



SCHUBERT

JULIAN HORTON

THE EARLY ROMANTIC
COMPOSERS

Schubert

The Early Romantic Composers
Series Editor: Michael Spitzer

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Series Preface

Much of the world's most popular music was composed in the first half of the nineteenth century. The five composers represented in this series sit at the core of the Western art-music tradition, and have received an enormous amount of critical and scholarly attention. Beethoven and Schubert worked at the cusp between the Classical style and Romanticism; Schumann, Mendelssohn and Chopin formed part of what Charles Rosen called 'The Romantic Generation', a group of composers born around 1810 who could be said to have invented musical modernity. Of these five titanic figures, none needs much introduction or apology, with Mendelssohn being the exception of a once-neglected composer whose time has come again. Nevertheless, these early nineteenth-century composers do collectively elicit a kind of cultural re-affirmation on our part: against postmodernity's challenge towards this tradition and against the blithe assumption – after Musicology's respective analytical, critical and (now) digital turns – that earlier writers have nothing to teach us about this tradition.

And this is why the five editors of the books in this series have been tasked to throw their nets as widely as possible, in order to capture not just the latest scholarly perspectives on this music, but also older, perhaps less fashionable, but arguably still invaluable literature. Priority has been given to items in English, but a few seminal contributions appear either in a foreign language or in new, previously unpublished translations. Extended introductions also situate the contents of individual volumes in broad scholarly contexts. 'The Early Romantic Composers' intends both to increase access to the published literature and to provide scholars, students and general music lovers alike with a reliable reference source. It is hoped that reading and re-reading essays in the series will not only enhance appreciation of Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn and Chopin, the environments in which they worked, and the musical cultures in which they flourished, but also stimulate further engagement with the large secondary literature on these five great musicians.

MICHAEL SPITZER
Series Editor



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Introduction

Schubert at the Centre; Schubert at the Margins

The tendency towards dualism constitutes one of the defining features of musical historiography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The categories guiding critical assessment betray overarching binary oppositions, which are at once problematic and hard to displace. Composers fall in or outside the canon, at the centre or at the margins. Their music is construed as progressive or reactionary, mainstream or non-conformist, durable or transient, perfect or imperfect. Such appraisals are normally entwined with ideology. Aesthetic and historical value judgements invariably serve barely concealed ideological objectives, which can be nakedly political (left versus right; liberal versus conservative), or else involve orientation within discourses about gender and sexuality. The life cycle of a composer's reception often observes a similarly dualist rhythm, with entrenched positions yielding over time to antithetically disposed revisionism (Brahms as romantic-classicist versus Brahms as progressive; Schumann as post-Beethovenian symphonist versus Schumann as miniaturist). Announcements of revisionist intent have become one of the enduring clichés of musical scholarship, as exhausted or reified critical positions encourage reversals of music-historical fortune.

The reception of both Schubert the man and Schubert the composer reveals these propensities with special clarity. Although nobody today would contest Schubert's canonical status, this is in truth an aggregation of dialectical critical positions, which, when disaggregated, reveals a contested and fractured critical terrain. It is, for example, commonplace and entirely reasonable to install *Lieder* as the core of Schubert's oeuvre. But characterization of Schubert as primarily a song composer places him within the canon as a constitutive other of Beethoven, to whom is annexed the major instrumental genres. This judgement sustains numerous contributory antinomies: Beethoven's dynamism contrasts Schubert's lyricism; Beethoven's high art contrasts Schubert's Biedermeier populism; Beethoven's monumentality stands against Schubert's domesticity.

Understood socioculturally, these dualisms feed into long-standing and sometimes heated debates. Beethoven's centrality is frequently couched in gendered terms, as for instance in Carl Dahlhaus's portrayal of his instrumental style as the 'strong' (for which read masculine) form of the art.¹ Dahlhaus posited Franco-Italian opera as Beethoven's (feminine) other; but within the Viennese context, Schubert often fulfils a comparable role. This characterization has had numerous incarnations. It tracks back at least to Schumann, who asserted, in his review of the *Grand Duo Sonata*, that

Compared with Beethoven, Schubert is a feminine character, much more voluble, softer and broader; or a guileless child romping among giants. Such is the relationship of these symphonic movements to

¹ I have in mind Dahlhaus (1989, pp. 8–15). For a substantial recent engagement with this idea, see the various essays collected in Mathew and Walton (2013).

those of Beethoven ... They have their robust moments to be sure ... But Schubert conducts himself as a wife to a husband, the one giving orders, the other relying upon pleas and persuasion. (1965, p. 142)²

Sir George Grove's 1882 Dictionary entry for the composer is more direct: 'compared with Beethoven, Schubert is as a woman to a man. For it must be confessed that one's attitude towards him is always that of sympathy, attraction and love, rarely that of embarrassment or fear' (reprinted in Grove, 1951). Controversies about Schubert's sexuality, which crystallized around Maynard Solomon's work in the 1990s, mobilize similar tensions (Chapters 3–5 offer a cross-section of this debate). The question of Schubert's homosexuality bolsters a heterosexual musical stereotype, which again takes Beethoven as its orientating paradigm.³ The antithesis of Beethoven and Schubert even intersects with issues of illness and well-being: Beethoven establishes a model of formal and expressive musical vigour, which Schubert, syphilitic and prematurely deceased, negatively reinforces.

These debates acquire a particular urgency when Schubert confronts Beethoven on his generic home ground of symphony, quartet, trio and sonata, as he did with renewed energy after 1823. The long history of critiquing Schubert's sonata forms, which emerges across the nineteenth century as his instrumental oeuvre gradually came to light, invariably isolates properties standing outside the Beethovenian paradigm as the source of Schubert's failings.⁴ Episodic, lyrical, discursive and protracted, Schubert's sonata forms seemed to offend against virtually every Beethovenian principle: poetry replaces drama; repetition replaces dynamism; variation replaces development; prolixity replaces concision. In short, those features guaranteeing Schubert's success as a Lied composer became a hindrance in the instrumental sphere. The claim that these domains are immiscible – you can't compose sonatas and songs according to the same principles – sustains Schubert's and Beethoven's antithetical positions within the canon.⁵

It is one of the welcome consequences of the pluralist turn in recent musical thought that we now have a markedly more sophisticated historical and analytical framework for understanding these oppositions. In particular, processes of canon formation have, since the 1990s, become more thoroughly understood, and with them the plural, mutable and often ideologically driven nature of the categories into which both composers and their music are

² For a detailed investigation of the construction and dissemination of Schubert's *Mädchencharakter*, see Messing (2006, 2007).

³ As Christopher Gibbs explains in Chapter 1 of this volume: 'The comparisons to Beethoven ... have taken a somewhat different turn with recent investigations of Schubert's possible homosexuality ... In some ways these contemporary dialogues resound long-standing themes. Beethoven is still crucial to the discussions – even when he goes unmentioned – because he continues to serve significantly as Schubert's "Other"' (pp. 18–19).

⁴ In the English language, this probably begins with James William Davison, whose review of the first performance of Schubert's orchestral music in England, a Philharmonic concert conducted by Mendelssohn of 10 June 1844 comprising the Overture to *Fierrabras* and scheduled to include the 'Great' C major Symphony, was condemnatory: 'Perhaps a more overrated man than this Schubert never existed. He has certainly written a few good songs. But what then? Has not every composer who ever composed not written a few good songs?' See *Musical World*, 13 June 1844, cited in Reed (1997a, p. 256).

⁵ The immiscibility of song form and sonata is basic to Felix Salzer's critique of Schubert's sonata forms (1928).

customarily placed.⁶ Above all, it is clear that the canon is a multivalent phenomenon: the last two centuries have generated multiple canons – performing, pedagogical, musicological, music-theoretical – the membership of which only sometimes overlaps.⁷ Thus Rachmaninov occupies an enduring position in the performing canon, but has left only a marginal musicological footprint; conversely, performances of Webern’s music are hardly as numerous as the attention he receives from theorists would suggest. In other cases, canonical status is genre-sensitive. Haydn, for example, is central to the symphonic canon, but marginal as an operatic composer, despite having produced at least twenty-six theatrical works.

It is in this post-canonical spirit that I want to frame the conspectus of Schubert reception, interpretation and analysis offered by this volume. Rather than arguing for a fresh round of revisionism, this introduction glosses the threads of reception that the book appraises, exploring their critical, historical and analytical implications. For each of the book’s sections, I draw out one representative issue, consideration of which is coordinated around the analysis of five case study works: the ‘Rosamunde’ Quartet, symphonies nos 4, 5 and the ‘Unfinished’, and ‘Auf dem Flusse’ from *Winterreise*.

Schubert as Other: Biography and Music

The issue of Schubert’s alterity has been overt and pressing in biographical scholarship. Part I surveys three salient aspects of this discourse. In Chapter 1, ‘“Poor Schubert”: Images and Legends of the Composer’, Christopher Gibbs considers Schubert’s outsider status, offering a penetrating history of his construction as a neglected composer; John Gingerich’s ‘Unfinished Considerations: Schubert’s “Unfinished” Symphony in the Context of His Beethoven Project’ (Chapter 5) traces the Schubert-Beethoven duality to its source, rethinking the compositional history of the ‘Unfinished’ as part of Schubert’s reception of Beethoven. In between, the essays by Maynard Solomon, Rita Steblin and David Gramit (Chapters 2, 3 and 4 respectively) sample research into the composer’s sexuality, and specifically the question of whether he was homosexual.

As perhaps the most heated recent debate in the field, the issue of Schubert’s sexuality invites reconsideration here. The debate’s primary impetus came from Maynard Solomon’s ‘Franz Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini’ (Chapter 2). Drawing on the correspondence of the Schubert circle, Schubert’s diary entries, biographical authorities including Otto Erich Deutsch (1946, 1958) and a range of contextual cultural-historical evidence, Solomon presents the case for the overarching homosexuality, if not bisexuality, of Schubert and his circle of friends.⁸ As Solomon writes: ‘That the young men of the Schubert circle loved each other seems amply clear. And, although I cannot be certain that some of the evidence I have offered ... may not be wide of the mark, I believe it is reasonably probable that their primary sexual orientation was a homosexual one’ (p. 38).

Solomon’s conclusions turn on how we interpret the metaphorical language employed to encode sexual intent in early nineteenth-century Vienna, mindful of the era’s dominant

⁶ On the study of musical canon, see, for example, Citron (1993) and Weber (2008, 1999).

⁷ On these distinctions, see Weber (1999, p. 339).

⁸ Subsequent contributions to Schubert biography include Brown (1961), Hilmar (1988), McKay (1996) and Newbould (1997).

mores and the state regulations prohibiting ‘deviant’ behaviour. He picks up pivotally on the imagery of the peacock as a euphemism for sexually available youth, specifically quoting Eduard Bauernfeld’s diary entry of August 1826, which observes that ‘Schubert is out of sorts (he needs “young peacocks”, like Benvenuto Cellini)’ (1859, p. 34, trans. In Deutsch 1946, p. 548). Solomon deciphers the reference to Benvenuto Cellini by noting the allusions in Cellini’s memoirs to the hunting of game birds as a metaphor for the sexual pursuit of boys.⁹ On this basis, Solomon characterizes the Schubert circle, and the transgressive sexuality it espoused, as a countercultural arena of free creativity into which the composer could escape: ‘There were, however, compensations for Schubert’s concealment within the hermetic and self-sustaining world of his own subculture. Through his homosexuality Schubert left a realm of compulsion and entered what – at least momentarily – appeared to be a realm of freedom’ (p. 41). Ultimately, Solomon avers from this a kind of private, homosexual parallel of Beethovenian heroism: ‘It even seems possible that, through a consideration of Schubert’s sexual unorthodoxy and his resistance to compulsion, we have touched a heroic region in Schubert’s personality’ (p. 42).

Responses to Solomon are concentrated in a special issue of *19th-Century Music* published in 1993, which contained the essays by Rita Steblin and David Gramit reproduced here, as well as contributions from Kristina Muxfeldt, Kofi Agawu, Susan McClary, James Webster and Robert Winter, in counterpoint with a response from Solomon. Steblin’s essay (Chapter 3) exhibits the most adverse (and in some estimations, politically motivated) reaction. Revisiting the documentary evidence Solomon marshals, she reconsiders Schubert’s heterosexual relations, the sexual politics of their Viennese context and the provenance of the homosexual metaphors on which Solomon’s reading relies. For Steblin:

The issue of sexuality in the Schubert circle is much more complex than can be gathered by citing a few isolated passages from letters and memoirs as Solomon has done. A proper study must be undertaken ... of the literary and intellectual influences on Schubert’s Viennese circle. Such a study may reveal a model for the romantic effusions in letters between male friends other than that of late nineteenth-century European or late twentieth-century American homosexual subcultures. Although these effusions may appear homoerotic to us today, in the absence of solid evidence we cannot use present standards to make a judgement about the sexuality of a person from a different era. (p. 55)

In the end, Steblin contests almost every aspect of Solomon’s interpretation, concluding emphatically that ‘there is no evidence that Schubert or the members of his circle were homosexuals. Solomon has mistranslated several key documents, quoted selected passages out of context, and misrepresented the cultural and artistic context of society in Biedermeier Vienna’ (p. 65).

Schubert biography is of course hardly reducible to this dispute; monothematic constructions of sexual identity of this kind are easy targets for accusations of essentialism, and reconstructing a composer’s sexuality can become an end in itself, which obscures the wider objectives of cultural and aesthetic orientation that biography ultimately serves. Rather than attempt to adjudicate this matter at a distance, the better question concerns how our engagement with the music should respond; as James Webster asks: ‘If Schubert was homosexual ... what difference does it make for his music?’ (1993, p. 89).

⁹ Solomon specifically cites Cellini (1928).

One answer is offered by Susan McClary, whose analysis of the slow movement of the 'Unfinished' takes its various formal and harmonic unorthodoxies as evidence of a homosexual subjectivity. For McClary, the Andante con moto purposely destabilizes normative (that is to say, Beethovenian) sonata procedures, both within and between its thematic groups:

What is remarkable about this movement is that Schubert conceives of and executes a musical narrative that does not enact the more standard model in which a self strives to define identity through the consolidation of ego boundaries. Instead, each of several moments with the opening theme becomes a pretext for deflection and exploration. (1994, p. 215)

The agent of destabilization is the music's harmonic provisionality. The main theme traverses \sharp III, vi, and the tonic minor before finding its tonic-major cadence; the subordinate group is even more exploratory, sacrificing any straightforward tonal dialectic for wide-ranging and often chromatic modulation, pivoting in bars 84–96 around the enharmonic seam $D_b/C\sharp$ before approaching the recapitulation obliquely via C major. For McClary, Schubert's construction of an alternative male subjectivity is clinched by the coda, which from bar 286 unseats the tonic with a digression to A flat that displaces the dominant as the means by which the movement finds meaningful resolution, thereby replacing the standardized tonal process with a third-based alternative.

McClary's analysis is contested by Webster, who points out that Schubert's preferences for introspection, lyricism and tertiary harmony are also evident in Beethoven's later music. Webster likens her equation of music and subjectivity to a kind of 'vulgar Marxism'; as he explains: 'In the absence of credible statements of intentionality ... no one-to-one equation can be sustained between hypothesized or hypostasized aspects of a composer's personality and stylistic features of instrumental music' (1993, pp. 92–93). In Webster's view, whether they posit or refute Schubert's homosexuality, such constructions are at base ideological and political, to the detriment of their analytical value:

it is doubtful whether knowing of Schubert's hedonism will help us understand his instrumental music (including the 'Unfinished') very much; and that knowing of his being homosexual ... bisexual or omnisexual ... will not help us understand it at all. One therefore speculates that the primary agenda of studies such as McClary's and Steblin's is social and political. (1993, p. 93)

In retrospect, McClary's analysis is hampered by the absence, at the time of writing, of a developed theory of Romantic instrumental form against which her claims of musical alterity could be measured, a condition that recent research has somewhat alleviated.¹⁰ It seems clear that the 'Unfinished' Symphony's harmonic and syntactic protocols are widespread in the early nineteenth-century instrumental repertoire. Tertiary structures, evasive or harmonically mobile theme groups, formal elisions, functional ambiguities and parametric dislocations are endemic strategies in the music of Mendelssohn, Schumann, Chopin, Liszt and Berlioz, and are apparent as far back as Beethoven's Op. 31 sonatas of 1802. In this context, the main theme of Schubert's slow movement is in syntactic terms comparatively stable. As Example

¹⁰ I think, for example, of Schmalfeldt (2011), Vande Moortele (2009, 2013), the various publications ensuing from James Hepokoski's idea of sonata deformation (1993), from Darcy (1997) to Monahan (2015), and also Horton (2011 and in press).

l explains, it comprises a small-ternary design, in which the A section is an irregular but nonetheless apparent period. The music's harmonic colour arises from its admixture of an overarching fifth-based assertion of E major (via perfect-cadential tonicization) and an octatonic structure, formed by the symmetrical minor thirds either side of E: G major in the A antecedent; C sharp minor in the contrasting middle. Compared to the evasions practised by Mendelssohn, Schumann and their contemporaries, or even by Beethoven in Op. 31, however, all of this is comparatively mild.

The second group is more complex, both syntactically and harmonically, and the diffuseness McClary identifies is concomitantly more tangible. Here again, however, there is a formal ambiguity that McClary misses, which shifts the argument's centre of gravity: in some respects, the form is more consistent with rondo than sonata. As Table 1 reveals, there are in fact three presentations of the main theme, the last admittedly conjoined with the end of the second episode and represented only by its final cadential segment. The outline of a five-part rondo is therefore present, and this goes some way towards explaining the character of the subordinate material beginning at bar 64, which evades easy classification as a sonata transition or subordinate-theme statement, but looks rather less problematic when viewed as a loosely organized rondo episode. The deflective character that McClary observes results partly from the tension between these competing formal types: the material's recursive character unsettles the sonata form, but the sonata dynamic diffuses the rondo form.

Table 1 Schubert, 'Unfinished' Symphony, slow movement

Bars:	1	64	142	205	257	286
Sonata:	Exposition		Recapitulation			Coda
	MT	ST	MT	ST	(MT cadence)	
Rondo:	Refrain (A)	Episode (B)	Refrain (A')	Episode (B')	Refrain (cadence only) (A ²)	
Key:	E	C→D flat→ C sharp→ D→G→C	E→A	A→a→V/E	E	A flat→E

None of this is to dismiss McClary's reading outright, or to reject attempts to incorporate historically or biographically informed notions of subjectivity. If the vogue for 'outing' composers and sexualizing their music has more recently waned, the issues it raises are not easily dispatched: for Schubert as for any composer, biography is neither paramount nor worthless. It is, however, to note that the idea of orthodoxy in this repertoire is a moving target, and is only as secure as theory's ability to grasp and explain the totality of practice. Beethoven's norms, in other words, often merge with Schubert's exceptions, whatever the critical discourse would have us believe.

Constructing Schubert: Interpretative Positions

In addition to the overarching dualities explored above, attempts to place Schubert in relation to his time and the legacy of Beethoven have bequeathed some durable interpretative strategies, which are supported by an evolving repertoire of metaphors. Part II surveys such hermeneutic positions, from Schumann's review of the 'Great' C major Symphony (Chapter 6), with its famous description of the work's 'heavenly lengths', through Adorno's topographical metaphors (Chapter 7) and Edward T. Cone's formulation of the 'promissory note' in the *Moment musical* Op. 94, No. 6 (Chapter 8), to Scott Burnham's more recent rethinking of memory in Schubert (Chapter 9).

Adorno's notion of landscape furnishes a useful case study of the use of interpretative metaphor in Schubert reception. Adorno introduces his topographical lexicon at the outset of Chapter 7, as a means of characterizing music's post-Beethovenian turn:

He who crosses the threshold between the years of Beethoven's death and Schubert's will shiver, like someone emerging into the painfully diaphanous light from a rumbling, newly formed crater frozen in motion, as he becomes aware of skeletal shadows of vegetation among lava shapes in these wide, exposed peaks, and finally catches sight of those clouds drifting near the mountain, yet so high above his head. He steps out from the chasm into the landscape of immense depth bounded by an overwhelming quiet at its horizon, absorbing the light that earlier had been seared by blazing magma. (p. 113)

These stark images configure the difference between Beethovenian dynamism and Schubertian stasis. Contrasting the volcanic action of Beethoven's music, which pleads for explanation in terms of heroic subjectivity, temporality and goal-direction, Schubert's episodic style encourages spatial metaphor; thus 'when it comes to Schubert's music we speak of "landscape"' (p. 113).

The agent of this shift is lyricism, and for Adorno it impels a change in the relationship between musical subjectivity and objectivity: 'the lyrical is never something that has been manufactured: it consists of the smallest possible cells of actual objectivity' (p. 113); as a result, lyricism is not simply the expressive content of musical forms, but a means of exposing kernels of musical-emotional truth within their formal contexts. Comprehending Schubert's instrumental forms therefore requires us to theorize them as concatenations of such lyric moments, rather than as directed processes – that is, as outgrowths of the lyric 'potpourri', rather than as organic totalities, in which respect they are 'not plantlike, but crystalline' (p. 115). By Adorno's estimation, the musical consequences of this are a notion of theme 'devoid of dialectical history' (p. 117) and of form without teleology. Analysis of Schubert's instrumental music therefore requires us to 'follow up the dialectic that mediates between the standard sonata scheme and Schubert's "second practice" of crystalline form that yields up that form only when inspiration has to take over from the deceptive dynamic of the sonata' (p. 117).

The philosophical complexity of Adorno's essay can mask a characteristic tendency towards generalization, which makes its analytical verification a frustrating enterprise. His assessment of the material circularity of Schubert's sonata forms is a case in point:

if in Schubert's variations the structure of the theme is never tampered with as it was in Beethoven, but is adorned or neglected, then here it is the circular wandering that is Schubert's form, where the center is manifest: far from it – this center gives itself away only through its power to entrap anything in sight. The *Impromptus* and *Moments musicaux* are structured like this, as are *all the sonata forms*. (p. 117; italics mine)

Adorno passes over the italicized claim without qualification, but it takes a lot on trust: should we really accept that in *every* case, Schubert's sonata forms are 'ex-centric construction[s]' in which 'every point is equally close to the center' (p. 116)?

Of course, the kind of empirical-analytical work required to give these assertions analytical substance is inimical to Adorno's dialectical philosophical mentality. Yet although we can comfortably accept the lyricism of Schubert's sonata style, we still have to deal with clear instances of developmental process in his sonata forms, which, although frequently self-contained expressively, nevertheless often relate to primary or subordinate material in ways that problematize Adorno's description. An example appears in the first movement of the A minor String Quartet, D 804. In the exposition, both main and subordinate themes are patently lyrical, and overtly reference the singing style in their topical character. Yet in each case, thematic presentation subsequently yields to developmental action. As Example 2 shows, the transition begins at bar 32 with a variant of the main-theme's *Hauptmotiv*, which is then subjected to development by sequence, contrapuntal elaboration and fragmentation as the transition's half-cadential close approaches. From bar 69, the subordinate theme is similarly treated: its *Hauptmotiv* is detached and refracted through a sequential-contrapuntal process (see Example 3), leading to thematic fragmentation and a rhetorically marked imperfect authentic cadence in III in bars 79–80.

Example 2

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a piano and violin. The first system, starting at bar 3, shows a piano part with a *pp* dynamic and a violin part with a triplet of eighth notes. The second system, starting at bar 32, shows a piano part with a *ff* dynamic and a violin part with a triplet of eighth notes. The piano part in the second system includes a *p* dynamic marking. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, stems, beams, slurs, and dynamic markings.

For Anne Hyland, these passages configure a variant of the dialectic that Adorno proposes: 'both of the principal expositional themes ... are lyrical in character, a feature which accentuates the dramatic effect of the movement's developmental passages ... Rather than threatening to overthrow the lyric, however ... the dramatic co-exists in a dichotomous relationship to it' (2014, p. 29). Hyland invokes Edward Cone's notion of stratification to explain this alternation: the lyric and developmental/dramatic occupy separate if motivically connected planes of formal action, which could be seen to embody Adorno's dialectic between a 'crystalline second practice' and the 'standard sonata scheme'.

Example 3

The image displays a musical score for Example 3, consisting of two systems of music. The first system, starting at measure 59, shows a treble clef with a melodic line and a bass clef with a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system, starting at measure 69, continues the piece with more complex rhythmic patterns and dynamics. The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (p dolce, f), articulation (tr), and rhythmic markings (3).

An alternative reading might reinterpret the motivic connections between the themes and the developmental passages. The transition is, after all, not a separate episode, but a continuation, which in effect renders an element of the main theme developmental. The differentiation of theme and transition is a matter of topic (they are expressively distinct), treatment (the start of a lyric theme becomes the germ of a developmental process) and function (as main-theme group and transition respectively), rather than material discontinuity. In fact, Schubert's transition is distinguished from many classical precedents in the extent of its generation out of the main theme, including examples by Beethoven; in what respect, for instance, does the transition in the first movement of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 2 No. 3 exhibit a teleological necessity that Schubert's transition lacks, given that it makes no reference whatsoever to its main-theme precursor? And Schubert is even further from Mozart, who is frequently happy to mobilize topical contrast alone as the constructive principle of his sonata forms.

If we accept this, however, then there is scope for turning Adorno's view on its head, mindful of the resulting collateral damage to his system of metaphors. Rather than see D 804 as serving a new, lyrical 'second practice', we could understand it as redirecting lyricism as a platform for development. This perception might also lead us to reframe Scott Burnham's elegant assessment of the inherent Romanticism of Schubert's repetitions:

This is the burden of repetition in Schubert, who composed under the sign of the Romantic wanderer, housed only in his subjectivity, the wanderer who, in *Winterreise*, is arguably buried alive in that subjectivity ...

This is the burden of repetition.

Repetition knows no origin, no end; just this: again and again. (2005, p. 41)

But Schubert's sonata forms never eschew development, and never abandon resolution as a formal principle. Instead, they variously explore the paradox of lyric teleology: the ways in which a style rooted in song might yield dynamic forms.¹¹

Schubert the Progressive: Harmony and Tonality

The most persistent constructions of Schubert as a progressive composer appear in the literature addressing his handling of harmony and tonality. Assessments of Schubert's incipient modernism have overridden theoretical differences, engaging commentators committed to a wide spectrum of theoretical approaches. The essays gathered in Part III reflect this diversity, from Donald Francis Tovey's broad conspectus of tonal relations (Chapter 10), through the contrasted neo-Riemannian attitudes of Richard Cohn (Chapter 11) and David Kopp (Chapter 12), to David Damschroder's post-Schenkerian perspective (Chapter 13).

English-language recognition of Schubert's harmonic sophistication owes much to Tovey's essay. Drawing on 'Gretchen am Spinnrade', the 'Great' C major Symphony, the quartets D 804, 810 and 887, the String Quintet and the piano sonatas D 959 and 960, Tovey used Schubert's music as a vehicle for establishing the boundaries of classical tonality and the range of tonal relations that it could meaningfully tolerate. He shuttles between theoretical groundwork, historical contextualization and analysis, foreshadowing several preoccupations of current harmonic theory in the process (the description of curved harmonic space (p. 160), for example, prefigures both the spatial and geometrical metaphors of neo-Riemannian theory).

Schubert has since played a central role in the evolution of harmonic theory, and especially neo-Riemannian theory, which has proved the driving force behind the analysis of nineteenth-century harmony over the last two decades. The central focus of this research has been Schubert's experiments with chromatic triadic relationships. Richard Cohn (1996) has influentially theorized the ways in which major-third related triads behave, explaining the properties of major-third cycles in terms of their basis in the hexatonic scale, or set-class 6-20. Schubert's music is important to Cohn's theory; his analysis of the first movement of the Piano Sonata D 960 in Chapter 11 furnishes perhaps its most substantial analytical application.¹² Neo-Riemannian engagement is carried forward in David Kopp's *Chromatic Transformations in Nineteenth-Century Music* (2002), part of which is reproduced in Chapter 12, and more recently in Suzannah Clark's *Analyzing Schubert* (2011).

Although Schubert's later music has proved especially fertile territory for investigating these practices, their systematic exploration is evident in earlier music, as analysis of the first movement of the Symphony No. 4 of 1816 attests. In the exposition, the subordinate theme trades III for VI, so that overall, the tonal scheme contrasts C minor and A flat major. The means by which A flat is prolonged in the closing section reveals a clear awareness of the broader system within which the i-VI relationship is embedded. Bars 85-108, summarized in Example 4, comprise a leisurely model-sequence design, the model of which devolves into a four-bar chromatic bass ascent picking up on the cadential arrival on VI, and a shift to E major, asserted by a four-bar standing on the local tonic. As the Example shows, the

¹¹ This is a formulation I have proposed in Horton (2014).

¹² Schubert is also critical to the more extended theoretical model developed in Cohn (2011).

progression moves through what Cohn would call a hexatonic co-cycle. Both sequential units take the endpoint of their predecessor phrase as a harmonic stepping-off point, transposing the model's A flat–E progression as E–C and C–A flat respectively. Overall, the whole passage serves the end of prolonging VI; from bar 103, the music leaves the hexatonic domain, and an expanded cadential progression in VI takes hold from bar 113.

Example 4

The image displays two systems of musical notation for Example 4. Each system consists of a piano score and a corresponding harmonic diagram. The piano score is written in G minor (three flats) and common time. The first system begins at bar 85, marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic. It features a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The harmonic diagram below shows a progression from A-flat to E, with a large oval encompassing the entire system. The second system shows a progression from C to A-flat, also marked with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The harmonic diagram below shows a progression from C to A-flat, with a large oval encompassing the entire system.

This excerpt is significant not only for its localized hexatonicism, but also because it suggests a strategic coordination of the possibilities major-third relations offer for large-scale tonal planning (the I–VI scheme) with the regional chromatic progressions that they can produce (the cycle prolonging VI). This sense of strategic control is carried into the recapitulation. Rather than eliminate the modulation to VI and simply pursue a mixed-modal reprise of main and subordinate themes around the tonic, Schubert begins his reprise more evasively in G minor; literal transposition of the main theme and transition brings the music to E flat for the subordinate theme at bar 214. In terms of tonality, this is a strong candidate for what James Hepokoski calls a ‘failed’ recapitulation, because, at least to this point, no attempt has been made to stabilize the tonic, let alone bring both main and subordinate themes within its purview (see, for example, Hepokoski, 2001–2002). Instead, Schubert employs the two more normative subordinate-theme tonalities rejected in the exposition (v and III) as the basis for

the recapitulation, thereby balancing the expository move to VI but leaving the form adrift of the tonic. This also produces a transposition of hexatonic relationships: C–A flat is replaced by its dominant counterpart G–E flat. The music is then pulled back towards C in the closing section via a dislocation of the hexatonic progression inherited from bars 85–108. As Example 5 explains, Schubert initiates the first four bars of the model at bar 232, but from 236 replaces hexatonicism with a semitonal slide to E major. The co-cycle employed in the exposition is thereby restored, but only its first sequential unit is adopted (bars 93–100), and Schubert treats the arrival on C major at bar 244 as an opportunity to progress into the exposition’s closing expanded cadential progression in the tonic major, in which key the movement now remains until its end.

Example 5

The image displays two systems of musical notation for Example 5. The first system begins at bar 232 in E-flat major (Eb), marked with a forte (f) dynamic. It shows a melodic line in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. A large oval spans across the systems, indicating a transition. The second system begins at bar 244 in E major, marked with a fortissimo (ff) dynamic. It also shows a melodic line in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. Below the second system, a large oval indicates a transition to C major, marked with a forte (f) dynamic.

The question of Schubert’s harmonic audacity exposes a fault line in his reception history. The habit of acknowledging his centrality for the evolution of post-classical tonality is hard to square with invocations of harmonic disjunction as evidencing the weakness or marginality of his instrumental forms. It is not only that, as Nicholas Marston investigates, many of Schubert’s harmonic innovations are foreshadowed by Beethoven (Marston cites the ‘Archduke’ Trio, but we might also mention the String Quintet Op. 29, and the ‘Waldstein’ and ‘Hammerklavier’ sonatas; see 2000, pp. 260–64); more importantly, Schubert’s strategies laid the foundations for a tonal practice in instrumental forms, aspects of which can still

be observed in Strauss and early Schoenberg. In these terms, criticism of Schubert's forms subtends the more general (and highly contentious) claim that nineteenth-century tonality is altogether incapable of supporting classical form.¹³ If a case is to be made for Schubert's alterity, then, as Webster (1993, p. 92) points out, it rests no more unequivocally on harmonic daring than on an apparent retreat from teleological development.

Schubert contra Beethoven: Instrumental Forms

Schubert's achievement is nowhere more hotly contested than in the reception of his instrumental music. Commentators have struggled to accommodate its length, invocations of song and the repetitive features that Adorno foregrounded. At their most caustic, assessments of the instrumental music have dismissed it as excessive in length and repetition, incompetent in its management of transition and development, and stylistically uncongenial for sonata-type forms and processes.¹⁴

Recent commentary, appraised in Part IV, has greatly enhanced our understanding of the interaction of lyricism, recursion and teleology.¹⁵ The lyric features of Schubert's sonata forms have encouraged scholars to look beyond the dynamics of classical form and seek explanations in poetry. Engagement with these issues received fresh impetus with James Webster's work on Brahms's debt to Schubert (Chapter 14), and with Carl Dahlhaus's study of the G major Quartet, D 887 (Chapter 15), which explains its first movement's design as one facet of Schubert's 'lyric-epic' style, opposing the Beethovenian 'dramatic-dialectic' alternative. Pursuing this differentiation to its origins in Ciceronian and Senecan rhetoric, Su Yin Mak (Chapter 18) isolates the critical distinction between hypotaxis and parataxis as its theoretical basis. As Mak explains, there are close parallels between hypotactic concepts of goal-directed discourse and late eighteenth-century notions of melodic rhetoric (Mak cites Heinrich Christoph Koch in particular), and equally close affinities between the paratactic organization of epic poetry and the rhetoric of Schubert's sonata forms. Chapters 16 and 17 expand the frame of reference for these issues: Richard Kurth develops a novel perspective on lyricism in the first movement of the 'Unfinished', obviating the origins of its main theme in the song *Suleika I* and exploring the theme's metrical ambiguities as facets of its incipient lyricism; Nicholas Marston relates lyricism to the tonal processes of sonata form, paying close attention to the ways in which the tonic is de-familiarized or alienated in the first movement of the Sonata D 960.

These studies pay sustained attention to the later chamber music, sonatas and symphonies. Comparison of Schubert's symphonic manner up to 1820 with that of the 'Unfinished', however, clarifies that the lyric style is by no means endemic to his symphonic sonata forms, but rather finds maturity in his 'Beethoven project', as John Gingerich terms it. The first movement of the Symphony No. 5, composed in 1816, is an object lesson in expanded classical syntax. The main theme, shown in Example 6, comprises a sentential period, which, with

¹³ As, for example, Charles Rosen contended (1980, p. 309).

¹⁴ A survey of such assessments is offered by Su Yin Mak in Chapter 18, pp. 301–11, and also Hyland (in press).

¹⁵ Other major contributions supplying a context for this research include Hinrichsen (1988, 1994), Hascher (1996, 2007), Burstein, (1997), Fisk (2001), Hyland (2009), Mak (2010), Wollenberg (2011), Martin and Vande Moortele (2014), and Beach (1993, and 1998).

Example 6

Main theme
Antecedent
statement

Allegro

pp

pp

response

continuation

half cadence

standing on V

Consequent
statement
pp

pp

pp

response

cadence
(half cadence)

cadence
(one more time: perfect authentic cadence)

Transition

The image displays a musical score for a piece by Schubert, labeled 'Example 6'. The score is written in treble and bass clefs with a 3/4 time signature. It is marked 'Allegro' and features dynamics of 'pp' (pianissimo). The score is divided into several sections with annotations: 'Main theme' (measures 1-10), 'Antecedent statement' (measures 1-10), 'response' (measures 11-16), 'continuation' (measures 17-22), 'half cadence' (measures 23-24), 'standing on V' (measures 25-30), 'Consequent statement' (measures 31-36), 'response' (measures 37-42), 'cadence (half cadence)' (measures 43-44), 'cadence (one more time: perfect authentic cadence)' (measures 45-50), and 'Transition' (measures 51-54). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings.

some modification, would not be out of place in a Mozart symphony. The antecedent consists of a sixteen-bar unit, distended by half-cadential extension to twenty bars. The consequent revises this scheme, compressing the continuation and cadence into a single four-bar unit, which is repeated to produce the closing perfect authentic cadence in bars 40–41. Neither the transition nor the subordinate theme moves much beyond classical precedent. The transition builds sequentially on the main theme and moves towards V/V for an entirely Mozartian half-close medial caesura in bars 63–64; the subordinate theme consists of an orthodox sixteen-bar period in V, the consequent cadence of which is interrupted by ♭VI, yielding to an expanded cadential progression, which is then repeated before the dominant structural perfect cadence is attained in bars 89–90, after which a closing section follows.

The episodic style that Mak and others have noted in the later music is wholly absent here; the exposition comfortably inhabits a hypotactic syntax, stage-managing both the music's structural goals and its intervening deviations in a way that is of a piece with Koch's prescriptions. If Schubert's great innovation in sonata practice was the importation of lyric elements, then in a symphonic context this interpenetration occurs as part of the shift of symphonic priorities after 1822. The extent to which the agenda changes becomes apparent through comparison of Example 6 with the main theme of the 'Unfinished'. Dahlhaus (1989, p. 154) detected in this movement a separation of developmental and lyrical functions, which is alien to the idiom of the Symphony No. 5. In the exposition, the main and subordinate themes both articulate their tonal regions with self-contained lyric melodies, which never escape their form-functional contexts; the burden of development is instead given to the bass theme forming the substance of the introduction. Typically for Dahlhaus, the result is a dialectic: the agent of the dynamic Beethovenian sonata process is pre-thematic in Schubert's movement; the thematic formal functions, conversely, have no motivic duties, but exist purely as melodies. As a result, the form splits into two parallel layers, resembling Hyland's strata considered above – one developmental, occupying the introduction, development and coda, the other lyrical/functional, comprising the exposition and recapitulation – which never explicitly interact (the whole is summarized in Example 7).¹⁶

The means by which Schubert engineers this dual design is precisely the paratactic technique theorized by Mak, and critical for it is the way he handles transitions. All the material of the exposition is juxtaposed without positing the continuity that is self-evident in the Symphony No. 5. The main theme begins after the introduction has finished, but the relationship of the two is discontinuous: the former simply replaces the latter. The disjunction of main theme and subordinate theme is even more marked. The main-theme group is rounded with an emphatic perfect authentic cadence in the tonic, which is the group's gestural highpoint. The transition, quoted in Example 8, links the two groups not via the classical device of motivic fragmentation over a local dominant, as we saw in the Symphony No. 5, but with an athematic common-tone pivot, which propels the music into its new tonal orbit. The subordinate group is similarly discrete. There is no penetration of any main-theme or introduction material, and the linking music that facilitates both the exposition repeat and progress into the development is separated from the end of the closing section by the rhetorically pronounced caesura at bar 104.

¹⁶ For a study of the emotional implications of Schubert's division of labour in this movement, see Spitzer (2010).

Example 7

The musical score for Example 7 is presented in two levels:

- Level 2 Lyrical:** This level is shown in a treble clef. It includes:
 - Exposition Main theme (13):** A melodic line starting with a *pp* dynamic.
 - Subordinate theme (44):** A melodic line in the bass clef, also starting with a *pp* dynamic.
 - Recapitulation Main theme (222):** A melodic line in the treble clef, starting with a *pp* dynamic.
 - Subordinate theme (258):** A melodic line in the bass clef, starting with a *pp* dynamic.
- Level 1 Developmental:** This level is shown in a bass clef. It includes:
 - Introduction:** A melodic line starting with a *pp* dynamic.
 - Development (114):** A melodic line starting with a *pp* dynamic.
 - Coda (328):** A melodic line starting with a *pp* dynamic.

Sectional markers (//) are placed between the Introduction and Development, and between the Subordinate theme and Coda.

The stylistic chasm separating the Symphony No. 5 and the 'Unfinished' accentuates the need for a nuanced conception of the relationship between lyricism and form in Schubert. The self-containment of the 'Unfinished' Symphony's themes makes a clear case for its paratactic style, but *pace* Adorno, this model is not portable across Schubert's oeuvre. Moreover, comparison with D 804 discloses that contemporaneous and comparably lyrical works incorporate and facilitate development in distinctive ways: in the 'Unfinished', this is achieved by stratification; in D 804, by converting lyrical material into developmental material. This suggests that Schubert's objective in these works is not to contrive a paratactic sonata style, but the mediation of lyricism and development, the synthesis of Romantic style and Beethovenian form.

Schubert at the Centre: The Lieder

If Schubert's instrumental music remains contested territory in the musicological canon, then song supplies his countervailing canonical centre of gravity. Music-historical evaluation of the

Example 8

36

TR common-tone pivot

fz *fp* *pp*

bV^7 i $G1$

Lieder is, however, not simply a reflection of Schubert's productivity in the genre, or of value judgements about the music, or even of their impact on the genre's development. Paradoxically, it guarantees the alterity of his music at a broader level of historical magnification. Schubert's centrality as a Lied composer, in other words, dialectically underwrites his marginality for other genres.

This condition brings with it a musicological imperative: however else we think about Schubert, we should regard engagement with poetry through song as the fulcrum of his musical creativity. Whereas Parts II–IV all engage more or less obliquely with lyricism, Part V addresses its source, sampling the range of post-war hermeneutic and analytical research on the Lieder, from Joseph Kerman's 1962 essay on *Schwanengesang* (Chapter 19) to David Bretherton's 2011 study of the 'Gondelfahrer' settings (Chapter 23), via David Lewin's and Susan Youens's respective engagements with *Winterreise* and *Die schöne Müllerin* (Chapters 20 and 21 respectively), and Lawrence Kramer's diagnosis of the Lieder as embodiments of Romanticism (Chapter 22).¹⁷

The sheer complexity of Schubert's lyric style can be gleaned by appraising and updating Lewin's analysis of 'Auf dem Flusse' in Chapter 20. Picking up on Josef von Spaun's comment that a Schubertian song constitutes 'a poem on the poem he sets to music', Lewin establishes a method for reading text/music interaction, which in effect construes Schubert's song as a meta-poem – that is, a poetic commentary on Müller's poem, which renegotiates aspects of its relationship with Müller's subject matter:

A Schubert song takes as structural premises not only musical syntax, as it was understood at the time, but also the structure of the individual text at hand. The world of the song, then, is not simply a musical world. On the other hand, it is also not simply the textual world translated into music: it not only 'represents' this world, says Spaun, but also 'transfigures' it. So, if we have as text a poem on X, we should not consider the song to be another, related poem on X. Rather, the song should be considered a poem on the poem-on-X. (p. 364)

'Auf dem Flusse', in other words, is a reading of Müller's text, made poetic by its musical representation. From this premise, Lewin unravels the complex threads of meaning and musical process in 'Auf dem Flusse', from the architectural interaction between the poem's

¹⁷ The literature on Schubert's Lieder is of course too vast to survey here, but recent landmark contributions supplying the context for the essays reproduced here include Youens (1991, 1996, 2002, 2007), Hirsch (1993), Reed (1997b), Kramer (1998), Byrne (2003), Dürr *et al.* (2012), Fuerzeig (2014), Suurpää (2013) and Johnson (2014).

stanzas and the song's strophes, to the hermeneutic labour undertaken by the abstract voice leading and its distribution between piano and singer.

Comparative formal analysis makes the non-congruence of song and poem immediately clear: the poem has five stanzas; but the song is a ternary form, in which A and B set stanzas 1–2 and 3–4 respectively, and A' is given over entirely to stanza 5. Lewin's analysis of the poem draws attention to the expressive dichotomy of outside and inside that it projects. The association, in stanzas 1 and 2, of winter with lifelessness and immobility – the frozen stream, made 'cold and motionless' ('*kalt und unbeweglich*') by the accretion of ice (the '*harter, starrer Rinde*') – establishes an external reality, which stanza 5 reveals as a metaphor for the poet's broken heart ('*mein Herz, in diesem Bache, erkennst du nun dein Bild?*'). But beneath the ice, the stream still flows, suggesting that it has an interior life, which spring will make apparent. As Lewin explains, the question of whether the protagonist's heart will be comparably thawed ('is there any capacity for flowing torrential warmth left under the frozen exterior of the heart? Or is it frozen solid, through and through?') constitutes the song's expressive crux (p. 366).

For Lewin, this is portrayed by mediating modal mixture and voice leading. The E major B section introduces the protagonist's memory of his beloved as he inscribes their names on the ice, and with it an association between the major mode and the possibility of happiness, signified by a preference for the raised third G \sharp over the G \natural *Kopftön* introduced in bar 1. Lewin explains Schubert's realization of the poem's expressive duality in terms of the singer's attempt to cling to this G \sharp in the face of the piano's subsequent attempts to reassert G \natural . The vocalist takes the lead in establishing scale-degree $\hat{3}$ in the middle section, but seeks to avoid it in the E minor sections. The conflict comes to a head in bars 48–51, which temporarily prolong G sharp minor, thereby displacing III in the tonic minor with iii in the tonic major. Ultimately, however, G \natural is reasserted, and this for Lewin confirms Schubert's negative reading of Müller:

The poet, by entering into relation with the stream, has coupled his vocal line with the bass line to form a hull (*Rinde*) of 'outer voices,' ostensibly active and in E major. But the static 'inner voice' which the right hand projects as the kernel at the heart of this *Rinde* tells us better: its innermost secret is G natural–G natural–G natural, as indeed was foretold by the opening motive of the right hand in the piece. Within the elaborately constructed exterior show of motion and warmth, the poet's heart is frozen solid forever. (p. 373)

Compelling though Lewin's analysis is, it also leaves aspects of Schubert's setting untouched.¹⁸ Most obviously, it underplays some of the song's chromatic features. For instance, although Lewin picks up on the startling shifts to D sharp minor in the A section (setting '*Wie still bist du geworden, gibst keinen Scheidergruß*' and '*liegst kalt und unbeweglich, im Sande ausgestreckt*' respectively) as precursors of G sharp's subsequent role, the coordination of chromaticism and text problematizes the idea that G \sharp is an agent of negation (Damschroder, 2010, pp. 240–41). The textual division of labour here, explained in Table 2, is transparent: in both stanzas, the text divides between E minor and G sharp minor; and in both cases, E minor associates not with the stream's stasis in winter, but with its activity in warmer

¹⁸ For a complementary reading of the song responding critically to Lewin, see Damschroder (2010, ch. 11).

seasons. Lewin's negative *Kopfton* G \sharp is therefore not affiliated with the frozen stream and its connotation of love's impossibility, but with its lost vitality. E minor, in short, is melancholic and nostalgic, not tragic. As Example 9 clarifies, the distinction between E minor as past and D sharp minor as present is reinforced by syntax, because in both stanzas D sharp minor is supplied with a perfect authentic cadence, whereas E minor is not.

Table 2 'Auf dem Flusse', comparison of form in the poem and song

Poem:	Song:	Key:	Bars:
<i>Stanza I</i> Der du so lustig rauschtest, Du heller, wilder Fluß, Wie still bist du geworden, Gibst keinen Scheidegruß.	A	c→d sharp (PAC)→	1
<i>Stanza II</i> Mit harter, starrer Rinde Hast du dich überdeckt, Liegst kalt und unbeweglich Im Sande ausgestreckt.		e→d sharp (PAC)→	14
<i>Stanza III</i> In deine Decke grab' ich Mit einem spitzen Stein Den Namen meiner Liebsten Und Stund' und Tag hinein:	B	E (HC)	24
<i>Stanza IV</i> Den Tag des ersten Grußes, Den Tag, an dem ich ging; Um Nam' und Zahlen windet Sich ein zerbroch'ner Ring.			32
<i>Stanza V</i> Mein Herz, in diesem Bache Erkennst du nun dein Bild ? Ob's unter seiner Rinde Wohl auch so reißend schwillt ?	A ¹	c→d sharp→g sharp→e (PAC)→	42
		c→f sharp (PAC)→	55
		e→g→e (PAC)	63

Reconsideration of the interplay of form, text and harmony in light of this observation produces a different interpretation. Schubert's ternary reading of the text seems motivated by the relationship between grammar and meaning. The A section plays off past and present tenses (the stream in summer and winter) in the third person; the B section introduces the protagonist, and with him the first person, while also juxtaposing tenses (the protagonist in the present; his beloved in the past); the A¹ section stays with the protagonist, but is speculative (has his heart become frozen like the stream?), thereby bringing together features of A and B. The musical process, *pace* Lewin, is not concerned with the vocalist's avoidance of G \sharp , but as

Example 9

5 E minor (prolongation)

Voice
Der du so lu - stig rausch - test du hel - ler, wil - der Fluss, wie

Piano
pp

V/i as VI:VII

9 D# minor (cadence)

Voice
still bist du ge - wor - den, gibst kei - nen... Schei - der - gruss

Piano

vii: PAC

David Damschroder recognizes, with an attempt to find the E minor perfect authentic cadence that is denied in the A section. This happens twice – in bars 53–54 and, conclusively, in bars 69–70 – and on both occasions the singer attains G_4 as the cadence's crucial $\hat{3}$. Progression towards these cadences is threatened by two semitonally related chromatic events: the move to G sharp minor and the passing reference to G minor in bars 64–65. Both are harmonic impediments to the proper cadential establishment of the tonic, which is achieved by the voice and piano in partnership. Contrasting Lewin, then, we can read Schubert's 'poem' not as a negation of Müller's concluding question ('*Ob's unter seiner Rinde, wohl auch so reiend schwillt?*'), but as seeking ultimately to favour nostalgic melancholy (E minor) over happiness (E major) and negation (D sharp minor and its relations).

Such disagreements notwithstanding, what Lewin's analysis makes plain is that the extraordinary subtlety of Schubert's approach to song resides not in his ability to reflect or illustrate poetic texts, but in a dual process whereby poetry is exploited for its structural musical potential, which is then employed to reinterpret what the poem means. Schubert's ternary reading of Müller's five stanzas is in this sense not only a formal convenience, but supplies a framework for re-reading the poem against its stanzaic design. The interaction of mode, chromaticism and cadence achieves the same effect at a more localized formal level, imposing a system of relationships on the text, which re-orientate it in ways that are beyond the poet's control.

The present volume makes no pretence at comprehensiveness. The representation of past reception reveals the tip of a very large iceberg, and the work of many fine living Schubert scholars is also omitted, naturally without prejudice. To name but a few: Brian Black, Lorraine Byrne Bodley, Poundie Burstein, Suzannah Clark, Walter Dürr, David Ferris, Charles Fisk, Lisa Fuerzeig, Peter Gülke, Xavier Hascher, Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, Anne Hyland, Graham Johnson, Richard Kramer, Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Walburga Litschauer, Elizabeth Norman McKay, Scott Messing, Kristina Muxfeldt, Brian Newbould, James Sobaskie, Michael Spitzer, Laurie Suurpää and Susan Wollenberg.

Rather, what readers should take away from this book is an indicative sense of the field of debate, which this introduction has sought to appraise and augment. As I have attempted to clarify, the issues raised in ostensibly discrete fields of research in fact reflect overarching concerns, which are refracted through Schubertian sub-disciplinary lenses. One measure of Schubert's significance is the importance of these concerns for the study of music in the long nineteenth-century. The dialectic of song and sonata, for example, is reproduced across the century in every conceivable corner of musical experience: it is as pressing for Mendelssohn's songs without words as it is for Wagner's music dramas. This is also a truly international compositional and aesthetic precept, inflecting, either overtly or implicitly, French music from Berlioz to Debussy, Austro-German music from Mendelssohn to Schoenberg, and Russian music from Glinka to Rachmaninov. Schubert's chromaticization of tonality is equally fundamental: no composer between the death of Beethoven and the death of Schoenberg is immune to the challenges it bequeaths, notwithstanding the diversity of their compositional responses. Complex, diverse, distinctive yet wholly reflective of his time, Romantic yet classical, popular yet obscure, the Schubert that emerges from current scholarship is, as this volume shows, well placed to shoulder these music-historical burdens.

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Part I
History and Biography



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[1]

“Poor Schubert”: images and legends of the composer

Christopher H. Gibbs

“Poor Schubert.” Ever since his death on November 19, 1828, this expression appears over and over again in the writings of Schubert’s friends, critics, and biographers.¹ One reason, of course, is that he died so young, at the age of thirty-one. More prosaically, the adjective refers to the composer’s precarious financial state throughout his life, although he was far from the destitute artist later sentimentalized in novels, operettas, and movies. The tag also conveys the sense that Schubert was neglected, that his gifts went largely unrecognized.

How and why did these recurring images of Schubert come about? Their outlines are remarkably consistent, from initial portrayals found in his friends’ reminiscences, to the first entries in German encyclopedias of the 1830s, to accounts in even the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* at the turn of the century and in college textbooks today.

One can easily pick out a few more brush strokes in the established portrait: Schubert is viewed as a natural and naïve genius who wrote incomparable songs – the *Liederfürst* (“Prince of Songs”). And then there are his festive friends in the background. Even if the public at large ignored him, at least he enjoyed the loyal support of his circle. Always the best man, never the groom, Schubert is seen as unlucky in love. Early death meant that his artistic mission was left unfinished. Even with so many miserable circumstances, Schubert’s music laughs through its tears, and the maudlin conflation of his life and works in myriad biographies and fictional treatments makes readers past and present weep. Poor Schubert.

Rather than rehearse once more the narrative of Schubert’s life, this chapter seeks to chart its contours in relation to pervasive images and legends that adhere to that life. The discussion does not pretend to present the “true” man and composer, but rather seeks to examine critically some of the most persistent legends, and if not to reject them all out of hand, then at least to question their appeal and resiliency. After identifying the principal verbal, visual, and musical sources that inform images of Schubert, and then touching on some of the outstanding features and

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events of his life, the chapter will explore some of the fundamental tropes of his mythology.

“Our Schubert”: sources of mythmaking

There is an intriguing psychological phenomenon whereby every listener constructs his or her own image of the composer. (In the language of psychoanalysis one might even refer to this process as something like the “transference” with the composer.) The affectionate expression “our Schubert,” commonly used by Schubert’s family and friends, captures a possessiveness often directed toward beloved figures, although in Schubert’s case the proprietary qualities are especially pronounced.² The writer Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben, for example, described meeting Schubert for the first time and registered his disappointment at the composer’s ordinariness: Schubert “is absolutely not different from any other Viennese; he speaks Viennese, like every Viennese he has fine linen, a clean coat, a shiny hat and in his face, in his whole bearing, nothing that resembles my Schubert” (*SMF* 285; cf. 328). This remark shows that even Schubert’s contemporaries sometimes conceived of him in ways at odds with “reality,” and it points as well to the problematic nature of the factual sources for critical biography. Whom does one trust? Where does our knowledge of Schubert come from, and how should the evidence be weighed and balanced?

Information derives not only from written documents. To start with, posterity cares about Schubert because of the music he created, and that music powerfully informs images of its creator. One tries to envision what kind of artist would compose such pieces. As with Beethoven’s image – or Bach’s, Mozart’s, or Wagner’s – the art colors the perception of the man. Eduard Bauernfeld wrote in his memorial tribute to Schubert in 1829: “So far as it is possible to draw conclusions as to a man’s character and mind from his artistic products, those will not go astray who judge Schubert from his songs to have been a man full of affection and goodness of heart” (*SMF* 31).

Visual representations complement Schubert’s music by supplying concrete representations of its creator and his milieu. Some portraits of the composer were executed by artists who knew him personally,³ and many later illustrations are based on Wilhelm August Rieder’s famous watercolor, considered to be “the most like him” by Schubert’s friends.⁴ Schubert’s affectionate nickname “Schwammerl” (often translated “Tubby,” literally “little mushroom”) is reinforced by the famous caricature of the diminutive composer waddling behind the towering singer Johann Michael Vogl.⁵

However powerfully music and illustrations underlie perceptions, verbal documents provide the prime information about the narrative of Schubert's life and the disposition of his character. Schubert's own writings sound initial themes that were later varied by family and friends. The first to apply the word "poor" was Schubert himself. To end his earliest surviving letter, written while away at school in 1812, the fifteen-year-old student signed: "your loving, poor, hopeful and again poor brother Franz" (*SDB* 28). Schubert's disarmingly candid letters play an essential role in defining his image, partly because of their tone, and also because of the rarity of authentic utterances. For, in contrast to the abundant letters, journals, memoirs, criticism, essays, and the like by Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann, and many other composers, fewer than a hundred Schubert letters survive, supplemented by a few pages of diary entries from 1816 and some fragments from 1824.⁶ Those letters written during particularly troubled times, or the famous final communication to Franz von Schober just one week before Schubert died, therefore gain additional significance.

If Schubert's own words are rare, those of his family and friends are extensive and have proved indispensable for biographers. The "fun-loving friends," so familiar from fictional depictions, helped to establish a pattern of assessing Schubert while he was alive, and then sought to perpetuate certain views of him after his death. While the intimacy of his collaborators and champions resulted in lively, detailed accounts, many chroniclers had an interest in presenting a favorable picture of their roles. Some reports date from Schubert's lifetime, others came in memorial tributes immediately following his death, but most appeared many decades later and must be viewed especially critically. We may never know whether *Erlkönig* was written in a few hours one afternoon, as Josef von Spaun reports and posterity repeats (*SMF* 131), but this story went a long way toward establishing Schubert as a composer, like Mozart, who took divine dictation rather than as one, like Beethoven, who continually struggled over compositional problems.

As Spaun's story demonstrates, reminiscences not only purport to impart facts about Schubert's life, but also contain anecdotes that enliven simple facts. How much more effective – and memorable – is telling a story of Schubert writing his most famous song in a matter of hours than dispassionately reporting that he composed quickly.⁷ The core Schubert stories remain all too familiar: his shyness made him avoid his hero Beethoven (*SMF* 66, 75, 325, 366); he wrote songs so spontaneously, on the back of menus and the like, that he would later not even recognize them (*SDB* 539; *SMF* 214, 217, 296, 302); he fell in love with Therese Grob, but she married a wealthier man (*SMF* 182). Repeated so often,

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these tales crystallize Schubert's personality by entering into a canon of biographical representations. History progresses through anecdote to become legend.

Some Schubert legends, of course, are true; ingredients of many others rest on solid documentation. Not only accuracy, but also interpretation are at issue. That Schubert enjoyed especially rich and significant friendships, for example, is not in doubt. More pertinent is how such facts affect posterity's views. Furthermore, it would be a mistake to discount the "aesthetic truth" of certain fictions.⁸ A new anecdote about the composer often arises from, and therefore reflects, the need of a given time to create the legend in the first place. Why, for example, did it take some thirty years before anyone thought to write down the quite interesting news that Schubert visited the dying Beethoven? Probably because the incident never happened.⁹ But history needed such a story by mid century. We could view this invented meeting near death as an anecdotal corollary to the exhumation of Beethoven and Schubert some decades later, and their reburial together in the "Grove of Honor" at Vienna's Central Cemetery. As Schubert's image, reputation, and music became increasingly cast in relation and opposition to Beethoven's, this reception found its poetic expression in story and legend, and ultimately in a physical transferral of their bodies in a solemn ceremony.¹⁰

Schubert's unknown years, first fame, and illness

Unlike the careers of famous prodigies whose activities proved sufficiently interesting to warrant early testimony – most notably the phenomenon of the *Wunderkind* Mozart – the unfolding of Schubert's less exceptional early career is not particularly well documented. He probably began composition in 1810, at the age of thirteen. The inception of Schubert's public career might be variously dated from the first performance of a significant composition (the Mass in F [D105] in October 1814), the mention of his name in the press (1817; *SDB* 68–69), or the appearance of a work in print (*Erlafsee* [D586] in 1818).¹¹ More decisively, it started with a highly acclaimed performance of *Erkönig* in 1821 and the publication of the song as Op. 1 shortly thereafter. Until this point, Schubert's activities, opportunities, and reputation – although not his actual compositions – are commensurate more with a fine talent than an exceptional genius, and attracted minimal public notice.

Young Schubert had benefited from the best musical training available in Vienna after winning a position in the choir of the Imperial Court Chapel, whose ten choristers were provided with free education at the

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prestigious Stadtkonvikt. Report cards and testimonials attest to Schubert's general musical abilities and skill as a performer: "He shows so excellent a talent for the art of music" (*SDB* 18); but his compositional activities go unmentioned for several more years. The best anecdote distilling Schubert's early abilities is Michael Holzer's remark to Schubert's father: "If I wanted to teach him something new, he already knew it" (*SMF* 212; cf. 34). The remark may never have been uttered, but it has been recounted in nearly every biography of Schubert as evidence of his God-given gifts.¹²

The performance of his Mass in F, which occurred during the Congress of Vienna, provided some limited public exposure, as did semi-public performances of the lost cantata *Prometheus* (D451), and of a few other compositions. The critical response to these works, appearing in periodicals as well as private diaries, letters, and reminiscences, proved modestly encouraging.¹³ All this, however, was provincial and preparatory. Had Schubert died before 1821, with his handful of performances and a few good reviews, but without publications, reaction would have been limited to the grief of family and friends. (The death of Mozart, Beethoven, or Liszt at a comparable age would have warranted much wider notice.) Nevertheless, during these years Schubert formed associations and friendships central to the course of his career and to the posthumous casting of his image. In addition to prominent teachers, musicians, officials, and patrons with whom Schubert came in contact, he forged close relationships with young friends who nurtured and encouraged his composing, influenced what he read and the ideas he explored, and affected his general state of well-being.

Accounts are unanimous about Schubert's lack of career cunning. Shy, humble, and modest, he enlisted friends and advocates to take on the work of promoting his career, arranging performances, approaching publishers, and so forth. Classmates from the Stadtkonvikt, such as Johann Leopold Ebner and Albert Stadler, copied as many of his songs as they could get their hands on; some Lieder survive today only through their efforts. In 1816, Schubert's lifelong friend Josef von Spaun wrote to Goethe in the hope of interesting him in an ambitious plan to publish eight volumes of songs (*SDB* 56–58). Even critics noticed his friends' ardent support. Writing about the première of the Singspiel *Die Zwillingbrüder* (D647), one remarked: "The general verdict on Schubert can only be favorable, although not to the point to which his numerous friends endeavor to force it" (*SDB* 138–39). Others made similar observations, which echo throughout Schubert's life and after. Rarely does a composer's group of friends arouse so much comment and attention, but then the make-up, actions, and legacy of Schubert's circle are rather unusual among musicians.¹⁴

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Schubert's career and reputation changed considerably in 1821. The first fully public performance of *Erkönig* took place at an annual benefit concert organized by the Society of the Ladies of Nobility for the Promotion of the Good and the Useful on Ash Wednesday. The song, performed by Johann Michael Vogl with Anselm Hüttenbrenner accompanying, captivated the audience and had to be repeated. The public and critical acclaim for *Erkönig* that evening remained unsurpassed for the rest of the composer's life. A steady stream of publications, also beginning in 1821, attracted growing interest in Vienna and slowly began to spread Schubert's name beyond Austria.

During his unknown years Schubert had written a staggering amount of music: hundreds of songs, many sonatas and string quartets, six symphonies, extensive theater and religious pieces, in all, nearly two-thirds of his entire output. (Schubert usually dated his manuscripts, which facilitates establishing their chronology.) No composer in his teens, with the exception of Mendelssohn, produced such mature masterpieces as *Gretchen am Spinnrade* or *Erkönig*. Indeed, one is hard-pressed to think of pieces by other teenage composers as firmly established in the repertory as are many of Schubert's Lieder.

The pace of Schubert's writing had fallen off some years before his public success, and until his final two years he was far less prolific. The quantity of Lieder in particular declined dramatically, from at least 145 songs in 1815 and 112 the next year, to sixty-five in 1817, and only seventeen the following year.¹⁵ This moderation in Schubert's creative energies, reflecting a new discrimination perhaps, roughly coincided with his emergence in the public sphere and with cautious moves toward larger-scale compositions. After the eventful winter of 1821, Schubert wrote an unfinished Symphony in E (D729), followed by the opera *Alfonso und Estrella* (D732). In the fall of 1822 he composed the "Unfinished" Symphony in B Minor (D759), then wrote the Singspiel *Die Verschworenen* (D787), and the opera *Fierrabras* (D796) the next summer. No doubt discouraged by unfinished symphonies and unperformed operas, Schubert returned in 1824 to chamber music (the Octet [D803], Quartet in A Minor [D804]), and wrote the "Grand Duo" (D812) and several piano sonatas. These were serious works intended to lead to the "grand symphony" he mentions in a letter to Leopold Kupelwieser (SDB 338–40).

Schubert's instrumental music thus shifted from amateur to professional, from compositions intended for the family string quartet (in which Schubert played with his father and brothers), school orchestras, and domestic dilettante ensembles, to works written for professional public performance. Schubert's letters suggest that he regarded most of

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his earlier large-scale works as preparatory. Asked in January 1823 to deliver a promised orchestral work for a concert, he confessed to having “nothing for full orchestra which I could send out into the world with a clear conscience,” and begged forgiveness for having “accepted [the invitation] too rashly and unthinkingly” (SDB 265). And yet by this date Schubert had written all of his symphonies save the “Great” C Major Symphony (D944).¹⁶

Soon after Schubert’s successful entry into the public arena through performance and publication in the early 1820s, there ensued a period of deep personal difficulties, precipitated by a serious health crisis. He was hospitalized in 1823, most likely with syphilis.¹⁷ While the correspondence from this time testifies to widespread concern among his friends, Schubert’s own comments are particularly direct and disturbing. In one of his most remarkable letters, he tells Kupelwieser in March 1824:

I feel myself to be the most unhappy and wretched creature in the world. Imagine a man whose health will never be right again, and who in sheer despair over this ever makes things worse and worse, instead of better; imagine a man, I say, whose most brilliant hopes have perished, to whom the felicity of love and friendship have nothing to offer but pain, at best, whom enthusiasm (at least of the stimulating kind) for all things beautiful threatens to forsake, and I ask you, is he not a miserable, unhappy being? (SDB 339)

In the same wrenching letter, Schubert laments the imminent dissolution of his friends’ reading circle, now taken over by a “rough chorus of beer-drinkers and sausage-eaters,” complains that he has no money, and bemoans the lack of interest in his most recent opera *Fierrabras* (“I seem once again to have written two operas for nothing”).

Schubert’s health troubles occurred around the same time as changes in the constituents and activities of his social circle. (As David Gramit has shown, the “circle” continually evolved; its most famous members never formed a contemporaneous group as depicted in later illustrations and narratives.) Some of his closest friends had left Vienna, while new personalities arrived. Spaun had long since moved to Linz, Schober was away for extended periods, and Kupelwieser was studying painting in Rome; they were replaced by “quite ordinary students and officials” (not to mention the sausage-eaters).

Restored to apparent health by 1824, Schubert reached a stage typical in venereal disease, and a new tone enters his letters. While away from Vienna that summer, he sounds a Wordsworthian note to his brother Ferdinand: “Do not think that I am not well or cheerful, just the contrary. True, it is no longer that happy time during which every object seems to us to be surrounded by a youthful gloriole, but a period of fateful recogni-

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tion of a miserable reality, which I endeavor to beautify as far as possible by my imagination (thank God)” (SDB 363). The work he cites as proof is the magnificent “Sonata in C” for piano duet, the so-called “Grand Duo.”

The progress and pacing of Schubert’s professional career should be considered along with his health and social situation, and the friendships that largely determined where he lived and often the music he composed. A flood of publications and recognition had followed the winter of 1821. Even though many of the pieces published over the next few years had originated years earlier, only now was a larger public catching up with such works long familiar to Schubert’s intimates. Meanwhile, although distracted by health concerns and personal despair – and possibly spurred on by these difficulties – Schubert pursued new compositional paths. In a diary from 1824 (now lost) he wrote: “What I produce is due to my understanding of music and to my sorrows; that which sorrow alone has produced seems to give least pleasure to the world” (SDB 336).

Late Schubert and death

To Schubert belongs the dubious distinction of being the shortest-lived composer of his stature, a situation commented upon since the day he died. Franz Grillparzer’s epitaph, already discussed in the introduction, alludes to Schubert’s untimely passing, as do numerous obituaries, tributes, and memorial poems from 1828–29.¹⁸ The most common phrase in reviews, memoirs, and reference works in the decade or so after Schubert’s death was a variant of the “all too young deceased composer of genius” (*zu früh verblichener geniale Tonsetzer*).

Montaigne declared that “in judging the life of another, I always observe how it ended.” Remarkable circumstances surrounding death – such as suicide, murder, horrible disease, or extreme youth – typically exert an extraordinary influence on posthumous perception. The aura of incompleteness that surrounds Schubert’s fame (and Mozart’s) would not exist had they written the same amount of music over the lifespan allotted to Bach, Haydn, or Beethoven. (In fact, very roughly, these composers all wrote a comparable total amount of music.) The madness of Robert Schumann and of Hugo Wolf (the latter surely syphilitic) was likewise read retrospectively into their compositions.

Schubert’s early death, while an indisputable reality, should not blind us to its symbolic significance. In this respect, Schubert’s most popular instrumental work, the Symphony in B Minor, proves instructive on two counts. First, the première took place well over forty years after its composition. This late unveiling powerfully underscores how relatively

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unknown Schubert was and how unceasingly his reputation had to be reevaluated throughout the nineteenth century. Second, its nickname – the “Unfinished” Symphony – epitomizes the “unfinished” quality of Schubert’s life and art, and serves as a fitting metaphor, a recurring reminder of unfulfilled promise – the theme first sounded by Grillparzer’s epitaph.¹⁹

It may seem odd, even inappropriate, to discuss the “late period” of an artist who died in his early thirties; yet Schubert condensed the artistic productivity of a lifetime into his remarkably brief career, and moreover persevered in his final years with the knowledge of a mortal illness. Professionally and compositionally, Schubert entered a new stage during the final two years of his life, the period, significantly, coinciding with Beethoven’s final sickness and death twenty months before his own. Now thirty years old, and at the peak of his creative powers, Schubert surpassed even what Beethoven had accomplished at the same age. (Had Beethoven carried out the suicide he apparently contemplated around the time of the *Heiligenstadt Testament* [1802], in other words at the very age Schubert died, the extent of his compositional legacy would hardly match Schubert’s.)

Beethoven’s death in March 1827 may have spurred Schubert to new artistic heights and provided the impetus for him to seek wider public attention. As early as 1823 a “public Schubertiade” was contemplated, an *Akademie* entirely of Schubert’s music (*SDB* 314). Such events were infrequent, even for Beethoven. His last, in 1824, which saw the première of the Ninth Symphony, prompted Schubert to write: “God willing, I too am thinking of giving a similar concert next year” (*SDB* 339); but nothing came of this plan until the first anniversary of Beethoven’s death (March 26, 1828), just eight months before Schubert died.

Schubert’s sole concert proved popularly and financially successful even though it was overshadowed by Paganini’s first appearances in Vienna three days later. Publications of large-scale instrumental compositions were the essential next step in Schubert’s career. With new assertiveness, Schubert now entered into protracted negotiations with prominent foreign publishers in the hope of giving his “works greater currency abroad” (*SDB* 739). The Leipzig publisher Heinrich Albert Probst met Schubert during a visit to Vienna in the spring of 1827. Writing the following February, Probst praised songs and piano compositions which “convince me more and more that it would be easy to disseminate your name throughout the rest of Germany and the North, in which I will gladly lend a hand, considering your talents” (*SDB* 735).

The Mainz firm of B. Schott’s Söhne approached Schubert, claiming that it had known his works during the years when its energies were

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devoted to publishing Beethoven's late works (SDB 737). Schubert offered the Piano Trio in E flat (D929), the String Quartets in D Minor (D810) and G Major (D887), Four Impromptus (D899), the F Minor Fantasy for piano four hands (D940), the Violin Fantasy in C (D934), as well as various Lieder and partsongs. To Schott he wrote, "This is the list of my finished compositions, excepting three operas, a Mass, and a symphony. These last compositions I mention only in order to make you acquainted with my strivings after the highest in art" (SDB 739–40). Once again there appears Schubert's self-critical view of his earlier large-scale works. By this point he had written eight operas, five Masses, and seven (and a half) symphonies, but acknowledges far fewer compositions.

After the success of his concert, Schubert wrote with some urgency to Probst and Schott about getting works published. A letter to Schott concludes, "All I should request is publication as soon as possible" (SDB 764). A month later he registered his disappointment to Probst about the low fee offered for the Trio in E Flat Major, Op. 100, but accepted, adding that "to make a beginning at last, I would only ask for the speediest possible publication" (SDB 774). After a further delay, Probst solicited the opus number and dedication, to which Schubert responded: "The opus number of the Trio is 100. I request that the edition should be faultless and look forward to it longingly. This work is to be dedicated to nobody, save those who find pleasure in it. This is the most profitable dedication" (SDB 796). When the publication still had not arrived two months later, Schubert inquired yet again: "I beg to inquire when the Trio is to appear at last. Can it be that you do not know the opus number yet? It is Op. 100. I await its appearance with longing" (SDB 810). He probably never saw the edition, published the month he died.

Schubert's negotiations with these north-German publishers reflect his increasing fame beyond Vienna, a situation also apparent in ever more detailed and favorable reviews given his music, especially in the influential Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. The critical reception of Schubert's music is discussed in the third section of this book; suffice it to say here that the sheer number of reviews, as well as their length and import, grew dramatically in the late 1820s, and that Schubert was gradually recognized as more than just a song and dance composer. Had Schubert lived a decade longer, he would have directly benefited from the support of Robert Schumann and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, which quickly became one of Europe's commanding musical periodicals. By the late 1830s, Schumann's passionate advocacy of Schubert's cause and brilliant criticism of his music were considerably enhancing his posthumous reputation. By that time, too, Franz Liszt's celebrated piano transcriptions spread Schubert's name far and wide.

The neglected Schubert?

Although Schubert's biographers often comment that his life was "unexceptional," even "boring," that has not stopped – perhaps it has even encouraged – the mythmaking process. For example, while the true extent of his romantic relationships with women remains unclear and contested, fictional accounts delight in inventing passionate love affairs. Rather than attempt to sort out such biographical puzzles, I shall concentrate on three central tropes in the Schubert mythology: first on his putative neglect, then on his "naturalness," and finally on the air of nostalgia that permeated his life and later reception.

The idea of the unrecognized artistic genius, the artist who valiantly struggles for acceptance and yet is inexplicably ignored by the world until after his death, continues to hold a popular attraction.²⁰ Among nineteenth-century composers, Schubert is the only one who actually embodies (in some respects) this quintessential Romantic prototype. Unfair disregard at the hands of an ignorant public and unfailing support from a small circle of friends are central components of Schubert's popular image. Was his music indeed so neglected during his lifetime? What were the opportunities available to Schubert, the extent of his public recognition, and the standing of his fame at the time of his death?

If Schubert's early death complicated his legacy, so the unusual course of Schubert's career complicated his fame while he was alive and his posthumous fame. In his classic history of Viennese concert life (1869), Eduard Hanslick offers the following concise assessment of Schubert's position in the 1820s: "There is, of course, nothing favorable to report concerning Schubert's artistic career in Vienna. Its significance was discovered only after his death." But he urges his readers to remember "two important mitigating circumstances":

The time-span of Schubert's public career was extremely short – it lasted from the appearance of his first works (1821) to his death (1828) – not more than seven years. The young composer was even on his way to winning a large public for himself in Vienna, after he had pleased and won such favor among family circles, when death snatched him in the first bloom of manhood. Second, it should not be forgotten that Schubert began his career and achieved his best work in a musical genre which at that time had still not been taken up in public concert life: the Lied.²¹

As Hanslick rightly notes, Schubert's initial fame was limited primarily to the still relatively insignificant genre of the Lied, to which one might add other genres that did even less to enhance his stature: partsongs, dances, and short piano pieces. With this intimate music, mainly for voice

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and/or piano, Schubert was one of the most widely performed and published composers in Vienna during the 1820s.²² His instrumental music – symphonic, chamber, and keyboard – that predominates in modern concert halls, recording studios, and radio programs was unknown beyond Vienna. Such a dramatic dichotomy between a composer's lifetime fame and his later stature is unusual. True, only a few of Mozart's symphonies and concertos, and comparatively little of his chamber, dramatic, and religious music, were readily available and regularly performed before the first collected edition of his works. But Mozart was widely regarded as a genius who excelled in all these areas, whereas the reception of Schubert in his own time, and for decades to follow, was far less balanced and well informed. Long after Schubert's death, his compositions continued to be discovered, then performed, published, and discussed for the first time. Only with the publication of a complete thematic catalogue of his works (1874) and the first collected edition (1884–97) did the entire scope of Schubert's oeuvre become known and his scores become available.²³

Reading standard accounts of Schubert's life gives one the sense that many biographers emphasize the negative aspects. The quantity of Schubert's music published during his lifetime is extremely large, but his difficulties with publishers receive far more attention. The same phenomenon recurs with Schubert's critical reception: most reviews of his music were supportive, often enthusiastic, but more often biographers emphasize the exceptional unfavorable review. Schubert himself sometimes complained of not getting certain compositions published, broke off relations with Anton Diabelli for some years, grumbled about critics, and expressed disappointment that his dramatic and symphonic music went unperformed. Yet he does not seem to have viewed himself as "neglected." Perhaps "struggling" would more appropriately describe Schubert's situation in the 1820s, as he tried to establish a freelance career in a time of widespread inflation, censorship, and rampant trivial music. (Even Beethoven, twenty-seven years Schubert's senior and recognized as the greatest living composer, encountered trouble with Viennese cultural and political forces during the same years.) According to Spaun, one of Schubert's most reliable chroniclers, all the "unfavorable circumstances which surrounded Schubert's life, were utterly unable to break his spirit . . . great as was the discrepancy between achievement and recognition and reward, he was, nevertheless, far removed from all bitterness" (*SMF* 24–25).

It is precisely reminiscences like this, however, that have been read to make Schubert out to be more neglected and financially impoverished than he actually was. Schubert's level of income in his maturity far

exceeded what would be expected given his humble family origins. (It is another matter that Schubert, like Mozart, could be irresponsible spending his money.) Publications, performances, dedications, teaching, and occasional patronage yielded a respectable level of income. Although the publications earned far more for the publishers than for Schubert, the quantity of works issued is large. This availability, together with the large number of public performances of his works, mainly Lieder and part-songs, belies the notion of crushing neglect.

Schubert's slow achievement of public awareness can be partly explained by his not being a virtuoso performer, by the intimate genres he cultivated, and by the limited opportunities Vienna's concert life afforded, specifically the absence of a public concert hall before the 1830s and the lack of professional orchestras beyond those associated with theaters.²⁴ Yet in just seven years the quantity of publications is most impressive for a young composer who was by all accounts shy and reluctant to promote himself. The list of the composer's compositions published during his lifetime points concretely to the paradox of Schubert's coexisting fame and neglect: although Schubert was widely performed and published, recognition came only in certain areas. For the rest of his music, much of which won Schubert's posthumous immortality, "neglected" is not the best word; the better term is "undiscovered."

The "natural" Schubert and the "mighty" Beethoven

The legend of Schubert's neglect points to a putative marginality and vulnerability that emerge in other ways as well, as in the idea of Schubert the "natural" artist. Even some of his friends and champions helped to establish Schubert as a vessel of the muses; as an inspired young composer, mainly of Lieder, who wrote remarkably quickly; as one who was undervalued by publishers and the general public alike, and yet who enjoyed the constant support of devoted friends. The underlying message, that Schubert's music, however brilliant, is still somehow artistically flawed, endorses a fault-finding that is another consistent feature of Schubert's image.²⁵

Patronizing remarks about Schubert's music already surfaced in reviews during his lifetime. For instance, an otherwise sympathetic critic in the Frankfurt *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger* chided Schubert's notational spelling mistakes and "other inconveniences" in the Op. 52 Lieder (SDB 538; cf. 513). The poet Johann Mayrhofer, with whom Schubert lived for some years, wrote: "Devoid of a more profound knowledge of texture and thorough-bass, he truly remained a natural artist"

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(SDB 861; SMF 13). Josef von Spaun concurred: “For all the admiration I have given the dear departed for years, I still feel that we shall never make a Mozart or a Haydn of him in instrumental and church composition, whereas in song he is unsurpassed. . . . I think, therefore, that Schubert should be treated as a song composer by his biographers” (SMF 30). And such was Schubert’s fate for decades to come.

The emphasis on Schubert’s “natural” talent often implies or explicitly invokes a lack of formal training and discipline. Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, former editor of the *AmZ*, confessed in a letter to Ignaz von Mosel that “several new compositions by your Schubert have won my interest and affection,” but opined that the “highly gifted artist needs only a scientifically trained friend to enlighten him gently about himself” (SDB 523). Such comments come even from Schubert’s staunchest supporters. Leopold von Sonnleithner, in his biographical obituary that amounts to the “official” view of Schubert in 1829, regretted that Schubert never had an appropriate mentor to guide his early artistic development,²⁶ and he identified another concern: his friends were, by training and inclination, more literary and artistic than musical; their preoccupation was with *Lieder*, and some of them little appreciated Schubert’s larger and more purely musical accomplishments.

The notion of Schubert as a “natural artist,” drawing strength from Schubert’s friends, circulated widely in criticism, lexicons, histories, and biographies. The first entries about Schubert in encyclopedias of the 1830s, for example, where one turns in the hope of finding more objective information, presented the following:

Unfortunately [Schubert’s] studies remained unregulated in that he did not study the basics with a master of the art, but made his way more through his own experiments and through the imitation of his predecessors.²⁷

And:

This splendid young composer provides further proof that a profound natural talent can overcome all the hindrances of trouble and need, and can obtain perfection even without instruction, but also that this great and continuous effort kills the corporeal existence too soon.²⁸

The anecdotal trace of Schubert’s “natural” artistic gifts, unencumbered by learning, is found in his decision shortly before he died to undertake counterpoint lessons with the prominent theorist Simon Sechter (SMF 106). Their sole lesson together later received far more attention than warranted (both Sonnleithner and Mayrhofer mentioned the instruction in their 1829 memorials).²⁹ A mid-century article in the popular press shows the consequences of presenting Schubert as an

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untutored natural: "History is unanimous that, apart from his classic songs, Schubert neither did, nor could, achieve anything outstanding, whether in the field of dramatic, oratorio or chamber music, for he was a natural composer; he himself was only too well aware of this and even in the last years of his life endeavored to acquire the knowledge he lacked in the theory of composition" (*SMF* 424–25). This passage is remarkable for its conflation of legends and clichés: Schubert as the natural composer, not adept in large-scale forms, but gifted in song, who recognized his own limitations and wisely sought academic counsel shortly before his death.

Schubert may himself be responsible for some of these reactions, partly because of his humility, and because he highlighted the speed with which he composed. He documented sometimes writing seven or eight songs in a single day, and occasionally indicated how many hours it took to compose a piece. But I think there is more to the perception of Schubert as a "natural" composer, and here Beethoven enters the picture.

Much of Schubert's image was created in counterpoint to Beethoven's. While in the literature on Beethoven, Schubert is usually referred to only in passing, or goes entirely unmentioned, there is no biographical study of Schubert in which Beethoven does not play a role. The two are opposed in terms of a supposed "work ethic" and characteristic genres (Lied versus symphony), as well as in fame, personality, lifespan, and so on. Schubert's effortless spinning forth of immortal melodic miniatures is contrasted with Beethoven's endless scribbling of sketches for monumental instrumental masterpieces.

By the mid nineteenth century, a shy, natural, feminine Schubert was increasingly being cast against a mighty, solitary, and masculine Beethoven. One should not underestimate how even some of Schubert's closest friends and supporters helped to establish his fame as an inspired composer who tossed off lyrical gems without heroic Beethovenian struggles. The leading Schubert singer of the day, Johann Michael Vogl, referred to Schubert's compositions as coming "into existence during a state of clairvoyance or somnambulism, without any conscious action on the part of the composer, but inevitably, by an act of providence and inspiration," and described a "second way of composing through will-power, reflection, effort, knowledge," a clear allusion to Beethoven.³⁰ The Lied is the genre ideally suited for a natural genius because of its small scope, intimacy, and more obvious melodic, rather than structural, character. A Lied can be dashed off on the back of a menu perhaps, but a symphony cannot.

The identification of Beethoven with symphonic masterpieces and of Schubert with intimate genres of modest proportions further promotes the image of Schubert the "natural" through associations with women, nature, and the home.³¹ The poet Nikolaus Lenau remarked in 1839 that