert had an all-Bach program, including the *Fugue* in E-flat major, a *Fantasia* on the choral *Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele*, a *Prelude and Fugue* in A

[6] 21 January 1841. *Tb.* Bd.2, 142. "Die Krone des Abends war nach Roberts Aussage das *Crucifixus, Resurrexit* und *Sanctus* aus der großen *H moll* Messe von *Bach*, welches mir auch einen hohen Genuß verschaffte. *Händel* wollte auf *Bach* nicht ganz munden—Bach steht zu groß, zu unerreichbar da."

[7] 26 July 1842. *Tb.* Bd.2, 233; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Zum ersten Male spielte ich auch heute einige Sonaten von *Bach* mit *David*. Ich kann mir noch kein Urtheil abgeben, denn diese Sachen muß mann oft spielen, um sie recht lieb zu gewinnen. Mir fiel es sehr auf, daß David alle fortlaufenden Figuren staccato spielte—ob das wohl Bach so haben wollt! ich denke mir, gewiß hat sie Mendelssohn so gespielt, denn aus eigener Auffassung thut das David nicht, um so mehr interressirt es mich, ob es wohl recht ist!"

minor, *Passacaglia* in C minor with twenty-one variations, a *Pastorella* in F major, a *Toccata* in A minor with a prelude, and an improvisation based on a chorale.[8] There were additional Bach performances in the spring of 1841.[9] Mendelssohn and Clara played a concerto by Bach for 2 claviers (probably, the *Concerto for 2 Claviers* in C minor, BWV 1060),[10] and Mendelssohn gave the first Leipzig performance of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* since Bach's death, on 4 April 1841. Schumann records Mendelssohn's performance of Bach's *Concerto for 2 Claviers*, with his brother Paul at a concert held on 10 April, commenting, "the concerto by Bach is beautiful, though piano parts were covered by the doubled quartet too much"[11] The presence of Mendelssohn's Bach-promoting efforts continued to play a part in the Schumanns' activities; in January of 1842, Clara wrote a letter to Mendelssohn in Berlin to ask if he could send a copy of *Concerto for 2 Claviers* for Graf von Baudissin, which they had performed together in the previous winter,[12] and Mendelssohn gladly sent the copy of his autograph score to Clara with the following message:

> Enclosed is the requested score of the Bach concerto. I have had it copied for you and beg you to retain it as a keepsake of the evening when we played the concert together... Please remember me to Count B. when you write to him, and tell him that I am pleased to place everything I possess in the way of Bach manuscripts at his disposal.[13]

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[8] "Mendelssohn's Organ Concert (1840)," in *On Music and Musicians*, 47-48

[9] 5-11 April 1841. *Tb*, Bd.2, 158. "Errichtung eines Denkmals für selben, wie er es schon voriges Jahr einmal gethan"

[10] 14-21 March 1841. *Tb*, Bd.2, 155; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Nachmittag Mendelssohn, mit dem wir noch wegen des Concertes verhandelten. Er spielte mit Kl.[ara] ein neu angekommenes Concert von Bach f. 2 Flügel, dann Sonate von Mozart."

[11] 10 April 1841. *Tb*, Bd.2, 158. "Das Concert von *Bach* ist schön, doch deckte das doppelte Quartett zu sehr die clavierstimmen."

[12] 3 January 1842. Clara's letter to Mendelssohn. *Schumann-Briefedition*, Ser.II, Bd.1, 186.

[13] 14 January 1842. Mendelssohn's letter to Clara. *Briefe und Gedichte*, 127; *Schumann-Briefedition,* Ser.II, Bd.1, 188-189. "Anbei erfolgt die Partitur des verlangten Bachschen Concertes. Ich habe sie für Sie abschreiben lassen, und bitt, sie als ein Andenken an den Abend, wo wir das Concert zusammen spielten, zu behalten. [...] Bitte

The Schumanns' home quickly became the epicenter of a private propagation campaign for Bach. Schumann frequently talked about Bach with visitors, and noted a visit by the Italian diplomat Graf da Costa, "who knows Bach's composition, and can play piano." In response, Clara [and A] played the "great fugue in A minor by Bach from memory," astonishing her husband.[14] In May, Schumann indicated that Clara had rehearsed a Bach concerto, though no specific record corresponds to an actual concert.[15]

Despite this eagerness to share Bach with their acquaintances, not everybody understood and enjoyed Bach as much as the Schumanns might have wished. On a Sunday night that summer, Clara played some pieces, including Bach's and Beethoven's, for her musician friends such as Ernst Adolph Becker and Philipp Heinrich Carl Krägen, only to find that they did not enjoy Bach. Pitying musicians who did not appreciate the beauty of fugue, she despises the whole mechanical world of virtuosos:

> A Bach fugue, for example, bores them. They are incapable of feeling the beauty that lies in the diverse entry of the voices with the theme; they cannot even follow it! I pity the musician who is deserted by his sense for this glorious art. The less I play publicly now, the more I despise the whole mechanical world of virtuosos![16]

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empfehlen Sie mich dem Grafen B., wenn Sie ihm schreiben, u. sagen Sie ihm, daß ihm alles, was ich von Bachschen Manuscripten besitze, jederzeit mit Vergnügen zu Dienste steht."

[14] 11-25 April 1841. *Tb.* Bd.2, 159. "Ein junger liebenswürdiger Cavalier Graf Costa italienischer Diplomat, besuchte uns; ein Dilettant der besten Art, der auch Bach'sche Compositionen kennt, und überhaupt ausgezeichnet Clavier spielen soll. [...] Klara u. A. Die große Fuge in A Moll v. Bach auswendig, daß es mich wunderte."

[15] 20 May 1841. *Tb*, Bd.3, 177. "Probe mit Kl.[ara] d. Bach'schen Concertes." In Bischoff's table regarding Clara Schumann's concerts in which Bach's works were performed, only one record is found for an 1841 performance (on 12 June 1841), when a Bach Prelude and Fugue (unidentified) was played.

[16] 15 August 1841. *Tb*, Bd.2, 181; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Eine Fuge von Bach z.B. langweilt sie; sie sind nicht fähig die Schönheit zu empfinden, die in dem verschiedenen Eintreten der Stimmen mit dem Thema <,> liegt, sie können dem gar nicht<s> folgen! Ich bedaure den Musiker, dem der Sinn für diese herrliche Kunst abgeht. Je weniger ich jetzt öffentlich spiele, je mehr wird mit das ganze mechanische Virtuosenthum verhaßt!" Seven months later, on 21 March 1842 (*Tb*, Bd.2, 216), Clara criticizes Professor Weisse (Weyse) that "he is the most one-sided and egoistical of musicians, regards himself as misunderstood, and holds all his contemporaries (this may be putting it somewhat harshly) in contempt, all the way back to Haydn, whom he allows some good qualities.

A notable change this year is the couple's growing interest in the organ. Stinson suggests that, by the fall of 1841, the Schumanns had begun to play Bach's organ works on the instrument itself.[17] One scene in July shows Bach's organ music as a source of enjoyment for the couple:

> Lest I forget the most important thing, we also examined [today] the outstanding Silbermann organ; the organist preluded and postluded a D minor fugue by Bach in C-sharp minor, which made us laugh a great deal. Clara also played, and soon might well be the most capable player. We are also planning to take organ lessons in Leipzig.[18]

In the fall, the couple visited a local church and played Bach fugues together on the organ:

> We also played the organ once in St. John's Church; an awful thing to remember because we did not handle it with any accomplishment, and in the Bach fugues Clara could never get past the second entrance, as though she were standing at a wide brook [i.e., Bach]—but we want to try it again soon; the instrument really is just too magnificent.[19]

Robert's use of Bach as a teaching tool went beyond the Schumann household. As Bach provided a model for his own study, Schumann emphasized to others the wider application of Bach-based pedagogy. In his review of A. H. Sponholtz's *Charakteristisch Etuden,* Op. 9,

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Bach shows artifice, but not beauty; Beethoven wrote nothing wholly beautiful, Mozart is passable, Mendelssohn is a copy of Bach—" Weisse's points which Clara noted sounds like the contemporary opponent to the Bach revival. "Er ist ein höchst einseitiger egoistischer Musiker, halt sich für verkannt, und verachtet (dies mag etwas hart ausgedrückt sein) alle seine Zeitgenossen, bis auf Haydn, dem er doch etwas Gutes läßt. *Bach* ist künstlich, aber nicht schön; *Beethoven* hat Nichts durchweg Schönes geschrieben, *Mozart* mag passieren, *Mendelssohn* ist eine Copie *Bachs*—"

[17] Stinson, The Reception of Bach's Organ Works, 84.

[18] 6 July 1841. *Tb*, Bd. 2, 174: Reprinted in Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 85. This happened when they visited Ernst Becker in Freiberg. "Vorher, daß ich die Hauptsache nicht vergessen, besahen wir auch die vortreffliche Silbermann'sche Orgel; der Organist präludirte u. postludirte eine Fuge v. Bach in D Moll, mit Cis moll, was uns sehr lachen machte. Klara spielte auch und wäre wohl bald die tüchtigste Spielerin. Wir nahmen uns auch vor, in Leipzig Orgelstunde zu nehmen."

[19] 27 September to 24 October 1841. *Tb*, Bd.2, 188: Reprinted in Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 85. "Einmal spielten wir auch Orgel in der St. Johanniskirche; eine schreckliche Erinnerung; denn wir behandelten sie nicht eben meisterhaft und Klara konnte in den Bach'schen Fugen nie über den zweiten <Sti> Eintritt hinüber, als stände sie an einem <Bach> breiten Bach—Wir wollen es aber nächstens wieder versuchen; das Instrument ist doch gar zu herrlich."

Schumann holds that Bach's organ works provide a model for any fledgling composer, a source from which one can learn "clearly defined artistic form."[20] The pedagogical importance of Bach's works was also emphasized by Schumann in a letter to the organist J. G. Herzog. Recommending that he study the *WTC* and 320 Chorales,[21] Schumann gave suggestions for composing music:

> You seem to be particularly at home on the organ. This is a great advantage, and the greatest composer in the world has written the majority of his most splendid pieces for this instrument. But the organ can also tempt one into a certain comfortable way of composing, because almost anything sounds good on it. At any rate, don't write too many small pieces. Also, try your hand at some of the larger forms, such as the fugue, the toccata, etc., of which Bach has left us the highest examples."[22]

On the same day, Schumann wrote another letter to Krüger:

> Do you know the five-part Magnificat by J. S. Bach (published by Simrock)? I saw it yesterday for the first time; it is wonderful… When you play Bach, think of me and…Don't you think it ridiculous, when J. S. Bach and his son Emanuel are compared to one another, as

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[20] Published on 5 April 1842. *NZfM*, Vol.16, No.28, 110-11: Reprinted in Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 86.

[21] The only source that transcribes this letter reads "Dazu würde ich Ihnen namentlich die **320** Bachschen Choräle und das „wohltemperirte Clavier" empfehlen."; however, it must be **370** Bach Chorales, which was edited by C.P.E. Bach (first published as four parts from 1784 to 1878 by Breitkopf & Härtel), ensuing Kirnberger's effort to publish the "complete" set of chorale harmonization by Bach. This edition was re-published several times (with some revisions) during Schumann's lifetime, and most likely to be owned by Schumann, although there were a couple of other editions published: C.F. Becker edited the chorales, adding one more example of harmonization, 69 Bach chorale melodies, and a figured bass, in 1832; he published another collection of Bach chorales containing 360 settings in 1843 (published by Robert Friese, Leipzig). Besides, two volumes of new edition (319 chorale settings) were published by Peters in 1850 and 1865, respectively.

[22] 4 August 1842. Letter to J. G. Herzog, *Briefe*, *NF*¸ 217-218. Translation by Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 87. "Sie scheien auf der Orgel vorzugsweise heimisch. –Dies ist ein großer Vortheil, und der größte Componist der Welt hat ja für sie die meisten seiner herrlichsten Sachen geschrieben. Anderntheils verführt aber die Orgal grade auch leicht zu einer gewissen bequemen Art des Schaffens, da auf ihr alles gleich gut und schön klingt. Schreiben Sie wenigstens nicht zu viel kleine Sachen und versuchen sich in größeren Formen, in der Fuge, der Toccata u.s.w., von denen ja Bach die höchsten Muster aufgestellt. [...] Dazu würde ich Ihnen namentlich die 320 Bachschen Chörale und das Wohltemperirte Clavier' empfehlen."

> is said to be of equal weight? Mendelssohn once expressed their relation each other (from E. to Sebastian) in a nice metaphor: It is like a dwarf under giants."[23]

When Schumann received a professorship at the Leipzig Conservatory, which Mendelssohn founded, Beethoven and Bach became his main resources for study. His first class started on 5 April 1843, and lasted until the fall of 1844. His student Alfred Dörffel recalled Schumann's use of Bach as an important pedagogical source:

> Schumann once requested that at our next lesson I was to play organ chorales by Bach, for example, "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme." I was initially anxious about how to play both the pedal and manual voices as notated. I leapt as deftly and quickly as possible from the pedal notes, which I handled like short grace notes, to the notes for the left hand, and I sustained the pedal notes with the damper pedal. After sufficient practice, my execution of everything had become quite polished... Schumann was pleased with my manipulation. Schumann himself was wont to perform organ chorales at the piano this way, and he was very adept at playing these leaps.[24]

Schumann's records confirm this use of Bach as a major source for his teaching. In his *Notizen über die Musikschule*, he listed the composers whose works he used in his teaching:

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[23] 4 August 1842. Letter to Eduard Krüger, *Briefe, NF*, 218; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Kennen Sie das fünfstimmige Magnificat von J. S. Bach (bei Simrock erschienen)? Ich sah es gestern zum erstenmal; es ist herrlich.... Wenn Sie Bach spielen, denken Sie manchmal an mich, und auch sonst [...] Finden Sie es nicht lächerlich, wenn J. S. Bach und sein Sohn Emanuel neben einander, wie es oft geschieht, als gleich wiegend genannt werden? Mendelssohn drückte ihr Verhältniß zu einander (von E. Zu Sebastian) einmal in einem hübschen Bild aus: 'Es wäre wenn ein Zwerg unter die Riesen käme.'"

[24] Jansen, *Die Davidsbündlier* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1883), 73; Translation from Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 89. "Schumann gab mir einst auf, ihm Choralvorspiele von Bach für Orgel (z.B. Wachet auf, ruft uns u.s.w.) 'das nächste Mal' vorzuspielen. Ich war anfänglich in Verlegenheit, wie ich es ausführen sollte, um die Töne des Orgelpedals und Alles so, wie geschrieben stand, auf dem Claviere wiederzugeben. Ich sprang so geschickt und schnell als möglich von den Pedaltönen, die ich wie kurze Vorschläge behandelte, auf die Noten für die linke Hand über, indem ich jene durch Niedertreten des Pedalzuges im Klange festzuhalten suchte. Nach hinlänglicher Übung brachte ich das Ganze zu einem ziemlich abgerundeten Vortrage, der allerdings bei dem vielen Springen von den tiefen Tönen in die Mittelstimme herein nicht sehr fliessend aus fallen konnte. Schumann war mit meiner Manipulation zufrieden. Ich gewahrte, dass Schumannn selbst auf diese Art die Orgelvorspiele auf dem Claviere auszuführen pflegte, und dass er in jenem Springen sehr geschickt was."

> From the first period: J.S. Bach, Scarlatti, Handel (Couperin, Em. Bach). From the second: Haydn, Mozart, Clementi, Cramer, Beethoven (Dusek), Prinz Louis, v. Weber. From the third: Hummel, Moscheles, L. Berger, Weyse, Franz Schubert. … From the new period: Mendelssohn, Chopin, Bennet, Henselt.[25]

The curriculum included various Bach pieces: Besides Preludes and Fugues in E flat and G major (probably, BWV 541 and 552); a Gigue in A minor (probably the gigue from English Suite, No.2 (BWV 807); the Sonata in G minor (BWV 1001); fugues, chorales, the *WTC*, sonatas for violin and clavier, and other ensemble pieces.[26] In addition, Schumann had his students transcribe Bach's organ chorales.[27]

Concurrent with his teaching activities, Schumann continued to approach Bach with intellectual curiosity. After he reread Forkel's Bach biography, Schumann noted in his diary what he found interesting in Forkel's book:

> Compositions still to be studied. J. S. Bach 6 Sonatas for solo violoncello (see Forkel, Bach's Life, p.61) + [=done], concerto for 4 claviers with quartet accompaniment (Forkel, p.58), Funeral cantata for ruler Leopold of Köthen (Forkel, p.26 [Forkel's confusion with funeral cantata by Joh. Ludw. Bach; the music of Bach's cantata BWV 244a is lost])[28]

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[25] *Notizen über die Musikschule*, Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, Arch. No. 4871-VII. C3. A3.: Reprinted in Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 463. "Zum Studium zu benutzen: Aus der ersten Period: J.S. Bach, Scarlatti, Händel (Couperin, Em. Bach) Aus der 2ten: Haydn, Mozart, Clementi, Cramer, Beethoven (Dusek), Prinz Louis, v. Weber Aus der 3ten: Hummel, Moscheles, L. Berger, Weyse, Franz Schubert Aus der neuesten: Mendelssohn, Chopin, Bennet, Henselt."

[26] Boetticher, *Einführung*, 227-28. "a-moll Gigue von Joh. Seb. Bach, ... verschiedene kleinere Stücke von Bach, ... Fuge und Präludium in Es von Bach, ... Sonate in d-moll von Bach, ...Fugen von Bach, ... kürzere Stücke von Bach, ... aus den Chöralen von Bach (Becker) die drei ersten, ... Wohltemperiertes Klavier von Bach, ... Sonaten für Pianoforte und Violine von Bach."

[27] Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 463.

[28] 9-11 July 1841. *Tb*, Bd.2, 177, n17; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Compositionen, die noch kennen zu lernen. J. S. Bach, 6 Sonaten f. Violoncell allein (s. Forkel, Bach's Leben, S.61) + [=erledigt] Concert f. 4 Claviere mit Begl. D. Quartetts (desgl. S. 58), Trauercantate für Fürst Leopold v. Köthen (doppelchörig) (desgl. Forkel S.36 [Verwechslung Forkels mit einer Trauermusik von Joh. Ludw. Bach; zu Bachs Kantate BWV 244a ist die Musik verloren])"

Among these works, the *Six Sonatas for Solo Violoncello* (BWV 1007-1012), which were not yet familiar to him, would be revisited as a project for arrangement almost a decade later.

In November 1841, Schumann published an important article, "On Certain Probably Corrupted Passages in the Works of Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven."[29] In addition to referring to problematic instances in Mozart's G-minor Symphony and Beethoven symphonies, Schumann pointed out some errors in Bach's *Toccata with Fugue for the Organ* (BWV 565) and the *Art of Fugue* (BWV 1080); he discovered these problems in several editions. In the *Toccata*, which is supposed to have strict canonical progression, some notes are incompatible with the canonic structure of the Peters Edition. In the Nägeli *Art of Fugue*, No.10 is duplicated as No.14; in addition, a note is missing between the third and fourth measures in the E-minor fugue.[30] Discovering and correcting such errors was for Schumann a gesture of respect to Bach: "how can we better expresses our admiration and reverence for our great masters than by endeavoring to remove from their works those injuries that may have accrued to them by accident or error."[31]

In March 1842, Schumann studied the *St. John Passion*.[32] His increasing attention to this work, as opposed to the *St. Matthew Passion*, was intermittent throughout the 1840s.[33] These assessments were continually made public by Schumann. Privately, at the end of 1842, Schumann expressed his opinion about Mendelssohn's composition, again in comparison with

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[29] Published on 9 November 1841. "Über einige muthmaßlich corrumpirte Stellen in Bach'schen, Mozart'schen und Beethoven'schen Werken [Liste angeblicher Fehler in den Partituren von Bachs Toccata und Fuge d-Moll, seiner 9. Fuge aus der "Kunst der Fuge," Mozarts Symphone g-Moll und Beethovens Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur]" in *NZfM*, Vol.15, No.38, 149-51: *GS* II, 33-35; Reprinted in Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 449; Translated in *On Music and Musicians*, 52-57 and *Music and Musicians, Essays and Criticisms*, 26-34 (The latter translation mistakenly dates this article 1837).

[30] Konrad Wolff, who edited *On Music and Musicians*, indicates this fugue is in Peters edition, Vol.2, No.9. *On Music and Musicians*, 54, note 1.

[31] Ibid., 57.

[32] 13 March 1842. *Tb*, Bd.3, 214. "Johannes Passion v. Bach."

[33] 6 May 1842. *Tb*, Bd.2, 211. "wir spielten aus der Passion v. Bach, sie schwärmt darin."

Bach and Beethoven, in a letter to Krüger. Although Schumann usually paid great respect to Mendelssohn and his music, he seems unsatisfied with Mendelssohn's new compositions, viewed from the high standard quality he saw in Bach and Beethoven.

> Mendelssohn's new works—if I may be so indiscreet with you, his friend!—have come across to me as dull and not going anywhere, as if he had come to having a fixed form, as one unfortunately finds with the later and weaker Händel works as well. Only S[ebastian] Bach and Beethoven are free of such pernicious stagnation—and I reckon it to your glory that you want it and insist on having it on the spot. How far, alas, are F.M.'s symphony-cantata—and the Psalm, *Wie der Hirsch schreit* etc.—from that youthful opus ad modum Sebastiani whose publication I would like once again to request urgently.[34]

An 1843 letter from the priest Carl August Wildenhahn, Schumann's old friend in Zwickau, reflects Schumann's activities spreading and advertising Bach:

> My love for music, born and bred in our beloved native city (which you memorialized so worthily in your magazine, in the notice on Carus's death), has made me think for a long time already of the glorious master Sebastian Bach as the image of someone who brings together everything that holy music has done and is capable of doing to cultivate and maintain a Christian purpose in the community. […] But I don't have the necessary information on Bach's life at present, and I can't get hold of any of it around here. Since you, now, revere the great Bach so warmly, I thought you would be the best person to help me out with my problem. I know nothing but Forkel's book, *Ueber Bach's Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, Leipzig 1802. But even this book is nowhere to be found here. […] Should you be in possession of it or indeed of any other that offers more particular information on Bach's external life, I send you my hopeful plea to send it to me as soon as you possibly can. Through another admirer of the sacred art I am in temporary possession of a copperplate on which

[34] 9 December 1842. Letter to Eduard Krüger, *Briefe und Gedichte*, 100; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Nova—darf ich gegen Sie, seinen Freund, so indiscret sein!—sind mir lahm und festgeronnen vorgekommen, —als wenn er einmal seine feste Form hätte, wie man das leider bei den späteren und schwächeren Händelianis auch sagen kann. Von solchem verderblichen Ausruhen ist nur S. Bach u. Beethoven frei—und das rechne ich Ihnen zum Ruhme, daß Sie immer aus der Stelle wollen und müssen. Wie weit steht (leider) F. M: Sinfon-Cantate—u. der Psalm: wie der Hirsh schreit pp—von jenem kindlichen opus ad modum. Sebastiani entfernt, um dessen Herausgabe ich noch einmal dringend ersuchen möchte."

> Bach's portrait has been splendidly etched; the plate has not yet been used, and I am planning to have the needed number of copies made for my magazine.[35]

Schumann continued to listen frequently to Bach's works as performed at friends' recitals. He heard C. F. Becker perform Bach's chorale, "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," in his second annual summer organ recital in Leipzig;[36] when Krüger performed Bach's works, a review appeared in the 18 October 1842 issue of *NZfM*.[37]

When he began teaching at the Leipzig Conservatory, Schumann personally purchased busts of Bach and Handel crafted by a Mr. Knauer.[38] At the same time, the inauguration of the Bach memorial statue, which Schumann had worked so hard to establish, was held at St. Thomas's Church in Leipzig on 23 April 1843. Mendelssohn held a celebratory concert in the Gewandhaus, performing Bach's *Orchestral Suite* No.3, D major; the Motet "Ich lass dich nicht"; the *Clavier Concerto in D minor* (with the solo part performed by Mendelssohn; BWV 1052); Arias from *St. Matthew Passion* (sung by Maria Heinrich Schmidt; BWV 244); the cantata "Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn" (BWV 119); the *Prelude for Violin* (played by Ferdinand David;

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[35] 22 February 1843. Letter from Carl August Wildenhahn, from Bautzen, *Briefe und Gedichte*, 204; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Meine in unserer lieben Vaterstadt (welcher Du in Deiner Zeitschrift bei Anzeige des Todes von Carus so ehrenwerth gedachtest) geborene und gepflegte Liebe zur Musik hat mir seit langer Zeit schon das Bild des herrlichen Meisters Sebastian Bach als ein solches vorgeführt, an welches sich am Besten und am Wahrsten alles das knüpfen läßt, was die heilge Musik zur Förderung und Erhaltung des christlichen Sinnes in der Gemeinde gethan und zu thun im Stande ist. [...] Nun fehlen mir aber die nöthigen Notizen über Bach's Leben, und hierorts ist davon gar nichts aufzutreiben. Da Du nun ein so warmer Verehrer des großen Bach bist, so glaubte ich, Du würdest mir am Besten aus der Noth helfen können. Bekannt ist mir nichts als Forkels Buch: Ueber Bach's Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke, Leipzig 1802. Aber auch dies Buch ist hier nirgends aufzufinden. [...] Solltest Du im Besitze desselben sein oder überhaupt noch einiges andere haben, was speciellere Notizen aus Bach's äußeres Leben giebt, so ergeht an Dich die vertrauensvolle Bitte, mir dies sobald als Dir's möglich, zuzuschicken. Durch einen anderen Verehrer der heiligen Kunst bin ich in den temporären Besitz einer Kupferplatte gekommen, auf welcher Bach's Porträt ganz trefflich gestochen ist; die Platte ist noch unbenutzt geblieben, und ich gedenke, für meine Zeitschrift die nöthige Zahl Exemplare abziehen zu lassen."

[36] Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 87, n51.

[37] Ibid.

[38] 31 March 1843. *Tb*, Bd.3, 241, n361. "Büsten von Bach u. Händel."

probably the one in Violin Partita No.3 in E major, BWV 1006); and the *Sanctus* from the *B minor Mass*.[39] Clara describes the ceremony as follows:

> …So much more but it was a concert for Bach monument, which Mendelssohn gave in the 23rd morning in Gewandhaus. He even played the *Clavier Concerto in D minor* with familiar yet again surprising mastership. We also heard many beautiful works by Bach, which constituted the entire program. After the concert, the monument in front of the Thomas school was unveiled, and surprised due to its good taste—simple and yet worthy of old Bach; his head in a niche looks very friendly, except sensitive bass-reliefs are applied on three sides, which Bendemann (who himself came from Dresden for this ceremony) specified and the sculptor [Knaur] developed. … After this ceremony, Mendelssohn spoke in honor of the only surviving grandson of Bach (a very old man who had come with his family from Berlin).[40]

The unveiling of the Bach monument in Leipzig was a symbolic event, making manifest the ardent effort of the Mendelssohn-Schumann circle to revive Bach in the nineteenth century. Schumanns' private and public activities in Leipzig, centered around his admiration for and use of Bach as a critic, teacher, and public figure, were the major forces that made this revival movement possible in this period.

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[39] 23 April 1843. *Tb*, Bd.3, 249 (Also refer to n369 on page 727).

[40] 23 April 1843. *Tb*, Bd.3, 262; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Um so mehr aber war es ein Concert für *Bach's* Denkmal, das *Mendelssohn* d. 23 Morgens im Gewandhause gab. Er selbst spielte das D Moll Concert von *Bach* mit gewohnter und doch immer wieder überraschender Meisterschaft. Außerdem hörten wir noch viele schöne Werke *Bachs*, aus denen das ganze *Programm* bestand. Nach dem Concert wurde das Denkmal vor der Thomasschule enthüllt, und überraschte durch seinen guten Geschmack—einfach und doch würdig des alten *Bachs*; sein Kopf in einer Nische nimmt sich gar freundlich aus, außerdem sind noch an drei Seiten sinnige *Bas Reliefs* angebracht, die *Bendemann* (der selbst von Dresden zu dieser Feyer gekommen) angegeben und der Bildhauer [Knaur] ausgearbeitet. [...] Nach dieser Feyerlichkeit hatte *Mendelssohn* zu Ehren des einzigen noch lebenden Enkels *Bachs* (Derselbe, ein ganz alter Mann, war mit seiner Familie von Berlin gekommen)"

2. The *Well-Tempered* Clavier as Pedagogical Tool and Analytic Source

As noted in the previous chapter, Schumann frequently mentions studying Bach's works in 1837 and 1838, most notably the *Art of Fugue*, the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, and numerous chorales; he continued to emphasize the pedagogical importance of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* during the1840s. After the Schumanns married, the *Well-Tempered Clavier* became a source of mutual study at home, distinctly affecting Clara's performance and Schumann's compositional, critical, and teaching activities. The couple's analytical approach to and thorough study of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* in this period is evidenced by the marginalia and markings on their copy of the Czerny Edition of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* preserved in Robert Schumann-Haus, Zwickau.[41]

The publisher C. F. Peters and Czerny conceived of the project to publish Bach's complete piano works in 1836; the *Well-Tempered Clavier* was the first product of this undertaking and appeared on the market in 1837. Certainly the Czerny Edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* was not the first edition of *Well-Tempered Clavier* that Schumann was exposed to:[42] he transcribed three fugues (C major, C minor, and C sharp major) from Book 1 when he studied with Heinrich Dorn.[43] However, the Czerny volumes are of particular

[41] Arch. No. 10552, 1 D1/A4 at the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau. Schumann's own catalogue of Bach works, reprinted in Bodo Bischoff's "Das Bach-Bild Robert Schumanns" (Tabelle 9: pp. 484-485), strikingly omits these volumes of the Czerny Edition. A collection of the Czerny Edition, called "*Oeuvre Complets*" (for piano music), preserved in the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, consists of eight volumes (missing Band 5 and Band 8, among 10 volumes), which were published during the period from 1837 to 1865.

[42] Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, holds another edition of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*: *Bach Gesellschaft Ausgabe*, Band 14, published in 1866. In the later copy, Clara left markings on the subject and answer of each fugue, as Schumann did on his Czerny edition, and included fingerings and dynamic markings. (Arch. No. 6003-D1/A4.)

[43] Riemenschneider clarifies that the first three editions were published almost simultaneously in the spring of 1801 by Hoffmeister, Simrock, and Nägeli. Regarding the various editions of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, refer to Albert Riemenschneider, "A List of the Editions of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier," *Notes*, Vol.14 (Aug., 1942), 38-45.

significance because they contain Schumann's handwritten markings and marginal notes.[44] Schumann might have used this edition for his analyses soon after its publication—he recorded that he studied the *Well-Tempered Clavier* at the end of 1837 (perhaps in preparation for a review of the edition in January 1838); however, the Czerny edition seems more closely related to his Bach study in the 1840s. This copy contains traces of the Schumanns' studies and reveals points relevant to Robert's analysis in his 1841 article "On Certain Probably Corrupted Passages in the Works of Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven."[45]

Although Schumann does not address any examples from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* in that article, he succinctly describes the errors in various editions of other Bach works, demanding closer examinations of the original manuscripts. Contrary to Schumann's overall agreement with the Czerny edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, as stated in his 1838 review,[46] the 1841 essay expresses his discontent with Czerny: "A criticism of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, with an addition of the different readings (Bach himself made many alterations), would alone demand a volume to itself." The errors Schumann found in Czerny's edition eventually led Schumann to suggest, in a letter of 1845, that his publisher Hermann Härtel produce a new edition.[47] The grounds for his suggestion are apparent in Schumann's personal copy of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*; his analysis of the *WTC* volumes of Czerny's Bach Edition reveals the rigor and specificity with which he approached the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.

Schumann's analysis of the *WTC* fugues falls into two basic categories: the pedagogical and the corrective. Fundamental issues of fugue and counterpoint—subject entry, part-writing—

[44] Robert and Clara shared these scores; thus the analytical markings mixed, but each's handwriting is easily distinguishable from one another.

[45] Refer to footnote 29 of this chapter.

[46] Refer to footnote 29 in Chapter 2.

[47] 31 January 1845. Letter to Hermann Härtel, *Briefe, NF*, 440-41. This suggestion was not acted upon.

were notated for the benefit of other students of the fugue. Editorial concerns—primarily accidentals and also some performance details—were noted and addressed in terms of Schumann's critique of what he saw as Czerny's misunderstanding of Bach's compositional intentions.

Schumann's primary focus was on the fugues; most preludes were left unmarked and unanalyzed.[48] He drew brackets or marked an "x" over every entry of a fugal subject and answer. As Clara noted in their shared diary, "Robert marks those places where the theme always returns."[49] These markings were not labeled with analytical terms and did not distinguish between statements of fugal forms such as subject, answer, or episode; these markings suggest that Schumann did not specifically distinguish between the role of subject or answer, but considered all of them equally as theme or motive. In the 1838 review of the Czerny edition, Schumann noted that: "nothing can be more tiresome or contrary to the meaning of Bach than to drone out his fugues or to restrict one's representation of his creations to a mere emphasis on the successive entries of the principal theme. Such rules are suited to students."[50] But in his own close analysis, Schumann used the same basic approach to the fugues that he had previously derided. Here, again, as he showed in his *Fugengeschichte,* Schumann focuses more on identifying thematic entries of the subject and answer rather than other elements of fugue construction.

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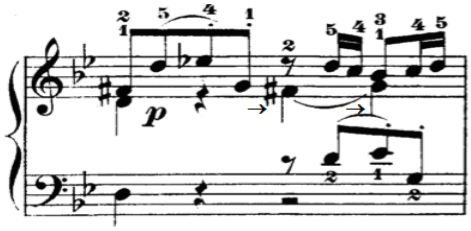
[48] The exceptional cases are the Prelude in C-sharp minor (Book 2) and Prelude in D major (Book 2), both of which have recurrent entries of a subject-like melody. Schumann seems to search for a subject in these preludes, as he usually did in fugue, marking x over the thematic melody. In addition, Schumann added a tie over the successive whole notes in the bass (mm.28-29) in the Prelude in D major (Book 1)

[49] 26 September 1840. Refer to footnote 1 of this chapter. Some entries that were not noticed by Schumann were marked by Clara.

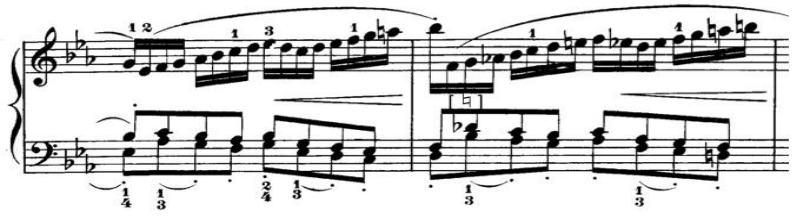
[50] *On Music and Musicians,* 89.

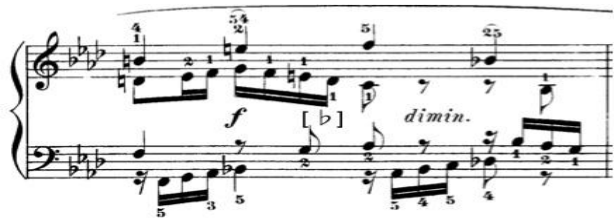
The "x" or brackets with which Schumann marked subject entries were not used for extraordinary fugues. In cases such as the C-sharp minor fugue (Book 1), which consists of five voices and has multiple subject materials, he used numbers to denote the various subjects (i.e. "2" and "3," to indicate 2nd and 3rd subjects). In the E minor and B-flat minor fugues (both Book 2), which have secondary subject, he uses "ϕ" to distinguish it from the primary one. However, for some fugues in Book 2 (F-sharp minor and G-sharp minor (m.66)), he marked multiple subjects with an x without distinguishing between them. Retrograded (and augmented) subjects are invariably labeled "x Retrogr."

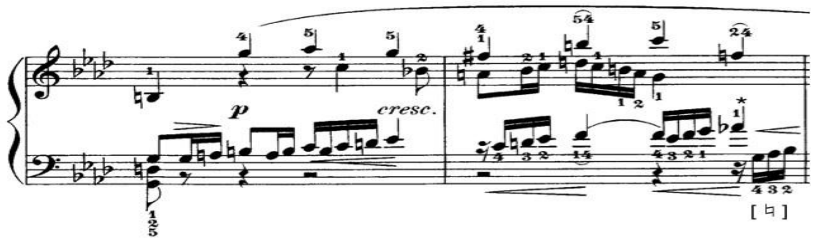
Errors in part notation were also marked by Schumann: he changed the direction of the beams of the notes in upper parts to avoid confusion in part recognition.

Example 1. Bach, G minor Fugue, *WTC*, Book 1, m.28 (Czerny Edition); the arrows indicate the notes whose beams Schumann changed the direction of.

In addition, whole rests are added in dormant parts while the subject is introduced, to indicate the presence of parts have not yet entered (E-flat major and G minor Fugues (both Book 2)). Schumann's clear recognition of multiple parts, and his understanding that their visual rendering was crucial to the proper execution of the fugue, shows his fundamental grasp of the polyphonic nature of Bachian composition.

While the notations of parts and entries were largely for the benefit of others, Schumann's extensive correction of accidentals was the primary motivator for his 1841 article.

His own preference, as well as his understanding of Bach's conceptualization of the fugue, is reflected in his efforts to balance harmonic and melodic concerns. A tendency to avoid harmonic conflict within a measure is often observable; in measure 14 of the C minor fugue in Book 1 (Example 2), Schumann adds a natural sign in brackets above D-flat in the inner part of the left hand, as D-flat clashes with D in the bass immediately preceding it. This correction reveals Schumann's reading of a passage as a harmonic entity. While this type of dissonance occurs frequently in Bach's works—it is allowable if the melodic lines do not conflict with the basic harmony—Schumann must have considered this either a mistake or a transcription error.

Example 2. Bach, C minor Fugue, *WTC*, Book 1, mm.13-14 (Czerny Edition); Schumann's additions and revisions of accidentals are indicated by brackets.

The F minor Fugue in Book 1 (Example 3) offers another interesting example of Schumann's reading of the fugue in terms of harmony. On the second beat of measure 14, he alters D to D flat in the alto line, indicating that he prioritizes the F-minor harmonic scale in this passage.

Example 3. Bach, F minor Fugue, *WTC*, Book 1, m.14 (Czerny Edition)

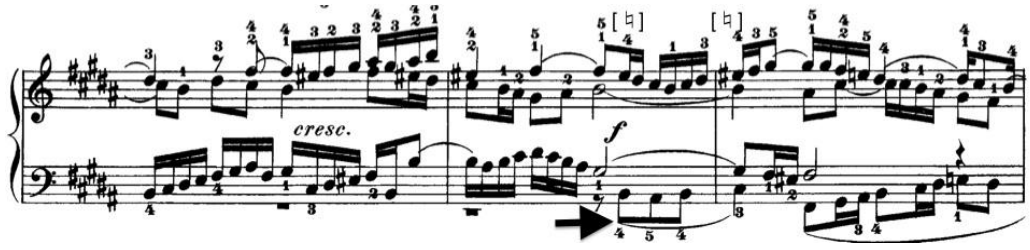
However, much more frequently, Schumann chooses to sacrifice harmonic inflection to preserve the melodic line, as seen in m.48 of the same piece (Example 4). In this case, by adding a natural sign to A in the bass, he accepts a conflict between the tenor and bass for the sake of the melodic motion (the stepwise fourth, which was used as a counter-subject in this piece). The A-natural creates a harsh dissonance with A-flat in other parts (together with the adjacent notes, G and B-flat), but Schumann allows this.[51] In these instances, melodic line—theme, subject, motive—evidently carries more weight than harmonic consonance for Schumann.[52]

Example 4. Bach, F minor Fugue, *WTC*, Book 1, mm.47-48 (Czerny Edition)

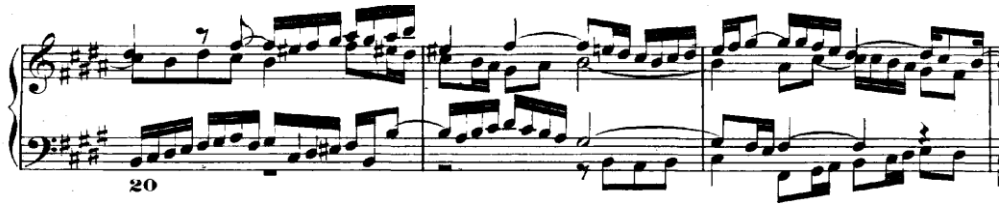
In the B major fugue in Book 1 (Example 5.1), Schumann pointedly adds a natural to E, just as the subject enters in the bass; as a result, this sounds like the beginning of a new phrase. While Czerny maintains melodic consistency, retaining E-sharp until the first beat of m.23, Schumann correctly reads that the change must occur with the entrance of the subject in the tonic; Schumann realizes that any tonic statement of the subject must be prioritized over consistency in accidentals.[53]

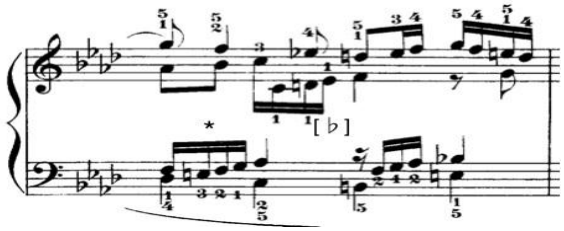
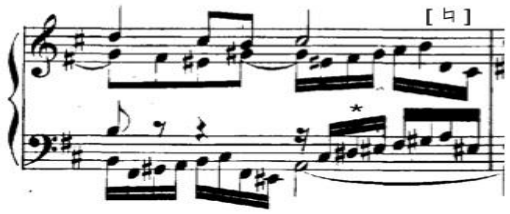
[51] This natural sign on A is deeply puzzling, because it is followed b a B-flat. Schumann would have added an additional natural sign on B, if he wanted to maintain motivic consistency.

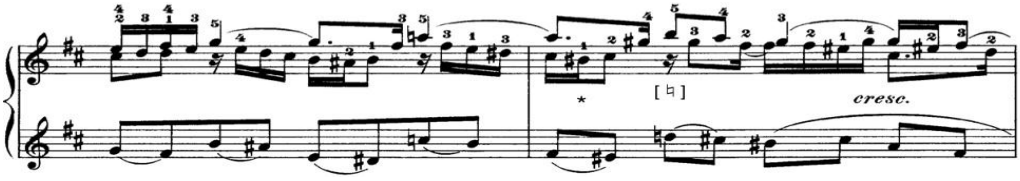
[52] This clash of three adjacent notes is reminiscent of a similar occurrence in *Scherzo* of the *Scherzo, Gigue, Romaze and Fughette*, Op. 32. Bach took harmonic license to achieve motivic consistency; Schumann, in a similar situation, allowed himself a terrible dissonance in pursuit of a thematic goal. See Example 15.1 in Part 3 of Chapter 2.

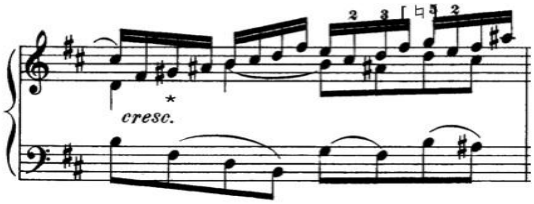
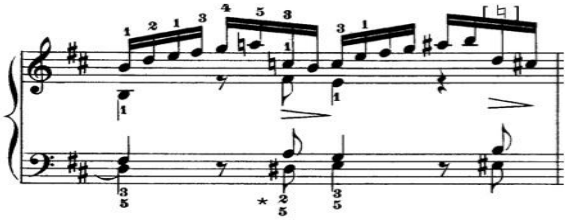
[53] The *Bach Gesellschaft Ausgabe*, published in 1866, has this reading. Schumann was involved in the project, but there is no evidence as to whether the correspondence is intentional or not (Example 5.2).



Example 5.1. Bach, B major Fugue, *WTC*, Book 1, mm.21-23 (Czerny Edition); the arrow indicates the entrance of the subject in the tonic.

Example 5.2. Bach, B major Fugue, *WTC*, Book 1, mm.21-23 (Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe)

In addition to the alteration of accidentals, reflecting an editorial reading of Bach's intent, Schumann frequently adds cautionary accidentals as an aid to the performer. On the second beat of m.28 in the F-minor Fugue in Book 1 (Example 6.1), Schumann flattens the E in the alto line; this change seems unnecessary—the key signature already assigns E flat; however, because the tenor has an E flat a beat earlier, adding flat in the alto allows clarity for the performer. This type of modification is frequently observed in the B minor Fugue (Book 1) (See Examples 6.2, 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5)

Example 6.1. Bach, F minor Fugue, *WTC*, Book 1, m.28 (Czerny Edition); the asterisks in these examples indicate the precedent note that prompted Schumann's revisions.

Example 6.2. Bach, B minor Fugue, *WTC*, Book 1, m. 52 (Czerny Edition)



Example 6.3. Bach, B minor Fugue, *WTC*, Book 1, mm. 61-62 (Czerny Edition)

Example 6.4. Bach, B minor Fugue, *WTC*, Book 1, m. 69

Example 6.5. Bach, B minor Fugue, *WTC*, Book 1, m. 73

In addition to aiding the performer, such clarification underscores Schumann's desire to show the harmonic license Bach took in creating his fugal structures. If Schumann prioritizes linear motion over harmony, he does so in the service of an understanding of Bach's style. Each harmonic conflict within a short span of time—a beat or measure—is approached as a potential contest between the linear and vertical. Schumann weighs maintaining the line against fixing dissonances, clarifying Bach's intentions through meticulous application of accidentals.

Performance-oriented corrections also appear for fingerings, dynamic markings, and tempo indications. Judging from the handwriting, these markings were probably made by

Clara.[54] On many occasions, fingerings are revised. As for the tempo markings, the "rallent." sign (m.83) was crossed out in G major Fugue (Book 1), and in the F sharp major Fugue (Book 2) dynamic markings such as *ff* are replaced with *p* (m.32) and *sf* was removed. Clara analyzed the preludes as well as the fugues; in the F minor Prelude (Book 2), she adds slurs over two consecutive staccato notes (mm.41, 43, 44, and 45). At one point, a trill is added (F-sharp minor Fugue, Book 1, m.17, over the half-note G in the upper voice); at others, a mordent is removed (C minor Fugue, Book 1, m.22, on the E in the bass; F-sharp major Fugue, Book 2, m.44, on G in the upper voice). All these corrections are the result of intense, detail-oriented analysis by the couple.

Although Schumann expressed his basic approval of the Czerny edition in his 1838 *NZfM* review, by 1845 he had reconsidered. Again, he brought up the need for a new edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* to his publisher Härtel in 1845. This request pointed to the shortcomings of the Czerny edition:

> For a long time I have been preoccupied with an idea on which I would very much like to have your view. Namely, in my opinion we are still lacking a really nice edition of J.S. Bach's Well-tempered Clavier. Czerny's, with its unnecessary fingerings and genuinely stupid performance indications etc. seems to me like a caricature; the older ones are for the most part incorrect. Then there are the divergent readings that confuse the matter still further, so that no one knows which edition to trust. Now, since most of the variant readings stem from Bach himself, it would seem that putting them all one beneath the other in the print would be of great interest. Above all I would call in Mendelssohn, and Hauser in Vienna, for consultation, both of them owning a number of pieces from the Well-tempered Clavier in original manuscripts; I know this for certain of Hauser, and Mendelssohn owns at the least the oldest editions of the work. Thus I would aim at *an edition as correct as possible, based on the*

[54] Clara's handwriting can be recognized through the comparison with her handwriting made in the other *WTC* volumes, Bach-Gesellschaft edition, which was published in 1866 after Schumann's death, preserved at the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau.

> *original manuscript and the oldest prints, provided with details on the different readings* [emphasis mine] and carrying out the idea would be a true matter of conscience for me. I am almost completely convinced that the publisher would profit from the enterprise as well.[55]

Schumann's written analysis on his personal copy of the *WTC* gives evidence of these concerns. Though sometimes confined by the harmonic conceptions of his period, Schumann very accurately assessed the errors in accordance with Bach's musical arguments. This is only possible because he had approached his study of Bach as a composer trying to understand another composer, and hoping to gain tools with which to further nurture his own creative abilities. To be Bach's heir, Schumann had to understand the basis of Bach's compositional praxis; as his reading of the *WTC* indicates, Schumann approached the fugue both as the most significant manifestation of Bach's achievement and as a potential source for his own technique. What Schumann saw in the *WTC* fugues—an insistence on line, theme, and motive—is a persistent characteristic of his own compositional method. The *WTC* analysis taught him both about Bachian structure, counterpoint and polyphony, and how he could use those in his own works.

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[55] 31 January 1845. Letter to the publisher Härtel, *Briefe*, *NF*, 440-41; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Seit lange beschäftigt mich eine Idee, über die ich wohl Ihre Ansicht zu wissen wünschte. Es fehlt nämlich nach meiner Meinung noch an einer recht schönen Ausgabe des wohltemperirten Claviers von J. S. Bach. Die Czernysche mit ihrem unnöthigen Fingersatze und den wirklich albernen Vortragsbezeichnungen u. Scheint mir wie eine Caricatur; die älteren sind zum größten Theil incorrect. Dazu kommen die abweichenden Lesarten, die die Sache noch mehr verwirren, so daß Niemand weiß, an welch Ausgabe sich zu halten. Da nun aber viele der variirenden Lesarten von Bach selbst herrühren, so schiene eine Untereinanderstellung dieser im Druck von großem Interesse. Vor Allem würde ich auch Mendelssohn und Hauser in Wien zu Rathe ziehen, die viele Nummern des wohltemperirten Claviers in der Originalhandschrift besitzen; von Hauser weiß ich es gewiß, und Mendelssohn besitzt wenigstens die ältesten Ausgaben des Werkes. Also eine möglichst correcte, auf die Originalhandschrift und die ältesten Drucke gestützte, mit Angabe der verschidenen Lesarten versehene Ausgabe bezweckte ich und es würde mir de Ausführung der Idee eine wahre Gewissenssache sein. Daß sich das Unternehmen auch für den Verleger rentiren würde, bin ich ganz fest überzeugt." Contrary to Schumann's assumption that Mendelssohn owns the original manuscript of the *WTC*, it is known that the manuscript of the second book of *WTC* was in the possession of John George Emett (1787-1847) in England. For further information, refer to *Schumann-Briefedition*, Ser. II, Bd.1, 221, n3.

3. Manifestations of Bachian Influence in Two Genres

Schumann's output from 1840 to 1843 is remarkable for his concentration on certain genres in each given year: Schumann scholars frequently denote 1840 the "Song Year;" 1841 the "Symphonic Year;" 1842 the "Chamber Music Year;" and 1843 the "Oratorio Year." As Daverio points out, this "system" answered both artistic and psychological imperatives: Psychologically, the intense focus on a specific genre was a direct manifestation of Schumann's obsessive compulsions. On an artistic level, Schumann felt compelled to establish his credentials across the whole spectrum of musical forms of expression to ensure parity with his esteemed predecessors—Bach and Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert.[56]

This focused effort to tackle each genre produced significant output in these years. As a critic, Schumann had been an acute reviewer of other composers' genre compositions, and through the study of the works of old masters, he was aware of the contemporaneous developmental status of each genre. On the ground of these experiences, he approached each genre with different artistic goals; his compositions from these years can be considered the result of the distinct demands each genre placed on him in reference to practical compositional method and historical imperatives.

By this point in Schumann's development as a composer, Bach's influence is broadly evident even if it cannot be attached to some specific Bach-related activity. In 1840-43, Bach was a latent force in Schumann's tasking of various genres, and this influence manifested itself in different ways according to the genres approached. For 'private' works—genres associated with private, or at least small-scale performance—the legacy of Schumann's association with Bach is in the musical treatment; this is seen in the 1840 songs and 1842 chamber works. In 1841

[56] Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, 219.

and 1843, Schumann focused on 'public' genres—large-scale works performed for the wider public audience. The genres he chose—concerto and oratorio—were themselves associated with Bach by contemporary audiences (the symphony, of course, was absent from Bach's profile). Thus, the manifestation of Bach's influence on Schumann during the genre years corresponded to the nature of each genre used; the contrast between the compositions of 'private' versus 'public' music consequently displays the breadth and depth of Schumann's internalization of Bach.

3.1. Songs

Schumann's internalization of his Bach studies comes to the fore in his works from the 'Song Year' (1840) and 'Chamber Year' (1842), in which he engaged with 'private' genres. Bach did not offer a distinct model for any pieces Schumann wrote in these genres. Rather, the conceptions of melody/theme and counterpoint/harmony that pervade his song and chamber compositional process are in some measure derived from his intensive study of the *WTC* and the chorales.

Although Bach did not set an example for Schumann's song writing, his Bach studies provided useful methods for Schumann to adapt, alter, and advance the model of Schubert. The reasons for Schumann's embrace of vocal music in 1840, as discussed by many scholars, include artistic interest in the genre; awareness of the genre's significance in the Romantic movement, and potential for the future of German musical traditions; new financial necessities as a family man; and inspiration due to settling down with Clara. Schumann's immersion in this genre was paired with clear image of the history of lied. The lieder of Schubert and Beethoven were his major models; Schubert was the most direct and influential figure. Schumann the critic assessed

many contemporary young composers' songs in comparison with Schubert's achievement, and as a composer attempted to advance the genre. In this attempt, Bach was not a direct model, but certainly played a significant role in developing Schumann's distinct song style.

The most fundamental Bachian legacy reflected in his song composition is Schumann's concept of 'melody.' In his letter to Clara, Schumann wrote:

> I'm paying great attention to melody now, as you have probably noticed; here, too, one can profit a great deal from diligence and observation. But, of course, when I speak of melody I mean something different from the Italian melodies; they seem like birds singing, i.e., pleasant to hear, but without substance or meaning.[57]

This point was further elaborated in "House-rules and Maxims for Young Musicians" published in 1847:

> 'Melody' is the amateur's war cry, and certainly music without melody is not music. Therefore you must understand what amateurs mean by this word: anything easily, rhythmically pleasing. But there are melodies of a very different type; at whatever page you open Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, etc., they will appear to you in a thousand different guises. If you study these, you will soon tire of the monotony of modern Italian opera melodies."[58]

Distinguishing melody from song tunes, Schumann sought for emotional and intellectual heft in melody. In Bach (and Mozart and Beethoven as well), he saw "a thousand different guises" of melody, contrary to the monotony of contemporary Italian opera melodies. As shown in earlier chapters, Schumann conceived of fugal subjects as melody, having witnessed the endless variation of subjects in Bach fugues. The pursuit of melody with 'substance and meaning' was one of Schumann's main musical tasks in life, and Bach's treatment of melody provided a

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[57] Quoted earlier in Chapter 2 (footnote 37). 18 March 1838. Letter to Clara, *Jugendbriefe*, 280; Translation from *The Complete Correspondence*, I, 130.

[58] *On Music and Musicians*, 369: Original text from *GS*, II, 169. Quoted earlier in Chapter 2 (footnote 39).

reliable background for Schumann's explorations. His intense dedication to song composition in 1840 brought this issue to the surface, despite the superficial differences between instrumental and vocal music.

This pursuit of 'meaningful' melody relates to Schumann's emphasis on structure. In his 1843 review of Robert Franz's lieder, Op. 1, Schumann mentions Bach and Beethoven's "thoughtful structure":

> It is known that in the years 1830-34 there arose a reaction against the prevailing taste. The battle was really not a difficult one; it was mounted against that flowery banality which, except in the works of Weber, Loewe, and a few others, could be seen in all music for piano. The first attack, too, was in the field of piano music; passage-work pieces gave way to more thoughtful structures in which one could detect the influence of two masters in particular: Beethoven and Bach. The younger composers increased in number, and the new life penetrated into other categories. Franz Schubert had laid the groundwork for the lied, but principally after the manner of Beethoven; the work of the north Germans, on the other hand, showed more of the effect of Bach's spirit.[59]

Similar to his distinction between Italian opera melodies and those of Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven, Schumann set up a contrast between piano works that were "passage-work pieces" and those with "more thoughtful structure." Piano pieces that move beyond 'passage-work' are superior in Schumann's opinion; this aesthetic preference then penetrated his views of similar traits in other genres. In vocal music, Schumann implies that substance, thought, and meaning should be associated with the structural conception of the melody. The distinction drawn

[59] Published on31 July 1843, "Ueber die Lieder von R. Franz," *NZfM*, Vol.19, No.9, 34-35. Translation from Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic*, 176. "Man weiss, dass in den Jahren 1830-34 sich eine Reaction gegen den herrschenden Geschmack erhob. Der Kampf war im Grunde nicht schwer; er war einer gegen das Floskelwesen, das sich, Ausnahmen wie Weber, Löwe u. A. Zugegeben, fast in allen Gattungen, am moisten in der Claviermusik zeigte. Von der Claviermusik ging auch der erste Angriff aus; an die Stelle der Passagenstücke traten gedankenvollere Gebilde, und namentlich zweier Meister Einfluss machte sich in ihnen bemerklich, der Beethoven's und Bach's. Die Anzahl der Jünger wuchs; das neue Leben vorgearbeitet, aber mehr in Beethoven'scher Weise, dagegen in den Leistungen der Norddeutschen die Wirkung Bach'schen Geistes sich kund gab."

between the Austrian masters and those he defined as of the northern German heritage is telling; despite his admiration for Schubert, he missed the deliberate structural conception of melody that he associated with Bach.

This becomes more apparent when comparing the song melodies of Schubert and Schumann. Contrary to "Schubert's use of a single continuous figure from the beginning to the end,"[60] which tends to condense a piece around a single idea, Schumann sought flexibility of melodic (and accompanimental) structure to fully capture the meaning of the text. This was necessary in part because of the texts Schumann chose to set: the work of Heine in particular is fraught with irony and hidden meanings that require considerable aesthetic plasticity for musical evocation. Working with such texts pushed Schumann to create a melodic model that went beyond the 'single image' trope dominant in Schubert (especially with his pre-1827 vocal works). The aesthetic he developed was heavily indebted to Bachian modes of melodic variation diverging widely from the relatively new lied style.

Counterpoint, in its complication of texture, is another significant aspect of Schumann's lied style that can be related to Bach. While contrapuntal techniques such as imitative motions in the accompaniment are somewhat reminiscent of Bachian counterpoint, the interrelations between the vocal and accompaniment lines reflect a more fundamental repercussion of Bach's influence. Schubert used a very specific vocal/accompaniment aesthetic; Schumann challenged it and promoted accompaniment styles that moved past the partner image governing Schubert's piano accompaniments. This is underscored in his review of Theodor Kirchner's *Zehn Lieder*, Op. 1; Schumann claimed, "the epoch of Franz Schubert has been followed by a new one," and,

[60] Published on 16 July 1839, "Norbert Burgmüller," *NZfM*, Vol.11, No.18, 71; Translation from Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic*, 173. "Bei Franz Schubert erschien dies Festhalten einer Figur das ganze Lied hindurch als etwas neues; junge Liedercomponisten sind vor der Manier sehr zu warnen."

as noted by Plantinga, "the real distinction between the old and new styles of lieder lay in the type of accompaniment."[61]

In the same review, Schumann divided the roles assigned to voice and accompaniment. As Plantinga summarizes, "the broad outlines of the text's *Stimmung* are reflected in the voice part, while the accompaniment, making use of recent advances in expressive piano style, suggests the finer nuances."[62] Counterpoint in Schumann's vocal music therefore pervades the structural relationship between voice and accompaniment. Each is integral, yet independent. This is a profound shift from the Schubertian model, a rewriting of how the lied works that is indebted to the complexity of Bachian counterpoint. The distinctive roles of each component are mirrored by the distinct musical style of each; the combination of these divergent stylistic aspects—and the musical relationships caused by his assimilation of the Schubertian model into his own more structurally complex system—creates the unique aesthetic of Schumann's song style.

These aspects are underlying Bachian vestiges in Schumann's song composition, tangible examples revealing his absorption of Bach in various guises. In terms of accompaniment style, there are many examples of Bachian chorale texture. Compared to accompaniments reflecting "recent advances in expressive piano style," the chorale-type accompaniment—static, harmonic, chordal—may appear overly simple or outmoded. However, Schumann's adoption of the chorale texture in his accompaniment goes beyond a mere harmonic background for the melody.

For example, "Anfangs wollt' ich," No.8 in *Liederkreis*, Op. 24, shows a very clear association with the Bach chorale in the quarter-note chordal progression (Example 7.1). The association is even clearer due to a quotation of Bach's chorale setting of *Wer nur den lieben*

[61] Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic*, 172.

[62] Ibid., 173.

Gott lässt walten in the opening phrase (Example 7.2). This melody was frequently used by Bach, appearing in six of his cantatas; Schumann's exposure to this melody must be addressed in terms of his chorale studies. The melody was used in two choral preludes in *J.S. Bachs Choral-Vorspiele für die Orgel*, published by Breitkopf & Härtel (1802?-1806?), which Schumann owned; and was harmonized five times by Bach.[63]

"Anfangs wollt' ich" is the penultimate poem in the cycle used for Op. 24, describing the ironic process of overcoming the pain of love. This is an unlikely topic for invoking a Bach chorale; therefore, despite the superficial musical resemblance, Schumann must have intended a more convoluted poetic meaning. By imposing a stern Lutheran sermon from another time and rhetorical world on this fragile, simpering, self-pitying lover, Schumann adds a further layer of irony. In Bach's time, the pain would be overcome, or at least borne, through belief in God's ultimate plan and purpose; in comparison, the weeping of the Romantic feels self-indulgent. The religious evocation recalled through the adaptation of the Bach chorale in the piano prelude thus settles an ironic tone on the travails of the rejected lover.

Even more suggestive than the direct quotation is Schumann's harmonization of the close of the first phrase (mm. 5-6)—a highly dissonant chromatic progression. Under a simple melody—four Ds and descending F-E-D—tension builds up and resolution is elided due to chromatic linear lines in the outer voices of the piano (Example 7.1). The similarity of this motion with that of Chopin's Prelude, No. 20, Op. 28, which was published in Leipzig, 1840, has been observed by several scholars;[64] yet the technique of building up harmonic tension over a

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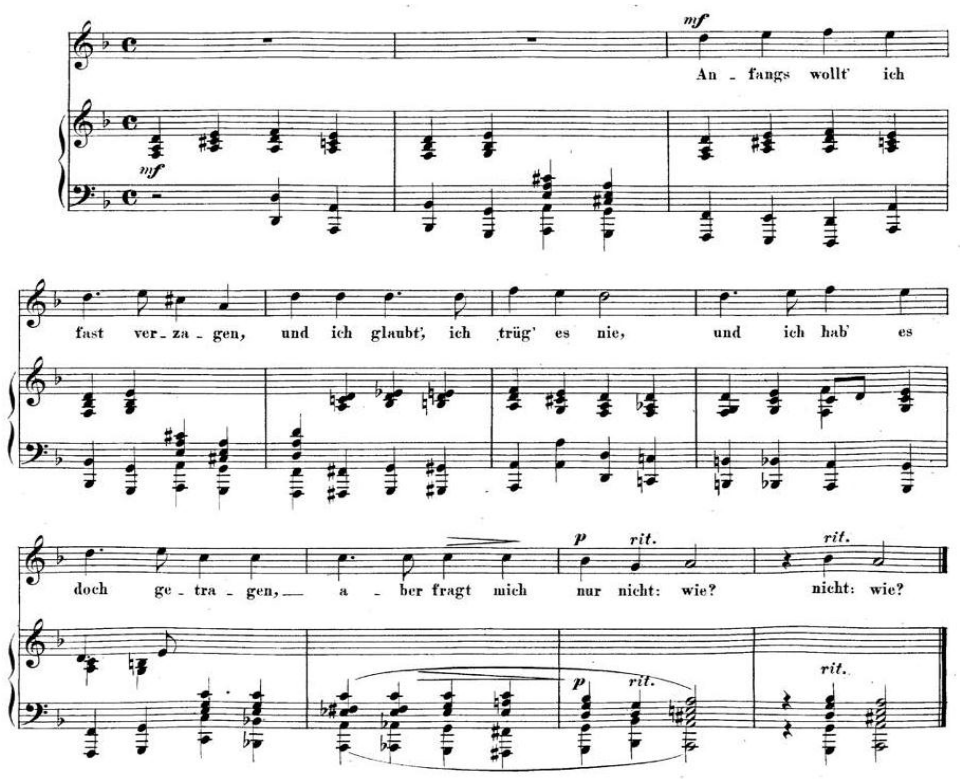
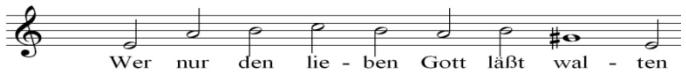
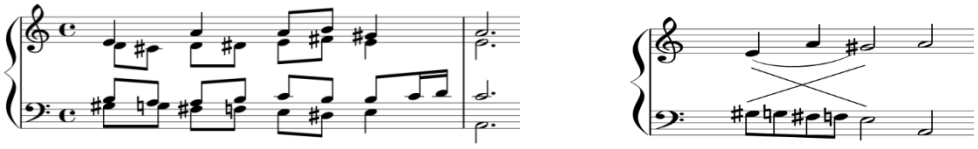
[63] *371 Harmonized Chorales and 69 Chorale Melodies*, edited by Albert Riemenschneider (New York: Schirmer, 1941) were referred.

[64] Eric Sams, *The Songs of Robert Schumann* (Indiana University Press, 1993), 45; Fischer Dieskau, *Robert Schumann Words and Music*, translated by Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1981), 50.

Example 7.1. Schumann, Anfangs wollt' ich fast verzagen, No. 8, *Liederkreis,* Op. 24

Example 7.2. Chorale melody, *Wer nur den lieben Gott*

Example 7.3. Bach, *Wer nur den lieben Gott…*, No. 146, in *371 Chorale Harmonization* and Its Reduction

chromatic bass line is often discernible in Bach's music: Bach's harmonization of phrases from this chorale melody (not the phrase Schumann quoted, however) creates dissonance through linear chromatic lines in the alto and bass by which the harmonic structure was prolonged prior

to the authentic cadence (Example 7.1).[65] This Bachian idiom is used by Schumann, as a medium to uncover further poetic meaning. The highly dissonant chromatic progression reflects the uneasiness of bearing pain (mm.5-6); chromatic descending is used for the text "but do not ask me how"(m.9), implying entry into the deeply pained soul of the poet. By invoking the Bachian chorale style—and by invoking this chorale in particular—Schumann deepens the poetic moment of emotional reflection with recourse to religious iconography. This also connects the retrospective quality of both in Heine's poem and Bach's chorale, where the subject looks back to past events, embracing the pain of the experience, before moving on to reconciliation with the present.

A similar situation is found in "Auf einer Burg," No.7 in *Liederkreis,* Op. 39. Within this seemingly simple chorale texture, Schumann instilled an expressive quality by creatively adapting Bach's technique of chordal progression over linear motion (Example 8). From the second half of m.10, highly dissonant passages unfold over a sequential fourth ascending bass line to reach a cadential progression, mm.15-16. By starting each sequential motion a step higher—and strengthened by the correspondingly linear progression of the bass line—the passage produces successive dissonances. This out-of-sync effect reflects the poetic content wherein there are two chronological juxtapositions. The scene is set as being viewed from a great distance, creating a disjunction between what is being observed and when it is occurring. In addition, the 'old knight' is a figure from the distant past, a relic gazing on a movement in the present. Invoking the historic style of Bach within an expressive Romantic medium recreates the poetic dislocation. While the bass line rhythmic shift was frequently used by Bach in his

[65] No. 146 of *371 Chorales* by Riemenschneider.

chorales,[66] the direction of the rhythmic shift in "Auf einer Burg" is the reverse of Bach's; as the bass line shifts one beat earlier than the regular homophonic progression, it creates contrapuntal dissonances within the accompaniment.

The use of imitative passages also recalls Bach, though a sparse imitative texture with the falling fifth is usually ascribed to *stile antico*:[67] After the imitative entries of the theme in the accompaniment of "Auf einer Burg," the fourth statement of the theme sneaks into the ascending bass line (measures 8-10); while the head fifth motive of G-C in the bass offers a ground for modulating to the key of C major, the extended theme (G-C / C-D-E-**F**) prefigures the following linear perfect fourths. An intriguing aspect of this is the point of imitation: the beginning of the imitative phrase is jolted out of phase with the beginning of the vocal phrase as the new melodic phrase begins one measure later than the beginning of the imitation. While the independence of voice and accompaniment is clear, each plays an integral role in creating the structure of the passage.

The use of basic contrapuntal texture reinforced by rhythmic shift is also notable in "Mutterstraum," No. 2 in *5 Lieder*, Op. 40. Throughout the piece, rhythmically delayed entrances of the root of the harmonic arpeggiation in the piano part, combined with linear expansion of the bass, build up tremendous tension between the two voices of the accompaniment and contrast between the melody and accompaniment. Successive entrances of imitative passages also appear in "Aus den hebräischen Gesängen," No. 15 in *Myrten*, Op. 25. The strained atmosphere of the first and third sections is fortified by the contrapuntal figuration of the piano passages, even

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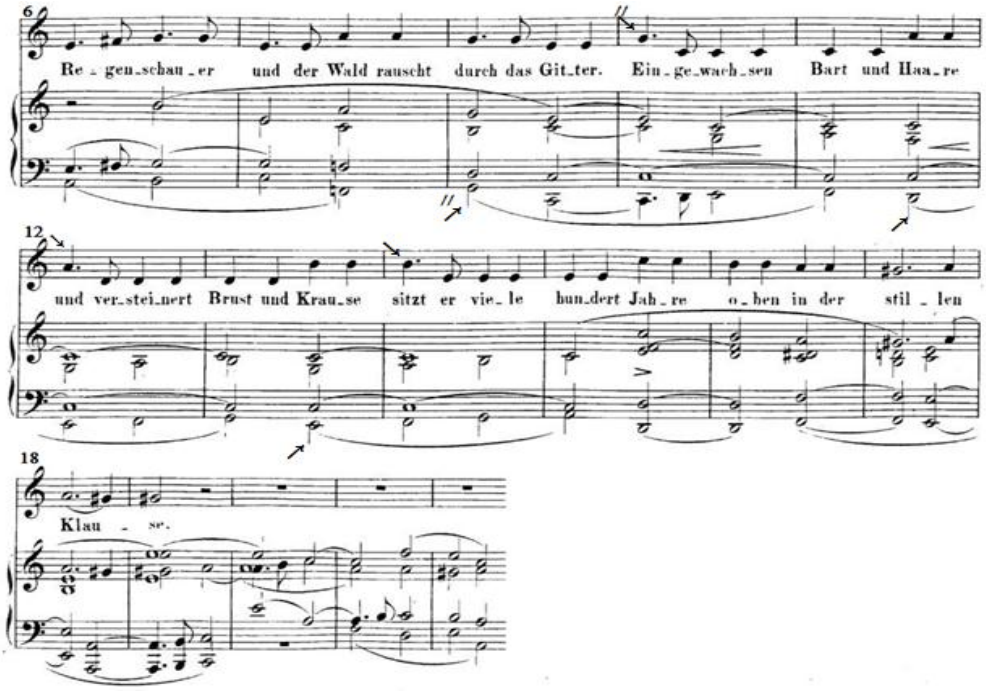
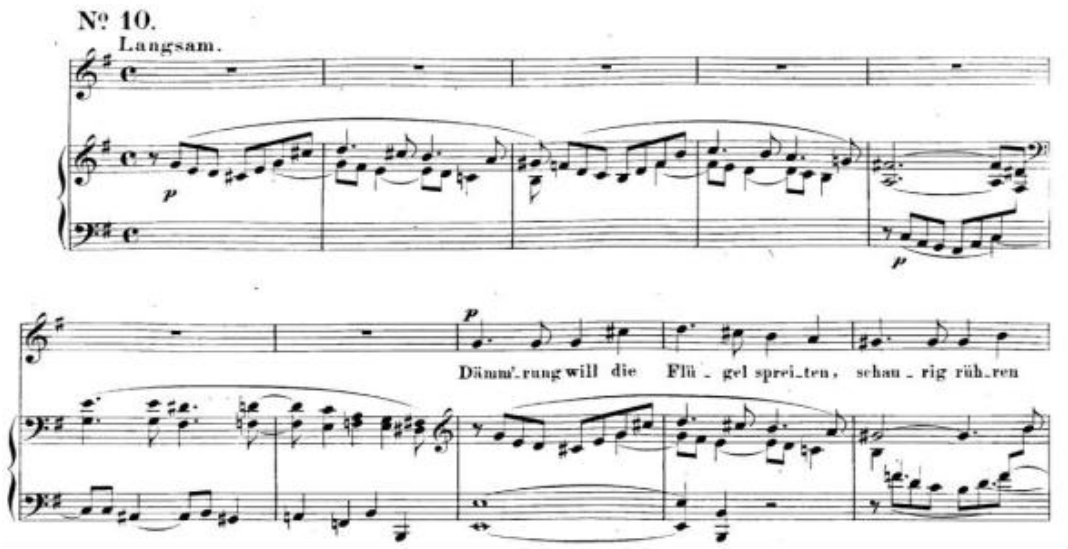
[66] Felix Salzer and Carl Schachter describe the rhythmic displacement in Bach's chorales in *Counterpoint in Composition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 253-257.

[67] Jon W. Finson, *Robert Schumann: The Book of Songs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 89. Yet, falling fifth motive is also a reminiscent of his emblematic C-F-G-C idea used in his *Impromptus*, Op. 5.

defying traditional harmonic progression. The melody, whose many non-harmonic tones result in a diminished fourth, is supported by the contrapuntal texture of the accompaniment.

Example 8. Schumann, "Auf einer Burg," *Liederkreis*, Op. 39, mm. 6-22

Application of a Bachian keyboard style to piano accompaniment creates an exquisite sonority in "Zwielicht," No. 10 in *Liederkreis*, Op. 39 (Example 9). While the texture of the piano prelude has been recognized as reminiscent of Bach's two-part invention,[68] the prelude also plays an important role in introducing the vocal melody. The striking entrance of the song—an augmented fourth (between G and C sharp), alluding to a dominant ninth whose root is (an absent) F-sharp—would not sound so expressive without the help of piano prelude; this contrapuntal prelude sets the tone for the conspicuous augmentation in the melodic movement, emphasizing the vagueness of the tonal center. What could potentially sound merely dissonant strikes the ear as apt given the context of the prelude, adding to the textual musical irony.

[68] Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *Robert Schumann, Words and Music* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1988), 79.

Example 9. Schumann, "Zwielicht," No. 8, *Liederkreis*, Op. 39

Another reflection of Bach's keyboard style is found in "Stirb, Lieb' und Freud'!" No. 2 in the *Kerner Lieder*, Op. 35.[69] This poem is the only one in the cycle to invoke religious imagery, conjuring a link with the Bach chorale. The chorale-prelude texture is apparent in the static octave bass line, obbligato melody in the middle voice, and vocal melody over piano accompaniment. Dotted rhythmic figuration over an organ-like octave bass line in "Im Rhein, im heiligen Strome," No. 6 in *Dichterliebe*, Op. 48, also recalls the Bachian manner in its evocation of overture "in the French style." Schumann aptly uses the effect to invoke the solemn (and colossal) image of the Cologne Cathedral where the Blessed Virgin reminds the poet of his beloved, and, to somewhat ironic effect, to point to its monumentality in inverse proportion with the poet's love.

Despite the conspicuously Bachian nature of these elements, musical characteristics such as imitation, time signatures, and chordal texture in these songs are commonly discussed in terms

[69] The original title is "Zwölf Gedichte von Justinus Kerner. Eine Liederreihe für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte . . . Opus 35."

of *stile antico*. For example, the extraordinary beginning of "Zwielicht" was considered an "emblem of the Gothic" by Finson;[70] the use of the breve and longa notation in "Stirb, Lieb' und Freud'!" is described as an "ancient" feature by Todd;[71] the middle section of "Im Rhein, im heiligen Strome" is mentioned as a musical rendition of Gothic works by Fischer-Dieskau.[72] In these examples, it is not always self-evident where to draw the distinction between the application of *stile antico* and a more general appropriation of something that might be characterized as a "Bach" manner (as already discussed in terms of Schumann's assimilation of Bach earlier in this section). Todd suggests three stylistic features of Schumann's adaptation of *stile antico*: 1) imitative writing, recalling the Palestrinian point of imitation; 2) careful control of dissonance, in keeping with the "pure" style of Palestrina, as exemplified in the celebrated *Missa Papae Marcelli*; and 3) rhythmic motion with the half note as the basic tactus, along with experimentation with "antique" meters such as 2/2, 3/2, and 4/2.[73] As such, the musical characteristics defining *stile antico* carry a strong association with Palestrinian style, yet it is unclear whether Schumann's imitative writing, dissonance treatment, and use of archaic-looking long notes are meant specifically to evoke that style. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that Schumann was acutely aware of earlier musical styles, drawing subtle distinctions between them in the service of poetic ideas. When he employs *stile antico*, the text concerns his notion of "antiquity" or the remote past. However, when he engages in Bach-like fugal practice, he does not necessarily invoke an older style but rather translates the musical language of Bach into his own vocabulary.

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[70] Finson, *Robert Schumann: The Book of Songs*, 90.

[71] Todd, "On Quotation in Schumann's Music," in *Schumann and His World* (Princeton University Press, 1994), 97-98.

[72] Fischer-Dieskau, *Robert Schumann*, 83.

[73] Todd, "On Quotation in Schumann's Music," 97.

This subtle consciousness in dealing with older musical styles played into Schumann's way of tackling the lied genre. Schumann was profoundly aware that his songs would be assessed in large part under the shadow of Schubert, who was in many ways his opposite in compositional style. As great art, the lied was fairly limited to small contributions by Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven, prior to its explosion through the enormous contribution of Schubert. To build on that legacy while developing an idiomatic mode of expression was Schumann's task, and he achieved it drawing in part upon his Bach studies. As Bach achieved progressiveness on the foundation of tradition, Schumann moved forward in developing a new model on the fertile ground provided by Bach's work.

3.2. Piano Concerto: *Phantasie* for Piano and Orchestra

While the most influential and direct model for Schumann's creation of large-scale works was Beethoven, it must be remembered that genres such as piano concerto and oratorio have a strong association with Bach as well. Although Bach's works of these types were not widely heard by the public until Schumann's time, the latter composer was well aware of Bach's contribution to these public genres. Therefore, when he set about composing his concerto and oratorio, Schumann challenged the genres with historical perspectives in mind.

In 1841, the symphonic year, Schumann produced many large-scale works: His Symphony No. 1, Op. 38, and *Overture, Scherzo, and Finale* Op. 52 were completed in this year, and the Symphony in D minor (later published as Symphony No. 4 in 1851) was in progress. In addition, Schumann embarked on writing the *Phantasie* for piano and orchestra, which would eventually become the first movement of his piano concerto (with the addition of two movements, published in 1846). Since 1827, Schumann had experimented several times with

piano concerto composition, most notably in the *Concertsatz* in D minor in 1839; however, most of these efforts remained unfinished.

As a critic, Schumann had a special interest in the contemporary development of the genre: In 1836, Schumann wrote several notable reviews on contemporary piano concertos—those of Theodor Döhler; John Field's piano concerto, No. 7; Ignaz Moscheles's piano concerto, Nos. 5 and 6; Henri Herz's piano concerto, No. 2; and finally, those of Chopin. Most of his reviews were complimentary towards each composer's strengths, yet Schumann also discussed the works in terms of specific issues on this genre such as form, virtuosity, and eventually, balance between piano and orchestra.[74] As Lindeman summarizes, "His essays in the *Neue Zeitschrift* manifest the value he placed on organicism, textural balance between soloist and orchestra, and virtuosity welded to the intrinsic aims of the concerto itself."[75]

Significantly, Bach's keyboard concertos began to be performed in Leipzig in 1835, when Mendelssohn arrived there, at which point they became a major part of Clara's public repertoire. Schumann thus approached the genre as composer, critic, and coach.[76] In his major

[74] For example, in the review of John Field's piano concerto, No. 7, Schumann found that "everything is good," yet offered suggestion as well: "away with your forms and your thorough-bass conventions!" In the review of Ignaz Moscheles's piano concerto Nos. 5 and 6, Schumann favors Moscheles's later compositions, because they "discarded much of his former superficial glitter, much to their artistic advantage, and require, in order to grasp and be grasped, a musician capable of projecting an image in which detail is subordinated to the whole. That the virtuoso can still feel at home in them, can display his wares and make his points, is simply an additional advantage shared by few other compositions in such judicious moderation." In terms of form, he added, "A genuinely musical art form always has a focal point towards which all else gravitates, on which all imaginative impulses concentrate. Many composers place it in the middle (like Mozart), others reserve it for nearer the close (like Beethoven). Wherever it lies, the effect of any composition is dependent upon its dynamic influence…." In his review of Chopin's piano concertos, Schumann remarked that "just as Hummel adapted Mozart's style to the purpose and pleasures of the piano virtuoso, so Chopin introduces the spirit of Beethoven into the concert hall." *Schumann on Music* (translated, edited and annotated by Henry Pleasants), 104-112.

[75] Stephan D. Lindeman, "Robert Schumann: Piano Concerto in A minor, Op. 54," in *Structural Novelty and Tradition in the Early Romantic Piano Concerto* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1999), 146-147.

[76] The works performed, as mentioned in the first part of this chapter, were Keyboard Concerto in D minor (BWV 1052), Concerto for 2 Clavier in C minor (BWV 1062), and Concerto for 3 Claviers in D minor (BWV 1063). According to Bischoff's list of "Bach's works in Clara Schumann's concert program from 1828 to 56 (Tabelle 2: Werke Bachs in den Konzertprogrammen Clara Schumanns von 1828-56)," only the Concerto for 3 Clavier in D

essay on the genre, "Das Clavier-Concert" (published in 1839), Schumann locates the central role of the keyboard in the compositional processes of his great predecessors:

> The most remarkable musical talent of the day is to be found among piano-forte players; a fact which has been noticed of former times also. Bach and Handel, Mozart and Beethoven, grew up at the piano, and, like the sculptors who first model their statues in miniature in soft clay, they must often have sketched at the piano what they afterwards worked out in full for the orchestra.[77]

Schumann proceeds to a discussion of the piano concerto as a genre, examining its current situation. Schumann sees two options for the development of the concerto. One entails the separation of the piano from the orchestra, while the other pursues an equal contribution on the part of each. Regarding the first option, Schumann gauges the instrument's development, which was reaching a state of perfection and thus offers a self-sufficient vehicle for effective solo musical expression.[78] Thus, he pronounces, "in defiance of the symphony, modern pianoforte music intends to make its way by its own resources alone; and this may be the reason why so few pianoforte concertos and, in fact, so few original compositions with accompaniment have appeared lately."[79] His piano works composed in the years 1834-1835, such as the *Symphonic*

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minor (BWV 1063) was performed, but it is catalogued three times: 9 November 1835 (Leipzig), 19 October 1840 (Leipzig), and 8 December 1844 (Dresden). Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 443-444.

[77] Published on 4 January 1839. "Das Clavier-Concert," *NZfM*, Vol.10, No.2, 5-7; *GS*, Bd.1, 385; Translation from M. E. von G. for the 'London Musical World', *Dwight's Journal of Music*, Vol.XXVII, No.8 (1867), 58-59. Another English translation is also available in *The Musical World of Robert Schumann* (St. Martin Press, 1965), 146-7.

[78] However, Schumann suggested mechanical additions to the instrument—pedals akin to those on an organ—believing that these would offer new prospects for composers, and grant the piano even greater independence, fullness and richness of tone. Interestingly, these descriptions of the future piano eventually appeared in the pedal piano, which he purchased and composed for, in 1845.

[79] Schumann, "Das Clavier-Concert," *NZfM*, Vol.10, No.2, 5-7; Translation from M.E. von G, *Dwight's Journal of Music*, Vol.XXVII, No.8 (1867), 58.

Etudes, Op. 13, and Piano Sonata, No. 3, Op. 14 (initially titled *Concerto Without Orchestra*) could be understood as examples reflecting this approach.[80]

However, Schumann expected the development of the genre to move in a different direction—the fully integrated, coordinated combination of the piano and orchestra as equal partners:

> And so we must rest content till some genius shall discover a new and splendid way of combining the orchestra with the piano, so the player may disclose all the riches of this instrument and his art, whilst at the same time the orchestra may not act as a mere spectator, but may enrich the scene with its various characters.[81]

Schumann implicitly emphasizes the role of the orchestra, which should not "act as a mere spectator." To combat this accompaniment role, Schumann asks for young composers to work in "solid and dignified forms," with "no caprices, or variations, but thoroughly finished and characteristic allegros, such as, at any rate, might serve for the opening of a concerto." Until this standard is met, he suggests referring to the work of older masters such as Bach.

> Till they do this we shall often have to resort to those older compositions which are so perfectly adapted at once for opening a concert, and for testing to the utmost the abilities of the player; such as the splendid concertos of Mozart and Beethoven, or, to admit into the select circle another great name still too little honored, one of Sebastian Bach's, or, to bring forward something new, some of those in which the footsteps of Beethoven have been happily and ably followed.[82]

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[80] Although the historical context is different, the concept of the "concerto without orchestra" is also apparent in Bach works such as Italian Concerto, BWV 971.

[81] Schumann, "Das Clavier-Concert," *NZfM,* Vol.10, No.2, 5-7; Translation in *Dwight's Journal of Music*, Vol.XXVII, No.8 (1867), 58-59.

[82] Ibid., 59.

The fundamental premise suggesting these two compositional directions was the growth of the piano's musical capacity. By Schumann's time, the piano could stand alone as an expressive instrument, covering a full range of expression without the assistance of orchestra. However, Schumann was also vigilant in preserving balance between the two instruments, working against either part becoming "a mere spectator" or "an accompaniment for the other." This may be interpreted as his assessment of the current status of the genre, in which displaying the flamboyant virtuosic technique of the pianist overshadowed the contribution of the orchestra as a musical partner.

Schumann's effort to achieve a balance between the two was exerted on two levels: structural and technical. In addition to pursuing balance in a formal sense, as evident in the above quotation, he attempted to control virtuosic displays. These aspects are clearly the motivation for his favorable review of Moscheles's piano concerto (in the 1839 "Piano Concerto" essay), in which Schumann notes that "the passages are carefully elaborated, but a little practice will enable even moderately good players to master them; when played with the orchestra, the greatest attention is necessary on both sides (piano and orchestra)." In addition, Schumann extends this attitude toward the finale and cadenza, which do not contain difficult passagework, and suggests appropriate formal changes in concerto writing:

> The modern concerto writers deserve a special vote of thanks for not wearying us with finales made up of shakes and arpeggios. The old *cadenza* which formerly gave so much scope for the *bravura* of the player rests on a far sounder idea, and might still perhaps be made us of with success. And why should not the *scherzo*, so familiar to us in the symphony and sonata, be used with effect in the concerto. It might introduce a sort of contest between the different solo

> instruments in the orchestra, at the same time that the form of the whole would undergo a slight change.[83]

In accordance with Clara's remarks in which she expressed her discontent with the mechanical style of the virtuoso,[84] Schumann was by nature critical of virtuosity; he once said to Clara, "I cannot write a concerto for the virtuoso."[85] As in his song compositions, Schumann pursued meaning and thought, rather than technical or mechanical renditions in music. In this, he sought to emulate Bach, whose mastery of the technical was ultimately, Schumann believed, in in the service of transcendent aesthetic meaning. Furthermore, the idea of balancing two equal parts is very similar to the concept underlying the Baroque concerto, in which two small groups of instruments compete with each other. This balancing act was pertinent to Schumann's attempt to compose the concerto with consideration for the performative desires of the concertante and the aesthetic requirements of equal partnership. As he tackled the issues of this genre, Bach was therefore neither the major model nor direct predecessor, but a hidden force guiding Schumann's response to the generic concerns.

How Schumann confronted these issues in his own concerto composition, and the role of Bach in Schumann's solution, has been fully discussed in Claudia Macdonald's monograph *Robert Schumann and the Piano Concerto*. Regarding the *Concertsatz* in D minor (composed in 1839, immediately after the publication of the review cited in the preceding paragraphs), Macdonald argues that "Schumann's real concern is an aesthetic, not a technical one," and that "the more extreme experiments tried by Schumann were to a certain extent prompted by the

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Refer to quotation footnoted 16 in this chapter.

[85] 26 January 1839. *Briefwechsel*, Vol.II, 376; Reprinted in Macdonald, *Robert Schumann and the Piano Concerto*, 217.

influence not just of his contemporaries but also of Bach."[86] Beyond the superficial similarities between the Bach concertos performed in Leipzig at the time and Schumann's *Concertsatz* (such as key—all are in D minor), Macdonald pays special attention to Schumann's rendering of form and his deviation from virtuosic passagework in terms of his association with Bach. Most notably, she contends that the innovative features of Schumann's *Concertsatz*—motivic connections, the blurring of lines of demarcation across sections, the even balance between orchestra and solo, and the elimination of a long opening tutti statement—are related to the Bach keyboard concertos heard by Schumann in this period.[87] Drawing similarities between the mono-motivic quality in both solo and orchestra in the *Concertsatz* and that in the Bach concertos, Macdonald argues that the motivic recurrence strengthens the equal contribution of both parts. This quality also contributes to the flattening out of differences from section to section, and eventually to the balance between solo and orchestral contributions. She further points out that the chamber-music-like relationship between solo and orchestra and the repetitive passagework in the *Concertsatz* are also the legacy of Bach's keyboard concerto.

While Macdonald's thorough discussion of the *Concertsatz* illuminates the general influence of Bach in Schumann's concerto composition, the *Phantasie* for piano and orchestra (composed in 1841) deserves more attention in terms of Schumann's efforts to create a formal aesthetic of equal partnership between piano and orchestra.[88] As a structurally complete musical object (despite being supplemented with two additional movements in later years), the *Phantasie*

[86] Ibid., 215.

[87] Ibid., 216.

[88] Macdonald has also discussed the *Phantasie* in a chapter for that work in *Robert Schumann and the Piano Concerto*, 233-246, and in her article, ""Mit einer eignen außerordentlichen Composition": The Genesis of Schumann's Phnatasie in A minor," *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol.13, No.2 (Spring 1995), 240-259. My argument here owes much to her thorough study of this piece. I will select certain points in her study and extend them to suggest that the *Phantasie* invites the same Bach-associated issues that appear in her discussion of the *Concertsatz* in D minor.

offers a more official response to the concerns raised in his concerto reviews. The integrity of the structure allows the formal procedure of the piece to be more coherently grasped, while the composed cadenza fulfills the traditionally virtuosic and improvisatory expectations of the genre. Furthermore, the *Phantasie* shows Schumann's original take on the balancing of solo and orchestra.[89]

The issue regarding the form of the *Phantasie* is best described by Macdonald as "the ideal relationship between solo and orchestra, and the best new form in which to present this relationship."[90] The most characteristic aspect of the *Phantasie*'s form is that it is clearly rooted in the traditional Germanic sonata form principle, while simultaneously bending the sonata structure to create contrastive affective sections, as in a character piece; "it is actually both a sonata form and the condensation of the traditional, three-movement concerto into a single movement."[91] This is borne out by the title *Phantasie*, with which Schumann conjures up the free form of 'fantasia.' Through the synthesis of the two forms—different but not mutually exclusive frameworks—Schumann created a new form representing the ideal relationship of piano and orchestra.

In the *Phantasie*, the recurrence of motive ascribed to Bach's keyboard concertos in Macdonald's discussion of the *Concertsatz* appears as the transformation of three motives in

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[89] The final edition is slightly different; the study score of *Phantasie for Piano and Orchestra, A minor*, separately from the Piano Concerto, No1, was published by Boetticher (Mainz: Ernst Eulenburg, 1994). I am referring to the measure numbers of the Boetticher edition for my discussion of *Phantasie* hereafter.

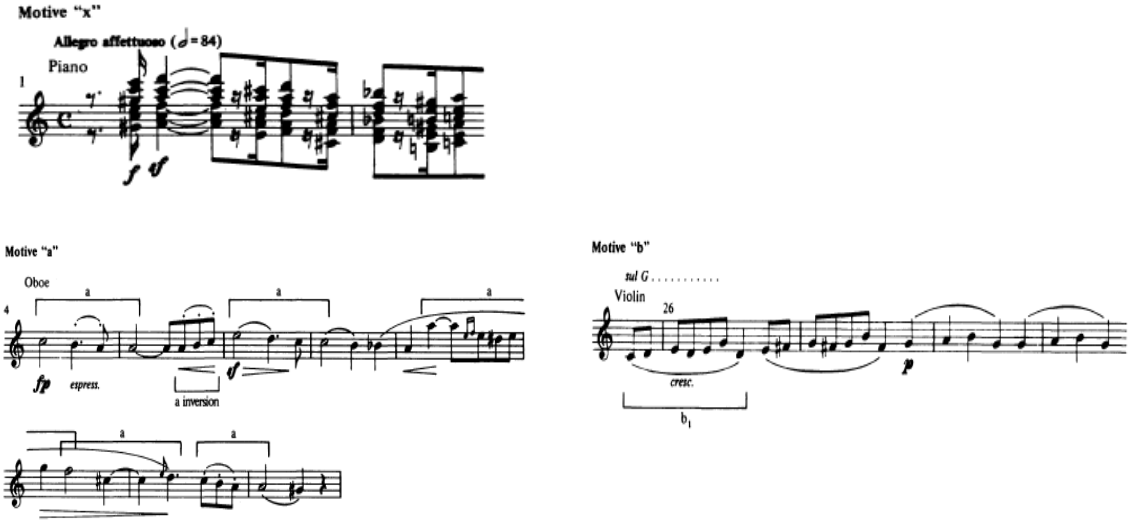
[90] Claudia Macdonald, ""Mit einer eignen außerordentlichen Composition": The Genesis of Schumann's Phnatasie in A minor," *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol.13 (1995), No.2, 247.

[91] Ibid., 242. The idea of a one-movement piano concerto was already suggested in his review of Moscheles's piano concertos No.5 and 6, published in 1836. "One imagines a type of one-movement composition in moderate tempo in which an introductory or preparatory part would take the place of a first allegro, the cantabile section that of the adagio and a brilliant conclusion that of the rondo. It may prove an attractive idea. It is also one which we would prefer to realize in a special composition of our own. The one movement could also be for piano alone." Schumann put this idea into practice in the *Phantasie*.

various guises according to Macdonald's designation (motive x—dotted rhythm piano introduction, motive a—the first theme motive, and motive b).[92] The transformation of motives captures the improvisatory nature of the fantasia, and the repetitive use of these motives flattens the distinction of section from section. Shortly after the octave dotted-rhythm passage (mm. 1-3), the first theme is introduced by the orchestra and piano, respectively, exerting equal claim on the right to state the melody (mm. 4-11 and mm. 12-19). There follow many sections within the sonata form framework, whose material share fundamental motives while appearing different in surface materials.

The transitional sections offer the most prominent evocation of Bach. The first transitional section, consisting of quintuplets in the right hand piano part and melodic doubling of the left hand piano part in the strings (mm. 19-25), is reminiscent of the sequential passagework in Bach's keyboard concertos. Motive b, added by the woodwinds over the passagework of piano and strings, is stated and extended by piano and strings, respectively, at the

[92] The various transformations of three motives are described in detail in Macdonald's article, Ibid., 250-251. The following examples are taken from her article.



end of the transition (mm. 26-39). One conspicuous passage is the tripling of the melody in the piano, which quickly sweeps into the second transition (mm. 39-41); this short passage prominently signals and emphasizes the individual entrances of piano and orchestra.

'Blurring the demarcation of sections' is notable around the entrance of the second theme. After the piano states the thematic material in C major, the second theme—based on the same motive as the first—appears in m.67. While this piano statement gives the impression of returning to the first theme, the second theme, introduced by clarinet with massive flows of stile-brise figuration in the piano, mediates the rich harmonic modulations of something structurally new. The second theme is restated in the clarinet, with the harmonic support of strings (m.95). After a new melody is introduced over piano figuration (m.112), the strings take over the melody (m.120), which naturally flows into the closing ritornello of the exposition. The difference between what the piano suggests and what the orchestra executes thematically therefore disguises the lines between sections and transitions.

The development, consisting of three distinct episodes (mm.156-184, mm.185-204, and mm.205-258), contrasts with the other sections in terms of tempo and affectation. These three episodes are also each different in character among themselves; while all utilize materials from the exposition, each episode uniquely combines the two musical participants. In the first episode, the piano and woodwinds chase each other over piano arpeggiation and string accompaniments; in the second, the dotted rhythm phrase alternates between the solo and orchestra, as if in antiphonal discussion; in the third, the streams derived from the thematic motive are played by flute over the accompaniment passagework of piano and harmonic support of the strings.

Schumann's reflections on virtuosity are evidenced in this procedure. Although the majestic piano introduction recalls the style of contemporary virtuosic concertos, the intensive

chordal passage adopts a relatively easy piano technique—playing the same chord progression with both hands. Schumann frequently uses the octave or chordal doubling in both hands; beyond this, most of the piano part is sequential passagework and arpeggio figuration, evoking the *Fortspinnung* of the Baroque style which supports the melody played by other instruments and helps the music forward at structurally important moments. Through this repetitive passagework, Schumann's concern about "the corruption of the older-style concerto through the superficial injection of an overwrought emotionalism that parades as romantic" is also resolved;[93] there are no emotively overflowing sections.

The most conspicuous change to the *Phantasie* in preparation for its 1846 publication as the first movement of his piano concerto is Schumann's revision of the piano part in episode 3. The revision begs an interesting question regarding the balancing of the solo and orchestra and Schumann's concerns against virtuosity. In the first version, the piano passage has a simple figuration acting as accompaniment to the flute melody, with a simple broken chord passage performable within an octave. In contrast, the revision has much more technically demanding passagework; melodic doubling within the piano part increases the instrument's prominence. The initial version addresses the ideological balancing Schumann hoped to address in 1841 (Example 10.1); by 1846, his priorities had changed, and strengthening the melody and increasing the technical demands of the solo part were deemed necessary for his major concerto (Example 10.2).

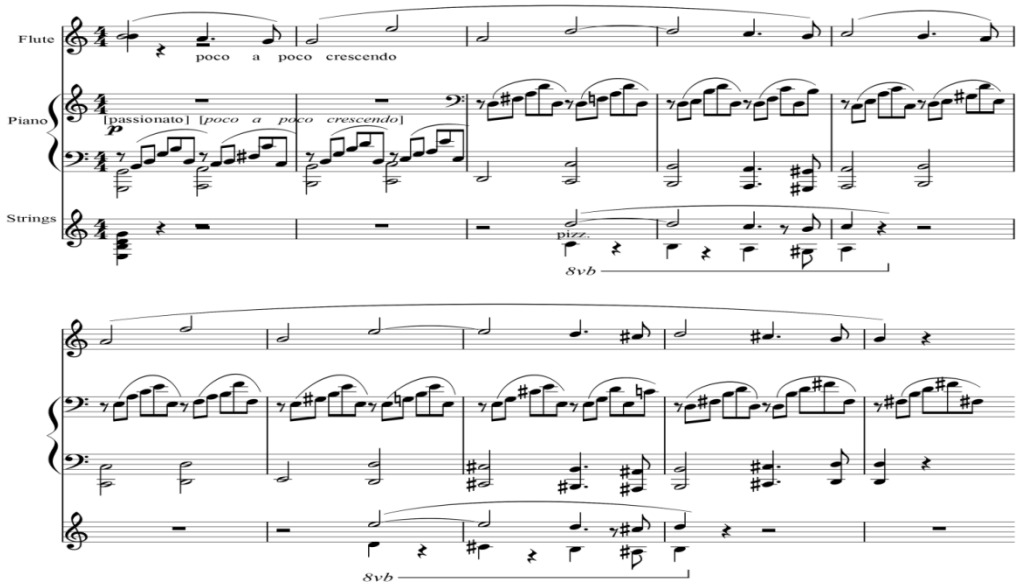
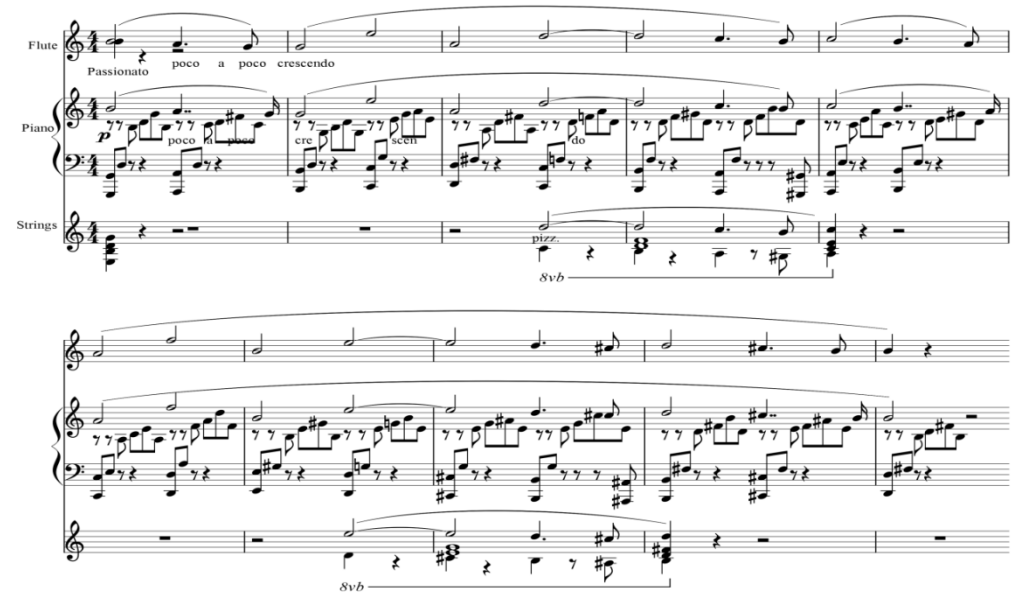
The cadenza is composed, limiting the soloist's ability to display virtuosity unconnected to the larger structure, and eliminating the call to improvise that was obligatory in concerti of the eighteenth century. Schumann's cadenza consists of three textually distinctive sections (mm.402-419, mm.450-433, and mm.434-457), displaying the improvisatory character of Bach's keyboard

[93] Ibid., 246.

fantasias. The first section casts a motive repetitively in different pitches, bringing up Schumann's early remarks on "canonic spirit;" the motive is strengthened in the second by the execution of chords, but this repetitive statement and transformation of thematic material are characteristic of the style Schumann developed during his study of Bach. The final section of the cadenza is more flamboyant due to the use of long trills and elaborate figurations. The following sextuplet and triplet passages alternating between hands also have a repetitive and imitative character. Once again, Schumann treats a sectional construction as a series of opportunities to work out the same principle—development based on motive recurrence.

This attempt at the *Phantasie* and concerto can be read as Schumann's critical commentary on the contemporary development of the genre. Although he eventually needed to add two movements to make it a marketable product, the original version of the movement illuminates how Schumann challenged the issues he was unsatisfied with in the works of his contemporaries. His exposure to and study of Bach's music played a significant role both in developing this critical perspective and in Schumann's creation of a work in response to historical imperatives. Although the work is necessarily a compound mixture of the vestiges of many antecedent and contemporary figures, the latent prominence of Bach within this group distinguishes Schumann's efforts to establish himself as an artist.

"That Bach and Jean Paul exercised a marked influence over me in my younger days you will discover without my aid," Schumann wrote in 1843. "Now I have become more independent."[94] This increasing self-reliance is borne out by Schumann's efforts to write in the various genres of song, chamber music, piano concerto, and oratorio in this period. Rather than

[94] 5 May 1843. Letter to Karl Kossmaly, a fellow composer and writer; *Briefe, NF* 228; Translation from *The Letters of Robert Schumannn,* 243. "Dass Bach und Jean Paul den grössten Einfluss auf mich geübt in früheren Zeiten, finden Sie wohl ohne meine Anmerkung heraus. Jetzt bin ich wohl selbständiger geworden."

Example 10.1. Schumann, *Phantasie*, mm.205-214

Example 10.2. Schumann, First Movement, Piano Concerto No.1, mm.205-214

suggesting a break from these favored influences, his independence was enabled by rigorous attempts at each genre based on an acute understanding of what his models had done, and creative transformation of those achievements in his own language.

A purely superficial take on his activities regarding Bach and the works composed in this period may not strongly support Schumann's continued effort to transform Bach's legacy into his own creative enterprise. Nonetheless, Bach's influence remained; his music, and the spirit that Schumann cherished in it, informed much of Schumann's work as he moved in new directions. Even before Schumann's obvious pursuit of Bach through the contrapuntal works of 1845, Bach's legacy pervaded Schumann's work: not through stylistic copying, but through the search for new mediums reverberating with the values he found and appreciated in Bach's music.

Chapter 4. Immersion in Fugue and Evolving Compositional Practice (1844-1849)

1. The Second 'Fugenpassion'

During the first half of 1844, the Schumanns were in Russia, where Clara had a concert tour.[1] Although Clara's concerts went well, producing both financial profit and connections with leading Russian musical figures, Robert was barely able to compose. By the end of the Russian tour, Schumann's physical and psychological distress became so aggravated that, upon returning to Germany, Schumann quit his editorial work and resigned from the Leipzig Conservatory due to the onset of a nervous breakdown. In the meanwhile, he attempted to resume composition, sketching a setting of Goethe's *Faust* and beginning work on an opera; however, he did not make much progress because of his mental deterioration.

By the end of the year, Schumann moved his family to Dresden. There, he met the organist of the court church, Johann Gottlob Schneider, particularly famous for improvising in the style of Bach and for ending his organ lessons by playing a Bach fugue or chorale setting;[2] Schneider and Schumann soon became a good friends. Schumann devoted most of the first half of 1845 to the composition of contrapuntal works. As many scholars have concurred, Schumann's study of contrapuntal works played a therapeutic role; immersion in counterpoint was a standard means by which Schumann achieved psychological equilibrium, while analysis of

[1] The only record of Schumann's exposure to Bach during this trip is his diary entry on 30 April 1844. *Tb*, Bd.2, 299. "Fugen v. Bach u. Henselts Concert bei ihm—mit seinem Vortrag nicht immer einverstanden."

[2] 13 December 1844. Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 90, n59.

compositional models promoted his resumption of composition.[3] During this period of fugal study, Schumann became more aware of the shortcomings of the Czerny edition of the *WTC*. He brought up the necessity for a new edition of the *WTC* to his publisher Härtel, as discussed above;[4] however, his desire to publish a new edition was not fulfilled.

Schumann renewed his "contrapuntal studies" together with Clara at the beginning of the year, continuing throughout 1845 according to the *Haushaltbuch*.[5] In February, they "diligently stud[ied] fugue."[6] Around this time, Clara produced a series of fugues on Bach's subjects from the *WTC*. The manuscripts currently preserved in the *Robert-Schumann-Haus* record that she finished several preludes and fugues in the course of a month.[7] First, she wrote fugues on three subjects from the second volume of the *WTC*; those in E-flat major, E major, and G minor. She also composed *Three Preludes and Fugues*, Op. 16, in this period, exemplifying the couple's intensive study.[8]

Schumann's diary again refers to the "hard fugue study" and "*Fugenpassion,*"[9] manifested in fugues written from the end of February to the end of March.[10] These were

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[3] Jensen, *Schumann*, 284.

[4] Refer to the earlier quotation footnoted 47 in Chapter 3.

[5] *Tb*, Bd.3, 379-406; *Ein Quellenwerk*, 150: Reprinted in Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 470. 23 January 1845, "Kontrapunktische Studien m. Cl. begonnen."

[6] 2 February 1845. *Ein Quellenwerk*, 150. "Immer fleißig in Fugenstudien mit Cl."; 18 February 1845, "Fleißige Fugenstudien seit 3 Wochen"; 23 February 1845, "Kleine kontrapunktische Arbeiten"

[7] According to Clara Schumann's manuscript, preserved in Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, Arch. No. 5982-A1, Clara finished E flat major fugue on Bach on 11 February 1845; 17 February 1845, finished E major fugue; 22 February 1845, finished g minor fugue on Bach theme (4 voices); 28 February 1845, composed Op. 16, I Prelude; 1 March 1845, composed Op. 16, I Fugue; and 2 March 1845, composed Op. 16, Fugue (two fugues, then follows a prelude).

[8] Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 463. Refer to Janina Klassen, *Clara Wieck-Schumann Die Virtuosin als Komponistin* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1990), 58-67. Comparison of Clara Schumann's fugues with Schumann's will be made in part 3 of this chapter.

[9] 21 February 1845. *Ein Quellenwerk*, 150; 15 March 1845. *Tb*, Bd.3, 382.

[10] 25 February 1845. *Ein Quellenwerk*, 150. "Fuge in d moll"; 1 March 1845, "Cl. u. ihre Fugen"; 4 March 1845, "2. Fuge in d moll"; 10 March 1845, "2. Fuge in d moll fertig"; 12 March 1845, "Abends Bach—Fugen—Gedanken";

published as *Vier Fugen*¸ Op. 72; in a letter to the publisher Andre, regarding the publication of this work four years later, Schumann referred to these as "character pieces, only in strict form."[11]

Having finished the *Vier Fugen*¸ Schumann embarked on another compositional project, writing a fugue on the name of Bach. Bach himself introduced the letters of his name as a subject in the final (and unfinished) section of the *Art of Fugue*; Schumann composed six fugues on the same subject material, titled *Sechs Fugen über den Namen BACH*, Op. 60.[12] At the same time, the Schumanns were reading Cherubini's textbook *Theorie des Contrapunktes*; this continued until November.[13] Schumann's own copy of this text has numerous comments and underlines, and was published in facsimile in connection with Schumann's later *Die Lehre vom Contrapunct / Die Lehre von der Fugue*.[14]

Another intriguing event around this time was the couple's decision to rent a piano with a pedal board (which they later purchased). Constructed with a pedal mechanism for use with a regular upright piano, this instrument includes a foot pedal board approximating that of the organ. This new device effectively rendered multiple voices, giving the couple "much pleasure" in their contrapuntal work.[15] From the end of April to early June, Schumann worked on the *Sechs*

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14 March 1845, "3. Fuge in d moll fertig"; 20 March 1845, "4. Fuge in F dur fertig"; 21 March 1845, "unsere Fugen."

[11] 9 November 1849. Letter to Andre. *Briefe*, *NF*, 541: Reprinted in Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 475, n556. "Charakterstücke, nur in strengerer Form." Detailed discussion of this work will be addressed in part 3 of this chapter.

[12] 7 April 1845. *Ein Quellenwerk*¸ 151. "Fuge über Bach fertig (Op. 60)"; 18 April 1845, "2. Fuge über Bach fertig."

[13] 7 April 1845. *Tb,* Bd.3, 385: Reprinted in Bischoff, 470. "Cherubinis Kontrapunkt mit Cl. angefangen."

[14] Discussion about this textbook and its relation to other study materials are addressed in part 2 of this chapter.

[15] 24 April 1845. *Ein Quellenwerk*¸151: Reprinted in Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*. 91. "Transport des Pedals—Ankunft des Pedals." In *GS*, Bd.II, 424, n369, Kreisig cites Schumann's comment on pedal piano (26 October 1845) from Erler's *Musik*: "Once it gives the composer a significant growth of craft and wealth, a lot of new effects are in hand; then, the player is unable to take the pedal, it seems to me a conducive means, above all, to attain clear, correct performance, eventually carrying himself on Bach." [Translation by author and David Bloom] Original text: "Einmal gibt er dem Komponisten einen bedeutenden Zuwach von Kraft und Fülle, eine Menge neue Effekte

Studien, Op. 56;[16] he referred to them in a letter to the publisher Whistling, who published them in September.[17] He also wrote the *Vier Skizzen*, Op. 58, in this period, and kept busy studying Cherubini's textbook and composing fugues in August, September and November.[18] In addition, he completed the Piano Concerto in A minor, Op. 54, by adding two additional movements to his *Phantasie*, and began to sketch his second Symphony, in C major. As he recorded in his *Projektenbuch*, this year saw the production of "lots of contrapuntal works."[19]

In tandem with this renewed passion for fugue, Schumann's letters to Mendelssohn frequently offered commentary on the latter's works in comparison to Bach's music. Speaking of Mendelssohn's organ sonatas, Schumann compliments the poetry and originality of the form, while he subtly distinguishes Mendelssohn's music from that of Bach: "Bach's music gives me the impression of himself seated at the organ, but yours brings me a vision of a Cecilia fingering

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an die Hand; sodann, da der Spieler das Pedal zu nehmen verhindert ist, scheint er mir ein förderliches Mittel vor allem zur Erlangung eines klaren, korrekten Vortrags, endlich führt er nun selbst auf Bach." ("Once it gives the composer a significant growth of craft and wealth, a lot of new effects are in hand; then, the player is unable to take the pedal, it seems to me a conducive means, above all, to attain clear, correct performance, eventually leading him to [the performance of] Bach."

[16] 29 April 1845. *Ein Quellenwerk*, 151 and his manuscripts, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, Arch. No. 95.45 and 2349-A1. " Pedalstudien komponiert"; 30 April 1845, "Pedalstudien"; 4 May 1845, "Pedalstudien"; 2 May 1845, "Op. 56, No. 1 fertig" (his manuscript); 4 May 1845, "Pedalstudien"; 8 May 1845, "Pedalstudien"; 11 May 1845, "Op. 56, No. 4 fertig" (his manuscript); 5 May 1845, "Kanon in a moll" (Op. 56); 16 May 1845, "Kanon in a moll ausgeschrieben"; 17 May 1845, "Kanon in E dur"; 20 May 1845, "Cl's Spiel a.d. Pedal"; 21 May 1845, "Kanon in H moll fertig"; 31 May 1845, "An MD Kade für Miete des Pedals auf Mai und Juni"; 7 June 1845, "Kanon in H dur fertig"; 31 July 1845, "Für Miete des Pedalfügels auf Monat Juli."

[17] 6 May 1845. Letter to Whistling, *Briefe, NF*, 441; *Ein Quellenwerk*, 151. "Pedalstudien—An Whistl. wegen Pedalstudien geschrieben."

[18] 19 August 1845. *Tb*, Bd.3, 397: *Ein Quellenwerk*, 151. "Wieder im Cherubini angefangen"; 20 August 1845, "Cherubini"; 14 November 1845, "Cherubini beendigt"; 15 September 1845, "3. Fuge in g moll üb. Bach"; 16 September 1845, "3. Fuge fertig"; 17 September 1845, "4. Fuge üb. Bach angefangen"; 23 September 1845, "4. Fuge—angegriffen gearbeitet"; 24 September 1845, "Abends Cl's herrliches Spiel meiner Fuge in B"; 25 September 1845, "4. Fuge ziemlich fertig"; 29 September 1845, "5. Fuge in F"; 30 September 1945, "5. Fuge fertig"; 13 November 1845, "6. Fuge üb. Bach"; 18 November 1845, "An d. 6. Fuge gearbeitet"; 22 November 1845, "Beendigung m. 6. Fuge."

[19] *Projektenbuch*, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau. Arch. No. 4871-VIII C8 A3. Online source: http://www.schumannzwickau.de/schaffen1845_1850.asp. "Viele kontrapunktische Arbeiten"

the keys."[20] The main point that distinguishes Mendelssohn is his "pure harmonies, ever increasing in purity and spiritual beauty."[21] In addition to his own compositions, Mendelssohn offered Schumann actual Bach scores. Sometime later in the winter, Mendelssohn presented Schumann with a copy of his edition of Bach's *Orgelbüchlein—44 kleinen Choralvorspiele für die Orgel* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel/London: Coventry & Hollier), which had been issued a couple of months earlier. On the title page, Schumann wrote that it was "received from Mendelssohn in the winter of 1845-46."[22] In the following year, Mendelssohn published three more editions of Bach's organ chorales, including *15 Großen Choral-Vorspiele, XI Variationen für die Orgel* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel/London: Conventry & Hollier) and *VI Variationen für die Orgel über den Choral: Christ der du bist der helle Tag,* BWV 766 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel), and presented copies of each publication to Schumann.[23]

Schumann's immersion in contrapuntal study lasted into 1846. Speaking about the *Sechs Fugen über den Namen BACH*, Op. 60, in a letter to Whistling, he said, "I worked on this set for the whole of last year in order to make it somewhat worthy of the exalted name it bears; [it is] a work that will, I believe, long outlive my other works."[24] He first revised the *Sechs Fugen* at the end of March;[25] in mid-April, Schumann informed Whistling that the "Bach-Fugue-Cycle" (Op.

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[20] 22 October 1845. Letter to Mendelssohn, *Schumanns-Briefedition*, Ser. II, Bd.1, 68; Translation from *The Letters of Robert Schumann,* 250.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 94; Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 499, n326; Also in "Einführung" and "Widmungen und Geschenke" in *Schumanns- Briefedition,* Ser. II, Bd.1, 85 and 295.

[23] Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 499, n327 and n331); Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works,* 94; Also in "Einführung" and "Widmungen und Geschenke" in *Schumanns- Briefedition,* Ser. II, Bd.1, 85 and 295-6. According to *Schumanns-Briefedition*, all three scores were published in 1846; the first was sent to Schumann in October, and the other two in "J. 1846."

[24] 15 March 1846. Letter to Whistling, *Briefe, NF*, 446: Reprinted in Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 471; Translation from Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, 308.

[25] 31 March 1846. *Ein Quellenwerk*,151; *Tb,* Bd.3, 273. "Revision der Bachfugen."

60) would be delivered in 2-3 weeks.[26] However, he continued revisiting the work repeatedly until June,[27] while frequently practicing organ.[28] Some months later, Schumann himself testified that none of his other compositions took so long to write, as he strove to make them "not entirely unworthy" of the composer to whom they pay homage.[29] While working on his own compositions, Schumann met Mendelssohn to discuss the *Bach Ausgabe*.[30] At the same time, he was encouraging his students to study past masters including Bach:

> My advice, then, is: keep your love for art; practices yourself in composition as much as possible; hold fast to the great models and masters, especially to Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven, not forgetting the present in which you live.[31]

In 1847, Schumann went through another period of personal strain. In March, while visiting Berlin, he experienced insomnia and nervous weakness. On 14 May, Fanny Hensel, Mendelssohn's sister and the Schumanns' friend, passed away. Schumann's 16-month-old son Emil died on 22 June. Finally, Mendelssohn himself passed away on 4 November, having suffered a stroke several days earlier. Despite this series of losses, Schumann maintained general good health and composed prolifically, writing compositions for male chorus and conceiving dramatic works. At the time, he was drifting away from intensive fugal writing, but made another

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[26] 17 April 1846. Letter to Whistling. Siegfried Kross, *Briefe und Notizen Robert und Clara Schumanns*, 58. "Den Bach-Fugen-Cyklus könnten Sie in 2-3 Wochen erhalten."

[27] 6 June 1846, *Ein Quellenwerk*, 151. "An den Bachfugen gefeilt"; 20 June 1846, "die Revision d. Bachfugen endlich beendigt."

[28] 4 June 1846, *Ein Quellenwerk*, 151. "Orgelstudien eine Stunde"; 18 June 1846, "früh Orgel u. Cl's Bälgetreten"; 19 June 1846, "früh Orgel."

[29] 8 February 1847. Letter to C. F. Becker. *Briefe, NF*, 265. "Beifolgendes Heft [die Bach-Fugen] Ihnen zu schicken war schon längst meinen Absicht. Erst heute komme ich dazu. Bietet Ihnen das Opus Interesse genug, um etwas darüber zu sagen in einer der beiden Zeitungen, so soll es mich freuen An Fleiß und Mühe hat es meinerseits nicht gefehlt: an keiner meiner Compositionen habe ich so lange gefeilt und gearbeitet, sie des hohen Namens, den sie führt nicht ganz unwürdig zu machen. Möchten Sie in Erinnerung alter Zeiten und treuer Mitgenossenschaft die Sendung mit freundlichen Augen betrachten!"

[30] 7 July 1846. *Tb*, Bd.2, 404. "Früh bei Mendelssohn (über eine Ausgabe von Bach)"

[31] 3 September 1846. Letter to Ludwig Meinardus, *The Letters of Robert Schumann*, 253.

effort to promote the value of the music of the old masters by establishing an official gathering for the recovery and discussion of classical works. In a letter to F. Brendel, he suggests the formation of a meeting independent from the convention, for preserving the music of the past: [32]

> First, then, I think it desirable that a section should detach itself from the Convention to consider *the protection of classical music against modern adaptations.*
>
> The duties of the section would be to obtain information of all such publications—that is, of all new editions of old compositions of importance; to see how far the original was left untouched, or whether unwarranted alterations had been made; and finally to report on the result of their labours at the next (as I hope) annual meeting of the Convention.
>
> I should then like to propose that another section be formed for the research and restoration of corrupted passages in classical works, in the sense in which I dealt with it in my essay: On Some Presumably Corrupted Passages in the Works of Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven.[33]

In this year, Schumann returned once more to Forkel's biography of Bach,[34] and played Bach's music with his acquaintances.[35] His practical use of Bach extended to his teaching in this period. On 18 November 1847, Schumann began administering private lessons to Karl Ritter, a brother of the composer Friedrich Ritter.[36] These lessons continued until 20 April, 1849, and were based on Schumann's own writing, *Die Lehre vom Contrapunct / Die Lehre von der Fuge*,

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[32] The convention Schumann refers to is a Universal German Society of Musicians, whose first meeting was held on 13-14 August, 1847. *Composers on Music: Eight Centuries of Writings*, ed. Josiah Fisk and Jeff Nichols (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 94.

[33] 8 August 1847. Letter to Franz Brendel, *Briefe, NF*, 276; Reprinted in Köhler, "Bach als Katalysator," 244; Translation from *The Letters of Robert Schumann*, 256-257. "Also möchte ich, daß sich aus der Mitte der Tonkünslterversammlung eine Section bilde zur Wahrung classischer Werke gegen moderne Bearbeitung... Sodann möchte ich einen Antrag stellen auf Gründung einer Section zur Ausfindigmachung verdorbener Stellen in classischen Werken."

[34] 14 September 1847. *Tb*, Bd.3, 439. "Bach's Leben v. Forkel"

[35] 9 November 1847. *Tb*, Bd.3, 444. "Nachmittag Trio bei uns – (v. Löwe, Beethoven in Es, Sonate v. Bach in A f. Cl.[avier] u. Viol.[ine])"

[36] 18 November 1847. *Tb*, Bd.3, 444 and 488; *GS*, Bd. 2, n.430, 434: Reprinted in Bischoff, 463.

compiled from Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge* and Cherubini's *Theorie vom Kontrapunkt und der Fuge*. Ritter later recalled that Schumann frequently used Bach themes as examples, instructing Ritter to compose his fugues on the model of Bach's.[37]

This pedagogical impetus permeated his compositional activities as well. Compositions produced in 1848, such as *Album für die Jugend*, *Lieder-Album für die Jugend,* and *12 vierhändige Clavierstücke*, were intended for educating young musicians; this combination of composition and pedagogy had its precedent in Bach. In his piano collection *Album für die Jugend,* Op. 68, Schumann included "Chorale," "Figured Choral," "Little Song in Canon Form," and "Little Fugue," all of which are reminiscent of various Bach styles. In *Musical Rules at Home and Life,* which Schumann attached as an appendix to this work, his famous maxim extolling Bach appears:

> Diligently practice the fugues of good masters; above all, those of J. S. Bach. Let the *Well-Tempered Clavier* be your daily bread. Then you will certainly become a sound musician.[38]

Beyond these examples, there are few details of Schumann's Bach-related activities on record during 1847-48, as he was embarking on writing his first opera, *Genoveva* and other dramatic works. In 1848, he was also very active in various compositional activities, including the orchestration of *Faust,* a four-hand arrangement of Op. 52, corrections to the Second Symphony, and writing choral works and trios; indeed, this year is considered among the most productive of his creative life. Although direct mention of his Bach-related activities is scarce in this period, a *Chornotizbuch*, the list of the works which Schumann directed at the Dresden

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[37] Reprinted in Hellmut Federhofer, "Luigi Cherubini: Cours de Contre-point et de Fugue in Deutchland und Österreich," *Acta musicologica*, Vol.74, No.2 (2002), 132. Ritter recorded, "Für Fugen gab er mir meist Bachsche Themata (nur einmal ein Beethovensches) und ließ mich dann meine Ausführung mit der des Vorbildes vergleichen."

[38] "Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln," *GS,* Bd.2, 166. "Spiele fleissig Fugen guter Meister, vor Allen von Joh. Seb. Bach. Das "wohltemperirte Clavier" sei dein täglich Brod. Dann wirst du gewiss ein tüchtiger Musiker."

Chorverein (1848-1850) and Düsseldorf *Musikverein* (1851-1852), shows that Bach's choral works were staple repertoire for performance.[39] Among the works composed in 1848, the *Concertstück*, Op. 86, (composed during February and March of 1848) is notable in terms of Schumann's reception of Bach; reminiscent of the concerto grosso style of many of Bach's works, the piece also displays Schumann's effort to synthesize older elements with Romantic idioms.

Around the time the lessons for Ritter finished, Schumann began to take a closer look at the *St. John Passion* (April 1849). His preference of this work to the *St. Matthew* is testified to in a letter to D. G. Otten, the founder and director of the Hamburg Society. Although his speculations on the chronology of the two passions were incorrect—the *St. John* was written earlier—the reasons for his preference are described as follows:

> Do you know Bach's Passion-Music according to St. John, the so-called little one? But of course you do. I wonder if you agree with me that it is much bolder, more powerful and poetical, than the St. Matthew version? The *St. Matthew* seems to me the earlier of the two by five or six years, rather drawn out in places and of excessive length; in the *St. John* what terseness, what inspiration, especially in the choruses, and what consummate art! If only such questions could be cleared up![40]

Eventually, in 1851, Schumann followed through on these thoughts by revising the *St. John Passion* for performance by the Düsseldorf *Musikverein*. Similarly, under the surface of

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[39] *Chornotizbuch*, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau. Arch. No. 4871-VII/C6 A3. This list compiles all the works performed by the *Chorverein* and *Musikverein* during Schumann's respective tenure at each. The list of Bach's works in the *Chornotzbuchi* is reprinted in Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild Robert Schumanns": Table 4 (p.475) and Table 5 (p.479).

[40] 2 April 1849. Letter to D. G. Otten. *Briefe, NF*, 300-301: Reprinted in Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 473; Translation from *The Letters of Robert Schumann*, 260. "Kennen Sie die Bachsche Johannis Passion, die sogenannte kleine? Gewiß! Aber finden Sie sie nicht um Vieles kühner, gewaltiger, poetischer, als die nach d. Evang. Matthäus? Mir scheint die letztere um 5-6 Jahre früher geschrieben, nicht frei von Breiten, und dann überhaupt über das Maß lang—die andere dagegen wie gedrängt, wie durchaus genial, namentlich in den Chören, und von welcher Kunst!—Käme doch über solche Sachen die Welt ins Klare!"

Schumann's various activities in Dresden as a composer, teacher, and music director, Bach remained a consistent source of inspiration and motivation; by immersing himself in the study of fugue, Schumann used Bach and the models he offered to renew his own creativity.

2. Schumann's Counterpoint Study and Teaching

2.1. Cherubini's *Theorie vom Kontrapunkt und der Fuge*

When Schumann entered into this second phase of fugal study in 1845,[41] Clara shared his enthusiasm. The textbook they chose for study was the *Theorie vom Kontrapunkt und der Fuge* (*Cours de Contre-point et de Fugue*) by Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842). First published in Paris in 1835, the book was immediately translated into German and was published in a German-French bilingual edition, prepared by Franz Stöpel in Leipzig in the same year. A review of this German-French edition in the *NZfM* in 1836 suggests at the very least that Schumann would have been exposed to it at its time of publication.[42] However, the first record that he studied Cherubini is found in the diary entry of 7 April 1845. According to the diary records, Robert and Clara studied and referred to this book at least three times between April and November in this year, during which period both wrote numerous fugues and canons.[43]

Various sources are mentioned as references for Cherubini in writing this book—Joseph Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* and Marpurg's *Abhandlung* among them—and Mann describes this book as a compilation of instruction for his pupil Jacques François Fromental Halévy (1799-1862) at the Paris Conservatoire;[44] however, Ian Bent suggests a strong similarity between the Cherubini text and Fétis's *Traité du Contre-point et de la fugue*, finding the structure "virtually a

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[41] Diary entry of 21 February 1845. *Tb*, Bd.3, 381; *Ein Quellenwerk*, 150.

[42] Hellmut Federhofer, "Luigi Cherubini: Cours de Contre-point et de Fugue in Deutchland und Österreich," *Acta musicologica*, Vol.74, No.2 (2002), 129. Carl Ferdinand Becker's review of this treatise was published in the 29 July/2 August 1836 issue of *NZfM*, Vol.5, No.9, 35-37 and 39-40.

[43] 7 April 1845, *Tb*, Bd.3, 385, "Cherubinis Contrapunct m.[it] Kl.[ara] angefangen"; 19 August 1845, *Tb*, Bd.3, 397, "Wieder im Cherubini angefangen"; 14 November 1845, *Tb*, Bd.3, 406, "Cherubini beendigt." Schumann's own copy of this treatise is currently preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturebesitz; a photo facsimile of this copy was published as *Studien zur Kontrapunktlehre* as a part of the *Robert Schumann Neue Ausgabe* (RSA VII/3/5) in 2003.

[44] Federhofer, "Luigi Cherubini: Cours de Contrepoint et Fugue," 130; Alfred Mann, "Textbook versus History," *The Study of Fugue*, 64.

carbon copy of that of Fétis with the exceptions that canon is treated more briefly, and double counterpoint is dealt with not only at the octave, tenth, and twelfth, but also at the ninth, eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth, and not in retrograde and retrograde inversion, as it is in Fétis's treatise."[45] Although Marpurg's *Abhandlung*—Schumann's earlier study source—is considered one of Cherubini's references, the crucial difference between the *Abhandlung* and Cherubini's *Theorie* is easily recognized by the ordering of the content: While Marpurg's begins with chapters covering fugue and proceeds to counterpoint, Cherubini's progresses from counterpoint to fugue. Cherubini's ordering reflects that of Fux's treatise, and although Cherubini acquired the basic outline from Fétis's treatise, his work hewed more closely to and included examples from Fux. As Fux did, Cherubini gives his pupils instruction in the fundamental principles of counterpoint, and then proceeds to the writing of fugues. However, as Federhofer and Nauhaus point out, the changes in style between Fux and Cherubini, separated by a century, had far-reaching consequences for the theory of music:[46] While Fux equated counterpoint with composition, and hence the theory of counterpoint with the theory of composition in general, Cherubini uses counterpoint as a subordinate method for part-writing following the rules of strict counterpoint. As the unique position of counterpoint theory was overshadowed by the rise of the theory of harmony during the eighteenth century, the theory of counterpoint became relegated to a role as the basis for elementary rules of part-writing rather than for composition in a more fundamental sense. Therefore, although Fux and Cherubini shared fundamental principles in their respective explanations of counterpoint, their purposes in using those rules were very different. Cherubini's preface to his book explains this change in the purpose of counterpoint:

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[45] Ian Bent, "Steps to Parnassus: Contrapuntal Theory in 1725," *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 590.

[46] Hellmut Federhofer and Gerd Nauhaus, "Commentary," RSA VII/3/5, 339.

> This work is based on the assumption that the reader or pupil is already familiar with the theory of chords, that is to say of harmony. I therefore introduce him straight away to strict counterpoint, not the kind that followed the old church modes, as used by the old composers, but modern counterpoint based on the new keys, in order in this way to initiate him gradually in the art of fugue writing, the foundation of all composition. It is essential to subject the learner to strict rules, in order that subsequently, when composing in free style, he may be aware of why his talent, if he has any, often compels him to break free of the severity of the basic primary rules, to transcend them, if you will.[47]

In the general history of counterpoint and fugue study, the significance of Cherubini's treatise lies in its pedagogical value as a textbook; while Fétis's work was considered a 'treatise,' Cherubini's is a 'textbook.'[48] This practicality was more in line with Schumann's interest and possibly more attuned to his delicate mental condition at the time. While Cherubini's overall framework follows Fux's, with the influence of Marpurg is also noticeable, especially in the instruction on imitation, canon, double counterpoint, and fugue, as Cherubini himself explained:

> All these kind of imitation and the terms which denote them are to be found in Marpurg's treatise on the art of fugue and imitation, and one can therefore inform oneself in greater detail there. This is the most complete and thorough work in existence and therefore worthy of special study.[49]

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[47] Reprinted and translated in "Commentary," RSA VII/3/5, 337. "Der Anlage dieses Werkes liegt die Voraussetzung yum Grund: dass der Leser oder Schüler schon die Theorie der Accorde, oder, was gleichviel ist, die Harmonielehre kenne. Ich führe ihn daher sogleich zum strengen Contrapuncte, aber nicht zu dem, welcher den alten Kirchentonarten folgte, und den die alten Componisten angewendet haben, sondern zu dem modernen Contrapuncte, welcher auf die neuen Tonarten gegründet ist, um ihn so nach und nach in die Kunst der Fugencomposition, der Grundlage aller Composition, einzuweihen. Es ist unerlässlich, den Schüler strengen Regeln zu unterwerfen, damit er in der Folge im freien Style sich Rechenschaft ablegen könne, warum sein Genie, wenn er Genie hat, ihn oft gezwungen, sich von der Strenge der ersten und wesentlich Regeln loszumachen, sich wenn man so will, darüber zu erheben."

[48] As Alfred Mann phrases it, "Cherubini's book describes the transformation from the living to the academic fugue." Mann, *Study of Fugue*, 64. The German title "*Theorie*…" somewhat misleads the purpose of this publication as a textbook for "Cour (course)."

[49] Reprinted and translated in "Commentary," RSA VII/3/5, 339. "Alle diese Imitationsarten und Benennungen finden sich in Marpurg's Abhandlung von der Kunst der Fuge und Nachahmung und man kann sich daher dor nähere

In addition, in the section "imitation for three and four voices," Cherubini recommends that the learner consult Marpurg's treatise to see all the intervals which can be used in imitation.[50] Cherubini's up-to-date instruction on counterpoint as a primer for part-writing and on the technique as a fundamental base for fugue compositions, together with Marpurg's treatment of the parts of the fugue, all captured Schumann's attention.[51]

Among the 224 music examples in Cherubini's treatise, none are from Bach.[52] This omission of Bach in the examples undermines Cherubini's treatise as a source of Schumann's Bach study; however, the Schumanns' study of counterpoint and fugue in general was strongly motivated by their eagerness to comprehend the essence of Bach's musical styles, and to further the transmission of Bach's works. If the presence of Bach is a given at this stage in the Schumanns' lives, the study of Cherubini's textbook further strengthened their intellectual grasp of counterpoint and thus refined their sense of a Bachian inheritance.

At first glance, the most notable aspect of Schumann's copy of Cherubini is his engagement with the French.[53] His skill with foreign languages is generally unknown, but Schumann apparently used the bilingual publication as a source for learning French as well as counterpoint.[54] Often, he underlined unfamiliar French words and the German equivalents in

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Belehrung verschaffen. Es ist dieses Werk das vollständigste und gründlichste von allen und darum eines besondern Studiums werth." This paragraph appears on page 56 of Schumann's copy of Cherubini.

[50] "Commentary," RSA VII/3/5, 339; page 68 of Schumann's Cherubini copy.

[51] As discussed in Chapter 1, it is doubtful that Schumann ever studied the "counterpoint" section in his earlier Marpurg study, given that the part of Schumann's own copy of *Abhandlung* is very clean, lacking marginal notes or markings.

[52] "Commentary," RSA VII/3/5, 335. Cherubini included the origins of only a few of his 224 examples.

[53] The publication was bilingual: each page had two columns, the left in German and the right in French; Schumann's marginalia is far more copious on the French column.

[54] The most intriguing example is not directly related to music: Schumann added the French suffix, "**-ième**" under the number "7me" in Rule VII of the second species of counterpoint in three part, to correct the ordinal number notation in French (p.35).

both columns (p.2), or wrote down the German definition even when the same German word appeared in the corresponding German column.[55] Other times, he used a German definition that disregarded the suggested translation in the German column; basically, he added various synonyms in addition to the translation offered.[56] He paid special attention to musical terms,[57] but was generally aware of translation issues: He noted "falsch übersetzt (falsely translated),"[58] and offered corrections.[59] His criticism even embraced the editorial, as he found and corrected typographical errors.[60]

Furthermore, he questioned the organization of the contents. He left notes such as "Keine Regel 1st später zu erwähnen (not a rule: to be mentioned later, p.4)," and "zu anstelle von auf[einander] eingefügt (to be inserted in another place, p.8)." He acutely noted vague explanations as "sehr unklar gesagt (said very unclear, p.13)" and "unklar (unclear, p.49);"

[55] The German words were rewritten near the French: "le grave" and "l'aigu," are annotated "grave [/] tief" and "aigu [/] hoch" (p.4); "conjoint," and "disjoint"—"stufen- / sprung- } weise" (p.5); "l'élévation"—"Höhe" (p.16); "l'apreté"—"Härte" and "l'effacer"—"vernichten" (p.20); "sautillant"—"hübfend" (p.25).

[56] He underlined the French word and added his own terms in German. On page 5, both the suggested German and the synonym are written out for "denomination":"Benennung" and the suggested "Entfernung." Other occurrences ignore the suggestion completely: "pour lons" is annotated "alsdann" (p.6); "simultanés"—"gleichzeitig" (p.8); "expedients"—"Ausweg" (p.9); "analogues"—"angemessen" (p.11); "Le raisonnement"—"Grundsatz, Satz" and "spécieux"—"scheinbar" (p.14); "en outre"—"außerdem" (p.33); "garantir"—"sich schützen" (p.36); "erronée"—"falsch" (p.37); "entraveraient"—"fesseln, hinder" (p.68)

[57] Under "oblique motion," he wrote "Steinbewegung" (p.3); "quinte inaltérée" is annotated "reine Quinte" and "mode"—"Tonart" (p.5); "soupir"—"Viertelpause" (p.21); "croches"—"Achtel" (p.25); "diapason"—"Umfang" (p.28);"haute-contres, les tailles"—"Sopran, Alt, Tenor" (p.55); "Umkehrung" is substituted for "Nachahmung" (p.69)

[58] Page 16. The German translation reads "In der ersten Art des Contrapuntes," but should have been 'zweiten'; the French text was accurate.

[59] Underlining "sixte mineur," he noted "? sixte majeur[e]" (p.7); replaced "kann" with "läßt" in the German column (p.61); noted "also auch Alt u. Tenor, nicht?, (p.77); and crossed out "ein" and wrote "drei" instead (p.96).

[60] He changed "interromptue" to "interrompue" (p.69); "l'antécédant" to "l'antécédent" (p.69); and "contre-ponits" to "contre-points" (p.79).

points that completely confused him were labeled with question marks;[61] or "Warum?" (p.24) and "warum nicht 6/4? O! O!" (p.29).

Schumann's consistent engagement with the words used was matched by his examination and evaluation of the music examples. Comments such as "klingt auch schlecht" (p.6) and "nicht gut," or "gut" (Ex. 76. p. 25); "nicht gut" (Ex. 92, p.32) and marks such as 'x' over dissonances (Ex. 93, p.32) were frequent. He also demanded clarity in music examples, adding designation for keys (major/minor labeling to Ex. 156 (p.74) and parts ("Cp" and "CF" to Ex. 161, p.80) and criticizing examples through strict application of counterpoint rules, noting hidden parallel motion (Ex. 129, p.54 and Ex. 188, p.97). Likewise, he corrected publishing mistakes evident in examples that should have followed the suggested motion; for instance, Schumann replaced F with D and G with A in Ex. 143 (p.65).[62] When quarter notes appeared in a long phrase consisting mainly of half-notes, he asked "warum stehen hier Viertelnotenköpfe? (why do the quarter note-heads appear here?) (p.74). Schumann even noticed Cherubini's tendency to use "au-dessus (above)" when he should have used "au-dessous (below);" Schumann duly changed "über" with "unter" where it appeared in this context (p.90).

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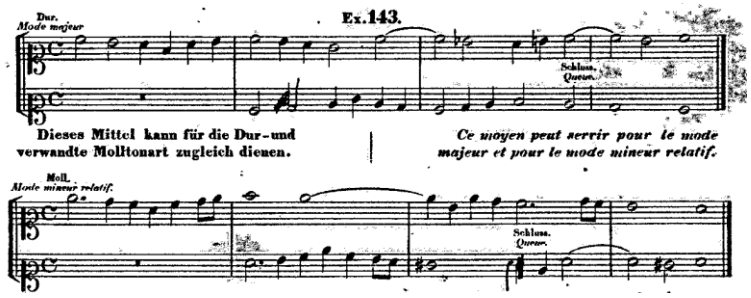
[61] Next to Ex. 55 (p.19); underlining German part "mehr in Ehren gehalten wird," the added question mark indicates the mistranslation (p.27); sometimes, the underline below the phrase marked a passage he did not quite understand ("quelque faut la nature du" and "ensorte de," p.28); next to the underlined German word "machen" he also added a question mark (p.62); he crossed out his own question mark next to a rule for double counterpoint (p.79).

[62] The following image is taken from the photocopy of Schumann's Cherubini copy, RSA VII/3/5. Schumann's revisions (both in the lower voice) are shown in the second measure of the first system, and the third measure of the second system.

Interestingly, the fugue chapter contains only one marginal note by Schumann (p.112): He wrote 'Schusterfleck' (rosalia, or cobbler's patch) underneath the indication 'Nachsatz' (coda). He did not make any corrections to textual and musical mistakes by Cherubini, the German translator, or the publisher in this chapter; as a result, it is difficult to say whether Schumann read it closely. While there is no clear evidence that Schumann was reading Cherubini on fugue in 1845, he was surely doing so two years later, during the writing of his *Lehrbuch* in 1847, where the treatment of fugue draws heavily on Cherubini. It is possible that Schumann's strong prior knowledge of fugue rendered it unnecessary to closely examine Cherubini's chapter on the subject, even as they shared views on the importance of fugue.[63]

Schumann's corrections and marginal notes in Cherubini's chapters on counterpoint and fugue suggest the nature of his study of contrapuntal writing in this year. During this time of mental recovery, Schumann chose to study this 'textbook' for its practical (as opposed to theoretical) approach to technique. He approached the text more as a critic or teacher than as a student, reading and correcting basic step-by-step explanations of contrapuntal rules and playing a sort of simple word game using French and German.[64] However, his obsessive-compulsiveness was focused as well on the clarity of the explanations and correcting mistakes, resulting in his attention towards strict rules stated clearly in both German and French and through music examples. Schumann's copy of the Cherubini illuminates all the aspects of the book that appealed to his present needs: a pedagogical treatment of a familiar subject; a topic for methodical criticism; and an object that was both a diverting and useful puzzle to solve. When

[63] Cherubini even regarded the fugue as "the prototype of all musical compositions. They must all have, if not the form and the character, at least the spirit of the fugue if they are to be well conceived and executed." Reprinted and translated in commentary, 336. "…den Typus aller musicalischen Compositionen—sie müssen alle, wenn nicht die Form und den Character, doch den Geist der Fuge haben, wenn sie gut empfangen und aus geführt sein sollen."

[64] Jensen also points out the aspect of this study as a game—the playful quality of counterpoint—which must have served as a beneficial source of relaxation for Schumann. *Schumann*, 221.

the mind is disordered, puzzle-solving can be a way to structure and reconfigure the thought process. Studying Cherubini gave Schumann an opportunity to reaffirm the rules, structure, and order with which he was comfortable; likewise, funneling his compositional energies into the strict forms such as canon and fugue gave Schumann a place of musical stability and order. As Jensen suggests, "in a fragile mental state, he must have thought it helpful as a composer to be obliged to follow the numerous rules of counterpoint required by the style he had selected; in that sense, it was as if self-imposed boundaries had been erected, and some of the freedom of thought that appeared to frighten him at the time had been removed."[65]

2.2. Schumann's *Die Lehre vom Contrapunct / Die Lehre von der Fuge*

Cherubini's textbook had a two-fold significance for Schumann: It was his main source of contrapuntal study in 1845, and also provided a pedagogical guide for Schumann as a teacher. When Schumann gave private composition instruction to Karl Ritter, he wrote an abridged version of Cherubini's *Theorie vom Kontrapunkt und der Fuge*, titled *Die Lehre vom Contrapunct / Die Lehre von der Fuge* (hereafter, *Lehrbuch*) for use in the lessons. As Cherubini followed the framework of Fétis, Schumann adopted the framework and contents of Cherubini for the *Lehrbuch*.[66] His writing is characteristic of a personal notebook rather than a textbook,

[65] Ibid., 222.

[66] This collection was not recorded in his own diaries (the *Tagebücher*) and was largely unknown. Wolfgang Boetticher mentioned the manuscript under the title *Lehrbuch des Kontrapunkts und der Fuge* in his 1941 publication *Robert Schumann: Einführung in Persönlichkeit und Werk*, but by then the manuscript was in a private collection and therefore remained inaccessible for most scholars. This invaluable source appeared in a Sotheby's auction in 1999. Although this manuscript was sold to a private collector, the Schumann Gesellschaft in Germany made a photo facsimile and published as RSA VII/3/5 with Schumann's copy of Cherubini's *Theorie*.

concisely summarizing Cherubini's *Theorie* in 33 folios and omitting most of his examples.[67] Essentially, Schumann used the *Theorie* as a reference tool for his teaching, providing the clearest and most succinct summation of Cherubini's work possible through his own digestion of the material.

The lessons for Karl Ritter (1830-1901; the older brother of the composer Alexander Ritter) are recorded in the Schumanns' *Haushaltbuch*: A total of 56 lessons are recorded—albeit without comment—as taking place during the period 18 November 1847 to 27 January 1849.[68] However, the final lesson as recorded in the *Lehrbuch* differs: "completed with Ritter 2 September 48" (on 33r). After Ritter completed the course of the *Lehrbuch*, the following months were spent with Schumann on original composition.[69]

Ritter's descriptions of his lessons, in a written account given to Hermann Erler (Venice, 22 February 1885), confirm Schumann's use of the template laid out in the *Lehrbuch*:

> During the lesson he [Schumann] was extremely silent. Usually he would sit at the piano with the work I had done, read it silently, and if there was something that he didn't like he would play it on the piano while giving me a disapproving look. For fugues he usually gave me subjects by Bach (only in one case by Beethoven) and then made me compare what I had written with the composer's own version. He proceeded in the same manner with regard to instrumentation: he gave me piano reductions of works by Mozart to orchestrate, and my score was then compared with Mozart's. With the Berlioz [Treatise on Instrumentation (1843)]

[67] Federhofer and Nauhaus identified the examples; among Cherubini's numerous musical examples, only Nos. 142-144, 156, 158, 162 and 179 were reused by Schumann, some of them in a slightly altered or abbreviated form. "Commentary," RSA VII/3/5, 333. Although not intended for publication—he wrote "Nicht zur Veröffentlichung bestimmt (not for publication)" with his signature on the front page—Schumann included a table of contents.

[68] *Tb*, Bd.3, 482.

[69] *Lehrbuch*, fol.2r, and in the margin of the last sheet. Reprinted in "Commentary," RSA VII/3/5, 332.

> which was eventually undertaken, he was in agreement to the extent that he commented only on what was more usual practice in German orchestras.[70]

This account indicates that modeling and comparison were prominent teaching techniques for Schumann. It is clear from a number of notes in the *Lehrbuch* that the pupil himself was required to produce exercises in strict counterpoint: "After expounding the rules of the different species of counterpoint, student produces a series of pieces in which all the rules are to be followed;"[71] "Here the student must produce more extended examples in which the rules of the first species of this kind counterpoint are applied;"[72] "Here, the student must produce a number of examples on this species;"[73] and "Let the composition student practice examples of this kind very extensively and diligently; they are of great practical use."[74]

The pedagogical similarity to Cherubini is obvious. Although in his *Einführung* Boetticher suggests that Schumann's text was dependent to an equal degree on both Marpurg and Cherubini,[75] Marpurg's role in the *Lehrbuch* is limited to that which it played in Cherubini's

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[70] Peter Jost, "Karl Ritter, Komponist zwischen Schumann und Wagner" in *Schumann Forschungen*, 7 (Mainz: Schott, 2002), 185 (182-204); Reprinted and translated in "Commentary," RSA VII/3/5, 334: "Im Unterricht verhielt er sich äußerst schweigsam. Gewöhnlich setzte er sich mit meiner Arbeit ans Clavier, las sie mit den Augen, und wenn ihm Etwas mißfiel, so griff er es auf dem Clavier, wobei er mich mit einem mißbilligenden Blick ansah. Für Fugen gab er mir meist Bachsche Themata (nur einmal ein Beethovensches) und ließ mich dann meine Ausführung mit der des Vorbildes vergleichen. Ebenso verfuhr er beim Instrumentiren: da gab er mir Mozartsche Clavierauszüge für Orchester zu setzen, worauf meine Partitur mit der Mozartschen verglichen wurde. Mit dem Berliozschen Werk, welches zuletzt vorgenommen wurde, war er so einverstanden, daß er nur Bemerkungen über das, was in deutschen Orchestern gebräuchlicher sei, hinzufügte."

[71] *Lehrbuch*, fol.8r. At the end of the first species two part counterpoint: "Nach Darlegung d. Regeln d. verschiedenen Arten d. Contrapuncte arbeite der Schüler nun eine Reihe Stücke, in denen alle Regeln zu befolgen."

[72] *Lehrbuch*, fol.12r.. At the end of the rules governing the first species of three-part counterpoint: "Hier hat der Schüler mehre großere Beispiele zu machen, in denen die Regeln d. 1sten Art dieses Contrapunctes anzuwenden sind."

[73] *Lehrbuch*, fol.12v. At the end of the second species of three-part counterpoint: "Hier hat der Schüler eine Anzahl Beispiele über diese Gattung zu machen."

[74] *Lehrbuch*, fol.17v. In the section on two-part imitation: "Der Compositions- Schüler übe sich nun in Beispielen dieser Art sehr viel u. fleißig; sie sind von bedeutendem praktischen Nutzen."

[75] "Commentary," RSA VII/3/5, 333.

book.[76] As Federhofer and Nauhaus suggest, "it was essentially excerpted, a heavily abridged form, with borrowings, many of them verbatim, from Cherubini's textbook, to which Schumann occasionally added comments of his own."[77] Schumann summarized the principles of counterpoint in the form of rules, while dispensing with Cherubini's brief "Introduction" and explanation of the church modes.[78] Although he omitted most of Cherubini's music examples, memos such as "example" and "many examples" appear between texts, indicating that Schumann chose music examples specifically for each lesson. The following table shows similarities and differences between both sources (Table 1.)[79]

Schumann distinguished his pedagogical guide through commentary illuminating both the topic of counterpoint in general and, more crucially, how Schumann approached and understood the topic from both a compositional standpoint and his own position in music history. Within the pattern of Cherubini's pedagogical outline, Schumann's additions are most striking as a reflection of his own infatuation with and internalization of Bachian counterpoint. Specifically, Schumann's comments both implicitly and explicitly invoke the influence of Bach (and other composers) upon his conception of counterpoint as a compositional tool.

The first part of the *Lehrbuch* is less an introduction than a series of prefatory notes offering basic theoretical background and context. The first striking comment here is

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[76] Ibid., Federhofer and Nauhaus suggested that Schumann's only direct borrowing from Marpurg was probably the tables of numbers in which the various possibilities of interchanging parts in three- and four-part counterpoint (in two-part, as well) are suggested, given that these are not found in Cherubini. Refer to *Lehrbuch*, fols.22, 23, 24, and 25.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid. Those sections of Cherubini's textbook from which Schumann took either the actual wording or the sense are indicated by editorial continuous numbering in the margins. Also refer to "Preface to The Present Edition," RSA VII/3/5, p.XI.

[79] Although Schumann branches out the sub-titles under the categorization used by Cherubini, he added his own numbers to the sub-titles of each section, regardless of the categorization hierarchy. As a result, a total of 98 sections are listed.

Table 1. Comparison of the Chapter Outlines of Cherubini's *Theorie* and Schumann's *Lehrbuch*

Cherubini's *Theorie*	Schumann's *Lehrbuch*	
Volume 1.	[prefatory note]	
	Die Lehre vom Kontrapunct	
Vorbemerkungen (Introduction)		§1-4
Vom 2 Stimmigen Contrapuncte (Counterpoint in two parts) Erste Art des Contrapunctes (First species)	A. Vom einfachen Satz oder Contrapunct I) Für 2 Stimmen 1) 1ste Art	§5-6, §7-13
Zweite Art (Second species in two parts)	2) 2te Art	§14-19
Dritte Art (Third species in two parts)	3) 3te Art	§20-24
Vierte Art (Fourth species in two parts)	4) 4te Art	§25-29
Fünfte Art (Fifth species in two parts)	5) 5te Art	§30-33
Vom 3 Stimmigen Contrapuncte (Counterpoint in three parts) Erste Gattung (First species in three parts)	II) Für 3 Stimmen 1) 1ste Art	§34-40
Zweite Gattung (Second species in three parts)	2) 2te Art	§41-44
Dritte Gattung (Third species in three parts)	3te Art	§45
Vierte Gattung (Fourth species in three parts)	4te Art	§46-49
Fünfte Gattung (Fifth species in three parts)	5te Art	§50
Vom 4 stimmigen Contrapuncte (Counterpoint in four parts) Erste Gattung (First species)	III) Für 4 Stimmen 1ste Art 2te u. 3te Art	§51-57
Vierte Gattung (Fourth species in four parts)	4te Art	§58-61
Fünfte Gattung (Fifth species in four parts)	5te Art	§62
Vom Contrapuncte zu Fünf, Sechs, Sieben, und Acht reellen Stimmen (Counterpoint in five, six, seven, and eight real parts)	IV) Für 5 und mehr Stimmen	§63
Vom der Nachahmung (On imitation)	B. Vom nachahmenden Satz	§64-67
Imitaion zu 2 Simmen (Imitation in two parts) Erste Gattung: Nachahmung in gleicher Bewegung (Imitation in similar motion)	I) Für 2 Stimmen 1) in gleicher Bewegung	§68
Zweite Gattung: Imitation in der Gegenbewegung (Imitation by contrary motion)	2) in der Gegenbewegung a) frei oder unregelmäßig b) streng oder regalmäßig 3) Rückgängige Bewegung 4) Doppeltrückgängige Bewegung	§69 §70 §71 §72
Von Einigen Andern Arten der Nachahmung (Several other sorts of imitation)	5) Von andern Nachahmungsarten	§73
Dritte Gattung: Von den Nachahmungen zu 3 und 4 Stimmen (Imitation for three and four voices)	II) Für 3 und mehr Stimmen	§74-75

(continued from the previous page)

Cherubini's *Theorie*	Schumann's *Lehrbuch*	
Vom Doppelten Contrapuncte (Double Counterpoint)	C. Vom umkehrungsfähigen Satz	§76
Vom 2 stimmigen doppelten Contrapunct (On double counterpoint)	I) Für 2 Stimmen	
Umkehrung in der Octave (Double counterpoint in the octave)	1) In der Octave	§77-79
Von der Umkehrung in der None (Double counterpoint in the ninth)	2) In der None	§80
Umkehrung in der Decime (Double counterpoint in the tenth)	3) In der Decime	§81
Umkehrung in der Undercime (Double counterpoint in the eleventh)	4) In der Undecime	§82
Umkehrung in der Duodecime (Double counterpoint in the twelfth)	5) Duodecime	§83
Umkehrung in die Terzdecime (Double counterpoint in the thirteenth)	6) Terzdecime	§84
Umkehrung in die Quartdecime (Double counterpoint in the fourteenth)	7) Quartdecime	§85
Vom drei- und vierfachen Contrapuncte (Triple and quadruple counterpoints)	II) Für 3 u. 4 Stimmen	§86-88
Vom drei- und vierfachen Contrapunct in der Decime (Triple and quadruple counterpoints in the tenth)		
Vome drei- und vierfachen Contrapunct in der Doudecime (Triple and quadruple counterpoints in the twelfth)		
	Die Lehre von der Fuge	
Vom der Fuge	Allegemeine Vorbemerkungen	§89
Vom Subjecte Vom der Antwort Vom Contrasubjecte (On the subject, answer, and countersubjects)	 Vom Thema Von d. Antwort Von d. Gegenharmonie	§90 §91 §92
Vom Stretto (On the stretto)	Von d. Zwischenharmonie Von d. Engführung	§93 §94
Vom Orgelpuncte (On the pedal in a fugue)	Vom Orgelpunct	§95
Von der einfachen Fuge (Tonal Fugue)	I. Von d. Einfachen Fuge	§96
Von der reellen Fuge (Real and strict fugue)	II. Von d. reelen Fuge	§97
Von der nachahmenden Fuge (Fugue of imitation)	III. Von der nachahmenden Fuge	§98
Vom Coda oder dem Nachsatze (On the codetta)		
Von dem divertissement Von der Modulation (On the episodes and modulations)		
Von der ganzen Gestaltung (Entire composition of a fugue)		
Allgemeine Bemerkungen (Examples on Fugue with a Perpetual Analysis)		

Schumann's introduction of "Satz" as a synonym for "counterpoint":

> Note [in pencil]
>
> Our German word "Satz" corresponds quite well to the foreign "counterpoint." In the same way [foreign] "double" with the more descriptive "umkehrungsfähig" [i.e., "invertible"]. Thus, instead of "simple counterpoint" it would be better from now on to say, simple Satz, and instead of "double counterpoint"–["]invertible Satz".—[80]

Although the editors of the *Lehrbuch* interpreted this suggestion as being in line with Schumann's desire to use German rather than foreign performance notations,[81] Schumann's invocation of 'Satz' is also suggestive in the context of the common understanding of the term. Although the German word 'Satz' has multiple meaning in music, most of the time it was associated with 'part-writing;' yet Schumann (and later, Schenker) used it for 'counterpoint.' This may indicate Schumann's wider conception of what counterpoint is: Possibly, Schumann understood counterpoint as inherently related to part-writing, in that it allows multiple voices to interact, albeit horizontally rather than vertically. This conception carries significant implications regarding Schumann's reception of counterpoint as learned from Marpurg and Bach, and his subsequent rendering of the technique in his own works.

Topics covered in this first 'session' (noted as "1ste Stunde d. 18ten Nov. 47" on fol.2r) include hearing intervals and chords, modulation, and basic counterpoint exercises (this part corresponds to [prefatory note] in my Table 1).[82] Under "III) Exercises for small 3 parts

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[80] Schumann, *Lehrbuch*, Fol.1v. Translation by author and David Bloom: "Anmerkung / Unser deutsches Wort „Satz" entspricht dem fremden „Contrapunct," das <dieSchüler> ganz gut. Eben so dem „doppelt" das bezeichnendere „umkehrungsfähig". Statt „einfacher Contrapunt" wäre also in der Folge immer besser zu sagen: einfacher Satz, statt „doppelter Contrapunct" –[„]umkehrungsfähiger Satz".—"

[81] "Notes on Schumann's Textbook," RSA VII/3/5, 326. This was suggested in Schumann's letter to Franz Brendel (8 August 1847). The letter is found in *Briefe, NF*, 277 (No.310); reprinted in Boetticher's *Robert Schumann in seinen Schriften und Briefen* (Hahnefeld: Berlin, 1942), 435.

[82] *Lehrbuch*, fols.2r and 3r (Fols.2v and 3v are empty).

counterpoint,"[83] Schumann offers examples of various sets of vocal and instrumental music, including prominent Bachian formation techniques such as "2 and 3 part canon," and "chorales with different harmonization (in the 1st species counterpoint) (many possible)."[84]

The main body of the text begins on folio 6r. Schumann's instruction briefly enumerates various musical terms, including the four fundamental terms of counterpoint: consonance/dissonance, perfect/imperfect consonance, intervals, and motions. An *Anmerkung* (note) appearing below this explanation is particularly significant as a remark on compositional practice regarding counterpoint:

> Note: The student must get accustomed to invent everything in the head (without instrument) and preferably learn to write for voices. Also in writing down the latter he should use the older clefs.[85]

This remark may not directly address counterpoint. However, Schumann's immediate reference to the use of the inner ear rather than relying on playing out the music, is indicative of the changes in his own compositional practice he emphasized in previous years.

Schumann proceeds to "counterpoint," largely in agreement with Cherubini but occasionally adding his own thoughts and questioning the rules. The first notable comment appears at the end of the section on two-part first species simple counterpoint. Having covered the rules of this species, Schumann mentions that all chorale melodies can be used as the cantus firmus:

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[83] Ibid., "III) Uebungen kleiner 3stimmiger Sätze"

[84] *Lehrbuch*, fol.2r. "Neben bei Versuch eines 2 u. 3 stimmigen Cannons" and "Choräle verschieden zu harmonisiren (in d. 1sten Gattung d. Contrap.) (möglichst viele)"

[85] *Lehrbuch*, fol.6r. Translation by author and David Bloom: "Anmerkung. Der Schüler muß <alles> sich gewöhnen, Alles im Kopfe (ohne Instrument) zu erfinden und Vorzugsweise für Singstimmen schreiben lernen. Auch Bediene er sich zum Niederschreiben der letztern der älteren Schlüssel."

> Post-comment: In working out 2-part settings, all chorale melodies are particularly to be recommended; <they are designated with the word> The given voice is also called Cantus Firmus, the <voice> composed to it <is> is called the counterpoint.[86]

The use of chorale melody as cantus firmus is a technique Schumann learned from Bach's chorales. As a pedagogical tool, Schumann shared this with Mendelssohn, who had used the Bach chorales as a fundamental part of his teaching. Both composers considered the chorales the cornerstone of Bach's works,[87] and Schumann's acknowledgement of the chorale as engaging cantus firmus reflects his awareness of this Bachian technique and its value for composition students.

The pervasive appeal of Bach to Schumann for his use in teaching is highlighted by his frequent references to specific examples from the repertoire to illustrate various points. Indeed, one of his main complaints about Cherubini's treatise is that "Bach and Handel seem to have been little known to Cherubini."[88] His comments regularly refer to Bachian examples; for instance, when explaining various imitation techniques, he indicates "augmentation" as the most important technique in canonic and fugal works, noting that "Sebastian Bach used this often and indeed very effectively."[89]

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[86] *Lehrbuch*, fol.8r. "Nachbemerkung. Zur Ausarbeitung 2stimmiger Sätze sind namentlich alle Choralmelodieen zu empfehlen; <~~man bezeichnet sie auch durch das Wort~~> [with pencil] Die gegebene Stimme nennt man auch Cantus Firmus, die dazu componirte <Stimme ist> heißt der Contrapunct.

[87] Mendelssohn compiled those works based on chorale melodies; the compilation was published in 1845. Footnote 22 in the current chapter. Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 27. When the publisher Coventry & Hollier mislabeled several of Bach's choral preludes as fugues, Mendelssohn protested, "why is Bach's name always connected with fugues? He has had more to do with psalm-tunes than with fugues." Letter to London publisher, Coventry and Hollier (17 December 1844)

[88] *Lehrbuch*, fol.16v. "(Von Bach u. Händel scheint Cherubini nur wenig gekannt zu haben)."

[89] *Lehrbuch*, fol.19v. "S.[ebastian] Bach hat dies oft und sogar mit großer Wirkung angewandt."

If Schumann was often critical of Cherubini's textbook in reference to fugue when compiling the *Lehrbuch*, he clearly agreed with a particularly insightful statement made by Cherunibi that he chose to copy out:

> Cherubini said: "Everything that a good composer <ought to> needs to know, he can find indicated at the proper place in the fugue; it is the <consequence> ideal of all musical composition etc. and truthfully, as it stems from the deepest <art> understanding of artistic form, so almost all masterpieces <more than> even of a freer style can be traced back to fugal form."[90]

Schumann's explanation of fugue in his *Lehrbuch* is briefer and clearer than Cherubini's, eliminating significant portions of Cherubini's fugue chapter (as shown in Table 1). In addition, Marpurg reappears as source material in this section. Schumann included the table of numbers used by Marpurg (in addition to Cherubini's) to outline the various possibilities of interchanging parts in two-, three- and four-part counterpoint and to calculate intervals for inversion. This reflects his internalization of the Marpurg treatise. As an experienced teacher, he even criticizes Cherubini's ordering of real fugue before imitative fugue:

> The classification of kinds of fugue in the sequence (as we regard it) simple, real, and imitative is, following Cherubini, and as it seems to me, illogical; the order must have reversed, since the latter kind is the easier, and the first more difficult.[91]

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[90] Ibid., fol. 27r. Translation by author and David Bloom: "Cherubini sagt: „Alles, was ein guter Componist zu wissen <~~soll~~> nöthig hat, findet er in der Fuge zu zeigen den schicklichen Ort; sie ist der <~~Folge~~> Tÿpus aller musikalischen Composition pp und in Wahrheit, wie sie aus dem tiefsten <~~Kunst~~> verständniß der Kunstform hervorgegangen, so laßen sich auch (fast) alle Meisterwerke <mehr als> selbst freierer Art auf die Fugenform zurückführen.""

[91] Ibid., fol.32r. Translation by author and David Bloom: "[x] Die Eintheilung der Fugen arten in der Folge, wie wir sie halten, in einfache, reelle u. nachahmende ist nach Cherubini, u. <in> wie mir scheint, eine unlogische; die Folge müsste umgekehrt sein, da die letztere Art die leichtere, die erstere die schwierigere ist. ------ R. Sch." Marpurg, in his *Abhandlung*, begins with the concept of imitation, and proceeds to fugue, classifying strict and free fugues; here, according to Cherubini, fugue can be classified into tonal, real and imitative fugues. Cherubini's the explanation of imitative fugue sounds equivalent to that of free fugue in Marpurg's term. Schumann probably recalled the general concept of imitation in Cherunibi's denomination of 'imitative fugue', as he had experienced in Marpurg.

However, despite his distaste for Cherubini's order of instruction, Schumann maintains it in the *Lehrbuch*; this itself recalls his apparent disinterest in Cherubini's fugue chapter, as seen earlier in his lack of notations to that section of the *Theorie*. The *Lehrbuch*'s abridgement of Cherubini's explanation of the pedal or organ point is a further sign of this diminished interest; however, Schumann's invocation of Bach as the exemplar of their use—"the greatest and most ingenious organ-points are in Bach's work, particularly in his organ fugues"[92]—points to his reliance on Bach's inspiration when Cherubini fails to move him.

Schumann's particular interest in the thematic subject of the fugue is again manifested in his treatment of the topic relative to that of other fugal terms. He ignores Cherubini's description while providing a detailed explanation (§90) pointing to depth of expression as a mark of the quality of a fugal subject and as a prerequisite to a successful fugal composition.[93] This perspective on fugue dictates his discussion of subject:

> The smaller or larger effect of a fugue always depends on the quality of the subject. Therefore, the student, above all, should carefully think of a good subject; all the skill of the work is wasted, if it is not supported by the rich fundamental idea. Also not every kind of motive, which in itself may be beautiful, is suitable for a fugue-theme. The solemnity of this style especially demands strength and dignity of thoughts, although in this field, the playing does

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Cherunibi's explanation: "Tonal fugue…which the subject, at its very outset, passes from the tonic to the dominant or from the dominant to the tonic. The answer…is not *absolutely similar* to the subject; Real fugue fugue…in which the subject begins by the tonic, and directly proceeds to any other chord than that of dominant, and of which the answer, which must be made in the fifth of the principal key, is in all respects similar to the subject; Imitation fugue…that of which the answer is nearly, but altogether, similar to the subject, the composer having liberty of introducing some changes, and of curtailing it if he thinks fit." Cherunibi, *A Course of Counterpoint and Fugue*, tans. J.A. Hamilton (2nd English edition; first edition published in 1837), 1841 (London: R.Cocks and Co), 308,315, and 318.

[92] Ibid., fol.30v. "In S. Bach finden sich die großartigsten u. Genialsten Orgelpuncte, namentl. in seinen Orgelfugen."

[93] "Commentary," RSA VII/3/5, 342.

> not exclude humor, as in S. Bach's example. A weak sentimentality is the most distant [from a fugal style].[94]

Here, Schumann again is describing the subject as essentially melody, a cornerstone of his conception of the fugal subject. Here too, Schumann omits any mention of Cherubini's thoughts on developing the fugue subject.

As a composer, Schumann admired and applied fugue as a generating concept, rather than seeing through a strict execution of the form. This application thus extended to his lessons in composition. Likewise, he emphasizes qualities in the subject—strength, dignity of thought, humor—that conform to his own priorities as a composer of fugue. These qualities were always attributed by Schumann to Bach, hence his use of Bach examples in lessons as tools for students to assess their own subjects. This internalized Bachian influence resonated in the structuring of the *Lehrbuch*, which, while retaining much of the *Theorie*, consistently questioned Cherubini's rules and processes. The rules of counterpoint, as laid out by the theorist, were insufficient to explain the real compositions of Bach; where these discrepancies arose, Schumann challenged Cherubini's system, making a case for the primacy of Bach's handling of counterpoint and fugue.

In the diary entries dated March to June 1846, Schumann recorded a significant remark about his way of working:

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[94] *Lehrbuch*, fol.27v-28r; Translation from.Lo's dissertation, 41, footnote 15. "Die kleinere oder größere Wirkung einer Fuge wird stets auf der Güte des Thema's beruhen. Darum sei der Studierende vor allem auf ein gutes <schönes> Thema bedacht; alle Kunst der Arbeit ist vergeblich verschwendet, wo der Grundgedanke nichts <ver>taugt. (with pencil in the margin: wo sie von keinem gehaltvollen Grundggedanken erstüzzt wird) <Aber> Es paßt auch nicht jedes an u. Für sich vielleicht <selbst> schöne Motiv zu einem Fugenthema. Der Ernst dieses Sty(umlaut)ls erheischt vorzugsweise <Ermst,> Kraft und Würde des Gedankens, obwohl auch auf diesem Gebiet das Spielende, selbst das Humoristische nicht aus geschlossen ist, wie S. Bach die Beispiele aufzuweisen hat. Am fernsten liegt dem Sty(umlaut) das Weich-Sentimentale.—"

> I used to write most, practically all of my shorter pieces in [the heat of] inspiration; many compositions [were completed] with unbelievable swiftness, for instance, my First Symphony in B flat major [was written] in four days, as was a *Liederkreis* of twenty pieces *[Dichterliebe];* the *Peri* too was composed in a relatively short time. Only from the year 1845 on, when I began to invent and work out everything in my head, did a completely new manner of composing begin to develop.[95]

Schumann was aware of the connections between his compositional medium and process seven years prior to this significant remark. Calling attention to his continuing consciousness of his own growth as a composer, in 1839, Schumann refers to the changes in his compositional process brought on in part by the limitations of the piano.[96] Schumann had been composing as a performer physically engaged with an instrument; when he moved to genres beyond piano works, the inadequacy of a keyboard-based compositional process demanded new, thought-based techniques.

While he hinted at this change in the 1839 remark, his intentions are much clearer in 1846. His changing compositional method entailed developing ideas mentally and writing at his desk, as opposed to improvisation at the piano. Evolving from improvisatory, physical engagement with the piano to the more reflective and intellectual locus of the mind is related to Schumann's increasing dexterity with contrapuntal forms. Jensen finds that, "contrapuntal

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[95] Around June 1846. *Tb,* Bd.2, 402; Translation from Daverio, *Robert Schumann,* 305. "Ich habe das Meiste, fast Alles, das kleinste meiner Stücke in Inspiration geschrieben, vieles in unglaublicher Schnelligkeit, so meine 1ste Symphonie in B Dur in vier Tagen, einen Liederkreis von zwanzig Stücken ebenso, die Peri in <ebenso> verhältnismäßig ebenso kurzer Zeit./ Erst vom Jr. 1845 an, von wo ich anfing alles im Kopf zu erfinden und auszuarbeiten, hat sich eine ganz andere Art zu componiren zu entwickeln begonnen.—"

[96] Refer to Chapter 2, footnotes 80-81. 15 March 1839. Letter to Simonin de Sire. Reprinted in Spitta, "Schumann," in the *The Grove's Dictionary*, First Edition, 353-354. "I used to rack my brains for a long time, but now I scarcely ever scratch out a note. It all comes from within, and I often feel as if I could go playing straight on without ever coming to an end."; 18 March 1838. Letter to Clara, *Jugendbriefe*, 280; Translation from *The Complete Correspondence*, 130. "I'm looking forward to the quartets; the piano is becoming too limiting for me; I often hear a great many things in my present compositions which I find difficult even to allude to; it's especially strange that I write almost everything in canon form and that I don't discover the subsequent voices until afterwards, often in inversions, retrograde rhythms, etc."

complexity demanded a more cerebral approach, one better achieved away from the keyboard."[97] Such techniques thus followed his need to expand his compositional repertoire to other genres. The confluence of new compositional techniques and goals thus provided momentum for the further development of his own musical style. Likewise, while the focus on contrapuntal genres in 1845 started as a mental coping technique, it also reflected a need for musical growth.

Regarding the stylistic changes after 1845, Daverio suggests, "Schumann's compositions of 1845 speak to a profound change in his notion of what constitutes a musical idea. Simply put, the linear development of a melodic entity begins to recede in favor of a rich web of simultaneously elaborated motivic combination."[98] More significantly, Boetticher maintains that, "the stylistic changes in Schumann's late works are owing entirely to the composer's intensive work in fugue and counterpoint."[99] Whether "entirely" is an accurate assessment or not, the coincidence of Schumann's contrapuntal study and the new directions taken in his compositions is undeniable. Although he had already used contrapuntal techniques within larger scale chamber and orchestral pieces, the year 1845 saw Schumann's first attempts to write entire pieces solely in forms such as canon and fugue. A series of compositions—the *Sechs Studien,* Op. 56 (canonic), the *Vier Skizzen*, Op. 58 (neither fugal nor canonic, but contrapuntal), the *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72, and the *Sechs Fugen über den Namen BACH*, Op. 60 (fugal)—manifests this trend. Schumann's reflective 1846 remark on his compositional practice also falls within this context: The more intellectual strength he earned by studying counterpoint and fugue rules, the more

[97] Jensen, *Schumann*, 284.

[98] Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, 306.

[99] Boetticher, *Einführung*, 572; Translated by Roesner, *Studies in Schumann Manuscripts*, 46. "Von ganz besonderer Tragweite erscheint uns jedoch für Schumanns Reifestil die Tatsache, daß ein großer Teil seiner Themen und Motive aus gescheiterten Fugenversuchen hervorgegangen ist. Das erklärt die eigenartige Struktur des Themenguts in seinem Spätwerk."

confidence he gained in a compositional practice relying on cerebral processes. When he was aware of and noted this change (both in 1839 and 1846), he duly recognized its significance as an indicator of his artistic development and mental stability. The difference between the revelations of 1839 and 1846 is reflected in the differences between his musical output in both periods: The music generated from his 1839 development emphasizes the spontaneous and natural outpouring of music within the intellectual framework of form, while the post-1845 works highlight form in and of itself. After 1845, Schumann wrote *in* specific forms rather than using them as a point of engagement or departure; the musical representation of this distinction will be examined in the last section of this chapter through the *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72.

3. The Romantic Transformation of Fugue: *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72

A significant underpinning of Schumann's strong affinity for Bach is revealed in his critical perspective on Baroque music. As Leon Plantinga has suggested, "Schumann saw in the Baroque a glorification of rationalistic, mechanical principles of musical composition,"[100] utterly opposed to the emotive and explicitly personal aesthetics of the Romantic age. Although Schumann disapproved of the excessively rationalistic tendency of Baroque music in the general sense, Bach offered an artistic model with his superior ability to move beyond the mechanical: For Schumann, Bach's music carried an emotional (and thus Romantic) quality beyond the rationalistic aesthetics of Baroque music. Bach infused the reliable mechanical principles of musical prosody with poetic ideas, distinguishing his works from the extreme application of Baroque aesthetics. This combination of rationality and emotive affect in Bach's music was the ideal template for Schumann's investment in recasting the Baroque and reforming the Romantic.

As a Romantic composer, Schumann adopted a musical tradition of rebellion against the thoroughly rationalistic ways of the Baroque.[101] Schumann reconciled this inheritance with his fascination with Bach and the fugue specifically because he found expressive and emotional qualities in Bach's fugue balancing the rationalism; he took these values and qualities as he saw them in Bach's music, not the Baroque compositional principle itself, and recast them in his own Romantic image. Thus, rather than evaluating Schumann's rendering of fugue in terms of Baroque compositional principles, a true account of his fugue appropriation traces how he experimented with it for his own creative purposes, resulting in a recombinant music of Baroque rational construction with Romantic poetry.

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[100] Leon Plantinga, "Schumann's View of 'Romantic'" *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol.52, No.2 (1966). 231.

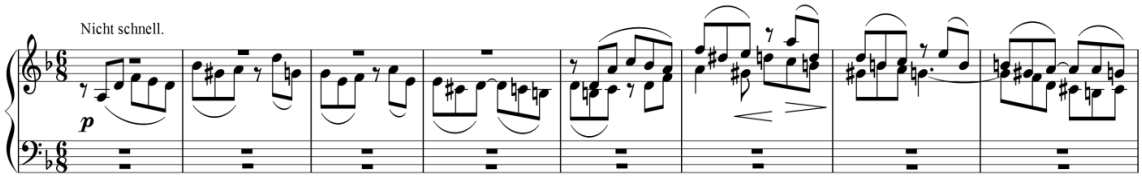
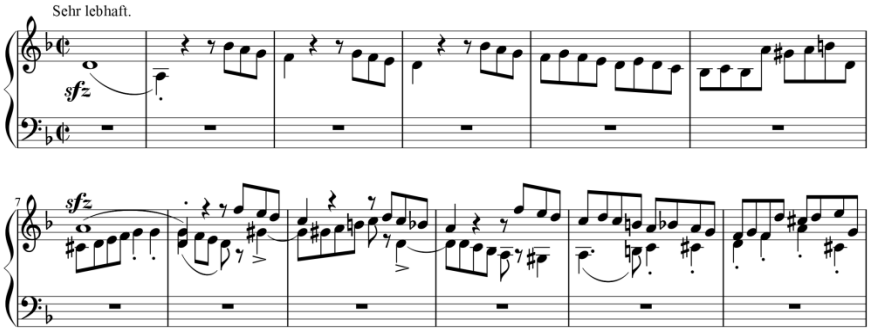
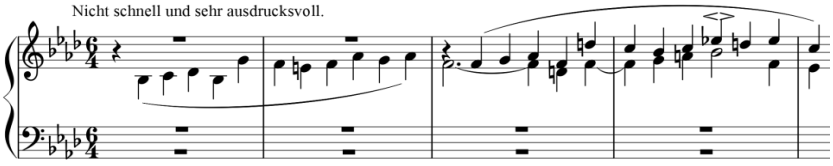
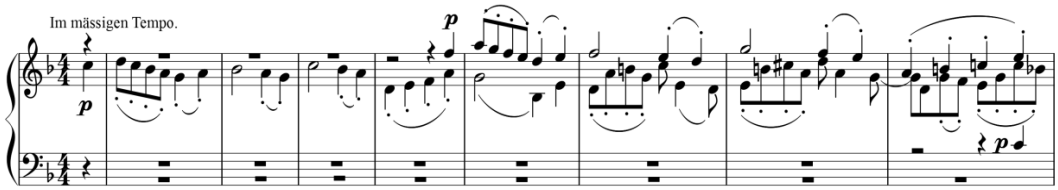
[101] Ibid.

The major compositional outcome of Schumann's 1845 *Fugenpassion* was his writing of substantial concert pieces made up of smaller contrapuntal works: the *Vier Fugen,* Op. 72, the *Sechs Fugen über den Namen BACH,* Op. 60, the *Sechs Studien*, Op. 56, and the *Vier Skizzen*, Op. 58 (by date of initiation of writing). The *Sechs Fugen,* Op. 60, is an obvious homage to Bach and thus representative of Schumann's attempts at fugue; however, the *Vier Fugen,* Op. 72, while not typically considered as such, is highly revealing of Schumann's efforts to recast the genre as a Romantic art. Schumann's 1845 contrapuntal year is generally assessed as capturing "part of an obligatory rite of passage to the late style" or "the emergence of an ultra-rational, even impersonal quality."[102] Op. 72 specifically sheds light on Schumann's assimilation of his Bachian heritage and its reformulation into a Romantic idiom. These four fugues manifest Schumann's reception of Baroque tropes, specifically those of Bach, and his transformation of Baroque and fugal rhetoric into the poetic ideas he conceptualized as creating "character pieces of the highest type."

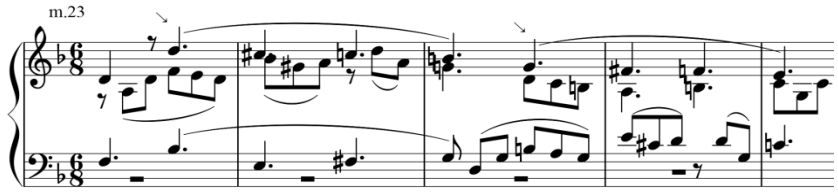
The *Vier Fugen* were all composed in February and March in 1845, and exist as a cyclic entity with unity of tonal motions (d minor-d minor-f minor-F major) and motivic connections.[103] Each fugue begins with an extended alto statement of a subject; each subject is very distinct in affect and character (Examples 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4). The subject of the first fugue, in d minor, has a stately comportment and yet is moving due to its distribution of expressive intervals. The second fugue, also in D minor, features a ninth leap in the middle of the subject, creating an effect of intense agitation. The third fugue captures a unruffled but wandering character through

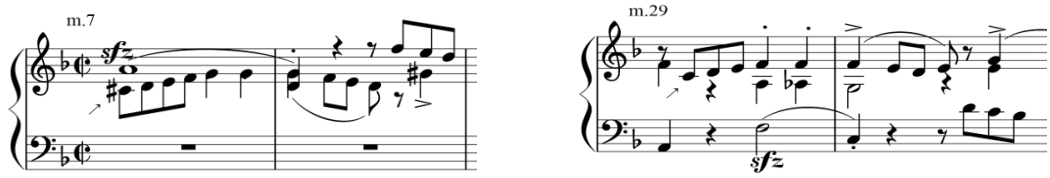
[102] Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, 308.

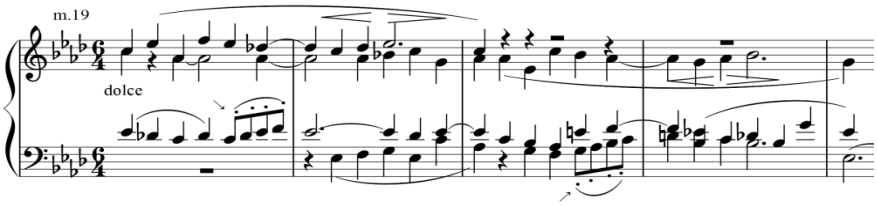
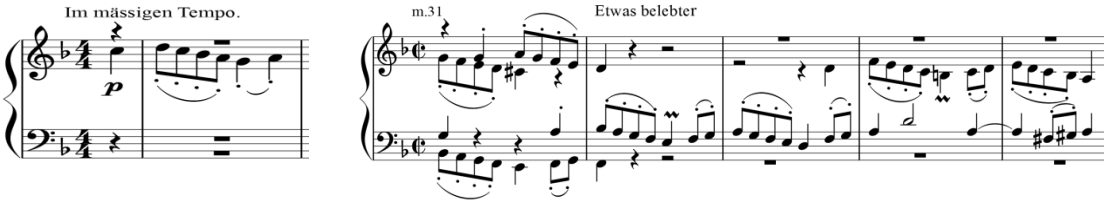
[103] Ibid.

the tonally ambiguous subject. The fourth fugue, the only major-mode piece in the set, has contained buoyancy.[104]

Example 1.1. Schumann, Subject and Answer of No. 1, *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72

Example 1.2. Schumann, Subject and Answer of No. 2, *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72

Example 1.3. Schumann, Subject and Answer of No. 3, *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72

Example 1.4. Schumann, Subject and Answer of No. 4, *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72

[104] Schumann indicated tempo (or dynamic) markings at the head of each fugue, and changes in tempo or mood in the middle of the piece: *Nicht Schnell* (No. 1), *Sehr lebhaft* and *Immer stark* (No. 2), *Nicht schnell und sehr ausdrucksvoll* (No. 3), and *Im mässigen Tempo* and *Etwas belebter* (No. 4).

Stepwise linear motion is a prominent connecting thread through the four fugues. A four-note stepwise motive appears in the countersubjects of each fugue and is the rhythmic motive of the subject in the fourth fugue.[105]

Example 2.1. Countersubject (marked by arrow) of No. 1, *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72



Example 2.2. Countersubject of No. 2, *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72

Example 2.3. Countersubject of No. 3, *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72

Example 2.4. Subject and Countersubject of No. 4, *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72

[105] Daverio points out that the subject of Op. 72, No. 4, recalls the second-movement fugue subject of Bach's Third Sonata for unaccompanied violin. Daverio, *Robert* Schumann, 308.

As noted earlier, Schumann commented in 1838, "most of Bach's fugues are character pieces of the highest type; some of them are truly poetic creations, each of which demands its individual expression, its individual lights and shades."[106] This reflects his understanding of the Bach fugue as reconciling the genre with Romantic sensibilities; Schumann approached his fugue as a thematic characteristic piece in which he and other Romantics could portray extra-musical qualities.

Schumann's evocation of extra-musical 'character' in the fugue has historical precedence. For example, the leap of a ninth in the subject of the B-flat minor fugue in the *WTC*, Book 1 (BWV 867)—which shares a subject with the second fugue in *Vier Fugen* (Example 3)—has been interpreted as a vehicle of extra-musical meaning. In the late eighteenth century, when achieving Affect was significant aim of music, Kirnberger described the ninth leap as an expression of "despair" (1782); latter-day critics such as Schweizer and Pirro read hermeneutical meaning in the Bach example, specifically describing it as "great distress" (1907).[107] Nonetheless, despite the shared possibility for extra-musical elements in fugal subject, the structure of a fugue by Bach, the unfolding of its material, differs considerably as a compositional process from Schumann's character-driven writing. This is largely a matter of style and aesthetic: If the music of Bach and Schumann both evince an expressive quality, Bach's is couched in a rhetorical language common to the Baroque; Schumann's music embraces poetic ideas and seeks to personify character, transforming the fugue into a potentially Romantic genre.

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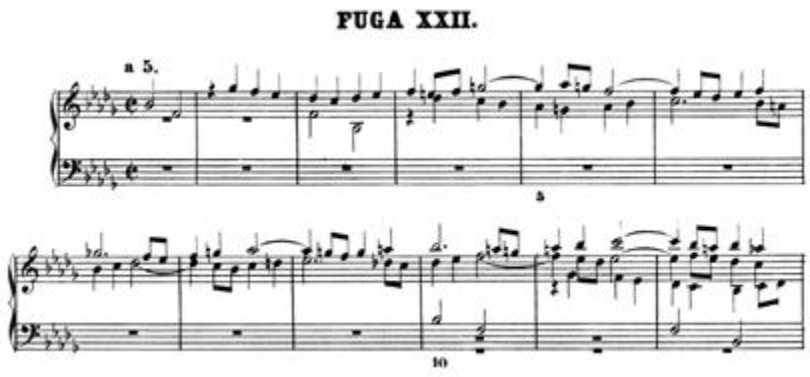
[106] Refer to the discussion around footnote 30 of Chapter 2 and the following discussion regarding "character piece" in that chapter.

[107] Cited from David Ledbetter, *Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier* (Yale University Press, 2002), 77; Johann Kirnberger, *Gedanken über die Verschiedenen Lehrarten in der Komposition* (Berlin, 1782); André Pirro, *L'esthétiaue de Jean Sébastien Bach* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1907)

Example 3. Bach, B-flat minor Fugue (22, BWV 867), *WTC*, Book 1

The intrinsic difference between Bach's fugue as a musical object and Schumann's is tied to their respective concepts of the genre. The internal logic of the Bach fugue must be understood in terms of Baroque rhetorical principles: His fugues are essentially made up of rhetorical components, evident in the terms "subject" and "answer."[108] Forkel asserts that Bach bore such rhetorical ideas in his fugue composition: "He (Bach) considered his parts as if they were persons who conversed together like a select company. If there were three, each could sometimes be silent and listen to the others till it again had something to the purpose to say."[109] While there are discrepancies in the readings of various music scholars relating a specific Baroque rhetorical principle to its corresponding musical element, they broadly agree on the overall rhetorical scheme of fugue: proposition, or initial statement of the subject; amplification, with subsections of confutation, comparisons, examples, and confirmation; and conclusion.[110] The components of the conversation are therefore all 'voices,' and thus potentially musical.

[108] Equating rhetorical principles with specific musical techniques was discussed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the fugue established itself as a genre related to rhetoric's structuring principles. For historical research on the lineage of rhetoric and fugue, refer to Gregory G. Butler, "Fugue and Rhetoric," *Journal of Music Theory*, Vol. 21, No.1 (1977), 49-109.

[109] Ledbetter, *Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier*, 77.

[110] Gregory G. Butler, "Fugue and Rhetoric," 79.

If Bach's fugue can be compared to a discourse revealing the validity of its issue and persuading others of it through a conversational process, Schumann's might be compared to an argument where two distinctive ideas (subject and countersubject) contrast and clash. To represent these elements through music, Schumann recasts the subject as an expressive phrase, whereas Bach's subject conveys motivic issues imbued with expressive qualities. The second fugue of Op. 72, in which the descending fourth and ascending ninth leaps reveal a definite likeness to Bach's fugue in B-flat minor, exemplifies this distinction between Bach and Schumann. Bach's musical issue in the B-flat minor fugue—the two descending fourths (the fourth leap and stepwise descending fourth) linked by the expressive ninth leap—was compactly suggested in the subject, and the conflicting textures of this leaping and stepwise motion are exposed, confuted, confirmed and settled in the course of the fugue according to rhetorical principle. Schumann instead blurs the issue of Bach's scalar fourth by extending it across four measures; while the subject and countersubject in Op. 72, No. 2, offer traditional fugal construction, the issue is not revealed in the subject itself. The disputants here are subject and countersubject, rather than the leaping fourth versus the scalar fourth. Thus, the countersubject gains structural significance, reminiscent of the secondary theme in sonata form. The transformation of rhetoric also embraces the purpose of the answer.

In this fugue, the answer sounds like an extension of the subject, forming a larger thematic phrase with it. Significantly, the answer enters after the phrase-length subject is stated, accompanied with the countersubject (m.7). Schumann's fugue, in this respect, seems much closer to the Romantic procedure of thematic extension than to the rhetorical "diction" of a Bach fugue.

Such a fundamental difference in the conception of fugue likewise found its way into the separate fugal components, each transformation espousing a notable updating of the genre. The nature of Schumann's subject, countersubject, and developmental procedure is therefore a rereading of Baroque and Bachian memes. Schumann emphasized subject quality as the key to successful fugal writing; in the *Vier Fugen*, the subjects borrow surface characteristics of Bachian subjects while morphing them into distinctly Schumannesque emotive material. The *Vier Fugen* resembles the *WTC* in its variety of subject; indeed, a component of the subject of fugue No.2 appears in the *WTC*. Although the subjects of fugues Nos. 1, 3, and 4 (shown in Example 1) are not direct borrowings from the *WTC*, they reflect certain characteristics of subjects in the *WTC*: the triplet figuration in 6/8 in No.1 similar to that of that of G-sharp minor Fugue and A major Prelude in Book 2; the static quarter note motion and its tonal ambiguity in No.3 similar to that of F minor Fugue in Book 1; and the contour of melody in No.4 similar to that of F major Fugue in Book 1 are all reminiscent of Bach. Beginning the subject on a weak beat (all four fugues) and inserting a rest in the middle of the subject phrase (No.1, 2, and 3)—both resulting in cross-rhythmic irregularity—refer back to expressive features of *WTC* subjects.[111] Another element contributing to the expressive power of Schumann's subjects is his application of dissonances in the intervallic construction of a subject; dissonances such as the ninth between A (m.1) and B-flat (m.2) in the first fugue; the ninth leap in the second fugue; and the tonal detour of the subject in the third fugue produce emotive qualities. Again, various *WTC* subjects offer precepts for this usage.

Schumann's discussion of subject in his *Lehrbuch* refers to a deviation from established rules as a character-building principle:

[111] These characteristics are also found in Schumann's subjects in the *Fugengeschichte*. Refer to the previous discussion on *Fugengeschichte* in Chapter 2.

> It is to be noted on the length or duration of a subject that it should be neither too short nor too long; an overly short subject rushes too quickly to its end, and a long subject does not impress itself acutely enough on the ear. The student should likewise take heed that the subject not exceed the compass of an octave, although we can naturally imagine some exceptions.--. [112]

> The subject can begin in any of the four voices. The old composers adhered to the rule that if the subject began with tonic and <ended in > (descended <u>to</u>) the dominant, it was first presented in the treble, and likewise the other way around, if it climbed upwards from the tonic to dominant, it was begun in the lowest voice. But little is accomplished through the rule. The main thing is that the subject lies in the natural and in fact in the middle range of the voice<s> that is to present it.[113]

This attitude is crucial to appreciating Schumann's preoccupation with and particular construction of fugal subjects. Schumann's manipulations of *WTC* subject material exemplifies his divergent concept of the fugue aesthetic, as his treatment prioritizes the melodically expressive potential of the subject by extending the motive-like subject to phrase length: by expanding Bach's short subject, Schumann grants it more expressive power and thematic potential.

Schumann's treatment of the countersubject is, as noted previously, a profound departure from the Baroque rhetoric. The continuous invocation of subject plus answer as a musical unit creates the thematic cast of a Romantic character piece, yet the use of countersubject creates an audible structure akin to Bach. However, Schumann's serves a different purpose than the

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[112] *Lehrbuch*, Fol.28r. Translation by author and David Bloom: "Über die Länge oder Zeitdauer eines Thema's ist zu bemerken, daß es weder zu kurz, noch auch zu lang sein darf; ein zu kurzes Thema rauscht zu rasch vorüber, ein zu langes prägt sich dem Ohr nicht scharf genug ein. –Daß das Thema nicht den Umfang der Octave überschreite, beachte der Studirende gleichfalls, obwohl sich natürlich auch Ausnahmen denken laßen.—"

[113] *Lehrbuch*, Fol.28r-v. Translation by author and David Bloom: "Jede der vier Stimmen kann das Thema beginnen. Die Alten hielten sich zwar an die Regel daß, wenn das Thema mit Tonika anfing u. (<u>in die</u>) Dominante <~~endigte~~> (herabstieg), ersteres von der Oberstimme vorgetragen wurd, so wie umgekehrt, (daß) wenn es aus der Tonika in die Dominante <u>aufwärts</u> stieg, es von der tiefsten Stimme angefangen wurde. Doch wird durch die Regel wenig gewonnen. Die Hauptsache ist, daß das <T>Thema in dem naturgemäßen, und zwar mittleren Umfang der Stimme<~~n~~> liegt, die es vorzutragen hat."

countersubject in Bach, as it is able to take control of the musical proceedings; In Op. 72, No. 1, the descending linear countersubject appearing in m.23 drives the following sequence by providing material for developmental extension. The countersubject of the second fugue, another descending stepwise motion, comes to govern the musical material; "the full subject gives way just past the midpoint of the piece to compressed variants of the original idea."[114] The countersubject of the third fugue—an eighth-note ascending figure, rhythmically contrasting with the static quarter notes in the other parts—overshadows the subject after its first appearance in m.19. In the final fugue, the countersubject is itself a derivative of the subject, yet it sounds distinct, and dominates the middle section through successive entrances in imitative motion.

Schumann addressed the nature of his countersubjects in the *Lehrbuch*, going beyond Cherubini's explanation to detail his conception of this fugal element:

> It is not a requirement, however, that the countersubject must always repeat itself consistently; to the contrary, in transposition and inversions, one can change a number of notes, if one feels that it is appropriate to the purity of harmony and the strictness of the counterpoint.[115]
>
> The countersubject of a fugue can be presented simultaneously with the principal subject. But an even greater effect can be achieved if the countersubject is introduced a little at a time, *because the perception of two themes and their elaboration* requires a highly developed power of aural comprehension [emphasis mine].[116]

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[114] Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, 309.

[115] *Lehrbuch*, fol.29r. Translation by author and David Bloom: "Ein Gebot ist es aber nicht, daß das Contrasubject sich immer gleichmäßig wiederhole; man darf im Gegentheil in den Versetzung u. Umkehrungen manche Note ändern, wenn man es der Reinheit der Harmonie und der Strenge des Contrapunctes angemessen hält."

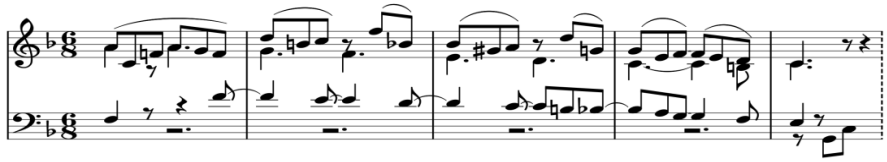
[116] *Lehrbuch*, fol.29v.: Translation from Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, 551, endnote 132. "Die Contrasubjecte einer Fuge können gleichzeitig mit dem Hauptsubject auftreten. Doch läßt sich noch größere Wirkung erreichen, wenn [man] die Contrasubjecte nach u. Nach <auftreten> (einführt), auch schon deshalb, weil <dies> zur Auffassung zweier Themen u. Ihrer Verarbeitung <bei> eine schon bedeutende Auffansungsfähigkeit des Ohres (des Zuhörers) gehört."

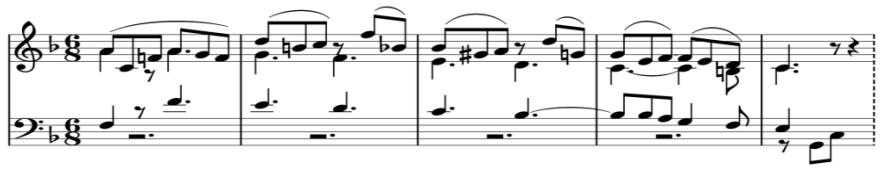
Although Daverio emphasizes Bach's flexible and subtle use of counter-material, Schumann's conception of the countersubject's purpose and import extends far beyond Bach's rhetorical application. While the flexibility of Bach's counter-material ideally supports the subject material, the flexibility of Schumann's countersubject allows it to establish its own importance and independence.

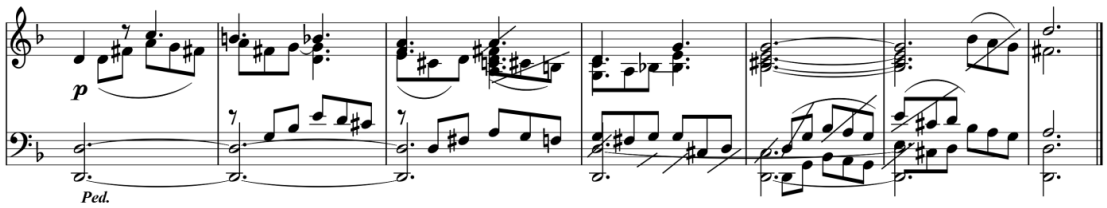
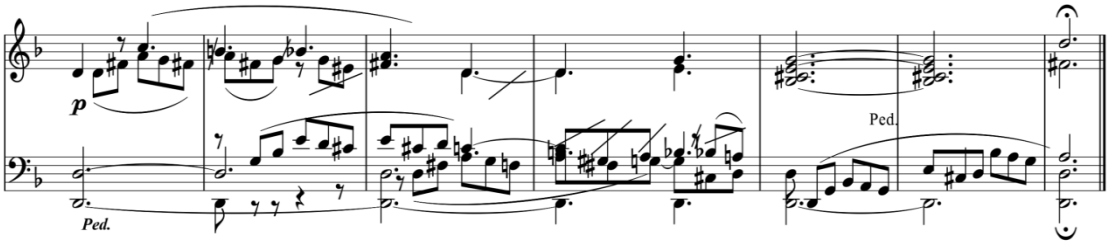
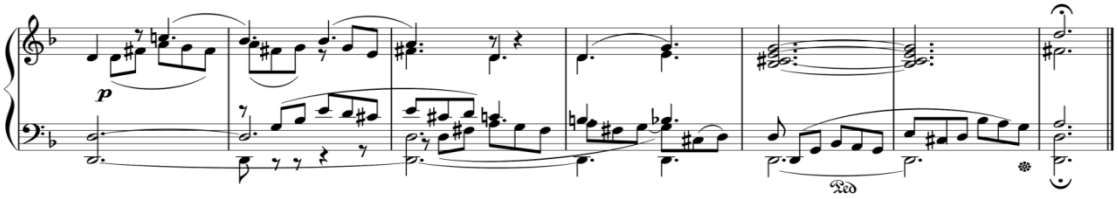
This distinct conception of the countersubject leads to a very different sense of fugal development in Schumann: Bach's development, based on the Baroque rhetoric, is replaced by the repetitive thematic entrance of subject plus answer chasing after one another, and expanded through the flexible transformation and development of the countersubject at the midpoint. The developmental portion of the second fugue—the longest such section among the four fugues—delineates this procedure. After the fugal exposition—the entrance of the subject, answer and countersubject—is satisfied, the countersubject initiates the developmental process (m. 29). The countersubject enters straightforwardly in the soprano part (with the subject in the bass), and stresses its importance with stretto-like imitative overlapping (mm. 42-44); likewise, the answer follows with its own self-proclamation through diverse shades of modulation (mm. 45-56). The answer and countersubject engage with each other through doubling the first two notes of the subject (as "answer" in mm. 55-56) and inversion (m. 57 and 62) over frequent harmonic alterations; successive entries of the countersubject continue the argument (mm. 57-66 and mm. 69-73) until the arrival at the original D-minor, where the answer plus subject statement in stretto (mm. 81-85) reasserts its preeminence over the expressively accentuated countersubject ("Immer stark," mm. 86-89).[117]

[117] The coda starts at m.82, but the entrance of the subject in m.81 is the beginning of the stretto motion, as upbeat.

The middle section as a space for the development of subject and countersubject material is typical of all four fugues in Op. 72. Schumann builds complex structural and harmonic tension out of the contrastive figures, strengthening the rhetorical force of the countersubject through linear bass progression (mm. 36-40 and mm. 41-50 in Fugue 1); augmentation of the subject (mm. 51-55 in Fugue 1); insertion of contrastive tonal area (m. 25ff in Fugue 1, m. 19ff in Fugue 3, and m. 32ff in Fugue 4); and conspicuous statement of the subject in the bass with octave doubling (mm. 41-43 in Fugue 3). In this way, Schumann uses the countersubject and its developmental function to imbue the fugue with a wide range of emotional effects.

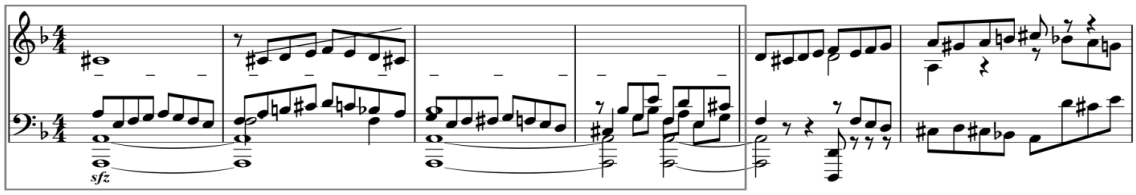
Some portions—mostly in the closing area—of Schumann's fugues are a particular repository for his Romantic harmonic language, specifically in his treatment of dissonance and homophonic chordal progressions. Schumann's compositional alchemy in creating expressive dissonance is observed in an autograph sketch, preserved in the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau, of abandoned attempts at writing Fugue 1.[118] Throughout, the sketch displays various methods of creating dissonance, usually through juxtaposition of linear material. At mm. 29-32 (see Examples 4.1 and 4.2), a passage in fourth species counterpoint (syncopation) with two parallel lines between the alto and bass parts, creates considerable dissonant suspension on the strong beat. However, due to the closeness of the central voices, the syncopation results in unexpected rhythmic and melodic emphases in addition to harmonic tension on the downbeats.

Example 4.1. Sketch of the First Rendition (abandoned), *Vier Fugen*, No. 1, mm. 29-32

[118] Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, Arch. No.7594-A1. The manuscript contains full autograph sketches corresponding very closely to the final published version.

Example 4.2. Final Rendition, *Vier Fugen*, No. 1, mm. 29-32

These sketches reflect the compositional procedures for treating dissonance that Schumann considered for the closing areas of the fugues. At the bottom margin of the same sketch for Fugue No.1, he attempted to put the countersubject in the top voice, modified it to create harsher dissonance: At m.71, the B-natural/A clash produced by the countersubject was ultimately strengthened to a B-flat/A clash (see Examples 5.1 and 5.2).

Example 5.1. Sketch of the First Rendition (abandoned), No. 1, *Vier Fugen*, mm. 70-76

Example 5.2. Sketch of the Final Rendition, No. 1, *Vier Fugen*, mm. 70-76

Example 5.3. Published Version, No. 1, *Vier Fugen*, mm. 70-76

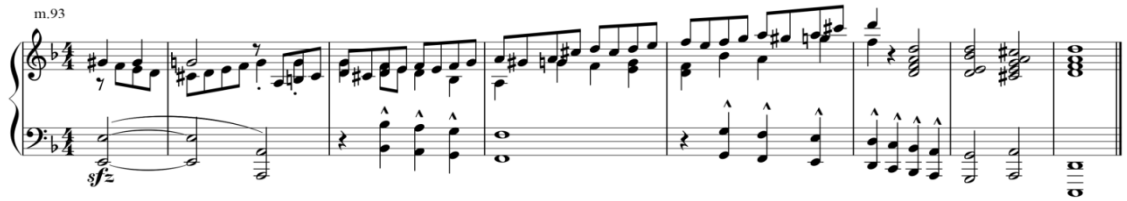
In Example 5.2, the four note phrasing of the countersubject remains, but Schumann's rejection of the accidentals prioritizes bold harmonic language over the pure statement of the countersubject. In the published version (Example 5.3), the changes of the four-note figure has reached a point where it is no longer recognizable as the countersubject in terms of phrasing and melody. Schumann's compositional procedure thus gradually abandons a characteristic use of the countersubject to create harsher dissonance.

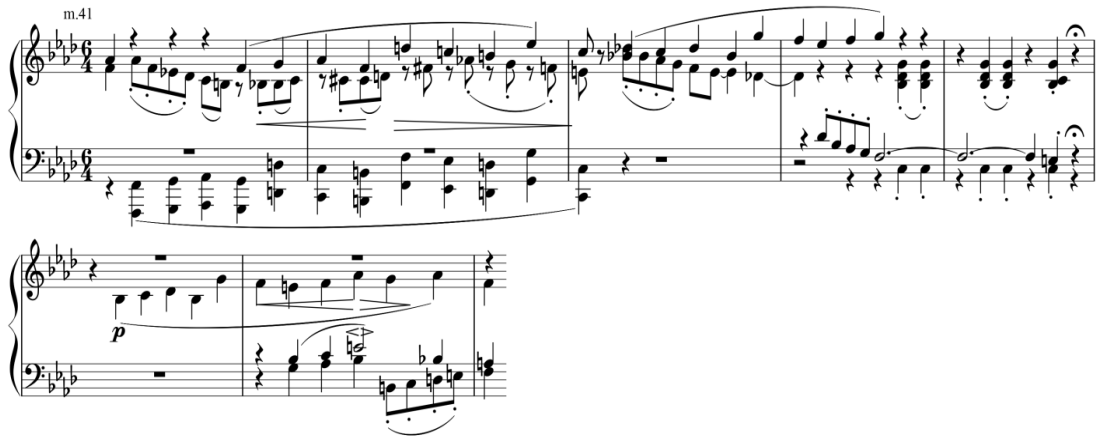
This prioritization of dissonance permeates the fugues. In Fugue 2, the figuration of the alto over the pedal-like bass (in mm.78-81), though evoking Baroque keyboard style, becomes an expressive device through repetition, preparing for the final emotional eruption in the last section.



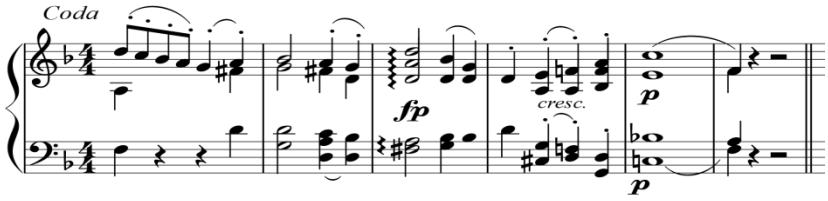
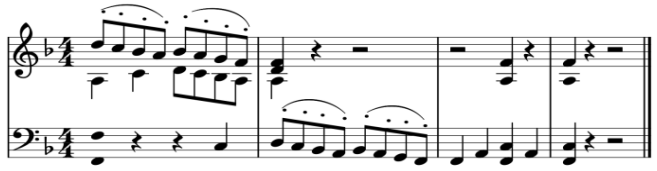
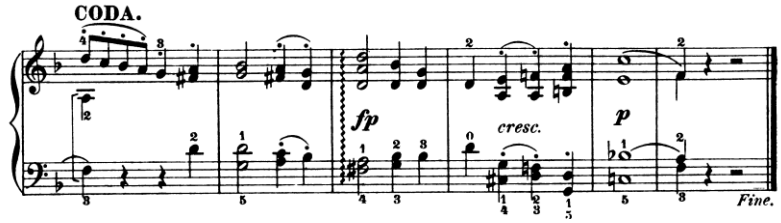
Example 6. Sketch of the Final Rendition, *Vier Fugen*, No. 2, mm. 78-83

Similarly, for the climactic moment where the countersubject appears over a terse, octave-doubled subject (m.86), Schumann buttresses the formal rhetoric with intensifying repetition, a suggestive dynamic marking ("Immer stark"), and wedge-like expansion of the sonic space, maximizing the emotional power of the contrapuntal procedure.

This intensification continues with Schumann's final apotheosis of the contrapuntal material; the subject and octave bass motion repeat not simply to establish a tonic or emphasize arrival, but rather to create the expressive affect of saying something louder and with more intensity. The effect is a punching up of emotion, the fugal equivalent of the characteristically Romantic repeated assertions of a final chord. Thus Schumann's fugal procedure uses Baroque means for Romantically expressive ends (mm.93-100).

Example 7. Closing of No.2, *Vier Fugen*, mm. 95-100

Schumann manipulates fugal textural components to create emotional affect as well. In Fugue 3, at mm.44-45, the typically contrapuntal texture is strikingly interrupted by starkly vertical chords whose shape and dissonance set up an enormous sense of expectation at the dominant. Here, the sudden replacement of contrapuntal motion with chordal harmony and the following cessation of action is itself expressive (Example 8).

Example 8. No.3, *Vier Fugen*, mm.42-47

The harmonic treatment of the subject in the coda to Fugue 4 (mm.70-75) is in truly astounding anti-fugal contrast to the whole fugue: Deflating the high seriousness of the intensively contrapuntal weaving, this harmonization delightfully resolves the textural complexity and density of the fugal procedure. The ninth chord on G (more properly expressed as the ninth chord harmonization under A in m.74) heightens the role of A, as the penultimate note of the subject becomes an expressive pivot tone toward the cadence. In the first attempt—

almost identical to the final version—Schumann marked "coda" over the system but crossed it out; the second attempt—which uses the repetitive entrance of the four-note motive—is also crossed out, in favor of the first version, now marked 'gilt' (valid) under each measure. Comparison of the final version (Example 9.3) with Schumann's first and second attempts (Example 9.1 and 9.2) show how the eventual use of chordal harmonization makes for a unique Schumanesque sound quite distinctive from Bach's fugue treatment.

Example 9.1. First Attempt, *Vier Fugen*, No. 4, mm. 70-75 (crossed-out)

Example 9.2. Second Attempt, *Vier Fugen*, No. 4, mm. 70-74 (crossed-out)

Example 9.3. Final Version, *Vier Fugen*, No. 4, mm. 70-75

The Schumanns studied counterpoint and fugue together throughout 1845, and Clara also produced a substantial number of contrapuntal pieces in this year. Around the time Schumann

was working on the *Vier Fugen*, Clara wrote three fugues based on subjects taken from Bach's *WTC*—the fugues in E flat major (BWV 876, *WTC*, Book 2), E major (BWV878, *WTC*, Book 2), and g minor (BWV 885, *WTC*, Book 2).[119] Soon after this, she wrote a set of fugal works (published eventually as *Three Preludes and Fugues*, Op. 16) clearly modeled on the pairing structure of the *WTC*.[120] Both of Clara's fugue sets apply Bachian models more directly than those of Schumann. Clara's pieces are aesthetically attuned to Schumann's idea of 'fugue as the highest type of a character piece,' and the preludes set a rich poetic tone for each fugue.[121] However, Clara's fugues seem to bear a more improvisatory character, constantly stating and restating the subject material at different pitches. The thematic recurrence of subject and answer is similar to Schumann's, but Clara did not emphasize the countersubject, nor did she use it to develop a contrastive middle section. Through repetitive statements of the subject, and the natural flowing of the interwoven parts, Clara's fugues sound formally clearer, more akin to Bach's fugue. This reflects the different goals of the Schumanns as composers: While Clara adopts Romantic elements within the classical format of prelude and fugue, Schumann attempted to recreate the fugue on the aesthetic grounds of the Romantic era.

Schumann's treatment of subject and countersubject; his fugal developmental process; and his prioritization of emotive harmonic and textural effects above strict formal counterpoint all manifest his conception of fugue as a character piece. Significantly, on the title page of the

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[119] On her manuscript score (a score-notebook format), she wrote the date of completion for each fugue: 11, 17, and 22 February, respectively. Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, No. 5982-A1. In the same volume, she included the Prelude and Fugue in g minor, No. 1, Op. 16, fugue for No. 2, and 'fugue' and 'prelude,' No. 3 of Op. 16 (in compositional order). The prelude for No. 2 is not included in this volume, and was probably added later.

[120] Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, Arch. No. 5982-A1. Here, she again recorded the date of completion; the first prelude on 28 February and the fugue on 1 March; she proceeded to compose two fugues, both of which were finished on 2 March. The score of the fugue in d minor (No. 3) is followed by a prelude without a completion date.

[121] Although preludes offer an ideal medium for matching Romantic emotive sensibilities with the fugue, Schumann never wrote any. His focus was on fugal form itself, and its creative transformation in accordance with the period's aesthetics.

autograph score, now preserved in the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, Schumann wrote "*Vier Characterfugen für Pianoforte, Hrn. Carl Reinecke zu geeignet von Robert Schumann*"[122] In the *Vier Fugen*, he unfolded the idea of 'fugue as a character piece' he had suggested eight years earlier in his review of Mendelssohn's fugues, in the form of fugue per se. "[T]he best fugue will always be one that the public takes—for a Strauss waltz; in other words, where the artistic roots are covered as are those of a flower, so that we only perceive the blossom." Schumann wrote these words in 1837 review of Mendelssohn's *Prelude and Fugue*, Op. 35,[123] but they provide entry as well into these *Vier Fugen*: Each fugue grows from an artistic root (subject and countersubject) and bears distinct and characteristic blossoms (through the development of flexible motivic variants and deft contrapuntal texture). At the end of 1845, Schumann wrote to Mendelssohn:

> For me, it is strange and wonderful that almost every motive that forms itself within me carries with it the properties for a wealth of contrapuntal combinations, without my having the remotest idea of formulating subjects that lend themselves to the strict style in this or that way. It occurs spontaneously, without reflection, and has something of the character of natural growth.[124]

This internalization of the contrapuntal process reflects Schumann's evolving non-improvisatory compositional method; combined with his dedicated study of Bach and awareness

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[122] Carl Reinecke (b. 1824) a friend of Schumann's, was a conductor of the Gewandhaus orchestra from 1860-95. Underline Schumann's.

[123] Published on 27 October 1837. "Präludien und Fugen für das Pianoforte von Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Op. 35—Breitkopf u. Härtel)" *NZfM*, Vol.7, No. 34, 135-36; *GS*, Bd.1, 252-254; Translation from *On Music and Musicians*, 214-216.,

[124] 5 December 1845. Letter to Mendelssohn. Wasielewski, *Robert Schumann* (Bonn, 1880), 203; "es ist mir selbst eigenthümlich und wunderbar, daß fast jedes Motiv, welches sich in meinem Inneren heranbildet, die Eigenschaften für mannichfache contrapunctische Combinationen mit sich bringt, ohne daß ich im Entferntesten nur daran denke Themen zu formiren, welche die Anwendung des strengen Styles in dieser oder jener Weise zulassen. Es gibt sich unwillkürlich von selbst, ohne Reflexion und hat etwas Naturwüchsiges."

of his own artistic aims, it allowed him to develop a stylistic approach that was equal parts homage and innovation. Rather than simply absorbing an archaic form and writing within those boundaries, Schumann transformed the medium as an expression of his artistic development. As a result, Schumann's fugue is the Romantic sensibility's undermining of conventional concepts of the genre as a strictly mechanical art.[125] This achievement secures Schumann's place in the musical lineage dating to Bach; by developing something truly his own out of received influences, Schumann reconciled the anxiety of influence with his own aesthetic imperatives.

[125] In his *Dresdener Skizzenbuch*, Schumann expressed dissatisfaction with the contemporary fugue in a short note: "Moderne Fugen=künstliche Ruinen." Dated possibly around June 1846. Robert Schumann, *Dresdener Skizzenbuch*, RSA VII/3/4. p.1

Chapter 5. Late Schumann: Final Projects (1850-1856)

1. *Bach-Gesellschaft*; Conducting; Revisions to Bach and His Own Works

Schumann's public efforts to revive Bach in the nineteenth century most prominently bore fruit with the establishment of the *Bach-Gesellschaft* in 1850. The initiative for the creation of the society was taken by Moritz Hauptmann (a cantor at St. Thomas's Church and professor at the Leipzig Conservatory); the society was established with 21 founding members, including Schumann, with the ultimate goal of producing a complete Bach edition in cooperation with the Leipzig publishing company Breitkopf & Härtel. In June, Schumann recorded his presence at conferences for the society,[1] and its inaugural meeting officially took place in Leipzig on 15 December 1850.[2] Although the inspiration for the establishment of the society dates back to the 1830s and is usually linked with Mendelssohn's activities, Schumann's role was essential. As shown in earlier chapters, Schumann made continuous efforts to promote Bach's work, suggesting concrete plans and ideas to revive the works and reputation of the old master, including proclaiming the necessity of a complete edition of Bach through *NZfM* in 1837; pushing Breitkopf and Härtel to publish a new edition of Bach's *WTC* in 1845; and suggesting holding a convention to discuss the preservation of past music, in 1847.[3]

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[1] *Tb*, Bd.3, 528 and 530. 1 June 1850, "Nachmittag Conferenz wegen d. *Bach-Society*"; 29 June 1850, "Conferenz wegen Bach-Gesellschaft."

[2] Barbara Wiermann, "Bach-Gesellschaft." In *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01701 (Accessed on 26 January 2011). Schumann later indicated his financial contribution to the society on 5 May 1852, *Tb*, Bd.3, 588. "Beitrag f. 1850 f. die Bachgesellschaft (2 Ex.[emplare]) (1ster Beitrag für d. Bachgesellschaft für mich u. Tausch 10 Thlr.)"

[3] Refer to footnote 33 of Chapter 4. Schumann suggested a meeting to consider "the protection of classical music against modern adaptations." What he intended for this agenda was to know the current state of new edition of old compositions, and to address the problems with the editions, which contained significant editorial and musical errors.

While various other musical personages and the overall socio-cultural atmosphere influenced the establishment of the society, Schumann played a crucial and leading role in creating the network in which these people would come together over the necessity to promote Bach and publish his complete works. He finally saw the publication of the first volume of the Bach-Gesellschaft edition: the Church Cantatas, Vol.1 (BWV 1-10) in 1851. That he read the volume with care is evident in his detection of a few wrong notes, which he took the trouble to point out to Härtel in a 1852 letter.[4] This engagement with the establishment of the Bach-Gesellschaft, and his continued interest in publication of the complete edition, was a product of Schumann's awareness of history: Under the influence of growing German nationalism and historicism in the nineteenth century, Schumann saw music as an object in the larger scheme of both German and music history. He was eager to position German music as the leading component of musical development, in which Bach stood as the forebear. By collecting and collating information and materials about Bach's life and works, Schumann hoped to create a musical gallery in which to assess the importance of the object in its historical context; the establishment of the Bach-Gesellschaft was a crucial event in its positioning of Bach as a central figure in German music history.

During Schumann's residence in Dresden, the city became a leading source of Bach performances; in 1850, celebrating the 100th anniversary of Bach's death, Schumann attended numerous performances of Bach's works, including "Schneider's beautiful organ playing

[4] 24 May 1852. Letter to Härtel. *Briefe, NF,* 472. "Einstweilen haben wir auch den ersten Bach-Jahrgang erhalten, und ich kann nicht umhin, Ihnen darum meine große Freude auszudrücken. Gewiß, da die Ansicht, die dadurch das Publikum erhält, dem Unternehmen Hunderte von Theilnehmern zuführen wird. NB. Nur ein paar falsche Noten hab' ich gefunden. S. 123, Syst. 4, Tact 4 müssen die drei letzten Baß-noten heißen: Sonst ist die Ausgabe ein Muster in jeder Hinsicht."

(Bachiana) at St Sophie's,"[5] and a concert held by the organist Carl Kloß and other Dresden's musicians.[6]

Schumann left for Düsseldorf in August 1850 to begin his tenure as municipal music director. His move to Düsseldorf was a significant opportunity to extend not only his musical career, but also to promote Bach's music to new audiences. His Düsseldorf activities related to Bach concentrated on scheduling and conducting Bach's works, including a performance of Bach's triple concerto along with the premier of his own Third Symphony, Op. 97.[7] Schumann expressed interest in performing the *St. John's Passion* as well, noted in a letter to Moritz Hauptmann.[8] Schumann's long-held special interest in the *St. John Passion* culminated in his decision to revise the work; although his revision was intended primarily to realize the original Bach in the context of nineteenth century musical practice, the effort carries particular significance in Schumann's ability to go beyond basic correction and apply his own understanding of and perspective on the music.[9] On 13 April, 1851, he conducted the *Passion* for a subscription concert, repeating the performance eight more times.[10] Schumann continued to suggest that his acquaintances study Bach. In a letter to Julius von Bermuth (in Wesel), Schumann expresses pleasure in Bermuth's preoccupation with the *WTC*, and suggests that he study Bach's organ works, particularly the "chorale preludes and the great fugues."[11]

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[5] 23 July 1850. *Tb*, Bd.3, 533: Reprinted in Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 97. "Früh Schneider's schönes Orgelspiel (Bachiana) in d. Sophienkirche."

[6] 26 and 28 July 1850. *Tb*, Bd.3, 533. "2 Billette in's Bach Concert." (n765); "Bachtag. –Bachconcert.—"

[7] 6 February 1851.*Tb*, Bd.3, 553.

[8] 21 February 1851. Letter to Moritz Hauptmann, *Briefe,NF*, 337.

[9] More discussion will follow in part 2 of this chapter.

[10] 9 April 1851. *Tb*, Bd.3, 557-8, n806. "Früh Orchesterprobe z. Passion"; "Abends 1ste Hauptprobe d. Passion."; 13 April 1851, "Abends >>Passion<<."

[11] 17 October 1852. Letter to Julius von Bernuth, *Briefe, NF*, 361: Reprinted in Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works*, 98. "Daß Sie das wohltemperirte Clavier vorgenommen haben, freut mich zu hören. Gehen Sie

Besides conducting, Schumann continued to compose and revise his own compositions, referring back to the old masters' work for inspiration and guidance:

> My compositions—the larger works especially—might, I imagine, convince you of my acquaintance with the great masters. It is *to them* I go, and have always gone for advice: to Gluck the simple, to Handel the complicated, and to Bach the most complicated of all. Let me commend you to the study of Bach; my most complicated works will thereafter seem simple enough.[12]

In 1851, Schumann was working on numerous compositional projects for larger works, including *Drei Fantasiestücke*, Op. 111 (August), the oratorio *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, Op. 112 (November), and a revision of the Fourth Symphony, Op. 120 (December); in the following year, he wrote a number of large-scale works for voices and orchestra, including church music such as *Missa Sacra* Op. 147 and the *Requiem*, Op. 148. Throughout these productive years, he mentioned the significance of Bach as compositional inspiration for himself:

> If I want to get advice, I know where I can find it—namely, in my scores of Händel and Bach and Beethoven.[13]

From 1850 onward Schumann showed a clear tendency to revisit earlier works, both by himself and by Bach. His revisions of his own compositions from 1851-53 include reworkings of the *Impromptus*, Op. 5 (first written in 1832; revised in April 1850), the Fourth Symphony (first

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womöglich zu den Orgelcompositionen über, den Choralvorspielen und den großen Fugen. Das sind denn immer noch ganz andere Sachen als die Weimarischen Evangelien, von denen man jetzt überall liest."

[12] 22 September 1851. Letter to J. N. (a young candidate), Boetticher, *Schriften*, 458; Translation from *The Letters of Robert Schumann*, 273. "Und sollten Ihnen meine Kompositionen, namentlich die grösseren, nicht hier und da beweisen, dass ich einige Bekanntschaft mit Meistern gepflogen habe? Bei diesen weiss ich und wusste ich mir immer Rats zu erholen, beim einfachen Gluck, beim komplizierten Händel, beim kompliziertesten Bach! Studieren Sie nur namentlich den letzteren, und es wird Ihnen die komplizierteste meiner Arbeiten noch einfach genug vorkommen."

[13] 4 February 1852. Letter to Jean-Joseph-Bonaventure Laurens. *Briefe, NF*, 355. Translation by author and David Bloom. "Will ich mir Raths erholen, so weiß ich schon, wo ich ihn finde—in meinen Partituren nämlich von Händel und Bach und Beethoven."

written in 1841; revised in December 1851), the *Symphonic Etudes*, Op. 13 (first written in 1834; revised in February 1852), and various arrangements of the orchestral works to four hands for piano. These years also saw Schumann revise the *St. John Passion* (January 1852) and embark on what he called a "Bachiana project," adding piano accompaniments to Bach's Violin Sonatas (October 1852) and Cello Suites (February 1853).

This focus on revision was enormously useful for Schumann's continued creative output despite his increasingly unstable mental condition: Musing over existing musical ideas allowed him to safely channel his creative energy, by linking his current preoccupations with the concrete objects provided by other models and his own past. The working habit of revisiting his own completed scores and his Bachiana project are inseparable from his composition of new music. In pursuing these activities simultaneously, Schumann gained and reinforced his strength and inspiration for each respective project. For example, his second violin sonata, Op. 121, was first composed in October and November of 1851, and revised in October 1852.[14] This piece clearly contains vestiges from Bach's *Chaconne*, BWV 1004, and was dedicated to the violinist Ferdinand David, who often played Bach's sonatas with Clara. Schumann's reworking of Op. 121 likewise then inspired his Bachiana project: the harmonization of Bach's solo violin sonatas.[15] He embarked on the harmonizations at the end of October, when he finished revising Op. 121, and continued the project until February 1853.[16] At the same time, he also turned back

[14] 13 October 1852. *Tb*, Bd.3, 575.

[15] Mendelssohn was the first who added a piano accompaniment to Bach's solo instrumental work, as is recorded "David played the chaconne no less masterfully, finely accompanied by Mendelssohn." In *NZfM*, Vol.14, No.22 (15 March 1841), 89. Cited from John Worthen, *Robert Schumann* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2007), 441, n20.

[16] 30 December 1852, "Harmonisirung d. Bach'schen Sonaten f. Violine."; 2 January 1852, "Bach-Harmonisirung."; 8 January 1853, "Beendigung d. 2ten Bach'schen Sonate."; 13 January 1853, "Abends Probe d. Bach'schen Sonaten mit Becker.—"; 24 January 1852, "Die 4te Sonate von Bach beendigt.—"; 4 February 1852, "Noch fleißig an Bach."; 5 February 1852, "Mit d. Bach'schen Sonaten fertig."; 13 February 1852, "Gegen Abend Probe d. 5. U. 6ten Sonate v. Bach m.[it] Becker." *Tb*, Bd.3, 612-617: Reprinted in Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 480.

to the *Grand Sonata*, Op. 14, and the four-hand arrangement of his Fourth Symphony. These projects all reflect the intensity of Schumann's compulsion to revise, both in terms of the material reworked and the thoroughness with which Schumann dedicated himself to the effort.

Regarding his Bachiana project, he described it to Härtel as follows:

> Arranging the Bach sonatas has taken me longer than I expected; hence the belated reply to your most recent kind letter. Because it became clear to me during the work that a selection from the sonatas would not serve the matter well and artistically. The individual movements of the sonatas mostly hang together so deeply that leaving any of them out only distorts the original. So up to now I have arranged the first two sonatas complete and these are enclosed. […]. In any case there is a treasure buried in these compositions of Bach's which is probably known to the fewest people, and it is to be hoped that the harmonic carrying straps that I have attached to them [i.e., the piano accompaniments S. composed for the solo sonatas] will contribute somewhat to uncovering it.[17]

Schumann's arrangement of the Violin Sonatas was followed by his harmonization of the Cello Suites, from 19 March to 10 April 1853.[18] At the end of the year, he wrote to his Leipzig publisher, Kistner, about this project:

> You may know that Breitkopf und Härtel published my arrangement of Bach's violin sonatas (in 6 volumes); I have worked the same way on the cello sonatas, and it would be left to you

[17] 17 January 1853. Letter to Hermann Härtel. *Briefe, NF*, 479: Reprinted in Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 481; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Die Bearbeitung der Bachschen Sonaten hat mich länger aufgehalten, als ich glaubt; daher die verspätete Antwort auf Ihr letztes freundliches Schreiben. Dann ward es mir während der Arbeit klar, daß mit einer Auswahl aus den Sonaten der Sache nicht gut und künstlerisch gedient sei. Die einzelnen Sätze der Sonate hängen meistens so innig zusammen, daß das Original durch Hinweglassung nur entstellt würde. So habe ich denn bis jetzt die zwei ersten Sonaten vollständig bearbeitet und lege sie bei. Ich dachte mir, daß jede in einem besonderen Hefte erschiene, vielleicht von Viertel- zu Vierteljahr je eine, so daß das Ganze in 1 ½ Jahr fertig wäre. Sind Sie mit dieser Ansicht einverstanden, so theilen Sie mir es gefälligst mit. Im Übrigen liegt gerade in diesen Compositionen Bachs ein Schatz verborgen, von dem wohl die Wenigsten wissen, und den zu heben, die harmonischen Tragebänder, die ich ihm anlegte, hoffentlich etwas beitragen werden."

[18] 19 March 1853. *Tb,* Bd.3, 620 and 622. "Violoncellsonate v. Bach angef.[angen]—"; 9 April 1853, "Meistens Bacchiana (f. Violoncell)"; 10 April 1853, "Die Bacchiana vollendet."

> with the same conditions as Härtel. These are the most beautiful and important compositions offered for cello.[19]

While only the arrangement of suite No. 3 is extant today, Schumann was engaged in adding accompaniment to all six suites; however, these arrangements were not published, and the autograph score is missing.[20] At the same time, Schumann composed an organ accompaniment for the *Missa Sacra*, Op. 147 (initially written for soloists, chorus and orchestra).

The new Schumann works following his completion of the harmonization projects again exhibit the interlacing pattern of inspiration between his creative impulses, his desire to revisit earlier material, and his devotion to Bach. First, he returned to fugue for the first time since the 1845-*Fugenpassion*, with a set of seven fugues, *Fughette*, Op. 126 (May 1853).[21] Shortly afterwards, he wrote *Three Piano Sonatas for the Young*, Op. 118, in which he included another contrapuntal piece—a canon—as the second movement of the second sonata. He then returned to large-scale works, here for solo instrument with orchestra: a piano concerto, titled *Introduction and Allegro* for piano and orchestra, Op. 134 in August and a violin concerto, *Fantasy in C* for violin and orchestra in September.

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[19] 17 November 1853. Letter to Leipzig publisher Kistner. *Briefe, NF,* 486: Reprinted in Bischoff, 481-2; Translation by author and David Bloom. "Sie wissen vielleicht, daß bei Breitkopf und Härtel eine Bearbeitung der Bachschen Violinsonaten von mir erscheint (in 6 Heften); ich habe in gleicher Weise die Violoncellosonaten bearbeitet und würde sie Ihnen zu den nämlichen Bedingungen, wie Härtels, überlassen. Dies sind die schönsten und bedeutendsten Compositionen, die es für Violoncell gibt." While the score of his arrangements for the violin sonatas was published in January 1854, his arrangements of the cello suites were not published in his life time.

[20] While Julius Goltermann's transcription of the C major suite (No. 3) is the only known extant source of this work, an interesting record appears in the Hofmeister catalogue—a monthly catalogue of printed music constituting the single most important bibliographical source for the publication of music in the 19th century. On a page from July 1871, it lists "Bach, Joh. Seb., Sonaten f. Vcllo solo, m. Pfte hrsg. v. W. Stade. Neue Ausgabe, correkt nach der v. Rob. Schumann auf Grund der Berliner Handschrift gemachten Revision. Leipzig, Heinze" under <Musik für Pianoforte mit Begleitung> (Music for Piano with Accompaniment). www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk. Also refer to footnote 28 in the Introduction of this dissertation. This indicates the publication of the Suites with Schumann's corrections, albeit not necessarily with his accompaniments.

[21] 27-29 May 1853, *Tb,* Bd.3, 626. "Contrapunctische Arbeiten." "Fughette.—" and "Fughette"; 1 June 1853, "Fughette," 3 June 1853, "Fughette"; 9 June 1853, "6te Fughette.—"; and 10 June 1853, "7te Fughette.—".

In December 1853, Schumann recorded several occasions on which he played Bach's music, specifying one event with the Düsseldorf cellist Christian Reimers.[22] His own arrangement of Bach's cello suites was the main repertoire on these programs. This is the last concretely documented event at which Schumann performed the music of Bach.

Schumann remained in Düsseldorf until March 1854. After an unsuccessful suicide attempt, he checked himself into a private sanatorium at Endenich, a suburb of Bonn. He hallucinated constantly; according to Clara, Schumann said he heard "music that is so glorious, and with instruments sounding more wonderful than one ever hears on earth," his own diary specifically mentioning the Bach cantata "Eine Feste Burg."[23] In a letter to Clara, Brahms notes that Schumann was pleased to hear of her performance of a Bach-Beethoven-Schumann program, and indicates that Schumann attempted to write fugues in the sanatorium.[24] In May 1855 Clara noted in the *Haushaltbuch*: "Porto für den 4ten Bachband" (postage for the 4th Bach volume).[25] There is no further mention of Bach in the Schumann archives during Robert's lifetime.

[22] 9 December 1853. *Tb*, Bd.2, 444. "2 Fugen von mir über BACH, Abendlied u. Canon (in H dur) aus den Skizzen, Phantasie u. Fuge (in G moll) von Bach, 1ste Sonate v. Mendelssohn, Stück von Gade."; 31 December 1853. *Tb*, Bd.3, 644. "Abends mit Reimers mus.[ziert] – Sonaten von Bach. 1- 3.—"; 1 January 1854. *Tb*, Bd.3, 644, n 927. "Bach (3tes J.[ahr])."; "Nachmittag misicirt wie gestern. Bachsonaten 4— 6—"

[23] Peter F. Ostwald, *Schumann: Inner Voices of a Musical Genius*, 4; Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, 296.

[24] 23-24 February 1855. Brahm's letter to Clara. Bernhard R. Appel, *Robert Schumann in Endenich*, 216-7. "Über die schönen Bach-Beethoven-Schumann-Programme freute er sich sehr. (He was very happy for the beautiful Bach-Beethoven-Schumann program.)"; "Ganz ruhig frug ich ihn auch, ob er nichts komponiere? Da erfuhr ich denn, daß er Fugen gemacht habe, hören sollt' ich sie nicht, weil sie nicht in Ordnung. (I calmly asked him if he compose anything? I learned that he made fugues, which I shall not hear, because they are not in order.)" These fugues are missing.

[25] 1 May 1855. *Tb*, Bd.3, 659. This volume contained the *St. Matthew Passion* edited by Julius Rietz.

2. Arranging Bach: The *St. John Passion*

2.1. Schumann's Bach Arrangements and Late Style

In discussions of Schumann's late style, the Bach arrangements are typically considered revelatory of "Schumann as a collector." Daverio interprets Schumann's late-period method as a form of assemblage; in collecting and curating, he imbued the objects with an indefinable quality compounded of nearness and distance.[26] For instance, in Bach's sonatas and partitas for solo violin and suites for solo cello, "Schumann provided Bach's works for solo strings with an aura in the form of accompaniments that are generally discreet and often transparent, as transparent as the glass case through which we might view a collection of rare coins or stamps."[27] For a composer with a strong awareness of history, collecting moves beyond habit to active involvement in establishing a history. Schumann's interest was not in the historicization of a fossil, but something carrying meaning in the here-and-now; his imperative was the re-contextualization of the object in present history. His arrangements can thus be understood as an attempt to make those works historically meaningful, an active intervention in the reception of historical objects with contemporary context.

The construct of 'collection' by itself fails to capture Schumann's consistent undermining of artistic models; he did not merely curate, but interrogated the aesthetic motivations constructing the earlier works. In revising Bach's *St. John Passion* in 1851, Schumann took up issues different from those pursued in the arrangement of the solo violin sonatas and cello suites; both efforts display his interpretation, internalization, and transformation of old models. The methods he used to bring certain musical elements to the fore, and the resulting transformation of

[26] John Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, 477.

[27] Ibid.

the original under the spell of Romantic aesthetics, highlight the specific characteristics Schumann most prized in Bach. The pattern of revisitation thus embodied therefore is part of his promotion of the Bach revival while simultaneously encouraging his own progression as a composer.

Joel Lester's 1994 essay on Schumann's arrangements of the solo violin works is comprehensive and compelling;[28] as relatively less attention has been paid to the *St. John,* I will focus on that arrangement.

2.2. Arrangement of the *St. John Passion*

The *St. John Passion* is a significant work in Schumann's late creative output. Daverio suggests that Schumann's sacred music style is characterized by the "lofty simplicity and dignity" that E. T. A. Hoffmann singled out as the hallmark of genuine church music, and interprets Schumann's *Missa Sacra*, Op. 147 and *Requiem*, Op. 148 in those terms;[29] however, a much more immediate reference is available in the context of Schumann's abiding interest in the church music of Bach. Although Schumann's written references to church or religious music are sparse, his views on the genre are evident in his occasional remarks on the sacred works of Bach, especially regarding the *St. John Passion*. Furthermore, although Schumann's extensive use of chorus in his late period is typically associated with his strong interest in Handel's oratorios, or more generally ascribed to German nationalism, the *St. John Passion* offers a more immediate model. His study and subsequent revision of the work permeated the development of his own

[28] Joel Lester, "Reading and Misreading: Schumann's Accompaniments to Bach's Sonatas and Partitas for Solo Violin," *Current Musicology*, Vol. 56 (1994), 24-53. In this discussion, Schumann's transformation is interpreted as "misreading" of the original.

[29] Ibid.

dramatic choral style: The melodic qualities of the solo arias, musical texture based on both homophonic chorale and contrapuntal chorus, and the construction of narrative based on these media dominate Schumann's ensuing compositions for chorus and orchestra.[30] This focused interest in Bach's *St. John Passion* is reflected in Schumann'scopy of the *St. John Passion*, now preserved in the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau.[31] This is a printed edition by the publisher Trautwein, marked up by Schumann, and used for his 1851 performance of the *St. John* in Düsseldorf.[32]

Schumann's interest in the *St. John Passion* appearing in his own records dates to 1842.[33] In his review of the oratorio *Johann Huss* by Carl Löwe, Schumann makes use of his acquaintance with the *St. John Passion* to invoke simplicity and form as important parameters of religious music.

> …that artificial piece of music, of which we have already said that it is an exception, in the extremest sense, to the predominant simplicity of the whole oratorio. Still, such writing does

[30] Schumann had approached religious texts and subjects in the 1840's, but his enthusiasm for sacred music greatly increased in Düsseldorf, where he wrote several large-scale choral compositions, including two sacred works for choir and orchestra in the 1850s. Schumann mentioned that he was turning his thoughts to the Church in his 1849 letter to Dr. Krüger (Annie Wilson Patterson, *Schumann*, 81); in another letter, he remarked that "it is surely the artist's supreme goal to apply his creative powers to sacred music." (13 January 1851, Letter to August Strackerjan: *Briefe, NF*, 335; Translation from Tunbridge, *Schumann's Late Style*, 60. "Der geistlichen Musik die Kraft zuzuwenden, bleibt ja wohl das höchste Ziel des Künstlers.")

[31] Arch. No. 2382-A4/D1.

[32] Berlin: Verlag der Buch- und Music-Handlung von T. Trautwein , 1831. A study of this copy was made by Matthias Wendt,: "Fanfaren für Bach und andere Besetzungsproblem—Schumanns Düsseldorfer Erstaufführung der Johannes-Passion" in Vom Klang der Zeit; Besetzung, Bearbeitung und Aufführungspraxis bei Johann Sebastian Bach; Klaus Hofmann zum 65. Geburtstag, 2004 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel), 156-179.

[33] Schumann recorded having studied the *St. John Passion* in his diary: 13 March 1842.*Tb*, Bd.3, 214. "Johannes Passion v. Bach."; 6 May 1842. *Tb.* Bd.2, 211. He also noted that he played a piece "from the Passion," probably referring to the *St. John*: "Die Tochter Harriet ein liebes bescheidenes Mädchen; wir spielten aus der Passion v. Bach, sie schwärmt darin." It is uncertain when Schumann was first exposed to the *St. John Passion*; the score was first published in 1830 in Berlin, and Schumann owned 1831 edition. The *St. John Passion* was part of the repertoire studied among the Zelter circle in Berlin Singakademie, preceding by fifteen years Mendelssohn's 1829 revival of the St. Matthew Passion (Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education*, 10). However, it was not performed in the nineteenth century until 1833, when Rungenhagen staged it at the *Berlin Singakademie* (Thomas Synofzik, CD booklet of *Johannes-Passion, J.S. Bach/arr. Robert Schumann*, 19).

> honour to any musician. The form is that of a double canon on the fifth below. In Bach's "Passion according to St. John," we remember a similar one, though of course more artistic, on the word "crucify.[34]

In the same year, on December 9, Eduard Krüger's analytical essay comparing the two Bach Passions was published in the *NZfM*;[35] appearing in seven installments, this extensive analysis sought to raise interest in both pieces, noting an intention to "point out some hitherto ignored advantages in the *St. John Passion*."[36] As an editor of the journal, Schumann would have read this essay and likely sympathized with Krüger's opinions.

Schumann's interest in the work as a possible addition to his conducting repertoire appears first in 1848.[37] His preference of this work to the *St. Matthew*, as expressed in the 1849 letter to Georg Dietrich Otten, was based in part on his frequent engagements with the piece thereafter.[38] Significantly, he mistakenly thought that the *St. John Passion* was composed after the *St. Matthew*; his impression of the former's maturity was due to his assessment of the *St. John* as "…much bolder, more powerful and poetical, than the *St. Matthew* version," and its "terseness" and "inspiration," especially in the choruses. Such words describing the piece are terms largely associated with the characteristics of a specifically Romantic music, reflecting his

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[34] October, 1842. Translation from *Music and Musicians*, 324.

[35] Thomas Synofzik, CD Booklet of *Johannes-Passion, J.S. Bach/arr. Robert Schumann*, performed by Rheinische Kantorei and Das Kleine Konzert, conducted by Hermann Max (2006-7), 19.

[36] This essay "Die beiden Bach'schen Passionen" was published in *NZfM*, Vol.18 (1843), Nos. 15,16,17,18, 19, 20 and 22.

[37] When he founded the mixed choir *Chorgesangverein* in Dresden in January 1848, excerpts from the *St. John Passion* with piano accompaniment became centerpieces of the group's repertoire (Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild," 475). Bischoff's Table 4 lists Bach's works performed by Dresden *Chorgesangverein* in rehearsal and stage recorded in Robert Schumann's *Chornotizbuch.* The record indicates rehearsals and performances of the first chorus, "Herr, unser Herrscher," and the final chorus and chorale, "Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine" and "Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein." Schumann first conducted the Dresden *Chorgesangverein* in a performance of the final chorus of *St. John* on 30 April 1848 (*Tb*, Bd.3, 459); his records note many more performances of this piece prior to his move to Düsseldorf.

[38] Refer to footnote 40 of Chapter 4. *Briefe NF*, 300-301 (No.339) and *Tb*. Bd.3, footnote 806.

search for a timeless aesthetic, one that transcended its origins in place and time. The resulting aesthetic equation of a sacred choral work with the stylistically divergent aims of the Romantics reiterates Schumann's interest in bridging the artistic divides between musical eras, while signaling his personal need to locate the Passion within its historical context. The *St. John* fulfilled these criteria in its perceived universality; as Schumann wrote to Hauptmann after the Düsseldorf premier of the *St. John*, "It seems to me hardly possible to doubt that the *St. John Passion* is the one written later, in the period of his highest mastery; in the other I would think one hears more of the influences of the time, just as in that one the material absolutely does not yet seem overwhelmed."[39]

As municipal music director, Schumann composed and conducted for a Düsseldorf audience that was largely Catholic. Schumann described his own spirituality in his famous axiom, from 1830, as "religious, but without religion." He was not observant in a strict manner, forgoing regular church attendance, but his views and moral fervor were grounded in German Christianity. Consequently, while he did not write music that was overtly liturgical, his sense of religion is indirectly expressed in the oratorio *Das Paradies und die Peri* and his settings of two Rückert poems—*Adventlied*, Op. 71 and *Motette "Verzweifle nicht,"* Op. 93. According to Wasielewski, an acquaintance and the first biographer of Schumann,[40] Schumann was free from church dogmas, regarding common humanity as the only authorized standard for conduct.[41] This belief

[39] 8 May 1851. Letter to Moritz Hauptmann. *Briefe*; 341: Translation by author and David Bloom; Reprinted in Bischoff, 474 and 477. "Es scheint mir kaum zweifelhaft, daß die Johannespassion die spätere, in der Zeit höchster Meisterschaft geschriebene ist; in der anderen spürt man, dächte ich, mehr Zeiteinflüsse, wie auch in ihr der Stoff überhaupt noch nicht überwältigt erscheint." For a review of the chronology of these works, see Arthur Mendel, "Traces of the Pre-History of Bach's St. John and St. Matthew Pssion," in *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch zum 80. Geburtstag am 5. September 1963*, edited by Walter Gerstenberg, Jan LaRue, and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963); and Alftred Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's "St. John Passion": Genesis, Transmission and Meaning*, trans. Alfred Clayton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[40] Wasielewski, a violinist, was the concertmaster for the Düsseldorf premiere of the *St. John*.

[41] Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, *Life of Robert Schumann*, 161.

system is reflected in his refusal to write music solely for church use, consciously encouraging its performance in both sacred and secular venues, for all audiences.[42] His revision of the *St. John* followed this concern, reworking the piece to make "Bach's music accessible to the public," whether in a sacred or secular context. Although Bach's *St. John* was originally written for church performance, its dramatic elements and musical character make it appropriate for presentation in secular venues.

Three weeks before moving to Düsseldorf, Schumann wrote a letter to the chairman of the board of that city's choir society, Joseph Euler: "I first intend to study Bach's *St. John Passion* (the shorter one, though no less beautiful) with the choir society"[43] For the performance of the *St. John* on Psalm Sunday, 13 April 1851, Schumann planned to conduct the complete piece. In preparation, Schumann asked Moritz Hauptmann, the choirmaster of the St. Thomas church, to borrow the orchestra score material kept at the Thomas School, under the impression that the scores Hauptmann had kept were Bach's originals.[44] As Hauptmann did not in fact have the original score, Schumann had to use his own copy. On the title page, Schumann wrote "zum erstemal aufgeführt den 13 April 1851 in Düsseldorf." The most conspicuous markings at first glance are the dynamic indications (in pencil) and numbers (in red pencil) added by Schumann. Another consistent marking in red pencil is the "Chor" (choir) that appears in each recitative section to cue the chorus; Schumann wrote this in most of the recitative sections, although he

[42] Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, 471; Annie Wilson Patterson, *Schumann*, 82-84.

[43] Synofzik, CD Booklet of *Johannes-Passion, J.S. Bach/arr. Robert Schumann*, 19.

[44] 21 February 1851. Letter to Hauptmann. *Briefe, NF*, 337. "Eine Bitte habe ich. Wir wollen zum Psalmsonntag die Johannes Passionsmusik von Bach hier aufführen. Ueberhäuft von Arbeiten, würde es mir ein großer Zeitgewinn sein, wenn ich mir die ausgeschriebenen Recitative irgendwie verschaffen könnte. Wenn ich nicht irre, besitzen Sie oder die Thomanerbibliothek die Orchesterstimmen, und es wäre nun meine Bitte, ob Sie uns dieselben nicht bis Mitte März leihen könnführen, Abweichungen von der Partitur sein, so würde ich Sie ersuchen, mir auch ein Exemplar der Chorstimmen beizulegen."

sometimes crossed out his own markings.[45] While Schumann did not compose any additional music, and most of the markings seem to be for his own reference for conducting, some of his alterations reveal a more subtle intent behind his revisions which can be read as an attempt beyond mere editing or performance preparation.

Schumann's major practical concern was the orchestration. His most prominent alteration in instrumentation is his use of a set of strings, clarinet and bassoon for the continuo in the chorale sections, which were originally played by organ and other continuo instruments. He consistently wrote "mit S.[aiteninstrumente] (2) cla.[rinette] (2) fag.[gotte]" to indicate this redistribution of instruments;[46] only the chorales received substantively different orchestration, with the removal of the keyboard. The resulting orchestral texture supports the rich harmonic sonority of the choir with a full-voiced string sound, potentially increasing the expressiveness of the chorale sections. In this way Schumann imbued the chorale with the quality of a performed piece rather than a devotional hymn, updating the affective atmosphere from the 1700s to the mid-1800.

Other changes in orchestration were a matter of historical necessity. Schumann sometimes replaced unavailable instruments with their modern equivalents;[47] he was flexible in his adaption of contemporary instruments, as historicist preservation or restoration itself was not his artistic interest. After the eighteenth century, musical instruments such as the oboe da caccia, viola d'amore, viola da gamba and lute were largely unavailable, forcing Schumann to make

[45] Between No. 4 and 5 (going to choral), No. 7 and 8 (going to choral), No. 15 and 16 (going to chorus), No. 18 and 19 (going to chorus), No. 19 and 20 (chorus), No. 26 and 27 (chorus), No. 29 and 30 (choral), No. 32 and 33 (arioso), No. 35 to 36 (chorus)

[46] Nos. 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 15, 22, 28, and 30.

[47] Hauptmann used cor anglais in Leipzig performance, and Schumann intended to use basset horn according to his notebook. Thomas Synofzik, CD booklet of *Johannes-Passion*, 21 and 25.

modern substitutions. When two violas d'amore were needed—in the arioso and aria "Betrachte, mein Seel, mit ängstlichem Vergnügen" for bass (No. 17 in Schumann's copy numbering) and "Mein Jesu, ach!" for soprano (No. 18)—Schumann replaced them with two violins using mute ("Viol[in] I c.[on] sord[ino]" and "Viol II c. sord"); the viola da gamba—seen in the alto aria "Es ist vollbracht!" (No. 31)—was replaced with solo viola.

In addition to the accessibility and suitability of instruments, Schumann had to consider the available soloists.[48] Schumann searched for singers in neighboring cities, but failed to find the voices he needed; there is a record that the tenor arias were assigned to another soprano, although for unknown reasons, this soprano did not perform in the concert at all.[49] The Cologne baritone Joseph Schiffer, scheduled to sing the bass arias as well as the part of Jesus, notified Schumann one week before the performance of April 6 that he would not be able to perform "Eilt, ihr angefochtnen Seelen" (No.26), because the register was too low for him;[50] ultimately, Schumann canceled the bass arias. Likewise, the omission of a tenor arioso and a soprano aria in the final part—"Mein Herz" (No. 33) and "Zerfließe, mein Herze" (No. 34)—was in part due to the lack of a suitable replacement for the oboe da caccia; however, in this case, the soloists' availability was the deciding factor.

Such problems eventually led Schumann to omit a major portion of the final part; in addition to the omission of the tenor aria "Erwäge, wie sein blutgefärbter Rücken" (No.18), five pieces—from the bass aria "Mein theurer Heiland" (No. 32) to the recitative "Die Juden aber,

[48] Based on the notes from Schumann's notebook, Synofzik describes the availability of soloists at that time, and its impact to the performance in the CD booklet of *Johannes-Passion*, 20. My summary about the contemporary situation here is heavily indebted to Synofzik's detailed description.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

weil es Rüsttag war"—were not included in the performance.[51] The omission of three major solo arias (for bass, tenor, and soprano, respectively) greatly affected the work by allowing the choral sections, and thus the chorus (supplemented by fifty boy sopranos singing treble) to dominate.[52] Indeed, Schumann valued the "terseness" and "inspiration" in the choruses of the *St. John*, and saw them as an ideal vehicle for delivering sacred music's expressive power and spirituality; therefore, the omission of the solo arias, despite its basis in practical necessity, and the resulting preeminence of the chorus reflects the qualities Schumann most valued in Bach, and thus those that he was most concerned with highlighting the historical and artistic importance of.[53]

Schumann modernized the instrumentation of the solo arias for subtle color.[54] The alto aria "Es ist vollbracht" (No. 31) is the most remarkable example of such revisions. In the 'molto adagio' section, Schumann replaced viola da gamba with viola solo, and indicated that the basso continuo be "harmonisirt (harmonized)" with viola and the first cello, going so far as to write the notes of the harmony in pencil over the continuo. In the 'vivace' ('alla breve' in NBA), he noted "Saiten (strings)" over the indication of viola da gamba. In addition, Schumann wrote two trumpet parts as additional voices to support the triumphant character and the fanfare motifs.[55] As noted by Synofzik, the use of trumpets during Holy Week would be unthinkable for Bach and his contemporaries; however, Schumann's disinterest in strict religious protocol allowed him to

[51] As Schumann marked "vi-de" around tenor aria (No. 18), he also wrote "Vi" at the beginning of No. 32, and "de" before the chorale "O hilf Christe, Gottes Sohn" (No. 35) in score to mark this omission.

[52] Hermann Max, "Notes on the Performance of Bach's St. John Passion in the Version by Robert Schumann (1851)" in CD Booklet of *Johannes-Passion*, 23.

[53] Charles Rosen emphasizes the significance of choral music in Bach Revival, asserting "the so-called Bach Revival [in the nineteenth century] was actually a revival of the *choral* works," given that the musicians before the romantics, such as Mozart and Beethoven were all raised on Bach. *Schumann: A Chorus of Voices*, ed. John C. Tibbetts (Amadeus Press: Milwaukee, 2010), 58.

[54] <Von den Stricken > oboe solo preludes, alto-aria, < Ich folge dir gleichfalls> flute solo preludes, soprano-aria. <Ach, mein Sinn> tenor aria, with string instruments + oboes and bassoons in addition to two clarinets

[55] Synofzik, CD Booklet, 21.

prioritize musical and dramatic concerns. Such additions and alterations flesh out Bach's music orchestrally, allowing Schumann to transform the 'sacred' work into 'religiously-themed' dramatic material.

This transformation is not so far removed from the aesthetic principles of the source material; Bach frequently adapted secular works for sacred use. As Joshua Rifkin succinctly expresses it, "with Bach, there was no real distinction [between secular and sacred music]. It was all considered part of a single, unified universe. And so, music is neither more explicitly religious nor less explicitly religious but implicitly bound up with the notion of God's creation."[56] Schumann's selection of the *St. John Passion* for revision owes much to his interest in melding music of the past with current practices. The sacred church music of one generation provided a dramatic musical experience for more secular public audiences in modern times. In adapting church music for dramatic purposes, Schumann was not so much secularizing Bach as exploring a different aesthetic direction already available in the musical subtext. Schumann latched on to Bach's church music in the same manner as he experimented with genres in earlier years: as a formal aesthetic model which he altered to find and highlight those values that best expressed his creative spirit and vision. 'Sacred' was a genre for Schumann just as fugue was; with both, he focused on particular qualities that spoke to his aesthetic ideals—simplicity, form, spirituality, inspiration, poetic idea and dramatic power. In the process of identifying and incorporating these qualities, Schumann used Bach to distinguish and hone his compositional aesthetic in and beyond the 'sacred,' and, through arrangement and performance, place the *St. John* in his collection of historical objects. By applying the revisionist principle to Bach's sacred

[56] Interview with Joshua Rifkin, *Schumann, A Chorus of Voices*, ed. John C. Tibbetts, 58.

work, Schumann underlines Bach's centrality to music history and his relevance to the contemporary audience.

3. Composition and Revision of The Symphony No. 4 in D minor, Op. 120

Schumann's Symphony in D minor has an extraordinary compositional history. It was originally written in 1841, right after Schumann's successful debut as an orchestral composer with the "Spring" Symphony in 1840. The D minor premiered as the "Second Symphony (Symphonic Fantasy)" at the Leipzig Gewandhaus on 6 December 1841, along with Schumann's *Overture, Scherzo, and Finale*, Op. 52, both conducted by Ferdinand David. As Schumann noted, the premiere was "not as successful as the First."[57] However, confident in its quality, Schumann sent the score to the publisher Peters as his "Second Symphony in D minor Op. 50" on 6 October 1843. Although Peters declined to publish it, Schumann did not revisit the piece for a decade, until the successful premier of the *Rhenish* Symphony.[58] Now, as a more experienced symphonist, Schumann made significant revisions in the orchestration, while maintaining the overall structure and musical material; this revised version was eventually published as his Symphony "No. 4" in December 1853.

The D-minor Symphony has two-fold significance in terms of Schumann's use of Bach as a creative inspiration. Initially conceived in his symphonic year, it contains many innovative musical ideas in which Schumann's acquaintance with and study of Bach played a significant

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[57] 8 January 1842, Letter to Carl Koßmaly. *Briefe, NF*, 212; Translation from Draheim, "Preface" to the 1851 version of Symphony No.4 (Breitkopf & Härtel: Wiesbaden, 1999), page VII: "The two orchestral works, a Second Symphony and an Overture, Scherzo and Finale […] were not as successful as the First." Schumann further added the reason for the unsuccessful premier: "It [performing two orchestral works] was really too much for one time, I think, and then Mendelssohn was not there to conduct. But it doesn't matter. I know they are not at all inferior to the First, and must succeed sooner or later." Original text: "Die beiden Orchesterwerke, eine zweite Symphonie und eine Ouvertüre, Scherzo und Finale [...] haben den großen Beifall nicht gehabt wie die erst. Es war eignetlich zu viel auf einmal—glaub'ich –und dann fehlte Mendelssohn als Dirigent. Das schadet aber alles nichts—ich weiß, die Stücke stehen gegen die 1ste keines wegs zurück und werden sich früher oder später in ihrer Weise auch geltend machen."

[58] Draheim, "Preface" to the 1851 version, page VIII. Draheim notes the following reasons for his renewed interest in the D minor: Eduard Hanslick assumed it was due to "Clara's unflagging encouragement"; the success of the *Rhenish Symphony* brought him back to the genre; and his revisionst impulse was stimulated by his effort to rework the fragmentary *Symphony No.2 in D major* Op. 11 by Norbert Burgmüller, whom Schumann greatly admired.

role. In addition, as an object of revision, the symphony offers a case study of how the revisionist impulse in Schumann's later years relates to his Bach arrangement projects. The symphonic originality stemming from Schumann's internalization of musical elements inspired by Bach, and the role of revisionism as a process of confirming and clarifying that originality, are evident through examination of both versions of the symphony.

3.1. Composition of the D-minor Symphony in 1841

As a composer and critic, Schumann's interest in the symphonic genre was enormously influenced by Beethoven, both as a musical model and as an influence with which to grapple.[59] In this, he followed Schubert's engagement with the genre; more importantly, his 1839 discovery of Schubert's "Great" Symphony in C major (D. 944) in Vienna is considered the impetus for his symphonic ambitions.[60] However, despite the connection to both Beethoven and Schubert, Schumann's D-minor Symphony, and his approach to the symphony in general, cannot be assessed properly without invoking his absorption and internalization of Bach.

"The central challenge for symphonists of the 1830s and 1840s," in the words of Mark Evan Bonds, "was to reconcile Beethoven's legacy with the imperative of originality."[61] To do so, Schumann required musical tools to create a symphony for the new poetic age. He tackled this by using musical characteristics owing much to Bach. Schumann's D minor is certainly not

[59] Tovey considers this symphony inspired by the C-minor Symphony of Beethoven because of three features: the broad melody of the introduction, the exceptionally short exposition, and the work's tendency to broaden ad infinitum as it proceeds. *Essays in Music Analysis*, Vol.II (London: Oxford University Press, First published 1835; Tenth imprint 1966), 58-59. On the other hand, while Mark Evan Bonds acknowledges the influence of the Fifth, he considers Beethoven's D minor to be Schumann's starting point in directly confronting Beethoven's legacy. "Going to Extremes, Schumann's Fourth Symphony," *Symphony After Beethoven, Imperatives of Originality in the Symphony* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 120.

[60] Bonds, "Going to Extremes," 110.

[61] Ibid., 113.

what might be expected of Beethoven or Schubert. The macroscopic structure is strikingly original, with its slow introduction and quasi-sonata process in the first movement, lacking a standard sonata recapitulation; cross-referential use of thematic materials throughout the four movements; rotational principles; and the absence of clearly defined breaks between movements. The uniqueness of this construction is reflected in Schumann's designation of the piece as a Symphonic Fantasy.[62] The specifically Romantic fantasy conjures up a genre in which imagination is expressed in a freely improvisatory character. Schumann's deviation from existing symphonic norms, both formal and thematic, tends heavily toward monothematicism, contrapuntal development, and circularity found in the Baroque fantasy. Monothematicism, circular motion within phrases, and rotational patterns in particular suggest the appropriation of Bach-like qualities. In essence, therefore, Schumann created this Romantic symphony by subverting Classical formal principles with thematicism used in Baroque era.[63]

The first movement begins with a slow introduction outside of the sonata space (mm. 1-31).[64] In the context of Schumann's creative transformation of Baroque genres, this introduction (Example 1) is a Romantic rendering of the prelude that opens the musical space of the Baroque fantasy.

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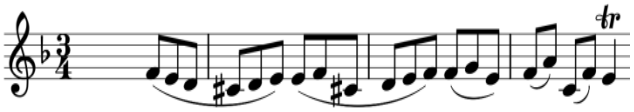
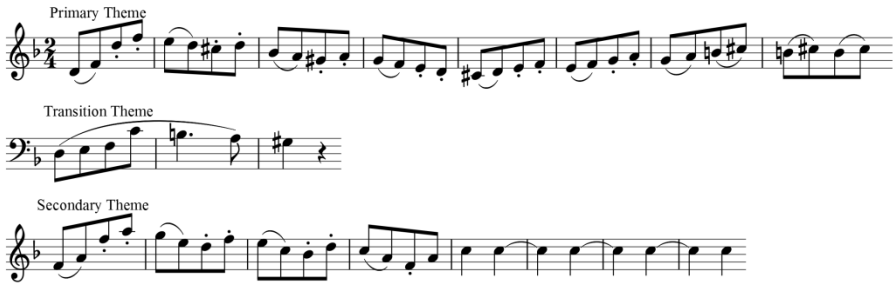
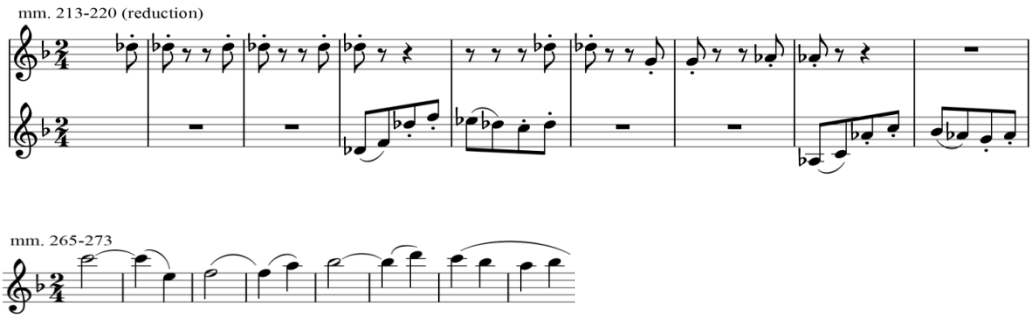
[62] Schumann officially titled this symphony "Symphonische Phantasie in einem Satz für großes Orchester" when he finally published the work in 1853, but he already noted down that he was working on a symphony "consisting of one movement" in the couple's marriage diary on 30 Mary 1841: *Tb*, II, 166. Although he did not specifically indicate in the score that all movements should be performed without breaks, it was played that way in the premiere. Jon Finson, "Preface" to the 1841 Edition of Symphony No. 4, page XI.

[63] Tovey described the characteristic of this symphony in his *Essays in Music Analysis*, "The whole work was from the outset fully as advanced an example of free form and concentrated thematic continuity as any symphonic poem that ever professed to be revolutionary." *Essays in Music Analysis*, Vol.II, 58.

[64] For the purpose of analysis unrelated to the revision process, in this section I am using the measure numbers that appear in the score of the 1841 version, edited by Jon Finson in 2003, with supplementary rehearsal number (in letter), to help locate the corresponding part in the 1851 version.

Example 1. Schumann, Slow Introduction in Symphony No. 4

The introduction leads into the primary theme, consisting of rhythmically regular eighth-note repetitions and cadencing in the tonic minor (mm. 32-59). The transitional material is based on this theme (mm. 60-91), yet its tonally ambiguous motion deenergizes the motion to the secondary theme (mm. 93-96; themes are shown in Example 2). Although this theme does appear in the expected relative major, the material retains the shape of the primary theme. This figuration repeats obsessively in ever-diminishing chunks, reinforcing the juxtaposition of thematic stasis and modulatory development (mm. 93-119). The local tonal goal is a simple reaffirmation of the relative major, but the 1841 version lacks the standard repeat of the exposition space, instead moving abruptly to a sudden E flat call in the clarinet and trombone (m. 146, rehearsal number C). The chasing gestures that follow undermine tonal expectations for the development section (mm. 148-173, before rehearsal number D).

Example 2. Schumann, Main Themes of the First Movement, Symphony No. 4

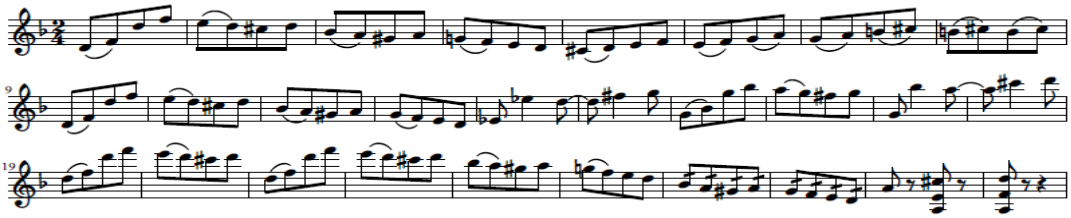
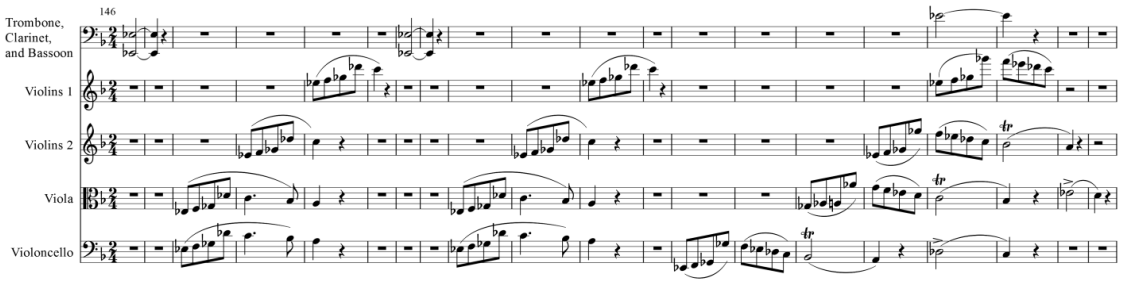
The development contains the norms associated with the sonata—continuous progression, the recasting of exposition themes, and frequent modulation. However, the Classical formal

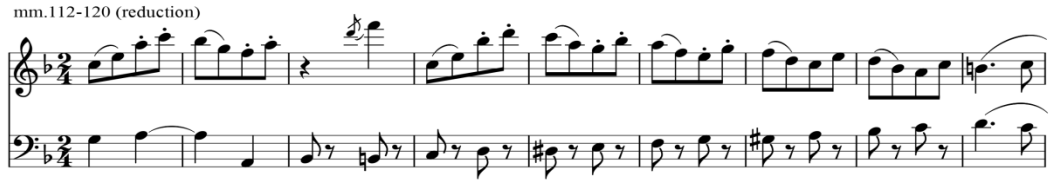
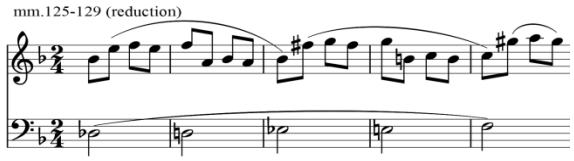
template is constantly subverted by rotational restatement and the introduction and transformation of entirely new themes in the middle of the process (mm.213-220; mm.265-273,[65] respectively. Example 3).

Example 3. Schumann, Themes in the Development of the First Movement, Symphony No. 4

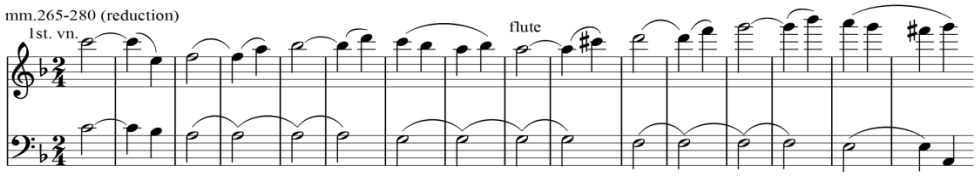
This continuing process of rotation and breakthrough finally climaxes with the return of the lyric theme from the development section recapitulated in the tonic major as a substitute for the secondary theme (m. 596, rehearsal number M: two repetitions of the theme in A major as a dominant going to D major). The recapitulation ends with statements of the tonic major; this tonic affirmation is precisely what is expected at the conclusion of a monothematic, contrapuntally developed circular form, yet very atypical of minor-key sonata-form first movements, which typically close in a 'wrong' key—usually the tonic minor—to maintain tonal tension through the finale. Similarly, the rotational entrance of thematic material subverts the goal-oriented sonata paradigm, emphasizing the circular motions rather than a tonal destination. As the formal boundaries and components of the recapitulation are undermined and elided, the

[65] Roesner interprets the entrance of the lyric theme in F major as follows: the relative major key must be Schumann's deliberate choice to bring the delayed secondary theme to the fore, given its tonality and contrasting characteristic to the first theme. Roesner, "Schumann," *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. by D. Kern Holoman (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 52.

entire sonata structure is pulled toward a distinctly Baroque rhetorical argument prioritizing process over goal.

The rotational structures and thematic circularity in the D-minor Symphony are very reminiscent of the Bachian 'canonic spirit' discussed in Chapter 2. In 1839, Schumann wrote that "fugues and the canonic spirit pervade all my fantasizing," and that spirit is the defining feature of the developmental process throughout the symphony; themes are always chasing, following, or imitating. Indeed, there is no single statement of a motive or phrase; they are all eventually restated, in sonata form. Likewise, the melodic gestures replicate Baroque Fortspinnung, as phrases are spun from a small cell and each motive develops the entire musical structure through sequential repetition (Example 4). Texturally, this process resembles stretto in fugue, increasing tension toward a thematic statement by stacking up a motive derived from that theme (Example 5). The expansion of a motivic idea on melodic and vertical textural levels through this canonic spirit is virtually the main principle and impetus to forge the whole musical argument.

Example 4. Schumann, The Sentence of the Primary Theme in the First Movement, Symphony No. 4

Example 5. Schumann, Beginning of the Development Section in the First Movement, Symphony No. 4

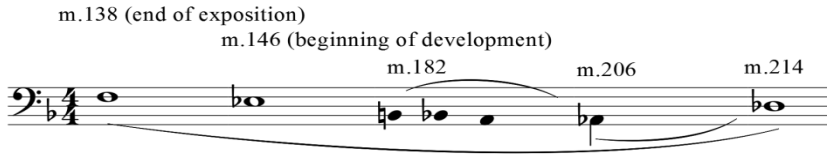
The compositional techniques gained over the course of Schumann's study of Bach, particularly the uses of linear motions, became methods for achieving the expansion necessary in a large-scale work. For instance, in the development section of the first movement, the musical space is created by the rotational use of a theme over a linear line in the bass. Therefore, the surface of each rotation appears repetitive, but the underlying motion is progressive.

Example 6.1. Linear Motion supporting the Primary Theme in the First Movement, Symphony No. 4

Example 6.2. Chromatic Linear Motion in the First Movement, Symphony No. 4



Example 6.3. Descending bass of the First Movement, Symphony No. 4

This emphasis on linear motion can also apply to Schumann's tonal construction; in the development section of the first movement, the tonal center descends linearly: F sharp (end of exposition)–E flat (beginning of development, rehearsal number C)–D flat (entrance of theme,

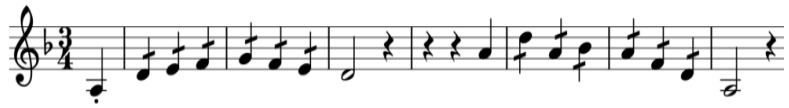
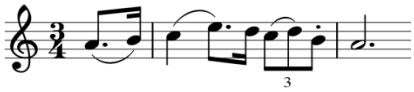
rehearsal number E) (Example 7).[66] Likewise, the onset of the coda to the Finale is a rendering of Bach's characteristic juxtapositions of linear motions. Bach's prioritization of linear motion often yielded expressive dissonances and extremes of tonal coherence; in Schumann's rendering, the expressiveness created by linear motion is paired with thematic regularity, creating a juxtaposition of affect. Thus his internalization and adaptation of Bachian counterpoint translates into his own stylistic signature.

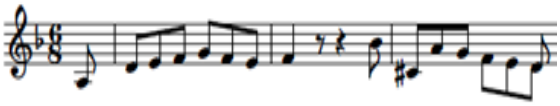


Example 7. Bass Linear Line of mm. 138-214, Symphony No. 4

The sequential thematic rotations that create formal elisions within the first movement extend into the motion between movements as well. The third 'hammerstroke' concluding the first movement appears not as a tonic major affirmation but rather becomes a dominant minor chord opening the second movement. The *Romanze* and *Scherzo* focus on the repetition and recasting of thematic material over major-minor modulations. The *Romanze* is in three large-scale sections: A (mm. 1-26)—B (mm. 26-42)—A' (mm. 42-53). The first section, in A minor, is also subdivided into three parts: *a*-*b*-*a*'. The first subdivision is a slow theme; the second theme is derived from the introduction of the first movement; *a*' briefly reprises the *a* theme. The second large section, c +c ||: d+c' :||, is in D major. A lively turning figuration is followed by a four-measure contrasting theme in winds and strings. The third large section, A' recapitulates the opening theme in D minor.

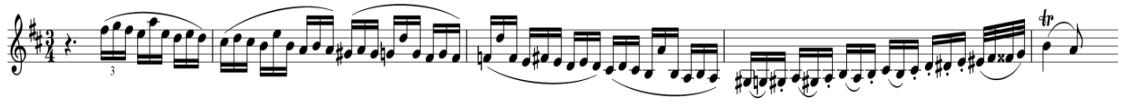
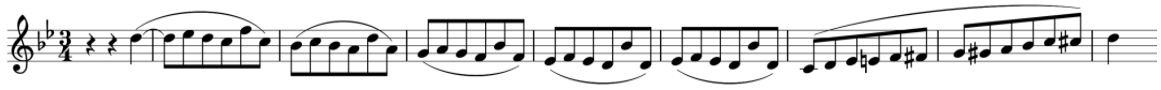
[66] Further linear tonal descending follows: F sharp (m.321, rehearsal number F)—E (m.361, rehearsal number G)—E flat (m.412, rehearsal number H)—(A minor, m.468, rehearsal number I)—D flat (m.500, rehearsal number K).

The *Scherzo* has a similar structural plan consisting of three distinctive sections: Scherzo in D minor (mm. 1-64)—Trio in B flat major (mm. 65-112)—repetition of Scherzo + Trio (mm. 113-232). The Scherzo section is structured a :‖: b+a :‖; the theme reminisces the *a'* of the second movement, but also has a strong similarity with the fugal subject of Schumann's *Fugengeschichte* (Examples 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3).

Example 8.1. Schumann, Third Movement, Symphony No. 4

Example 8.2. Schumann, *a'* theme in the Second Movement, Symphony, No.4 (mm. 22-24)



Example 8.3. Schumann, *Fugengeschichte*, Page 6 (Example 6.2 in Chapter 2)

The Trio abruptly moves to B flat major, with a theme derived from the B section of the second movement (Examples 9.1 and 9.2). The Trio is structured like the Scherzo—c :‖ d+c :‖. It is also repeated, and extended (mm. 217-245) as transition to the Finale. This transitional extension (beginning at m. 233) incorporates a fragment of the primary theme of the first movement.[67]

[67] The Largo 'extension' became the Langsam introduction to the Finale in the 1851 revision. The presence of the P-theme fragment therefore can be approached either as a transitional connection, or, in the revision, as initiating a kind of recapitulation of the entire first movement in the Finale.

Example 9.1. The Secondary Theme (b) of the Second Movement, Symphony No. 4

Example 9.2. The Secondary Theme (d) of the Third Movement, Symphony No. 4

The 'canonic spirit' as a principle of unfolding also applies to the larger formal level: The two middle movements are differently ordered combinations of thematic repetition by section: A (in minor)-B-A' (in major) in the second movement, and A-B-B' in the third movement. Furthermore, many scholars read the final movement as a large recapitulation of the first movement.[68] By composing the symphony as a 'Fantasy,' on themes, Schumann translates the canonic spirit to a multi-level compositional structure.

The fourth movement is in sonata form, yet again deviates from Classical norms. Again, a deenergizing transition precedes the secondary thematic area, but in place of monothematicism, the S-space is multi-modular, presenting four different themes. As with the first movement, the development and recapitulatory spaces are elided by the absence of a recapitulation of the primary theme. The return of the first movement's primary theme nods to monothematicism, while the modular secondary themes recall the breakthrough materials in the first movement. This push and pull between constant reiteration and thematic novelty unifies the four movements; the cross-referentiality creates a single-movement aesthetic, the symphony as a fantasy on themes.

[68] Roesner, "Schumann," 53.

In addition to the monothematicism underlying the progress of the musical material, fugal construction explicitly governs the development section of Finale; Schumann's aesthetic interpretation focuses less on strict application of form than on the affective quality of unimpeded improvisatory linear motion. The finale exposition proceeds according to sonata norms, but the development blossoms (m.131, rehearsal W) after a climactic trombone and string call on G. The section begins with a subject (mm.131-134) and answer (mm.135-138) and their repetition (mm.139-147); a chasing figuration in the strings acts as episodic development (mm.148-154). The subject—its theme—becomes the topic of a dialogue between subsets of string instruments (First violin and viola vs. second violin and cello, in rehearsal X.), followed by a countersubject in the horn (mm.166-170). The use of fugal components again invokes Bach; Schumann's loose application of the procedure results in a style prioritizing spontaneity and flow while deemphasizing formal strictures. The characteristic reliance on linear motion, monothematicism, and melodic circularity in the D-minor Symphony reflects a compositional background heavily indebted to the model of Bach. Having learned how to apply and transform these techniques for his own purpose through his extensive study and integration of Bach, Schumann developed a symphonic language conveying his own post-Beethoven response to the genre. As such, Schumann used the sound of Bach and the Baroque as a tool with which to confront the Beethovenian symphony.

3.2. 1851 Revisions

In the revision of the D-minor Symphony, ten full years after its composition, Schumann focused not on thematic or structural changes but rather on the clarification of his musical thoughts. To this end, the alterations were largely notational, and the most audible change was

the complete reorchestration of the piece.[69] While the essential differences in the overall structure of the piece are barely discernible, Schumann meticulously reconceived the melody, texture, and meter in the two outer movements, and strengthened the structural links between the outer and inner movements.[70]

The orchestral changes are most prominently the frequent addition of brass, which was used sparsely in the first version, and "a redisposition of the wind band."[71] Whereas in the 1841 version winds generally supported or competed with the string melodies, the 1851 winds—especially flute and oboe—are a partner to the strings, and the interplay between the winds and strings becomes more apparent. As a result, while the 1841 version is characterized by a light and transparent texture,[72] the 1851 revision has been criticized for its thick orchestration with unnecessary doubling: With this view, the orchestral revision is considered "playable but opaque."[73] The thick orchestration is sometimes read as a manifestation of Schumann's

[69] The performance issues raised by the changes in notation are suggested by Tovey: "Schumann thought his original notation likely to mislead conductors. Now whenever this happens it will generally be found that the new notation misleads the conductor in the opposite direction, for it is the nature of all such cases to be on the border-line. Hence, if a composer has found that his old indication of tempo produced a tendency to drag, his new indication will certainly produce a tendency to hurry on the part of anyone who does not know the history and motive for the change." Tovey, *Essays in Music Analysisis*, Vol.II, 56.

[70] A conspicuous change in melodic content occurs in the revision of the fugal development section of the Finale. In 1841, the subject consisted of four sequential motions; in 1851, the motions are extended to six. Due to the changed time-signature, the four-measure subject becomes three measures. Schumann also added a dominant-tonic motion in the violins and cello with pizzicato demarcation at the end of the extended subject: this cadential gesture gives a sense of formal completeness to the subject, emphasizing its melodic quality.

[71] Gerald Abraham, "The Three Scores of Schumann's D-minor Symphony," *The Musical Times*, Vol.81, No.1165 (March 1940), 105-109.

[72] The criticism of Schumann's orchestration seems to date back to Weingartner's assessment of Schumann's symphonies: "He [Weingartner] had not a high opinion of any of Schumann's symphonies, and he goes so far as to say that they seem to be pieces written for the pianoforte and arranged for the orchestra, and he declares that they are more effective as pianoforte duets than as orchestral symphony. Anonymous, "Robert Schumann," *The Musical Times*, Vol.51, No.811, September 1, 1910. 565-567. This recalls Gerald Abraham's famous assertion that Schumann's symphonies are "inflated piano music with mainly routine orchestration" in the article "Robert Schumann" in *Grove's Dictionary* (1952).

[73] Tovey, *Essays in Music Analysis*, Vol.II, 58.

insecurities, reflecting a desire to "make things safe by doubling the difficult or weak points."[74] However, the changes in orchestration are better read as an attempt to clarify the formal resemblance between the first and final movements. For example, in the development section of the first movement (rehearsal number K; m. 500 in 1841 version, and m. 265 in 1851 version), the wind instruments initially played chords with the brass; in the revision they are melodic voices doubling strings. Thus the chordal harmony created from the successive entrance of each orchestral section is played only by the brass. This texture recalls the closing theme of the exposition in the Finale, which develops out of successive entrances of each note in the brass. That theme itself received revision (mm. 101-116 in 1841 version and mm. 67-74 in 1851 version, after rehearsal V), reinforcing the textural similarity between the outer movements (Examples 10.1-2, and 11.1-2), and consequently emphasizing the connectedness of the movements.

The changes in orchestration clarify implicit material connections between the movements; in addition, Schumann's revisions targeted the explicit links from one movement to the next and among them all as a one movement fantasy. This is particularly evident in alterations to the first and fourth movements which emphasize the cross-referentiality of themes. The first major change is at the end of the slow introduction of the first movement; the 1851 revision introduces the primary theme prior to the beginning of the exposition. As the primary theme material presages its expositional statements, the distinction between sections blurs, and the link between introduction and exposition is strengthened. This thematic overlap has roots in the Largo preceding the Finale, which incorporates the primary theme of the first movement.

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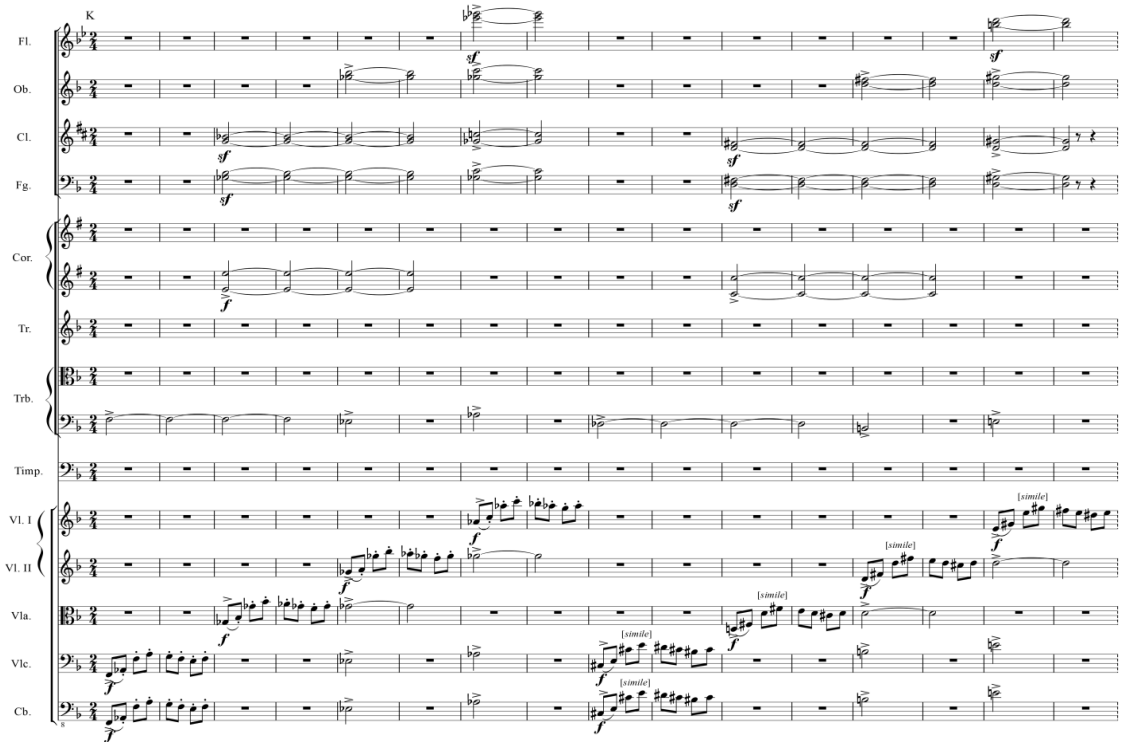
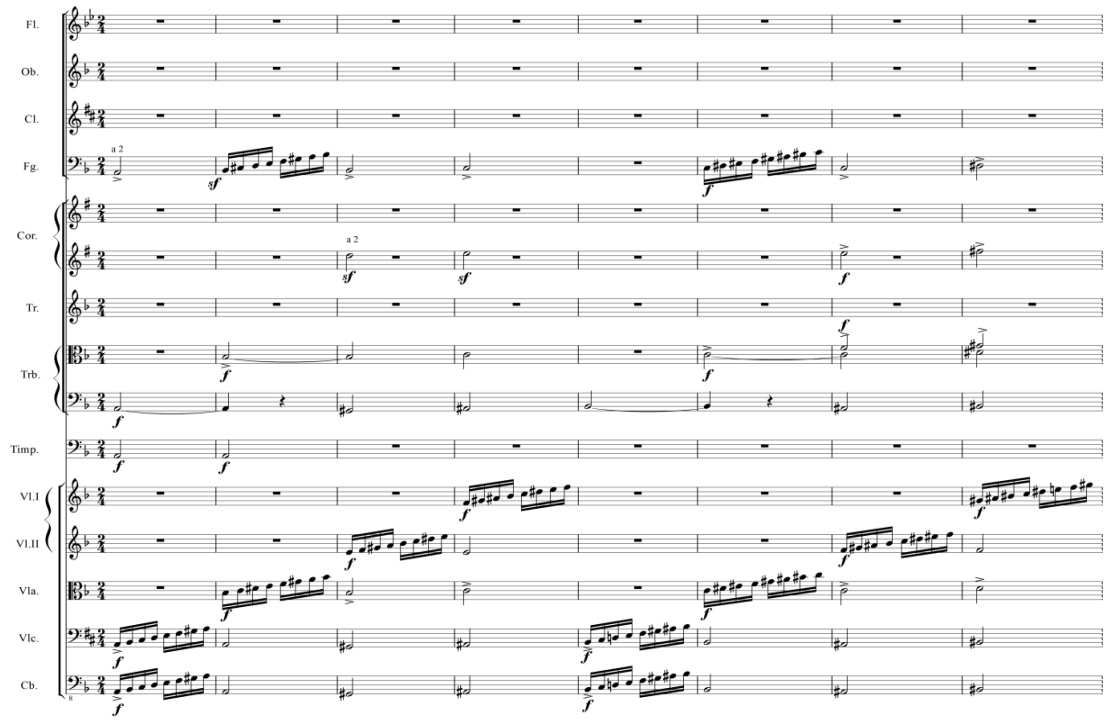
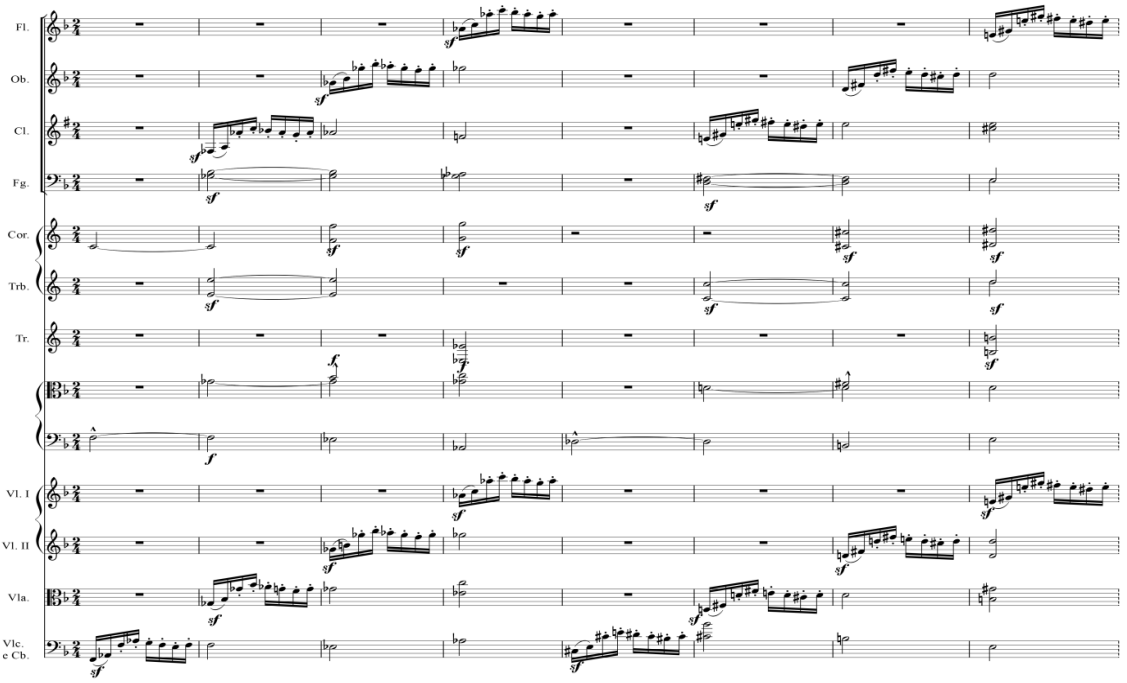
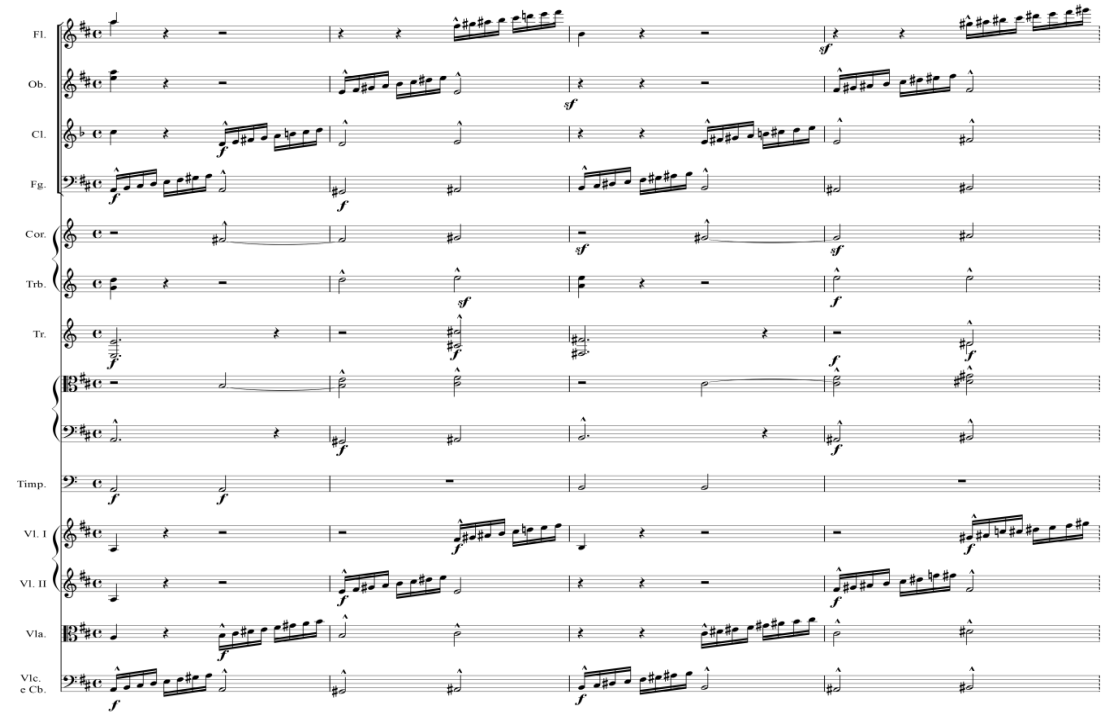
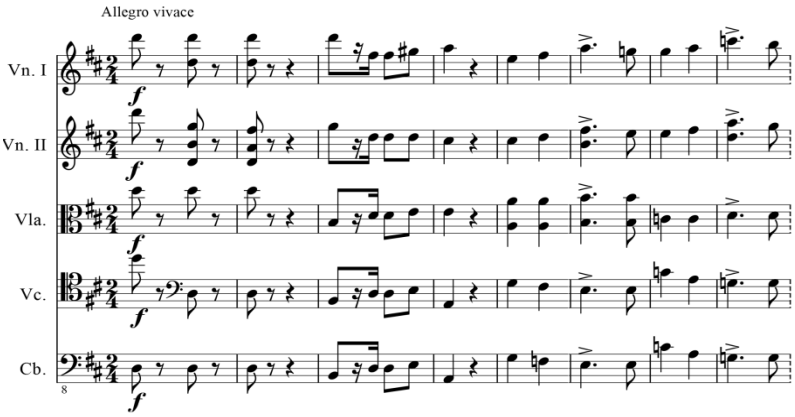
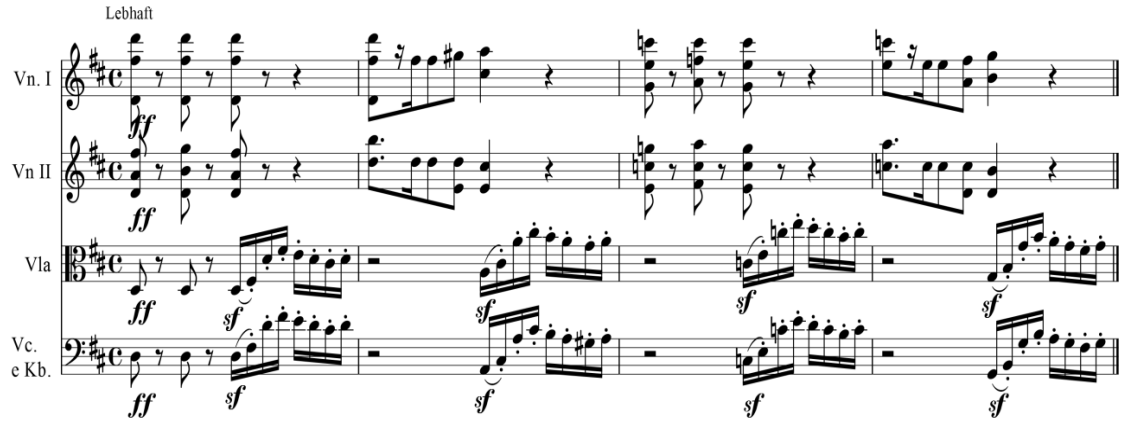
[74] Ibid.



Example 10.1. 1841 version, First Movement (mm. 500-515), Symphony No. 4

Example 10.2. 1841 version, Fourth Movement (mm. 101-107), Symphony No. 4

Example 11.1. 1851 version, Closing Theme of the Exposition in the First Movement (mm. 265-276), Symphony No. 4

Example 11.2. 1851 version, Closing Theme of the Exposition in the Fourth Movement (mm. 67-70), Symphony No. 4

This is matched by Schumann's changing conception of the Largo section (labeled "Langsam" in 1851 revision), from ending the third movement to the introduction for the Finale.[75] With this reassignment, the structural similarity between the first and fourth movements is highlighted, and further reinforced by the incorporation of the primary theme of the first movement (already seen in the Largo) with the primary theme of the Finale (Examples 12.1 and 12.2). By so closely tying the primary theme of the first movement with the final movement, Schumann creates very solid thematic unity between the outer movements.

Example 12.1. 1841 version, Beginning of the Finale Movement (String parts), Symphony No.4

Example 12.2. 1851 version, Beginning of the Finale Movement (String part), Symphony No.4

[75] Schumann wrote "Finale" at the beginning of the primary theme of the fourth movement in 1841; in 1851 this was marked "Lebhaft."

Furthermore, Schumann added repeat signs and a double bar at the end of the expositions of both the first and fourth movements. This may be read as a return to the conventional sonata norm, disguising the creative ingenuity (or idiosyncrasy) of the original; however, it can be also read as lending definition to the formal structure. These efforts at formal clarification are all in the details; rather than altering the symphonic plan, Schumann's alterations enhance the thematic unity of the piece.

Responses to the revision varied. Brahms preferred and promoted the 1841 original,[76] and some 20th-century scholars considered the 1851 "clumsier,"[77] due largely to its orchestration. Tovey goes so far as to suggest that "the ideal version of the symphony would undoubtedly be arrived at by taking the latter version as the text and striking out all superfluous doublings until we reach the clarity of the original."[78] Schumann himself defended the revision as "being better and more effective" than the 1841 version,[79] reflecting Tunbridge's thought that "his concern, throughout the revision process, was to make structure and themes more intelligible."[80]

Beyond response to the revisions themselves, responses to Schumann's revisionist impulse has led some scholars to view his efforts negatively. Given that Schumann's fears of insanity continued to increase throughout this period, and that the republication of the early

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[76] Finson, "Preface" to the score of the 1841 version, page X. Brahms obtained the autograph score of this symphony from Clara as a gift, and drew attention to the first version thirty years after Schumann's death. While Brahms enthusiastically preferred the 1841 version, Clara preferred the 1851 and was concerned that Schumann's final rendering would be compromised by publication of the 1841 score. Nonetheless, in 1891, Brahms commissioned his friend the conductor and composer Franz Wüllner to prepare the score of the first version for publication; it was eventually published by Breitkopf & Härtel.

[77] Abraham, "The Three Scores of Schumann's D-minor Symphony," 109.

[78] Tovey, *Essays in Music Analysis*, Vol.II, 58; Reprinted in Abraham, "The Three Scores of Schumann's D-minor Symphony," 108.

[79] 3 May 1853, Letter to Verhulst, *Briefe, NF*, 372.

[80] Laura Tunbridge, *Schumann's Late Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 80.

works preceded his voluntary entrance into a lunatic asylum by only a short time, Rosen interprets Schumann's revisions as an attempt "to remove anything which might have seemed insane, or even odd."[81] Likewise, Taruskin asserts that "[his] "fixed idea" or obsession made Schumann morbidly sensitive to symptoms of "irrationality" in his early output, and even caused him to revise some of his most remarkable compositions to render them more conventional, hence less threatening to his own peace of mind."[82] However, such psychological assessments fail to take into consideration the concurrent and related efforts of Schumann as an arranger and reviser of Bach's works in addition to revising his own works.

There is a common artistic intent guiding Schumann's arrangements of Bach and his revisions of his own works. Both revolve around reconsidering the preexisting compositional model, 'correcting' and altering established scores, and consequently transforming them into something distinct from their original incarnations. Crucially, arrangement and revision allowed Schumann to approach these works with a historical perspective, relying on the integrity of preexistent models and subsequently focusing his energies on their transformation in the context of contemporary musical practice. As Schumann entered his forties, he had the opportunity to look back on his accomplishments, and consider how they might be remembered in the context of history—how his own works, and his engagement with works of earlier composers, would be assessed by the public and future generations as historical documents. His selection of works for arrangement and revision reflects this. He chose the works of Bach that he thought most worthy of study and performance and made them contemporary, fusing in them the historicist and the Romantic.

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[81] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 663.

[82] Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century*, 318.

His revisitation of the D-minor Symphony reflects Schumann's constant push toward improving and clarifying his musical thoughts in his later years, a product of the artistic imperative to look back at his accomplishments, and locate those works and activities in the larger historical context. Thus Schumann's revisionist tendency should be read not as an effort to control or diminish the artistic idiosyncrasy of his earlier years, but rather as a process by which he kept his artistry in focus.

Conclusion. Schumann's Creative Transformation of Bach's Legacy

Robert Schumann's conspicuous penchant for contrapuntal idioms considered the composer's characteristic musical style, is generally ascribed to the German music tradition, in which Johann Sebastian Bach is the central figure. Although Schumann's public role in the nineteenth-century Bach revival is less known than that of Mendelssohn, Schumann's intensive engagement with Bach's music was perhaps the most significant of his contemporaries. Schumann did not merely promote Bach; he constantly pondered and reinterpreted Bach's legacy, using it as a creative force for developing his own musical style.

Despite the significance of Bach to Schumann's musical development, discussion of Schumann's interest in Bach has been confined to rather obvious examples such as his fugal compositions or arrangements of Bach's repertoire for solo string instruments. However, Bach's legacy pervaded Schumann's musical imagination far beyond learning and propagating the old master's music or adopting certain musical forms. This disjunction between the scope of Bach's influence on Schumann and the conversation on the topic is due to the latent nature of the musical evidence. As Dahlhaus suggests, "Schumann's Bach reception consists … primarily of a latent appropriation not of a manifest style copy; the model toward which he orients himself is less the fugue than the "free composition," whose voices are not equally and unbrokenly present but instead form a hierarchy of primary and secondary voice, and not infrequently emerge unexpectedly and disappear."[1] Schumann's Bach reception is thoroughly internalized; the

[1] Dahlhaus, "Bach und der romantische Kontrapunkt," *Musica*, Vol.43, No.1 (1989), 16; Translation from Claudia Macdonald, *Robert Schumann and the Piano Concerto*, 200. "Schumanns Bach-Rezeption besteht, nicht anders als die von Chopin oder Brahms, primär in latenter Aneignung, nicht in manifester Stilkopie; das Modell, an dem si sich orientiert, ist weniger die Fuge als der „freie Satz," dessen Stimmen nicht gleichberechtigt und ununterbrochen

various elements Schumann valued in Bach's music were transformed into an artistic imperative to revive the musical spirit of Bach through his personal aesthetic.

Indeed, the difficulty in parsing Schumann's latent appropriation is due to that very process of transformation in which the vestiges of Bach's influence are artfully subsumed. This metamorphosis, by which Bach became central to Schumann's aesthetic, is essential to understanding the role of Schumann as a self-described 'Romantic.' Definitions of the Romantic in literary theory proliferated in the early nineteenth century, yet questions about its meaning in music remained vague. Plantinga dates the common application of 'Romantic' to music in Germany to around 1810, when E. T. A. Hoffmann described Beethoven as the forebear of German Romanticism in his famous reviews of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and the Trios, Op. 70.[2] This discussion extended through Schumann's tenure as the editor and critic of *NZfM*. As Plantinga suggests, Schumann himself was always somewhat wary of the term,[3] concerned with its unthinking application; indeed, how to define the "Romantic" in music was an ongoing concern for Schumann and his circle. Ultimately, the factors Schumann regarded essential to 'Romantic' music were originality, personalized modes of expression, and the concepts of "fantasy," the characteristic," and the "poetic."[4] However, in bringing those qualities to the fore, Schumann's Romanticism demanded rational, intelligent musical style. His interest in clarity of form reflects this concern with genuine musical craftsmanship;[5] in this sense, Romanticism for

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präsent sind, sondern eine Hierarchie von Haupt- und Nebenstimmen bilden und nicht selten überraschend auftauchen und verschwinder."

[2] Plantinga, "Schumann's View of "Romantic," *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol.52, No.2 (Apr., 1966), 222. Plantinga suggests Hoffmann's reviews appeared in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, XII, 1810, 630-42 and 652-59; XV, 1813, 141-54.

[3] Ibid., 223.

[4] Ibid., 225.

[5] Ibid., 225.

him was not a rebellion against "classicism." Indeed, the consummate craftsmanship of a composer such as Bach itself engenders the virtues Schumann found in Romanticism. Schumann's positioning of Bach as a historical model for Romantic composers in a letter to Kefferstein emerged in this context;[6] in addition to finding the epitome of quality in Bach's music, Schumann saw in it an inexhaustible resource for the development of musical aesthetics.

Schumann, then, thought of the Romantics as sustainers of a musical tradition with roots in Bach and its most powerful representative in Beethoven.[7] The establishment of the *NZfM* and Schumann's editorship reflected a belief in promoting the development of contemporary music according to that historical awareness. To invoke this specifically German musical Romanticism, Schumann and his circle identified themselves as the "Neuromantik," in reference to the title of Konstantin Julius Becker's novel *Der Neuromantiker*.[8] These New Romantics joined abiding respect for tradition with an equal commitment to the cause of musical progress.[9] Daverio asserts that "Only the romantics, those capable of transforming past practice into something fundamentally new, will at once survive the present and point the way toward the 'new poetic age'."[10] When Schumann discussed a contemporary work that alluded to some earlier work, his critical focus was not on the likeness itself but rather the justifying—or failing to justify—the resemblance. As a critic and composer who acutely felt the spirit and motivation underneath the surface resemblance, Schumann was uninterested in the use of other composers' musical language for its own sake; he was contemptuous of "those lame, boring symphony-makers who

[6] See my Introduction to this dissertation, 2-3.

[7] Plantinga, "Schumann's View of "Romantic," 230.

[8] Refer to my Introduction, 6-7.

[9] Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, 123.

[10] Ibid.

had the ability to imitate adequately the powdered wigs of Haydn and Mozart but not the heads underneath them."[11] Instead, Schumann valued the transformation of past practice into something fundamentally new, as the true spirit of "romantic." This aesthetic stance permeated his own creative process of consistently returning to old models and then challenging and recrafting genres and forms, obscuring the vestiges of the past underneath surface newness but maintaining their fundamental importance. Thus, seeking out Bachian vestiges on the surface level only superficially engages Schumann's revival of Bach through his own music within a new poetic age.

Schumann's perception of the 'Romantic' and its relation to the past is reflected in his 1848 letter to Liszt:

> Look at my works more closely and you will find a diversity of outlook that I have always aimed at; in each of them I have tried to give birth not only to a musical pattern but also to an idea. And really they were not so negligible those who were gathered in Leipzig—Mendelssohn, Hiller, Bennett, and the others—and we could stand up to comparison with those of Paris, Vienna, or Berlin. Moreover, if you find something derivative in their work, call it Philistinism or what you will, but don't forget that you can find as much in all works of art and that Bach, Handel, Gluck and the later Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven resembled each other to the point of being indistinguishable in a hundred different places. I do not include Beethoven's later works, although they proceed from Bach. There is no such thing as a completely original work. […] The important thing is to *go ceaselessly forward* [emphasis mine].[12]

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[11] 10 March 1840, *GS* I. 461; Translation from Christopher Alan Reynolds, *Motives for Allusion: Context and Content in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 33.

[12] Letter to Liszt, *Briefe, NF*, 305; Translation from Brion, *Schumann and the Romantic Age*, 333-334. "Betrachten Sie meine Compositionen genauer, so müßten Sie gerade eine ziemliche Mannigfaltigkeit der Anschaungen darin finden, wie ich den immer danach getrachtet habe, in jede meinder Compositionen etwas anderes zu Tag zu bringen und nicht allein der Form nach. Und wahrlich, sie waren doch nicht so übel, die in Leipzig beisammen waren—Mendelssohn, Hiller, Bennett u.a. – mit den Parisern, Wienern und Berlinern konnten wir es ebenfalls auch aufnehmen. Gleich sich aber mancher musikalische Zug in dem, was wir componirt, so nennen Sie es Philister oder wie Sie wollen, –alle verschiedenen Kunstepochen haben dasselbe aufzuweisen, und Bach, Händel, Gluck, später

Daverio suggests that, "the pattern of creativity that encompasses practically the whole of Schumann's career enfolds smaller patterns within it, while the course of the larger and the smaller patterns was determined by a confluence of internal imperatives and external needs."[13] Schumann's Bach reception displays these patterns. In the broad pattern of Schumann's view of the "Romantic," his positioning of Bach's music reflects the essence of Schumann's Romantic aesthetic. The tripartite structure for each chapter of this dissertation was an attempt to provide a context for Schumann's internal imperatives and external needs, as provocations of his revival of Bach's music at each stage of his life. Chapters 1-5 approach this reception chronologically, seeking patterns in detail. In this conclusion, I want to tease out certain significant threads in this project.

Schumann's compositional goals are the most prominent element motivating his interest in Bach at each stage of his career. Schumann utilized Bach and his works not as a model for strict counterpoint technique but as Romantic inspiration for new creations. As seen in the Chapter 1 discussion of the *Impromptus*, Op. 5, Schumann did not use Bach's counterpoint and fugal technique in the strict sense, but as an inspiration to create a new form of variation. In Schumann's early piano works, Bach's contrapuntal techniques offered "a fantastic imaginative power that does not spring from the subject but spurs it on in the search for infinite beauty."[14] In the genre years, his acquaintance with and study of Bach were the background for his efforts

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Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven sehen sich an hundert Stellen zum Verwechseln ähnlich (doch nehme ich die letzten Werke Beethovens aus, obgleich sie wieder auf Bach deuten). Ganz original ist Keiner. So viel über ihre Äußerung, die eine ungerechte und beleidigende war. Im Übrigen vergessen wir des Abends—ein Wort ist kein Pfeil—und das Vorwärtsstreben die Hauptsache.—"

[13] Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, 462.

[14] Martin Geck, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Life, Work and Influence* (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 2000), 612. Geck further notes in his discussion about *Kreisleriana*, "Infinity is an appropriate association for a series of variations: Hoffmann-Kreisler wants to continue the composition of the Goldberg Variations, marking his own markings in his copy of the work after the thirtieth variation. Schumann *did* continue it with his *Kreisleriana*—as had Beethoven before him with the Diabelli Variations, Op. 120."

toward a new direction for development of preexisting genres. In composing the D-minor Symphony, he moved beyond classical norms through the creative application of learned Bachian fundamentals.

These transformations can be read as part of as an effort to effectuate an original, poetic, and expressive Romantic art with adroit control of forms. For Schumann, the meaning of 'form' would not be confined to structure alone, but should be understood as continuous construction—with all its technical implications—of an intelligent compositional method. For instance, the fugal process ultimately engenders the form of fugue; the form is born of the process and becomes its incarnation, transforming the conceptual into an artifact. Although the contrapuntal year 1845 is the most obvious in terms of Schumann's experimentation with this conceptualization of form, his pursuit of proficiency in form is constant throughout his career. Studies of counterpoint and fugue were the clearest indicator of this interest. Schumann duly emphasizes this interplay of form and originality in various statements regarding the works discussed in this dissertation. In composing the *Impromptus*, Op. 5, he referred to it as "a new type of variation form."[15] Around the time he wrote *Scherzo, Gigue, Romanze and Fughette*, Op. 32, he exclaimed "I'm playing with forms."[16] In his composition of song, piano concerto, and symphony, he transcended preexisting models in part through a thorough understanding of forms both old and new. The *Vier Fugen*, Op. 72, transformed an old medium for the creation of Romantic art, while the various revision projects in his later years can be read as a push for formal clarity, as shown in my discussion of the D-minor Symphony. What Brendel expressed as

[15] Refer to footnote 65 in Chapter 1.

[16] 11 February 1838. Letter to Clara. *The Complete Correspondence*, Vol.1, 101.

a growth of objectivity in Schumann's late works is this general emphasis on form as a musical component.[17]

Charles Rosen's reading of Schumann's late revisions, which holds that the reworkings remove the most idiosyncratic and inventive elements in his music, reveals the tension inherent in the creative transformation of established forms.[18] The reworking process, however, can be also read as a further refinement of form, rather than the removal of idiosyncrasies, in its definition as the intelligent construction of music. In assessing his development as composer, Schumann always acknowledged the centrality of such knowledge. His obsessive commitment to the study of counterpoint and fugue can be read as symbolic, the most representative act of his pursuit of form, as he conceived of it. This perspective highlights the significance of his quotation of Cherubini in the *Lehrbuch*, "almost all masterworks, even those in freer compositional styles, can be traced back to fugal form." Criticism of Schumann's late attempts at formal revision as regressive thus fails to appreciate Boetticher's assessment that "the stylistic changes in Schumann's late works are owing entirely to the composer's intensive work in fugue and counterpoint."

This abiding interest in form as an artistic tool is woven into other patterns of Schumann's career. His reliance on established forms and existent music provokes questions about his status as Classicist. His pursuit of a new poetic aesthetic was premised on an understanding and transformation of the musical practice of the past. In a period of growing historism in Germany, Schumann and his circle had a clear imperative to make past practice

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[17] Franz Brendel, "Robert Schumann mit Rücksicht auf Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, und die Entwicklung der modernen Tonkunst überhaupt," *NZfM*, Vol.22 (1845): Translated Jurgen Thym, "Robert Schumann with Reference to Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and the Development of Modern Music in General," *Schumann and His World,* ed. R. Larry Todd. 317-337.

[18] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 663.

viable as medium for opening a new musical age. Schumann's study of Marpurg's *Abhandlung* and its application in the writing of the *Fugengeschichte*, and his analysis, editing, and arranging of such of Bach's work as the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, the Violin Sonatas and the *St. John Passion* belonged to a process of assimilating old musical practices and translating them into a contemporary parlance. Schumann's deep knowledge of music of the past might imply his Classicism, but not advocacy for strict preservation of old models. Rather, he sought always to recreate these models in terms of Romantic aesthetics.

While matters of form and historical imperative are in many ways 'public'—they invoke popular recognition and reception in relation to performance—a purely personal thread is the theme of Schumann's psychological issues. To Taruskin's claim that "Classicism for him [Schumann] was a retreat from a threatened abyss," it might be suggested that the abyss was subverted less by a turn to classical form than to the study of fugal technique.[19] As seen in his engagement with fugal composition during his 1845 recovery from a mental breakdown, fugue offered a sturdy vehicle for channeling his energy and stabilizing his mindset; likewise, revisiting Bach's works and his own completed compositions provided a framework within which he could gain some control over his increasingly precarious emotional condition. This reliance on Bachian models allowed Schumann to maintain a measure of creative strength and focus. The French scholar Marcel Brion captures this connection between Schumann's musical pursuits and psychological condition: "The fugue is in any case wonderful balm for the tortured soul: counterpoint keeps demons at bay. Every time Schumann returned to this, the mathematics of music, he felt greatly comforted, refreshed, and appeased;"[20] "this goes hand in hand with his

[19] Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century*, 318.

[20] Marcel Brion, *Schumann & the Romantic Age*, trans. Geoffrey Sainsbury (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), 303.

cult of Bach, to whom he constantly returned, writing fugues to get his thoughts once again in a rigorous framework. If he never himself attained to the objectivity of Bach—it was not in his nature—he always admired and envied him."[21]

A continual anxiety for Schumann was his lack of a strict musical education in his early years such as that received by Clara and Mendelssohn.[22] Schumann was no child prodigy like Mozart or Mendelssohn, nor did he have a family tradition of musical accomplishment like Bach or Beethoven that could direct his energies.[23] Schumann felt this shortcoming acutely, and his concern was proven in Wasielewski's criticism: "The perfect command of form and tight organization in the highest artistic sense remained difficult for Schumann, the consequence of having begun his studies too late. This was to remain the Achilles' heel in a number of his compositions."[24] However, Schumann's self-study through the works of Bach provided fertile ground for his development of an original style; in essence, he chose Bach as his primary teacher of composition, taking on not only Bach's technical knowledge but also his aesthetic spirit and musical legacy.

"Make the *Well-Tempered Clavier* your daily bread." If Schumann's famous maxim sounds rather tired today, it would be good to remind ourselves of the depth of his conviction in making the statement.[25] Because Schumann did in fact manifest superficial connections to the

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[21] Ibid., 272.

[22] April 1838. Letter to Clara, *The Complete Correspondence*, 152. "I know exactly how I compare to him (Mendelssohn) as a musician and could learn from him for years, but he could also learn a few things from me. If I had grown up under circumstances similar to his and been destined for music from childhood, I'd surpass each and every one of you—I can feel that in the energy of my creations. Well, each life has its distinctive features, and I don't want to complain about mine."

[23] Peter Ostwald, *Schumann: Inner Voices of a Musical Genius*, 33.

[24] Wasielewski, *Robert Schumann*, 96; Translation from Lenneberg,"Around Wasielewski and His Schumann Biography," *Witnesess and Scholars*, 141.

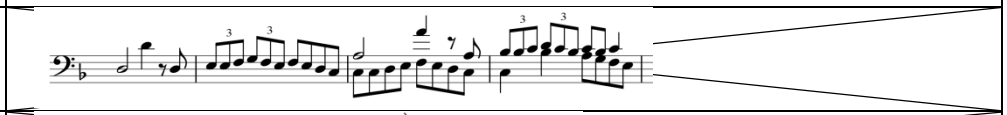
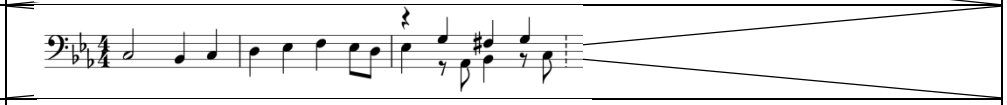
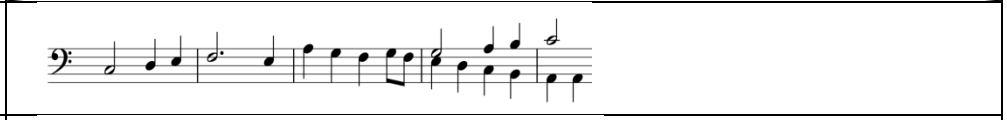
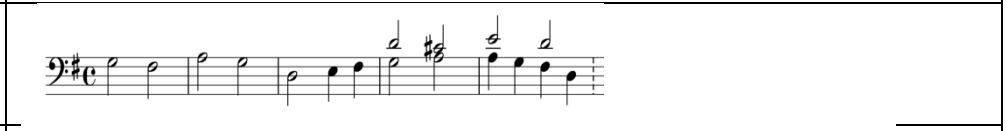
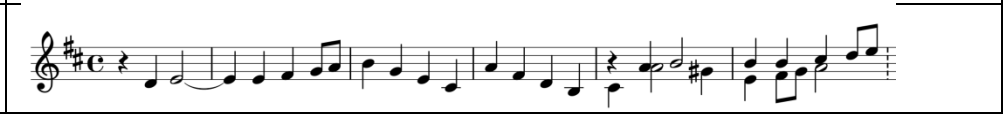
[25] This maxim is often seen as an advertising slogan for the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, for instance on the back cover of the Dover Edition.

nineteenth-century Bach revival, it is easy to pass over his profound aesthetic, artistic, and historic internalization of Bach's music. In tracing Bach's presence in Schumann's activities as composer, critic, editor, conductor, and educator, I hope that this dissertation can lead to a reevaluation of Schumann's position in the nineteenth-century Bach revival and the role of his music as both a public and personal testimony to Bach's enduring legacy.

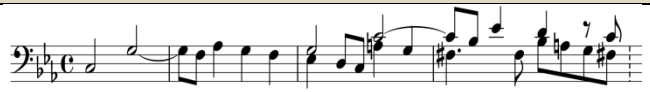
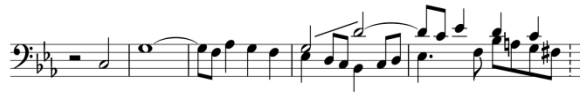
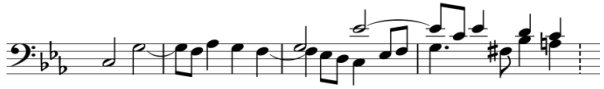
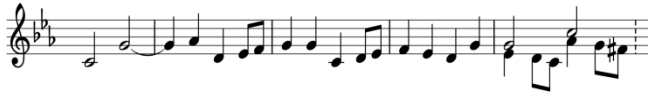
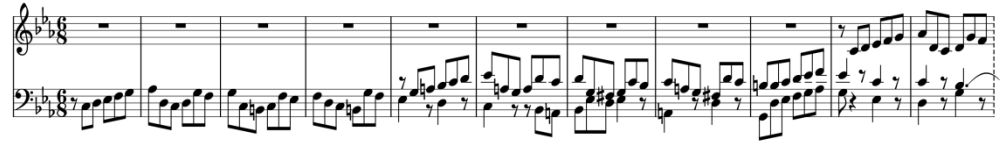
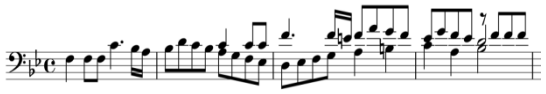
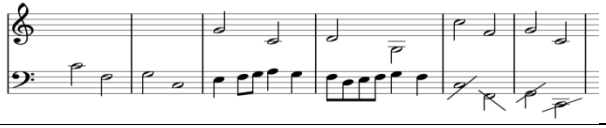
Appendix 1. The List of Bach's Works Used for Examples in Marpurg's *Abhandlung*

WTC Book I, No. 1, C major (Marpurg Vol.1,TAB X, Fig.1)
WTC Book I, No. 2, C minor (Vol.1, TAB X, Fig.3)
WTC Book II, No. 11, F major (Vol.1, TAB XI, Fig.1)
WTC Book I, No. 8, D minor (Vol.1, TAB XI, Fig.2)
WTC Book II, No. 8, D sharp minor (Vol.1, TAB XI, Fig.4)
WTC Book II, No. 5, D major (Vol.1, TAB XII, Fig.1)
WTC Book II, No. 1, C major (Vol.1, TAB XIII, Fig.4)
Unidentified, G major (Vol.1, TAB XIV, Fig.2)
WTC Book I, No. 18, G sharp minor (Vol.1, TAB XIV, Fig.4)
WTC Book II, No. 21, B flat major (Vol.1, TAB XVII, Fig.4)
WTC Book II, No. 13, F sharp major (Vol.1, TAB XVIII, Fig.1)
WTC Book II, No. 6, D minor (Vol.1, TAB XXII, Fig.3)
Musical Offering, Ricercar a 3 (Vol.1, TAB XXII, Fig.5)
Chromatische Fantasie und Fuge, BWV 903, Fugue in F major (Vol.1, TAB XXV, Fig.3)
WTC Book II, No. 1, C major (mm.13-18) (Vol.1, TAB XXXIII, Fig.4)
WTC Book I, No. 10, E minor (Vol.1, TAB XXXVII, Fig.3)
WTC Book II, No. 16, G minor (Vol.1, TAB XLI)
WTC Book II, No. 6, D minor (Vol.1, TAB XLII, XLIII)
Schübler Chorale, BWV 647, Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten, C minor (Vol.1, TAB XLVIII, Fig.3)
Clavier Übung, Aus tiefer Not schrei' ich zu dir, BWV 686 (from Vol.III) (Vol.1, TAB XLIX, Fig.1)
Vom Himmel hoch, da komm'ich her (Canon Veränderungen), BWV 769, Variation I. Cantus firmus im Pedal, C major (Vol.1, TAB LI, Fig.1)
Orgel-Büchlein, BWV 623, Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ (Vol.1, TAB LII)
Unidentified (Vol.1, TAB LIV, Fig.14; TAB LV, Fig.10)
Art of Fugue, 13 Contrapuncuts (No.2, inversus), D minor (Vol.2, TAB XI, Fig.3)
Art of Fugue, 12 Contrapunctus (No.2 inversus), D minor (Vol.2, TAB XII, Fig.1)
Art of Fugue, 12 Contrapunctus, a 4 (No.1), D minor (Vol.2, TAB XIII, Fig.1)
Musical Offering, 3a. Canones diversi (canon a 2) (Vol.2, TAB XXIII, Fig.1)
Canon a 4, BWV 1074 (Vol.2, TAB XXXIII, Fig.2)
Canon a 8, BWV 1072, Canon Trias Harmonica (Vol.2, TAB XXXVII, Fig.3)
Canon a 7, BWV 1078 (Vol.2, TAB XXXVII, Fig.7)
Messe in G-dur, BWV 236, 1. Kyrie (Vol.2, TAB XLVI, Fig.1)

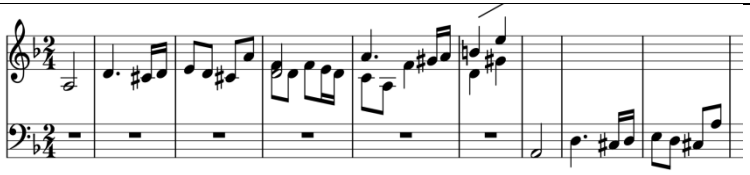
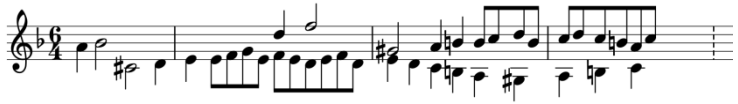
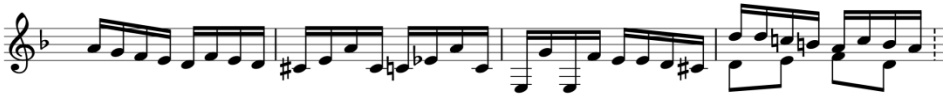
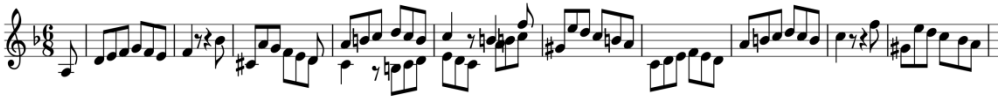
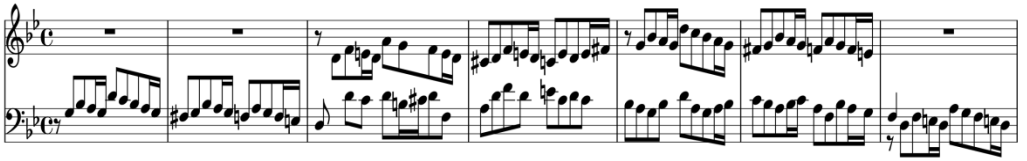
Appendix 2. Schumann's *Fugengeschichte*[a]

Pagination	Sections	Notable description	Boetticher's catalogue number/ Schumann's description of each subject	
Page 1	[Title page]	Fugengeschichte In November 1837		
Page 2		[blank]		
Page 3	1	I. Fugensatze, die in der Otave anheben u. zu Hauptton bleiben	[7]	
			[8]	
			[9] dabei so natürlich	
			[10]	
			[11]	

[a] This is an ordered rendering of the contents of Schumann's notations and examples, with some errors in Boetticher's transcription corrected. Markings (/ or x) over music examples in some table cells indicate the passages Schumann crossed (/) and scribbled (x) out.

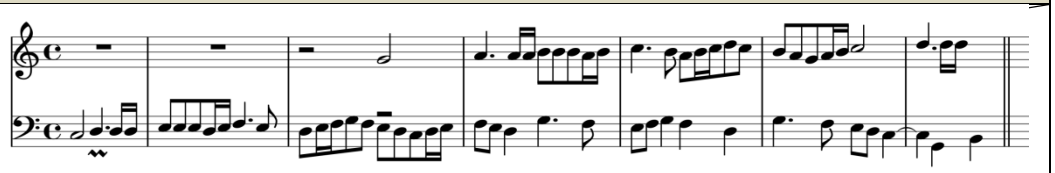
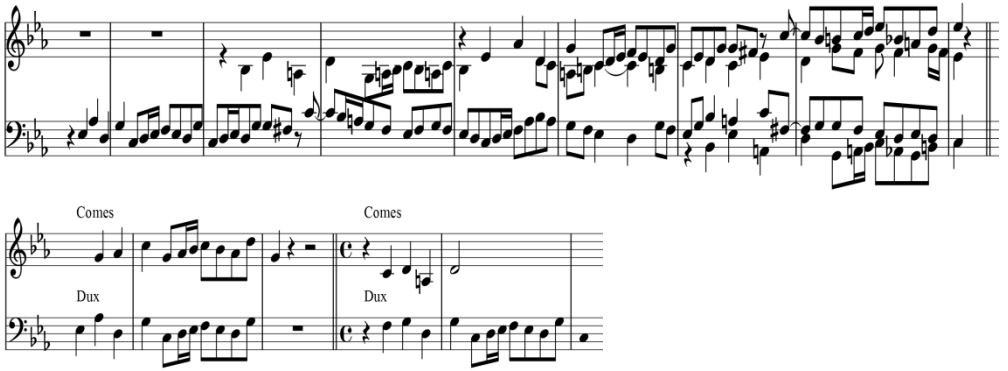
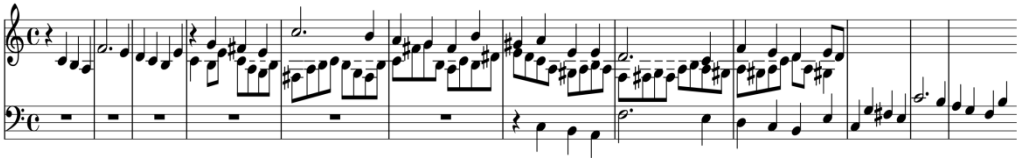
(table continued from the previous page)

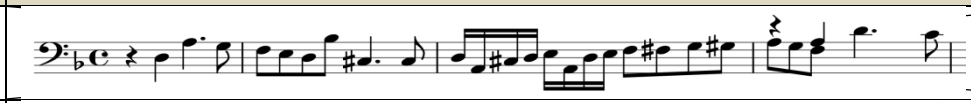
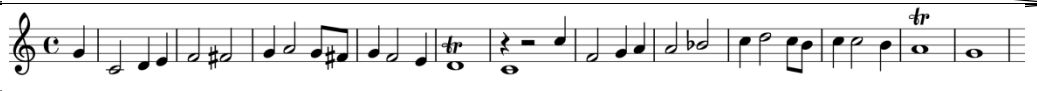
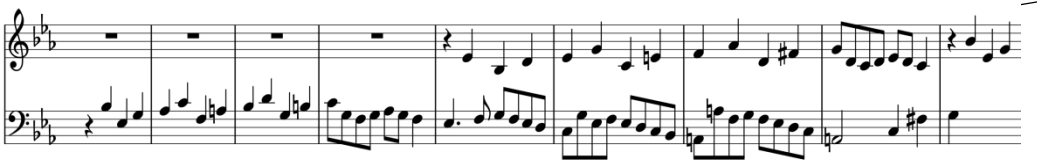
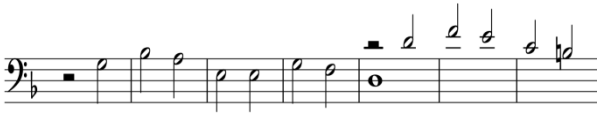
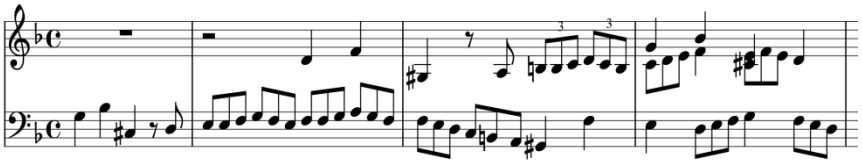
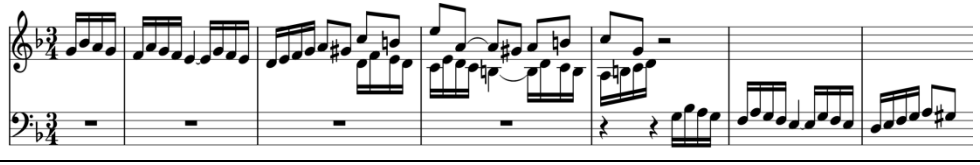
Pagination	Sections	Notable description	Boetticher's catalogue number/ Schumann's description of each subject	
Page 4			[12][b]	
			[13]	
		Oder könnte der Gefährte nicht auch statt in die Quinte in die Sechste springen:	[14]	
			[15] Dasselbe Thema analog	
		Das muß alles zu machen sein von geübter Kunst, und klingt dabei so natürlich	[16] Gutes Thema, spatter auszuführen	(Continued to page 5)
Page 5			Muffat [Marpurg Tab XI, Fig.3]	

[b] Boetticher read F in m.2 as F sharp, and added sharp on the same note of the following examples [13] and [14], but sharp is unidentifiable; it also sounds musically unnatural, because it causes the augmented interval between F sharp and E flat (mm.2-3); in [13], sharp was not added to C in the real answer, thus I corrected it as F.

(table continued from the previous page)

Pagination	Sections	Notable description	Boetticher's catalogue number/ Schumann's description of each subject	
Page 6		Fugensätze die in der Dominante anfangen u. zu Hauptton bleiben Ist richtig im Führer, sonst aber matt. Es lassen sich aber recht gute Beispiele machen, wo der Gefährte auch in der Sekunde des Haupttons eintreten kann, ohne daß es unmusikalisch klänge. Fugensätze, wo sich der Gesang nach der Dominante wendet:	Muffat [Marpurg Tab XIII, Fig.1][c]	
			[17] Regel: Dominante in Tonica=Tonica in Dominante	
			[18] Regel: Tonica nach Dominante=Do minante nach Tonica Schlechte-Thema	
			[19]	
			[20] Gutes Thema, später auszuführen.	

[c] Note that the melodic contour of the first four notes of this subject are similar to the that of [28] on page 8.

(table continued from the previous page)

Pagination	Sections	Notable description	Boetticher's catalogue number/ Schumann's description of each subject	
Page 7	2.	Fugensätze, die auf der Terz des Haupttons anheben…	[21] Spitz und gut	
			[22] könnte auch mit c anfangen	
			[23] Schweres Thema. Noch wenig fugig! Schlechte Gegenstimme, die ganze Fuge müßte im gebundenen Stil sein.	

(table continued from the previous page)

Pagination	Sections	Notable description	Boetticher's catalogue number/ Schumann's description of each subject	
Page 8		Fugensätze, die in der Quarte anfangen, werden in der Quarte der Dominante beantwortet	[24]	
			[25]	
			[26] Nicht gut	
			[27] Nicht gut bis auf weiteres	
			[28]	
			[29] Schlecht bis auf weiteres	

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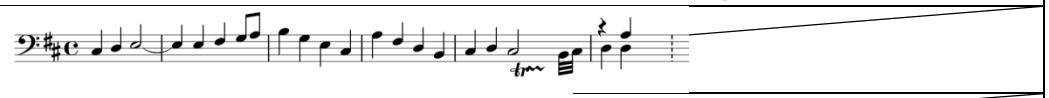
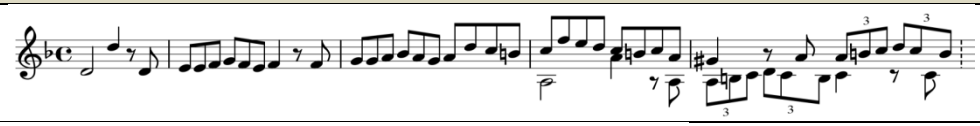
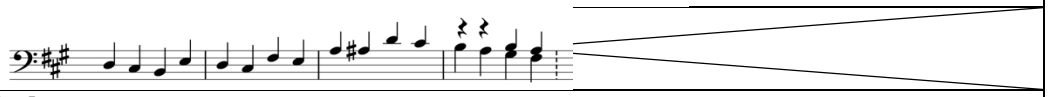
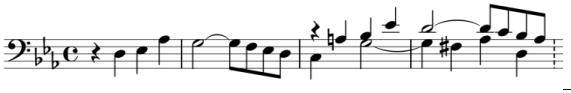
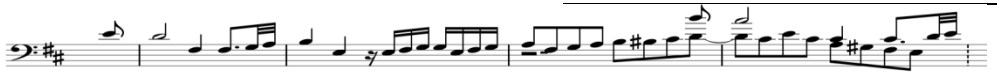
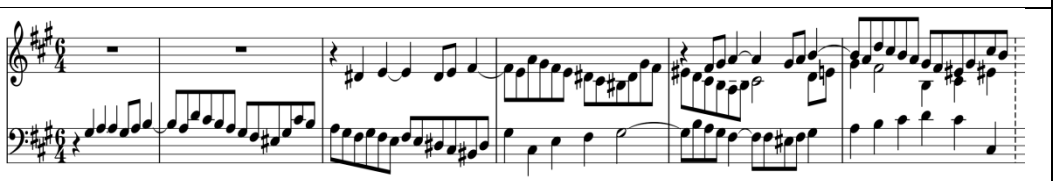
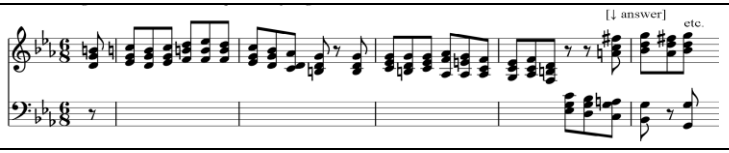
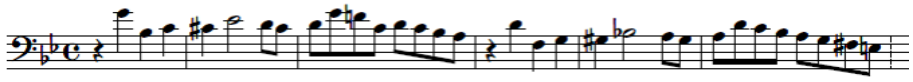
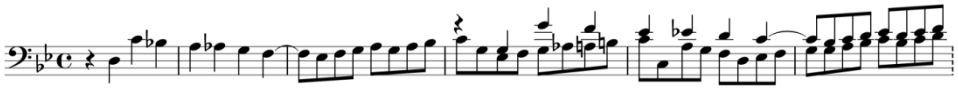
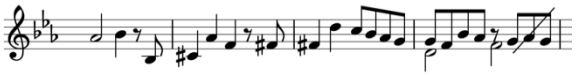
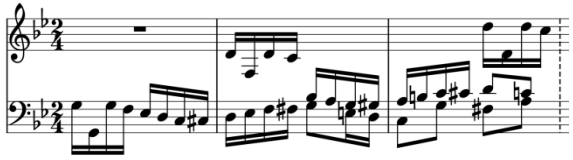
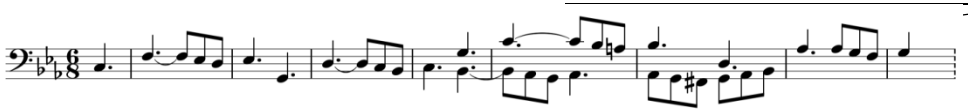
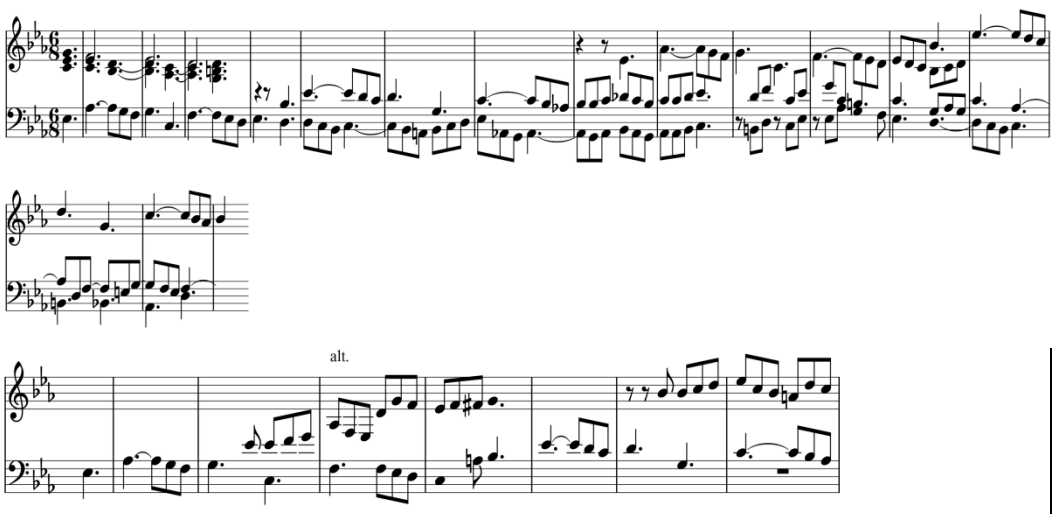
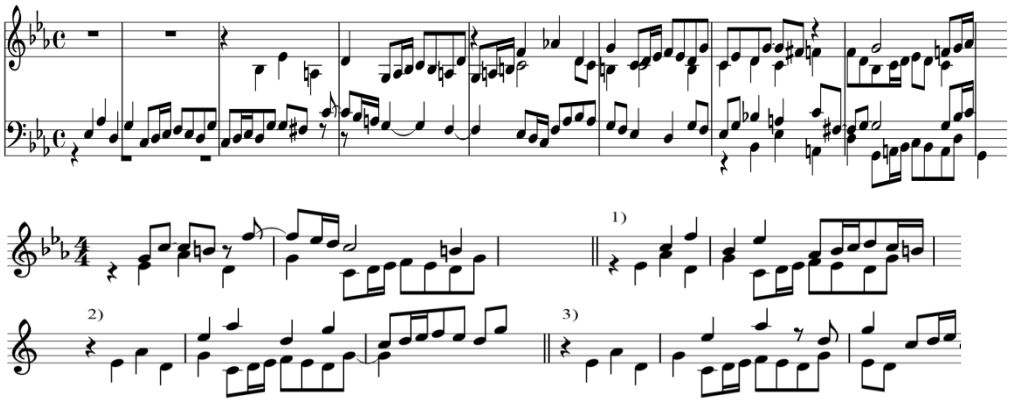
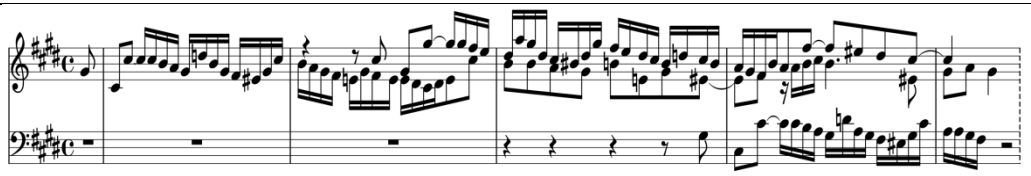
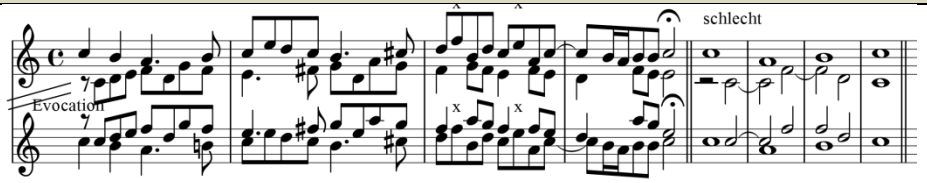
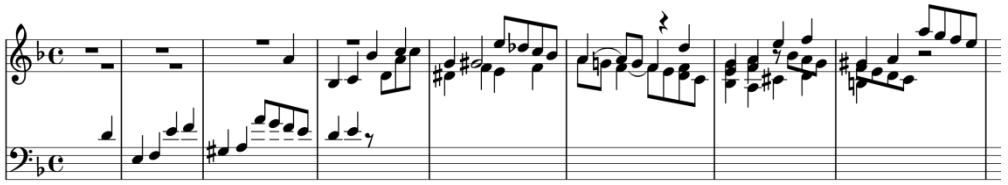
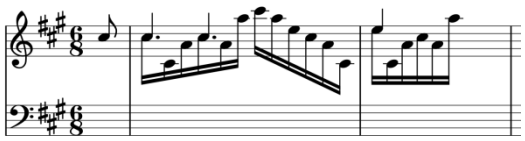
Pagination	Sections	Notable description	Boetticher's catalogue number/ Schumann's description of each subject	
Page 9			[30]	
			[31]	
			[32]	
				[28] on page 8 continues
Page 10		Fugensätze, die ist die Secunde anfangen.	[33] Schlechtes, stillstehendes Thema	
			[35] Rasch	
			[34] Gutes Thema, spatter weiter zu führen	
		Fugensätze, die in der Septime anfangen.	[36][d]	

[d] Boetticher only transcribed a single melodic line of the highest voice.

(Table continued from the previous page)

Pagina-tion	Sec-tions	Notable description	Boetticher's catalogue number/ Schumann's description of each subject	
Page 11	3.	Fugensätze in alter Tonarten. D=Dorish S=Phrygish L=Lydisch Canonische Fugensätze	[1] Das Thema läßt keine guten Harmonien zu, erfinde also ein besseres:	
			[2] Kann schon einen Takt eher eintreten mit anderer Gegenharmonie	
			[4] Nicht hübsch	
			[5] Zweistimmig durchzuführen	
			[3]	

(Table continued from the previous page)

Pagination	Sections	Notable description	Boetticher's catalogue number/ Schumann's description of each subject	
Page 12				
Page 13			[6]	
Page 14		[blank]		

(table continued from the previous page)

Pagination	Sections	Notable description	Boetticher's catalogue number/ Schumann's description of each subject	
Page 15	4[e]	Doppelter Contrapunct in die Octave[f]	In der None oder Secunde In der Decime oder Terz In der Undecime oder Quarte Und so weiter	
Page 16		[blank]		
Page 17		[blank]		
Page 18		[blank]		
Page 19	3.		[37]	
Page 20			[38] Gutes Thema, auszuarbeiten	
			Etude	

[e] This number is not written in red unlike other section numbers.

[f] Schumann wrote several numeric scales in this page to make the calculation of the double interval easy.

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