

PART I

Contexts

1 Schumann's lives, and afterlives: an introduction

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The basic facts of Schumann's life suggest a life in disarray. Born into the *Sehnsucht*-driven world of German Romanticism, he is torn between disciplines. He begins the study of law out of a sense of filial duty but then follows his instinct when he turns to music, though never letting go of two other great passions, literature and poetry. Even as a committed musician, however, he veers between the roles of performer, composer and critic. It is to take a self-inflicted hand injury to free him to compose in earnest, and all urgency. Although endowed with an astonishing capacity to produce very great quantities of music in very short spans of time, he suffers periods of total or near-total creative standstill. These extremes of feverish, splendidly productive activity and exhausted, self-doubting arrest testify to a creative *modus operandi* that is not only intense, impulsive and at times difficult to live with, but which later observers have felt inclined to identify as 'manic-depressive'. Some critics have also noted that Schumann's works themselves evince these characteristics, and his highly contrastive compositional style still incites puzzlement, if not consternation. Structurally speaking, Schumann cultivated with his seeming free-associated pieces the musically relatively new and disorientating art of brevity, discontinuity and contradiction. They develop from eccentric, spectral and 'poetic' early works to more conventional but nonetheless intricate and introvert late works. This perceived inconsistency in Schumann's nature as well as his compositional style is, however, conspicuously absent when it comes to what is probably the most widely known and possibly most popular aspect of Schumann's life – his passionate wooing and hard-fought winning of Clara Wieck, herself the first woman virtuoso able to break into and succeed in the male-dominated world of nineteenth-century solo performance. Clara's own musical career, long preceding Schumann's own years of public recognition, is a shared source of inspiration as much as it made for years of conflict. Their marriage is an intense and intensely committed one, as well as rather unsettled, enriched and encumbered by many children, and disrupted over and over by extensive travelling and frequent relocations. Like his work, Schumann the man is famous for his extravagant emotional scale. Tempted and capable of going to extremes, he lives through the human passions with alarming flexibility, passing from euphoric states to melancholic lethargy, from instances

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of aphasia to moments of rage and violence, culminating in his famous suicide attempt, which leads to confinement in a mental hospital for the last two-and-a-half years of his life. And it is this end, Schumann's madness, and death in madness, that seems emblematic of a life not only out of the ordinary, but also, possibly, out of control. It suggests that there was a quality to this life that was not only excessive, chaotic and incomprehensible, but also irritating, frightening and tragic.

Biography is usually supposed to make sense of a life's chaos, or at least is expected to want to do so. Certainly the writing of a life (as opposed to the casual contemplating, or ignoring of, or being puzzled by one), be it academic or novelistic, might appear, by virtue of using language, capable of capturing a life reasonably well and in reasonable terms. Through writing, one attempts to join the disparate pieces together, align them as a lifeline, create a narrative – a story. And no doubt there is satisfaction to be had and respectability to be gained in rendering a life coherent, however remote, fragmented or incomprehensible it may have been, no matter how distant (historically, culturally, temperamentally) its agent may appear. Yet, it is only with hindsight, the biographer's singular prerogative, that a life can be somehow comprehended at all – or so one would think. Looked at through the retrospective lens of the detached biographer, a life's events tend to line up before our eyes and seem to show why or how one thing led to another. Indeed, not being in the thick of things, a life can be reconstructed rather well, far away from the urgent, the humdrum, the haphazard, that may have meant the living of it. This very urgency, however, still hanging in the air, and the fascination with a related degree of chaos and madness, may become the motor for wanting to revisit a life in the first place, whether out of sheer curiosity, or in the attempt to understand it at long last. Comfortably entrenched behind their writing tools, then, both biographer and autobiographer write up the minutes of a war that is long over.

Schumann's life has inspired a whole range of different types of biographical story-writing, from academic accounts to novels, poems, plays and films. And on these all is embossed, *en filigrane*, the watermark image of one 'Robert Schumann', a great legend, perhaps the legend most powerfully evocative of the nineteenth century's myth of the artist. Interestingly, it tends to begin at the end, with Schumann's decline into madness, and invariably includes his enduring love for Clara. It is this legend, a story of love and madness, and of art and death, that will forever haunt the reception of his work. But there can be no doubt that Schumann himself helped, unknowingly or otherwise, to create it. A self-declared poet-composer, he wrote incessantly, not only music and about music, but also for himself and about himself. Schumann was his own most meticulous analyst and

chronicler and lived a lifetime under the relentless, inquisitive gaze of his own self-searching eyes, screening, scrutinizing and minutely describing every move and every thought, all inner and outer events, all of them, all of the time. A tireless filler of diaries and notebooks and diligent keeper of lists, Schumann has provided his critics with more than one might perhaps ever have wished to know: endless data and detailed description, from meetings with friends and colleagues and visits of places to income and outgoing expenses, future compositional projects and performances, literary extracts, frequency of sexual intercourse, hours of sleep and much more beyond.¹ Taken together with Schumann's autobiographical sketches as well as his vast correspondence with colleagues, friends, family, and especially Clara, these written documents, rich in both quantity and quality, are the fuel that propels biographical research. Whether as the active manipulator of his public image as the Romantic artist-as-genius constructed by himself and his admirers, Schumann is a composer about whom stories always have and always will be told. Yet, such stories may tell us more about the needs of a modern society to keep them alive than, realistically, about a composer in his endeavours to shape or control them.

One story that has influenced our image of Schumann more than any other is the story of Schumann the madman. Much thought and speculation has gone into what nevertheless remains the most darkly mysterious facet of this life. What is of interest is that those biographers who had a particular investment in Schumann's madness inevitably ended up reading Schumann's life backwards. When reading about Schumann's life in the extensive secondary literature based on the equally extensive autograph archive, it is endlessly intriguing to note how Schumann's future – his death, his madness – comes to shadow his past: how this end is seen to have shaped his whole life, and made to explain his beginnings, his being and his becoming. Biography is thus tempted to make Schumann into a figure in the image of universally shared fears and ideals, into a man who is at once one of the great Romantic heroes, and a lost soul. And yet, either one of these versions consistently show us a man amidst the disarray of his solitude. In this brief and necessarily cursory biographical sketch, as well as revisiting the main landmarks of Schumann's life, I shall try to avoid the proleptic approach. Instead, I shall focus in some detail on a few moments of this life that invite a more multi-textured reading of events, events often infused with precisely this kind of indeterminacy, full of contradictions, ambiguities and loose ends. That Schumann's life, or 'personality', may appear to have contained 'problems', hardly needs acknowledgement. These need neither muffling nor continued commemorating, nor, indeed, elaborate justification. Instead, the significance of Schumann's life may lie elsewhere: it may lie not only in the ways in which it was lived, with, without or indeed despite

problems; but rather in the ways in which it was a driven life, forward-flung and animated by a singular imaginative energy channelled into the kind of transformative powers to which his music, characterized by openness and unpredictability, is resounding testimony. This is clearly to be heard in his music still: an astonishing voice articulating the endlessly changing shapes of an inner and outer world, sharply perceived, essentially, as opportunity – for constant reinvention.

The early years

Unsurprisingly, there is nothing in Schumann's early life that gives any hints of who he was to become. Notably, Schumann was not a musical prodigy. Born in the Saxon town of Zwickau in 1810 into an affluent middle-class family, he is the youngest of five children. Off and on, from age three to five-and-a-half he is placed in a foster home, as his mother had contracted typhus.² Generations of his ancestors had been farmers until his grandfather became a pastor, and his father a publisher and writer of sorts. The Schumann Brothers Publishing Company, 'the first to call the attention of the German people to the best European writers', produced, in addition to encyclopedic and reference works, pocket editions of Byron, Cervantes, Goethe, Schiller and Scott, authors whom Schumann would come to cherish and who would significantly influence his work. At the age of seven, Schumann begins piano lessons with the local organist. More formal pianistic training does not take place until his move, aged eighteen, to Leipzig, where he commits himself to music with a view to becoming a concert pianist. Sometime in his eighth or ninth year, as the result of a number of musical experiences, the most decisive of which was hearing Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, he decides to make music his profession in one way or another, uncertain whether as performer or composer. He is certainly enthusiastic about live performance: as a nine-year-old, he organizes his school-friends into a theatre troupe and between his eleventh and eighteenth years he appears as a pianist, poet and orator in a series of performances. When Robert is fifteen, his father even contacts Carl Maria von Weber to arrange composition lessons for his son, but nothing comes of it as Weber dies in the same year. Lacking rigorous training on the musical side, Schumann was, in effect, an autodidact, studying musical scores and textbooks on his own, who would at certain points throughout his life return to solitary learning. On the literary side, however, he recruits those who will actively share his interests by founding a *Literarischen Schülerverein*, a literary club, the aim of which is to introduce its members to the works of major European authors, to read biographies of celebrated literati and to discover freshly written works by aspiring ones – the

club's own members. It is some indication of Schumann's drive and zeal, above and beyond adolescent enthusiasm, that the group met no fewer than thirty times a year between 1825 and 1828. As his close school-friend Emil Flechsig would later recall, Schumann was already at this time convinced that he would 'eventually become a famous man'.³

Then, his sister commits suicide; his father dies of a 'nervous condition'. Schumann is sixteen years old.

Clearly precocious on the literary side, Schumann the adolescent reads his way through Schiller, Goethe, Wieland, Herder and Jean Paul, among others, but also commercially produces serialized romances and ghost stories: the type of writing eagerly devoured by the emergent reading classes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is Jean Paul, above all, with his challengingly wayward tales and theories about discontinuity and fantasy life, who will nourish Schumann's imagination most lastingly. These and other writers introduce him to the Gothic, the figure of the *Doppelgänger*, the characters of the *commedia dell'arte*, magnetism, the uncanny, travesty, carnival, and the fourth dimension, among many of the more obvious topoi, all of which are forms of representation of otherworldly experience, of otherness, or a heightened perception of the self. They are sought out and consumed by Schumann throughout his life – as rich sources of invention during his twenties; as somewhat less but still powerfully fecund resources in his thirties; and as renewed, though less benign forces of inspiration towards the end of his life. I shall return to this.

If literature, poetry and drama were one side of Schumann's developing identity, music was the other. While his father had become a successful self-made man of letters with a degree of talent, determination, and resilience, Schumann was the first in the family to become an artist. This made him an outsider to his art, with an outsider's impatience, and critical acuity, to innovate. Given these conditions, it is interesting to observe how Schumann's compositions make rather generous use of, or allusions to, literature and poetry (through direct quotation, mottos, titles and various narrative techniques), while accommodating comparatively little musical material from other composers. Where there are instances of musical quotation, they are predominantly of his own compositions, as for example in several of his symphonic works of 1841, where he quotes, directly and indirectly, material from his earlier songs and piano pieces. There are, of course, some notable exceptions: for instance, he recalls Beethoven's melody from the song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*, Op. 98, in his *Fantasie*, Op. 17 (1836–8), as again in the song cycle *Frauenliebe und -leben*, Op. 42 (1840), and again in his Second Symphony, Op. 61 (1845–6); in a rather different register of reference, he cites the *Marseillaise* in his *Faschingsschwank aus Wien*, Op. 26 (1839–40).⁴ And there are other examples. Whether from his own works

or that of others, the use of quotation is among the most salient characteristics of Schumann's compositional habits. What are we to make of it? Perhaps it means, among other things, that there are moments during his writing when he feels the need or desire to hand it all over, to have someone else write some of it, a co-author. In the case of musical self-quotation, the co-author is obviously still Schumann himself, even though it is a different Schumann, reappearing from earlier times, and in this sense, then, a stranger after all. In the case of quoting from others, a truly distinct voice enters the compositional scene, unannounced and unacknowledged. What is clear in either case, though, is that Schumann, once in a while, enjoys taking a break from himself, and that he is seeing to it that he is properly replaced in the meantime.

Schumann's use of received musical material, forms and expressions – that side of his compositional idiom that incorporates, through quotation or imitation, imported items and standard formulae (say, for example, passages redolent of Bach chorales and baroque counterpoint, Haydnesque passages and Beethovenian allusions in the chamber music, Wagnerian open-endedness in his dramatic music) – generates a particularly rich inter-textual fabric, albeit the self-conscious distancing. But his taste for extensive historical reference does not occur simply in a historicizing spirit, a preoccupation of his generation with recalling and rekindling what was perceived as its heritage. Instead, Schumann's frequent phases in which he studied Bach's *Das Wohltempierte Klavier* closely; the regular recurrence of his deployment of counterpoint in 1836, 1838, 1842 and again in 1845; his periodic attraction to composing by rule-based decision-making – all this shows a need for control and order and, by implication, a level of the possibility of losing these, as has sometimes been suggested. It is also the case, however, that the early-to-mid nineteenth century was in significant places a 'neo-Baroque' period, emblematically (if not entirely accurately) represented by Mendelssohn's revival of Bach, for example, or by the fact that Brahms's first planned piano opus was a 'Baroque Suite'. Some of Schumann's most poignant pieces – say, certain textural enhancements in *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16 (1838) for piano solo, the uncanny medieval resonances and progressions in songs such as the extraordinary 'Auf einer Burg' from the *Eichendorff Liederkreis*, Op. 39, or 'Ich grolle nicht' from *Dichterliebe*, Op. 48 (both 1840) – bespeak a whole Zeitgeist and evoke the archaeological tendencies and nostalgia for a Golden Age that animated many of that generation of 1810 that included Chopin, Liszt and Wagner.

Once freed from school, Schumann moves, reluctantly, in obedience to his mother's wishes, to Leipzig to study law. But before beginning his studies, he takes the opportunity of a *Bildungsreise*, or cultural tour, of



Figure 1.1 Schumann's travel notebook

Bayreuth, Nuremberg, Augsburg and Munich. In the last city he manages to introduce himself to Heinrich Heine, author of the then bestselling *Buch der Lieder* (*Book of Songs*, 1827), which Schumann would later use for some of his most famous song compositions. Once at Leipzig, he attends few, if any, classes in law, but instead enthusiastically explores the city's musical scene, then one of the liveliest in Germany. Very quickly, he finds his way into the more intimately public arena of musical soirées where he mixes with the local musical elite, at once testing and showing off his abilities as a performer and improviser. At this point he begins to compose more seriously, after a few intermittent attempts in his adolescence. He writes mainly Lieder, and continues to write his personal journal, begun the year before, as well as working in a novelistic vein, in a manner inspired by Jean Paul. One of the remarkable things about Schumann's personal writings, already fully present at this time, is his ability to compress lived experience into a single word or phrase, adding one impression, thought or idea after another, connectionless, thus creating an exhilarating succession of events through rows of isolated words. Schumann, in his diaries, as later in his

compositions, is a master of brevity and spontaneity. While these diaries are clearly the reflections of a self-obsessed young man, they are also, however, the most fascinating material for a period study, and tell us, among many other things, how Schumann during this period is up-to-date with all the important literary events of the time and fully informed about the musical scene that he hopes to break into.

The pianistic phase

During his first year in Leipzig, 1828–9, Schumann takes piano lessons with Friedrich Wieck, owner of a music shop and, thanks to his nine-year-old daughter's astonishing pianistic accomplishments, considered one of the world's leading pedagogues. Wieck is impressed and enchanted by Schumann's talent and energy, but already a year later Schumann escapes to Heidelberg to study with the music aesthetician A. F. J. Thibaut, author of the influential *Über die Reinheit der Tonkunst* (*On Purity in Musical Art*). But he quickly tires of what he discovers as Thibaut's pedantry and returns to Leipzig in the autumn of 1830. From this point, he resolves to make his life as a pianist and at last stands up against his mother's requests. He resumes lessons with Wieck, whose pedagogic regime requires him to practise six to eight hours a day in addition to daily lessons. In 1831–2, Schumann also takes composition and counterpoint lessons with Heinrich Dorn, a conductor and composer and, apart from Wieck, the only professional practitioner of music ever to teach him. On his own, Schumann studies counterpoint, mainly Bach's *Das Wohltempierte Klavier* and Italian church music.

It is in Wieck's house, one filled with music and the noise of musical practising, that Schumann gradually falls in love with Clara, Wieck's only daughter, raised and educated by him alone after he separated from his wife when the girl was five years old. Wieck has but a single goal in mind: to turn his daughter into a great pianist. Whether or not aware of the premeditation in her destiny, Clara is an enthusiastic accomplice. By 1828, aged nine, she is already a celebrity, performing at the renowned Leipzig Gewandhaus, and touring, under the watchful eye of her father, all over Germany, Austria and Paris. Wieck, once aware of the growing liaison between his daughter and Schumann, is enraged. Both are soon informed by this austere and solitary man that Schumann is not acceptable as a suitor, a move that inaugurates the beginning of an intensely acrimonious battle between two very dissimilar men over the woman of their hearts: the daughter of one, the beloved of the other.

The hand injury

Schumann's famous hand injury, brought on between 1829 and 1832, shows how much he is prepared to lose in order to fulfil his destiny. Wieck is confident of being able to make Schumann 'within three years into one of the greatest living pianists, who will play more warmly and ingeniously than Moscheles, and more grandly than Hummel'.⁵ Spurred on in this way, Schumann is determined to catch up on the technical prowess that, under the influence of Paganini, is then considered the sine qua non of performance: 'I now know for certain that, with much hard work, patience and a good teacher, I will be able to compete with any pianist within six years, for playing the piano is pure mechanics and know-how', he writes to his mother.⁶ To speed up his progress and strengthen his right hand, he trusts the promised miracles of Johann Bernard Logier's 'Chiroplast', a contraption designed to give each individual finger greater power by briskly pulling to an extreme degree the finger inserted into the mechanism towards the back of the hand.⁷

Wieck strongly objects (while selling similar instruments in his own shop) but the recommendations of star pianists like Thalberg motivate Schumann to persist.⁸ That Schumann continues with the Chiroplast treatment even in the face of its dubious effectiveness is not only proof of his determination but also an example of his capacity to go to extremes. It shows him seeking out and submitting to a slow but thorough-going form of brutality that eventually results in lasting, debilitating injury. But what this episode also shows is Schumann's total commitment to music while destroying his ability to perform it. Caught within a curious dynamic exchange of self-harm and self-realization, Schumann felt compelled to disappear as a pianist in order to reappear, or appear more fully, as a composer. He had to stop himself performing in order to let others perform him. Within weeks of being 'completely resigned' to the ruin of his hand, which by May 1832 he deems 'incurable',⁹ he throws himself into composition, producing, apart from a great number of sketches to be turned into finished compositions in later years, the *Studien nach Capricen von Paganini*, Op. 3 (1832); two complete first movements and sketches for two last movements of a G minor symphony, *Auh.* A3 (1832–3); the *Abegg-Variationen*, Op. 1 (1830); *Papillons*, Op. 2 (1829–32); *Six Intermezzi*, Op. 4 (1832); *Toccata in C*, Op. 7 (1829–33); *Carnaval*, Op. 9 (1834–5); and his first Sonata in F sharp minor, Op. 11 (1833–5). Schumann needed the failure in order to have the success.

On a more private level, Schumann's hand paralysis is perhaps even less what it may seem at first sight: an instance of failure or a tendency to give up. One notes that the moment he is prepared to risk the injury, 1829–31, coincides with two increasingly urgent concerns: to establish a public

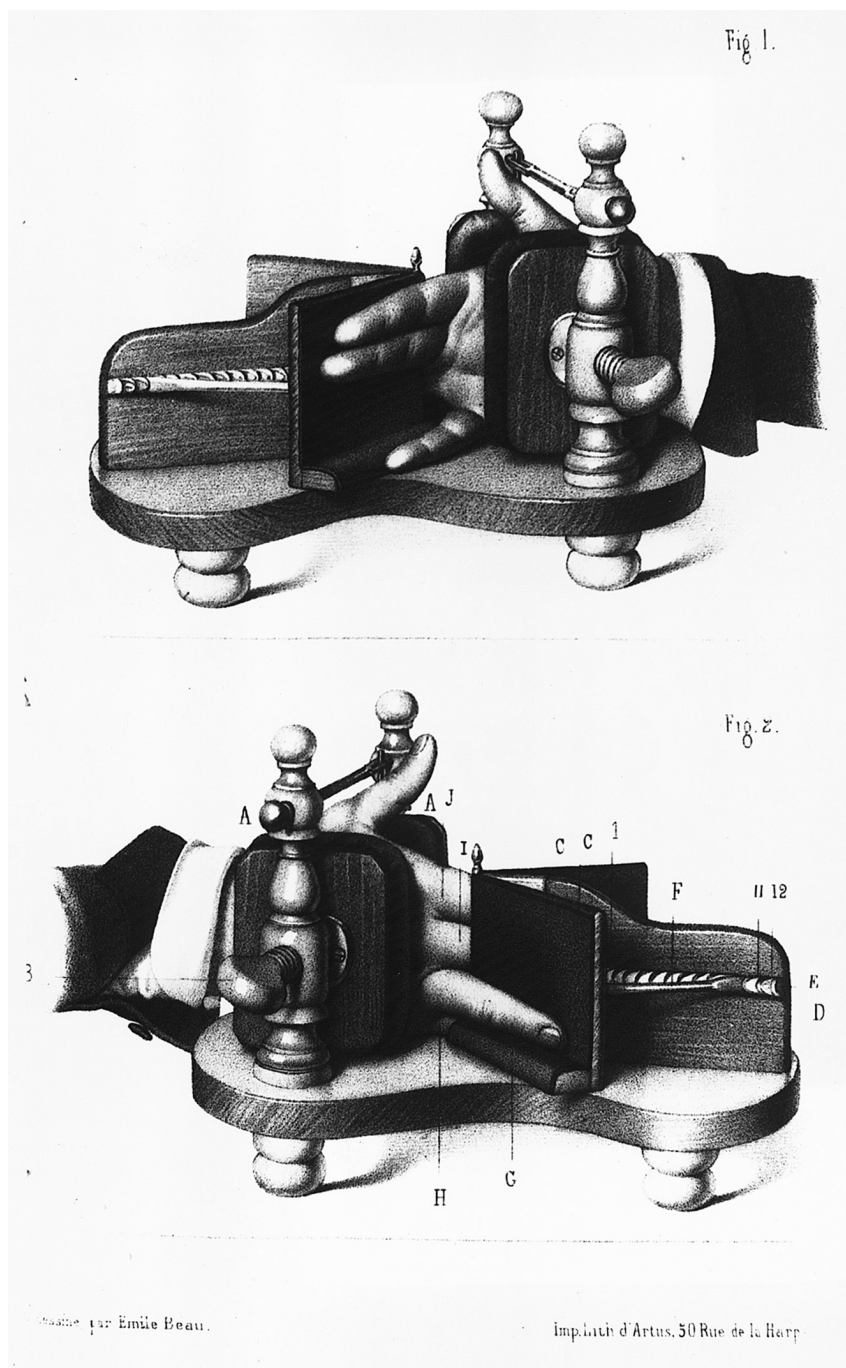


Figure 1.2 Logier's 'Chiroplast', a finger-training apparatus (Lithograph after a sketch by Emile Beau)

life, and to create a private one with Clara. In both directions, the hand injury strikes one as a daunting manoeuvre in his feverish quest to find himself. It shows him willing to inflict pain where it most matters, increasing pain to its limits, and finally going beyond those limits. Emerging on the other side of pain, he finds an unknown territory now lying before him, and the potentialities of a new and unexplored self. Schumann's transgression thus happens in the pursuit of greater self-knowledge. Once incapacitated, his hands are freed to compose; and above all for Clara, his pianist wife-to-be, whom he now can offer something to play, as well as someone to play with. Captured by her, he ensures that he will keep her captured in turn: 'Clara . . . I have never heard her play as she did today – everything was masterful, everything beautiful. The *Papillons* were almost yet more beautiful than yesterday . . . She played them just right and with fire . . . and the old Wieck pointed out the advantages: "Madame", he said to Rosalie [Schumann's sister-in-law], "isn't Clara a good substitute for Robert" . . . At home I played and continued composing the *Intermezzi*. I want to dedicate them to Clara.'¹⁰ The highly productive exchange between him and Clara, between his composing and her performing, becomes his source of self-fulfilment: 'You make me complete as a composer as I complete you. Every one of your thoughts comes from my soul, as all my music is only thanks to you.'¹¹

Multiplication and mobility of the self

In July 1831 Schumann writes: 'Completely new personae are entering my diary today – two of my best friends whom, nevertheless, I have never seen before. They are Florestan and Eusebius.'¹² A few weeks earlier he had already talked about his 'idea about the "Wunderkinder"; I do not lack of characters and personae, but stories [*Handlungen*] and the connection between the threads'.¹³ Elaborating a highly individualized adaptation of the literary *Doppelgänger* motif, that ubiquitous nineteenth-century trope, Schumann soon expands his imaginary circle with yet more characters, all inspired by members of his immediate circle: Clara becomes *Cilia*, *Zilia*, *Caecilia*, *Chiara* or *Chiarinea*; Wieck *Meister Raro*; Mendelssohn *F. Meritis*; his teacher Dorn *Musikdirektor*; and his close friend Flehsig, significantly, the *Jüngling Echomein*. These personae promise new identities and Schumann from now on is free-floatingly attentive to whomever he wants to turn himself into. He is understandably euphoric about the endless possibilities of shaping and re-shaping what we are in the habit of calling someone's 'personality', and begins using these new voices in all his writings: personal, journalistic and compositional alike. Indeed, Schumann's *Davidsbündler*, the imaginary group of artists he invents for the music journal *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*

(*New Newspaper for Music*, *NZfM*, founded by him in 1834), become the main agency behind a new art of criticism that combines technically accurate information about music with commentary that makes full use of the expressive possibilities of literature and poetry and their respective rhetoric and narrative strategies, including dialogue. In Schumann's critical writings, mixed in with excerpts taken from literature and poetry, the alternating and contrasting voices of the *Davidsbündler* articulate in direct speech, first person singular, Schumann's own voice, speaking as it were through various masks.¹⁴

Such proliferation of identity had already been elaborated upon and celebrated by two of Schumann's favourite novelists: Jean Paul in his *Flegeljahre* (1804) and E. T. A. Hoffmann in his *Kreisleriana* (1815), a collection of essays and stories, and his novel *Lebensansichten des Katers Murr* (*The Life and Opinions of the Tomcat Murr*, 1820–2). These works operate through highly prospective and volatile mental manoeuvres to re-create, via literary means, the dynamics of the multiplication and mobility of the self. In the 1854 introduction to his *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* (*Collected Writings on Music and Musicians*), bringing together his earlier writings for the *NZfM*, Schumann comments revealingly on the *Davidsbündler*: they are 'more than a secret society' made up of artist-characters, their spirit 'running like a red thread' through the pages of the *NZfM*, combining 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' (truth and invention).¹⁵ He thus sees fictional multiplicity as the means for an artistic quest for truth at the very core of his vocation as a critic. The same dialogical dynamics animate his music, above all in the *Davidsbündlertänze*, Op. 6 (1837), eighteen short piano pieces, each bearing the signature 'F.', 'E.' or 'F. und E.' to designate the extrovert Florestan and the more introvert Eusebius and which, in the first edition, received additional commentaries such as 'Here Florestan kept silent, but his lips were quivering with emotion' or 'Eusebius had the following afterthought: at the same time his eyes were full of happiness.' What we have here is a composer-writer constantly changing his identity. Thanks to the *Davidsbündler*, Schumann is many. But that he sought and found names for himself in this way, and considering what these names were and what they represented, tells us much about what Schumann tried intermittently to make himself into. From this time and throughout his life, Schumann took delight in becoming others, and in creating a network of voices speaking to, against and for each other, but always *through and in* him. And this bold move would also lead to his becoming part of the general representation of schizophrenia.

Indeed, in Schumann's case, the conflation of work and life is tempting and it is easy to suspect his music of articulating the dynamics of an otherwise disturbing personality disorder – a temptation that remained widely



Figure 1.3 Robert Schumann (lithograph by Joseph Kriehuber, Vienna, 1839)

unresisted by critics of his late work, who regarded the compositions of the 1850s especially as mental echo-chambers of the composer's looming madness.¹⁶ Yet, works such as the *Davidsbündlertänze* are more than a mere representation of Schumann's mood swings and a correspondingly dissociated inner nature, for they seem to be not only as if *peopled* with characters, but rather as if entirely imbued with them: as if created by them from within, and so as if becoming, in and of themselves, new and wholly independent figures in their own right. In other words, Schumann, seen as a fantasist with a disordered self, was able to explore in moments of creativity the many forms and faces, the sphinx-like inner texture and essential opacity, of the isolated human self. To escape a unified author-authority his self multiplied,

became mobile and fluid, as well as fragmented – but most of all, alive. And whole aspects of Schumann’s self may be split off and put on display here to generate a highly animated as much as bewildering plurality of narrating selves. In this sense, the creative Schumann is full of possibility. ‘To assume’, in the memorable words of Adam Phillips, ‘that there is an unconscious is to believe that there really are other people, other voices, inside and outside oneself (that if there is a mind it has a mind of its own).’¹⁷ Such a mind of its own, constantly in movement and changing its mind, is what we hear at work in Schumann’s music.

Uncertainties

For much of the 1830s Schumann is fairly directionless. He lives at the mercy of spells of intense anxiety and panic attacks that at once generate and result in his tentative approach to life. His performing career as a pianist has turned to dust with the hand injury, and, although he now runs his own journal, he still has not created a stable source of income. Throughout the decade, however, he composes, although comparatively little is published, let alone widely performed. Thus virtually unknown as a composer, he is nevertheless sitting on a goldmine of completed piano music the like of which the world has never before seen: the *Abegg-Variationen*, Op. 1 (1830); *Papillons*, Op. 2 (1829–32); *Toccata in C*, Op. 7 (first version 1829–30, second version (1833)); the *Paganini Etudes*, Op. 3 (1832); *Intermezzi*, Op. 4 (1832); *Symphonic Etudes*, Op. 13 (1834–5); *Carnaval*, Op. 9 (1834–5); Piano Sonata, Op. 11 (1833–5); *Concert sans orchestre*, Op. 14 (1836); *Phantasie*, Op. 17 (1836); *Davidsbündlertänze*, Op. 6 (1837); *Fantasiestücke*, Op. 12 (1837); *Kinderszenen*, Op. 15 (1838); *Noveletten*, Op. 21 (1838); the second Piano Sonata, Op. 22 (1833–5, 1838); and *Faschingsschwank aus Wien*, Op. 26 (1839–40). His letters to Clara reveal a magnificent confidence about his work, and it is obvious that he now knows that his future lies in composition. The only question is, when? The lack of a solid professional grounding, in terms of recognition as much as remuneration, also mirrors a more private lack of grounding: Clara, since his mother’s death in 1836 the centre of his universe, appears more unattainable than ever. Her father’s bitter attacks on their relationship exasperates his daughter and incenses her lover. Between 1836 and 1837 Wieck manages to separate the couple for eighteen months during a concert tour for Clara – the first of several lengthy separations to come. But Clara and Schumann write to each other daily, sometimes two or three times. By 1838 Wieck’s agitations take the form of semi-public hate-campaigns. He distributes defamatory texts among friends and colleagues, spreading rumours about Schumann’s mental health and moral fitness as



Figure 1.4 Clara Wieck, 1838

citizen and husband, blackening his character as an incipient alcoholic and a social misfit. Wieck also insists that Schumann show proof of financial competence and solvency as a condition of marriage. In the absence of Clara, and with her father's shadow looming large, the situation weakens Schumann's impulse to compose, and his hopes of marrying Clara. Searching for escape routes, he decides in the autumn of 1838 to visit Vienna to explore the possibilities of starting a new life there for the two of them. After six months he returns to Leipzig, unsuccessful. Clara still is far away. At this moment,

when Schumann is most at a loss, he finally takes the initiative. With Clara's consent, he decides to take recourse to the law, and Wieck and the whole affair before the court, to obtain the right to marry Clara. His diaries reveal little of his thoughts on the subject during this most embattled period, but he is suddenly all-consumed by composition: the period just prior to the court's decision propels him into a whole new creative phase: the immensely productive *Liederjahr*, the Year of Song. Indeed, with Clara his real *ferne Geliebte*, there is no better time to break into song. He composes over 125 Lieder in 1840 alone, among them the cycles *Dichterliebe*, Op. 48; *Liederkreis*, Op. 24 – both on poems by Heinrich Heine – and the *Liederkreis*, Op. 39 on poems by Joseph von Eichendorff; and goes on to set texts by many of the leading European poets: Goethe, H. C. Andersen, Shakespeare, Burns, Byron and Moore, among others. On 7 July 1840 he laconically notes 'the end of the court case', and on 4 September 1840: 'Clara, from now on forever with me'.¹⁸ His wedding present to her is the song cycle *Myrthen*, Op. 25, containing the hauntingly beautiful 'Du bist wie eine Blume'.¹⁹

No doubt, Robert Schumann is a complicated man. As a potential husband he is an uncertain proposition. The son of a widowed and uninfluential middle-class mother, embarking on what is to this day considered a profession fraught with insecurities, he is also the son of a reportedly unstable father and the brother to a sister who committed suicide. From his twenties he is a man prey to anguish, to depression, to hypochondria, with a tendency to drink. His diaries are replete with observations of his changing states of mind and body. A late developer in his own eyes, he is anxious, if not panic-stricken by a deeply felt need to catch up, to make his mark, to establish a name for himself at last. Clara, his junior by almost a decade, is nevertheless strongly drawn to him and embraces him and his insecurities, as well as the real personal and artistic capacities that these tend to mask and immobilize. She embarks wholeheartedly on what has since become the most fêted romantic love story in the history of Western music. A year into their marriage, the Schumanns have their first child, Marie. Clara is to give birth to a further seven children in the course of their fourteen-year marriage.

By way of premières, Clara also gives birth to virtually all of her husband's piano compositions and carefully nurtures these throughout her long career.²⁰ Many of Schumann's orchestral works were given their debuts in concerts in which she performed as a soloist. After Schumann's death, during the four long decades of her widowhood, she devotes herself to her husband's memory, preparing editions of the piano works, editing his *Jugendbriefe* and, assisted by Johannes Brahms, labouring over what will become the thirty-one-volume *Gesamtausgabe*.²¹ In short, as both are

carried by music in their being, the courtship and marriage between Clara and Schumann seems to render real the Romantic dream of bringing together two human beings through the magically communicative power of music alone, itself in no need of words, yet capable of operating on the deepest emotional level. Nineteenth-century Germany was in awe of its music. And so it was when it came to a union made in its name.

No doubt, Schumann's own attraction to Clara was manifold. Seeing her, young, confident, and well-prepared, embark on an international career as if it were a matter of course, no doubt gave Schumann occasion to reflect on certainty. He himself has had a delayed start, has swerved and stumbled, failed or stopped himself, and continues to fear the future, constantly caught between doubt and hope. By 1839 he has still not found his way; Clara has what Schumann seeks but cannot find. She inhabits it, like a birthright: a place in the world of music and in the world at large. This tension between Schumann and Clara, between his private conviction and lack of public success, and her inner confidence and public success, is to persist throughout their marriage, and is one of which Schumann remains acutely aware: in 1838, for instance, he notes in his diary: 'My Clara has been appointed Kammermusikerin – this is news I expected, and yet it does not give me any real joy. But why? Because I am so meagre in comparison to this angel.'²² In his acceptance of his persistent feeling of worthlessness, of which we find proof again and again in the diaries and letters, Schumann senses well, however, in a way that he feels he can't quite formulate, that there is actually something quite undermining, concerning himself of course, but also others. He writes to Clara shortly before their marriage

I want to confide to you a few things about myself and my character, given how difficult it is to figure me out, how I often respond to the most tender signs of love with coldness and rejection and how I insult and ignore especially those who mean it so well with me. So many times have I asked myself why this is and have blamed myself, for in my most inner self I am grateful for the smallest gift. I understand every move of the eye, every slightest movement in the heart of others. And yet I still so often fail in words and gestures in response. But you will know how to take me, and you will surely forgive me. Because I am not bad at heart; and I love from the depth of my soul all which is good and beautiful.²³

In his diaries and letters Schumann speaks repeatedly, indirectly and directly, about what he sharply perceives as his predicament and what, by the time of his internment in the mental hospital, has finally ripened into a feeling that finds its least embellished expression in the image of the one who is God-forsaken: he believes he is 'a sinner, who doesn't deserve the love



Figure 1.5 Robert and Clara Schumann's children, 1854

of people', as Wilhelm Wasielewski, one of Schumann's direct acquaintances and first biographer, reports.²⁴ About Schumann's way of interacting with his children, Wasielewski recalls:

He did not love his children less affectionately than his wife, even though he didn't possess the gift to occupy himself with them either continuously or deeply. If he coincidentally met them on the street, he certainly stopped, took out his lorgnette, and looked at them for a moment, while amicably remarking, in pursing his lips: 'Well well, you darlings?' Then his previous facial expression took back over and he carried on, as if nothing had happened.²⁵

Diaries, letters

In common with many nineteenth-century bourgeois couples, the Schumanns keep a marriage diary. Published, interestingly, as part of Schumann's personal diary, these *Ehetagebücher* provide a true record of their self-fashioning as husband and wife. The first volume, a present from Schumann to Clara on her twenty-first birthday, 13 September 1840, coinciding by a day with their wedding, is reserved for 'everything that touches us mutually in our household and our marriage; in it we will record our wishes and our hopes; it should also be a little book of requests directed at one another when speech is insufficient'.²⁶ The statutes, drawn up by Schumann, further specify that they are to 'exchange secretarial duties' once a week, to write a minimum of one page per week, to accept an unspecified penalty if failing to do so, and to read in each other's company the other's entry either out loud or silently, depending on content. As well as detailing the events of their professional lives, a further objective is 'carefully to evaluate the course of the whole week, whether it had been an honourable and industrious one, whether we grow inside and outside in our well-being, whether we are perfecting ourselves more and more in our beloved art'²⁷ and, finally, to record 'all the joys and sorrows of married life as true history'.²⁸ Three things are worthwhile to note about this enterprise. First, it shows Schumann's hope for the durability of his union with Clara; second, it shows his belief that such durability could be secured, or ensured, via the written word; and third, it shows his wish to establish and keep a record of this hoped-for durability. In view of the measure of insecurity that marked their courtship, and Schumann's anxiety in particular as to whether it was ever to come to a marriage at all, his desire to retain written proof of its achievement is not entirely surprising. Nevertheless, given the many other opportunities for writing that Schumann ingeniously invented for himself, from diaries to notebooks, lists, letters, reviews, novels, poems and so forth, it also may simply show the need that Schumann felt for the written word.

The marriage diaries also signify continuity. They are an attempt to prolong the couple's earlier written correspondence by which they had been able to seek and find each other, sustaining them during many months' separation over many years. As 'speech' is felt to be 'insufficient', even, or perhaps especially, at times of togetherness, this project of a shared diary demonstrates the tremendous faith both have in what the written word may be capable of achieving which the spoken word would, or could not. Another aspect to which the marriage diaries bear witness is the Enlightenment ideal of self-improvement and its stated assumption of personal perfectibility. Under Schumann's direction, we see the couple go through the musical classics, Bach fugues and Beethoven sonatas in particular, along

with a good number of literary works. Clara willingly enters into what is, in effect, a programme of higher education devised by her husband. Under his guidance, she now composes regularly, writing Lieder and fugues as well as poems. One cannot fail to notice, however, that she has moved from the hands of a teacher-father into the hands of a teacher-husband.

The Schumann who emerges from these documents does not appear a consistently charming man. Patronizing and self-aggrandizing, he is avid for Clara's admiration and ready to induce it by force. Clara, on her part, colludes with her husband's notions of himself, sometimes featuring in ways that twenty-first-century sensibilities can hardly credit in a woman who, in so many ways, and to so many, seems a feminist *avant la lettre*. She encourages polarization: 'My request to you, my dear Robert, is that you may have patience with me and may forgive me when I have said stupid things here and there, of which there will be no lack.' Schumann: 'We fought once about your conception of my compositions. But you are wrong, little Clara. The composer, and only the composer, knows how to present his compositions. If you think you could do it better, that would be as if a painter, for example, wanted to make a tree better than God had done.'²⁹

The correspondence between Clara and Robert Schumann has been the object of much curiosity ever since the first partial edition, prepared by Clara, appeared in 1895.³⁰ Infused with the intensity of the couple's shared passions and concerns – music, of course, and each other – their heightened, still separate lives find here a declarative mode of expression that bespeaks their desire to meet and to merge, and shows them seizing every half-chance to do so. The intimacy in tone and content leaves the reader, unsolicited interloper into the densely woven textual cocoon of this amorous exchange, by turns intrigued, amused, wincing, fatigued. Nonetheless, reading about Clara's and Schumann's differently remarkable ways of responding to and resisting Wieck's rage, for example, is instructive. Schumann first hesitates to take it up with the man he long considered to be something of a surrogate father. Then, attempting to meet Wieck's requirements, a task rendered impossible by the simple fact that Schumann – or, one imagines, any suitor – was per se unacceptable, he finally follows his instinct, counter-attacks and wins. Clara, now fallen from grace in her father's eyes, likewise shows strength of character when she agrees to take legal action against her own father. Faced with this conflict, she opts for the future, and for herself. Over the five years of their beleaguered courtship in hundreds of letters written between 1835 and 1840, Schumann and Clara appear as two people not only victorious in their pursuit to live their desires against fierce opposition from the outside, but strengthened in their conviction to belong with each other.

Schumann's declared desire to be one with Clara, to be her, and for her to be him, is the theme of a great number of his letters and other writings.

Contemplating Clara's portrait of 1838 (see above the lithograph of Clara made in 1838 by Andreas Staub, figure 1.4), he writes 'But now to your picture – what can I say! I've almost kissed it to pieces', and 'I dare not look at your picture often; it agitates me too much. It often wakes me in the night, so that I have to light the lamp – and now I am sinking into it, thinking no more, becoming one with it.'³¹ In 1833, seven years before their marriage, he writes to her:

Since no chain of sparks draws us together now or even reminds us of each other, I have a suggestion. Tomorrow at precisely 11 o'clock I shall play the adagio from Chopin's *Variations* and will intensely think of you, indeed only of you. Now I ask you do the same so that we can see each other and meet in spirits. Our *Doppelgänger*s will probably meet above the small gate of the Thomaskirche³²

Clara signs one of her following letters with 'Clara Wieck/Clara Wieck/Doppelgänger'.³³ The mirroring or folding into each other also leads to joint compositions such as, in 1841, the *Zwölf Gedichte aus Rückerts Liebesfrühling*, a song cycle of duets consisting of nine pieces by Schumann and three by Clara, published as Op. 37 and Op. 12 respectively. In June 1839, Schumann already explains to Clara:

I didn't get to compose much . . . But once you are mine, you will certainly sometimes get to hear some new works. I think you will much inspire me, and nothing but to be able to hear some of my compositions played will lift my spirits . . . We will also publish a certain amount in *both of our names*; posterity should regard us as one heart and soul, and be unable to tell what is by you and what is by me. How happy I am.³⁴

Not surprisingly, Clara's direct or indirect influence on Schumann's compositions has been the object of a considerable amount of recent scholarly research.³⁵

Sonorous *tableaux vivants*

The Schumann of the 1830s was a young man in his twenties. The music that made him famous was largely written during this period. Mostly written for the piano, each piece and each collection of pieces represents a new, highly idiosyncratic compositional approach, and today's world of pianism would be unthinkable without them where they remain at the core of the so-called Classical repertoire. What makes these works special?

The main trend of Schumann studies today is to see Schumann's piano works and song cycles up to 1840 as what one might call constellations of

musico-poetic fragments. The term ‘fragment’ entered the descriptive and conceptual vocabulary through the writings of the early Romantics. They also used the term ‘ensemble’, which complements conceptually and historically the later, more modernistic notion of ‘montage’,³⁶ a particularly fitting term John Daverio uses on one occasion to define Schumann’s compositional habit of constructing what are, in essence, not works at all, but curious and complex *Gebilde* made of several, mainly independent smaller parts. One is tempted to consider ‘collage’ as a term that most nearly approaches a description of Schumann’s compositional procedures and that shows how his methods adumbrated formal preoccupations of twentieth-century art, including music. The Romantic fragment results from a relatively spontaneous act of composition followed by a play with form and forms, mixing the contrasting individual and often open-ended parts in a seemingly random manner until the ‘non-work’ eventually, after some experimentation, all seems to fall into place.³⁷ A similarly improvisational way of arranging separate smaller pieces into larger multi-movement forms obtains for some of the Lieder cycles, *Dichterliebe*, Op. 48, above all.³⁸ This practice has launched a whole polemic among musicologists about the nature of musical narrative, of the presence or absence of inherent organic structure and structural coherence. To a nineteenth-century audience, certainly, Schumann’s piano works were not easily heard or understood. Clara, writing in 1839, sums up the problem: ‘Listen Robert, couldn’t you just once compose something brilliant, easily understandable, and without inscriptions – a completely coherent piece, not too long and not too short? I’d so much like to have something of yours to play that’s specifically intended for the public. Obviously a genius will find this degrading, but politics demand it every now and again.’³⁹

In giving shape through sound to the various imaginary individuals of the *Davidsbündler*, Schumann was endowed with a remarkable capacity to reproduce the dynamics of affective movements, with a rare sense of rhythm and harmony and a gift for hallucinated vision. His description of the music of Franz Schubert, a composer he admired all his life,⁴⁰ gives some idea of his own compositional aspirations:

Apart from Schubert’s there exists no music that is so psychologically unusual in the course and connection of its ideas, and in the ostensible logic of its discontinuities . . . What for others was a diary in which to set down momentary feelings was for Schubert a sheet of music paper to which he entrusted his every mood, so that his thoroughly musical soul wrote notes when others wrote words.⁴¹

Theodor W. Adorno, reflecting on Schumann’s late style after a performance of ‘Schumann’s blind, desperately lonely cello concerto, which the Frankfurt

cellist Schuyler was intellectually and spiritually not up to', raises one of the most intriguing questions about Schumann's development as a composer:

By the way: since Draeske's venomous phrase that Schumann had begun as a genius but ended up as a talent, people have grown fat repeating the assertion about the waning of his creative powers. But it would be much more worthwhile to ask whether the regressive circularity of his forms, crudely criticized as formlessness; the fleeting inconspicuousness of melodic construction behind which one may feel that creative weakness lurks; and his whole late style with its vacillations between the clumsy and the hackneyed; are not all in fact significantly related to his whole inner nature, to his tragically dissociated inwardness.⁴²

One first response to the catchphrase about promise left unfulfilled (the story of a Schumann who 'had begun as a genius but ended up as a talent') is to recall to memory, in view of his late style, the sheer energy and forcefulness of the piano works of the early period, the 1830s, and the impression they make on the listener. Written as if there were no tomorrow, not only in terms of the speed with which most of them had been conceived, drafted, penned, completed – many seemingly at one go – but even more so in terms of their unusual expressive intensity and waywardness, these pieces are sonorous reflections of breathless, urgent flights of ideas, changing direction as quickly as thoughts and mental images, moving fast and without transition between exuberantly vigorous, and more mellow, lyric, moods and emotions. As performer, listener, analyst or historian, one simply does not get here a strong sense of real, fundamental development. Even if the Moscheles- and Paganini-inspired virtuosity and ebullience of a few early pieces is eventually absorbed into a yet more concentrated, contrastive mode of expression, especially of course in his *Lieder*, one cannot speak of substantial, let alone paradigmatic changes with regard to Schumann's overall aesthetic or compositional procedures. Development seems, at least until the 1840s and his late work, as foreign to Schumann's imagination as it was fundamental to Beethoven's.

Another point of Adorno's comment is to consider what resonates beneath the story of Schumann's diminishing powers with his coming of age. For it seems that behind the overt admiration, behind the admission of Schumann as a genius, a basic kind of puzzlement enters the epistemological scene as part of an effort to find answers for what is essentially perceived as a difficult case, *both* in terms of his early *and* his late work. No doubt the eminently visceral quality of the early work, that special kind of 'formlessness' to which Adorno refers, is what made Schumann irresistible.⁴³ For the sensual magnetism of his music written for the pianist – hands forming bodies of sound, creating rhythms and counter rhythms as they move in an

endlessly animated stream of a wordless kind of communication suspended in time – is what characterizes these works. But such modern choreography of sonorous bodies and their rhythmic interplay is also what lies beyond traditional frameworks of classification. His piano pieces are frenzied, fragmentary moments of improvisational pianism, juxtaposing the ‘fleeting inconspicuousness of melodic construction’, as Adorno puts it, with unorthodox harmonies that weaken the structural order and dramatic efficiency of clear-cut tonal conflict. This unreconciled coexistence of extreme opposites clearly defies the Classical ideal of *telos* and well-groundedness and lies, analytically speaking, beyond the sonata form in particular. And here, Schumann’s so-called ‘manic-depressive disorder’, or the suspected schizophrenic part of his personality leading to madness, may appear a logical consequence; for such boundless imagination and energy had to lead, sooner or later, to creative burn-out or mental overdrive which, in turn, may then explain a ‘whole late style with its vacillations between the clumsy and the hackneyed’. This kind of interpretative construction by inference, however, which confounds individual artistic creativity – in compositional style as well as mode of production – with general representations of mental illness, merely repeats the overly reassuring myth of genius. Rehearsed over and over again in cases before and after Schumann, it has here remained a particularly tenacious idea. It suggests, in the words of Paul Möbius, one of many to preoccupy himself with Schumann’s ‘case’, that ‘we see here an excellent example of how great talent is paid for by illness.’⁴⁴

Schumann’s madness, its symptoms, causes and possible names have, ever since the composer’s death in the mental asylum, been a matter of intense debate. Today’s ever-growing public interest both in biography and in the more specialized sub-genre of ‘case history’ writing or psychobiography has, with Schumann certainly, taken on yet another dimension that might be worthwhile thinking about. Why, one might ask, are we interested in Schumann’s mental illness at all? What might this interest take care of or promise an answer for? Why, in other words, do we want Schumann to be not only the composer of extraordinary music, but also the sufferer of an intriguing illness? These are the kinds of questions that an assertion such as the one made by Möbius raises, rather than answers.

Critical writings

Schumann’s contribution to music criticism is immense. Already in 1830, unamused by what he calls a ‘very dry’ musical scene and its similarly uncreative critical counterpart,⁴⁵ he feels that a new journal could make a difference. To challenge the influential and established *Allgemeine musikalische*

Zeitung, run, in his eyes, by a group of complacently respectable Philistines, Schumann instigates in 1834 the *NZfM*, which he runs more or less singlehandedly for a decade, writing most of the articles himself. In the name of a 'new, poetic future'⁴⁶ Schumann conducts a searching interrogation of music through 'theoretical and practical articles', 'belles-lettres pieces', 'critiques' of contemporary compositions and significant musical events, providing coverage of the concert scene in Europe and abroad. Unlike other music-critical papers of the day, Schumann's has no obligations vis-à-vis a sponsoring publishing house, and is therefore able to report impartially on the developments of the international musical scene, using correspondents in Berlin, Vienna, Paris, London, Naples and St Petersburg, and further afield in Poland, Belgium, and North and South America. Schumann's criticism is driven by a real degree of vigour, acuity, humour and exuberance, not just because this is Schumann's temperament but because his whole journalistic enterprise emerges from, and speaks to, a historical crisis in music writing. Schumann's ambition was to create 'that highest order of criticism that leaves an impression on its own account, similar to the impression produced by the original'.⁴⁷ The idea here was to make critical writing itself a creative act, an art form, an idea developed and perfected by the early Romantics,⁴⁸ where the quality of the critical writing is to equal the object analysed or discussed.

As in his musical compositions, Schumann's prime writing strategy in his critical work is role exchange and the development of 'fantasy-people'.⁴⁹ By using pseudonyms and aliases such as 'Eusebius', 'Florestan', 'Raro' and so on, he turns the endless multiplicity of interpretative possibilities into an applied art by refusing to speak in a single unified voice. Here we find Schumann the critic, like Schumann the composer, not one but many. This is nowhere more evident than in his reviews of Schubert's C major Symphony and of Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*, both now classics of the genre. These writings are so well-known and so often quoted that they seem to represent definitive music criticism. What tends to be overlooked, however, as these reviews have turned into classics, is their real contemporaneous novelty: both Schubert and Berlioz were virtually unknown in the musical 'canon'. The technical and aesthetic criteria by which Schumann judged these symphonies have themselves become canonical in music criticism. And Schumann's critical essays have the crucial ingredient of any worthwhile criticism – intellectual urgency. Yet, while it is clear that Schumann involved himself in music criticism partly, or even mainly, to create a source of income, to top up meagre fees from compositions with a view to freeing himself for composition, it is true too that Schumann was barely capable of hack work. Indeed, his critical writings are luminous, whatever he or we think his overt motivations may have been. A forerunner of a few other

isolated, extraordinary composer-critics such as Liszt, Berlioz and Wagner, Schumann set the tone against a whole age of music-critical misanthropists.

Midlife

With a more ordered life came a new order in compositional enterprise, with social establishment the aim to master all established Classical forms. Over the following years, from his thirties to early forties, Schumann sets out to explore all major musical genres: piano music (1833–9), song (1840), symphonic music (1841), chamber music (1842–3), oratorio (1843), contrapuntal music (1845), incidental music and opera (1847–8) and religious music (1852). At the same time he composes a substantial contribution to each category.⁵⁰ At the same time, he still has no stable source of income, and in December 1844, following his rejection as Mendelssohn's successor as Director of the Leipzig Gewandhaus, the Schumanns leave Leipzig for Dresden, capital of Saxony, in the hope of better prospects. On arrival, however, Schumann's health deteriorates dramatically – never to be fully restored. As always when in crisis, he fills his diaries with close observations of his anxiety and depression, watchful and weary of their potential to overthrow him. But this is also a time when he turns to contrapuntal studies. Routine and rigour in his working hours as well as in compositional style, focussing his attention on polyphonic and fugal forms, restores a sense of security. Throughout 1845 Schumann produces a whole series of works emulating J. S. Bach and Palestrina. He also manages to finish his Second Symphony in December 1845. Relatively unproductive in 1846, which also brings the death of the Schumanns' youngest child and first son Emil on 22 June, the following year sees the composition of the bulk of *Faust*, a series of dramatic scenes based on Goethe's celebrated play, and a number of choral and chamber works, as well as work on his first opera, *Genoveva*, Op. 81, a tale of medieval romance, which he completes in August 1849. Then he moves on to write incidental music for Byron's verse drama *Manfred*, Op. 115, for which he invents an unusual formal design, combining spoken dialogues with vocal and instrumental numbers. The year 1848, when Europe is convulsed by political eruption and uprisings, turns out to be his 'most fruitful year'. While the revolution rages through Dresden, the Schumanns retreat to the countryside, little inclined to support a political agenda to which, a priori, they are not actually hostile. Rather, what one sees in this kind of engaged non-engagement with the events of 1848 is symptomatic of the behaviour of a whole generation, and generations to come, namely the obscure mixture of a certain degree of political awareness and sympathy for political change leading to a vaguely pro-democratic stance that was,

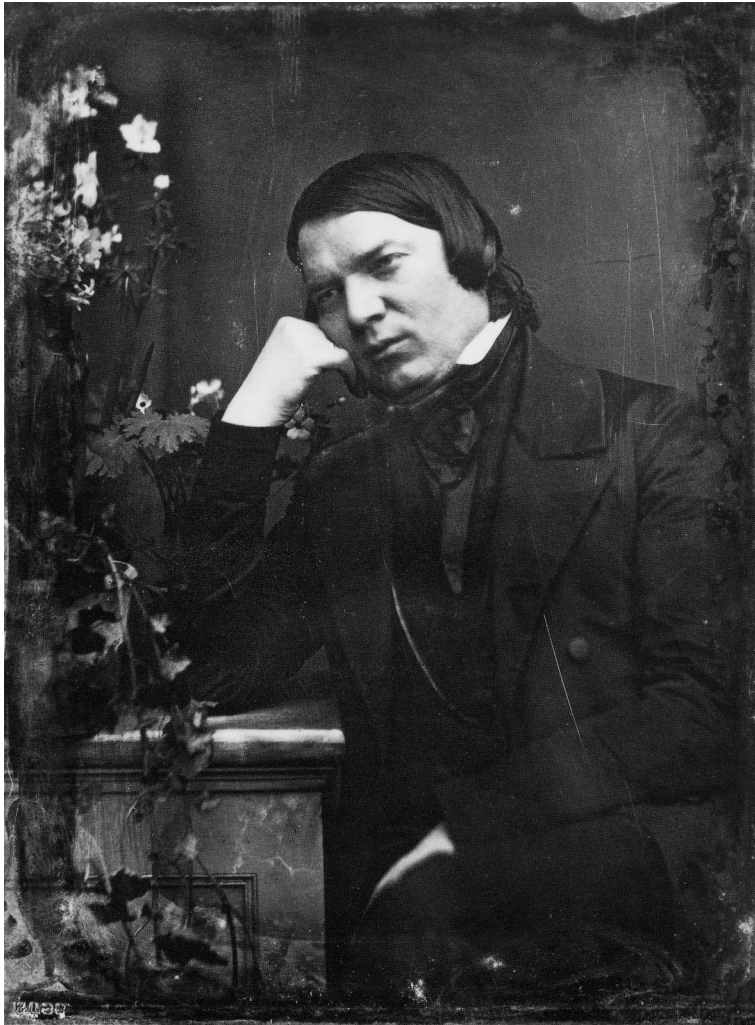


Figure 1.6 Robert Schumann, 1850 (daguerreotype by Anton Völlner, Hamburg, 1850)

however, in the end, and in reality, not sincerely felt, or not sincerely enough. Highly conscious, however, of the facilitating quality that the surrounding political disarray has for him artistically, Schumann later writes ‘I worked hard in all this time – it has been my most fruitful year – as if the outer storms compelled people to turn inward.’⁵¹ He composes some forty works, including the piano fragments *Waldszenen*, Op. 82, and *Fantasiestücke* for clarinet and piano, Op. 73, and increases his income four-fold.⁵²

In 1850, Schumann, now 40, accepts the post of Music Director for the city of Düsseldorf and finally has a regular income, conducting subscription concerts and the summer festival. A few weeks after arrival in the Rhineland town in September he composes his Cello Concerto, Op. 129 (in less than two weeks), as well as finishing his new symphony, the ‘Rhenish’, Op. 97. In

1851, he composes three overtures; some songs; the famous *Märchenbilder*, Op. 113, for viola and piano; two sonatas for violin and piano, Opp. 105 and 121; and the G minor Trio, Op. 110, each of these in less than a week. By the end of 1851 he rewrites and finishes his last symphony, Op. 120, originally begun in 1841, and an overture to Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*. During the first half of 1852 he writes, among other things, his Mass, Op. 147, and the *Requiem*, Op. 148, while the second half of the year is devoted to the preparation of his *Collected Writings on Music and Musicians*. But by 1853 relations between him and members of the orchestra lead to major confrontations. One witness describes Schumann's conducting as 'completely oblivious to the public, paying little attention even to the orchestral musicians, he lived only in his music . . .'⁵³ This way of being with music intensifies over the next months. In a concert in October 1853, Schumann is seen to continue to wave the baton after the music has stopped. Throughout the ensuing 'impertinent effronteries'⁵⁴ with the orchestra and its management, Schumann remains in stiff denial, refusing to take any responsibility, and knows that he can count on Clara's support. Schumann's position as director of the orchestra continues to be challenged, however, and he resigns in November 1853.

Part of Schumann's debacle in Düsseldorf, his tendency to be wholly caught up in music, seems linked to a life-long inclination to silence. Numerous contemporaries describe how little he spoke and how, when addressed in company for example, Clara often answered on his behalf. There are occasions when his refusal to speak is seen as a provocation: 'After an almost silent greeting, I sat with him for a quarter of an hour. He didn't speak and just stared at me. I was also silent, to test how long this would last. He didn't open his mouth. That's when I jumped up from my chair in desperation,' the poet Friedrich Hebbel reports.⁵⁵ Similar experiences are described by the critic Franz Brendel,⁵⁶ and the influential Austrian music critic Eduard Hanslick: 'After a few hopeless efforts to entertain Schumann with news from the musical scene in Prague, I began to feel uncomfortable [in my role] as soliloquist [*Soloredner*]. I feared he meant to silence me away [*fortschweigen*].'⁵⁷ As early as 1837, Schumann himself writes: 'I have nothing to offer. I hardly speak at all, somewhat more in the evening, and most at the piano.'⁵⁸ Yet, ceasing to speak, preferring music to words, and to continue hearing music after the music has stopped, seems, after all, a rather sensible thing to do for a composer. But towards the end of his life, this introverted way of experiencing music takes on a whole new significance, both magic and portentous, for Schumann. After he suffers internal 'intolerable aural disturbances'⁵⁹ immediately following the conflict with the orchestra, these soon turn into 'music so magnificent, [played] with such splendidly sounding instruments as one had never heard here on earth.'⁶⁰ A whole new

phase of his life is about to begin, adumbrating the beginning of the end of the composer's sanity.

But first, in September 1853, a few months prior to Schumann's final downfall, Clara and Robert Schumann receive the visit of Johannes Brahms, twenty years old, and coming to them on the recommendation of the renowned violinist and composer Joseph Joachim. About this young, radiant musician-composer Schumann has but one thing to say: 'Brahms's visit (a genius)'.⁶¹ Brahms plays for them, among other things, his F sharp minor piano sonata (Op. 2), which Schumann calls 'veiled symphonies – Lieder whose poetry one would understand without knowing the words, while a deep vocal melody runs through all of them'. Schumann describes some of the other, shorter pieces as 'of partly daemonic nature'. 'A young eagle', he writes to Joachim, 'a true apostle who will inscribe revelations that many Pharisees . . . will not decipher for centuries to come'.⁶² For the first time in more than a decade, Schumann picks up the critic's pen and, under the title 'Neue Bahnen' (New paths), he bestows in the October 1853 issue of the *NZfM*, Elijah's mantle on the 'chosen youth'. His praise is limitless – 'He who was destined to come, springing forth, fully armed, like Athena from the head of Zeus (. . .) a young man over whose cradle Graces and Heroes have stood watch'⁶³ – as he entrusts Brahms, son-like, to carry the torch for a new *Davidsbündler* generation.⁶⁴ Whether or not accepting his appointed role, Brahms now visits the couple almost daily. All three are strongly drawn to each other, each of them, in their own different ways, intertwined via music. Indeed, Brahms will remain faithful to Clara and Robert Schumann all his life, attempting at once to reconcile and consume his love for both by proposing marriage to their first child Marie – an attempt that fails. Brahms will remain unmarried as well as childless all his life.

Towards the end of 1853, after Brahms's visit, Schumann becomes increasingly agitated and fears himself turning violent. Clara, however, does not allow herself to criticize her husband and adopts as much as possible her husband's views, interpreting the symptoms as signs of his genius: as voices from higher regions speaking through him. Just as Schumann himself takes these voices at face value – 'Friday 17th, shortly after going to bed, Robert got up again and wrote down a theme which, as he insisted, had been sung to him by angels; once it was written down, he lay down again and phantasmized all night, with his eyes open and looking up at the sky. He firmly believed himself to be surrounded by angels who offered him the most magnificent revelations, all in the form of wonderful music'⁶⁵ – Clara chooses to see them as reflections of an illness that 'is almost entirely of a religious nature'.⁶⁶ This reading, however, generously accommodates the malignant nature of some of Schumann's other inner voices, for soon the angels are to turn into demons, offering 'hideous music', announcing 'that he was



Figure 1.7 Johannes Brahms, c. 1855

a sinner' and – in voices now coming from 'tigers and hyenas' – 'hurling him into hell'.⁶⁷ Alternately persecuted by voices of evil one moment, then soothed by those of angels the next, Schumann writes down his last composition, the *Geistervariationen*, five 'ghost variations' (*Anh.* F39) for solo piano, which he dedicates to Clara. With this composition, Schumann has truly become one of the chosen ones, visited by divinities and demons alike, speaking with their authority. And it is this interpretation of his personality that his wife endorses all the way – at least as long as the voices remain angelic, dictating a 'beautifully moving and devout theme' such as that of the *Geistervariationen*.⁶⁸ Through Clara's seeing him to be guided as well as driven by voices that are always nobler or viler than simply human, and never truly his own, Schumann the man – living with but also against

others, and himself – is conveniently absorbed into the image of the artist who remains forever beyond reach, beyond reproach and, notably, beyond human vulnerability or failure. And in case one were not inclined to embrace the answers offered by mysticism, one question remains: if Schumann was indeed spoken through by angels, who, then, was behind the occasional malignancy? In other words, if the voices in Schumann weren't his own, if he was not responsible for them, who was?

The last three years

Some fifteen years earlier, in July 1838, Schumann wrote in his diary: 'Haven't slept a wink with the most terrifying thoughts and eternally torturing music – God help me that I will not one day die like this.'⁶⁹ The arrow through time made by this glimpse of his own end is chilling. Having spent 'almost half of this year (1952) lying very ill with a deep nervous condition (*tiefen Nervenverstimung*)',⁷⁰ Schumann nevertheless produces during the last part of 1853, precisely during the time of Brahms's visit, a number of major works, and in very short periods of time: among them the rarely performed *Violinphantasie*, Op. 131 (in a week), and his Violin Concerto, WoO1 (in less than two); the better-known *Märchenerzählungen*, Op. 132, in three days; the little-known *Gesänge der Frühe*, Op. 133, in four; the Third Violin Sonata (WoO2) in A minor in ten; and the *Fünf Romanzen* for cello and piano (*Anh.* E7) in three.⁷¹ By the beginning of 1854, however, he is once again plagued by severe insomnia, aural disturbances and menacing hallucinations. On 27 February 1854, he tries to kill himself by throwing himself into the Rhine, but is rescued. Having requested that he be institutionalized several times earlier – 'He always spoke about being a criminal . . . and [said] that he needed to go to a mental asylum, for he no longer had control over himself and wasn't sure what he might end up doing during the night'⁷² – he is finally admitted to a private mental hospital in Endenich near Bonn, where he remains for the next two-and-a-half years until his death. After Schumann's internment, Brahms moves to Düsseldorf and takes on the role of *pater familias* in the Schumann household. In August 1855, when Clara moves to a new flat, Brahms takes up residence under the same roof. He departs in July 1856. As for Clara, to whom Schumann had confessed himself on the day of his suicide attempt 'to be unworthy of her love',⁷³ she does not visit her husband in Endenich until 27–9 July 1856. Leaving him briefly to fetch, together with Brahms, Joachim at the Endenich train station, she returns to the hospital to find her husband dead: 'I saw him only half an hour later . . . I stood by his corpse, my ardently beloved husband, and was quiet; all my thoughts went up to God with thanks that he was finally free.

And as I knelt at his bed . . . it seemed as if a magnificent spirit was hovering over me – ah, if only he had taken me along.⁷⁴

During the first part of his stay in Endenich, Schumann is not allowed to have much personal contact with other people apart from his doctor and his round-the-clock attendant. While daily reports on the patient's changing states of mind and body are composed with exactitude – this is the age of scientific observation and experiment – the idea of his having a life, or of having had one prior to his breakdown, and his wanting to be in touch with it, is considered perilous to his stability. Steps are thus taken to ensure undisturbed calm and visitors are kept at a distance. Forbidden to meet and speak to him directly, they observe Schumann through a small window in the wall of his cell. Thought to bring with them all the excitement of a life of which for Schumann, it is assumed, there had already been rather too much, his visitors themselves are protected from the spectacle that the composer's over-excited life has now turned into.⁷⁵ As if peeping through a keyhole, they take a glimpse at what goes on behind closed doors and get to see fragments of a scene that is, while clearly 'off limits', intriguing, enigmatic and utterly irresistible. Then they, too, go on and write 'reports', even if in the form of letters. Ten months of solitary confinement will pass until Schumann receives his first visitors; Joachim, Brahms and others follow, but few and far between. In April 1856 Brahms reports:

We sat down, it became increasingly painful for me, his eyes were moist, he spoke continuously, but I understood nothing . . . Often he just blabbered, sort of bababa-dadada. While questioning him at length I understood the names of Marie, Julie, Berlin, Vienna, England, not much more . . . Richarz says that Schumann's brain is decidedly exhausted . . . He will remain, at best, in this significantly apathetic state; in one or two months only supportive care will probably be necessary.⁷⁶

In Endenich, Schumann's activities until at least mid 1855 include much of what he used to do: playing the piano, composing, writing, keeping up correspondence, making lists, even taking walks in the surroundings of Endenich with his ever-present attendant. The medical reports provide much detail about his behaviour and states of mind – 'suffers from hallucinations', 'shouted for hours', 'his body seized by convulsions', 'attacked the attendant', 'refuses food for it were poison',⁷⁷ – as well as about the treatment he receives, consisting of acts of benevolence and brutality alike. Despite the hospital's policy of following the – at this time innovative – 'no restraint' method,⁷⁸ there is mention of the use of a straitjacket, apart from other contemporary means of tranquillization. When he is too agitated, 'all of his writings, books and writing utensils are removed' from him immediately⁷⁹ since his 'deterioration' is seen to be caused by a general

'overexertion' (*Überanstrengung*), and more specifically in the composer's 'immoderate mental, especially artistic, productivity'.⁸⁰ When attacking his doctors or guards, he is repeatedly detained in the '*Unruhigenabteilung*', a section for the unruly and disruptive. All in all, the various personal testimonies, and the no less disconcerting medical reports about Schumann's last years in Edenich, leave us with a feeling of pity. In view of the altogether still rather hesitant and reserved reception of his late work, and in view of the exceptional vehemence and passion with which one sees the value of this part of his work defended – and the mere fact that such defence is felt to be needed – we are left with the vague but insistent feeling that the 'late' Schumann as we have come to know him was perhaps not only one of the unstable or 'weak', but also one of the abused and defenceless: one of those, in other words, who may never be forgiven their suffering.

Schumann dies, alone, aged forty-six, on 29 July 1856.

Notes

1. Nauhaus calls Schumann a *Sonderfall*, a special case, whose critical nature (*Bedenklichkeit*), psychologically speaking, should not be ignored: "How do we explain that an artist of such high rank would have, over many years, written down even the most insignificant facts of his life, from the temperature of the air and water during a spa visit to the ever-unchanging cost for his daily cigar ration?" See preface by Gerd Nauhaus in *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, ed. Georg Eismann and Gerd Nauhaus, 4 vols. (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971–82), vol. III, *Haushaltsbücher Teil I 1837–1847*, p. 21.
2. John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a 'New Poetic Age'* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 21. My account of the most widely known events of Schumann's life is based on information provided in Daverio's excellent biography.
3. Quoted after Eismann in Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, pp. 22–3.
4. I am providing dates of composition, rather than of publication.
5. Georg Eismann, *Robert Schumann: Ein Quellenwerk über sein Leben und Schaffen*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1956), vol. I, pp. 64–5.
6. Schumann to his mother in a letter dated 30 July 1830, quoted in Ernst Burger, *Robert Schumann: A Chronicle of His Life in Pictures and Documents*, Robert Schumann New Edition of the Complete Works, series VIII, supplements, vol. I (Mainz: Schott, 1998), p. 86.
7. Although he seems to have injured mainly his third finger, Schumann's concern, apart from a general weakness of the hand, may well have been the notoriously weak fourth finger. The fourth finger, linked to the third by the hand's inner bone structure, is dependent on the third finger and thus less mobile.
8. See Burger, *Robert Schumann*, p. 105.
9. Robert Schumann, *Jugendbriefe von Robert Schumann*, after the originals communicated by Clara Schumann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1885), p. 194.
10. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. I, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, pp. 386, 397.
11. Quoted (without details of date) in Wolfgang Held, *Clara und Robert Schumann* (Frankfurt: Insel, 2001), p. 58.
12. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. I, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, p. 344.
13. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. I, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, p. 342.
14. Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, p. 113.
15. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik (NZfM)*, reprint, Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden 1985, v.
16. For a critical account of the problematic reception of Schumann's late work, see John Daverio's 'Songs of dawn and dusk: coming to terms with the late music' in this volume, pp. 268–91.
17. Adam Phillips, preface to Sigmund Freud, *Wild Analysis* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. viii.

18. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. II, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, p. 97. For a full account, see Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, pp. 182–96.
19. For a detailed discussion of this song, see the chapter on songs in this volume, pp. 118–19.
20. See Nancy Reich, 'Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms', *Brahms and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 40.
21. *Robert Schumanns Werke*, ed. C. Schumann (Leipzig 1881–93), ser. 114 (31 vols.). See Nancy Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985, revised edn February, 2001) for an account of Clara Schumann's life.
22. Diary entry of March 1838, *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. I, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, p. 52.
23. Wilhelm Wasielewski, *Robert Schumann: Eine Biographie*, enlarged edn (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906), pp. 502–3. My translation.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 493.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 502.
26. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. II, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, p. 99, quoted in Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, p. 196.
27. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. II, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, pp. 99–100.
28. *Ibid.*, 'treue Geschichte', p. 100.
29. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. II, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, pp. 106–7.
30. A complete edition is available as *Clara und Robert Schumann: Briefwechsel*, 3 vols., ed. Eva Weissweiler (Basel/Frankfurt am Main: vol. 1 (1984), 2 (1987) and 3 (2001)).
31. *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel*, ed. Weissweiler, vol. I, letter no. 49 (13 April 1838) p. 133 and (same letter continued over several days, here 20 April 1838) p. 153.
32. *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel*, ed. Weissweiler, vol. I, letter no. 4 (13 July 1833), p. 7.
33. Letter of 8 June 1834, *Clara und Robert Schumann: Briefe einer Liebe*, ed. Hans-Joseph Orthel (Königstein: Athenäum, 1982), p. 21.
34. *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel*, ed. Weissweiler, vol. II, p. 571. Emphasis original.
35. For a detailed study of such influence, see the chapter 'Piano II: afterimages' in this volume, pp. 86–101.
36. Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, p. 220.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 132–4.
38. See Beate Perrey, *Schumann's 'Dichterliebe' and Early Romantic Poetics. Fragmentation of Desire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
39. Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, 3 vols., vol. I (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1903), p. 311.
40. See Marie Luise Maintz, *Franz Schubert in der Rezeption Robert Schumanns: Studien zur Ästhetik und Instrumentalmusik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995).
41. Quoted in Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, p. 48.
42. Theodor W. Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 20 vols., ed. Rolf Tiedemann *et al.* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970–86), vol. XIX, *Musikalische Schriften*, VI, p. 33.
43. See Roland Barthes' essay 'Loving Schumann', in *The Responsibility of Form: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985), pp. 287–98.
44. Paul Möbius, *Über Robert Schumanns Krankheit* (Halle: Marchold, 1906), p. 1. For a comprehensive historical overview of what has rightly been called a 'problem of diagnosis', see Peter Ostwald's study *Schumann: The Inner Voices of a Musical Genius* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985), pp. 295–307.
45. See *NZfM*, no. 33, 1836.
46. Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1854); reprinted with epilogue by Gerd Nauhaus, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985), vol. I, p. 60.
47. Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 2 vols., rev. 5th edn, ed. Martin Kreisig (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1914), vol. I, p. 44.
48. See John Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology* (New York: Schirmer, 1993), pp. 1–88, and Perrey, *Schumann's 'Dichterliebe'*, pp. 13–46.
49. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. I, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, p. 371.
50. Discussed in the respective chapters in this volume. For a particularly nuanced discussion of Schumann's apparent 'system' of genres, see also Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, pp. 218–21.
51. Letter to Friedrich Hiller, 10 April 1849, *Robert Schumanns Briefe: Neue Folge*, ed. F. Gustav Jansen (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904), p. 302.

52. See Daverio, 'Robert Schumann', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 2000), p. 782.
53. Richard Pohl, 'Erinnerungen an Schumann', *Deutsche Revue*, 1878, p. 309, quoted in Reinhard Kapp, 'Das Orchester Schumanns', *Musik-Konzepte Sonderband Robert Schumann II*, ed. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (Munich: Edition Text und Kritik, December 1982), p. 198.
54. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. III/2, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, p. 641.
55. Quoted in Burger, *Robert Schumann*, p. 292.
56. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 292.
57. See Eduard Hanslick, *Aus meinem Leben*, 3rd edn, vol. I (Berlin: Verein für deutsche Litteratur, 1894), pp. 66–7.
58. Hermann Erler, *Robert Schumanns Leben aus seinen Briefen geschildert* (Berlin: n.p., 1887), p. 109.
59. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. II, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, p. 441.
60. Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. II (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905), p. 298. See also Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, p. 457 and Wasielewski, *Robert Schumann*, p. 492.
61. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. III/2, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, p. 637.
62. Letter of 8 October 1853, *Robert Schumanns Briefe. Neue Folge*, ed. Jansen, p. 379.
63. English translation in Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Woolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (London: Dennis Dobson, 1947), pp. 252–4.
64. See Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, p. 454 for detailed discussion.
65. Quoted in Eismann, *Robert Schumann*, vol. I, pp. 190–1.
66. Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. II (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905), p. 298.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 298. See also Daverio, *Robert Schumann*, p. 458.
68. Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. II, p. 298.
69. *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. II, ed. Eismann and Nauhaus, p. 61. *Robert Schumann in Endenich (1854–1856): Krankenakten, Briefzeugnisse und zeitgenössische Berichte*, ed. Bernhard Appel, Schumann Forschungen, vol. 11 (Mainz, 2006) appeared too late for consideration in this chapter.
70. *Robert Schumanns Briefe. Neue Folge*, ed. Jansen, p. 364.
71. See Michael Struck, *Die umstrittenen späten Instrumentalwerke Schumanns* (Hamburg: Wagner, 1984). See also John Daverio's chapter in this volume, pp. 268–91.
72. Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. II, p. 299.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
74. Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann, Ein Künstlerleben*, 7th edn, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1925), vol. II, p. 415.
75. Note Litzmann's evaluation that Schumann had been 'sick' almost throughout his entire life and that his illness had 'manifested itself to varying degrees and in changing forms, with long intervals of quiescence but gruesome regularity, and always in overexcitement'. Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, 7th edn, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1925), vol. II, p. 138.
76. Quoted in Ostward, *Schumann: The Inner Voices*, p. 291.
77. These and following quotations from 'Auszüge aus Dr. Franz Richartz' Verlaufsbericht 1854–56', in *Robert Schumanns letzte Lebensjahre. Protokoll einer Krankheit*, Archiv-blätter, 1 (Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, März 1994), pp. 17–24.
78. Franz Hermann Franken, 'Robert Schumann in der Irrenanstalt Endenich', in *Robert Schumanns letzte Lebensjahre*, p. 9.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
80. Franz Richartz, 'Über Robert Schumanns Krankheit', *Signale für die Musikalische Welt*, 40 (1873), pp. 625–9.