

“WHAT WILL BECOME OF MY WORK?”: GENIUS, GENDER, AND
LEGACY IN THE LIFE OF CLARA WIECK/SCHUMANN

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Clara Wieck/Schumann (1819 – 1896) was a musician living in an era increasingly concerned with posterity and canon formation, yet she believed that as a performer, she was destined for posthumous obscurity. On this matter, she clearly misjudged her historical significance. More than 125 years after her death, Wieck/Schumann is still remembered as a child prodigy whose father trained her to become one of the greatest pianists of the day and whose dedication to the highest artistic ideals was matched only by her unconditional devotion to her husband and children. Wieck/Schumann's artistic accomplishments as an individual—her remarkable success as a virtuosa and her significant compositional output—are frequently juxtaposed with her roles as a mother of eight and the romantic(ized) partner to fellow composer Robert Schumann. The seeming incongruity of her public and private lives has also lent a certain ambiguity and openness in biographical treatments. As such, Wieck/Schumann has been a canvas upon which writers could project contradictory dogmatic images: eternally faithful and adulterous wife, selfless and neglectful mother, humble and glamorous performer, contentedly domestic and artistically stifled.

Through close reading of archival material (diaries and correspondence of Wieck/Schumann and her closest associates) and secondary sources (biographies, historical news and entertainment media, and music analyses), this dissertation traces the origins and evolutions of Wieck/Schumann's legacies through the dual lenses of gender and genius. This project presents a historiographic study of prescriptive ideologies in Wieck/Schumann biographies with attention to shifts in genre conventions and feminist ideas, engages in psychobiographic analysis of her attitudes toward and justification of her own creativity as a function of her personal relationships, investigates how her image was used in Nazi propaganda with consequent backlash, and culminates in critical consideration of the limitations of biography as a tool to analyze her compositions. Taken together, these components demonstrate the (potentially dangerous) cultural power of biography to perpetuate narratives of gender values and genius with direct implications for the musical and cultural reception of creative women like Wieck/Schumann.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the opening paragraph of her 1983 monograph study of Clara Wieck/Schumann's life and work, Joan Chissell describes her subject as a "grateful daughter, a devoted wife, a caring mother, a loyal friend" for whom music-making was the "great motivating force" of her life.¹ Chissell sees this two-fold commitment to family and music as the core of Wieck/Schumann's identity, so much so that Chissell titled the biography *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit*. Chissell's book is concerned primarily with Wieck/Schumann the concert pianist, conspicuously avoiding any significant discussion of composition.² (That said, Chissell does include partial list of Wieck/Schumann's compositions in the appendix.) Above all, Chissell is more concerned with the details of Wieck/Schumann's concert tours and family life than with the complexities of her thoughts and motivations.

All of this is not an attempt to critique a book written nearly forty years ago, but rather, to show how little the perception of Wieck/Schumann has changed since the first decade of the twentieth century, when her first biography, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben nach Tagebüchern und Briefen* by Berthold Litzmann was published. As Wieck/Schumann scholars such as Nancy Reich readily admit,

¹ Joan Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit — A Study of her Life and Work* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1983), xi.

² For Wieck/Schumann's reception as a composer in her lifetime, see Imogen Fellingner, "Clara Wieck Schumann Als Komponistin im Spiegel Zeitgenössischer Musikkritik," *Traditionen – Neuansätze* (1997): 273 – 279.

Litzmann's three-volume biography of the composer-pianist and his two-volume edition of her four-decade correspondence with Johannes Brahms have informed virtually all subsequent work on her. As a literary historian, Litzmann took a scholarly approach to his project by drawing on the sources at his disposal, but a considerable portion of that material was destroyed when his work concluded.³ Thus, some of the sources—most especially some of Wieck/Schumann's private diaries—exist only as excerpts in Litzmann's text. As a family friend, Litzmann was honored to help the Schumann children memorialize their mother in a way that harmonized the pianist and the woman, maintaining her feminine respectability while celebrating her artistic achievements. Wieck/Schumann's devotion to family and music has been fundamental to her reception ever since.

From written biographies to films and novelizations of her life, the colors vary in each new portrait of Wieck/Schumann, but beneath the layers of paint, Litzmann's outline is indelible. For instance, consider the 2012 Clara Schumann Google Doodle—the daily image featured on the search engine's webpage that frequently celebrates various cultural personages. One of the designers who worked on the graphic explains the evolution of the image from the first sketch of Wieck/Schumann (Figure 1), in which the team “focused on her as a pianist.”⁴ The sketch shows her seated at the piano with her back to the viewer. Her gown leaves

³ In *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (1985, rev. 2013; p.20) noted that the former director of the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau, Martin Schoppe asserted that the eldest Schumann child Marie ordered certain archival material such as Clara Schumann's post-1840 diaries destroyed once Litzmann had completed his research. Presumably, her attitude was that these writings were personal in nature and not intended for public consumption.

⁴ Leah Weisberg, “Clara Schumann's 193rd Birthday,” Doodle Archive, Google, last modified September 13, 2012, <https://www.google.com/doodles/clara-schumanns-193rd-birthday>.

her shoulders and upper back bare, and her hair is arranged in a spiral at the nape of her neck. The elegant image is reminiscent of the lithographs of her that circulated at the height of her fame as the virtuosa Clara Wieck.⁵



Figure 1. Early Sketch, Clara Schumann’s 193rd Birthday, Google Doodle

⁵ Scholarly tradition dictates that writers refer to their subjects by their surnames. This apparently simple practice is complicated when one deals with a female subject, not only because of the typical change between maiden and married names, but also because historically women were more likely to have their access to education and profession mediated by men who share their last names. Throughout the twentieth century, writers kept to the surname convention with male figures but referred to women—even those who were the subject of the work—by their first name alone. This is the case in works about Clara Wieck/Schumann, in which her father is “Wieck,” her husband is “Robert”, and she is simply “Clara.” The sexism of this practice should be obvious. In recent scholarship, musicologists such as Janina Klassen utilize the hyphenated surname Wieck-Schumann, while others such as Alexander Stefaniak choose to simply use her married surname; however, the issue of clearly identifying these closely related figures remains. Throughout this dissertation, I have been mindful of the naming convention I use to refer to my subject, attempting to balance my own feminist principles, accuracy, clarity, and my subject’s own wishes as she expressed them. During their engagement, Robert Schumann asked his fiancée whether she would like to retain her maiden name or hyphenate it with his own; she responded that she would be “Clara Schumann” both privately and professionally. She noted in an 1847 letter to Elise Pacher von Theinburg that this decision had always irked her father who would have preferred she at least call herself “Clara Schumann-Wieck.” With all of this in mind, I have chosen to use the full name Clara Wieck/Schumann to refer to her generally; when specifically dealing with time-specific events, I use the surname she did at the time; finally, when needing to speak of my subject alongside either her father or husband, I use first names for all parties. Thus, my use of “Clara” in this dissertation is not meant to diminish my female subject.

The Google designer explains that this early design was abandoned as it felt too “closed off” to the team, who in learning about Wieck/Schumann, discovered that she was an “amazingly open and loving person.”⁶ The team wanted to “capture both her renowned talent AND her compassion as a teacher and parent who would go to the ends of the world for her family.”⁷ In short, they decided to rely on Litzmann’s outline, centering on Clara Schumann the mother and pianist. Thus, whereas the early sketch might show Wieck/Schumann in the context of public performance, the final design (Figure 2) shifts to a domestic setting.



Figure 2. Final Product, Clara Schumann’s 193rd Birthday, Google Doodle

⁶ Leah Weisberg, “Clara Schumann,” Doodle Archive.

⁷ Emphasis in original, Leah Weisberg, “Clara Schumann,” Doodle Archive.

In this image, Schumann sits with a tranquil expression on her face—framed by softly flowing tresses in a departure from her signature strictly-parted hairstyle—as her fingers move over an enormous keyboard. The Schumann children crowd around their mother; one girl peeps out from behind with an arm draped over her mother’s collarbone, another daughter peeks over each shoulder, one son is at her elbow, and four children are seated on her lap between her arms. It is difficult to imagine the virtuosa managing to play her instrument with her movement restricted by the “little cherubs” (as the designer calls them).⁸ Thus, apparently unintentionally, the artists have illustrated a crucial tension in Schumann’s life from 1841 forward: motherhood versus career. Yet, Schumann’s serene countenance signals that she has reconciled this conflict. Hence, the Google Doodle is an iconographic representation of Wieck/Schumann’s legacy of devotion that is still central to her reception more than 100 years after the publication of Litzmann’s work.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

It bears acknowledgement that Wieck/Schumann’s reputation for dedication is grounded in tangible facts from her life. There is ample evidence that through her own professional activities, Wieck/Schumann consciously worked to secure posterity’s admiration of her father’s pedagogical methods and her husband’s compositions. Although she subordinated any personal ambition to achieve a lasting

⁸ Leah Weisberg, “Clara Schumann,” Doodle Archive.

impact with her compositions, perhaps ironically, in seeking to cement the legacies of these two men through her performance activities, Wieck/Schumann secured her own place in history as one of the most influential pianists of the nineteenth century. Even more prevalent than her legacy as a performer, however, is her enduring popular image as the devoted wife of Robert Schumann and the mother of his children.

Paradoxically, my scholarly interest in the life and work of composer and pianist Clara Wieck/Schumann was sparked by her diary entry of 25 November 1839, in which she denied her compositional ability and forfeited any claim to a place for herself in music history:

I think I will surrender to it [obscurity] with time, as indeed by and large, every performer who is not a creative artist falls into oblivion. I once believed [myself] to possess creative talent, but I have come back from this idea; a lady must not desire to compose – there are none yet who could, should I be destined for it? To believe that would be arrogance, to which only my father once misled me in earlier times, but I soon came back from these beliefs. If only Robert creates, that, at least, should always gladden me.⁹

Several key themes from Wieck/Schumann's life emerge from this single passage: concerns about legacy, her attitudes about composition and gender, her relationship with her father Friedrich Wieck as the vehicle for his ambition, and the purported consolation she found in supporting the creative goals of her romantic partner. This content-rich passage is layered with additional meaning when we consider the experience of the writer and the context in which it was written.

⁹ Clara Wieck, 25 November 1839, *Jugendtagebücher 1827-1840: Nach Den Handschriften*, Gerd Nauhaus, Nancy B. Reich, and Kristin R.M. Krahe, eds. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2019), 352. All translations in this dissertation are my own except where explicitly indicated otherwise. See Appendix A for original German texts and my translation.

From the age of five, Clara Wieck had shared her diary with her father, who would regularly assume his daughter's identity to write first-person entries. Even when Clara's hand held the pen, she often transcribed Friedrich's words. The young woman only gained control of her own journal at the age of twenty when she traveled to Paris without him. She wrote the passage above in her mother's Berlin home, where Clara had sought shelter since petitioning the courts to marry without her father's permission had made her unwelcome in her childhood home. While the ink flowed more freely from Clara's pen after nine months of independence from Friedrich, she was uncertain if and when she (and her diary) would be under his control again. Thus, as readers, we cannot be certain whether Clara's words reveal what she wanted, what she was socialized to want, or what she was socialized to express that she wanted. We also must be aware of what we as readers might anachronistically want for her. These complexities signal the need to reevaluate Wieck/Schumann's professional and artistic decisions with attention to her motivations.

Moreover, Clara Wieck's childhood diary was no mere collection of personal recollections, but rather, a document intended as a record of her education and early career. Much in the same way that Leopold Mozart's correspondence with his son was written with an eye to posterity, Friedrich Wieck began his daughter's diary with the expectation that it would be read by future generations.¹⁰ Like Romantic-

¹⁰ For more on the Mozart epistolary biography see David P. Schroeder, *Mozart in Revolt: Strategies of Resistance, Mischief, and Deception* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) and Karen Painter, "Mozart at Work: Biography and a Musical Aesthetic for the Emerging German Bourgeoisie," *The Musical Quarterly* 86, no. 1 (2002): 186-235.

era poets, whose works betray a self-consciousness about their place in literary history, musicians were also immersed in the culture of legacy that took hold in the nineteenth century.¹¹ The quest for immortality had tangible implications as musicians practiced and produced their art with an eye to their posthumous reception and the hope that their names would live on. For female musicians, such immortality was largely unattainable, for just as matrilineal heritage has been systematically erased with the preservation of male family names in each generation, women were also denied any claim to their own mark on music history. In an echo of typical family dynamics, creative women often worked to preserve the legacies of their male family members rather than securing their own.

Musicologists David Yearsley and Gese Finke have given us examples of this trend in their biographical studies of composers' wives. Yearsley details Anna Magdalena Bach's preservation of her husband's musical works in her notebooks. As the Bachs lived in the century before large-scale concern with artistic posterity, Anna Magdalena's curation efforts were less thorough than composers' wives of future generations. Nevertheless, as Yearsley explains, from the nineteenth century forward, writers have used the writings of Sebastian Bach's second wife as an avenue to humanize him and allow readers an intimate glimpse into the personality of the *unknowable genius*.¹² Whereas this picture of Anna Magdalena as legacy

¹¹ Andrew Bennett, *Romantic Poets and the Culture of Posterity*, Cambridge Studies in Romanticism (Cambridge, U.K; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹² Yearsley particularly calls attention to Esther Meynell's 1925 work of historical fiction, *Little Chronicle of Magdalena Bach*. Though Anna Magdalena is the protagonist of the novel, her *raison d'être* is providing the reader a vicarious intimacy with the lofty composer, thereby offering new perspectives on the man and his music.

keeper is a construction that reveals more about the writers' ideologies than her own, Wieck/Schumann knowingly and intentionally filled this role in her lifetime, when the concern for posterity had taken hold as a cultural value.¹³

Finke's work shows that Constanze Mozart took it upon herself as the widow of the famous composer to actively establish his legacy. In the decade following his death, she intentionally commemorated him. She promoted his music by organizing performances and worked with the publishers Breitkopf & Härtel to print his compositions. Later, she collaborated with her second husband to produce her late husband's biography. Finke also examines how Constanze Mozart helped to shape bourgeois musical memorial culture in the Romantic era, acting as an embodied tribute to her late husband for musical pilgrims seeking some connection to the departed composer. As a widow, Clara Schumann also became a living link to Robert and his music. Like Constanze, she became *the* authority on authentic performance and interpretation of Robert's music and actively worked to preserve his legacy through the publication of his letters and collected works.¹⁴ From these and many other examples, it is plain that Clara's commitment to her husband's memory was anything but unique. Though on the surface, her story is typical of the composer's widow, an investigation of her motivations for these familiar actions reveals a complex set of underlying values—both societally imposed and personal.

¹³ David Gaynor Yearsley, *Sex, Death, and Minuets: Anna Magdalena Bach and Her Musical Notebooks*, *New Material Histories of Music* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2019).

¹⁴ Gesa Finke, "Constanze Mozarts Tätigkeiten als Nachlassverwalterin im Kontext der Wissenskulturen um 1800," *Berichte Zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 37, no. 3 (2014): 201-215.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The central aim of this dissertation is to interrogate the origins and evolution of legacies of Clara Wieck/Schumann. I draw upon a body of biographies published over the span of more than a century to identify the various ways that life writers have answered the question, “Who was Clara Wieck/Schumann?” I probe these works to answer my own epistemological question: how did these biographers come to their answers?

Recording the lives of significant individuals can be traced back to at least the 26th century BC with commemorative texts of eminent royal officials in ancient Egypt.¹⁵ For centuries, biography was a subgenre within history, largely focused on the public lives of political, military, and intellectual men. In the Middle Ages, European culture was dominated by Christianity and life writing took the form of *vitae* of sacred figures including the hagiography of saints. (Einhard’s *Vita Karoli Magni* or *The Life of Charlemagne* is a rare instance of secular medieval biography, however it follows patterns of hagiography.) Renaissance Humanism brought new attention to the lives of secular individuals; a prominent example is Giorgio Vasari’s *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (1550), which presented biographic treatments of famous artists. When the Enlightenment brought increased interest in the individual in the 18th century, biography emerged as an independent genre, distinct from history.

¹⁵ For an overview of biography as literary and historical genre and discipline, see: Hermione Lee, *Biography: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

In the realm of fiction, the German *Bildungsroman* (established with Goethe's 1796 novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*) is a form of fictional biography concerned with coming of age. Conventionally, the genre focuses on the psychological, intellectual, and spiritual development of a young male protagonist, who makes a journey of discovery to find their identity and place in society. A subgenre is the *Künstlerroman*, which focuses on the artistic hero, who ultimately rejects the confines of mundane society to achieve works of great genius. Romantic biography (discussed at length in the next chapter) uses the *Künstlerroman* as a narrative model for subjects such as musicians. The contemporaneous materialization of genius as a dominant social narrative in the nineteenth century combined with the voyeurism of emergent celebrity culture, popularized biography among a general readership. The dubious quality of popular biography was exacerbated by the introduction of the biographical film or biopic, which made claims of historical accuracy while taking considerable liberties for the sake of producing an entertaining story.¹⁶

While scholars have largely viewed biography with suspicion since the early twentieth century, within the disciplines of history and literary studies there has been a change in the status of life writing within the last decade.¹⁷ This so-called

¹⁶ See: George F. Custen, *Bio/Pics: How Hollywood Constructed Public History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992); Dennis Bingham, *Whose Lives are They Anyway? The Biopic as Contemporary Film Genre* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010); Ellen Cheshire, *Bio-Pics: A Life in Pictures*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); and Christopher Robé, "Taking Hollywood Back: The Historical Costume Drama, the Biopic, and Popular Front U.S. Film Criticism," *Cinema Journal* 48, no. 2 (Winter 2009): 70–87.

¹⁷ The English writer Lytton Strachey is largely credited with establishing the tradition of debunking or demythologizing past biographies. His 1918 book *Eminent Victorians* is a work of revisionist

“biographical turn” is marked by an increased acceptance of biography as both method and material for scholarship.¹⁸ It is true that the genre of biography—most especially popular biography—is rife with potential for misrepresentation and misinformation; however, it is not without value for academic inquiry.¹⁹ The recent resurgence of biography as a legitimate methodology is linked to the trend of microhistory whereby the lives of individuals are investigated as a method to understand the context in which the subjects lived.²⁰ As a scholarly genre, evidence-bound biography has the potential to take human experience as the basis for historical interpretation, thereby complicating grand narratives through recognition of personal motivations, thoughts, and emotions; as such, it is perfectly suited for centering the experiences of traditionally marginalized figures. Additionally, in treating existing biographies as primary texts in need of critical interrogation, (as opposed to secondary sources containing factual information), researchers have the

biography in which he dismantled the nineteenth-century constructions of four figures with the intent to humanize them.

¹⁸ Hans Renders, Binne de Haan, and Jonne Harmsma, eds., *The Biographical Turn: Lives in History* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017). See also: Daniel Meister, “The Biographical Turn and the Case for Historical Biography,” *History Compass* 16, no. 1 (January 2018): e12436, <https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/hic3.12436>.

¹⁹ For example, Paul James has observed the tendency of biographers to falsely equate their subject’s public persona with their inner, private self. James recognizes that this is problematic because the public persona is already a construction resulting from the individual’s “self-biofication process.” James, “Closing Reflections: Confronting Contradictions in Biographies of Nations and Peoples,” *Humanities Research* 19, no. 1 (2013): 124.

²⁰ While the concept that individual agents influence larger historical events is not new, its earlier iteration took the form of the “great man” theory with certain geniuses born from the time and place they lived (*Zeitgeist*) and also shaping it through their superhuman contributions. For more on biography studies 21st-century adoption of methodologies from microhistory, see: Paul James, “Closing Reflections: Confronting Contradictions in Biographies of Nations and Peoples,” *Humanities Research* 19, no. 1: 121–137.

opportunity to identify the text's implicit narratives as a means to recognize their ideological underpinning. This is no less true in the case of musical biography.

New Musicology's disciplinary shift toward subjectivity and critical discourse cleared the way for interrogations of mythmaking in composer biographies as early as 2001.²¹ As demonstrated in the 2020 special issue of *19th-Century Music* focused on music and biography, there has been a recent resurgence in musicologists' interest in the material and methodologies of life writing as it relates to music and musicians.²² The biographical turn in musicology is not a rehashing of the mythmaking that came under fire within the discipline at the end of the nineteenth century—rather, music scholars are reevaluating musical biography in terms of its utility, methodology, and (most of all) its protagonists.

I supplement the secondary material of biographies with original translation and analysis of primary sources from Wieck/Schumann's life to uncover the ways in which she encountered, confronted, and counteracted the gender biases embedded in the concept of "genius." Christine Battersby establishes that since its inception in Ancient Rome as the worship of male procreativity, genius has been an explicitly male model of creativity.²³ Darrin McMahon charts the conceptual evolution of

²¹ See for example: Kristina Marta Knittel, "The Construction of Beethoven" in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 118-50; and Jolanta T. Pekacz, "Memory, History, and Meaning: Musical Biography and Its Discontents," *Journal of Musicological Research* 23 (2004): 39-80.

²² Joanne Cormac, ed. "Special Issue: Music and Biography," *19th-Century Music* 44, no. 2 (2020): 61-130.

²³ Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 4.

genius beginning with Plato's description of *furor divinus* or "divine fury"—the ecstatic state of inspiration of prophets and poets acting as vessels for the gods.²⁴ McMahon demonstrates how thinkers in each subsequent historical era revisited and revised the idea to fit their own times. Divine fury was Christianized in the Middle Ages but retained many characteristics of the Classical vessel model.²⁵ Dylan Elliott explains that medieval theologians saw the human body as a worldly anchor for the soul. When that anchor was weak, as in the case of melancholics and women, the soul was also more susceptible to invasion—divine and demonic.²⁶ A select few of those whose souls were untethered and pure were chosen by God as holy messengers. Hildegard of Bingen (1098 – 1179) claimed to be one such messenger; with the assistance of her amanuensis Volmar she composed music and wrote on subjects of theology, church reform, and medicine.²⁷ Through the vessel model, she abdicated authorship while simultaneously enjoying an authority (not unchallenged) otherwise unthinkable for a woman in the context of twelfth-century Europe.

McMahon demonstrates how the Renaissance reconnection to the Classics and led to a resurgence of the Platonic model of inspiration. At the same time, under

²⁴ Darrin McMahon, *Divine Fury: A History of Genius* (New York: Basic Books, 2013).

²⁵ McMahon, *Divine Fury*, 34.

²⁶ Dyan Elliott, "The Physiology of Rapture and Female Spirituality" in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, edited by Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis as part of series *York Studies in Medieval Theology*, (York: York Medieval Press, 1997), 149.

²⁷ See: Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1987).

the influence of Humanism, the role of the bodily humors was emphasized so that creative talent was more strongly associated with the human than the divine.

Although the fluid-based theories of physiology frequently shifted between their introduction in the writings of Hippocrates and the myriad texts on the humors that proliferated through the sixteenth century, Prudence Allen observes that they were consistently used to reinforce sex difference and maintain the subordination of women.²⁸

In the seventeenth century, the first-century text *on the Sublime*, spuriously attributed to Longinus, enjoyed a revival thanks to the 1674 French translation by Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux. Pseudo-Longinus's treatise on rhetoric celebrated writers whose works were lofty, noble, and great; far more than merely pleasing. The work gained popularity after William Smith's 1739 translation. It subsequently influenced Enlightenment writers such as Burke, and Kant, who reinforced the connection between the Sublime and creativity. These philosophers expanded the concept of the Sublime—firmly linking it with masculine traits of immensity, power, and strength. They contrasted the Sublime with the Beautiful, a feminine opposite: characterized by the small, delicate, and ornamental.²⁹ Battersby notes that this gendered dichotomy between the Sublime and the Beautiful was merely a new rendition of the gendered rhetoric of creativity that had continued for ages, reaching its pinnacle in the nineteenth century:

²⁸ Prudence Allen, *The Concept of Woman: The Aristotelian Revolution 750BC - AD 1250* (London: Eden Press, 1985).

²⁹ See: Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin or Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London, 1757); and Immanuel Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement* (Prussia, 1790).

The nineteenth-century rhetoric of genius fed upon (and gave new life to) an earlier tradition of writing about sex difference that condemned women to cultural and biological inferiority. The genius view of art acted as a deterrent to female ambition in the arts, and in some ways even caused a deterioration in the position of creative women.³⁰

Clara Wieck/Schumann was one such creative woman. Thus, genius and gender were fundamental to the fabric of her identity as a woman and an artist.

Through the prism of contemporaneous and modern gender ideologies, I revisit known archival material with fresh eyes to reveal how Wieck/Schumann negotiated her own creativity in conflict with societally imposed gender roles of her time. I consult the broadly studied primary sources of the Schumann marriage diaries (*Ehetagebücher*) and the couple's collected correspondence (*Briefwechsel*).³¹ I also draw from Clara Wieck's youth diaries (*Jugendtagebücher*), published for the first time in 2019 and as yet untranslated.

In working with Wieck/Schumann's extant diaries, I had to consider the problematic nature of these key primary sources. Though on the surface, the *Jugendtagebücher* and *Ehetagebücher* would seem to be personal records of her life, each was initiated by and written in tandem with a male authority figure with an eye to posterity and eventual public readership. Particularly in Chapter III, I examine the ways in which Friedrich Wieck utilized the *Jugendtagebücher* to shape

³⁰ Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, 5.

³¹ While I provide my own translations to a number of German sources throughout the dissertation, both the *Ehetagebücher* and *Briefwechsel* are available in reliable English translations: Clara Schumann and Robert Schumann, edited by Gerd Nauhaus, translated with preface by Peter Ostwald, *The Marriage Diaries of Robert & Clara Schumann: From Their Wedding Day through the Russia Trip* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993); Clara Schumann and Robert Schumann, *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, critical edition, Eva Weissweiler, ed., Hildegard Fritsch and Ronald L. Crawford, trans. (New York: P. Lang, 1994).

his daughter's opinions and assumed her identity to claim her accomplishments and record his own pedagogical triumphs. Moreover, Clara's writings in the *Ehetagebücher*, though more intimate than the earlier diaries, show her consciousness of Robert as co-author and reader. She was also aware that he originated the project with the aim of recording their relationship and experiences for posterity. It is not insignificant that the only personal diary that Wieck/Schumann ever kept is no longer extant, having been destroyed at the hands of the Schumann children upon completion of Litzmann's research.

Though the Litzmann biography—the first of many monographs on Wieck/Schumann's life—was published in English editions shortly after its release, the translator took considerable liberty with the language and the three-volume German work is heavily abridged to only two volumes. Rather than rely on the available translation, I have chosen to work from the original German edition. The aforementioned material, as well as Nazi-era media concerning Wieck/Schumann and secondary writings from influential German musicologists, constitutes a body of never-before-translated German sources. My dissertation therefore includes my original translations of excerpts from these sources in Appendices A and B. In bringing these underutilized texts into dialogue with new readings of canonic sources in English-language Wieck/Schumann scholarship, this project unearths the root of the familiar narratives that have shaped our view of this musician.

My work engages in the discourse of feminist biography.³² Building upon the work of Marian Wilson Kimber, I take a new approach to Wieck/Schumann's biography beyond the narratives of female suppression typical to studies of women composers.³³ I choose not to linger on the barriers that Wieck/Schumann encountered because of her gender, lamenting the career she might have had "if only." Instead, I take the stance that while these obstacles resulted in twists and turns, detours, and sojourns along her career path; they are a valid and inseparable part of her professional journey. I acknowledge Wieck/Schumann's agency in living her own life, even as I recognize the external pressures from her relationships and society that influenced her decisions. The truth of an individual's life (most especially their inner life) is fundamentally unknowable in its entirety; therefore, throughout this dissertation, I endeavor to bring contradictions to the surface rather than harmonize them for the sake of narrative effect. Released from the premise that my research should uncover some theoretical singular truth of

³² For a discussion of feminist methodology in researching and writing about women's lives, see: Suzanne Robinson, "Heroines and Their 'Moments of Folly': Reflections on Writing the Biography of a Woman Composer," *Australian Journal of Biography and History* 3 (2020): 21-38; Judy Long, ed., *Telling Women's Lives: Subject/Narrator/Reader/Text* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Mary Maynard and June Purvis, eds., *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective* (London: Routledge, 1994); Teresa Iles, ed., *All Sides of the Subject: Women and Biography* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1992); and Liz Stanley, *The Auto/biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/biography* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1992).

³³ Marian Wilson Kimber, "The 'Suppression' of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography," *19th-Century Music* 26, no. 2 (2002): 113-29. For discourse on the traditions of life writing with female subjects, see: *Feminist Biography and Feminist History*, vol. 3 (London: Routledge, 2016); James Deaville, "This is (Y)Our Life: (Re)Writing Women's Autobiographies in Music in Nineteenth-Century Germany," in *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms*, Jolanta Pekacz, ed. (London: Routledge, 2017): 135-158; Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres, "Self-Conscious Histories: Biographies of German Women in the Nineteenth Century," in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History*, edited by John C. Fout (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984): 172-196.

Wieck/Schumann's identity, I am able to contrast the reality of her multifaceted personality with the myriad unidimensional constructions of her.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CONTRIBUTION TO DISCOURSE

Even in the wake of the reconsideration of notions such as canon and work-concept, it has been thirty years since musicologists have devoted significant attention to the intersections of genius, musical composition, and gender. Marcia Citron's landmark book *Gender and the Musical Canon* scrutinizes the myriad external obstacles that women composers and performers faced.³⁴ With Citron's work as a foundation, my dissertation considers how women such as Wieck/Schumann internalized restrictive societal attitudes about gender and creativity with tangible implications for their careers in music beyond limitations of institutional access.

Wieck/Schumann's own legacy has evolved over time with her uninterrupted presence as a cultural figure in Western society.³⁵ Even so, no scholar has yet considered how our modern reception of Wieck/Schumann and her music has been shaped by the various accounts of her life and the values reflected in the authors' editorial decisions from Litzmann through Reich and beyond. An extension of the devotion trope, Wieck/Schumann's role as legacy keeper is among the most

³⁴ Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

³⁵ For a discussion of the representation of Clara Wieck/Schumann and Robert Schumann in two early-twenty-first century biographical novels, see David Ferris, "The Afterlives of the Schumanns," in *Rethinking Schumann*, Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 357-94.

consistent narratives surrounding her. Roe-Min Kok suggests that this element of Wieck/Schumann's life can be best understood in relation to the Androgyne principle, a Romantic-era marriage ideal in which the partners became integrated emotionally, physically, and intellectually to spiritually merge into one complete being.³⁶ Yet, musicologists have yet to examine how Wieck/Schumann's work to memorialize the important men in her life related to her own attitudes about legacy that her father Friedrich Wieck instilled in her during her childhood.

As a performer, Wieck/Schumann is often described as a priestess: a performer who embodies the artistic values of the vessel or interpretive virtuoso. Mary Hunter traces the development of this nineteenth-century aesthetic ideal that requires the performer to be "simultaneously transparent to the work and vividly present to the audience," acting as a mediator between creator and listener.³⁷ Bruce Haynes calls this type of virtuoso the "transparent performer" and explains that musicians like Wieck/Schumann were imagined to become vessels through self-abnegation; in performance, they were thought to act as direct conduits for the emotions of the composer so that the audience might be made to feel and understand.³⁸ Schumann's priestess persona is intertwined with her parallel persona of legacy keeper; yet Amanda Lalonde considers it extension of the

³⁶ Roe-Min Kok, "Clara: Robert's Posthumous Androgyne," in *Clara Schumann Studies* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 223-245.

³⁷ Mary Hunter, "'To Play as if from the Soul of the Composer': The Idea of the Performer in Early Romantic Aesthetics," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58, no. 2 (2005):362.

³⁸ Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 178.

prophetess persona Clara Wieck employed in her career prior to her marriage.³⁹

Alexander Stefaniak also explores how Clara Schumann used the priestess persona to further the aesthetic values of musical interiority and seriousness held by Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms, Eduard Hanslick, and others of the so-called conservative circle in the War of the Romantics.⁴⁰ More recently, Stefaniak considers how Wieck/Schumann deliberately reinvented herself as a pianist as she traversed stages of domestic circumstances which largely defined her personal identity: from girl and daughter, to young unmarried woman, to wife and mother, and finally to widow and grandmother.⁴¹

³⁹ Amanda Lalonde, "The Young Prophetess in Performance," in *Clara Schumann Studies*, Joe Davies, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 187 – 201.

⁴⁰ For more on this topic, see Alexander Stefaniak's works: *Schumann's Virtuosity: Criticism, Composition, and Performance in Nineteenth-century Germany*, (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2016); "Clara Schumann's Interiorities and the Cutting Edge of Popular Pianism," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 70, no. 3 (Fall 2017): 697-765; "Robert Schumann, Serious Virtuosity, and the Rhetoric of the Sublime," *The Journal of Musicology* 33, no. 4 (Fall 2016): 433-482; and "Clara Schumann and the Imagined Revelation of Musical Works," *Music & Letters* 99, no. 2 (2018): 194–223. See also: Amanda Lalonde, "The Young Prophetess in Performance," in *Clara Schumann Studies* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 187–20; David Ferris, "Public Performance and Private Understanding: Clara Wieck's Concerts in Berlin," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 2 (2003): 351–408. For an in-depth analysis of how Wieck/Schumann's performance programming shifted over her career, see: Reinhard Kopiez, Andreas C. Lehmann, and Janina Klassen, "Clara Schumann's Collection of Playbills: A Historiometric Analysis of Life-span Development, Mobility, and Repertoire Canonization," *Poetics* 37, no. 1 (2009): 50-73.

⁴¹ Alexander Stefaniak, *Becoming Clara Schumann: Performance Strategies and Aesthetics in the Culture of the Musical Canon* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2021). For a broader discussion of the critical treatment professional female pianists, see Katharine Ellis, "Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50 no. 2 (Summer – Autumn, 1997): 353-385. Additional studies of Clara Wieck/Schumann as virtuosa include: Eckart Altenmüller and Reinhard Kopiez, "Suffering for her Art: The Chronic Pain Syndrome of Pianist Clara Wieck-Schumann," in *Neurological Disorders in Famous Artists: Part 3*, vol. 27, edited by Julien Bogousslavsky (Basel: Karger, 2010): 101-118; Claudia de Vries, "Virtuosität, Bravour und Poetik des Ausdrucks: Die Improvisatorin Clara Schumann-Wieck," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 20 (1996): 115-22; and Claire Flynn, "The Creative Art of Clara Schumann (1819-1896)," (Master's Thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 1991); April L. Prince, "The Technological Priestess: The Piano Recital, Photography, and Clara Schumann," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* (2023), 1 – 34.

Each of these shifts in Wieck/Schumann's identity necessitated an adjustment in her approach to her musical activities—from her selection of repertoire and concert attire to publication of her compositions—to maintain the balance between her artistic endeavors and expectations of female respectability. My dissertation considers how constant awareness of Wieck/Schumann's status as a woman mediated her artistic and professional decisions, and also influenced her rationalization of those decisions. I aim to discover how Wieck/Schumann reconciled her musical activities—composition above all—with her gender identity and what ramifications those choices had for her long-term access to creative work. In contrast with the momentary crises of confidence that plagued her closest male colleagues (Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms, and Franz Liszt), observable patterns in Wieck/Schumann's attitude towards her own creativity amounted to crises of identity born of her gender.

To be clear, though I might personally wish that more musical works by Wieck/Schumann were written, preserved, published, and performed, I do not wish to put words in my subject's mouth. It would be anachronistic to lament her limited compositional oeuvre, dwelling on the circumstances of her oppression at the hands of the patriarchy and its agents. It is an ethical problem for the subfield of feminist musicology that in highlighting the experiences and contributions of historical women, we have a tendency to construct heroines. With this in mind, I have endeavored to keep Wieck/Schumann's social context in sight and to maintain respect for her agency even as I explore her motivations.

OVERVIEW OF STRUCTURE

In each chapter, I examine the development of Wieck/Schumann images in (or through) a given genre: traditional biography, psychobiography, biographic film, and biographically informed musical analysis. In keeping with the “biographical turn” within the fields of history and literary studies in recent years, my work breaks with the academic tradition of debunking and discrediting biographic writing. Instead, these texts allow me the opportunity to interrogate the metanarratives of gender and genius that have persisted in the interwoven cultures of music scholarship and performance since the nineteenth century. My critical investigation of Wieck/Schumann depictions in these various biographic sub-genres is intended to serve as a case study to demonstrate how biography propagates such latent Romantic ideals as genius with concrete implications for the reception of musically creative women.

In Chapter II, “From Idealized Femininity to Feminist Ideologies: A Historiographic View of Clara Wieck/Schumann Biographies,” I argue that each of the composer’s most prominent twentieth-century biographers evoke her as an exemplar of womanhood (both uncommonly successful as a female performing artist and simultaneously conventional in her family roles) to further their own agenda, whether traditionalist or (post)feminist. In this chapter, I situate each of these biographic texts with regard to the genre of Romantic biography and the timeline of Western feminist thought spanning from first wave feminism of the suffrage era through the multiple intersectional (post)feminisms of our current century. Through this lens, I analyze these texts’ treatment of two core episodes

from Wieck/Schumann's life to reveal how each of the authors presents (or rejects) their subject as a prescriptive archetype in relation to the gender expectations of their own time.

I offer my own contribution to Wieck/Schumann biography in Chapter III, "Friedrich's Magnum Opus: Clara Wieck/Schumann and the Héloïse Complex." In contrast with the biographies presented in the previous chapter, I advocate for a practice of life writing that centers and privileges the subject's own words with careful contextualization of the social and institutional power dynamics at play in her immediate context, most especially her personal and professional relationships. I engage in close reading with the writings of both Wiecks, including the recently published *Jugendtagebücher*, to support the central argument that Clara Wieck/Schumann's relationship with her teacher and father Friedrich Wieck simultaneously contributed to her internalization of the idea that women must not compose, while also providing her with a set of strategies for justifying her defiance of this truism. I demonstrate that the dynamics of their relationship are characteristic of the Héloïse complex.⁴² Philosopher Michèle Le Dœuff introduced this phenomenon in 1977 to explain how women—historically cut off from institutional learning—have accessed philosophical knowledge through romantic relationships with their mentors. Because of the dual nature of these bonds, these women conflate knowledge with love, ultimately sacrificing their own creative goals

⁴² Rather than rely on the available translation, I have chosen to work from the original German edition. Additionally, I draw a significant portion of my research from never-before-translated German sources such as the *Jugendtagebücher* and Eva Weissweiler's *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*. My dissertation includes an appendix with my original translations of excerpts from these sources.

in service to the men whom they have come to venerate. I conclude that after marriage, Clara Schumann mapped this pattern onto her relationship with Robert Schumann, placing him in the role of beloved teacher formerly occupied by her father. The familiar rhythms of the Héloïse complex provided Clara Schumann with a means to frame her musical endeavors as acts of love for her husband, thereby reconciling the conflict with the societal expectations that women remain in the private sphere.

Chapter IV, “Eva Weissweiler and the Hidden Nazi Legacy of Clara Wieck/Schumann,” examines portrayals of Wieck/Schumann in the media of the Third Reich, especially the 1944 film *Träumerei*, to demonstrate the extent to which she was held up as a personification of National Socialist values. Wieck/Schumann’s well-known dual existence within the private and public spheres of society made her an aspirational model of the Teutonic feminine ideal in the archetype of *Frau und Mutter* (wife and mother). These materials both idolize Clara as a mother and intensify Litzmann’s framing of her professional activities—otherwise antagonistic to Nazi gender ideology—as the loving service of a devoted wife to her genius husband. I bring these Third-Reich-era sources into dialogue with Eva Weissweiler’s *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, in which the author consistently denigrates the character of Wieck/Schumann. While the biography makes no mention of Wieck/Schumann’s reception in the Third Reich, Weissweiler’s narrative seemingly argues against the propagandistic Nazi image of Wieck/Schumann. I demonstrate that Weissweiler’s text can be read as an attempt to delegitimize the symbolic power of Wieck/Schumann as an icon the gender values of the Third Reich.

The final chapter of this dissertation is entitled “Revealing Revisions: Gendered Reception of Clara Schumann’s Lieder.” In this chapter, I engage in comparative analysis of the initial versions of Schumann’s Lieder that she (and/or her husband) then revised for publication. I observe that while a considerable portion of the emendations in these songs are subjective improvements to Schumann’s text setting, others appear to be intended to subdue moments of musical idiosyncrasy, even to the detriment of poetic expression. I provide a comparative analysis of the unpublished and published version of one Schumann song to shed light on the composer’s broader tendency to diminish the originality of her Lieder in preparation for publication. I interrogate the treatment of this song in analytical texts in terms of the bifurcated gendered expectations of autobiographical revelation via the intimate genre of Lieder. In this way, I consider critical and analytical writing about music as a form of life writing.

In reflecting upon the biography, legacy, and reception of Clara Wieck/Schumann through multiple lenses of feminist criticism, my dissertation provides a framework to revisit the biographies of numerous female composers. It is impossible to reach any definitive or objective truth in biography; even autobiographies are life *stories* with plots and characters. Nevertheless, it is possible to find more truth within these stories when they are firmly grounded in evidence. Thus, in my view, effective biography comes from close reading of primary material such as diaries and correspondence, with these sources made as transparent as possible to the reader. This methodology necessitates increased focus on the private sphere, which constrained nineteenth-century women but also afforded them a

certain degree of autonomy within their own space. Such a reconsideration may reveal how each of these women negotiated their musical endeavors vis-à-vis gender to justify their work to male authority figures and themselves. In analyzing Wieck/Schumann's strategies to navigate her gender in pursuit of her artistic and professional goals, my dissertation suggests alternative approaches to studying the lives of women musicians, thereby opening new directions for feminist biography in the field of musicology.

CHAPTER II

FROM IDEALIZED FEMININITY TO FEMINIST IDEOLOGIES: A HISTORIOGRAPHIC VIEW OF CLARA WIECK/SCHUMANN BIOGRAPHIES

While by no means unique, Clara Wieck/Schumann's dual existence as a woman operating in the public and private spheres of nineteenth-century European society is an exceptionally prominent feature of the various accounts of her life written in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Without exception, Wieck/Schumann's biographers have framed the tension between her career ambitions and her duties as a wife and mother as the central conflict of her life.¹ The way in which each author presents this conflict, Wieck/Schumann's purported feelings about it, and its resolution (or lack thereof) is a function of the biographer's proximity to Romantic biography as the prevailing genre and their own temporal and political positionality relative to feminist thought in Western culture.

In this chapter, I argue that each of Wieck/Schumann's most prominent biographers evoke her as an exemplar of womanhood, both uncommonly successful as a female performing artist and simultaneously conventional in her family roles. In doing so, these authors further their own agenda, whether traditionalist or (anti/post)feminist.² In this chapter, I situate these biographic texts within two

¹ Wieck/Schumann's negotiation of these competing priorities is the topic of the Chapter III of this dissertation.

² Eva Weissweiler is a notable exception as she does not present an idealized version of Wieck/Schumann; Chapter IV deals at length with Weissweiler's approach and underlying arguments. Later in this chapter, I position Weissweiler alongside fellow Wieck/Schumann biographers.

distinct frameworks: the paradigms of Romantic biography and the timeline of Western feminist thought up through the multiple intersectional (post)feminisms of our current century. Through this lens, I analyze these texts' treatment of two core episodes from Wieck/Schumann's life to reveal how author presents (or rejects) their subject as a prescriptive archetype in relation to the gender expectations of their own time. I find that the extent to which each text conforms with the conventions of Romantic biography or introduces new narratives with regard to gender is a function of the author's access to the published and archival material.

Tracing the historiography of Wieck/Schumann's biographies lets us better understand the evolving social values at work in each biographer's time with regard to women as composers and performers. This historiographical approach offers an intervention in biography's social conservatism, obviously of import in considering historically marginalized subjects such as women. Within the literary genre of biography, the narrative arc of the subject's life story takes shape through the selection of biographic episodes. As the body of biographic literature on an individual grows, these biographic episodes codify into a sort of canon. The reason each episode is considered worthy of inclusion in the first place is rooted in the values of the biographer who adds them, yet the subsequent reinforcement of these episodes in later biographies is also a matter of tradition. In this way, biographies are fertile ground for the propagation of conservative and even retrospective social ideas as the canon of episodes transmits social values beyond their historical moment of origination.

This phenomenon is exemplified in the framing of the joint musical studies of Clara and Robert during their marriage throughout the various twentieth- and twenty-first-century biographies of Wieck/Schumann. As I discuss later in this chapter, the fact that her first biographer, Berthold Litzmann, includes this biographic episode has deeper significance as a means to reinforce gender-specific social values of *Bildung* (i.e., the German practice of self-cultivation, edification, and moral betterment). Later biographers carry the core elements of Litzmann's narrative forward in presenting this episode from Clara's life without necessarily intending to carry forward the association with *Bildung*, but the value remains nonetheless.³

THE LONG SHADOW OF ROMANTIC BIOGRAPHY

Within the genre of biography as a whole, there is an expectation that the protagonist is somehow worthy of having their life story recorded.⁴ Biographers, particularly those from literary tradition of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have traditionally selected "great" men as subjects because of their individual accomplishments and/or the significant role they played in historical events (narrowly construed), often with the idea that they are worthy of admiration

³ Romantic biography has obvious ties to the Romantic literary genre of the *Bildungsroman*, in which a (typically male) protagonist finds themselves and their place in the world through tribulations that develop them psychologically and morally. Echoes of this genre are evident in coming-of-age narratives of young-adult literature such as the Harry Potter novel series by J.K. Rowling.

⁴ Of course, this is less true in the case of the unauthorized biographies of recent decades, which tend to include controversial or unflattering material about their subjects. Such "tell-all" books are also present within the realm of autobiography and memoir, particularly in the post-2016 US political climate.

or even emulation on the part of the readers. With musical biographies, “great” men are typically canonic composers whose significance is established through a set of genius tropes. Christopher Wiley classifies the tropes, or paradigms as he names them, that are ubiquitous in the *Master Musician Series* of biographies (1899–1906). These tropes are also characteristic of Romantic musical biography broadly speaking, which is not so much a category of temporal origination in the nineteenth century as it is an approach to life writing that carries forward the ideals of that era.⁵

Wiley argues that biography in the latter part of the nineteenth century tended towards hagiography or hero worship, and that such series as these sought to codify a single, closed canon of musical genius.⁶ Even in the Protestant context of English and German authors, use of the word *canon* to describe an authoritative list of master composers—the cult of genius—carries echoes of Roman Catholic *veneratio*. Like hagiography, composer biographies in this vein are not meant to be comprehensive chronicles of an individual’s life or even psychological studies. Rather, like the *vitas* of medieval saints, Romantic biographies are a collection of formulaic snapshots meant to provide evidence of the worthiness of the protagonist for veneration.⁷

⁵ Christopher Wiley, “A Relic of an Age Still Capable of a Romantic Outlook’: Musical Biography and the Master Musician Series, 1899-1906,” *Comparative Criticism* 25 (2003): 161-202.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁷ See “The Canonization of Cultural Saints: A Dynamic Model,” in Marijan Dović and Jón Karl Helgason, *National Poets, Cultural Saints: Canonization and Commemorative Cults of Writers in Europe*, National Cultivation of Culture 12, (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 71-98.

Wiley observes the following persistent paradigms within Romantic biography: (1) genius in ancestry and childhood precocity; (2) industrious study as the path to genius; (3) strength through suffering; (4) the woman as muse in love and/or marital relationships; (5) death as apotheosis and the physical cost of artistic creation; (6) the muse as harbinger of or contributor to the composer's death; and (7) lived Christian moral values regardless of religious beliefs or practice. While Wiley acknowledges that women obviously feature in the fourth and sixth paradigms, he explicitly states that women composers are not admitted to or recognized within the canon.⁸ On these grounds, Wiley observes that musical biography has been complicit in the "historical effacement" of women composers, "denying them the possibility of artistic creation, while simultaneously linking them inextricably to such activities undertaken by their associated male geniuses" through the archetype of the muse.⁹ The logical conclusion is that Romantic biographies on female subjects (even those written in the nineteenth century) do not operate according to the formula that Wiley has observed. Contrary to Wiley's claim, I argue that these paradigms of Romantic biography are not entirely absent from works on female subjects, but as these tropes are fundamental to the genre, biographers must adapt or translate these patterns in writing the lives of canon-adjacent women such as Wieck/Schumann.

⁸ Marcia Citron's work *Gender and the Musical Canon* explores the underlying reasons this has been the rule.

⁹ Wiley, "A Relic of an Age Still Capable of a Romantic Outlook," 163.

As expected, Wieck/Schumann’s biographers often avoid the tropes that would align their female subject with the genius archetype; for example, unlike male subjects, there is no suggestion that she is self-taught, but rather a heavy emphasis on her study with her father and husband, as well as her need for on-going instruction. Likewise, though the topics of love and marriage are ubiquitous in these biographies, the gender roles are never reversed to present Robert as Clara’s muse. Furthermore, domesticity is an obstacle to her creativity while it is an enhancement to his.

Curiously, there are some elements of the genius narratives of Romantic biography that are present for Wieck/Schumann as a subject across this body of literature. These include the emphasis on early musical ability (characteristic of paradigm 1—childhood precocity), her late speech development as an apparent physical lack to balance her God-given musicality (an element of paradigm 5—the physical cost of creativity), and especially, her diligence in practice and study and her insistence on the highest standards for her own musical performances (fundamentals of paradigm 2—industrious study). Table 1 shows the paradigms of Romantic biography that are regular features of the two biographic episodes under consideration in this chapter.

Table 1: Paradigms of Romantic Biography in Two Biographical Episodes

PARADIGMS	Episode 1: Joint Studies	Episode 2: Russian Tour
2: Industrious study	●	
3: Strength through suffering	●	●
4: Love and marriage	●	●
5: Death as apotheosis		●
6: Death and the Maiden		●

The most consistently present of these paradigms in Wieck/Schumann's biographies is the third: strength through suffering. However, this narrative of endurance through hardship and tragedy, virtually omnipresent in Wieck/Schumann's life, has less to do with genius archetypes than it does with nineteenth-century social expectations regarding emotional expression. In contrast to the outward expression granted to the Romantic man, women were expected to turn their feelings inward, to suffer in silence.¹⁰ In musical terms, we might contrast two examples from Robert Schumann's Lieder.¹¹ For instance, juxtapose the quiet feminine pain of the final Lied of the song cycle *Frauenliebe und -leben* versus the shades of grief—most poignantly anger—expressed by the male voice in the *Dichterliebe* cycle.¹² Thus, Litzmann's emphasis on Clara's stoicism is evidence, not of genius, but of her ideal femininity. Though the norms for feminine emotional expression shifted significantly in the decades to come, subsequent biographers nevertheless carried forward the Romantic idea of silent endurance as a feminine virtue because it was already embedded in the canonical representation of Wieck/Schumann's personality as Litzmann established it.

¹⁰ Sharon Krebs and Harald Krebs describe this dichotomy in relation to Josephine Lang's song *Scheiden* (op. 43), in which the composer gives gender-dependent dynamic instructions: male singers should sing with "full power and bitterness" while women are to sing the phrase "in the most refined piano" in alignment with accepted gender performances of emotional pain. Sharon Krebs and Harald Krebs, *Josephine Lang: Her Life and Songs*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 216.

¹¹ I am aware of the irony in referencing his compositions in a dissertation focused on Wieck/Schumann, but the examples are chosen merely for illustrative utility.

¹² This is not to say that the quality of *Innerlichkeit* is inaccessible to men. There are numerous examples of masculine interiority and quiet melancholy in the Lieder of Robert Schumann and Franz Schubert. Rather, like many prescriptive gender essentialisms, men (particularly artists) are imagined to contain both the masculine and feminine within themselves, making geniuses *more* than just men.

Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres observes that biographers writing before and during the long nineteenth century ordinarily only chose female subjects with royal heritage or perhaps exceptional physical beauty, barring these qualities, women with famous spouses or male relatives could also be deemed worthy of remembrance.¹³ Wieck/Schumann was neither of noble birth nor renowned for her physical appearance; on the other hand, her associations with a remarkable number of famous men within the realms of music and literature (not to mention members of the aristocracy and royal families) would seemingly make her a prime candidate for remembrance according to the second category of female biographic subjects. Although there is a great deal of namedropping at play in the biographies of Wieck/Schumann (particularly by her first biographer), most of her biographers mention the various eminent men (and very occasionally women) with whom she interacted as a means to signal Wieck/Schumann's importance to the reader. This is in contrast to biographies of the singer-composer Pauline García/Viardot, for example, who is treated not so much a protagonist of her own life story as a convenient means to organize a social history of mid-nineteenth-century Paris vis-à-vis the various famous men of music and literature with whom she was connected.¹⁴

While García/Viardot and Wieck/Schumann were both women who composed and attained international fame as virtuoso performers, their respective

¹³ Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres, "Self-Conscious Histories: Biographies of German Women in the Nineteenth Century," in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History*, edited by John C. Fout (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984), 175.

¹⁴ See as examples: Michael Steen, *Enchantress of Nations: Pauline Viardot—Soprano, Muse and Lover*, (Thriplow: Icon, 2007); Barbara Kendall-Davies, *The Life and Work of Pauline Viardot Garcia*, 2 vols. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).

biographies present them quite differently. In contrast, García/Viardot's work as a composer is little more than a footnote. Wieck/Schumann's creative endeavors are a crucial part of the fabric of conflict between her own ambitions and her—according to several biographers—"greater calling" as Robert's muse. Her avocation to serve as her husband's amanuensis and interpreter is narratively similar to the calling of "genius" composers to write music; this may begin to explain why the genius tropes, as they are identified by Wiley, emerge in various forms within her biographies. As I demonstrate later in this chapter, the specific paradigms, the figure to whom they are applied, and the means of subversion or transformation of the trope differs with each biographer and their individual narrative approach.

Litzmann, Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben

Berthold Litzmann (1857–1926) was a prolific literary scholar whose research focused on the works of Romantics like Goethe and Schiller, and honorary Romantics such as Shakespeare. Though too young to have been personally acquainted with the Schumanns, his parents had been friends with both Robert and Clara. As such, Litzmann was regarded as a family friend by the Schumann children.¹⁵ Litzmann was attracted to the project by his own long-standing admiration for Wieck/Schumann, stemming from his parents, who had regularly extolled the "wonderful charm of her personality" since he was a child. While biographers frequently muse about their connection to, or interest in their subjects,

¹⁵ Litzmann, Preface to the first edition (1902), *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, vol. I: V.

Litzmann offers readers an apology as well. He opens the preface to the first edition of *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben nach Tagebüchern und Briefen* (1902) with the acknowledgement that his readers are owed an explanation for the fact that a literary historian such as himself—rather than a musician—has penned the biography of so eminent a musical figure as Wieck/Schumann.¹⁶ Instead of musical knowledge or personal acquaintance with the subject as the basis for his involvement, Litzmann establishes his authority as the biographer chosen by the Schumann children.

Shortly after Clara Schumann's death in 1896, the eldest Schumann daughter, Marie, asked Litzmann to author her mother's biography. Despite his interest in the subject, Litzmann initially refused the project, believing that he lacked the requisite musical knowledge to do it properly.¹⁷ Marie demonstrated that regard for her mother was the chief criterion for choosing the author when, the following year, she enlisted the photographer Julius Allgeyer (1829 – 1900) to complete her mother's biography. Though not a musician, Allgeyer had been friends with Clara Schumann (and even closer with Johannes Brahms) since the mid-1850s.¹⁸ To further recommend him, Schumann had recorded her own esteem for him in her diary entry of September 16, 1866 (following his visit to Baden-Baden for her birthday): "Mr.

¹⁶ Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann, Ein Künstlerleben nach Tagebüchern und Briefen*. 3 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902-08).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Theresa Schlegel, Thomas Henninger, trans., "Julius Allgeyer - Schumann-Portal," [online, 2020] Schumann-portal.de, available at: <<https://www.schumann-portal.de/julius-allgeyer.html>> (Accessed 16 June 2021).

Allgeyer [is] a dear, highly educated man, whose every word bespeaks his stalwart disposition and delicate sensibility [...]”¹⁹ Furthermore, Schumann placed her confidence in Allgeyer to assist her in preparing a selection of her husband’s and father’s letters for publication.²⁰

Before his death in September 1900, Allgeyer had completed a manuscript that covered most of the first two decades of his friend’s life: her time as “Clara Wieck.” Marie asked for Litzmann’s help once more, requesting that he edit Allgeyer’s manuscript and write the final chapter for the volume to be published in the late author’s name. Upon beginning his work in 1901, however, Litzmann found that Allgeyer’s manuscript needed significant alteration, and his revisions essentially rendered it a new work. Litzmann therefore, apparently unwittingly, transformed from editor to author.

While Litzmann refers obliquely to stylistic differences arising from differences in personality between the two authors, he notes that the most substantial divergence was that he had relied far more than Allgeyer had upon the diaries and other primary documents at his disposal, more strictly reproducing the words of Clara Schumann, et al.²¹ Whereas Litzmann meticulously draws upon these materials to provide the three volumes with rich detail, he explains in the preface

¹⁹ "Herr Allgeyer, ein lieber, äußerst gebildeter Mensch, dessen Gesinnungstücht sowie das feine Empfindungsvermögen aus jedem Worte spricht [...]" Clara Schumann, Diary entry, 16 September 1866, reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, vol. III: 195.

²⁰ Schlegel, "Julius Allgeyer - Schumann-Portal."

²¹ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, vol. I: VII.

that his primary aim for the work is to “illustrate the inner life of this woman.”²² To modern readers, that may sound like an intimate profile in the vein of psychobiography, yet, a glimpse at the joy and pain, triumphs and failures of the “real” Clara is not Litzmann’s goal. Rather, he discloses that all those involved in bringing the biography to fruition were united in the “unanimous opinion” that a portrait of Wieck/Schumann should provide the readers a complete picture of “the qualities of her heart and character” as it is the only way to explain Wieck/Schumann’s enduring and unique position as the musical “queen in the German artistic life of the [nineteenth] century.”²³ Arguably then, she would never have been so accepted in her public life had she not been so unassailable in her private life.

Litzmann’s task, as he saw it, was to reconcile the public persona of Wieck/Schumann, the celebrated virtuosa, with the private, domestic existence she was expected to prize. The Schumann children’s intention that their mother be remembered as a respectable woman was more poignant in the years after her death when the women’s movement had gained considerable ground in Germany. First wave feminism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was generally concerned with women gaining equal access to institutions. Whereas women in other countries were primarily driven by access to political and economic

²² Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, vol. I: VII.

²³ *Ibid.*, VII – VIII.

equality, access to education and personal development (i.e., *Bildung*) was the central issue of the women's movement in Germany.²⁴

The concept of *Bildung*, most explicitly developed by the philosopher Hegel, is a core traditional value of modern German society that underlies such structures as the pedagogical foundations of the German educational system and class-based social practices around work and leisure activities. The *Bildungsbürgertum* (equivalent to the French *haute bourgeoisie*) that emerged as a social class around the mid-eighteenth century was defined not just by income, but also by strongly held values of education modeled on the liberal arts of classical antiquity, collectively called *Bildung*. The *Kleinbürgertum* (or *petite bourgeoisie*), to which the Wiecks and Schumanns belonged, though limited by their everyday economic conditions, aspired to the values of the *Bildungsbürgertum* (e.g. the Mendelssohns). Gender was an additional impediment in the pursuit of *Bildung*, since the practice of edification, self-cultivation, and self-actualization was solely intended for young men.²⁵ Wilhelm von Humboldt translated *Bildung* from philosophical terms to indicate quotidian social application, defining it according to two components: the civic and interior. Humboldt's interest in *Bildung* is an extension of his concern with

²⁴ For more on the centrality of *Bildung* in the German women's movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see: Laura Tate, "The Culture of Literary *Bildung* in the Bourgeois Women's Movement in Imperial Germany," *German Studies Review* 24, no. 2 (2001): 267–81. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1433476>.

²⁵ For an extended discussion of this topic, see: Cauleen Gary, "*Bildung* and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Bourgeois Germany: A Cultural Studies Analysis of Texts by Women Writers," PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2008, in Digital Repository at the University of Maryland (DRUM), <http://hdl.handle.net/1903/8490> (accessed November 18, 2021).

Geschlechtscharakter, the role of gender in determining one's personality.²⁶ The *Bildungsroman* literary tradition has considerable commonality with Rousseau's pedagogical novel *Émile* in which the youthful male protagonist undertakes a journey of self-discovery and self-development while his female counterpart, Sophie, learns only those skills that allow her to be an ideal companion for him.

In the historical moment in which Litzmann penned the first biography of Wieck/Schumann, German women had achieved unprecedented access to the public sphere in securing both the right to vote and admittance to institutions of formal education. That is, they had appropriated the formerly male-exclusive experiences of both civic and interior *Bildung*. As Litzmann states, there was consensus among the collaborators—presumably including the Schumann children in addition to himself and Allgeyer—that a particular version of Wieck/Schumann should emerge through her biography. Litzmann concludes his preface with a quotation from Allgeyer's unpublished manuscript preface that articulates exactly those qualities of Wieck/Schumann they wished to emphasize in this portrait (all abridgement is Litzmann's):

In whatever capacity and in whatever relationship to the outside world Clara Schumann confronts us in her correspondence, whether as daughter, sister or friend, bride, wife or mother, artist, colleague or teacher, it is always and everywhere the thoroughly pure human soul with the unfathomable depth of a gracious woman's spirit that captivates and moves us. This poetry of the heart, as one would like to call it, which speaks from her whole being, was now also speaking from her art in the transfigured language of sound, to the soul, to the mind, to the heart of receptive people. Of course, in view of the outstanding position Clara Schumann occupied in the musical life of our time, the artist will always be considered first. But the task of the biographer is solved only if he succeeds in explaining the figure of the great

²⁶ Cauleen Gary, "*Bildung* and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Bourgeois Germany," 9.

artist from her innermost being, from the totality of her personality, and at the same time in presenting her in her exemplary significance as an example of high, pure and genuine femininity".²⁷

Allgeyer makes explicit what Litzmann merely implied: that this biography sets out to contextualize Wieck/Schumann's professional activities within her enactment of traditional femininity.

Though English translation of Allgeyer's words robs the German nouns of their feminine endings, the female identities of daughter, sister, bride, wife, and mother unambiguously mark Wieck/Schumann as a woman. (By contrast, I find it difficult to imagine a biography of Robert Schumann introducing him as "son, brother, bridegroom, husband, and father.") Less obvious, but no less important is that only one of these listed roles—artist—does not define her in relation to others. It therefore seems significant that Allgeyer omits the title of composer, which carries the most self-determination and independence of Wieck/Schumann's identities. Allgeyer insists that Wieck/Schumann performs even those presumably gender-neutral roles—friend, artist, colleague, teacher—with an innate "woman's spirit" [*Frauengemüts*]. Whereas Wieck/Schumann's professional accomplishments necessitate her consideration as an artist, Allgeyer believes that her femininity is the quality that "captivates and moves us" and that best explains the "great artist."²⁸ Indeed Wieck/Schumann's incredibly prominent public position as one of the most

²⁷ Julius Allgeyer, unpublished manuscript preface, quoted in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. I: VIII.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

celebrated concert artists of the nineteenth century requires explanation if the biographer is to present her as her children would wish, as the feminine ideal.

While Litzmann relies on Allgeyer's explicit statement in the preface, there is no question that these are his own aims for the biography as well. To Litzmann, it was "self-evident" that Robert, as a composer, should be "granted absolute preference over" Clara, who was a "merely re-creative, reproducing" performer.²⁹ Of course, Clara wrote music as well but Litzmann leads the reader to believe that modesty motivated her choice to cease composing as she "experienced anew every day" Robert's growing genius.³⁰ Humbled by her husband's greatness, Clara "buried all of her ambitions" to "achieve something of her own as a creator next to him."³¹ In actuality, Clara was obliged to give up composition as she assumed sole responsibility for her family in the wake of Robert's institutionalization. With so many demands on her time, as well as the mental and physical energy she expended in balancing domestic and career responsibilities, it is little wonder that she did not prioritize composition—a logical sacrifice considering her long-standing ambivalence toward creative activity.

Throughout the three-volume biography, Litzmann exercises his narrative license to reinforce the image of Wieck/Schumann as the exemplar of traditional womanhood, whose "life gained its color and substance [...] through her husband's

²⁹ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. II: 4-5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

personality and activity.”³² Litzmann’s tendency to editorialize is particularly present amid passages from Clara’s writings that suggest her dissatisfaction with her ever-growing duties as wife and mother. In May 1847, Clara was pregnant with her fifth child when she wrote in her diary, “What will become of my work?! But Robert says: ‘Children are blessings,’ and he is right, because without children there is also indeed no happiness, and so I intend to face the difficult near future with as cheerful a disposition as possible. Whether it will always work, I don’t know.”³³ In these words, Clara makes clear that she felt the pressure to find her happiness and fulfilment in motherhood. Regardless of her actual feelings, Clara adopted the outward appearance of happiness because that was what Robert—and indeed, society—expected of her.

That Litzmann felt the need to address Clara’s discontent with her circumstances indicates that it must have been a significant theme in her writings. He insists that while she may have briefly lamented the situation, she felt the obstacles “less strongly” as “her artistic aspirations [...] took their direction and purpose from Robert’s creative activity.”³⁴ Litzmann asserts that because Clara understood her duty as a wife, to bear and raise Robert’s children and to promote and support his music, she found happiness in acting according to society’s gendered expectations: “[...] more and more of the rift between her obligations to

³² Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. II: 164.

³³ Clara Schumann, Diary entry, May 1847, reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. II: 125.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 135.

herself and [those to] her husband, which had given her and him many a difficult hour in the early years, entirely disappeared by itself.”³⁵ Clara certainly knew what was expected of her as a woman, but to say, as Litzmann does, that it was her “highest duty and highest happiness” to “succumb” to Robert as “master not only of his life’s companion but also of the artist” would be a misrepresentation of her very real concerns about losing her autonomy as a musician.³⁶ Nevertheless, as a biographer, Litzmann wields extraordinary power to shape readers’ perception of the subject’s feelings; as such, this narrative thread is woven into Wieck/Schumann biographies for decades to come.

Litzmann’s Successors: Burk, Harding, and Chissell

When Burk released his biography of Wieck/Schumann, there were only two others available to English readers. The first one appeared in 1912; it was written by the English pianist Florence May and focused exclusively on Clara Wieck’s life before marriage.³⁷ The other, Grace Hadow’s heavily abridged translation of Litzmann’s work came out the following year.³⁸ John Burk’s single volume is

³⁵ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, vol. II: 135-6.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁷ I have chosen not to include a discussion of Florence May’s book in this chapter since its coverage does not extend to the biographic episodes I am examining here. May studied with both Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms. She authored a biography of the latter: *The Life of Johannes Brahms*, 2 vols. (London: Edward Arnold, 1905).

³⁸ Berthold Litzmann, translated and edited by Grace E. Hadow as *Clara Schumann: An Artist’s Life, Based on Material Found in Diaries and Letters*, 2 vols., (London: Macmillan, 1913).

considerably more concise than even Hadow's abridged version of Litzmann.³⁹

Regardless of the version, Litzmann's work has a palpable presence in that of Burk. Litzmann is evoked in the episodes Burk includes, the narrative framing he employs, and the number of passages paraphrased from the earlier text.

Burk's version of Wieck/Schumann's life is aptly sub-titled a "Romantic biography," but although the essential paradigms are present, they are very often applied to Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms, or even Friedrich Wieck. There are pages of Burk's book in which the protagonist disappears from her own biography. Thus, the traditional gender values from Litzmann are also reproduced in Burk, unmarked by the social changes of the intervening twenty years. An academic writing during this lull in the struggle for gender equality between the first and second waves of feminism, Burk had no real motivation to deviate from the norms of Romantic biography in writing Wieck/Schumann's biography, even if he had had access to the relevant material to support such gender-progressive narratives. Yet, the themes of Romantic biography are still in full force in the work of a woman writing a Wieck/Schumann biography for a popular audience two decades later.

Bertita Harding (née Leonarz, 1902 – 1971) was a cosmopolitan author with a glamorous public persona. Harding apparently cultivated her historic imagination and linguistic prowess (she purportedly spoke five languages) while living in Bavaria, Budapest, and Mexico. She had some success as an actress and a concert pianist before embarking on her writing career. Several of her books were

³⁹ John N. Burk, *Clara Schumann: a Romantic Biography* (New York: Random House, 1940).

adapted as films at the height of Hollywood's golden age. She even wrote movie scripts for Warner Brothers in the 1940s.⁴⁰ Evidently, Harding's talent for storytelling and flair for the romantic came to bear in writing Wieck/Schumann's life story, *Concerto*.⁴¹

Wieck/Schumann represents an apparent departure from the subject matter of Harding's other published works. She authored ten other biographies between 1933 and 1961, eight of them centered on the tragedies of the nineteenth-century royalty. *Concerto* is not unique in Harding's oeuvre but fits within her trilogy of artists' biographies. The other titles are *Hungarian Rhapsody: The Portrait of an Actress* (1940)—about her godmother, Camille Feher de Vernet—and *Magic Fire: Scenes Around Richard Wagner*, (1953). The royal biographies are written with the narrative structure of tragedy, lamenting not only lives lost in the “pageant of great names [that] makes up the roster of the post-Napoleonic era,” but also the passing away of an “epoch of spiritual flowering.”⁴² Harding's biographies of monarchs and artists alike are thematically unified in their nostalgia for the previous century.

Taken together, there is something autobiographical about Harding's biographies as her chosen subjects reveal elements of her own life and personality. The eight royal biographies are indicative of the royalist political leanings she

⁴⁰ Kathy Kirry Wockley, “The Life and Works of Bertita Carla Camille Leonarz Harding,” PhD diss., Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, 1977, FAU Electronic Theses and Dissertations Collection, <http://purl.flvc.org/fcla/dt/11690>: 15, 51, 55.

⁴¹ Bertita Harding, *Concerto: The Glowing Story of Clara Schumann* (New York: The Bobbs-Merril Company Inc., 1961).

⁴² Bertita Harding, “Author's Questionnaire,” The Bobbs-Merril Company Files, quoted in Wockley, “The Life and Works of Bertita Harding,” 15.

absorbed from her parents while the artists' portraits ostensibly stem from her own ambitions for a career in the performing arts. Most importantly, Harding's retrospective fixation on the Romantic era is in keeping with her own philosophy as an anti-modernist. Her disdain for the "day of Science and the Atom" seemingly extended to the realm of modern social movements as well.⁴³ Harding's nephew, Pedro Leonarz, described his aunt's anti-modernist approach to both her life and works as "living in a world of fantasy."⁴⁴ According to Leonarz, "she was just not in tune with her time."⁴⁵ Although she was born just after the beginning of the twentieth century, she immersed herself in the past, reveling in the Romantic era through her research and writing.

Though Harding propagated the image of Clara Schumann as the devoted housewife, this ideal bore little resemblance to her own activities as a wife. During her own marriages (of which there were three) she continued to travel, research, and write. She cultivated a feminine persona of elegance, glamor, and charm—perhaps intentionally setting off the serious historical subjects of her writing to distance herself from the image of the "intellectual females" she disliked.⁴⁶

Though several of Harding's biographies were enriched with her own archival research, her accessible and evocative writing style made her work popular.

⁴³ Bertita Harding, "Author's Questionnaire," The Bobbs-Merrill Company Files, quoted in Wockley, "The Life and Works of Bertita Harding," 15.

⁴⁴ Pedro Leonarz, interview with Kathy Kirry Wockley, quoted in "The Life and Works of Bertita Harding," 43.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Wockley, "The Life and Works of Bertita Harding," 38.

Her accounts of the events of her subjects' lives are embellished with vivid detail, humanizing even lofty historical figures for her readers. Given Harding's clear passion for historical writing informed by research, it is curious that she never attempted to write within the genre of history. This is likely due to the masculine dominion over the more "serious" genre of history. Like the epistolary novel or the art song, biography can be understood as a genre open to women, both as creators and consumers.⁴⁷ Formal histories are filled with stereotypically masculine things such as political events, wars, facts and numbers, while biographies are characterized by the personal, social, and anecdotal.⁴⁸ As such, Harding's choice to write biography allowed her to do the intellectual work she enjoyed without becoming an intellectual female—an apparently inoffensive label for the scholarly Joan Chissell, whose work we will discuss next.⁴⁹

Joan Chissell (1919 – 2007) was best known for her work as a music critic for the *London Times*; her reviews tended to focus on piano and song recitals with a special emphasis on the music of Robert Schumann. As a young woman, she attended the Royal College of Music in preparation for a career as a concert pianist. An injury to her right hand necessitated a change in career goals—a life experience

⁴⁷ I explore the idea that women artists and intellectuals have more freedom in non-standard or amateur-associated genres in Chapter III of this dissertation.

⁴⁸ Ruth-Ellen, Boetcher Joeres, "Self-Conscious Histories: Biographies of German Women in the Nineteenth Century," in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History*, edited by John C. Fout, (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984), 174-5.

⁴⁹ This means of negotiating traditional gender roles to justify one's participation in the male-exclusive activities of artistic creation is an idea I will explore in depth within the life of Wieck/Schumann through the lens of psychobiography in chapter III.

she shared with Robert Schumann, on whom her scholarship centered. While teaching at RCM, Chissell wrote several monographs including two books on Robert Schumann, as well as a volume on his piano music, and books about Chopin and Brahms. In 1991, the City of Zwickau awarded her the Robert Schumann Prize in recognition of her contributions to scholarship on the composer. Chissell wrote her Wieck/Schumann biography after her retirement as critic and lecturer.⁵⁰

As an internationally recognized scholar on the life and music of Robert Schumann, it is to be expected that, like Burk four decades earlier, Chissell devotes considerable attention to Robert in *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit, A Study of Her Life and Work*.⁵¹ Likely owing to her own performance background, Chissell's biography is distinguished from those that came before by its emphasis on the details of Wieck/Schumann's performance career: her concert tours, repertoire, and technique. Thus, there is some variation in the ways that she applies the paradigms of Romantic biography. Although Chissell still primarily presents Wieck/Schumann as Robert's muse and legacy keeper, there are more instances in which the author highlights Wieck/Schumann's sacrifices for her art alongside those she made for her husband.

Despite the fact that Chissell's book is released in a post-women's-liberation era—perhaps accounting for this biographer's increased emphasis on Clara's

⁵⁰ John Warrack, "Chissell, Joan Olive (1919–2007), music critic," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (6 Jan. 2011; Accessed 23 Jun. 2021): <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-100296>.

⁵¹ Joan Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit: A Study of Her Life and Work* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1983).

professional activities as compared to Burk and Harding—overall, Chissell maintains Litzmann’s picture of Clara Schumann. Chissell presents a view of Clara Schumann in keeping with the 1980’s New Traditionalist values of home and family. In the book’s introduction, Chissell makes clear her narrative frame of Clara Schumann as a devoted servant both to the people she loved and to the art of music, making her the eponymous “dedicated spirit.”⁵² Thus, we see the way a collection of biographies on a subject can build upon and reinforce cultural values established by the first life writer. With each subsequent entry, the core episodes of the person’s life story and the central elements of their personality become more entrenched, akin to the process of canon formation. New ideas can be introduced but only with effort.

The biographic canon is particularly static for the majority of the twentieth century in the case of Wieck/Schumann since generations of biographers drew heavily upon Litzmann’s text as research material in the absence of readily available primary sources. Their view of their subject was unavoidably linked to Litzmann’s. Although Litzmann’s work will likely never lose its authority entirely given that it is the sole means of preservation for so much archival material from Wieck/Schumann’s life, since the last decade of the twentieth century, musicologists have had unprecedented direct access to primary sources.⁵³

⁵² Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit*, xi.

⁵³ The most important material in this vein are Clara Schumann’s personal diaries from her marriage in 1840 through her death in 1896. These 56 years of Schumann’s private reflections are selectively preserved exclusively in second and third volumes of Litzmann’s biography; the physical records were destroyed by the Schumann children shortly after the biographer concluded his work.

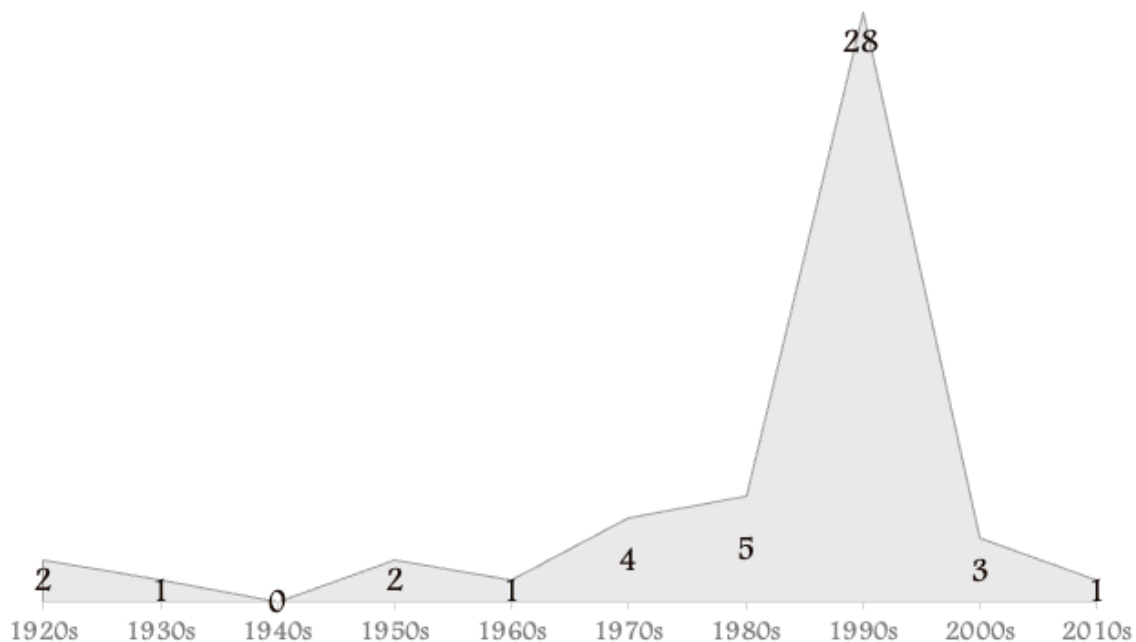


Figure 3: Wieck/Schumann Primary Source Publications by Decade

The fall of the Berlin wall in late 1989 facilitated Western scholars' access to archives in the East-German cities of Leipzig and Zwickau. Subsequently, there was an unparalleled influx in the publication of Wieck-Schumann related primary material (and secondary publications based upon it).⁵⁴ Because musicologists no longer had to mediate the material through Litzmann, there was opportunity for new narratives to emerge. Thus, in light of the newly available material, the long shadow of Romantic biography cast by Litzmann at last diminished. Nevertheless, Wieck/Schumann's gender remains central in this new generation of biographies.

⁵⁴ See Appendix C for a chronology of Wieck-Schumann-related publications.

WIECK/SCHUMANN BIOGRAPHY IN THE CONTEXT OF FEMINIST THOUGHT

Taken together, the profile of the biographer and their chosen narratives reveal what Boetcher Joeres terms a “double portrait”—that is, a picture of the author themselves that emerges from their image of the protagonist.⁵⁵ This double portrait becomes more visible—allowing us to recognize the features of the painter in the painted subject—if we familiarize ourselves with the biographers’ identities, their professed values with regard to women’s role in society, their motivations for writing the biography, as well as their relationship with and regard for their subject. Of course, it is important to avoid assumptions of gender essentialism when considering the writers’ identities; a woman is not automatically inclined to take a pro-feminist stance in recounting a female subject’s life. In fact, through the examination of the body of biographies recording the lives of German women throughout the 1800s, Boetcher Joeres found that the authors engaged in editorializing specific to the protagonist’s femininity, regardless of the biographer’s own gender. While the male author had a tendency toward omission of significant aspects of his female subject’s life and personality in pursuit of an idealized portrait, female biographers sometimes emphasized the *Weiblichkeit*—appropriately feminine characteristics and behavior—of their subjects to show them to be respectable and morally upstanding.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Boetcher Joeres, “Self-Conscious Histories,” 179.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 179–80.

Precisely what qualifies as respectable varies greatly according to both the prevailing cultural attitudes and the biographer's individual views on women's empowerment in their given historical context. Before embarking on an examination of each author's gender politics, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the progression of feminist thought, particularly within broader cultural contexts, for the time span of the texts under consideration in this chapter. Far from attempting a comprehensive or nuanced study of the history of feminist movements in Western culture, my aim is to use broad strokes to paint the background for more detailed portraits of the authors of these biographies.

The language of waves, like periods of style in music history, is often criticized as reductionist and simplistic but, nevertheless, it remains a convenient shorthand for the large-scale evolution of feminist thought over the last 150 years. The activists who led the women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 70s viewed their struggle for gender equality as a continuation of the efforts to secure voting rights for women in the United States and Western Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth. They positioned their movement as the Second Feminist Wave, a phrase introduced by Martha Weinman Lear via a 1968 *New York Times* article in which she argued that women were once again embroiled in a fight for equality in the tradition of the suffragettes, the First Wave of feminism.⁵⁷ Between the First Wave and the Midcentury Backlash, there are

⁵⁷ Martha Weinman Lear, "The Second Feminist Wave," *New York Times*, March 10, 1968, accessed in the online archive: <https://www.nytimes.com/1968/03/10/archives/the-second-feminist-wave.html>.

roughly two decades of silence in the story of progress for women's rights. The era of the Lost Generation—so named because their peak adult years span devastating world events, from their coming of age in the years of the first World War, through the Great Depression era of the 1930s, and culminating with World War II. This barrage of emergencies is a likely explanation for the stalled progress of women's rights in these decades. Having won a major victory in suffrage, their focus necessarily turned to matters of survival with little residual energy to devote to issues of gender equality in the context of economic and sociopolitical crisis. Scholars and activists of the Third Wave, which had fully emerged by 1990, criticized the Second Wave for its narrow focus on the experiences and issues of white, middle-class women. Third Wave feminists call for a feminism that recognizes the intersectional oppressions experienced by women of color. Our current era of feminism might be described as a Fourth Wave, characterized by recognition of the experiences of transwomen, transmen and non-binary people; however, the landscape of feminist thought we occupy in the twenty-first century is better characterized as a collection of multiple converging and diverging feminisms—more like the churning sea than a singular wave.

Figure 4 plots the publication of each of Wieck/Schumann biography within the context of the vast ocean of feminist thought, through waves, currents, and tides.⁵⁸ The biographers Reich, Weissweiler, and Steegmann are informed and

⁵⁸ The discussion of feminism in this dissertation is necessarily both shallow and narrow. In particular, the feminist activism and theoretics of Black feminism, non-western feminism, queer feminism, and transfeminism are outside the scope of relevance for my examination of narratives within the biographies of Wieck/Schumann. Nevertheless, I acknowledge the importance of the ongoing work in these feminist academic disciplines and communities of practice.

impelled by this atmosphere of rapid social and intellectual change vis-à-vis gender. Their ability to center Wieck/Schumann as a female biographical subject demonstrates their independence from Litzmann's influence and the gender-conservative narratives of Romantic biography.

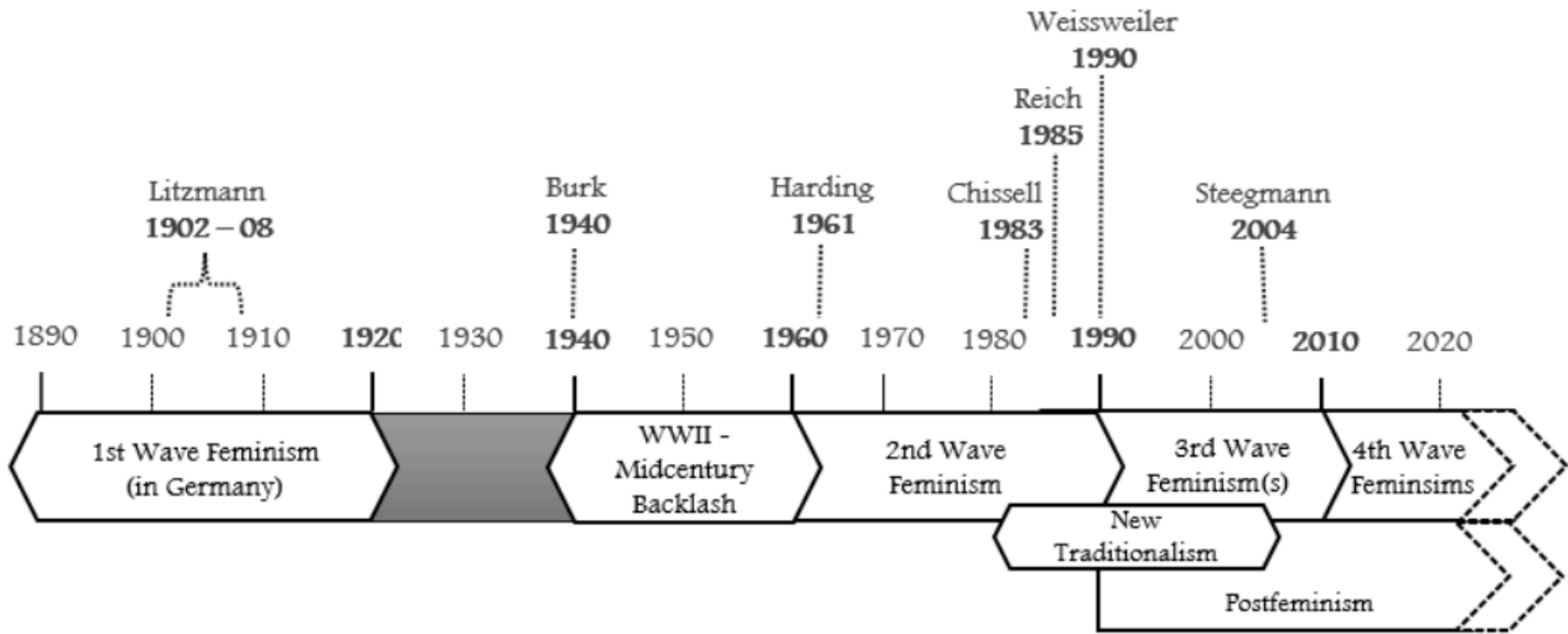


Figure 4: Timeline—Wieck/Schumann Biographies and Relevant Feminist Movements

Post-Romantic Biographers: Reich, Weissweiler, and Steegmann

In contrast to Burk and Chissell, Nancy Reich's research interests and published output were centered on Clara Wieck/Schumann (rather than Robert Schumann). Nancy Reich (1924 – 2019) was an American musicologist whose widely respected book on the life and work of Wieck/Schumann earned her an international reputation as the preeminent authority on the composer and pianist.¹⁰¹ Reich's last major undertaking was co-editing the first published edition of Clara Wieck's girlhood diaries, a major primary source.¹⁰²

Reich's biographic study of Wieck/Schumann was unique at the time in placing the female subject at the center of the narrative rather than mediating her experiences and accomplishments through the male figures of her life. Unlike the previous biographers, Reich's work presents the complexities of Wieck/Schumann's personality, considering not only her duty as a woman, but also her feelings of conflict and ambivalence. Reich collaborated with the psychoanalyst Anna Burton in constructing a psychological profile of Wieck/Schumann from primary documents.¹⁰³ Despite their partnership Reich's own work

¹⁰¹ Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*. Rev. ed. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985. It is worth noting that Reich's work predates the fall of the Berlin wall and the subsequent surge of publication of Wieck/Schumann materials. Nevertheless, Reich's work is not reliant upon Litzmann's text. The endnotes, bibliography, and appendices of her monograph testify to the extent of her independent research through diaries, correspondence, concert playbills and reviews, and other contemporaneous sources of Wieck and Schumann family members, colleagues, associates, and friends.

¹⁰² Indeed, this edition was decades in the making, teased in the first edition of the biography and not published until the end of 2019, thirty-four years later. As of yet, this important source is exclusively available in German. Clara Wieck and Friedrich Wieck, *Jugendtagebücher 1827-1840. Nach Den Handschriften Im Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau Herausgegeben*, edited by Gerd Nauhaus and Nancy B. Reich (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2019).

¹⁰³ See: Nancy B. Reich and Anna Burton, "Clara Schumann: Old Sources, New Readings," *The Musical Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (1984): 332-54; Anna Burton, "Robert Schumann and Clara Wieck: A Creative Partnership," *Music & Letters* 69, no. 2 (1988): 211-28.

steers clear of the more outlandish Freudian analysis that characterized Burton's solo work (as well as the speculative quality of Weissweiler's *Wieck/Schumann*, which might also be classified as psychobiography).¹⁰⁴

In addition to presenting a more complete version of *Wieck/Schumann* as a person, Reich also gives her readers a fuller sense of her subject's multifaceted musical accomplishments, including an unprecedented focus on *Wieck/Schumann's* work as a composer. Whereas Reich admits in her preface to the 2001 revised edition that her book does not include analysis of *Wieck/Schumann's* compositions, she went to great lengths to locate any and all of her subject's extant musical works including a number of previously uncatalogued autographs.¹⁰⁵ Although Janina Klassen fairly criticizes scholars who fail to analyze *Wieck/Schumann's* compositions, Reich, at least, avoids the common sin of analyzing Robert's music instead and only discussing Clara's compositions in relation to his.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, Reich's efforts to locate, document, and date Clara's compositions resulted in a catalogue of the composer's oeuvre that was and is unprecedented and unsurpassed in its comprehensiveness and accuracy. Reich stated her hope that her work in this area would "enable performers and listeners to locate her compositions and the new

¹⁰⁴ For example, Reich does not echo Burton's claims that Clara served as her father Friedrich's phallic extension or that Clara's strained relationship with her stepmother Clementine was a manifestation of the oedipal complex. See: Anna M. Burton, "A Psychoanalyst's View of Clara Schumann" and "Robert Schumann and Clara Wieck: A Creative Partnership" in *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Music*, Stuart Feder, Richard L. Karmel, and George H. Pollack, eds., (Madison, Conn.: International Universities Press, 1990), 97-113 and 441-463.

¹⁰⁵ "Catalogue of Works," in Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 289-337.

¹⁰⁶ There seems to have been mutual methodological disagreement between these two scholars. In reviewing Janina Klassen's 1990 book *Clara Wieck-Schumann, die Virtuosin als Komponistin: Studien zu ihrem Werk*, Reich suggested that Klassen's approach was overly analytical, to the disappointment of feminist scholars, who would "find that the author takes little heed of recent feminist history or criticism in her discussion of the music." Nancy B. Reich, *Notes* 49, no. 3 (1993): doi:10.2307/898951.

studies they have inspired.”¹⁰⁷ Implicit within Reich’s statement is her belief that Wieck/Schumann is deserving of the same attention and appreciation afforded to her male contemporaries.¹⁰⁸

Within the preface to the first edition of Reich’s book, she declares her motivation and position nearly as candidly as Litzmann did. Sharing Litzmann’s reliance on primary source material but not his Romantic approach, Reich came to the conclusion through her archival work that elements of Wieck/Schumann’s personality and character had not emerged through Litzmann’s portrayal.¹⁰⁹ Reading innumerable pages of unpublished archival material, Reich discovered “a more human Clara Schumann, a woman who comes to life through her own words.”¹¹⁰ Again, like Litzmann, Reich was motivated by her “regard for the artist and the woman” Wieck/Schumann, but rather than present her as the idealized “Priestess,” Reich felt that her subject was “worthy of the truth.”¹¹¹ For Reich, the

¹⁰⁷ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, x.

¹⁰⁸ Nancy Reich’s daughter, Susanna Reich, wrote that her mother was delayed for decades in pursuing her PhD due to sexist admissions practices. Even after teaching and publishing for years in New York, Reich was never awarded tenure, her accomplishments as a teacher and scholar unrecognized by the institutions she served. Ostensibly, Reich’s own encounters with institutional misogyny may have increased her interest in the similar struggles of female musicians in the nineteenth century. See: Corinna da Fonseca-Wollheim, “Nancy B. Reich, Scholarly Champion of Clara Schumann, Dies at 94.” *The New York Times*, February 11, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/11/obituaries/nancy-b-reich-dead.html>. Susanna Reich followed her mother’s example, authoring a biography of Wieck/Schumann intended for young readers, *Clara Schumann: Piano Virtuoso* (New York: Clarion Books, 1999). In the preface of that book, Susanna Reich speaks about her mother’s investment in Wieck/Schumann research.

¹⁰⁹ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, xiv.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, xv.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, xii.

truth about Wieck/Schumann's long life goes beyond the "lovely romantic story" of her relationship with Robert that had dominated her legacy from Litzmann onwards.¹¹²

Reich's *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* is a work of feminist scholarship above all else, a recognizable trend in her study of female subjects. Her careful evaluation of the individual circumstances of women beyond their gender is in keeping with the tenets of Poststructural feminism (i.e., consideration of social position and individual experiences to problematize the concept of universal female experience). Reich's scholarship on Wieck/Schumann and other women such as Fanny Hensel examines the importance of these composers' gender with nuanced considerations of additional factors such as socio-economic status.¹¹³ Reich's feminist approach to Wieck/Schumann's biography also involves a more significant emphasis on the role that Clara's mother, Marianne Bargiel (née Tromlitz) had in her daughter's life.¹¹⁴ Reich observed that Litzmann and other biographers had largely erased Marianne from the story of her daughter's life. Reich seeks to correct this omission, believing in the importance of maternal influence in understanding the lives of eminent women like Wieck/Schumann. Despite these feminist angles to her work, in the first edition of her book, Reich expressed concern that Wieck/Schumann would be co-opted as a feminist icon, a "symbol of women achievers."¹¹⁵

¹¹² Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, x.

¹¹³ See: Nancy B. Reich, "The Diaries of Fanny Hensel and Clara Schumann: A Study in Contrasts." *Nineteenth-century Music Review* 4, no. 2 (2011): 21-36; and "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class." in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth Solie, 125-46. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

¹¹⁴ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, xv.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ix.

The author warned other feminists that Wieck/Schumann herself was uninterested in the issues of the women's movement.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, Reich later reflected in the preface to the 2001 revised edition of her book that she had emplotted her heroine's life with the narrative arc of romance, triumph over tragedy.¹¹⁷

In her 2002 article, "The 'Suppression' of Fanny Hensel," Marian Wilson Kimber made a similar observation about Reich's narrative structure. While crediting Reich with producing a "well-balanced" biography, she suggests that the chronological portion of Reich's book—from Clara's birth through Robert's death—still operates within the familiar structure for stories of women, the fairytale narrative culminating in marriage.¹¹⁸ (To quibble with Kimber, Reich's chronological portion does not end "happily ever after" in 1840, but tragically in 1856.) Kimber writes, "it is almost as if after the marriage plot is exhausted, the book is unable to sustain a conventional narrative structure."¹¹⁹ It is interesting to consider that the chronological portion of *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* ends with Robert's death. Although the last forty years of Clara Schumann's life were filled with professional triumphs and deep friendships, a chronological account of the events in her personal life would be a series of heartbreaks as she lost several of her adult children, while struggling to support her family and continue her career in the face of ever-

¹¹⁶ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, xvi.

¹¹⁷ For a thorough examination of historiographic narratives from the nineteenth century forward, see: White, Hayden V. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. 40th anniversary ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015.

¹¹⁸ Marian Wilson Kimber, "The 'Suppression' of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography," *19th Century Music* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 121, n.65.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

worsening pain and physical deterioration. Thus, Reich may have abandoned the chronological structure because it failed in the face of the actual events of Wieck/Schumann's life, which in reality was neither fairytale nor hero(ine)'s journey.

Reich's realization that the "tragedies suffered by this courageous woman far outweighed the triumphs, and that her life can more accurately be described as a story of "great talent, struggle, and survival" actually predated Wilson Kimber's critique.¹²⁰ The German musicologist Eva Rieger may have provided Reich with some insight to spur reflection through the essay, "From the 'Genuinely Feminine' to 'Gender Difference'."¹²¹ Rieger names Reich's work as one end of the polemic spectrum with regard to female biography. While, overall, Rieger applauds Reich's scholarly rigor, she critiques Reich on the basis that her work "proceeds from a narrow understanding of what feminist research is capable of achieving."¹²² Rieger asserts that feminist researchers need not champion their subjects as models, and finds fault with Reich's tendency to "harmonize existing contradictions" within the life and personality of Wieck Schumann in the interest of presenting a feminist heroine.¹²³ On the other end of the spectrum, according to Rieger, is Eva Weissweiler, who seeks to "dismantle the image of Clara Schumann that has been often

¹²⁰ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, x.

¹²¹ Eva Rieger, "Vom ‚genuin Weiblichen‘ zur ‚Geschlechter-Differenz‘. Methodologische Probleme der Frauen- und Schlechterforschung am Beispiel Clara Schumann" in *Clara Schumann: Komponistin, Interpretin, Unternehmerin, Ikone*, Peter Ackermann and Herbert Schneider, eds. (Hildesheim; Zürich; New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1999), pp. 205 – 216. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 208-9. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 209. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

idealized in the past.”¹²⁴ Indeed, Weissweiler’s biography stands apart from the others as it is the only one that presents the subject as deeply flawed.

Eva Weissweiler (b. 1951) is a German writer whose most important contribution to Wieck/Schumann scholarship has as editor of the critical edition of the complete correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann in both German and English.¹²⁵ Weissweiler’s biography of Wieck/Schumann undoubtedly emerged from her extensive work with these primary sources. Whereas the other biographies under consideration in this chapter extol Wieck/Schumann’s personal virtues and celebrate her professional triumphs, as Rieger observes, Weissweiler appears to have little regard for her subject, “lustfully spin[ning] out Clara’s character as that of an exceptionally hard, brutally egotistical woman, thus turning the ideal-typical image into the opposite.”¹²⁶ There are moments when the reader may sympathize with the subject, but Wieck/Schumann is never more than an imperfect human being in the pages of Weissweiler’s book.

Weissweiler commits to the revelation of Wieck/Schumann as a false ideal of traditional womanhood but unlike her pro-feminist contemporaries, Weissweiler does not ascribe to the view of her subject as a proto-feminist iconoclast. In showcasing Wieck/Schumann’s failure to live up to the traditional model of ideal femininity without

¹²⁴ Rieger, “Vom ‚genuin Weiblichen‘ zur ‚Geschlechter-Differenz‘, 209. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

¹²⁵ Clara Wieck/Schumann and Robert Schumann, *Briefwechsel. Kritische Gesamtausg.*, 3 vols., edited by Eva Weissweiler (Basel; Frankfurt Am Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1984). Published in English as *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, Critical ed., 3 vols., edited by Eva Weissweiler, Hildegard Fritsch, and Ronald L. Crawford (New York: P. Lang, 1994).

¹²⁶ Rieger, “Vom ‚genuin Weiblichen‘ zur ‚Geschlechter-Differenz‘, 209. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

celebrating her as an example of female independence, Weissweiler (perhaps unintentionally) reinforces the worth of that archetype of conservative womanhood. Regardless of Weissweiler's intention, the effect of her approach aligns with strains of the postfeminist movement that began to take hold around 1990 (the year Weissweiler's book was published). Stéphanie Genz and Benjamin Brabon explain that postfeminism simultaneously has a retro and neo outlook, as "neither a simple rebirth of feminism nor a straightforward abortion [...] but a complex resignification that harbors within itself the threat of backlash as well as the potential for innovation."¹²⁷ Postfeminism can be understood both in terms of a break with feminism (that which comes after the end of feminism) or as ongoing transformation of feminism dependent upon continuity with its antecedents.

Despite Weissweiler's editorial work on the *Briefwechsel* of Robert and Clara, *Clara Schumann: Eine Biographie* belongs to the genre of popular biography, not beholden to the citation standards of an academic work like Reich's. Although Weissweiler's book includes a bibliography, the author does not utilize footnotes, endnotes, or in-text citation to ground her assertions. On several occasions, it is apparent to readers familiar with the original sources that Weissweiler manipulates textual evidence to support her statements, presenting quotations out of context. Readers are therefore unable to determine the validity of Weissweiler's arguments. This is exacerbated by the biographer's conviction that her own interpretation of biographical events reveals more than the actual words of Wieck/Schumann, whom she accuses of falsifying her own diary entries. Rieger aptly

¹²⁷ Stéphanie Genz and Benjamin A. Brabon, *Postfeminism: Cultural Texts and Theories* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 8.

summarizes Weissweiler's depiction of Clara Schumann as "an uneducated, ambitious wife who plays Robert's works unwillingly, grossly neglects him and their children, and has Robert declared insane, although he is supposedly sane" consequently, "the marriage destroyed his genius and her career."¹²⁸ Thus, in her portrait of Wieck/Schumann, Weissweiler rejects not only the feminine ideal propagated by Litzmann, but also the feminist heroine depicted by Reich and later Monica Steegmann.¹²⁹

The German musicologist Monica Steegmann (b. 1942) worked as a music producer and radio editor before turning her efforts to biographical essays on famous female performers. Most recently, she co-authored a collection of life stories of famous female pianists (including Wieck/Schumann) with Eva Rieger. Previously, Steegmann collaborated with Ingrid Kaech to write a similar volume on actresses from the early days of film.¹³⁰ Steegmann edited Wieck/Schumann's correspondence with her friends Hermann Härtel and Richard and Helene Schönes.¹³¹ It may have been this contribution to the field that merited the inclusion of Steegmann's paper on Clara's concert logistics in the Frankfurt centennial symposium *Clara Schumann: Komponistin, Interpretin, Unternehmerin, Ikone*.¹³²

¹²⁸ Rieger, "Vom ‚genuin Weiblichen‘ zur ‚Geschlechter-Differenz‘, 208. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

¹²⁹ In Chapter IV of this dissertation, I consider Wieck/Schumann's legacy in the cultural context of Nazi Germany as a possible explanation for Weissweiler's unique perspective and aims.

¹³⁰ See: Monica Steegmann and Eva Rieger, *Frauen mit Flügel: Lebensberichte Berühmter Pianistinnen: von Clara Schumann bis Clara Haskil* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 2019); Monica Steegmann and Ingrid Kaech, *Frauen im Rampenlicht: Lebensberichte Berühmter Schauspielerinnen von Eleonora Duse bis Marlene Dietrich* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 2004).

¹³¹ Monica Steegmann, ed., "—Dass Gott Mir Ein Talent Geschenk": *Clara Schumanns Briefe an Hermann Härtel und Richard und Helene Schöne* (Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1997).

¹³² Monica Steegmann, "Clara Schumanns Veranstaltungslogistik." *Clara Schumann - Komponistin, Interpretin, Unternehmerin, Ikone*, edited by Peter Ackermann and Herbert Schneider (Hildesheim; Zürich; New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1999): 217-225.

This conference placed Steegmann in company with the most eminent Wieck/ Schumann scholars active at the end of the twentieth century: Nancy Reich, Janina Klassen, Gerd Nauhaus, Eva Rieger, et. al.

Steegmann's interest in uncovering and uplifting female artistic figures of the past is evident in her research and writing projects, but her feminist philosophy—a blend of Second and Third Wave principles—is best exemplified through her philanthropy. Through her donations to the DAAD-Stiftung, she established the Monica Steegmann Scholarship to support female Afghan students in completing their studies, furthering the cause of dignity and self-determination for women.¹³³ That this philosophy informed Steegmann's simply titled biography *Clara Schumann* is readily apparent not only in choice of subject, but also in the author's narrative framing. Ultimately, the choice to focus on a white, middle-class woman is more typical of second-wave feminism than the race-critical arguments of the third wave. Steegmann presents Wieck/Schumann as an example of triumph over the patriarchal oppression.

Steegmann opens her book with the description of the Robert Schumann memorial in Bonn as a visual representation of the typical depiction of Clara as her husband's adoring muse. Steegmann states, somewhat hyperbolically, that with the exception of Reich, accounts of Wieck/Schumann's life typically begin with her marriage and end after her husband's death. Steegmann therefore situates her own study as a feminist or even female-first contribution to the body of work on Wieck/Schumann. Had the monograph been

¹³³ Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, "Monica Steegmann Scholarship," DAAD, accessed July 2, 2021: <https://www.daad-stiftung.de/foerderprojekte/ausgelaufene-foerderprojekte/en/33069-monica-steegmann-scholarship/>.

available at the time of Rieger's essay on problematic biographical methods, she would surely have criticized Steegmann's feminist heroine building. Steegmann lingers on Wieck/Schumann's accomplishments, emphasizes the ways in which her marriage to Robert inhibited the progress of her career, and portrays her career-encouraging father far more favorably than other biographers do. While Steegmann, like Reich, rejects the feminine-ideal image of Wieck/Schumann originating in Litzmann, she still presents an incomplete picture of her subject. In Steegmann's efforts to paint Wieck/Schumann as a feminist icon, the biographer tends to avoid the many instances when Wieck/Schumann's own words problematize this image through ambivalent or even explicitly anti-feminist statements. In truth, neither Litzmann's ideas of noble feminine modesty nor Steegmann's depiction of a heroine's unflagging determination to defy patriarchal limitations is sufficiently nuanced to explain Wieck/Schumann's artistic and personal decisions.

BIOGRAPHIC EPISODES

As already discussed, biographies are made up of a collection of biographic episodes. While there is some variation in the included episodes from one biography to the next, there is a core set of these episodes that makes up the common understanding of the subject's life story. In what follows, I compare each biographer's treatment of the episode with regard to the paradigms of Romantic biography and discuss the deviation from those paradigms in terms of author positionality regarding feminist ideology.

Episode 1: Studies after Marriage

Each of Wieck/Schumann's most prominent biographers include some version of an episode in which Clara devotes time and energy to learning (either alongside or under the tutelage of) Robert after their marriage. From a modern standpoint, it is curious that such minor activities as reading books and studying scores at home should carry enough weight to merit inclusion in Wieck/Schumann's biography. Yet, Litzmann spills considerable ink in emphasizing Clara's musical, intellectual, and moral development through these studies, establishing this episode's significance for later biographers. The table below summarizes the elements of this episode present in each of the biographies (Table 2).

The subject matter Clara studies is some combination of contrapuntal music and/or theory (usually Bach, occasionally Cherubini and Mendelssohn), scores of past masters' instrumental works (string quartets and/or symphonies of Beethoven and Mozart), and literary works by some of Robert's favorite authors (Goethe, Shakespeare, and/or Jean Paul). Universally, these biographers connect Clara's scholarly pursuits with her restricted access to the piano as she is obliged to maintain a quiet home environment so as not to disturb Robert while he is composing. With the notable exception of Weissweiler (discussed below), the authors emphasize Clara's frustration with these circumstances as her technical skill deteriorates and/or she is unable to develop her own musical ideas through composition. Several of them also mention her loneliness and isolation as Robert, engrossed in his own creativity, is emotionally unavailable and unwilling to share his work with her. As the table below demonstrates, the biographers' interest in this episode tapers off with increasing attention to feminist ethics.

Table 2: Narrative Elements of Episode 1

	<i>Litzmann</i>	<i>Burk</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Chissell</i>	<i>N. Reich</i>	<i>Weissweiler</i>	<i>Steedmann</i>
CS's playing/ composition inhibited by RS's need for quiet	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
RS lost in his own creativity	•	•		•	•		
CS feels frustrated, lonely/isolated	•	•	•	•	•		•
RS acknowledges CS's sacrifices	•	•	•	•	•		•
CS learns from/through RS	•	•			•	•	
CS and RS study fugue/ counterpoint	•	•		•	•	•	•
RS corrects CS's counterpoint exercise	•	•				•	
Score Study: Beethoven & Mozart	•	•			•		•
CS reads RS's favorite literature	•	•	•	•	•		
CS's lack of technical practice balanced with intellectual/ musical growth	•	•	•	•	•		•
CS's taste shifts away from bravura concert pieces	•	•		•	•	•	
CS finds/fulfills greater purpose in supporting RS	•	•	•				
Spring Symphony / Gewandhaus concert as reward for CS's sacrifices	•		•	•	•		

In presenting this episode, several of these biographers adhere to the second paradigm of Romantic biography, industrious study as path to genius, presenting Robert's study as an autodidactic enrichment of his compositional progress as part of the evolution of his genius. Clara, on the other hand, is positioned by these authors as learning from Robert to address her lack of knowledge or skill with the aim of supporting her husband's

efforts and inspiring his creative endeavors. For each of them, their studies are a form of *Bildung*, but they differ in their objectives. Whereas Robert studies the works of great master composers (the only worthy teachers for him) to fuel his own creative process, Clara's efforts are in keeping with Rousseau's educational model for women who learn only enough to stimulate and support their husbands. Clara is therefore functioning as Robert's muse in this episode. This example demonstrates an application of the love and marriage paradigm of Romantic biography to the male composer rather than the subject of the biographies. This is a pattern across most of this body of literature wherein Robert is discussed as a genius according to the traditional forms of the paradigms while Clara is presented with modified or partial versions of them. Although several of the texts express Robert's regret that Clara is asked to surrender her own artistic work in service to his, the message is clear: her role is to enhance his genius through love, inspiration, and an ideal domestic environment. Burk's version of this episode has one of the most direct statements of the paradigm: "Schumann flourished under her protection as the *starkes Mädchen* became the *starkes Weib*. [...] Now, in full and confident possession of Clara, expanding with the fruition of a passion long withheld, taking strength in her love returned, his creative thoughts began to reach and soar."¹³⁴ Burk evokes an image of feminine strength; whereas during their engagement she demonstrates her fortitude by keeping her faith in their love, afterwards, she enacts the power of domesticity to shelter her beloved from worldly intrusions, providing sanctuary.

¹³⁴ Burk, *Clara Schumann: A Romantic Biography*, 212.

Clara is sometimes rewarded for her noble feminine sacrifice via the completion of Robert's first symphony and/or her participation in the Gewandhaus concert when his symphony receives its premiere. In addition to this prize, all the biographers who include episode 1 connect Clara's diligence and sacrifice with benefit in terms of *Bildung*. This is a permutation of the third paradigm of Romantic biography, strength through suffering. In the trope's usual form, the genius suffers failures, hardships, and setbacks that cause them to strengthen their resolve to dedicate themselves to composition—the Beethoven Heiligenstadt Testament is the quintessential example of this. Although Clara's struggles and sacrifices in this episode seem to fit within the paradigm, once again, it is modified because of her gender. Rather than spurring her to dedicate herself to the vocation of composition or even redoubling her efforts as a virtuoso, Clara's arc is presented as a process of becoming the priestess of art. According to this narrative, these early years of marriage during which she devotes considerable time and energy to studying at home while cut off from the concert stage are a period of gradual eradication of her naïve bravura sensibilities in favor of the morally superior aesthetic views of her husband.¹³⁵

Litzmann's narrative arc for the episode begins with establishment of the conflict of Clara's unhappiness as she is required to set aside her own artistic pursuits to allow her husband to compose and ends with her new-found happiness in accepting her subordination to Robert's genius. Litzmann is presented with a dilemma in writing the biography of Wieck/Schumann in the historical context of the German women's movement,

¹³⁵ For more on Wieck/Schumann's performance persona in relation to canon formation, see Alexander Stefaniak, *Becoming Clara Schumann: Performance Strategies and Aesthetics in the Culture of the Musical Canon* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2021).

which had an enormous focus on women's *Bildung*. To present his subject as both an important artist and an ideal woman, Litzmann employs a gender-appropriate reinterpretation of the formerly male-exclusive *Bildung*. Clara broadens her intellectual horizons but with her husband's guidance. She finds her individual identity and purpose, but it is one of support of and service to her husband's genius. Litzmann describes Clara's *Bildung* journey as the joyful realization of her own subordination to Robert's greatness: "She knew very well and experienced anew every day in living with [Robert] Schumann, that he already, even now, was maturing to greatness, that he was master not only of the spouse but also of the artist; succumbing to and merging with [him] was both [her] highest duty and greatest joy."¹³⁶ Thus, Litzmann draws clear boundaries around Clara's process of growth and self-actualization, suggesting that she finds peace in the fact that Robert's creativity gives her own musical activities "direction and purpose" as her "progressively deepening musical *Bildung*" crystalizes in the realization that her *raison d'être* is to "employ the greater part of her artistic power and work in the rendering of his works" in performance, thereby "making Robert's genius accessible to the outside world."¹³⁷ Therefore, in a compelling contradiction of the typical separate spheres concept, Clara is tasked with engaging with the public while her husband finds safety in the home. Of course, this is not to suggest that Clara's labor is meant to be construed as equivalent to men's work. By the same token, Litzmann does not characterize Robert's work as domestic.

¹³⁶ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, vol. II, 5. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 135 See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

Thus, the fundamental issue is not the actual labor, but rather, the way that the spouses perceive their work in relation to their respective gender obligations. Litzmann insists that the source of Clara's unhappiness and the conflict between her own work and her husband's lies not in the circumstances themselves but in her feelings about them:

“With this [acceptance], more and more of the rift between her obligations to herself and [those to] her husband, which had given her and him many a difficult hour in the early years, entirely disappeared by itself. And this service, this arrangement and subordination, which could have broken a lesser nature, became her salvation [...]”¹³⁸

In this statement, we can hear a prototypical version of the New Traditionalist refrain that liberated women are to blame for their own unhappiness stemming from their unrealistic desire to “have it all” rather than finding joy in their traditional feminine roles. Fortunately, according to Litzmann, Clara saved her marriage and herself in accepting the demise of her own ambitions.

Decades later, Burk continues Litzmann's gender-segregated version of *Bildung*, not because of any special relevance of the concept but because it reinforces the traditional gender role of wives supporting their husbands. This theme is especially pertinent given the cultural context of the Second World War with women's work outside the home framed as service to their male family members fighting abroad. (The US would officially join the fray the year after Burk's book was published but the social norm was already established via news reels reporting on the war in Europe.)

Burk follows Litzmann's example in specifying separate motivations and outcomes for the Schumanns' studies, writing that Clara “gave him further stimulation and at the

¹³⁸ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, vol. II, 135-136. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

same time learned herself as they pursued their musical studies together.”¹³⁹ For Robert, this is an exercise to inspire his compositions—“incubation”—while for Clara it was educational “enrichment” to further her ability to stimulate and support his work.¹⁴⁰ Burk characterizes the couple’s studies as a “preparatory period” before Robert “boldly entered the orchestral field.” Clara serves as Robert’s companion as he “voraciously explored the great music of the past and its poetry as well, as if girding his spirit for larger adventure.”¹⁴¹ With Litzmann as a model, Burk insinuates that Clara’s activities are directed by Robert’s creativity with her “following step by step” where he leads.¹⁴² Burk repeats the theme of Clara’s new-found purpose as well, casting her not only as support but also protector of her husband’s creative endeavors: “She formed a quiet resolution to devote her life to making possible artistic fulfillment for the man at her side, to warding off anything that might threaten it.”¹⁴³ Once again, Burk paints Clara as her husband’s guardian, shielding him from mundane trivialities and the criticism of the unenlightened.

The episode receives only brief treatment in Harding’s version and the events take a different order. She begins with the literary studies, specifying that they are intended to support Robert “with a new libretto in mind.”¹⁴⁴ Harding quickly pivots to the theme of Clara’s subordination to her husband, painting the situation as a natural phenomenon, as

¹³⁹ Burk, *Clara Schumann: A Romantic Biography*, 215.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 212.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Harding, *Concerto*, 89.

“yielding to love’s compulsion, Clara spent herself in wifely dedication to her husband’s interests and to the care of the two babies.”¹⁴⁵ She then introduces the conflict of Clara’s inability to “keep herself musically in trim” (an intriguing parallel to the 1950s housewife’s efforts to maintain her figure) as Robert’s creativity would have been disrupted if Clara’s playing made the “walls reverberate for three hours on end.”¹⁴⁶ Harding’s specificity regarding Clara’s practice time is intriguing to me—three hours seems a modest portion of the day and yet Harding seems to suggest that Robert needed that time to compose. Of course, the implication is that the husband’s time and work is of greater value than that of his wife.

Curiously, in thematic contradiction with her previous statements, Harding refers to Clara’s musical activities in more poignantly painful terms than the previous biographers. She writes that Clara “relinquished her own spiritual need in deference to that of her beloved partner.”¹⁴⁷ Harding describes Clara’s grief for her “lost identity” as a virtuosa, which now “seemed to her unreal, a dim hallucination.”¹⁴⁸ She describes Robert’s regret about the situation as the realization of “his own selfishness” and writes that Robert conspires with Liszt to arrange the Gewandhaus concert as recompense. Harding’s concern with Clara’s own artistic identity is certainly not rooted in any feminist ideology but gender does seem to point toward an explanation. As discussed above, Harding, like Wieck/Schumann, subscribed to traditional views on gender while living a public life in

¹⁴⁵ Harding, *Concerto*, 89.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

direct contradiction to those views. Both women developed strategies for maintaining their own “spiritual need” for creativity while maintaining their feminine identities. Harding may very well have been projecting herself into the situation of her protagonist, imagining how she would feel if her own access to international travel, cosmopolitan cultural exchange, and artistic fulfillment were restricted to the degree that Clara’s was. With this episode, Harding maintains the love and marriage paradigm utilized by her predecessors, but her own experience as a creative woman seems to have introduced a complication not encountered by those male biographers. Interestingly, all the subsequent major biographies on Wieck/Schumann are penned by women.

Like Harding, Chissell writes her book in the midst of a period of social backlash against Women’s Liberation; however, her own book is even more straightforwardly conservative in its adherence to (New) Traditionalist principles. Chissell’s narrative frame of Clara as a dedicated spirit is evident in this episode. Like Harding, she places little emphasis on the actual study activities but lingers instead on the support that she provides her husband in writing his first symphony. Echoes of Burk are legible in Chissell’s text with phrases such as “Robert’s own orchestral adventures.”¹⁴⁹ Chissell presents Clara’s frustrations as a source of suffering for her, for which Robert’s completed symphony is “consolation” and “vindication” of her confidence in his genius.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, Chissell describes the Schumanns’ studies as an act of reconciliation of “their conflicting musical needs at home.”¹⁵¹ Even though Litzmann’s gender-specific concept of *Bildung* is not made explicit

¹⁴⁹ Harding, *Concerto*, 85.

¹⁵⁰ Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit*, 75.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 76.

in this text, its influence persists as Chissell links Clara's learning activities to her alignment with her husband's ideals. In New Traditionalist fashion, Chissell reinforces the domestic sphere as a haven where the pregnant Clara enjoys "fireside intellectual pursuits" exposing her to "invaluable new horizons" so that "her own tastes, standards and style began to change."¹⁵² Chissell seeks to reconcile this value-driven statement with the ample evidence that Clara continued to program show pieces for many years, writing, "In tribute to their own phenomenal wizardry (notably Henselt's), which in secret she knew to be beyond her own, however outstanding, female resources, she did in fact continue to play their operatic Fantasies whenever called upon for fireworks [...]."¹⁵³ In response to this apparent contradiction of the developing Priestess narrative, Chissell frames Clara as a practical woman who knows both her limits and the demands of audiences. As such, Clara can be viewed as merely pragmatic rather than holding independent artistic views in opposition to those of her husband.

Reich, despite writing at essentially the same time as Chissell, emphasizes Clara as an active subject in this episode. Reich's approach centers her female protagonist in keeping with Second Wave feminist ideology. Reich lists studying among several activities—composition notably included—that occupy Clara's time and includes the fact that she had help from servants in her domestic duties.¹⁵⁴ This level of detail presents a fuller picture of Clara's activities without the accompanying gender-essentialist narrative about the naturalness of domestic work for women. Further, Reich frames the learning

¹⁵² Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit*, 76.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 84.

activities as joint endeavors, undertaken together to mutually benefit to both spouses.¹⁵⁵ This framing of the Schumanns as partners in their artistic work reflects feminist values of gender equality. In describing the outcome of these studies, once again, Reich positions Clara as an active subject who values the “intellectual and musical growth” she experiences, as opposed to the other biographers discussed thus far, all of whom describe the benefit Clara, as an object, receives.¹⁵⁶ In formulating Clara’s *Bildung* as an active process, Reich rejects the gender-segregated conception of *Bildung* introduced by Litzmann, which places Clara in a passive role. Though Reich’s own approach to this episode is firmly feminist, she stops short of anachronistic suggestions that Clara herself held feminist views. Reich makes clear that Clara deferred to Robert’s judgement throughout these exercises of self-improvement: “Reflecting the thinking of her time, this wife—despite her superior musical education and years of experience in the musical world—believed her husband to be the preeminent authority in all things, musical and otherwise.”¹⁵⁷ Reich’s view of this episode is nuanced. On the one hand, Clara has agency in her pursuit of self-improvement, while on the other hand, she relies on Robert to direct and sanction her efforts. Even in acknowledging Clara’s submission to her husband’s authority, Reich does not perpetuate the earlier thematic message that through edification, Clara grasps her “greater purpose” to serve Robert’s genius.

Weissweiler, though typically in opposition to Reich’s approach, also eschews the narrative of self-actualization the other authors employed in this episode. In fact,

¹⁵⁵ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 85.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 215.

Weissweiler's treatment of this episode goes further, omitting the *Bildung* concept altogether. Instead, the episode serves as an opportunity for the biographer to reinforce that the Schumanns' marriage was an unhappy one.

Just as the other authors do, Weissweiler begins the episode by establishing the conflict that Robert—"highly sensitive to her playing the piano"—needed for quiet, thereby limiting Clara's musical activity.¹⁵⁸ As mentioned above, Weissweiler is the only biographer that does not address Clara's feelings of frustration and/or loneliness under these circumstances. Given that these feelings have otherwise been at the heart of the conflict of the episode, it seems incongruous that Weissweiler would deemphasize Clara's dissatisfaction in light of her miserable marriage refrain. The other authors discussed thus far have characterized the studies as the solution Clara's discontent and the domestic tensions arising from the spouses' conflicting musical needs. Even Reich frames these activities as a joint venture undertaken by wife and husband together to their mutual enrichment. In essence, Clara's suffering is narratively relevant only as an indicator of her sacrifice for her husband (regardless of whether the biographer condones it or not). To continue the feminine suffering and sacrifice narrative would conflict with Weissweiler's central aim to delegitimize Wieck/Schumann as the personification of the *Frau und Mutter* ideal.

Weissweiler's version of this episode is contrary to the *Bildung* narrative model, which assumes there is intrinsic value in Clara playing Bach's music (and, inversely, superficiality in practicing show pieces). In the other biographies, the study of so-called

¹⁵⁸ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 155.

masterpieces (and great literature) signifies Clara's development of a more sophisticated, Romantic sensibility as a step toward her ultimate Priestess persona. Unique to Weissweiler's text is the implication that Clara only engages in activities such as playing Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* because they are quiet and therefore undisruptive in comparison to her usual bravura repertoire.¹⁵⁹ Clara's motivation for playing this lofty repertoire (and also the music of her husband) is thereby reduced to mere pragmatism to keep the domestic peace.

Whereas Clara's scholastic efforts are represented elsewhere as a vehicle for reconciliation and marital unity, in Weissweiler's text, Robert's involvement in these activities is an extension of that conflict. In contradiction to Clara's own words—oft quoted in the other secondary sources—that Clara is grateful for Robert's gentle patience as an instructor, Weissweiler claims that Robert "showed himself to be a merciless teacher."¹⁶⁰ While some other authors include the detail (taken directly from the marriage diary) that Robert corrected Clara for an incorrect doubling in a fugue, only Weissweiler indicates that in doing so he "raises his voice" and that he criticizes her further, "accusing her of sloppiness when playing his works."¹⁶¹ In other biographies, such ruthless didacticism is reserved for Friedrich Wieck. Weissweiler insinuates that Robert's critique of Clara's imprecise performance of his compositions indicates his general dissatisfaction with his wife. Rather than recount, as some other authors do, the couples' aesthetic disagreement about the role of the performer as executant of the score, Weissweiler centers Robert's

¹⁵⁹ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 155.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

preference for the exact execution of his works by the younger pianist Amalie Rieffel as the Schumanns' "first serious marital quarrel," thereby implying that Robert's interest in Rieffel was more than merely musical.¹⁶² Weissweiler's text is replete with such suggestions of flirtation—and even infidelity—from both spouses.

Weissweiler distances her biographic subject from the feminine ideal narrative operative in the majority of these works, depicting Wieck/Schumann as lacking those qualities associated with the *Frau und Mutter* ideal. Steegmann also breaks with the image of Clara as a paragon of traditional womanhood but in contrast with Weissweiler, she engages in feminist heroine building, establishing her subject as a woman striving to overcome the oppression of patriarchy. Steegmann reproduces the familiar formula, introducing the episode with discussion of the home circumstances that limit Clara's ability to pursue her own artistic aims. Steegmann lists not only Robert's need for quiet as an obstacle but also Clara's "housewifely concerns," stating that the domestic role and its duties are "quite alien to her."¹⁶³ This inclusion carries feminist resistance to gender essentialist claims that women are naturally suited for domestic responsibilities.

Steegmann also acknowledges the gender dynamics of the marriage in discussing the effect that Robert's ill health has on Clara's own happiness since she is "completely depend[ent] on his mood and his opinion."¹⁶⁴ For Steegmann, Robert is an impediment to Clara's artistic fulfillment, not because the force of his genius demands his wife's support (as in earlier biographies), but because he, as a man, enforces the patriarchal boundaries that "curb her

¹⁶² Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 155.

¹⁶³ Monica Steegmann, *Clara Schumann*, 51.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

energy and dynamism.”¹⁶⁵ In Steegmann’s interpretation of this episode, Robert obstructs Clara’s self-actualization in denying her access to her former life of professional accomplishment.¹⁶⁶

Where Steegmann’s rendition of the episode deviates from the others is the emphasis on Clara’s determination to continue her own artistic work in the hours she has, during which “she will not even let a visit from her friend Emilie [List] keep her from her work.”¹⁶⁷ This single-minded determination to practice her art signals Clara’s strength as a feminist heroine. Not coincidentally, this piece of the narrative also aligns with the second paradigm of Romantic biography, industrious study as the path to genius. Imbedded within this paradigm is the masculine conception of *Bildung* wherein a man forms and becomes his true self through study and experience. The application of this typically male-exclusive trope to a female protagonist demonstrates the feminist underpinning of Steegmann’s writing, which seeks to uplift and celebrate the accomplishments of women like Wieck/Schumann as triumphs over the patriarchy.

Episode 2: Russian Tour

The Schumanns’ Russian tour of 1845 serves as a second canonic biographic episode through which to explore the central narrative conflict between Clara’s professional ambitions and her role as Robert’s domestic partner and muse. Each biographer recounts the tour to various degrees of specificity. The narrative components in

¹⁶⁵ Monica Steegmann, *Clara Schumann*, 52.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

these various renditions are summarized in in Table 3 below. Across the sources, there are only two universal narrative elements in the Russia episode: (1) Robert's physical illness during the journey and (2) his breakdown three months after their return to Leipzig. While the specific form varies from author to author—anxiety, depression, hypochondria, or even violent instability—all except Chissell make some mention of Robert's poor mental health during the journey. All the authors save for Harding contrast Robert's weakness with Clara's strength and stamina in the face of harrowing travel conditions. It is interesting to note this theme is functioning differently in the Romantic biographies than the more independent ones: from Litzmann to Chissell, Clara's strength provides a contrast for Robert's creativity-induced weakness, while in Reich and Steegmann the episode serves a larger feminist argument.

The Russian episode carries forward several themes from the earlier episode of Clara's 1842 concert tour (the reconciliation with Clara's father often figures between these two tour episodes).¹⁶⁸ Robert accompanied Clara throughout the Northern German cities but left Clara to continue on to Copenhagen alone. The tour episodes share a narrative focus on Robert's misery in these situations, his inability to compose under the circumstances, and the resulting harm to his mental health. Biographers linger on the husband's wretched state during Clara's solo portion of the tour as recorded in his letters and diary entries. Having once made the mistake of letting Clara undertake a long tour, the Russian tour is then presented as an ill-advised endeavor for Robert, which because of its greater duration, has even worse consequences for him.

¹⁶⁸ I discuss the 1842 Germany-Denmark tour and Clara's gendered justification thereof in chapter III of this dissertation.

Table 3: Narrative Elements of Episode 2

	<i>Litzmann</i>	<i>Burk</i>	<i>Harding</i>	<i>Chissell</i>	<i>N. Reich</i>	<i>Weissweiler</i>	<i>Steedmann</i>
Russian tour previously canceled or postponed, RS's reluctance	•			•	•		•
RS expects leisure and time for himself on trip	•	•	•		•		
Financial need as rationale for tour	•	•		•	•	•	
CS is strong, able to withstand harsh cold and hard travel	•	•		•	•	•	•
RS physical illness	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
RS mental illness, anxiety, depression	•	•	•		•	•	•
Indignity of RS's secondary position	•		•		•	•	•
CS unaware of/inattentive to RS's worsening mental state	•				•	•	
CS played for Czar at Winter palace	•	•	•		•		
Tour is lucrative	•				•	•	•
CS receives critical acclaim/honors	•			•	•		•
RS has a breakdown after return to Leipzig leads to Dresden move	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

Litzmann, Chissell, Reich, and Steegmann highlight Robert's reluctance to make the trip to Russia that Clara has long desired. Clara even enlists Felix Mendelssohn to help her convince her husband. A majority of biographers include Robert's "naïve" expectation that he will find time during the journey for leisure, cultural enrichment, and his own work. Five of the seven authors mention money as the deciding factor, whether attributing the financial concern to Clara or Robert. Although each of the biographers include something of the positive outcomes of the Russian tour for Clara (whether in terms of reception or income), this benefit is overshadowed by the harm to Robert's mental wellbeing

culminating in his breakdown three months after their homecoming. Clara Schumann is the subject of these biographies, yet the paradigms of Romantic biography in this episode are applied to Robert instead.

Though this episode obviously does not entail Robert's premature death, there are aspects that foreshadow and contribute to this tragedy according to the fifth paradigm of Romantic biography, which Wiley dubs "death as apotheosis." According to this trope, both physical deficiency as a balance to the genius' enhanced creative power and the exhaustion brought on by his relentless pursuit of art are factors in his early demise.¹⁶⁹ In this episode, Robert's genius is inscribed through the disparity in Clara and Robert's physical endurance and his subsequent breakdown due to overwork. Clara's health and strength are therefore of fundamental importance as these traits disqualify her from any claim to genius on these grounds.

The strength through suffering trope (number 3) follows the same pattern of contrasting Robert and Clara, testifying to his genius while denying hers. In alignment with this paradigm, Robert is underappreciated in Russia. Clara, on the other hand is celebrated by nobility, critics, and public alike. In fact, Robert is insulted and even emasculated by his secondary role according to most biographers. In further keeping with the trope, Robert realizes his mistake in touring with Clara, teaching him to redouble his devotion to composition, letting go of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Finally, Robert is shown to value of art over money—another common component of the strength through suffering paradigm. Despite the significant income that Clara's tours bring to the household, Robert would

¹⁶⁹ Christopher Wiley, "A Relic of an Age Still Capable of a Romantic Outlook," 182.

rather go without material comfort for the artistic fulfillment that comes from having his muse at his side.

Love and marriage, the fourth paradigm of Romantic biography is ubiquitous throughout these texts. The Russia episode is compelling because it is a negative example of the trope wherein Clara's failure to provide her husband with inspiration and the secure domestic environment he needs to nurture his creativity, results in his physical suffering and subsequent mental health crisis. There is something of the cautionary tale within this episode. Just as Robert has learned that it is a mistake to put Clara's career first, Clara is meant to learn the consequences of shirking her responsibilities as wife and muse. In some of these texts there are even traces of the sixth paradigm (death and the maiden) which implicates the female beloved in the genius' untimely death. Though not explicitly stated by any of the biographers, it is possible to interpret the Russian episode according to this trope, with Clara's focus on performance as a kind of abandonment, making her responsible for Robert's deterioration. This is insinuated in several of the sources by her seeming unawareness or inattention to his worsening condition. This failure is underscored by some authors in Clara's difficulty readjusting to her domestic role after the Russian tour.

The idea that Robert's secondary position to his wife during the tour was undignified originates in Litzmann. Reflecting the conservative gender values of the author's time, Robert's support of Clara's ambitions is not an indication of the equality of their partnership, rather it is an unnatural circumstance and source of conflict. Litzmann refers to the "delicate situation" wherein Robert interacted with people in Russia, "not as Robert Schumann, but as Clara Wieck's husband, i.e., offenses to his sense of honor and

self.¹⁷⁰ Litzmann is careful not to directly blame Clara for the situation as she “apparently had no idea about these things in most cases.”¹⁷¹ Instead, the fault is laid on the “harmless clumsiness” of those unenlightened individuals, who did not recognize that they were in the presence of genius.¹⁷² It is worth emphasizing that Litzmann frames Robert’s ancillary position as a loss of identity, uncritically employing the phrasing typically applied to women (e.g. Robert Schumann’s wife) as an indication of lowered status. While Litzmann admits that Robert may have been overly sensitive to these offences their contribution to his suffering is unambiguous.

Burk removes any trace of blame from Clara by removing her agency in the decision to travel to Russia. Reinforcing the traditional patriarchy still operative in his own time, Burk centers Robert as the responsible head of the household, who fulfills his masculine duty to provide for his family. Thus, Robert’s financially motivated decision is a matter of worldly pragmatism. For Burk, the fault lies with the harsh world that would require such a genius as Robert to sideline his creative work: “[Robert] Schumann, regretfully leaving the quiet of his study at Inselstrasse, had resolved nevertheless to keep the musical stream alive.”¹⁷³ Burk also passes over Robert’s diminished status during the tour, focusing instead on the “life of the traveler” and its accompanying “experiences” as the forces that “impeded

¹⁷⁰ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol 2: 73. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

¹⁷² Ibid. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

¹⁷³ Burk, *Clara Schumann: A Romantic Biography*, 229.

Schumann the composer.”¹⁷⁴ The biographer seems to link Robert’s inability to compose during the tour with his overzealous return to creativity once back at home. “Composing raised his spirits, spurred him to feverish mental activity, left him with frayed nerves, and forced him to lay everything aside. He passed from a state of exultation in his music to an anguished condition where musical tones were acutely painful to him.”¹⁷⁵ In focusing so completely on the third and fifth paradigms of Romantic biography in this episode (strength through suffering and death as apotheosis respectively), Burk effectively erases Clara as the protagonist in this portion of the biography.

Like Burk, Harding is invested in furthering the traditional gender roles of the Schumann couple, but whereas Burk reinforces Robert’s masculinity by omitting the incidents from the Russian tour that diminished it, Harding lingers on them. Although Harding states that Robert’s decision to accompany Clara on the 1842 tour was a mistake, she highlights the couple’s naïveté in setting out for Russia with an “eager and hopeful” attitude.¹⁷⁶ When their hopes are disappointed, this narrative framing emphasizes how misguided their expectation was as Harding is more explicit than Litzmann in revealing the “doleful truth [that] dawned on Robert.”¹⁷⁷

In recounting the Russia episode, Harding describes Robert as having “filled a kind of pageboy role, trailing in the shadow of his wife’s glory.”¹⁷⁸ The biographer’s phrasing

¹⁷⁴ Burk, *Clara Schumann: A Romantic Biography*, 229.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 230.

¹⁷⁶ Harding, *Concerto*, 90-91.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 92.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

indicates the demeaning nature of Robert's position with images of servitude and infantilization damaging to the husband's masculine ego. Harding's more explicit condemnation of the "unnatural" prominence of a woman over her husband in the public sphere is indicative of Harding's positionality on the woman's return to the home (and the reassertion of complete male dominance of the public sphere) in the 1950s. At the same time, Harding goes to greater lengths to absolve Clara of any wrongdoing in the scenario, crediting her with making "every effort to draw him likewise into the limelight" by programming his compositions in her concerts and taking "pains to reveal the new romantic movement originated by him" in her press interviews.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, for Harding, the dynamics of the situation that made Clara "the star of her own show" resulted in Robert "being reduced to being Herr Clara Schumann."¹⁸⁰ In this phrasing, Harding echoes and intensifies the theme from Litzmann that in allowing himself to be upstaged by his wife, Robert suffered a loss of identity and masculine authority. Harding points to this emasculating situation as the source of Robert's "darkest melancholy [...] for he saw himself as a figure of pity, if not ridicule."¹⁸¹ Unlike Litzmann, who insinuates that Robert has been overly sensitive, Harding apparently sees his reaction as appropriate.

Although Harding indicates that Clara did not intentionally undermine her husband's dignity, the resulting tension is still presented as an inflection point in the Schumanns' marriage. In terms of outcomes of the Russian tour, other biographers tend to focus on Robert's breakdown after their return to Leipzig. Harding, on the other hand,

¹⁷⁹ Harding, *Concerto*, 92.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

reveals her conservative position on gender roles by framing the Russian tour as a transgression of patriarchal order with consequences for their relationship. Harding employs confrontational language to describe the circumstances:

Back in Leipzig the issue was brought into the open. Did Clara intend to continue with the vagabond life of a concert artist? If so, she must count on going off unaccompanied, since Robert felt himself unfitted for the job of luggage porter and valet. His work and his manly pride were equally at stake. So was the welfare of their children and, last, not least, their marriage.¹⁸²

There can be little doubt which side Harding takes in this alleged marital quarrel. The author's word choice denigrates Clara's professional activities, evoking a nomadic lifestyle at odds with domestic respectability expected of her as a woman. At the same time, she diminishes Robert's role during concert tours—which did include the performance of his works, particularly in the case of the 1842 tour—to degrading subservience. Harding calls Clara to account for neglecting her duties as mother and wife, suggesting that continuing to pursue her career would result in breaking the Schumann home.

The central conflict between Clara's public career and domestic responsibilities that has been building through Harding's narrative to this point, now reaches a crisis point. "Clara faced a quandary. The choice she must arrive at would exact from her a very considerable price."¹⁸³ Even as Harding presents this as a crossroads for Clara, the path taken is a foregone conclusion. "It was necessary for her to recognize that a performing artist is, intrinsically, inferior to a creator, and that therefore it was she who must not stand in Robert Schumann's way."¹⁸⁴ To justify this gender-based hierarchy, Harding echoes

¹⁸² Harding, *Concerto*, 92.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 92–93.

Litzmann's statement that "the creator, in this case the man, should be granted absolute preference over the *merely* re-creative, reproducing artist—here the woman."¹⁸⁵ Thus the encoded nineteenth-century hierarchy of both gender and musical activity are intact within Harding's work.

For Harding, the protagonist's choice is not whether to give up her career but whether to happily accept that eventuality. For good measure, Harding also calls into question the validity of Clara's "spasmodic efforts at composition" as a challenge to Robert, framing her creative endeavors as "competition against her husband in a field so eminently his own."¹⁸⁶ In the conflict between Clara's ambitions and her biology, "nature" wins out in Harding's narrative:

It happened that Nature answered these questions for her. A short time after her triumphant Russian sojourn Clara found herself again expectant. With a third baby on the way her thoughts would be absorbed by matters far removed from the pianoforte, whether in a creative or interpretive capacity. Instead of concertizing she would be humming, once more, a nursery tune.¹⁸⁷

Thus, Harding removes any agency from Clara in making this all-important decision. The unavoidable reality of her female body forces her to acquiesce to her natural role of wife and mother, removing her from her primary vehicle for self-expression—the piano—and limiting her musical activity to the tiniest possible scale in the singing of lullabies.

Similar to Harding, Chissell emphasizes a period of readjustment after the extended professional activities of the Russian tour during which Clara found it difficult to "pick up

¹⁸⁵ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol 2, 4, emphasis added. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

¹⁸⁶ Harding, *Concert*, 93.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

the threads of domestic life again.”¹⁸⁸ Whereas both Harding and Chissell are writing in the context of backlash against recent gains in women’s freedoms, Chissell’s narrative seeks to idealize Clara whose “dedicated spirit” is emblematic of New Traditionalist values. Chissell’s treatment is less urgent than Harding’s, framing this readjustment as a resumption of order “after the stimulation of the last few months,” with Robert also returning to composition.¹⁸⁹ Thus, Chissell diminishes the conflict between Clara’s public and private activities.

Chissell’s chapter titles make her overarching narrative plain. The 1842 tour (the last leg of which Clara undertakes without her husband), is the central episode of the chapter entitled “Counter-claims.” As the title suggests, Chissell highlights Clara’s struggle to reconcile her professional and personal callings and the dissatisfaction she feels as a result. The chapter that follows is called “Reconciliation.” This title carries a double meaning. The first is obvious as the chapter begins with Friedrich Wieck mending his relationship with his daughter. However, the chapter primarily focuses on the Russia episode through which, according to Chissell, Clara resolves her inner conflict over these “counter claims of home and piano that right from the start caused her so many pangs.”¹⁹⁰ In keeping with the core narrative of the New Traditionalist movement, Chissell views Clara’s desire to continue her professional activities after marriage as an unnecessary conflict that inserts “moments of black despair” into Clara’s otherwise idyllic existence as a

¹⁸⁸ Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit*, 91.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

“proud and happy [...] wife, mother, and [...] reconciled daughter.”¹⁹¹ Once again, Chissell echoes Litzmann—or rather Allgeyer—who introduces the protagonist according to her various gendered relationships to others.

Like several other biographers, Chissell draws a line of causality from the Russian tour to Robert’s subsequent breakdown. She frames his decision to undertake the trip as a concession to Clara who would benefit from the trip and suffer no ill effects for, “slender as she is, she is very healthy, and has the endurance of a man.”¹⁹² Robert, who as a genius was physically weaker than the average man, suffered physically for the exertion and mentally for the restriction of his creativity. Chissell repeats Burk’s claim that the frustration of obstructed composition during the tour led Robert to exhaust himself in a frenzy of productivity back at home. According to Chissell, after months of “brood[ing] in bed over *Faust* in Russia,” Robert became “absorbed” in composition, neglecting everything except the “obsessional urgency of the task at hand” of giving Goethe’s story musical shape.¹⁹³ Chissell asserts that Robert’s relentless effort to finish the work depleted what little strength he had left after the tour, “causing a breakdown far more critical than anything he had ever experienced before.”¹⁹⁴ In this statement, Chissell adopts a remarkably conservative position, evoking Romantic attitudes about the physicality of gender and genius more common in the 1880s than in her actual decade of the 1980s. Chissell’s Clara

¹⁹¹ Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit*, 86.

¹⁹² Robert Schumann, letter to Gustav Adolf Keferstein quoted in translation [citation not provided], Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit*, 87.

¹⁹³ Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit*, 91.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

Schumann then learns a hard lesson from her insistence on the Russian tour, serving as a cautionary tale of the costs of gender transgression for twentieth-century readers.

Reich, writing in the same historical moment but from the opposite ideological perspective, might be expected to dispense with any link between Clara's fruition of her professional ambitions through the Russian tour and Robert's ill physical and mental health. Curiously, Reich is the only biographer to preserve all of the elements from Litzmann's treatment of the Russia episode. But while the elements coincide, their narrative function differs in Reich's monograph. While Clara's "amazing stamina" allowed her to endure difficult travel conditions, Reich points to Clara's feelings of "exhilarat[ion] and fulfill[ment]" as the source of her strength.¹⁹⁵ As such, Reich breaks with the weak genius trope. Of course, that is not to say that Reich glosses over Robert's struggles with his physical and mental health during the trip.

Surprisingly, considering Reich's usual feminist frame, the author is more direct than previous biographers in calling out Clara's apparent disregard for Robert's condition. Reich paints a picture of the "animated and energetic" Clara as a "self-absorbed concert artist on tour," who refuses to "face up" to the fact that "Robert was in serious trouble."¹⁹⁶ Along with Harding and Chissell, Reich acknowledges the "mixed feelings" that Clara felt upon returning to the domestic sphere but the previous description of Clara's egotism during the tour lends an air of judgement to Reich's statement that Clara had "left the heady world of the glamorous star" to resume her life at home.¹⁹⁷ Despite Reich's avoidance of the

¹⁹⁵ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 97.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 99.

trope of “death as apotheosis” (physical deficiency balancing creative power), the implication that Clara was at least partly responsible for her husband’s breakdown suggests the paradigm that Wiley dubs “death and the maiden.” As already stated, according to Reich, Clara is too wrapped up in the tour to notice the severity of Robert’s illness and depression in Russia. Reich asserts that Clara was disinclined to acknowledge Robert’s worsening condition in the ensuing months, preferring to “simply assum[e] more responsibilities” herself until she was forced to “recognize that drastic action was necessary.”¹⁹⁸ A sympathetic reading might frame Clara’s reaction as trepidatious denial or psychological defense but Reich’s characterization of the pianist’s behavior in Russia leaves little room for such an interpretation.

While it is true that Reich sets herself apart from her predecessors in maintaining her subject’s perspective at the center of the narrative, her feminist approach does not extend to uncritical heroine building. Though elsewhere in the biography Reich dips into psychobiographical methods to decipher Clara’s motivations or reactions, in this episode, Reich does not consider the more sympathetic possibility that Clara’s seemingly indifferent behavior may have been a coping mechanism in the face of the frightening reality of her husband’s failing mental health. As evidence of Clara’s narcissism, Reich reports that Clara had written to her friend Emilie List of the “triumphs she had enjoyed and the money she had earned” in Russia but that “Robert’s illness was not even mentioned.”¹⁹⁹ It is impossible to be certain of Clara’s motivations for this omission in her correspondence, especially given the destruction of her personal diary covering this period; however, it is

¹⁹⁸ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 98-99.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 98.

reasonable to assume that Robert would not appreciate her disclosing his personal struggles to her friends in an era when mental illness carried so much stigma. In committing to this picture of Clara as career-driven above all else—ostensibly a second-wave feminist ideal—Reich ironically approaches Weissweiler’s unflattering depiction of this episode.

In her rendition of the Russia episode, Weissweiler subverts the Romantic paradigms present in the earlier biographies. Far from utilizing these tropes to demonstrate his genius, Weissweiler seemingly blames Robert for his own suffering. Her version is distinct in stressing that throughout the Russian tour, to Clara, Robert was a burden, “who instead of helping her, gave her nothing but worries.”²⁰⁰ The biographer portrays him as unreasonable and pathetic. She claims that his physical symptoms were manifestations of hypochondria, that he petulantly refused to accompany Clara on the visits she was obligated to make (only regretting that he missed out on meeting pretty princesses), and also implies that he is uninterested in Russian culture—despite ample evidence to the contrary in letters and diary entries—as he only appreciated Moscow because “he liked the beer there so much.”²⁰¹ Weissweiler even recounts an (unsubstantiated) incident in which Robert embarrasses Clara with unstable and violent behavior, “bludgeoning” an innocent cab driver in his “blind rage.”²⁰² To summarize, within

²⁰⁰ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 177. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 178. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

the space of a few pages, Weissweiler has characterized Robert Schumann as an incurious, hypochondriacal, selfish, petulant, violent alcoholic with a roving eye.

It is little wonder then that, according to Weissweiler, Clara lacks sympathy for her husband: “[...] should she be silent and sad just because Robert was? Had she made the long journey just to suffer?”²⁰³ Weissweiler chips away at the canonic idea of Clara’s devotion to Robert as spouse and composer. To that end, the author claims—in direct opposition to both previous authors and archival evidence from concert programs—that Clara played “only three small pieces by Robert” during the months-long Russian tour.²⁰⁴ To further dismantle the image of Robert as genius, Weissweiler negates the narrative that he is consumed by work on *Faust* upon the tour’s conclusion. Instead, she explains his breakdown as dissatisfaction with his circumstances in Leipzig, leading him to give up everything, composition included, out of despondency.²⁰⁵ Unlike all the others authors who frame the move to Dresden as a curative measure for Robert, emphasizing to various degrees Clara’s concern for her husband and hope for his recovery, Weissweiler writes that “Clara was partial to Dresden” despite her friends’ doubts, implying that she had ulterior motives for the relocation as she “looked forward to the daily get-together with her father, which Robert anticipated with the greatest unease.”²⁰⁶ Weissweiler therefore suggests that

²⁰³ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 178. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 177. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation. For an analysis of available archival material, see Reinhard Kopiez, Andreas C Lehmann, and Janina Klassen, “Clara Schumann's Collection of Playbills: A Historiometric Analysis of Life-span Development, Mobility, and Repertoire Canonization.” *Poetics* (Amsterdam) 37/1 (2009): 50-73.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 179. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 80-81. See Appendix B for excerpts of the original German text and my translation.

Clara is opportunistic in this moment of her husband's vulnerability, disregarding Robert's discomfort with her father in favor of her own selfish aims.

As in the earlier episode, Steegmann's portrayal of Clara during the Russian tour celebrates the protagonist as a feminist icon. Like Reich, she presents Clara's strength on the Russian tour as the manifestation of "her pleasure and satisfaction to finally be doing something artistic."²⁰⁷ More than physical strength to withstand the difficulties of journeying in Russia in midwinter, Steegmann underscores Clara's determination to overcome external circumstances that resulted in poor attendances in some cities and her independence. "All the same, she could be satisfied: she had arranged and made an important four-month tour without her father, reliant entirely on herself—Robert, constantly ill, was more of a hindrance than a help—and had made a profit of some 3000 talers. The 'wonderful artist', as she was known in Russia had found acknowledgement and recognition."²⁰⁸ In contrast with Reich, however, Steegmann represents Clara's dedication to her professional activities as a positive attribute. The biographer keeps the focus on the heroine, not detailing Robert's psychological struggles in Russia but calling his breakdown in August the "repercussions" of the "mental strains of this tour."²⁰⁹ Steegmann's version of the Russia episode breaks entirely with the paradigms of Romantic biography present in the other texts because these paradigms, so strictly applied to Robert, become increasingly irrelevant as his role in the narrative diminishes. Steegmann, knowingly or not, seems to have answered Christine Battersby's call for a female hermeneutics in rejecting the male-

²⁰⁷ Steegmann, *Clara Schumann*, 59.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

exclusive criteria of genius to signal her subject's value.²¹⁰ The departure from the tropes of Romantic biography in this and other recent biographies may, in fact, signal a break with the genre of Romantic biography itself as women and people of color are increasingly deemed deserving of legacy.

In the case of Wieck/Schumann, there is a potential model in the work of Beatrix Borchard.²¹¹ Already in 1994, Borchard favored a thematic structure only loosely tied to chronology in *Clara Schumann: Ihr Leben*, which she subtitled a "biographic montage." Her recent 2019 monograph on Wieck/Schumann abandons traditional chronological narrative structure altogether. Instead, each chapter is based around archival documents as an access point to some aspect of Wieck/Schumann's life. For example, Borchard includes letters between Wieck/Schumann and her mother as an entry point to the little-explored relationship between them. Additionally, Borchard directly engages with little-used primary sources such as unpublished letters with Wieck/Schumann's friends and iconographic material (e.g., a sketch of Schumann and her brother Alwin Wieck playing cards in 1880). Furthermore, Borchard makes this material transparent to the reader, reproducing it in full whenever possible. This approach allows her to move past the Litzmann-established canon of biographic episodes and to break with the narratives of both Romantic biography and feminist biography.

²¹⁰ Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 154-61.

²¹¹ Beatrix Borchard, *Clara Schumann: Ihr Leben, eine biographische Montage* (Hildesheim: Olms Georg, 1994, 2015); and *Musik als Lebensform: neue Quellen, andere Schreibweisen* (Hildesheim: Olms Georg, 2019).

CONCLUSION

Romantic biographies have traditionally relied on tropes of genius to communicate the significance of their male subjects. Because the paradigms of Romantic biography are inextricably connected to genius, they are inherently gendered and reinforce male heteronormative social roles. Thus, thus Romantic biographers such as Litzmann (and those whose work is an extension of his) have adapted those tropes to preserve their female subject as a role model.

Precisely because the notion of genius cannot shed its gender-essentialist roots, Battersby argues for a female aesthetics, a new set of criteria for greatness available to women. Feminist ideology offers an alternative ideal by which to demonstrate the excellence of the female biographical subject through their gender performance; the feminist archetype of the independent, empowered woman is divorced from gendered dichotomies of beautiful (as opposed to the sublime). While qualities of the masculine sublime include such characteristics as ineffability, uncontrolled power, pain and death, its opposite, the beautiful, is defined as passive, soft, decorative, and domestic. It is no coincidence that these characteristics align with traditional femininity. Thus, the positionality and ideology of the late twentieth-century biographer and their historical-sociopolitical context comes to bear on the narrative framing of the female subject, who is measured according to the specific ideal of womanhood held by the author, either in support of or opposition to the gender standards currently dominant in their societal context.

CHAPTER III

FRIEDRICH'S MAGNUM OPUS: CLARA WIECK/SCHUMANN AND THE HÉLOÏSE COMPLEX

In a diary entry dated 25 November 1839, Clara Wieck wrote that every artist who does not create is destined for oblivion. She did not exempt herself from this eventuality, acknowledging that as a performer, she too would surrender to obscurity over time: *“Ich denke, mich mit der Zeit darein zu ergeben, wie ja überhaupt jeder Künstler der Vergessenheit anheim fällt, der nicht schaffender Künstler ist.”*²¹² Clara understood then that to cease to compose was to forgo the opportunity to create a legacy of her own. In light of this statement, the question emerges: why did she—the child prodigy who had already been composing at age eleven—now choose to devote herself primarily to the impermanent activities of performance? Why did she now decline to forge her own legacy through composition? Within the same entry, she seems to supply a simple, straightforward explanation—one predicated upon contemporary social dictates: “a lady must not wish to compose.”²¹³

The biographies discussed in the last chapter might suggest that there is nothing more underlying this statement than the banal prohibitions of bourgeois gender roles—whether for good or ill. Instead, I offer a different approach that balances close reading of Wieck/Schumann’s words with careful consideration of her relationships and social

²¹² Clara Wieck, 25 November 1839, *Jugendtagebücher*, Vierter Band, Tagebuch VII, 352. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²¹³ *Ibid.* See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

circumstances. Rather than measuring Wieck/Schumann against any standard of ideal womanhood, I wish to gain new insights into how her view of gender had practical applications in her personal and professional life. I argue that Clara's artistic shift from budding creator to fulltime amanuensis was born of her calculated navigation of her intersecting identities of woman and artist. Framing her work as a larger impulse to serve someone "greater" than herself was as much pragmatism as ideology. As will emerge, her eventual decision to abandon her own compositional endeavors reads as a kind of metaphorical martyrdom, the death of her creative ambitions, yet she achieved the lasting legacy that should have been unattainable to her as a woman and a performer.

Clara's reflection on her experiences growing up as pupil and daughter (in that order) of Friedrich Wieck suggests that sublimation of her own identity was engrained from an early age. The father-daughter relationship relayed in Clara's writings reveals that she was conditioned during childhood to conflate musical learning with familial love and to venerate her male mentors as geniuses, furthering their work at the expense of her own. These tendencies are characteristic of the more general phenomenon that philosopher Michèle Le Dœuff dubbed the "Héloïse complex."²¹⁴ Using the Héloïse complex as a frame, I will demonstrate that the dynamics her relationships with male figureheads would ultimately contribute to Clara's willingness to sacrifice her own legacy in service to that of others.

To understand the artistic and professional decisions Clara made, it is necessary to unearth the underlying patterns of thought that shaped her actions. In delving into the

²¹⁴ Michèle Le Dœuff, *Hipparchia's Choice: An Essay concerning Women, Philosophy, Etc.*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

psychology of my subject, I wield the tools of psychobiography to investigate Clara's personal thoughts, emotions, and relationships.²¹⁵ Admittedly, psychobiography has its skeptics given its close ties to Freudian psychoanalysis. However, just as the field of clinical psychology has developed significantly over the last century, so too has the genre of psychobiography. As William Todd Schultz explains, psychobiography is not pathography—that is, it is not intended to diagnose its subjects.²¹⁶ Additionally, Schultz distances psychobiography from biography—that is the comprehensive, chronological retelling of an individual's life story. He makes the distinction that psychobiography uses biographic data to concentrate on a facet of a person's personality and experiences to answer a question about their life. In Schultz's words, "biography is about the WHAT, psychobiographies are about the WHY, the question of motives."²¹⁷ It's important to note that psychobiography recognizes that there are multiple motivations at work in determining an individual's behavior, in contrast to the stereotypical view of Freudian psychoanalytical theory. Put simply, psychobiography is the concentrated study of a known

²¹⁵ I eschew what I consider to be the common pitfalls of psychobiography as a methodology: Freudian psychoanalysis and speculative, anachronistic pathologizing. For example, see Anna Burton, "A Psychoanalyst's View of Clara Schumann" (1968) in *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Music*, edited by Stuart Feder, Richard L. Karmel, and George H. Pollock (Madison, CT: International Universities Press, 1990): 97-113.

²¹⁶ For an overview of the discipline and its methodologies, see: William Todd Schultz, *Handbook of Psychobiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Alan Elms, *Uncovering Lives: The Uneasy Alliance Between Biography and Psychology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); William McKinley Runyan, *Life Histories and Psychobiography: Explorations in Theory and Method* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); and Irving E. Alexander, *Personology: Method and Content in Personality Assessment and Psychobiography* (London: Duke University Press), 1990.

²¹⁷ William Todd Schultz, "What is Psychobiography?," accessed 11 November 2020, williamtoddschultz.wordpress.com.

historical figure with the intent to reveal underlying personal motivations for their publicly visible acts and decisions.

A close reading of Clara's own words and contextualization of such in her life and her historical moment—particularly with regard to gender norms and philosophies of creativity—forms the evidentiary basis for my analysis. With evidence from diaries and correspondence, I show that Friedrich Wieck molded his daughter Clara to serve as a reflection of his self-perceived pedagogical genius. While his influence on her was strong, as a young woman she continued her betrothal to Robert Schumann in defiance of her father's interdiction. As the resulting rift in their parent-child relationship grew, Clara's writings reveal her efforts to map the patterns of the Héloïse complex onto her relationship with Robert, seeking his instruction and reframing her own performance activities as sacrifice for his sake.

Throughout the nineteenth century, women in other parts of Europe were experiencing greater independence as laws gradually changed to reflect the growing social acceptance of women stepping outside the domestic sphere; however, these changes were much slower in German-speaking lands.²¹⁸ For the majority of Clara's lifetime, women were still subjected to social and economic restrictions, which practically speaking, served as guardianship that passed from father to husband. The husband became a new caretaker for his wife, assuming authority over her in a recognizably paternalistic way. In light of this, a certain transference of the dynamics of the father-daughter relationship to Clara's marriage is

²¹⁸ Eda Sagarra, *A Social History of Germany, 1648-1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1977), 406. See also: Stanley Zucker, "Female Political Opposition in Pre-1848 Germany" in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History*, edited by John C. Fout. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984, pp. 133-150.

to be expected as it was institutionalized in nineteenth-century marriage to some extent. What makes Clara's situation different is the dynamic itself, in which instruction and affection are one and the same.

Clara recorded her resignation to her own eventual obscurity at a moment of personal turmoil. She had broken with Friedrich, joining with Robert to formally appeal the court for consent to marry without her father's blessing. With her childhood home closed to her, she left Paris for Berlin, where she stayed with her mother Marianne Bargiel. While Marianne was warm and welcoming to her daughter, the fact remained that Clara felt isolated living among family she barely knew. All the while, she was aware that her future was now in the hands of the court, whose decision she anxiously awaited.

During this time, her father did all that he could to discredit and hurt Clara and Robert. The biographer Berthold Litzmann explains that it was "with the obvious intention of wounding and harming Clara" that Friedrich made a show of supporting Marie Pleyel in Leipzig, acting as "patron, protector, and enthusiastic admirer of her [Clara's] rival."²¹⁹ This spectacle had the desired effect on his daughter. On November 11, Clara writes bitterly in her diary:

[...] Father continues to behave in the most unpaternal way toward me. He turned Pleyel's pages in her concerto and [did so] with an enraptured look. The other day, as Robert writes to me, she was garlanded. In Leipzig, only a woman like Pleyel, who is the finest coquette, could achieve this. I do not envy her since I care so little for the world now.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben Nach Tagebüchern Und Briefen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1920) vol. 1, 378. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

²²⁰ Clara Wieck, *Jugendtagebücher* (11 November 1839), 349. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

Despite her denial, it seems that Clara was indeed jealous of Pleyel. In assuming a mentorship role over Clara's rival, Friedrich essentially signaled to Clara that he was replacing her not only as a pianist, but more significantly, as his daughter.

Although differently motivated, Clara also sought to replace her father in her relationship with Robert, yet it seemed that Pleyel was challenging that bond as well. Clara's insecurity was heightened as Robert, in his journalistic capacity, had written a favorable review of Pleyel's November 8th concert in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*:

The fine, delicate figure of the artist, her childish bowing, as if she did not deserve such applause, [and] even more what she revealed more deeply through her art, will still haunt the memory into the future. We look after the departing artist with the most heartfelt wishes that she may also experience for herself the happiness with which she has showered so many.²²¹

Unsurprisingly, Clara wrote enviously of the French virtuosa once again on November 25: "Everything that I read about her is ever clearer proof to place her above me; and then, of course, I cannot help, for my part, being totally dejected."²²² Some weeks earlier, when the Pleyel situation began, Clara had expressed her conviction in her diary to "live for one [person] alone," and to derive her "greatest joy" from recognition of Robert's talent, "if only the world would do him justice."²²³ She felt in that moment that it would never do so for her as it "ha[d] become clear" to her that she "shall never make a great success in the world" because she did "not possess the personality necessary for this." In fact, her

²²¹ Florestan, (Robert Schumann), „Camilla Pleyel,“ [Review of November 8 concert], *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 1, no. 38 (12 November 1839): 155. See Appendix A for original German Text.

²²² Clara Wieck, *Jugendtagebücher*, Vierter Band, Tagebuch VII, 25 November 1839, 352. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²²³ Clara Wieck, 11 November 1839, *Jugendtagebücher*, Vierter Band, Tagebuch VIII, p.349. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

dejection was so complete in this moment that she did “not wish to possess [those qualities].”²²⁴

Without her father’s direction, Clara lacked her customary means of minimizing the cognitive dissonance that resulted from her participation in the male-dominated sphere of professional music, and especially composition. To demonstrate how Clara employed the student persona as a tactic to abdicate authorship, I turn to Le Dœuff’s Héloïse complex as a model. Le Dœuff posited that throughout history women have gained access to knowledge primarily by placing themselves in the role of “loving admirer,” venerating their male mentors at the expense of their own creativity.²²⁵ With this frame in place, we can see beyond the unique circumstances of Clara’s biography to a broader pattern of thinking among creative women, including other composers. I define the Héloïse complex in the section below and in what follows, I investigate key relationships in Clara’s life through that lens: Friedrich’s claims of creation and possession of his daughter, the patriarch-enforced distance from her mother Marianne, and the reassignment of the teacher role to Robert.

THE HÉLOÏSE COMPLEX

Le Dœuff first introduced the Héloïse complex in in an attempt to explain why, historically, those women who have had access to philosophical thought have not become philosophers in their own right. Le Dœuff names the complex for the twelfth-century writer Héloïse d’Argenteuil, whose relationship with the famous theologian Peter of Abelard

²²⁴ Clara Wieck, 11 November 1839, *Jugendtagebücher, Vierter Band, Tagebuch VIII*, p.349. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²²⁵ Le Dœuff, *Hipparchia’s Choice*, 59 and 164.

provided the prototype exhibiting essential features of the complex. For Le Dœuff, “erotic-theoretical transference”—conflating love with knowledge—between female pupil and male philosopher was key.²²⁶

Just as with music, gender-based exclusion from institutions of learning meant that women had to rely on personal relationships (romantic or familial) in order to access philosophical knowledge.²²⁷ Because of the nature of these relationships, Le Dœuff initially argued that the female student was unable to produce original philosophy from her own perspective since everything was mediated through the master/lover, rendering her a mere disciple—a perpetual student whose own work was necessarily derivative of that of her master. Le Dœuff later amended this point in *Hipparchia's Choice* (1991), stating that women actually did produce their own philosophy, but they did so surreptitiously through atypical genres such as letters, drama, and novels.²²⁸ Under these conditions, while a woman was creating, she “did not see herself doing it.”²²⁹

In Clara's case, surreptitious creation was a question of authorship rather than genre—in fact, Clara was particularly intimidated by song despite its characterization as a

²²⁶ The term transference has a psychoanalytical ring to it. Indeed, Le Dœuff's work is in dialogue with that of Sigmund Freud in the area of the subconscious and the idea of repression. That said, she is an avowed feminist and specifically objects to Freud's views on gender, which she considers misogynistic. For her own explanations of this nuance in her work, see: Michèle Le Dœuff, et al. "Panel Discussion with Michèle Le Dœuff, *Paragraph* 33, no. 1 (2010): 105-24.

²²⁷ I am speaking primarily in terms of secular institutions from the late 18th through early 20th centuries. There was absolutely access for women to formal musical education and musicking within Christian religious institutions such as convents as early as the Middle Ages. That said, musical activities within this female space were subject to male control of church leaders. Hildegard von Bingen's strife with church authorities who would limit her and her nuns in their music-making is one prominent example.

²²⁸ Moira Gatens, “Feminist Methods in the History of Philosophy or Escape from Coventry,” in *The Routledge Companion to Feminist Philosophy*, ed. Ann Garry, (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017).

²²⁹ Le Dœuff, *Hipparchia's Choice*, 164.

“feminine” genre that allowed so many women to write music without impinging on the masculine realm of large-scale, “serious” music. Instead, Clara achieved a state of plausible deniability, abdicating responsibility for her desire to compose to her father’s errant influence. In the same oft-quoted diary entry in which she foregoes her own claim to legacy, Clara wrote that her father once led her to believe the arrogant notion that she might be “the one”—the exception to the societal dictate forbidding women from seriously aspiring to compose.²³⁰

As I argue later in this chapter, Clara furthered this subversion tactic with Robert—giving credit or blame for her composing to the men who were responsible for her. Thus, she did not rebel or transgress as she pursued her musical endeavors under her husband’s guidance and watchful eye. Especially in the early years of her marriage, Clara sometimes relinquished authorship to her husband, offering her own work as a mutual accomplishment. In this way, Clara expanded her metaphorical blind spot, enabling her to avoid “seeing herself” compose.

Ironically, though her father first inspired her belief in her own creative talent, the dynamics of their relationship would ultimately contribute to Clara’s willingness to sacrifice her own legacy in service to that of others. Though clearly not romantic in nature, their interactions display the kind of double relationship that Le Dœuff associated with the Héloïse complex. In her authoritative biography, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, musicologist Nancy Reich paints a vivid picture of Friedrich’s treatment of his daughter as both possession and commodity. Although as a child Clara was seemingly

²³⁰ Clara Wieck, 25 November 1839, *Jugendtagebücher*, Vierter Band, Tagebuch VII, 352. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

unaware that her father exploited her talents, Reich asserts that Friedrich's controlling, manipulative, and even abusive behavior contributed to the girl's unhappy childhood.²³¹ Motivated by his own pursuit of money and prestige, Friedrich approached pedagogy and parenting as a single practice with all his children, but most especially with Clara: "For this child to whom music and playing the piano were indispensable—perhaps even equivalent to love—prohibitions against playing or practicing were terrifying. Wieck punished infractions of behavior by withholding lessons or favorite pieces."²³² Reich does not elaborate beyond this sentence on her suggestion that Clara may have equated music and love; however, this observation is crucial to understanding Clara's emotional investment in gaining her father's approval through musical accomplishment. In essence, to prove herself worthy of instruction was to prove herself worthy of her father's love.

Whereas romantic love—i.e. erotico-theoretical transference—is the only type referenced in Le Dœuff's writings, I argue that this idea could easily be extended to familial relationships with the same gender and power dynamics. Thus, Clara experienced her father's love through his musical instruction: *storge*-theoretical transference, as it were. (*Storge* [στοργή] is an ancient Greek word referring to the instinctual love that exists between parents and children; it is one of several categories of Platonic love defined in Plato's *Symposium*.) As I discuss later in this chapter, the adult Clara also engaged in erotico-theoretical transference in her relationship with Robert. In fact, she explicitly articulated this transference when she wrote in her diary after spending a day with her

²³¹ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 33.

²³² *Ibid.*

fiancé that, “I would like to compare music with love! If it is too beautiful and intimate, it causes pain, as a result, sometimes I feel that my heart wants to leap.”²³³ Throughout her childhood, Clara’s father actively encouraged this dynamic, with both affection and censure enacted through music. The daily reinforcement of this is vividly documented in the *Jugendtagebücher* (1827 to 1840), the record of the first eighteen years of Clara’s life. As Reich observes: “information, praise, reproach, condemnation, exhortation are all clearly seen in his black, bold handwriting, but he persisted in using the first person throughout, as though Clara were writing; he even referred to himself as ‘Father’.”²³⁴ Thus Friedrich treated the document as a pedagogical aid as well as a parenting tool.

Friedrich’s domination of his daughter’s diary, and particularly the bizarre choice to write from her perspective, offer insight into the man’s view of his daughter as his creation, even an extension of his own identity—an alter ego of sorts.²³⁵ In fact, the *Jugendtagebücher* stands more as a record of Friedrich’s pedagogical methods in grooming the budding virtuosa than a mere accounting of the girl’s experiences. It is a chronicle of creation, written with an eye toward Friedrich’s own legacy.

Even in the passages that Clara penned herself the reader perceives that Friedrich guides her hand to form the words. This is particularly apparent in cases where he makes comments and corrections in the margins. These annotations, as well as the entries he writes on his daughter’s behalf are easy to distinguish as his handwritings is quite different

²³³ Clara Wieck, 26 September 1839, *Jugendtagebücher*, reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: eine Künstlerleben*, vol. I: 370. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²³⁴ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and The Woman*, 18.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 212.

from hers. As biographer Berthold Litzmann noted, the majority of the *Jugendtagebücher* are essentially the reflection of the views and opinions of the father, not of the daughter.²³⁶ If this diary were to stand for posterity as a record of Friedrich's genius, he could ill afford to leave its contents in the hands of a child. Thus, his need to control the narrative extended even to the expression of opinions supposedly held by Clara herself, leading him to assume her identity in the diary. It is not until the summer of 1838, when she embarks on her solo trip to Paris, that the teenage Clara assumes control of her own diary, recording judgements and sentiments of her own (shaped as they are by years of her father's influence).

Within Clara's correspondence, there is evidence that Friedrich's tendency to blur the boundary between himself and his daughter in the diary had a real effect on Clara's perception of her sovereignty of self. For example, Friedrich inserted himself in her December 17, 1832 letter to Robert to impart his own reactions to a recent concert. Presumably, he dictated to Clara, who included her father's opinions as though they were her own, marking the passage with the phrase, "This is where Father helped me with this letter."²³⁷ While it is true that Clara was only thirteen when she penned this letter and therefore somewhat unsurprising that she would defer to her father's experience to shape her own thoughts on the performance, to directly quote his views as her own shows the extent to which she had become accustomed to serving as Friedrich's mouthpiece.

²³⁶ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. I, vii. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

²³⁷ „Hier hat mir der Vater beidem Briefe geholfen.“ Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann, 17 December 1832, *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1 1832 - 1838, Eva Weissweiler, ed. (Basel; Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1984), 5.

Friedrich utilized the diary not only to record the lessons he taught his daughter, but also to reinforce the dynamics of their relationship in which parental approval was dependent upon musical achievement. As an example of this *storge*-theoretical transference, I offer a passage from the nine-year-old Clara's diary—in actuality, Friedrich writing in his daughter's voice—to illustrate how he restricted access to music to punish Clara when he found her behavior did not meet his standards:

My father, who has long hoped in vain for a change of heart [*Sinnesänderung*] from my side, remarked again today that I am still as lazy, careless, sloppy, stubborn, disobedient etc. [*pp: perge, perge*] as ever, [and] that I am particularly so in [my] piano playing and studies. And because I played Hüntens's new variation op. 26 so badly in his presence and did not even take the repeats in the first variation, he tore up the copy before my eyes, and from today forward he will not give me any more lessons, and I may play nothing but scales, Book I of Cramer's Etudes, and Czerny's Trill Exercises. At my 8 o'clock morning lesson, my brothers will now learn piano [in my stead] and my father will start with them tomorrow.²³⁸

As he was the sole parental figure in her daily life, gaining Friedrich's approval must have meant everything to the young pianist.²³⁹ One can imagine how reading each of these words—lazy, careless, disorderly, stubborn, disobedient—must have stung the child. That Friedrich applies these adjectives to her playing and studies as well as her behavior more generally reinforces that playing well would earn Clara's father's approbation.

Friedrich punished his daughter by denying her access to musical knowledge, and therefore, his attention. Clara cannot have missed the implicit threat that this arrangement could become permanent. Even at nine years old, she must have been aware that under typical circumstances fathers trained their sons—not their daughters—for professional

²³⁸ Clara Wieck (Friedrich Wieck), 29 October 1828, *Jugendtagebücher*, 48. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²³⁹ Nancy Reich and Anna Burton, "Clara Schumann: Old Sources, New Readings," *The Musical Quarterly*, 70/3 (1984): 348.

careers in music. For Clara (without question the favorite child in the Wieck household), that her brothers might take her place in lessons represented a threat that they could also take her place in her father's heart. Reich remarks upon the "specially intense relationship" that developed between Clara and her father over lessons and concert tours in subsequent years.²⁴⁰ As such, the parent-child relationship became increasingly intermingled with and almost indistinguishable from the teacher-student dynamic for Clara.

Clara's father established the terms of their interactions from the beginning of her life. Even before she was born, Friedrich decided that he would train her to be a virtuoso, the living proof of his pedagogical methods.²⁴¹ He offered Clara as evidence of his own teaching prowess in a letter to Robert Schumann's mother in which he assured her that if her son applied himself and followed Friedrich's lessons he would "play with more warmth and genius than Moscheles, and on a grander scale than Hummel. The proof of this I offer you in my 11-year-old daughter, whom I am now beginning to present to the world."²⁴² Gender was the determining factor (positive and negative) in Clara's access to music. Litzmann said that Friedrich Wieck decided before she was born that if the child proved to be a girl, he would make her a performer and that her name was meant to predict her fame.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Nancy Reich and Anna Burton, "Clara Schumann: Old Sources, New Readings," *The Musical Quarterly*, 70/3 (1984), 347.

²⁴¹ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. I: 4-5. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

²⁴² Friedrich Wieck, Letter to Johanna Christiane (née Schnabel) Schumann, 9 August 1830, reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. I: 21. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 5. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

But why should Friedrich decide that a daughter, rather than a son, was the one to train as a virtuoso? I contend that whereas Friedrich did train his sons for professional careers in music, as the young men matured, they would increasingly gain ownership over their own professions. By contrast, even as an adult, a daughter would remain under her father's guardianship as long as she remained unmarried. Eva Weissweiler also recognizes the power dynamics of gender as motivating Friedrich's desire for daughter. She offers the evidence of Marianne Wieck's first pregnancy during which Friedrich vocalized his wish for a female child. According to Weissweiler, Marianne was perplexed by her husband's preference and upon asking for an explanation, Friedrich told her that girls are more compliant [gefügiger].²⁴⁴ Whereas Friedrich subscribed to traditional ideals of gender essentialism with regard to the character of girls, he ostensibly waved away Marianne's concern that a female pianist would lack the physical strength to play with the power that characterized the most famous male virtuosos of the day. Friedrich could easily train his daughter to be strong through regimented exercise, both musical and physical.²⁴⁵ Although their first child Adelheid did not survive infancy, Friedrich's intentions for his second child remained the same. Clara's gender was therefore *the* central issue in her relationship with her father. It was the reason that he showered her with attention and poured into her his ambition. To give his daughter to another man through her marriage represented not just a

²⁴⁴ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 18-19. As with much of Weissweiler's book, these assertions and references to the content of conversations are unsubstantiated with actual evidence from primary sources. As such, I cannot verify that this exchange took place between the Wiecks in the first year of their marriage. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

loss of income for Friedrich; in his view, he would be losing the personification of his life's work as a pedagogue, his legacy.

In Le Dœuff's Héloïse complex, the master benefits from the adoring gaze of his pupil, "in which he sees his own thought as perfection."²⁴⁶ In convincing the pupil of his genius, he convinces himself. In the case of the Wiecks, it is clear that Clara internalized the picture of her father as a genius. Decades later, when Clara was herself a grandmother, she still defended her father's methods and crediting his "pedagogical genius which, with moderate study and the most judicious cultivation of the spirit [*Geist*] and soul [*Gemüth*] brought me so far. To my sorrow I must say that my father has never been recognized as he deserved [to be]. I thank him my whole life for all the so-called cruelties."²⁴⁷ As these examples demonstrate, the Héloïse complex had a profound and lasting effect on Clara's view of her father.

FRIEDRICH'S CLAIMS OF CREATION AND POSSESSION

Before Friedrich began to train his daughter, he was deeply involved with the career of his student-turned-wife, the singer and pianist Marianne Tromlitz Wieck (later Bargiel). In a classic Héloïse complex scenario, Friedrich blended roles of teacher and husband, exploiting Marianne's talents to boost his own reputation. According to Reich, Friedrich's harsh and domineering personality combined with his "driving ambition, vanity, and

²⁴⁶ Le Dœuff, *Hipparchia's Choice*, 163.

²⁴⁷ Clara Schumann, 10 October 1882 letter to *La Mara* regarding an article by Liszt in the *Gartenlaube*, quoted in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. II, 365. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

exploitation of his young wife,” led her to divorce him even though it cost her custody of her children.²⁴⁸

Friedrich actually initiated the first transference of the Héloïse complex—from a romantic to parental relationship—in mapping his control of his wife’s career onto that of his daughter. According to Weissweiler, while Friedrich was initially happy to allow his wife to advertise his pianos and pedagogy via her public performances, he soon forbade her to continue her concert career over his concern that others may be under the impression that he was not capable of providing financially. Weissweiler further asserts that Friedrich believed that a daughter could bear his name and act as the living advertisement [*Aushängeschild*] that he required.²⁴⁹ Reich writes that Friedrich used his daughter as the “instrument of his musical ambition” who would “show the world what Friedrich Wieck could do.”²⁵⁰ Apparently this dynamic was a necessity for Friedrich—either in terms of his business methods or his psychology—as when he lost control over Clara through her marriage, he attempted to replicate the same pattern with his younger daughter, Marie Wieck. Unlike Clara and Marianne, Marie remained with Friedrich as long as he lived.²⁵¹

Beyond the admiration that Friedrich received from his daughter, he enjoyed the reflected light of Clara’s success. He also internalized any perceived snub or under-

²⁴⁸ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 11.

²⁴⁹ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie.*, 18-19. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

²⁵⁰ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 15.

²⁵¹ Marie Wieck’s relationship with Clara and their father is revealed through the younger sister’s memoirs, in which she devotes only two of the seven chapters to recounting her own experiences. Marie Wieck, *Aus dem Kreise Wieck-Schumann*, (Dresden: v. Zahn & Jaensch, 1914).

appreciation of Clara’s accomplishments—and by extension his own. In 1830, Friedrich wrote sardonically to his second wife, Clementine Fechner Wieck, that he and Clara—“monkeys [*Affen*] from the Leipzig menagerie”—were making a sensation in Dresden, where they are the “common court and talk of the town.”²⁵² According to Friedrich, although Clara faced competitors, she was undaunted. He wrote that the situation was actually “advantageous [*vorteilhaft*]” for her “because she play[ed] with a self-confidence like never” [before].²⁵³ Friedrich further reported that Clara was acting as “ambassador to the very finest connoisseurs of Dresden.”²⁵⁴ He wrote that these connoisseurs were “beside themselves” when Clara “fantasized on an assigned theme.”²⁵⁵ Friedrich hinted that their astonishment, rather than a merited appreciation of Clara’s genuinely precocious abilities to improvise on a given melody, may have been rooted in disbelief. The Dresden elite were charmed by the talented little girl—Friedrich describes the little trinkets she received from countesses—“but nobody wanted to believe that she could compose, because women of that age have never done it before.”²⁵⁶ In describing the skepticism about Clara’s compositional abilities, Friedrich acknowledged not only her age but also her gender as factors.

²⁵² Friedrich Wieck, 19 March 1830, Letter to Clementine Wieck, *Friedrich Wieck Briefe an den Jahren 1830 - 1838*, 27. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁵³ Ibid. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁵⁴ Ibid. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁵⁵ Ibid. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁵⁶ Ibid. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

Reich theorizes that Friedrich's possessiveness over Clara's musical identity contributed to his daughter's ambivalence about composing and sparked rumors—clearly false—that her pieces were actually his works.²⁵⁷ Friedrich's own compositional ability was somewhat limited as he had had little formal musical training and yet this mattered little since he could claim Clara's compositions by proxy.²⁵⁸ Many of the first-person diary entries in his handwriting are reports on Clara's compositions. Nevertheless, Friedrich found these somewhat superficial accolades preferable to the scene in their home city of Leipzig, where "they are too bewildered and too malicious for a single goose among so many geese to ever understand what an extraordinary child Klara is, and even less that your Fritze from Pretzsch could possess and mold her."²⁵⁹ Here, Friedrich—or Fritze as he styles himself—referenced his ambition to overcome his own humble beginnings in the provincial town of Pretzsch, to have his genius recognized through his daughter whom he saw as both his property and his creation. Friedrich's claim to be a solo creator recalls the ancient idea that man alone could create life—the mother acting only as a vessel for the seed.²⁶⁰ As Christine Battersby demonstrates in her book *Gender and Genius*, this

²⁵⁷ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 212.

²⁵⁸ Nancy Reich (*Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 6.) notes that Friedrich Wieck wrote some songs, which he sent to Carl Maria von Weber, who took the time to send him feedback on them; they were published and received mixed reviews in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.

²⁵⁹ Friedrich Wieck, 19 March 1830, Letter to Clementine Wieck, *Friedrich Wieck Briefe an den Jahren 1830 - 1838*, 27. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁶⁰ Take for example the following passage from Aeschylus' *The Eumenides*: "Here is the truth, I tell you—see how right I am. The woman you call the mother of the child is not the parent, just a nurse to the seed, the new-sown seed that grows and swells inside her. The man is the source of life—the one who mounts. She, like a stranger for a stranger, keeps the shoot alive unless God hurts the roots. I have you proof that all I say is true. The father can father forth without a mother." Aeschylus' *The Eumenides*, 665-74; in *The Oresteia*, transl. Robert Fagles (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), 260-61.

euphemistic explanation of procreation is frequently employed in descriptions of artistic creation.²⁶¹ Critics often credited Clara's father for her abilities; the review in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of her first performance at the Gewandhaus in 1828 referred to the nine-year-old Clara Wieck who trained "under the guidance of her musically-experienced father, who understands the art of playing the pianoforte [so] well and [teaches] very diligently with love/devotion for it," which the reviewer offered as evidence that, "we can be permitted to harbor the greatest hopes for her."²⁶² This reception validates Le Dœuff's stance that in Héloïse complex scenarios, women are not believed to produce anything of their own for even when they do so, their work is attributed to their mentor.²⁶³

Le Dœuff notes that the men in Héloïse complex scenarios frequently seek to improve their status as they have a "desire for glory and the construction of the persona of a genius."²⁶⁴ Though written more than a century after the events of Clara's childhood, Le Dœuff's framework is meant to stand as an observation of a recurring pattern among women in the modern era—from the complex's medieval namesake, through the twentieth century—who turn to relationships endorsed by patriarchal society as a tactic to access knowledge that would otherwise be forbidden to them. The power differential inherent in

²⁶¹ Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

²⁶² "Unter der Leitung ihres musikerfahrenden, die Kunst des Pianoforte Spieles wohl verstehenden und dafür mit Liebe sehr thätigen Vaters, dürfen wir von ihr die grössten Hoffnungen hegen." *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 30/48 (26 November 1828): 806, DigiPress, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: <https://api.digitale-sammlungen.de/iiif/presentation/v2/bsb10527978/canvas/465/view>.

²⁶³ Le Dœuff later revised this statement, clarifying that women did create, albeit furtively through non-traditional genres. We might think of the epistolary novel or art song for instance.

²⁶⁴ Le Dœuff, *Hipparchia's Choice*, 164.

these relationships, however, typically results in exploitation on the part of the man, who is able to claim the student's work as his own in "seeking general admiration."²⁶⁵

When Friedrich took Clara to Dresden to play in private houses in March 1830, he reported to Clara's stepmother, Clementine, that they were "finding an unexpectedly favorable reception here. Everyone here finds not only Clara's musical development but also her virtuosity very commendable. People do not know whom they should admire more, the child or the teacher."²⁶⁶ He expressed his concern that Clara should be sheltered from the "bad effect" that "honors and accolades" could have on a "simple, natural" child. In a rare showing of parental affection, Friedrich writes approvingly of the "amiable" Clara's development of "deep understanding and rich imagination," even allowing that she was "wild, but at the same time noble and sensible." While he sought fame for his daughter—and ultimately for himself—he was also eager to preserve the traditional feminine qualities that made his daughter (and therefore himself) respectable. He insisted that should he observe "anything detrimental," they would immediately return to Leipzig so that Clara "again arrives in her bourgeois order, for I am too proud of her modesty and would not exchange it for any honor in the world."²⁶⁷

But that modesty, so valued in a woman, did not appear to temper his own thirst for acclaim as her instructor, who in the same passage proudly reported that his daughter "is

²⁶⁵ Le Dœuff, *Hipparchia's Choice*, 164.

²⁶⁶ Friedrich Wieck, Letter to Clementine Wieck, March 1830, reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. I, 19. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.* See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

incredibly brazen in her playing and the grander the society, the better she plays.”²⁶⁸

Humility was (and still is) an expected virtue for women, especially within the middle class, to which the Wiecks aspired. It is noteworthy that Friedrich was willing to buck traditional gender roles in preparing his female child for a career in the public sphere but wished to keep her humility intact. Perhaps he sought to restrain Clara’s pride so that she would be disinclined to claim credit for her own success, allowing him to do so on her behalf. Clara’s tendency to self-deprecate throughout her life is an indication that she internalized this expectation of feminine humility, and yet she also seems to have retained the brazenness she displayed as a child. Robert Schumann must surely have thought so, for there is an undeniable boldness to his musical portrait of his beloved “Chiarina” (*Carnaval*, Op. 9, 1834-35), which he marks *Passionato*.²⁶⁹

In 1835, Friedrich and Clara were touring German cities where the six-year-old girl played in private houses. While Clara’s role was to showcase her abilities as a pianist, Friedrich was obliged to satisfy the curiosity of the listeners. He recorded his sarcastic responses to “the strange 17 questions, which are put to us in every city—namely by the inquisitive half of the human race” on a spare page of Clara’s diary.²⁷⁰ The string of questions and answers, which drip with contempt, reveal much of Friedrich’s personality and opinion of himself, his daughter, and the public. There are a few in particular that expose his view of his daughter as his creation:

²⁶⁸ Friedrich Wieck, Letter to his Clementine Wieck, March 1830, reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. I, 19. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁶⁹ My thanks to Abigail Fine for this observation.

²⁷⁰ Clara Wieck, (Friedrich Wieck), 1 March 1835, *Jugendtagebücher*, 185. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

11. You must have great joy since heaven has gifted you such a daughter?
—Ans[wer]: Yes, it snowed once—a naughty snowflake fell into my arms and look—that was this Clara, just as she stands before you.
12. Do you have several more children [who are] as musical?
—Ans[wer]. They have as much [talent]—but have learned nothing.
13. How [is this] so?—Ans[wer]. Because I only have one life to give.
14. But that is a pity!—Ans[wer]. How[ever] you want to take it.²⁷¹

In Friedrich's mocking answer to the eleventh question, he bristled at the idea that Clara's abilities were a gift from heaven rather than the result of his own efforts. It is apparent that he did not value inborn (or God-given) talent as the source of musical ability, but rather, the shaping of that talent through his own skillful instruction. Friedrich underscored this ideology in his answer to question number twelve about his other musical children, discrediting their talent because he had not refined it. When asked why this was so, his response reveals his attitude that Clara was his magnum opus to whom he had devoted his life. Friedrich often repeated the idea that he had given his life for the sake of her career, making Clara feel both indebted to her father and guilty for depriving her brothers of the same attention and opportunities.²⁷²

MANDATED DISTANCE: CLARA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HER MOTHER

Litzmann reinforced Friedrich's assertion that he was Clara's only parent. Nancy Reich observes that Clara's mother, Marianne, all but disappears from the narrative upon her

²⁷¹ Clara Wieck, (Friedrich Wieck), 1 March 1835, *Jugendtagebücher*, 185–186. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁷² Years later, when Clara was living with her mother awaiting the court's consent to marry Robert, Friedrich capitalized on that guilt by sending her younger brother Alwin to her to insist that she pay for his continued music lessons as recompense for the many years when his training was neglected in favor of hers.

divorce from Friedrich, having fulfilled her purpose in giving birth to her daughter.²⁷³

Litzmann credited both parents for Clara's musical talent, for which "Clara arguably had her mother to thank at least as much for her father."²⁷⁴ Marianne's contributions were reduced to a purely genetic endeavor as Litzmann points out that she "originated from a very musical family" and therefore passes along to Clara the lineage of her grandfather, "the famous flautist, composer for flute, and flute manufacturer Johann Georg Tromlitz."²⁷⁵

The son of a merchant, Friedrich had no such long musical pedigree; Reich notes that his family actually had little interest in music.²⁷⁶ They did not actively support his affinity for music and so he was obliged to cobble together his musical education from various infrequent piano lessons, six weeks at the Thomas-Schule in Leipzig, and self-study.²⁷⁷ If he also subscribed to the view that his children's talent originated in the illustrious Tromlitz heritage, it is little wonder that he should bristle at strangers telling him that he should count himself fortunate that heaven (or his ex-wife) had given him such a daughter. Litzmann, having given Marianne her due in acknowledging her musical family line and allowing that "she also proved herself to be a very capable pianist," states that Clara "ought to have thanked her father exclusively [*eingzig und allein*]" for her musical training.²⁷⁸

²⁷³ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, xv.

²⁷⁴ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. I: 4. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 4-5. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 5. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 4-5. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

Even as he permitted Clara to visit her mother on occasion, Friedrich did everything in his power to dominate and control their daughter's upbringing. This is evident in his letter to Marianne in advance of Clara's first visit with her mother after the divorce. His strict instructions to Marianne on caring for her own five-year-old child follow.

Madam! I am sending you the dearest thing in life still left to me, with the proviso, however, that you say nothing, if possible, about what has happened, or that you express yourself simply, truthfully, and at the same time clearly, so that this guiltless, innocent, and natural creature hears nothing that could arouse her suspicions. Furthermore, you will give the child few sweets and make sure you do not condone any naughtiness.... When she practices, do not allow her to rush. I expect the most rigorous adherence to my wishes; if not, my anger will be incurred.²⁷⁹

Interestingly, the wording Friedrich used to describe his very young daughter: "das Theuereste, was ich im Leben noch habe" might suggest a double meaning to *theuer*, not only precious as in beloved, but also valuable in the monetary sense. Friedrich dictated the terms for loaning his dearest possession to Marianne, demanding that she not indulge Clara with pastry or lax discipline. I am reminded of a fastidious book owner who reluctantly loans out their prized volume with warnings that the borrower should not dog-ear the pages or write in the margins. It is noteworthy that he specifically included a word of warning regarding Clara's practice habits, just as important as the other instructions for preserving the pristine state of his dearest possession. Most importantly, he forbade Marianne to speak of their divorce to Clara—presumably, to maintain the girl's perception of her father as infallible.

²⁷⁹ Friedrich Wieck, Letter to Marianne Bargiel, 7 November 1825, Wieck correspondence, RSH 5967-A2; also, Litzmann, vol. 1, 4n., translated in Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 11.

Marianne undoubtedly complied with Friedrich's conditions, since his patriarchal stance was backed with a very real legal power.²⁸⁰ Invoking Friedrich's wrath could mean indefinite or even permanent separation from her children for Marianne. Just as his threat to withhold musical instruction from Clara was laced with larger implications of his official power as a man to deny his daughter all access to music if he so chose, his displeasure with Marianne could have significant consequences as well. Hence, Friedrich wielded his male power to restrict the development of Clara's relationship with her mother.

Reich notes that throughout childhood and adolescence, Clara kept in contact with her "Berlin Mother" through letters and occasional visits. Clara's daughter, Marie Schumann, noted in her mother's childhood diary that her grandfather delivered Clara to her mother in Berlin in February of 1837 with the words, "Here, Madam, I bring you your daughter."²⁸¹ Reich observes that this exchange reveals that "he gloried in his power as he permitted a reunion between mother and child."²⁸² I would add that this statement also serves as evidence of Friedrich's view of his eighteen-year-old daughter as the culmination of years of his efforts. As his work, he had the authority to present Clara to her mother with the

²⁸⁰ Marianne Tromlitz/Wieck, letter to Friedrich Wieck, 17 September 1825, reproduced and translated by Reich in *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 11: "Du bestehst darauf die Clara jetzt zu haben, nun sei es, in Gottesnamen, ich habe Alles versucht dich zu erweichen, mag das Herz mir brechen, Du sollst sie haben; jedoch meiner Mutterrechte begabe ich mich nicht." (You insist on having Clara now, so be it, in God's name, I have tried in every way to soften your stand, and though my heart may break, you shall have her; but at the same time, I do not renounce my rights as a mother.)

²⁸¹ Clara Wieck (Marie Schumann), 8 February 1837, *Jugendtagebücher*, 237. While Reich attributes the entry to Friedrich in her 1985 monograph (*Clara Schumann*, 50), the critical edition of the *Jugendtagebücher* (published 2019), which she co-edited with Gerd Nauhaus, marks it as an addition at the hand of Clara's daughter, Marie Schumann. "Der Vater brachte Clara zur Mutter u.[nd] mit dem Worten: ~Hier Madam bringe ich Ihnen Ihre Tochter" trat er bei ihr ein (mündl.[iche] Ueberl.[lieferung]).

²⁸² Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 50.

expectation that Marianne would be grateful for his benevolence and would admire his accomplishment.

Reich notes that Friedrich would also denigrate Marianne in his daughter's diary, which was intended as both a record for posterity and pedagogical aid for the child. The following month, Friedrich wrote in Clara's diary with evident anger that Marianne had dared to "interfere in my concert affairs."²⁸³ Friedrich did not assume his daughter's identity to write this passage—he refers to Clara in the third person throughout—nevertheless, he referred to Clara's concerts as his own. Knowing Friedrich's crusade to completely control Clara the pianist, Marianne's suggestions—indubitably derived from her own experience as a touring pianist—were unwelcome (to put it mildly).

Friedrich was further affronted that Marianne was insufficiently effusive in her praise of Clara's playing—and by extension, his teaching. He wrote that after all his efforts to oblige her by providing free tickets to her friend, Marianne's remarks about Clara's appearance did not extend beyond calling her "pretty" and her she described Clara's "entire artistic accomplishment" as merely "quite enjoyable."²⁸⁴ Friedrich insinuated that this inadequate praise was indicative of a general decline in Marianne's character.

Friedrich went on to deride Clara's mother in the diary as, "far coarser, meaner, more deceitful, pettier and haughtier than she has been before."²⁸⁵ Clara's father compounded this brutal characterization of Marianne with the accusation that her allegedly terrible

²⁸³ Clara Wieck (Friedrich Wieck), 22 March 1837, *Jugendtagebücher*, 244. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁸⁴ Ibid. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁸⁵ Ibid. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

behavior was the result of “envy, retribution, jealousy, and pride” with regard to Clara’s artistry. Friedrich left it up to interpretation whether it was Clara or himself who incited Marianne’s purported bitterness.²⁸⁶ Years later, Clara describes the warmth and generosity of her mother, who took her daughter into her home despite difficult financial conditions and worries over her chronically ill husband. Marianne volunteered to help Clara with concert arrangements and accompanied her on tours despite the resulting impact to her teaching income. It is evident that Friedrich intended to malign Marianne to Clara, painting a harsh portrait so that the girl might see her mother through his eyes.

ROBERT AS TEACHER: TRANSFERRING THE HÉLOÏSE COMPLEX

When Robert’s marriage proposal threatened Friedrich’s artistic (and lucrative) dominion over his daughter, Friedrich attempted to punish Clara, much as he had in her childhood, by withholding instruction and guidance. In January 1839, Friedrich sent Clara alone to Paris, as an act of “tough love” to reinforce her dependence on him to oversee her career.²⁸⁷ Yet, rather than separate the couple as he intended, Friedrich’s punishment had the opposite effect, causing Clara to become closer to her secret fiancé.

Not long after settling in Paris Clara wrote to Robert about the situation with her father. Even as she insisted that her father loved her, she told Robert that she was hurt at her father’s unhappiness and lamented that his letters offered only cold advice and reproach

²⁸⁶ Clara Wieck (Friedrich Wieck), 22 March 1837, *Jugendtagebücher*, 244. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁸⁷ For in-depth information regarding Clara Wieck in Paris including her performances and critical reception thereof, see Désirée Wittkowski, “In Paris hast Du doppelte Mühe in Allem...’: Clara Wieck-Schumanns Parisreisen,” in *Katalog*: 137-56.

without a loving word to temper them. While she loved Friedrich endlessly and still held out hope that she might convince him to accept their marriage and find his own happiness in their joy, he was no longer the father that her heart required.²⁸⁸ She wrote that Robert must assume the role of father, to become everything to her.²⁸⁹

Thus, rather than forego the familiar guiding structure of the Héloïse complex, Clara sought fatherly support from Robert, initiating the transference of that dynamic to their relationship. By his own design, Clara's father had been the most important person in her life up until that point. It is therefore unsurprising that she should seek to reestablish this familiar dynamic with Robert when her relationship with her father deteriorated to the point of estrangement.

Despite their damaged relationship, Clara's impulse to seek her father's approval was far from extinguished. Writing to Robert on June 27th, 1839, Clara expressed her wish that her father would resume teaching her, no matter how unpleasant the experience:

Do you know what I long for? For a lesson from my father; I am afraid to come back [to the stage] because I have no one around me anymore to tell me my mistakes, and yet I know they have crept in, since I become too preoccupied with the music during my studies and often let myself get carried away [enraptured] and then don't hear the ill [*kranken*] notes. In this, I actually have much [for which] to thank father, and yet I hardly ever did so, on the contrary, I was usually unwilling/indignant—oh! I would gladly listen to admonishment now!"²⁹⁰

This demonstrates how strongly Clara identified as her father's student, longing not for the more recognizable caring interactions of a father for his daughter, but for the disciplined

²⁸⁸ Clara Wieck (Paris) to Robert Schumann (Vienna), 15 February 1839, *Briefwechsel*, vol.2, 387. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁸⁹ Ibid. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁹⁰ Clara Wieck to Robert Schumann, 27 June 1839, reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. 1: 349. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

instruction of a master to a pupil. Not even daring to assume that she would be able to avoid his criticisms and rebukes, she instead welcomed them as a return to their familiarity relationship dynamics. Though it hurt her profoundly, eventually Clara followed her mother's example, breaking with her father and escaping his control. Clara's core identity shifted from being her father's creation to her husband's disciple.

By 1840, Clara Wieck had trained as a pianist for at least sixteen years. She had become a household name as one of the most famous pianists in Europe, mentioned in the same breath with such elite virtuosos as Franz Liszt, Ignaz Moscheles, and Sigismond Thalberg. She had won critical acclaim in some of the most important musical cities on the continent and been named Royal and Imperial Chamber Virtuosa in the court of Emperor Ferdinand I despite being neither Austrian nor Catholic.

Even with all of these astounding accomplishments, Clara still placed herself in the role of student when she wrote to Robert that she believed the quality of her playing had been declining: "I find overall that my playing is getting worse and worse. When I am your wife, then it will certainly get better again, you must occasionally give me a lesson, that would be good, and I promise you I will not be so wicked as that memorable instance."²⁹¹ But why should Robert give piano lessons to Clara, who by all reasonable definitions must be considered a master? After all, Robert had come to music late in life, only beginning serious study in 1830, and his injured fingers had cut his pianistic training short within the same decade. Simply put, Clara seemed to be attempting to duplicate the teacher-student

²⁹¹ Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann, 6 February 1840, *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel*, vol. 3, 911. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

dynamic that had characterized her closest relationship up to that point, replicating the classic scenario of erotico-theoretical transference, i.e., mistaking knowledge for love.

Clara was especially intimidated by counterpoint. Her acute lack of confidence with this highly rule-oriented genre may have stemmed from her father's educational philosophy, formed as a *Hauslehrer*.²⁹² Nineteenth-century pedagogical methods were largely based on the principles outlined in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'éducation*. In the philosophical novel, Rousseau presented an allegorical prescription for educating according to the gender of the student. Whereas *Émile's* education was intended to shape him into his fully realized self, ready to engage in the world as a citizen, his female counterpart and wife-to-be Sophie was taught only that which made her an ideal wife and mother. In Rousseau's view, female sentiment was a balance and support to male reason. He asserted that works of genius were beyond a woman's reach, as she necessarily lacks the requisite "precision and attention to succeed in the exact sciences."²⁹³ Counterpoint and fugue would certainly qualify as an exact science, requiring precision and attention.

Though she had begun playing and studying fugues almost a decade earlier, in December 1839, Clara wrote to Robert that she "would rather not play them at all." Despite her preference, she felt compelled to do so to please her stepfather Adolph Bargiel, whom she "assured daily of [her] hideous fear of playing a fugue in public." She insisted to Robert

²⁹² Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 5.

²⁹³ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Émile* translated in *Rousseau on Women, Love, and Family*, ed. Christopher Kelly and Eve Grace, 102. Though Rousseau's pedagogical philosophy was widely adopted as the basis for European educational methods and institutional structures of the nineteenth century, his view of female education was not without its critics. Famously, Mary Wollstonecraft rebutted the fifth book of Rousseau's treatise in her essay *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792).

that she was afraid that “since I don’t understand counterpoint, I would not know how to help myself in the event of a memory lapse.”²⁹⁴

Her claim that she did not understand counterpoint seems exaggerated in view of her training and experience, but she made a statement some months later that suggests that the fault, in her estimation, lie with her mental capacity more than her past experience. In a letter, she asked Robert whether she ought to study fugue with Carl Friedrich Rungenhagen, seeking her fiancé’s endorsement of her plan. While she wanted to work with Rungenhagen, she was concerned about her readiness and her aptitude since, “I don’t know if my mind, to which I don’t give much [credit], is ripe for such a study!”²⁹⁵

Clara had begun playing Bach on her concert programs in 1835 and began counterpoint lessons with the music theorist Siegfried Dehn the following year. Nevertheless, for Clara, her past success was not sufficient evidence of her capabilities, and she ultimately did not study with Rungenhagen. Instead, Clara demonstrated her desire to seek out instruction as a means of deepening emotional connection by studying counterpoint with Robert after their marriage.

She wrote that she “cannot thank Robert enough for his patience” with her in the fugue study that they undertook together in 1845 when she observed that her husband was swept up in a “*Fugenpassion*.”²⁹⁶ Clara’s gratitude for Robert’s patience as a teacher is to be

²⁹⁴ Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann, 3 December 1839, *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel*, vol. 2: 812. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁹⁵ Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann, 20 March 1840, *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel*, vol.3, 993. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁹⁶ Clara Schumann, 23 January 1841, reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. 2, 131. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

expected as she would not have been accustomed to such gentle instruction after years of her father's harsh methods. She expressed that she was "doubly happy" when something she wrote was successful "since he must see it as his work after all."²⁹⁷ This last statement is crucial: in acting as Robert's student, she was able to abdicate authorship, to instead allow her work to be viewed as his. To be clear, it does not appear that her husband attempted to take credit for her work, rather Clara found happiness or perhaps comfort in giving Robert a kind of shared parentage of her work. While she composed contrapuntal works such as preludes and fugues, the Trio in G Minor, and the Sonata in G Minor, Clara suggested that she accomplished this because of Robert's instruction, so that the compositions were joint possessions.

Clara's and Robert's creative selves were even more intertwined in the genre of song, where her works were written as gifts for her husband and often set texts by his favorite poets. Of course, the practice of gifting compositions was not itself an oddity, however, Clara suggested that she wrote songs only to please her husband. During their long engagement, Robert had the idea to publish pieces "under both our names," so that "posterity" would view them as "one heart and one soul" and be unable to decipher "what is yours and what is mine."²⁹⁸ This project became a reality in their first year of marriage with a joint collection of the Rückert Lieder. In the marriage diary, Robert reported that he had already set his songs from the *Liebesfrühling* and that Clara should also do so, ending with

²⁹⁷ Clara Schumann, 23 January 1841, reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. 2, 131. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

²⁹⁸ Robert Schumann, Letter to Clara Schumann, 18 June 1839, *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 2 1839, ed. Eva Weisweiler, (Basel; Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1984), 571. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

the entreaty, “oh, do it, Klärchen!”²⁹⁹ Robert’s desire for creative unity was achieved, but not in equal partnership—rather, Clara deferred to his creative wishes, allowing him to dictate the terms of the collaboration, from the poetic source to the genre. Song was Robert’s preferred medium at the time, but one with which she expressed discomfort on several occasions. Shortly before their wedding, Clara wrote to Robert, “If you want to compose Lieder you have to have a mind that’s quite different from mine—you should know that quite well—I don’t think I am capable of grasping the essence of a poem and translating it faithfully into music.”³⁰⁰ This collaboration is just one example of a larger pattern of self-sacrifice as Clara habitually placed Robert’s creative goals above her own.

Clara demonstrates yet another aspect of the Héloïse complex in professing values of self-abnegation. In Le Dœuff’s view, the woman agrees to self-sacrifice in venerating her mentor, putting his ideas and creative output above her own.³⁰¹ It is necessary to consider that this impulse to sacrifice may have also been pragmatism on Clara’s part, a way to ensure her continued access to professional musical activities in the face of gender-based restrictions brought on by conditional self-determination as a woman within her familial and marital relationships.

Just as in childhood, when Clara’s access to musical knowledge was threatened by her brothers taking her place at lessons with their father, customary gender roles jeopardized her autonomy as a musician after marriage. While Robert was far gentler and less

²⁹⁹ Robert Schumann, *Ehetagebücher*, 3 – 10 January 1841, 54-55. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

³⁰⁰ Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann, 5 May 1840, *Schumann Briefwechsel*, 1020-21. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

³⁰¹ Le Dœuff, *Hipparchia’s Choice*, 164.

dictatorial than Clara's father, nineteenth-century power dynamics of gender still gave him the prerogative as her husband to demand that she end her performance career. During their engagement, Clara was reminded of Robert's husbandly authority, gently wielded though it was, to determine her professional and artistic activities.

Reich observes that during this period, Robert displayed ambivalence about Clara's achievements as a virtuoso in Paris and the continuation of her performance career after marriage. Even within the same letters, he would express his pride in her accomplishments and urge her to pursue artistic triumph in one paragraph, while in another, he would suggest that she withdraw from the public to become a housewife.³⁰² Undoubtedly, Robert's own internalized notions of manhood were at play in this ambivalence as he recognized Clara as a fellow artist and wished to support her talent, but also felt societal pressure to act according to traditional masculine roles. This was likely intensified in response to the relentless assault on his pride at the hands of his future father-in-law.

In March 1839, Robert wrote to Clara, painting an idyllic picture—to his mind at least—of their first summer of marriage, reveling and working together.³⁰³ He referred to Clara's current professional efforts to establish herself as a virtuoso in Paris as “work” and “sacrifice” for the sake of her [future] husband, but insists that “young wives are not permitted to make long journeys right away, but must take care of themselves and rest [...]”³⁰⁴ It is important to note Robert's characterization of Clara's musical endeavors as a

³⁰² Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 68-69.

³⁰³ Robert Schumann (Vienna) to Clara Wieck (Paris), 16 March 1839, *Briefwechsel*, vol.2, 443. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.* See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

wifely service, as it is a frame that Clara herself frequently employs in justification and persuasion. But whereas Clara could demonstrate her devotion to Robert through music before marriage, he made it clear that his image of domestic bliss required Clara to learn domesticity from his sister-in-law Therese because, “young wives must be able to cook and keep house if they want satisfied husbands [...]”³⁰⁵

Clara, of course, had not received the usual girlhood training in the practicalities of running a household since her mother was not permitted to take an active role in any part of her education and her father never intended her to be anything other than a virtuoso. In her reply to Robert, Clara did not explicitly respond to this picture of their life together, however, the tone of her letter is one of love, affection, and boundless joy at his good spirits. If she bristled at the domestic confinement he proposed, she gave no sign of it in her letter.³⁰⁶

Friedrich’s attempts to coerce his daughter into giving up her marriage plans did not end at denying her support and affection. As Reich notes, he was alarmed to discover through reviews and letters from friends that Clara was doing well in Paris without his help. Evidently, Friedrich had intended to teach his daughter a lesson by sending her to fail on her own in the major city. His plan backfired when Clara applied the business acumen he himself had instilled in her. Incensed, he wrote to Emilie List—Clara’s close friend with whose family she had taken up lodging—threatening to disinherit his daughter, to deny her

³⁰⁵ Robert Schumann (Vienna) to Clara Wieck (Paris), 16 March 1839, *Briefwechsel*, vol.2, 443. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

³⁰⁶ Clara Wieck (Paris), Letter to Robert Schuman (Vienna), 19 March 1839, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 2, 448-450. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

access to the money she had earned through performance, and even to bring a lawsuit against her and Robert if they continued their engagement.³⁰⁷

At the end of May 1839, Clara received a ten-page letter from her father, “drafted in such an extremely abusive [*beleidigende*] manner,” that she was “appalled” that her own father had written it.³⁰⁸ In response to this upsetting correspondence, Clara wrote to Robert from Paris eight days later (June 7, 1839) to propose a plan for their wedding and a subsequent international tour that would take them to England, Russia, and Paris, keeping them out of Saxony for at least the first year of their marriage.³⁰⁹ She explained her proposal—“just an idea of mine”—as a means to avoid the grief [*Verdrießlichkeiten*] she was convinced they would endure in living in Dresden or Leipzig, characterizing it as a matter of honor.³¹⁰

But even as she introduced her notion as a domestic matter, she revealed that she had professional concerns as well: “if I remain in Dresden for a year, I would be forgotten as an artist, [and] would lose/forfeit a year of my youth, and it is so difficult to introduce oneself all over again.”³¹¹ Clara bargained with Robert, assuring him that at the conclusion of the

³⁰⁷ Quite likely, this was the reason Emilie List took it upon herself to pen a letter to Robert to present Friedrich’s arguments and warn him of the toll the situation was taking on his fiancée’s physical and mental wellbeing. See Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 67-69. List, Emilie, Elise Pacher Von Theinburg and Eugen Wendler, eds. *Das Band der Ewigen Liebe: Briefwechsel mit Emilie und Elise List*. (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1996): 62-72 (three previously unpublished letters from Emilie List to Robert Schumann: 17 May 1839, 7 July 1839, 11 July 1839); also see Litzmann, 1:322-26.

³⁰⁸ Clara Wieck (Paris), Letter to Robert Schumann, 7 June 1839, *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel*, 550-551. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

³⁰⁹ Ibid. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

³¹⁰ Ibid. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

³¹¹ Ibid. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

tour, “I would surely be much happier now to live such a year in peace with you” since “I’m not giving up [my] art/performance,” she will not have “let the year go past unused.”³¹² Once again, she supplemented with domestic arguments to justify her professional goals, adding that “after all, I must also earn something, which one can *only* do in big cities.”³¹³ Her artistic endeavors, otherwise seen as a public activity outside the feminine domestic realm, thus became a duty of the *Hausfrau* to supplement the household income. The reader will recall that Robert had previously introduced the idea of her performance activities as work and sacrifice for her husband; Clara employed that rhetoric to persuade him that she should continue to concertize after marriage without directly challenging his authority.

An examination of the developments in the ongoing conflict with her father prove a useful context to understand Clara’s apparent need to articulate (and re-articulate) her willingness to yield to Robert’s wishes, even as she suggested delaying their fulfilment. In fact, even as Clara presented her suggestions as her own ideas, the connection to her father’s “abusive” letter from the previous month are obvious. The gentle re-articulation of some of her father’s demands could not have been lost on Robert, who had seen and annotated a copy of that letter from his future father-in-law. Clara promised Robert, “I would not for any price like to lead this life forever,” thereby assuaging him that she would only postpone his longed-for domestic bliss in “tranquil Saxony” where they would

³¹² Clara Wieck (Paris), Letter to Robert Schumann, 7 June 1839, *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel*, 550-551. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

³¹³ *Ibid.* See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

withdraw to live in “complete peace.”³¹⁴ As she brought the discussion of these matters to a close, Clara signaled her ambivalence to her “beloved Robert,” and reaffirmed his patriarchal authority and her acceptance thereof: “You are my husband, I will do anything you want, you shall find in me your faithful/devoted wife.” She solicits his opinion of her plans and invites him to share his own, and finally insists that regardless of what he decides, “I will be with you at Easter, one way or another.”³¹⁵

Nancy Reich recounts the events of this episode in the couple’s relationship and expresses her own view that Clara was concerned that Robert’s “love for her might be jeopardized if she showed too much ambition” and so her humility “eased the imbalance in their careers that might have affected the marriage.”³¹⁶ Whether a conscious strategy, as Reich suggests, or a subconscious continuation of the familiar pattern of the Héloïse complex, Clara placed herself in the role of “loving admirer” to Robert and reframed her musical activities as service to him in response to the threat that her access to musical knowledge could be limited because of her gender. In the final months of their engagement Clara wrote to Robert, “I’d like to be worthy of you, not as a composer; no, that’s impossible, but at least as a pianist.”³¹⁷ Through this lens, her successes supported rather than affronted Robert’s authority.

³¹⁴ Clara Wieck (Paris), Letter to Robert Schumann, 7 June 1839, *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel*, 550-551. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

³¹⁵ Ibid. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

³¹⁶ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 218.

³¹⁷ Clara Wieck to Robert Schumann, 17 May 1840, translated by Hildegard Fritsch, and Ronald L. Crawford in *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, Critical ed., edited by Eva Weissweiler (New York: P. Lang, 1994), 193.

After their marriage, Clara's deference to Robert's creative needs intensified and he was aware that she catered to him at the cost of her own creativity. In the marriage diary, he comments that Clara had even refrained from practicing in order to afford him a quiet environment for composition as she "sees that I [have] the most beautiful strength and must still make use of my youth."³¹⁸

Although Robert consistently urged Clara to compose, he also accepted her rationale that her duties as wife and mother should come first as "having children and a husband who constantly improvises does not fit together with composing."³¹⁹ These domestic interruptions and her insistence that her own musical activity should never inhibit Robert's prevented her from consistently engaging in creative work. The situation bothered her husband, "because many a heartfelt thought gets lost that she does not manage to execute."³²⁰ Yet he contented himself with her assurances that she "herself knows her primary occupation to be a mother, however, so that I believe she is happy under these conditions, which just simply cannot be changed."³²¹ The reason that these conditions could not be changed is not clear, but whether or not she was truly happy with the

³¹⁸ Robert Schumann, *Ehetagebücher*, October 1842, 154. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

³¹⁹ "Aber Kinder haben und einen immer phantasirenden Mann, und componiren geht nicht zusammen. Es fehlt ihr die anhaltende Übung, und dies rührt mich oft, da so mancher innige Gedanke verloren geht, den sie nicht auszuführen vermag." Robert Schumann, *Ehetagebücher*, 17 February 1843, 159. Translated in *The Marriage Diaries of Robert & Clara Schumann: From Their Wedding Day through the Russia Trip*, Gerd Nauhas, ed., Peter Ostwald, trans., (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 185.

³²⁰ "Es fehlt ihr die anhaltende Übung, und dies rührt mich oft, da so mancher innige Gedanke verloren geht, den sie nicht auszuführen vermag." Robert Schumann, *Ehetagebücher*, 17 February 1843, 159. Translated by Peter Ostwald, *The Marriage Diaries of Robert & Clara Schumann*, 185.

³²¹ "Klara kennt aber selbst ihren Hauptberuf als Mutter, daß ich glaube, sie ist glücklich in den Verhältnissen, wie sie sich nun einmal nicht ändern lassen." Robert Schumann, *Ehetagebücher*, 17 February 1843, 159. Translated by Peter Ostwald, *The Marriage Diaries of Robert & Clara Schumann*, 185.

situation, the fact remains that she agreed to self-sacrifice in order to ensure Robert's happiness and productivity.

Over the next several years, Clara's primary occupation was indeed motherhood. Between March 1845 and July 1849, Clara gave birth to four children. The biographer, Litzmann hints that her acquiescence to these circumstances may have been reluctant.

Much joy, but also much sorrow for the young mother and many a lonely, difficult hour [spent] thinking of the future: "What will become of my work?! But Robert says: 'Children are blessings,' and he is right, because without children there is also indeed no happiness, and so I intend to face the difficult near future with as cheerful a disposition as possible. Whether it will always work, I don't know," she wrote in May 1847.³²²

As birth control was not yet available, there is truth to Robert's statement that these conditions could not be changed. Because she could not avoid pregnancy, Clara had no choice but to put on a brave face and try to find joy in her expanding family.

CONCLUSION

As I have demonstrated, the characteristics of the Héloïse complex that Clara internalized through her relationship with her father and mapped onto her relationship with her husband, made it seem natural to her that she should cease living for herself and instead exist to serve the ambitions of the man she loved. To achieve this, Clara had to accept a kind of gradual death of her creative self; in a sense, she became a martyr to the man she venerated. In this context, Le Dœuff's avowal that the Héloïse complex is "profitable for him and fatal to her" seems scarcely hyperbolic.³²³ Clara concluded the diary

³²² Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. II: 125. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

³²³ Le Dœuff, *Hipparchia's Choice*, 162.

passage with which I began this chapter with the potentially prescriptive statement: “May Robert always create; that must always make me happy.”³²⁴ I conclude that while other female composers such as Fanny Hensel and Josephine Lang ultimately had some success in redefining their compositional activities to subvert the limitations of the genius concept, Schumann—whose cognitive dissonance was the most pronounced and whose *Héloïse complex* patterns were deeply instilled in her childhood relationship with her father—ultimately abandoned composition, fully devoting herself to re-creative efforts as a vessel performer.

Of course, it is impossible to know how Clara truly felt about abandoning her creative activities, but the inner conflict that composition so often brought about in her was ultimately resolved as the literal death of one composer was quickly followed by the figurative death of another. After her husband’s death, Clara gave up composition entirely, focusing her efforts the preservation of Robert’s legacy. Performance became her sole artistic outlet and she as she aged, she increasingly feared losing that as well. In February of 1860, she confided to her diary:

How unspeakably unhappy it would make me to no longer be able to work artistically at full strength. Therefore, just never grow old! I could have wished to grow old for the sake of only one; in devotion to him, my dearest, I could have renounced public artistic work; in the understanding of his art, his entire being, I would have felt myself completely filled.³²⁵

In the ensuing years, Clara continued to concertize even as her physical powers declined due to hearing loss and chronic arm pain. From her earliest childhood, Clara was a concert

³²⁴ Clara Wieck, *Jugendtagebücher*, 25 November 1839, translated in Nancy Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 216.

³²⁵ Clara Schumann, diary, 5 February 1860, reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. III, 70. See Appendix A for original German text and my translation.

pianist, and so the prospect of a life without performance must have seemed frightening to her. Yet, whereas she forged ahead with her career through a number of hardships after Robert's death, she articulates her willingness to let it go—to renounce a piece of her identity—for his sake. Such a sacrifice would have been the ultimate enactment of the Héloïse complex. Even as it would have been the last thing her father would want her to do, effacing herself in service of male genius is exactly the value he instilled in her in childhood.

CHAPTER IV

EVA WEISSWEILER AND THE HIDDEN NAZI LEGACY OF CLARA WIECK/SCHUMANN

Eva Weissweiler's *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie* diverges from the customary assembly of commemorative tropes so integral to the era-transcendent genre of Romantic biography.³²⁶ She presents her subject as a selfish woman trapped in an unhappy and mutually destructive marriage; Weissweiler's Clara neglects both husband and children in pursuit of her own fame and pleasure.³²⁷ In sharp contrast to the prevailing encomium, Weissweiler's apparent distaste for her subject drives the spirit and tone of this 361-page narrative.³²⁸ Her biographical treatment is no doubt informed by the untold hours of archival work spent preparing the critical edition of the complete correspondence of Clara Wieck/Schumann and Robert Schumann, but when compared to the authorial approaches of other biographers, Weissweiler produces a radically different version of

³²⁶ Eva Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1990). Original German text and my translation of all quotations from Weissweiler's *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie* are provided in Appendix B. As discussed in Chapter II, the Romantic biography is a type of life writing not confined to the Romantic era.

³²⁷ Weissweiler's authorial turn bears some resemblance to the celebrity biography that emerged in the latter half of the twentieth century. Kitty Kelley's book *Jackie O!* (Secaucus, NJ: L. Stuart, 1978) was controversial for its harsh treatment of the former first lady, who until then had been considered above reproach. In subsequent years, however, scathing and scintillating celebrity biographies have become the norm. See for example: Anthony Summers, *Goddess: The Secret Lives of Marilyn Monroe* (New York: MacMillan, 1985); Walter Isaacson, *Steve Jobs* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011); and Donald Spoto, *High Society: The Life of Grace Kelly* (New York: Crown Archetype, 2010).

³²⁸ Although Weissweiler's work does not reach such extremes, there is a subgenre of biography about infamous or nefarious individuals that emerged in the late 1960s. These biographies focus on evil or disturbed individuals such as dictators and serial killers. The aim of these books seems to be to understand the psychology and experiences that drive individuals to heinous acts. An early example is Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood: A True Account of a Multiple Murder and its Consequences* (New York: Random House, 1965), while Joachim C. Fest's 1971 biography *Hitler* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich) set the standard for the countless books on the genocidal leader that followed.

Wieck/Schumann. The biographers analyzed throughout this study generally identify Wieck/Schumann as a protagonist deserving of remembrance and even celebration. While writers such as Reich and Steegmann certainly take a revisionist approach by seeking to realign Wieck/Schumann's image with more recent ideas about gender, they maintain their subject's dignified status. Weissweiler challenges the assumption that her subject is worthy of such treatment, going a step beyond revisionism with her distinctly unsympathetic view of Wieck/Schumann. Since homage is obviously out of the question, one can't help but wonder what the author hoped to accomplish in writing this biography.

Fortunately, Weissweiler offers clues about her authorial ethos in published interviews. For instance, when asked how she chooses her subjects of study, Weissweiler told one interviewer that she asks herself "which personalities have dominated my consciousness?"³²⁹ The style and substance of her Wieck/Schumann biography seems to ask readers to reevaluate whether the positive reputation of its subject is justified. It seems that Weissweiler was seeking that answer herself; the author revealed to an interviewer that in her youth, she had an "idealized image of this artistic marriage between Robert and Clara" but had suspected that it couldn't be all that it seemed, telling herself: "Later you will find out how it really was."³³⁰ Clearly, Weissweiler's connections to her biographical subjects are deeply personal—in some cases, with opinions already forming during her

³²⁹ Eva Weissweiler quoted in Andreas Fasel, "Auf den Spuren Wilhelm Buschs," *Die Welt*, 2 December 2007: https://www.welt.de/wams_print/article1421320/Auf-den-Spuren-Wilhelm-Buschs.html

³³⁰ "Als junges Mädchen hatte ich immer eine idealisierte Vorstellung von dieser Künstlerehe zwischen Robert und Clara." [...] "Da habe ich mir gesagt: Später findest du mal raus, wie es wirklich war." Eva Weissweiler quoted in Andreas Fasel, "Auf den Spuren Wilhelm Buschs."

youth. She allows that her attachment to many of her biographical subjects were borne of experiences growing up in her parents' home.

While Weissweiler did study music, her professional work has been outside of academia. Her decades-long career as a radio producer and author of numerous biographies aimed at a wider public readership position her as a public musicologist and popular biographer. This is apparent in her novelistic writing style in which the narrative voice slips into the omniscient perspective—recounting the imagined inner thoughts and feelings of protagonists and their closest associates without circumscription. However, evaluating the validity of Weissweiler's claims is beyond the scope of this chapter; merely fact checking the text or arguing for a more flattering portrayal of Wieck/Schumann would ultimately be a shallow endeavor. In my view, there is more value in understanding why Weissweiler felt it important to present this version of Wieck/Schumann to her readers. While Weissweiler's aims may have been personal, I believe that they could also be political.

A common thread in Weissweiler's biographies is the relationship of the subjects to the National Socialists—either as individuals whose lives were directly impacted during the Third Reich, or as cultural figures whose lives predated the Second World War but whose legacies were co-opted and reinscribed at the hands of the Nazis. Curiously, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie* is an outlier in Weissweiler's work in that the author makes no mention of the fact that Schumann was promoted in National Socialist Germany as an aspirational model of the Teutonic *Frau und Mutter* (wife and mother), an archetype I

define and discuss later in this chapter.³³¹ Although Weissweiler never addresses how the Nazis co-opted the legacy of Wieck/Schumann for propagandistic purposes, nevertheless the biographer's narrative presents 'counterevidence' of Clara Schumann's worthiness as the domestic ideal *Frau und Mutter*. The omitted statement is felt in the text as a phantom thesis, rendered visible to the reader through the lens of Weissweiler's oeuvre. As I demonstrate in this chapter, the majority of her published work is thematically linked by a concern with the devastating costs of the Nazi regime's ideology of hatred and bigotry in the lives of real people. This common thread is most readily observed in her biographies of individuals (some relatively unknown) who serve as case studies for the devastation inflicted in the name of the German state between 1933 and 1945. Given the centrality of National Socialism in Weissweiler's scholarship, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie* may initially appear anomalous; however, I argue that it is thematically consistent because the biography is 'haunted' by the hidden legacy of the pianist-composer as a tool of Nazi propaganda. I offer a reading of Weissweiler's denigration of Wieck/Schumann's character as an attempt to delegitimize the latter's symbolic power as the embodiment of gender values of the Third Reich.

The first section of this chapter establishes the thematic throughline in Weissweiler's work. I then present a working definition of the *Frau und Mutter* archetype within Nazi ideology including identification of its component tropes as they were applied

³³¹ The Nazi connection is more recognized in German scholarship. For example, Janina Klassen points out in *Clara Wieck-Schumann: Die Virtuosin als Komponistin: Studien zu Ihrem Werk*, Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. 37 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1990), that this domestic image of Clara Schumann served the interests of the Nazis in the 1930s. This information is still absent from English-language musicology despite evidence that Nancy Reich was aware of it from Klassen's book as early as 1993. (Nancy B. Reich, *Notes* 49, no. 3 (1993): 1007–10).

to Wieck/Schumann. From there, I provide illustrative examples of these tropes from pro-Nazi periodicals and then turn my focus to the 1944 film *Träumerei*—Wieck/Schumann biopic produced when the German film industry answered directly to Joseph Goebbels.³³² In each instance, I offer evidence from *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie* to demonstrate how Weissweiler reacted against the tropes of these archetypes despite never overtly acknowledging their source.³³³

WEAVING AROUND A COMMON THREAD: ANTI-NAZI THEMES IN WEISSWEILER'S WORK

To unlock the underlying impetus of Weissweiler's text—the dismantling of Clara Wieck/Schumann as the Nazi feminine ideal—I employ the conceptual framework of hauntology, a methodology of reading beyond the empirically verifiable presences in a text to see the after images of cultural memories of trauma that exist behind the words.³³⁴ Colin Davis describes this approach to texts that appear to be “in distress, harbouring secrets of which they are unaware, but which the reader or critic may be able to elicit.”³³⁵ To see what

³³² See Robert Reimer, *Cultural History through a National Socialist Lens: Essays on the Cinema of the Third Reich*. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture, (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2000); Gary Jason, “Film and Propaganda: The Lessons of the Nazi Film Industry” *Reason Papers* 35, no. 1 (2013), and Cinzia Romani, Robert Connolly, and Richard Hottel, *Tainted Goddesses: Female Film Stars of the Third Reich* (New York: Sarpidon, 1992).

³³³ To be clear, I am not asserting that Weissweiler is reacting to this specific film. I am merely using *Träumerei* to illustrate themes of Nazi gender ideology as they were applied to Wieck/Schumann. I argue that Weissweiler is in conversation with the broader themes expressed in this piece of Third Reich media.

³³⁴ This mode of inquiry originates from Jacques Derrida's *Spectres de Marx* (1993) and Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok's psychoanalytical work on transgenerational communication and undisclosed trauma. Esther Rashkin was among the first to apply hauntology as a methodology for literary criticism in *Family Secrets and the Psychoanalysis of Narrative* (1992). For an application of the methodology in film studies, see Mark Fisher, “What is Hauntology?,” *Film Quarterly* 6/1 (Fall 2012): 16-24. Hauntology is also being used in the field of sociology such as Martha Lincoln and Bruce Lincoln's “Toward a Critical Hauntology: Bare Afterlife and the Ghosts of Ba Chúc,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57/1 (January 2015): 191 – 220.

³³⁵ Colin Davis, “Hauntology, Spectres and Phantoms,” *French Studies*, 59/3 (July 2005): 374.

is conspicuously absent within *Clara Schumann: eine Biography*, we need to look beyond the text in question, to the author's body of work. Eva Weissweiler (b. 1951) is a German musician, biographer, and writer of both nonfiction and fiction (some of her early publications appear under her former-married surname of Perkuhn). Weissweiler's scholarly output ranges from public musicology to biography of both musical and nonmusical figures, to editorial work on collections of primary sources. With the exception of her first book (a survey of prominent female composers from Caccini in the 16th century through Grete von Zieritz in the 20th), each of Weissweiler's projects has some link to Nazi Germany.³³⁶ Although she did not live through those events herself, she grew up in their aftermath—surrounded by the rubble, physical and psychological, that took many years to clear away. Several writers, most notably Hannah Arendt, have examined the cultural climate of silence in postwar Germany.³³⁷ The collective reaction to such profound atrocity was to repress its memory, so that the “unresolved social violence,” to quote Avery Gordon, is “contained or repressed or blocked from view” for a time, but emerges once again as a ghost that “demands your attention” even as you cannot see it.³³⁸ Thus, Weissweiler's work

³³⁶ Eva Weissweiler, *Komponistinnen aus 500 Jahren: eine Kultur- und Wirkungsgeschichte in Biographien und Werkbeispielen* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1981).

³³⁷ See Hannah Arendt, “The Aftermath of Nazi Rule,” in *Essays in Understanding, 1930 – 1954* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1994): 342 – 53; Jakob Norberg, “Perspectives on Postwar Silence: Psychoanalysis, Political Philosophy, and Economic Theory,” *German Politics and Society* 24/4 (Winter 2011): 1 – 20; and Roger Frie, *Not in My Family: German Memory and Responsibility After the Holocaust* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

³³⁸ Avery F. Gordon, Katherine Hite, and Daniela Jara, “Haunting and Thinking from the Utopian Margins: Conversation with Avery Gordon,” *Memory Studies* 13/3 (2020): 337-46.

seems to be haunted by the specter of Nazi terror and the collective trauma of the Holocaust.³³⁹

Aside from her work on several documentary films reappraising the National Socialist era in relation to music, Weissweiler's most direct engagement with this topic is *Ausgemerzt!: das Lexikon der Juden in der Musik und seine mörderischen Folgen* (Eradicated!: The Lexicon of Jews in Music and its Murderous Consequences).³⁴⁰ The book includes a reprint of the infamous list, first compiled in 1940 with the express purpose of identifying, persecuting, and ultimately killing Jewish musicians in Germany. Over 250 Jewish musicians from the list are confirmed victims of the Holocaust; Weissweiler argues that many of them might have survived if not for the *Lexikon*. As significant as this publication is, life writing makes up the bulk of Weissweiler's work.

Weissweiler has authored eight biographies whose subjects were to some degree impacted by the Nazi regime. The least apparent category is figures who predated the Nazi era, but whose legacies were directly impacted by the politics of that regime. An example is Weissweiler's biography of Wilhelm Busch—a German humorist, poet, illustrator, and

³³⁹ Weissweiler was not alone in confronting and recontextualizing the trauma of her parent's generation. Within the field of anglophone musicology, there was a major reckoning with music in the Third Reich in the 1990s: Bryan Gilliam addressed the Nazi's lasting cultural impact in his article "The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," *The Musical Quarterly* 78/3 (1994): 584-604; Michael H. Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and their Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Sam H. Shirakawa, *Devil's Music Master: The Controversial Life and Career of Wilhelm Furtwangler* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Richard Osborne, *Herbert von Karajan: A Life in Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000); Stephen McClatchie, *Analyzing Wagner's Operas: Alfred Lorenz and German Nationalist Ideology* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1998); Alan Jefferson, *Elizabeth Schwarzkopf* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996); David B. Dennis, "'Honor Your German Masters': The Use and Abuse of 'Classical' Composers in Nazi Propaganda," *Journal of Political & Military Sociology* 30/2 (2002): 273 – 295; etc.

³⁴⁰ Eva Weissweiler and Theophil Stengel, *Ausgemerzt!: das Lexikon der Juden in der Musik und seine mörderischen Folgen* (Köln: Dittrich-Verlag, 1999).

painter best known for “Max und Moritz.” In an interview, Weissweiler describes her subject as “sinister” and “extraordinarily disturbed.”³⁴¹ Evidently, Wieck/Schumann is not the only cultural figure to receive an unfavorable treatment through Weissweiler’s writings. Although Busch died decades before the National Socialist movement, Weissweiler notes that he was celebrated in the Third Reich as a “völkischer Seher,” a collector of German folk knowledge.³⁴² This epithet notwithstanding, the use of Busch’s image as a tool of Nazi propaganda is minimal in comparison to the considerable emphasis on Wieck/Schumann as an ideal German woman in mainstream media of the Third Reich, which I discuss at length shortly. While the Nazi element is peripheral in the Busch biography, it is central in four biographies focused on German-Jewish individuals whose persecution drove them to leave their homes to seek refuge abroad.

The first of these, *Notre Dame de Dada* (Our Lady of Dada) recounts the life of the Jewish artist, art historian, and journalist Luise Straus-Ernst who supported the French Resistance and died in Auschwitz.³⁴³ The second, *Das Echo deiner Frage* (The Echo of a Question) is a joint biography of the German-Jewish intellectuals Dora and Walter Benjamin. Philosopher and essayist Walter Benjamin committed suicide in anticipation of being turned over to the Nazi army at the French-Spanish border. His wife, Dora Benjamin was an economist, social scientist, and psychologist. Beginning in 1933 when the Nazis took

³⁴¹ “Aber dass es so finster in ihm aussah, habe ich erst bei der Recherche bemerkt [...] Eine außerordentlich verstörte, fast autistische Persönlichkeit.” Eva Weissweiler quoted in Andreas Fasel, “Auf den Spuren Wilhelm Buschs.”

³⁴² Eva Weissweiler, *Wilhelm Busch: Der Lachende Pessimist; Eine Biographie* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2008), 75.

³⁴³ Eva Weissweiler, *Notre Dame de Dada: Luise Straus-Ernst, das dramatische Leben der ersten Frau von Max Ernst* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2016).

her brother into custody, Dora Benjamin spent the last decade of her life as a refugee, suffering illness and fear after fleeing Germany until her death in exile in Switzerland.³⁴⁴ The third example is Weissweiler's *Otto Klemperer: ein deutsch-jüdisches Künstlerleben*, a biography of the German-Jewish composer and conductor who emigrated to the United States in the 1930s, fleeing Nazi persecution not only for his Jewish ethnicity, but also for his professional allegiance to the "degenerate" music of composers such as Stravinsky and Schoenberg.³⁴⁵ Finally, *Die Freuds: Biographie einer Familie* (The Freuds: Biography of a Family) is a complex case.³⁴⁶ To the Nazis, who began burning the Austrian-Jewish psychiatrist Sigmund Freud's books in 1933, the famous psychoanalyst's theories were nothing more than sordid fascination with uncivilized impulses and sexual deviance, which undermined the sanctity of the German family and the dignity of the *Volk*. Even so, Weissweiler's biography treats the Freud patriarch and his work with derision; unlike Clara Schumann, he is not the subject of the biography.³⁴⁷ The expansion of the biography's scope to include his family, offers Weissweiler the opportunity to feature the female members of his family more favorably: his four sisters, who died in the Holocaust and for whom he did not secure safe passage when he fled Vienna in the wake of the Anschluss; as well as, his wife Martha and daughter Anna who (after his death) opened their London

³⁴⁴ Eva Weissweiler, *Das Echo deiner Frage: Dora und Walter Benjamin: Biographie einer Beziehung* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2020).

³⁴⁵ Eva Weissweiler, *Otto Klemperer: Ein Deutsch-Jüdisches Künstlerleben* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2010).

³⁴⁶ Eva Weissweiler, *Die Freuds: Biographie einer Familie*, (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag, 2008).

³⁴⁷ The reasons for Weissweiler's antipathy toward Sigmund Freud are not immediately apparent and lie beyond the scope of this dissertation. It is noteworthy that, in contrast with her biography of Wieck/Schumann, Weissweiler has chosen not to center her work on the (in her estimation) problematic figure, but rather, to extend it to others in his family that she does deem worthy of remembrance.

home to acquaintances fleeing the Nazis and established the Hampstead War Nursery to care for children whose lives were upended by the war.³⁴⁸

There is an additional angle to Weissweiler's selection of the Freud family. I have observed that the theme of abusive or tense parent-child relationships appears frequently in Weissweiler's work. For example, Weissweiler highlights that Busch's mother left him to be raised by his cruel uncle and that Eleanor Marx had a difficult relationship with her famous father. Weissweiler disclosed to an interviewer that Sigmund Freud was the "secret combatant" of her childhood, that "his writings were always a support" to resist being shattered in her parents' house.³⁴⁹ It seems that Weissweiler may have empathized with the young Clara Wieck, growing up in comparable circumstances. Weissweiler's mother apparently "never forgave her" for quitting the pianistic training to which the young woman had "sacrificed her childhood and youth" before turning to writing.³⁵⁰ Weissweiler also describes her father as unyieldingly critical; in her own words: "This harshness marks you for life."³⁵¹ Yet, despite this shared experience, Weissweiler does not extend her sympathy to Clara Schumann as a mother, as I will discuss below.

Another element common to Weissweiler's writings is political activism and restorative justice. *Erbin des Feuers* (Heiress of the Fire) is the life story of Friedelind

³⁴⁸ Anna Freud National Centre for Children and Families, "Our History," last modified 2022, accessed 15 July 2022, <https://www.annafreud.org/about-us/our-history/>.

³⁴⁹ "Dabei bezeichnet sie Freud doch liebevoll als 'geheimen Kombattanten' ihrer Jugend. 'Seine Schriften waren mir immer eine Stütze, um in diesem Elternhaus nicht zu zerbrechen', sagt sie." Eva Weissweiler quoted in Andreas Fasel, "Auf den Spuren Wilhelm Buschs."

³⁵⁰ "Ich habe meine Kindheit und Jugend dem Klavier geopfert" [...] "Meine Mutter hat mir im Grunde nie verziehen, dass ich der Musik abtrünnig wurde." Ibid.

³⁵¹ "Diese Härte zeichnet einen fürs ganze Leben." Ibid.

Wagner (granddaughter of Richard Wagner). Her outspoken criticism of close family friend Adolf Hitler and the policies of the Nazi regime led her to leave Germany in 1939 to emigrate to the United States where she became involved in anti-Nazi propaganda radio broadcasts.³⁵² Weissweiler also penned two books on the life of the self-styled “Jewess” and English political activist Eleanor “Tussy” Marx—the youngest daughter of Karl Marx. Weissweiler upholds Eleanor Marx as a tragic heroine and the pioneer of socialist-feminism who defied the antisemitic and misogynist rhetoric of the capitalist-patriarchy in her crusade for worker’s rights.³⁵³ Though her subject predated the National Socialist era, Weissweiler’s work on Eleanor Marx can be understood as an attempt to introduce a new ideal woman archetype as an alternative to the Nazi-endorsed *Frau und Mutter* image, centering the type of womanhood—educated, independent, political, employed, and most of all Jewish—that the National Socialists denounced. It may be significant that Weissweiler did not produce a work of secondary literature on Hensel as she did for Clara Schumann; the implication being that Hensel’s words needed only to be amplified whereas those of and about Clara Schumann necessitated amendment. Weissweiler’s work on the diary and correspondence of Fanny Hensel can also be understood within this framework of restorative justice if one considers the coordinated erasure of the Jewish composer Felix Mendelssohn (and by extension, his sister) from music history under the Nazis.³⁵⁴

³⁵² Eva Weissweiler, *Erbin Des Feuers: Friedelind Wagner; Eine Spurensuche*. 1. Aufl ed. München: Pantheon, 2013.

³⁵³ Eva Weissweiler, *Tussy Marx: das Drama der Vatertochter; eine Biographie* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verl, 2004) and Eva Weissweiler, *Lady Liberty: Das Leben Der Jüngsten Marx-Tochter Eleanor* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2018).

³⁵⁴ Eva Weissweiler (ed.), Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *“Die Musik will gar Nicht rutschen ohne Dich”: Briefwechsel 1821 bis 1846* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1997); Eva Weissweiler (ed.), Fanny

Weissweiler demonstrates her familiarity with the criteria for German womanhood according to Nazi ideology in referencing the 1933 Berlin Kaiserdamm exhibition “Die Frau—Frauenleben und Frauenwirken in Haus, Beruf, und Staat” in *Die Freuds*, stating that the concept for the exhibition, intended to show the occupations available to women under the regime and their place in the Third Reich, came from the Reich Minister of Propaganda himself.³⁵⁵ An article covering the exhibition in the *Berliner Morgenpost* carried the subtitle: “Frauenleben und Frauenwirken in Haus, Beruf, und Staat” (women’s life and women’s work in home, profession, and state).³⁵⁶ The journalist does not elaborate on the role of women in the workforce and as for their place in the state, it is to produce children who are “das Glück der Völker” (the joy of the people).³⁵⁷ The article describes that a large portion of the exhibition is given over to motherhood, including the opportunity for women to receive advice and education on mothering from the Charlottenburg Youth Home Association. The author also writes about the displays of household items—both items of beauty and technological innovations—as well as women’s fashion from the previous 150 years.

While women—especially those who were unmarried or widowed—were allowed limited employment under the regime, societal expectations were clear: a German woman

Hensel, *Ein Portrait in Briefen* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1991); and Eva Weissweiler (ed.), *Fanny Hensel Italienisches Tagebuch* (Hamburg: Luchterhand Literaturverlag, 1993).

³⁵⁵ Weissweiler, *Die Freuds*, 357.

³⁵⁶ G.B., “Die Frau’: Ausstellung am Kaiserdamm,” *Berliner Morgenpost*, 18 March 1933, p. 5, *Pressechronik 1933*, Deutsches Pressemuseum im Ullsteinhaus E.V., (accessed 5 May 2022): <http://pressechronik1933.dpmu.de/2013/03/18/pressechronik-18-3-1933/>.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 5

should strive to become a wife and mother (*Frau und Mutter*).³⁵⁸ Joseph Goebbels opened the exhibition with a speech in which he justifies his party's exclusion of women from participation in public society (especially politics) and emphasizes their sole value as mothers of the nation's future citizens.³⁵⁹ "The first, best, and most appropriate place for the woman is in the family, and the most wonderful task she can fulfill is that of giving her country and her people children, children who will continue the lineage and guarantee the immortality of the nation."³⁶⁰ As this excerpt implies, the home was actually the *only* acceptable place for a woman according to Nazi ideology and her sole contribution to society was in the production and raising of Germans.

CLARA SCHUMANN AS THE IDEAL *FRAU UND MUTTER* IN NAZI PROPAGANDA

The image of Clara Schumann as devoted wife and mother was already well established by the early days of the National Socialist regime, due in no small part to her depiction in the family-authorized biography by Berthold Litzmann and the various printed recollections of her children. The association of the pianist-composer with traditionally feminine gender roles only grew over the decades that followed. On the occasion of her

³⁵⁸ See Leila J. Rupp, "Mother of the "Volk": The Image of Women in Nazi Ideology," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3, no. 2 (1977): 362-79; and Michael Burleigh, "Women in the Third Reich," in *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2011), 242-266.

³⁵⁹ For analysis of Goebbels' speech and a larger study of the state-endorsed role of women under National Socialism, see Lina Mintzlaff, *Die Rolle der Frau in der Ns-Volksgemeinschaft: Eine Quellenanalyse mit dem Blick auf die Funktionen der Frau für die Nation* (München: GRIN Verlag, 2021).

³⁶⁰ "Den ersten, besten und ihr gemäßesten Platz hat die Frau in der Familie, und die wunderbarste Aufgabe, die sie erfüllen kann, ist die, ihrem Land und Volk Kinder zu schenken, Kinder, die Geschlechterfolgen fortsetzen und die Unsterblichkeit der Nation verbürgen." My translation. Joseph Goebbels' speech from 18 March 1933, reproduced in Renata Wiggerhaus, *Frauen unterm Nationalsozialismus* (Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, 1984), 15.

125th birthday in September 1944, several biographical essays were printed in Nazi-controlled newspapers throughout Germany and Austria. They demonstrate the extent to which Wieck/Schumann was retrospectively honored not so much for her professional accomplishments, as for her personification of the *Frau und Mutter* archetype: “In our memory, however, she stands above all as the ideal image of a German woman, a woman who has always remained true to herself and her ideals.”³⁶¹ The traits that define Clara Schumann as *Frau und Mutter* in Nazi media, and the film *Träumerei* in particular, are domestic contentment, prolific motherhood, devoted and affectionate care for her children and husband. Weissweiler denies each of these attributes in turn, dismantling the National Socialist *Frauenideal* in her biography of the pianist-composer.

The 1944 German film *Träumerei* is perhaps the most substantial example of the Nazi appropriation of Wieck/Schumann’s biography for propagandistic ends.³⁶² Historian Jörg Echternkamp cites *Träumerei* as one of the most prominent examples of musician-heroes as cultural leaders who helped forge the German national identity.³⁶³ While this might obviously be applied to films to such traditional figures as Beethoven or Wagner, Robert Schumann was actually a problematic film subject due to his well-known struggles with mental illness, a highly stigmatized condition in Nazi society as it was attributed to

³⁶¹ “In unsrer Erinnerung steht sie aber vor allem als das Idealbild einer deutschen Frau, einer Frau die sich selbst und ihren Idealen immer true geblieben ist.” B.P., “Clara Schumann, ein deutsches Frauenschicksal: Die Pianistin des 19. Jahrhunderts/Brahms mütterliche Freundin,” *Kleine Wiener Kriegszeitung* 15. September 1944, p.6, ANNO Historische österreichische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, (accessed 25 July 2022), <https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=kwk&datum=19440915&zoom=33>.

³⁶² *Träumerei*, directed by Harold Braun, written by Harold Braun and Herbert Witt, featuring Hilde Krahl, Mattias Wieman, et al. (UFA GmbH, 1944) MP4 accessed 11 June 2022 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sVWAKVGkxU8>.

³⁶³ Jörg Echternkamp, *Germany and the Second World War Volume IX/II: German Wartime Society 1939-1945: Exploitation, Interpretations, Exclusion* (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2014), 133.

degeneracy.³⁶⁴ Aside from this objection, Goebbels was purportedly less than enthusiastic in his endorsement of the “soft” romantic film, removed from the present-day struggles of the war; these criticisms may have been the very reasons the film was popular among the war-weary cinema patrons, many of whom were women left behind when their men volunteered or were conscripted.³⁶⁵

Musicologist Michelle Elizabeth Yael Braunschweig observes that the filmmakers sidestepped the mental health issue by centering *Träumerei* on Clara Wieck/Schumann, using her love story with Robert to disseminate conservative family values.³⁶⁶ While Robert plays a major role, Clara is undoubtedly the film’s protagonist; the one exception is a conversation between Robert and Brahms, but even that is intercut with glimpses of Clara’s parallel activity and ends with her joining them. (Curiously, despite its coincidence with the 125th anniversary of Clara’s birth, the film was premiered in Robert’s hometown of Zwickau rather than Leipzig, where she was born and raised.) Wieck/Schumann was a particularly apt subject for a wartime film given her reputation for strength and stoicism in the face of the hardships and tragedies that compound in her biography: the legal battle to marry Robert and resulting estrangement from her father, Robert’s illness and struggle for

³⁶⁴ In fact, the Nazis legislated this bigotry in 1933 with the Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring (*Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses*). The statute legalized the involuntary sterilization of individuals diagnosed with any number of supposedly hereditary psychological conditions from schizophrenia to depression to alcoholism as well as physical disabilities such as blindness and deafness. For more on Nazi eugenics see Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Robert Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

³⁶⁵ Heinrich Fraenkel, *Unsterblicher Film: Die große Chronik: vom ersten Ton bis zur farbigen Breitwand* (Munich: Kindler, 1957), 122. See also: Felix Moeller, *The Film Minister: Goebbels and the Cinema in the Third Reich* (Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 2000).

³⁶⁶ Michelle Elizabeth Yael Braunschweig, *Biographical Listening: Intimacy, Madness and the Music of Robert Schumann*, eScholarship, University of California, 2013: <http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/3x17409s>.

recognition, his institutionalization and death, the family's financial concerns, and (beyond the scope of the film) the untimely deaths of half of her children. It is interesting to note that the most directly relevant episodes from the heroine's life do not feature in the film. For example, she was the mother of a soldier when her son Ferdinand served in the Franco-Prussian war. It's unsurprising that the film makers omitted this element since it happened decades after the events of the main storyline, but an additional factor may have been the fact that it was her son's morphine addiction—originating from military hospital treatment—that forced her to assume responsibility for his family. Clara Schumann's bravery during the 1849 May revolution certainly falls within the film's timeframe, however, Robert's flight from military service (even on the "wrong" side of the conflict) was likely too controversial.

Braunschweig hypothesizes that Wieck/Schumann rose to prominence as a symbol of the *Frau und Mutter* in part because she was a relatable figure for the many German women who had lost their husbands during the war. Adolf Hitler said in a 1934 speech: "What man employs in heroism on the battlefield, the woman employs in eternally patient suffering and endurance."³⁶⁷ Endurance, perseverance, and sacrifice were already defining elements of Wieck/Schumann's life in the Litzmann biography; the Nazi propagandists emphasized these traits to make her a "didactic and inspirational" figure for German women, whose devoted domesticity as depicted in the film, helped them to "normalize and universalize National Socialist constructions of women and motherhood."³⁶⁸ Though

³⁶⁷ My translation. Adolf Hitler's speech from 8 September 1934, reproduced in Renata Wiggerhaus, *Frauen unterm Nationalsozialismus* (Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, 1984), 21.

³⁶⁸ Braunschweig, *Biographical Listening*, 55-56.

subtler than the military films, *Träumerei* was still politically important to the Nazis in manufacturing a version of history in which social norms of the past century continued in Germany, uninterrupted by the radical liberalism of the Weimar Republic.³⁶⁹ The characterization of Clara Schumann in *Träumerei* illustrates the extent to which the *Frau und Mutter* archetype had been mapped onto her biography in Nazi media. The *Mutter* aspect is plain in the depiction of Clara Schumann as a prolific and active mother, content to perform domestic labor, while wifely devotion and loyalty are emblematic of the *Frau* writ large. In fact, the archetype might be reduced to requirements of fertility and fidelity.

Let us first consider the image of Clara Schumann as mother. On the occasion of Clara Schumann's 125th birthday, newspapers in various cities throughout the Third Reich marked the occasion. A number of these published the same essay by the prominent Nazi musicologist Hans Joachim Moser. The brief biographical summary refers to Robert as "the man of her heart" for whom she bore "numerous children in sixteen years of happy marriage."³⁷⁰ This emphasis on the quantity of children is far from coincidental given the Nazis official stance that German women were duty bound to produce as many healthy children as possible as articulated in Goebbels' 1933 Kaiserdamm exhibition speech. The expectation that German women should produce abundant families was reinforced through

³⁶⁹ For more on the image of women in Nazi propaganda, see Valerie-Kristin Piehslinger, "Das Frauenbild in Propagandaplakaten der NSV anhand von ausgewählten Beispielen," thesis, University of Vienna (Universität Wien), 2013.

³⁷⁰ "Mit dem neun Jahre älteren Komponisten verlobt, hat sie gegen den verblissen Einspruch des Vaters die ehelich Verinigung mit dem Mann ihres Herzens gerichtlich erwingen müssen und hat ihm dann, [...] in sechzehnjähringer, glücklicher Ehe zahlreiche Kinder geboren [...]" Hans Joachim Moser, "Clara Schumann zum 125. Geburtstag" *Straßburger neueste Nachrichten: amtliche Tageszeitung der NSDAP*, 13 September 1944, p.3., Deutsches Zeitungsportal, (accessed 25 July 2022) <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/O3LKJ3XKBII4S22N43KPWETI44VHXJ6U?issuepage=3>.

propaganda and policy in the Third Reich.³⁷¹ The message that fertility was a woman's most prized quality is illustrated in the case of the Mutterkreuz (The Cross of the Honor of the German Mother), an official state honor given to women who were ethnically "pure" and *kinderreiche* ("rich with children").³⁷² Had she lived in that era, Clara Schumann, having given birth to eight children, might have qualified for the gold medal and all the privileges it afforded. (That is assuming, of course, that her husband's mental illness did not disqualify their family on the grounds of genetic degeneracy.)³⁷³

Given this ideological environment, it is little wonder that several of these commemorative articles from September 1944 exalt Clara Schumann's accomplishments as a mother. One of the many articles published in celebration of the anniversary year—a feature within the "On Great Germans" section of the *Badener Zeitung*, emblazoned with the Nazi war eagle—declares that Clara Schumann "achieved the highest as wife and mother."³⁷⁴ Another example comes from Lisel Stürmann's review of the film *Träumerei* in which Stürmann describes Clara Schumann as having "given life to a number of children who demand to be cared for," but rather than impeding her professional life, Stürmann writes that "through their existence [the children] also allowed the mother to grow as an

³⁷¹ For a discussion of the Nazi ideal of womanhood see Georg Hinterberger, *Das Frauenideal im Nationalsozialismus: Zwischen Mutterschaft und Einsatz in der Wehrmacht*, (Hamburg: The Science Factory, Ltd., 2018).

³⁷² "Statutory Order of the Leader and Chancellor on the establishment of the Cross of Honour of the German Mother," *Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt* [German Reich Law Journal] Part 1: 224 (December 16, 1938): (p.)1923. <http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=dra&datum=1938&page=2102&size=45>.

³⁷³ Braunschweig, *Biographical Listening*, 56.

³⁷⁴ "[...] die als Frau und Mutter Höchstes leistete [...]" [Unknown author], "Von großen Deutschen: Clara Schumann zur 125. Wiederkehr ihres Geburtstages am 13. September," *Badener Zeitung* (13 September 1944): 3.

artist.”³⁷⁵ Of course, neither the author nor the film provide any explanation for this incongruous statement. Presumably, we are to understand that Clara Schumann enhanced her worth as a woman with each subsequent contribution to the German citizenry, thereby enabling her to better serve her husband and the Reich through her art.

Beyond the mere generation of children, as a good German mother, Clara Schumann was also expected to safeguard their innocence. World-War-II-era mothers, whether temporarily or permanently acting as single parents, sheltered their children from the horrors of war. Likewise, Nazi media imagined that Clara Schumann, separated from her husband, had to bear hardship and sorrow alone, never allowing her children to see beyond her stoic façade. In late December 1944, several German newspapers printed a short story by Heinrich Zerkaulen, which imagines Clara’s first Christmas after Robert’s death.³⁷⁶ The story contrasts the lingering focus on the widow’s deep loneliness with comments that the children were “frolicking” in the music room and that they “rejoiced” over the holiday bustle in the street below.³⁷⁷ This effect is one of *chiaroscuro*, with the light of the children’s joy emphasized by the shadow of the mother’s sadness (and vice-versa).

³⁷⁵ “[...] schenkt einer Reihe von Kindern das Leben, die umsorgt sein wollen, die durch ihr Dasein die Mutter auch als Künstlerin wachsen lassen.” Lisel Stürmann, “Bühler Filmschau Lichtspielhaus: „Träumerei,” *Der Führer: Hauptorgan der NSDAP Gau Baden*, 18 November 1944, p.3, Deutsches Zeitungsportal, (accessed 25 July 2022) <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/TQJ4SF4URFRTOKQCIY6WUJYGXQ63LVHT?issuepage=3>.

³⁷⁶ Heinrich Zerkaulen, “Stille Weihnacht: Erinnerung an Clara Schumann,” *Hakenkreuzbanner: Neue Mannheimer Zeitung*, 23 December 1944, p.4; Deutsches Zeitungsportal, (accessed 25 July 2022) <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/CTYTWXYXPL3H55RYUXZNN44FBWU6RSSZ?issuepage=4>. (Also published as “Clara Schumanns Weihnachtsabend,” *Pforzheimer Anzeiger*, 23 December 1944, p.3. Deutsches Zeitungsportal, (accessed 25 July 2022) <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/4F6EPKP3WZIJGEKYAFR25ZN3DUWSZWP5?issuepage=3>.)

³⁷⁷ “Gegen- über, im Musikzimmer, tollten die Kinder um den schon lange geschlossenen Flügel. [...] Und die Kinder freuten sich, daß die fremden Menschen da unten auf der Straße hasteten in großer Erregung.” Zerkaulen, “Stille Weihnacht: Erinnerung an Clara Schumann,” 4.

Chiaroscuro is the defining cinematographic style of the film *Träumerei*, but whereas Zerkaulen's Christmas story places Clara in the shadow, on the screen she is a radiant source of light, struggling against the darkness that threatens to envelop her husband. The reviewer Stürmann remarked that Clara was "the light in the life of her husband who drifts into darkness."³⁷⁸ The heroine's name is derived from Latin roots and means bright or illustrious. Clara Schumann's first biographer Berthold Litzmann wrote that Friedrich Wieck chose his daughter's name as a prediction of her brilliant future as a virtuoso.³⁷⁹ In the film, Robert delivers a line referencing Wieck's predictive or perhaps, prescriptive naming, telling Clara that her father wanted her life to be light but he (Robert) has made it dark.³⁸⁰ The *chiaroscuro* style and its subtext are best represented in the sequence in which Robert has brought Johannes Brahms home with him.³⁸¹ The two musicians converse in Robert's unlit study. In another room, the table is being set for dinner and Clara is lighting candles; the eldest child tells her mother that her father is already at home but did not want any lights to be lit. We cut back to the study, where Robert tells Brahms that he is drowning in sounds that drag him down to a "realm dominated by shadows, a realm without light." Abruptly, the door opens to reveal Clara bearing a lit candelabra. Her arrival literally brightens the entire room, bringing far more illumination than can be attributed to the

³⁷⁸ "Sie, das Licht im Leben ihres der 'Düsternis zuwandern' den Mannes [...]" Stürmann, "Bühler Filmschau Lichtspielhaus: „Träumerei“,“ *Der Führer*, 3.

³⁷⁹ Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann, Ein Künstlerleben Nach Tagebüchern Und Briefen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1920), 5.

³⁸⁰ "Er wolltet daß dein Leben hell warden und ich habe es dunkel gemacht." Harald Braun, dir., *Träumerei* (UFA, Deutsche Filmvertriebs, 3 May 1944): 0:48:38 – 0:48:42. All transcriptions and translations of dialogue from *Träumerei* in this chapter are my own.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1:06:34 – 1:10:00.

candles she carries. After being introduced to Clara, Brahms tells Robert, “Oh, how much light you have in your life!”³⁸²

In shining the light of her love on Robert, Clara is like a lighthouse guiding him on his journey—one that, according to his nature as a genius, he must make in spite of the darkness. In 1933, Guida Diehl (founder of the Nazi women’s organization the *Neulandbund*) wrote that man, being inherently intellectual, “searches, discovers, and often opens new, immeasurable realms” but that the role of the woman, who is inclined toward feeling rather than reason, is to provide him with “the element of stability.”³⁸³ Just as she protects her husband from darkness in the film, Clara Schumann’s role as a mother is to maintain her children’s happiness, apparently shielding them from the harsh realities of adult concerns.³⁸⁴

CLARA SCHUMANN AS *MUTTER*: PROCREATION, PROTECTION, AND PARENTING

The children are universally depicted as innocent throughout the film. A representative scene opens with on-screen text—a letter or diary entry of Clara’s—indicating that five years have passed since the couple won their court case:

For five years now we have been man and wife and we are as happy as the first day!
The children are healthy and the new house in Dresden is our whole joy. Admittedly,

³⁸² “Wie viel Licht haben Sie ihr am leben.” Braun, *Träumerei*, 1:08 -1:10.

³⁸³ “Beim Mann herrscht der Verstand vor. Er sucht, entdeckt und häufig eröffnet er neue, unermeßliche Reiche [...] und die Frau, die Gefühl ist, ist folglich das Element der Stabilität.” My translation. Guida Diehl, “Die deutsche Frau und der Nationalsozialismus,” (Eisenach: Neuland-Verlag, 1933), reproduced in Valerie-Kristin Piehslinger, “Das Frauenbild in Propagandaplakaten,” (2013): 10. <https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/open/o:1295931>.

³⁸⁴ Zerkaulen was a vehemently nationalist writer, poet, and playwright who enjoyed prominence and professional success in Nazi-era Germany. See Hans Sarkowicz and Alf Mentzer, *Literatur in Nazi-Deutschland: ein biographisches Lexicon* (Hamburg: Europa, 2000), 680.

the household is terribly expensive and many money [concerns] and my father's irreconcilability often lies upon us like a shadow. But what does all of this matter compared to Robert's love.³⁸⁵

There is a conspicuous absence of music in Clara's words. Indeed, her whole world seems to consist of house, spouse, and children. Her desire to reconcile with her father is in keeping with her goal of family harmony while her financial apprehensions show her to have become a conscientious steward of her husband's income. Above all, the text stresses her contentment in her situation referring to happiness, health, joy, and love. Lastly, associating her worries with shadow imagery reinforces Clara's association with light.

The text dissolves to reveal the idyllic picture of Marie and Elise Schumann joyfully playing in a sundrenched garden (once again, domestic happiness is depicted with light).³⁸⁶ Having thrown their ball beyond the garden wall, the girls run to retrieve it and encounter a man who is, unbeknownst to them, their grandfather Friedrich Wieck. Completely unaware of the conflict and estrangement that accompanied their parents' marriage, when Wieck asks about their grandfather, Elise shrugs and innocently replies, "he never comes."³⁸⁷ They smile brightly as he tosses their ball back to them. It is clear that though Wieck's obstinance has somewhat darkened the lives of their parents, Clara has ensured that the children are free to enjoy the halcyon sunshine.

The significance of Clara's identity as a mother is obvious in the film as serious scenes of music making and Robert's struggles with mental health are intercut with

³⁸⁵ "Nun sind wir bald fünf Jahre Mann und Frau und sind glücklich wie am ersten Tage! Die Kinder sind gesund und das neue Haus in Dresden ist unsere ganze Freude. Freilich, der Haushalt kostet schrecklich und viel Geld und der Gedanke an die Unversöhnlichkeit des Vaters liegt oft wie ein Schatten auf uns. Aber was bedeutet das alles neben Roberts Liebe." Braun, *Träumerei*, 0:27:53 – 0:28:23.

³⁸⁶ Braun, *Träumerei*, 0:28:24.

³⁸⁷ "Da kommt er nie." *Ibid.*, 0:29:01 – 0:29:41.

saccharine vignettes of the Schumann children at play or bedtime. For example, the revelation that Brahms has fallen in love with Clara is immediately followed by the exuberant entrance of four of the Schumann children to affectionately tell their cheerful mother goodnight.³⁸⁸ Again, the children are blissfully unaware of the complex emotions and the brewing storm that surround the adults in the household. It is somewhat surprising given the value placed on large families in Nazi ideology that the majority of scenes featuring the children show them only in small groupings. Nevertheless, the extent of the Schumanns' procreativity is displayed in a scene in which the entire family gathers, with Brahms at the piano, to sing his "Wiegenlied" (Op. 49, No.4).³⁸⁹ Though Robert also joins the singing at first, his voice is inaudible, and he sits apart from the others. By contrast, Clara sits near the center of the tableau, surrounded by her six children.³⁹⁰ Clara's soprano voice carries the melody while the others harmonize with her, signifying musically that she is integral to the accord of the family itself. The camera pans to show everyone together, the picture of familial joy, yet Robert is out of frame. When the camera returns to him, he sits silently with his eyes closed while stark shadows contrast with the light cast upon his face. Even in the atmosphere of brilliance, Robert is isolated and threatened by darkness. The power of family has apparently triumphed, however, as the final frame shows Robert

³⁸⁸ Braun, *Träumerei*, 1:11:48 – 1:12:42.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:10:01 – 1:11:23.

³⁹⁰ When Brahms first visited in September 1853, Clara did in fact have six children. She gave birth to a total of eight over thirteen years. Her son Emil died in 1847 and she would have been pregnant at that time with her last child, Felix. The filmmakers appear to have switched the birth order of the youngest two children at that point, depicting Ferdinand rather than Eugenie as the youngest. In the course of her marriage, Clara was pregnant (at least) ten times, with two pregnancies ending in miscarriage in 1846 and 1852.

again bathed in light as nearby his youngest child, no more than four years old, adorably sings just slightly out of tune.

Weissweiler strongly disassociates Clara Schumann from a major quality of *die deutsche Frau*: prolific motherhood. Although the number of Schumann children is irrefutable, Weissweiler shows Clara's reluctance growing with each new gestation, when "she moaned softly at the absence of menstruation," thereby eliciting from Robert the platitude: "'Children are blessings'."³⁹¹ Other biographers, including Litzmann, have justified Clara's unenthusiastic acceptance of her frequent pregnancies in terms of concerns over finances and Robert's health. Weissweiler, on the other hand, accuses Clara not only of regretting the fertilizations, but of aborting her pregnancies on two occasions. In her own book, Nancy Reich notes that Clara had two miscarriages associated with vacations: the first on 26 July 1846 in Norderney, and another some years later in Scheveningen around August 1852.³⁹² Weissweiler's account of the event in Norderney, embellished with details from an unknown source, make it clear that Clara intentionally terminated her pregnancy during the trip. According to Weissweiler, Clara discovers she is pregnant while on the island of Norderney. The author says that Clara is afraid to ask the local doctors but if she were back home in Dresden, she could rely on the midwife to help her. From the suggestion that Clara would know to whom to go for this type of reproductive care, we might infer that she had previously sought an abortion or at least learned where she could. Instead, she follows an unnamed old woman's advice to bring about the same result via heated

³⁹¹ "'Kinder sind Segen,' pflegt Robert sie zu trösten, wenn sie beim Ausbleiben der Menstruation leise stöhnt." Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 185.

³⁹² Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 103 and xxi.

saltwater baths. She quotes from Robert's diary: "Change in Klara's condition and her joy."³⁹³

Thus, Weissweiler attributes to Clara one of the most heinous transgressions for a mother according to National Socialist ideology. Dorothee Klinksiek notes how Nazis employed various methods to guarantee increased German birthrates, such as state-directed education for young women, the closing of birth control centers and the criminalization of abortion in 1933, and even the government surveillance of women through doctors and midwives beginning in 1935.³⁹⁴ While the first such instance in Weissweiler's text might be taken as a relatively objective interpretation of a biographical episode, the second suggests wrong-doing on Clara's part. Weissweiler writes that when the Schumann family, accompanied by Clara's half-sister Marie Wieck, on a holiday in Scheveningen, Clara was determined to end her pregnancy in the same manner as before, having "placed all her hopes on the sea baths."³⁹⁵ That Clara acted intentionally is clear in Weissweiler's statement that she took bath after bath until the "longed-for miscarriage" occurred.³⁹⁶ Clara purportedly enjoyed being the center of attention as doctors cared for her instead of her husband, painting Clara as selfish. Weissweiler seems to have assumed the role of omniscient narrator, relating Clara's inner fear that her father, learning the news from her sister, would judge her as a "depraved woman who kills her children." Despite

³⁹³ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 192. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

³⁹⁴ Dorothee Klinksiek, *Die Frau im NS-Staat* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1982), 70.

³⁹⁵ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 283. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.* See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

these harsh words, in framing the condemnation as what Clara *imagines* would come from her father *if* he were to find out, Weissweiler maintains ambiguity regarding her own position while still presenting the criticism.

Weissweiler also disavows the idea that Clara Schumann lovingly tended her children and husband. Just as Clara made only a perfunctory effort to learn how to cook, Weissweiler claims that after “halfhearted attempts” Clara gave up trying to breastfeed the infant Marie, “nearly starving the child” and only seeing her when “she was fed and freshly swaddled by the nurse.”³⁹⁷ This description of Clara’s first foray into motherhood paints her as a dangerously neglectful mother, distant and withholding even with her first child. While breastfeeding had become fashionable among mothers of the upper classes in early nineteenth-century Europe, there is ample evidence (both archival and artefactual) that various technologies and methods for infant feeding, including the engagement of wetnurses, were common.³⁹⁸ As with the example of the hired domestic staff, Weissweiler calls attention to the mundane detail that the Schumanns employed a nurse as an indication that Clara had failed to fulfil her duty as *Frau und Mutter*. This idea intensifies in the twentieth century—an era during which a number of developments had made bottle feeding a safer (more hygienic) and more convenient alternative—when writers such as Edward Shorter attribute the high infant mortality rates of previous centuries not to

³⁹⁷ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 161. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

³⁹⁸ Felicity Nowell-Smith, “Feeding the Nineteenth-Century Baby: Implications for Museum Collections,” *Material History Bulletin* 21, no. 21 (1985): 15–23.

disease but to “indifferent mothers” who failed to properly care for their children.³⁹⁹

Weissweiler thus draws on the trope of the unfit mother who lacks the instinct or sentiment to properly nourish her baby.

One of the most telling examples of negligent motherhood in Weissweiler’s text is the alleged indifference or even disgust with which Clara regarded her son Emil, who died at just sixteen months old. Weissweiler writes that whereas Robert “rejoiced” over the birth of their first son, Clara “barely glanced at him.”⁴⁰⁰ Clara’s dissatisfaction with her children apparently was not reserved solely for her son. Once again, Weissweiler assumes the role of omnipotent narrator to suggest that Clara was jealous of the singer Pauline Viardot whose own daughter was a charming child; by comparison, her own girls were “pale and dull” and Emil was a “pathetic child.”⁴⁰¹ One might expect that such a vulnerable child would require additional maternal care, however, Weissweiler portrays Clara as selfishly preoccupied with the canceled plans for relocation to Berlin brought about by the passing of Fanny Hensel the month before.⁴⁰² Whether Clara is to blame for not accompanying the sick Emil to the country is uncertain; nevertheless, Weissweiler makes Clara’s culpability undeniable in her reaction to the toddler’s death. The author presents Clara as so unfeeling toward Emil that she does not even muster the energy to mourn the

³⁹⁹ Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), xvi. See also Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality* (New York: Macmillan, 1981); Lloyd de Mause, ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York: Harper Torchbook edition, 1975); Valerie Fildes, “Weaning the Elizabethan Child,” *Nursing Times* (July 1980): 1357-9; (August 1980): 1402-3; and Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962).

⁴⁰⁰ “Ja, er freute sich über seinen Sohn, während Clara kaum einen Blick auf ihn warf.” Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biography*, 187.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 209. See Appendix B for original German and my translation.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 210. See Appendix B for original German and my translation.

loss. In fact, Clara so profoundly lacks any maternal connection to her children that she considers them replaceable. Weissweiler writes (as though representing Clara's thoughts): "She will have other sons."⁴⁰³ That she had little use for sickly children is reinforced when Weissweiler discusses Clara's decision to send her daughter Julie to live with her grandmother Marianne Bargiel in Berlin after Robert's institutionalization. Julie is made to seem like a burden to Clara since the nine-year-old "was too often ill and had to be constantly nursed," while the eldest daughters made themselves useful helping in the household.⁴⁰⁴ Of course, no screen time is given over to the heartbreaking episodes of Clara Schumann's biography when she lost her children to illness as it would be too bleak for a film glorifying motherhood. While the deaths of Julie, Felix, and Ferdinand (and the institutionalization of Ludwig) are all outside the film's timeline, Emil is simply nonexistent despite the fact that he would have been an infant around the time that Liszt visited Clara in the film.

CLARA SCHUMANN AS *FRAU*: DOMESTICITY AND DEVOTION

A central theme of the film is that the Schumanns' happy homelife is also threatened by the tensions of the outside world. At the end of the courtroom scene in which they have won the right to marry and Clara's father refuses to speak to them, Robert tells her "The world is evil, Clara, but together we emerge from it pure."⁴⁰⁵ This line explicitly names

⁴⁰³ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biography*, 210. See Appendix B for original German and my translation.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 313. See Appendix B for original German and my translation.

⁴⁰⁵ "Die Welt ist böse, Clara, aber wir beide von rein daraus hervorregan." Braun, *Träumerei*, 0:26:10 – 0:26:15.

Clara's struggle throughout the rest of the film to maintain their marital serenity in defiance of the evils of the world. As Moser wrote in his widely-published essay, "to the young [Robert] Schumann [Clara was] the ideal of the German myrtle bride" and it is precisely this commitment to being the perfect wife that Clara yields in defense of her marriage.⁴⁰⁶ As Braunschweig observes, Clara's devotion to his charge is represented musically throughout the movie with the main theme from the piece *Träumerei* from Robert Schumann's *Kinderszenen* (Op. 15, No.7).⁴⁰⁷

Five years after defeating the worldly evil of Friedrich Wieck in winning the right to marry, the purity of their love is threatened once more by the arrival of Franz Liszt.⁴⁰⁸ Throughout the four-minute scene, Liszt's flirtatious manner adds a romantic significance to his efforts to tempt her to return to the concert stage, in each case, Clara rebuffs his advances and insists that she is content in her domestic realm. Rather than indicate that she is tempted at the prospect of returning to public performance (or romantic involvement with Liszt), Clara is seemingly uncomfortable with this invasion of her homelife, using the well-practiced customs of the *Hausfrau* to redirect the conversation to safe waters. As such, she demonstrates the essential feminine value of fidelity to her husband, home, and children.

⁴⁰⁶ "[...] dem jungen Schumann das Ideal der deutschen Myrthenbraut [...]" Moser, "Clara Schumann zum 125. Geburtstag," 3. For more on the symbolism and cultural significance of myrtle, including its associations with love, brides, and paradise, see Ahad Arora, "Heine's Flowers in Schumann's 'Myrthen,'" in Sabine Brenner-Wilczek (ed.), *Heine-Jahrbuch 2021* (Berlin: J.B. Metzler, 2021), 107 – 125.

⁴⁰⁷ Braunschweig, *Biographical Listening*, 60. For a discussion of the cultural association of the musical piece *Träumerei* with home and family, see Braunschweig's "Domestic Dreaming: 'Träumerei' and the Popular Reception of Schumann", *Music & letters* 98.4 (2017): 544–572.

⁴⁰⁸ Braun, *Träumerei*, (0:30:35 – 0:34:30).

The opening of the scene highlights the previously discussed trope of active mothering alongside the focus on domestic labor and household administration. The scene begins with Clara's exuberant daughters running into the kitchen where Clara is engaged in meal preparation alongside a servant. The girls announce that there is a man to see her, to which their mother replies that it is likely the locksmith coming to collect payment and asks the children to tell him to return tomorrow. These seemingly insignificant details of the scene actually carry meaning. The filmmakers could just as easily have had a servant interrupt Clara at the piano and her mistress could have assumed the visitor to be a friend. The fact that Clara interacts with her children, is actively engaged in meal preparation, and assumes the interloper to be related to the household, firmly establishes Clara as *Mutter* and *Hausfrau* in seconds.

Liszt enters and presents Clara with a bouquet of flowers—though she is pleased to see him, he (and Clara's past that he represents) are out of place in the busy kitchen. She asks him to excuse her hands, which are (presumably) messy from baking, to which he responds that her hands are "always magical," whether playing Mozart or making strudel. He takes one hand and kisses it gallantly.⁴⁰⁹ She laughs off this flirtation, breaking the moment to act as hostess; she invites him to come upstairs to the parlor. She removes her apron, which he takes from her as though it is an elegant garment, draping it delicately on the banister. This courtly gesture once again seems out of place in the domestic context.

As they climb the stairs, Clara teases Liszt about making ladies happy and husbands miserable, reinforcing that Liszt is a threat to marriages. (Beatrix Borchard interprets the

⁴⁰⁹ "Ihr hände sind immer gleich der zaubert, ob sie an scherzo von Mozart unter ihnen formen oder ein Apfelstrudel." Braun, *Träumerei*, 0:30:59 – 0:31:08.

character of Liszt in the film as a different threat, representing the dangerous allure of foreign French culture.⁴¹⁰ Liszt tells her that he is in Dresden at the king's invitation to give a concert. He asks when she last played, to which Clara replies shyly that she has not played for a long time. He asks her whether she remembers Paris, referencing an earlier scene when an unmarried Clara Wieck shared the stage with Liszt at a glamorous Parisian salon and tells him that she will give up performing to marry Robert.⁴¹¹ Liszt says that on that "unforgettable evening" he thought that she would "conquer the world," bemusedly examining a stuffed bear in a highchair. Clara responds, smiling, "I've conquered *my* world," beginning to arrange flowers in a vase on the table.⁴¹² Just as when she interrupted his attempt at coquetry in the kitchen, she once again uses domesticity as a defense. Liszt rapidly fires off questions in the manner of a prosecutor in a courtroom drama while her responses are nonchalant. Clara's smile slips as he rounds the table, approaching her as he says, "Your husband is to be envied, being the only one fortunate to hear you play."⁴¹³ Clara reacts to the double meaning in Liszt's statement, which is emphasized in Liszt's body language and unwelcome proximity. Unsmiling, she defends Robert saying, "Doesn't he deserve it?"⁴¹⁴ Liszt asks whether her admirers, himself included don't deserve it also. Clara recovers her composure and, once more becoming the smiling hostess, asks him to

⁴¹⁰ Borchard, *Clara Schumann: Musik als Lebensform*, 56.

⁴¹¹ Braun, *Träumerei*, 0:14:06 – 0:17:04.

⁴¹² Franz Liszt: "Ich glaubte damals sie würden eine Welt erobern können." Clara Schumann: "Ich habe meine Welt erobert." Braun, *Träumerei*, 0:31:53 – 0:32:00.

⁴¹³ "Ihr Mann ist zu beneiden dass er allein das glück hat sie zu hören." *Ibid.*, 0:32:23 – 0:32:25.

⁴¹⁴ "Verdient er es nicht?" *Ibid.*, 0:32:27.

take a seat. Because of the furniture arrangement, what seems on the surface to be an invitation, in practical terms, creates physical distance between them. Once again, Clara wields feminine hospitality as a weapon to defend her domestic realm.

Weissweiler refutes the Nazi image of Clara's domestic contentment, showing Clara's ineptitude or disinterest in running a household. One such example appears just after the Schumanns' wedding. Weissweiler states that Clara's mother has come to stay with the newlyweds in order to teach Clara how to cook and look after a household. These are skills that Marianne Bargiel certainly honed over the many years of her second marriage but that Clara, whose father never intended her to marry, had never had the opportunity to glean. Notably, the film does not suggest that Clara does all of the domestic labor alone as we see that she has the help of a cook, a housemaid, and Frau Leser who acts as a sort of nurse to the children. The tone of Weissweiler's mention of paid help is different, however, as she says that a distant relative named Agnes is brought on to do the "rougher work."⁴¹⁵ In contrast to the character in the film who feels compelled to apologize for her hands, Weissweiler's Clara, instead seems to be playing at domesticity. Weissweiler mentions that she entertains "lunch guests who were eager to see how Clara was doing as a housewife" wearing a white lace bonnet (almost like a costume) because Robert—not she herself—had wanted her to. Weissweiler says that Clara "soon gave up cooking, never to try again," though whether it was because she found it distasteful or had no skill for it is uncertain. Weissweiler states that Clara would hire cooks for the rest of her life. Whereas Marianne Bargiel's financial situation necessitated that she take on a significant amount of

⁴¹⁵ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 155. See Appendix B for original German and my translation.

domestic labor herself (her husband was disabled and thus they lived thriftily on the limited income from her teaching), however, Robert and Clara enjoyed a middle-class lifestyle. In a footnote, Nancy Reich cites the Schumanns' household ledger to show that they paid only 1 taler a month to their housemaid while a bottle of champagne cost four times that much.⁴¹⁶ Given that the wages for domestic servants were so extraordinarily inexpensive and the housework so labor intensive, it seems that employing a cook would be quite ordinary, yet Weissweiler emphasizes this fact.⁴¹⁷ Lest the reader think that Clara merely lacks the skill to fulfil the housewife role that she would otherwise gladly satisfy, Weissweiler had already established that even during their engagement, Clara had rejected Robert's fantasy of Clara "sit[ting] in a bonnet in the blue copperplate room" where she "listens to her Robert composing."⁴¹⁸ Taken together, these two examples from the biography distance Clara Schumann from the image of happy *Hausfrau*.

In the film, Clara's devotion to the success and happiness of her husband is paramount; it is the motivation both for her to resume concertizing after marriage and to discontinue it when he requires her care. As such, her public life becomes an extension of the domestic sphere, a service performed for the sake of her husband. During his visit to the Schumann household, Liszt asks Clara what Robert is working on. Clara beams with

⁴¹⁶ Nancy Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 84.

⁴¹⁷ For more on the social history of domestic labor in nineteenth-century Europe, see: Mareike König, "Domesticity in Europe," *Encyclopédie d'histoire numérique de l'Europe* [online], published on 22 June 2020, accessed 1 October 2022, <https://ehne.fr/en/node/12263>; Dorothee Wierling, "Women Domestic Servants in Germany at the Turn of the Century," *Oral History*, vol 10, no. 2, (1982): 47-57, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40178718>; and Rachel G. Fuchs, *Gender and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁴¹⁸ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 91. See Appendix B for original German and my translation.

pride as she reports that Robert is working on an opera and has been composing a great deal of late. Liszt says the world doesn't appreciate Robert but that it does not matter because her "face mirrors the pure waters of his music"⁴¹⁹ The language of the metaphor is somewhat peculiar, and yet, it may suggest that Robert's music—like water—can sparkle on the surface while containing vast depths. Clara on the other hand, as a mirror, has the power to capture and refract the light. Thus, Liszt foreshadows Clara's role in popularizing her husband's work by comparing Clara to a reflective surface, making the beauty of Robert's compositions visible to others. Thus, the film's dialogue establishes an appropriate motivation for the loving wife to resume concertizing.

The Schumanns attend Liszt's concert, which features the overture to Richard Wagner's opera *Lohengrin*—the very same title as the opera Robert himself has been writing. Back at home, Robert reacts by burning his manuscript and declares that he will stop composing, find a position as a conductor and teach in order to earn money.⁴²⁰ Clara immediately refuses, insisting that while others—like herself—can earn money, that as an artist Robert "must be free for [his] work."⁴²¹ He asks whether she will leave home for concert tours with Franz Liszt, looking suddenly resigned, perhaps thinking that Clara has surrendered not only to the professional but the romantic promises of the Hungarian virtuoso. She comes close to Robert and says fervently, "I will go with *you*, Robert. We will

⁴¹⁹ "Ihr antlitz spiegelt sich immer einen Wasser seiner Musik." Braun, *Träumerei*, 0:33:34 – 0:33:39.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 0:48:54 – 0:49:02.

⁴²¹ "Nein, du mußt frei sein für deine Arbeit. Geld verdienen das können andere. Ich." *Ibid.*, 0:49:03 – 0:49:13.

travel to Vienna, to Berlin, to Paris! I will play your music until the whole world believes in you!"⁴²² Thus, Clara becomes a mirror, reflecting Robert's inner light for all to see.

Clara's speech is accompanied by an orchestral arrangement of Robert Schumann's song "Widmung" (*Myrthen*, Op.25, No.1), from the collection he famously presented to Clara as a wedding gift. The text of the popular song comes from an untitled poem in Friedrich Rückert's *Liebesfrühling* (included and translated below).

Du meine Seele, du mein Herz, Du mein Wonn', O du mein Schmerz, Du meine Welt, in der ich lebe, Mein Himmel du, darein ich schwebe, O du mein Grab, in das hinab ich ewig meinen Kummer gab! Du bist die Ruh, du bist der Frieden, Du bist der Himmel, mir beschieden. Daß du mich liebst, macht mich mir werth, Dein Blick hat mich vor mir verklärt, Du hebst mich liebend über mich, Mein guter Geist, mein beßres Ich! ⁴²³	You my soul, you my heart, You my bliss, o you my pain, You the world in which I live, You my heaven in which I float Oh, you my grave, into which I eternally gave my grief! You are peace, you are tranquility You are granted to me by heaven. That you love me, gives me my worth, Your gaze has transfigured me, You lovingly lift me above myself, My good spirit, my better self!
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Although the words are not actually sung in the film, they act as a subtext to signal Clara's fidelity to her husband and his gratitude for it. Rückert's verse names the beloved as an extension of the poetic speaker's self as well as the reality in which they exist. Lest the audience miss the connotation, the dialogue quotes the song lyrics as Robert takes Clara's hands in his and embraces her fondly saying "*Du meine Seele*" and she replies, "*Du mein Herz.*" With this heavy-handed sentimentality, the filmmakers leave no room for the viewers to misinterpret Clara's desire to tour as an act of unwomanly ambition. Already,

⁴²² "Ich gehe mit *dir*, Robert. Wir werden reisen nach Wien, nach Berlin, nach Paris! Ich will deinen Musik spielen bis die ganze Welt an sich glaubt!" Ibid., 0:49:23 – 0:49:47.

⁴²³ Friedrich Rückert, *Liebesfrühling*, 8th Edition (Frankfurt am Main: J.D. Sauerländers Verlag, 1872), 6.

Clara has willingly given up her performance career for the sake of love in choosing to leave her father's house for Robert's. As we shall see, without hesitation, she makes that choice again at the very height of glamour and success because Robert has need of her.

The third act of the film is concerned with the consequences of Clara's decision to return to her career, noble as her intentions are. On screen text, again meant as a letter or diary entry in Clara's hand, declares: "For almost two years we have been on the road, crisscrossing through Europe. And overall, where I play, Robert's music triumphs. Now, unfortunately, new work does not come to him at all! Still it goes on. Stockholm awaits us..."⁴²⁴ As far as I'm aware, Clara Schumann never actually traveled to Sweden, though she did travel to Denmark and Russia. While Danish citizens resisted Nazi occupation and Russians fought as part of the Allied forces, Sweden—officially neutral—maintained cultural ties (and political sympathies) with Germany throughout the Second World War. Presumably, the film has amalgamated various instances when Robert accompanied Clara on concert tours and shifted the destination to a Nazi-friendly locale. The most substantial of these trips were the 1842 tour of Northern German cities lasting approximately one month (Clara continued on to Copenhagen alone and returned home roughly five weeks later) and the four-month Russian tour two years later. The longest stretch that Clara was away from home was six months, first in Paris in 1839 and then again in London in 1855. A two-year concert tour such as the on-screen text suggests would be unthinkable.⁴²⁵ There

⁴²⁴ "Bald zwei Jahre sind wir nun schon unterwegs, kreuz und quer durch Europa. Und überall, wo ich spielte, siegte auch Roberts Music. Nun kommt er leider gar nicht mehr zu neuen Arbeiten! Immer noch geht es weiter. Stockholm erwartet uns..." Braun, *Träumerei*, 0:50:01 – 0:50:20.

⁴²⁵ In the case of the Russia trip, arrangements had to be made for the children to stay with family and for Robert to take a leave of absence from the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. The Russian climate and Robert's ill health aside, the extended travel was exhausting for Clara. Another consideration was the considerable

is ample primary evidence that Robert was miserable when touring with his wife, particularly in the case of the Russia trip, though not so much so that she stopped performing all together as the movie suggests.

The film's action resumes with the Schumanns now on tour. Clara appears on a concert platform in the middle of a palatial space. Dressed in a sparkling and exquisitely embroidered satin gown, she plays "Aufschwung" from Robert's *Fantasiestücke* (Op. 12, No.2) to an audience of finely dressed listeners, including royalty. They seem to be captivated as the pianist plays, executing with power and precision, drama and fine feeling as the music demands. Only Robert's attention wanders during the performance despite the display of his wife's skill in presenting his music. (He nods his head, looks about himself absently, sighs, and fidgets with his hands.)⁴²⁶ After the concert, Clara and Robert arrive home with several guests, members of the aristocratic concert audience. Robert immediately slips away into the privacy of the adjoining room where he seems to be working at composing or perhaps revising some music. Clara has been awarded a special

correspondence involved in arranging lodging and concert venues with special attention to avoiding the season of Lent (during which time concerts ceased). The Schumanns were dependent upon distant connections in the form of far-flung relatives and second-hand acquaintances to make it all come together. See Clara Schumann and Robert Schumann, *The Marriage Diaries of Robert & Clara Schumann: From Their Wedding Day through the Russia Trip*, edited by Gerd Nauhaus, translated by Peter Ostwald (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993) pp. 209 - 300.

⁴²⁶ Braun, *Träumerei*, 0:51:21 – 0:51:25. The film score for *Träumerei* was composed and directed by Werner Eisbrenner—one of the most prominent UFA film composers, who also enjoyed a post-Nazi era career. Robert Schumann's "Kinderszenen" No. 7 is a recurring musical theme in the film's score. There is one other notable reference to his music in the film's soundtrack with the semi-diegetic theme from "Widmung" (discussed in this chapter.) The rest of Robert's music throughout the film is diegetic, including his Piano Concerto in A minor (Op. 54) and "Aufschwung" from the *Fantasiestücke* (Op. 12, No. 2). Other composers' music features in the film's action as well: Liszt plays his Piano Concerto No. 1 in E-flat major (S. 124) and puts Clara on the spot to play his arrangement of Beethoven's *Eroica* (Symphony No. 3, Op. 55); hearing the prelude to Act I of Wagner's *Lohengrin* at Liszt's concert causes Robert to tear up his own opera score; the entire Schumann clan sings Brahms' "Wiegenlied;" and near the end of the film, at the Endenich institution, Robert sings snatches of Beethoven's "Ode to Joy" theme from "Choral" Symphony (No. 9, Op. 125).

honor in the form of a cross-shaped medal from the King and Queen. She wears it as she converses convivially with her guests. She tells them:

Such trips as these are really not a series of pleasures. Thirty-four concerts in seven weeks. Sometimes, I do not know who regrets them less, myself or my husband. [...] He is a composer. He has ideas, hears melodies. When should he write them down? For an artist, work is as important as air and light.⁴²⁷

With these lines, Clara makes it clear that though the life of the virtuoso may appear glamorous on the surface, it is something that both she and her husband would rather not do. She illustrates that she believes that Robert's work is more important than her own, essential for his survival. The fact that light is listed as critical to sustain life is significant given its symbolic weight in the film. Yet, in saying that he needs to work as much as he needs light—as much as he needs her—she is acknowledging the limits of her ability to protect him from the darkness inside himself.

Robert has been trying to work, but he enters the room where Clara is entertaining guests and quietly asks everyone to leave. She sets down her champagne glass and immediately goes to him. She tells the guests that her husband is ill and politely asks them to depart, which they do. All her attention turns to Robert, who tells her of the auditory hallucinations he is experiencing in the moment. During this exchange, the film score signals crisis with a fortissimo orchestral sting punctuated with timpani. He insists he must work but she urges him to rest instead. The tense strings linger alone for a moment before they are joined by stormy brass. Abruptly, all music ceases as he bids Clara to be quiet and

⁴²⁷ "Eine Kette von Vergnügungen sind solche reisen wirklich nicht. In sieben wochen, vier-und-dreizeig konzerte. Ich weiß manchmal nicht wenig mehr bedauern soll, mich oder meinen Mann. [...] Er ist aber Komponist. Er hat ideen, erhört melodien. Wann sollte er sie aufschreiben? Für einen Künstler ist die arbeit so wichtig wie Luft und Licht." Ibid., 0:52:38.

listen for the sound he hears. While the nondiegetic music disappeared during his hallucination, making clear to the audience that the sound exists only within his own mind, it returns with his announcement that all is quiet once more. Relief is visible on Robert's face as the episode subsides, underscored by consonant, romantic string harmonies embellished with gentle harp arpeggios.⁴²⁸

Clara takes Robert's hands in hers, declaring that they will stop touring. As their conversation continues, the gentle melody of Robert Schumann's *Träumerei* ("Kinderszenen," Op.15, No. 7) emerges in the strings, the texture enriched by the addition of woodwinds. Robert protests that they must earn money, but she reassures him that they have savings and have won some recognition for him as a composer in various parts of Germany. In a call back to the text of the song "Widmung" she says "*Denn hast du deine Ruhe, Robert*" (So you can have your peace, Robert). She continues that he will have his work and lead an orchestra, to which he replies, "and you?" Laughing, Clara says it might be a good idea for her to get back to the kitchen and that she misses the children so much!⁴²⁹ Pressing her cheek to his, she says ardently: "Everything is fine as long as we love each other. And we do love each other!"⁴³⁰ The orchestra crescendos as she says this and Robert closes his eyes and nods slowly as the music cadences, followed by soft arpeggios from the harp. Clara says that he must sleep and the scene transitions to Robert lying in bed, his hand over hers as she caresses his cheek. He asks sleepily whether they will return home. She leans in close and whispers, "Yes, Robert, yes." She removes the medal she received

⁴²⁸ Braun, *Träumerei*, 0:55:16 – 0:57:50.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 0:57:51 – 0:58:27.

⁴³⁰ "Alles ist gut so lange wie uns lieben. Und wir lieben uns doch!" *Ibid.*, 0:58:42 – 0:59:00

from the monarchs and contemplates it for a moment before putting it away in the drawer of the bedside table. This action is accompanied by the restatement of the *Träumerei* theme, which cadences sweetly once more. The music provides the subtext that Clara's choice to set aside her own ambitions is driven by her devotion to Robert. The screen blackens as the scene transitions, and yet there is the clear sound of the drawer being shut firmly, as if to signal the sureness of Clara's decision to put away her own glory in service to her husband.⁴³¹

A consistent theme throughout Weissweiler's book is that Clara Schumann refused to leverage her artistic powers to elevate her husband's work. Weissweiler casts suspicion on Schumann's "high priestess" performance persona, describing her concert attire as pretentious, with the cut of her gown making her figure "artificially matronly" and her headdress evoking the religious garb of a "deaconess."⁴³² The biographer writes that others, such as Jenny Lind, "thought everything was a masquerade."⁴³³ Weissweiler immediately makes clear that the dubious authenticity of the *Hohepriesterin* reflects the superficiality of Clara's devotion to her husband with the sentiment expressed through Lind: "'If she loved Robert so much, she should also play his works, not always those of the young Johannes.' [...] After this reprimand, Clara at least managed to include *Carnaval* in her official repertoire."⁴³⁴ As in the case of Clara's alleged abortion discussed above

⁴³¹ Braun, *Träumerei*, 0:59:12 – 1:00:06.

⁴³² Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 331. See Appendix B for original German and my translation.

⁴³³ *Ibid.* See Appendix B for original German and my translation.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 331-2. See Appendix B for original German and my translation.

wherein the author maintains her own objectivity by communicating condemnation through the reactions of Clara's sister and father, Weissweiler puts forth a judgement of her subject's behavior through ambiguous attribution to another. Weissweiler maintains the correlation between Clara's romantic and artistic allegiances that we see emphasized in *Träumerei*, but she controverts the inherent claim of wifely devotion. Instead, Weissweiler uses this established idea to demonstrate her view that Clara was fickle in her commitment to Robert in love and music. The biographer writes that during their courtship, Clara "refuse[d]" Robert the "friendly service" of playing his music in public and that even after their marriage, during the trip to Copenhagen, "her refusal to commit to his compositions was taken as an indication of a serious marital crisis, which emboldened her admirers."⁴³⁵ Clara's repertoire is to be understood as a public display of her fidelity, readily legible to everyone around her. Weissweiler's Clara Schumann therefore fails to serve as a mirror to reflect her husband's inner light to the world as the character of Liszt describes her in the film.

Whereas the Nazi's celebrated Clara's steadfast commitment to Robert even before their marriage, Weissweiler challenges this image of the young woman who resolutely fights for a future with the man she loves. The author indicates that Clara Wieck callously rejected Robert Schumann after his first failed marriage proposal, treating him like a stranger when she encountered him in public.⁴³⁶ The biographer portrays the young virtuosa as capricious, jumping foolishly into a relationship with the composer Carl Banck

⁴³⁵ "Warum verweigerte Clara diesen Freundschaftsdienst?" Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 97; *Ibid.*, 167. (See Appendix B for original German and my translation.)

⁴³⁶ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 75 – 76. See Appendix B for original German and my translation.

merely to get away from her father's tyranny, swearing "to love him, to marry him on the spot and to stop being a virtuosa."⁴³⁷ Despite this pledge, a short time later, according to Weissweiler, Clara changed her mind again upon hearing the esteem with music connoisseurs now regarded Robert so that to her "it seemed wiser to please him than Carl Banck of whose talent no one thought much."⁴³⁸ Therefore, Weissweiler implies that Clara acted not out of genuine affection so much as a desire to escape her father's control and secure a successful husband. Weissweiler characterizes Clara's decision to program Robert's Symphonic Études (Op. 13) on a concert in August 1837 as an attempt to manipulate "the lost and lonely man."⁴³⁹ This picture of Clara starkly contrasts with the image of the unwavering enamored maiden at the beginning of the film.

Though Clara had renewed her attachment to Robert, in Weissweiler's estimation, this did not mean that her fidelity was assured. The author says that Clara "almost fell in love" with the forty-three-year-old Austrian writer Moritz Gottlieb Saphir, whom Weissweiler described as a "charming man with glasses and a mustache."⁴⁴⁰ Even after their marriage, Weissweiler describes Clara being "overcome by violent sexual desire" apparently agreeing with Friedrich Wieck's statement during the court hearings that his

⁴³⁷ "[Clara] schwor, ihn [Banck] zu lieben, ihn auf der Stelle heiraten und keine Virtuosin mehr sein wollte." Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 83.

⁴³⁸ "[...] so daß es klüger schien, ihm zu gefallen als Carl Banck, auf dessen Begabung niemand große Stücke hielt." Ibid., 86.

⁴³⁹ "Das hoffte sie, würde dem Verirrten und Vereinsamten Eindruck machen [...]" Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 87.

⁴⁴⁰ "[...] charmanter Brillen- und Schnurrbartträger, in den sich Clara, bevor er so böse wurde, beinahe verliebt hätte [...]" Ibid., 96.

daughter was “easily inflamed and quickly seduced by men.”⁴⁴¹ Weissweiler stops short of suggesting that Clara actually broke her marriage vows until years later with Johannes Brahms. This controversial relationship was carefully depicted in the film as one-sided. Twice Brahms confesses his love to Clara, and twice she responds “People don’t have to tell each other everything.”⁴⁴² The director of *Träumerei*, Herald Braun later recounted that during production meetings representatives of the *Reichsmusikkammer* dictated “whether and how often and in what way Clara Schumann was allowed to embrace the young Brahms, so that the heroic aura of this great woman would not be violated.”⁴⁴³ As much as the Nazis were sought to avoid the merest suggestion of impropriety between Robert Schumann’s wife and protégé, Weissweiler treats the purported affair as established fact. Furthermore, she suggests that Clara took advantage of the youthful Brahms, who saw something of his own mother in her and “enjoy[ed] the dignity and strictness with which Clara knew how to tie him down, although he sometimes got scared and wanted to run away from her [...]”⁴⁴⁴ Weissweiler thus depicts Clara as not merely the initiator but the aggressor in the relationship.

Additionally, Weissweiler challenges the Nazi-endorsed image of Clara Schumann’s devotion to her husband by speculating on the paternity of Clara’s youngest child, Felix.

⁴⁴¹ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 164. See Appendix B for original German and my translation.

⁴⁴² “Man muss sich nicht alles sagen.” Braun, *Träumerei*, 1:11:45 and 1:39:09.

⁴⁴³ Herald Braun, “Die Bedeutung der ‘Filmpause’,” *Mein Film*: Heft 1, 1946, 1. ANNO Historische österreichische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: https://anno.onb.ac.at/info/mfi_info.html.

⁴⁴⁴ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 311. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

Weissweiler writes in an ambiguous way, neither explicitly attributing the words to Clara nor claiming them as her own: “Clara was pregnant. Who was the father? Robert, who was ‘unfit for anything,’ or Johannes, who perhaps didn't even know how to do that, father children?”⁴⁴⁵ This allegation originated in a 1926 book penned by Clara’s grandson Alfred Schumann under the pseudonym Titus Frazeni.⁴⁴⁶ Although Weissweiler acknowledges both that Alfred had (at best) a third-hand account of the events of that time and that that he wanted to exact vengeance on his grandmother for her disfavor of their branch of the family, Weissweiler states that he was correct in his assessment that Clara immediately fell “violently” in love with Brahms.⁴⁴⁷ Weissweiler recognizes the “gynecological reality” that invalidates the claim that Brahms was Felix’s father.⁴⁴⁸ Even so, she puts forth evidence for the spurious charge, writing: “Speculation about this would probably never have arisen if Felix, who was born on June 11, had not had the same defiant and at the same time dreamy facial expression, the same full lower lip and the same blond curls as the young Brahms.”⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁵ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 290. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

⁴⁴⁶ “Titus Frazeni” (Alfred Schumann and Fritz Steinau), *Johannes Brahms der Vater von Felix Schumann das Mysterium einer Liebe; eine sehr ernste Parodie auf die "Erinnerungen" von Eugenie Schumann*, (Bielefeld: Manfred-Verl. Schumann & Steinau, 1926). For a discussion of the allegation and circumstances around Felix’s conception, see Peter Clive, *Brahms and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 399 – 402, 410, 412.

⁴⁴⁷ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 290-91. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

⁴⁴⁸ The gynecological reality to which Weissweiler refers is the extreme unlikelihood that Clara would have been aware of her pregnancy to record it in her diary only four days after Brahms appeared on September 30. Working backwards from Felix’s birthday, the estimated date of conception would be September 18; a far more feasible gestation period, supported by Clara’s happy diary entries describing the celebration of her birthday and their wedding anniversary when Robert was feeling particularly well and cheerful.

⁴⁴⁹ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 290. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

Making Robert a cuckold is an extreme contradiction of the Nazi picture of the eternally faithful *Frau* Clara Schumann.

Beyond purported infidelity, as with motherhood, Clara Schumann's primary sin as a spouse is neglect according to Weissweiler. The biographer, presumably representing Clara's innermost feelings as the heroine's own words are not provided, refers to Robert as a hypochondriac throughout the biography. On the Russian tour, as the biographer writes it, the doctor "said bluntly that Robert was hypochondriacal" but Clara refuses to be "silent and sad just because Robert was."⁴⁵⁰ Furthermore, Clara is shown to have resented the medical care that he required. Weissweiler writes that following the second miscarriage, "for the first time during their marriage" it was she rather than Robert who received the ministrations of doctors.⁴⁵¹ While Clara apparently enjoyed the physicians' attentions, Weissweiler claims that she also found her symptoms a convenient means to avoid sexual intercourse with Robert: "who was to prove that she was only playing everything, especially since her never-laughing face made everyone believe that she was just as ill as her husband."⁴⁵² With these examples, Weissweiler shows Clara not only to be unsympathetic to her husband's suffering, but also to fail to fulfil her duties in the marriage bed. Admittedly, the film refrains from delving into the physical aspect of the Schumanns' marriage; this is hardly surprising given the conservative standards for such things in films of that era. Within these boundaries, the couple's love for one another is conveyed in chaste

⁴⁵⁰Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 178. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 282–283. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

gestures of intimacy—clasped hands, fervent cheek-to-cheek embraces, and the exchange of tender caresses with Clara sitting on the edge of Robert’s bed—in each instance, the love underlying the act is reinforced musically with the theme from *Träumerei*. Weissweiler, on the other hand, shows the deterioration of affection within the Schumanns’ marriage; with Clara initially unsatisfied that her husband could not match her sexual appetite and eventually denying him that affection.

Whereas the cooling of passions between spouses in the later years of marriage—particularly among wives—is so familiar in our current popular culture to have become a sitcom trope, Weissweiler’s depiction of Clara handling Robert’s breakdown and institutionalization is nothing short of shocking. The author implies that Robert was driven to his attempted suicide because his wife kept him confined to the house and sought out a different doctor “who declared Robert insane in the desired manner” when Robert’s regular doctor failed to pronounce him delusional.⁴⁵³ Weissweiler thereby suggests that Clara manipulated the situation to acquire a specific diagnosis, though whether institutionalization was her goal is left vague. Still, whether the reader is meant to believe that the biography’s subject intended her husband to be committed, Weissweiler clearly believes that Clara was grateful for the turn of events. The biographer states that six months into his stay at Endenich, Robert had written several letters to his wife in which he asked after her and the children. Weissweiler assumes that in her correspondence and even her own diary, Frau Schumann feigned her grief and her hope for Robert’s recovery and return from Endenich. Weissweiler matter-of-factly offers her observations about the

⁴⁵³ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 301. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

letters—logically flowing thoughts and legible handwriting—as evidence of Robert’s sanity.⁴⁵⁴ This is paired with a statement from Brahms that Robert was “not mad at all,” though why Weissweiler characterizes it as a “thoughtless moment” on his part is unexplained; perhaps the reader is meant to infer that Clara has insisted that the young composer not challenge her version of Robert’s condition.⁴⁵⁵ More significant, however, is the section that follows in which Weissweiler—once more channeling Clara’s thoughts—communicates Clara’s fear that Robert’s return from the asylum will ruin her life as he may wish to return to conducting (which was an embarrassing failure requiring significant labor from her), that he will want to have sex with her again and, moreover, that she will be perpetually pregnant until she dies in childbirth.⁴⁵⁶ Once again, this undoes the picture of Clara as the happily, prolific mother and the lovingly devoted wife. That she worries that Robert will be angry that she has sent their daughter Julie to stay with her grandmother or that she has allowed Brahms access to Robert’s study suggests that she has betrayed him in her roles of mother and wife respectively.⁴⁵⁷ Rather than long for the little things about Robert that might be considered endearing—champaign, cigars, walks with the children—Clara appears to be relieved that “a different spirit” now occupied the house.⁴⁵⁸ Also damning is Weissweiler’s declaration that Clara wished to gradually send each of her children away so that she might resume her performance career. The implicit claim that

⁴⁵⁴ Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*, 319 – 320. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid. See Appendix B for original German text and my translation.

Weissweiler makes is that Clara Schumann allowed her husband to remain confined within an asylum, despite awareness of his sanity, in order to be free of her responsibilities as wife and mother for the selfish purpose of resuming her life as a virtuosa in the pursuit of money and fame. That Weissweiler makes such extreme and unsubstantiated claims about her subject takes this work beyond the confines of revisionist biography into the realm of polemic. The result is a complete repudiation of the icon of Clara Schumann as *Frau und Mutter* utilized as a tool of propaganda under National Socialism.

CONCLUSION

Weissweiler's critical approach to Clara Schumann as a subject is demonstrably incompatible with the genre conventions of Romantic biography, which typically seeks to honor its subjects by emphasizing the qualities that make them worthy of remembrance or emulation. Weissweiler's divergence from those conventions invites questions about her intended impact for the monograph. As I have shown, the author's aims become legible when the biography is viewed in the context of her larger body of work and juxtaposed against the heroine's portrayal in Nazi propaganda. Even though Weissweiler omits any allusion to the Third Reich in her Wieck/Schumann biography, the author in essence denies every quality attached to the Nazi version of the ideal woman as laid out in the film *Träumerei*: loving, caring mother, paragon of diligent domesticity, and ardently faithful wife. Weissweiler's version of Clara systematically estranges her from the *Frau und Mutter* archetype, thereby undermining the ideology of the Nazi era. Interrogating biography with an eye towards invisible arguments has promise as a methodology even in cases where the work fits the parameters of the genre. While such work involves a certain degree of

speculation, such a framework expands the potential for inquiry about reception, legacy, and biography as a tool of cultural and even political expression.

CHAPTER V

REVEALING REVISIONS: QUESTIONS OF METHODOLOGY IN THE ANALYSIS OF CLARA SCHUMANN'S LIEDER

In December 1840, Clara Schumann celebrated Christmas with her new husband, presenting him with three newly composed songs: “Ihr Bildnis,” “Am Strand,” and “Volkslied.” Roughly four years later, the first was published—after significant revision—as “Ich stand in dunklen Träumen,” the first song of *Sechs Lieder*, Op.13, which she dedicated to Queen Caroline Amalie of Denmark.⁴⁵⁹ “Am Strand,” was not published per se, but underwent some emendations before it was printed as a musical supplement in the July 1841 issue of the *Neue Zeitung für Musik*. “Volkslied,” the third song, remained (publicly) unperformed, unpublished, and apparently unaltered in Clara Schumann’s lifetime. Though documentary evidence suggests that she composed more, the autographs of only twenty-five of her songs survived; of those, seven were unpublished in her lifetime.⁴⁶⁰ Among those that went to print, several of them underwent significant revision prior to publication—either at Wieck/Schumann’s own hand or that of her husband—of those pieces, “Ihr Bildnis” and “Ich stand in dunklen Träumen” (hereafter, abbreviated as “Ich stand”) show

⁴⁵⁹ David Lewin (whose analysis of one of these songs I discuss at length in this chapter) mistakenly states that these pieces were published alongside nine of her husband’s songs. David Lewin, *Studies in Music with Text* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 153, n.4. Lewin seems to have conflated these Christmas 1840 songs with the couple’s joint collection of Rückert Lieder, published in 1842 as Robert’s Op.37 and Clara’s Op. 12. For a discussion of those songs, see Rufus Hallmark, “The Rückert Lieder of Robert and Clara Schumann,” *19th-Century Music* 14, no. 1 (1990): 3–30.

⁴⁶⁰ Nancy Reich, “The Lieder of Clara Schumann,” in *American Brahms Society Newsletter*, 12/2 (Fall 1994): 1.

some of the most substantial alterations.⁴⁶¹ This is true despite the fact that the two versions only vary in length by two measures, share the same key and time signatures, and set precisely the same text:⁴⁶²

Ich stand in dunklen Träumen
Und starrte ihr Bildnis an,
Und das geliebte Antlitz
Heimlich zu Leben begann.

I stood in dark dreams
And stared at her image,
And the beloved face
Secretly came to life.

Um ihre Lippen zog sich
Ein Lächeln wunderbar,
Und wie von Wehmutstränen
Erglänzte ihr Augenpaar.

Around her lips drew
A wonderful smile,
And as if with wistful tears
Her two eyes shone.

Auch meine Tränen flossen
Mir von den Wangen herab—
Und ach, ich kann's nicht glauben,
Dass ich dich verloren hab'!⁴⁶³

My tears also flowed
Down from my cheeks—
And oh, I cannot believe it,
That I have lost you!

Publication decisions for each of Wieck/Schumann's compositions—whether and in what form to make them public—involved the negotiation of myriad personal and social factors, her own artistic values and aims, career strategies, and considerations of reception in terms of both aesthetics and commercial viability. The complexity implicit in the reasons

⁴⁶¹ This observation is primarily based on Nancy Reich's comprehensive catalogue of Clara Schumann's known compositions, which includes succinct commentary on the relevant circumstances of the piece's origin, first publication, and details about the autograph(s) including revisions. Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), 289 – 337. "Sie liebten sich beide" and "Ich hab' in deinem Auge" are other instances of Schumann's Lieder that underwent such major changes before publication. For discussions of these songs see respectively: Janina Klassen, "»Mach' doch ein Lied einmal«: Clara Wieck-Schumanns Annäherung an die Liedkomposition," in Robert-Schumann-Gesellschaft, *Schumann Studien 6* (Zwickau, Germany: Wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung zu Fragen der Schumann-Forschung, 1997), 13 – 25 and Stephen Rodgers, *The Songs of Clara Schumann* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 39 – 44.

⁴⁶² See Appendix D for complete published scores of both songs, along with digital images of the autograph manuscripts.

⁴⁶³ My own translation. Heinrich Heine, XXIII – Untitled, "Ich stand in dunklen Träumen...," *Die Heimkehr, Buch der Lieder* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), 201.

behind these choices is compounded by the fact that Clara Schumann's husband handled correspondence with publishers on her behalf, meaning that his perspective on each of the above-mentioned elements was also at play.⁴⁶⁴ While every composer makes publication decisions in the context of these competing variables, Marcia Citron argues that, as publication is a major marker of musical professionalism, these choices carry additional pressures for women. In fact, she warns us that to assume universal desirability of musical publication (or indeed professionalism of any sort) is to ignore the invisible maze of gender expectations that female creators constantly navigated in practicing their talents.⁴⁶⁵ Furthermore, Citron reminds us that, particularly within the nineteenth century, some women may have actually *preferred* to keep their music within the private or domestic sphere.⁴⁶⁶ Elaine Showalter writes about the difficult opposing standards that nineteenth-century women authors struggled to meet. They needed to publish, not only for financial reasons, but also to be taken seriously as writers. At the same time, their ability to do so was determined by public perception of their femininity—the chief criterion applied to them by readers, critics, and publishers.⁴⁶⁷ Reich considers the added element of social strata in shaping gendered expectations of creative women with regard to professionalism; in particular, she contrasts the differing experiences of the working-class composer

⁴⁶⁴ Reich, "The Lieder of Clara Schumann," 2.

⁴⁶⁵ Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 108-109.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁴⁶⁷ Elaine Showalter, "Women Writers and the Double Standard," in *Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness*, Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, eds. (New York: Basic Books, 1971).

Josephine Lang and Fanny Hensel.⁴⁶⁸ As a as a member of the bourgeois Mendelssohn family, Hensel was expected to abstain from professionalism in order to maintain the inscrutable femininity her status required.

It follows that the act of maintaining published (i.e. public) music as more valid than unpublished (i.e. private) music is, in fact, an extension of the patriarchal ideology of the public-private sphere division. Essentially, to favor the published work of women composers is to measure their legitimacy in terms of the standards of achievement designed for and by men. With this in mind, this chapter pursues three questions with regard to the place of Clara Schumann's published and unpublished songs in the secondary literature: To what extent have scholars privileged the published versions of Wieck/Schumann's songs? What are the implications of those choices with regard to gender? What can we learn from the earlier or private versions of these pieces?

While Citron encourages attention to the composer's identity and experiences in examining their career decisions, she also cautions against evaluating their music through a lens of gender essentialism, particularly regarding the identification of a quintessentially female musical style. In Susan McClary's groundbreaking book, *Feminine Endings*, the author unpacks the gendered metaphorical language of both music itself and discourses around it. With examples ranging from the seventeenth through the late twentieth century, McClary emphasizes that musical hermeneutics of sex and sexuality encode contemporaneous cultural attitudes on these topics (as opposed to any intrinsic stylist

⁴⁶⁸ Nancy Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, Ruth A. Solie, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

tendency originating from the composer's own identity).⁴⁶⁹ Gender-essentialist approaches to musical analysis assume a certain level of self-expression or autobiographical content to be inherent in the musical work. This phenomenon is what Mark Evan Bonds terms the "Beethoven Syndrome," that is, the perception that musical works revealed the composer's inner-most self—an expectation well established by 1830 with the rise of composer biographies.⁴⁷⁰ Bonds notes that throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, biographical listening to the music of women composers was largely confined to evaluations of the work's femininity or "virility" (i.e. masculine power); because these composers were not seen as individuals, biographical listening began and ended with their gender.⁴⁷¹ On the topic of biographical reading of Wieck/Schumann's songs in particular, this chapter will consider: To what extent have authors applied a biographical lens to her *Lieder*? How do biographical readings shape our understanding and evaluation of these pieces? To what degree do biographical readings encourage gendered aesthetic judgements? What do we gain in setting aside the biographic lens to analyze these songs?

To argue that we should reconsider biography as a tool to understand Wieck/Schumann's music may at first seem like a contradiction alongside the other chapters in this dissertation. To be clear, I am not universally condemning biographical reading as a practice. There are certainly numerous examples where it is appropriate to view a piece of music through the lens of the composer's life, most especially when the

⁴⁶⁹ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

⁴⁷⁰ Mark Evan Bonds, *The Beethoven Syndrome: Hearing Music as Autobiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 160 – 61.

works are intended as autobiographical expression; Hector Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique* and Robert Schumann's *Carnaval* are two obvious examples. That said, although much of Robert Schumann's music invites biographical reading, it is important to remember that, for all the artistic cross-pollination between them, Clara Wieck/Schumann's compositional goals were distinct from his. While biographical reading is not inherently problematic, in my view, it is important to consider how our ideas about the composer's life have been formed and for us to interrogate the ideologies that are imbedded within.

As I have shown thus far in my dissertation, considerations of gender are omnipresent in the biography of Wieck/Schumann; however, in this chapter, I posit that the approach scholars take in analyzing her Lieder has direct implications for the perpetuation of gender bias. I propose that if theorists and musicologists engage with Wieck/Schumann's music on its own terms—uninhibited by biographical narratives or inequitable comparison—with attention to pre-/un-published works, we stand to gain new insight into her unique style as a song composer. I examine scholarship on Clara Schumann's "Ich stand," (especially that of Susan Youens and David Lewin) to evaluate the extent to which this song is read biographically and the gendered results that such an approach encourages. Candidly, the secondary sources at the center of this chapter—though very much in current circulation in the areas of musicology and music theory—are dated in terms of gender scholarship. On the one hand, certain gender-critical texts by authors such as Citron and McClary (though not immune to reevaluation) are still mainstays of music scholarship concerning gender issues. On the other hand, ideas about gender have seemingly accelerated over the past decade, so that research on women's

music with a gendered lens appears to age more quickly than other avenues of inquiry. Thus, I engage in discourse with these scholars, not to criticize them individually, but to consider the implications of the established methodologies they employ.

While any work of art is arguably the sum of its creator's experiences, I argue that eschewing autobiographical analysis of Wieck/Schumann's songs allows us to move beyond the typical focus on her gender and relationships to notable male musicians, to consider her music on its own terms. With this goal in mind, I also consider the problems that emerge from positioning Schumann's song against Schubert's setting of the same text, a method employed not only by Youens and Lewin, but also Poundie Burstein. Subsequently, I offer my own analysis of this song complex with close attention to the earlier version in order to reveal the idiosyncratic features of Schumann's composition obscured by the aforementioned methodologies.⁴⁷² From there, I show what scholars have overlooked or misinterpreted in privileging the published version. Finally, I consider the conclusions we might draw from Schumann's revisions to "Ihr Bildnis" and suggest a direction for future research to expand our understanding of Schumann's distinctive song style. From this perspective, let us consider the operation of gender ideology within Lewin's and Youens' analysis of Clara Schumann's "Ich stand."

⁴⁷² In my analysis and throughout the chapter, I refer to the songs as printed in *Clara Schumann: Sämtliche Lieder Für Singstimme Und Klavier*, 2 vols., edited by Joachim Draheim and Brigitte Höft (Wiesbaden; Leipzig; Paris: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990). They are reproduced in Appendix D.

DAVID LEWIN'S BIOGRAPHICAL READING OF "ICH STAND"

David Lewin analyzes Schumann's "Ich stand" in a short essay within a collection of his writings on texted music. He approaches each piece in the collection with the intent to discover layers of meaning within the songs that reveal insights about the composer's interpretations of the poetry they set. Lewin starts each essay by introducing some seeming incongruity or misconception in need of clarification. In the case of "Ich stand," the fact that the happy bride Clara Schumann chose to set Heine's melancholy text seems to Lewin to be a problem in need of a solution. He expects that "some readers may find her choice of text puzzling—to say the least," suggesting that "such a devastatingly tragic conception" is actually inappropriate for the "joyous occasion" of the Schumanns' first Christmas together after marriage.⁴⁷³ He sets out to reassure the reader that his own analysis of the piece will reveal that Schumann's setting is appropriately "joyous" to be fit the "personal circumstances of the composer and her spouse in September – December 1840."⁴⁷⁴ Lewin is invested in making "Ich stand" correspond to a blissful newlywed narrative, calling the piece a "love song" to her new husband.⁴⁷⁵ This investment leads Lewin to imagine circumstances that would allow Schumann to engage in autobiographical revelation through the Lied, to construct additional layers of poetic interpretation to account for discrepancies between the biography of Schumann and the text, and to disregard an entire portion of the song as unimportant.

⁴⁷³ David Lewin, "Clara Schumann's Setting of 'Ich stand'," in *Studies in Music with Text*, Oxford Studies in Music Theory (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 153 – 154.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 155.

The premise of Lewin's reading is that Clara Schumann's "retrospective thoughts" about her prolonged and difficult, long-distance engagement to Robert were the "impetus" for the piece.⁴⁷⁶ It is reasonable to assume that this life experience may have made Heine's text on the theme of separated lovers resonate for her, though I would argue that personal experience is not necessary to capture the imagination of a composer. We need not search for some specific biographical explanation for Benjamin Britten's inclusion of the bitter text "Rendete agli occhi miei" in the collection of Michelangelo Sonnets that he set for his partner Peter Pears.

Yet, Lewin indicates that Schumann's setting is born not merely of a general sympathetic response to the theme of separation, but as the result of her direct experience of the action of the poem. Given that the text describes a portrait magically coming to life under the lover's gaze, Lewin presents the experience as Schumann's fantasy. It should be noted that this daydream is recorded neither in the couple's intimate courtship letters, nor in Clara's diary at the time, which was truly her own for the first time in her life. In absence of any such evidence, we must conclude that the scenario Lewin describes is conjecture. Nevertheless, Lewin insists on the validity of his premise, that he urges that the reader "should not discount the possibility that the separated lovers [Clara and Robert] had agreed on certain definite times at which they were both to gaze simultaneously at each other's portraits [...]."⁴⁷⁷ Furthermore, his statement that "Clara *in particular*, would remember" fantasizing while regarding her fiancé's portrait is surprising given the extent

⁴⁷⁶ Lewin, "Clara Schumann's Setting of 'Ich stand'," 154.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 154, footnote 8.

to which primary sources characterize her as serious and practical, while Robert is often described as imaginative and dreamy.⁴⁷⁸ Apparently, this claim functions to strengthen the basis for Lewin's biographical interpretation of the song.

In his process of clearing the way for his biographical explanation of "Ich stand," Lewin turns to the song's text. The first obstacle is what he calls the "fusion of genders," by which he seems to mean the fact that the poetic speaker is presumably male. Lewin does not elaborate on the topic; however, the fact that the poem specifies that the speaker gazes at the image of a woman, leads to the (not unfounded) heteronormative assumption that the speaker is a man. This was completely normative in the nineteenth century and the majority of the texts of Schumann's songs assume a male persona. The fact that the composer is a woman is ostensibly incongruous with autobiographic expression of the text, a complication that requires rationalization in Lewin's view. As a solution, Lewin adds an additional layer to Clara's purported fantasy so that she imagines that Robert, while looking at her portrait, fantasizes about it coming to life.⁴⁷⁹ Lewin says that the fantasy "situates Clara's voice very comfortably with respect to the gendering of Heine's text."⁴⁸⁰ Thus, Lewin assigns the active role of the poetic speaker to Robert while Clara is relegated to the passive object of his gaze, her actions existing only in his imagination. Harald Krebs also observes an emphasis on the beloved in Schumann's song, noting that in the published version, the composer deviates from the basic rhythm of declamation to shift the emphasis from the poetic persona to the object of his affection with unconventional musical stresses

⁴⁷⁸ Emphasis mine. Lewin, "Clara Schumann's Setting of 'Ich stand'," 154.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 154.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid

on those pronouns that refer to the beloved.⁴⁸¹ Unlike Krebs, who grounds the claim that Schumann identified with the female object in analysis of the music itself, Lewin makes this claim purely on the basis of biographic conjecture. Paradoxically, Lewin thus arrives at the required gender alignment to sustain a subjective reading of the song by rendering Schumann as an object. With that issue resolved, Lewin turns to the contradiction between the life circumstances in which the composer conceived the piece and the conclusion of the poem.

Lewin adds yet another layer of complexity to the fantasy at the heart of his analysis of Schumann's song with the element of temporality. This is his answer to the conflict between the tragic conclusion of Heine's poem and the Schumanns' happily-ever-after. Lewin explicitly names the problem: "In *Schumann's* present tense (as of December 1840), there is no rationale for crying out 'I can not believe I have lost you'—the matter has already been decided for three rapturous months of wedlock, with a glowing future in prospect."⁴⁸² Lewin once again looks for a biographical explanation. He explicates that Schumann, though "married and secure" when she composed the song, did so "with all these memories and past fantasies in mind, as a present fantasy-memory."⁴⁸³ To summarize Lewin's premise: in 1840 Clara Schumann composed "Ich stand" as an autobiographic expression of her own present-tense fantasy-memory about a past fantasy

⁴⁸¹ Harald Krebs, "A Way with Words: Expressive Declamation in Clara Schumann's Songs," in Joe Davies, ed., *Clara Schumann Studies*, Cambridge Composer Studies (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 77.

⁴⁸² Lewin, "Clara Schumann's Setting of 'Ich stand', 155.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, 154.

she experienced sometime between 1838 and 1839, that Robert was, at that time, fantasizing about her portrait coming to life.

Lewin's resolution comes with a new problem, namely that the text of Heine's last two lines—the very same whose content Lewin is attempting to square with Schumann's biography—are unambiguously written in the present tense. Heine's verb conjugations indicate that the majority of the poem is written in *Präteritum* (the preterit past tense), while *kann* is the present-tense form of the verb *können* (meaning “to be able to”) and *verloren* (meaning “to lose”) is conjugated into the *Perfekt* (the common past tense) with the use of auxiliary verb *haben*.⁴⁸⁴ The text of Schumann's song preserves these present-tense verb conjugations, and yet, Lewin contends that the composer intended the last two lines to be understood as past tense on the grounds that he “imagines Clara and Robert” saying the phrase “to themselves” in their past.⁴⁸⁵ Lewin likens the conception of Schumann's Lied to the circumstances of the fictional character Desdemona from Verdi's *Otello*.⁴⁸⁶ In effect, Lewin sweeps away the poetic detail that undermines his interpretation of the song, not with archival evidence of Clara Schumann's thinking, but rather, with the popular narrative of the Schumanns' storybook romance.

The grammatical tense of the last two lines holds significance beyond the poem's alignment with the chronology of Clara Schumann's biography. As Benjamin Binder observes in his analysis of Robert Schumann's “Dein Angesicht,” Heine's poems frequently feature “a sudden ironic reversal or breaking of mood” near the end of the poem with the

⁴⁸⁴ The first-person conjugation is *habe*, however, the final *e* is omitted in the poem for the sake of the meter.

⁴⁸⁵ Lewin, “Clara Schumann's Setting of ‘Ich stand’,” 154.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 155.

rhetorical strategy called *Stimmungsbruch* (or *Stimmungsbrechung*).⁴⁸⁷ Often, Binder explains, the break in mood signals a “return to reality by triggering the destruction of some illusory dream or fantasy.”⁴⁸⁸ It is likely this technique to which Lewin refers when he writes that Heine “demolishes his false ABA” in the poem while “there is nothing false about the ABA at all” for Schumann.⁴⁸⁹ (I would argue that the piece’s form is not in ABA form at all—false or otherwise—but rather, through-composed with a reprise of the material from the piano introduction.) Indeed, the end of the poem marks not only a return to reality from the “dark dreams,” but also a return to the present. As the fantasy is shattered, it is revealed that the beloved is lost—perhaps through the end of her life or of their relationship—and the speaker somehow takes responsibility for that through the active phrasing “daß ich dich verloren hab.” Lewin refutes the idea that reality destroys the dreams; however, describing the moment of *Stimmungsbruch* as “Heine’s ‘delusional’ present tense” and insisting that no such delusion existed for the Schumanns who, “had not lost each other! On the contrary, their mutual constancy, their refusal to believe that they were lost, far from being a pathetic or tragic delusion, paid off—they were right all the time, in refusing to submit to despair and give up!”⁴⁹⁰ Lewin changes the emphasis of the exclamation: “Oh, I *can* not [sic] believe that I have lost you!”⁴⁹¹ Thus, he transforms these

⁴⁸⁷ Benjamin Binder, “Robert, Clara and the Transformation of Poetic Irony in Schumann’s Lieder: The Case of ‘Dein Angesicht,’” *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 10, no.1 (2013): 5.

⁴⁸⁸ Binder, “Robert, Clara and the Transformation of Poetic Irony in Schumann’s Lieder,” 5.

⁴⁸⁹ Lewin, “Clara Schumann’s Setting of ‘Ich stand,’” 155.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*” 154. (Emphasis in original.)

words from a lament (or a delusional denial of a harsh truth) to an ardent pledge and a promise kept. With this incongruity now harmonized with the image of Clara Schumann as the happy new bride, Lewin is free to proceed with his biographic reading of the music.

In analyzing Schumann's song, Lewin utilizes hyper-hyper meter, in effect zooming out to focus on the structure of the piece. While this methodology certainly has its benefits, as with any analytical tool, it cannot tell the whole story. Musical details such as the shape of the vocal line, chromatic inflection, and text painting are difficult to discern through this lens. This is particularly relevant in the cantus he extracts from the vocal part in measures 20 – 27 (the portion of the text that speaks of tears).⁴⁹² Lewin's emphasis on functional harmony in this segment results in a reduction that loses touch with the melody's shape. For example, his cantus omits the high F in measure 26 (which Schumann emphasizes both in its placement on the downbeat of the measure and the note's duration despite the word being a preposition) as well as the text painting at work as the pitches fall from that highpoint, evoking the tears running down the speaker's cheek in that phrase. In fact, Lewin's reliance on his reduction leads him to downplay the actual melodic peak in the score in measure 26 as he states that the vocal line "assiduously remains below its high E^b" between instances of those pitches in measures 18 and 28.⁴⁹³ In fact, because those two high E^bs are harmonized the same way, Lewin recommends that the reader try an exercise

⁴⁹² Lewin, "Clara Schumann's Setting of 'Ich stand'," 155.

⁴⁹³ Ibid, 156.

in which they play through his chronometric reduction of the piece, omitting the intervening measures.⁴⁹⁴

Lewin believes that the reader will be “quite struck by how seamless the musical suture is” but may also ask themselves why Schumann “defer[s] her dramatic dénouement to measure 28?”⁴⁹⁵ I find this question puzzling. From the standpoint of form, it is not unusual for a song in this period to explore related tonal areas to return to the tonic at or near the end of the piece. With regard to text expression, it is not unexpected that the composer would tonicize other keys, tonal instability to mirror the destabilizing effect of the tears on the fantasy as they suggest the sad reality before it is revealed. Despite these measures containing both interesting harmonic content and the melodic high point of the piece, Lewin’s insistence on biographical reading renders these measures—and the tears they represent—“ultimately irrelevant” in Lewin’s eyes because of the conclusion of the love story in which the Schumanns “remained steadfast in E^b major throughout their ordeal, refusing to believe that they had lost each other—as indeed they exclaim(ed) just at the ‘real’ downbeat of measure 28.”⁴⁹⁶ Despite the fact that Lewin reduces the importance of measures 20 - 27 of Schumann’s Lied, he attaches significance to the cantus he derives from it, hearing it as a slightly modified version of the thematic material of the piano’s right hand in the introduction and epilogue.⁴⁹⁷ He imbues this material with autobiographical meaning for Schumann, whom he claims, “frames her song with piano solos to say that all our

⁴⁹⁴ Lewin, “Clara Schumann’s Setting of ‘Ich stand’,” 156.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 156-157.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 157.

weeping was swept away as ephemeral by our joyous victory over adversity, when we remained steadfast through the bad times.”⁴⁹⁸ He even speculates in a footnote that there may have been “some private meaning of this motive that the couple shared,” thereby seeking to strengthen his biographical reading.⁴⁹⁹

Lewin starts from a conclusion drawn from Clara Schumann’s biography and works backwards to find evidence in the music to support it. While some answers may lie in the composer’s biography, I believe it is better to begin with the music and allow questions to emerge. Considering Lewin’s commitment to biographical interpretation of Schumann’s Lied, I find it compelling that Franz Schubert’s biography has no bearing on Lewin’s analysis of that composer’s setting of the same text in the song “Ihr Bild.” This difference in approach is underscored by the fact that Lewin seeks in both essays to reconcile the composers’ seemingly incongruous repetitions of musical material and use of the major mode. Whereas the author sees autobiographical expression of the woman’s happy love story in the case of Schumann’s song, Schubert’s ostensible departure from Heine’s text in his setting is actually “highly sophisticated.”⁵⁰⁰ Just as Lewin wants to assure the reader that Schumann had not undertaken a subject inappropriate to her circumstances as a newlywed, he sets out in this essay to dispel any misconception that “Schubert made a dreadful mistake” having been “fooled by Heine’s ‘false ABA,’ into composing an actual musical ABA.”⁵⁰¹ In Lewin’s interpretation of Schubert’s setting, the composer does not

⁴⁹⁸ Lewin, “Clara Schumann’s Setting of ‘Ich stand,’” 157.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ David Lewin, “Ihr Bild,” in *Studies in Music with Text*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 137.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

miss Heine's ironic reversal, but deepens the tragedy as the recapitulation of the major-key music signals the poetic speaker's denial of reality in a "Dante-esque cycle of obsession," placing the fantasy-shattering realization within the minor-mode music of the piano epilogue.⁵⁰² To summarize, Schubert exercises his artistic prerogative to put forth his own exegesis of Heine's poem. Putting Lewin's two essays in juxtaposition demonstrates that the biographical lens that he applies to Schumann's song actually diminishes her creative agency because her creative decisions—unlike Schubert's—are limited by her lived experience. We reach an analogous conclusion in comparing Youens' study of Schubert's "Ihr Bild" to Schumann's "Ich stand."

SUSAN YOUENS' COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF "ICH STAND"

Susan Youens' discussion of Schumann's "Ich stand" appears within a chapter—among numerous other composers' songs—to illustrate the various approaches composers have taken to setting Heine's poem. The nexus of the chapter is Franz Schubert's "Ihr Bild," which Youens presents as the most optimal example of rendering Heine's text in music. Thus, the author's decision to examine Schumann's Lied is not necessarily an indication that she finds it particularly interesting or meritorious. Indeed, Youens uses biographic framing in her analysis of Schumann's "Ich stand" to explain what she sees as a weak product—in terms of originality and faithful text expression—from a usually strong composer.

⁵⁰² David Lewin, "Ihr Bild," in *Studies in Music with Text*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 138.

Youens begins her discussion of Clara Schumann's Lied by pointing out its origination as a Christmas present for her husband in 1840 and describes it as "somewhat worshipful submission to his style."⁵⁰³ This phrase, far from a neutral observation of stylistic similarity, carries the gendered narratives of wifely devotion (this time with a pejorative tone) that—as I've discussed in chapters 1 and 3 of this dissertation—is among the most ubiquitous themes of Wieck/Schumann biographies. Furthermore, in introducing her discussion of Schumann's song thus, Youens frames her analysis in biographic terms.

Many scholars assess the value of Wieck/Schumann's compositions by their approximation to the styles of her male contemporaries (Robert most especially). Youens inverts this model, in her own words "extol[ing]" those Schumann songs she views as "original works in a voice all her own."⁵⁰⁴ According to Youens, in "Ich stand," Clara adopts certain "hallmarks" from Robert's songwriting in order to "refute Heine's darker depths."⁵⁰⁵ Youens hears an echo of Robert's "Widmung" in the repeated chords in the piano introduction—though, personally, I would hesitate to attribute such a common figuration to any one composer.⁵⁰⁶ Even more evocative, in Youens estimation, is the "Robert-like" pentuplet dancing around the D in the piano's right hand in measure 4, which she describes as a borrowing of Robert's "mordent-adorned extension of the last half of the phrase."⁵⁰⁷ The transmission of musical ideas between the Schumanns is well-established in secondary

⁵⁰³ Susan Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 43.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

sources, though authors' descriptions vary from a coequal exchange of ideas, to Clara's music inspiring Robert as an extension of the muse paradigm, to Clara's reverent imitation of Robert's music as an act of love and admiration.⁵⁰⁸ The biographer Joan Chissell believes that the songs published as Clara Schumann's opus 13 imitate her husband's style and that "Ich stand," in particular, would be virtually indistinguishable from his works except that—in Chissell's view—Clara shows "more concern with musical symmetry than the poetic message."⁵⁰⁹ Youens' remarks on the musical resemblance of this Lied to the songs of Schumann's spouse, as well as the verdict that the composer was indifferent to faithful delivery of the poem's meaning, accord with Chissell's comments. Where they differ is in the rationale for Schumann's purportedly cavalier attitude toward Heine's words. Youens' biographical framing may lead the reader to discount Schumann's Lied as derivative or intentionally imitative of her husband's works as a function of the intensely gendered devoted-wife trope.

In contrast, Youens does not read Schubert's piece through a biographical lens but focuses instead on his genius. She praises Schubert's imagination, crediting him with incredibly detailed and nuanced layers of intertextual meaning in his setting; she even suggests that he was capable of (re)inventing "from whole cloth" the Renaissance genre of *Augenmusik*.⁵¹⁰ Whereas Youens criticizes Schumann for changing the punctuation in the final couplet, in discussing Schubert's modification of the text (changing *starrte* to *starrt'* to

⁵⁰⁸ As a counterexample, see Harald Krebs, "The Influence of Clara Schumann's Lieder on Declamation in Robert Schumann's Late Songs," *SMT-V: Videocast Journal of the Society for Music Theory* 2/1 (2016).

⁵⁰⁹ Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit*, 82.

⁵¹⁰ Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied*, 27.

enable a double-dotted rhythm) she lauds his “abilities as a poet’s editor, even of someone as masterful in his manipulation of every aspect of language as Heine.”⁵¹¹ While readers may have differing opinions as to the efficacy or necessity of the composers’ alterations of the text, it is noteworthy that Youens ascribes Schubert’s decision to creative license—even suggesting that the musician may have known better than the poet—while Schumann’s choice abrogates Heine’s *Stimmungsbruch*. As before, Schubert’s creative agency is taken for granted while Schumann’s own is secondary to biographical factors.

The rationale Youens offers for Schumann’s apparent side-stepping of the heaviest elements of the poem is seemingly Clara’s aversion to unpleasantness, “which any sympathetic human being can understand.”⁵¹² While I do not believe that Youens intended this as a gendered statement, I wonder whether she is expressing the implicit bias we all carry by virtue of living in our patriarchal society that women are more vulnerable and less inclined to engage with negative emotions. An uncategorical illustration of this attitude is present in Benjamin Binder’s article on the subject of irony in Robert’s Heine Lieder, in which Binder argues that Robert had to soften or “transform” the ironic reversal in those songs he intended as gifts to Clara lest she be “repulsed” by the shift in tone, feeling as though Robert intended to “direct its shocking maliciousness at her.”⁵¹³ In this way, Binder suggests that Clara Schumann (presumably due to her gender) was so sensitive as to take the musical expression of irony in Robert’s songs personally, rather than possessing the artistic sensibilities to appreciate his treatment of the text on its own terms.

⁵¹¹ Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied*, 28.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 43.

⁵¹³ Benjamin Binder, “The Case of ‘Dein Angesicht,’” 6 – 7.

To return to Youens, there is still the author's claim—not overtly gendered—that for such a painful subject as loss to be palatable to Schumann, it must be “transmogrified into something acceptable.”⁵¹⁴ In contrast with Binder, Youens attributes this “psychological necessity to occasionally revise Heine in the direction of reconciliation” to both Schumanns, thereby reducing the implication of gender bias, though not necessarily of the perception of the composers' weakness requiring our “sympathy.”⁵¹⁵ In describing Clara Schumann's tonicization of multiple keys in the middle section of the song as a “refus[al] to engage in full-fledged minor mode” in measures 20 – 23, Youens chooses to view Schumann's choice not as an indication of the instability of the fantasy with correspondingly shifting tonal areas, but rather as the composer's lack of fortitude to commit to the darkness of the text with a complete modulation to a minor mode.⁵¹⁶

Youens reacts to Schumann's return to the tonic key at measure 28 with surprise, writing, “one hardly knows what to think.”⁵¹⁷ In addition to the E-flat major harmony, unequivocally resolving in the song's tonic key with a cadence, Youens sees a mismatch between the text and the lyrical character of the singer's final phrase. It strikes her as a “contradictory” way to communicate the “sudden horror” of the poetic persona at the “realization of loss.”⁵¹⁸ Youens identifies an additional incongruity between music and text in Schumann's decision to connect the poetic lines with a slur (between the B-natural and

⁵¹⁴ Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied*, 43.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

B-flat in measure 27) and to change the intervening punctuation from Heine's "eloquent typographical dash" to a comma.⁵¹⁹ Harald Krebs puts forward a possible explanation for Schumann's choice to elide these phrases, theorizing that the composer may have wanted to encourage the singer to breathe in irregular places to simulate the unpredictable gasps of sobbing.⁵²⁰ Youens sees this combination of compositional choices as "nullifying the moment of rupture altogether." In essence, Youens suggests that Schumann's setting has failed to communicate the emotional content of Heine's text:

In her [Schumann's] concept, loss has already been accepted as inevitable *before* the song begins, the music thus transmuting grief into sweet recollection of a love that was, so we surmise, both requited and savored for years. That this was not Heine's purpose is evident, but one can understand why Clara in 1840 would wish to revise him as she did.⁵²¹

In the passage above, Youens takes Schumann's musical choices as indicators of the composer's desire to soften or sweeten a text she finds unpalatable.

Personally, I question why Schumann would choose to set this particular poem if her response to it was so unfavorable. Furthermore, I would challenge Youens' claim based on evidence from Schumann's writings in which she expresses her conviction that "to compose songs" a composer must possess the "*Geist*" (i.e. genius, spirit) to "deeply penetrate the poem" with the aim to "faithfully render [its meaning] in music."⁵²² In Youens' view, Schumann's Lied amounts to a conscious rewriting of the poem's story

⁵¹⁹ Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied*, 45.

⁵²⁰ Krebs, "A Way with Words," 79.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

⁵²² Clara Wieck, 5 May 1840, *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 3, ed. Eva Weissweiler, (Basel; Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld/Rotern Stern, 1984), 1021. See Appendix A for German text and my translation.

through music—as opposed to an alternate interpretation of that text—based on the idea that the composer preferred to align the content with her own life circumstances. Though Youens’ analysis does not, as Lewin’s does, rely on the idea of the Lied as direct autobiographic expression, her understanding of Schumann’s creative decisions is no less grounded in the biographic image of Clara Schumann as the happy newlywed at which the author gestures in both the initial and final sentences of her discussion of this piece. As such, Youens’ statement that Schumann’s (alleged) willful misinterpretation of Heine’s words is understandable strikes me as an expression of forbearance for the lovesick bride.

Stephen Rodgers argues that it is important that we closely analyze Schumann’s songs and consider her individuality as a song composer, resisting the temptation to default to comparison with the output of her male contemporaries as a means of understanding her work.⁵²³ Rodgers’ recommendation is particularly apt in cases where such comparisons lead scholars to attribute musical distinctions to gender alone. This is the case in L. Poundie Burstein’s article in which he engages in parallel analysis of several Schumann Lieder and settings of the same texts by men with the goal of uncovering how Schumann’s gender influenced her compositional choices. This methodology is particularly problematic given that Burstein selects his comparators without regard to such style-influencing factors as nationality and the years in which these men lived and composed. Of those composers Burstein chooses, only Robert Franz is actually a member of Clara Schumann’s generation. (See figure 1 below.) Such an extreme reduction of these

⁵²³ Stephen Rodgers, *The Songs of Clara Schumann* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 15.

composers to their gender is tantamount to gender essentialism. This approach might be considered biographical *reductio ad absurdum*.

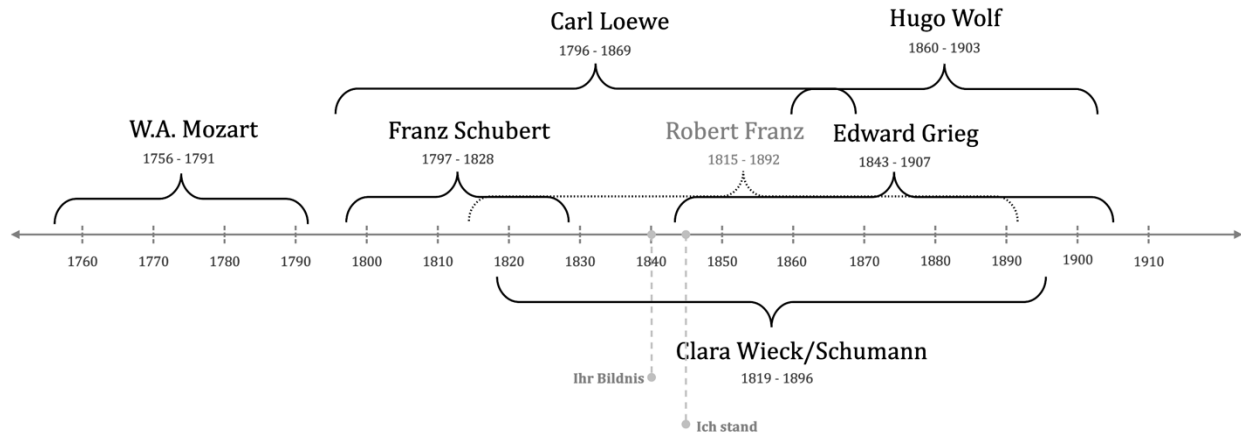


Figure 5: Lifespan of Clara Wieck/Schumann and Burstein’s Chosen Comparators

Burstein argues that Schubert isolates the female persona in the middle of the ternary form of “Ihr Bild” and reinforces the separation with differences in musical texture and key.⁵²⁴ He observes that, “many of the composers,” including Schubert, “who set this text follow Heine in objectifying the woman of the portrait.”⁵²⁵ He elaborates upon this idea, stating that the “woman’s music,” and by extension the persona it represents, lack true “autonomy” as merely “one part of a motivic expansion.”⁵²⁶ As an example of this objectification, Burstein puts forward the repeated B-flats at the beginning of the piece—which Heinrich Schenker famously associated with the persona’s action of staring at the

⁵²⁴ L. Poundie Burstein, “Their Paths, Her Ways: Comparison of Text Settings by Clara Schuman and Other Composers,” *Women & Music* 6 (2002): 14.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

portrait (mentioned by Lewin as well)—as “literally embody[ing] the male gaze.”⁵²⁷ This anachronism aside, such a reading necessitates understanding the music of the B section as symbolically linked to the gender of the beloved rather than to another idea such as the persona’s fantasy. For that matter, it also assumes that the composer made formal decisions based on this poetic symbolism rather than other factors like the form of the poem. Furthermore, Burstein presupposes—just as Lewin does—that the composer’s own gender dictates how they relate to the poetic persona and their beloved.

While Burstein makes no biographical claims about Schubert’s experience in enacting the male gaze (or experiencing loss), he surmises that Schumann set the text as she did because as a performer she had often been “the recipient of the male gaze” and thus “wanted to free the woman from the confines of the portrait.”⁵²⁸ Burstein sees Schumann’s compositional choices in “Ich stand” as indicating her identification with the female object of the poem. He sees Schumann’s song as maintaining the connection between the poem’s three stanzas (the material he associates with the male subject and female object) through repeated melodic fragments, the consistent texture, and the seamless continuation between the second and third stanzas. According to Burstein, this musical unity “firmly intertwin[es] the woman in the portrait with the narrator.”⁵²⁹ Yet, if one considers that Schumann associated the inner stanza, not with the woman, but with the fantasy the elision maintains that connection until the moment of realization. Another consideration is that while the middle measures of Schumann’s piece do not fully modulate, other tonal areas

⁵²⁷ Burstein, “Their Paths, Her Ways,” 15.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*

are tonicized in those measures with text referencing the portrait. Even more important, though, is Rodgers' observation that Schumann frequently "smudged" or erased boundaries in her Lieder, indicating that this is a compositional hallmark of hers rather than a gendered statement.⁵³⁰

As Rodgers writes, it is important that scholars "avoid the knee-jerk tendency to compare a woman's work with the work of a more prominent man in her circle of influence," all the more so because we tend to "use [the man's] style as a measuring stick for hers."⁵³¹ I am not suggesting that writers eschew comparison altogether, but rather, that we extend to Clara Schumann the same assumption of creative intention readily given to composers such as Schubert. There is abundant evidence that Schumann was well-acquainted with Schubert's Lieder since they were so frequently featured on both her own concert programs and those of her colleagues.⁵³² It may be interesting to examine their settings side-by-side with that relationship in mind. For example, consider that the "staring" B-flats that begin Schubert's "Ihr Bild" can also be found throughout Schumann's setting in a potential nod to Schubert's Lied. An equitable comparative analysis of the two composers' songs has the potential to be a fruitful exercise.

⁵³⁰ See Stephen Rodgers, "Softened, Smudged, Erased: Punctuation and Continuity in Clara Schumann's Lieder" in *Clara Schumann Studies*, edited by Joe Davies (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2022): 57 - 74.

⁵³¹ Rodgers, *The Songs of Clara Schumann*, 81.

⁵³² Nancy B. Reich, "The Lieder of Clara Schumann," in *American Brahms Society Newsletter*, 12 (Fall 1994): 1.

ANALYSIS OF CLARA SCHUMANN'S "IHR BILDNIS" AND "ICH STAND"

For my own examination of Clara Schumann's "Ihr Bildnis/Ich stand" song complex, I take the work of Stephen Rodgers and Janina Klassen as models. Rodgers considers Wieck/Schumann's unpublished works from 1830s and 40s to "highlight some of the stylistic hallmarks that are present even in compositions from her youth and that become even more pronounced in her later songs."⁵³³ In particular, Rodgers' analysis of Schumann's "Ich hab' in deinem Auge" shows the value of considering earlier versions of a song.⁵³⁴ Similarly, Klassen analyzes the earlier version of "Sie liebten sich beide" alongside the printed edition.⁵³⁵ She takes an objective approach to observing the differences between the two, anchoring the contrasts, not in any speculations of Schumann's self-expression or biographical motivations, but rather in the divergent effect of the musical delivery of Heine's text. Such a reading is apropos given Schumann's concern with the Lied as a vehicle for poetic expression. Klassen believes the published song is more successful owing to its subtlety and "almost Classical" affective unity.⁵³⁶ Nevertheless, she acknowledges that the earlier version already established Schumann's expressive musical realization of Heine's verses in the nuanced vocal melody.⁵³⁷ Although Klassen privileges the published—in her words, *gültig* ("valid")—Lied, the fact that she presents both versions of the song without

⁵³³ Rodgers, *The Songs of Clara Schumann*, 8.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 39 – 44.

⁵³⁵ Janina Klassen, "»Mach' doch ein Lied einmal«: Clara Wieck-Schumanns Annäherung an die Liedkomposition," in Robert-Schumann-Gesellschaft, *Schumann Studien* 6 (Zwickau, Germany: Wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung zu Fragen der Schumann-Forschung, 1997), 13 - 25.

⁵³⁶ Klassen, "»Mach' doch ein Lied einmal«,," 24.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

editorial commentary gives the reader sufficient information to come away with a greater sense of Schumann's personal style as a song composer.

Before continuing, I would like to explain that I consider Clara Schumann's "Ihr Bildnis" to be a distinct, finished composition in its own right. The autograph that Schumann gifted to her husband for Christmas in 1840 is cleanly written out on bound presentation paper. Inside the pale red ornamental borders, the composer precisely wrote out specific instructions for expression, dynamics, phrasing and articulation. Before revising the song for publication as part of Op.13, she recopied it onto plain staff paper. This later autograph is no fair copy, but a working draft with notes and even entire measures scratched out or scribbled in.⁵³⁸ Thus, although "Ihr Bildnis" was revised to become "Ich stand," I invite readers to reconsider the relationship between these two pieces, viewing them not as sketch and composition (respectively), but as separate iterations crafted for different purposes, each one *gültig*.

With this in mind, I have chosen to privilege the unpublished version in this analysis to illuminate the changes that Schumann considered necessary to transform the private piece into the public one. Rodgers observes that "for all that Schumann's published and unpublished songs sound like products of the same creative imagination," that, as a rule, her Lieder that made it to press are "less abstruse [...]slightly more conventional—in a word, more accessible" than those that remained in manuscript.⁵³⁹ I offer my own analysis

⁵³⁸ I invite the reader to compare the two autograph versions of the songs in Appendix D. The first, dating 1820, is neatly notated on rose-colored staff lines framed by an ornate decorative boarder. It is apparent that Schumann recopied the song onto the unadorned, blue-lined staff paper in order to make her revisions. This latter version has scratched out measures and notes over-written with black ink. Contrasting the two versions, it is apparent that the first is presentable while the second is a working document.

⁵³⁹ Rodgers, *The Songs of Clara Schumann*, 134.

of “Ihr Bildnis” and “Ich stand” as a case study in support of this statement. I found the most significant alterations between versions in the rhythm, the harmony, the number and type of performance instructions, and the role of the piano. The results of my analysis of “Ihr Bildnis” and its published revision are consistent with Rodgers’ conclusions about Schumann’s song oeuvre. In each category of alteration, I found “Ihr Bildnis” to be more specific, idiosyncratic, and dramatic than the later “Ich stand.”

As already mentioned, the autograph copy of “Ihr Bildnis” includes a remarkable amount of information for the performer; there are more markings in both vocal and piano parts to indicate the composer’s preferences for dynamics and phrasing than we find in the published version. I find this meticulous notation intriguing given the likelihood that she, herself, would be the interpreter. That Schumann made these changes to dampen the emotional potency of the song is especially evident when one compares the verbal instructions at the beginning of the two pieces. While on the one hand, “Ich stand” merely indicates a general tempo of “rather slow” (*Zeimlich langsam*) to the performers, on the other hand, “Ihr Bildnis” is marked with the more specific tempo indicator *adagio*, the pianist is directed to keep everything “very sustained” (*sehr getragen*), and the expressive instruction “with deepest melancholy” (*mit tiefster Wehmut*) sets the emotional tone for the song as a whole. In modifying these directions, Schumann abdicates her previously articulated selections of tempo, style, and expression to the performer. In reducing the number of performance instructions for the published version, Schumann essentially surrenders a degree of compositional control over the piece, making it something more generic that can be personalized by others through their own performance decisions.

Conversely, in “Ihr Bildnis” we can see something of Schumann’s own interpretation of the poem in the heightened drama of the intensified dynamics and the breathless effect that comes from the unconventional phrasing throughout the piece. Several of these unconventional slurs survived the revision process—however, the most strikingly unorthodox phrasings did not. Take for example, the ending of the piano introduction (Figure 6). The published score indicates that the pianist should slow and decrescendo to prepare for the singer’s entrance at the pickup to bar 6. Surprisingly, the earlier version disrupts the conclusion of the introduction with a rest, pushing the final figure to the following measure.

The image displays two musical excerpts. The top excerpt, titled "Ihr Bildnis", shows a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a rest in measure 4, followed by a pickup note in measure 5. The piano accompaniment features a complex, slurred figure in measure 4, marked with a "5" above it, which concludes in measure 5. The bottom excerpt, titled "Ich stand", shows a similar vocal and piano arrangement. The vocal line has a rest in measure 4 and a pickup note in measure 5. The piano accompaniment has a slurred figure in measure 4, marked with a "5" above it, and a "ritard." marking above the piano part in measure 5. The lyrics "Ich s" are visible under the vocal line in the top excerpt, and "Ich" is visible under the vocal line in the bottom excerpt.

Figure 6: “Ihr Bildnis,” mm. 4 – 6 versus “Ich Stand,” mm. 4 – 5.

This theatrical and undeniably distinctive choice places expressive power in the hands of the pianist. Schumann's insistence that the pianist possess heightened musical agency in this moment is manifest in the fermatas that lie over each of the rests in measures 5 and 6 of "Ihr Bildnis" (Figure 7). This technique of interruption recurs with the rest in the vocal part on beat three of measure 12, which interrupts the four-bar phrase and separates the subject of "das geliebte Antlitz" (the beloved face) from the action "Heimlich zu leben began" (secretly to live began). Harald Krebs notes that Schumann revised this line to accord with conventional declamation—a notable change being that she doubled the duration of the first syllable of *Antlitz* and eliminated the quarter rest.⁵⁴⁰ The impact of this interruption is underscored by the larger interval between the singer's C-natural on the second beat of measure 12 and the F-natural (the highest pitch in the vocal line) on the downbeat of measure 13. However, as with the introduction, the primary function of the unexpected rest seems to be highlighting the piano. While in the later version, the right hand of the piano doubles the singer's chromatic ascent in these measures, in the earlier song, the vocal part stops at the C-natural and the piano continues the chromatic climb to the D, becoming more than sheer accompaniment to the voice.

⁵⁴⁰ Krebs, "A Way with Words," 78.

Ihr Bildnis

musical score for "Ihr Bildnis" (measures 12-14). The score is in G minor, 3/4 time. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a *cresc.* marking and the lyrics "das ge-lieb-te Ant-litz heim-lich zu le-ben be-gann." The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features a steady eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand.

Ich stand

musical score for "Ich stand" (measures 10-13). The score is in G minor, 3/4 time. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a *cresc.* marking and the lyrics "das ge-lieb-te Ant-litz heim-lich zu le-ben be-gann." The piano accompaniment (grand staff) features a steady eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand.

Figure 7: "Ihr Bildnis," mm. 10 – 14 versus "Ich stand," mm. 10 – 13.

Whereas the piano continued the melody in the section just discussed, in measure 16 of the original song, the piano takes the lead, anticipating the vocal melody with the B-flat in the right hand with the singer joining on the second half of beat two (Figure 8). Krebs observes that revising this phrase so that voice and piano begin the melody together at the end of measure had the effect of stressing the third-person possessive pronoun *ihre*, one of several instances in which Schumann uses duration and metrical accent to direct attention to the beloved throughout "Ich stand."⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴¹ Krebs, "A Way with Words," 78.

Ihr Bildnis

16

Um ih - re Lip - pen zog sich

Ich stand

15

Um ih - - re Lip - pen zog sich

Figure 8: “Ihr Bildnis,” mm. 16 – 18 versus “Ich stand,” mm. 15 – 17.

That Schumann intended this emphasis in the later version, is evident in the case of the final phrase “daß ich dich verloren hab’!” (see Figure 9 below) as she not only makes the rhythmic changes Krebs mentions, but also exactly doubles the melody in the right hand of the piano and compounds the durational accent with a *ritardando*. Although on the surface, this fact supports Burstein’s argument that Schumann identified with the poem’s female object, it is worth noting that this is the standard declamation for this phrase. The earlier version emphasizes the poetic subject, with the word *ich* assigned to a quarter-note on the downbeat of measure 31, once again, “Ihr Bildnis” is the more unconventional of the two songs.

The image shows two musical excerpts side-by-side. The left excerpt is titled 'Ihr Bildnis' and shows measures 30 and 31. The right excerpt is titled 'Ich stand' and shows measures 29 and 31. Both excerpts feature a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics for both are 'daß ich dich ver-lo-ren hab!'. The 'Ich stand' version includes a 'rit.' (ritardando) marking above the vocal line in both measures shown.

Figure 9: “Ihr Bildnis,” mm. 30 – 32 versus “Ich stand,” mm. 29 – 31.

The music of the final couplet contains a consequential change in harmony between versions. In each case, the notes are changed to minimize the dissonance present in the earlier version. For instance, the piano at bar 27 of “Ihr Bildnis” harmonizes the whole measure with an F-minor chord, making the singer’s D on beat 3 a dissonant passing tone. In the published version, the piano part is unchanged in this measure with the notable exception of the eighth note that sounds with the first syllable of *Wangen*, which Schumann transforms into a B-flat-major chord. That such a minute change was made to address a fleeting dissonance is evidence of a purposeful attempt to smooth the rougher edges of the piece. On the other end of the spectrum, is the transformation of the ending of the song. At the end of measure 31 of “Ihr Bildnis,” the dominant B-flat-major sets the anticipation—fulfilled in “Ich stand”—of cadential resolution to the tonic E-flat major in measure 32 (Figure 9). Schumann subverts the listener’s expectation with a jarring E-natural in the vocal melody harmonized with C#-diminished. The sudden discordant harmony—emphasized with thicker texture in measures 29 and 31 in this version—serves as a forceful delivery of Heine’s *Stimmungsbruch*, that the diatonic harmony softens in the later version.

Perhaps the most poignant communication of Heine’s poem in Schumann’s Lied comes from the piano. In both versions, the introduction presents a theme in the piano’s topmost voice (mm. 1-4 in both versions, Figure 10). The first half of the theme (mm. 1-2 in both versions) corresponds to the first seven notes of the singer’s melody with the words relating to the poetic persona’s dark dreams— “Ich stand in dunklen Träumen” (mm.6-8 in the original; compare Figures 10 and 11). In the published version, the voice’s restatement is imperfect because the elimination of the dramatic rests resulted in the first sung pitch being F rather than an E-flat to avoid dissonance with the final pitch of the piano melody.

Ihr Bildnis, piano introduction

Sehr getragen

p

5

This musical score shows the piano introduction for 'Ihr Bildnis'. It is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The tempo/mood is 'Sehr getragen'. The music is marked piano (*p*). The right hand features a melodic line with a five-fingered chord (marked '5') in the final measure. The left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

Ich stand, piano introduction

p

5

This musical score shows the piano introduction for 'Ich stand'. It is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. The music is marked piano (*p*). The right hand features a melodic line with a five-fingered chord (marked '5') in the final measure. The left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

Figure 10: “Ihr Bildnis,” mm. 1- 4 versus “Ich stand,” mm. 1 – 4.

Ihr Bildnis, vocal entrance

5

Ich stand in dunk-len Träu - men und

Ich stand, vocal entrance

Ich stand in dunk-len Träu - men und

ritard.

Figure 11: “Ihr Bildnis,” mm. 5 – 8 versus “Ich stand,” mm. 5 – 7.

The melodic fragment of the theme’s second half (the piano’s top voice in mm. 2-4 in Figure 10 above) remains un-texted until “ein Lächeln wunderbar” (“a wonderful smile,” mm. 18-20 in both, Figure 12). It resurfaces with a slightly modified rhythm near the end of the song with the words “und ach, ich kann’s nicht glauben” (“and oh, I cannot believe it,” mm. 28-30 in both versions, Figure 12). This melodic fragment is thus associated both with the beloved’s smile and the subject’s cry of disbelief. The first iteration of this melodic fragment in measure 3 of “Ihr Bildnis” is harmonized with C-diminished (changed into an unremarkable A-flat major chord in “Ich stand”). In its original form, the piano introduction seems to foreshadow the *Stimmungsbruch* of measure 32 (refer back to Figures 9 and 10).

“ein Lächeln wunderbar” (vocal melody, identical in both versions)



“und ach, ich kann's nicht glauben” (vocal melody, identical in both versions)



Figure 12: “Ihr Bildnis”/ “Ich Stand,” mm. 18 – 20 and mm. 28 – 30.

In contrast to “Ich stand,” wherein the postlude is an exact restatement of the introduction, in “Ihr Bildnis,” the first portion of the theme is replaced with an incomplete iteration of the “smile” melody, followed by its full repetition. Whereas in the introduction the cadential motion following the pentuplet figure is interrupted with rests, in the postlude Schumann achieves a similar delaying effect through by chromatically altering the piano’s melody in measure 37 to produce a series of diminished chords culminating in measure 38 with a D-diminished seventh chord. The deferred resolution (Figure 13) also carries a darker quality in “Ihr Bildnis” owing to its thicker texture and deeper bass notes.

Ihr Bildnis, piano postlude

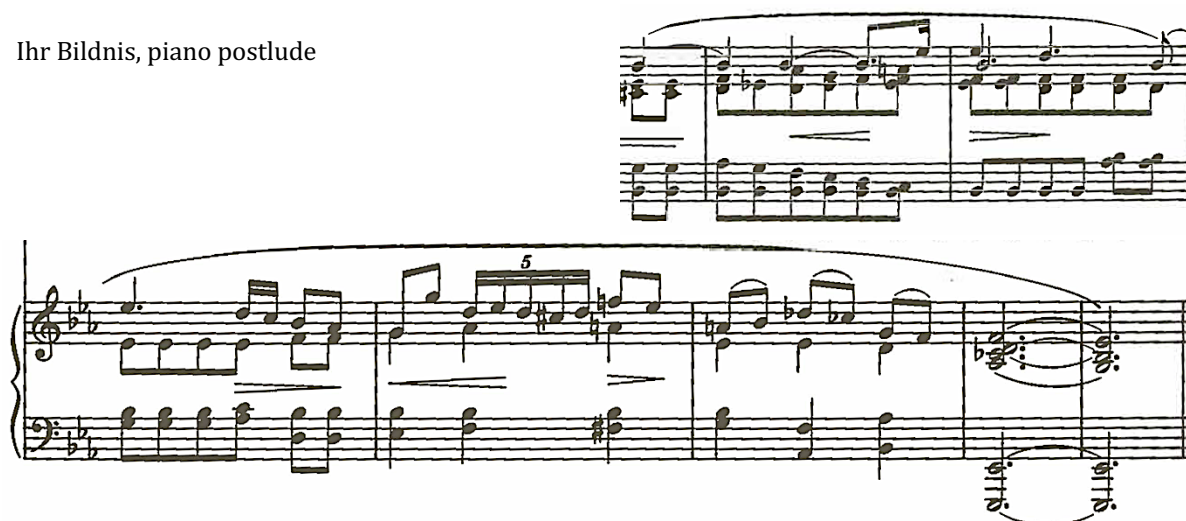


Figure 13 “Ihr Bildnis,” mm. 32 – 39.

If we are to assume that the melodic fragment that accompanies the text “Ich stand in dunklen Träumen,” represents the dark dreams of the speaker’s fantasy, then the material’s return at the end of “Ich stand” may suggest the cycle of self-delusion that Youens identifies in Schubert’s setting. In contrast, the fragment does not return in the postlude of “Ihr Bildnis,” indicating that the poetic persona’s fantasy has indeed been irreparably shattered. Many readers of Heine’s poem assume the beloved to be dead—Schubert among them if the dirge-like opening of his Lied is any indication—nevertheless, the nature of the loss is not explicit in the text. Benjamin Binder observes the frequency with which Heine’s sudden breaking of mood not only dissolves illusion but undermines the sincerity of the sentiments already expressed to a beloved whose cruelty is revealed.⁵⁴² This reading of the poem offers new layers of musical meaning in Schumann’s “Ihr Bildnis” as the melodic fragment might now be understood to render in sound the sardonic smile that mocks the poetic persona in the postlude, in absence of the “dream” fragment. The postlude similarly complicates the simple return of the opening material with a momentary lapse into dissonant harmony within the reprise. Joan Chissell’s criticism that Schumann “blandly repeats” the opening material—presumably a reaction to the published song—is clearly inaccurate in the case of “Ihr Bildnis” wherein the reappearance of the familiar melody makes the abrupt harmonic clash more dramatic.⁵⁴³

As I have aimed to convey through my analysis, the changes made to this piece prior to its publication as part of Schumann’s Op. 13 add up to a muted version of the earlier “Ihr Bildnis.” Admittedly, some of the changes are quite subtle, but to me these details indicate

⁵⁴² Binder, “Robert, Clara and the Transformation of Poetic Irony in Schumann’s Lieder,” 5.

⁵⁴³ Chissell, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit*, 82.

Schumann's intention to subdue the song for public consumption. In so many musical categories—dynamics, expressive markings, declamation and rhythm, harmony, and especially the role of the piano—the unpublished song is more specific, idiosyncratic, and dramatic. Having looked closely at this undiluted example of Schumann's creativity as a song composer, I will now return to the work of other scholars on this piece to demonstrate what is overlooked in exclusively considering the published Lied.

From her analysis of Schumann's "Ich stand," Youens concludes that the composer's biographical situation contributed to a psychological state in which she wished to evade the darkness of Heine's text and thereby failed to execute the poetic message in her song. However, as my analysis shows, the version of the song "Ihr Bildnis" that originated in those very biographic conditions *does* engage with the heavy themes of Heine's text. The most relevant manifestations are Schumann's use of diminished harmony, interrupted cadences, and modified thematic material. It is worth noting the Youens apparently made the conscious choice to focus on the published version of this song as evidenced by the fact that she cites the first volume of the Breitkopf edition of Schumann's *Lieder*, the second volume of which contains the earlier version.⁵⁴⁴ Youens may, in fact, find "Ihr Bildnis" wanting since Schumann's song does not include the cyclical self-delusion Youens sees in Schubert's setting. By those standards, Youens may count Schumann among the "duller composers" who saw Heine's poem "as a progression of events in which matters are different at the end" in contrast to Schubert who "knew better."⁵⁴⁵ Whatever Youens

⁵⁴⁴ Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied*, 322, n.71.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

opinion of the correct interpretation of Heine's text, in limiting her investigation to the published version of Schumann's song, Youens foregoes the chance to explore the compositional individuality of "Ihr Bildnis"—an element she highly values in other Schumann compositions such as the "Lorelei."

Lewin's understanding of the song is thoroughly entwined with the biographical details of the work's origin and yet, the version that he analyzes did not come into being in those circumstances. In the intervening years, Clara Schumann had returned to the concert stage, embarked on performance tours that took her as far as Denmark and Russia, and given birth of her first two children. In conflating the composition of "Ich stand" with that of the earlier Lied, Lewin disregards these eventful four years of Schumann's life. "Ihr Bildnis," which Schumann actually did compose in her first months of marriage, entirely lacks the "joyful" interpretation that Lewin insists upon. Lewin writes that the "piano postlude essentially recapitulates her piano introduction, framing her joyous present memory of the lovers' past constancy, as portrayed by her treatment of Heine's text. There is no spectacular confrontation between her piano epilogue and any earlier material."⁵⁴⁶ Whether it is spectacular is a matter of perspective, but the confrontation absolutely exists in "Ihr Bildnis" between the introduction and conclusion of the piece. In considering only the published song, Lewin does not encounter this material that would complicate his biographic reading of the piece. Assuming biographical reading is in order, an accurate association between each version and the circumstances of its origin (provided the details

⁵⁴⁶ Lewin, "Clara Schumann's Setting of 'Ich stand'," 155.

are grounded in evidence and not speculation) could result in interesting observations about the impetus behind Schumann's revisions.

Lewin writes in error that Clara Schumann started composing songs only after her marriage, claiming that the three Lieder from December 1840 are her first foray into the genre.⁵⁴⁷ This is a familiar theme in considerations of Schumann's Lieder. Aisling Kenny rearticulates the inaccuracy, suggesting that it was a symbolic gesture with which the new bride distances herself from "fashionable concert fare" of performance (and her father's influence) to embrace the "intimate genre" of song with her "husband's encouragement."⁵⁴⁸ While it is true that Schumann did not publish any songs until after marriage, that does not mean that she did not compose within the genre as Clara Wieck. Lest we think that the pre-1840 songs are a recent discovery, Monique Wohlwend-Sanchis was aware in 1985 that Clara Wieck wrote (at least) four songs in her youth.⁵⁴⁹ Nine years later, Nancy Reich wrote that "from her earliest years" Clara Wieck "composed Lieder that were performed at her concerts" and notes that of those songs mentioned in her girlhood diary and/or recorded in concert programs, only two autographs have been preserved.⁵⁵⁰ Janina Klassen speaks of these songs as "a new creative phase" for Clara Schumann after her wedding.⁵⁵¹ While

⁵⁴⁷ Lewin, "Clara Schumann's Setting of 'Ich stand'," 153.

⁵⁴⁸ Aisling Kenny, "Blurring the Gendered Dichotomies: Issues of Gender and Creativity for the Female Lied Composer," in *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied*, Aisling Kenny and Susan Wollenberg, eds., (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 16.

⁵⁴⁹ Monique Wohlwend-Sanchis, "Clara Schumann et le lied," *Revue Musicale de Suisse romande* 8, no.1, (1985): 2 – 14.

⁵⁵⁰ Nancy B. Reich, "The Lieder of Clara Schumann," *The American Brahms Society Newsletter*, vol. XII, no.2, (Autumn 1994): 1.

⁵⁵¹ My own translation. Janina Klassen, "»Mach' doch ein Lied einmal«, " 14.

Klassen is undoubtedly aware of Clara Wieck's early songs given the author's work analyzing the composer's performance repertoire, the framing of song composition as novel in 1840 might lead a reader to infer that these are Schumann's first songs.⁵⁵² Similarly ambiguous is Alexander Stefaniak's statement that after marriage "many of her projects marked new directions" as she "published her first Lieder"—the phrasing could be taken to mean that these were the first songs she published (as I am inclined to believe Stefaniak intended) or that Schumann published the first songs she had ever written.⁵⁵³ I make this observation, not to correct these scholars, but rather to highlight the degree to which musicologists and theorists have privilege published work over that which remained unpublished in the composer's lifetime. Assuming Klassen and Stefaniak were aware of the Schumann's earlier Lieder actually emphasizes that they view the published work as more significant than the earlier, unpublished compositions.

Let us turn our attention to Alexander Stefaniak's reading of Schumann's "Ich stand." In contrast to Youens and Lewin, who see the song's piano introduction as an illustrative example of Schumann's biographical expression, Stefaniak emphasizes the composer's artistry in writing for her own instrument, highlighting the subtle emergence of melody from the texture of repeated chords.⁵⁵⁴ He notes that the first texted instance of the theme (mm. 17 – 19) is associated with the beloved's smile.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵² My own translation. Klassen, "»Mach' doch ein Lied einmal«," 14; See also: Reinhard Kopiez, Andreas C. Lehmann, and Janina Klassen, "Clara Schumann's collection of playbills: A Historiometric Analysis of Life-Span Development, Mobility, and Repertoire Canonization," *Poetics* 37 (2009: 50-73).

⁵⁵³ Stefaniak, *Becoming Clara Schumann*, 147.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 156 and 159.

While Stefaniak recognizes the origin of many of Schumann's Lieder as part of a "private musical exchange" with her husband, he diverges from the narrative that Schumann's songs were meant as musical love letters for her husband, suggesting instead that they were "addressed [...] to her public."⁵⁵⁶ He suggests that this composition—and others from that period—were part of her strategy to (re)shape her persona as a virtuosa in her shift from Clara Wieck to Clara Schumann.⁵⁵⁷ He observes that Schumann's Lieder served multiple professional purposes: commanding critical attention, serving as performance vehicles for her, and allowing consumers of sheet music a vicarious embodied experience of "inhabit[ing] her pianistic persona."⁵⁵⁸ Although such professional motivations undoubtedly contributed to Schumann's decision to publish and/or perform her songs, I wish to challenge some aspects of Stefaniak's assertion. Firstly, her most pianistically virtuosic songs were not those made available to the public nor her most performed. ("Am Strande" was not commercially published and apparently only programmed once, while "Lorelei" was made a public appearance in print or performance.)⁵⁵⁹ Stefaniak categorizes "Ich stand," as one of Schumann's "display pieces."⁵⁶⁰ In support of his claims, Stefaniak's analysis emphasizes that Schumann's use of musical texture and the interrelationship between voice and piano to express Heine's

⁵⁵⁶ Stefaniak, *Becoming Clara Schumann* 147.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 318 – 319.

⁵⁶⁰ Stefaniak, *Becoming Clara Schumann*, 155.

poem.⁵⁶¹ Yet, the question arises for me, if Schumann intended the song to serve in this capacity, why would she diminish both the drama (in terms of dynamics, harmonies, and theatrical pauses) and the expressive role of the piano in public version? In exclusively considering the published song, Stefaniak foregoes the opportunity to answer this question.

Because Stefaniak focuses on the poetic speaker's emotions rather than the imagined feelings of the composer, he gives the reader more to consider in the song's harmonically turbulent middle measures, whereas Youens fixates on what seems to be missing and Lewin glosses over this section. That said, Stefaniak's analysis of the song is incomplete; he abruptly shifts his attention to another Schumann Lied, leaving the ending of "Ich stand" (mm. 27 – 37) undiscussed. At minimum, in omitting this section, Stefaniak misses the opportunity to comment upon the reprise of what he identifies as the smile theme in the piano postlude and its modified iteration at the moment of *Stimmungsbruch*. These final measures of Schumann's song are the most controversial in Youens' analysis and the most biographically affirming in Lewin's. Significantly, these measures are the most divergent between versions of the song, and therefore hold the most potential for critical reevaluation.

CONCLUSION

As my analysis demonstrates, the original version of Clara Schumann's song shows a remarkable sophistication in clearly conveying the irony of Heine's text—otherwise only implied in the published version. One cannot help but wonder why these revisions were

⁵⁶¹ Stefaniak, *Becoming Clara Schumann*, 159.

made, as they ultimately weakened the expressive impact of the *Lieder*. We can speculate that she decided to make these changes (perhaps at Robert's recommendation) to make the pieces more appealing to a wider audience, or that she chose to shy away from her boldest musical statements as part of her ever-present insecurity as a creator, seemingly heightened in the case of *Lieder* because of her limited literary education. Nevertheless, without new archival evidence, we cannot know for certain what motivated Schumann to edit her work so.

Youens surmises that Clara Schumann, who tended toward "self-abnegation before male composers in general and her husband in particular," chose not to publish her song "Lorelei" (spelled "Loreley" by Robert Schumann and Youens) to avoid competing with her spouse's compositions on the same topic.⁵⁶² Undeniably, Clara Schumann was highly aware of competition and the comparison it invited. (As one example, she chose to postpone her tour of Russia in 1840 upon discovering that Franz Liszt would be concertizing there as well.⁵⁶³) Nevertheless, I am wary of the unspoken—perhaps even inadvertent—implication that Schumann's compositions could not withstand comparison. I unequivocally agree with Klassen's suggestion that we as scholars, "take the composer's skills seriously" and not reproduce Schumann's insecure statements about her supposed "stupidity, literary shortcomings, or compositional inability" whether as corroboration or excuse.⁵⁶⁴ Youens' explanation might logically extend to Schumann's decision not to publish her "Volkslied" given that Robert set the very same poem—although, to complicate this

⁵⁶² Susan Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied*, 175.

⁵⁶³ Nancy Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 96.

⁵⁶⁴ My own translation. Klassen, "»Mach' doch ein Lied einmal«,," 15.

point, both “Volkslied” and “Am Strande”—also originating from Christmas 1840—likewise bear the composer’s musical fingerprints of expansive themes, expressive accompaniments, undermined cadences, and reconfigured poetic structure.⁵⁶⁵ Regardless, Schumann’s discomfort with rivalry is insufficient as explanation for muting her individual musical expression in the case of “Ich stand” since no such rivalry is in play.

To my mind, Youens approaches the explanation more closely when she writes that the composer was motivated to “hide her Loreley [sic] from view” because “in its violence, it is a most unwomanly creation as these things were reckoned in her day.”⁵⁶⁶ The separate spheres concept was woven into the social fabric of nineteenth-century Europe, but as Aisling Kenny notes, this binary did not preclude women from participating in the public sphere so much as it necessitated that they carefully manage the way their participation in these activities was broadly perceived in relation to (non)compliance with gender norms.⁵⁶⁷ Importantly, Kenny notes that the genre of art song occupied a liminal space between popular and serious music, allowing women “creative opportunities to transcend certain boundaries,” while simultaneously perpetuating the lower status of the semi-domestic or commercial genre.⁵⁶⁸ Kenny points out that the songs of Josephine Lang, Fanny Hensel, and Clara Schumann—some of the best-regarded female Lied composers of the nineteenth century—“bear a profound relationship” to the elevated artistry of “Schubert’s

⁵⁶⁵ Rodgers, *The Songs of Clara Schumann*, 82.

⁵⁶⁶ Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied*, 241.

⁵⁶⁷ Kenny, “Blurring the Gendered Dichotomies,” 11.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

song aesthetic,” particularly in the realm of text expression.⁵⁶⁹ While such an working within such a small-scale, domestic genre afforded women access to “serious” artistic endeavors, they still had to be careful to cultivate their womanly image. As Stefaniak notes, in Schumann’s case, she had to balance public perception not only as a woman who composed, but also as one who performed professionally.⁵⁷⁰ Rodgers notes that critics commended Schumann for “beautiful simplicity” and “modest expression[ion]” of her Op. 13 songs (“Ich stand” among them).⁵⁷¹ Thus, it seems that the changes that transfigured “Ihr Bildnis” into “Ich stand” had the desired effect of making Clara Schumann’s Lied into *Frau Schumann’s Lied*—that is, lessening the qualities that made the private piece uniquely hers to make it publicly legible as the work of a women.

Having explicated the pitfalls of biographic reading, inequitable comparison, and exclusive consideration of published materials in the study of Clara Schumann’s songs, the question remains: how can we respond to Klassen’s call to take the composer’s skills seriously and Rodgers’s advice that we consider the music on its own terms? I recommend the methodology of meta-analysis. As a prototype, take the sweeping statistical analysis of Clara Schumann’s vast collection of concert playbills that afforded Kopiez, Lehmann, and Klassen the opportunity to consider Schumann’s performance career with unprecedented objectivity, thereby challenging long-standing biographical narratives and revealing new information about the virtuosa’s career strategies and individual aesthetics.⁵⁷² As a

⁵⁶⁹ Kenny, “Blurring the Gendered Dichotomies,” 14.

⁵⁷⁰ Stefaniak, *Becoming Clara Schumann*, 156–7.

⁵⁷¹ Rodgers, *The Songs of Clara Schumann*, 104.

⁵⁷² Kopiez, Lehmann, and Klassen, “Clara Schumann’s Collection of Playbills.”

direction for future research, I endorse a similar large-scale meta-analysis of Schumann's Lieder with particular attention to the differences between unpublished works, earlier versions of later published songs, and published Lieder. I hypothesize that such a meta-analysis will reveal greater individuality among the private pieces and a tendency toward musical conventionality in the public versions. By the same token, I suggest that we situate Schumann's compositional decisions (and their revisions) in the context of critical and commercial reception of the pieces and those of her like-gendered contemporaries. Surprisingly, we may find that the music itself—unrestrained by biographic narratives—can give us new insights into the life of Clara Schumann with regard to her experience as a female composer navigating patriarchal society of her era.

VI.

CONCLUSION

Throughout my dissertation, I sought to understand the origins and evolutions of Clara Wieck/Schumann's legacies. I found that her artistic decisions and her place in the cultural-historical imagination took on new dimension when viewed with attention to gender and gendered notions of creativity such as genius. Womanhood was a core element of Wieck/Schumann's identity that determined the way she moved through the world and has undeniably been the lens through which the world has seen her; thus, biography became the starting point from which I approached my research questions. I examined the ways that narratives in Wieck/Schumann's biographies shifted in relation to evolving genre conventions and gender ideologies in each author's own time; engaged the methodology of psychobiography to consider how Wieck/Schumann, as a woman, navigated her relationships with the authoritative men in her life to maintain access to her own musical activities; investigated the appropriation of the figure of Clara Schumann as an icon of the Nazi ideal of *Frau und Mutter* and one scholar's subsequent response to that hidden legacy; and revealed how biography as a tool of musical analysis has specific limitations as a means of understanding the composer's work. In each case, I've shown how biography, far from an objective chronology of a life, is a genre whose narratives carry prescriptive social messages—in the case of a female subject such as Wieck/Schumann, these messages are deeply encoded with gender ideology.

As a genre, musical biography is accessible to a general audience. The familiar anecdotes of composers' lives make their way into the popular consciousness through concert program notes, album liners, museum exhibits, on-air introductions on Classical radio stations, blog posts by amateur music historians, and articles on pseudo-news websites. As I discussed in Chapter II, the canon of biographic episodes that codifies over time is meant to illustrate the core characteristics of the subject in bite size. The easily digestible morsels that make up the popular image of Wieck/Schumann are: child prodigy, dutiful daughter to a demanding father, loyal fiancée determined to fight for her marriage, loving and supportive wife of a genius composer, strong and capable mother caring for a large family, widow devoted to the legacy of her late husband, friend and motherly guide to Johannes Brahms and her students, and devout priestess of high art. Through this process, Wieck/Schumann ceases to be a historical person and becomes a symbol, an icon. Wieck/Schumann has become a commodity of German cultural heritage with her face appearing on Federal Republic postage stamps and the 100 Deutsche Mark in the 1980s. Beyond this nationalist frame, Wieck/Schumann's status as an international (pop)culture icon is represented in material goods. One finds a myriad of Wieck/Schumann-emblazoned products for sale online: clothing, coffee mugs, tote bags, mousepads, throw pillows, mobile phone cases, jigsaw puzzles, pocket mirrors, and sticker sets. Thus, Wieck/Schumann has undeniably experienced a figurative afterlife, a legacy that she never dared to dream for herself and may not have even wanted.

FUTURE DISCOURSE

Wieck/Schumann is not alone in employing a set of tactics to ensure a place for herself as a female musician in response to the psychological obstacles presented by the genius concept and the systematic barriers she faced as a professional woman living in patriarchal society. My dissertation provides a framework to revisit the biographies of numerous female composers to better understand how each of them negotiated their musical endeavors in relation to their gender to justify their work to male authority figures and themselves. One common strategy is acting as the disciple or perpetual student, who sacrifices her creative activity in service to the work and legacy of a genius mentor, typically a male family member or romantic partner. My analysis of Wieck/Schumann's relationship with her father affords new perspective on the biographies of others such as Imogen Holst, who devoted their careers to furthering the legacies of their fathers. Likewise, the Héloïse complex pattern in the Schumanns' marriage is a useful model to examine the experiences of composers such as Ruth Crawford Seeger, whose access to music was mediated through her romantic relationship with her teacher and husband, Charles Seeger.

Another strategy that female musicians have employed is becoming a vessel who operates as a vehicle for the creativity of a male figure. Much has been written about Schumann as the humble priestess of art who served audiences as a conduit to the souls of canonical composers—her late husband most of all. Despite their wildly divergent biographies and artistic philosophies, both the medieval abbess Hildegard von Bingen and the Nazi-darling pianist Elly Ney professed that their musical (re)creation was done in

service to a greater power, for whom they were merely a mediator.⁵⁷³ Such claims of sacred vocation have sustained female musical activities across the centuries.

For the last four decades of her life, Clara Schumann maintained artistic influence and institutional power atypical for her gender through the persona of the matronly educator and mentor, or Minerva figure. Famously, Brahms sent her copies of his compositions to request her feedback and reactions to them throughout their forty-year friendship. She held a fulltime appointment as “principal teacher” of piano at the Hoch Conservatory for many years, and as “Frau Kammervirtuosin Schumann” she was the only woman on the faculty at the Frankfurt Conservatory.⁵⁷⁴ There are Minerva elements at work in the career of Nadia Boulanger as well; like Schumann, Boulanger set her own compositions aside entirely to create through her students, assuming a maternal role as a wise advisor and patron in support of (typically younger male) “geniuses.”⁵⁷⁵

Finally, there is the phenomenon of the unsexed female genius whose disassociation from her own gender allows her some access to the creative realm of men. This frame was famously useful to the fourteenth-century professional writer and composer Christine de Pizan, who wrote that with the inauguration of her creative career she had become a man. We might also consider the fin-de-siècle symphonist Augusta Holmès within this category.

⁵⁷³ See Michael Custodis, “Elly Ney als Kunstikone in der jungen BRD,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 75, no. 2 (2018): 117 – 34.

⁵⁷⁴ Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, 284.

⁵⁷⁵ For more on Wieck/Schumann as music educator, see: Natasha Loges, “Clara Schumann’s Legacy as a Teacher,” in *Clara Schumann Studies* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 271-291; Nancy Reich, “Clara Schumann as Student and Teacher,” in *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019): 279-288; and Annkatrin Babbe, *Clara Schumann und ihre Schülerinnen am Hoch’schen Konservatorium in Frankfurt a.M.* (Oldenburg : BIS-Verlag der Carl von Ossietzky Universität, 2015).

Holmès established her reputation for powerful, large-scale orchestral works under the masculine pseudonym Hermann Zenta; when she presented her compositions under her own name, critics lauded them in terms that divorced Holmès from the myriad *lady* composers writing parlor music. Although Wieck/Schumann never saw herself in this light, Reich observes that, “she was a professional colleague above gender” to some male contemporaries like Felix Mendelssohn and Frédéric Chopin.⁵⁷⁶ Zarko Cvejić argues that while their male counterparts (such as Franz Liszt) were celebrated in hyper-masculine terms, nineteenth-century piano *virtuose* (female virtuoso performers) like Marie Pleyel were often praised for their appearance or feminine charms.⁵⁷⁷ At the same time, some female musicians were “de-feminized” to be seen as “honorary males” whose abilities set them above their gender.⁵⁷⁸ Thus the audience’s focus on the body of the performer means that sexual objectification is assumed to be an inherent component of performance for women. As such, April Prince argues that Wieck/Schumann intentionally cultivated the priestess persona to elevate her performance above the corporeal, thereby distancing herself from the sexual connotations of embodied female performance.⁵⁷⁹

While these paradigms are not unique to Wieck/Schumann’s experience, they are also not the automatic result of female identity. Rather, these patterns emerge from life

⁵⁷⁶ Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*. Rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), 190.

⁵⁷⁷ Zarko Cvejić, "Feminine Charms and Honorary Masculinization/De-Feminization: Gender and the Critical Reception of the *Virtuose*, 1815-1848," *New Sound* 46, no. 2 (2015): 23-38. See also: Jennifer Caines, "Clara Schumann: The Man and Her Music, Gender Subversion in Nineteenth-Century Concert Reviews," *Fermata* 4 (2002): 32-47.

⁵⁷⁸ Cvejić, "Gender and the Critical Reception of the *Virtuose*."

⁵⁷⁹ April L. Prince, "(Re)Considering the Priestess: Clara Schumann, Historiography, and the Visual," *Women & Music* 21, no. 1 (2017): 107-40.

circumstances and relationships common to women who live under similar systems of patriarchy. Universal female experience is nonexistent; both diversity in individual situations and the specific socio-cultural conditions in which women composers live can influence the applicability of these models. For instance, the Héloïse complex model began to break down in the twentieth century as the erosion of the patriarchy meant that more women had access to musical institutions and were therefore less reliant on personal relationships for learning and career development. The composers Germaine Tailleferre and Ethel Smyth were both able to pursue careers in music despite their fathers' objections because they could access professional education at the Paris Conservatoire and Leipzig Conservatory, respectively, which had been impossible for women only a few decades earlier. Most European conservatories began accepting women around the mid-nineteenth century, but it was not until the 1870s that women were gradually allowed to take courses in written harmony and composition. Yet, this increased access did not eliminate the Héloïse complex model entirely. Take for instance, the case of Ruth Crawford, who despite her formal musical education, was stifled as a composer due to the Héloïse complex dynamic that developed with her private instructor Charles Seeger. Whereas Seeger supported Crawford's compositions when she was his student, he insisted that she focus on childrearing as his wife. Thus, despite living in more gender-progressive societal context in relation to institutional access that would theoretically nullify any need for such a dynamic, the composer's individual situation and relationships can lead them to employ these paradigmatic strategies for creativity.

To some extent, the majority of female musicians in modern Western society have had to develop strategies similar to these in order to persist in their musical work because

of the internal and external gendered limitations imposed upon them. Perhaps because of the wealth of material surrounding Wieck/Schumann, there is a particular concentration of these various paradigms of female engagement with and/or subversion of the construct of genius within her biography: the disciple (in the manner of the Héloïse complex), the vessel or transparent performer, the Minerva teacher-patron figure, and the unsexed woman or honorary male. Thus, Wieck/Schumann's experiences are a useful template for similar analysis of the motivations of other female composers in justifying their own musical activities. While each life is different, these women all faced similar societal pressures as the result of their creative endeavors as women. With Wieck/Schumann as an archetype, we can learn a great deal about how each woman followed or diverged from these patterns in her own life and how that shaped her individual relationship with musical creativity. These paradigms can offer us new avenues to explore the biographies of creative women, moving beyond narratives of suppression to explorations of agency. We can view these models not as the unfortunate consequence of patriarchal restriction, but as legitimate paths to music and lanes of influence specific to women. As such, they merit the same level of attention we have given to typical male avenues of learning and professionalism.

APPENDIX A

PRIMARY SOURCES: GERMAN TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

EXCERPTS FROM GERMAN TEXTS

ORIGINAL TRANSLATIONS

29 October 1828

Pseudo-Clara (Friedrich Wieck), Entry in Clara's Diary, *Jugendtagebücher*, 48.

Mein Vater, der längst schon vergebens auf eine Sinnesänderung von meiner Seite gehofft hatte, bemerkte heute nochmals, daß ich immer noch so faul, nachlässig, unordentlich, eigensinnig, unfolgsam pp sey, daß ich dieß namentlich auch im Klavierspiel und im Studieren desselben sey und weil ich Hüntens neue Variat O. 26 in seiner Gegenwart so schlecht spielte und nicht einmal den ersten Theil der 1ten Variation wiederholte so zerriß er das Exemplar vor meinen Augen und von heute an will er mir keine Stunde mehr geben und ich darf nichts weiter spielen, als die Tonleitern, Cramer Etüden L. 1 u Czerny Trillerübungen. In meine Stunde früh 8 Uhr sollen nun meine Brüder das Klavier lernen und Morgen fängt mein Vater mit ihnen an.

My father, who has long hoped in vain for a change of heart from my side, remarked again today that I am still as lazy, careless, sloppy, stubborn, disobedient etc. [*pp*: *perge, perge*] as ever, [and] that I am particularly so in [my] piano playing and studies. And because I played Hüntens's new variation op. 26 so badly in his presence and did not even take the repeats in the first variation, he tore up the copy before my eyes, and from today forward he will not give me any more lessons, and I may play nothing but scales, Book I of Cramer's Etudes, and Czerny's Trill Exercises. At my 8 o'clock morning lesson, my brothers will now learn piano [in my stead] and my father will start with them tomorrow.

19 March 1830

Friedrich Wieck, Letter to Clementine Wieck, *Friedrich Wieck Briefe an den Jahren 1830 – 1838*: 27.

Gestern hat Klara vor den allerfeinsten Kennern Dresdens gespielt Gesandten pp. — Die Gräfin Einsiedel zog den Ring von ihrem Finger und steckte ihn der Klara an, die Gräfin Bohl schenkte ihr Tüchelchen, was ihr gefiel pp. — Daß sie komponieren könnte, wollte aber niemand glauben, weil es bei Frauenzimmern⁵⁸⁰ von dem Alter noch niemals dagewesen. Als sie aber über ein aufgegebenes Thema phantasiert hatte,

Yesterday, Klara played envoy before the very finest connoisseurs of Dresden, etc., etc.—the Countess Einsiedel took the ring off her finger and put it on Klara's [finger], the Countess Bohl gave her a little scarf, which she liked, etc., etc.—but nobody wanted to believe that she could compose because ladies of that age have never been/done that before. But when she fantasized on a given theme, everyone

⁵⁸⁰ *Frauenzimmer* seems to be an antiquated term for a well-bred lady, the female equivalent of "gentleman." See the entry in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm* (1854) available through DWDS (Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache): <https://www.dwds.de/wb/dwb/frauenzimmer>.

(19 March 1830, continued)

so war alles außer sich. Es ist nicht zu beschreiben, welches Aufsehen die beiden Affen aus der Leipziger Menagerie hier machen. In Leipzig ist man freilich zu verblüfft und zu boshaft, als daß eine einzige Gans unter so vielen Gänsen jemals begreifen könnte, welch' ein außerordentliches Kind die Klara ist, und noch weniger, daß dein Fritze aus Pretzsch dieselbe besitzen und bilden könnte. Man versichert uns, daß deine beiden Affen das allgemeine Hof und Stadtgespräch sind. Auf Klara wirkt es aber durchaus nur vorteilhaft, denn sie spielt mit einem Selbstvertrauen, wie nie und ist und bleibt übrigens die Alte.

was beside themselves. It is impossible to describe the sensation these two monkeys from the Leipzig menagerie are causing here. In Leipzig, of course, they are too bewildered and too malicious for a single goose among so many geese to ever understand what an extraordinary child Klara is, and even less that your Fritze from Pretzsch could possess and mold her. We are assured that your two monkeys are the common court and the talk of the town. But for Klara it is only advantageous, because she plays with a self-confidence like never [before], and by the way, she is and remains the same.

March 1830

Friedrich Wieck, Letter to Clementine Wieck,
Reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. I:19.

Wir finden hier eine ungeahnte günstige Aufnahme. Claras musikalische Ausbildung nicht allein, auch ihr Virtuositum findet hier jeder sehr anerkennenswert. Die Leute wissen nicht, wen sie mehr bewundern sollen, das Kind oder den Lehrer. Ich bin ängstlich, daß die Ehren und Auszeichnungen auf Clara einen schlimmen Einfluß ausüben könnten. Merke ich etwas Nachteiliges, so reise ich sogleich ab, damit sie wieder in ihre bürgerliche Ordnung kommt, denn ich bin zu stolz auf ihre Anspruchslosigkeit und vertausche dieselbe um keine Ehre der Welt. Man findet sie sehr liebenswürdig; sie ist vorerst noch die alte einfache natürliche, entwickelt oft tiefen Verstand und reiche Phantasie, ist wild, dabei aber nobel und verständig. Sie ist bei dem Spiel unglaublich dreist, und je größer die Gesellschaft, um so besser spielt sie.

We are finding an unexpectedly favorable reception here. Everyone here finds not only Clara's musical development/education, but also her virtuosity very commendable. People do not know who they should admire more, the child or the teacher. I am afraid that the honors and accolades could have a bad influence (could have a bad effect) on Clara. If I notice anything detrimental, then I will leave immediately so that she again arrives in her bourgeois civil order, for I am too proud of her modesty and would not exchange it for any honor in the world. One finds her very amiable; for the time being, she is still the [same] old simple, natural [child], [who] often develops a deep understanding and rich imagination, is wild, but at the same time noble and sensible. She is incredibly brazen in her playing and the grander the society, the better she plays.

9 August 1830

Friedrich Wieck, Letter to Johanna Christiane (née Schnabel) Schumann, Reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. I: 21.

Einstweilen so viel: Ich mache mich anheischig, Ihren Herrn Sohn, den Robert, bei seinem Talent und seiner Phantasie binnen 3 Jahren zu einem der größten jetzt lebenden Klavierspieler zu bilden, der geistreicher und wärmer wie Moscheles und großartiger als Hummel spielen soll. Den Beweis dafür führe ich mit meiner eignen 11-jährigen Tochter, die ich eben anfangs der Welt vorzustellen.

Meanwhile this much: I will undertake to mold your son Robert, with his talent and imagination, into one of the greatest pianists now living within three years; he shall play with more genius and warmth than Moscheles and more magnificence than Hummel. For proof I direct [your attention] to my own eleven-year-old daughter, whom I am just beginning to present to the world.

1 March 1835

Friedrich Wieck, Entry in Clara's Diary, *Jugendtagebücher*, 185 – 186.

[...] so will ich sie benützen, um einige [oder alle] von den merkwürdigen 17 Fragen zu verzeichnen, welche in jeder Stadt 700 mal—namentlich von der wißbegierigen Hälfte des menschlichen Geschlechts an uns gethan werden. [...]
11. Sie müssen doch große Freude haben, da Ihnen der Himmel so eine Tochter geschenkt hat? *Antw[ort].*: Ja, es schneite einmal — da fiel mir eine ungezogene Schneeflocke in [den] Arm und siehe — das war diese Clara, *gerade so*, wie sie vor Ihnen steht.
12. Haben Sie noch mehrere so musikalische Kinder? —*Antw.* Sie haben eben so viel [Talent]—aber nichts gelernt.
13. Wie so? —*Antw.* weil ich nur *ein* Leben zu verschenken habe.
14. Das ist aber schade! —*Antw.* Wie Sie es nehmen wollen.

[...] so I want to use it [the empty page in the diary] to list some [or all] of the strange 17 questions, which are put to us in every city—namely by the inquisitive half of the human race. [...]
11. You must have great joy since heaven has gifted you such a daughter? *Ans[wer]*: Yes, it snowed once—a naughty snowflake fell into my arms and look—that was this Clara, just as she stands before you.
12. Do you have several more children [who are] as musical? —*Ans[wer]*. They have as much [talent]—but have learned nothing.
13. How [is this] so? —*Ans[wer]*. Because I only have one life to give.
14. But that is a pity! —*Ans[wer]*. How[ever] you want to take it.

22 March 1837

Pseudo-Clara (Friedrich Wieck), Entry in Clara's Diary, *Jugendtagebücher*, 244.

Mad. B.[argiel] fing an sich in meine Concertangelegenheiten zu mischen, wollte bestimmen, *wenn* die Henselt'sche Etüde extra im letzten Concert gespielt werden müßte und äußerte, Mad. Milder, welche

Madame B.[argiel] began to interfere in my concert affairs, wanted to determine *if* an additional Henselt Etude would have to be played in the last concert, and expressed that Madame Milder, for whom she had requested

(22 March 1837, continued)

sich 2 Freibillete erbeten hätte, hätte sich gut amüsiert. Ich habe sie nach Kräften bedient schon deßwegen erbittert, als sie über Clara's Erscheinung u ganze Kustleistung nichts weiter je geäußert hat, als „hübsch—gut amüsiert!“ Übrigens ist sie weit roher, gemeiner, lügenhafter, kleinlicher u stolzer geworden als sie sonst war. In Hinsicht Clara's Künstlerschaft kämpft sie immer mit Neid, Rache, Eifersucht u Stolz. Gudemüthigt ist sie gar nicht, obgleich sie das Unglück mit dem sehr schwachen u leidenden Bargiel voraussieht.

two free tickets, would have enjoyed herself. I served her to the best of my ability, quite bitter because she uttered nothing about Clara's appearance and entire artistic achievement beyond “lovely—quite enjoyable!” Incidentally she is far coarser, meaner, more deceitful, pettier, and haughtier than she has ever been before. With regard to Clara's artistry, she struggles with envy, retribution, jealousy, and pride. She is not at all humbled, although she anticipates unhappiness with the very weak and ailing [Adolf] Bargiel.

15 February 1839

Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel, vol. II: 387.

Sieh, nur Dich hab ich ja, Du sollst meine Stütze sein! Ich hab einen Vater, den ich unendlich liebe, der mich liebt, und doch hab ich keinen Vater, wie ihn mein Herz bedürfte! sei Du mein Alles, auch mein Vater—nicht wahr Robert? Ach ich hab wohl Briefe bekommen seit ich hier bin, das sind aber andere Briefe! da ist kein liebes Wort, wie ich sie von Dir so gern höre, da sind nur kalte Rathschläge, Vorwürfe, mein Vater fühlt sich unglücklich, und das schmerzt mich—ich kann aber nicht anders. Ich glaube fest, daß meines Vaters Herz sich noch biegen läßt, und in diesem Glauben laß uns unserem Ziele immer näherkommen! sieht er uns glücklich, dann wird er auch glücklich sein.

Look, I have only you, you shall be my support! I have a father whom I love endlessly, who loves me, and yet I haven't any father as my heart requires him! You will be my everything, also my father— [is that] not true, Robert? Oh, I have certainly received letters since I have been here, but these are different letters! there is no loving word, as I so like to hear from you, there are only cold advising blows, reproaches; my father is unhappy and that hurts me—but I cannot help it [I cannot otherwise]. I firmly believe that my father's heart will still let itself be bent, and in this belief let us come ever closer to our aim! If he sees us happy, then he too will be happy.

16 March 1839

Robert Schumann, Letter to Clara Wieck,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel, vol. II: 443.

Liebe Klara, wenn ich und je mehr ich unserem ersten Ehesommer in Zwickau nachsinne, desto mehr will sich mir die ganze Welt wie eine Rosenlaube über mich zusammenschlagen und wir sitzen drinnen

Beloved Klara, the more I contemplate our first married summer in Zwickau, the more the whole world wants to unite with me like a rose bower and we sit arm in arm within as a young married couple and revel and

(10 March 1839, continued)

Arm in Arm als junges Ehepaar und schwelgen und arbeiten—Sinne nur über alles nach und über das große Glück. Wäre denn Zwickau nicht zu erringen? Erstens (noch einen Kuß) müssen junge Frauen gehörig kochen und wirthschaften können, wenn sie zufriedene Männer haben wollen, das könntest Du aber unter Lachen und Scherzen bei Theresen lernen—sodann dürfen junge Frauen nicht gleich große Reisen machen, sondern müssen sich pflegen und schonen, namentlich solche, die ein ganzes Jahr vorher für ihren Mann gearbeitet und sich aufgeopfert haben—drittens wären wir aller lästigen und neugierigen Besuche ledig—viertens würden wir sehr spatziren [sic] gehen können und ich Dir alle Plätze zeigen, wo man mich als Jungen durch-geprügelt—fünftens könnte uns Der V.[ater] nichts anhaben—

work—only musing about everything afterward and about the greatest happiness. For, would not be gained? Firstly (one more kiss) young wives must be able to properly cook and economize if they want to have satisfied husbands, but this you could learn through laughter and jokes from Therese—then, young wives are not permitted to make long journeys right away, but must take care of themselves and rest, especially those who for the entire previous year worked and sacrificed themselves for their husband—thirdly, we would isolate ourselves from all annoying and inquisitive visitors—fourth, we would be able to go strolling a lot and I would show you all the places where I was belabored as a boy—fifth, your father would be unable to harm us—[...]

22 April 1839

Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel vol. III: 499 – 500.

Mein Vater mag sich doch recht unglücklich fühlen manchmal, er ist zu bedauern, und im Stillen gräme ich mich wohl oft darum, doch ich kann es durchaus nicht ändern. Es wird wohl auch noch einmal heißen meinen Vater habe ich in das Grab gebracht—der da oben wird mir verzeihen, hab ich nicht alle Pflichten gegen ihn er-fühlt? und soll man nicht den Mann mehr als Alles lieben? ach Robert, verzeih mir nur, auch später einmal, wenn zuweilen [m]eine plötzliche Melancholie mich über-fällt, wo ich meines Vaters gedenke—es ist doch schmerzlich!

My father may actually feel quite unhappy sometimes, he is to be pitied, and in silence I often grieve about it, but I cannot change it by any means. It will probably be repeated once again that I have brought my father to the grave—Heaven will forgive me, have I not fulfilled all duties toward him? and should one not love her husband more than everything? oh Robert, forgive me only, even later once, when occasionally my sudden melancholy invades me, when I think of my father—but it is painful!

7 May 1839

Friedrich Wieck, Letter to Clara Wieck,
Reproduced in *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel* vol. II: 517.

Meine innigst geliebte Tochter,
Es bedurfte der Auseinandersetzung
Deiner aufrichtigsten Liebe zu mir—von

My most ardently beloved daughter,
It did not require the dispute of your most
sincere love for me—*of which I am indeed*

(7 May 1839, continued)

der ich ja zu sehr überzeugt bin—nicht, um sogleich meine *vollständige Einwilligung* zu erlangen; es waren nur die Worte nöthig “Dein Brief hat auf mich und Emilie die entgegengesetzte Wirkung hervorgebracht, was Du geschrieben hast ist theils erlogen, theils beruht es auf falscher Ansicht, und Emilie ist mehr als je überzeugt, daß ich ihn nehmen muß—*du hast nun Alles gethan*, und ich spreche Dich frei von jedem Dir einmal zu machenden Vorwurfe”. Meine geliebte Clara, so arg ist es nicht—Du bist 19 Jahre—Dein Aufenthalt in Paris—Deine gemachten Erfahrungen—die Verringerung Deines Vermögens beinahe auf die Hälfte u. *der Brief an Emilie List*—Alles das hat das Gegentheil bei Dir [bewirkt] und Deiner besten Freundin bewirkt? —jetzt bin ich aller Verantwortung ledig, und es folgen nur noch meine Bedingungen. [...] Jetzt schickte ich noch, ehe meine Bedingungen kommen, voraus, daß ich keine gewöhnliche *feste Anstellung* verlangt, denn die *kann Schumm. nie* bekommen. Meine Gründe setze ich nun nicht mehr auseinander, sondern verweise Dich auf das Briefchen an Emilie, wozu hierbei noch eine kleine Ergänzung folgt, um *mein Gewissen zu beruhigen*. Also ich gebe meine Einwilligung unter folgenden Bedingungen: 1., daß Ihr, solange *ich lebe und in Sachsen wohnen bleibe, nicht in Sachsen* leben wollt. Das war so nie Dein Wille, und würde auch ganz werkehrt seyn, schon weil ich glaube, daß Du nie ganz Deine Kunst aufgeben wirst. 2.) daß ich von Deinem Vermögen 2000 cf. (das Wenige, was jetzt darüber ist, werde ich Dir noch zuschicken zur Ausstattung, nebst genauer Berechnung, oder *Selbst überbringen*) an mich behalte, sie Dir mit 4% verzinse und das Capital Dir erst nach 5 Jahren in bar auszahle. 3.) daß Schumann *obige*

excessively convinced—in order to *immediately* obtain my *full* consent; only these words were necessary: “Your letter has produced the opposite effect on me and Emilie; what you have written is partially fabricated, partly based on false opinion, and Emilie is more convinced than ever that I *must* take him—you *have now done everything*, and I absolve you of every reproach.” My beloved Clara, it is not that severe—you are 19 years old—your sojourn in Paris—your experiences—the reduction of your fortune by almost half and *the letter to Emilie List*—All this has produced the opposite [effect] on you and your best friend? —now I am free of all liability, and only my stipulations follow. [...] Now, before my conditions came, I sent ahead that I did not demand an ordinary *permanent position*, because *Schumann could never* get one. I won’t argue my reasons anymore, but refer you to the letter to Emilie, which is followed by a small supplement to *ease my conscience*. Thus, I give my consent under the following conditions: 1.) that so long as I remain living and reside in Saxony, you [two] do not intend to live in Saxony. That was never your intention, and would also be totally backwards, only because I believe that you will never give up your art entirely. 2.) that I will retain 2000 talers (the small amount that is above that now, I will send to you for amenities, together with a more precise calculation, or I will *deliver it myself*) from your assets, on which I will pay you 4% interest and will only disburse the capital to you in cash after 5 years. 3.) that Schumann authenticates the *above* calculation of his income of 1320 talers through documents, and submits them to a local lawyer, whom I will designate for this purpose. 4.) that Schumann does not request, either in

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Berechnung seiner Einnahmen von 1320 cf. durch Dokumente beglaubigt, und einem hiesigen Advokaten, den ich dazu bestimmen werde, vorlegt. 4.) daß Schumann um keine mündliche oder schriftliche Zusammenkunft[er] oder Unterredung mit mir eher ansucht, als bis ich es wünsche und die Erlaubnis gebe—überhaupt aber nie *Zuflucht in meinem Haus* oder *Unterstützung sucht*. Meine Tochter Clara kann zu mir kommen wann sie will, das versteht sich von selbst. 5.) daß Du nie Anspruch machst, von mir Geld erben zu wollen, *da mein unbedeutendes Vermögen* meine Frau u. Kinder erben sollen, deren Musical. Talent ich nicht ausbilden konnte, weil ich mein ganzes Leben *Dir* zuwendete und den Überrest jetzt der Maria, die gleichfalls ausgeschlossen ist, wenn ich sie zur Künstlerin gebildet. 6.) nächste Michaelis ist der Zeitpunkt da, den *Schumann sich selbst bestimmt*; und da ich Deine Lage, *Deinen Seelenzustand nun vollkommen begriffen*, so verlange ich auch, daß *nächste Michaelis die Verehelichung vor sich geht. Ihr Beide habt nichts mehr zu erwarten—habt das Alter dazu—habt Talent und Kräfte, um Euch zu ernähren* (über das *Wie?* begeben sich mich aller Vorstellung und Erörterung) *und kennt Euch genau.* [...]

13 May 1839

Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann,

Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel vol. II: 519 – 520.

Sag mir, mein guter geliebter Robert, was soll ich thun Deine sanfteren Gefühle für mich wieder herzustellen? Bitte sage es mir, ich bin [ach] nicht ruhig, wenn ich Dich im Groll gegen mich weiß. Du hast mich mißverstanden, das war das ganze Uebel, und hast an mir verzweifelt—das hättest Du nicht gesollt! mein Vertrauen zu Dir war das unbegrenzteste, wäre das nicht der Fall

writing or by word of mouth, any meeting or discussion with me before I request it and give permission—but in general [Robert should] never seek *assistance* or *refuge in my house*. My daughter Clara can come to me whenever she wants, that goes without saying. 5.) that you never make a claim to inherit money from me, *since my insignificant fortune* should be inherited by my wife and children whose musical talent I could not cultivate because I devoted my whole life *to you* and the remnant now to Maria, who is likewise excluded if I train her as an artist. 6.) next Michaelmas is the point in time that *Schumann himself specified*; and since I now completely *comprehend your situation and your state of mind*, I also insist that *the marriage proceed next Michaelmas. The two of you have nothing more to wait for—you are of age—you have talent and strength to support yourselves* (as to how? I will forego all thoughts and debates) *and you know each other well.* [...]

Tell me, my good, beloved Robert, what should I do to again recover your gentler feelings for me? Please tell me, I am not calm when I know you resent me. You have misunderstood me, that was the whole problem, and [you] despaired of me—you should not have done that! My trust in you was the most unlimited, had that not been the case, I certainly could not have written

(13 May 1839, continued)

gewesen, so hätte[st] ich gewiß nicht so an Vater schreiben können. Nicht [mehr] kann mich mehr kränken, als wenn Du meinen Character und meine Liebe zu Dir verdächtigst, das verdiene ich nicht, und auch ich könnte bitterböse? sein—[nur] wenn ich es könnte!—Küsse mich in Deiner alten Liebe[n], wie ich Dich mit immer Neuerer—ich lieb Dich gar zu sehr und bald will ich es Dir beweisen; durch *nichts* laß ich mich abhalten Ostern bei Dir zu gekostet! ich bin so unglücklich Dich nur einen Augenblick betrübt zu haben, und habe gar keine Ruhe jetzt, bis ich nur erst wieder eine beruhigende Nachricht von Dir hab, und die Versicherung Deiner wieder hergestellten Gefühle für mich—schreib mir ja gleich, bitte.

to father so. Nothing can grieve me [more] than when you suspect my character and my love for you, I do not deserve that, and I too could be bitterly angry—if [only] I could!—kiss me in your old love, as I [kiss] you with ever newer [love]—I really love you too much and I want to prove it to you soon; I will let nothing prevent me from savoring Easter with you! I am so unhappy to have grieved you even for a moment, and I have no peace at all now, until I first have a soothing word from you, and the assurance of your restored feelings for me—write me right away, please.

18 May 1839

Robert Schumann, Letter to Clara Wieck,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel vol. II: 524 – 525.

Aber nun wird Dich gewiß keine Furcht mehr anwandeln um unsre Zukunft—nicht wahr—versprichst Du mir das, Dir keine unnützen Sorgen mehr zu machen, und mir zu vertrauen und mir folgsam zu sein, da nun einmal die Männer über den Frauen stehen.

But now certainly no more fears for our future will overcome you—not truly—you promise me this, not to have any unnecessary worries, and to trust me and to be obedient to me, since men simply stand above women.

7 June 1839

Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel vol. II: 550 – 551.

Ich bekam vor 8 Tagen einen Brief vom Vater, 10 Seiten lang, ein Zittern ergriff mich als ich ihn öffnete und diese Länge sah, endlich erblickte ich noch eine extra Beilage; es waren seine Bedingungen, die ich *sogleich* unterschreiben [sollte] und schicken sollte. Das Ganze war auf einen so höchst beleidigende Weise abgefaßt, daß ich mich entsetzte, ob es nur möglich wäre, daß mein Vater das geschrieben hätte. Ich unterschreibe natürlich *Nichts* und zumal

8 days ago, I received a letter from Father, 10 pages long. A tremor seized me as I opened it and saw that length, at last, I saw an extra enclosure; it was his terms/conditions, which I was supposed to sign and send immediately. The whole thing was drafted in such an extremely abusive way that I was appalled that it was even possible that my father had written this. Of course, I am *not* signing anything and particularly something that assails

(7 June 1839, continued)

Etwas, was Deine und meine Ehre angreift, *das einmal gewiß nie*. Der Vater glaubte sicher, mich so zu fangen, er dachte, ich würde so bestürzt sein, daß ich im Augenblick meinen Namen hinschreiben würde, doch jetzt hab ich auch die Geduld verloren, und thue durchaus Nichts was meine Ehre beflecken könnte! Nein, mein geliebter Robert, ich wanke und weiche nicht—meine Kindespflichten glaub ich nun erfüllt zu haben. In dem Briefe stand auch noch Vieles Andere Beleidigende, daß ich eigentlich nicht weiß was ich denken soll. Vater schreibt unter Anderem, er spreche allen Menschen, Verhulst, Kistner, Haertel und Vielen Anderen von meiner unsinnigen Leidenschaft—Du weißt ja Alles, ich will Dich nicht damit unterhalten. Nun höre aber noch Etwas, ich verlange bloß Deine Meinung, was ich Dir schreibe, ist bloß eine Idee von mir. Ich wäre wohl geneigt in Dresden zu leben, nun dacht ich aber so[;], erstlich würden wir in Dresden und in Leipzig sehr vielen Verdrießlichkeiten ausgesetzt sein, und unsere Ehre müßte uns eigentlich gebieten wenigstens ein Jahr von Sachsen entfernt zu bleiben, zweitens, bleib ich ein Jahr in Dresden, so bin ich als Künstlerin vergessen, [und] verliere ein Jahr meiner Jugend, und es ist sehr schwer sich von Neuem wieder einzuführen. Ich hatte nun eine Idee, die mich jedoch nicht befriedigt, ich will Dir aber Alles mittheilen. Ich dachte ob wir uns nicht recht zeitig im Jahr am Rhein trauen lassen könnten, da ein bis zwei Monate verweilen, dann nach England gehen (natürlich bloß im Fall, ich machte hier Glück nächsten Winter) da die Saison zubringen, und von da zurück nach Sachsen, und [den] im Winter 1841 nach Petersberg. Viel glücklicher würde ich nun freilich sein so ein Jahr in Ruhe mit Dir zu leben, nur denke ich, da ich doch einmal die

your and my honor, *certainly never once*. Father doubtless believed he would catch me like this, he thought I would be so upset that I would sign my name in the blink of an eye, but now I too have lost patience, and do absolutely nothing that can stain my honor! No, my beloved Robert, I do not waver or yield—I believe my filial duties have now been fulfilled. In the letter there were also so many other insults, that I actually don't know what I should think. Father writes, among other things, that he tells everyone, Verhulst, Kistner, Haertel and still many others of my absurd passion—you certainly know everything, I don't want to occupy you with it. But listen now to something else, I just desire your opinion [on] what I write to you is just an idea of mine. I would be willing to live in Dresden, but now I think first of all, we would be subjected to so much grief in Dresden and in Leipzig, and our honor obliges, in fact, commands us to stay outside Saxony for at least a year; secondly, if I remain in Dresden for a year, I would be forgotten as an artist, [and] would forfeit a year of my youth, and it is so difficult to introduce oneself all over again. Now, I had an idea, though it did not satisfy me, but I want to tell you everything. I was considering whether we could get married early in the year on the Rhine, where we could linger for two months, then go to England (obviously, just in case I am lucky here next winter) to spend the season there and from there back to Saxony, and to Petersburg in Winter 1841. I would surely be much happier now to live such a year in peace with you, only I think, since, once again, I'm not giving up [my] art, I should not let the year go past unused in the end, of course, I thought, after all, I must also earn something, which one can *only* do in big cities; I would not for any

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Kunst nicht aufgeben, so sollte ich am Ende doch das Jahr nicht unbenutzt vorüber gehen lassen, natürlich dachte ich doch auch Etwas zu verdienen, was man *nur* in großen Städten kann; immer möchte ich dieses Leben um keinen Preis führen, mein Sinn steht so wenig nach der Welt, sondern nachdem wir im Petersburg und noch einmal in [Petersburg] Paris gewesen, zögen wir uns nach dem friedlichen Sachsen zurück, und lebten da in aller Ruhe. Ich, lieber Robert, weiß nicht was thun. Du bist ja mein Mann, ich thue Alles was Du willst, Du sollst in mir immer Dein Dir ganz ergebenes Weib finden. Schreib mir doch was Du meinst, und welche Pläne Du hast? jedenfalls bin ich Ostern bei Dir, mag es nun seyn so oder so.

price like to lead this life forever, I desire the world so little, but after being in Petersburg and then once again in Paris, we will withdraw to tranquil Saxony and live there in complete peace. Beloved Robert, I don't know what to do. You are my husband, I will do anything you want, you shall find in me your devoted wife. But write to me what you think and what plans do you have? In any case, I will be with you at Easter, one way or another.

13 June 1839

Robert Schumann, Letter to Clara Wieck,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel vol. II: 571.

Eben las ich Deinem Brief "bleibe ich ein Jahr in Dresden, so bin ich als Künstlerin vergessen"—Klärchen, das ist doch nicht Dein Ernst—und [bist] /würdest/ Du auch als Künstlerin vergessen, wirst Du denn nicht als Weib geliebt?—Gib mir die Hand, daß Du mir so etwas nicht wieder sagst—Das erste Jahr unserer Ehe *sollst* Du die Künstlerin vergessen, *sollst* nichts als Dir u. Deinem Haus und Deinem Mann leben, und warte Du nur, wie ich Dir die Künstlerin vergessen machen will—nein das *Weib* steht doch noch höher als die Künstlerin, und erreiche ich nur das, daß Du gar nichts mehr mit der Öffentlichkeit zu thun hättest, so wäre mein innigster Wunsch erreicht. Deshalb bleibst Du doch immer die Künstlerin, die Du bist. Das bischen Ruhm auf dem Lumpenpapier, was Dein Vater als höchstes Glück auf der Welt betrachtet, verachte ich. Verzeih mir diesen Erguß.

I just read your letter: "If I stay in Dresden for a year, I will be forgotten as an artist"—but Klärchen, you are not serious—and if you were to be forgotten as an artist, would you then not [be] loved as a wife?—give me your hand, that you won't tell me such a thing again—the first year of our marriage you shall forget the artist, you shall live for nothing but your house and your husband, and just wait [to see] how I want make you forget the artist—no, the woman actually still stands higher than the artist, and if I achieve only this, that you have nothing at all more to do with the public, then [I will have] gained my most heartfelt wish. But, consequently, you actually always remain the artist that you are. I despise that bit of fame from the rag paper, which your father considers the highest happiness in the world. Forgive me this outburst.

18 June 1839

Robert Schumann, Letter to Clara Wieck,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel, vol. II: 571.

Aber hab' ich Dich, so sollst Du schon manchmal etwas Neues von mir hören; ich denke, Du wirst mich viel anregen, und schon, daß ich dann öfters von meinen Kompositionen höre, wird mich aufmuntern—Wir geben dann auch Manches unter unseren beiden Namen heraus; die Nachwelt soll uns ganz wie ein Herz und eine Seele betrachten und nicht erfahren, was von Dir, was von mir ist. Wie glücklich bin ich.

But I have you [and] so you shall hear something new from me quite occasionally; I think you will inspire me much, and just the fact that I will then hear about my compositions more often will encourage me—then we will even publish many things under both our names; posterity shall view us entirely as one heart and one soul and will not discover what is yours and what is mine. How happy I am.

27 June 1839

Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel, vol. II: 599 – 600.

Weißt Du, nach was ich mich sehne? das ist nach einer Stunde von meinem Vater; ich fürchte zurückzukommen, weil ich Niemand mehr um mich habe, der mir meine Fehler sagt, und deren haben sich doch gewiß eingeschlichen, da ich beim Studium zu sehr mit der Musik beschäftigt bin, und mich oft hinreißen lasse und dann die kranken Noten nicht höre. Darin hab ich doch dem Vater viel zu danken, und that es doch fast nie, war im Gegentheil gewöhnlich unwillig – ach, gern wollte ich jetzt den Tadel hören!

Do you know what I long for? For a lesson from my father; I am afraid to come back because I have no one around me anymore to tell me my mistakes, and yet I know they have crept in, since I become too preoccupied with the music during my studies and often let myself get carried away [enraptured] and then don't hear the ill notes. In this, I actually have much [for which] to thank father, and yet I hardly ever did so, on the contrary, I was usually indignant—oh! I would gladly listen to admonishment now!

26 September 1839

Clara Wieck, Diary entry,
Jugendtagebücher, Reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. I: 370.

Ich möchte die Musik mit der Liebe vergleichen! ist sie gar zu schön und innig, so macht sie Schmerzen, mir geht es so, das Herz möchte mir springen manchmal dabei.

I would like to compare music with love! If it is too beautiful and intimate, it causes pain, so that sometimes I feel like that my heart wants to leap.

12 November 1839

Florestan, (Robert Schumann), Review of Marie Pleyel's Concert,
„Camilla Pleyel,“ *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 1, no. 38: 155.

Die feine, blumenhafte Gestalt der Künstlerin, ihr kindisches Verneigen, als ob ihr dieser Beifall nicht gebühre, noch mehr was sie Tieferes durch ihr Kunst offenbatte, wird die Erinnerung noch in die Zukunft verfolgen. Mit den innigsten Wünschen sehen wir der scheidenden Künstlerin nach und daß sie vom Glück, mit dem sie so Viele überschüttet, auch an sich selbst erfahren möge.

The fine, delicate figure of the artist, her childish bowing, as if she did not deserve such applause, [and] even more what she revealed more deeply through her art, will still haunt the memory into the future. We look after the departing artist with the most heartfelt wishes that she may also experience for herself the happiness with which she has showered so many.

11 November 1839

Clara Wieck, Diary entry,
Jugendtagebücher, Vierter Band, Tagebuch VIII: 349.

[...] der Vater fährt fort sich auf das unväterlichste gegen mich zu benehmen. Der Pleyel hat er in ihrem Concerte umgewandelt und das mit verzücktem Blick. Neulich hat man sie, wie mir Robert schreibt, bekränzt. Das konnte in Leipzig nur eine Frau wie die Pleyel, Die die feinste Coquette ist, erlangen. Ich beneide sie nicht, wie mir überhaupt jetzt wenig an der Welt liegt. Ich lebe nur für Einen und möge ihm nur die Welt Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lassen – das sollte meine höchste Freude sein. Daß ich in der Welt nie ein großes Glück machen kann, ist mir klar geworden. Ich besitze nicht die Persönlichkeit, die dazu gehört, will sie aber auch nicht besitzen, sondern späterhin nur {der Kunst} meinem Robert und in Ihm der Kunst leben—ich glaube das ist doch der schönste Beruf. Liebt er mich, so einfach wie ich bin, nun so will ich [auch] nichts weiter. Ich habe recht lange für mich geweint heute, ich sehne mich gar sehr nach Robert und nach Ruhe.

[...] Father continues to behave in the most unpaternal way toward me. He turned Pleyel's pages in her concerto and [did so] with an enraptured look. The other day, as Robert writes to me, she was garlanded. In Leipzig, only a woman like Pleyel, who is the finest coquette, could achieve this. I do not envy her, since I care so little for the world now. I live only for one [person] and if only the world would do him justice—that should be my highest joy. That I can never make a great success in the world has become clear to me. I do not possess the personality necessary for this, but I don't want to possess it either; rather, in future, I [want] to live only in my Robert and in his art. If he loves me, as simple as I am, then I want nothing more. I cried for myself for quite a long time today; I long so much for Robert and for peace.

25 November 1839

Clara Wieck, Diary entry, *Jugendtagebücher*, Vierter Band, Tagebuch VII: 352.

Robert hat in der musikalischen Zeitung sehr schön über die Pleyel geschrieben. Alles was ich über sie lese, ist mir immer deutlicher Beweis daß sie über mich zu stellen, und dann kann nun freilich von meiner Seite eine totale Niedergeschlagenheit nicht fehlen. Ich denke, mich mit der Zeit darein zu ergeben, wie ja überhaupt jeder Künstler der Vergessenheit anheim fällt, der nicht schaffender Künstler ist. Ich glaubte einmal das Talent des Schaffens zu besitzen, doch von dieser Idee bin ich zurückgekommen, ein Frauenzimmer muß nicht komponieren wollen—es konnte es noch Keine, sollte ich dazu bestimmt sein? Das zu glauben wäre eine Arroganz, zu der mich blos der Vater einmal in früherer Zeit verleidete [sic], ich kam aber bald von diesem Glauben zurück.

Robert has written very nicely about [Marie] Pleyel in the musical journal. Everything I read about her is ever clearer proof to place her above me; and then, of course, I cannot help, for my part, being totally dejected. I think I will surrender to it with time, as indeed by and large, every performer who is not a creative artist falls into oblivion. I once believed [myself] to possess creative talent, but I have come back from this idea; a lady must not desire to compose – there's none yet who could, should I be destined for it? To believe that would be an arrogance, to which only my father once misled/tempted me in earlier times, but I soon came back from these beliefs. If only Robert creates at least, that should/shall always gladden me.

26 November 1839

Clara Wieck, Diary entry, *Jugendtagebücher*, Vierter Band, Tagebuch VII: 352.

Ich habe heute einen Brief von Emilie die mir Alles Mögliche vorstellt, wieder nach Paris zu kommen, Alle mein Freunde rathen es mir, und ich finde wohl daß sie Recht haben, denn so günstig gestalten sich die Verhältnisse nicht leicht wieder als noch einmal so weit fort von ihm fortgehen? was kann uns geschehen, kann ich nicht [in] Paris krank werden, bei meiner jetzt ohnehin so sehr wankenden Gesundheit? Ich weiß ich eigentlich schuldig, noch einmal nach Paris zu gehen, um dort den Sieg zu erringen der mir überall zu Theil geworden, und den ich vergangenen Winter wegen Kürze der Zeit nicht erringen konnte. Freilich weiß ich nicht ob dieser Winter besser für mich ausfallen würde, ob es mir überhaupt je in Paris gelingen würde!

I have a letter from Emilie [List] today, who suggests all sorts of things for me to come back to Paris. All my friends advise me to do so, and I think they are right, because it is not so easy to find conditions so favorable for me to go so far away from him again? what can happen to us, can't I get sick [in] Paris, with my health already so fragile? I actually owe it to myself to go to Paris once more, in order to achieve the triumph there that has been granted to me everywhere [else], and which I could not achieve last winter because of the shortage of time. Of course, I do not know whether this winter would turn out better for me, whether I would ever succeed in Paris!

28 November 1839

Clara Wieck, Diary entry, *Jugendtagebücher*: Vierter Band, Tagebuch VII: 353.

Ich bekomme jetzt selten Briefe vom Robert und das stimmt mich sehr traurig. Ich bilde mir nun gleich ein, er ist kalt gegen mich—seine letzten Briefe waren gar nicht recht freundlich, so wie ich's gern hab, sondern düster, und wie, wenn er gar nicht das Vertrauen zu mir hätte, wie er es sollte. Es ist aber wohl nur vorübergehend, mit seiner Stimmung wird auch die Meine vorübergehen. Ach, ich kann doch nicht mehr ohne ihn leben, es kocht immer in mir! nur Er versteht meine Gefühle, an ihn aber ist auch mein ganzes Wesen gekettet.

I rarely receive letters from Robert now and that makes me very sad. I immediately imagine that he is cold towards me - his last letters weren't really friendly, as I like them, but gloomier and as if he didn't have confidence in me, as he should. But it is probably only temporary, with his mood, mine will pass too. Oh, but I cannot live without him anymore, it is always boiling in me! only he understands my feelings, but my whole being is chained to him.

30 November 1839

Clara Wieck, Diary entry, *Jugendtagebücher*, Vierter Band, Tagebuch VII: 354.

Heute hab ich endlich wieder Nachricht von Robert, aber leider keine Gute, er ist sehr unwohl, und hat mich [in] die größte Unruhe versetzt—wenn sich nur sein Unwohlsein nicht verschlimmert.

Today I finally have news from Robert again, but unfortunately not good news, he is very unwell, and has caused me the greatest anxiety - if only his discomfort is not aggravated.

1 December 1839,

Clara Wieck, Diary entry, *Jugendtagebücher*, Vierter Band, Tagebuch VII: 354 - 355.

Abends brachte ich bei der Mme Mendelssohn zu, die kürzlich aus Leipzig zurückgekehrt, und mir Vieles von der Camilla Pleyel erzählte, besonders von ihrer merkwürdigen Coquetterie (wie sie sich ausdrückte), womit sie alle Männer in ganz Leipzig bezaubert habe, Kistner und Andere sind ihr sogar nach Dresden voran gereist, haben ihr ein Concert arrangiert und sie dann in Dresden empfangen. In letzterer Stadt hat sie anonyme Briefe erhalten, worunter auch Einen von einer Mutter, welche sie um Gottes Willen bittet Dresden sobald als möglich zu verlassen, denn sie mache ihren Sohn und die ganze Familie unglücklich, da der Sohn eine furchtbare Leidenschaft für sie gefaßt habe. Den Erlkönig [von Schubert] soll sie der Devrient so schön begleitet haben, daß sie

In the evening I stayed with Mme Mendelssohn, who recently returned from Leipzig, and told me a lot about Camilla Pleyel, especially about her strange coquetterie (as she put it), with which she had enchanted all men all over Leipzig; Kistner and others even travelled ahead of her to Dresden, arranged a concert for her and then received her in Dresden. In the latter city she received anonymous letters, including one from a mother who, for God's sake, asked her to leave Dresden as soon as possible, for she made her son and the whole family unhappy, since the son had developed a terrible passion for her. Devrient is said to have performed [Schubert's] Erlkönig so beautifully that it has completely darkened her. If only I could hear and see this strange woman.

(1 December 1839, continued)

sie ganz verdunkelt hat. Könnte ich doch nur dieses merkwürdige Weib hören und sehen. Jede ihrer Bewegungen soll studiert sein, nach Beendigung eines Stückes bleibt sie auf dem Orchester, spricht mit den Musikern, verneigt sich immer wieder von Neuem, ganz gindlich als wüßte sie gar nicht wie ihr dieser Beifall gebühre, und setzt sich dann an's Klavier und spielt noch eine Piece. Die halbe Kunst besteht doch wirklich in jetziger Zeit in Coquetterie; jetzt weiß ich auch recht wohl, warum der Vater immer so unglücklich war, daß ich nicht coquette sey. Nun mögen es Andere sein, und mögen sie mehr Beifall finden als ich, der Kenner wird mir doch nicht all mein Verdienst absprechen, und möge nur mein Talent Dem genügen, Dem allein ich ja angehöre.

Every movement of hers is said to have been studied, after the end of a piece she stays on the orchestra [platform], talks to the musicians, bows again and again, very obligingly, as if she didn't know how this applause was due to her, and then sits down at the piano and plays another piece. Half the art really consists in coquetterie at the present time; now I know quite well why my father was always so unhappy that I am not coquettish. Now may there be others, and may they be more applauded than I am, the connoisseur will not deny me all my merits, and may my talent be enough for him to whom I alone belong.

9 December 1839

Clara Wieck, Diary entry, *Jugendtagebücher*, Vierter Band, Tagebuch VII: 357.

Ich besuchte Paul Mendelssohn. Sie sind kürzlich aus Leipzig zurückgekehrt und erzählen mir Vieles von der Pleyel, unter Anderem, daß sie in einem halben Jahre in ein Kloster zu gehen gedächte—das möchte ich wohl beweifeln, und mit mir noch Viele.

I was visiting Paul Mendelssohn. They have recently returned from Leipzig and tell me many things about the Pleyel, among other things, that in half a year she thought of entering a monastery—I would like to doubt that, and many more with me.

3 December 1839

Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann, *Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel*, vol. II: 812.

Die Fuge ist in G—ich wollte sie lieber gar nicht spielen doch Bargiel läßt mich durchaus nicht los, obgleich ich ihn meiner gräßlichsten Angst beim öffentlichen spielen einer Fuge täglich versichere. Da ich den Kontrapunkt nicht verstehe so würde ich mir bei etwaigem Mangel an Gedächtnis nicht zu helfen wissen.

The fugue is in G—I would rather not play it at all, but Bargiel will not let me off, although I assure him daily of my most dreadful fear of publicly playing a fugue. Since I do not understand counterpoint, I would not know how to help myself in the event of a memory lapse.

17 January 1840

Robert Schumann, Letter to Clara Schumann,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel, vol. III: 876.

Mit Hamburg gefällt mir, wenn die Mutter mitreist, und dann wenn Deine Hand ganz gesund ist. Gestehe mir einmal, was ist denn damit? Hast Du keinen Arzt? Ist sie entzündet, geschwollen? Gegen 14 Tage ist's nun schon her. Klara, Du willst mir doch nichts verschweigen? Ich bitte Dich, lasse lieber Deine Soireen, wenn sie nicht ganz geheilt ist. Denk' an mich. Vernachlässigung und Überanstrengung könnten, wie bei mir, das Uebel ja immer verschlimmern. Schone Dich doch, phantasiere nicht; ich bitte Dich, Klärchen, und ich nehme Dich auch nicht zur Frau, wenn Du nicht mehr Klavier spielen kannst mit Deinen zehn gesunden Fingern. Du solltest überdies schon elf haben, da mir ja einer fehlt—und nun schonst Du Dich am Ende nicht einmal!

I agree about Hamburg, if your mother travels with you and your hand is healthy. Confess to me at once, what is [wrong] with it? Have you no doctor? Is it inflamed, swollen? It's been about 14 days now. Klara, you don't want to hide anything from me [do you]? I urge you, better to abandon your soiree if it is not completely healed. Think of me. Negligence and overexertion, like mine, can always exacerbate the illness. But spare yourself, don't fantasize; I beg you, Klärchen, and I will not take you as my wife if you can no longer play piano with your ten healthy fingers. What's more, you should already have eleven, since I am lacking one—and now, in the end, you are not even taking care of yourself!

6 February 1840

Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel, vol. III: 911.

Gestern und heute haben die Besuche kein Ende genommen, und glaubst Du mir es wohl wenn ich Dir sage, daß ich bei diesen paar Zeilen schon 3 Mal unterbrochen ward, und wie bin ich müde heut entsetzlich, und Spielen kann ich gar nicht, ich finde überhaupt mit meinem Spiel wird es immer schlechter. Wenn ich nun erst Dein Weib bin, dann wird's gewiß wieder besser, Du muß mir dann mitunter eine Stunde geben, das wird Gutes thun, und ich verspreche Dir, ich werde nicht wieder so unartig sein als in jener berühmten.

Yesterday and today, I received endless visits and believe me when I tell you that I was already interrupted 3 times with these few lines, and how appallingly tired I am today, and I cannot play at all, I find overall that my playing is getting worse and worse. When I am your wife, then it will certainly get better again, you must occasionally give me a lesson, that would be good; and I promise you I will not be so wicked as that memorable instance.

20 March 1840

Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel, vol. III: 993.

Eine Frage: was meinst Du wohl, wäre es nicht gut wenn ich bei Rungenhagen ein wenig die Fuge studierte? Ich hätte große Lust, nur weiß ich nicht ob mein Verstand, auf /den/ ich nicht viel gebe, reif zu solch einem Studium ist!

One question: what do you think—wouldn't it be good if I studied fugue a little bit with Rungenhagen? I would have the greatest interest [in doing so], only I don't know if my mind/intellect, to which I don't give much [credit], is ripe for such a study.

5 May 1840

Clara Wieck, Letter to Robert Schumann,
Schumann Briefwechsel, vol. III: 1020-21.

Die Reise zum Musikfest hab' ich aufgegeben, es ist besser ich bleibe dann hier und studiere. Aber komponieren kann ich mit dem besten Willen nicht. Mich ängstigt, daß Du mir immer so sehr zuredest, ich denke, es betrübt Dich, wenn ich's nicht tue, aber mir selbst ist es schmerzlich genug. Wenn ich mich einmal an's komponieren mache, nach einigen Minuten schon fühle ich eine förmliche Ohnmacht aller musikalischen Gedanken—was soll ich machen, ich muß mich fügen in mein Schicksal. Und Lieder zu komponieren, da gehört ein ganz anderer Geist dazu, als ich ihn habe—das mußt Du ja auch recht gut wissen—das tiefe Eindringen in das Gedicht (das traue ich mir durchaus nicht zu) was dazu gehört es in /der/ Musik getreu wiederzugeben, das traue ich mir nicht zu. [- - -] Was hast Du Neues wieder geschrieben? Lieder wohl wieder, von Denen, die ich Dir abgeschrieben? Du bist doch ein gar fleißiger Bräutigam, ich wollte, ich könnte Dir's nachthun.

I have given up the trip to the music festival; it is better I stay here and study. But [even] with the best will, I cannot compose. It distresses me that you always encourage me so much. I think it saddens you if I don't do it, but it is painful enough for me. When once I start to compose, after a few minutes I already feel a profound powerlessness of all musical thoughts—what should I do, I must resign myself to my fate. And to compose Lieder/songs, that takes an entirely different *Geist* than the one I have—That you must indeed very well know—that deep penetration of the poem (by no means do I dare to do that) what it takes to faithfully render it [the poem] in music, that I don't dare. [- - -] What new things have you written now? Probably songs again, from the [poems] that I copied out for you? You are really a very industrious Bridegroom. I wish I could do the same for you.

18 April 1842

Robert Schumann, Letter to Clara Schumann,
Clara und Robert Schumann Briefwechsel, vol. III: 1180 - 1181.

Höre, Cranz in Hamburg ist ein miserabler Kerl und Schwätzer—er hat das dümmste Gewäsch an Hofmeister berichtet—dieser dann an David—und so machte es nun die Runde "z.B. [zum Beispiel] ich hätte Dich

Listen, Cranz in Hamburg is a miserable fellow and a gossip—he related the stupidest drivel to Hofmeister—this then to David—and so it now made it the rounds e.g. "I left you *sick* in Hamburg—we had

(18 April 1842, continued)

krank in H. verlassen—wir hätten *Schulden* in H. gemacht.—Du hättest dort gar nicht gefallen"—und lauter solche Dinge. Ich war außer mir, wollte mir erst den Brief v. Hofmeister zeigen lassen—es hätte aber die Sache nur aufgerührt. Darum schrieb ich nur wenige kalte Zeilen an Cranz, die er verstehen wird, und legte die 100 Th. bei, die er Dir gegeben. Kömmst Du nun nach Hamburg, so wird Cranz wahrscheinlich schon auf der Reise hieher sein. Dann gehe zu seiner Frau und sag' ihr in aller Ruhe, aber mit allem Stolz, dessen Du fähig bist, Deine und meine Meinung. Ist Cranz aber noch in Hamburg bei Deiner Ankunft, so laß Mad. Cranz zu Dir kommen u. sag ihr, daß Du nach solchen unfreundschaftlichem gemeinen Benehmen ihres Mannes nichts weiter mit ihm zu thun haben wolltest—Jedenfalls aber gib in Hamburg eine Soirée—der Härtel'sche Flügel hat Dir geschadet—Du gabst Dir alle Mühe und hast gut und schön gespielt—aber Furore konntest Du auf diesem Flügel nicht machen—und erdenklichen Sorgfalt und Geistesstärke, damit so ein Geschwätz zu Schande gemacht wird. Deine Künstlerehre ist mir so lieb wie Deine Frauenehre, und ich weiß man kann sich allen Dingen auf Dich verlassen.

incurred *debts* in Hamburg—you didn't like it there at all"—and just that sort of thing. I was beside myself, I wanted to be allowed to see the letter from Hofmeister first—but that would only have agitated matters. Therefore, I wrote only a few cold lines to Cranz, which he will understand, and enclosed the 100 thalers that he gave you. If you come to Hamburg now, Cranz will presumably already be on his journey here. Then go to his wife and tell her calmly, but with all the pride of which you are capable, your and my opinion. But if Cranz is still in Hamburg by your arrival, then let Mad.[ame] Cranz come to you and tell her that you want nothing more to do with her husband after his unfriendly, vulgar behavior—But in any case, give a soiree in Hamburg and give it with considerable care and strength of *Geist* so as to make such gossip a disgrace. The Härtel's grand piano damaged you—you gave every effort and played well and beautifully—but you could not make a furor on that piano. Your honor as an artist is to me as dear as your honor as a wife, and I know one can rely on you in all things.

October 1842

Robert Schumann, Diary entry, *Ehetagebücher*, 154.

Klara sieht schönsten Kraft bin und die Jugend noch nützen muß. Nur so geht es in Künstlerehen; es kann nicht Alles beieinander sein, und die Hauptsache ist doch immer das übrige Glück und recht glücklich sind wir gewiß, daß wir uns besitzen, und verstehen, so gut verstehen und lieben von ganzem Herzen.

Clara sees that I [have] the most beautiful strength and must still make use of my youth. This is the only way in artists' marriages; it cannot be everything together, and the main thing is always the remaining happiness, and we are certainly very happy that we have each other and understand each other so well and love one another with all our hearts.

23 January 1845

Clara Schumann, Diary entry,

Reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. II: 131.

Ich kann Robert nicht genug danken für seine Geduld mit mir und freue mich doppelt, wenn mir etwas gelingt, das er dann doch als sein Werk ansehen muß. Er selbst geriet aber auch in ein Fugenpassion, und bei ihm sprudelt es von schönen Themen, deren ich bis jeßt noch nicht eines finden konnte.

I cannot thank Robert enough for his patience with me and it makes me doubly happy when I succeed in something that he must see it as his work after all. But he got himself into a fugue passion and he is bubbling over with beautiful themes, of which I have not been able to find [even] one.

May 1847

Clara Schumann, Diary entry,

Reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. II: 125.

Was wird aus meiner Arbeit?! Doch Robert sagt: „Kinder sind Segen“, und er hat recht, denn ohne Kinder ist ja auch kein Glück, und so habe ich mir denn vorgenommen, mit möglichst heiterm Gemüt der nächsten schweren Zeit wieder ins Auge zu sehen. Ob es immer gehen wird, das weiß ich nicht.

What will become of my work?! But Robert says: “Children are blessings,” and he is right, because without children there is also indeed no happiness, and so I intend to face the difficult near future with as cheerful a disposition as possible. Whether it will always work, I don’t know.

5 February 1860

Clara Schumann, Letter to Johannes Brahms,

Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853 – 1896, vol. II: 177.

...Ich möchte Dir Interessantes von mir mittheilen können, doch kennst Du ja mein Leben, von außen mag es wohl Manchem ein glückliches erscheinen, innen aber ist's unsäglich traurig oft.

... I would like to be able to impart something interesting about myself, but you surely know my life, from the outside it may seem happy to some, but inside it is often unspeakably sad.

5 February 1860

Clara Schumann, Diary entry,

Reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. III: 70.

... Die Nachricht des Todes der Schröder Devrient hat mich aufs tiefste ergriffen. ... Ich muß sie aber glücklich preisen, daß sie geendet, denn sie überlebte sich und konnte das nicht ertragen. Möchte mir doch der Himmel solches Leid ersparen, wie unsäglich unglücklich würde es mich machen, nicht mehr in voller Kraft

...I was deeply moved by the news of Schröder-Devrient's death ... but I must [imagine] she happily exalted in her end because she had outlived herself and could not abide it. If only heaven would spare me such suffering/sorrows; how unspeakably unhappy it would make me to no longer be able to work artistically at full strength.

(5 February 1860, continued)

künstlerisch wirken zu können. Darum nur ja nicht alt werden! Nur Einer, um ich alt zu werden hätte wünschen können; Ihm, dem Theuersten hingegeben, hätte ich dem künstlerischen Wirken nach außen entsagen können; in dem Verständniß seiner Kunst, seines ganzen Wesens hätte ich vollkommen mein Herz ausgefüllt gefühlt. Doch er lebt ja nicht mehr! Die Leute sagen mir so oft, ich hätte ja meine Kinder! Das ist wahr, und ich fühle gewiß so stark, als irgend eine Mutter, das Band, das mich für jetzt noch an die Erde fesselt, aber nur so lange bis sie erzogen, ohne mich in der Welt bestehen können, denn alsdann geht Jedes seinen Weg, und ich stehe im späteren Alter allein! Das ertrage ich aber nicht, ich bedarf zu sehr der Liebe, die man im täglichen Verkehr so wohlthuend empfindet – mit ihr schwände auch meine Lebenskraft!

Therefore, just never grow old! I could have wished to grow old for the sake of only one; in sacrifice to him, my dearest, I could have renounced public artistic work; in the understanding of his art, his entire being, I would have felt my completely filled. But he lives no more! People so often tell me: I have my children! That holds true, and I surely feel as strongly as any mother, the bond that for now still shackles me to the earth, but only so long until they can be brought up without me existing in the world, because then each goes their own way, and I stand alone in old age! But I [can]not endure that, I need too much the love, which one experiences in daily interactions—if it [love] were to disappear so also would my lifeforce!

10 October 1882

Clara Schumann, Letter to *La Mara* regarding Liszt's article in the *Gartenlaube*,
Reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*, vol. II: 434.

Sie betreffen ganz besonders meinen Vater, der, leider weil er die Kunst ernst nahm und mich zu ernster Ausübung derselben erzog, in ein gänzlich falsches Licht der Welt gegenüber kam. Die Menschen haben ja keinen Begriff, wie, um es in der Kunst zu etwas Bedeutendem zu bringen, die ganze Erziehung, der ganze Lebenslauf ein anderer sein muß, als in gewöhnlichen Verhältnissen. Mein Vater hatte bei der künstlerischen Ausbildung vor Allem auch die körperliche im Auge, ich studierte nie mehr als in meinen Kinderjahren 2 und in späteren Jahren 3 Stunden täglich, mußte aber auch täglich mit ihm ebenso viele Stunden spazieren gehen, um meine Nerven zu kräftigen; ferner nahm er mich, so lange ich unerwachsen war, stets um 10 Uhr aus allen Gesellschaften nach Haus,

They [the inaccuracies] particularly concern my father, who, unfortunately, because he took art seriously and brought me up to practice it seriously, came into a completely wrong light in the world. After all, people have no concept of how, in order to get something meaningful in art, the whole education, the whole course of life must be different than in normal circumstances. I never studied more than two hours a day in my childhood and three hours a day in my later years, but I also had to go for walks with him for as many hours a day to strengthen my nerves. Furthermore, as long as I was an adult, he always took me home at 10 o'clock from all events, because he considered it necessary for me to rest before midnight. He didn't let me go to balls because he said that I needed my

(10 October 1882, continued)

weil er die Ruhe vor Mitternacht für mich nötig erachtete. Auf Bälle ließ er mich nicht, weil er sagte, ich brauche meine Kräfte nöthiger als zum Tanzen, dafür ließ er mich aber stets in gute Opern gehen, außerdem hatte ich schon in frühester Jugend den Verkehr mit den ausgezeichnetsten Künstlern. Das waren meine Kinderfreuden, freilich nicht mit Puppen, die ich aber auch nie entbehrt. Die Leute, die von solch ernster Erziehung keinen Begriff haben, legten Alles als Grausamkeit aus und hielten meine Leistungen, die wohl über das kindliche Alter hinausgehen mochten, nicht für möglich, ohne daß ich Tag und Nacht studiert haben müsse, während es gerade hauptsächlich das pädagogische Genie meines Vaters war, das bei mäßigem Studium durch die vernünftigste Pflege auch des Geistes und Gemüthes mich so weit brachte. Zu meinem Schmerze muß ich es sagen, daß mein Vater nie erkannt worden ist, wie er es verdiente! Ich danke ihm Zeit meines Lebens für alle die sogenannten Grausamkeiten. Wie hätte ich der Ausübung der Kunst bei all den schweren Schicksalen, die mir auf erlegt waren, wohl sofort leben können, wenn durch meines Vaters Sorge meine Konstitution nicht eine so gesunde und kräftige gewesen wäre? Wie falsch ist es also, wenn man Ihnen sagte, man habe mich so lange am Klavier festgehalten, als meine physischen Kräfte es ausgehalten haben. Ferner sagt Liszt: trotz des vielen Spielens sei mir doch kein Überdruß erwachsen; darauf kann ich nur erwidern, daß in meiner freien Zeit ich stundenlang aus eigenem Antriebe in Opern, Klavierauszügen und anderer Musik geschwärmt habe, das kann man nicht, wenn man übermüdet ist.

strength more than I needed to dance, but in return he always let me go to good operas. Those were my childhood pleasures, certainly not dolls, but I never missed them. People who have no concept of such serious education interpreted everything as cruelty and did not consider my accomplishments (which may well have been beyond my childish age) possible without my having to study day and night. While, primarily, it was directly my father's pedagogical genius which, with moderate study and the most judicious cultivation of *Geist*⁵⁸¹ and feeling brought me so far. To my sorrow I must say that my father has never been recognized as he deserved. I thank him all my life for all the so-called cruelties. How would I have been able to practice this art amid all the hardships of heavy destinies that were imposed on me, if through my father's care my constitution was not made so healthy and vigorous? How false it is also when one tells you I was kept at the piano for as long as my physical powers [could] endure it. Furthermore, Liszt says, in spite of so much playing, it never become tedious for me; to this I can only respond that of my own volition I spent my free time rhapsodizing on operas, piano excerpts, and other music, which one cannot do when one is overtired.

⁵⁸¹ *Geist* is an extraordinarily difficult word to translate into English. It conveys a constellation of ineffable qualities of mind, spirit, and genius. For a thorough explanation, see Mark Evan Bonds, *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 148, 150.

16 September 1866

Clara Schumann, Diary entry,

Reproduced in Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, vol. III: 195.

Herr Allgeyer, ein lieber, äußerst gebildeter Mensch, dessen Gesinnungstücht sowie das feine Empfindungsvermögen aus jedem Worte spricht [...]	Mr. Allgeyer [is] a dear, highly educated man, whose every word bespeaks his stalwart disposition and delicate sensibility [...]
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APPENDIX B

SECONDARY SOURCES: GERMAN TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

EXCERPTS FROM GERMAN TEXTS

ORIGINAL TRANSLATIONS

Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben*

VOL. I: V.

Trotzdem ich seit Kinderjahren wiederholt in meinem Eltern hause das Glück genossen, den wunderbaren Zauber, den die Persönlichkeit Clara Schumanns auf alle ausübte, die sie im Leben kannten, wochenlang im täglichen Verkehr zu erfahren, und obwohl daher die Aufgabe, die mir hier winkte, vom künstlerischen, wie vom künstlerischen, wie vom psychologischen Standpunkt ungemein verlockend war glaubte ich doch damals nach reiflicher Überlegung eine ablehnende Antwort erteilen zu müssen, da ich mich musikalisch-technisch den besonderen Anforderungen, die die Biographie einer ausübenden Künstlerin stellt, nicht gewachsen fühlte.

Although, since my childhood, I have repeatedly enjoyed the good fortune of experiencing in daily intercourse for weeks on end the wonderful charm that Clara Schumann's personality exerted on all who knew her in life, and although, therefore, the task that beckoned me here was immensely tempting, both from an artistic and a psychological point of view, after careful consideration, I thought I would have to give a negative answer, since I did not feel up to the special musical-technical demands of the biography of a performing artist.

VOL. I: VII.

Auf der ersten Seite des ersten Bandes stehen von Friedrich Wiecks Hand die Worte „Mein Tagebuch, angefangen von meinem Vater, den 7. Mai 1827, und fortzusetzen von Clara Josephine Wieck,“ Freilich, so wie die ersten Bände, auch wenn von Clara fast immer in der ersten Person gesprochen wird, von Friedrich Wiecks Hand geschrieben sind, so ist auch während des größten Teiles ihrer Mädchenjahre, wo Clara nun teils mit dem Vater ab wechselnd, teils ausschließlich die Feder führt, dies Tagebuch wesentlich das Spiegelbild der Anschauungen und Meinungen, nicht der Tochter, sondern des Vaters.

On the first page of the first volume in Friedrich Wieck's hand, the words: "My diary, began by my father, the 7th of May 1827, and to be continued by Clara Josephine Wieck. However, although Clara is almost always spoken of in the first person, the first volumes are written by Friedrich's hand; so too during the greater part of her girlhood, where Clara writes—sometimes alternating with her father, and other times alone—this diary is essentially the reflection of the views and opinions, not of the daughter, but of her father.

Vol. I: VII – VIII.

Es war aber nicht nur in dem Charakter dieses Quellenmaterials, sondern auch in der übereinstimmenden Auffassung aller Nächst beteiligten von dem, was ein Lebensbild Clara Schumanns an erster Stelle zu leisten habe, begründet, daß namentlich auch in dem vorliegenden ersten Teil bei der Darstellung das Hauptgewicht auf die Veranschaulichung des Innenlebens dieser Frau gelegt wurde, weil nur die völlige Erschließung der Eigenschaften ihres Herzens und Charakters die in ihrer Art einzige, mit nichts zu vergleichende Stellung erklärt, die Clara Schumann mehr als zwei Menschen alter hindurch im deutschen Kunstleben des verflorenen Jahrhunderts wie eine Königin eingenommen hat.

However, it was not only due to the character of this source material, but also to the unanimous opinion of all those closely involved as to what a portrait of Clara Schumann's life should accomplish in the first place, that in this first part, too, the main emphasis was placed on illustrating the inner life of this woman, because only the complete development of the qualities of her heart and character explains the unique position that Clara Schumann occupied as a queen in the German artistic life for more than two centuries.

Vol. I: VIII.

In welcher Eigenschaft und in welchem Verhältnis zur Außen Welt Clara Schumann uns in ihren Korrespondenzen entgegentritt, ob als Tochter, Schwester oder Freundin, Braut, Gattin oder Mutter, Künstlerin, Kollegin oder Lehrerin, immer und überall ist es die durch und durch lautere Menschenseele mit der unergründlichen Tiefe eines gütigen Frauengemüts, die uns fesselt und rührt. Diese Poesie des Herzens, wie man es nennen möchte, die aus ihrem ganzen Wesen spricht, war es nun auch, die aus ihrer Kunst in der verklärten Sprache des Klangs, zur Seele, zum Gemüt, zum Herzen empfänglicher Menschen redete. Selbstverständlich wird an gesichts der hervorragenden Stellung, die Clara Schumann im Musikleben unserer Zeit einnahm, die Künstlerin immer zuerst in Betracht kommen. Aber ganz und im Wahrheit ist die Aufgabe des Biographen nur gelöst, wenn es ihm dabei gelang, die Gestalt der großen Künstlerin aus ihrem

In whatever capacity and in whatever relationship to the outside world Clara Schumann confronts us in her correspondence, whether as daughter, sister or friend, bride, wife or mother, artist, colleague or teacher, it is always and everywhere the thoroughly pure human soul with the unfathomable depth of a gracious woman's spirit that captivates and moves us. This poetry of the heart, as one would like to call it, which speaks from her whole being, was now also speaking from her art in the transfigured language of sound, to the soul, to the mind, to the heart of receptive people. Of course, in view of the outstanding position Clara Schumann occupied in the musical life of our time, the artist will always be considered first. But the task of the biographer is solved only if he succeeds in explaining the figure of the great artist from her innermost being, from the totality of her personality, and at the same time in presenting her in her exemplary

(Vol. I: VIII, continued)

innersten Wesen, aus der Totalität der Persönlichkeit zu erklären, und sie zugleich in ihrer vorbildlichen Bedeutung, als Beispiel hoher, reiner und echter Weiblichkeit hinzustellen.

significance as an example of high, pure and genuine femininity.

Vol. I: 4 – 5.

Die musikalische Begabung dankte Clara wohl mindestens ebenso sehr der Mutter wie dem Vater. Denn Marianne Tromlitz, die aus Wiecks Schülerin dessen Frau geworden war, stammte nicht nur aus einer sehr musikalischen Familie—ihr Großvater war der berühmte Flötenspieler, Flötenkomponist und -Fabrikant Johann Georg Tromlitz—sondern war auch selbst, wie sie sowohl während ihrer Ehe mit Wieck wie nachmals als Frau Bargiel bewiesen, eine sehr tüchtige Klavierspielerin. Die musikalische Ausbildung aber sollte sie einzig und allein ihrem Vater zu danken haben. Friedrich Wieck, einer der hervorragendsten Klavier- und Gesangs Pädagogen Deutschlands, den nachmals die ausgezeichnetsten Musiker der Zeit, unter ihnen Robert Schumann und Hans von Bülow, dankbar als ihren Lehrer und Meister verehrten, hatte schon vor Claras Geburt bei sich beschlossen, daß das erwartete Kind, wenn es ein Mädchen wäre, eine große Künstlerin werden solle. Und in diesem Sinne hatte er auch dem Ankömmling, der durch sein Erscheinen die erste Erwartung erfüllte, mit voller Absicht als vordeutend den Namen Clara, die Strahlende, die Berühmte, gegeben.

For her musical talent, Clara arguably had her mother to thank at least as much as her father. Because Marianne Tromlitz, who was Wieck's student [before] becoming his wife. She not only originated from a very musical family—her grandfather was the famous flautist, composers for flute, and flute manufacturer Johann Georg Tromlitz—but she also proved herself to be a very capable pianist, both during her marriage to Wieck and subsequently as Mrs. Bargiel. For her musical training, however, she [Clara] ought to have thanked her father exclusively. Friedrich Wieck—one of the preeminent piano and vocal pedagogues in Germany, whom subsequently the most distinguished musicians of the time (including Robert Schumann and Hans von Bülow) gratefully revered as their teacher and master—had already before Clara's birth that the expected child, if a girl, should become a great artist. And in this vein, he gave the newcomer, who by her appearance had fulfilled his first expectation, the name Clara—the brilliant one, the famous one—as a prefiguration.

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Noch trat sie vor die Öffentlichkeit unter seinem Namen, als sein Geschöpf, innerlich aber gehörte sie bereits mit Leib und Seele dem Manne, dessen Namen zu verunglimpfen ihr Vater nicht müde ward.

Still, she appeared before the public under his name, as his creation, but inwardly she already belonged body and soul to the man/husband whose name her father never tired of denigrating. And while she

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Und während sie als Friedrich Wiecks Tochter die höchsten Triumphe feierte, fühlte sie sich nur als Robert Schumanns Braut. Aber in demselben Augenblick war sie sich deutlich bewußt, was sie an Dank jenem schuldete, der sie zu dem gemacht, was sie war, zu der Künstlerin, die jetzt den Wettkampf mit den Größten im freudigen Bewußtsein sicheren Könnens und eigenen Wertes, das auch vorübergehende Anwandlungen des Kleinmuts nicht zu erschüttern vermochten, aufnahm und siegreich durchführte.

celebrated the highest triumphs as Friedrich Wieck's daughter, she only felt like Robert Schumann's bride/betrothed. But at the same instant she was clearly conscious that she owed thanks to the one who made her what she was—an artist/performer who now victoriously took up and carried out the competition with the greatest of joyful consciousness of secure ability and her own worth, which even passing impulses of faint-heartedness could not shake.

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[...] daß er in diesem Augenblick ostensibel als Gönner, Beschützer und schwärmerischer Bewunderer ihrer Rivalin aufzutreten für gut fand, in der offenkundigen Absicht, Clara dadurch zu kränken und zu schaden. In den Konzerten erschien er an ihrer Seite, machte ihr „förmlich zärtlich“ vor den Augen des Publikums den Hof, wandte ihr die Noten und begleitete ihre Leistungen mit einem komisch wirkenden, verzückten Lächeln. Genug, er trug ein Benehmen zur Schau, das, wie Reuter entrüstet an Clara schrieb, „ebenso lächerlich, als für das Gefühl derer, die es mit ansahen, verletzend erschien.“

[...] at that moment [Friedrich] ostensibly saw it fit to appear as a patron, protector and rapturous admirer of her [Clara's] rival [Marie Pleyel], with the obvious intention of thereby offending and harming Clara. In the concerts he appeared at her [Pleyel's] side, paid her "punctilious affections" in front of the audience, turned her pages and attending her performances with a comically enraptured smile. He displayed enough [such] behavior that, as Reuter indignantly wrote to Clara, "[it] seemed as ridiculous as it was hurtful to the feelings of those who witnessed it."

Vol. II: 4 – 6.

Es erscheint ja zunächst selbstverständlich, daß bei einer Abwägung der ins Spiel kommenden und ihr Recht verlangenden künstlerischen Begabungen, dem Schaffenden, in diesem Fall also dem Mann, unbedingt der Vorzug vor dem nur nachschaffenden, reproduzierenden Künstler—hier der Frau—eingeräumt wird. Denn als Clara Wieck Robert Schumann ihre Hand reichte, hatte für den weiten Kreis der musikalisch Gebildeten zweifellos ihr Name einen helleren und volleren Klang in der

It certainly seems self-evident at first that when weighing the artistic talents that come into play and [each] demand their due, the creator, in this case the man, would be granted absolute preference over the merely re-creative, reproducing artist—here the wife. For, when Clara Wieck gave her hand to Robert Schumann, for the wide circle of musical connoisseurs, her name unquestionably was more famous [had a brighter and fuller sound] in public than her husband's. Despite her

Öffentlichkeit, als der ihres Mannes. Sie stand, so schien es damals wenigstens, trotz ihrer Jugend auf der Höhe ihrer Kunst, und das Verschwinden dieser jungfräulichen, priesterlichen Erscheinung, die wie ein aus reinerer Atmosphäre in ruhiger, stiller Schönheit Licht verbreitendes Gestirn Unzähligen die Freude am eigenen Dasein erhöht und den Glauben an reines selbstloses Künstlertum geweckt und gestärkt hatte, wurde allgemein als ein nicht zu ersetzender Verlust schmerzlich empfunden. Denn nur die wenigsten hatten eine Ahnung davon, daß dieser zeitweilige Verlust in Wirklichkeit für die Kunst und die Künstlerin den höchsten Gewinn bedeutete. Hebbel hat einmal gesagt, Jeder der zur Selbsterkenntnis und zum sicheren Gebrauch seiner Kräfte gelangen will, muß „in einem anderen Großen erst einmal völlig auf und untergehen . . . Ein Prophet tauft den zweiten. Und wem diese Feuertaufe das Haar sengt, der war nicht berufen.“ Aber es ist eben eine Feuertaufe, und dem Werdenden ist in diesen Augenblicken nicht nur willige Hingabe, sondern auch unser schütterlicher Mut und festes Selbstvertrauen dreifach nötig, soll nicht der Lebenswecker zum Zerstörer werden. Und in dieser Beziehung ward Claras Kraft auf die höchste Probe gestellt. Sie wußte ganz genau und erfuhr es täglich im Zusammenleben mit Schumann neu, daß er schon jetzt, gerade jetzt, zum Größten herangereift war, daß er nicht nur für seine Lebensgefährtin, sondern auch für die Künstlerin der Meister war, dem sich hinzugeben und in dem aufzugehen höchste Pflicht und höchstes Glück zugleich war; mochte auch die Welt, bis in den nächsten Freundeskreis hinein, geneigt sein, die Offenbarungen seiner spröden Eigenart noch als Versuche eines Ringenden, Kämpfenden aufzufassen, dem die harmonisch abgeklärte Künstlerschaft der Frau in ihrer

youth, she stood at the height of her art (at least it seemed so at the time), and the disappearance of this virginal, priestly apparition, who—like a celestial body radiating light in serene, quiet beauty from a purer atmosphere—had increased the joy of [one’s own] existence for multitudes and had awakened and fortified the belief in pure, selfless artistry, was sorely felt by all to be an irreplaceable loss. For only very few people had any idea of it that this temporary loss, in reality, represented the highest benefit for art and the artist. Hebbel once said, whosoever wants to obtain self-knowledge and the sure/safe use of his powers, must, “first of all, be completely absorbed and submerged in another’s greatness... One prophet baptizes another. And [he] whose hair is singed in this baptism of fire, was not summoned.” But a baptism of fire is exactly what it is, and in these moments the emergent/nascent one [needs] not only willing devotion, but also unshakeable courage and solid self-confidence three times over, if the awakener of life is not to become the destroyer. And in this regard Clara’s strength was put to the highest test. She knew very well and experienced anew every day in living with [Robert] Schumann, that he already now, even now, was maturing to greatness, that he was master of [Clara] not only [as] the life’s companion but also the artist; sacrificing and merging herself [with him] was both [her] highest duty and highest happiness; the world, even inside their nearest circle of friends, might be inclined to see the revelation of his brittle character as the attempts of the struggling, fighting man to be placed alongside the harmoniously serene artistry of his wife in her prime and inner unity within the limits of her talent, as at least a coequal element. But even if she had already buried all of her ambitions

(Vol. II: 4 – 6.)

Reife und inneren Geschlossenheit als ein, in den Grenzen ihrer Begabung, ebenbürtiges Element mindestens an die Seite zu stellen sei. Aber, wenn sie auch schon in den letzten Jahren ihres Brautstandes aus dieser klaren persönlichen Überzeugung heraus allen Ehrgeiz, als Schaffende neben ihm etwas Eigenes noch zu leisten, begraben hatte, so war doch in ihrer bedingungslosen Hingabe an ihn ein Punkt, bei dem instinktiv von Anfang an ihr Künstlergewissen ihr Halt gebot: Die Ausübung ihrer Kunst.

out of this clear personal conviction to still achieve something of her own as a creator next to him in the final years of her bridal state, there was one point in her unconditional devotion to him in which her artistic conscience demanded her support: the practice of her art.

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Mit ihm und durch ihn wuchs sie erst in das tiefere Verständnis der Beethoven'schen Orchesterwerke und vor allem auch Bachs hinein.

With him and through him she first grew in a deeper understanding of Beethoven's orchestral works and also for all of Bach's [music].

Vol II: 52 – 53.

Für sie selbst aber bedeutete diese neue Schaffensphase ihres Mannes auch wieder einen bedeutsamen Abschnitt in ihrer eigenen künstlerischen Durchbildung, weil ihr dadurch das Verständnis für Quartettmusik überhaupt eigentlich erst erschlossen wurde: [...] "Jetzt erst fange ich an, Gefallen an Quartettmusik zu finden, denn bis jetzt muß ich offen bekennen, langweilte mich diese Musik meistens, ich konnte das Schöne nicht herausfinden." Auch hier also wieder die Erfahrung, daß gerade die Berührung und Verschmelzung mit dem stärkeren schöpferischen Genius ihres Mannes für sie nicht nur kein Hemmnis oder eine Unterdrückung ihrer Eigenart bedeutete, sondern wie sie gerade auf dem Wege der innigsten geistigen Erfassung des Einen sich erst durcharbeiten konnte und mußte zur tiefsten Erfassung künstlerischer Arbeit im höchsten Sinne überhaupt.

For herself, however, this new creative phase of her husband's also represented a significant chapter in her own artistic structural training since through this [her husband's creative phase] she actually first developed a true understanding of quartet/chamber music: "I am only now beginning to enjoy chamber music, because until now, I must frankly confess, this music usually bored me, I could not discover the beauty." So here yet again, [Clara's] experience of direct contact with and merging into the stronger creative genius of her husband, for her, not only represented no hindrance or suppression of her individuality; rather, along the way to an intimate spiritual comprehension of [Robert's genius], first she could and must work through to the deepest grasp of artistic work in the highest sense generally.

Auch Clara war in diesem Zeitraum nicht müßig gewesen, trotzdem die Sorge um Robert und die wachsenden Pflichten als Hausfrau und Mutter – zwei Wochenbetten⁵⁸², im März 1845 und im Februar 1846! – ihr für die künstlerische Arbeit den Kreis immer enger und enger zogen und auch das Einleben in die neuen Verhältnisse Störung und Unruhe aller Art brachte. Aber diese Hemmungen wurden von ihr vielleicht jetzt weniger stark empfunden als in früheren Jahren, weil ihre künstlerischen Bestrebungen mehr denn je in diesem Zeitraum durch Roberts schöpferische Tätigkeit Richtung und Ziel erhielten und sie neben der fortschreitenden Vertiefung ihrer musikalischen Bildung vor allem in der Erschließung von Roberts Genius für die Außenwelt ihre Hauptaufgabe erblickte und den größten Teil ihrer künstlerischen Kraft und Arbeit bei der Wieder-gabe seiner Werke einsetzen konnte. Damit verschwand ganz von selbst mehr und mehr jener Zwiespalt zwischen ihren Pflichten gegen sich selbst und ihren Mann, der ihr und ihm in den ersten Jahren so manche schwere Stunde bereitet hatte. Und dieses Dienen, dieses Einordnen und Unterordnen, das eine kleinere Natur hätte zerbrechen können, ward ihr zum Heile, „es riß sie nach oben.“ Immer mehr verloren, je mehr sie sich mit Robert in kontrapunktische Studien versenkte und an seiner Hand sich durch die graue Theorie von Cherubinis Theorie des Kontrapunktes und der Fuge durcharbeitete und gleichzeitig in die praktischen Aufgaben, die ihr aus neuem Schaffen erwachsen, vertiefte, die sogenannten interessanten Werke für sie den Reiz, gingen ihr die Augen auf für die strenge Erhabenheit Bachs und für die dämonische Tiefe Beethovens.

Clara had not been idle in this period either, despite her concern for Robert and her growing obligations as housewife and mother—recovering from two births in March 1845 and in February 1846! —the circle for her artistic work grew ever narrower and narrower and also the settling in the new circumstances brought disruption and unrest of all kinds. But these obstacles were perhaps now felt less strongly than in earlier years, because her artistic aspirations, more than ever in this period, took their direction and purpose from Robert’s creative activity and alongside the progressive deepening of her musical *Bildung*, she saw her primary task in making Robert’s genius accessible to the outside world and could employ the greater part of her artistic power and work in the reproduction of his works. With this, more and more of the rift between her obligations to herself and [those to] her husband, which had given her and him many a difficult hour in the early years, entirely disappeared by itself. And this service, this arrangement and subordination, which could have broken a lesser nature, became her salvation, “it dragged her upwards.” The more she immersed herself in contrapuntal studies with Robert, and by his hand, worked through the grey theory of Cherubini’s *Treatise on Counterpoint and Fugue* and at the same time, absorbed in the practical tasks, which arose from her new work, the purportedly interesting works, for her, lost their charm more and more; her eyes were opened to the austere sublimity of Bach and the demonic depth of Beethoven.

⁵⁸² *Wochenbetten*: Literally translates as “bed weeks”; the term refers to a post-childbirth recovery period (also called *puerperium*), lasting approximately six weeks.

Mehr denn je gewann dagegen ihr Leben nach innen und nach außen in den nächsten Monaten seine Farben und seinen Inhalt durch die Persönlichkeit und die Tätigkeit ihres Mannes. Für ihn arrangierte sie nach Beendigung der Arbeit an der C-Dur-Symphonie die Faust-Szenen in der Zeit vom 27. April bis 3. Mai. Für ihn begann sie Ende Mai als Geburtstagsgabe den ersten Satz eines Konzertinos in F-Moll zu arbeiten—eine Arbeit, die ihr sehr schwer wurde, für die sie sich aber nachher durch das Urteil Roberts, „dem manches daraus sehr wohl gefiel,“ schließlich belohnt sah. Die größte Freude an diesem Tage aber war doch, daß er zum erstenmal wieder seit 3 Jahren von dem Geburtstagskinde in voller Gesundheit gefeiert wurde. Und der verklärende Glanz, der mit dem Anblick seiner Schaffensfreude auf ihren Weg fiel, strahlte selbst versöhnend hinein in die Schatten des Todes, durch die sie bald darauf mit ihm wandern mußte, als Ende Juni der kleine Emil von seinen Leiden erlöst wurde. Ihre eigne Kunst empfand sie in diesem Sommer, wohl zumeist infolge ihres körperlichen Zustandes, der zum erstenmal ihr wirkliche Beschwerden bereitete, fast als eine Last. „Ich bin faul“, schreibt sie Ende Juli, „kann aber nicht anders, denn ich bin auch immer unwohl und schrecklich matt. Ach könnte ich nur arbeiten, das ist mein einziger Kummer.“ Schumann dagegen schien in der Tat, nachdem er noch während der Reise in Wien und in Prag wiederholt unter den Nachwehen der Krankheit gelitten, auf einmal dem Leben wiedergegeben, von Schöpferfreude durchglüht und belebt.

In the next few months, more than ever, however, her life gained its color and substance, both internally and externally, through her husband's personality and activity. For him, upon completion of her work on the C major symphony, she arranged the Faust scenes in the time from April 27th to May 3rd. For him, at the end of May, she began working on the first movement of a concertino in F minor as a birthday present—a work that became very difficult for her, but for which she was afterwards rewarded through the verdict of Robert, “who liked some of it very much.” The greatest joy on this day, however, was that for the first time in 3 years, the birthday boy celebrated in full health. And the transfiguring glow that fell on her path with the sight of his creative joy shone reconciliatorily even into the shadows of death, through which she had to wonder with him soon afterwards when, at the end of June, little Emil was released from his suffering. That summer, she felt her own art almost as a burden, probably mostly due to her physical condition, which for the first time caused her real grievance/discomfort. “I am lazy,” she writes at the end of July, “but I cannot be otherwise, because I am also always unwell and terribly weak. Oh, if only I could work, that is my only sorrow.” [Robert] Schumann, on the other hand—[who] after repeatedly suffered the aftermath of illness during the journey to Vienna and Prague—suddenly seemed to be restored to life, animated and glowing with the joy of creation.

**Eva Rieger, "Vom „genuin Weiblichen“ zur „Geschlechter-Differenz“
207.**

Während die journalistische Szene auf die Studie Weissweilers mit teilweise euphorischen Lobpreisungen reagierte, kritisierten wissenschaftlich orientierte Rezensenten mehrheitlich diese Studie übergangen, so als wäre sie nicht geschrieben worden.

While the journalistic scene reacted to Weissweiler's study with somewhat euphoric praise, scholarly reviewers mostly criticized this study by passing it over, as if it had not been written.

208.

Obwohl ihre Studie auf breit angelegten Recherchen beruht, entwertet sie sie durch feuilletonistische Aussagen wie: "Friedrich Wieck kochte vor Wut, was aber nichts Besonderes war, da er seit dem Eintritt von Claras Pubertät durchgängig schlechte Laune hatte," oder: "Clara sah in der Ehe plötzlich die einzige Rettung, sich von dem Zwang, gegen Liszt bestehen zu müssen, zu befreien." Wieck ist ein vulgärer Despot, Robert Schumann ein homosexuell veranlagter, mit dem falschen Beruf behafteter, unglücklich verheirateter Ehemann, Clara eine ungebildete, ehrgeizige Gattin, die Roberts Werke ungern spielt, ihn und ihre Kinder grob vernachlässigt und Robert für wahnsinnig erklären läßt, obwohl er angeblich gesund ist. Obwohl Robert und Clara zu den bedeutendsten Künstler(inne)n des 19. Jahrhunderts zählen, behauptet sie: "Die Ehe zerstörte sein Genie und ihre Karriere." Weissweilers Tendenz, Dinge nach Gutdünken zu interpretieren, führt zu un-nachprüfbar-baren Behauptungen. Ein Bei-spiel: sie be-zeichnet ein von Clara komponiertes Lied als "erschütternd autobio-graphisch," behauptet jedoch, daß Clara Dinge im Tage-buch vortäuschte. Damit behält sie sich die Entscheidung vor, wann ein produziertes Kunstwerk und wann eine Tagebucheintragung das reale Leben abbilden; es fehlen nachvollziehbare, sich aus den Zusammenhängen ergebende Erklärungsansätze.

Although her study is based on broad research, she devalues it with feuilletonistic statements such as: "Friedrich Wieck was seething with rage, but this was nothing special, since he had been in a consistently bad mood since the onset of Clara's puberty," or: "Clara suddenly saw marriage as the only salvation to free herself from the compulsion to stand up to Liszt." Wieck is a vulgar despot, Robert Schumann a homosexually inclined, unhappily married husband afflicted with the wrong profession, Clara an uneducated, ambitious wife who plays Robert's works unwillingly, grossly neglects him and their children, and has Robert declared insane, although he is supposedly sane. Although Robert and Clara were among the most important artists of the 19th century, she claims: "The marriage destroyed his genius and her career. Weissweiler's tendency to interpret things as she sees fit leads to unverifiable assertions. An example: she describes a song composed by Clara as "shockingly autobiographical," but claims that Clara was faking things in the diary. Thus, she reserves the right to decide when a produced work of art and when a diary entry represent real life; there is a lack of comprehensible explanations resulting from the contexts.

208 – 209.

Nancy Reich, die von wissenschaftlicher Seite als „doyenne der Clara-Schumann-Forschung“ gefeiert wurde, stellt hingegen einen ausgewogenen chronologischen Lebensabriß dar, dem sie vier systematisch angeordnete Schwerpunkte hinzufügt: Claras Verhältnis zu ihrem Freundeskreis, ihr kompositorisches Schaffen, ihre Konzert- und Lehrtätigkeit. Sie unterscheidet zwischen den historischen Recherchen, die sie stets mit Zitaten und Literaturangaben belegt, und ihren oft psychoanalytisch unterfütterten und logisch nachvollziehbaren subjektiven Bewertungen. Claras Leben erscheint insgesamt geradlinig und geglättet. Reichs faktenreiche Untersuchung ist durchaus feministisch inspiriert (z.B. da, wo sie Claras Mutter umfassender würdigt, als bisher geschehen), geht jedoch von einem eigeengten Verständnis dessen aus, was feministische Forschung zu leisten imstande ist. So schreibt sie: „Auf der Suche nach Frauen von historischer Bedeutung hat sich auch die Frauenforschung mit Clara Schumann beschäftigt. Es bleibt jedoch eine Tatsache, daß sie keine Feministin im modernen Sinne war.“ Damit wird den Feministinnen implizit unterstellt, sie suchten nach Frauenleben und –wirken in der Vergangenheit, um sie modellhaft als Vorbilder benutzen zu können.

Nancy Reich, who has been hailed by scholars as the "doyenne of Clara Schumann research", presents a well-balanced chronological outline of her life, to which she adds four systematically arranged focal points: Clara's relationship with her circle of friends, her compositional work, and her concert and teaching activities. She differentiates between the historical résumés, which she always substantiates with quotations and references, and her subjective evaluations, which are often psychoanalytically underpinned and logically comprehensible. Clara's life appears overall straightforward and smoothed out. Reich's fact-filled study is certainly feminist-inspired (e.g., where she pays more comprehensive tribute to Clara's mother than has been done to date), but it proceeds from a narrow understanding of what feminist research is capable of achieving. Thus she writes: "In the search for women of historical significance, women's studies has also looked at Clara Schumann. The fact remains, however, that she was not a feminist in the modern sense." This implicitly assumes that feminists are looking for women's lives and work in the past in order to be able to use them as models.

209.

Während Reich bei aller Akribie zur Harmonisierung bestehender Widersprüche tendiert, demontiert Weissweiler das in der Vergangenheit häufig idealisierte Bild Clara Schumanns und arbeitet mit Unterstellungen. Wen Weissweiler Claras Charakter als den einer ausnahmslos harten, brutal-egoistischen Frau lustvoll ausspinnt, ein idealtypisches Bild also ins

While Reich, with all her meticulousness, tends to harmonize existing contradictions, Weissweiler dismantles the image of Clara Schumann that has often been idealized in the past and works with insinuations. When Weissweiler lustfully spins out Clara's character as that of an exceptionally hard, brutally egotistical woman, thus turning an ideal-typical image into the

(209, continued)

Gegenteil wendet, läßt sie damit das Pendel lediglich zurückschlagen, ohne sich vom üblichen methodischen Schema zu lösen und einen wirklich innovativen Ansatz zu bieten. Beide Ansätze sind damit einem polarisierten Modell verpflichtet, das je eine Schiefelage enthält.

opposite, she merely makes the pendulum swing back without breaking away from the usual methodical scheme and offering a truly innovative approach. Both approaches are thus committed to a polarized model, each of which contains a skew.

Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: eine Biographie*

18 – 19.

Aus Mademoiselle Tromlitz wird Madame Wieck, eine tüchtige, hübsche junge Ehefrau, die im Laden ihres Mannes die Pianos vorführt und auf dem Konzertpodium als seine beste Schülerin brilliert. Aber schon bald verbietet Friedrich Wieck Marianne die öffentlichen Auftritte. Die Leute könnten denken, er sei nicht in der Lage, seine Frau allein zu ernähren. Er braucht ein anderes Aushängeschild, das seinen Namen trägt, eine Tochter. Warum, fragt Marianne, die schon ein paar Wochen nach der Hochzeitsnacht schwanger ist, warum ausgerechnet eine Tochter? Weil Mädchen gefügiger sind, antwortet er. Auch Logier unterrichtet aus diesem Grund nur Mädchen. Aber die Kraft, fragt Marianne, haben nicht nur Männer die Kraft, dauernd Fortissimo zu spielen, wie zum Beispiel Moscheles, Hummel, Czerny oder Clementi? Kraft, sagt Friedrich Wieck, ist eine Frage des Systems. Bei täglicher Anwendung des Logier'schen Apparates, der siebenundvierzig Übungen aus Czernys »Kunst der Fingerfertigkeit« und viel Bewegung an frischer Luft wird sie sich bei meiner Tochter einstellen.

Mademoiselle Tromlitz becomes Madame Wieck, a capable, pretty young wife who shows off the pianos in her husband's store and shines on the concert platform as his best pupil. But soon Friedrich Wieck forbids Marianne to perform in public. People might think he is not able to support his wife alone. He needs another figurehead to bear his name, a daughter. Why, asks Marianne, who is already pregnant a few weeks after the wedding night, why a daughter of all things? Because girls are more docile, he answers. Logier also teaches only girls for this reason. But the strength, asks Marianne, don't only men have the strength to play fortissimo all the time, like Moscheles, Hummel, Czerny or Clementi? Strength, says Friedrich Wieck, is a question of systems. With daily use of Logier's apparatus, the forty-seven exercises from Czerny's "Art of Dexterity" and lots of exercise in the fresh air, it [strength] will come to my daughter.

75 – 76.

Als Clara im April nach Leipzig zurückkam und, vom Vater eingeschüchtert oder beeinflusst, so tat, als kenne sie Robert nicht mehr, wenn sie ihn im Theater, im Thomasgäßchen oder im "Kleinen

When Clara returned to Leipzig in April and, intimidated or influenced by her father, acted as if she no longer knew Robert when she happened to see him in the theater, in St. Thomas Alley or in the

(75 – 76, continued)

Kuchengarten" zufällig sah, und als auch Carl Banck, Wieck's neu erkorener Hausfreund, verbreitete, Clara sei ein Leichtsinziges Mädchen und dächte ihrer alten Liebe gar nicht mehr, wurde Robert zornig, tat wieder "von allem das Gegentheil," trank zuviel bayrisches Bier, polterte nachts die Treppe herauf, spielte Klavier, so daß alle aus dem Schlaf fuhren, beschimpfte das Zimmermädchen, machte Unordnung in seiner Stube, bis Frau Devrient, seine Wirtin, drohte, ihn hinauszuerwerfen, was er aber durch melancholische Bittbriefe zu verhindern wußte. Für seine Wäsche- und Herzensangelegenheiten machte er schon bald eine Ersatz-Clara zuständig, Therese nämlich, die drei- unddreißigjarige, wegen ungewollter Kinderlosigkeit tiefbetrübte Frau seines Bruders Eduard, die oft ein paar Tage von Zwickau herüberkam, um ihn zu versorgen.

"little kitchen garden;" and when Carl Banck, Wieck's newly acquired household friend, also spread the word that Clara was a frivolous girl and no longer even thought of her old love, Robert became angry, did "the opposite of everything," drank too much Bavarian beer, rumbled up the stairs at night, played the piano so that everyone lost sleep, insulted the chambermaid, and made a mess in his room until Frau Devrient, his landlady, threatened to throw him out, which he managed to prevent by writing melancholy letters of supplication. He soon put a substitute Clara in charge of his laundry and affairs of the heart, namely Therese, the thirty-three-year-old wife of his brother Eduard, deeply distressed because of unwanted childlessness, who often came over from Zwickau for a few days to look after him.

91.

Kaum, daß sie sich über seiner Fiktion vom traulichen Künstlerhaus, in dem Clara im Häubchen in der blauen Kupferstichstube sitzt und lauscht, wie ihr Robert komponiert, wieder versöhnt hatten, kam es am 15. Dezember zum nächsten Streit.

Hardly had they reconciled over his fiction of the cozy artist's house, where Clara sits in a bonnet in the blue copperplate room and listens to her Robert composing, when the next quarrel broke out on December 15.

148.

Die trauliche Zweisamkeit am Klavier, auf die sie sich so sehr gefreut hatten, war mehrmals im Streit zu Ende gegangen, da Robert gemeint hatte, sie spiele seine G-Moll-Sonate zu schnell, sie aber unerbittlich auf ihrem Standpunkt beharrt und unter Tränen das Zimmer verlassen hatte.

The cozy togetherness at the piano, which they had looked forward to so much, had ended several times in an argument, since Robert had thought that she was playing his G minor sonata too fast, but she had adamantly insisted on her point of view and had left the room in tears.

155.

Die Mutter zog für ein paar Wochen zu ihnen und zeigte Clara, wie man kocht und die Wirtschaft führt. Für die gröberen Arbeiten wurde Agnes, eine entfernte

Her mother moved in with them for a few weeks and showed Clara how to cook and run the household. Agnes, a distant relative, was hired to do the rougher work.

(155, continued)

Verwandte, engagiert. In der ersten Zeit fanden sich häufiger Mittagsgäste ein, die neugierig waren, wie sich Clara als Hausfrau mache. Sie trug, Roberts lang gehegtem Wunsch folgend, ein weißes Spitzenhäubchen. Das Kochen aber gab sie schon bald wieder auf, um es nie mehr zu versuchen. Für den Rest ihres Lebens würde sie Köchinnen haben.

In the early days, there were frequent lunch guests who were curious to see how Clara was doing as a housewife. Following Robert's long-cherished wish, she wore a white lace bonnet. But she soon gave up cooking, never to try it again. For the rest of her life she would have cooks.

161.

Clara hatte es nach halbherzigen Versuchen aufgegeben, Marie zu stillen, wobei ihr das Kind beinahe "verhungert" wäre. So sah sie die Kleine nur, wenn sie ihr satt und frisch gewickelt von der Amme gereicht wurde, ein "liebes Ebenbild" ihres "theueren Robert", das ihr freilich neben "Freude" auch "Angst" und "Sorge" machte.

Clara had given up trying to breastfeed Marie after half-hearted attempts, nearly "starving" the child to death. So she only saw the little one when she was fed and freshly swaddled by the nurse, a "beloved image" of her "dear Robert," which admittedly made her "afraid" and "worried" as well as "happy."

164.

Im Kopenhagener Hotel »Royal«, das, obwohl von Deutschen geführt, ein heruntergekommener alter Bau war, überkam sie heftiges sexuelles Verlangen, besonders morgens, wenn sie in dem weißen Himmelbett aufwachte und statt Robert Maria Garlichs neben sich fand. »Jetzt schiltst Du mich gewiß frivol«, schrieb sie nach einer unverblühten Klage. »Doch ich meine es ja ganz unschuldig.« Die achtzehn Ehemonate hatten bestätigt, daß sie bei weitem leidenschaftlicher war als er. Sie sei so leicht entflammbar und von Männern schnell zu verführen, hatte der Vater während des Prozesses behauptet, womit er wohl meinte, daß sie, ebensowenig wie ihre Mutter, würde true sein können.

In the Copenhagen hotel "Royal," which, although run by Germans, was a run-down old building, she was overcome by violent sexual desire, especially in the morning when she woke up in the white four-poster bed and found Maria Garlich beside her instead of Robert. "Now you certainly scold me frivolously," she wrote after a blunt complaint. "But I mean it quite innocently." The eighteen months of marriage had confirmed that she was by far more passionate than he. She was so easily inflamed and quickly seduced by men, her father had claimed during the trial, by which he probably meant that she, like her mother, would not be able to be true.

167.

Da sie nun nicht mehr heimliche Verlobte, sondern Mann und Frau, ja sogar Eltern eines Kindes waren, wurde ihre Weigerung, sich für seine Komposition einzu-

Now that they were no longer secret fiancés, but husband and wife, and even parents of a child, her refusal to commit to his composition was taken as an indication

(167, continued)

setzten, als Indiz für eine schwere Ehekrise gewertet, was ihre Verehrer zu forscherm Vorgehen ermutigte.

of a serious marital crisis, which encouraged her admirers to be more vigorous.

178.

Der Arzt, den sie zu Hilfe rief, sagte geradeheraus, Robert sei hypochondrisch, worauf seine Stimmung noch schlechter wurde. [...] Aber sollte sie denn schweigsam und traurig sein, nur weil Robert es war?

The doctor, whom she called for help, said straightforwardly that Robert was hypochondriac, whereupon his mood became even worse. [...] But should she be silent and sad just because Robert was?

192.

Um diese Zeit stellt Clara fest, daß sie wieder schwanger ist. Die Hebamme in Dresden hätte ihr vielleicht helfen können, aber hier, auf Norderney, gibt es nur den Badearzt, den sie nicht zu fragen wagt. Sie nimmt, einem alten Frauenrezept folgend, Seebäder, heiße Bäder, medizinische Bäder, bis wirklich am 26. Juli eine Blutung eintritt. "Veränderrung in Klaras Zustand u. ihre Freude" notiert der ehemännliche Chronist.

Around this time, Clara discovers that she is pregnant again. The midwife in Dresden might have been able to help her, but here, on Norderney, there is only the spa doctor, whom she dare not ask. Following an old women's remedy, she takes sea baths, hot baths, medicinal baths, until bleeding really occurs on July 26. The husband's chronicler notes the "change in Klara's condition and her joy."

209.

Wie blaß und stumpf waren ihre Töchter dagegen, von Emil, dem jämmerlichen Kind, ganz zu schwiegen. [...] Der Mai 1847 ist ein schrecklicher Monat. Kaum hat Robert begonnen, wieder mit ihr zu schlafen, stellt sie fest, daß sie schon wieder schwanger ist, das sechste Mal jetzt, wenn sie die Fehlgeburt mitrechnet.

How pale and dull her daughters were in comparison, not to mention Emil, the pitiful child. [...] May 1847 is a terrible month. Robert has barely begun to make love to her again when she discovers that she is pregnant again, the sixth time now, if she includes the miscarriage.

210.

Am 21. Juni wird der kleine Emil, der mit seiner Amme auf dem Land war, nach Hause gebracht. Er ist sehr krank und soll die nächste Nacht nicht überleben. Clara is zu erschöpft, um Trauer zu empfinden. [...] Sie wird noch andere Söhne habe, aber nie mehr eine Freundin wie Fanny.

On June 21, little Emil, who was in the country with his nurse, is brought home. He is very sick and is not expected to survive the next night. Clara is too exhausted to feel sorrow. She will have other sons, but never again a friend like Fanny.

282 – 283.

Marie wußte wohl nicht, daß Clara wieder einmaal schwanger war und ihre ganze Hoffnung auf die Seebäder in Scheveningen setzte. [...] Clara nahm unterdessen ein Bad nach dem anderen, bis am 9. September endlich die ersehnte Fehlgeburt eintrat. Sie bekam hohes Fieber und mußte im Bett bleiben. Zum erstenmal während ihrer Ehe kümmerten sich glich zwei Ärzte nicht um Robert, sondern um sie. Was würde der Vater wohl sagen, wenn Marie ihm davon erzählte? Daß er sie immer als ewige Wöchnerin gesehen hatte, aber nicht als Verworfene, die ihre Kinder umbringt? Als Robert, kaum daß sie wieder in Düsseldorf waren, versuchte, mit ihr zu schlafen, stellte sie sich leidend, Müdigkeit, Kopfschmerzen, Ohnmachtsanfälle, wer sollte beweisen, daß sie alles nur spielte, zumal ihr niemals lachendes Gesicht jeden glauben ließ, daß sie genauso krank sei wie ihr Mann.

Marie [Wieck] probably did not know that Clara was once again pregnant and placed all her hopes on the sea baths in Scheveningen August 12, Clara went with Robert, Marie and all six children on the trip. [...] Meanwhile, Clara took one bath after another until the longed-for miscarriage finally occurred on September 9. She developed a high fever and had to stay in bed. For the first time during their marriage, two doctors took care of her, not Robert. What would her father say when Marie told him about it? That he had always seen her as a perpetual woman in labor, but not as a depraved woman who kills her children? When Robert, as soon as they were back in Düsseldorf, tried to make love to her, she pretended to suffer fatigue, headaches, fainting spells; who was to prove that she was only playing everything, especially since her never-laughing face made everyone believe that she was just as ill as her husband.

288.

Die nächsten Wochen verliefen sehr eintönig: Klavierüben, Stundengeben, selten ein Beischlaf, da Robert nach seinem Anfall "unfähig für alles" war. Am 30. September endlich stand Johannes Brahms vor der Tür, "rein wie ein Demant, weich wie Schnee," hatte Joachim den gerade Zwanzigjährigen beschrieben, und es stimmte, er war eine Mischung aus Jüngling und Mädchen, blond, schlank, blauäugig, nicht sehr groß, aber außerordentlich lebhaft, mit rosigen Wangen, die nicht glattrasiert, sondern bartlos waren, und der hohen Stimme eines Knaben vor Eintritt der Pubertät. Er war ein Genie, dem man nur selten seine Herkunft aus dem Hamburger Gängeviertel anmerkte, setzte sich ohne Verlegenheit an den Flügel, spielte Sonaten und Scherzos vor, denen Robert und sie wie verzückt zuhörten.

The next few weeks [after Clara's birthday] were very monotonous: piano practice, giving lessons, rarely a sexual encounter, since Robert was "incapable of anything" after his seizure. On September 30, Johannes Brahms finally appeared at the door, "pure as a diamond, as soft as snow," Joachim had described the twenty-year-old, and it was true; he was a mixture of youth and girl, blond, slender, blue-eyed, not very tall, but extraordinarily lively, with rosy cheeks that were not shaved smooth, but beardless, and the high voice of a boy before the onset of puberty. He was a genius to whom one seldom noticed his origins in Hamburg's Gängeviertel, and sat down at the grand piano without embarrassment, playing sonatas and scherzos to which Robert and she listened as if enraptured.

289.

Als ihre Blicke zwischen dem Besucher und ihrem Mann hin und her wanderten, fiel ihr zum erstenmal auf, wie krank Robert aussah, aufgeschwemmt, fahl im Gesicht, die Pupillen erweitert, die Leiden verschwollen, das Profil durch ein schlaff herabhängendes Doppelkinn aufgeweicht. Brahms blieb für die nächsten Wochen im Hause Schumann zu Gast. Am 3. Oktober gestand sie Robert, wieder schwanger zu sein. "Klara's Gewißheit" notierte er in sein Haushaltsbuch, [...]

As her eyes wandered between the visitor and her husband, she noticed for the first time how ill Robert looked, puffy, sallow in the face, the pupils dilated, the eyelids swollen, the profile softened by a drooping double chin. Brahms remained a guest in the Schumann house for the next few weeks. On October 3, she confessed to Robert that she was pregnant again. "Klara's certainty" he noted in his household diary, [...]

290.

Clara war schwanger. Wer war der Vater? Robert, der "unfähig für alles" war, oder Johannes, der vielleicht nicht einmal wußte, wie man das macht, Kinder zeugen? [...] Spekulationen darüber wären wahrscheinlich niemals aufgekommen, hätte nicht Felix, der am 11. Juni geboren wurde, den gleichen trotzig und zugleich vertäumten Gesichtsausdruck, die gleich volle Unterlippe und die gleichen blonden Locken gehabt wie der jung Brahms.

Clara was pregnant. Who was the father? Robert, who was "unfit for anything," or Johannes, who perhaps did not even know how to do it, to beget children? [...] Speculation about this would probably never have arisen if Felix, who was born on June 11, had not had the same defiant and at the simultaneously dreamy countenance, the same full lower lip and the same blond curls as the young Brahms.

290 - 291.

1926 sollte einer von Claras Enkeln, Alfred, Sohn von Ferdinand, wohnhaft in Bielefeld, von Beruf Studienrat, unter dem Pseudonym "Titus Frazeni" behaupten, er habe von seiner Schwester, Julie Walch-Schumann, und diese wiederum von ihrer Tante Marie, Claras ältester Tochter, gehört, daß Clara Brahms an jenem 30. September in seinen Gasthof gefolgt sei, um ihn zu bitten, bei Robert und ihr zu wohnen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit sei es zu Beischlaf, oder, wie Frazeni-Schumann es ausdrückt, Emporflammen einer "Macht, die keinen Widerstand duldet", gekommen, dabei oder in den folgenden Wochen sei Felix gezeugt worden, so daß Clara nichts anderes übriggeblieben sei, als beim Nachtragen ihres

In 1926, one of Clara's grandsons, Alfred, son of Ferdinand, living in Bielefeld, a teacher by profession, was to claim under the pseudo-nym "Titus Frazeni" that he had heard from his sister, Julie Walch-Schumann, and she in turn from her aunt Marie, Clara's eldest daughter, that Clara had followed Brahms to his inn on that September 30 to ask him to stay with Robert and her. On this occasion, there was intercourse, or, as Frazeni-Schumann puts it, the flaring up of a "power that tolerates no resistance", and Felix was conceived during this or in the following weeks, so that Clara had no other choice but to pretend, in her diary, that she had already become pregnant before Brahms arrived. Although Frazeni-

Tagebuchs so zu tun, als sei sie schon schwanger gewesen, bevor Brahms ankam. Obwohl es Frazer-Schumann weniger um die gynäkologische Realität als um Rache an seiner Großmutter ging, die ihm und seiner Familie nichts vom inzwischen unschätzbar wertvoll gewordenen Nachlaß Robert Schumanns vermacht hatte, traf er in einem Punkt zweifellos das Richtige. Clara hatte sich in Johannes verliebt, und zwar so heftig, daß die Falten um den Mund innerhalb weniger Tage verschwanden und sie zum erstenmal, seit sie verheiratet war, vor den Spiegel trat, um zu erproben, wie es aussah, wenn sie das Häubchen, das ihr wie ein Körperteil angewachsen war, absetzte und einige Strähnen aus dem nach wie vor streng gescheitelten Haar auf die runder und weicher gewordenen Schultern fallen ließ. In dieser Aufmachung ließ sie sich von Carl Sohn, einem Professor der Akademie, porträtieren. Nie hatte sie auf einem Gemälde oder einer Daguerreotypie so schön ausgesehen. Aber Robert fand das Bild, als sie es ihm zu Weihnachten schenkte, ganz abscheulich. Das war nicht seine "Klara," deren Namen er, um das Deutsche an ihm zu betonen, immer mit "K" schrieb. Im übrigen hatte er sich auch verliebt, denn ihm war ebensowenig wie Clara entgangen, daß Johannes eine Reinkarnation von Florestan und Eusebius war, nur fröhlicher und energischer, als diese jemals hatten sein können. So schwärmten und musizierten sie in schönster Dreieinigkeit, in der es Clara vielleicht ganz natürlich erschien, Brahms zu verführen. Es war, als wäre der Robert von früher zurückgekommen und ihre von der Mutter ererbte Leidenschaftlichkeit wieder erwacht.

Schumann was less concerned with gynecological reality than with revenge against his grandmother, who had not bequeathed him and his family any of Robert Schumann's estate, which had become invaluable in the meantime, he undoubtedly hit the mark on one point: Clara had fallen in love with Johannes, so violently that the wrinkles around her mouth disappeared within a few days, and when she stepped in front of the mirror to test how it looked when, for the first time since she had been married, she took off the bonnet that had grown on her like a body part, and let a few strands from her still strictly parted hair fall onto her rounded and softened shoulders. In this get-up she had herself portrayed by Carl Sohn, a professor at the academy. She had never looked so beautiful in a painting or daguerreotype. But when she gave it to him for Christmas, Robert found the picture utterly revolting. This was not his "Klara," whose name he always wrote with a "K" to emphasize his Germanness. Incidentally, he had also fallen in love, for it had escaped him just as it had not escaped Clara that Johannes was a reincarnation of Florestan and Eusebius, only more cheerful and energetic than the latter could ever have been. Thus they raved and made music in the most beautiful trinity, in which it perhaps seemed natural to Clara to seduce Brahms. It was as if Robert had returned from the past and her passion inherited from her mother had reawakened.

292.

Wer Felix's Vater war, wird ein Rätsel bleiben, so wies es wahrscheinlich für Clara eines war, denn er wurde zehn Tage zu spät geboren, als daß sie schon am 30. September hätte wissen können, daß sie schwanger war, und drei Wochen zu früh, um bei dem von Frazeni-Schumann angenommenen Spontanbeischlaf von Brahms gezeugt worden zu sein.

Who Felix's father was will remain a mystery, just as it probably was for Clara, for he was born ten days too late for her to have known she was pregnant as early as September 30, and three weeks too early to have been conceived by Brahms during the spontaneous intercourse assumed by Frazeni-Schumann.

299.

Clara setzte sich sogleich ans Klavier und spielte. *Allegro non troppo ma energico, fortissimo*, Oktaven, Terzparallelen, wie blutleer waren Roberts neuere Klavierstücke gegen diese Musik, mit der ein Meisterpianist wieder zeigen konnte, wozu er imstande war.

Clara immediately sat down at the piano and played [Brahms' Piano Sonata in F# minor]. *Allegro non troppo ma energico, fortissimo*, octaves, parallels of thirds, how anemic were Robert's newer piano pieces compared to this music, with which a master pianist could again show what he was capable of.

300 - 301.

Robert, der in der Nacht vom zehnten zum elften noch einmal versucht hatte, mit ihr zu schlafen, klagte wieder darüber, immerfort A und verschieden Intervalle zu hören. Er müsse sich schonen, einen anderen Arzt nehmen, sagte sie, nötige ihn, früh zu Bette zu gehen, und bleib die ganze Nacht aufrecht neben ihm sitzen. "Wunderbare Leiden," schrieb er in sein Haushaltsbuch, als sich die Intervalle zu ganzen Kompositionen verdichteten und die Musik, die seit ihrer Rückkehr "äußerlich" geschwiegen hatten, wenigstens "innerlich" zu ihm zurückkam. Da Doktor Hasenclever zu zehr Musikfreund war, um zu bestätigen, daß dies bereits Wahnvorstellungen waren, zog Clara einen Militärarzt, Doktor Böger, hinzu, der Robert in gewünschter Weise für verrückt erklärte, obwohl er Noten korrigierte und Briefe schrieb wie seit Jahr und Tag und auch seinem Freund Becker, der ihn, von Clara zu Hilfe gerufen, besuchte, ganz wie immer erschein.

Robert, who had tried to sleep with her again on the night between the tenth and the eleventh, complained again about hearing A and different intervals all the time. He had to take it easy, take another doctor, she said, forced him to go to bed early, and remained sitting upright next to him all night. "Wonderful suffering," he wrote in his housekeeping book, as the intervals condensed into whole compositions and the music, which had been "outwardly" silent since her return, came back to him at least "inwardly." Since Doctor Hasenclever was too much of a music lover to confirm that these were already delusions, Clara called in a military doctor, Doctor Böger, who declared Robert insane in the desired manner, although he corrected notes and wrote letters as he had done for years and also appeared to his friend Becker, who visited him, summoned by Clara for help, quite as usual.

311.

Doch was interessierte ihn, Johannes, das alles, solange er sich der Würde und Strenge erfreuen durfte, mit der Clara ihn zu fesseln verstand, obwohl er manchmal Angst bekam und von ihr weglaufen wollte [...]

But what did he, Johannes, care about all that, as long as he was allowed to enjoy the dignity and severity with which Clara knew how to bind him, even though he sometimes got scared and wanted to run away from her [...]

313.

Von ihrem Neugeborenen trennte sich Clara diesmal noch schneller als sonst und fuhr mit Julie, jetzt neun Jahre alt, nach Berlin. [...] Auch Julie mußte fort, nicht auf Zeit, sondern für immer, die Großmutter in Berlin würde gut für sie sorgen, sie war zu oft krank und mußte dauernd gepflegt werden, während Marie und Elise schon im Haushalt helfen konnten.

Clara parted from her newborn even faster than usual this time and went to Berlin with Julie, now nine years old. [...] Julie also had to leave, not for a while, but for good, the grandmother in Berlin would take good care of her, she was too often ill and had to be constantly nursed, while Marie and Elise could already help in the household.

319 – 320.

Sein Gedankenfluß war logisch und seine Schrift so leserlich wie noch nie. Er sei gar nicht wahnsinnig, hatte Johannes in einem unbedachten Moment geäußert, sondern bedürfe nur der Stärkung und werde gewiß bald wieder bei ihr sein. Würde Robert dann wieder versuchen wollen zu dirigieren? Oder seine Beischlafzeichen machen und sie schwängern, bis sie am Kindbettfieber starb? Was würde er dazu sagen, daß Julie nicht mehr da war? Daß Johannes seine Bücher, Briefe und Noten geordnet hatte wie den Nachlaß eines Toten? [...]es war ein anderer Geist eingezogen, seit er in Endenich war, kein Champagner, keine Zigarren, keine Wirshausbesuche mehr, keine Spaziergänge mit den Kindern, die sie nach und nach alle in Pension geben wollte, um wieder reisen und Geld verdienen zu können wie früher.

His [Robert's] flow of thoughts [in the letter] was logical and his writing more legible than ever. He was not mad at all, Johannes had said in a thoughtless moment, but only needed strengthening and would certainly be with her again soon. Would Robert then want to try conducting again? Or make his coitus symbols [in his diary] and impregnate her until she died of childbed fever? What would he say to the fact that Julie was no longer there? That Johannes had arranged his books, letters and sheet music like the estate of a dead man? [...] a different spirit had moved in since he was in Endenich, no more champagne, no more cigars, no more visits to taverns, no more walks with the children, all of whom she wanted to slowly put into boarding schools so that she could travel and earn money again as before.

320.

Frau Clara veranstaltete ein Concert [...] zwei neuen Compositionen Robert Schumanns [...] "Ersteres ist ein glücklich concipiertes, geistvoll ausgeführtes Tonstück, in dem uns aus jeder Note Schumanns Eigenthümlichkeit und Genialität in unverkürzter Frisch und Anmut entgegentritt." Vielleicht wollten die Kritiker mit solchen Rezensionen auch andeuten, daß Robert gar nicht in die Anstalt gehöre, aber sie brauchten ja auch nicht mit ihm zu leben, seine Hypochondrien, Krampfanfälle und Depressionen zu ertragen oder seine hämische Kritik an ihrem Klavierspiel, das er nun auf einmal wieder "herrlich" nannte.

Frau Clara organized a concert [...] of two new compositions by Robert Schumann [...] "The first is a happily conceived, spiritually executed piece of music, in which Schumann's idiosyncrasy and genius emerge from every note in unabridged freshness and grace." Perhaps the critics also wanted to imply with such reviews that Robert did not belong in an asylum at all, but they did not have to live with him, to endure his hypochondria, seizures and depressions or his sardonic criticism of her piano playing, which he now suddenly called "magnificent" again.

331-2.

Im Konzertsaal trug sie jetzt immer Schwarz, seidene Kleider mit Spitzenüberwurf oder solches aus reiner Spitze, am liebsten gebogt. Insgesamt zwanzig Berliner Ellen wurden für ein solches Kleid gebraucht, wobei die Spitze, wie sie an Schwägerin Pauline schrieb, "aber von der besten sein" mußte, weil es "doch so genau immer gesehen" wurde. Die Taille war eng, während der Rock sich über mehrere Lagen Unterröcken gewaltig bauschte und ihrer Figur etwas künstlich Matronenhaftes verlieh. Die ebenfalls schwarzen Hauben, die sie jetzt manchmal aufsetzte, waren denen von Diakonissinnen ähnlich, als wären die von Robert so geschätzten. Hausfrauenhäubchen jetzt zu weich und lieblich gewesen. Es war schwer zu sagen, ob sie diese Gewandung erst angelegt, nachdem Liszt sie "Hohepriesterin" genannt hatte, oder ob Liszt sich durch ihre Gewandung inspiriert fühlte, sie "Hohepriesterin" zu nennen—jedenfalls war dieser Name bald in aller Munde und erzeugte überall, wo sie auftrat, stereotype Rührung, so wie die schnell hingedonnerten Oktavleirtern stereotypen Beifall hervorriefen. Jenny Lind und Livia

In the concert hall she always wore black, silk dresses with lace overlay or those made of pure lace, preferably pleated. A total of twenty Berlin cubits were needed for such a dress, whereby the lace, as she wrote to sister-in-law Pauline, "had to be of the best", because it was "always seen so closely". The waist was tight, while the skirt billowed violently over several layers of petticoats, giving her figure something artificially matronly. The black bonnets she sometimes wore now were similar to those of deaconesses, as if the hoods Robert had appreciated so much were now too soft and lovely. Housewife bonnets were now too soft and lovely. It was difficult to say whether she put on this garb only after Liszt had called her "high priestess," or whether Liszt felt inspired by her garb to call her "high priestess"—at any rate, this name was soon on everyone's lips and produced stereotypical emotion wherever she appeared, just as the quickly thundered octave scales produced stereotypical applause. Jenny Lind and Livia Frege, whom she met on her travels, thought everything was a masquerade, especially Jenny, with

(331 – 332, continued)

Frege, denen sie auf ihren Reisen begegnete, hielten alles für Maskerade, besonders Jenny, mit der es beinahe zum Bruch gekommen wäre. Wenn sie Robert so sehr liebe, solle sie auch seine Werke spielen, nicht immer nur die des jungen Johannes, meinte Jenny. Nach diesem Verweis rang Clara sich immerhin dazu durch, wenigstens den Carnival in ihr offizielles Repertoire aufzunehmen.

whom it almost came to a break. If she loved Robert so much, she should also play his works, not always only those of the young Johannes, Jenny said. After this reprimand, Clara at least managed to include *Carnaval* in her official repertoire.

361.

Von seinem "Freundschaftstempel," wie er seine vierzigjährige Beziehung zu Clara einmal genannt hatte, stand von nun an nur noch die Fassade. Seine Briefe blieben freundlich, aber kühl. Wenn er sie, was höchst selten vorkam, besuchte, gab es neuen Streit, denn Eugenie, der kritische, vermittelnde Geist der Familie, hatte mit vierzig Jahren endlich das Haus verlassen, um als Klavierlehrerin, Pianistin und Musikschriftstellerin nach England zu gehen. Kavalier bis zum Schluß, bemühte sich Brahms, niemals laut zu werden, zumal Clara, nur noch ein Schatten ihrer selbst, im Rollstuhl saß. 1894 versagten ihre Finger endgültig den Dienst. Sie konnte nicht mehr Klavier spielen.

From now on, only the façade stood of his [Brahms'] "temple of friendship," as he had once called his forty-year relationship with Clara. His letters remained friendly, but cool. When he visited her, which was extremely rare, there were new quarrels, because Eugenie, the critical, mediating spirit of the family, had finally left home at forty to go to England as a piano teacher, pianist and music writer. Cavalier to the end, Brahms strove never to raise his voice, especially as Clara, now only a shadow of her former self, sat in a wheelchair. In 1894 her fingers finally gave out. She could no longer play the piano.

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY OF WIECK/SCHUMANN-RELATED PUBLICATIONS

BOOK-LENGTH STUDIES AND EDITED PRIMARY SOURCES

- 2023** Rodgers, Stephen. *The Songs of Clara Schumann*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2022** Davies, Joe, ed. *Clara Schumann Studies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- 2021** Stefaniak, Alexander. *Becoming Clara Schumann: Performance Strategies and Aesthetics in the Culture of the Musical Canon*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.
- 2019** Borchard, Beatrix. *Clara Schumann: Musik als Lebensform: Neue Quellen – 200th Geburtstag*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.
- Wieck, Friedrich and Clara Wieck/Schumann. *Clara Schumann: Jugentagebücher, 1827 – 1840*, edited by Gerd Nauhaus, Nancy B. Reich, and Kristin R.M. Krahe. Hildesheim: Olms.
- 2009** Klassen, Janina. *Clara Schumann: Musik und Öffentlichkeit*. Köln: Böhlau.
- 2007** Bargiel, Marianne, Woldemar Bargiel, and Clara Wieck/Schumann. *Eine Musikerfamilie im 19. Jahrhundert: Mariane Bargiel, Clara Schumann, Woldemar Bargiel in Briefen und Dokumenten*, edited by Elisabeth Schmiedel and Joachim Draheim. München: Katzichler.
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- 2004** Steegmann, Monica. *Clara Schumann*. London: Haus Publishing.
- 1999** Wieck/Schumann, Clara, et al. *Lettres autographes conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, edited by Gerd Nauhaus. Brussels: Bibliothca Regia Belgica.

- 1998** Dieter Kühn, *Klara Schumann, Klavier: ein Lebensbuch*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.
- 1997** Allman, Barbara, and Shelly O. Haas, *Her Piano Sang: A Story about Clara Schumann*. Minneapolis: Carolrhoda Books.
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- 1996** Bodsch, Ingrid, and Gerd Nauhaus, eds. *Clara Schumann, 1819 – 1896: Katalog zur Ausstellung*. Bonn: Bonn Stadtmuseum.
- 100th
Todestag
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- de Vries, Claudia. *Die Pianistin Clara Wieck-Schumann: Interpretation in Spannungsfeld von Tradition und Individualität* Mainz: Schott.
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- Wieck/Schumann, Clara. *Caprices en forme de valse pour le piano, op. 2*, edited by Joachim Draheim and Gerd Nauhaus. Hofheim-Leipzig: F. Hofmeister Musikverlag.
- . *Marsch Es-Dur für Klavier zu vier Händen*, edited by Joachim Draheim and Gerd Nauhaus. Hofheim-Leipzig: F. Hofmeister Musikverlag.
- . *Quatre pièces caractéristiques pour le pianoforte, op. 5*, edited by Joachim Draheim and Gerd Nauhaus. Hofheim-Leipzig: F. Hofmeister Musikverlag.

- . *Quatre polonaises pour le pianoforte, op. 1*, edited by Joachim Draheim and Gerd Nauhaus. Hofheim-Leipzig: F. Hofmeister Musikverlag.
- . *Romance variée pour le piano, op. 3*, edited by Joachim Draheim and Gerd Nauhaus. Hofheim-Leipzig: F. Hofmeister Musikverlag.
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APPENDIX D

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Clara Schumann, "Ihr Bildnis", 1840, digitized manuscript 3 *Lieder* – 5984-A1, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, 2v – 5r.

(2)

Mit liebem Wunsche. *Allegro.*

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for Clara Schumann's song "Ihr Bildnis". The page is decorated with a red-inked floral border. The music is written on two systems. The first system consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in 3/4 time and begins with a whole rest. The piano accompaniment is in 3/4 time and starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a tempo marking of "Allegro". The piano part features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second system continues the vocal line with the lyrics "Ich stand in dunkeln Träumen und sah dein Bildnis". The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns. The page is numbered "(2)" in the top left corner.

Allegro.

Solo getragen.

Träumen

Ich stand in dunkeln Träumen und sah dein Bildnis

Handwritten musical score for voice and piano. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has four measures with the lyrics: "an, und das geliebte Rullditz, freundlich zu loben be-". The second system has four measures with the lyrics: "gann, um iser liegen zag rief, nie". The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and a more active treble line with chords and melodic fragments. The manuscript is on aged paper with a decorative red border.

© Robert-Schumann-Haus Zwickau, 2009

Längere unheimbar, Und wie von Wäldergrünen, m- glänge ich liegen =

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, written in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The lyrics are "Längere unheimbar, Und wie von Wäldergrünen, m- glänge ich liegen =". The piano accompaniment is written on two staves below the vocal line, with the right hand playing chords and the left hand playing a rhythmic accompaniment.

yaan. Und meine Gräber fliehen, mir von den Wäldern fort, Und

The second system of the musical score continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "yaan. Und meine Gräber fliehen, mir von den Wäldern fort, Und". The piano accompaniment includes a "cresc." marking in the right hand.

auf, in dem ich glaube, daß ich Erlösung hab'!

mf

ritardando

piano

pizz

Clara Schumann, "Ihr Bildnis", in *Clara Schumann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, vol. II, (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990), 18-19.

4 Ihr Bildnis

(Heinrich Heine)

Erste Fassung
Erstdruck

Mit tiefster Wehmut

Adagio
Sehr getragen

p

5

The piano introduction is in 3/4 time, key of B-flat major. It begins with a series of chords in the right hand and a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the left hand. The tempo is Adagio and the mood is Sehr getragen. A dynamic marking of *p* is present. A fingering of 5 is indicated for the final note of the first system.

5

Ich stand in dunk-len Träu - men und

p

The vocal melody begins on a whole note G4, followed by a half note F4, and then a quarter note G4. The piano accompaniment continues with the same eighth-note pattern. A dynamic marking of *p* is present.

9

starr - - te ihr Bild - nis an, und das ge - lieb - te

cresc.

The vocal melody continues with a half note G4, a quarter note F4, and a quarter note G4. The piano accompaniment features a more active eighth-note pattern. A dynamic marking of *cresc.* is present.

12

Ant - litz heim-lich zu le - ben be - gann.

mf

16

Um ih - re Lip - pen zog sich ein

19

Lä - - - cheln wun - der - bar, und wie von Weh - muts -

22

trä - nen er - glänz - te ihr Au - gen - paar. Auch

25

mei - - - ne Trä - nen flos - sen mir von den Wan - gen her -

cresc.

28

ab, und ach, ich kann's nicht glau - ben, daß

mf

31

ich dich ver - lo - ren hab'!

35

ritardando

5

Clara Schumann, "Ihr Bildnis" revisions, 1842, digitized manuscript, 23 Lieder; V, pf, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr.Schumann, K.5, 4v-5r.

*Pennsylvanien
P. Rosenkranz
1840*

No. 2.

Heine.

Tempo moderato
rit.
p
cresc.
ff

*Ich hab' die Bildnis gesehen und hab' mich
in die Augen geschaut und hab' mich
in die Augen geschaut und hab' mich
in die Augen geschaut und hab' mich*

*ganz
ganz
ganz
ganz*

37

Handwritten musical score for voice and piano. The score is written on five systems of staves. The first system includes the lyrics: "Ich schreie dir, und du wirst mich hören, und meine Stimme wird nicht verhallen." The second system includes: "Hör, du mein Gebet, denn du bist mein Gott, und du wirst mich hören." The third system includes: "auf, denn ich habe nicht geschrien, und du wirst mich hören." The fourth system includes: "Hör, du mein Gebet, denn du bist mein Gott, und du wirst mich hören." The fifth system includes: "Hör, du mein Gebet, denn du bist mein Gott, und du wirst mich hören." The score is written in a cursive hand and includes various musical notations such as clefs, notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "ritardando".

Clara Schumann, "Ich stand in dunklen Träumen", in *Clara Schumann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, vol. I, (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990), 24-26.

18

Ihrer Majestät der regierenden Königin von Dänemark Caroline Amalie ehrfurchtsvoll zugeignet

Sechs Lieder

Ich stand in dunklen Träumen

(Heinrich Heine)

op. 13 Nr. 1

Ziemlich langsam

Ich
stand in dunk-len Träu - men und starr - - te ihr Bild - nis an, und
das ge-lieb - te Ant - - litz heim-lich zu le - ben be-gann.
Um ih - - re Lip - pen zog sich ein Lä - - cheln wun-der-

p
cresc.
mf
5
ritard.

Wb. 2120

19

bar, und wie von Weh-muts-trä-nen er-glänz-te ihr Au-gen-

23

paar. Auch mei--ne Trä-nen flos-sen mir von den Wan-gen-her-

27

ab, und ach, ich kann's nicht glau-ben, daß ich dich ver-lo-ren hab!

32

ritardando

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