

Detours on a Winter's Journey: Schubert's *Winterreise* in Nineteenth-Century Concerts

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Introduction

For a time Schubert's mood became more gloomy and he seemed upset. When I asked him what was the matter he merely said to me "Well, you will soon hear it and understand." One day he said to me "Come to Schober's to-day, I will sing you a cycle of awe-inspiring songs. I am anxious to know what you will say about them. They have affected me more than has been the case with any other songs." So, in a voice wrought with emotion, he sang the whole of the "Winterreise" through to us.¹

In 1858, Schubert's friend Josef von Spaun published a memoir of Schubert that included this recollection of the composer's own performance of his *Winterreise*, D. 911. Spaun's poignant account is quoted in nearly every program and recording liner note for the work, and many assume that he meant all twenty-four songs in the cycle, roughly seventy-five uninterrupted minutes of music, presented to a rapt, silent audience—in other words, a standard, modern performance.² Spaun's emotive recollection raises many questions, however. The first concerns what Spaun meant by "the whole of the 'Winterreise,'" and this depends on the date of this performance, which cannot be established. As many scholars have observed, Schubert most likely sang only the twelve songs he had initially composed.³ Susan Youens recounts that the

1. Quoted in Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Erinnerungen*, 160–61: "Schubert wurde durch einige Zeit düster gestimmt und schien angegriffen. Auf meine Frage, was in ihm vorgehe, sagte er nur, 'nun, ihr werdet es bald hören und begreifen.' Eines Tages sagte er zu mir, 'komme heute zu Schober, ich werde euch einen Zyklus schauerlicher Lieder vorsingen. Ich bin begierig zu sehen, was ihr dazu sagt. Sie haben mich mehr angegriffen, als dieses je bei anderen Liedern der Fall war.' Er sang uns nun mit bewegter Stimme die ganze 'Winterreise' durch." Translation from Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 137–38.

2. The passage is similarly quoted throughout scholarship on *Winterreise*, most recently in Suurpää, *Death in "Winterreise,"* 21. See also Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey*, 27.

3. This assumption is partly a consequence of the fragmented publishing history of the work's poetic texts. The poet Wilhelm Müller sent the first twelve poems ("Gute Nacht" to "Einsamkeit") to his publisher in January 1822, and they were published in the magazine

autograph manuscript of these twelve songs is dated February 1827; if Spaun's recollection really did refer to the entire cycle of twenty-four, then the performance might have taken place in autumn of that year. Against this, as Youens points out, John Reed questions the likelihood of Schubert's keeping the earlier twelve songs from his friends for so long, especially since they would be published in January of the following year.⁴ We simply cannot know. But this is only the first question, since, regardless of the number of songs that were sung, Schubert's performance most probably involved any or all of the following typical performance practices of his day: repetition of songs; omission of stanzas; interpolation of other music; improvisation between numbers; and breaks for refreshment, discussion, and applause.⁵ This reality is acknowledged within scholarship, but only in the most general terms, and its implications for our understanding of the work remain unexplored.⁶

If Schubert's performance of *Winterreise* was nothing like most performances today, then neither were most others in the nineteenth century. This article will show how, in concerts, the constituent elements of this multimovement work were repeatedly taken apart and stitched together anew. This performance history will then be related to a brief consideration of *Winterreise* in print and as discussed in critical writing, in order to reveal convergences, overlaps, and divergences in understandings of the songs, or indeed of the notion of a song cycle as a whole. Ultimately, I argue that the coherence of multimovement works is not intrinsic, as the score implies, but contingent, constructed or deconstructed over time by the combined efforts of multiple actors—performers, listeners, publishers, and critics.

My theoretical framework is derived from the work of Friedrich Schlegel and Walter Benjamin, specifically the concepts of the “fragment,” the “collection,” and the “reader.” The evidence of performance history suggests that *Winterreise* was understood as a series of fragments, united by a single poet, certainly, but open to being reassembled as individual songs or groups of songs, each new constellation having ephemeral ontological integrity. In this plurality and temporality, the performance history recalls Schlegel's

Urania the following year; Müller subsequently expanded the cycle, and in March 1823 it appeared as twenty-two poems in the *Deutsche Blätter für Poesie, Litteratur, Kunst und Theater*. Finally, in 1824, some poems were rearranged and two more were added; Schubert's discovery of these additional poems in autumn 1827 prompted the composition of the rest of the songs. See Dürr, “Franz Schubert: Winterreise,” 134.

4. The remaining twelve songs were sent at the end of September 1828, over eight months later. This composition and publication history is detailed in Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey*, 15–23, 27, 34–45.

5. Dürr is struck by Spaun's recollection of the uninterrupted performance of twelve songs but does not mention these possibilities: Dürr, “Franz Schubert: Winterreise,” 132.

6. Youens, for example, states only that “the practice of extracting individual songs for performance continued until well into the [twentieth] century”: Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey*, 45.

theorization of the fragment, as recently and insightfully discussed by literary scholar Camelia Elias.⁷ Elias rejects the definition of the fragment as something that “only exists insofar as it originates in a ‘whole’ text, whose loss of totality is marked by such words as incomplete, inconclusive or inconsequential,” or that “only exists as a construction whose constitution is labelled by such words as unfinished, unstable, uncountable.”⁸ The mutability of *Winterreise*'s performance history during the nineteenth century also recalls Elias's idea of fragment as *function* rather than *form*. She argues,

one needs to shift the focus from formal concerns, which [are] marked in critical discourse by the preoccupation with the form/content, part/whole properties of the fragment[,] to a more pragmatic approach in which the fragment in both its modes of *being* and *becoming* is defined in terms of its functionality. The function of the fragment . . . must be seen as various types of performativity, either in the act of writing or the act of (critical) reading of the fragment.⁹

The tendency for the twentieth century and beyond, however, was to assemble, order, and fix such fragments into immutable cycles, or *collections*. My understanding of the act of collection is drawn from Benjamin's *Passagen-Werk*, itself a series of “convolutes” or bundles of fragments, written over the course of the thirteen-year period 1927–40. Like Elias, Benjamin invokes the idea of function, but goes a step further when he argues that collecting kills the object entirely:

What is decisive in collecting is that the object is detached from all its original functions in order to enter into the closest conceivable relation to things of the same kind. This relation is the diametric opposite of any utility, and falls into the peculiar category of completeness. What is this “completeness”? It is a grand attempt to overcome the wholly irrational character of the object's mere presence at hand through its integration into a new expressly devised historical system: the collection. . . . It is the deepest enchantment of the collector to enclose the particular item within a magic circle, where, as a last shudder runs through it (the shudder of being acquired), it turns to stone.¹⁰

While performances and recordings of *Winterreise* continue to appeal to audiences, there is no denying their ontological fixedness, with only the tiniest variations (Benjamin's “shudders”) to remind us that they are not turned wholly to stone. Benjamin also contrasts the “collector” with the “allegorist”:

Perhaps the most deeply hidden motive of the person who collects can be described this way: he takes up the struggle against dispersion. Right from the start, the great collector is struck by the confusion, by the scatter, in which the things of the world are found. . . . The allegorist is, as it were, the polar opposite

7. Elias, *Fragment*.

8. *Ibid.*, 20.

9. *Ibid.*, 3.

10. Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 204–5.

of the collector. He has given up the attempt to elucidate things through research into their properties and relations. He dislodges things from their context, and from the outset, relies on his profundity to illuminate their meaning.¹¹

The collector, then, imposes order where there is none, from an inability to grapple with the reality of fragmentation. In contrast, the allegorist is akin to the reader who makes sense of disparate objects within himself: “In the moment of reading, the reader is also the writer; he draws together that which in the world of logic has no value. . . . In this activity, there emerges something that follows no system. . . . From a chain of many coincidental moments, from the most diverse sources in heterogeneous fields, there emerges a design.”¹²

Assemblages of fragments, some transparently tidy, others bewilderingly ragged, dominated nineteenth-century concert life; performers constructed and audiences interpreted those experiences in different ways, and these performances had meanings that remain largely overlooked. Jennifer Ronyak argues that “performance and its social contexts are foundational to questions of meaning, not sites for realizing meanings already fixed in the texts.”¹³ She omits Schubert from her study of the lied in the early nineteenth century because his songs have attracted so much scholarship within the “work-centered hermeneutic tradition.”¹⁴ But Schubert’s songs were an increasingly popular feature of nineteenth-century public performance, cropping up everywhere. As William Weber has shown, concert programs of this period were often patterned miscellanies that prized variety above all, even if certain composers and genres were attracting a more “completist” approach by mid-century (Beethoven and string quartets, for example).¹⁵ Program leaflets revealed clear hierarchies, listing the genre first, followed by the instrumentation, then the composer, and finally the performer. For songs, the description was often just “Lied” or (more seldom) “Gesang,” but if further information was supplied, it was generally ordered as title, poet, composer, any information on obligato instruments, and then performer(s). Some critics voiced misgivings about the arbitrariness of concert programs and praised the tendency they observed toward greater order, which was linked to profundity—what might be described as “curatorial” programming. For Eduard Hanslick, the years 1849–69 saw a professionalization of concert

11. Ibid., 211.

12. Benjamin, *Das Passagen-Werk*, 1:572: “Im Moment des Lesens ist der Leser gleichzeitig auch Schreiber; er trägt zusammen, was in der Welt des Sinns keinen Gebrauchswert hat. . . . In dieser Tätigkeit entsteht etwas, das keiner Systematik folgt. . . . Aus der Kette vieler zufälliger Momente, aus den unterschiedlichsten Funden in einander heterogenen Feldern entsteht eine Anordnung.” Translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

13. Ronyak, *Intimacy, Performance*, 3.

14. Ibid., 4.

15. Weber, *Great Transformation*.

life, evincing a “notable deepening in [the public’s] taste.”¹⁶ Nevertheless, throughout the century and well beyond, complete performances of *Winterreise* were vastly outnumbered by the presentation of individual songs or small groups. Compositionally, the idea of a “song cycle” was not obvious; in his seminal study of the German lied, Walther Dürr observes that at first, lieder cycles as conceived by the composer were rare, and they remained an oddity for much of the century.¹⁷ Finally, we cannot know how Schubert’s intentions related to his expectations, and his own performance of (probably) twelve songs in 1827 can hardly be taken as indicative of either. Songs ordered in publications were “collected,” but in performance they were for the “allegorists.” For Brahms’s large-scale song opus *Die schöne Magelone*, op. 33, Schubert’s *Die schöne Müllerin*, D. 795, and even Schumann’s smaller cycle *Dichterliebe*, op. 48, the norm was to present selections of songs from the cycles, in variously configured groups, even though the works themselves were published under a single heading or in one opus.¹⁸

While my argument draws on straightforward historical evidence, it has significant implications that are overlooked in both theoretical and practical approaches. *Winterreise* is inevitably heard today as an uninterrupted sequence of twenty-four songs—a work for “collectors” on both the page and the stage. A recent search has identified at least 120 complete recordings of the work.¹⁹ Another reveals at least thirty performances in Europe between July 2018 and March 2019, including choreographed and orchestrated versions in concert halls and opera houses.²⁰ Little attention has been paid to the possible significance of the work’s performance history, despite its crucial role in disseminating, popularizing, and ultimately canonizing this music, and the challenge it poses to our theoretical understanding.

Winterreise in Scholarship

Let us return to Spaun’s account of Schubert’s performance. Given that the performance of even twelve consecutive songs is starkly at odds with the practices of Schubert’s day, and that the account was written several decades after Schubert’s death, as well as after Julius Stockhausen’s landmark

16. Hanslick, *Geschichte des Konzertwesens*, 1:xii: “eine bemerkenswerthe Vertiefung des Geschmacks.”

17. Dürr, *Das deutsche Sololied*, 245.

18. See Loges, “Julius Stockhausen’s Early Performances,” and Loges, “From Miscellanies to Musical Works.”

19. See prestoclassical.co.uk (accessed July 23, 2018). The exception is Christoph Prégardien and his son Julian, who are aware of the work’s performance history and have recorded selections of the cycle, as well as arrangements for voice and other instruments such as guitar, accordion, and wind quintet.

20. See bachtrack.com (accessed July 23, 2018).

performance of the complete *Die schöne Müllerin* in 1856, it raises many questions. Spaun is also the source for another record of a complete *Winterreise*, performed by the Schubert singer Johann Michael Vogl and the pianist Emanuel Mikschik at the home of Karl von Enderes in 1839; once again, the performance is uncorroborated and not described in detail, although various sources confirm that the *Winterreise* songs were in Vogl's repertoire and there is no particular reason to doubt Spaun.²¹ There is no other mention of a complete performance in Deutsch's collection of Schubert memoirs. But the timing and subject matter of *Winterreise*, in such close proximity to Schubert's death in the autumn of 1828, led inevitably to its assimilation into the subsequent mythmaking about the composer. Indeed, Spaun directly blamed Schubert's demise on the work when he declared that "there is no doubt in my mind that the state of excitement in which he composed his most beautiful songs, and especially his *Winterreise*, contributed to his early death."²² Other contemporaries and later commentators also linked the work to biography.²³ Spaun's anecdote aligns well with the image of Schubert the tragic wanderer; for example, Charles Fisk reminds us that "he never made a home for himself for any extended period."²⁴ By that definition, however, many professional musicians were wanderers: Brahms was considerably older than Schubert before he settled in Vienna; Robert Schumann moved twice with his large family, to Dresden in 1844 and Düsseldorf in 1849; and Clara Schumann was nearly sixty before she settled in Frankfurt. Schubert "wandered" no more than any other young man, indeed rather less, remaining in or near his familiar Vienna.

Over the last half century, much scholarship has sought to explain and thereby affirm the cyclical coherence of *Winterreise*, often requiring the assembling of formidable theoretical arsenals.²⁵ This quest for coherence again recalls Benjamin's "collector"; for Dürr, individual songs are not perceived separately in performance, but as a group.²⁶ As twenty-four songs, *Winterreise* becomes monumental, joining the ranks of non-operatic works that have attracted book-length studies with, most recently, Lauri Suurpää's *Death in "Winterreise,"* and perhaps most famously, Youens's *Retracing a*

21. See Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Erinnerungen*, 4, 316, and Clive, *Schubert and His World*, 248.

22. Quoted in Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Erinnerungen*, 118: "Ich halte es für unzweifelhaft, daß die Aufregung, in der er seine schönsten Lieder dichtete, daß insbesondere seine 'Winterreise' seinen frühen Tod mitveranlaßte." Translation from Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 139.

23. See Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Erinnerungen*, 10.

24. Fisk, *Returning Cycles*, 8.

25. See, for example, Dürr and Kube, "Schubert (Wien), Franz," "Würdigung," I.5. This argues for motivic coherence, although features that connect the songs of *Winterreise*, such as a falling minor second motif, or walking rhythms, can be found in many other songs by Schubert.

26. Dürr, "Franz Schubert: Winterreise," 133.

Winter's Journey. The former offers an analytical framework, the latter a detailed contextual reading. Neither author aims to grapple with the work's performance history, although Youens details its fragmented composition and publication history, including the important points that Wilhelm Müller rethought the ordering of the poems during the process of creating the poetic cycle, and that in *Die schöne Müllerin* the poet grouped poems "in pairs or trios by leitmotifs, repeated words and images."²⁷ In 1994, one author felt that even asking "how" *Winterreise* is a cycle "might seem heretical in the presence of what is gravely taken as the ultimate song cycle."²⁸ Yet the very elusiveness of its cyclicity prompts further attempts to make sense of it, authors resorting to metaphors such as circles, spirals, cycles without centers, spinning out, and so on.²⁹ If they are to stand firm, these structural edifices require every musical parameter to remain in place, especially the tonal sequence. For Peter Jost, "genuine cycles . . . are firmly linked to one another through their sophisticated key symbolism."³⁰ In 1998, Matthias Hausmann criticized Schubert's publisher Haslinger for having ruined the composer's tonal sequence by making it "effeminate" and "weak."³¹ Richard Kramer asks, "Is something lost in the transposition? Unquestionably." For him, "[w]hat is lost is of the essence and has to do with this ineffable moment at which poem and music are fused in the composer's mind," but it is unclear what Kramer means.³² Fisk is more transparent about his own role as listener; for him, "[t]he song cycle lacks . . . patently unifying devices . . . a clearly unified tonal plan of some kind and clearly recognizable returns of material from earlier songs in later ones."³³ His descriptors for the work include words like "aimlessless," "futility," and "almost random."³⁴ Suurpää argues that there is a "kind of plot, albeit a vague one," but the narrative he traces owes much to his own perception.³⁵ And how distinctive are

27. Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey*, 23.

28. Kramer, *Distant Cycles*, 151.

29. See, for example, Dürr, *Das deutsche Sololied*, 269ff.; Feil, *Franz Schubert*, 101; Fisk, *Returning Cycles*, 6; and Kramer, *Distant Cycles*, 151ff.

30. Jost, "Lied," II.4.b: "echte Zyklen . . . [die] durch ihren 'Ton' (ausgeklügelte Tonart-symbolik) fest miteinander verkettet sind." Key is also important for Dürr: Dürr, "Franz Schubert: *Winterreise*," 136–39.

31. Hausmann argues that Schubert constructed "an incredibly well-thought-out key sequence" in *Winterreise* ("eine unglaublich gut durchdachte Tonartenfolge"). Haslinger transposed no. 22, "Mut," from A minor to G minor, and no. 24, "Der Leiermann," from B minor to A minor, thus altering the key sequence from F–Am–A–Bm to F–Gm–A–Am, resulting in a closing key that is "feminine" ("weiblich") and "very soft/weak" ("sehr weich"). Hausmann also criticizes the Peters published transpositions. Unsurprisingly, he notes that performers are unwilling to take his advice. Hausmann, "Sag an, Wer lehrt dich Lieder . . . ?," 15.

32. Kramer, *Distant Cycles*, 3.

33. Fisk, *Returning Cycles*, 3–4.

34. *Ibid.*, 4.

35. Suurpää, *Death in "Winterreise,"* 7.

the unifying musical gestures that authors identify? For Youens, the unifier is the “journeying figure” she hears in the string of non-legato repeated pitches or chords. Fisk talks of “more pervasive subtle references” that produce deep resonances between ostensibly unrelated passages,” suggesting that identifying these connections again relies heavily on his own observation, which, in turn, is based on the kind of repeated, immersive, sequential listening that was not part of the work’s early performed life.³⁶ For Deborah Stein, the cycle “embodies a contradiction of linearity versus disruption” with “some sort of trajectory,” no conclusive end, a “disruptive tonal scheme” with “no governing tonic” and “without any form of resolution,” which she explains by invoking the concept of the fragment.³⁷ Musicians like Schubert knew from experience that concerts consisted largely of smaller pieces of music assembled in ever-changing patterns, so he may well have composed with this unfixed reality in mind.

This is not to argue that Schubert’s published groups of songs are unimportant, or that exploring strategies through which to stitch them together is pointless.³⁸ Dürr, who offers valuable insights into cycles, argues that “already early on, Schubert had regularly gathered smaller songs into larger groups,” mentioning the Matthison settings of 1814, the Goethe settings of 1815, and various others.³⁹ Again, however, it is unclear whether Schubert expected performers to “collect” these groups in the same way, whether at home alone or on the concert stage. Memoirs of house concerts in Schubert’s day suggest that, in private, assortments of various songs were performed rather than cycles,⁴⁰ and Chanda VanderHart tells the same story for the concert hall.⁴¹ In addition to revealing a largely forgotten diversity within the concert repertoire, VanderHart confirms that complete sets or cycles were hardly ever performed. And even today, intentions to honor Schubert’s cyclical arrangements are arbitrary at best. *Winterreise*, for example, is nearly always performed complete, but not the 1823 *Abendröte* set of eleven songs, while *Schwanengesang* is treated as a cycle even though it was designed as such not by the composer but as a publisher’s marketing device. Indeed, there are numerous examples of publishing patterns not resulting in associated patterns of performance.

The extensive literature on historically informed practice also overlooks concert history. Leopold Sonnleithner’s oft-quoted 1860 discussion of how to sing Schubert’s lieder refers to melody, tempo, and so forth, but

36. Fisk, *Returning Cycles*, 12.

37. Stein, “End of the Road,” 355–56.

38. See, for example, Van Rij, *Brahms’s Song Collections*, and Kramer, *Distant Cycles*.

39. Dürr, *Das deutsche Sololied*, 255: “Schon frühzeitig hat Schubert immer wieder kleinere Lieder zu größeren Verbänden zusammengefaßt.”

40. See Loges, “Limits of the Lied.”

41. VanderHart, “Die Entwicklung des Kunstliedes.” I am grateful to Dr. VanderHart for sharing with me information relating to *Winterreise* from her dataset.

not programming.⁴² Hausmann's 1998 study merely restates the problematic aim of "approaching Schubert's intentions as closely as possible."⁴³ David Montgomery briefly mentions concert history but argues (without explanation) that it has little to do with the "real hopes that a composer might have had for his music in performance."⁴⁴ Yet virtually all composers were performing musicians who were closely implicated in concert life, and it is historically false to assume that they held twentieth-century views about performers as separate from them, or worse still, as necessary inconveniences.

The role of performance in shaping theoretical understanding remains insufficiently acknowledged in scholarship. The article "Zyklus" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* suggests that the cyclical nature of a multipart work is only a matter of a composer's (and to a different extent, poet's) intention:

"Cycle" (from the Greek "κύκλος," circle) in the most general sense means a group of objects (works or movements) that are complete in themselves, that are so connected to one another in terms of form and/or content that they result in a overarching unity and the form and content of the individual parts and the form and content of the cycle inform one another respectively. (The term "cyclical form," understood as the conceptual unity of a multimovement composition, was apparently coined in musical aesthetics by Karl Reinhard Köstlin in 1857 and Arrey von Dommer in 1865.) . . . In vocal works there is the additional question of whether the composed texts form a cycle (Wilhelm Müller's *Die schöne Müllerin* or *Winterreise*) and whether the composer has reinforced or overlaid this poetic cyclical form with a musical one.⁴⁵

This recourse to the poetic cycle is borne out in virtually every critical discussion of Schubert's Müller settings, as well as in the often prominent presentation of Müller's name in concert programs, newspaper articles, and publication notices.

Winterreise has attracted countless creative approaches in performance. Uwe Rasch's *aus vierundzwanzig* is a series of adaptations of the work based

42. See Montgomery, *Franz Schubert's Music*, 19–27.

43. Hausmann, "Sag an, Wer lehrt dich Lieder . . . ?," 10: "Schuberts Intentionen möglichst nahe zu kommen."

44. Montgomery, *Franz Schubert's Music*, xiv. Montgomery also presents a valuable list of Schubert singers but does not explore how they programmed the songs (17–18).

45. Finscher, "Zyklus," "Begriff": "Zyklus (von griech. κύκλος, Kreis) heißt im allgemeinsten Sinne eine Gruppe von in sich geschlossenen Gebilden (Werken oder Sätzen), die formal und/oder inhaltlich so aufeinander bezogen sind, daß sich eine übergeordnete Einheit ergibt und daß Form und Inhalt des einzelnen Teils und Form und Inhalt des Zyklus einander wechselseitig erhellen (den Begriff der *zyklischen Form*, verstanden als geistige Einheit einer mehrsätzigen Komposition, haben offenbar Karl Reinhard Köstlin 1857 und Arrey von Dommer 1865 in die Musikästhetik eingeführt). . . . In Vokalwerken kommt die Frage hinzu, ob die komponierten Texte einen Zyklus bilden (Wilh. Müllers *Die schöne Müllerin* oder *Winterreise*) und ob der Komponist diese poetische zyklische Form durch eine musikalische verstärkt oder überlagert hat."

on contemporary multimedia materials.⁴⁶ In addition to the many transcriptions that have been made of it, the cycle has been used as a basis for compositional elaboration by musicians like Hans Zender.⁴⁷ Poets such as Gerhard Rühm have rewritten the texts;⁴⁸ artists like Gotthard Bonell and Maria-Verena Leistner have made accompanying images or animations;⁴⁹ directors have made dramatized versions (such as Herbert Wernicke's 1992 Theater Basel adaptation); choreographers like John Neumeier have set dances to it;⁵⁰ and authors like Martina Bick have written sets of short stories inspired by it.⁵¹ An opera by Ingomar Grünauer that reimagines Walter Benjamin's final night on the Franco-Spanish border before his suicide is based on a motif from the twentieth song in the cycle, "Der Wegweiser."⁵² The tenor Ian Bostridge has reputedly performed the cycle over one hundred times and written about the experience.⁵³ But with the exception of the recording by Julian Prégardien, it is almost never disassembled.⁵⁴

Winterreise in Nineteenth-Century Performance

The burgeoning interest in nineteenth-century performance practice, as well as in the commercial history of music, encourages us to ask why hardly anyone performed the *Winterreise* songs as a sequence at that time.⁵⁵ Exploring the way musicians actually programmed the songs, and therefore how audiences received and understood them, helps us to evaluate the significance of the first documented complete performances of *Winterreise* by artists like

46. Rasch's *aus vierundzwanzig* was begun in 2009 as a series of responses to *Winterreise* that has developed into what he describes as "a hotchpotch of videos, animations, photos, collages, choreographies, texts, audio clips and instrumental compositions": https://www.gruenrekorder.de/?page_id=14503 (accessed October 14, 2020).

47. Zender, *Schuberts "Winterreise" (1993)*.

48. Rühm, *Die Winterreise dahinterweise*.

49. The graphic responses of Gotthard Bonell are discussed in Bonell, Weiermair, and Shetler, *Irrlichter*; see also Leistner, "Schnee, du weißt von meinem Schenken."

50. Neumeier created a ballet to Zender's version of *Winterreise* with the Hamburg Ballet Company in December 2001; for a detailed description, see Nonnemann, "Schuberts 'Winterreise.'"

51. Bick, *Die Winterreise*.

52. See <https://en.schott-music.com/shop/winterreise-no152213.html> (accessed October 14, 2020).

53. Bostridge, *Schubert's Winter Journey*.

54. Julian Prégardien, *Franz Schubert: Winterreise* (recording of a live broadcast, Radio SRF 2 Kultur, November 28, 2015), Das Editionsprojekt (disc 3), P.Rhéi HRA 105424, DE 81527487, CD.

55. For recent contributions to the study of nineteenth-century performance practice, see Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*; Milsom, *Classical and Romantic Music*; Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*; and the Transforming 19th-Century HIP project hosted by Oxford University, <https://www.music.ox.ac.uk/research/projects/c19hip/>.

Julius Stockhausen. It shows us how genre identities shifted over time: more than any other genre apart from dances and four-hand piano music, the lied was enjoyed by amateurs in their homes long before it became a professionalized concert genre. As I have argued elsewhere, “amateur” did not necessarily indicate a lack of proficiency. The amateurs in the lives of Johannes Brahms, Clara Schumann, and Julius Stockhausen were often as proficient as the professionals, notable examples being the amateur pianist Elisabeth von Herzogenberg, the lawyer Theodor Thomsen, and the surgeon Theodor Billroth.⁵⁶ Nineteenth-century performance history allows us to trace the shift of aesthetic values from a prizing of heterogeneity (often disparaged nowadays as a miscellany) to today’s homogeneity (which nineteenth-century audiences would have regarded as tedious). The attitude to multipart works was unimaginably different. Would any reviewer write today, as was written of a keyboard cycle by Schumann in 1870, “The concert artist offered too much of *Kreisleriana*; she gave her best to eight of them, and we think half would have sufficed”?⁵⁷

In methodological terms, the patchiness of the surviving records of nineteenth-century concerts makes it impossible to trace every public performance of songs from *Winterreise* after Schubert’s death, let alone private performances. This article therefore focuses initially on individuals who gave professional performances of this repertoire in the latter half of the nineteenth century—Julius Stockhausen, Gustav Walter, and George Henschel, accompanied by Clara Schumann, Johannes Brahms, and others. In order to ascertain how representative their practices were, the findings are then cross-checked against the surviving programs of the Musikverein, Streicher-Saal, Ehrbar-Saal, and Bösendorfer-Saal in Vienna, from the mid-1850s to the mid-1910s.⁵⁸ Finally, these results are contextualized against the work’s publication history and critical writing about it. This limits the article primarily to the Austro-Hungarian realm; further work on performance and criticism in Berlin and other capitals would also be revealing. Moreover, concert program types were not homogeneous. This study is limited to standard programs in which songs were interspersed with other repertoire and to dedicated *Lieder-abende*. It excludes types such as student concerts (which, for practical reasons, always involved a miscellany format), *Compositions-Konzerte* (in which the focus was on new music, often by a single composer), and anniversary concerts (which were dedicated to a single composer).

56. Loges, “Limits of the Lied.”

57. “Theater und Kunst,” *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, February 18, 1870 (review of a recital by the pianist Auguste Auspitz-Kolar): “Der ‘Kreisleriana’ brachte die Konzertgeberin zu viel, sie gab deren acht zum Besten, und wir glauben, die Hälfte wäre auch genug gewesen.”

58. The historic programs of the Musikverein are held at the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna; those of the Streicher-Saal, Ehrbar-Saal, and Bösendorfer-Saal at the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus.

Nineteenth-century concert programs were not necessarily more flexible than today's, however; harsh constraints operated, because artists often bore the financial risks themselves by hiring a venue in the hope of turning a profit. This meant that a small audience was risky in a way that a half-empty Wigmore Hall today is not. (It may hurt the musicians' egos, but not their wallets.) While audiences prized the controlled alternation of moods and textures, this does not indicate that multimovement works were inevitably broken up. Categories such as "light" and "serious" also functioned differently. A typical program of the 1840s might include overtures, variations, fantasies, *divertissements*, potpourris, arias and duets, quartets, and declamations (these can be seen until well into the next century). The mixture of songs, piano pieces, and chamber music was perhaps intended to invoke the charm and informality of private performance, in which people would simply perform what they could or wanted to—for Hanslick, concert life emerged from "the expansion of sociable living."⁵⁹ The following discussion begins by considering famous individuals associated with performing cycles before moving on to a wider survey.

Julius Stockhausen and His Circle

Born in the Alsace region, Julius Stockhausen studied at the Paris Conservatoire. Following a brief operatic career, he served as director of the Philharmonic Concerts and Singakademie in Hamburg in 1862–67. At the same time, he maintained a heavy concert schedule before moving increasingly to teaching. In 1874 he became director of the Stern Gesangverein in Berlin; four years later he settled in Frankfurt, where he founded his own singing school. He was a pioneering lieder performer, particularly of song cycles. Evidence suggests that Stockhausen came to *Winterreise* later than *Die schöne Müllerin*, which he had premiered in 1856. On November 27, 1862, he performed part of *Winterreise* in a shared concert with Clara Schumann in the Grosse Wörmer'schen Saal in Hamburg. This was the second of two soirées they gave together in the city; in the first, two days earlier, Robert Schumann's *Dichterliebe* had been interleaved with his *Kreisleriana*. Bearing in mind that on October 28, a month previously, Stockhausen had performed the complete *Die schöne Müllerin* for an audience of two thousand in the Gürzenich-Saal in Cologne, one might expect him to have attempted a full *Winterreise*.

Stockhausen and Clara Schumann's program of November 27, 1862, represented a balancing act between several large-scale works (see figure 1).⁶⁰

59. Hanslick, *Geschichte des Konzertwesens*, ix: "[die] Erweiterung des geselligen Lebens."

60. Stockhausen's own annotated program for the concert is held at Frankfurt am Main, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität (hereafter D-Fmi), Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, Konzertprogramme, Nr. 152.

Hamburg

152
Donnerstag den 27. Novbr. 1862,
Abends 7 Uhr

im grossen Wörmer'schen Concert-Saale

Zweite Soirée

gegeben von

Frau Clara Schumann

und Herrn

Julius Stockhausen

unter gütiger Mitwirkung der Herren

J. Böie, F. Breyther, A. Hohnroth u. L. Lee.

PROGRAMM.

1. Quintett für Pianoforte, 2 Violinen, Viola und Violoncello Op. 44, Es dur, von . . . R. Schumann. *1. Andante - noblement*
2. Reisebilder von Wilhelm Müller, Winterreise comp. von . . . F. Schubert. *2. Andante - le plus - le second - le premier - le second - le premier!*
3. a) Gavotte G moll. Bach. *pour la scène - d'orchestre - le premier - le second!*
 b) Andante und Presto Scarlatti.
4. Reisebilder.
 5) Der Lindenbaum. 6) Die Post. 7) Wasserhuth. 8) Auf dem Flusse 9) Rückblick. *(Zeitwandel)*
5. 2 Lieder ohne Worte, F dur und A dur von Mendelssohn.
6. Reisebilder.
 10) Der greise Kopf. 11) Die Krähe. 12) Letzte Hoffnung.
 × 13) Im Dorfe. 14-15. 16-17. 18-19. 20-21. 22. 23-24. *unvollständig*

*Der terminus ist Wintergespräch - Schumann
Ende gegen 9 Uhr.*

Druck von J. J. B. Wörmer jun.

Le titre du programme est

Figure 1 Julius Stockhausen's annotated program for a concert given by himself and Clara Schumann in Hamburg, November 27, 1862. Frankfurt am Main, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, Konzertprogramme, Nr. 152. Used by permission.

We cannot know if the Schumann quintet was performed in full, which would have needed at least half an hour with applause. Might it have been perceived as a prelude—a love story that precedes *Winterreise*? Certainly, the fall from the triumphant ending in F major to the D minor opening of *Winterreise* (assuming the use of the original key for the first song, “Gute Nacht”) could be heard as a kind of preparation, and such relationships merit further exploration, as the structuring of these programs was clearly not arbitrary. More importantly, however, the evidence relating to this single concert suggests that different, competing conceptions of *Winterreise* were in operation. The chosen songs are grouped under the title “Reisebilder” (Travel pictures), and around half of the cycle was presented in three chunks. The *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* reported, “In these concerts, Herr Stockhausen sang Schumann and Heine’s song cycle ‘Dichterliebe’ and the larger part of Schubert’s ‘Winterreise.’”⁶¹ While Stockhausen’s own annotated program for the concert reveals that “Rückblick” was encoored on the spot (“redemandé”—that is, the audience applauded so much that he had to repeat the song again immediately), he also notes that nos. 14–24 of the cycle “manquaient” (were missing), suggesting that he himself understood *Winterreise* as a whole work, even if he did not perform it thus, and pointing again to a difference between the conceptual “collector” and the practical “allegorist.” Yet notes Stockhausen made in his diary on the day of the concert show that he had no hesitation in identifying his favorites, nos. 4, 5, 13, 8, and 17: “Concert—*Winterreise*—One has to know every song by heart before singing it. ‘Erstarrung’—‘Lindenbaum.’ ‘Post.’ ‘Rückblick.’ ‘Im Dorfe.’—The real jewels in that casket of twenty-four pearls. The eleven following songs would have tired the audience after the instrumental music. It’s an entire evening, as needed for the *Schöne Müllerin*” (see figure 2).⁶² In other words, in Stockhausen’s mind, *Winterreise* was still a collection of twenty-four separate items.

How might such a concert have been experienced by an audience? Would they have heard its contents as related or entirely separate? Answering this question forces us into what might be described as “subjunctive theory.”⁶³ The first four songs are as we would expect but are interrupted by Baroque

61. *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung*, December 20, 1862, 407: “Herr Stockhausen sang in diesen Concerten Schumann’s und Heine’s Liedercyclus ‘Dichterliebe’ und die größere Hälfte aus Schubert’s ‘Winterreise.’”

62. D-Fmi, Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, MF 20851: “Concert.—Winterreise.—Il faudrait savoir chaque Lied par coeur avant de le chanter. Erstarrung—Lindenbaum. Post. Rückblick. Im Dorfe.—De vrais bijoux dans cel ecrin [*sic*] de 24 perles. Les 11 suivants auraient fatigué l’auditoire après la musique instrumentale. C’est une soirée entière qu’il faut comme pour la *Schöne Müllerin*.”

63. This is a paraphrasing of Alan Bennett’s coinage “subjunctive history,” or what may or may not have happened: Bennett, *History Boys*, *passim*.

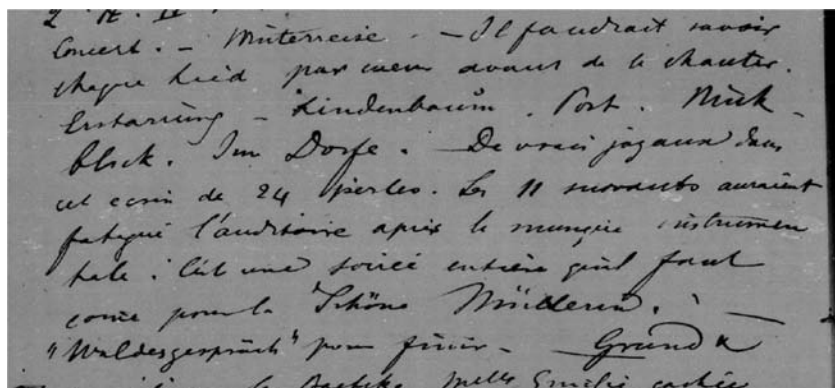


Figure 2 Julius Stockhausen, diary entry of November 27, 1862. Frankfurt am Main, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, MF 20851. Used by permission.

keyboard pieces, which may have been seen as connected texturally to Schubert by the fleet fingerwork required. It is easier to ask how audiences might have responded to item 4 on the program, at least by comparison with what we would expect today, since most nineteenth-century listeners would not have been perturbed by the insertion of no. 13 (“Die Post”) between nos. 5 (“Der Lindenbaum”) and 6 (“Wasserflut”), which restored Wilhelm Müller’s original poetic sequence.

Stockhausen’s first documented complete performance of *Winterreise* with no supplementary music was given in Hamburg on March 31, 1864 (see figure 3).⁶⁴ It included a “longer pause” after no. 13, “Im Dorfe.” I have been able to locate among Stockhausen’s surviving concert programs only one other complete performance involving this singer, given in Stuttgart nearly nine years later, on January 31, 1873, on the occasion of Schubert’s birthday. A review reveals, however, that some of the songs were sung by Stockhausen’s student Johanna Schwartz in alternation with him, so that even on this occasion, well into the 1870s, variety was ensured through the timbral shift between male and female voices.⁶⁵ While details of who sang which songs are lost, the dual-gender performance perhaps created a new conception of the cycle, one in which two lovers undertake two distinct but parallel emotional journeys of separation. This, too, would be worth exploring in performance today.

64. A copy of the program for the concert is held at D-Fmi, Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, Konzertprogramme, Nr. 207.

65. “Stuttgart,” *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, March 7, 1873, 151. This is a summary review of a sort that typically rounded up several noteworthy performances of the preceding weeks or months.

Hamburg 1864. 207

Donnerstag den 31. März, Abends 7 Uhr:

Die Winterreise,
von **Wilhelm Müller.**

Ein Cyclus von 24 Liedern, componirt von
Franz Schubert,
vorgelesen von
Julius Stockhausen.

1) Gute Nacht.	13) Im Dorfe.
2) Die Wetterfahne.	14) Der stürmische Morgen.
3) Gefrorene Thränen.	15) Täuschung.
4) Erstarrung.	16) Der Wegweiser.
5) Der Lindenbaum.	17) Das Wirthshaus.
6) Die Post.	18) Irrlicht.
7) Wasserfluth.	19) Rast.
8) Auf dem Flusse.	20) Nebensonnen.
9) Rückblick.	21) Frühlingstraum.
10) Der greise Kopf.	22) Einsamkeit.
11) Die Krähe.	23) Muth.
12) Letzte Hoffnung.	24) Der Leyermann.

(Nach No. 13 längere Pause.)

Druck von J. J. S. Wörner jun.

Figure 3 Program for a concert given by Julius Stockhausen in Hamburg, March 31, 1864. Frankfurt am Main, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, Konzertprogramme, Nr. 207. Used by permission.

Given the paucity of complete performances, it is difficult to know how they were received. A review of 1870 made an intriguing comparison with Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte*:

We regard the performance of all the *Lieder ohne Worte* in one evening, as the famous C. M. von Bocklet once did in Vienna, as most thankless and detrimental to the veneration of Mendelssohn; whereas the rendering of the complete *Müllerlieder* or the whole of *Winterreise* by Stockhausen makes an impression on the memory of all Viennese friends of the arts that is not only poetic but eminently musical.⁶⁶

We cannot know, however, how representative this view is. What we do know is that Stockhausen the seasoned singer was an “allegorist,” preferring to put together smaller groups of songs from *Winterreise*, possibly reflecting both his own preferences and an awareness of public taste. Table 1 shows some groups and single songs that he programmed from the mid-1860s into the 1870s, before his concert career wound down in favor of teaching. Excluded from the table are two student concerts he organized in 1886 and 1887, of which the first presented a selection from *Winterreise* in which he participated, and the second the whole cycle shared among his students.⁶⁷

As may be seen from the table, Stockhausen presented his favorites in a new sequence on each occasion, suggesting that he saw each concert as an opportunity to create a new musical and narrative trajectory. While we lack the relevant information in some instances, we can take as an example the concert at the Kleiner Redoutensaal, Vienna, on March 5, 1869, with Brahms at the piano. Firstly, “Erstarrung” is a far more energetic song than “Gute Nacht” with which to open a group, entirely altering our initial impression of the protagonist. Would listeners have connected it with the preceding keyboard works by Handel, or the numbers from Brahms’s opus 28 duets? Given that the latter was a vocal work featuring Stockhausen, then perhaps they would have interpreted duet no. 4, “Der Jäger und sein Liebchen,” as a narrative setup for the *Winterreise* songs, since, in Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s text, the hunter’s sweetheart refuses to wait for him to return in the night, as she would rather go dancing. Furthermore, listeners (and certainly Brahms himself as pianist) would surely have connected the duet’s rattling chords in alternating hands with the closely related accompanimental texture of “Rückblick.” Would “Erstarrung” make listeners feel they had been plunged into the middle of a drama, or would it trigger a new one?

66. *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, March 18, 1870, 180: “Alle ‘Lieder ohne Worte’ an einem Abend vorzutragen, wie dies einmal in Wien der berühmte C. M. v. Boklet [*sic*] beliebte, halten wir für das undankbarste, und der Verehrung Mendelssohn’s abträglichste Unternehmen, wogegen die Wiedergabe sämtlicher ‘Müllerlieder’ oder der ganzen ‘Winterreise’ durch Stockhausen allen Wiener Kunstfreunden als ein nicht bloß poetischer, sondern zugleich eminent musikalischer Eindruck unvergessen im Gedächtnisse haftet.”

67. See D-Fmi, Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, Konzertprogramme, Nrn. 494 and 495.

Table 1 Concerts given by Julius Stockhausen and other musicians in the 1860s and 1870s that included songs from *Winterreise* (song titles in boldface)

Date	Location	Program
April 28, 1866	?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sonata “Appassionata,” op. 57 (Beethoven) 2. “Aus dem Liederkreise von Heine” (op. 24, nos. 1–4) (Schumann) 3. a. Nocturne (Field) b. “Grande polonaise,” op. 44 (Chopin) 4. “Aus der Winterreise” (Gute Nacht, Die Wetterfahne, Gefrome Tränen, Erstarrung) (Schubert) 5. Le bal (Rubinstein) a. Polka b. Galop 6. “Aus der Winterreise” (Der Lindenbaum, Die Post, Wasserflut, Auf dem Flusse, Rückblick) (Schubert) 7. Tarantelle aus “Stimme von Porlici” (Liszt) (D-Fm), Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, Konzertprogramme, Nr. 263)
October 12, 1867	Kiel?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sonata (Tartini) 2. Aria from <i>Rothkäppchen</i> (Boieldieu) 3. Romanze (Beethoven) 4. Ballade “Blondels Lied” (Schumann) 5. Chaconne (Bach) 6. Lieder from <i>Winterreise</i> (Schubert) 7. a. Barcarolle (Spohr) b. Abendlied (Schumann) (D-Fm), Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, Konzertprogramme, Nr. 327)
later October 1867	Wörmer’schen Saal, Hamburg	No surviving printed program, but a review lists solo works by Mendelssohn and Schumann, Mozart’s Piano Quartet in G-Minor, arias, and a selection from <i>Winterreise</i> : “Correspondenz,” <i>Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst</i> , November 1, 1867, 350.
January 8, 1868	?	No surviving printed program, but a review lists “Der Lindenbaum,” “Die Post,” and “Rückblick” in addition to other repertoire including arias: <i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> , January 8, 1868, 14–15.

May 4, 1868	Grande Salle du Conservatoire, Paris	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aria "Pietà Signore" (Stradella) 2. Variations for piano and violin (from "Kreutzer" Sonata, Beethoven) 3. Le roi des aulnes (translation of "Erlkönig," Schubert) 4. Adagio from Symphony no. 9 arranged for two pianos (Beethoven) 5. Cavatina from <i>La fête du village voisin</i> (Boieldieu) 6. a. Romance sans paroles (Mendelssohn) b. Warum (Schumann) c. Aufschwung (Schumann) 7. Lieder <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Die Post (Schubert) b. Ich grille nicht (Schumann) c. Der Nussbaum (Schumann)
February 26, 1869	Rittersaal, Graz	<p>(D-Fmi, Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, Konzertprogramme, Nr. 342)</p> <p>No surviving printed program, but a review lists alternating vocal and piano items including "Aus der Winterreise: Erstarrung, Lindenbaum, Rueckblick": "Musik: Zweites Konzert des Julius Stockhausen," <i>Tagespost Graz</i>, February 27, 1869.</p>
March 5, 1869	Kleiner Redoutensaal, Vienna	<p>Schumann's Sonata op. 14, an aria by Handel, a prelude by Bach, Brahms's opus 28 vocal duets (with Rosa Girzick), an adagio and fugue by Handel, and songs from Winterreise: "Erstarrung," "Der Lindenbaum," "Die Post," "Auf dem Flusse," and "Rueckblick."</p> <p>(See Hofmann and Hofmann, <i>Johannes Brahms als Pianist</i>, 117. A review in the <i>Wiener Sonn- und Montags-Zeitung</i>, March 7, 1869, 4, presents a slightly different picture: Stockhausen also sang some songs from Schumann's opus 39 as well as the selection from <i>Winterreise</i>.)</p>
November 13, 1872	Casino, Elberfeld	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Piano Quintet, mvt. 1 (Schumann) 2. Der Wanderer (Schubert) 3. Piano Quintet, mvt. 2 (Schumann) 4. "Der Lindenbaum" and "Die Post" (Schubert) 5. Piano Quintet, mvts. 3 and 4 (Schumann) 6. "Sonntag" and "Wiegenlied" (Brahms) 7. Romanze for Violin in G Major (Beethoven) 8. "Mondnacht" and "Fruehlingsnacht" (Schumann) <p>(D-Fmi, Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, Konzertprogramme, Nr. 386)</p>
March 8, 1873	Singakademie, Hamburg	<p>"Aus der Winterreise: Gute Nacht, Erstarrung, Der Lindenbaum."</p> <p>(D-Fmi, Nachlass Julius Stockhausen, FrSt4, Nr. 398)</p>

As for “Der Lindenbaum,” which had been performed in countless arrangements over many years, would the audience hear this much-loved favorite as an isolated song, perhaps even one to hum along to? The insertion of “Die Post” is the strangest aspect of this sequence to my ear, not least because, if the original keys are retained, it results in a drop from E major down to E-flat major followed by a slide back up to E minor for “Auf dem Flusse.” This latter song significantly lowers the motoric energy, but it also displaces our protagonist geographically, since we have just imagined him on a street where he can hear a posthorn. In this sequence, rather than visualizing a frozen stream in an isolated landscape, we see it flowing through a village. Interestingly, the unforgettable downward semitone shift that characterizes measures 9–12 and corresponding passages in “Auf dem Flusse” takes us to D-sharp minor, recalling the E-flat we have just abandoned in “Die Post,” and therefore forging a new tonal connection between songs. Song collections were thus a fund, or treasury, that the musician-allegorist could plunder according to inclination. To use another metaphor often found on the frontispieces of such collections, the composer proffered a selection of flowers, but the composition of the final bouquet was left to the performer.

Such creative freedom led to very innovative designs. In the shared soirée on November 13, 1872, the interleaving of instrumental and vocal works bespeaks a carefully conceived plan.⁶⁸ The movements of Schumann’s Piano Quintet, together with the two closing songs by the same composer, form a frame into which music by important related figures is integrated. The accompanist on this occasion was the young tutor of Joseph Joachim’s children, the poet and accompanist Hans Schmidt, who would go on to supply song texts for Brahms—in other words, he was a member of this powerful artistic circle.⁶⁹ It is easy to hear Schumann’s somber second movement in C minor, “In modo d’una marcia. Un poco largamente,” as an expressive comment preceding “Der Lindenbaum,” especially since the progression recalls the alternation of moods that characterizes the *Winterreise* songs—between minor-key material that can be slow, stark, and bleak, and major-key material that is tender, wistful, and heartbreakingly nostalgic. Schumann’s Quintet thus becomes both a musical frame and an expansive retelling of the *Winterreise* tale, namely “young man is abandoned by sweet-heart,” as retold in “Lindenbaum” and “Die Post.” As for this latter song, its galloping ending in E-flat major flows seamlessly into the exuberant triplet scales of the third movement of Schumann’s Quintet, “Scherzo: Molto vivace.” One can well imagine that the boy has been given a reprieve; perhaps there was a letter in the post for him after all.

Such approaches were employed in relation to other cycles, too, although these will not be discussed in detail here. One exquisite example of such

68. See *ibid.*, program 386.

69. See Loges, *Brahms and His Poets*, 365–72.

planning is Clara Schumann's performance of her husband's song cycle *Frauenliebe und -leben* with singer Caroline Bettelheim at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna on February 1, 1866, with Julie von Asten as second pianist. The program reads as follows:

1. Schubert: Claviersonate B Dur D960
2. Schumann: *Frauenliebe und -leben* op. 42 Nr. 1–4
3. Beethoven: Variationen c Moll op. 36 [*sic*: WoO 80]
4. Rudorff, Ernst: Duo für 2 Claviere
5. Schumann: *Frauenliebe und -leben* Nr. 5–8
6. Schumann: a) In der Nacht op. 12, Nr. 5
b) Schummerlied op. 124, Nr. 16
c) Novellette D Dur op. 21, Nr. 2⁷⁰

Frauenliebe und -leben traces a narrative in which a woman falls in love, marries, and has a child, but is then left a desolate widow by the sudden death of her husband. The inclusion of the works by Beethoven and Rudorff halts the rapid evolution of this narrative, thereby solving (for this listener) a structural problem in the cycle. Similarly, the inclusion of the solo piano pieces at the end of the cycle, also by Schumann, creates the impression that the woman's life continues and evolves, following the immediate grief of losing her husband.

Brahms, who often accompanied Stockhausen, was one of the greatest champions of Schubert's music, but he too was an "allegorist" performer. As early as the 1840s, when he was a teenager, his concerts already tended to include one or two Schubert songs performed by participating singers. His performances at the Schumanns' Bilkerstrasse home in Düsseldorf also included sonatas by Schubert.⁷¹ He played arrangements and single movements of works in concerts through the 1860s, such as the March from opus 121 (D. 968 B) arranged by himself for two hands, and movements from the Octet likewise arranged; he also produced orchestrations of Schubert's songs that he incorporated into concerts involving orchestral forces. Concert giving was a means of generating income, publicly demonstrating his allegiance to admired composers, and promoting his own music. (This last was ultimately his main role as a performer, but not in the 1850s and 1860s.)⁷² However, *Winterreise* had hardly any place in Brahms's performing life, despite his taking part in concerts in which songs from *Winterreise* featured. In a concert of March 5, 1874, for the benefit of the pension fund of Vienna Conservatory professors, the singer Josef Staudigl performed only no. 18, "Der stürmische Morgen," and

70. Vienna, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Programmsammlung Musikverein, program of February 1, 1866.

71. See Hofmann and Hofmann, *Johannes Brahms als Pianist*, 31.

72. See Eich, "Where Was the Home."

“Aufenthalt” from *Schwanengesang*, although not with Brahms, who played only solo works in this concert, including arrangements.⁷³ On November 1, 1876, in Karlsruhe, Staudigl sang no. 4, “Erstarrung,” together with another song, but again not accompanied by Brahms.⁷⁴ On September 28, 1878, in Hamburg’s Conventgarten, for the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the Philharmonic Society, the singer Gottfried Arnold Senfft von Pilsach also performed “Erstarrung” and one other song; the other items were large orchestral works by Weber, Brahms, and Mendelssohn.⁷⁵ Throughout his career, Brahms maintained the freedom to assemble small groups of songs from other cycles too, often mixing not only individual songs from published cycles but also composers.

The singer Gustav Walter, another member of this circle, also interleaved selections from *Winterreise* with other works. In February and March 1883, he gave four recitals in Vienna’s Bösendorfer-Saal. The first of these was advertised in the *Neue Freie Presse* as a “Schubert-Schumann-Abend” in which songs “from *Winterreise* and the cycle *Dichterliebe* (sixteen songs)” would be sung.⁷⁶ The concert was shared with Anton Rückauf and the program advertised as follows:

1. Schubert: Sonate, Op. 129 (Herr Rückauf)
2. Schubert: Aus der *Winterreise*: Gute Nacht, Erstarrung, Der Lindbaum, Frühlingstraum, Rückblick
3. Schumann: Andantino con Variazioni; Papillons Nr. 10, 11 (Herr Rückauf)
4. Schumann: *Dichterliebe*, Liedercyclus erste Hälfte (Nr. 1–8)
5. Schumann: Kreisleriana, Nr. 1, 4, 5, 7 (Herr Rückauf)
6. Schumann: *Dichterliebe*, zweite Hälfte (Nr. 9–16).⁷⁷

One other performance of *Winterreise* worthy of note was given by Amalie Joachim in Berlin on March 15, 1890, with no additional music. From London, the view was positive: “Frau Amalia [*sic*] Joachim has performed the remarkable feat of singing the whole of the songs forming Schubert’s ‘*Winterreise*’ at one concert in Berlin, and, thanks to the noble voice and splendid vocalisation of the artist, with such success that the performance was heard throughout with the utmost delight by her audience.”⁷⁸ The *Signale für die musikalische Welt* made no specific comment, mentioning only that

73. See Hofmann and Hofmann, *Johannes Brahms als Pianist*, 138. For a detailed review, with insights into Brahms’s playing, see “Konzerte,” *Neues Fremden-Blatt*, March 10, 1874, reprinted in the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, July 3, 1874, 344.

74. See Hofmann and Hofmann, *Johannes Brahms als Pianist*, 164.

75. See *ibid.*, 174.

76. *Neue Freie Presse*, November 29, 1882, 6: “aus der ‘*Winterreise*’ und der Cyclus ‘*Dichterliebe*’ (16 Lieder).” The four recitals took place on February 9 and 23, and March 1 and 9.

77. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1883, 7.

78. *Musical World*, March 15, 1890, 209–10.

she sang the whole cycle.⁷⁹ For the Leipzig-based *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, however, such a performance was “still something unusual.”⁸⁰ Today, it would also be unusual, but for reasons of gender.

The Viennese Concert Halls

How widespread were these artists' practices? Were such concerts unique to them? In order to pursue this inquiry, I have contextualized the concerts discussed above against a longer concert history, extending from the mid-1850s to the mid-1910s, drawn from the surviving records of three Viennese concert halls—Streicher, Ehrbar, and Bösendorfer—and cross-checked against newspaper reports, in order to build a statistical rather than detailed musical picture. Dedicated concert halls were established in Vienna only from 1870 onward.⁸¹ Streicher's hall had been built in 1812 for “smaller concerts of a semi-private character”;⁸² it operated for eighty-four years, but had lost its significance by the closing third of the century. The Ehrbar-Saal was an important venue for Brahms and many of his colleagues; established in 1864 at no. 4 Mühlgasse, this salon-style space hosted around two hundred people and was in use until 1870. It was replaced in 1876 by a larger, elegant, modern room with electric lighting. The later Bösendorfer-Saal (1872–1913) is significant because its large archive of 4,500 concerts has survived almost intact. At its peak, concerts took place nightly in the winter season.⁸³ An illustration of the Bösendorfer-Saal seating plan shows that it allowed more intimacy and communication between performers and audience than most halls today (see figure 4).⁸⁴

The surviving concert programs from these venues reveal the growth of the *Liederabend*, but provide little corresponding evidence of complete cycle performances. The few surviving Streicher-Saal programs show variety in their visual branding—typefaces, font sizes, and, most importantly, the amount of information included. The larger number of Ehrbar-Saal programs (1872–1944, albeit with substantial gaps in the early twentieth century) can tell us relatively little. The vast number of Bösendorfer-Saal programs, however, wonderfully tactile printed fabric leaflets, particularly from the 1910s, record dozens of *Liederabende*, but no complete *Winterreise*. These latter programs are coherently and consistently visually branded but still reveal the dominance

79. *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 48, no. 19 (March 1890): 297.

80. *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, May 22, 1890, 269: “immer etwas Besonderes.”

81. See Meglitsch, *Wiens vergessene Konzertsäle*, 13.

82. Hanslick, *Geschichte des Konzertwesens*, 1:362: “kleinere Concerte von halb private Character.”

83. For an overview of concert programming, see Meglitsch, *Wiens vergessene Konzertsäle*, 107ff.

84. Figure 4 is reproduced from Meglitsch, *Wiens vergessene Konzertsäle*, 97.

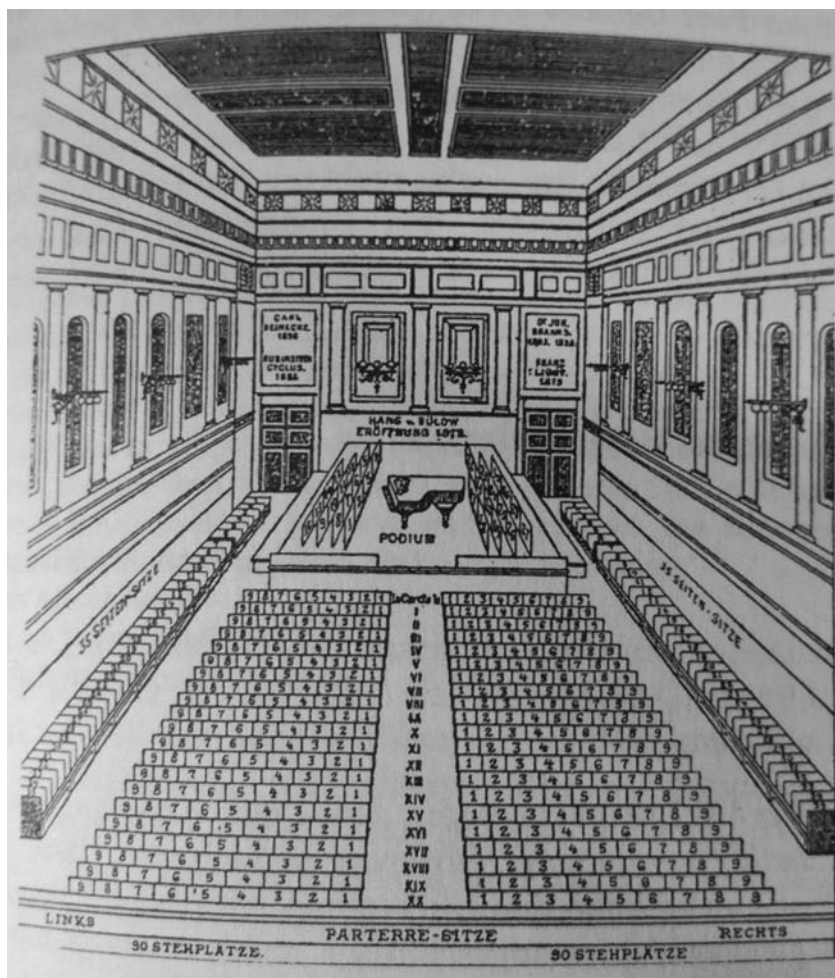


Figure 4 Seating plan of the Bösendorfer-Saal

of patterned miscellany programs (what Christina Meglitsch has termed the “tutti-frutti principle”).⁸⁵

Figure 5 shows the overall numbers of concerts performed in the Bösendorfer-Saal between 1872 and 1913, as well as the numbers and relative proportions of piano solo, string quartet, piano-violin duo, miscellaneous, and lieder programs. (For simplicity, other categories identified by Meglitsch have been omitted.) The exponential growth in both the overall

85. *Ibid.*, 109: “Tuttifrutti-Prinzip.” The Streicher-Saal, Ehrbar-Saal, and Bösendorfer-Saal programs are held at Vienna, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Druckschriftensammlungen B-48062, A-129408, and C-124298, respectively.

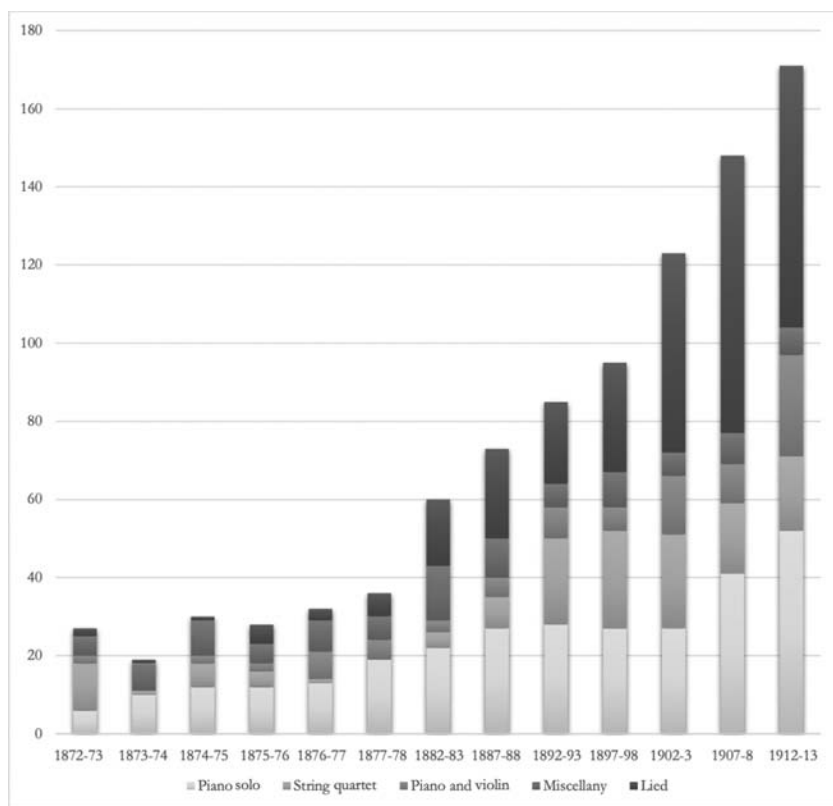


Figure 5 Numbers and proportions of concert types in the Bösendorfer-Saal, 1872–1913

number of recitals and the proportion of lieder recitals is clear. The figures are given annually for the period 1872–78 (i.e., the six opening seasons) and then quinquennially until the closure of the hall in 1913. The rapid growth in the proportion of *Liederabende* can be seen even more clearly by comparing figures 6a and 6b (as can the shrinking proportion of quartet concerts, although the absolute number also increased from twelve to nineteen). The dominant feature of these programs is their heterogeneity. The concerts surveyed here involved roughly sixty identified singers, divided quite evenly between men and women. The prevailing pattern of constructing ever-new sequences of groups of songs meant that the *Winterreise* songs remained in the public sphere in various guises, such as in the concerts of singing societies, in which individual or paired numbers or a set would be sung by women, or in arrangements for different vocal combinations. In other words, the practices of Stockhausen's artistic circle were widely shared.

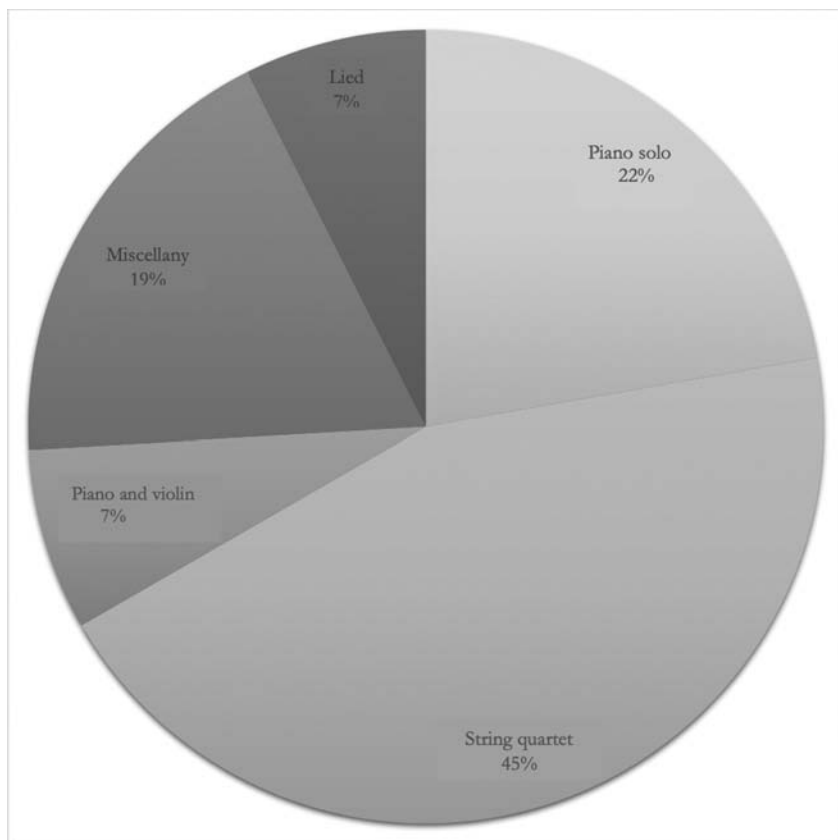


Figure 6a Proportions of concert types in the Bösendorfer-Saal, 1872–73

Concert Reports in the Press

Newspaper reports provide wide confirmation of this picture of the enduring popularity of the “allegorist” approach to *Winterreise*. They show that individual songs from the set were often publicly performed from the 1850s onward (but were always less popular than those of *Die schöne Müllerin*). Cross-checking the information from the three concert halls against Austro-German press reports gives a sense of which songs were most popular and how smaller groups were constructed.⁸⁶

Figures 7a and 7b show the popularity of individual songs between 1855 and 1913, listing them first in the order of the cycle and then in order of

86. A wide range of newspapers are accessible on the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek’s Austrian Newspapers Online resource (<https://anno.onb.ac.at/>), and these were cross-checked against those on Digizeitschriften (<https://www.digizeitschriften.de/startseite/>).

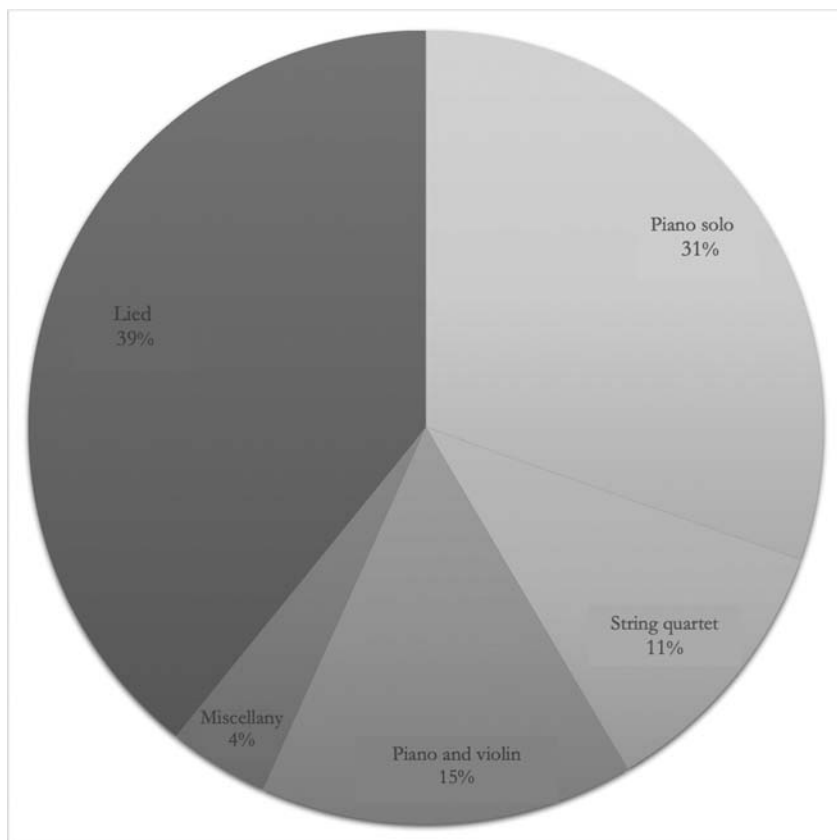


Figure 6b Proportions of concert types in the Bösendorfer-Saal, 1912–13

frequency of appearance. They reveal that Stockhausen's favorites (nos. 4, 5, 8, 13, and 17) overlapped significantly with those of his contemporaries. All the songs were sung by women nearly as often as by men. The most popular songs are perhaps not those that we would expect today. "Der Wegweiser," which was particularly popular at the turn of the century in venues such as the Bösendorfer-Saal, is folk-like in style and relatively easy for a pianist to sight-read and transpose as necessary, but with striking harmonic shifts and opportunities for the voice to display both range and power, especially at the end of the third stanza (at the words "Ohne Ruh', und suche Ruh'"—without rest, and seeking rest).⁸⁷ The text is compellingly dramatic, but not tied to a specific scenario. "Erstarrung" is far more demanding technically, but again offers dramatic and tonal variety within its five stanzas. It was

87. Stein, among others, hears this song as the climax and goal of the cycle: Stein, "End of the Road," 355.

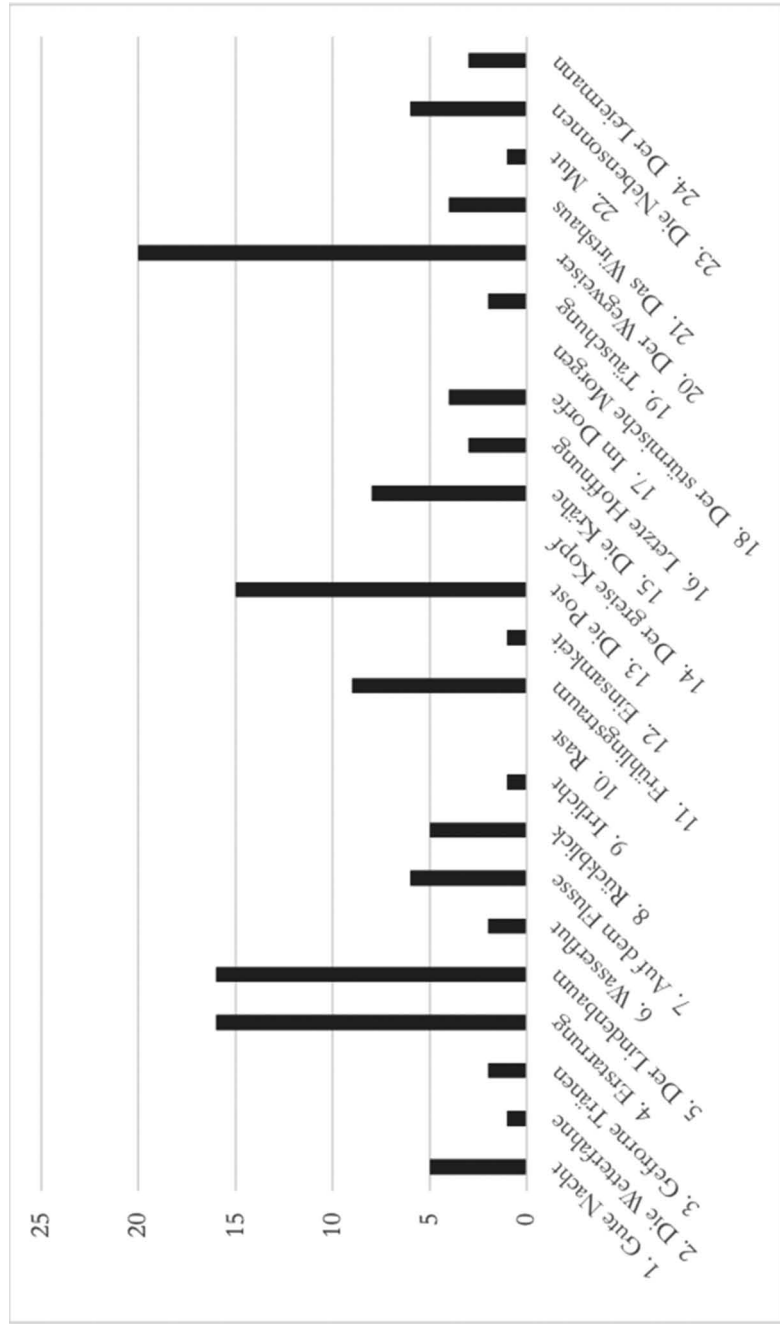


Figure 7a Numbers of performances of the individual songs of *Winterreise*, 1855-1913

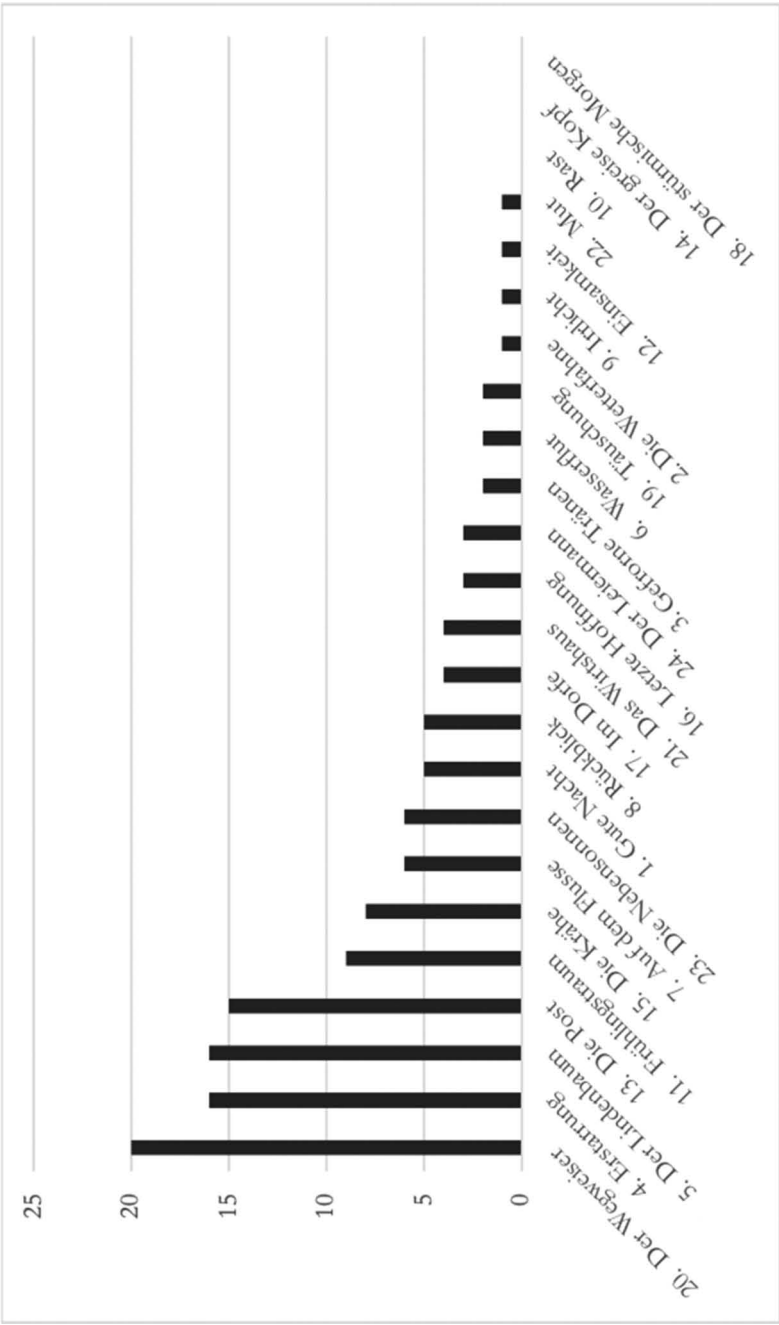


Figure 7b Numbers of performances of the individual songs of *Winterreise*, 1855–1913, arranged by frequency of appearance

presented in concert as early as 1857 by Rosa Kästner, and then repeatedly championed by singers like Walter (who performed it in concerts from 1865 to 1883) and Stockhausen. “Der Lindenbaum” is a predictable favorite across all three venues and the entire period of the study. Its enduring popularity was ensured by the 1860s. “Die Post” is a flexible song whose meaning can be completely altered when it is removed from the cycle. The text describes the poet’s eager anticipation of the postman, who he hopes will bring a letter from the beloved; within the context of the cycle, that letter will never arrive, but outside it, the ebullient, galloping accompaniment and the attractive line that closes each stanza (“Mein Herz”) could promise the opposite.

At the other end of the spectrum, there were no identified performances of “Rast,” “Der greise Kopf,” and “Der stürmische Morgen” outside the few complete presentations of the cycle. (Not all programs identified each song performed, so some may have slipped through the net.) The specificity of the text of “Rast,” with its reference to “eines Köhlers enge[m] Haus” (a charcoal burner’s cramped house), may have put singers off, or it may simply have been considered uninteresting; similarly, “Der greise Kopf” might have been regarded as lacking in variety of mood, too long, or difficult to sing well. Singers may also have been deterred by the angularity and brevity of “Der stürmische Morgen” and its consistently loud vocal line. Singers are, of course, drawn to certain songs for personal reasons, often their teachers’ preferences or what suits their range, technique, and temperament, and this relationship between a singer’s idiosyncrasies, wider vocal practices, and the popularity (or lack thereof) of certain songs would merit further exploration.

Performers also assembled many smaller groups of songs, some drawn exclusively from *Winterreise* and some including other songs by Schubert and other composers. Not all can be discussed here, but a small sample of groups of songs drawn from *Winterreise* is shown in table 2. It lists only the *Winterreise* songs, not the full programs. Each group presents an intriguing trajectory. Stockhausen opens dramatically, but then offers a carefully balanced succession of moods. There is arguably a lack of variety in mood and tonality between Girzick’s two opening songs, but they are balanced by “Im Dorfe” and “Täuschung.” Henschel’s presentation of 1878 and Walter’s of the following year are like whistle-stop tours through the cycle, offering some favorites within a loose structure—although note that Walter presented no. 1, “Gute Nacht,” in the middle of his group. Lay’s selection has a framing form, in which the textures of the two outer numbers balance the two similar internal songs; in her group, the bleak and eerie “Die Krähe” might make as effective and open-ended a finisher as “Der Leiermann.”

The tendency to mix works and/or composers within a small group was widespread throughout the period studied here but seems to have become still more adventurous after 1900, especially in the golden age of the song recital in the Bösendorfer-Saal. Songs on related topics could be combined—for example, Schubert’s “Greisengesang” with “Der Doppelgänger” (from

Table 2 Sample of groups of songs drawn from *Winterreise*

Year	Performers	Songs (in order of performance)
1869	Julius Stockhausen acc. Johannes Brahms	No. 4 Erstarrung No. 5 Der Lindenbaum No. 13 Die Post No. 7 Auf dem Flusse No. 8 Rückblick
1875	Rosa Girzick (pianist unidentified)	No. 7 Auf dem Flusse No. 20 Der Wegweiser No. 17 Im Dorfe No. 19 Täuschung
1878	George Henschel acc. Ignaz Brüll	No. 1 Gute Nacht No. 5 Der Lindenbaum No. 15 Die Krähe No. 16 Letzte Hoffnung No. 21 Das Wirtshaus No. 24 Der Leiermann
1879	Gustav Walter (pianist unidentified)	No. 5 Der Lindenbaum No. 11 Frühlingstraum No. 1 Gute Nacht No. 8 Rückblick No. 21 Das Wirtshaus No. 24 Der Leiermann
1906	Anny Lay acc. Egon Stuart-Wilson	No. 4 Erstarrung No. 3 Gefrorene Tränen No. 7 Auf dem Flusse No. 15 Die Krähe

Schwanengesang) and the established favorite “Litanei.” Again, a small sample of such mixed groups is given in table 3, although three of these are by Alice Barbi (one of Brahms’s preferred singers for a time). Each group in the table would have been presented as a single “number” (of a total of between five and ten, on average), as a “Liederstraus” or song bouquet. Let us consider one example, Barbi’s 1893 sequence, consisting of Schubert’s “Am Grabe Anselmos,” “Lachen und Weinen,” “Die Krähe” (from *Winterreise*), and “Wohin?” (from *Die schöne Müllerin*). “Am Grabe Anselmos” establishes the picture of our protagonist as a mourner; those who were familiar with Matthias Claudius’s poetry might have recalled that this poem laments the death of a child, but others might have assumed that the protagonist was mourning a lover. “Lachen und Weinen” thus takes on a different quality, that of a reminiscence of happier times past. “Die Krähe” shares the theme of the grave with “Am Grabe Anselmos”; we are thrust back into the sorrowing present as the protagonist has a presentiment of impending death, but this is now aligned with the grief of loss, rather than romantic abandonment. Finally, “Wohin?” from a different cycle, takes on a slightly manic-suicidal quality as the protagonist is drawn to the water, befuddled by the singing of the water nymphs. Perhaps most importantly, Barbi’s gender may alter the listener’s

Table 3 Sample of mixed groups of songs from *Winterreise* and other songs

Year	Performers	Songs (in order of performance)
1893	Alice Barbi acc. Georg Liebling	Schubert: Am Grabe Anselmos Lachen und Weinen Die Krähe (<i>Winterreise</i>) Wohin? (<i>Müllerin</i>)
1901	Anton van Booy acc. Ferdinand Foll	Schubert: Der Lindenbaum (<i>Winterreise</i>) Der Wanderer Sei mir gegrüsst An Schwager Kronos
1903	Alice Barbi acc. Richard Pahlen	Schubert: Der Wegweiser (<i>Winterreise</i>) Geheimes Der Doppelgänger (<i>Schwanengesang</i>) Eifersucht und Stolz (<i>Müllerin</i>) Die Post (<i>Winterreise</i>) (According to a handwritten annotation on the programme, “Wohin?” was also performed spontaneously.)
1904	Marie Leval acc. Helene Siebenlist	Schubert: Die Krähe (<i>Winterreise</i>) Die Stadt (<i>Schwanengesang</i>) Auf dem Wasser zu singen Schumann: Du bist wie eine Blume (<i>Myrthen</i>) Der Nussbaum (<i>Myrthen</i>) Allnächtlich im Traume (<i>Dichterliebe</i>)
1905	Alice Barbi acc. Richard Pahlen	Schubert: Einsamkeit (<i>Winterreise</i>) Geheimes Der Wegweiser (<i>Winterreise</i>) Schumann: Schöne Fremde (<i>Eichendorff-Liederkreis</i>) the three numbers of <i>Der arme Peter</i>

perception of this sequence. In this case, it is a female protagonist who has lost Anselmo, who recalls a boy, wanders accompanied by a crow, and hears the babbling brook, thus challenging the association of women with interior settings. Equally possibly, we may choose to make no link whatsoever between the songs, simply enjoying the contrast they offer.

Winterreise in Print

While performance history is at the core of this study, it is worth recalling that *Winterreise* was also marketed and sold as printed music in various

ways—in other words, early publishers of Schubert acted as another kind of “allegorist,” albeit with commercial rather than aesthetic aims. The first twelve songs of *Winterreise* were published by Tobias Haslinger in January 1828, not long after Schubert had begun composing the concluding twelve songs; these appeared late in the same year, the year of Schubert's death, together with the first two Impromptus and the twelve *Grätzer-Walzer*. Publishers like Haslinger and Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold paid little regard to Müller's poetic or Schubert's musical unities unless they could demonstrably boost sales. Thus, purchasers' conceptions of *Winterreise* were influenced not only by their experiences of the concerts described above, but also by the ways in which editions were marketed and sold, in conjunction with their own undocumented private performances.

Even within his own lifetime, publication was central to Schubert's professional success.⁸⁸ As John Gingerich has shown, Haslinger was not the most important of Schubert's publishers, being responsible for only ten of the hundred opuses published by the time of his death. For publishers, large-scale instrumental works such as piano sonatas represented a risk, while songs were potentially quite lucrative. Josef von Spaun claimed in 1864 that repeated publication of editions of *Die schöne Müllerin* enabled the publisher Diabelli to purchase a property; the perennial favorite “Der Wanderer” brought in 27,000 florins according to one source, 36,000 florins according to another.⁸⁹ Much thought would thus have been given to the effective marketing and publication of *Winterreise*.

On January 18, 1856, the rights to *Winterreise* were definitively made over to Haslinger by Schubert's eight surviving heirs.⁹⁰ A survey of publication notices for songs from *Winterreise* that appeared in the press into the 1870s reveals several things: the importance of repetition; the power of publication to transform a collection of individual numbers into a work (although this is best exemplified by *Schwanengesang*); the power of publication to achieve the opposite, namely to break up a multipart work if commercially expedient to do so; and finally, the role of arrangements in making a work accessible to different kinds of consumers and publicizing its name. These aspects are discussed briefly below.

Initially, *Winterreise* was barely visible in the press, receiving notices only in 1833, 1836, and 1839. On July 15, 1833, a notice of publication appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* in relation to both *Winterreise* and *Schwanengesang*.⁹¹ (The simultaneous issue of the two cycles was a recurring event from the

88. See Gingerich, *Schubert's Beethoven Project*, 253–70.

89. See *ibid.*, 261n26. For Spaun's claim about the property, see Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Erinnerungen*, 308.

90. For the full declaration and list of relevant works, see *ibid.*, 377–78.

91. “Wohlfeile Musikalien,” *Wiener Zeitung*, July 15, 1833, 664; see also March 5, 1836, 297; March 19, 1839, 399; March 29, 1839, 456; and April 3, 1839, 479.

1830s to the 1870s.) Indeed, the “cyclical” status of *Schwanengesang* was generally presented as equal to that of *Winterreise*; when the two sets of songs were discussed together in an article of 1842, the writer (very possibly Haslinger himself) gushed mainly about *Schwanengesang*.⁹² In 1860, one article declared that Schubert had written three great “Sammlungen” (collections), and the first one named is *Schwanengesang*.⁹³ A new edition by Julius Rietz published by Bartholf Senff in Leipzig was advertised in 1867, and typically this advertisement was reprinted several times in succession.

From 1869 onward, not a week passed without a reference to *Winterreise* appearing somewhere in the Austrian press. Many advertisements referred to *Die schöne Müllerin* (*Müllerlieder*), *Winterreise*, and *Schwanengesang* alongside one another, or to a single “Schubert-Album” called *Schuberts 80 Lieder*. Arrangements were also mentioned, such as those of the same eighty songs for four-hand piano. The variety of newspapers in which such advertisements were published is enormous, ranging from *Der Floh* to the *Oesterreichischer Soldatenfreund*, *Das Vaterland*, and regional papers. In 1870, a *Schubert-Album* with attractive binding and high-quality paper was recommended as a Christmas gift.⁹⁴

But publishers like Haslinger also frequently advertised the cycle in parts or as selections. In 1839, the dealer Ascher published in rapid succession three advertisements for a *Winterreise* in two volumes as part of a long list of pieces.⁹⁵ In 1855, an edition of Schubert’s *Ausgewählte Gesänge* published by Arnold in Elberfeld combined half of *Schwanengesang* with no. 1 (“Gute Nacht”), no. 3 (“Gefrorene Tränen”), no. 4 (“Erstarrung”), no. 5 (“Der Lindenbaum”), no. 13 (“Die Post”), and no. 20 (“Der Wegweiser”) of *Winterreise*—in other words, a selection that includes the four most popular songs in concert identified above. Two years later, Arnold published another *Ausgewählte Gesänge* that included a number of songs from *Schwanengesang*, other isolated songs, and no. 2 (“Die Wetterfahne”), no. 6 (“Wasserflut”), no. 7 (“Auf dem Flusse”), no. 14 (“Der greise Kopf”), no. 16 (“Letzte Hoffnung”), and no. 18 (“Der stürmische Morgen”) of *Winterreise* for alto or bass (although these are individually priced and seem to be single songs). Two years later again, in 1859, Arnold made yet another selection with French translations, which included just five songs from *Winterreise*.⁹⁶

The songs were also sold individually, probably for reasons of affordability. From June 1842, Haslinger published a series of advertisements

92. “Musikalisches Perspektiv,” *Österreichisches Morgenblatt*, May 30, 1842, 264.

93. *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, August 9, 1860.

94. *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, December 20, 1870, 4.

95. See note 91 above.

96. Advertised in the *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht über neue Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen*, September–December 1855, 897; August–December 1857, 200; and March–June 1859, 48.



Im Verlage der k. k. Hof- u. priv. Kunst- und Musikalienhandlung
des Tobias Haslinger
 in Wien, Anfangs des Kohlmarkts Nr. 281, Hauptansicht auf dem Graben,
 ist neu erschienen und zu haben:

<p>Gute Nacht. Für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte, von Franz Schubert. Winterreise Nr. 1. Preis 30 fr. C. M. (Eigenthum des Verlegers.)</p>	<p>Die Wetterfahne. Für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte, von Franz Schubert. Winterreise Nr. 2. Preis 20 fr. C. M. (Eigenthum des Verlegers.)</p>
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<p>[7581] XVII. [3] Bey Mayer & Comp. Singerstraße, im Deutschen Hause, an der Ecke, ist zu haben: Krickel's Reisen. Krickel (A. J.), Fußreise durch den größten Theil der Oesterreichischen Staaten in den Jahren 1806, 1809 und 1810.</p>	<p>[7978] B e y [2] Braunmüller und Seidel, Buchhändler in Wien, am Graben, im Sparcasse-Ge- bäude, ist zu haben: Uebersicht der Geschichte des Oesterreich. Kaisertbumes</p>
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Figure 8 Advertisement for two songs from *Winterreise*, *Wiener Zeitung*, June 10, 1842

for the *Winterreise* songs in the *Wiener Zeitung*, starting on June 10 with songs nos. 1 and 2 (see figure 8).⁹⁷ The songs continued to be paired in subsequent advertisements—nos. 1 and 2, nos. 3 and 4, and so forth, with one repetition of nos. 5–6 and 7–8. The set had been advertised in full by July 8. The songs were not numbered in the advertisements, however, so purchasers could presumably make their own selection and arrangement.

Piano arrangements contributed significantly to the visibility of *Winterreise* in the press. Liszt's arrangements of twelve songs were prominent in the 1840s; other arrangements advertised by Haslinger included some by Czerny. In 1843, one enterprising L. Jansa published arrangements of the first ten songs, after Liszt's arrangement, for flute and also for cello, again marketed by Haslinger.⁹⁸ Indeed, there was a steady trickle of advertisements for arrangements of and fantasies on the songs for various instruments and choral groupings, and for two-hand and four-hand piano, as well as translations, in publications such as the *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht über neue Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen* well into the 1870s.

97. *Wiener Zeitung*, June 10, 1842, 1183.

98. See "Musik für das Violoncelle," "Musik für die Flöte," *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, July 1843, 99.

Winterreise in Critical Writing

All this activity took place against a backdrop of evolving music-critical thought. I touch on this only briefly here, because it is a perspective often privileged in scholarship. Three samples of critical writing about *Winterreise* and coherence are offered, not as a systematic survey, but to give a sense of how complex the issue already was from a nineteenth-century critical standpoint, and how wide the gap between theory (“collectors”) and practice (“allegorists”). As early as Schubert’s own day, a pull toward organicism and coherence can be observed in writing about his songs. In her analytical study of Schubert, Suzannah Clark paraphrases a review by Friedrich von Hentl of 1822:

Although Schubert’s melodies tend to shift rapidly from one emotional state to another in order to paint the details of the text, suggesting disorder on the surface, their underlying cohesion may, [von Hentl] claims, be explained by appealing to that most prized and scrutinized concept of the nineteenth century: organicism. Hentl concludes, “Each note must remain where it is if the melody is not to be ruined—a sure touchstone of its organic constitution!”

Clark continues, “Yet any hope that he might reveal the inner workings of this organicism is immediately dashed: ‘The characterization [of the melody],’ he goes on to say, ‘is so incisive as to require no explanation in order to be generally felt.’”⁹⁹

A quarter of a century later, a two-part article on the subject of sequences of songs in published volumes appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, although it is basically a puff piece for the compositions of the author, Theodor Thrämer.¹⁰⁰ Thrämer opened his article of 1848 by asking whether it was possible to trace a connecting principle between the individual songs contained in collections (“Liederhefte”).¹⁰¹ He himself, he argued, could not find “such a thing in any of the quite numerous songbooks surveyed; everywhere, purely external considerations seem to have determined the sequence of individual songs.”¹⁰² He then explained the principles behind his own “truly integrated” song volume (now long forgotten). Thrämer evidently

99. Clark, *Analyzing Schubert*, 57.

100. Theodor Thrämer, “Ueber die Anordnung des Inhaltes von Liederheften auf Grund eines leitenden Gedankes. Th. Thrämer, Sieben Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte. Leipzig, Whistling,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, December 2, 1848, 261–63, and December 5, 1848, 265–66.

101. *Ibid.*, 261, cols. 1–2: “ob nicht in Beziehung auf die Liederhefte verschiedener älterer und neuerer Tondichter ein Princip, ein leitender Gedanke aufzufinden wäre, demgemäß der Inhalt könnte geordnet erscheinen.”

102. *Ibid.*, col. 2: “es gelang uns in keinem einer ziemlichen Anzahl durchgenommener Hefte etwas der Art zu entdecken, rein äußerliche Rücksichten schienen überall die Folge der einzelnen Lieder bestimmt zu haben.”

believed that a good sequence of songs has genuine artistic value. He identified quality not through cohesion and integration, however, but through variety. He observed that many people find it tedious to go through the songs in a volume in sequence “because sufficient variety of content is so seldom ensured.”¹⁰³

Three years later, Eduard Hanslick published an article on a setting of all eighty-eight poems of Heine's vast cycle *Heimkehr* by “Johann Hoven,” the pseudonym of Austrian diplomat, singer, and composer Johann Vesque von Püttlingen.¹⁰⁴ Hanslick's initial response was positive, suggesting that small-scale German song had here been elevated into a more substantial cyclical whole, dwarfing works like Beethoven's *An die ferne Geliebte*, Schubert's *Die schöne Müllerin* and *Winterreise*, and Marschner's *Klänge aus Osten*. For Hanslick, however (as for Thrämer), *poetic* unity was the driving force. Moreover, his observations contain a contradiction that is found repeatedly in writing on cyclical works, namely that the songs are complete in themselves and yet somehow also constitute a whole collectively:

If we consider any of the well-known sets of songs, such as the most substantial, Schubert's *Winterreise*, then it will not escape our notice that on the one hand, each individual piece in it can find complete expression in sound, indeed lends itself to musical rendition, and that on the other, these individual poems, with their strong interrelationships, are so intimately connected to one another by the poet, through the same idea and basic mood, that it was hardly possible for the composer to make a mistake with his musical unity.¹⁰⁵

Alongside evidence presented above, this suggests that a large gap was developing between the perceived modes of existence of the musical work—between score and performance, ideology and experience.

Finally, in an unattributed two-part article published in the *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst* in December 1864 there is a cryptic attempt to reconcile the individual and collective identity of Schubert's cycles in general:

Special attention is merited in the case of those songs that either the composer presented originally as a wreath of connected songs, just as the poet had, or, even if they are not directly connected to one another, are woven and tied together into a single entity by their prevailing uniform mood. These are the *Müllerlieder*, the Ossian songs, those from Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*,

103. *Ibid.*, col. 1: “weil so selten für genügsame Mannichfaltigkeit des Inhaltes gesorgt ist.”

104. Eduard Hanslick, “Aesthetische Reflexionen über Hoven's Komposition der Heine'schen ‘Heimkehr,’” *Beilage zum Morgenblatte der Wiener Zeitung*, June 28, 1851, 11–12.

105. *Ibid.*, 11: “Betrachten wir nämlich irgend eines der bekannten Liederwerke, etwa das umfangreichste, Schubert's *Winterreise*, so entgeht uns nicht, daß einerseits jedes einzelne Stück daraus seinen vollständigen Ausdruck in Tönen finden kann, ja zur musikalischen Behandlung auffordert, andererseits diese einzelnen Gedichte unter sich in gegenständlichem Zusammenhang stehen und durch dieselbe Idee und Grundstimmung so innig vom Dichter verbunden sind, daß sie ein Vergreifen der musikalischen Einheit von Seite des Komponisten kaum als möglich zuließen.”

sacred songs, *Winterreise*, and—in part—*Schwanengesang*. . . . Every one of Schubert's *Müllerlieder* is complete in itself; in each song, the master was at pains to evoke the mood completely by way of lyrical contemplativeness; at the same time, each is part of a whole, and through that finds its true significance.¹⁰⁶

Conclusion

The nineteenth-century performed life of *Winterreise* can be regarded in two ways: either as unregulated chaos that was mercifully tidied up in the twentieth century—in the manner of the regulation and regimentation of Paris through Haussmann's boulevards that Benjamin criticized so eloquently; or as a supreme example of the performer's authority and autonomy, allied with consideration for an audience's need for variety. As we have seen, the performance of complete cycles did not become the norm until well into the twentieth century. Even in 1909, a complete *Winterreise* was described as a "brave feat."¹⁰⁷ Coherence in performance remained chiefly the performer's responsibility; a review of a lieder recital by Lilli Lehmann in 1893 praised her "fine taste" in putting together three reasonably large groups of songs, as well as her ability to make them spiritually "her own."¹⁰⁸ Such a performance history demands integration into our understanding of *Winterreise*.

106. "Schubert und das deutsche Lied," *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst*, December 28, 1864, 413: "Specielle Beachtung verdienen jene Gesänge, welche der Tondichter entweder gleich ursprünglich als einen Kranz sich aneinanderreihender Lieder, wie ihn eben der Dichter gewunden hat, darstellte, oder die, wenn auch nicht unmittelbar in einander verschlungen, durch die darin herrschende einheitliche Stimmung zu einem Ganzen verwebt und verbunden erscheinen. Es sind dies die Müllerlieder, die Gesänge Ossian's, jene aus W. Scott's 'Fräulein am See,' die geistlichen Lieder, die 'Winterreise' und—zum Theil—der 'Schwanengesang.' . . . Von Schubert's Müllerliedern ist jedes für sich abgeschlossen; der Meister war darauf bedacht, mit lyrischer Beschaulichkeit in jedem einzelnen die Stimmung vollständig zu erschöpfen, gleichwohl bildet jedes derselben den Theil eines Ganzen und gewinnt dadurch seine wahre Bedeutung."

107. "Theater und Musik: Liederabend Stephan Gold," *Die Neue Zeitung*, November 10, 1909, 6. In the Kleiner Musikvereinssaal, the tenor Stephan Gold sang all the songs but in three groups. This was a "brave feat in our current era" ("mutige Tat in unserem jetzigen Zeitalter") but nonetheless a successful one: "The beautifully nuanced performance of the work had the listeners spellbound until the end; the approval swelled from song to song and the public awakened from its enchantment only when the sounds of 'Der Leiermann' had long stopped echoing" ("Der fein abgetönte Vortrag des Werkes hielt die ergriffenen Zuhörer bis zum Schlusse in seinem Banne; der Beifall steigerte sich von Lied zu Lied und das Publikum erwachte erst aus seinem Entzücken, als die Klänge des 'Leiermannes' schon längst verhallt waren").

108. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Lehmann L.10/1, newspaper cuttings album, 6: "Mit feinem Geschmack hatte sie sich drei größere Gruppen Lieder zusammengestellt, die sie sich geistig so zu eigen gemacht hatte, daß sie die zwanzig Lieder ohne das störende Notenblatt in der Hand auswendig singen konnte und es gewährte einen eigenen Reiz." With thanks to Richard Wistreich and Rosamund Cole for sharing this source with me.

My aim here has been to ask how composers themselves might have conceived of multimovement works, given that the evidence so strongly suggests that they would never have expected them to be performed in full. Despite the richness of the analytical literature on *Winterreise* as a score, much remains to be understood about the way in which these extraordinary songs are made into a whole in performance. One singer who has performed the cycle around thirty times explains that he constructs the narrative trajectory in his head on stage, and that this narrative changes from one performance to another.¹⁰⁹ Performance history challenges our location of authority in what has been called the “Suche nach dem verlorenen Werk”—the quest to find again the sense of the work whose integrity has been effaced through the inevitable distortions of time and, so to speak, the elements.”¹¹⁰ From a statistical perspective, for the first century of *Winterreise*'s existence it is complete performances that emerge as anomalous. At the very least, the performances documented here constitute a fundamentally important stage in the work's history, potentially opening up new ways of understanding cycles and the role of performance in shaping compositional aesthetics in the nineteenth century, and of analyzing songs in their performance context.

This article has sought to acknowledge a richness and openness in the conception of *Winterreise* that is potentially lost to the reductiveness of a fixed, monolithic “collector” mentality based on scores and compounded by numerous recordings, which collectively serve to prohibit more flexible understandings and presentations of the *Winterreise* songs today. One oft-repeated complaint is that performers (and indeed their teachers) know too little of the repertoire; drawing on the practice of selecting small groups from *Winterreise* could bring it within more musicians' grasp. Freeing oneself from the need to perform the whole cycle could open up space for lesser-known works while still acknowledging the canon of art song. The normative approach to gender and repertoire on the concert stage could also be usefully challenged. The history recounted here places responsibility for *Winterreise* as a cycle firmly in the hands not only of its creator, but of its performers, and its listeners.

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109. Stephan Loges, personal communication, October 13, 2018.

110. Kramer, *Distant Cycles*, 8.

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Abstract

This article traces the concert performance history of Schubert's song cycle *Winterreise*, D. 911, during the second half of the nineteenth century. It begins by presenting a two-part theoretical framework, according to which the songs are understood as ontologically related to Friedrich Schlegel's idea of the fragment, while the theoretical and practical treatments by musicians, critics, and scholars are viewed in relation to Walter Benjamin's contrasting ideas of the "collector" and the "allegorist." It then examines the practices of key figures such as the baritone Julius Stockhausen, a pioneer in lieder performance, and his circle, including Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms. Their performance and programming strategies are then contextualized against a larger statistical survey of the *Winterreise* songs in public concerts within the Austro-German realm, drawing on surviving concert programs and press reports. This shows that, in performance, individual songs were treated as fragments to be reassembled in many ways, inviting fresh interpretive possibilities on the part of listeners. Further contextualization is provided by a brief survey of *Winterreise* in print and as discussed in critical writing, revealing that here too there existed different approaches to the work as "whole" and "fragment." Ultimately, I argue that the coherence of such cycles is not intrinsic but constructed over time by multiple actors—performers, listeners, publishers, and critics—and that an awareness of this creates new possibilities for the understanding and performance of multipart works.

Keywords: Schubert, *Winterreise*, performance, cycle