COMPOSING CONSCIOUSNESS: PSYCHOLOGICAL DESIGN IN THE LATE DRAMATIC WORKS OF ROBERT SCHUMANN

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Until fairly recently, scholarship dealing with German literary and cultural traditions in the early-nineteenth century has largely avoided the idea of psychological impact, in part due to the assessment that psychology as a fully empirical discipline had its birth in the Freudian fin de siècle. Recent studies, however, have suggested that early psychological theory in Germany was far more developed than in other European countries, and its impact on literature and culture is only now being measured in any significant way. The intersection of philosophy, psychology, and literature was very prominent in Early Romantic Germany, insofar as many writers such as Goethe, Schiller, and Büchner contributed to psychological theory in their works. connection must naturally be extended to musical works, which in nineteenth-century Germany were often considered just as literary as poetry or novels. Robert Schumann in particular saw his dramatic works as such—and as I demonstrate in this dissertation—they were influenced by and contributed to psychological theory in a significant way. When Robert Schumann moved to Dresden following a colossal mental breakdown in 1844, he began a relationship as both medical patient and close friend with one of the early-nineteenth century's preeminent writers on psychology, Carl Gustav Carus. Despite the recent increase in scholarly attention being paid to Robert Schumann's late output, no scholar has probed this connection between Schumann's access to the latest psychological theories and his own late music, which reveals many connections that shed light on misunderstood aspects of some of Schumann's most carefully constructed pieces. A close examination of three of Schumann's major dramatic works forms

the basis of this dissertation: Genoveva (1850), Der Rose Pilgerfahrt (1851), and Szenen aus Goethes 'Faust' (1853).

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A Brief Note on Translations:

Much of the research for this dissertation relied on primary source material from writers such as Carl Gustav Carus who have not enjoyed much scholarly or editorial attention. As such, many of the works from which I have drawn my evidence have not been published in modern editions or translations, and in many cases only exist in their original editions. While I have tried to provide a published translation for the sake of quality when available, all translations not noted as such are my own. I have therefore included the original German not only for direct quotes (which appear in their original language in the body of the text, before the bracketed translation), but also for summaries that I make in the body of the text (original language passages are then provided in the footnotes). Even when I have deferred to the translation of another author, I have endeavored to include the original German as well, whenever possible. This is done so that the reader who is well versed in German may probe connections suggested in this study that may be lost in translation. In some cases, I've slightly altered or departed from an author's translation for reasons of clarity or uniformity of terminology; these instances are also noted.

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Most of all, my committee has shaped not only the direction of this dissertation, but also my growth as a scholar. Anna Nisnevich, whose suggestion sparked the concept of this dissertation, and whose advice was invaluable and insightful on points at all levels of this study; Eric Moe, who taught me that nothing is as simple as it seems in Schumann; Clark Muenzer, who gave me the confidence and the tools to even dare approach *Faust*; and finally, and most

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Finally, thank you to my parents, Kathie and Tom, and to my sister, Melissa, to whom this work is dedicated.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Robert Schumann's late music has seen somewhat of a renaissance in both performance and scholarship in the past two decades, nearly all of it aimed at rescuing oft-derided or seldom-heard works from perceived bias or obscurity. There is no doubt that Schumann's later works, which include some of his largest-scale efforts—particularly in the areas of choral and dramatic music, diverge in style and intent from much of his earlier, more well-known output. This striking stylistic departure coupled with Schumann's deteriorating mental health conspired in the nineteenth century to relegate his later efforts to the category of sub-par: affected negatively by his worsening condition.¹ The next century was no kinder to Schumann's late works, though how deeply rooted in nineteenth-century reception history and how much owed to Schumann's brand of early Romanticism that was considered passé is hard to determine. Recent scholars, such as John Daverio, Laura Tunbridge, and others have sought to reexamine Schumann's late works on their own terms, and justify his stylistic changes on the grounds that his music was not at all affected by his health, but rather merely another phase in the composer's output. The idea that Schumann's works may have been misunderstood because of their progressive nature is a view that is only now beginning to be explored. What should not be discounted in examining his music, however, is Schumann's own preoccupation with his mental condition. Combined with

¹ Schumann's Violin Concerto (1853) is prime example of this behavior. Schumann's friend and violinist Joseph Joachim prevailed upon Clara to have the work sealed for one hundred years on account of his view that it was a product of his madness. See his letter to Andreas Moser dated October 5, 1898.

his voracious appetite for contemporary literature (and extremely literary approach to music), Schumann's dark fascination with the mind suggests an approach to his late music rooted in contemporary psychological ideas that does not yet exist.

In fact, until fairly recently, scholarship dealing with German literary and cultural traditions in the early-nineteenth century has largely avoided the idea of psychological impact, in part due to the assessment that psychology as a fully empirical discipline had its birth in the Freudian *fin de siècle*. Recent studies, however, have emphasized that the roots of psychological theory in Germany was far more developed than in other European countries, and its impact on literature and culture is only now being measured in any significant way. The intersection of philosophy, psychology, and literature was very prominent in early-Romantic Germany, insofar as many writers such as Goethe, Schiller, and Büchner contributed to psychological theory in their works just as much as writers from medical or philosophical camps. Given the highly literary nature of much of the music being composed in Germany at the time, extending this psychological influence to musical works is a logical step.

One of the reasons that psychological ideas and philosophies have not been part of Schumann scholarship as they are with composers such as Richard Wagner is because Schumann himself never wrote directly about it in his diaries or letters, far less dramatic manifestos. However, there is in fact a direct and often overlooked link between him and contemporary psychological theory. When Schumann moved to Dresden following a colossal mental breakdown in 1844, he began a relationship as both medical patient and close friend with one of the early-nineteenth century's preeminent writers on psychology, Carl Gustav Carus. Despite the recent increase in scholarly attention being paid to Robert Schumann's late output, no scholar has probed this connection between Schumann's access to the latest psychological theories and

his own late music, which reveals many connections that shed light on misunderstood aspects of some of Schumann's most inspired pieces.

1.1 THE 'PROBLEM' OF SCHUMANN'S LATE MUSIC

Starting with John Daverio's highly-regarded biography of the composer published in 1997, the past decade-and-a-half of Schumann scholarship has seen a sharp rise in the number of studies dedicated to Schumann's late music, particularly in the English language. Several authors have attempted to create a label in Schumann scholarship for a period of compositional activity which they refer to as "Schumann's late style." Laura Tunbridge has contributed most significantly to this emerging perspective on Schumann's late works in her aptly-titled monograph, *Schumann's Late Style*. Scott Burnham also contributed to this theme, though he acknowledged the diversity of this repertoire in modifying his approach to Schumann's "Late Styles." Roe-Min Kok, one of the leading English-language scholars on Schumann's work, has also recently turned her attention to Schumann's late works in her study of the *Requiem für Mignon*. Reinterpretations of Schumann's artistic role in politics and nationhood have also emerged in recent years, such as that by Celia Applegate.

² Laura Tunbridge, Schumann's Late Style (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

³ Scott Burnham, "Late Styles" in *Rethinking Schumann*, Laura Tunbridge and Roe-Min Kok, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 411–30.

⁴ Roe-Min Kok, "Who was Mignon? What was she? Popular Catholicism and Schumann's Requiem, Op. 98b" in *Rethinking Schumann*, 88–108.

⁵ Celia Applegate, "Robert Schumann and the Culture of German Nationhood" in *Rethinking Schumann*, 3–13.

As twentieth-century biases against Schumann's late works have begun to erode or be challenged, musicologists have slowly started to swing the pendulum the other direction. Works that were once treated as footnotes or curiosities are now increasingly afforded the same academic attention garnered by Schumann's more famous and frequently-programmed music, such as the song cycles of 1840 and the piano music of the late 1830s. The danger of this zeal in liberating Schumann's late works unequivocally from mediocrity and association with his mental condition is that it does not account for what (non-damaging) influence contemporary psychological ideas may have had, relating both to his incredible appetite for psychologically-charged literature and his own experience in seeking treatment for his mental fragility. A brief overview of both of these crucial areas is warranted to provide a backdrop for the ensuing discussion.

1.1.1 Schumann's Literary Appetite

The formation of what John Daverio called Schumann's "musico-literary sensibility" began with Robert at an early age.⁶ The literary portion of this sensibility is not difficult to trace. Schumann's father, August Schumann, was imbued with the same sensibility, made manifest in his occupations as a bookseller, publisher, and author in his own right. Schumann himself, when drafting autobiographical sketches of his life in 1840, stated in clear terms that he had been heavily influenced by literature because of his father's work in the field.⁷ Among the volumes that the elder Schumann published were the works of Sir Walter Scott and, perhaps more

⁶ John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a New Poetic Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 20–54.

⁷ Georg Eismann, *Robert Schumann: Ein Quellenwerk über sein Leben und Schaffen*, 2 vols, (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1956), vol. 1, 18.

importantly to Robert, those of Lord Byron. Many other international authors appeared in August's bookshop translated into German, but it was the native German writers whom August taught his son to love and respect. August wrote that "Was die Deutschen als Nation zusammenhält, das ist ihre Literatur." (What binds the Germans as a nation together is their literature). This is a pertinent sentiment to have been absorbed by Robert, and is consistent with his own turning to the power of literature when attempting to create a distinctly "German" music.

By the age of seven, Robert's musical talents began to shine through, 9 and the inner debate of whether to pursue literary or musical endeavors was begun, never to be truly reconciled. A diary entry from 1848 references this duality by stating: "Es drängte mich immer zum Produciren, schon in den frühsten Jahren, war's nicht zur Musik, so zur Poesie - und ein Glück genoß ich, nicht minder groß, als ich später je empfunden." [Already in my earliest years I already felt compelled to produce, if not music, then poetry, and I enjoyed a happiness just as great as any I have felt since.] One of the most important manifestations of this early affinity with literature was the establishment, presumably under the direction of Schumann, of a *Litterischer Verein* in 1825 when he was fifteen. The club met more than thirty times over the next three years, and only disbanded when Robert left his hometown of Zwickau for Leipzig to study law. The mission statement of the *Verein* echoes a similar attitude toward the work of German writers as that of his father years earlier:

2

⁸ Eismann, *Quellenwerk*, vol. 1, 23. This is quoted from August Schumann's *Erinnerungsblätter für gebildete Leser aus allen Ständen* (1813).

⁹ Daverio, *Herald*, 21. Schumann's parents started Robert on piano lessons with Johann Gottfried Kuntsch at this age, having been alerted to his talent by his frequent singing.

¹⁰ Robert Schumann, *Tagebücher*, Band II, ed. Gerd Neuhas (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag, 1987), 402.

¹¹ Trans. Daverio in *Herald*, 23.

Ist est jedes gebildeten Menschen Pflicht, die Literatur seines Vaterlandes zu kennen, so ist es aber eben so die unsrige, die wir doch schon auf höhere Bildung Ansprüche machen wollen und müssen, die deutsche nicht zu vernachlässigen und mit allem Eifer zu streben, sie kennen zu lernen.¹²

[If it is each educated person's obligation to know the literature of his native country, then it is also our obligation, as the ones who want to and have to make demands on higher education, not to neglect German literature and to strive, with all eagerness to become acquainted with it.]

This sentiment never left Schumann, and it reflected his later motivation as a composer and critic to produce and praise music tied closely with literature, a trait he saw as a key component to creating a truly German new music. The *Verein* also provided a forum for Schumann to further develop his own literary background, and the authors that were discussed by him and his friends were in most cases the authors that remained most important to him throughout his life. There were several short selections by Schumann's favorite author, Jean Paul (the nom de plume of Johann Paul Friedrich Richter), as well as discussions of Friedrich Schlegel and Johann Gottfried Herder. Worthy of note, however, is the amount of time the *Verein* spent on one author in particular, Friedrich Schiller. Among the works by Schiller read by the *Verein* were *Jungfrau von Orleans*, *Maria Stuart*, *Die Braut von Messina*, *Wilhelm Tell*, *Die Räuber*, and *Don Carlos*. These plays, which amount to a survey of Schiller's most important dramatic output, are rife with the psychology of Schiller's age, and it is unlikely that such themes would have been lost on Schumann. In *Die Räuber* (The Robbers), Schumann would have experienced what Matthew Bell calls a "thought experiment in empirical

¹² Martin Schoppe, "Schumann's Litterarischer Verein" in *Schumann und die Dichter*, ed. B. Appel (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1991), 21.

¹³ Schoppe, "Litterarischer Verein," 23–30.

¹⁴ Ibid.

psychology," and also a forerunner to the dualistic identity-related psychology of the novels of Jean Paul. ¹⁵ In the play, two twins, Karl and Franz Moor, who could be understood to be the same person, are followed from birth to death. Each shares the same fate, yet they arrive at that end through entirely different psychological paths, one being shown love and privilege, and the other scorn and revulsion. *Don Carlos*, which Schiller wrote after receiving criticism from Karl Phillip Moritz concerning the flaws in the psychological motivation of his characters, would have presented the young Schumann with an even darker and more pathological character than Franz Moor. ¹⁶

These plays and stories were not without context for Schumann. Often times the group would also read biographies of these writers from Karl Heinrich Jördens's *Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten*, a comprehensive, six-volume collection first published in Leipzig in 1806. Schiller's biography, for example, discusses not only his works but also his philosophies in fair detail, as well as his relationship to other authors such as Goethe. Thus this volume must have proved quite useful to Schumann as a tool with which he and his *Verein* could distill the literature they were reading and understand it on a level that connected it to a German tradition of thought. The importance of such an experience for the young Schumann cannot be overstated, and as Daverio puts it, marks a perception on the part of Schumann that "reception

¹⁵ Matthew Bell, *The German Tradition of Psychology in Literature and Thought*, *1700–1840* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005), 106.

¹⁶ Bell, *Tradition*, 109. Moritz, who wrote the psychological novel *Anton Reiser*, would have carried considerable critical weight in the area of psychology.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Karl Heinrich Jördens, ed. *Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten* vol. 4 (Leipzig: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1809), 446–459.

and creation were envisioned as flipsides of the same coin," a foreshadowing of Schumann's career as a music critic. 19

Aside from his personal experience with the poets and authors of his native tongue, his school education provided him the experience of reading the classical tragedians in their original Greek and Latin, and while Schumann claimed to have a great talent for metric translation of these languages, ²⁰ classical authors or themes rarely played a part in Schumann's own musical or literary creations. As seen in his 1827 school essay "Warum erbittert uns Tadel in Sachen des Geschmakes mehr, als in andern Dingen?" (Why does criticism in matters of taste offend us more than in other things?), Schumann takes up the question of why certain people seem to be unable to alter their perception of music, art, and literature to allow for new ideas. In defending music, Schumann focuses on Rossini and Carl Maria von Weber, having recently heard their operas La gazza ladra and Der Freischütz, respectively. ²¹ The main thrust of the essay, however, resides not in musical discussion, but rather in defense of Jean Paul. Aside from the brief forays into a few of the author's short works in the Litterarischer Verein, Schumann had apparently been engrossed in the longer novels of Jean Paul, particularly Titan, which is the centerpiece of Schumann's argument. The problem Schumann has is "mit einem aufgeklärten Manne über den *Titan* des Jean Paul" (with an enlightened man concerning Jean Paul's *Titan*). Among the criticisms levied by this 'enlightened' man are abundance of contradictions, strange imagery, poorly developed characters, and that the novel is simply "unnatürlich." Schumann

. .

¹⁹ Daverio, *Herald*, 25.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Eismann, *Quellenwerk* 1, 18. (Theaterpassion 1823-27).

²² Kristin Krahe, "Robert Schumanns Schulaufsatz: Warum erbittert uns Tadel in Sachen des Geschmakes mehr, als in andern Dingen" in Schumann und die Dichter, ed. B. Appel (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1991), 33–38.

deflates these arguments with acute observations about the novel's goal to thematize contradictory predispositions on the part of its main character into a significant unity. These criticisms also foreshadow condemnations along the same line of those directed at *Genoveva* more than twenty years later. It is useful, therefore, to recall even at the age of seventeen, Schumann's ability to "rationalize the irrational," as Daverio puts it, was well equipped to justify the seemingly superficial flaws in a work as part of a larger artistic or philosophical design.

With the basis for his literary experience well-grounded before he left Zwickau for Leipzig and the eventual decision to create music instead of poetry, Schumann's voracity for reading and discussing contemporary literature never waned. In the years following his move to Leipzig, countless diary entries refer to Jean Paul, and, by 1829, after his initial exposure to *Titan*, Schumann appears to have read nearly all of Jean Paul's major works. Much has been made of Schumann's unabashed championing of Jean Paul, and he is widely considered to be Schumann's most influential writer. The novels of Jean Paul have suffered much in the way of criticism, from Schiller to Schlegel, and Schumann's literary compositions have often been attacked on similar lines. For example, Thomas Carlyle's assessment of Jean Paul's works as incomprehensible and Schlegel's judgment that Jean Paul did not have the basic tools required of a storyteller were the kinds of censure faced by Schumann on a musical level from antagonists throughout his career. However, the author's influence on Schumann's dramatic sense remains important to emphasize here, in particular the facet highlighted by Schumann in a diary entry in 1828:

²³ Diary entries from 1828 and 29 refer to *Titan*, *Die unsichtbare Loge*, *Hesperus*, *Flegeljahre*, *Siebenkäs*, and *Der Komet*. Schumann, *Tagebücher* I, 33–82.

²⁴ Daverio, *Herald*, 36–37.

In allen seinen Werken spiegelt sich Jean Paul selbst ab, aber jedesmal in zwey Personenen: er ist der Albano u[nd] Schoppe, Siebenkäs u[nd] Leibgeber, Vult u[nd] Walt, Gustav u[nd] Fenk, Flamin u[nd] Victor. Nur der einzige Jean Paul konnte in sich selbst zwey solche verschiedenen Charactere in sich allein verbinden; es ist übermenschlich: aber er ist es doch—immer harte Gegensätze, wenn auch nicht Extreme vereint er in seinen Werken u[nd] in sich—u[nd] er ist es doch nur allein. 25

[In all of his works, Jean Paul represents himself, but always as two characters: he is Albano and Schoppe, Siebenkäs and Leibgeber, Vult and Walt, Gustav and Fenk, Flamin and Victor. Only Jean Paul could have combined himself in such different characters; it is superhuman: but it is always very harsh contrasts, not to say extreme—only he could have done it.]

This passage not only foreshadows Schumann's own adaptation of a dual persona in which he often wrote his music criticism (Florestan and Eusebius), but as I argue, also served as the impetus behind the even more extreme four-part combination of characters into a single persona in *Genoveva*, which I discuss in detail below.

Through his teacher Ernst Platner (who was a professor of physiology and philosophy at the University of Leipzig), Jean Paul was exposed to the psychological theories—particularly that of the unconscious—of Wolff and Leibniz.²⁶ In *Selina*, Jean Paul referred to unconsciousness as "the inner Africa" because of its vastness and went on to say "The most powerful thing in the poet, which blows the good and evil spirit into his works, is precisely the unconscious."²⁷ Thus, in Jean Paul, even notwithstanding all of the other important literary and psychological influences of Schumann, we are able to find precedent for the two central

Schamam, rageouener 1, 02

²⁵ Schumann, *Tagebücher* 1, 82.

²⁶ Lancelot Law Whyte, *The Unconscious before Freud* (New York: Basic Books, 1960), 132.

²⁷ Jean Paul, *Selina: oder Über die Unsterblichkeit* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cottaschen, 1827), 162. "Das Unbewußte in den Geistern ist eigentlich das größte Reich und eben wegen dieses Unbe wußtseins das innere Afrika, dessen Gränzen, die man nicht kennt, sehr weit auseinander gehen können." Trans. Whyte in *Unconscious*, 133.

psychological processes in *Genoveva*—the representation of a single persona through multiple characters, and the vast theater for action of the unconscious mind.

Much like his forays into compositional genres, which he undertook one at a time, Schumann had a similar proclivity with authors, and seemed to focus on one intensely before moving on to another. In this fashion, the author on whom Schumann latched after Jean Paul was E.T.A. Hoffmann. Much like Jean Paul, Hoffmann often deals with the divided self in his stories, but with a typically less-relenting dark-side; while Jean Paul offsets his disturbing episodes with a heavy dose of humor, Hoffmann's works offer little to balance the scales between terror and jollity, a quality which both attracted and repulsed Schumann. In a diary entry for June 5, 1831, when Schumann was in his most focused Hoffmann-stage, he wrote: "Abends in verdammten E. T. A. Hoffmann gelesen...Man wage kaum zu athmen, wenn man Hoffmann ließt." [Read the damned E. T. A. Hoffmann this evening... one can hardly breathe when reading Hoffmann.] The following day, he wrote simply: "Im Hoffmann gelesen, unausgesetz. Neue Welten." [Read Hoffmann uninterrupted. New Worlds.] It was just after these intense sessions with Hoffmann that Schumann developed his own dual persona, Florestan and Eusebius, as well as the rest of the characters in his fictional *Davidsbund*. 30

Hoffmann himself was extremely attuned to the modern psychological writings of his day. From a young age he read Rousseau, Schlegel, and Kleist, and just before his own literary breakthrough in 1812 was reading Schelling's *Von der Weltseele* (On the World-Spirit) and Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert's *Ansichten vor der Nachseite der Naturwissenschaft* (Views of

²⁸ Schumann, *Tagebücher* 1, 336–337.

²⁹ Ibid., 337.

³⁰ Ibid., 339, 344.

the Dark Side of Science).³¹ In Bamburg, he became friends with the director of the local insane asylum, Dr. Adalbert Friedrich Marcus, who turned him on to the latest psychopathological writings of Johann Christoff Reil, Philippe Pinel, and Vincenzo Chiarugi.³² In Hoffmann's own writings, there is no singular theory of psychology that is championed, but often times the existence of two worlds—one inner and one outer—is intrinsic to the fabric of the story, and similar to the way in which Schumann portrayed the action in *Genoveva*. In Hoffmann's *Die Serapions-Brüder* (The Serapion Brethren), one of the protagonists, Lothar, spells out this duality of mind and body:

Es gibt eine innere Welt, und die geistige Kraft, sie in voller Klarheit, in dem vollendetsten Glanze des regesten Lebens zu schauen, aber es ist unser irdisches Erbteil, daß eben die Außenwelt, in der wir eingeschachtet, als der Hebel wirkt, der jene Kraft in Bewegung setzt. Die inneren Erscheinungen gehen auf in dem Kreise, den die äußeren um uns bilden und den der Geist nur zu überfliegen vermag in dunkeln geheimnisvollen Ahnungen, die sich nie zum deutlichen Bilde gestalten. ³³

[There is an inner world, and the mental power to see it in full clarity, in the most perfect brilliance of vigorous life, but it is our earthly lot that this very external world in which we are encased acts as the lever that sets that power in motion. Inner appearances are absorbed into the circle in which external appearances enclose us and which the spirit can only escape in dark mysterious intimations that never take shape in clear form.]³⁴

Hoffman never takes a side to suggest which of these worlds the truer "reality" is, and thus never comes down on the side of either the Idealist or realist philosophers, who differed on this very

³³ E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Die Serapions-Brüder: gesammelte Erzählungen und Märchen*, Bd. I (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1827), 64.

³¹ Bell, Tradition, 194.

³² Ibid.

³⁴ Trans. Bell in *Tradition*, 195.

question. Nonetheless, Schumann would have clearly been exposed to the suggestion of such a literary tactic in the writings of Hoffmann. And as in Weber's *Euryanthe*, these inner and outer worlds, I argue, are crucial to the understanding of *Genoveva* as a psychological drama.

Schumann's literary appetite never waned, and based on his personal accounts, Daverio estimates that Schumann read well over six-hundred works from a wide range of authors and styles. Nevertheless, most of the books he read were by contemporary or near-contemporary German writers. Among the authors whose works are referenced in Schumann's diaries and letters from his adulthood are Rückert, Immermann, Grillparzer, Goethe, Humboldt, Schlegel, Tieck, Hauff, Arnim, Brentano, Geibel, Mörike, Heine, Uhland, Novalis, Kerner, Platen, Kleist, Lenau, and Hölderlin. Also found are the lesser-known Hölty, Droste-Hülshoff, Schulze, Heinse, Seume, Herwegh, and Gutzkow.³⁵

Schumann's association with literature has been well documented in countless sources, and the literary influences on his works have often been noted. It is important to emphasize, however, that German ideas of philosophy and psychology were bound to the literature of the day and that those ideas imbued themselves in Schumann's music.

1.1.2 Schumann's preoccupation with mental health

The debate concerning the mental illness that plagued Robert Schumann near the end of his life has been contested since the year after his death in 1856. Schumann's first biographer, Joseph von Wasielewski concluded in 1857 that the illness was a deteriorating organic brain disease has been widely upheld, but nearly every major biography of the composer draws a unique

.

³⁵ Eric Frederick Jensen, *Schumann* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 43–44.

conclusion.³⁶ Other diagnoses offered by psychologists and musicologists since have been dementia, schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychosis, and more recently syphilis, though all have their flaws and would be nearly impossible to prove with the data that now exists.³⁷ One thing is certain, however: although Schumann's illness did not take over completely until 1854, two years before his death, his entire life was marked by nervous episodes and preoccupation with madness. Peter Ostwald dates Schumann's propensity to fear madness as early as 1829, after "schlechte Träume von zerbrochenen Tassen" [bad dreams of broken cups] had disturbed his sleep.³⁸ Citing modern psychology, Ostwald suggests that on a deep level, such an image could hint at his fear of mental disintegration or even suicide.³⁹ Perhaps the more often cited passage was the one written by Schumann in his diary years after the fact:

...in der nacht vom 17ten zum 18ten Oktober 1833 kam mir auf einmal der fürchterlichste Gedanke, den je ein Mensch haben kann, — der fürchterlichste, mit dem der Himmel strafen kann — der "den Verstand zu verlieren" — er bemächtigte sich meiner aber mit so einer Heftigkeit, daß aller Trost, alles Gebet wie Hohn und Spott dagegen verstummte.

[During the night, from October 17 to 18, 1833, the most terrifying thought that a person can ever have suddenly occurred to me, the most terrible with which heaven can punish you, that of 'losing my mind.' It overwhelmed me so violently, that all consolation and every prayer became as ineffective as scorn and mockery.]⁴¹

³⁶ Joseph von Wasielewski, *Eine Biographie*, enlarged ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1906).

³⁷ Peter Ostwald, *Schumann: The Inner Voices of a Musical Genius* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985), see preface.

³⁸ Schumann, *Tagebücher*, vol. 1, 178.

³⁹ Ostwald, *Voices*, 43.

⁴⁰ Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann, Ein Künstlerleben*, 7th ed., 3 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1925), vol 1, 85.

⁴¹ Trans. Ostwald in *Voices*, 101.

That preoccupation remained with Schumann for the rest of his life, though the next ten years passed without another major breakdown. The next setback for Schumann came in 1844, when in the summer of that year he suffered a series of nervous breakdowns and bouts of depression that finally led him to seek medical treatment.⁴² Stability wouldn't return to Schumann's life for two more years. Ostwald notes that it is also at this time that he stopped applying the term "madness" to his condition in favor of the term "illness," a suggestion that both intimates Schumann's optimism for a 'cure' and his increasing fear of the idea of madness.⁴³

Beyond his physical breakdowns, there is an important connection to be made about Schumann's fixation with mental health and the literature he was reading. While Schumann may have found self-reflection in the divided selves of the characters of Jean Paul and Hoffmann, he also saw a more uncomfortable resemblance to Hoffmann's mad composer Johannes Kreisler. In Hoffmann, the gift of the artist is more like a curse, and the price for artistic genius is madness. Artists in the first half of the nineteenth century often indulged in such "mad" behavior as debauchery and irrational thinking, so intrinsic was the connection between genius and madness in the cultural consciousness. There is evidence, too, that Schumann indulged in such behavior to try to stimulate the creative juices, but his irrational fear took hold, and he ardently sought the stability of married life.

Aside from his beloved Jean Paul and Hoffmann, several other authors influential to Schumann also affected his perception of mental illness. Among these were Friedrich Hölderlin, Nikolaus Lenau, and Heinrich von Keist. Excerpts from Hölderlin's works appeared sometimes

⁴² The progression of this illness can be traced in the *Tagebücher* from June 1, 1844 onward.

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⁴³ Ostwald, Voices, 192.

as mottos at the beginning of issues of Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in the 1820s.⁴⁴ Much later, a cryptic note appears in the *Haushaltbücher* on October 16, 1853: *Diotima*, a reference to the hero's beloved in Hölderlin's *Hyperion*.⁴⁵ Schumann was also aware of his sensationalized mental illness (Hölderlin was declared mentally insane in 1807), and referred to it with "fear and awe."⁴⁶

Like Hölderlin, Nikolaus Lenau suffered from mental illness and was committed to an asylum where he spent the last six years of his life. Lenau's poetry always appealed to Schumann for its melancholic nature, and Schumann tried unsuccessfully to solicit some new verses for the *Neue Zeitschrift* in 1838.⁴⁷ Schumann was so moved by the poet's death in 1850 that he wrote a set of six *Lieder*, his op. 90, based on Lenau's poems and included a short requiem as an added tribute (See Example 75 in the Conclusion).

Also a tragic figure, Heinrich von Kleist figured prominently into Schumann's study, and Schumann considered his story "Michael Kohlhaas" as the basis for a possible opera libretto after he had completed *Genoveva*. Kleist's stories are often focused on the fragility of the psyche, and Schumann's portrayal of Golo in *Genoveva* owes much to that tradition; the moment when Genoveva calls Golo a bastard and Golo's subsequent reaction is just such a moment of psychological crisis that could easily find its way into one of Kleist's novels. Just as unsettling for Schumann was Kleist's shocking suicide in 1811 (at age thirty-four). Of course Schumann would not have remembered the event when it happened, but the author's fate would have been a

⁴⁴ Jensen, Schumann, 47.

⁴⁵ Schumann, *Tagebücher III*, 639.

⁴⁶ Jensen, Schumann, 47.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 48.

⁴⁸ Schumann, *Tagebücher*, vol. 2, 436. "'Hans Kohlhas' Erzählung von H. v. Kleist (wäre wohl ein wirksamer Operntext)."

contextual lens through which Schumann saw his work, and the point of a tragic similarity between the two men.

1.2 CARL GUSTAV CARUS

If Schumann's immersion in literature steeped in psychological content and his preoccupation with his own mental state are by themselves enough to warrant an investigation into the psychological ideas contained in his music, each fails to provide a tool to approach his late works and account for their general stylistic and dramatic characteristics. Such a tool can be found, however, in the oft-overlooked writings of one of Schumann's most prominent acquaintances of his adult life: Carl Gustav Carus.

In December of 1844, months after Robert's colossal mental breakdown, the Schumanns moved to Dresden, in large part to escape the musical establishment of Leipzig, which had caused them much dissatisfaction. Though the trip was intended as a winter getaway, the city became their home for the next five years. These years witnessed more mental fragility, but they also saw the largest realization of Schumann's goal to be a dramatic composer, yielding some of his most ambitious (if not most enduring) works. Almost immediately upon arriving in Dresden, the Schumanns sought the professional help of Carl Gustav Carus. This connection (only mentioned in passing in most major biographies on Schumann) could be a crucially overlooked source in understanding the philosophy behind Schumann's late works.

Carus (a relative of Ernst August Carus, an intimate acquaintance of Schumann's from Leipzig) was easily the most prominent figure to offer him medical treatment. Born in Leipzig in 1789, Carus attended the university there and progressed quickly through the academic ranks

on the cutting edge of the new field of comparative anatomy. He received his doctorate at age twenty-two and moved to Dresden, where he was made Professor of Gynecology at the university clinic in 1814 at the age of twenty-five. Appointed as Dresden's court physician in 1827 to the King of Saxony, Carus was afforded access to the highest levels of Dresden society. Among the opportunities gained by this position was the chance to hear Clara perform there on tour. He was so impressed by her performance that he extended invitations for the Schumanns to visit him even before they moved to Dresden.

Mathew Bell, professor of German and Comparative Literature at King's College, aptly describes Carus as a polymath, who, like Goethe, was active in both arts and sciences and saw them as interrelated.⁵² While his major professional achievements were in the fields of comparative anatomy and psychology, in his early years he was an accomplished landscape painter, often compared to his more famous friend Caspar David Friedrich. Though Carus never pursued painting professionally, the similarities between his and Friedrich's works are unmistakable, as demonstrated in their depictions of solitary wanderers, painted in the same year. In this case, Carus's version is clearly an homage to Friedrich's; there is no doubt who is the master and who is the imitator.

⁴⁹ James Hillman, Introduction to Carl Gustav Carus, *Psyche, On the Development of the Soul: Part I, The Unconscious*, trans. Renata Welch (New York: Spring Publications, 1970), viii. His first major publication, a textbook on comparative anatomy, *Lehrbuch der Zootomie* followed soon after in 1818.

⁵⁰ It was during these years that Carus first sought out the much older Goethe, beginning a relatively brief but significant and influential friendship. See Chapter 4.

⁵¹ Ostwald, Voices, 197.

⁵² Bell, *Tradition*, 212.



Figure 1. Carl Gustav Carus, Wanderer auf Bergeshöh (Wanderer on the Mountaintop), 1818⁵³



Figure 2. Caspar David Friedrich, *Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer* (Wanderer above the Sea of Fog), 1818^{54}

⁵³ Image in the Public Domain. http://nga.gov.au/exhibition/turnertomonet/Detail.cfm?IRN=166679, accessed October 28, 2012.

Certainly, in light of his love of and predisposition for art and music, as well as his specialization in the human psyche and in mental illness, Carus would naturally have been drawn to Schumann as an ideal patient.

Carus's major achievements, however, came in the field of psychology, where he was the first to provide a systematic theory of the unconscious mind. It is this theory, which was being developed and refined while Schumann was in Dresden composing his late dramatic works, which shall serve as the lens through which those compositions are examined below.

1.2.1 Carus's Psychological Roots

Carus's place in the history of philosophy and psychology has become lost in the wake of both Freudian psychoanalysis and modern medical sciences such as genetics which tends to expose Carus's work as amateurish. Nonetheless, he occupied an important place in early psychology and helped pave the way for Freud and Jung while keeping the field of psychology relevant, and, more importantly, safe from pure Idealists like Hegel and Fichte (and earlier philosophers such as Kant), who looked on it with feelings ranging from skepticism to outright scorn. It was his ability to steer the field safely between the idealists and empiricists (while appealing to both) that James Hillman notes as Carus's most remarkable achievement:

> "[Carus] sees man primarily as a psychological being, through whose unconscious he is connected with all life both as nature and as that spiritual principle which inheres in and transcends nature...he introduced into the nineteenth-century's warring camps called 'science' and 'religion' a holistic perspective. Without

⁵⁴ Image in the public domain. Carl Gustav Carus, "Wanderer above the Sea of Fog," 1818. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Caspar_David_Friedrich_032.jpg, accessed October 28, 2012.

leaving the actualities of the psyche and its unconscious, he maintains an idealistic vision. We might call this position *psychological idealism*. It refuses the traps of both psychology as empirical science and idealism as philosophical metaphysics." 55

Bell also emphasizes Carus's importance as largely historical, writing that Carus "by sheer persistence made the idea of a psychology of the unconscious more plausible." ⁵⁶

Although it takes a more balanced track between biology and philosophy, the influences on Carus's thinking came chiefly from Schelling's *Naturphilosophie* and the Idealism of Hegel and Kant. Carus's position as a *Naturphilosoph* is made clear in his own system's debt to Schelling's *Weltgeist* (World-Spirit). For both Schelling and Carus, nature is the source of the connection between all beings; what is Carus's '*Unbewußtsein*' (unconscious) is Schelling's 'noch nicht bewußtes Ich' (not yet conscious I).⁵⁷ Likewise, as Carus moves into the realm of consciousness, and speaks of the highest divine fulfillment of the soul in its upper reaches, he becomes perfectly Hegelian.⁵⁸ Carus's other chief influences can be found in Aristotle, from whom he derived his definition of the soul, as well as Leibniz and Oken, on whose work he drew for his theories of monads.

These influences are what separate Carus's theories from earlier Enlightenment psychology, of which the Idealist philosophers held a dim view. Indeed, even Kant's efforts to purge philosophy of psychology (despite the deep connections between the two branches)

⁵⁵ Hillman, *Development*, ii.

⁵⁶ Bell, *Tradition*, 220.

⁵⁷ The concept put forward in Schelling's *Ideen*.

⁵⁸ It is interesting to ponder what Hegel (who died in 1831) would have thought of Carus's psychology. Hegel famously dismissed all existing psychology for its decadence, stating that current psychology is in "an utterly miserable condition" (...einem höchst schlechten Zustande) and that one must go all the way back to Aristotle to find a good book on the subject. (See Bell, *Tradition*, 163 and G.W.F. Hegel, *Sämtliche Werke*, 20 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970), X, 238–9.

resonated strongly with the philosophers from whom Carus drew many of his ideas.⁵⁹ Schlegel and Novalis attacked psychology in no uncertain terms, and even Friedrich Schelling, one of Carus's great philosophical creditors, wished to ban the study of psychology altogether:

...die Psychologie...hat...die notwendige Tendenz...alles Hohe und Ungemeine herabzuwürdigen...Die großen Thaten und Charaktere der vergangenen Zeit in dem herrlichen Leben der alten Welt erscheinen, unter das psychologische Messer genommen, als das natürliche Resultat einiger ganz begreiflicher Motive. Die Ideen der Philosophie erklären sich aus mehreren sehr groben psychologischen Täuschungen.

[Psychology...necessarily tends...to demean everything noble and uncommon...The great deeds and characters of the past in the marvelous existence of the ancient world appear, under the psychological knife, to be the natural result of a few quite comprehensible motives. The ideas of the philosophers are revealed as the products of a handful of rather crude psychological deceptions.]⁶¹

What philosophy reacted against, the empirical, dry compartmentalization of the mind into a series of discrete faculties, was precisely the sort of thing Carus was able to avoid. Carus, like the Idealists and practitioners of *Naturphilosophie*, adhered adamantly to a vision of the mind as a unity. This emphasis on the interconnectedness of not only the unconscious and consciousness, but of all living things, who shared a deep unconscious, is the point of departure from which Schumann's dramatic works can first be connected to Carus's theories.

⁵⁹ This same attempt is what ultimately drove psychology from the domain of philosophy into the domain of science, from whence it subsequently reinserted itself into philosophy in the generation of Carus and, later, Jung. Thus Kant unwittingly served as the enabling impetus that provided modern psychology with its most powerful weapon: the scientific method.

⁶⁰ Friedrich Schelling, Werke, ed. M. Schröter, 6 vols. (Munich: Beck und Oldenbourg, 1927–8), III, 271.

⁶¹ Trans. Bell in *Tradition*, 163.

1.2.2 Carus's Psychological Legacy

Carus, a prolific writer, wrote books on aesthetics, art, comparative anatomy, and nature. He even dedicated several volumes to Goethe and his works. His writings on psychology, however, are the only ones to have exerted any meaningful influence, even if they have since become largely forgotten. Belonging to the mature period of his career, these writings comprise two major volumes, the first of which were his lectures from the winter of 1829–30 (*Vorlesungen über Psychologie, gehalten im Winter 1829/30 zu Dresden*), published in 1831. The *Lectures* arose from a private series of talks Carus gave, and are the first source of his grappling with the unconscious mind. The chief tenet expressed in the *Lectures* concerns the ultimate connectedness of man to all living things through a deep, shared unconscious, that Carus would later name *allgemeines absolut Unbewußtes*, or general absolute unconscious. Carus also first differentiated between *Weltbewußtsein* and *Selbstbewußtsein* (world-consciousness and self-consciousness) in the *Lectures*, and this division forms a large part of his discussion in later works.

Carus's first psychological publication is also the source of his declaration of support for the Idealists. Like Hegel, he refutes what he refers to as "Faculty Psychology" in favor of a more genetic and dynamic approach. The *Lectures*, which articulate many of Carus's main beliefs in concise terms, are nonetheless just his first steps toward a systematic topography of the unconscious and conscious mind.

At the time the Schumanns began their relationship with Carus, he was working on his most important treatise concerning psychology and the unconscious mind, entitled *Psyche: Zur*

⁶² Carl Gustav Carus, Vorlesungen Über Psychologie: Gehalten im Winter 1829/30 zu Dresden (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1831), 5.

Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele, (Psyche: On the Development of the Soul). Many of the ideas contained in the Lectures are refined and expanded here, to which Carus also added more detailed terminology and additional ideas. Published in 1846, Psyche quickly became the authority on the subject. It was this work that several later psychologists and writers, including Eduard von Hartmann and Carl Jung, referenced as inspiration for their own theories concerning the unconscious. Hartmann, who published his massive volume Philosophie des Unbewussten (The Philosophy of the Unconscious) in 1869 (at the age of only twenty-seven) referred to Carus as one of the few scientific pioneers in the field:

In die neuere Naturwissenschaft hat der Begriff des Unbewussten noch wenig Eingang gefunden; eine rühmliche Ausnahme macht der bekannte Physiologe Carus, dessen Werke 'Psyche' und 'Physis' wesentlich eine Untersuchung des Unbewussten in seinen Beziehungen zu leiblichem und geistigem Leben enthalten. ⁶³

[In modern science, the concept of the unconscious is rarely found; one notable exception is the well-known physiologist Carus, whose works *Psyche* and *Physis* (*Zur Geschichte des leiblichen Lebens*, 1851) significantly includes an investigation of the unconscious in its relationship to physical and mental life.]

Jung also made frequent references to Carus throughout his works, calling upon him whenever he revisited his own intellectual heritage:

Although various philosophers, among them Leibniz, Kant, and Schelling, had already pointed very clearly to the problem of the dark side of the psyche, it was a physician who felt impelled, from his scientific and medical experience, to point to the unconscious as the essential basis of the psyche. This was C. G. Carus, the authority whom Eduard von Hartmann followed.⁶⁴

⁶³ Eduard von Hartmann, *Philosophie des Unbewussten*, (Berlin: Carl Druckner, 1878), 32.

⁶⁴ Carl Gustav Jung, "The Archetypes and the Collective Unconsciousness," trans. R.F.C. Hull in *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, vol. 9, para. 259.

Later Jung added:

At the time Carus wrote, he certainly could not have guessed that he was building the philosophical bridge to an empirical psychology of the future. 65

Indeed there are many similarities that can be found between Jung and Carus. Not only were both men at once empiricist and holist, but both located man's relationship to nature in the unconscious mind. When Carus describes the connectedness of all living things through nature and the unconscious, he is describing what Jung would later call the "collective unconscious." Carus provides the link between the psychology of Romantic philosophy and modern science.

1.2.3 Psyche: Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele

Carus divided *Psyche* into three parts: "On the unconscious life of the soul," "On the conscious life of the soul," and "On that which in the unconscious and conscious soul is

⁶⁵ Jung, "Epilogue" to the *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, trans. R.F.C. Hull in *The Collected Works*, vol. 14, para. 791. See also the *Collected Works* vol. 8, para. 212 and vol. 16, para. 204. Jung discusses Freud's (and thus his) intellectual family tree and Carus's place in it in detail in a passage worth repeating in full: "Freud is borne along by a particular current of thought which can be traced back to the Reformation. Gradually it freed itself from innumerable veils and disguises, and it is now turning into the kind of psychology which Nietzsche foresaw with prophetic insight—the discovery of the psyche as a new fact. Some day we shall be able to see by what torturous paths modern psychology has made its way from the dingy laboratories of the alchemists, via mesmerism and magnetism (Kerner, Ennemoser, Eschimayer, Baader, Passavant, and others), to the philosophical anticipations of Schopenhauer, Carus, and von Hartmann; and how, from the native soli of everyday experience in Liébeault and, still earlier, in Quimby (the spiritual father of Christian Science), it finally reached Freud through the teachings of the French hypnotists. This current of ideas flowed together from many obscure sources, gaining rapidly in strength in the nineteenth century and winning many adherents, amongst whom Freud is not an isolated figure." From Jung's Introduction to W. M. Kranefeldt's *Die Psychoanalyse* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930) Trans. R. F. C. Hull in *The Collected Works*, 4, para. 748.

temporary and what is eternal."66 For all of the influence Carus's theories of the unconscious mind had on later generations, it is important to note (lest Carus be understood as too proto-Freudian or Jungian) that the second part of the work, which deals with the conscious mind, occupies most of the book: a full 369 of 493 pages. The part of the book dealing with the unconscious mind fits into less than ninety pages. This is not to discount Carus's contribution to the academic history of the unconscious mind, but rather to point out that Carus saw understanding the unconscious as merely the first step to unlocking the secrets of the conscious mind. In fact, the very first sentence of *Psyche*, repeated often enough to become the book's motto is: "Der Schlüssel zur Erkenntniß vom Wesen des bewußten Seelenlebens liegt in der Region des Unbewußtseins."67 (The key to understanding the nature of the conscious life of the soul lies in the realm of the unconscious). This balance is further borne out by the fact that the life of the soul has potentially four levels. Only the lowest level is represented by the unconscious, but consciousness is manifested in three levels: world-consciousness, selfconsciousness, and God-cosnciousness. What follows is a brief précis of some of Carus's main arguments as put forth in Psyche. While more detailed references will be included in the chapters at their appropriate musical or dramatic analogues, some general background is necessary here.

Carus's work begins with the assertion that the unconscious life of the soul is the key to understanding consciousness. His genetic approach to the topic is made evident in the introduction to his work, in which he lays out his terminology. His *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, or "developmental history" is just that, following the development of the soul from its earliest

⁶⁶ "I. Vom Unbewußten Leben der Seele," "II. Vom Bewußten Leben der Seele," and "III. Von Dem, was im Unbewußten und Bewußten der Seele vergängliche und was darin ewig ist."

⁶⁷ Carus, *Psyche: Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele* (Pforzheim: Flammer und Hoffmann, 1846), 1.

inception through maturity in consciousness and beyond. For Carus, the basic principle of life is something "selbst Bewegendes," (self-moving), which can be equated to Aristotle's entelectly, Plato's Idea, or a psyche, soul, or merely something divine, whatever one calls it. 68 Carus describes his own system (heavily informed by Aristotle) as follows:

> Nennen wir also das Göttliche, welches den Urgrund eines individuellen Daseins enthält, die Idee oder die Seele; das Mögliche, an welchem diese Idee zur Erscheinung kommt, den Stoff oder Aether, und sodann die Wirklichkeit, als welche sie sich darlebt, die Form, so haben wir allerdings drei Momente eines lebendigen Daseins,...⁶⁹

> [(In my system), the divine, which contains the primary basis for individual life, is called the idea or the primordial image; potentiality, which reflects or manifests this idea, is called matter or ether; and finally, I designate actuality by the word 'form,' whereby the spiritual and bodily reality lives. These are the three components of a living being.]⁷⁰

Most importantly, Carus continues, despite this tripartite form, one must not (and cannot) objectively separate them, as they are part of an inherent unity that is dynamic and part of a single process. Those philosophers who see the soul as a duality as opposed to a unity are also misguided, as consciousness and unconsciousness are part of the same process and not opposed. Simply because one cannot perceive the cause that creates life does not imply that there is a

68 Ibid, 8. "...das nur ein einiges Princip des Lebendigen nur ein sich aus sich selbst Bewegendes-eine Entelechie mit Aristoteles, oder eine Idee nach Plato, oder eine Psyche, eine Seele, mit einem Worte ein Göttliches, nenne man es nun wie man wolle—"

⁶⁹ Ibid., 10.

⁷⁰ Trans. Welch in Carus. *Development*, 8.

⁷¹ Carus, Entwicklungsgeschichte, 10. "von welchen wir aber wohl bedenken müssen, daß wir sie nur im Verstande als verschiedene zu unterscheiden vermögen daß wir aber eine objektive Trennung nie und nirgends unter ihnen annehmen dürfen."

difference between that cause and the soul itself.⁷² This overriding emphasis on *Einheit* across all of Carus's discussions and divisions marks an important feature of his psychology and one that is significant in applying the system to Schumann's works.

The first part of *Psyche*, which deals with the unconscious, though short, is dense and varied in its subjects. Mirroring the biographical approach Carus pursues throughout the whole work, the part dealing with the unconscious is further divided into five sections, from the first formative processes, through reproduction, and the enduring role of the unconscious in a holistic view. Each section serves the idea of the unity of all life through nature. Here is where Carus's unique perspective on monads illustrates this concept. For Leibniz, monads are separate and relate to each other only through internal representations. However, Carus's system proposes a unity—nature as a single organism. Thus, for example, while each plant is made up of millions of monads, all individual plants are also parts of an ideal whole plant, and at the same time, the whole vegetable world is a single organism. Though this process can expand eternally outward or inward, Carus recognizes four distinct levels: *Monade, Individuum, Gattung*, and finally *Natur*. Thus each individual person is but part of a larger whole, our *Gattung* in this case referring to *Menschheit*, or humanity.

Thid. 7, "Es ist indeß um die Einheit und nicht die Zweiheit der unserm ganzen Dasein zum Grunde liegenden Wesenheit erfaßlich zu machen und scharf nachzuweisen, noch auf ein Anderes zu achten. Wenn man nämlich als Beweis für die Verschiedenheit der Seele von dem was die Vorgänge des bildenden und ernährenden Lebens bedingt, anführt, daß von letzterem nichts zum Bewußtsein gelangen könne, so bedenkt man nicht, daß zwar Vieles im Organismus vorgehe was als solches wirklich und unmittelbar nicht zum Bewußtsein kommt, daß aber doch nichts in ihm vorgehe, was nicht mindestens mittelbar auf das Bewußtsein Einfluß übe."

⁷³ "Vom Wesen der ersten Bildungsvorgänge des menschlichen Organismus," "Betrachtung der ersten durch unbewußtes Walten der Idee gesetzten Gliederung des Organismus in verschiedene Systeme," "Von dem wesentlich Unbewußten des Vorganges durch welchen innerhalb der Gattung die Individuen vervielfältigt werden," "Von Dem was in einer ihrer selbst bewußt gewordenen Seele immer noch dem Reiche des Unbewußten angehört," and "Von Dem was im unbewußten Seelenleben an krankhaften Zuständen vorkommen kann."

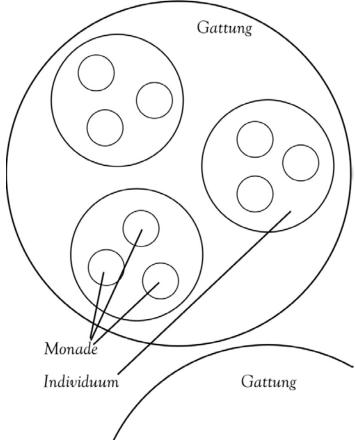


Figure 3. Carus's Monad Theory

Carus states:

So kommen wir zu dem Erkenntniß, daß nur die Menschheit der wahre Mensch sei, und jeder einzelne Mensch nur ein besonderes Organ dieses höhern Ganzen, daß folglich die einzelne menschliche Seele angesehen werden müsse als seine der unendlichen im Geiste der Menschheit aufsteigenden und sich verwirklichenden Ideen.⁷⁴

[So we arrive at the insight that the true human being is only represented by humanity as a whole, and every individual human is only a particular organ of the higher whole, so that consequently

⁷⁴ Carus, *Vorlesungen*, 85.

the individual human soul must be seen as one of the infinite ideas that surface and realize themselves in the spirit of humanity.]⁷⁵

Carus also divides the human mind into four levels: the general absolute unconscious, the partial absolute unconscious, the relative unconscious, and consciousness. Fifteen years before Gustav Fechner's classic image of the iceberg (later used by both Jung and Freud), Carus proposed the image of a cathedral to signify the proportionate size of the unconscious mind. For Carus, consciousness is represented by the ornamented spire, which draws all eyes to it as it reaches for the sky. What remains below, and where all of the true activity takes place, is represented by the foundations and the walls.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Trans. Bell in *Tradition*, 218.

Total Carus, Entwicklungsgeschichte, 68–9. "Die nahe Beziehung dieses scheinbar geringern, d. h. des partiell Unbewußten, zu dem Höhern, d. h. zum reinen Bewußtsein, zum gereiften Geiste, darf man sich übrigens vielleicht unter dem Bilde deutlich zu machen suchen, daß man etwa vergleicht die Aeußerung des vollen bewußten Seelenlebens der leuchtenden Spitze einer jener gothischen Dome, die das Auge durch den Reichthum ihrer Verzierungen und das Himmelanstrebende ihrer Gesammt form anziehen, die aber weder in ihrer Schönheit leuchten und sich erhalten, noch in ihrer Höhe getragen werden könnten, wenn nicht der unsichtbar tief in der Erde ruhende Grund (hier das Gleichniß des vollkommen Unbewußten) sie überall stützte und die innere künstliche Fügung des Mauer- und Eisenwerkes sie durchaus befestigte. Wirklich ganz auf dieselbe Weise wie jene glänzende Außenseite vom unscheinbaren Grunde eines Gebäudes, hängen alle die hohen und höchsten Qualitäten des bewußten Seelenlebens von tausenderlei Beziehungen auf das Unbewußte der Seele ab, und wie jene Spitze des Doms unrettbar stürzt, wenn nur eine Eisenklammer reißt oder ein Eckstein des Grundes weicht, so verschwinden auch sofort die glänzendsten Erscheinungen des Geistes, wenn dem unbewußten Wirken der Seele, wie es etwa den Blutstrom des Herzens lenkt oder den Wechsel der Athmung regiert, nur das kleinste Hindernis entgegengestellt wird."

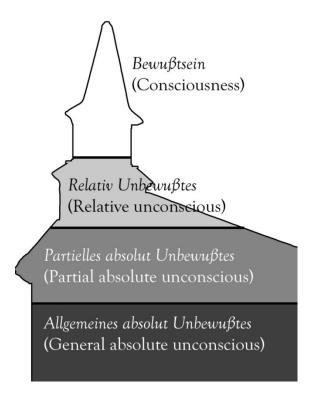


Figure 4. Carus's Levels of the Unconscious

In the terms of Carl Jung and modern psychology, this lowest level can be understood to be the "collective unconscious." Carus's *relative Unbewußte*, has much in common with what we would today call the sub-conscious. The relative unconscious acts as a buffer between consciousness and the absolute unconscious and is the realm in which most mental activity takes place, and in which nothing is ever forgotten, merely at times beyond the reach of our conscious thought. Carus was emphatic on the point that these levels were not distinct, but were in fact part of a single dynamic process by which our mind constantly enters in and out of consciousness in a fluid nature, and is acting in some ways on all levels at once.

In the main section of *Psyche*, devoted to the conscious life of the soul, Carus covers a broad range of topics from dreams to feelings. The broad outline of his argument, however,

names and defines the discrete levels of consciousness as they appear in various beings, as well as in human development. These levels, as listed above, can be understood to be arranged in the following way.⁷⁷

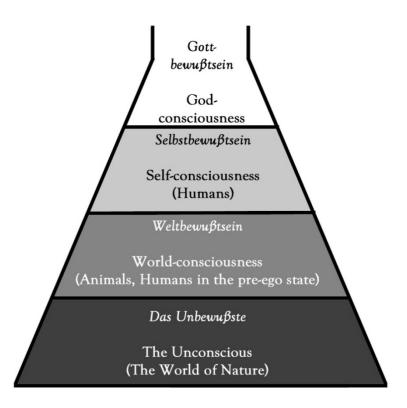


Figure 5. Carus's Levels of Consciousness

By Carus's observation, only humans can achieve all levels of consciousness. If other organisms can attain consciousness at all, they can only reach world-consciousness. Carus connects these levels to his previous argument that individuals can only be represented by the whole. Thus while a single human being can attain self-consciousness (enabled by the existence of society

Though a pyramid naturally suggests itself based on Carus's writings, I have chosen to include the open lines at the top as described by Murray Stein, a psychologist and specialist in Jungian psychology based at the

at the top as described by Murray Stein, a psychologist and specialist in Jungian psychology based at the International School for Analytical Psychology in Zurich. Stein's case for the asymptotic lines stems from his observations that "from a human point of view...human spiritual development remains human, and human self-consciousness can never be completely and finally transformed into God-consciousness, nor reach its ultimate

and the perception of a connection with other humans), full human consciousness can only be attained by humanity itself.⁷⁸ This, Carus explains, is why societies behave as if they possess a single intelligence, controlling things such as the ratio of males to females. These individual states of consciousness are discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

The final part of *Psyche* is the shortest, and it serves as a general conclusion to Carus's theory. In turning to the question of what is eternal and what is transient—in other words, the question of the soul's immortality—Carus continues the same line of thought found in the earlier sections. While the individual is fleeting, the *Idee* is eternal. A single human or flower or tree will come into existence and fade out of existence, but the *idea* of the human or the flower or the tree, which perpetually manifests itself in infinite variety, will endure forever. Thus only as a true unity does life—that "something self-moving"—remain eternal.

1.2.4 Carus and Schumann

The nature of the personal relationship between Carus and Schumann is difficult to fully evaluate. Neither man offers deep insight into the relationship in his personal writings or correspondence, though what evidence we do have comes chiefly from Robert. There are two medical references to Carus in Schumann's household book. The first, on August 27, 1845, reads simply: "Early in the day consulted with Hofrath Carus." On October 25th of the same

⁷⁸ Goethe expresses a similar idea in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*: "Nur alle Menschen machen die Menschheit aus, nur alle Kräfte zusammengenommen die Welt." Goethe, *Werke: Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand*, Buch 7, Bd. XX (Stuttgart: J. G. Cottaschen, 1828), 216.

⁷⁹ Schumann, *Tagebücher*, vol 3, 398. "Früh Berathungen mit Hofrath Carus." ('Hofrath' was Carus's title at court, typically translated as "councilor.")

year, Schumann referred to a bad reaction from Carus's pills, adding "evil day." The rest of the references to Carus, which continue until the Schumanns left Dresden in 1850, are mostly of a social nature, and none offers any more information on treatment or consultations. Nonetheless, the continuation of their social relationship is significant, because it affirms that they had at least some contact for the entire five years the Schumanns lived in Dresden. Carus was even made godfather to the Schumanns' fourth child, Julie, born in March of 1845.81

The lack of documentation from Carus's perspective is even more frustrating. His autobiography, which was published in two volumes in 1865 and 1866, is full of anecdotes from meetings with musicians—including Clara, who is mentioned frequently. Erick Jensen, one of Schumann's twenty-first century biographers, notes that Robert is conspicuous in Carus's autobiography by his absence alone. ⁸² Jensen's explanation, which is logical, is that Carus didn't wish to subject Clara (who was still an active performer at the time of his autobiography's publication) to any scandal by making public her celebrated husband's mental condition. ⁸³

The aim of this study is neither to prove nor disprove that Schumann was consciously employing Carus's system first-hand. Rather, it is simply to put forth the applicability of Carus's topography of the mind for addressing some of Schumann's more progressive tendencies that have not yet been satisfactorily explained. However, given Carus's style of writing, and his proclivity for emphasizing the larger picture even when making minute observations, it is not unlikely that Carus's broad ideas found their way into his discussions with Schumann, both

 80 Ibid., 404. "Schlechte Wirkung d. Carus'schen Pillen – schlimmer Tag" (There are no records of precisely what pills Carus had prescribed to Schumann.)

⁸¹ Ostwald, Voices, 197.

⁸² Jensen, *Schumann*, 219. Jensen likewise laments this fact, though from the insight into Robert's mental illness that is likely lost.

⁸³ Ibid., 220.

professional and social. For Carus, creativity is connected to the unconscious, which he saw as limitless in its energy and activity. Schumann's melancholia, on the other hand, would have been an artificial creation of his consciousness, according to Carus's line of thought. Especially considering that Carus was most heavily involved with this work at the precise time he began his relationship with Schumann, to suggest that at the very least Schumann absorbed some of Carus's ideas—even *unconsciously*—would not stretch the limits of possibility.

1.3 SCHUMANN'S DRAMATIC MUSIC

Much has been written about how Schumann intended to preserve the "literary" nature of his dramatic works. Indeed, in the case of his *Faust Scenes* and *Manfred*, Schumann was setting works of literature to music over which he had only musical input. However, two major dramatic works, *Genoveva* and *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* (the former being cobbled together from multiple sources and heavily altered with Schumann's own text; the latter being a sentimental work of no distinction, again altered), allowed Schumann to explore his own broad philosophical/psychological ideas. I have selected three of Schumann's late dramatic works, all of which were composed (or began composition) around or after the time of Schumann's move to Dresden and introduction to Carus. All three are also tied together for their inherent "Germanness," composed during a climate of political change in which the identity of German art once again came to the fore and which colors much of Schumann's music from the late 1840s.

1.3.1 Genoveva

Genoveva is the work that more than any other exemplifies Schumann's intentions for a new direction in German dramatic music. Like the other works addressed in detail in this study, Genoveva has a complicated and largely negative reception history, owing to the often misunderstood goals of the work itself. While in some respects the zenith of Schumann's ideal dramatic style, in terms of his music's engagement with the psychological framework of Carus's theories, Genoveva is only the starting point. Thus, Genoveva paves the way for the discussion of the applicability of Carus's work to Schumann's music.

Key to the discussion of *Genoveva* is Carus's concept of the unconscious mind. The symphonic qualities of the work, namely the thematic structure that has caused so many misguided conclusions to be drawn by those armed with Wagnerian assumptions, are the point of entry into Schumann's innovative depiction of the collective unconscious, the fractured self, and the spiritualization of the German forest. To approach these issues, Carus's descriptions of the levels of the unconscious mind and their functions, his adapted theory on monads and collective consciousness, and his sympathy to *Naturphilosophie* and Idealism are considered.

1.3.2 Der Rose Pilgerfahrt

Der Rose Pilgerfahrt was composed after Genoveva in 1850 and in many ways can be seen as a response to the somewhat challenging style of the opera (and also of Manfred, which Schumann composed in 1848).⁸⁴ As an oratorio and not an opera, Der Rose Pilgerfahrt is seeminly cut

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⁸⁴ Clara recognized the esoteric nature of *Manfred* at the time of its composition, noting that the work "won't have much effect on the general public; the whole will leave a more poetic impression...only on more cultured

from a different cloth altogether than Genoveva: a deliberately accessible work that sought to bridge the gap between the casual and educated listener. Beneath its deceptively simple sound lies a much more carefully considered commentary on psychological development and even the role of the feminine in Schumann's post-Biedermeier, nationalist outlook.

Where Genoveva concerned itself mostly with the unconscious mind, the concept of consciousness dominates Der Rose Pilgerfahrt. As the centerpiece of this study and the work most amenable to Carus's topography of mind, Schumann's oratorio traces the explicit path of its protagonist from the unconscious through each of Carus's discrete levels of consciousness: world-consciousness, self-consciousness, and finally, God-consciousness. Though remembered today mostly for his groundbreaking work on the unconscious mind, it is in the realms of consciousness where Carus spilled most of his ink. While not thematically driven, as was Genoveva, Der Rose Pilgerfahrt reveals its structure through musical topoi and stylistic referentiality, vocal definition and influence over the accompaniment, mediant modulations, and cyclic form.

1.3.3 Szenen aus Goethes 'Faust'

Schumann's Szenen aus Goethes 'Faust' are included in this study for two reasons. First, because like the previous works, the Faust Scenes represent yet another pillar of Schumann's late dramatic output. In fact, the Faust Scenes are Schumann's longest dramatic work and were the result of a compositional process that was spread out over nine years. Secondly, the Faust Scenes are significant for this study because Goethe's Faust represents the only explicit literary

listeners." Daverio, Herald, 357. Though not premiered until 1852, this sentiment, surely shared by Schumann, may also have contributed to the extreme accessibility of Der Rose Pilgerfahrt.

intersection between Schumann's and Carus's work: Carus published his *Briefe über Goethes*Faust in 1835.

The *Faust* chapter is placed third, however, because the approaches taken by Schumann—both musical and psychological—are inextricable from those seen in *Genoveva* and *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*. Indeed, any investigation of the *Faust Scenes* without considering *Genoveva* and the thematic connections therein is incomplete. In this way, the *Faust* chapter functions as a case study in how to apply the principles first uncovered in *Genoveva* and the *Rose* to another work.

2.0 GENOVEVA AND THE UNCONSCIOUS MIND

In Eduard Krüger's 1851 review of Robert Schumann's sole opera *Genoveva*, the critic attacked Schumann's melodic style:

Die ganze Oper ist ein fortlaufendes Recitaiv. Das ist mehr, als die stärkste Aufmerksamkeit aushält. Es ist nicht blos dem sogennanten Volke, es ist auch dem Gelehrten unverständlich, überspannend.⁸⁵

[The entire opera is a continuous recitative. This is more than the strongest attention can endure. It is incomprehensible to both the so-called common man and experts alike.]

Not long afterward, Eduard Hanslick echoed a similar frustration, complaining that the music for the principals consisted exclusively of "murky twilight and declamatory zigzag." Both men saw this feature as a failed attempt on Schumann's part to realize the aesthetic which Wagner had already pioneered. Hanslick went on to claim that "Genoveva in its art is a step further than Tannhäuser, but a step behind Tristan and Die Meistersinger." Thus began a critical history of Genoveva that saw the opera fade into obscurity, pushed there by baffled critics who failed to understand Schumann's concept for all the Wagner that was still ringing in their ears. The idea

⁸⁶ Hanslick, "Schumann als Operkomponist," In *Die Moderne Oper* (Berlin: Hoffman, 1875), 258. "trüben Dämmerlicht und declamatorischen Zick-zack"

⁸⁵ Eduard Krüger, Review of Genoveva Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 34 (1851), 130.

⁸⁷ Ibid. "In allen diesen Punkten geht Genoveva in ihrer Art einen Schritt weiter als "Tannhäuser," aber lange nicht so weit wie "Tristan" oder "Die Meistersinger."

that Schumann's new declamatory style and motivic design was not an attempt to imitate Wagner's was a thought that seemed not to have occurred to anyone for well over a century. Even the eminent Schumann scholar John Daverio was unable to resist the same association. After admitting that the litany of critics who had searched for a leitmotivic structure in *Genoveva* was misguided, he nonetheless continued to apply such principles himself. "...Schumann's 'leitmotivs' frequently appear either curiously out of synch with the perspective of the characters they supposedly represent or decidedly lacking in individuality."88 Rather than offering an alternative idea, however, he continued to relate themes to specific characters, unable to shed the supposition that these musical gestures are intended as such. With the recent bicentennial of Schumann's birth, and the sesquicentennial of the opera's premiere, the opera itself has seen a micro-renaissance of sorts. Its first American performance⁸⁹ took place in 2006, and the first ever video recording was released in 2008. 90 Despite its recent fifteen minutes of fame, and a new wave of scholarship dealing with Schumann's late works, the use of thematic material in Genoveva still remains a mystery. Part of this problem is the inconsistency with which the opera is viewed as a whole. Is it a fairy tale or a horror opera? A Trauerspiel or a hagiographic drama of redemption? Each of these opinions has been posited, as have several others. Nikolaus Harnoncourt, however, the conductor of both the 2010 film version of the opera and the 2009 audio recording, saw something deeper in preparing the work for performance. He writes of the opera: "Genoveva is a psychological drama, completely unclassical, thoroughly modern, almost absurdist. It raises questions, but without offering any answers. It does not set out to moralize but only to show us something...You can't speak of guilt or morality here.

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⁸⁸ Daverio, Herald, 351.

⁸⁹ Richard B. Fisher Center for the Performing Arts, Bard College, July 28–August 5, 2006

⁹⁰ Genoveva, Opernhaus Zurich (Leipzig: Arthaus Musik, 2008).

Things simply happen."91 While Schumann's opera is neither necessarily 'thoroughly modern' nor 'absurdist,' the key to its understanding lies in its nature as a psychological drama. However, the work is not concerned with characters' psychological motivations or developments, but rather with the depiction of the power and unifying force of the unconscious mind.

The aim of this chapter is to employ Carus's principal theories concerning the unconscious mind and to demonstrate their applicability to Schumann's Genoveva. By casting Schumann's motivic design in a more holistic light, larger unities in the opera can be seen, and choices Schumann made concerning the text of the opera can be understood anew. Rather than serving to differentiate characters or ideas, Schumann's thematic material does the reverse; it provides a deep and inescapable connection between all of them. Here each individual is simply an incomplete part of a higher whole. The only character in Genoveva is humanity, and the action unfolds in the theater of the unconscious mind.

2.1 SCHUMANN'S SEARCH FOR A GERMAN OPERA

Schumann's desire to write an opera was among the most important goals he set for himself in his life as a composer. So important was this genre for Schumann, it was the culmination of his systematic explorations of genres that unfolded from piano music to Lieder, chamber music, symphony, and oratorio. He held opera in such high esteem because he saw it as the vehicle for

⁹¹ Nikolas Harnoncourt, "Reinventing Opera," CD liner notes for *Genoveva*, trans. Monika Mertl. (Hamburg: Teledec Classics International GMBH, 1997), 20.

which a new, truly "German" music could best be carried out. ⁹² Serious opera had long been the domain of the Italians and the French, and Schumann was one of many German-speaking composers who sought to create a national sound for a people without a nation. ⁹³

Schumann's thoughts turned to opera more and more throughout the mid-1840s, and after his move with Clara and the family to Dresden in 1844, his search for the right material began in earnest. The music for such a monumental ambition must be set to the proper text; one of both high literary worth and deep resonance with the German imagination. All of the sources that Schumann had considered as suitable for an opera throughout his career were indeed literary creations of high quality; in his youth he had considered Shakespeare's *Hamlet*⁹⁴ and had drafted a scenario for an opera based on Hoffmann's *Doge und Dogaressa* in 1840. One of Schumann's reasons for rejecting the latter work was "es fehlt mir überhaupt...ein deutsches, tiefes Element darin" (a German, deep element was missing to me). In 1846, in discussions with librettist Robert Reinick, the subjects of *The Tempest* and Immermann's *Tristan und Isolde* were also considered and thrown out. In the end, it was the medieval legend of Genoveva on which Schumann finally pinned his hopes for his greatest success. However, it was not just the

⁹² Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 5th ed., 2 vols., ed. Martin Kreisig (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1914), vol. 2, 91. Schumann lamented often on the fact that no one was undertaking this task. In an 1841 review of Hiller's *Der Zerstörung Jerusalems*, he wrote "Viel tiefer wurzelt z[um]. B[eispiel]. das Bedürfnis nach einer neuen deutschen Oper." [Much more deeply felt, for example, is the need for a new German opera.]

⁹³ Schumann's contempt for the excesses of French grand opera, especially Meyerbeer, are well-documented and don't need to be repeated here. See Schumann's reviews of *Les Huguenots* (see *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2, 61) and of Reißiger's *Adèle de Foix* (Ibid, 391). In the latter, Schumann accuses Reißiger of writing only to please the public, an interesting statement given his later intentions for *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*.

⁹⁴ Schumann professed this desire in a letter to his mother on December 12, 1830. Schumann, *Jugendbriefe*, 2nd ed., ed. Clara Schumann (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1886), 133.

⁹⁵ Daverio, Herald, 330.

⁹⁶ Letter to Clara on May 4, 1840 in Schumann, *Jugendbriefe*, 312.

⁹⁷ Schumann, *Tagebücher*, vol. 3, 331.

myth of Genoveva to which Schumann was drawn, but rather a very specific literary treatment of it, Friedrich Hebbel's *Genoveva*, which had first been published in 1841. At the time, the legend would have been well-known to most of German or French cultural heritage, even if the story did not survive through the twentieth century with the persistence of many of those tales collected by the brothers Grimm. He set about composing what would prove to be his only opera beginning in late 1847 and completed the work by August 1848, though a series of delays in securing a performance pushed the work's premiere back to 1850. He set about 2850.

2.1.1 The Libretto

The legend of Geneviève dates back to the Middle Ages, and is one of several tales from that period that concern the chastity of a wife being falsely called into question. The legend's title character is said to have been based on Marie of Brabant, ¹⁰⁰ the wife of Louis II, Duke of Bavaria who was beheaded in 1256 after being found guilty of adultery, of which she was posthumously absolved. ¹⁰¹ The name was likely changed to Geneviève (Genoveva in German) by members of a cult associated with St. Geneviève, a fifth-century Parisian nun and patroness of

⁹⁸ Given the recent reinvigoration of the fairly tale genre even on network television in the United States as of 2012, it would be interesting to see what changes in the reception history of Schumann's opera may have been made had he chosen a more enduring story from the collective European imagination, like *Schneewittchen und die sieben Zwerge*.

⁹⁹ Ironically, and much to Schumann's chagrin, one of the factors contributing to its lengthy delay was its getting passed over for a performance of Meyerbeer's *Le Prophete*. See Daverio, *Herald*, 341–42. The work would eventually premiere in Leipzig on June 25th.

¹⁰⁰ A region in the Low Countries (now the Belgian province of Flemish Barbrant) that was a duchy of the Holy Roman Empire, first established in 1183.

¹⁰¹ Jennie Augusta Giehl, "The 'Genvieve Legend' in the German Drama," (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1908), 2.

Paris.¹⁰² The legend would have been known to most Europeans, and was especially circulated in German culture in the nineteenth century. Indeed, its establishment in the consciousness of German myth was one of its most appealing characteristics for Schumann, who was determined to produce a solidly new 'German' type of opera. Schumann himself would have been acquainted with the folk version of the story through Wigand's *Geschichte von der heiligen Pfalzgräfin Genoveva*, published in Leipzig in 1838.¹⁰³ Ludwig Richter, who provided the woodcut illustrations for the publication, later provided cover illustrations for Schumann's *Album für die Jugend*, op. 68 in 1848 and *Lieder-Album für die Jugend*, op. 79 in 1849.¹⁰⁴



Figure 6. An angel appears to Genoveva in Richter's "Genoveva in the Wilderness" 105

 102 For more about the original Latin legend and its history from the middle ages, see the introduction to Jennie Giehl's M.A. thesis, listed in the note above.

¹⁰³ G. Marbach, ed. *Geschichte von der heiligen Pfalzgräfin Genoveva*. Volksbücher 8 (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1838).

¹⁰⁴ Jensen, Schumann, 323.

¹⁰⁵ Ludwig Tieck, Geschichte von der heiligen Pfalzgräfin Genoveva (Leipzig, 1838), 26.

The kernel of the story remains unchanged in most versions and in basic form runs thus: Genoveva, wife of Count Siegfried, is left in the care of her husband's friend, the youthful Golo, when Siegfried departs to fight in the Crusades. Golo, whose illicit advances on Genoveva are spurned, falsely accuses her of adultery, and she is sentenced to death. However, those responsible for her execution take pity on her and leave her to roam in the woods, which she does for six years. Siegfried returns, and learning of the events, thinks his wife dead. One day, while out on a hunt, he comes across Genoveva and his son, to whom Genoveva had given birth in the woods. All is well when Siegfried reinstates both wife and son to their proper societal places, and everyone lives happily ever after.

Schumann initially enlisted the help of Robert Reinick to compose the libretto, and it was Reinick who may have suggested to Schumann that he should also look at Ludwig Tieck's dramatic poem, *Leben und Tod der heiligen Genoveva* (The Life and Death of Saint Genevieve), which Schumann did. Schumann and Reinick soon grew at odds over the direction the libretto would take, and Schumann eventually took Reinick off the project altogether and proceeded to compile and compose the libretto himself. One of Schumann's concepts for the libretto in which he differed in opinion from Reinick was the retention of a great deal of the original literary sources upon which he was drawing. This presented a difficulty in the case of Hebbel's drama, which was written in prose. Nonetheless, Schumann seemed concerned to create a product that was every bit as literary as the original source, even if music were to be added. Despite the fact that Schumann wrote much of the text, an examination of the primary sources and the portions borrowed from each must first be undertaken.

2.1.1.1 Ludwig Tieck's Version

The most popular version of the Genoveva legend was Ludwig Tieck's, published in 1799. However, the inspiration for Tieck's treatment of the subject came from two places. First, in 1797, he read the unpublished manuscript of Friedrich Maler Müller's *Golo und Genoveva*, which can be said to be the first truly literary adaptation of the Genoveva legend. The second source was the *Volksbuch von der Pfalzgräfin Genoveva*, which initially appeared in 1647. It is in the *Volksbuch* where we first find many of the narrative points that passed down all the way to Tieck and Hebbel, such as Golo's nurse as an accomplice, Siegfried's wound and stopping in Strasburg to visit the witch, Drago's ghost, and Genoveva's bearing a son.

Most of Tieck's inspiration came from Müller's version, however, so a brief comparison is warranted here. Müller wrote his drama between 1775 and 1781, though it was not published until 1811. [108] (It is not known whether or not Schumann ever read or was even aware of Müller's *Golo und Genoveva*, though there are some similarities between it and Schumann's libretto, not least of which, the ending in which Genoveva does not die). To be sure, Müller's work is classic *Sturm und Drang*. His Golo is a veritable Werther, and the comparison can be extended to Siegfried and Genoveva, who are just as clearly Albert and Charlotte. In the same way, Golo's mother, Mathilde, owes much to Lady Macbeth; she is the mover of the action in Müller's play. Full of ambitions for her son, it is her scheming that leads to the tragedy, though Golo accepts the guilt and the responsibility. Mathilde is the most interesting character in Müller's version of the story, where she has a far bigger presence than in either Tieck's or Hebbel's (who may both have avoided this 'mistake' by Müller for the imbalance it created in

¹⁰⁶ Giehl, "Genivieve," 30.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 13–14

the Genoveva theme.) Her disdain for accepted law also places her firmly as a *Sturm und Drang* character, but the enthusiasm with which Müller breathed life into her overshadows the true tragic character as supported by both Tieck and Hebbel, who is Golo. Only after Mathilde's departure from the drama does Golo regain some of his strength as a dramatic character. He stands up to accept his fate and his guilt, recognizing that he must be true to the nature given to him by God: "Ihr Elenden, die nicht fühlen, wie jammervoll dem Unglücklichen ist! Ihr schmähet mich, schaut auf mein Verbrechen, aber nicht auf das Schicksal, das mich bis dahin trieb." [You wretches, who do not feel how full of misery is the ill-fated one! You taunt me; you look at my crime, but not at my fate, which drove me to it.] Golo's acceptance of death from the executioners whom he had already shown the ability to overpower is as much a suicide as Werther's pistol, and with the same motivation. Schumann's account shows sympathy with the *Sturm und Drang* of Müller's Golo in that Golo perceives his guilt to stem only from his existence. Hebbel takes the same stance, although, rather than obscuring it, he places it as the centerpiece of his drama.

Tieck's *Genoveva*, which was composed a couple of decades after Müller's, is altogether different in quality. It is as much as product of Romanticism as Müller's was of Goethe and the *Sturm und Drang*. What defines Tieck's dramatization of the legend is its scope. Though there is not much in the way of character development, Tieck succeeds in creating a comprehensive atmosphere of the Middle Ages. After all, Tieck's version was composed during an age when study of the Middle Ages was very popular, far more so even than when Müller was composing his text. Accordingly, there are scenes, such as the one in the Saracen and Christian

¹⁰⁹ Friedrich Müller, *Golo und Genovefa*, Act V, Scene 12. In *Werke* (Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1811), III, 419.

¹¹⁰ Like Goethe's *Faust*, Tieck's *Genoveva* was a drama in style rather than actual practice, as it was never performed on stage.

camps and even on the battlefield itself, which lend nothing at all to the Genoveva story, but probably contributed heavily to the popularity of the work. Part of the reason for the loose dramatic construction is the fact that Tieck borrowed heavily from the *Volksbuch*, including its exact sequence of scenes.

Related to this is another striking feature of Tieck's drama: there is no central character to speak of. Neither Genoveva nor Golo is given a starring role. Rather, the focus shifts from scene to scene, sacrificing individual character development for a purely event-based narrative. Even characters that are minor or non-existent in other settings, such as Charles Martel and Abd-el Rahman, are given larger roles in Tieck's drama. Tieck seemed concerned only with action; a feature that Robert Reinick must have found particularly compelling when he was looking for sources for a libretto that would please crowds attuned to Meyerbeer-esque spectacles in the German opera houses of his day.

Right and wrong are made extremely clear in Tieck's version of the legend, and his understanding of the Genoveva theme as the age old triangle between two men and a woman is made painfully simplistic. Siegfried is the noble hero, Golo the wicked villain, and Genoveva little more than a saintly object of their mutual desire. Indeed, Tieck spends much time ensuring the utter infallibility of Genoveva at the expense of her humanness. While in Müller Genoveva is treated as a "mere" woman instead of a saint (one of the changes he made from the Volksbuch), Tieck reverses that trend, and recourses to Genoveva's original saintly nature. Tieck's Genoveva studies the lives of the saints, likes taking long walks with the chaplain, and even has visions of Jesus and of heaven. In the other settings of the legend, the mental conflict that arises in Genoveva at her attraction to the dashing Golo and her pledge to her husband is explored at least in a small way. But this is not so in Tieck, whose Genoveva is utterly flat and

lifeless. Even after hearing Golo's declaration of love to her, she simply leaves him to study the Bible with Drago. Her death in the arms of Siegfried at the end of the play also amounts to a kind of martyrdom to which she was destined from the opening act.

With Golo, Tieck fares better in creating a character with some humanity and even some traceable development. At first, his love for Genoveva is noble, and he wishes to declare it so. However, as the play progresses, his love transforms into an all-encompassing obsession, and proves his downfall. Where Müller's Golo was a product of the *Sturm und Drang*, Tieck's Golo is just as much a product of Romanticism and ends up being *too* sentimental. It is hard to see Tieck's Golo as a villain, so positive are his qualities early in the play. The same characteristics that make Hebbel's and Schumann's Golo inherently flawed psychologically make Tieck's Golo a Romantic sentimentalist *par excellence*.

Perhaps the most conspicuous departure in Tieck's legend from Müller's is the role of the nurse Gertrud (Mathilde in Müller's version). Rather than a strong woman of purpose and ideas, she is weak and sees nothing necessarily wrong in Golo's love for Genoveva. In fact, she is shocked when the events take the dramatic turn that they do. However, she is more the nurturing mother-character than the scheming manipulator, and given the fact that she is conflated into Schumann's Margaretha, this is an important facet to her personality.

All in all, it is surprising that Schumann retained any of Tieck's text at all, given its spectacular and superficial nature. This is exactly what Schumann did not want in a libretto, and his retention of some of the text may have stemmed from reservations he had that a successful opera could center entirely on character development, as is the case in the play by Hebbel. The most important conceptual idea borrowed from Tieck, however, is the evenness with which Schumann treats his four main characters, rather than emphasizing one almost exclusively as

Hebbel had done. The main strength of Tieck's text, i.e., creating a compelling picture of a past age, is also lost on Schumann, who downplays the setting save in one passing reference to Charles Martel in the opening scene.

2.1.1.2 Friedrich Hebbel's Version

Friedrich Hebbel's *Genoveva* was published in 1843, though at the time Schumann read it in 1847, it had not yet been staged.¹¹¹ It would be hard to find two treatments of a single theme as opposed to each other as Tieck's and Hebbel's versions of the legend, which makes it all the more remarkable that Schumann drew from both. While Tieck's is an epic panorama of medieval imagery, Hebbel's is a dark psychological drama centered completely on the character of Golo. Even in the setting the two are at odds, as Hebbel commits to no specific time or place for his drama; rather he places it only in "poetischer Zeit," or "poetic time." The concept of forbidden love is not a mere narrative conflict for Hebbel, as it is in Müller and Tieck, but rather the backdrop on which the entire moral question of the drama is played out. H. W. Puckett suggests that this theme of Hebbel's drama might have as much to do with autobiographical elements as literary ones. At the time Hebbel was writing *Genoveva* in 1840, he was torn between his indebtedness to his friend Elise Lessing and his attraction to the beautiful Emma Schröder. His position, caught between duty and desire, parallels that of Golo, so the scrutiny of Golo's personality and psychology is only natural.¹¹²

Jensen, *Schumann*, 243. The first performance of Hebbel's *Genoveva* was in Prague in 1849. See Jean M. Leaver, "The First Performances of Friedrich Hebbel's "Genoveva" and "Nibelungen" Dramas, and Their Connexion with Ernst Raupach's Dramas on the Same Subjects," *The Modern Language Review* 55 no. 3 (July, 1960), 393.

¹¹² H. W. Puckett, "The 'Genoveva' Theme with Particular Reference to Hebbel's Treatment," *Modern Philology* 13 no. 10 (February 1916): 185–6. Puckett references the comments of editor Richard Specht, who likens the asides and monologues of Golo to entries in Hebbel's diary.

The most important difference between Hebbel's drama and Tieck's, however, is the nature of the guilt that surrounds Golo. Though Müller's Golo accepts his fate in the end, even acknowledging that he had no control over his actions, he is still the bearer of the guilt and responsibility (along with his mother) for the tragedy that transpires. In Hebbel, Golo is still guilty, but guilty without fault, for Hebbel makes clear that Golo is a victim of his own nature. Puckett puts it most succinctly:

Both Müller and Tieck handled the question in the conventional way. Golo is a sinner; he is tried before the moral law, found guilty, and punished accordingly. Not so with Hebbel. His Golo must face the same moral law, just as the others do. He is also found guilty, but guilty in a very different way: his guilt consists only in that he lives; for since he lives, he is subject to overpowering circumstances. In short, the fault is in the moral law, and not in the individual. Whereas Müller and Tieck must condemn this character, Hebbel justifies him. 113

In this, we see Hebbel's sympathy with the *Sturm und Drang*, but unlike Müller, Hebbel's Golo is no Werther. Rather, he is uncompromising and unmitigated; an irresolvable conflict is set up the moment both he and Genoveva are on stage. Hebbel himself made this clear: "Golo liebt ein schönes Weib, das seiner Hut übergeben ward, und er ist kein Werther. Darin liegt sein Unglück, seine Schuld und seine Rechtfertigung." (Golo loves a beautiful woman, who has been handed over to his care, and he is no Werther. Therein lies his misfortune, his guilt and his justification.) Hebbel's Golo even goes so far as to cast the responsibility of his actions on God Himself. As deep as Hebbel peers into Golo's psyche, Hebbel's Golo is not about psychological development. Despite the actions of the play, Golo is unchanged from

¹¹³ Ibid., 190.

¹¹⁴ Diary entry of February 2, 1839. Friedrich Hebbel, *Tagebücher I*, ed. Richard Maria Werner (Berlin: Behr, 1905), 319.

beginning to end: a feature that Schumann extends to all of his characters. The closest Hebbel comes to psychological progression for a character is in Siegfried. In the *Nachspiel* (written in 1851—a full year after Schumann's opera had seen its first performances), Genoveva instructs Siegfried on the virtues of forgiveness (directed to Golo) by teaching him the *pater noster*.

This fact also highlights another important facet of Hebbel's Genoveva, and that is its religious imagery. Müller did away entirely with religion in Golo und Genoveva, and Tieck's heavily religious Genoveva was superficial. In Hebbel, however, religion permeates the fabric of the text, so that only Golo is set against it. This is to be expected for Hebbel, in whose prose tragedies biblical themes are a unifying factor. 115 Both Golo and Genoveva reference their conflict in terms of Christ's Crucifixion. In Act III, Genoveva reflects on the Crucifixion as a "Mord an Gott" (murder of God), and Golo independently sees himself as that very thing—a "Gottesmörder," or God's murderer. The conflict of Golo versus religion is summed up when Golo advances on Genoveva and defies the Crucifix with which she attempts to shield herself. Schumann did not include such religious or biblical metaphors in his text beyond the superficial ones that were a product of the opera's medieval setting. What Schumann did borrow, however, was the deeper implication of a multi-layered dramatic concept. In setting Golo apart, Hebbel created a conflict between the individual (Golo) and the whole (the essence of religion), which is represented collectively in all of the other characters. Albeit with a slightly different motivation, Schumann also conflated his characters into one collective representation, though with Schumann, his collective representation also acts on the level of a single psychological entity.

Although Hebbel's tragedy centers on Golo, he is not the only tragic character. Genoveva's death before Siegfried can rescue her creates tragic characters of her and Siegfried as well. Siegfried's loss can even be said to be more poignant than Golo's, as Siegfried lost what

¹¹⁵ See Mary Garland, *Hebbel's Prose Tragedies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 304–323.

he once had, the love of Genoveva. The nature of Siegfried and Genoveva's love for each other can be called into question, however, as neither character ever comes close to expressing his or her feelings on the same level as Golo does. For this reason, Hebbel considered Siegfried originally to be the guiltiest character; it was nothing short of base treachery to fail to love the divine Genoveva. When he first conceived of his idea for a new drama on the Genoveva theme. he wrote in his diary:

> Der schuldigste ist der Pfalzgraf: warum hat er eine solche Natur, die ihn bis auf den Grund in ihr klares Innere hinabschauen ließ, nicht erkannt? Es ist ungleich sündlicher, das Göttliche in unsrer Nähe nicht zu ahnen, es ohne weiteres für sein schwarzes Gegenteil zu halten, als es in weltmörderischer Raserei zu zerstören, weil wir es nicht besitzen können. 116

> [The guiltiest is the Count: why didn't he recognize such a nature, which let him look clear to the depths of its inside? It is much more sinful to not appreciate the divine in our presence; to regard it as its black opposite, then to destroy it through world-murderous rage, because we cannot possess it.]

In the final product, however, Siegfried is not given any of the blame, and his guilt, just like that of Golo, is inherent in his being. This is an important parallel to Schumann's musical treatment, which also absolves any character of personal guilt. What happens is inevitable and determined by fate; no character can be responsible for his actions.

2.1.1.3 Schumann's Version of the Libretto

Schumann's final libretto can best be described as a reworking of Hebbel with a smattering of Tieck and possibly Reinick. Rather little text was preserved wholesale from either Tieck or

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 323.

Hebbel (which is somewhat surprising, given the nature of his disagreements with Reinick), though the end product most closely resembles the latter.

Although Schumann owes more to Hebbel than to anyone else for both the text and the spirit of his libretto, Hebbel was only a touchstone for Schumann from which he created a unique and universally German work. It is easy to see why Schumann was attracted to Hebbel's treatment, as it was dark and full of the sort of psychological depth he was partial to in the other literature he admired. Nonetheless, Schumann's libretto falls far short of Hebbel's in terms of individual character development, darkness in tone, and tragic elements.

The central conflict in *Genoveva* is of course between Golo and Genoveva, but Schumann's Golo is no longer the central character that Hebbel made him. Rather, Golo's actions are but one facet of a four-way struggle among Golo, Genoveva, Siegfried and Margaretha. Schumann finds a middle ground here between Tieck and Hebbel, and one which is very important. Though not as simply drawn as the characters in Tieck's drama, Schumann's characters are nonetheless both archetypes and fatally incomplete: each is guilty by virtue of his or her mere existence, as Hebbel's Golo. Schumann's Golo is neither the *Sturm und Drang* character of Müller nor the tragic centerpiece of Hebbel. Germanist Peter von Matt sees him as the embodiment of Schiller's "ganze Mensch"— the realization of the individual as described in *Über Anmuth und Würde* (*On Grace and Dignity*), but with a Romantic flaw. Von Matt likens him rather to the boy pulling the thorn out of his foot in Kleist's *Über das Marionettentheater*. Golo strives, like the boy in the story, but remains unable to recapture that fleeting moment of perfection. Despite Golo being a self-proclaimed expert in the arts of fighting, riding, singing, and loving, he can never overcome his stigma of illegitimacy.

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¹¹⁷ Ronny Dietrich, "Schumann's *Genoveva*—A Modern-Day Drama of the Soul" notes included in *Genoveva von Robert Schumann* (Leipzig: Arthaus Musik, 2008), 11.

Nor is Golo alone in suffering a deficiency. Siegfried, on the other hand, is Golo's counterpart—he has nobility, but none of the skills and imagination of Golo. Likewise, Genoveva and Margaretha are reciprocal characters. Genoveva represents beauty and faithfulness, but lacks Margaretha's compassion and far-sightedness. Margaretha herself is actually a combination of characters in Schumann's version. Schumann's Margaretha is both the witch (who she is in Tieck and Hebbel) and the nurse/mother character (Mathilde/Gertrud/Katharina in Müller, Tieck, and Hebbel respectively). This amalgamation emphasizes her reciprocal nature to Genoveva, and serves to encapsulate multiple female archetypes into just two characters.

Schumann had shown a proclivity to represent the unity of opposites from early in his career—Florestan and Eusebius being the most recognizable manifestation. As shown above, two of Schumann's favorite authors dealt extensively with the concept of a divided self: Jean Paul Richter and E.T.A. Hoffmann. When seen in the light of Carus's monad theory, however, Schumann could now extend that division and fracture it further, so that not just two, but every character combined could represent a part of an ideal unity—Carus's *Gattung*. Only when viewed together do the four principals approach a representation of a 'complete person.' Indeed, Nikolaus Harnoncourt, noting each character's restricted literary role, writes "I could well imagine them to be facets of a single complex character." Schumann, however, did not limit that process to four. The other minor characters add single 'facets' to this collective as well, each one of those "infinite ideas that surface and realize themselves in the spirit of humanity." Thus Schumann's approach to *Genoveva*, what was an outgrowth of a trend that began as early as his school days, was enabled by Carus's theories to be expanded considerably.

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¹¹⁸ Mertl, "Reinventing Opera," 27.

While Golo and Margaretha are more obviously flawed when compared to the traditional "heroes," based on the fact that their actions can be readily perceived as treacherous, Schumann was careful not to allow Siegfried and Genoveva to appear redeemable either. Golo and Margaretha are the dynamic forces behind the drama, while Siegfried and Genoveva are set pieces and foils for their gender counterparts. Even the love between Siegfried and Genoveva is suspect (as it tends to be in the other dramatic treatments), and there is little affection wasted between the two until the very end of the opera. When Siegfried is away, Genoveva longs only for his company so he can quiet the rabble outside:

Siegfried, kehr bald zurück, Brich ihre Übermut, Sie stürzen Haus und Hof dir um!

[Siegfried, return soon, Stop their impudence Before they wreck your house and home!]

Likewise, when Siegfried learns of Genoveva's possible treachery, he is quick to condemn her to death without a hint of emotion. Critics often point to Siegfried's line to Genoveva upon their parting "Du bist ein deutsches Weib, so klage nicht!" [You are a German wife, so do not weep!] as an example of the antiquatedness of Schumann's opera, yet this line reveals the flawed character of Siegfried and not of Schumann. Each character can be understood as the failure of some Classical ideal, which, at its heart, is one of *Genoveva*'s main points.

Like Hebbel's, Schumann's setting is largely in 'poetic time,' despite the passing temporal references that frame the action in the beginning. After Siegfried leaves, the setting becomes entirely ambiguous, and the drama could take place anywhere and in any time. The

¹¹⁹ See Section 3.3.2.

significance of Schumann's decision is further discussed below, but once again, there is precedence for it in Carus's writings. At the same level of mind or soul at which we are all connected through nature, namely the *algemeines absolut Unbewußtes*, the concept of measureable time does not exist. Carus states that there only exists what he refers to as "relative Ewigkeit," or relative eternity. In such a state, there is only a past and future, and no concept of the present. At the deeper level of Schumann's drama, this also holds true. Events proceed from one another, but relate to each other most prominently though remembrance and foresight. Margaretha, for example, is driven by her harboring of an undisclosed past grievance against Siegfried and her vision of Golo's potential for destruction.

Finally, the last significant feature of Schumann's libretto is the benevolent way in which he spares all of his central character's lives. Genoveva, who dies in both Tieck's and Hebbel's versions, is saved in Schumann's in what has often been criticized as an overly-sentimental decision. Golo, too, is never explicitly extinguished, though he is in all other treatments of the story. In Schumann's version, he simply leaves and is suppressed. Golo may be understood by the audience to have been killed, but the orchestral cue that occurs when he is offstage is one that is more related to a transformation than a true death. The decision to not end Golo's life onstage is significant when considering the place of high dramatic importance Golo's death has in Tieck's and Hebbel's plays. In fact, Golo's imminent death is the closing scene in Hebbel, and surely Schumann would not have wasted such a crowd-pleasing moment without a higher purpose. The overall effect achieved here is one that considerably lightens the story. Once again, there is at least an implicit association that can be drawn with Carus's unconscious. One of Carus's chief contributions to the concept of the unconscious mind is that it is not the dark place that most vague references of the term had hitherto suggested. Thus, for Schumann's

¹²⁰ Carus, Entwicklungsgeschichte, 25–26.

Genoveva to be an analogy to Carus's unconscious mind, a state of both good and evil—with neither overwhelming the other—would be the most apt solution. The optimism of the ending would also resonate with Carus's faith in the divine component at our deepest being.

Schumann's libretto is, therefore, noteworthy not for bringing together the richest qualities of both Tieck and Hebbel's dramas, but rather for using the most conservative elements from each to mitigate the other. We are left with a story in which: 1) there is no guilt or morality to speak of; 2) no character is complete in and of him- or herself (and each is more impotent and ambiguous than in either Tieck or Hebbel); 3) the status quo is entirely maintained; 4) the story is neither tragic nor lighthearted; and 5) time and place have no defining features beyond a vague spirituality and increasing emphasis on the realm of nature. Taken together, all of these features set up Schumann's opera as a vehicle to show us something that has less to do with a given narrative and more to do with the nature of the human condition. The music, as discussed below, further emphasizes each of these points and connects Schumann's innovative drama to Carus's architecture of the unconscious soul.

2.2 SCHUMANN'S MUSIC AS THE UNCONSCIOUS MIND

Schumann's unique literary version of the Genoveva legend has passed largely unnoticed by critical attention, with most of its negative reception centering on the music. Much of that negative criticism, however, misses the point and ironically calls attention to the work's strong progressive elements. Both Hanslick and Krüger, in their reviews, for example, took issue with the lack of differentiation between characters and the less-than-tuneful 'melodies' employed by Schumann. Both points could be summed up by the Norwegian composer Halfdan Kjerulf who,

while studying in Leipzig at the time of the premiere, wrote "Schumann has forgotten that *singing* is the main point of opera." ¹²¹

Those very features pointed out by critics at the time as major flaws in fact point strongly to what Schumann was trying to achieve by creating a new German sound. The lack of differentiation between characters would only be a failure if such a differentiation was what Schumann intended—a goal only assumed by those same critics who were desperate to find a leitmotivic structure. Rather, this very point is crucial to my reinvestigation of the work, and reveals that Schumann went to great lengths to preserve a bond of unity between all of his characters.

The attacks on the melodic deficiencies of Schumann's opera are at once a reaction to both Italian and French opera as well as popular German *Singspiel*; in fact, Schumann's approach here is one of his most progressive. The vocal style of *Genoveva* is almost entirely *rezitativischer Gesang*, a hybrid style pioneered by Schumann in 1843 with his first oratorio *Das Paradies und die Peri*. This style was used by Schumann in the place of Italian-style recitative to keep the pace of the music continually flowing. Subsequent generations have seen this element of Schumann's composition as a successful and elegant solution to the dichotomy of recitative and aria that he sought to eliminate, yet the confusion with which it was initially received did irreparable damage. The *rezitativischer Gesang* style is characterized by melodic lines that are neither strophic nor repetitive and use irregular accompaniments and frequent modulation, yet maintain the lyricism and clear phrasing of a *Lied*. The distinction between the *rezitativischer Gesang* and straight *Lied* forms are highlighted in both of Schumann's oratorios, but the former style dominates the texture of *Genoveva*. In relegating the vocal parts to largely

¹²¹ Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, "Some recollections by two Norwegian artists of German musical life in the 1850's," *Studia musicologica norvegica* 2 (1976): 127.

declamatory (if still quite musically powerful) lines, Schumann was placing an emphasis on the role of the orchestra itself, another foreshadowing of Wager's later operas. In making the orchestra the more prominent musical force, Schumann was forcing the listener to hear the singers as inhabitants of a definite musical sound-world as opposed to driving the action entirely with their voices, with the orchestra reacting to their omnipotent whims. Schumann did not 'forget' that singing was the main point of opera, but he was directly challenging the notion. As discussed below, the thematic interactions between the singers and the orchestra highlight their roles as part of a single, unified sound, as opposed to two distinct elements.

A few clues to the musical direction of *Genoveva* can be found in Schumann's reaction to Carl Maria von Weber's *Euryanthe*. In his *Theaterbüchlein*, an unpublished collection of music criticism of dramatic works, Schumann lauded Weber's opera in no uncertain terms:

Eine Kette glänzender Juwelen vom Anfang bis zum Schluss. Alles höchst geistreich und meisterhaft. Die Charakteristik der einzelnen, namentlich Eglantinens und Euryanthens, wie herrlich—und wie klingen die Instrumente: Aus der innersten Tiefe sprechen sie zu uns.

Wir waren ganz voll davon, sprachen noch lange darüber. Das genialste Stück der Oper scheint mir das Duett zwischen Lysiart und Eglantine im 2ten Akt. Der Marsch im 3ten Akt zu Ehren der nämlichen ist's auch, aber nicht Einzelnem, dem Ganzen gebührt die Krone. 122

[A chain of sparkling jewels from the beginning to the end. All most clever and masterly. The characterization of the individuals—namely of Eglantine and Euryanthe, how wonderful—and how the instruments sound! From the innermost depths they speak to us.

We were quite full of it, spoke long about it. The most ingenious piece in the opera seems to me the duet between Lysiart and Eglantine in the second act. The march in the third act is also of the same quality, but the crown belongs not to the individual numbers, rather to the whole.]

¹²² Schumann, "Theaterbüchlein" in Gesammelte Schriften, vol. 2, 161–62.

Several important observations can be gleaned from this commentary. First of all, *Euryanthe* was among the only Romantic operas truly praised by Schumann. In attempting the creation of a truly German operatic style, *Euryanthe* can be seen as the most conspicuous model on which Schumann based his own work. Not only are there distinct plot similarities, including Schumann's expansion of the supernatural in *Genoveva*, but there are musical ones as well. Most importantly, this can be found in the musical seams, or lack thereof, that both Weber and Schumann employed. In an age of German opera dominated by the number opera, *Euryanthe* and *Genoveva* both use smooth transitions between their scenes (without abandoning the number system itself) that allow them to flow into one another so that the musical fabric is never interrupted. Schumann's final remark lauding the entirety of Weber's opera over any individual parts of it speaks to this recognition.

However, Schumann's emphasis on (and preference for) the "whole" over any particular number also sheds light on the way he eventually conceived his thematic material, which differed from both Weber and Wagner. This is underscored by the observation concerning the characterization of the individuals. What Schumann picked up on in regards to each character was not any particular related theme, but rather the orchestration. He didn't exclaim "how the themes captured their essence!" but rather, "how the instruments sound!" This should point us on a different path in looking for any individualization in Schumann's own characters, which are defined by timbre, articulation, and musical character, as opposed to motivic identifiers.

2.2.1 Thematic relationships in *Genoveva*

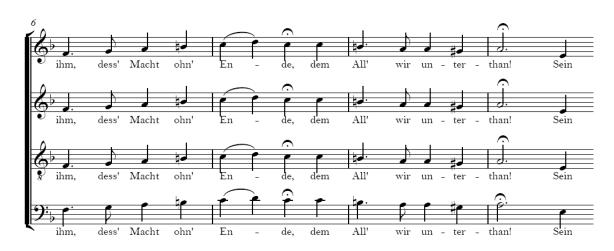
The heart of the confusion surrounding Schumann's use of thematic material can be shown by comparing a few scenes. Both of the opera's main themes, or, I should say both of the

manifestations of the single theme, are found throughout the overture. In the ensuing discussion, I will refer to these as Versions I and II of the central theme. From the outset, there is nothing in the opera that hasn't already been prepared for the listener before the curtain goes up.

This central theme also serves as the focal point of the opening to the first act and the closing of the fourth. The initial music of the opera proper—in the form of a chorale—can be heard as the source from which all of the subsequent thematic material is drawn (Example 1).



Example 1. Genoveva, No. 1 Chor Und Recitativ, Opening Chorale ¹²³



 $^{^{123}}$ [Lift up your hearts and hands Full of joy to heaven, To Him, who is ever mighty, Whose servants we all are.]

It is important to note here that the voice parts are not singing in harmony, but rather in octaves and unisons. Evidently Schumann wanted this theme to be heard as clearly as possible. It is this theme which serves as the source for all of the thematic material in the opera and which represents not one particular character, but all of them. This thematic idea is the essence of the *absolut Unbewuβte* of Carus: the "collective unconscious" of Jung.

Schumann's chorale has often been compared to the chorale "Ermuntre dich, mein schwacher Geist" (Take Courage, My Weak Spirit), a seventeenth-century melody, versions of which were set in four different Bach cantatas. However, despite this connection appearing in several studies of the work, the way in which Schumann farms his chorale for further thematic material stresses the *differences* in the melodies, thus rendering any other similarities either coincidental or intentionally obscured. The original chorale melody is shown in Example 2:

Example 2. Opening of Chorale Melody "Ermuntre dich, mein schwacher Geist" 126



Schumann's version, though in the same key, is notably in common time as opposed to the triple meter that "Ermuntre dich" retained in nearly all of its settings. When seen side by side, the contours, implied harmonies, cadences, and phrasing are all similar:

¹²⁴ Bach uses a common-time variant of the melody in the twelfth movement of BWV 248, and it appears in all movements of BWV 454. Using a different text, "Du Lebensfürst Herr Jesu Christ," Bach again employed the melody in BWV 11/6 and BWV 43/11.

¹²⁵ Hermann Abert was the first to suggest this connection in 1910, but it has been repeated by many scholars, even as recently as 2007; Elizabeth Paley makes a passing reference to it in *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, ed. Beate Perry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 207.

¹²⁶ The melody itself was composed in 1641 by Johann Schop. The version above is as it appeared in the *Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch* (no. 24): modified slightly by Wolfgang Karl Briegel in 1687.

Example 3. Opening of Chorale Melody from *Genoveva*



However, the key identifiers to the chorale material's return throughout the opera are the descending fifth between the first two notes, the elongation of the second note compared to the third (typically a dotted rhythm), and the upper neighbor to the dominant note at the half-cadence. None of these qualities is shared by "Ermuntre dich," so that the thematic material serves only as a reminder of Schumann's melody, and any possible reference to the older chorale is entirely obliterated after the initial unison hearing. Passages that retain both the contour and the relative rhythmic values per note of the opening of the chorale melody, I label "Version I" (Examples 4 and 5).

Example 4. *Genoveva*, Overture, mm. 3–5 (Version I)



Example 5. Genoveva, Overture, mm. 348–55 (Version I)



The most frequently heard characteristic of the chorale melody throughout *Genoveva* is the contour of the first three notes. In fact, it is this very characteristic that can be seen to link what I have referred to as "Version I" and "Version II" of the main theme (motives which all other discussions of the work—based on their misguided enforcement of a leitmotivic structure—consider distinct).

Version II of the theme is less specifically defined than Version I, but at the same time is much easier to hear, as its identity is gestural, one-directional, and characterized by large intervals. It could best be described as a sequence of descending intervals (usually fourths), though the number of repetitions varies. Further, these intervals are most often linked by ascending minor seconds, as shown in Examples 6 and 7:

Example 6. *Genoveva*, Overture, mm. 61–63 (Version II)



Example 7. Genoveva, No, 7 (Finale), mm. 4–5 (Version II)



In each of the above cases, the descending pattern is preceded by a leap of an octave, though this is not always the case:

Example 8. Genoveva, No. 10, mm. 129–131 (Version II)



This gesture is also often extended and exaggerated, so that only its rough shape is maintained, though its appearance is unmistakable to the listener:

Example 9. Genoveva, No. 9, mm. 127–130 (Version II)

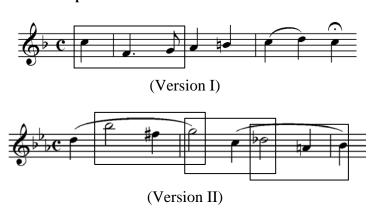


Example 10. *Genoveva*, No. 10, mm. 100–101 (Version II)



Regardless of the final shape of theme, the contour of the first three notes remains the motivic germ that unites versions I and II. Though each has a distinctly different overall shape, they share the same building block for producing it.

Example 11. Motivic similarities of Versions I and II



Version I produces a steady ascension after its initial fall, briefly attaining a moment above its initial pitch before returning to the same note on which it began—an apt metaphor for the opera itself, in which, after a series of tragedies and even a feeling of triumph, the realization that only the status quo has been maintained is inescapable. Version II, on the other hand, is constantly (and feebly) attempting rise after each fall, but the weight of its downward motion is irresistible, and can be seen as a series of false starts in trying to evoke the thematic material of Version I.

Thus these two themes, which at times appear almost indistinguishable and at others wildly different, could be interpreted as two sides of the same psyche: representatives of positive and negative impulses. The fact that they never appear exactly the same way more than once expresses the complexity of such a dichotomy and also further frustrates the theory that each appearance is a distinct leitmotiv. On an individual level, they lack referential fixity because they indeed are all references of the same central idea. Schumann even provides a textual clue to their inherent relatedness through a common source in the chorale itself. In the third stanza,

Schumann wrote the line "Er ist der Quell der Gnaden," (He is the source of grace). The word "Quell" is the high point of the chorale, emphasized by both duration and dynamic. Although Schumann composed this part of the text himself, the image of the "Quell" or "spring" is important in Hebbel's treatment of the legend, both in a figurative sense and as a physical meeting place. While the word "Quell" appears throughout Hebbel's text, it appears only once in Schumann's—during the opening chorale. 127

Carus's own words concerning the unconscious mind and the prospect of unity add an interesting perspective in hindsight on the early criticism of *Genoveva*. Concerning our perception of reality and our ability to differentiate manifestations of the whole, he writes:

und so halten wir dann wohl einigermaßen in Gedanken auseinander, was in Wahrheit und Wesenheit ewig verbunden und untrennbar vereinigt ist. 128

[This we somehow hold apart in thought something which in actuality and essence is eternally united and indivisible.] 129

Though each character (and we as listeners) is able to shape the idea into different and discernible representations, the idea itself is nonetheless the indivisible source of unity between all of the characters and events that take place. Ignoring this holistic view of the thematic material is losing the forest for the trees.

¹²⁸ Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 41. Carus precedes this: "Die Wirklichkeit—wir selbst—die Welt—Alles hat nur ein Dasein indem es zugleich und in untrennbarer Vereinigung Idee und Substanz ist. Nichtsdestoweniger vermögen wir in unserem eigenen ideellen Sein, in unserem Geiste zu unterscheiden, indem wir uns über die Natur stellen (metaphysisch verfahren) zwischen diesen beiden an sich Untrennbaren,…" [Actuality—we ourselves, the world, everything—exists only because it is at once and inseparably both idea and substance. And yet we ourselves can differentiate in our own minds between these really inseparable entities by rising above nature (metaphysically).]

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¹²⁷ As well as during the chorale's later return.

¹²⁹ Trans. Welch in Carus, *Development*, 34.

The specific manifestation of the central theme that results in its Version II is also no arbitrary outgrowth. In fact, the second version of the theme may have occurred to Schumann first. Though he began writing the overture to *Genoveva* and the opening chorale in December of 1847, he prominently featured a similar motive in the "Pater Ecsctaticus" movement of his *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* in 1844 (Example 12).

Violoncello solo:

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Example 12. Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 7 (2), mm. 1–3

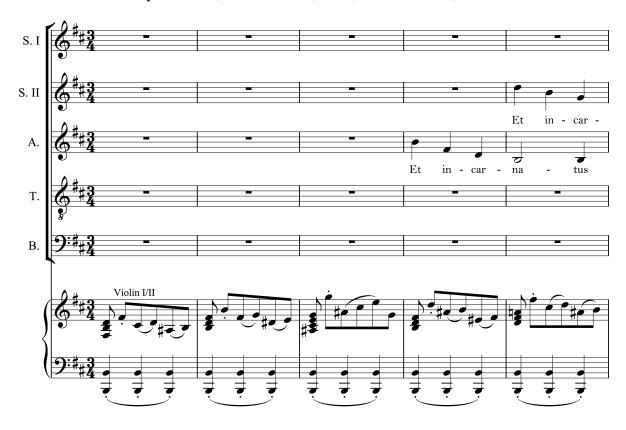
The theme, as in Genoveva, would eventually pervade the *Faust Scenes* to an alarming extent, though each of its other appearances, save those contained in the two versions of the *Schlusschor*, were composed *after* the completion of *Genoveva*. Its appearance in *Faust* is discussed in chapter four, though the significance of its association seems clearly to come from its rigorous development in *Genoveva*.

However, like the chorale itself, a possible source for this version of the theme may exist: one that offers further association of this theme with the concept of unity. While Laura Tunbridge notes that it bears a resemblance to Pizarro's revenge aria from Beethoven's *Fidelio*—a suggestion that has only limited applicability to the motive's use across both of

Λ

¹³⁰ Schumann composed the *Faust Scenes* over the course of nine years between 1844 and 1853; the Pater Ecstaticus scene was among the earliest composed.

Schumann's works¹³¹—a more enticing possibility can be found in Bach's Mass in B minor (Example 13).

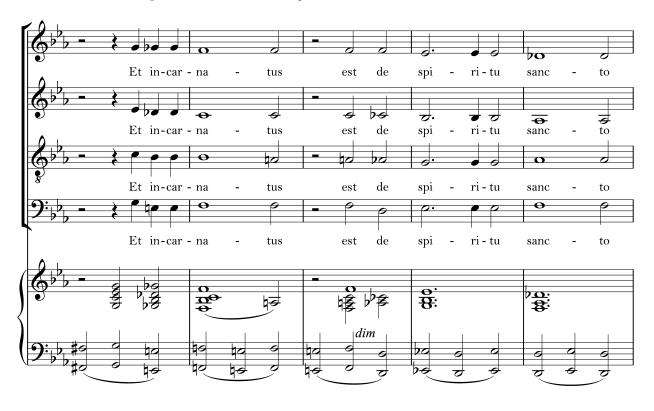


Example 13. Bach, *Mass in B minor*, Credo, "Et incarnatus est," mm. 1–5

Here, the motive is found accompanying the words "et incarnatus est" from the Credo. The line, Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto, (And made flesh by the Holy Spirit), has multiple significant connotations: it both serves to emphasize the connection between the worldly and the divine (the realm of the conscious and the unconscious) and brings to mind the concept of the Holy Trinity—one of the most enduring examples in Western culture for multiple individuals existing as one.

¹³¹ Laura Tunbridge, "Euphorion Falls: Schumann, Manfred, and Faust," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2005), 125

That Schumann might have found inspiration in Bach for one or both versions of the central theme of *Genoveva* is not a difficult leap to make. Schumann was deeply invested in the music of Bach in the middle- and late-1840s, a near obsession that resulted in many unpublished exercises as well as his *Sechs Fugen über den Namen: Bach* for organ, pedal piano, or harmonium, op. 60, composed in 1846, and revised in 1848. A close look at Schumann's own "et incarnatus est" from his 1852 Mass further supports this possible link and reveals a subtle, extended reference to the motive in the bass and cellos:



Example 14. Schumann, *Mass*, op. 147, Credo, "Et incarnatus est," mm. 1–5

This also emphasizes Schumann's spiritualization of the concept of redemption—a source of similarity among all of his major dramatic works—and highlights his careful symbolic use of sacred musical topoi.

2.2.2 Unconscious Voices

Through the first several numbers of the opera, the two motivic gestures are heard in the music of Genoveva and later reprised by her husband, the count Siegfried. Examples 15 and 16 also suggest the malleability of each version of the theme (I and II respectively) and highlight the motivic germ that connects them. Note that Genoveva's first utterance of the main theme, in Example 15, carries with it symbolic terminology: "Though we are apart, we are united by a sacred bond."



Example 15. *Genoveva*, No. 3, mm. 18–21 ¹³²

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¹³² [Though we are apart, a sacred bond unites us.]

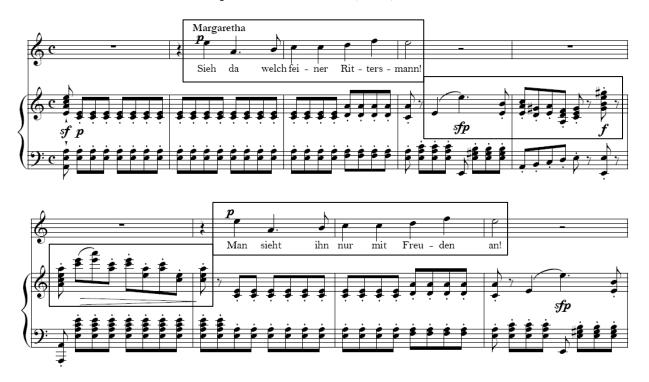
Example 16. *Genoveva*, No. 3, mm. 49–51 133



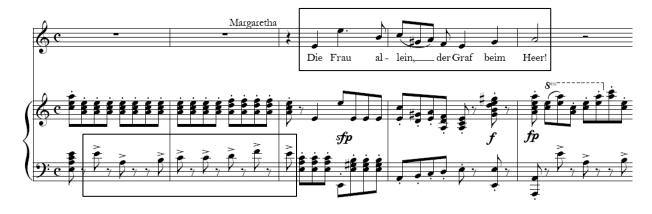
At this point in the opera, it is hard to fault the critics who were drawn in to a Wagnerian frame of thinking: that these themes are associative with the *sentiment* of the opening chorale. It is plausible for the listener to hear these protagonists' themes as appropriately connected yet distinct and also representative of the pious and spiritual connotations to which the themes were initially heard, as part of a religious chorale. Beyond these early moments, however, such a perspective becomes much more difficult to sustain. As early as the finale of Act I, these associations become seriously challenged, if not obliterated outright. Both versions of the theme suddenly appear to be the sole property of Margaretha, (the character in which Schumann had combined two characters from the legend, the nurse and the witch). The two thematic variations are for the first time heard side by side, as if one follows directly from the other. In this position, they also seem diametrically opposed, exposing the dual nature of Margaretha and demonstrating the wide range of possible associations of the central thematic idea. Her words are sung at first to Version I of the theme, but as her evil plan is revealed, she begins to sing instead to the second theme, merely delaying her entrance over the same accompaniment (Examples 17, 18).

^{133 [}Let Him, who gave you to me...]

Example 17. Genoveva, No. 7 (Finale), mm. 1–9



Example 18. *Genoveva*, No. 10 (Finale), mm. 25–29¹³⁴



Just as Margaretha herself represents good and evil, the central theme, which is beginning to speak for all of the characters, has in itself a dual nature—an important concept for Schumann, and one he extends by association to each of the characters—and thus to the unity they represent.

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¹³⁴ [See there, what a fine knight! It is a joy to look at him! The plumed hat, the sword suit him well, Also he has courage! / The wife alone, the Count at war! It will not be difficult for the fine lad now! I have no rest, I have no peace, A little spite I have as well]

This moment also highlights another important feature to consider in Schumann's opera, namely the significance of the theme appearing in the voice as well as the orchestra. Appearances of the thematic material are just as frequent in each, a practice which diverges strongly not only with Wagner's music (yet another strike against applying Wagnerian principles to *Genoveva*) but also with Schumann's own use of the theme in his *Faust Scenes*. In conjunction with the critical reaction to *Genoveva*'s vocal writing lacking individuality, this relationship bears out Schumann's explicit attempt to lessen the boundary between the singers and the instrumentalists. Save for a few numbers, such as the opening to No. 9, moments that resemble Lied-style composition are remarkably rare compared to Schumann's other dramatic works, especially *Das Paradies und die Peri*, and *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, both of which owe much to the style.

This aspect of Schumann's motivic use actually belies a symphonic approach. One needs look no further than Schumann's own Second Symphony to find another composition that draws its thematic material from an opening chorale. Even more striking are the resemblances between *Genoveva* and the Fourth Symphony in D minor. Composed initially in 1841, but revised in 1848, the Fourth Symphony, like the Second, draws all of its material from the slow opening theme. The ways in which Schumann reinvented and recharacterized the material are similar to the way he proceeded in *Genoveva*; surface differences often belie fundamental similarities. The most apparent parallel, however, is in the significance of both works unfolding in a continuous flow of music from beginning to end. Schumann radically redefined symphonic practice by linking all four movements of the Fourth Symphony into a single extended

¹³⁵ Composed in 1846–47, the Symphony in C Major begins with an opening brass chorale which provides thematic reference for the subsequent movements. Opening with such a stylized texture further reflects Schumann's deep investment with the music of Bach at this time, as discussed above.

movement. To apply the same tactic to *Genoveva* must have been an explicit attempt on Schumann's part to extend German progressive practices to the world of opera. Nikolaus Harnoncourt considers Schumann's persistent use of all of the forces at his disposal in *Genoveva* as further evidence of its symphonic nature:

"The orchestral forces are fairly constant from the first notes of the Overture right through to the end of the opera. Schumann varies his forces very little—clearly a conscious decision. The piece is like a great symphony with voices. There are some wonderful colors, every detail is incredibly finely honed, but the full orchestra is used virtually all of the time." ¹³⁷

The decision to write *Genoveva* within a symphonic framework carries significance beyond its solely progressive quality. What these vocalizations of the theme suggest is rather just how strongly each character is defined by their (shared) unconscious. As their outward expression through singing is only a reflection of their deeper, collective nature, this process can also be seen as a musical analogue to the way Schumann stripped each character of guilt in the libretto (not by emphasizing fate, but rather through stripping each character down to an archetypal fraction of a complete individual). The source of the material has been shown to reside in a representation of shared spiritual origins (the opening chorale), and portions of this absolut Unbewußte that make it to the surface are infinitely varied, yet constant reminders of the higher whole of which each character is but a part.

¹³⁶ The few notable precedents for such a design include Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, in which the fourth movement continues directly out of the third; and his famous String Quartet in C-sharp Minor, in which all seven movements are played continuously. Schumann's most direct model, however, may have been Schubert's *Wanderer Fantasy*.

¹³⁷ Mertl, "Reinventing Opera," 20.

From the first act finale forward, as if reverberating from Margaretha's plan for revenge, both versions of the theme, in both full and fragmented occurrences, are heard constantly throughout the fabric of the opera. After Golo's failed seduction of Genoveva, neither character can seem to express themselves but in such thematic bursts. Again, both characters use the themes to portray terms of unity—Genoveva calling to her husband (who is not physically there) and Golo imagining his union with Genoveva (Example 19).

Example 19. *Genoveva*, No. 9, mm. 127–142¹³⁸



¹³⁸ [**Genoveva:** Oh my husband, when will you return? Almighty God! Stand back! Stand back! Stand back, infamous bastard! **Golo:** His name is death! Mine at last! Into my arms at last, in close embrace!]

This example also includes one of the first climactic moments of the opera, when Genoveva is finally able to find the right word to shrink her attacker. As her earlier pleas have been useless, she strikes at the heart of his identity: "Stay back, infamous bastard!" The music undergoes a radical change at this point, as does Golo's manner, which, while red hot moments before, now becomes ice cold. The full and frantic orchestration comes to a complete halt, first in the form of two powerful tutti chords, then a held *Grand Pause* silence. Given the fact that the music has not stopped at all since the opening bars of the overture at this point, the silence here is deafening, and symbolic. If the pervasive use of the central theme has created a sense of unity between all characters and motivations, then the act of a character's sense of belonging to that group being challenged is a moment of deep psychological shock—one that could have been taken directly from the writings of Kleist. It's not only the stigma of being illegitimate in a conservative society that affronts Golo at this moment, but his very sense of place in humanity is challenged. (Schumann highlights another moment of identity crisis in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* to similar effect). 139

This exchange is made all the more remarkable by the material which directly precedes it as the opening to the duet number. The number opens with a straight Lied—and one of the only passages in the opera entirely devoid of the central thematic material. The reason for this is that Schumann has borrowed from himself for this passage a setting that he had initially composed in the "song year" of 1840. The song itself is presented as a musically diegetic moment in the opera; Genoveva asks Golo to sing with her the "song the Alsatian minstrel has lately taught

¹³⁹ See Chapter 3.

us."¹⁴⁰ For this moment, Schumann turned to his setting of the folk song "Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär," the first of his *Drei Zweistimmige Lieder* (Three Duets), op. 43 (Example 20).¹⁴¹

Example 20. Drei Zweistimmige Lieder, Op. 43, No. 1



The text itself appears in both in Johann Gottfried Herder's *Volkslieder* and Achim von Arnim's *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, important collections of German folk music.¹⁴² The melody, too, has folk origins, and was set by composers before Schumann, most notably by Johann Friedrich Reichardt.¹⁴³

Schumann retained his setting almost entirely, with only slight changes. The key, time signature, and vocal harmonies were unchanged, but the accompaniment received a slight

¹⁴⁰ "Das Lied, das aus dem Elsaß uns der Sänger lehrte!"

¹⁴¹ The song is included in neither Hebbel's nor Tieck's version of the drama.

¹⁴² Herder's *Volkslieder* was published in Leipzig in 1779; *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte Deutsche Lieder*, edited by von Arnim and Clemens Bretano was a very influential collection published in three volumes between 1805 and 1808. Its popularity and standing within the renewed movement toward *Naturpoesie* in the early nineteenth century is akin to the fairy tales published by the Brothers Grimm. The first verse (the essence of which is repeated in the subsequent stanzas), runs as follows:

Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär'/Und auch zwei Flüglein hätt',/Flög ich zu dir/ Weils aber nicht kann sein,/Bleib ich allhier. [If I were a little bird,/And had two little wings,/I'd fly to you./But as it can't be,/ I'll always stay here.]

¹⁴³ In Liederspiel, Lieb' und Treue, 1784.

simplification for performance by two violas intended to imitate a zither. Comparing Schumann's original to his piano score for the opera version also reveals an interesting "Schubertification" of the accompaniment (Example 21). Schumann evidently wanted this moment to stand out as having older, folk roots as much as possible, and the sudden arrival of the Lied texture is unmistakable to the listener.



Example 21. Genoveva, No. 9, Duet, mm. 1–5

This moment is important to the opera from a narrative standpoint, as it shows Genoveva sharing an activity with the talented Golo that she could never share with the stoic Siegfried. For Golo, the romantic implications are even higher, as this process of singing a love song with Genoveva represents the high-water mark of his ill-fated courtship. He seems oblivious to the fact that the words of the song concern lovers far apart; thus he is ironically aiding Genoveva in her longing for Siegfried.

From the standpoint of my reading of the opera, the moment is also significant. Much like the opening chorale, which implied a sense of spiritual unity, the appearance of this folk

song also points out a strong connection between Genoveva and Golo. Here, the source of the connection resides in shared cultural origins: the German folk song being a secular (though no less spiritual) counterpart to the religious music at the outset. This also foreshadows the reinvention of the main theme at the end of the opera (discussed below) as the manifestation of a similar, specifically *German* source of origins. In setting up the ensuing scene, juxtaposing this moment of social community between the two characters just before their violent separation makes Golo's loss of identity all the more potent. The words, too, become more significant: the concept of two distinct people who are apart still being symbolically together reflects the underlying premise of the entire opera. The second stanza's allowance that the lovers are together in their dreams¹⁴⁴ invites further connection to Carus, for whom dreams were lapses into the indefatigable unconscious while the conscious mind is at rest.¹⁴⁵

The music that immediately follows Genoveva's declaration of Golo's illegitimacy is a short, swelling, minor-third motive:



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¹⁴⁴ Bin ich gleich weit von dir, bin ich doch im Schlaf bei dir und red mit dir. Wenn ich erwachen tu, bin ich allein.

¹⁴⁵ See Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 87–88. "…namentlich beruht das für die bewußte Seele unleugbar *Erquickende des Schlafes*, d.h. eben der periodischen Rückkehr ins Unbewußtsein, hauptsächlich auf diesem Grunde."

This is the motive that both Daverio and Stephen Billington refer to simply as a "Golo" motive. ¹⁴⁶ While it does appear in the overture, Billington suggests that the first time we hear it in the opera itself is in this instance and relates it only loosely to the inversion of a theme found in *Der Freischütz*. ¹⁴⁷ The fact that the source of the motive was heard only moments before in the duet has seemingly escaped the notice of previous commentators:

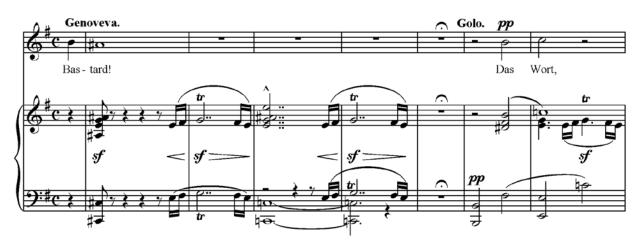


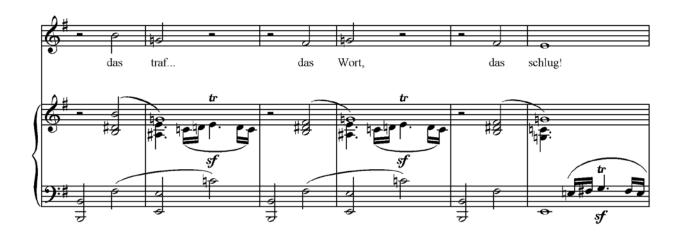
"Golo's motive" is nothing more than a perversion of the folk song that formed the link between Genoveva and himself, now forever shattered. The motive is even linked ochestrationally: it appears in the same low strings that provided the opening accompaniment for duet. As if unable to process the magnitude of the moment from which there is no going back, Golo's music can only respond in disoriented and fragmented repetitions of the folk tune, a memory already as inaccessible as the legendary past from which the tune originally sprang.

¹⁴⁶ Stephen Billington, "Robert Schumann's Genoveva, a Source Study," (PhD diss., New York University, 1987), 128–9; Daverio, *Herald*, 353. Billington names it "Golo's curse."

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 129.

Example 22. *Genoveva*, No. 9, mm. 142–154 148





This moment shows perhaps most clearly the faults of a Wagnerian approach to the thematic content of *Genoveva*. This motive does not represent Golo, or Golo's curse; it is simply a musical manifestation of an underlying connection to a previous, defining moment. The only referential quality expressed in these discrete motives is the collective sense of unity, spirituality, and nature they ultimately embody. It is in reality the low, trembling strings that characterize Golo in Schumann's score, as much as Margaretha's sound world is made up of high woodwinds and pizzicato strings. Just as in Schumann's observation about *Euryanthe*, it is the *sound* that defines character—motivicity is far more universal.

¹⁴⁸ [**Golo**: That word; a blow...that word, a strike!]

As Golo recovers himself and begins to focus his energy on revenge (like Margaretha), the folk-song motive is left behind, and the music once again returns to a fabric woven from the central theme, as in his ensuing duet with Margaretha.



Example 23. *Genoveva*, No. 10, mm. 85–96

This scene, though narratively very different than the previous one between Golo and Genoveva, is just as insistent in its reliance on the same musical themes. Nearly every subsequent scene in the opera is similarly saturated. Explanations that assign the music to either Margaretha or Genoveva are bound to fall apart.

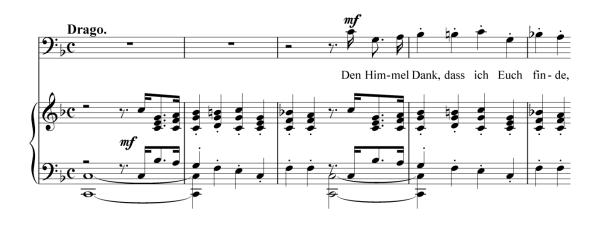
Even outside of the main characters, the minor roles such as Hidulfus, Drago, and Belthasar use the themes with great frequency. In fact, their vocal lines are even more restricted to the central theme than those of the four principal characters. The following examples represent just a small number of these instances:



Example 24. *Genoveva*, No. 1, mm. 71–75¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ [May a flight of Angels lead you on, and may the Lord protect you always.]

Example 25. *Genoveva*, No. 10, mm. 1–5¹⁵⁰



Example 26. *Genoveva*, No. 12, mm. 82–86¹⁵¹



An attempt to analyze and categorize the thematic use as pertaining to a particular idea, object, character, or attitude would be convoluted to the point of being impractical. Rather, Schumann has created an opera in which the listener is constantly reminded that *all* of the characters, environments, and actions are related to one another on a deeper level. All of the characters are parts of a single unity as opposed to a collection of distinct and complete

¹⁵⁰ [The Lord be praised that I have found you!]

^{151 [}We're sure to find him!]

individuals. It is this point that can be complemented by examining the connections of the work to the psychological theories of Carus.

As stated in the previous chapter, Carus's understanding of the deepest level of the unconscious, the "general absolute unconscious," is one that is bound up with man's connections to nature, the divine, and to one another. Not only is the absolute unconscious the site of the first formative processes (the distinction between the general and partial absolute unconscious for Carus is primarily medical; the embryo is formed in the general absolute unconscious, while the body's functions aside from the nervous system are performed in the partial), but it endures throughout (and beyond) the lifespan of an individual to remain the source of the divine idea shared by all. It is this latter point, continually alluded to by Carus throughout his writings, that sheds light on the design of *Genoveva*. Carus puts is most succinctly as follows:

Das Unbewußte hingegen, obwohl sein Streben rastlos dahin gerichtet sein muß, eine gewisse Selbstständigkeit des eigenen Organismus zu behaupten, damit eben auf der Spitze seines Daseins der erkennende Geist sich aus ihm entwickle, ist von diesem schroffen Gegensatze fern,—in ihm fluchet das allgemeine Dasein der Welt noch unmittelbar fort, und in ihm regen sich deßhalb alle Fasern der Verbindung, durch welche das Einzelne dem Ganzen überall und immerfort verknüpft ist und verknüpft sein muß...Auf ähnliche Weise ist sonach auch zu denken, daß das ganze Reich des unbewußten Lebens in uns von dem gesammten Lebenkreise der Menschheit, des Erdlebens, ja des Weltlebens, irgend wie affieirt wird und affieirt werden muß, und zwar eben darum, weil es ja entschieden als ein integrirender Theil jener Gesammtheit erscheint, allein die Art wie dieses Unbewußte

¹⁵² See Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 65–88. Functions such as breathing or digestion are controlled by the partial absolute unconscious. One of the reasons Carus insists that there is no clear separation between levels of consciousness and the unconscious is that one can experience physical manifestations of emotional distress—in other words, the conscious life can affect the ability of the unconscious soul to perform its functions.

affieirt wird, muß freilich hiebei ganz unendlich verschieden sein. 153

[In the unconscious, the general existence of the world continues to flow on without interruption; all the threads linking the individual to the whole remain unbroken in the unconscious...Similarly, we must realize that our unconscious life is affected by all humanity, by the life of the earth and by the universe, for it is definitely an integral part of this totality. The number of ways the unconscious is affected is infinite.] ¹⁵⁴

The implication of this concept when applied to Schumann's use of thematic unity is clear: rather than a set of referential leitmotivs, the thematic material in *Genoveva* can be understood as a representation of the connectedness through which all of the characters are unconsciously related. Just as Schumann's score flows without interruption, his orchestra is a source of shared unconscious, rather than an amplifier of individual emotions.

I do not mean to suggest that the opera takes place entirely in the realm of the unconscious, but rather to explain the symbolic linking of all characters and events in a more holistic light. Indeed the presence of the thematic material in the vocal parts fits well with such an understanding, given the fluid nature with which Carus discusses the relationship between consciousness and the unconscious. In the area of the *relative Unbewußte*, where, as stated before, most mental activity takes place, there is a constant stream of information that passes back and forth between levels of consciousness and unconsciousness. Further, Carus writes that when an idea or concept becomes unconscious (and thus in contact with the 'general'), it will invariably have changed upon its recall to consciousness:

¹⁵³ Carus, Entwicklungsgeschichte, 81–83.

¹⁵⁴ Trans. Welch in Carus, *Development*, 62–63.

"In einzelnen Fällen ist die Vorstellung vielleicht in sich potenzirt worden, hat an Schönheit, Größe und Mannichfaltigkeit der Beziehungen gewonnen, in andern wird sie gleichsam zurückgegangen sein und an Schönheit, Fülle und Mächtigkeit verloren haben. Hier ist nun, wo immer theils die Beziehungen auf die Wesenheit des Individuums selbst, theils aber auch der innigere Rapport den alles unbewußte Seelenleben mit der gesammten äußern Natur hat, auf die Umbildung und Ausbildung der Vorstellung hat einwirken müssen. 155

[In some cases, the concept may be more powerful, may have grown in beauty, greatness and variety of connotation; in others, it may have regressed, lost in beauty, fullness and power. The concept has been influenced by the individual's own character and by the more intimate rapport of the unconscious life of the soul with the external world.] ¹⁵⁶

The relationship of the singers with the orchestra and with the central thematic idea is dynamic; a continuous reimagining and recontextualization of a central theme that despite any individual machinations remains fundamentally unchanged. The unconscious and consciousness are, after all, "but different aspects of the same divine unity." ¹⁵⁷

The opening chorus is central to the manifestation of these ideas in the opera. In choosing to begin the work with a religious chorale, Schumann is not intending to insinuate any religious morality or label the opera as a religious work. With Schumann, references to religion serve the purpose of lending an impression of spirituality to a decidedly *Romantic* work, much

155 Carus, Entwicklungsgeschichte, 86. Carus uses the example of 'sleeping on' a difficult problem as evidence of an idea gaining clarity by coming into contact with the unconscious (88): "Jeder wird an sich die Erfahrung machen, daß irgend ein Eindruck irgend eine Vorstellung, wenn sie lange unbewußt in der Seele geruht hat und nun wieder ins Bewußtsein gerufen wird, oder, nach der innern gesetzmäßigen Bewegung des Seelenlebens (wovon auch noch späterhin die Rede sein muß) von selbst wieder erwacht, bei diesem Wiederauftauchen nun immer in irgend einer Beziehung anders geworden sein wird und daß sie von da an nicht mehr vollständig der frühern Art gleiche." [Everyone has had the experience of finding a long dormant impression or concept being changed in some way, or being unlike its former self after its recall or involuntary return to consciousness.] Trans. Renata Welch in Carus, Development, 65.

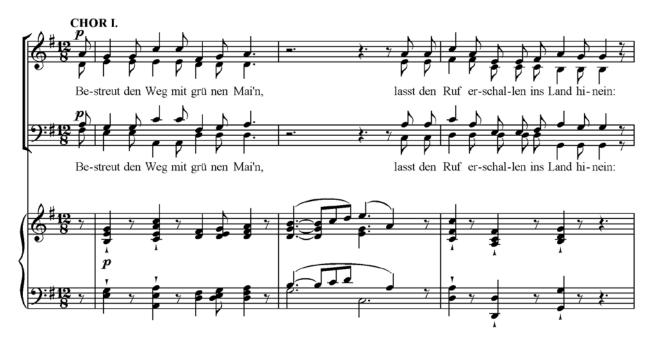
¹⁵⁶ Trans. Welch in Carus, *Development*, 65.

¹⁵⁷ Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 68. "...welche beide immer nur verschiedene Strahlen desselben Göttlichen und Einen sind die Rede sein darf."

the same way as he used the 'sacred' form of the oratorio in *Das Paradies und die Peri* to emphasize the importance of redemption, a concept at the center of many of Schumann's dramatic compositions. The chorale, however, also represents a sense of community—an acknowledgement that we all come from the same place, and to the same place we are all destined to return. The use of unisons and octaves, aside from adding clarity to the theme, further contribute to the idea of unity as well.

The chorale makes its return at the end of the opera. In the penultimate scene, after Siegfried and Genoveva have been reunited and a happy ending has been assured, a symbolic transformation takes place. The initial setting is the rocky wilderness which had served as Genoveva's refuge. With its symbolic cross, dark trees, and menacing storm clouds, it could well have been a landscape painted by Caspar David Friedrich (or a young Carus!). The scene, however, is slowly transformed back into the castle setting of the opera's opening. To portray this seamless melding of the two scenic poles of the opera, Schumann employed a double chorus. The first chorus, located with the company in the wilderness, sings praise to Genoveva, who had endured so much. The music is derived from the opening chorus, but in the guise of a lilting pastorale in 12/8:

Example 27. *Genoveva*, No. 20, mm. 4–6¹⁵⁸



Even the words evoke a natural setting: "Bestreut den Weg mit grünen Mai'n." [Cast green boughs upon her path]. Interspersed within stanzas of the first chorus, the second chorus begins to be heard—softly at first—from offstage, singing the opening chorale. As the scene begins to transform, the interlocking choruses crossfade, such that the pastoral chorus shrinks into the background and the religious chorale slowly dominates the texture (Example 28).

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¹⁵⁸ [Cast green boughs upon her path, let your voices sound throughout the land.]

Example 28. *Genoveva*, No. 20, mm. 34–39



Eventually both choruses take up the religious chorale, which is sung in harmony for the first time. Schumann retained the same words from the first iteration of the chorale, and it is perhaps no mistake that the climax of the scene occurs on the word "Quell," yet again the loudest and longest of the scene:



Example 29. *Genoveva*, No. 20, mm. 57–61

If the opening chorale represents a sense of community, then this scene highlights its interrelatedness to a different, but equally important component of Carus's unconscious: nature, and more specifically, the German forest. Much as in Tieck's version of the drama, Schumann chooses to set two religious tableaux as its bookends. While in Tieck, this function was served

by the speeches of St. Boniface, Schumann uses his chorale to the same effect. However, the sense of spirituality has taken on new meanings. Following the temporary return to the church, the closing chorus of the opera returns to nature. Rather than celebrating a religiously spiritual connection (the stage directions call for a symbolic stepping 'out' of the church), this chorus celebrates a natural one, singing only the praise of Siegfried and Genoveva.

Example 30. *Genoveva*, No. 21, Closing Chorus ¹⁵⁹



The setting of *Genoveva* moves gradually from the court and castle in Acts I and II to the wilderness in Acts III and IV. Musically, Schumann is proposing a balance between religion

¹⁵⁹ [Hail Genoveva, noble wife! Hail Siegfried, bravest of heroes!]

and nature as the source of the spiritual connection between all of his characters—and by extension, mankind. As mentioned in the introduction, a similar balance was crucial to Carus's theories maintaining relevance.

It is therefore in the music of the opening and closing scenes that we are able to find any meaning attached to the thematic ideas of Schumann's score. This serves as a frame to remind us of the common source for the thematic material and also associates Schumann's collective unity not necessarily with humanity as a whole, but with the undefined German Nation, whose existence was being fought over even as Schumann was composing the score. The scenic progression from town to nature is consistent with Schumann's own career, which began with domestic miniatures and 'private' music only to turn increasingly to more public genres and subject matter. The German forest is a place to which he returned frequently in his later works, such as Der Rose Pilgerfahrt and many of the Romanzen und Balladen. The Blumenstück of the 1830s gave way to the Waldszenen of the late 1840s. In Laura Tunbridge's book Schumann's Late Style, she acknowledges the 'mystique' of the German forest in the Romantic imagination, even if it is cliché to treat it as a representation of origins. ¹⁶⁰ Another strong association with the notion of German unity in Genoveva was its medieval setting, the time, according to Tunbridge, that sustains 'natural force' of the Volk. 161 This point in particular reveals an important intersection between the two plays on which Schumann drew his text. Tieck's version of the story was rife with period allusions, which were vital to its success. There are scenes from Tieck, like the ones in the Saracen and Christian camps and even the battlefield itself, which lend nothing at all to the Genoveva story, but contributed heavily to the popularity of the work. In Hebbel's play, which was more a character study of Golo than a sensational historical drama,

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¹⁶⁰ Tunbridge, Late Style, 49.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 50.

references to the Middle Ages were entirely removed in the interest of maintaining his *poetische Zeit*. For Carus, such a 'poetic time' refers to the unconscious, the area of the human soul in which time holds no meaning. While Schumann also eliminated most indications of time and place in his *Genoveva*, however, he deliberately retained a reference to Charles Martell in the opening scene. The fact that Schumann intended his opera to occupy a position between these two places—immediate and abstract; conscious and unconscious—is significant, and an appropriate analogue to Schumann's own life: for just as he began in his later works to engage more with the concept of a public German art, he was simultaneously retreating further into his own mind.

If the opening and final choruses are framed as the source of the collective unconscious though which each of the characters relate to one another and their surroundings, each discrete statement of the theme—however distorted to fit the dramatic action—serves as a reminder of each individual character's incompleteness and unconscious connection to one another.

As these connections are not lost on Schumann, neither are they lost on his characters. In the third act finale—by far the longest of the four—Siegfried himself probes this connection in order to discover what Genoveva has been up to in his absence. The medium through which he makes his attempt is Margaretha's magic mirror. While the scene is rife with fantastical imagery of magic and sorcery, its deeper resemblance to Freudian psycho-analysis is obvious for a modern audience. In looking for answers in a mirror, Siegfried is really searching within himself. In searching for things outside his own experience however, the scene now channels Jung, as Siegfried is attempting to tap into the collective consciousness. The concept of prescience and clairvoyance is theoretically possible in Jungian psychology, though like many of Jung's theories, there is precedence for it in Carus. While Carus wrote that the absolute

unconscious, which lies behind the "veil of Isis," is inaccessible to consciousness, ¹⁶² he does allow for certain unexplainable phenomena to be explained by the unity of the absolute unconscious:

...wie nämlich jenes sonderbare Fernschauen, im Traum oder Wachen, von Beziehungen auf Eroder Himmelsvorgänge, oder auf Schicksale der Menschen, jene sonderbaren Erscheinungen des magnetischen Rapports zwischen Entfernten, und so Vieles was der gewöhnlichen Psychologie ein unerklärliches Räthsel geblieben ist, nur mittels dieser Betrachtungen seinen vollkommnen Aufschluß erlangen kann. ¹⁶³

[Pre-sentiment in dreams, empathy with events on the earth and in the heavens or in the fate of men, the astonishing magnetic rapport between distant persons, and other riddles whose solution normal psychology cannot provide may be fully explained only by these observations.]¹⁶⁴

Siegfried is somewhat successful in his attempt; he is able to see events from Genoveva's past (nothing is ever forgotten in the unconscious—only consciousness suffers this limitation), yet he is still biased in interpretation by his own dark fears. Schumann treated this moment very powerfully in the music. The theme of the dark unconscious is present throughout the scene, but as if reflected by the mirror, it is now in an inversion, making a striking, but no less ominous ascension (Example 31).

1010., 85.

¹⁶² Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 66. "Zuerst nämlich werden wir genöthigt anzuerkennen daß es eine Region des Seelenlebens gebe, in welche wirklich durchaus kein Strahl des Bewußtseins dringt-- und diese können wir daher das absolut Unbewußte nennen." [First, we must acknowledge that there is a region of the life of the soul which is inaccessible to consciousness. This we shall name the absolute unconscious.]

¹⁶³ Ibid., 83.

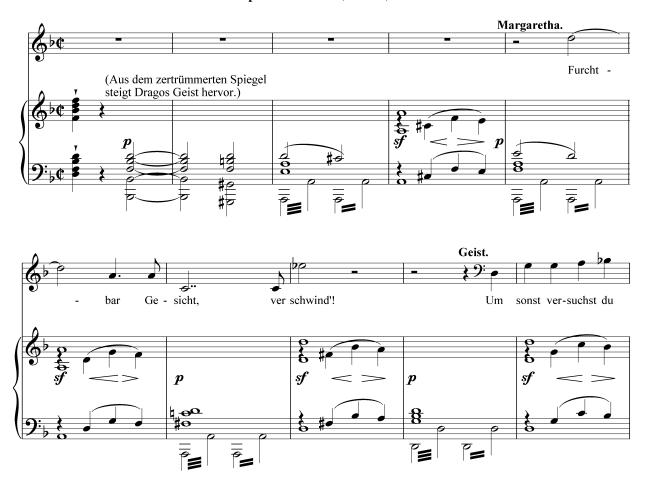
¹⁶⁴ Trans. Welch in Carus, *Development*, 63.

Example 31. *Genoveva*, No. 15, mm. 1–8



As Siegfried probes deeper and deeper, he becomes more horrified, finally smashing the mirror in anguish and storms out. Unlike Faust, Siegfried is temporarily blinded by the *reflection*, in which he finds neither truth nor wisdom. However, the mirror has one final thing to show. Out of the shards rises Drago's ghost (victim of Golo's and Margaretha's treachery, and now agent of the Lord). The music is simple and powerful, and as Drago speaks of Margaretha's impending doom, the inverted theme is laid bare, just the three notes that form the basic principle of every iteration of the theme in the opera (Example 32).

Example 32. *Genoveva*, No. 15, mm. 333–42 165



The implication of this scene for the opera in terms of Carus's psychology is significant, though just as interesting is its relationship to Schumann's own life. After the move to Dresden, Schumann became increasingly interested in such experiments himself, dedicating his time and much writing to séances and other modes of communication with the dead. Even in his last creative gasp in February 1854, he composed a theme he said was dictated to him by the angel of Schubert. Voices plagued him increasingly until his commitment to the asylum that same

¹⁶⁵ [(Drago's ghost rises from the shattered mirror.) **Margaretha:** Dreadful vision, depart! **Ghost:** In vain you try to use your arts on me!]

¹⁶⁶ Daverio, *Herald*, 457–8. This was the theme for the *Thema mit Variationen für das Pianoforte*, also known as the *Geistervariationen*: five variations for piano which was to be Schumann's last composition.

year, where he remained until his death in 1856. If Schumann did indeed absorb some of Carus's theories, it is possible that the implication of psychological unity—even with the dead—was one he latched on to, and served as the entry point for broader underlying themes to permeate his late music.

2.3 GERMAN UNITY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL UNITY

Finally, in suggesting that a kind of 'unity' was being portrayed in *Genoveva*, it is important to question exactly what that unity represented. Carus's use of *Gattung* to encompass all of humanity is marginally suspect, given the unfortunate frequency with which Carus unfavorably compares the development of consciousness in races that are non-white with Europeans. His thoughts are made clear in one passage in *Psyche*:

Was die Stämme der Menschheit betrifft, welche nach den vier stätig um die Erde kreisenden Zuständen des Planeten, nach Tag und Nacht, Morgen und Abenddämmerung, in die vier großen Abtheilungen der Tagvölker, Nachtvölker und östlichen und westlichen Dämmerungsvölker zerfallen, so sind es natürlich die Tagvölker, in welchen auch der Tag der Seele --das Bewußtsein-am vollkommensten sich erschließt, und darum weichen auch unter ihnen die Eigenthümlichkeiten der Individuen am stärksten auseinander, während sie in den Nachtvölkern (Negern) schon in den ursprünglichsten Anlagen der Seele entschieden einförmiger gegeben sind. 167

[As for the races of mankind, which are representative of the four states of the planet: day and night, morning and evening, they can be divided into four great divisions of the day people, the night people, and the eastern (morning) and western (evening) twilight people. It is naturally the day people in whom the day of the

¹⁶⁷ Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 63.

soul—consciousness—is most fully developed, and thus why characteristics among such individuals are most distinct from one another. Thus the night people (Negros) are more uniform even in the most primitive parts of their soul]¹⁶⁸

Carus's "day people" are clearly white Europeans, and he implies that the connections shared between them and peoples of color are more similar to the connections shared between those same people and plants or animals: all still share an absolute unconscious, but his view of humanity is hardly reassuring in its scope.

Likewise, Schumann's own relationship with the idea of "Germanness" is crucial in order to evaluate who or what he intended to portray as the totality in works like *Genoveva* and *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* which suggest an inherent unity between all of their dramatic inhabitants. Nietzsche is perhaps the most oft-quoted source on this point, and his perspective has long colored views of Schumann's music. In *Beyond Good and Evil*, he examined the relationship of several key figures to the concept of being 'German,' writing that "It is typical of the Germans that the question 'What is German?' never dies out among them." He is particularly harsh when it comes to Schumann (assuredly not like Beethoven! assuredly not like Byron!), and commented that his musical taste was "was fundamentally a petty taste (that is to say, a dangerous propensity—doubly dangerous among Germans—for quiet lyricism and intoxication of the feelings)." Nietzsche's further insult to Schumann (and at least a feeble attempt to be more objective) was that Schumann was "merely a German event in music, and no longer a European event, as Beethoven had been, as in a still greater degree Mozart had been; with

¹⁶⁸ Carus's breathtakingly xenophobic (but not unique) view is basically, "because all people of color look the same, their consciousness is less developed."

¹⁶⁹ Friedrich Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, trans. Helen Zimmern (New York: Macmillan, 1907), 197.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 202.

Schumann German music was threatened with its greatest danger, that of losing its voice for the soul of Europe and sinking into a merely national affair." ¹⁷¹ If not the sentiment, at least the perception that Schumann's interest in musical culture was confined to German musical culture has gone unchallenged until relatively recently. Scholars have since pointed to Schumann's appreciation of composers and music from other nationalities, his enjoyment of various foreign tours, and even his reception in places like England and the United States as evidence that he was more of a cosmopolitan that we might have first thought. 172

Celia Applegate, in warning against such polemics, takes the most sensible track on this point in her recent contribution to *Rethinking Schumann*. ¹⁷³ She points out that the truth of the matter lies somewhere between these two points and paints Schumann as one of many nationalist liberals in German speaking areas who contributed to a sense of nation through cultural activity. This activity was also cosmopolitan by the mere fact that it showed awareness of other similar behavior that had and was taking place in other European countries facing revolutions and upheavals of the common people. Applegate cites the historian Brian Vick, who wrote, "for educated Germans...the idea of the cultural nation, immediately suggested political relations while that of statehood just as surely pointed toward some measure of cultural unity as well." ¹⁷⁴ If these ideas are understood as linked, one cannot fault Schumann for not having a more specific

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² See Ute Bär, ed. Robert Schumann und die Französische Romantik: Bericht über das 5. Internationale Schumann-Symposium der Robert Schumann-Gesellschanft am 9. Und 10. July 1994 in Düsseldorf. Schumann Forschungen 6. (Mainz: Schott, 1997).

¹⁷³ Celia Applegate, "Robert Schumann and the Culture of German Nationhood" in *Rethinking Schumann*, Laura Tunbridge and Roe-Min Kok, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3–13.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 6. See Brian Vick, Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 22.

voice in the political or revolutionary arena, for surely Schumann was deeply concerned with the cultural life of Germans in both music and literature.

If Carus's theories sought a psychological and scientific approach on underlying unities, philosopher Jakob Fries took the same idea in a more political framework. Fries spoke of a "national spiritual unity" and wrote that such is only formed "from the scattered lives of individuals through public opinion." ¹⁷⁵ Applegate clarifies that "national consciousness had, in other words, to be constructed, inculcated through activities in the public sphere, through speeches and meetings, through monuments, organizations, scholarship, education, and yes, musical performance." ¹⁷⁶ Schumann certainly never made speeches stirring his fellow Germans to unite, but his music has sometimes held a political bent. One only needs to gaze a little beyond the surface of Schumann's choral ballades of 1849–50 to uncover perhaps the most overt political messages in his music. Three of the four choral ballades (opp. 116, 139, and 143) were set to texts by Ludwig Uhland, while the op. 140 Vom Pagen und der Königstochter was set to Emmanuel Geibel. Uhland, an important member of the National Assembly in Frankfurt, was a radical liberal who has been called the poetic representative of the Wars of Liberation. ¹⁷⁷ Laura Tunbridge writes that "in a similar manner to the Ossianic poetry popular in the late 1830s, Uhland's verse reflects his investment in the genius of the Volk, taking folk-tales and the medieval era as models for quasi-Christian purity and harmony." These same words could well be written about Schumann, whose own investment in the medieval and in folk-tales also formed the basis for Genoveva and Der Rose Pilgerfahrt. The quasi-Christian quality is also

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¹⁷⁵ Quoted in Applegate, "Nationhood," 8.

¹⁷⁶ Applegate, "Nationhood," 8–9.

¹⁷⁷ Tunbridge, *Late Style*, 56.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

inherent in both—as Genoveva's purity and as *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*'s identification as an oratorio. Tunbridge goes on, however, to note that Uhland's poetry, especially in the poems Schumann selected for setting, promote "an idealized sense of community, locating national consciousness within the people, rather than their rulers." John Daverio sums up the quality of each of the choral ballades as follows: *Der Königssohn* addresses 'the question of a monarch's divine right to rule; *Des Sängers Fluch* is concerned with 'tensions between the populist demands and monarchical prerogatives; *Vom Pagen und der Königsstochter* is about 'conflicts between bourgeois and aristocratic classes;' and *Das Glück von Edenhall* represents 'the eternal return of repressive regimes.' 180

Although *Genoveva* carries little in the way of political allegory, its content in the way of relating to and representing a public and its inherent unity was far more in keeping with Schumann's view of nationhood. Applegate writes, "moreover for Schumann, as for the liberal, educated Germans who saw themselves as participants in the projects of nation building, the all-important aspect of their work was its publicness, not its politics, and the publicness that concerned them was emphatically *not* that defined either by commerce or by state authority." ¹⁸¹ It is no wonder, then, that works Schumann intended as cornerstones of his later style—his opera and his oratorio—should lend themselves so readily to the theories of psychology and the philosophy of unity, rather than thinly veiled contemporary political commentaries. For this reason, it is a shame that the only current video recording of Schumann's *Genoveva* was forced by its director to assume the appearance of a work specifically about the revolutions of 1848.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 56.

¹⁸⁰ John Daverio, "Einheit–Freiheit–Vaterland: intimations of Utopia in Robert Schumann's late choral music," in *Music and German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 64. Quoted in Tunbridge, *Late Style*, 55.

¹⁸¹ Applegate, "Nationhood," 7. (Emphasis from the source)

Such events doubtlessly helped to shape Schumann's sense of nationality, but *Genoveva* and *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* seek to be more universal, if, arguably, universally German or European.

3.0 REDEFINING THE ORATORIO: DER ROSE PILGERFAHRT

At the end of the introduction to *Psyche*, Carus makes an important statement that serves as the point of departure for his ensuing discussion and paves the way for his divisions of consciousness:

> Die gegenwärtigen Untersuchungen sollen durchaus auf dem eben angedeuten Standpunkte sich behaupten: das Göttliche in unserm Innern, in seiner Entfaltung aus dem Unbewußten zum Bewußten zu verfolgen. 182

> In the present study, we shall attempt to establish the following point of view: that the divine component in our deepest being unfolds itself from the unconscious to consciousness.

Rather than merely discussing the relationship between our conscious mind and our unconscious one, his study serves to place the awakening of our soul on an explicit path from a "beginning" to an "ending:" what is in essence a story of birth. Carus's genetic approach is most evident throughout the second part of *Psyche*, which discusses the levels of consciousness at the center of the whole work. Carus provides the life story of our deepest divine component which begins in unconsciousness and progresses toward full consciousness. 183 To review the levels of consciousness outlined by Carus in *Psyche*, the pyramid from Chapter 1 is here reproduced:

¹⁸² Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte* 11.

¹⁸³ See Section 1.2.3.

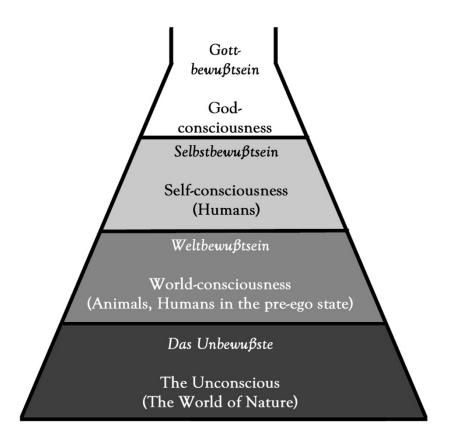


Figure 7. Map of Carus's Levels of Consciousness

Even at this basic level, connections between this progression and one of Schumann's lesser-known and least-heralded works, the oratorio—*Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*—can be made clear. A Rose, which represents nature and the unconscious, wishes to become human to experience the joys of love. She is granted her wish, and becomes "conscious," and then continues to grow in her consciousness until she achieves what Carus would call *Gottbewuβtsein*, the highest level of consciousness, and thus returns to nature. Whereas in *Genoveva* characters were linked through consciousness and unconsciousness with a single theme, in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, each musical idea is linked through a single character. By casting the story specifically in the form of an oratorio, Schumann can make the metaphor even clearer: the Rose herself represents the *Göttliche in unserm Innern*, or the "divine component of our innermost being." Her path

parallels the human progression in a collective sense: the Rose herself is that deepest part of our nature that is shared by all.

Unlike Genoveva, which offered a snapshot of the human mind rather than a meaningful trajectory (in fact, it was the very antithesis of a meaningful trajectory), the Rose traces a distinct path through a series of transformations that alter the main character's identity. Thus, in Genoveva, features of Carus's unconsciousness and self-consciousness were present all at once, as consciousness and unconsciousness continually surfaced and interchanged. In Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, however, which focuses on a single character, the progression through the levels of consciousness is distinct and sequential. One aspect of each narrative that is similar, however, is the state of affairs at the end. I will not to go as far as Harnoncourt and say that nothing happens (as he said of Genoveva)¹⁸⁴, but one could make the case that in both dramas nothing *changes*. Framed by the main chorale theme, the music of Genoveva merely recontextualizes the idea of collective unconsciousness in a new setting to show its duality of societal origins (religion and nature). In Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, however, the reason that things return to their original state is more dependent upon how Carus characterizes Gottbewußtsein. Carus relates the notion of Godconsciousness to the concept of *Vernunft*, which is typically translated as intellect or intelligence. However, in this case, "insight" is a more appropriate term. 185 For one to achieve Godconsciousness, one must perceive the connections and implications of the deepest levels of the Unconscious, which are otherwise inaccessible. Through the conditions of self-consciousness, which include the formation of symbols for the Idea, one achieves God-consciousness only in perceiving and penetrating the Idea itself—that is, the rational grasp of the single unity through

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¹⁸⁴ See Chapter 2.

¹⁸⁵ Murray Stein suggests this translation on the basis that the concept as Carus describes it is so similar to the intellectual function described in Bernard Lonergan's book *Insight*. See Stein, *Development*, 82.

which all things are connected. Whether this is understood as God (as it was for Carus) or something else is immaterial; what is important is its singularity. Thus instead of a pyramid, Carus's topography of consciousness might best be understood as in Figure 8:

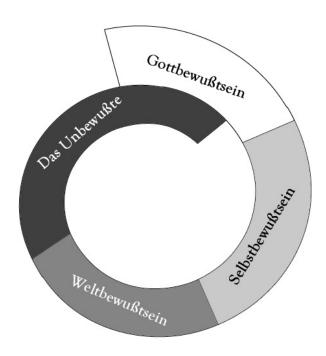


Figure 8. Carus's Progression of the Mind, Spiral

Since achieving God consciousness requires fully perceiving the unconscious *consciously*, it is in essence the ability to uncover (to lift that veil of Isis) all of the connections that relate us to one another and to nature through the unconscious, the common denominator in which all parts of nature reside. Only by achieving higher and higher consciousness can one unlock the deepest levels of the unconscious—an important and difficult path whose goal is to return to where it started, the unconscious. This circular design lends itself very well to Schumann's design of *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*. Consider the closing chorus:

'Röslein! Zu deinem Blumen nicht, zu uns, zu höh'rem Licht.' ('Rose! Return not to your flowers, but to us, to the higher light.') (Example 33).

ENGELSTIMMEN Solo: Chorus: Rös lein! Rös lein! men nicht, Blu rem Licht' cresc. Blu men nicht, zu höh rem Licht' nen uns.

Example 33. *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, No. 24, mm 1–7

Thus do the angels call the Rose into heaven in the final scene of Schumann's oratorio. This moment of transcendence and redemption encapsulates more than merely the "happy ending" to a saccharine Romantic narrative. Rather, when presented alongside the opening of the oratorio (Example 34), these scenes serve as a frame not only for the action of the drama, but for two of the musical features that take priority in the ensuing discussion:

- 1. From a harmonic standpoint, these scenes highlight a progression of a third, in this case from A major to C major, a modulation that Schumann used prominently not only in this piece, but in many of his dramatic compositions. In *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, this tonal shift signifies moments of transition from one plane of consciousness to another.
- 2. Secondly, the imitative, contrapuntal, and chorale textures in both scenes, concessions to the convention of the typically religious genre of the oratorio, serve to emphasize the spiritual nature of each scene, which take place, unlike the rest of the oratorio, in philosophical places beyond the sphere of human experience. These scenes thus make cyclical the progression of the story from the pre-nascent realm of origins (the Romantic forest) to the transcendent postmortal realm of heaven.

Example 34. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 1, mm 37–43 186



Both features in fact suggest a cyclical nature. By modulating continually by third (or by any interval), you will quickly be back to where you started, despite the path that led you there. Further, by tying the two scenes together stylistically through imitation, Schumann makes the

 $^{^{186}}$ [The spring air brings its lovely greeting to the world. Icy bonds are broken, and green covers the fields.]

same suggestion that he made in *Genoveva*—and one made many times by Carus—that the unity which is our unconscious is at once natural and divine. The Rose continues upward, but in doing so, finds herself transported back to the very place she started. Before entering deeper into the music, however, it is first necessary to account for other contextual issues that surrounded the creation of the work.

3.1 THE ORATORIO AND THE ROMANTIC SPIRIT

3.1.1 From Dresden to Düsseldorf

In 1849, after just under five years in Dresden, Schumann accepted a position as municipal music director in Düsseldorf that had just been vacated by his friend Ferdinand Hiller. Though the Schumanns were happy in Dresden, the prospect of a salaried position, which Schumann had sought for some time, was enough to make them consider a move. It took a few letters of reassurance about financial provisions and musical resources, as well as the promise of opportunities for Clara to sufficiently outlet her musical regimens, before Schumann was completely on board with the trip. Another likely reason that made the transition easier was the fresh memory of the 1848 revolutions, which had finally made their way to Dresden in May of 1849. While Schumann's politics supported the rebel cause, his much-maligned flight

¹⁸⁸ Schumann, *Briefe: Neue Folge*, 2d ed., ed. Gustav Jansen, (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1904), 318. Letter to Ferdinand Hiller. Schumann lists ten questions, the last of which concerns Clara: "Würde sich für meine Frau irgend ein Wirkungskreis finden lassen? Du kennst sie; sie kann nicht unthätig sein." [Would there be some sphere of activity for my wife? You know her; she cannot be idle.]

¹⁸⁷ Daverio, *Herald*, 439.

¹⁸⁹ Daverio, *Herald*, 420.

from Dresden to avoid being conscripted to fight alongside his fellow nationalists shows that he was more content to support the movement quietly in his music and not with his blood. ¹⁹⁰ This political backdrop is important to understanding much of Schumann's music composed during his first few years in the Rhineland. Only one factor remained to make Schumann uneasy, and that was his discovery that an insane asylum still operated on the outskirts of Düsseldorf. ¹⁹¹

It wasn't until September 1, 1850 that the Schumanns finally left Dresden (caused in part by the delay in the premiere of *Genoveva* from January to June of 1850) and settled into their new home on Grabenstrasse. ¹⁹² In terms of both compositional output and duties associated with his new position, Schumann's arrival in Düsseldorf marked the beginning of one of the busiest periods of his career. His post as municipal music director entailed a bevy of musical projects to oversee. He was head of both the Allgemeiner Musikverein (orchestral society), for which he conducted the subscription concerts, as well as the Gesang-Musikverein (choral society), which often performed jointly with the orchestra. In addition to regular performances during the season, which lasted from October to May, Schumann was also charged with directing musical programs for major feast days. Among the most important dates on the concert schedule,

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 423–424. Schumann's flight is made more suspect by several facts. Initially, he hid in an upstairs bedroom while Clara turned away the recruiters. When this would no longer work, Robert and Clara fled the city, leaving their three children behind, presumably in the care of their maid, Henrietta. It was Clara, and not Robert, who made the dangerous trip a few days later—leaving at 3am—to return for the children and bring them back to their temporary lodgings at the home of a friend in Maxen. This tale is often contrasted with that of Wagner, who stood lookout for the revolutionaries in a church tower during the battle in Dresden and was eventually forced into exile for his role in the ill-fated conflict. Laura Tunbridge, in noting that Schumann did little outwardly to support the rebellion, remained the dutiful Wolfram to Wagner's Tannhäuser. See Tundridge, *Late Style*, 58.

Schumann, *Briefe*, 323. Letter to Ferdiand Hiller, December 3, 1849. "Noch eines—ich suchte neulich in einer alten Geographie nach Notizen über Düsseldors und fand da unter den Merkwürdigkeiten angeführt: 3 Nonnenklöster und eine Irrenanstalt. Die ersteren lasse ich mir gesallen allenfalls; aber das letztere war mir ganz unangenehm zu lesen." [One more thing—I was looking the other day at an old map of Düsseldorf and noticed among the curiosities: 3 nunneries and an insane asylum. The former I can adbide if necessary; but the latter leaves me feeling quite unpleasant.]

¹⁹² Daverio, *Herald*, 440–441

however, were the large-scale oratorios that Schumann directed once or twice a year. ¹⁹³ This seemed to rekindle Schumann's interest in the genre (for which he had several ideas before settling on *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*) which had been dormant since he had composed *Das Paradies und die Peri* in 1843.

Creatively, this was also an important turning point in Schumann's career. Coinciding with his appointment as municipal music director, Schumann's compositional focus shifted from largely intimate, personal pieces to mainly works for chorus and orchestra—music both publically consumed and communally performed. This suddenly made Schumann's earlier assertion that the combination of voices and orchestra was the most important musical medium (as reinforced with the *Genoveva* and *Faust* projects begun in the late 1840s) not only ideologically valid but abundantly practical. For the first time, Schumann had at his disposal his own orchestra and chorus, and these became as important a tool and source of immediate feedback as his piano had been in his early career. With the Biedermeier sensibility of domestic bliss having generally passed away with the revolutions of 1848, Schumann, too, moved increasingly away from *Hausmusik*. ¹⁹⁴ It was rather in the larger, communal genres performed by the Musikverein to which Schumann turned in order to explore his spiritual, political, and psychological endorsements of unity.

The libretto Schumann eventually settled on for his oratorio was a fairy tale by the amateur poet Moritz Horn—a court usher at Chemnitz who is hardly remembered today. The story, fraught with overdone sentimentalism and romantic imagery, concerns a rose whose sole

¹⁹³ Ibid., 441–442.

¹⁹⁴ Those piano miniatures and Lieder he did compose after 1850 dealt with more universal or nationalistic ideas than the nostalgic and love-themed compositions of the 1830s and '40s.

¹⁹⁵ Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, because of Schumann's setting, remains Horn's most significant work.

desire is to become human in order to experience the joys of love. Although warned by the Fairy Queen that love does not always come without sorrow, the Rose is adamant, and her wish is finally granted. Once transformed into a lovely maiden (henceforth called Rosa), the Fairy Queen entrusts her with a rose that is to be in her possession and thus shield her from worldly harm; should she part with it, she would forfeit her humanness and once again become a rose herself. Her first encounter in her new form is with an old woman, who denies her lodging on account of her lack of character. Her second encounter also brings sorrow, when she happens upon a grave-digger preparing a plot for the neighboring Miller's daughter. He tells Rosa the tragic story of forsaken love, a broken heart, and thus an early death. As the funeral procession passes, Rosa joins in their dirge, all the while wondering if true love must always bear such sadness. The grave-digger grants her shelter for the night and marvels at the similarities between Rosa and the Miller's daughter. He formulates a plan to introduce Rosa to the Miller to assume the place of his late child. The plan is successful, and Rosa is adopted by the Miller as his daughter. She is then wooed by the son of the Miller's neighbor, the Forester, and becomes his wife. After a year passes, she has a child and thus brings her fulfillment as daughter, wife, and mother to completion. The only thing she still desires is for her child to be protected, and she thus gives her rose-emblem to the child and fades away. However, she does not return to the form of a rose, but is rather lifted to the realm of paradise by the angels who sing her welcome. Schumann had reservations about the text, writing to Horn that it must be "shortened, and made more dramatic," but apparently he saw enough symbolic material in the narrative to be drawn to it as a subject. 196

Another feature of Horn's tale that must have commended itself to Schumann was the similarity of the character of the Rose with the title character of his earlier oratorio, *Das*

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¹⁹⁶ Schumann, *Briefe*, 246. "Aber es müßte viel gekürzt werden, vieles dramatischer gestaltet sein..."

Paradies und die Peri. Both characters are liminal beings, existing somewhere between earth and heaven, and both must experience the joy and sorrow of humanity to gain admittance to paradise. In both cases, the overall theme is redemption, a theme Schumann readily applied to his borrowing of a religious form.

3.1.2 Schumann and the Oratorio

Schumann's relationship with the genre of the oratorio is important in examining the role generic implications play in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*. By 1841, the oratorio, at least in Schumann's eyes, was a genre in the last season of its life. In a review from that year of Ferdinand Hiller's *Die Zerstörung Jeruselems* and Eduard Gobolewski's *Der Erlöser* (entitled "Neue Oratorien") Schumann voiced the opinion that the genre was in danger and championed a few exceptions, notably Mendelssohn's *Paulus*. ¹⁹⁷ Despite the fact that Schumann saw the genre in need of reinvigoration in contemporary composition, the older oratorios of Handel and Telemann were still performed frequently throughout Germany during all of the nineteenth century. In fact, while music director at Düsseldorf, Schumann conducted Handel's *Israel in Egypt* and *Joshua*, Bach's passions of St. John and St. Matthew, and Haydn's *Seasons*. ¹⁹⁸ It was undoubtedly this re-association with the genre in the early 1850s that led to his second oratorical composition.

The oratorio was in a state of change, however, in the early nineteenth century. Two distinctly different styles of oratorio were being written: the lyric and dramatic. The lyric

¹⁹⁷ Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2, 94. Schumann also notes the career importance of writing an oratorio, writing that "Wer Kirchen bauen kann, dem sind dann die Häuser ein leichtes; wer ein Oratorium zustande gebracht, dem wird es in anderen Formen dann spielend gelingen." [Who can build a church can then easily build a house; who can write an oratorio can easily succeed in other forms.]

¹⁹⁸ Daverio, Herald, 442.

oratorio, such as Louis Spohr's Die letzen Dinge (1825), relies on the audience's familiarity with the oratorio's plot, and the music only needs to present the emotional responses of the characters. (Schumann relied heavily on a similar assumption in writing Genoveva, and the modern audience's lack of familiarity with the legend is yet another stroke against its popular reception.) As mid-century approached, however, an increasing number of dramatic oratorios, such as Mendelssohn's *Elias* (1847), began to appear. The dramatic oratorio, as opposed to the lyric, displays the action of a story in a dramatic fashion, much as an opera without staging. ¹⁹⁹ Both Das Paradies und die Peri and Der Rose Pilgerfahrt blended these styles to some degree; both relate a narrative dramatically, yet also often pause to reflect upon a character's emotional state. (The Rose is the more dramatic in structure of the two). The chief similarity between Das Paradies und die Peri and Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, however, was the fact that neither was composed on a religious theme. Although secular oratorios were not unheard of at the time, the genre itself—particularly as lyric oratorios were almost always based on biblical stories—had a distinctly religious connotation. It is the way in which Schumann engaged with this expectation, as well as other, more tangible generic conventions, that separates the early work from the late.

For *Das Paradies und die Peri*, Schumann was loath even to use the word "oratorio." Though he did refer to it as an oratorio in letters from time to time, ²⁰⁰ he considered it a "new genre for the concert hall"—neither an oratorio nor an opera. ²⁰¹ On the title page, he referred to it simply as a *Dichtung*, or poem. Nonetheless, Schumann made strong formal connections

¹⁹⁹ Siegwart Reichwald, *The Musical Genesis of Felix Mendelssohn's 'Paulus'* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 1-3. Reichwald cites Johann Georg Sulzer and G.A. Keiferstein in their opposing views of oratorio composition.

²⁰⁰ Robert Schumann, *Briefe*, 228. Letter to Eduard Krüger, June 3, 1843. Here Schumann calls his work an "oratorio" though not meant for the church, but for the "cheerful" people. See Giesela Probst, *Robert Schumanns Oratorien* (Weissbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1975), 15–16.

²⁰¹ Ibid, 226–27. Letter of May 5, 1843.

between his work and the standard shape of an oratorio. *Das Paradies und die Peri* has a clear tripartite form, with each section representing one trial on behalf of the Peri to gain entrance to Paradise, and the third one being successful. Schumann's use of narration also reflects standard oratorical practice. Perhaps the most conspicuous nod to religious style in the *Peri*, however, is the abundance of imitation, a feature used by Schumann typically only sparingly, especially in the 1840s. While Schumann also uses imitation to suggest the divine in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, its use in the *Peri* to suggest the process of the Peri's redemption is much more straightforward.

3.1.2.1 Stylistic Design in Das Paradies und die Peri

In *Das Paradies und die Peri*, Schumann opposed two styles—imitative counterpoint and homophonic Lied forms—to represent the dichotomy between the sacred and the profane, or between heaven and earth. Moments that evoke spiritual representations, such as the Handelian fugue at the end of Part I to the words "Holy is the blood spilled for freedom," are characterized by the former style. The music of the Peri herself, however, is (at least initially) defined by *Lied* and *rezitativischer Gesang*. Schumann sets the overall "religious" tone of the oratorio from the beginning with imitation right from the orchestra's opening motive. What first appears to be a simple romantic gesture proves to be the subject for a modest fugal treatment, complete with countersubject.

Example 35. Das Paradies und die Peri, No. 1, mm. 1–8



When the voice finally enters, it is that of the narrator, and thus the imitation serves as a general signal of the text's "religious" message. This seamless blending of sacred and secular styles in the opening number is emblematic of the entire oratorio's theme, which brings a Romantic angle to a typically sacred redemption story.

The styles become more rigidly defined as the story begins. The Peri's first entrance contrasts with the opening by taking the form of a simple, though beautiful, three-strophe *Lied*.

Example 36. Das Paradies und die Peri, No. 2, mm. 1–6²⁰²



While merged in the previous number, from this point, the two styles are opposed. The music of the Peri herself is never allowed access to the "sacred" imitative style, as her character is continually denied access to paradise in the narrative. This juxtaposition is made even clearer as the work progresses. In one very clear instance, the two styles are interlaced. During the chorus of the Nile Spirits, who use an imitative texture, the Peri's interjections break suddenly from the musical fabric to retain independence as a song-form (Examples 37 and 38; note the reprise of her opening melody from Example 36).

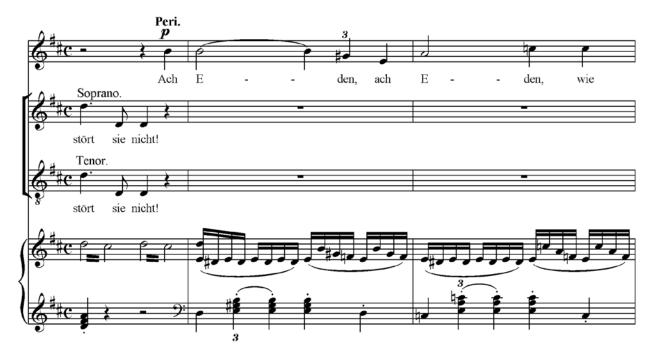
²⁰² [How happy are the holy spirits who wander there!]

Example 37. Das Paradies und die Peri, No. 11, mm. 18–27²⁰³



 $^{^{203}}$ [Come out of the waters swiftly and see the blessed, lovely child.]

Example 38. Das Paradies und die Peri, No. 11, mm. 36–38



However, as the Peri gets increasingly closer to her goal of Paradise, a stylistic shift is undergone, and her music loses its "earthly" song style in favor of the sacred imitative polyphony. At the end of the oratorio, after the Peri has gained her spiritual transcendence, does she take part in an imitative texture, in this case in a glorious *stile antico*—as emphatic a representation of religious style as was available to the nineteenth-century composer (Example 39).

Example 39. Das Paradies und die Peri, No. 25, mm. 1-30



3.1.2.2 Generic Intentions for *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*

The relationship between *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* and the oratorio genre is more complex, and less readily apparent, for Schumann intended *Der Rose* to fulfill a different role. Though Schumann divides the work into two large sections—roughly between the Rose's experiences of sorrow and her experiences of joy—the rigid structure of the *Peri* is nowhere to be found, rather the work flows on from one number to the next almost without interruption—one of the few critically lauded features of *Genoveva*. If, as I argue, Schumann's treatment of the story emphasizes the metaphorical ascension from the unconscious to God-consciousness, this feature

is also borne out by Carus's assertion that there is no clear division between any of these psychological levels. There is imitation in the *Rose*, but not nearly as much or as prominently featured as in the *Peri*, and it serves a different purpose: framing the action as cyclical, beginning and ending in divinity, rather than as an end goal only. There is also very little thematic unity throughout the *Rose*, which is in stark contrast with the *Peri* (and even more so with the quasi-monothematic *Genoveva*).

What is most interesting here is that for all of these features—or lack of key features—Schumann intended that *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* should indeed be called an oratorio. Despite stripping the work of most of the musical identifiers that would place it alongside the Handel and Haydn he was conducting, Schumann did not shy away from the term as he had in 1843 with the *Peri* (in all, a much more oratorio-like work). Instead of choosing a more benign term such as *Dichtung*, or Dramatic Symphony (as Berlioz had done with his genre-defying *Roméo et Juliette*), Schumann was relying on the religious associations with the word 'oratorio' to color the listeners' perception of the work, and to add a subtle religious weight to its message of redemption.²⁰⁴

These differences in style and form, if not theme of redemption, can be traced to Schumann's paramount goal for the oratorio: to create a thoroughly *German* work. The fact that it is more German that *Das Paradies und die Peri* is unmistakable. First, the *Peri* is based on a text by an Irish poet (Thomas Moore) set in the Orient, a land of great mystique in nineteenth-century Europe. *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, by contrast is a German creation on every level, and set in a German landscape. Beyond these superficial features, however, Schumann made clear a further important distinction. Writing to critic and poet Richard Pohl, with whom he was

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²⁰⁴ Some title pages of *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* use the term "Märchen," (Fairy Tale.) However, Schumann never referred to the work in his own writing as anything other than an oratorio, and intended its consumption as such.

contemplating an oratorio project on the life of Martin Luther in 1851, Schumann wrote of his intentions for the genre:

Das Oratorium müßte ein durchaus volkstümliches werden; eines, das Bauer und Bürger verstände...Und in diesem Sinne würde ich mich auch bestreben, meine Musik zu halten, also am allerwenigsten künstlich, complicirt, contrapuntisch, sondern einfach, eindringlich, durch Rythmus und Melodie vorzugweise wirkend.²⁰⁵

[The oratorio must be thoroughly popular in style; something that can be understood by both peasant and townsman alike...In the same vein I will compose the music, in the very least artistic, complicated, and contrapuntal, but rather simple, touching, and appealing in both rhythm and melody.]

In short, Schumann sought to make the oratorio a genre "for the people," aesthetically accessible in a way that much art music, even that with underlying political messages of unification, had not been. The first performance of the work took place not in a concert hall, but rather in Schumann's own parlor, with twenty-four singers from the *Gesangverein* and Clara playing the piano. ²⁰⁶ In fact, Schumann considered the piano score quite adequate, and orchestrated the work afterwards merely as an attempt for the oratorio to gain greater notoriety and profitability (which, of course, it did not). Thus even in its musical style, the entire piece owes much more to the German *Lied* than to any other tradition.

²⁰⁵ Schumann, *Briefe*, 336–37.

²⁰⁶ Daverio, *Herald*, 444.

3.1.3 The German Forest

While the medieval court settings of the choral ballades lent themselves to a more political reading, a different setting altogether unites both Genoveva and Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, the German Romantic forest. While Genoveva moves from the deceit and corruption of the court and castle to find its ultimate truth in the Romantic forest by the end of Act IV, Der Rose *Pilgerfahrt* resides entirely within this space of German psychological origins. By the Romantic period, the German forest was a significant setting for many literary, artistic, and musical works, be it Goethe's Erlkönig, Caspar David Friedrich's (and Carus's) wild landscapes, or Weber's Der Freischütz. However, as early as the first century AD, the Roman historian Tacitus wrote of the Germanic tribes in his Germania "The grove is the center of their whole religion. It is regarded as the cradle of the race and the dwelling-place of the supreme god to whom all things are subject and obedient." 207 Undoubtedly, the forest retained its spiritual aura even to Schumann's day, and the concept of the forest as the cradle of the race is in synch with the ideas of the practitioners of Naturphilosophie like Carus. As towns and cities began to expand in the nineteenth century, forests remained a symbol of the unaltered natural world, and their association with nature, in the broad sense, became more pronounced.

The Romantic 'mystification' of the German forest is often attributed to the Brothers Grimm, whose first publication of fairy tales appeared in 1812.²⁰⁸ Jack Zipes writes of the Grimms' understanding of the forest as such:

²⁰⁷ Quoted in Robert Pogue Harrison, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 105.

²⁰⁸ The second volume appeared in 1814, and the third and final in 1822. The popularity of the tales never waned throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, and the seventh edition—the first to contain all 211 stories—was published in 1857.

It was as though in 'old German forests' the essential truths about German customs, laws, and culture could be found—truths which might engender a deeper understanding of present-day Germany and might foster unity among German people...The *Volk*, the people, bound by a common language but disunited, needed to enter old German forests, so the Grimms thought, to gain a sense of their heritage and to strengthen the ties among themselves.²⁰⁹

It was certainly not only the Grimms who shared this now clichéd view of the Romantic forest, however. For Carus and the *Naturphilosophs*, this view fit well with theirs that in the Natural world could be found the basis for the unity of all life. In Schumann's late music, the forest can be understood to act in both of these ways: as the cradle of German unity both symbolically and philosophically. Zipes writes that the Grimms were faced with the situation where *Kunstpoesie* (refined literature) had replaced *Naturpoesie* (natural literature such as tales and legends), and that the former had to be rescued. Schumann, on the other hand was in a place with *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, in which he was attempting to balance both to at once comment upon and appeal to the 'peasant and the townsman' by creating in his music what Theodor Adorno would call "the sound of legend." ²¹⁰

3.2 DER ROSE PILGERFAHRT AS "ENTWICKLUNGSGESCHICHTE DER SEELE"

A close examination of Schumann's music for *Der Rose Pilgerfaht* shows that the work was remarkably in tune with not only the political and social currents of the time, as would be expected, but also with the map of Carus's psychology. Primarily through use of musical style

²⁰⁹ Jack Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World* (New York: Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, 1988), 45.

²¹⁰ Theodor Adorno, "On the Social Situation of Music," in *Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 54.

and modulation, rather than motivicity, Schumann created in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* a work that follows the progression through Carus's levels of consciousness remarkably closely. This strong connection serves as an important piece of the puzzle in uncovering the political and psychological implications in Schumann's music and reveals *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* to be a much more important manifestation of Schumann's late style than has previously been thought.

3.2.1 The Large Structure of *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*

While there are many similarities between the *Peri* and the *Rose*, they are quite different in structure. While the *Peri* was divided into three sections, each with a similar narrative arc, the *Rose* comprises only two large sections, divided roughly between the Rose's struggles and her triumphs. The second section is a bit longer than the first, in terms of both duration and number of scenes. Part I has ten numbers, while Part II has fourteen.

Furthermore, what should be noted as significant (and what was probably seen as a regressive step on the part of Schumann) is the compartmentalization of each discrete number in the oratorio. In the *Peri*, Schumann used full stops only at the end of each large part, but within those larger structures, individual numbers connected to one another smoothly with no breaks. In *Genoveva*, of course, this blurring of the lines was extreme; despite retaining the number system, the entire opera unfolded in continuous music. The homogenous sound and thematic design of *Genoveva* also served to obscure any divisions in the music. In the *Rose*, Schumann took a much different course, however. Perhaps as part of his effort to keep the work popular enough for the peasant, the numbering system in the *Rose* is much more discernible than in his other large dramatic works. Even though Schumann retained transitions between each number,

so that there are very few full stops, the transitions are more significant, (intentionally) noticeable, and each number presents a distinct style. The reason for this departure from his earlier proclivity for continuity is that the *Rose* is intended to show a clear progression, whereas one of the purposes behind *Genoveva* was to eliminate a concept of time.

The stylistic structure behind *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* is much more complex than that of *Das Paradies und die Peri*, despite the fact that the overall sound of the later oratorio is simpler. Schumann employed two basic kinds of scenes in the *Rose*: those whose primary function was to serve as a scenic backdrop and those whose primary function was to move the narrative forward, primarily through narration or dialogue. These latter scenes, as discussed below, are further divided between two styles: *Lied* and *rezitativischer Gesang*. The numbers that served as "scene painting" are each a distinct musical *topos*, though all relate in some way to a folk past or to the German forest. A map of the twenty-four numbers of *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* is shown below, along with the levels of Carus's consciousness with which they conform:

 Table 1. Large Structure of Der Rose Pilgerfahrt

Number	Narrative Scenes	Tableaux Scenes	Level of Consciousness
		ERSTER THEIL	
1		Die Frühlingslüfte bringen	
2	Johannis war gekommen		Das Unbewußte
3		Elfenreigen	Das Clase II disec
4	Und wie sie sagen		
5	So sagen wir		
6	Bin ein armes Waisenkind		
7	Es war der Rose erster Schmerz		
8		Wir Blätter am Baum	Weltbewußtsein
9	Die Letzte Scholl' hinunterrollt		
10		Dank, Herr, Dir dort im Sternenland	
		ZWEITER THEIL	
11	Im Haus des Totengräber		
12		Zwischen grünen Bäumen	
13	Von dem Greis geleitet		Selbstbewußtsein
14	Bald hat das neue Töchterlein		
15		Bist du im Wald gewandelt	

16	Im Wald, gelehnt am Stamme		
17	Der Abendschulmmer umarmt die Flur		
18		O sel'ge Zeit	
19	Wer kommt am Sonntagsmorgen		
20		Ei Mühle, liebe Mühle	
21		Was klingen den die Hörner	
22		Im Hause des Müllers	
23	Und wie ein Jahr verronnen ist		
24		Röslein	Gottbewußtsein

The fact that Schumann divided his numbers based on their narrative/tableau function as opposed to their vocal forces also separates the *Rose* from not only the *Peri*, but also from the prevailing formal structure of oratorios at the time. Standard procedure, as was the case of the oratorios conducted by Schumann in Düsseldorf as well as in those he championed in his 1841 article, such as Mendelssohn's *Paulus*, dictated that each discrete number have a single vocalist (or a chorus), or, in the case of an explicit duet, two vocalists. For the *Peri*, Schumann adhered to this system, and despite overlaying his agenda of imitative and Lied forms, the structure of the work remained an archetype of oratorical form. For the *Rose*, however, Schumann subordinated such considerations to the dramatic structure of the work, so that in almost every case, each number employs multiple characters. For example, Number 13, a narrative scene, includes Tenor (narrator), the Grave Digger, Rosa, the Miller, and the Miller's Wife. Even solo and

choral forces are sometimes included in the same number, such as in Numbers 4 and 21. This pattern reflects a blending of genres on Schumann's part that incorporates an operatic attitude into the structure of the oratorio, necessitated by many of the narrative scenes including dialogue between characters. The division between narrative and tableau scenes also highlights the hybrid lyric/dramatic nature of the developing genre. Schumann's design focuses on musical transitions that frame action and moments of character development as opposed to those that merely signal the turn for another soloist to add his or her perspective. This allowed Schumann to make important melodic and stylistic connections between characters whose appearances weren't separated by number divisions. It also allowed the listener to associate discrete numbers with narrative events, as opposed to shifting perspectives and reactions.

3.2.2 The Unconscious

There is no narrative content in the opening scene, but rather its purpose is to serve as an overture of sorts and to paint a picture of the setting of the oratorio, the Romantic Forest. The poetic imagery in the first scene is concerned with the coming of spring—an appropriate if somewhat obvious analogue to beginnings. On the most superficial level, this beginning is simply the start of a fairy tale, but it can also be understood more deeply as reaffirming its Forest setting as a place of origins. "O sel'ge Frühligszeit" (Oh blessed springtime), the nameless voices praise it, is the start of a journey that begins in the deepest roots of its listener's collective unconscious.

The music of the opening number is a bit more complex, but it reaffirms this connection. The fact that Schumann begins the oratorio with a scene consisting entirely of imitation after vowing to keep counterpoint out of his re-envisioning of the genre is significant. Admittedly, the

counterpoint is not complex—close imitation at the unison creating a round rather than a fugue—yet the entrance of the second voice after only two beats draws immediate attention to the imitative texture (Example 39).



Example 40. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 1, mm. 1–12

As in *Das Paradies und die Peri*, Schumann uses imitation and contrapuntal textures in the *Rose* to serve as a metaphor for the sacred. Also like the opening number in the *Peri*, the imitation in Example 40 is tempered somewhat by a stylistic allusion to a Romantic music (in this case an idealized folk tune). The imitative presence steadily increases in prominence, however, as the second voice appears initially only in the violas, then violas and bassoons

against the first vocal entrance; then finally as a vocal duet (see Example 34 above). Taken alongside Schumann's insistence on retaining the term 'oratorio' in association with the work, it is not a stretch to suggest Schumann intended the opening number to evoke a sense of spirituality alongside its folk-like innocence.

While the imitation adds one layer to the scene, the other musical features set the tone for the rest of the work in terms of melodic straightforwardness and harmonic simplicity. Schumann used the expression *Im fröhlichen Ton* (in a cheerful tone), and the music, with its square rhythm and simplistic harmonic progression (I–V⁷/V–V⁷–I) clearly evokes a folk-like sensibility. Even the key of A major suggests a connection between this opening number and the "Ländliches Lied" (Rustic Song) from the *Album für die Jugend*, op. 68, no. 20.²¹¹ In that case, Schumann also employed basic harmonies and a similar duple rhythm to suggest folk-like simplicity:

Example 41. Album für die Jugend, "Ländlisches Lied," Op. 68 No. 20, mm. 1-9



This first scene also evokes the style of the opening to Part Three of *Das Paradies und die Peri*, where Schumann again used a simple, harmonically stable theme. This connection is further emphasized by the similar contrapuntal treatment: close imitation at the unison (Example 41).

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²¹¹ This is another work that belongs to the late period of Robert Schumann. He composed these pieces for his three daughters in 1848. The *Album für die Jugend* offers great insight into Schumann's understanding of stylized or topical music, whose elements are laid bare by the pedagogical nature of the music.

Example 42. Das Paradies und die Peri, No. 18, mm. 1–15



In this scene from the *Peri*, the imitation is directly linked with a spiritual source, as the music tells of the decoration of the Lord's throne. As a further connection, the throne is to be decorated with *flowers*, so that God's gaze can fall even on the lowliest.²¹²

This association of nature, and particularly of flowers, with the divine is also borne out in Schumann's most overt tribute to the Romantic Forest, the op. 82 *Waldszenen*. This set of piano miniatures was composed over the course of almost two years between December 1848 and September 1850, after composing *Genoveva*, but before *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*.²¹³ Though the pieces are extremely varied and encompass subjects from hunting to prophetic birds, when one examines Schumann's characterization of flowers, his style is remarkably consistent. No. 3 of the cycle, entitled *Einsame Blumen* (Lonely Flowers), is the only piece of the set with a contrapuntal texture, and though not as simplistic as the examples from the *Rose* and the *Peri*, Schumann took care to add the expressive mark "Einfach" (simply) (Example 42).

Example 43. "Einsame Blumen" from *Waldszenen*, Op. 82, No. 3, mm. 1–8



Thus two important components of Carus's *allgemeines absolut Unbewußtes*—nature and the divine—are immediately centralized in Schumann's opening scene, alongside imagery of

²¹² Schmücket die Stufen zu Allahs Thron, schmückt sie mit Blumen, Freundinnen alle, daß auf des Himmels Unterste auch gnädig ein Blick das Ewigen falle! [Bedeck the steps to great Allah's throne. Bedeck them with flowers, friends, so that the eternal gaze may fall even on the lowliest.]

²¹³ Daverio, *Herald*, 410.

new beginnings. Before any single character is heard or even named, our path through Carus's natural levels of consciousness has begun

Scene two is written in the Lied style, and could well be at home in one of Schumann's song cycles. Though through-composed and in two parts, its accompaniment employs what were then already clichés of Schubertian Lied composition, first with the groups of repeated eighthnotes, and secondly with the sextuplet figurations (Examples 44 and 45).

Example 44. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 2, mm. 1–6

Example 45. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 2, mm. 32–34²¹⁴



Once again, Schumann mimics the opening stylistic dichotomy of *Das Paradies und die Peri* by following an imitative number with a straight *Lied* form. In this case, however, the generic implications are different: rather than using the *Lied* to represent the profane nature of the Rose, as he did with his earlier protagonist, here, the song form is used to move the narrative forward. After all, the Rose already belongs to nature, and thus the divine, from the outset; she has yet to move beyond her initial state into the realm of non-sacred topoi. It is the countering of the *Lied* with *rezitativischer Gesang* that holds more significance for her musical journey through consciousness.

Like the opening number, scene three is free from narrative content and contains poetic imagery of spring very similar to that of the first (and shares the same key, A major). However, Schumann's musical treatments serve to separate them clearly from one another. This scene, which is the last to serve as an introduction to the Rose's world, takes an abrupt stylistic turn. Set as a chorus of fairies, their three-part homophony assumes the role of a dance (titled "Elfin round dance") and completes the progression of musical styles over the first three scenes from most sacred to most secular (Example 46):

²¹⁴ [What is the magical song from yonder meadow?]

Example 46. *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, No. 3, mm. 1–3²¹⁵



Thus Schumann goes as far as to associate not one, but two musical styles with nature and the Romantic Forest. Though the first represented the *Göttliche in unserm Innern* and the deepest beginning, Schumann seems to heed Carus's statement that our unconscious life is 'affected by all humanity' and associates the communal secular style of the dance with nature as well and that which all share as components of our absolute unconscious.

Schumann's approach to "scene painting" here is not unique within his output. Indeed, in each of Schumann's non-staged dramas (*Das Paradies und die Peri, Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, Manfred, Requiem für Mignon*, and the *Faust Scenes*), he is compelled to use music to set the

²¹⁵ [We dance; we dance in the lovely night, until the day wakes from slumber.]

stage for the ensuing action. He first employed this to strong effect in the *Peri*, where his musical conjuring of visual images was so convincing that it caused Krüger to remark in his review: "We Germans could have done without the clattering and clanking of the bejeweled garments of the Muslim Harem in the orchestra" However, Schumann's approach far exceeded simple mimetic representation, employing "foreign" key signatures to represent foreign lands²¹⁷ and relying on common westernized tropes of Eastern music, such as drones, percussion, ostinati, and pizzicato arpeggios.

Laura Tunbridge sees this process as a reference by Schumann to the *tableaux vivants* that pervaded early nineteenth-century theater in Germany. While Daverio suggests that this trend in Schumann's music was an effort to save the listener from the distracting visual element of staging, and, thus, preserve the superiority of and emphasis on the text (and of course its relationship to the music), Tunbridge believes something else is at work. She argues that despite the fact that the *Peri*, the *Rose*, *Manfred*, and the *Faust Scenes* were not staged, they nonetheless relied on notions of theatrical representation, which Schumann's scene painting and musical (mental) *tableaux vivants* served. *Genoveva*, despite being his only drama intended for the stage, is quite conspicuously un-theatrical; similarly, the *Faust Scenes*, as discussed below, seemed also to have been chosen to represent the least theatrical moments of Goethe's drama. Nonetheless, Tunbridge's model is apt in examining scenes which serve as clear visual backdrops to the narrative at hand. Nowhere is this process more prevalent and conspicuous as in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*. While the *Peri* and other works contain such moments, their presence

²¹⁶ Eduard Krüger, "Robert Schumann: Das Paradies und Die Peri," in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 47 (1845), col. 565. Trans. Daverio, "Schumann's 'new genre for the concert hall:' *Das Paradies und die Peri* in the eyes of a contemporary," in *Schumann and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 134.

²¹⁷ Tunbridge, "Euphorion," 116.

in the *Rose* is much more frequent and formally controlled. Roughly half of the oratorio's contents are tableau scenes.

Thus, in the opening scenes, the *tableau* that serves as the forest and cradle of existence is ushered in to the audience's mind. As in many of the *tableaux* discussed by Tunbridge, the text in these sections is full of visual details such as colors: "...Blumen tauchen aus grünem Wiesenplan," and "Im maiengrünen Kleide..." ("Flowers emerge from the green expanse," and "in May-green dress..."). These two moments of scene painting, which serve as the opening *tableau*, are but the first of many that continually intersperse themselves between sections of drama and narrative, and serve to keep the setting of the forest vivid and living in the minds of the listeners. More importantly, they serve as a constant reminder of the source of the Rose's origin, and thus also of the German mind, which serves as the deeper setting of the protagonist's trajectory. In *Psyche*, Carus lays out in three points exactly what he hopes to accomplish in exploring the unconscious mind before moving to the conscious one. His third and most important point is:

Und endlich gehört es noch hieher bestimmter zu zeigen, was in der Seele selbst dann, wenn ein Bewußtsein sich entwickelt hat, noch immer der geheimnißvollen Tiefe des Unbewußtseins anheimfalle.²¹⁸

[Finally, to show more definitely that in the soul something still remains in the mysterious depths of the unconscious even after consciousness has developed.]

²¹⁸ Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 30.

Though each level of consciousness is dependent on the level below it, the process is fluid, not transformative. Thus each level remains with us.²¹⁹ The constant interjections that allude to the romantic forest and to the divine serve not only as reminders of the Rose's origin (and destination), but also as reminders that her character is constantly shaped by them. While in *Genoveva* Schumann sought to eliminate references to time and place, save in those specific moments at the beginning and ending, in order to preserve "poetic time," in the *Rose*, while timeless, the setting and its metaphorical implications are hammered home at every opportunity.

Each instance of these *tableaux* scenes serves to emphasize through a different topos the many facets of the collective human (German) spirit that is present in the absolute unconscious. Of the twenty-four scenes in the oratorio, exactly twelve serve this function. (See Table 2).

²¹⁹ Ibid., 153. "Das Höhere und Spätere wird auch hier immer das Niedere und Frühere mit umfassen und einschließen." [The higher and later will also always include the lower and earlier.]

Table 2. Tableaux Scenes in Der Rose Pilgerfahrt

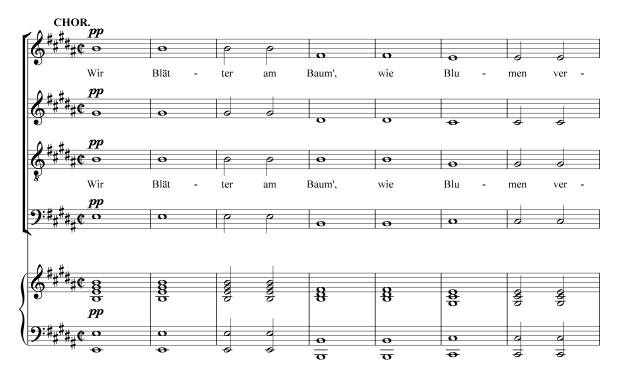
No.	<u>Style</u>
No. 1	Volkstümlichkeit Folk Song/Imitation
No. 3	Folk Dance
No. 4b	Folk Dance (reprise of no. 3)
No. 8	Stile antico chorale
No. 10	Prayer, Elfin Chorus
No. 12	March
No. 15	Hunting Song
No. 18	Chorale
No. 20	Folk Dance
No. 21	Fanfare
No. 22	Wedding Dance
No. 24	Angelic Chorus/ Imitation

As can be seen, these scenes are spread throughout the oratorio, so that no matter which level of consciousness the narrative thread is exploring, elements of the unconscious are always resurfacing.

Both religious and profane topoi are present, but each is meant to evoke a sense of community, spirituality, or unity through nature. The *stile antico* chorale in number 8 is a striking moment in the oratorio, fashioned as Rosa's impassioned prayer to find a sense of belonging in her new world. It is precisely this style of writing that would have been the norm in

the eighteenth-century oratorios of Handel and Haydn (and that was employed with some frequency in *Das Paradies und die Peri*), but its appearance in the *Rose* is conspicuous. It serves both as a self-conscious nod to the conventions of the genre that Schumann sought to evoke in the *Rose*, as well as another stylistic reminder of Rosa's ultimate connection with her origins in the natural/spiritual world. This is made clear by Rosa's lines interacting and harmonizing with the chorus of fairies, which her character, at that point in the realm of world-consciousness, cannot actually hear. We as an audience are made aware of the perpetual connection, however, and the scene is a poignant blend of consciousness and unconsciousness.

Example 47. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 8, mm. 1–16





Numbers 10 and 18 are also religious topoi, though both avoid the use of imitation, which was reserved as the signifier of spirituality for the opening and closing numbers.

The topical content of number 15 also serves the purpose of reminding the listeners of Rosa's origin, in this case as one of the many scenes that highlights the Romantic forest (and nature itself). Like number 8, the symbolism is double; the number is set both as a hunting chorus, whose text is full of the imagery of mystical forests and glades, and as a Männerchor, a male chorus, that represents the communal music making so important to the creation of a sense of German nationhood in the mid nineteenth century.

Both of these elements have precedence in Schumann's late music. Choral societies were increasing in prominence in German-speaking areas by the mid-nineteenth century, and Schumann composed most of his choral works during the late 1840s and early 1850s. His *Drei Lieder für Männerchor*, op. 62, were completed in 1848, followed in 1849 by the *Jagdlieder* (Hunting Songs), op. 137, a collection of five part songs for men's chorus and four horns. Hunting songs also appeared in many of Schumann's collections of piano miniatures, most notably the two found in the *Waldszenen*: "Jager auf der Lauer," and "Jagdlied." ²²⁰

Example 48. Waldszenen, "Jagdlied," op. 82 No. 8, mm. 1–7

It is interesting that Mendelssohn's "Jagdlied," op. 59, no. 6, for mixed chorus, shares none of these identifying features, being in common time with an emphasis on the upper register.

Schumann's treatment of the hunting song, which is closely related stylistically to the knight or horse rider song in his oeuvre, is remarkably consistent. Such pieces were invariably in compound meter (or fast triple meter), with strong dotted rhythms and fanfarish fourths and fifths, typically set in a mid to low register. Brahms's considerable contributions to the hunting song among his solo lieder are also consistent with these stylistic elements.

Both of the main elements of the hunting song, as seen above in Example 48, the horn call and a jaunty compound meter are highlighted from the outset of number 15.



Example 49. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 15, mm. 1–9

The chorus itself challenges the listener to heed the importance of the forest:

Bist du im Wald gewandelt, Wenn's drin so heimlich rauscht, Wenn aus den hohen Büschen Das Wild, aufhorchend, lauscht?

Bist du im Wald gewandelt, Wenn drin das Frühlicht geht, Und purpurrot die Tanne Im Morgenscheine steht?

Hast du da recht verstanden Des Waldes zaubrisch Grün, Sein heimlich süsses Rauschen, Und seine Melodien? -

...

O Herz, wenn dich die Menschen Verwunden bis zum Tod, Dann klage du, dem Walde Vertrauend, deine Not.

Dann wird aus seinem Dunkel, Aus seinem Wundergrün, Beseligend zum Herzen Des Trostes Engel zieh'n.

[Have you walked in the forest, When it rustles so secretly, When from within the high bushes The wild animals prick up their ears to listen?

Have you walked in the forest, In the early morning light, When the firs stand crimson In the shining light of the morn?

Did you truly comprehend there The magical green of the forest, The sweet secret rustling, And its melodies?

• •

O heart, when people Wound you unto death, Then utter your lament, trustingly Tell your woes to the forest.

Then from its darkness, From its wondrous green, The angel of comfort shall come Into your heart, bringing bliss.]

The text paints the forest not only as a magical place, but as the dwelling place of the 'angel of comfort.' Thus several elements of Carus's absolute unconscious—nature, community, and spirituality—become the backdrop of the narrative, while remaining unobtrusive to the telling of events.

Folk-like melodies and dances make up Nos. 3, 12, 20, and 22, again suggestive of idealized origins and communal activity. In No. 20, a familiar thematic idea is heard again in slight variation (Example 50)



Example 50. Der Rose Pilgerfarht, No. 20, mm. 1–4

This tableau scene likens the summertime mill with the youths, who are both dressed "in their Sunday best" by being bedecked with flowers. The appropriation here of the chorale melody from *Genoveva* is a subtly-conceived but playfully-executed reminder of the deeper connection between the seemingly disparate subjects of the song; the hillside bedecked with living flowers and the children bedecked with picked ones.

Within the scenes that make up the portion of the narrative set in the unconscious mind (Numbers 1–5), the narrative elements are directly woven into the tableau scenes, rather than appearing as separate numbers as in the later stages of the oratorio. The part of the story exposited in Number 4, for example, when the Rose first declares her wish to become human, is seamlessly placed between iterations of the folk dance (Number 3 and 4b), which had evidently been continuing throughout this exchange. While the Rose still resides in the unconscious as a part of nature, the tableau music is diegetic; she both hears it and comments upon it. This contrasts with the scenes that occur after the Rose has gained consciousness. At this early point in the oratorio, everything is operating at the level of the unconscious.

3.2.3 World-consciousness

Die erste Beurkundung der Seele unmittelbar nach dem bloß unbewußten Zustande erscheint als Weltbewußtsein. ²²¹

[The first achievement of the soul immediately after the merely unconscious state appears as world-consciousness.]

²²¹ Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 101

If the Rose's journey begins in the realm of the unconscious, then the next steps of her metaphorical journey through the levels of consciousness begin at scene five. It is in this scene where the Rose makes the transition from the unconscious to world-consciousness. This transition, like the subsequent ones, is borne out musically by Schumann. An important harmonic precedent is set as the Rose becomes human and enters what Carus would call "World-Consciousness." The transition is heralded by a conspicuous harmonic shift of a third: in this case the modulation from E-flat major to G major (via a brief foray into G minor) as the narrator describes her waking to her new form (Example 51).

(Tenor)

Im Tempo

streif ver-räth noch, wo sie wa ren.

Auf schlägt das schö ne Ro sen kind wie

Zurückhaltend

f ten.

Example 51. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 5, mm. 13–17

This is the first of three key instances where Schumann employs a clear harmonic progression of a third, each time signaling the rise of the Rose to a higher level of consciousness. In this case, by first emphasizing G minor as a tonal center, the transition is made via a dominant chord, and only the presence of the B natural defines the moment as significant. As will be shown below, each subsequent transformation is more and more dramatic, as each further psychological level represents a more significant achievement. From the point of view of the

narrative alone, one would expect that this first transformation, from flower to human, would be the most musically elaborate. However, Schumann reserves that moment for the final transition, from self-consciousness to God-consciousness.

Schumann always had a predilection for such harmonic movement, which critic Eduard Krüger named "the evil mediant" and suggested that due to its overwhelming use by Italian composers, should be banned on nationalistic grounds—an interesting fact, given Schumann's goal to create a truly "German" work of art. 222 Nonetheless, Schumann uses it in Der Rose *Pilgerfahrt* sparingly, and when heard beside the gentle circle of fifths modulations that link most other movements, each instance is immediately significant to the listener.

Even more compelling than the modulation that heralds the transition is the subtle motivic reference Schumann uses in the same example. As should be recognizable after the previous chapter, both versions I and II of the central theme from Genoveva make an appearance just at this moment. First heard is version II, in the piano or orchestra alone, followed by the clear iteration of version I (the chorale theme) in the narrator's voice just after the key change. This connection is a powerful one if indeed Schumann used that theme as a representation of the unconscious in Genoveva (and later in Faust) which is made doubly so by the fact that it appears only in the accompaniment in the moment before the transformation and in the voice the moment after.

Beyond this moment alone, Schumann provides many more musical representations of the concept of world-consciousness over the next several numbers. The mere fact that the Rose leaves the plant world for the human one is evidence enough that a new level of consciousness

²²² See Krüger, *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 47 (1845), cols. 609–10.

has been achieved, as the plant world can only possess an unconscious. However, the Rose's subsequent behavior both dramatically and musically bears out several similarities with Carus's lowest level of consciousness.

In *Psyche*, Carus states that world-consciousness is based around "the vague feeling of the condition of one's own organization...a perception or sense that we usually call the common sense." As the Rose adjusts to her new situation, it is indeed only with the vaguest sense of her identity or the world that she sets out. In terms of human behavior, world-consciousness can be defined as much by what it lacks as by what it encompasses. This is because Carus makes it clear that world-consciousness is the highest level of consciousness for all organisms but humans. No matter how complex other animals behave, they lack any sense of self-identity or awareness of how they fit into the larger world. Carus proves his point by way of Goethe yet again, this time by quoting from *Faust I*:

...Ich finde nicht die Spur Von einem Geist, und alles ist Dressur.²²⁴

[I see no evil spirit in it, sure enough; It's just a dog that's trained to do its stuff.]²²⁵

It is this very struggle with her own identity that serves as the Rose's motivation in these first scenes. Rosa's first words, in fact, shed light on her condition: "Wo bin ich? Ist's Wahrheit? Ist's ein Traum?" (Where am I? Is this real? Is this a dream?) (Example 52). Though these

²²³ Carus, *Vorlesungen*, 111. "...das unbestimmte Gefühl des Zustandes der eignen Organisation..., eine Wahrnehmung oder einen Sinn, welche wir mit dem Namen des Gemeingefühls zu nennen pflegen."

Goethe, Wolfgang von, *Faust*, lines 1172–3. In Carus's quote, he inserts "self-conscious" into the line, and mistakenly exchanging the word "sehe" (see) for "finde" (find). See Caus, *Vorlesungen*, 47–48. "...und sich immer dabei sagen zu müssen: 'Ich sehe nicht die Spur von einem (selbstbewußten) Geist, und Alles ist Dressur." Carus corrected his mistake in *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 144.

²²⁵ Goethe, Faust. The First Part of the Tragedy with the Unpublished Scenarios for Walpurgis Night and the Urfaust, trans. John R. Williams (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1999), 36–37.

questions are answered soon enough, the question she tries to answer over the course of the oratorio is rather *Wer bin ich?* (Who am I?).

Example 52. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 5, mm. 28–33



The first thing that Rosa (as she is now called in the score) attempts is to find shelter, and upon finding an inviting house, she begs for a room. However, she is rebuked by Martha, the crone who lives inside, merely for the reason that she cannot prove *who* she is:

Rosa:

Bin ein armes Waisen-kind, dem seine Lieb'n gestorben sind. (I am a poor orphan, whose parents have died)

Martha:

Habt ihr ein Zeugniss, einen Schein, dass man euch trauen mag? (Do you have a certificate or a note, that one may believe you?)

Unable to provide such a formal recognition of her identity, the Rose is sent back out into the cold. Even her first plea to the crone was a lie, however, for of course she does not have loved ones who have died, and thus faces a situation where she must define herself by finding de facto parents before she can proceed with her quest for happiness. Since Rosa has no identity, not

even parents, she has not yet achieved "self-consciousness," the next of Carus's levels. In fact, the remainder of the first half of the oratorio has Rosa desperately seeking such an identity, and is met with failure, stunted psychologically, and inhibited musically to speak only in the tones of those around her, be it the old Crone or the Gravedigger, and not yet with her own voice.

In *Psyche*, Carus outlines four criteria that are prerequisites for obtaining consciousness. These four criteria are what separate organisms capable of consciousness (humans, animals) from those that are not (the plant world), or from one developmental stage in an organism to another in which consciousness first appears (pre-natal.) These four points also highlight the unique (and often frustrating) blending of biologic and philosophical ideology woven into Carus's psychology.

Two of the four criteria are decidedly biologic. The first condition is a nervous system that concentrates and centralizes the sensory capacity of the non-nervous parts of the body; the key to developing a higher consciousness. It is this system that Carus suggests is the manifestation of the "Promethean unconscious dominance of the idea." Borrowing terminology from Goethe's drama *Pandora*, Carus frequently refers to Epimethean and Promethean aspects of each stage of the development of the soul, in reference to the resonance of the past and seeds of the future that are present in all developmental phases. Similarly, the fourth prerequisite for consciousness is a mass of brain matter that is sufficient in size to process sensory signals and to retain impressions. Carus argues that the child's brain is sufficient for the

²²⁶ Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 103. "Ja es läßt sich mit der größten Genauigkeit Schritt verfolgen, daß, je vollkommner durch eignes prometheisches unbewußtes Walten der Idee, im Nervensystem selbst der Begriff der Concentration dargestellt wurde auch um so vollkommner die erste Bedingung zur Entfaltung eines höhern Bewußtseins gegeben sei."

miracle of consciousness only once it has reached a certain mass, and the "idiot," with his "stunted little atrophied brain" is likewise not capable of higher levels of consciousness.²²⁷

The second and third precursors for consciousness are more behavioral in nature and both can be pointed out in Schumann's oratorio. The second is simply the interaction with the world through the senses. Carus defines six senses: sight, hearing, touch, smell, and taste, as well as a sense of warmth. Naturally, Rosa experiences many of these upon her transformation, notably the desire for warmth and shelter now necessary in her current form. It is this initial pursuit of sensory fulfillment that is the prerequisite for her later, deeper quest for emotional fulfillment. The sense of sight also plays a prominent role as a source of comfort for Rosa after her rebuke by Martha:

Es war der Rose erster Schmerz! Trost bittend schaut sie himmelwärts;

(It was the Rose's first pain! She looks heavenward for consolation;)

It is the third prerequisite that is most conspicuous in Schumann's score. This is also the most important conceptual requirement in defining world-consciousness for Carus: the ability to retain ideas. This principle embodies the Epimethean side of the psyche (what Carus refers to as the reverse of the first prerequisite), and is necessary for both memory and the ability to imitate

²²⁷ Ibid., 108. "Ein bestimmtes abgemessenes Maß kann natürlich hier nicht aufgestellt werden, aber daß ein solches erfordert werde, leidet durchaus keinen Zweifel. Im Kinde entwickelt sich das Bewußtsein allemal erst nachdem ein gewisses Material in einem gewissen Umfang aufgesammelt worden ist, und im Idioten mit verkrüppelter kleiner verkümmerter Hirnbildung, d.h. wo jene als organische Bedingung einer Vorstellung anerkannte Masse der Urgebilde der Hirnsubstanz von Haus aus in zu geringer Menge entstanden war, wird eine hinreichende Mannich faltigkeit von Vorstellungen nie möglich; und wenn auch da ein allgemeines Weltbewußtsein nicht fehlt, so wird doch die höhere Form des Selbstbewußtseins in solchem Falle nicht zur Offenbarung gelangen." Carus also notes here that even with a small brain, world-consciousness is possible, but not self-consciousness.

²²⁸ Carus, *Vorlesungen*, 114. Carus describes the "lower senses" (niedern Sinne) as "Getast, Wärmegefühl, Geruch," (touch, warmth, smell) and the "higher senses" (höhren Sinne) as "Gehör, Gesicht, Geschmack" (hearing, sight, taste).

behavior.²²⁹ From a musical standpoint, this idea is realized as the Rose begins to form her musical identity. The Rose's first musical utterances as a human, for example, are notable for their lack of stylistic or motivic individuality. Indeed, Rosa (as she is now referred to in the score), seems only capable of echoing the style and melodic ideas of other characters—a significant departure from Schumann's other motivically-driven dramas, notably the recently-composed *Genoveva*.

Schumann turns to his technique from the *Peri* (and *Genoveva*) of *rezitativischer Gesang* to express this slow development of motivic integrity. From the moment of her initial transformation until her later ascension to self-consciousness, the music of the Rose and indeed all of the narrative numbers is relegated to the nebulous sound of the *rezitativischer Gesang*. In an effort to highlight its difference from the pure *Lied* style that occurs later in the oratorio, Schumann characterized these early numbers with sparse accompaniments and inconstant rhythmic definition:

²²⁹ Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 104–05. "Eine dritte wesentliche Bedingung, unter welcher allein Bewußtsein sich entwickeln kann, ist gewissermaßen die Umkehrung der ersten. Nämlich wie auf dem prometheischen unbewußten Vorausgebildetwerden des Nervensystems zuerst die Möglichkeit des Bewußtseins ruhte, so auf dem epimetheischen Festgehaltensein aller Anregungen des Seelenlebens, d.h. auf der Erinnerung, alle Möglichkeit der höhern Ausbildung des Bewußtseins."

Example 53. Rezitativisher Gesang in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, No. 5²³⁰



Motivically, the Rose is further hampered by her inability to define any kind of recognizable musical material. All of her initial dialogue lacks any motivic constancy, and is typically derived from the music of other characters. Often it is an approximated imitation, as in Example 54. Here, her response is further restricted by narrow melodic range and softer dynamic:

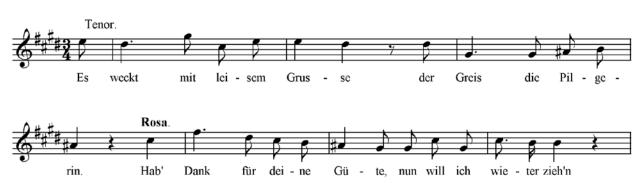
²³⁰ [The song is over, and day now breaks. A bird hails the morning. The world wakes to new joy, to new pain, to new sorrow.]

Example 54. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 7, mm. 36–47²³¹



Or it simply answers a phrase started by another character:

Example 55. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 11, mm. 12–18²³²



For a score as full of pure, unpretentious melodic content as the *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* is, Rosa's early lines are strikingly ambiguous and meandering. Only as she progresses further in her quest does her music begin to take shape and assert its independence.

²³¹ [**Tenor:** He digs, spade in hand, a grave in the green land. Rosa: Whose grave is this, so deep and small?]

 $^{^{232}}$ [**Tenor**: With gentle greetings, the old man wakes his pilgrim guest. **Rosa**: Thank you for your goodness, now I shall press on.]

3.2.4 Self-consciousness

The second transition occurs at the beginning of the second half of the oratorio, and comes as Rosa is adopted by the Miller and his wife, gaining parents, and thus becoming a daughter. In attaining this identity, Rosa acquires "self-consciousness," and once again, the musical transition of a third announces the shift, this time a common-tone modulation from E major to C major as the narrator tells of the Rose greeting her first joy (Example 56).

No. 12
Lebhaft

Zwi-schen grü-nen

Example 56. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, Transition to No. 12

When compared to the previous modulation by third that signaled her initial steps into world-consciousness, this second transition stands out even clearer—without the use of an intervening tonicization. It is this transformation after all that signals her first successful steps in attaining her ultimate goal. Where she did not before, Rosa now "fits in" as a human, and begins to display the psychological characteristics of self-consciousness: the level of consciousness exclusive to mankind.

Carus abandons the physiological in favor of the psychological in classifying the difference between world-consciousness and self-consciousness. In describing the prerequisites for this next stage of psychological development, three concepts are key: *Verstand, Phantasie*, and *Vernunft*. Throughout his discussion of the self-conscious mind, Carus returns continuously to those three key terms.

The first, *Verstand*, or "analytical intellect," is found at the intersection of world-consciousness and self-consciousness. It is this process that accounts for comprehension and rational ordering of the outside world. At this point in the narrative, Rosa begins to understand the roles that other people play, even if her own is not yet clear to her. As a musical manifestation of this rationalization and ordering, the free, *rezitativischer Gesang* style is left behind, and well-defined Lied forms take over. Just as Schumann's *rezitativischer Gesang* is more exaggerated in the *Rose* than in the *Peri*, his use of the Lied is often obvious as well; to say that Schumann's accompaniments in these sections are less subtle than in his stand-alone Lieder would be an understatement. His accessibility is deliberately backward-looking.

Beyond Rosa's own musical material, there is a general shift in Part II of the oratorio even in the narration from the *rezitativischer Gesang* to the Lied. As shown in Table 3, the style of the narrative portions of the oratorio is very clear-cut: Nos. 13 through 19, all of which occur during Rosa's self-conscious state, are dominated by the Lied style.

²³³ Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 160. "Was gegenwärtig die Entwicklung des Geistes an und für sich betrifft, so unterschieden wir schon früher drei Perioden derselben: die erste die des Verstandes, die zweite die der Phantasie, die dritte die der Vernunft."

Table 3. Narrative Scenes in Der Rose Pilgerfahrt

No.	<u>Style</u>
No. 2	Lied
No. 4	Rezitativischer Gesang
No. 5	Rezitativischer Gesang
No. 6	Rezitativischer Gesang
No. 7	Rezitativischer Gesang
No. 9	Rezitativischer Gesang
No. 11	Rezitativischer Gesang
No. 13	Lied
No. 14	Lied
No. 16	Lied
No. 17	Lied
No. 19	Lied
No. 23	Rezitativischer Gesang

Aside from Lied forms representing a more rational organization in the music, the switch is also reminiscent of the way Schumann balanced the Lied with imitation in *Das Paradies und die Peri* to represent the worldly and the ethereal. Here too, the increasing emphasis on the clear-cut song forms, many of which are as rustic in tone as the opening *Volkstümlichkeit* Lied, stand in as a representation of humanity as opposed to the divine, where the oratorio begins and ends. Even

though the Rose was technically human before this part of the oratorio, she was still discovering her sense of self. Only in becoming self-conscious does she truly attain humanity.

The second stage—and the most important for true self-consciousness—is *Phantasie*, or imagination. Carus also refers to this process as "schaffende Phantasie," "creative imagination," which relates to the production of new concepts and ideas from given materials. It is this process that Carus most closely associates with the formation of the ego, or "sich selbst fühlen," in his terminology. While *Verstand* is largely a function of the individual learning to relate to and interact with the world, *Phantasie* actually advances society by the creation of new cultural material. In placing *Phantasie* as a more developed process than *Verstand*, Carus cements his position as an Idealist; imagination allows the mind to be free of the tyranny of strictly empirical data, something that analytical intellect alone cannot achieve.

In Schumann's score, Rosa's acquisition of an identity (first as a daughter, later as a wife and mother) is accompanied by an increasing creativity and definition in her vocal lines. What were mere replications or wandering phrases in Part I are strong, focused melodies in Part II. This change is first noticed in No. 13, as Rosa responds to the Gravedigger with a phrase not unlike her musical utterances in the first half of the oratorio. However, she then continues (in a passage pointedly designated in the score "für sich," or "to herself") with an extended Lied-style passage entirely of her own invention (Example 57).

Example 57. *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, No. 13, mm. 8–25²³⁴



²³⁴ [**Gravedigger**: On this bank, in the shade of these trees, wait for me. **Rosa**: God bless your intent! (To herself:) So shall the highest happiness on earth, the most anticipated joy be mine.]

This moment also draws attention to another aspect of Rosa's music not yet mentioned: the length of her lines. Her line here goes on for nineteen measures (by far her longest uninterrupted passage to this point in the oratorio.) Her previous longest phrase, at twelve measures, appeared in No. 11, just before the transition (the beginning of which is shown in Example 55). Before that, Rosa was largely limited to motivic outbursts rather than extended phrases. (Her longest uninterrupted passage, twenty-six measures, occurs, appropriately, as she's reached fullness of consciousness in No. 23.)

Her creative use of given material is manifested most remarkably in No. 17, a love duet between her and the Forester's son. His opening entreaty includes a direct reference to her, with the line "I know a little rose, resplendent in the glow of springtime."

Example 58. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 17, mm. 19–22



In hearing a motive addressed directly to her, Rosa quickly appropriates it, and it becomes part of her ensuing musical language; she uses it as the start of her next three lines in various transpositions, which lead to developments of increasing length. The Forester's son uses it only once more, and only as an echo of Rosa. Rosa's assimilation of the motive emphasizes her ability to not only create from given material, but as an acknowledgement of her own identity being further defined (now as a wife). The act of borrowing in the first place, however, stresses that her identity is still distinguished only in her relationships to other people.

The third stage first present in self-consciousness is *Vernunft*, "reason," or "synthesizing intellect." While *Phantasie* can go as far as the creation of symbols for the idea, it is only through *Vernunft* that one can begin to comprehend the idea itself. For Carus, this important function represents the ability to perceive the underlying unity in a world that appears infinitely diverse. This last stage is the hallmark only of the most developed minds (such as Carus's, of course) and is the point of entry to the largely hypothetical level of God-consciousness.

3.2.5 God-consciousness

As Carus describes it, true God-consciousness would be ultimately inaccessible to the human spirit, as human consciousness remains just that—human. Though we can approach it, through insight, it remains only theoretical, as such a level of penetration into the idea would preclude the unconscious altogether, as everything would be laid bare to consciousness. This limit is recognized in *Genoveva*, when Siegfried tries to unlock the truth by penetrating his unconscious, but in the *Rose*, which deals directly with transcendent transformation, Schumann was able to consider the implications of such a final level of consciousness.

Once all of her initial goals have been met and Rosa firmly establishes her self-consciousness, she has only one transition left to make: to God-consciousness, or in light of the circular chart at the beginning of this chapter, back to the unconscious. All that is left is the final transition itself, which Rosa willingly makes as she feels satisfied in experiencing all of the joys of human life. It is this final transition that Schumann makes the most of, first with a final unprepared modulation of a third, from F major to D-flat major that signals the final narration of the Rose's farewell (Example 59).

Example 59. Der rose Pilgerfahrt, Transition to No. 23



Rosa's own music, which follows the narration, once again changes in character—now becoming very chromatic and returning to the *rezitativischer Gesang* of the earlier scenes. Its stark contrast to the largely diatonic and folk-like second half is unmistakable (Example 60).

Example 60. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, No. 23, mm. 28–33



The significance of this music can hardly be overstated on a number of levels. Easily the most modern-sounding moment in an oratorio full of references to older styles in a simplistic harmonic language, Rosa's chromatic, artful line represents a "development" far beyond that of

any other character in the oratorio. Rosa's ability here to create entirely new material and influence the harmonic density of the music itself is her most defining achievement yet. Further, the music can be seen as a concentrated representation of underlying unity through infinite diversity in that all twelve chromatic pitches are present in the first two-and-a-half measures of her monologue. Rosa is now in command of every pitch and every musical connection. It is as if what would have been a simple V-I progression is now expanded and suspended in time. Every tiny, changing, harmonic possibility implied behind the simple progressions of mere human consciousness is now openly displayed, and one can truly see (or hear) the intricate workings of the unconscious mind. What was always there, unheard, is now exposed.

The return to *rezitativischer Gesang* for this moment is significant as well, as the rational ordering of the Lied forms can now be seen as an artificial restraint of the organization of the self-conscious mind. This also underscores the connection in Schumann's dramatic music of the Lied with the human world: something decidedly not spiritual or transcendent. This in retrospect emphasizes the level of action in *Genoveva* as related to the unconscious mind, as only one true Lied was present in the opera, the source of Golo's physical attraction to Genoveva and his subsequent psychological crisis.

For once, the Rose's own music predicts rather than reacts to the musical fabric, as the final transition to the last scene, mentioned at the outset of this paper, is the most striking, moving not by third, but chromatically down from the established key of D-flat major to C major. This moment is highlighted by the jarring placement of the tritone harmony G7 immediately following the final D-flat chord of the penultimate scene (Example 61).

Example 61. Der Rose Pilgerfahrt, Transition to No. 24



The tritone interval is further emphasized in the ensuing choral entrance, this time highlighted melodically above the texture by the angels' voices.

The implication of the keys at play here is also worthy of note. As Schumann had used the "complex" key signature of D-flat to signify the depth of wisdom and subtlety achieved by Rosa, the C major echoes the clarity of sight given to her by such highly developed consciousness has she had displayed in the previous scene. This fits well with the concept of God-consciousness being at once the highest level of consciousness and *Vernunft*, and at the same time the ability to perceive with without ambiguity the idea itself. What is in essence a two-part psychological transition becomes a two-part modulation in Schumann's score.

It is in this final scene, shown at the outset in Example 33, that the return to an imitative texture is finally heard again, interspersed with ethereal chorales in the women's voices—all

²³⁵ See Schumann's article "Charakteristik der Tonarten" in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1, 105–06. While Schumann is skeptical of those who associate extremely specific characteristics to certain keys (he criticizes Christian Schubart for associating E minor with "ein weiß gekleidetes Mädchen mit einer Rosaschleife am Busen"— [a girl dressed in white with a pink bow on her bosom], he nonetheless maintains that key choice is significant. He sums up his position in one simple sentence: "Einfachere Empfindungen haben einfachere Tonarten." [Simpler emotions have simpler keys].

over a repetitive Lied-style accompaniment, blending Schumann's accessible aesthetic for Der Rose Pilgerfahrt with oratorical conventions that again evoke a sense of religiousness. This signals Rosa's final ascension and the deep understanding of her place and her unity with nature and the human world that goes with it. Though a circular path has been completed that began and ended in realms beyond consciousness, the words of the angels assure us that progress has indeed been made. Rosa's ending point is, after all, the "higher light," and not merely a return to her previous state; a concept that resounds strongly with Romantic spirituality, Christianity, and the psychological development of the soul as espoused by Carl Gustav Carus.

3.3 DAUGHTER, WIFE, MOTHER, BRUDER: FEMINISM THROUGH MASCULINE AGENCY IN DER ROSE PILGERFAHRT

It seems that a study of Genoveva would not be complete without some reference to the most oft-quoted line in Schumann's opera. Siegfried's line to Genoveva, "You are a German wife, so do not weep!" is a moment critics of the opera used to dismiss the seriousness of the work outright. Elizabeth Paley suggests that Genoveva represented an ideal of German womanhood to Schumann and goes on to say that "as a character type, she resembles the protagonists in Frauenliebe und -leben and Der Rose Pilgerfahrt: a self-sacrificing woman, pure of heart, living a fantasy of good wifeliness." ²³⁶ It is never pointed out, however, that this line is one of the many Schumann took from Hebbel's treatment of the story, although there it is Tristan's and not Siegfried's. 237 More importantly, the line is not indicative of the role of the

²³⁶ Paley, "Dramatic," 207.

²³⁷ Friedrich Hebbel, *Genoveva: Eine Tragödie in fünf Ackten* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1843). 74.

feminine in Schumann's opera or of Schumann's own view of the role of wifeliness. In fact, Siegfried should be the character blamed for having such a sentiment, and it is his inability to see his own wife as anything more than a role to be played that sets up the possibility for the narrative conflict in the first place. After all, it was Hebbel himself who named Siegfried as the guiltiest in the entire play for that very reason—his inability to appreciate Genoveva—and the line originates with that concept at its core.

In centralizing the concept of a metacharacter and focusing on German unity as opposed to a single character, Schumann was placing the theme of the opera beyond Siegfried's narrow perspective (as it was also beyond the perspective of Genoveva or Golo or Margaretha.) Rather, such lines, and Siegfried's behavior altogether, point to the hypocrisy of Siegfried's "heroic" ideals. (It's more than a coincidence that he shares his name with the greatest legendary German hero of all.) While Genoveva may well represent a fantasy of good German wifeliness, her stereotype is as deliberately hollow as each of the characters in the opera, none of whom individually is painted in a good light. Only as a unified character are they worth exploring.

Gender plays a more direct role in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*. While *Genoveva* is no more about its title character than it is about Siegfried, the *Rose* is clearly focused on the path of a single protagonist. Rosa bears the responsibility to represent the human spirit solely in this case: a challenge shared equally by all of the characters in *Genoveva*. The decision for Schumann to cast a female character in this role is significant. While the central character in *Das Paradies und die Peri* was also female, the Peri's gender is not at the center of plot as it is in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*. The source of the Peri's ultimate transcendence was the tears of a reformed criminal; the source of Rosa's transcendence was her own experience as a mother.

Though it is Rosa who makes her trip through Carus's levels of consciousness, ultimately attaining its highest plane, her gender places her in direct opposition to the choice Carus would have made. In asserting that only Europeans are capable of developing the fullest manifestations of consciousness, Carus extended that limiting distinction to the male gender as well. In *Psyche*, he writes:

...immer aber stellt sich als ein bestimmtes Gesetz hervor, daß je stärker das bewußte Leben des Geistes sich entwickelt, um so entschiedener der Gegensatz zwischen den Individuen, und um so deutlicher die Mannichfaltigkeit menschlicher Naturen sich hervorhebt. Für jenen ursprünglichsten der Gegensätze in der Menschheit, welcher ganz und gar durch das Unbewußte begründet ist- für den Gegensatz des Männlichen und Weiblichen—folgt aus diesem Gesetze, das deßhalb, weil im Männlichen der höhere bewußte Geist insbesondere sich zu entwickeln bestimmt ist, auch die Verschiedenheit der Individuen im männlichen Geschlecht stärker begründet und mehr offenbart sein muß, als im weiblichen. 238

[...but one law always prevails: the stronger the conscious life of the mind, the more decisive is the contrast among individuals, and the more obvious becomes the variety between human beings. It follows from this law that in respect to the primary contrast in mankind—the contrast between male and female—males are more strongly differentiated from each other than females are. A higher conscious mind usually develops in the male.]²³⁹

Carus, in applying his own theories to literature, saw Goethe's Faust as a representation of the collective human spirit. While Schumann, too, would create a sympathetic portrait of Carus's reading of *Faust* in his *Faust Scenes*, as an archetype for Rosa, he turned more to Gretchen. However, Schumann's most overt allegory to the striving of the German Romantic spirit remains *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*. Though otherwise remarkably sympathetic to Carus's psychology,

²³⁸ Carus, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 62–63.

²³⁹ Trans. Welch in Carus, *Development*, 49–50.

Schumann's choice to identify with the female can be seen as a challenge to the notion that only the male can fully develop self-consciousness, and thus only a male could represent society.

The Rose herself, though initially devoid of human parents, is an equal product of both the (Female) spiritual world and the (Male) natural world. Schumann emphasized the gender of the spiritual world in two ways. First, the omnipotent power that granted her wish and ultimately welcomed her back to the spiritual realm was not a patriarchal God, but rather the Fairy Queen. Secondly, the choruses that frame the action and that represent the angel's voices are all female. By contrast, the chorus that most defines the natural world, as represented by the Romantic forest, is the all-male "Bist du im Wald gewandelt," discussed above. This chorus occurs nearly exactly in the middle of the oratorio, and while still a representation of her origins in the unconscious, it also reminds us that her conscious life is in a land dominated by men. Indeed, while the male characters are defined by their occupation or skills—Gravedigger, Miller, Forester, etc.—the female characters are defined only in their relationships to men, such as the Miller's wife.

Rosa's mortal development is also enabled by male agency. While the female crone denied her shelter, the male Gravedigger provided it. Further, her successful progression from orphan to daughter to wife to mother was only made possible by the males who fulfilled the roles of father and husband. This fact seems to suggest that while he appears to protest Carus's masculine notion of consciousness, he also accepts and promulgates it. Rosa remains shackled: a female representation of a more masculine consciousness, yet developed within a societal patriarchal framework where the males have to enable her development through her more traditional feminine roles. Here it is tempting to relegate Rosa to the *Frauenliebe und –leben* archetype of the stoic and dutiful wife, but that's only seeing part of the story.

Schumann's late music had moved far beyond the domestic Biedermeier sensibility that defined the piano music of the late 1830s and songs of the early 1840s. His image of nature itself was transformed from the domestic *Blumenstück*, in which nature was a source of tamed decoration, to the wild *Waldszenen*, where nature was a mysterious world unto itself. It is no surprise that the music written after the Revolutions and injected with the new nationalistic spirit would treat gender just as differently, especially considering Schumann's underlying themes of psychological and philosophical unity. Thus, while acknowledging her path would lead her through the male-dominated physical world, to stop there is to ignore the end of the story.

This is where Rosa's final scene can take on new meaning. Constantly undermining the Rose's feminine self-reliance were the musical constraints that allowed her only to speak in the borrowed themes of her male facilitators. When she finally does create her own music, it can be seen not only as her ascension to full self-consciousness, and thus toward God-consciousness, but also as a representation of the creative power unique to motherhood. The music in this scene far outstrips anything that came before it in terms of subtlety, complexity, and sheer modernity. It is thus Rosa alone who possesses the purest artistic and Romantic spirit and in which she takes complete ownership of her own transcendence. There is no "eternal masculine" drawing her on—her path was forged by her own desire, her own divinity, and her own feminine creative spirit.

4.0 THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SCHUMANN'S FAUST

Schumann composed his *Szenen aus Goethes 'Faust'* over the course of nine years from 1844 to 1853, during which time he also composed not only *Genoveva* and *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, but many other significant compositions in his late style. The slow gestation period of the *Faust Scenes* signifies its importance to Schumann as a composition of the highest artistic ambition, and in many ways, his idealized vision for the work mirrored Goethe's own lofty and genredefying intentions with *Faust* itself. Because the work spanned such a significant amount of time, it is difficult to consider it in isolation and without the benefit of having looked at some of Schumann's other late compositions that were written at the same time. It is this very point on which several of the very few scholarly works concerning the *Faust Scenes* inevitably fall short. As will be shown below, both *Genoveva* and *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* lend much to the musical and stylistic content of the work and provide an important frame of reference to many features that alone have troubled musicologists.

Faust is also important in terms of this study, in that it represents the most direct point of contact between the writings of Carus and the music of Schumann. Nearly a decade before welcoming the Schumanns to Dresden, Carus had published his *Briefe über Goethes Faust*, a series of three letters he wrote that put his burgeoning psychological theories to a practical (if

²⁴⁰ The last decade of Schumann's life was by far his most prolific, and during the composition of *Faust*, he returned to nearly every genre he had visited systematically in the early years of his career, and then some, including choral partsongs, the *Mass* and *Requiem*, and many concert overtures for works ranging from Schiller's *Braut von Messina* to Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*.

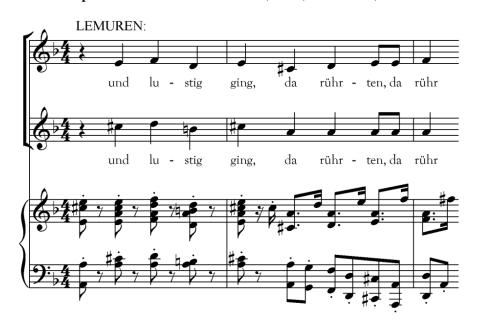
abstract) test on the fictional character of *Faust*. Given the scope and theoretical style of his later writings in *Psyche*, the *Letters* provide an interesting, if somewhat limited, perspective on how Carus applied his concepts to a specific fictive individual. However, the *Letters* still do not provide us with much insight on how Carus would have treated Schumann, for Carus saw Faust as symbolic of all humanity and treated him as such, rather than as a single human being. Nonetheless, a comparison of Carus's and Schumann's treatment of *Faust* is both necessary for the present study and fascinating in its own right.

Despite the direct connection, the present chapter also functions as a kind of case study in how to apply the concepts explored in the previous two chapters concerning both the collective unconscious and conscious development. Compared to his later writings, Carus's *Letters* are still in some ways schematic, and the formation of concepts that would later become codified is clearly evident. The vast scope of Schumann's *Faust Scenes* has the same effect, and the connection between the two works is best seen through the lens of what has already been discussed: Carus's *Letters* through the lens of the later, more well-defined *Psyche*, and Schumann's *Faust Scenes* through the earlier and more direct and concentrated *Genoveva* and *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*.

4.1 THE PROBLEM OF "THE THEME"

Just before his final monologue in Act V of Goethe's drama, Faust hears what he imagines to be the sounds of the construction of his utopian plan for urban development. Of course what he is actually hearing are the lemures of Mephistopheles busily digging his grave. While they work, they sing a paraphrase of the gravedigger's ditty from Hamlet that serves to

mock Faust's life and predicament, but their words are inaudible to Faust beneath the din of their spades. Setting this grotesque and foreboding moment to music in Part II of his oratorio *Szenen aus Goethes 'Faust*,' Schumann made an important motivic reference in his lemures' chorus that serves to connect the passage to other key moments in the oratorio both before and after the scene.



Example 62. Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 6, "Fausts Tod," mm. 58-60

This very motive—the same sequence of descending thirds or fourths featured so prominently in *Genoveva*—can be seen as embodying a problem that persists in the scholarly reception of Schumann's *Faust Scenes*, as it did in the opera years earlier. Nearly every investigation of the work mentions the motive—for it figures prominently in the overture and in many of the scenes.

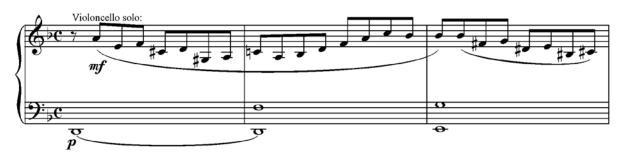
Example 63. Szenen aus Goethes Faust, Featured Motive



Overture, mm 31-33



No. 3, "Scene im Dom," mm 1-2



No. 7 (2), "Ewiger Wonnebrand," mm 1–3

Some commentators have pointed out that the same thematic material is heard in *Genoveva*. Yet precisely what the motive represents is a point on which there is little agreement. Anfried Edler uses the term *Angstmotiv*, while Stephen Billington names it the "devotion" motive. Eric Sams has suggested that the theme represents love, both happy and

²⁴¹ See Tunbridge, "Euphorion"; Daverio, *Herald*; and Billington, "Source Study."

hopeless—except for the places where it represents Gretchen, remorse, and Mephistopheles.²⁴² The only unifying factor among these views is that the theme must represent or symbolize something. As mentioned in Chapter II, John Daverio fells prey to the same temptation. In his case, he relates the thematic material to the character of Margaretha, and, by extension to notions of "deception, evil, guilt, and lust," before expanding the possibilities even further with reference to Faust.²⁴³ Thus the same Wagnerian notion of leitmotiv, which served to obscure and undermine Schumann's musical dramas in his own day, still seems to linger on in music scholarship. The true problem, however, is that the connections suggested by the pervasiveness of this thematic material go unexplored. There is a litany of scholarship that finds only fragmentation in Schumann's Faust: Phillip Spitta, Gerald Abraham, Sams, and Edler find in the Faust Scenes too little cohesion to be called successful as a unified artwork.²⁴⁴ Even further, the questions that may be raised by the theme's association with Genoveva surprisingly do not go just unanswered, they are not even asked. The scene, with its subtle yet significant use of this problematic motive, is an important point of departure to explore the connections between Schumann's *Faust* and the psychological writings of Carus.

²⁴² See Tunbridge, "Euphorion," 125; Billington, "Source Study," 126; and Eric Sams, "Schumann and Faust," *Musical Times*, 113:1552 (June, 1972): 544.

²⁴³ Daverio, Schumann, 353.

²⁴⁴ Generally similar attitudes are expressed in Phillip Spitta, "Ein Lebensbild Robert Schumanns," in *Sammlung musikalischer Vorträge*, ed. Paul Graf Waldersee (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1882), 92; Gerald Abraham, "The Dramatic Music," in *Schumann: A Symposium*, ed. Abraham (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), 266; Sams, "Schumann and Faust," 546; Edler, *Robert Schumann und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1982), 257.

4.2 CARUS AND FAUST

Though a man of many pursuits, it was in the role of psychologist that Carus tackled *Faust* in the three letters that he published as *Briefe über Goethes Faust* in 1835. The letters, written in 1834 and 1835, were part of a long correspondence that Carus maintained with his friend, the poet Johann Gottlob Regis. In fact, Carus had maintained a fairly regular intellectual correspondence with Goethe himself in the 1820s, and Goethe's writings, both scientific and literary, had a great influence on him, particularly in the field of psychology. While Carus's theories are firmly rooted in Idealism and *Naturphilosophie*—owing much to such writers as Hegel, and Schelling—it was Goethe who was, as Matthew Bell observed, Carus's main intellectual creditor.²⁴⁵ It is not difficult to see in the *Faust* letters the slow formulation of some of the chief psychological ideas that Carus would later refine and codify in his 1844 *Psyche*.

Carus seems to have written about Goethe and his thoughts and philosophies as much as he beseeched Goethe for feedback on his own. There is no doubt, however, that he highly valued Goethe, and an interesting story about the pair's academic correspondence from around the time Carus published his *Letters* is worth relating here. Carus himself related this story in yet another book he published on Goethe in 1842: *Goethe zu dessen näherem Verständnis*. The entire first chapter is dedicated to his personal relationship with the great Weimar thinker, and many of their letters are included.

When Carus published his first lectures on psychology in 1831, he had sent a copy to Goethe for his thoughts, for they invoked many references to Goethe's writings. It had been three years since the two had been in correspondence, but Carus was dismayed to have never

²⁴⁵ Bell, *Tradition*, 214.

heard back from Goethe concerning the work and thought it unusual. After Goethe died the next year, Carus finally had to relinquish his hope for feedback from his friend. However, in 1835, he received a letter from an old associate of Goethe's, Chancellor von Miller, who in organizing and preserving the writer's correspondence, had discovered a dictated but not yet signed response to Carus's letter of 1831. The letter itself was short and somewhat vague, leaving open the probability that Goethe did not engage too heavily with Carus's latest (and ponderous) work. Goethe wrote:

[Ich] bin sehr gern auf jenem Wege gefolgt, den Sie in Natur und Kunst ausübend zu betrachten in den verschiedensten Richtungen eingeschlagen hatten. Ebenso angenehm ist es mir, Sie gegenwärtig zu begleiten, da Sie uns in unser Inneres zurückführen. Ich sage dies bei den ersten Blicken, die ich in Ihr neuestes Werk tue, wo mir so viel Belehrendes und Aufregendes entgegentritt. ²⁴⁶

[I am very happy to have followed your work, and seen the various directions in which you've taken your discussions on nature and art. Likewise, I am pleased to accompany you now, as you lead us back into our inner being. I say this at first glance, which I've had of your new work, though it engages me as very instructive and exciting.]

Later, Goethe shied away from offering deep insight, because he "loses courage when faced with a complicated derivation and implementation of his own thoughts."²⁴⁷

Nonetheless, Carus was overjoyed to have heard one last time from his old friend, beyond all expectations:

²⁴⁶ Carus, *Göthe: Zu dessen näherem Verständniß* (Leipzig: August Weichardt, 1843), 41. Letter from Goethe dated November, 1831.

dated November, 1831.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 41–42. "So viel sage ich übereilig und nur so viel andeutend, da ich bei wachsendem Interesse, bei innigstem Eindringen in das Gegebene meist den Mut verliere zu einer umständlichen Ableitung und Durchführung meiner Gedanken…"

Ich stehe nicht an, es unter die glücklichsten Verhältnisse meines Lebens zu zählen, daß mindestens so weit mir ein Verhältnis zu ihm gewährt war...Jede verfehlte Begegnung solcher Art ist ein unersetzlicher Verlust, jede erlangte und glücklich gegönnte ein unschätzbarer Gewinn. 248

[I do not hesitate to count it among the happiest circumstances of my life, as least as far as my relationship with him was concerned...Each missed encounter of this kind is an irreparable loss, and each one gained an invaluable asset.]

It may well have been that finally receiving favorable feedback from Goethe concerning his psychological project served as the inspiration for Carus to publish the letters that had applied those principles to Faust.

4.2.1 Briefe über Goethes Faust

First and foremost, Carus approaches the character of Faust as a case study of psychological development. However, one must not think of this approach as a proto-Freudian psycho-analysis, for it does not treat Faust as a separate individual. Rather, and importantly so, Carus sees Faust as a collective symbol representing all of humanity and treats his story not as merely his own, but a generally, and genuinely, human one. 249 To know the basic idea, the 'Grundidee' of Goethe's Faust, Carus writes,

> ...daß er das darin ausgesprochene genetische Princip alles ächten Seelenlebens achte....²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 42.

²⁴⁹ Carl Gustav Carus, Briefe über Goethes 'Faust' (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1835), 27. "...die Sage von Faust, oder wie dieser symbolische Mensch sonst heißen mag, gegruendet zu sein, und eben darum, weil der Grund der Sage ein ächt menschlicher ist..."

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 49.

[...one must understand the genetic principle of the life of the soul expressed therein.]

As suggested in the subtitle of his treatise *Psyche*: "*Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele*," it is this very genetic principle that dominates Carus's theories of psychology. For Faust's soul to progress, as it does in Goethe's drama, his consciousness must continually develop until it reaches what Carus refers to as its "*höchste göttliche Befriedigung*," or "highest divine fulfillment." However, as Carus states several times in *Psyche*, "The key to understanding the nature of the conscious life of the soul lies in the realm of the unconscious." This plays out in two ways in his reading of Faust. First, Carus places great emphasis on the fact that Faust is initially unconscious of his goals, evidence of which he provides by quoting the Lord from the Prologue in Heaven:

Wenn er mir jetzt auch nur verworren dient; So werd' ich ihn bald in die Klarheit führen.

[Though in confusion still he seeks his way, I shall lead him to the light one day.] ²⁵³

Further, as Carus maintains that it is in the unconscious where most mental activity takes place, he sees Faust's progression towards higher consciousness to be drawn forward *un*consciously via "thousands of illusions and errors." Or, put more succinctly, Carus notes

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²⁵¹ Ibid., 48.

²⁵² Carus, *Enwicklungsgeschichte*, 1.

²⁵³ Goethe, Faust, lines 308–9. In Carus, Briefe, 63.

²⁵⁴ Carus, *Briefe*, 48. "die Menschenseele in ihrer innern Göttlichkeit, wie sie mit bewußtlosem Zuge durch Tausende von Scheinwesen und Irrsale hindurch ihrer höchsten, göttlichen Befriedigung entgegenstrebt."

that the only path to higher consciousness is "growth by diversified life experiences." Only in associating these *Scheinwesen* with the unconscious is Carus able to reconcile the work's aesthetic extravagances.

In his *Letters*, Carus describes the end result of this ultimate psychological fulfillment with a number of different, but similarly derived terms: *Gottinnigkeit*, *des Göttliche*, *Göttlichkeit*, and *göttliche Befriedigung*, among others. He even quotes from Goethe's *Triologie der Leidenschaft* to shed light on that elusive principle, in this case appropriating the term *Frommsein*:

In unsers Busens Reine wogt ein Streben, Sich einem Höhern, Reinern, Unbekannten, Aus Dankbarkeit freiwillig hinzugeben, Enträthselnd sich den ewig Ungenannten; Wir heißen's: Frommsein!²⁵⁶

[In the purity of our bosoms surges a striving To devote oneself freely to a higher, purer, unknown Out of gratitude Unraveling the eternal unnamed; We call it: piety!]

As shown above, he would later coin a specific term for this phenomenon in *Psyche*, "*Gottbewußtsein*," or God-consciousness: the highest form of consciousness, and thus of psychological development, in Carus's topography of the human mind. It is therefore this same progression that Faust's soul—as a symbol of the collective human soul—which informs Carus's interpretation of *Faust*; the moment of the hero's death also standing for his ascension from self-consciousness to full God-consciousness.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 54. "ein Hinauswachsen durch die mannichfaltigsten Lebenserfahrungen."

²⁵⁶ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Trilogie der Leidenschaft*, "Elegie," Stanza 15. In Carus, *Briefe*, 59.

This brings us back to the first important point; that Carus sees Faust as representative of humanity. In his earliest psychological publication, the *Lectures on Psychology* of 1831, Carus came to the conclusion that only as a society, or a collective, can the human soul achieve true consciousness.²⁵⁷ To represent humanity, Faust must be given traits that encompass all facets, including extremes, of human experience. Carus uses this point to justify Goethe's endowment of Faust with both positive and negative psychological characteristics: he represents at once both the progressive and melancholic side of the human psyche.²⁵⁸ This also accounts for the *nature* of Faust's progression to God-consciousness: it is not a simple path by which he becomes steadily and increasingly more enlightened, but rather a stormy and dynamic one that at times regresses as well. As the gap between his unconscious and consciousness varies, Faust alternates between ecstatic activity and despair.²⁵⁹ Remarkably, Carus puts this final thought into musical terms:

...daß ohne dissonierende Akkorde im Einzelnen keine befriedigende Fortschreitung höherer Harmonie im Ganzen möglich wäre, und es wird uns begreiflich, wie schmerzlich, krankhaft und stürmisch die Entwicklung einer solchen Seele durch tausendfältig bindende, lösende und wieder bindende Vorgänge,...um zu höherer gottinniger Freiheit zu gelangen. 260

[...without (dissonance-creating) chords in the part no satisfying progression of higher harmonies would be possible in the whole, and it will become clear to us how painfully, pathologically, and stormily the development of such a soul must weave through

²⁵⁷ See note 74.

²⁵⁸ Carus equates the former with the "Promethean"side of the psyche, and the latter by invoking Dürer's *Melancholia i* which captures the "tormenting desire of the sprit."("...die qualvolle Sehnsucht des alle Höhen und Tiefen erfassen wollenden Geistes."), Faust, 43.

²⁵⁹ Bell. Tradition, 220.

²⁶⁰ Carus, *Briefe*, 45–6.

myriad binding, releasing, and re-binding processes...in order to attain a higher divinely ordained freedom.]²⁶¹

The true musical implications here for Schumann's *Faust* go much further than simply dissonance and consonance, but rather suggest an approach to reconsider the relationship between voice and orchestra to articulate the musical terms of consciousness and unconsciousness.

It is in the third and final letter that Carus considers the scope and complexity of Part II of the Tragedy. In signing the second letter, he acknowledged the speech "Gerettet is das edle Glied" as the "keystone" of the work, a sentiment Goethe himself shared.²⁶² He then opens his third letter with the *Chorus Mysticus*, as discussed below, raising the question of femininity's inherent association with piety.²⁶³ Both of the previous passages play large roles in Schumann's score as well, and Carus also considers passages from "Anmutige Gegend," the scene with which both Schumann and Goethe open Part II of their works. However, Carus considers passages from Acts III and IV as well, which Schumann ignores. Each of Carus's discussions in the third letter can be placed in one of two categories: either pursuing the concept of feminine beauty (as

²⁶¹ Translation after Bell, 221. I've replaced Bell's use of the word "dissonant" with the more appropriate if less eloquent "dissonance-creating." (See note 272).

²⁶² Carus, *Briefe*, 55." ... denn wir sind, glaube ich, auf einem Punkte angekommen, wo jener schoene Spruch uns volkommen gerechtsertigt erscheint, welcher als der Schlußstein dieses mächtigen Dichtung- Bogens angesehen werden kann, und mit welchem ich fuer heute diesen Betrachtungen und Ihnen Lebwohl sage, —der Spruch:

Gerettet ist das edle Glied Der Geisterwelt vom Bösen: Wer immer strebend sich bemüht, Den können wir erlösen; Und hat an ihm die Liebe gar Von oben teilgenommen, Begegnet ihm die sel'ge Schar Mit herzlichem Willkommen.

See also Goethe's conversation with Johann Eckermann, June 6, 1831 in *Gespräche mit Goethe* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1837).

²⁶³ Ibid., 56–60.

in the Helena-Akt), or offering more evidence of Faust's toil is the key to his growing selfconsciousness (as in the reference to Faust's plans to build in Act IV).

Carus was certainly not the first writer to invoke Goethe's *Faust* as vehicle to demonstrate or further his own philosophical or psychological theories. In fact, many of Carus's fellow Idealists and natural philosophers commented significantly on the work in their own writings. Hegel famously alluded to *Faust* in his *Phenomenology of Mind*, if only in an abstract and modified way. Friedrich Schlegel acknowledged *Faust* as representing a new kind of philosophical tragedy, as opposed to the aesthetic tragedies as exemplified by the dramas of Sophocles. Schlegel even compared *Faust* favorably to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, writing of the 1790 *Fragment* (the only part of *Faust* to have been published at the time of Schlegel's essay):

Der philosophische Gehalt, die charakteristische Wahrheit seiner spätern Werke durfte dem unerschöpflichen Reichthum des Shakespear verglichen werden. Ja wenn der Faust vollendet wäre, so würde er wahrscheinlich den Hamlet, das Meisterstück des Engländers, mit welchem er gleichen Zweck zu haben scheint, weit übertreffen. Was dort Schicksal, Begebenheit -- Schwäche ist, das ist hier Gemüth, Handlung -- Kraft. Hamlets Stimmung und Richtung nehmlich ist ein Resultat seiner äussern Lage; Fausts ähnliche Richtung ist ursprünglicher Charakter. 266

[The philosophical content, the "characteristic" truth of [Goethe's] later works can be compared with the inexhaustible wealth of Shakespeare. Indeed, if *Faust* were to be completed, it would probably far surpass *Hamlet*, the English poet's masterpiece, with which it seems to share a common purpose. What in Hamlet is only fate, event—weakness, is in *Faust* disposition, action—strength. Hamlet's mood and his inclination are the result of his

²⁶⁴ See G.W.F. Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Mind*, trans. J. B. Baillie (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1910), 384.

²⁶⁵ See Friedrich Schelgel, "Ueber das Studium der Griechischen Poesie," ("On the Study of Greek Poetry") in *Prosaische Jugendschriften*, ed. Jacob Minor, vol. 1 (Vienna: Verlagsbuchhandlung Carl Konegen, 1906), 86–178.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 114.

external situation; Faust's corresponding inclination is his natural character.]²⁶⁷

It was Schelling, the consummate *Naturphilosoph*, who was first to suggest that Faust may represent the human spirit, or at least the German spirit, as a whole. Again, with only the *Fragment* to read, Schelling wrote that "To the extent that we can evaluate Goethe's *Faust* from the fragment now before us, we must say that this poem displays quite simply the purest, most inward essence of our own age..." He later qualified this statement by adding, "the kind of fate [it demonstrates] is unique and would deserve to be called a new discovery, were it not to an extent already present in the German temper..."

One of the most significant connections between Schumann's and Carus's reaction to Goethe's *Faust* is how both readers immediately recognized the artistic depth and immense genius of Part II of the Tragedy, which was first published in 1832, just after Goethe's death. While the reception of the first part of the tragedy had been met with near universal praise, the far longer, more complicated, and symbolic second part was very often met with confusion or disdain. Though the work would eventually become accepted as one of the hallmarks of German literature in the modern era, those who acknowledged that in the early days following its publication were certainly in the minority. As not even Goethe himself lived to see Part II published, it was also just too late for the likes of Schlegel and Hegel, who died in 1829 and 1831 respectively. (Though Schelling lived until 1854, Part II of *Faust* is not considered in his

²⁶⁷ Trans. Cyrus Hamlin in Goethe, *Faust: A Tragedy, An Authoritative Translation, Interpretive Notes, Contexts, Modern Criticism*, ed. Cyrus Hamlin, trans. Walter Arndt. 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 555.

²⁶⁸ Friedrich Schelling, *The Philosophy of Art*, trans. Douglas W. Stott (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 74.

²⁶⁹ Schelling, *The Philosophy of Art*, trans. Hamlin in *Faust*, 555.

philosophical writings). Carus and Schumann were among the first to gain access to the entire work during the prime of their careers, and though twelve years had passed since its publication before Schumann took up Part II, the fact that Carus was publishing *his* thoughts on it a mere two years after its appearance is all the more remarkable.

4.3 SCHUMANN AND FAUST

Just as Carus was not alone among philosophers to write about Faust, nor was Schumann unique in turning to Goethe's masterpiece for musical inspiration. As was the case in prose, however, most composers to have composed significant portions of Goethe's text all focused on Part I. Franz Schubert can be forgiven, since he died four years before the emergence of Part II. Hector Berlioz, however, wrote his "dramatic legend" La damnation de Faust in 1845, which ends with Gretchen's salvation in Part I. Likewise, Charles Gounod's opera of 1859 only concerns itself with the events from the earlier portion. Of the major, influential works to have set Goethe's Faust in the Romantic era, only two besides Schumann's used any of Part II. In both cases, the works were symphonies: Liszt's Faust Symphonie (1857), a programmatic work in three movements (one each for Faust, Gretchen, and Mephistopheles), and Mahler's Symphony no. 8 (1910). In Liszt's case, only the final chorus, Alles vergängliche was set as a kind of epilogue to the work. Maher's symphony, composed a full half-century after Schumann's setting, set an abridged version on the final scene from Act V. Although Schumann also omitted all of Acts II, III, and IV from his setting, the fact that he drew on a large amount of material from Act I and V sets his work apart from his contemporaries and even those composers of the next several generations.

Goethe's *Faust* always seemed to be important to Schumann, and like many German artists in the first half the nineteenth century, Goethe himself was a towering figure of influence. Aside from using it just as a vehicle for a musical setting, Schumann appreciated the significance of musical imagery in the text itself. One of the many anthology projects that occupied him toward the end of his life was the compiling of musical references in a broad variety of literature, which he titled *Dichtergarten* (Poet's Garden). Schumann worked on the collection between 1852 and 1854, almost right up until his suicide attempt in February. Among the sources quoted are Greek literature, Shakespeare plays, and, of course, contemporary German works. Goethe is well represented, and the first work from which Schumann quotes is *Faust*. The first entry comes from the first scene, "Night," lines 742–748:

Welch tiefes Summen, welch ein heller Ton, Zieht mit Gewalt das Glas von meinem Munde? Verkündiget ihr dumpfen Glocken schon Des Osterfestes erste Feyerstunde? Ihr Chöre singt ihr schon den tröstlichen Gesang? Der einst, um Grabes Nacht, von Engelslippen klang, Gewißheit einem neuen Bunde.

[What solemn droning, what melodious fluting Perforce arrests the goblet in mid-way? Are you already, deep-toned bells, saluting The festive breaking hour of Easter Day? You choirs, do you the solace-hymn resume That angels lips intoned in the Sepulchre's gloom, New covenant's sure warranty?]²⁷²

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²⁷⁰ Schumann intended to publish this collection, but it was never completed. What exists of the project was finally edited and published in 2007.

²⁷¹ Schumann quoted several scenes from Faust I and II, as well as passages from *Tasso*, the *West-östlicher Diwan*, and many other individual poems from Goethe's *Collected Works*.

²⁷² Goethe, *Faust*, trans. Arndt, 21.

While this passage has inspired many literary critics to posit the role of religion in Faust's decision to abstain from suicide, Schumann's note above the passage suggests that the power of music itself is to thank:

Musik hält Faust, wie er Ostermorgen Glockenklang und Chorgesang hört, ab aus der Giftschale zu trinken. ²⁷³

[Music stops Faust from drinking from the poisoned cup, as he hears the Easter bells ringing and choir singing.]

As mentioned above, Schumann's compositional relationship with *Faust* was a long one, spanning a period of activity from 1844 to 1853. It's important to note here the order of the work's composition, as it will not only benefit the discussion, but also highlight the fact that Schumann was drawn to Part II before he decided to fill it out with scenes from Part I. Schumann turned first to the final scene of Act V of Part II, "Bergschluchten," (Mountain Gorges), which he composed in 1844. Carus himself made an interesting musical comment about the final scenes of Faust that may well have echoed Schumann's attraction to the text:

Der letzte Abschnitt des Werkes ist ein hohes und höchst eigentümlich gedachtes Mysterium, und ich muß Ihnen sagen, daß er mir ganz vorkommt wie eins jener alten Choralbücher für Orgelspiel, wo nur der Hauptgang der Melodie in einzelnen ganzen Noten angezeichnet ist und vom Orgelspieler verlangt wird, daß er nach gutem Kunstvermögen und in ihm lebendig gegenwärtigen

Nauhaus and Ingrid Bodsch (Frankfurt: Stroemfeld Verlag und StadtMuseum Bonn, 2007), 167. Schumann was not alone in sensing the musical significance of that passage, though, once again, he was well ahead of his time. Criticisms of *Faust* that include significant attention to musical significance and structure are few and far between, and are only in the past decade becoming more popular. Jo Tudor's article "Music and Musical Metaphor in Goethe's Work: Or, When Is Language Not a Language?" *Publications of the English Goethe Society* 76.2 (2007), she argues that pitch and tonal quality of suggested musics or instruments carry significance, and she cites Faust's different reaction to the *heller Ton* of the Easter chorus and the *Klang* of the Scripture message. (80). Other recent works also consider the musical significance of the passage, including Hans Joachim Kreutzer, *Faust: Mythos und Music* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2003); Tina Hartmann, *Goethes Musiktheater: Singspiel, Opern, Festspiele, 'Faust,'* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2004); and Beate Agnes Schmidt, *Musik in Goethes 'Faust': Dramturgie, Rezeption, und Affürungspraxis* (Sinzig: Studio-Verl, 2006).

kontrapunktischen Regeln die Harmonie und die wohl dazu sich eignenden Ausbildungen und Verzierungen selbst auszuführen und frei vorzutragen imstande sei. 274

[The final section of the work is steeped in strange and mysterious imagery, and I must tell you that it seems to me quite like one of those old hymn books for playing the organ, where only the main course of the melody is marked out in some whole notes and the organist is demanded that he draw upon his training in the rules of harmony and counterpoint to create the proper ornaments and even freely improvise to realize the music.]

Initially unhappy with his effort, Schumann let the work gather dust until he returned to it in the spring of 1847. He heavily revised the music and at that point even rewrote the final chorus entirely.²⁷⁵ Performances of this portion of the work, both public and private, occurred in the summers of 1848 and 1849, but Schumann was already in the middle of composing the music for the whole of Abtheilung I and the first scene of Abtheiling II, which were completed in 1849. By the spring of 1850, Schumann had finished the final two scenes of Abtheilung II, but the work was still not complete. Three years later, in August of 1853, he composed an instrumental overture, which brought the work to its final iteration. The final work was structured as follows (with the corresponding scenes from Goethe's *Faust* in parentheses):

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²⁷⁴ Carus, *Briefe*, 82.

²⁷⁵ See Daverio, *Herald*, 366. Both versions of the chorus are still published, though the revised version is typically performed today.

Table 4. Structural organization of Schumann's Szenen aus Goethes Faust

Overture (1853)			
Erste Abtheilung (1848)			
No. 1	Scene im Garten	(Part I: From "Garten" and "Ein Gartenhauschen")	
No. 2	Gretchen vor dem Bild der Mater dolorosa	(Part I: "Zwinger")	
No. 3	Scene im Dom	(Part I: "Dom")	
Zweite Abtheilung (1848–49)			
No. 4	Ariel. Sonnenaufgang	(Part II: Act I: "Anmütige Gegend")	
No. 5	Mitternacht	(Part II: Act V: "Mitternacht")	
No. 6	Faust's Tod	(Part II: Act V: "Grosser Vorhof des Palasts")	
Dritte Abtheilung (1844; rev. 1847)			
No. 7	Faust's Verkärung	(Part II: Act V: "Bergschluchten")	
i.	"Waldung, sie schwankt heran"		
ii.	"Ewiger Wonnebrand"		
iii.	"Wie Felsen-Abgrund mir zu Füssen"		
iv.	"Gerettet ist das edle Glied"		
v.	"Hier ist die Aussicht frei"		
vi.	"Dir, der Unberührbaren"		
vii.	Chorus mysticus. "Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis"		

4.4 PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN SCHUMANN'S FAUST SCENES

To examine how psychological development works in Schumann's *Faust Scenes*, let us return to the episode before Faust's final monologue. Schumann does a remarkable job here of musically realizing Faust's lack of awareness of his actual situation. While the Lemures' chorus is firmly in D minor, ripe with chromatic inflection and ever changing, Faust's entrance is announced by a striking figure in the horns that alternates between the minor world of the Lemures and Faust's resolutely major one. In a word, Faust's music clashes distinctly with the sound world he enters. As Laura Tunbridge points out, the horns' "modal indecisiveness" foreshadows Faust's confusion between his vision and the reality. ²⁷⁶ She continues, "Oblivious to the true situation he holds forth in the major; the clicking of the Lemures' spades is to him the sound of hard work. Mephistopheles's interjections are ignored: Faust remains convinced in his purpose, supported by balanced phrasing, steady harmonies, and motivic constancy." ²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ Tunbridge, "Euphorion," 143. Here is where Carus's use of the term "dissonierende" (dissonance-creating) is remarkably appropriate: there is no dissonance inherent in the horn lines themselves, but when added to the existing harmonies, dissonance is created.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

Example 64. Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 6, "Fausts Tod," mm. 80–88



Thus, when translating Faust's blindness into music, Schumann in essence renders him deaf. The deafness, however, extends beyond this narrative moment to encapsulate the relationship of Faust with the orchestra that has been present throughout the entire oratorio up to this point. Faust's vocal lines frequently move in and out of synch with the orchestra, often vacillating between diatonicism resulting in well-balanced phrases and chromaticism that leads to moments of musical disarray. We need to look no farther than the end of his monologue to see that Faust's vocal line has sufficiently imposed its will such that the orchestra ends up in complete harmony with his voice in his final moment.

Example 65. Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 6, "Fausts Tod," mm. 220–229



Though the orchestra still offers chromatic resistance throughout Faust's speech, his elongated dominant G on *Augenblick* (drawn out by Schumann over four measures to suggest a moment suspended in time) finally succeeds to unify his voice in perfect harmony as it resolves to C, though the rhythms of the orchestra seem to resist this unity until the last possible instant. Though this union lasts only a moment before Faust's voice (and his mortal life) are again swallowed up by dissonance and chromaticism, the moment has occurred, and can be likened to

a brief but transformative attainment of higher consciousness. If the orchestra can be said to represent Faust's unconscious, or more specifically, as Carus puts it, the unconscious region of his continuous striving, the analogy becomes clear. As the gap between Faust's conscious and unconscious life varies, the relationship of his vocal line to the orchestra appropriately exerts more or less influence.

It is worth considering this moment in comparison to Rosa's death and transfiguration in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*. Significantly, Schumann chose the same key areas for both scenes: both use the pairing of D-flat and C, with the clear C major signaling the moment of death itself. The key of F, however—the key of Gretchen from Abtheilung I—serves as Faust's salvation. Thus Schumann emphasizes musically that Rosa is responsible her own redemption, while Faust is reliant on Gretchen's intervention. Even the treatment of the arrival on C major is significant. For Rosa, it signals the end of the journey; the music holds forth in C until the end. By contrast, Faust's moment is fleeting and demands the entire length of Abtheilung III before it can be properly resolved (and not in the key of his own making).

Further evidence of the complex relationship of voice and orchestra can be found in Schumann's setting of the famous "Anmutige Gegund" scene that opens Part II of both Goethe's and his own works. Each of the scenes deals with Faust's "blindness," though in very different ways (here, Schumann uses music to represent light, not darkness). Hence, Faust's figurative blinding produces a profound insight into the dynamic processes of both nature and art. (It is the very term "insight," or *Vernunft*, that Carus uses in discussing the concept of *Gottbewußtsein* in *Psyche*). Faust's vocal line abandons its usual heroic mien to become full of chromatic inflection and enter into a rather delicate counterpoint with the orchestra whose harmonies and motives it both predicts and reacts to (Example 66).

neu er - quickt zu mei-nen Fü - ßen be-gin - nest schon mitLust mich zu um

Example 66. Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 4, "Ariel, Sonnen-aufgang," mm. 288–292



Once again, Schumann employed the same radical shift in the tone and influence of Rosa's vocal line in *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*. While Rosa's journey had one smooth trajectory, however, Faust's is far less predictable. Rosa only achieved chromatic complexity and control over the orchestra as the final step towards her ascendance into God-consciousness, while Faust continually ebbs and flows towards insight without ever actually achieving it.

For all its complexity, throughout the "Anmutige Gegend" scene, Faust's vocal line still fails to be in true union with the orchestra. This can be demonstrated by turning our attention back to the 'motive-that-shall-not-be-named,' for once again, it makes a conspicuous appearance here. In this case, the motive, slightly augmented, heralds Faust's entrance:

Example 67. Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 4, "Ariel, Sonnen-aufgang," mm. 280–285



His ensuing line tries to recreate it, but ultimately fails. Thus in both scenes, the motive exposes Faust's discord with the music: his "deafness." The presence of this motive in the orchestra constantly reminds that the orchestral music comprises the realm of the unconscious. We might say, that in a dramatic approach antithetical to Wagner's, Schumann's orchestra foregrounds a kind of absence rather than presence.

The very malleability of the motive—a feature also true of its use in *Genoveva*—is another strike against its acting as a leitmotiv. It is capable of assuming unique thematic identities that are nonetheless immediately recognizable by the listener. This is demonstrated in the opening to *Mitternacht* and the entrance of the Four Grey Women. Though quite different in

precise intervallic content from other iterations, the passage is unmistakably cut from the same cloth.

Example 68. Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 5, "Mitternacht," mm. 1–12



By the end of their introduction, its more deliberate form has been restored.

Example 69. Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 5, "Mitternacht," mm. 129–136



Of course here, it again carries with it the symbolism of Faust's (impending) blindness.

As in the scene of his death, when he is introduced to the action, Faust is perilously oblivious to

the sound world he enters. The motive still permeates the accompaniment, but Faust's own line is unmoved (Example 70).

Example 70. Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 5, "Mitternacht," mm. 168–171



Even with all of the theme's appearances in the *Faust Scenes*, it is impossible to fully appreciate its significance with regard to the unconscious without comparing it to *Genoveva*. The fact that Schumann's most important dramatic compositions, which were composed more or less simultaneously, both employ the same thematic material so consistently is a crucial factor in understanding either work. As shown in Chapter II, the motivic material in question pervades the opera so thoroughly that, along with the opening chorale tune from which it is derived, it can be said to be the source of a nearly monothematic composition. Although the "Pater Ecstaticus" music from *Faust*, which uses the motive heavily, was composed before *Genoveva* in 1844, *Genoveva* certainly the supplied of the motive's relational possibilities for the *Faust Scenes*, since the bulk of the work on *Faust* came after the opera's completion.

The difference in use of the motive between *Genoveva* and *Faust* lies in its relationship to voice. In addition to the fact that the opening chorale is sung by all voices in octaves and unisons, individual characters in the opena are quick to pick up the motive, though it always

eludes Faust. Reconsider the example of Margaretha's first use of the theme in Act I of *Genoveva* (here given again):

Margaretha

P

Sieh da welchfei - ner Rit - ters - mann!

Freu - den an!

Example 71. *Genoveva*, No. 7, Finale, mm. 1–9; 25–29



By presenting the motive in turn in the orchestra and the voice, this moment demonstrates that in *Genoveva* the voices act more as parts of the symphonic fabric of the work than discrete identities; another point that emphasizes the characters' psychological relatedness. Utterances of the theme, in all permutations, are a constant feature of both the vocal and the orchestral worlds.

For the bulk of the *Faust Scenes*, however, the motive appears only in the orchestra, in every instance save the one shown at the outset. Yet this is of little consequence, as we already know the words being sung by Mephistopheles's minions cannot be heard by Faust. The distinction reminds us of the disparity in the scope of the two works: while the drama of *Genoveva* takes place at the level of the unconscious, showing us multiple characters who act as one, *Faust* takes place at the intersection between the conscious and the unconscious, with the motive from *Genoveva* there to remind us of that barrier.

The holistic view of the motive as unity in *Genoveva* also resonates with Schumann's and Carus's identification of Faust with humanity. The rational function that underscores Godconsciousness for Carus lies with the ability to perceive a single underlying unity in the seemingly infinite diversity of the world. Accordingly, the unconscious motive that continually reappears in the *Faust Scenes* serves the purpose of casting all of its seemingly diverse functions as interrelated collective experience, which Schumann's decision to cast his setting as an oratorio also emphasizes. With twenty-eight characters represented in the libretto, all performed by a limited number of soloists, any sense of individuality is obscured, and a natural connection between each disparate narrative moment becomes apparent.

In returning to Faust's transfiguration (Schumann's term), or "metamorphosis" (Carus's), the motive makes its return soon after his death, to accompany the Pater Ecstaticus as he floats hither and thither while chanting of the enduring nature of love beyond the destruction of the body (not dissimilar to Carus's notion that the unconscious as "Idea" endures after death). The motive here is sparklingly clear—in direct opposition to the nearly hidden way in which it was treated just before Faust's final words. In fact, it has not been this insistent since its use in Gretchen's scene *Im Dom* all the way back in Part I; (when related to the Böser Geist, the

implications of the unconscious in that scene are obvious), but a scene for which Faust was not even bodily present —his physical distance a metaphor again for his "deafness" to Gretchen's plight, no matter how emphatically the motive painted the scene as crucial in the unconscious realm of Faust's eventual psychological development as well. One could argue that, again, Faust is not bodily present for the theme's return in "Mountain Gorges," but he *is* there in spirit, as he is slowly drawn ever upwards toward salvation by the Eternal-Feminine. Indeed, he is now essentially part of the orchestral fabric in Part III, since his self-conscious voice has been extinguished.

The motive finally appears twice more; once in connection with the Penitent Women, and again during the final chorus, "Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis," from which Carus and so many others drew their view of the work. Here, for the first (and only) time, the motive appears clearly in the voice as well as the orchestra, emphasizing the location of the action in the realm of the unconscious (or God-consciousness, from Faust's perspective). Now that there are definite words set to the theme, some hint of the theme's true function is revealed. However, this is complicated by the fact that Schumann composed this final chorus in two distinct versions: one in 1844 as he began composing the work, and one in 1847, the same year he began work on Genoveva. It is the second of these two Schlusschöre that Schumann considered to be more successful, 278 and his revisions were significant, even in thematic content. It must be remembered that Schumann composed both versions of the Schlusschor before setting to work on Parts I or II, and therefore before writing most of the motive's iterations. His insistence to include the thematic idea so frequently in the earlier scenes then suggests that at least some association between those moments and the words of the Chorus Mysticus was in his mind.

...

²⁷⁸ Daverio, Herald, 386.

While both versions of the chorus include a vocal reference to the theme, they do so very differently and on different parts of the text. In the original version, the motive appropriately underscores the word *Unbeschreibliche*, a warning seemingly not taken to heart by the many scholars, including myself, who have tried indeed to define it in words.

Example 72. Szenen Aus Goethes Faust, No. 7, "Fausts Verklärung" (VERSION I), mm. 75–77



The motive in this case is unmistakable, but its implications are deliberately ambiguous. At the very least, it would seem to acknowledge the theme's importance throughout the rest of the work and imply itself as the unconscious source of Faust's striving—the "indescribable" that has been accomplished. In the second version of the chorus, however, Schumann removed the motive entirely from the earlier section and instead affixed it to the most famous, and final, couplet of the *Chorus Mysticus*, "das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan."

Example 73. Szenen Aus Goethes Faust, No. 7, "Fausts Verklärung" (VERSION II), mm. 218–21



In this version, the theme not only has a more tangible association, but it occurs much later in the final chorus and with more emphasis and repetition. However, to claim that the

theme specifically represents the *Ewig-Weibliche* would also be a simplification. It is hard to hear the theme in its final iteration as anything but a fragment, and while given a clear association, the source of the theme as the spiritual force that draws Faust ever onward casts its earlier manifestations as acknowledgement of the process, not as simple representation. A significant transformation is also apparent, as this final iteration of the motive refuses its defining tendency to descend and occurs repeatedly in higher transpositions, always followed by a rising chromatic line. So, in the end, the two versions of the chorus are sympathetic after all. Both place the motive plainly in the vocal parts of the final chorus, but, after consideration, Schumann apparently wanted the theme to be more prominent and with a more direct allusion to Faust's salvation. Though the earlier version admits to the theme's ambiguousness, pervasiveness, complexity, and associative power, both signal a clear shift in psychological planes by associating them with the voice alone.

This last thematic reference also has an important link to its first. Although the theme is used liberally in the overture, the first time it is heard during the course of the dramatic action is in the opening scene, "Im Garten."



Example 74. *Szenen aus Goethes Faust*, No. 1 "Im Garten," mm. 55–58.

This iteration of the theme is most commonly referred to by those who suggest the theme belongs to Mephistopheles, as it heralds his entrance.²⁷⁹ However, when considering it in light of Faust's line instead, an important textual relationship is revealed. The text that immediately precedes the theme, "die ewig sein muss," (that must endure eternally), bears a striking resemblance the final line of the *Chorus Mysticus*. As Faust is referring to the joy of Gretchen's love that must last forever, the correlation between these two scenes is made all the more powerful.

Even Carus's interpretation of the final scene considers a connection that reaches back to this moment. In considering one Dr. Marianus's final passages (lines 11991–6), Carus remarks on the power of the feminine to awaken in Faust a still higher *inner* bliss, which had yet been missing. He continues to identify this force with Gretchen and calls for a reexamination of her character even in the early part of the drama:

...daß gerade dieses Wesen – sonst Gretchen genannt –, das Wesen, das eigentlich schon im irdischen Leben ein tieferes und gewisseres Wissen besaß als Faust mit aller wirrer Gelehrsamkeit— ²⁸¹

[that this very being—also known as Gretchen—actually had already in the earthly life a deeper and more certain knowledge than Faust with all of his confused scholarship—]

It makes much more sense that Schumann was connecting these two moments thematically rather than using the theme to introduce Mephistopheles. Of course Faust is deaf to

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²⁷⁹ Both Daverio and Billington attach the theme to Mephistopheles; no one considers it in association with Faust's line.

²⁸⁰ Carus, *Briefe*, 85. "Und hier schwebt denn auch das in höhere Regionen verklärt gerettete Wesen, dessen reines, tiefes, in sich vollkommen befriedigtes Gemüt dem Faust zuerst die Ahnung innerer Seligkeit erweckte – das Wesen, das, wo es fehlte, nur durch Liebe fehlte und diesen Fehl durch Liebe selbst und den nie versiegenden Quell vollkommenster Treue ausglich."

²⁸¹ Ibid.

the significance of the moment, when the very seeds of his salvation have been planted. By the time the theme is again associated with the *Ewig weibliche*, however, he has become part of the music itself. The fact that Faust's own voice remains silent throughout his transfiguration signals that he is now in the realm of God-consciousness. As he can now fully perceive his unconscious, his musical "deafness" is lifted. Thus his silence can be reconsidered anew: for what is left to say when there is suddenly so much to hear?

5.0 CONCLUSION

While Schumann was writing the libretto for *Genoveva* in 1847, he wrote directly to Hebbel for assistance in strengthening his text. Hebbel responded with interest, and the two met on July 27 of that same year. Neither Hebbel nor Schumann was satisfied by the meeting, but to Hebbel, it was a complete disaster. He wrote in his diary that Schumann was not only stubborn, but actually reserved to the point of being unpleasant. In a letter to a friend, he recalled that Schumann simply gaped at him for the duration of the meeting and was just as silent on the thirty-minute walk back to the hotel.²⁸³

Wagner found Schumann to be just as uncommunicative in their few meetings that took place when both men lived in Dresden. Eduard Hanslick reported Wagner as referring to Schumann as an "impossible man" with whom to hold a conversation, adding "certainly one can't conduct a conversation alone!" When Schumann invited Wagner to his home to read the libretto of *Genoveva*, Wagner again found Schumann impossible. In his autobiography, he recounted that meeting:

...als ich jedoch mit wahrer Besorgtheit, und von dem innigen Wunsche des Gelingens seiner Arbeit beseelt, ihn auf die grossen

²⁸² Jensen, Schumann, 244.

²⁸³ See Daverio, *Herald*, 554n47.

²⁸⁴ Annie Wilson Patterson, *Schumann* (London: J.M. Dent, 1903), 144. See also Eismann, *Quellenwerk I*, 133–34.

Fehler derselben aufmerksam machte, und die nöthigen Aenderungen ihm vorschlug, erfuhr ich wie es mit dem sonderbaren Menschen stand. Er gönnte mir durchaus nur, mich von ihm hinreissen zu lassen; einen Eingriff in das Werk seiner Begeisterung wies er aber mit empfindlichem Trotze zurück. 285

[When, however, in true solicitude and out of a fervent desire for the success of his work, of which I had significant reservations, I called his attention to certain weaknesses in it, and proposed some changes, I learned how things were with the strange man: he simply wanted me to be convinced by himself, and defiantly rejected any interference with his work.]

Schumann offered Wagner no explanations, and the meeting soon ended.

Both of these encounters demonstrate how Schumann, already in the late 1840s, was beginning to recede inside his own mind. Explicit suggestions about his music, which had already been scarce in the 1830s and early '40s, all but cease after the Schumanns' move to Dresden in 1844. While Wagner never seemed to forgive Schumann this fault, Hebbel made a more perceptive comment about the composer some years later. Writing in his diary in 1862, some fifteen years after their unpleasant meeting, the intervening years seemed to have softened Hebbel's opinion. It was the death of poet Ludwig Uhland that recalled Schumann to Hebbel's mind. In characterizing his recently deceased friend, Hebbel wrote that Uhland "was firmly imprisoned in his talent; like Robert Schumann." Hebbel's comparison of Uhland to Schumann is an interesting one. Outwardly, the political poetry of Uhland is a salient analogue to Schumann's late music. While Schumann's late works are not as overtly politicized as Uhland's verse, they both served the same ultimate goal of contributing toward a unified German nation. Characterizing both men as being imprisoned in their talent, however, is a more insightful comment than it even first appears. Had Hebbel been talking about Hölderlin or Kleist

²⁸⁵ Richard Wagner, *Mein Leben*, (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1911), 380.

²⁸⁶ Hebbel, *Tagebücher IV*, 227. "war fest in sein Talent eingesperrt, wie Robert Schumann."

or another of Romantic poets to have succumbed to mental infirmity, one might read the quote as a reference to the burden of genius on a fragile mind. However, while Schumann's ultimate incarceration and death in a mental institution surely influenced his view of the composer in hindsight, Hebbel seems to be referring to a deeper condition that he shared with the mentally sound Uhland. This was Hebbel's way of suggesting that Schumann had been misunderstood and had been powerless to explain himself in any other way but through music. Schumann's vexing reticence to articulate his musical designs in either his correspondence or in conversations is consistent with his overall wish that his music speak for itself. It must have been deeply troubling for Schumann to meet critical failure after failure in his later years while the unabashed, self-promoting Wagner gained most of the glory.

There is one compelling entry in Schumann's diary, however, that at least shows he was aware of the shift his late works were taking. In July 1846, after he had started working on *Faust* and was soon to begin *Genoveva*, he remarked:

Ich habe das Meiste, fast Alles, das Kleinste meiner Stücke in Inspiration geschrieben, vieles in unglaublicher Schnelligkeit, so meine 1ste Symphonie in B Dur in vier Tagen, einen Liederkreis von zwanzig Stücken 718 ebenso, die Peri in (ebenso) verhaltnismaßig ebenso kurzer Zeit.

Erst vom Jr. 1845 an, von wo ich anfing alles im Kopf zu erfinden und auszuarbeiten, hat sich eine ganz andere Art zu componiren zu entwickeln begonen. ²⁸⁷

[I used to write most, nearly all, of my shorter pieces in (moments of) inspiration. Many compositions (were written) with unbelievable rapidity, for example my First Symphony in B-flat in four days, as was a song cycle of twenty pieces; the *Peri* was also composed in a fairly short time.

²⁸⁷ Schumann, *Tagebücher*, vol. 2, 402.

²⁸⁸ *Dichterliebe*, op. 48 (1840).

Only from the year 1845 on, when I began to create and work out everything in my head, did an entirely different manner of composition begin to develop.]

This recognition of his creative process shifting from what he perceived to be fortuitous inspiration to something which he found within the depths of his own mind is remarkably similar to Carus's suggestion that the unconscious mind is the source of all artistic impulse and creation. Even with the acknowledgement that his compositional approach was changing, Schumann remained silent on exactly how that change manifested itself concerning musical design of form or theme, even as critics began to challenge his later compositions. In fact, as John Daverio has noted, Schumann remained skeptical of all treatises on the subject of dramatic music, despite having read *Oper und Drama* with some interest. Whether unwilling or unable to defend his own music as he lost touch with the world, Schumann left behind only his art, and we are left to uncover its hidden designs.

In approaching Schumann's late music, it only makes sense to consider a methodology that accounts for this increasing introspection, preoccupation with mental health, influence of philosophical literature, and his introduction to the most influential psychologist in the Germanspeaking world—just at the same time his compositional style was taking a decided turn. An approach grounded in the concepts and terminology of Carus fits the bill. Not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did contemporary psychology become a significant lens

²⁸⁹ Daverio, *Herald*, 331.

²⁹⁰ Brahms, at one time Schumann's protégé, attempted a similar legacy, though more determinedly. Brahms notoriously destroyed letters and compositional sketches with the deliberate aim of denying biographers and scholars any glimpse of his compositional process with the hope that his music itself would be his primary heritage. See Jan Swafford, *Johannes Brahms*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), xi.

through which to analyze musical design. In the maximalist and expressionist movements in Germany, Freud's name is just as prominent as those of Richard Wagner and Arnold Schoenberg. Freudian design has even been (anachronistically) perceived in Romantic music as far back as Wagner, and German composers by the 1910s and 1920s were encoding into their music explicit representations of the unconscious mind.

While Carus's work did not define an entire era of artistic production, as did Freud's, it nonetheless represented one. Carus's body of work is a moderated distillation of the prevailing idealist philosophies that dominated the middle of the nineteenth century as well as a progressive and truly groundbreaking psychological exploration of the inner workings of the unconscious mind. Schumann's late music, too, can be seen in the same terms: both representative and progressive. While Carus is often overlooked in the history of psychology, the progressive elements of Schumann's late music are also missed or misunderstood. The three works represented in this study are among the most important keys to defining Schumann's late style: the principal representations of the new direction in which he wished to guide German music.

Nonetheless, much of Schumann's other considerable output from this time could benefit from a closer investigation informed by Carus's psychological theories, which seem to be so sympathetic with Schumann's major dramatic works. Schumann's melodramatic experiment, *Manfred*, written immediately after *Genoveva*, is one such work.²⁹¹ Based faithfully on a translation of Lord Byron's poem of the same name, this work, too, (save for its powerful overture) has faded into obscurity. Schumann's much-maligned decision to run counter to Byron's intended ending by apparently redeeming Manfred in the music (via his lover's theme,

²⁹¹ Manfred, Dramatisches Gedicht in drei Abtheilung von Lord Byron mit Musik von Robert Schumann, (Manfred, Dramatic Poem in Three Parts by Lord Byron, with Music by Robert Schumann), op. 115 (1848). Schumann was clear in his reversing of traditional roles of music and text; the body of the drama utilizes music only as a background for spoken or sung texts, so that the reciting of the poem is the central feature.

in a decidedly Goethean stroke), is one such moment that deserves closer attention.²⁹² Many of his smaller works for voices and orchestra from the same time period have yet to receive significant scholarly attention: the *Requiem für Mignon*, op. 98b, based on Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*; the *Nachtlied*, op. 108, based on a poem by Hebbel; *Des Sängers Fluch*, op. 139; *Vom Pagen und der Königstochter*, op. 140; and, perhaps most importantly, the *Mass*, op. 147 and *Requiem*, op. 148—two of Schumann's last compositions that reveal as much about Schumann's perspective on man's spiritual nature as perhaps any of his dramatic works.

While each of these works demands its own approach to be considered in light of Carus's levels of the unconscious and conscious mind, many of the same parameters of investigation used here may well apply: relationships of voice to instrumental music in regard to both thematic content and influence, opposition of chromatic and diatonic passages, imitation as a signifier of the spiritual (and the absolute unconscious), etc. Even the same theme that bound *Genoveva* to *Faust* by its persistent use may be found in other places in Schumann's late output. For example, the fifth song in Schumann's *Sechs Gedichte von N. Lenau und Requiem*, op. 90 (composed in 1850), reveals a clear return of this thematic material (Example 75). As mentioned in the introduction, Lenau, whose fragile mental health and eventual death had a profound impact on the composer, was a sympathetic figure for Schumann. To find the theme so clearly in a work set to Lenau's verse and dedicated to his memory lends credence to the psychological associations of the theme that I have argued.

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²⁹² This music is made all the more intriguing for the fact that during much of its composition, Schumann was suffering from acute episodes of auditory hallucinations and "inner voices." See Ostwald, *Voices*, 5, 223.

Example 75. Sechs Geditche von N. Lenau und Requiem, Op. 90, No. 5, mm. 1–8



More than just a typical love song, the text supports the theme's function as a symbol of the unconscious in *Genoveva* and *Faust* with its imagery of the forest, spirits, and God (not to mention another appearance of the "Quell" image, though here more literally intended than in *Genoveva*):²⁹³

Wildverwachsne dunkle Fichten, Leise klagt die Quelle fort; Herz, das ist der rechte Ort Für dein schmerzliches Verzichten!

Grauer Vogel in den Zweigen, Einsam deine Klage singt,

Hebbel's poem *Nachtlied*, set by Schumann as op. 108, also begins with another variation on the term, "Quellende," or "Welling." A very brief reference to the theme is then heard, see mm. 23–24)

Und auf deine Frage bringt Antwort nicht des Waldes Schweigen.

Wenn's auch immer Schweigen bliebe, Klage, klage fort; es weht, Der dich höret und versteht, Stille hier der Geist der Liebe.

Nicht verloren hier im Moose, Herz, dein heimlich Weinen geht, Deine Liebe Gott versteht, Deine tiefe, hoffnungslose!

[Wild, overgrown, dark firs, Softly the spring continues to lament; Heart, this is the right place For your painful renunciation!

A grey bird in the branches Lonely, sings your lament And to your question The silent forest brings no answer.

If there was always silence, Lament, continue to lament. One that hears and understand you Quietly wafts here: the spirit of love.

Not lost here among the moss, Heart, is your secret crying. God understands your love, Your deep, hopeless (love)!]

It may never be known to what extent Carus passed on his psychological framework to Schumann during their long relationship in Dresden, but that is beside the point. The benefit of applying Carus's topography of mind to Schumann's works is not predicated on establishing an explicit intention on Schumann's part to represent Carus's work in his own dramatic structure. Nonetheless, the potential for such an intellectual perspective to have influenced Schumann's

dramatic music is impossible to ignore, given the circumstances of the timing and the nature of their relationship.

Schumann's late work is difficult to approach. Biographies of the composer are most differentiated from one another based on how they characterize Schumann's last years, about which there is so much room for speculation, as well as Schumann's late music, about which so little has been written until recently.²⁹⁴ While many of his discrete influences have been considered in varying degrees concerning the late music (literature, politics, his mental health), none have considered the influence of Carus. Yet the work of Carus is a point of entry into the late music that satisfies each of these influences within a single interpretive framework. Whether explicit or not, it would be difficult to find a more appropriate tool with which to consider the intersection of Schumann's mind and his music at a time when the composer was more preoccupied with both than ever before.

If anything can be learned from Schumann's encounters with Hebbel and Wagner, it is that Schumann listened more than he spoke. Even if he had no more intention to allow Carus to influence his music than Hebbel or Wagner, his own unconscious may have betrayed him. It is in the unconscious, according to Carus, where nothing is forgotten. After all, the *unconscious* application of Carus's theories in Schumann's music would only prove the connection in the eyes of the psychologist himself.

http://www.oup.com/us/catalog/general/subject/Music/MusicHistoryWestern/NineteenthCentury/?view=usa&ci=97 80195091809#reviews, Accessed July 14, 2012.

²⁹⁴ Indeed, John Daverio's biography gained its critical acclaim in 1997 for its very treatment of Schumann's late music. Richard Taruskin wrote: ""In place of the usual pathograpy, Daverio offers a finely integrated account of the life and the work of a composer whose life and work were inwardly interconnected as only a true Romantic's could be. One of the special rewards of Daverio's approach is a more sympathetic and insightful treatment of the later, lesser-known portion of Schumann's output, including all of his largest works, than can be found in any other comprehensive study." Oxford University Press detail page,

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