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AN EARLY VIOLIN SONATA BY PETER CORNELIUS: A CRITICAL EDITION AND STUDY

by

JOHANNES P. KNIJFF

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts, The City University of New York

2005

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

AN EARLY VIOLIN SONATA BY PETER CORNELIUS: A CRITICAL EDITION AND STUDY

by

Johannes P. Knijff

Adviser: Professor Allan W. Atlas

The dissertation offers a critical edition of the Violin Sonata in E-flat Major (1844) by Peter Cornelius (1824–1874) based on the autograph manuscript (A-Wn Mus. Hs. 4752, fol. 31r–47r). An early work of a composer still in his student years, the sonata can nonetheless be considered one of the most ambitious instrumental compositions of Cornelius, who is well-known for his opera Der Barbier von Bagdad and his art songs. The sonata's four movements are: Allegro (340 mm.); Scherzo (B-flat major, 416 mm.); Fantasie (C minor, 35 mm.); and the finale (252 mm.).

In Chapter One, I describe Cornelius's family background and his life, education, and musical experience until 1841; in Chapter Two, the composer Heinrich Esser (1818– 1872), followed by an assessment of Cornelius's studies with him (1841–43). Chapter Three deals with (1) Schubert's "Ungeduld" (from Die schöne Müllerin) as the theme of the Fantasie; (2) Justinus Kerner's "Wanderlied," cited in the last movement; and (3) the fragment of Heinrich Heine's poem "Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar" which Cornelius wrote down on the verso of the title page of the sonata. It is argued that these three aspects point to the sonata being a farewell present for Cornelius's girlfriend, Fanny Krämer, upon the composer's expected leave for Berlin.

The edition itself is preceded by a Critical Commentary and facsimiles, and followed by a bibliography.

For Brigitte

PREFACE

"[V]irtually every important composer but Peter Cornelius wrote at least one or two sonatas"; so wrote William S. Newman in his standard work on the genre. One part of the statement can hardly be disputed: Cornelius (1824–1874) was a major figure in his day, though his works are performed far less frequently today than they were before World War II. Still, *Der Barbier von Bagdad* is often considered second only to Wagner's *Meistersinger* among nineteenth-century German comic operas; his many art songs—often to his own poems²—include more than a few gems; and his choral music has gained popularity during the last twenty years or so.³

Cornelius scholarship, too, has been steadily on the increase since the 1970s, the most important contribution undoubtedly being Günter Wagner's excellent thematic catalogue of Cornelius's works.⁴ In addition, a new edition of Cornelius's collected essays, edited by Wagner and James A. Deaville, has recently been published.⁵ Cornelius has also been the topic of a number of dissertations: his activities as a music critic are

¹ William S. Newman, *The Sonata since Beethoven*, 3rd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1983), 320.

² His best-known song is undoubtedly "Die Könige" (from *Weihnachtslieder*), which became a famous Christmas carol in the translation by H.N. Bate ("The Three Kings"), and with Cornelius's piano accompaniment transcribed for choir by Sir Ivor Atkins; see Reginald Jacques and David Willcocks (eds.), *Carols for Choirs*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 1:136–41.

³ Most notably, his "Requiem," to a poem by Friedrich Hebbel, has been performed widely and included on several commercial recordings (on such labels as Carus, Globe, and Hyperion).

⁴ Günter Wagner, *Peter Cornelius: Verzeichnis seiner musikalischen und literarischen Werke* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986).

⁵ Peter Cornelius, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Günter Wagner and James A. Deaville, Beiträgen zur Mittelrheinischen Musikgeschichte 38 (Mainz: Schott, 2004).

discussed exhaustively in Deaville's dissertation,⁶ while three other American dissertations have dealt with Cornelius's operas, songs, and choral works.⁷

To return to Newman's statement, another part of which stands in need of correction: Cornelius did write his share of sonatas, though Newman's oversight is perfectly understandable given that all of them are early works, none of which has ever been published.⁸

This dissertation, then, offers the first edition of Cornelius's Violin Sonata in E-flat Major (1844) after the autograph manuscript in the composer's *Jugendarbeiten*, now housed at Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 4752, fols. 31r–47r. Though an early work that is hardly representative of the composer's mature output, the sonata does shed important light on Cornelius's early years—a time when, incidentally, he saw himself more as a composer of instrumental music than of songs. Definitely more than a student work, the sonata is ambitious in length and displays a number of original—even idiosyncratic—traits, such as the highly unusual variation-fantasy on a Schubert song as its third movement.

Some people have expressed their surprise about the topic of this dissertation: a DMA candidate, after all, is generally expected to write about an aspect of the repertoire

⁶ James A. Deaville, "The Music Criticisms of Peter Cornelius," Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University (1986).

⁷ Orville T. Lawton, "The Operas of Peter Cornelius," Ph.D. diss., University of Florida (1988); Dorothy Eschweiler Madison, "An Analysis of the *Brautlieder* Cycle by Peter Cornelius," D.M.A. diss., Arizona State University (2000); Barry Lynn Combs, "Peter Cornelius's Choral Settings with Religious Texts and Preexisting Music," D.M.A. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (1997).

⁸ In addition to the Sonata in E-flat Major, for violin and piano (the topic of this dissertation), Cornelius wrote a Violin Sonata in C Major, "op. 2" (1838; no. 2 in Wagner's catalogue); a Piano Sonata in G Major (1848; no. 73); and two sonata movements for violin and piano, one in C major (probably 1845; no. 54) and one in E major (probably 1845; no. 56). In addition, sketches exist for sonata movements in G minor (probably 1842; no. 20) and E major (probably 1845; no. 55), both for violin and piano. A sonata for cello and piano (1848; no. 76) is lost.

(or history) of his or her instrument—in my case, the organ. For a variety of reasons that are irrelevant here, I decided not to do that. The decision to prepare an edition of a sonata by Cornelius was determined by three factors: a long-standing interest in autograph music manuscripts; the challenge of editing a work in such a way that it is useful to both scholar and performer; and a general interest in Cornelius as a composer. My interest in Cornelius's songs has been fostered by Susan Diamond, with whom I have had the pleasure of performing a number of Cornelius's songs and duets, both as a piano accompanist and as a singer. My interest in Cornelius's choral music stems from my own activities as a choral conductor. And finally, the research of Dr. John Diamond. M.D. in the field of "life energy" in music has shown that Cornelius's late songs, especially, have a particularly high level of life energy—more so than the songs of any other nineteenth-century composer—which makes him particularly important for anyone interested (as I am) in music as a healing art.

I owe a tremendous debt to a number of people who have given their valuable help at various stages of this dissertation. Most of all, I thank my advisor, Prof. Allan Atlas, as well as my readers, Prof. Bruce MacIntyre and Prof. Raymond Erickson, for their excellent comments and for their attempts to make intelligible English of my sometimes rather creative "Dunglish."

A warm *Dankeschön* goes to Fritz Graf, president of the Salzburger Liedertafel, who spent hours with me in the society's archive at the Mozarteum, handing me one Heinrich Esser score after the other—autograph manuscripts as well as nineteenth-century editions from the composer's estate—and for graciously allowing me to make

⁹ Defined as "where Dutch and English collide"; see http://www.dunglish.nl/index.php?p=5 (10 March 2005). The phenomenon is also known as Dutchlish, although Dunglish seems to be the preferred term (a Google search gives 870 hits for Dunglish against 49 for Dutchlish).

photocopies of anything I wanted. I am also indebted to Marianne Tilch of the Heinrich-Heine-Institut, Düsseldorf, who kindly provided information on early editions of Heine's "Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar"; to Annegret Dick, president of the Mainzer Singakademie, formerly Mainzer Liedertafel and Damengesangverein, who kindly straightened out the year of foundation of the latter; to Iris Bork-Goldfield of Fairfield University, who helped with the translation of an excerpt from a letter written by Justinus Kerner; to my housemate Heather Flournoy, who offered the congenial translation "prolific mediocrity" for *Vielschreiberei*; and to my friend Michael Garber, who assisted with the translation of the "Wanderlied." I am grateful to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for granting permission to reproduce in facsimile pages from Cornelius's autograph.

Finally, I wish to thank the many people—far too many to mention here—who have expressed an interest in the dissertation during the past few years and encouraged me to complete the task. Most of all, I thank my wife, Brigitte Pohl-Knijff, for her ongoing interest and encouragement, her help with translations, and not least for her patient help with computer matters. This dissertation is dedicated to her.

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CHAPTER ONE

PETER CORNELIUS: THE EARLY YEARS

The following biographical sketch covers Cornelius's life up to the point at which he began studies with Heinrich Esser, Cornelius's teacher during the period just before he wrote the Sonata in E-flat Major; that next period is covered in Chapter 2. I have based the broad outline of Cornelius's life on the biographical studies cited in the notes of Chapter 1, and thus offer precise supporting documentation mainly when drawing upon Cornelius's letters and autobiographical sketches or otherwise going beyond the information that those biographies provide.

The Cornelius Family

Carl August Peter Cornelius¹ was born in Mainz on Christmas Eve 1824 at 10 P.M. With a good sense of drama (and perhaps a dose of humor) his father (also named Carl) laid him under the Christmas tree the next morning as a Christmas present to the family.

Cornelius's roots can be traced back as far as the late seventeenth century, when a merchant named Johann Peter Cornelius is known to have been living in Düsseldorf. His son, Peter Christian, was a wine and seed merchant in the same town. Peter Christian, in turn, had two sons: Christian Aloys, a painter and school inspector in Düsseldorf, and Arnold Leonhard Ignaz Cornelius, who worked as a painter and copper engraver and

¹ In his Autobiographical Sketch I of 1837, Cornelius cites his full name as August Wilhelm Peter Cornelius ("Ich erhielt den Namen August Wilhelm Peter Cornelius"); Peter Cornelius, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Günter Wagner and James A. Deaville, Beiträgen zur Mittelrheinischen Musikgeschichte 38 (Mainz: Schott, 2004), 53.

became an actor later in life. It is Arnold's son, Carl Gerhard Joseph Cornelius, who is the father of the composer Peter Cornelius.

Carl Cornelius, Sr. (1793–1843), the composer's father, initially trained as a goldsmith but at age twenty-one joined the theater company of Friedrich Schirmer. The company performed both plays and opera in the Rhineland, Westphalia, the Netherlands, and even England; and it was as a member of the company that Carl Cornelius came to know his wife, Friederike, who had been born in Berlin, the illegitimate child of the actors Karl Wilhelm Schwadtke and Sophie Schulz. Abandoned by Schwadtke, Sophie married Friedrich Schirmer, who, though he did not formally adopt Friederike (her formal maiden name was Schwadtke), developed a strong relationship with her. Perhaps not surprisingly, Friederike was a talented actress as well as a fine singer, specializing in soubrette roles. And while Carl typically performed father-roles, Friederike was usually cast as "the mother," so that they frequently appeared as stage partners.²

Carl Cornelius and Friederike Schwadtke were married in 1816. After Schirmer's death in 1817 the company soon disbanded. And after continuing to work together in theaters in Aschaffenburg and Würzburg, Carl and Friederike eventually settled in Mainz. Apart from their first child, a daughter who died in infancy, they had six children, all but one of whom were born in Mainz: Carl Adolf (born 1819 in Würzburg), Elise (1820), Wilhelm (1822), Peter (the composer, 1824), Auguste (1826), and Susanne (1828). The theater company with which the Corneliuses were associated performed in Mainz during winter and in nearby Wiesbaden during summer, so that the family had to move twice a

² Carl Cornelius also sang opera roles, including Samiel in Weber's *Der Freischütz* and Lord Syndham in Lortzing's *Zar und Zimmermann*; he also took on the speaking role of Harun al Raschid in Weber's *Oberon*.

year. Since the children could not change schools every semester they usually stayed in Mainz, living with a teacher.

Dissatisfied with the poor theatrical taste in Mainz, Carl Cornelius followed his friend August Haake (one of Peter's godfathers)³ to Darmstadt in 1826. But when, after three years, he was refused the life-time position that he had been promised, he returned to Mainz, where Haake wanted to set up a "quality" theater company of their own. Contrary to Haake's expectations, however, Cornelius was unable to contribute financially to the undertaking. As a consequence, Haake renounced the friendship, an event that so upset Cornelius that the family considered it quite possibly the cause for the disease that would eventually lead to his premature death.

During the last ten years of his life, Carl Cornelius took jobs wherever he could: Cologne, Mainz, and Stuttgart. And though he was offered a permanent position in Munich, his cousin Peter von Cornelius, then living in that city, informed him that the last thing he wanted was a relative on the municipal stage. Finally, after working for four years at the new theater in Wiesbaden, Carl Cornelius died on 11 October 1843.

Given the Corneliuses' theatrical background, interest in both the theater—including the works of Shakespeare, Goethe, and Lessing—and poetry was a household commonplace, and members of the family used to write poems or songs for special occasions. Music, too, seems to have had a central place. Apart from her professional activities as a singer, Friederike Cornelius is said to have sung around the house all the time, while Carl Cornelius enjoyed hearing his friends play string quartets. Not long before his death, he asked his son Peter to sing Schubert songs to him. Peter remembered:

³ The other was the painter Peter von Cornelius (1784–1867), a cousin of Peter's father.

[T]he family evenings were rich in musical impressions; together with vocally talented sisters and their girlfriends, we sang at the piano with devotion and ardor....

Most of the Cornelius children showed talent for acting or music or both. Only Carl Adolf, who from age ten was brought up and educated by an influential relative of Peter von Cornelius, had a more intellectual nature. This often led to dissension between him and other members of the family, in which case Peter frequently acted as intermediary.

Early Musical Training

Although Peter Cornelius was by no means a child prodigy, he clearly showed musical talent as a boy; and his strong musical interest, expressed, for example, in "conducting" his siblings and friends on special occasions, certainly pointed to a musical career. Yet it was apparently Carl Cornelius's wish to prepare his son for a theatrical career. In his "Autobiographical Sketch" Cornelius wrote:

I should only cultivate music on the side, in order not to have to continue acting as a tiresome necessity in my old age.⁵

No doubt encouraged by a walk-on role at age ten, however, the young Cornelius early on wanted to become an actor, so that his father's endeavors to educate his son for a double career in acting and music probably reflected at least partly Peter's own wishes.

⁴ "Wohl waren die Familienabende reich an musikalischen Eindrücken; im Verein mit stimmbegabten Schwestern und deren Freundinnen wurde mit Andacht und Inbrunst am Klavier gesungen. . . ." Cornelius, "Biographisches," *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 580–86 at 581.

⁵ "[I]ch sollte die Musik nur daneben kultivieren, um einst in älteren Tagen das Schauspielen nicht als ein leidiges Muss fortzusetzen." Peter Cornelius, "Biographisches," 580. All the translations are by the present author unless indicated otherwise.

Again Cornelius: "My life turns around two poles: word and tone. In the beginning was the word."

At age eleven Peter received his first lessons in piano and theory from Friedrich Andreas Scharrer (1783–1847) in Mainz;⁷ both Cornelius and his sister Elise also had voice lessons from him. Scharrer had been a soloist at the city's theater as well as a very successful voice teacher; and though now well on in years, he was still active in the chorus and performed small solo parts. Scharrer had creative ideas about teaching, and he would take the young boy for walks in the countryside, where Peter could develop his ear by notating bird songs. Cornelius would later praise Scharrer as one of the two teachers to whom he was musically indebted:⁸

through his thorough teaching I learned how to think musically, and I cannot remember the time when I could not hear every chord progression with the inner ear alone.⁹

Peter really enjoyed the lessons, but he did add the comment: "if only my teacher would not have been so rough [grob]." On the other hand, Scharrer was apparently

⁶ "Mein Leben dreht sich um zwei Pole: Wort und Ton. Im Anfang war das Wort." Cornelius, "Biographisches," 580. The last part of the citation is, of course, a reference to the opening of the Gospel of John.

⁷ Before the lessons with Scharrer, Cornelius briefly studied with one Strobel, probably the actor-singer Johan Baptist Strobel (Cornelius, *Gesammelte Aufätze*, 55).

⁸ The other was Siegfried Dehn, Cornelius's teacher in Berlin, 1845–48. According to Carl Maria Cornelius, Peter once said that "[t]he old Scharrer... was a lucky throw and in any event the best teacher I had before Dehn" ("Der alte Scharrer... war ein glücklicher Wurf und jedenfalls der beste Lehrer, den ich vor Dehn hatte"); Carl Maria Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius, der Wort und Tondichter*, 2 vols., Deutsche Musikbücherei 46–47 (Regensburg; Gustav Bosse, 1925), 1:44.

⁹ "durch seinen gründlichen Unterricht lernte ich musikalisch denken, und ich weiß die Zeit nicht mehr, wo ich nicht jede Akkordfolge nur dem inneren Ohr vernehmlich hätte hören können" (Cornelius, "Biographisches," 581).

¹⁰ Cornelius, Gesammelte Aufsätze, 55.

such an inspiring voice teacher and personality that for a while Peter aspired to become an opera singer.

As his "second teacher" Cornelius mentions Karl Koßmaly,¹¹ whose teaching must have been so boring that the poor student sometimes fell asleep (along with the teacher) during the lessons! Although Cornelius studied with Koßmaly for a year and a half, he did, in his own words, "not make much progress."¹²

It was probably in 1836 that Peter started violin and theory/composition studies with the composer and violinist Joseph Panny, ¹³ a coach at the Mainz theater who had previously been associated with Paganini. ¹⁴ Although Cornelius mentions Panny only in

¹¹ Karl Koßmaly (1812–1893) had studied with Karl Friedrich Zelter in Berlin, was active as theater Kapellmeister in Wiesbaden and Mainz, and later worked in Stettin.

¹² "Bei ihm bin ich mit ihm manchmal eingeschlafen, so schläfrig war sein Unterricht, weßwegen ich auch in den 1½ Jahr, daß ich Unterricht bei ihm hatte nicht sehr viel Fortschritte bei ihm machte" (Cornelius, Gesammelte Aufsätze, 55).

In a letter to his brother Carl of 27 July 1839, Cornelius implies that he started playing violin only on 4 July 1838 (Peter Cornelius, Ausgewählte Briefe nebst Tagebuchblättern und Gelegenheitsgedichten [Literarische Werke, vols. 1 & 2], ed. Carl Maria Cornelius [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904/05; reprint New York: Johnson Reprint, 1970], 1:4). This is somewhat hard to believe, since Panny died on 7 September of that year, and had been quite ill for a while. And in a note dated 1843 on the autograph score of his very first musical composition, the Overture for orchestra, Cornelius wrote: "Probably written in the year '36-'37, during my first year of violin study" (Günter Wagner, Peter Cornelius: Verzeichnis seiner musikalischen und literarischen Werke, Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 13 [Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986], 29). Was Cornelius off by a year or two when he wrote to his brother, or did he simply not count the first year or two of his violin lessons for whatever reason? From the continuation of the letter, it seems most likely that 4 July 1838 indicates the beginning of Peter's studies with Herr Hagen: in summing up the pieces he has learned, he starts off with "42 beginner's pieces, composed by Herr Hagen himself" (Cornelius, Briefe, 1:4).

¹⁴ Joseph Panny, born 23 October 1794 in Kollmitzberg, Lower Austria, studied with Joseph Eybler in Vienna in 1815 and died on 7 September 1838. Although Panny is certainly not a great composer, his works were published by Schott in Mainz even before he settled there in 1836 and received favorable reviews in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*: the *Krieger-Lied* op. 26 is called "spontaneous" and "upto-date" (*AMZ*, 33 [1831]:col. 300), and the reviewer of the *Steyrische Original-Alpenlieder* op. 35 concluded: "We enjoy hearing this kind of music for relaxation and recommend it to those who are happy by nature (*natürlich frohen Gemüthern*)" (*AMZ*, 37 [1835]:col. 208). Panny was also one of fifty composers to contribute to the famous 50 Veränderungen über einen Walzer published by Diabelli (Vienna, 1824); see Kurt von Fischer, "Variation," in New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 19:50. Paganini played Panny's sonata "The Tempest" at his farewell concert in Vienna in 1828; see Albert Mell, "Panny, Joseph," in New Grove Dictionary of Music and

passing in his "Biographisches," extensive notes dating from 1837–38 on Panny's teaching and the friendship between the student and his teacher show that Cornelius was very close to him, and Panny must have exerted an important influence on the young musician. Tragically, Panny suffered from mental illness (he took his own life on 7 September 1838), and during spring and summer 1837 Cornelius took lessons with Anton Föppel (or Föppl), who, however, soon accepted a job as music director in Freiburg im Breisgau. Although Peter still studied with Panny in early 1838, it was probably in July of that year that he began taking lessons with Matthias Hagen (1823–1851), a double-bass player in the Mainz orchestra, who brought "beat and shading to Peter's violin playing." It was during that first year with Hagen that Peter studied not only "42 beginners' pieces, composed by Herr Hagen himself' but also worked his way through the violin studies of Rodolphe Kreutzer and Pierre Baillot—the tutor then used at the Paris Conservatoire—as well as those by Johann Baptist Moralt. He also learned a number of duets by Pleyel and Viotti. Cornelius apparently stayed with Hagen until early 1841.

Musicians, rev. ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 19:35 (hereafter New Grove/2).

¹⁵ See Cornelius, Gesammelte Aufsätze, items 1a, 1b, and 3.

¹⁶ See Cornelius, Gesammelte Aufsätze, item 3.

¹⁷ See note 13.

¹⁸ Max Hasse, *Der Dichtermusiker Peter Cornelius*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1922–23, reprint Walluf bei Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1972), 1:10.

¹⁹ Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, 27 July 1839 (*Briefe*, 1:4).

²⁰ "[N]ow that I am finishing with Herr Hagen . . ." Peter Cornelius, letter to Elise Cornelius, 20 January 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:7).

Though it seems that Cornelius never became a virtuoso on any instrument, he must have been a relatively decent pianist if he could play the piano parts of his own songs,²¹ and by 1839 Peter played the violin well enough to join the second violin section in the Mainz theater orchestra. Meanwhile he had left school in 1838 to concentrate wholly on his music and acting studies, though he had attained good grades (particularly in languages) and ranked a fairly respectable ninth among his group of twenty students.

Acting Training and Career

Parallel with his musical training, Peter studied acting with his father, jotting down everything Carl mentioned about the craft in a notebook. At home Peter learned how to read a text and imitate different voices. On special occasions he and his father would perform a scene from a play for an audience of family and friends. He learned some of the major Shakespearean roles, although more as a learning experience than for practical use. In November 1840 Cornelius made his stage debut as Pistol in Alexandre Dumas *père's Kean.*²² He continued to play small roles and, with the help of a recommendation from his father, even obtained a position at the theater in Wiesbaden in spring 1843. Nonetheless, it was clear to Peter that acting would never be more than a "secondary" career, one that he considered an easy way to make money while studying music on the side:

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²¹ In a letter to Peter von Cornelius, 16 October 1843, Carl Cornelius, Jr., blames the fact that Peter will never become a virtuoso on his bad vision; "yet he plays the piano well" (*Briefe*, 1:43). According to Hasse, Cornelius was a better pianist than Richard Wagner (*Der Dichtermusiker*, 1:11).

²² Published in 1836.

After all, an actor learns most of the time by performance itself; too much study is totally useless. That way I have much, much time left for music....²³

Of course, it was also an advantage not to have to depend on music as a living:

I also have the advantage that my livelihood does not depend on my art, and that I will never enlarge the immeasurable flood of mediocre and bad pieces in order to make money.²⁴

Peter's brother Carl, Jr., however, was against the idea of a double career and did not particularly believe in Peter's acting talent: whether it was the absence of his father's pressure for an acting career or the brother's urging to give it up, Peter made the decision to abandon the stage within a month of his father's death (October 1843). Ironically, his last role was the same Dumas role with which he had made his debut three years earlier:

and it gave me a certain satisfaction at my farewell performance to experience for the first time the sweet, overpowering happiness of an ovation...²⁵

Travel Abroad

It was in 1841 that Cornelius's musical studies began to bear fruit in terms of widening his cultural horizons. That year he toured both the Netherlands and England as

²³ "Der Schauspieler lernt ja doch meistens durch die Ausübung selbst, zuviel studieren taugt da gar nicht. So bleibt mir viel, viel Zeit zur Musik. . . ." Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Jr., 10 March 1843 (*Briefe*, 1:41).

²⁴ "Den Vorteil habe ich auch, dass meine Kunst nicht nach Brot geht, und daß ich nie, um zu verdienen, den unermeßlichen Schwall von mittelmäßigen und schlechten Sachen vermehren werde. . . ." Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Jr., 10 March 1843 (*Briefe*, 1:41).

²⁵ "und es war mir eine gewisse Befriedigung, daß mir gerade beim Abschiede zum ersten Male das süße betäubende Glück eines Applauses zuteil wurde. . . ." Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Jr., 11 November 1843 (*Briefe*, 1:47).

a violinist with the Mainz opera orchestra, and he described his impressions of both Rotterdam and London in a letter to his father:

[Rotterdam] is the most beautiful city I have seen so far. . . . Only large and magnificent houses built of friendly painted brick, and the pretty canals and bridges. . . . The shops are very beautiful and the Dutch cleanliness is evident everywhere. ²⁶

In London Cornelius visited the British Museum, where he saw the paintings of Rembrandt, van Dyck, Rubens, Lorrain, and Murillo, among others. He walked along Regent Street, wandered through St. James's Park, and saw Buckingham Palace, St. Paul's Cathedral, and Westminster Abbey:

And at night the gas-lit shops! No, there's nothing like it! . . . Money makes the world go round! That is true everywhere, but most of all in London. . . . On every street corner . . . are people, who try to make their money, often in the most miserable way. . . . And the rattling of the carts! Always carts and always carts as if it would never stop! And the music in the streets! Here someone plays Bellini on the barrel-organ . . . there someone plays a merry waltz on the clarinet, here stands a sprightly girl playing the violin. Everybody wants to make money. 27

In the English capital Cornelius heard such famous singers as Fanny Tacchinardi-Persiani, for whom Donizetti had written the title role in *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and

²⁶ "Es ist die schönste Stadt, die ich bis jetzt noch gesehen habe. . . . Lauter große prächtige Häuser mit freundlich gefärbten Backsteinen gebaut, und die schönen Kanäle und Brücken. . . . Die Läden sind sehr schön und die holländische Reinlichkeit leuchtet überall hervor." Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Sr., 17 March 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:11).

²⁷ "Und abends die Läden in der Gasbeleuchtung! Nein da geht nichts drüber! . . . Geld, Geld! ist der Hebel der Welt! Das ist überall wahr, aber in London am meisten. . . . An jeder Straßenecke . . . stehen Leute, die sich manchmal auf die elendeste Weise ihr Geld zu verdienen suchen. . . . Und dann das Wagengeraffel! Immer Wagen und immer Wagen als wollte es nie aufhören! Und die Musik auf den Straßen! Hier orgelt einer den Bellini . . . da spielt einer lustige Walzer auf der Klarinette, hier steht eine rüstige Violinspielerin. Alles will sich Geld verdienen." Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Sr., 17 March 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:10).

Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, who performed with the Mainz company.²⁸ In addition to the invaluable experience of playing in the pit orchestra for an extensive and widely varied repertoire,²⁹ Cornelius had the opportunity to hear a number of fairly recent Italian operas performed in London theaters (Bellini's *Beatrice di Tenda*, for example, an opera which Cornelius considered "not nearly as good as *La Sonnambula*").³⁰ Another pleasant side effect of the tour was that Cornelius had the opportunity to learn English.

Other Musical Experiences

Cornelius's own compositions up to the fall of 1841 (when he started composition studies with Esser) include a brief sketch for an *Ouvertüre* for orchestra (1836/37, all instruments written in treble clef); a setting of Goethe's *Nachtgesang* (1838, lost); the *Introduktion, Andante und Polonaise* for oboe and piano "op. 1" (1840);³¹ a Violin Sonata in C major, "op. 2" (1840); and two string quartets, one in A-flat major (two movements only) and the other in C major (one movement only), both partly composed while on tour in England. The C-major quartet was performed in Wiesbaden by

²⁸ While touring in England with the Mainz company, Schröder-Devrient (1804–1860), who as Leonore made a lifelong impression on the young Richard Wagner, undoubtedly sang the title roles in Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide* and *Iphigénie en Tauride*, as well as that in Weber's *Euryanthe*.

²⁹ The immense repertoire for the tour consisted of Mozart's Zauberflöte, Figaro, Entführung, and Clemenza di Tito; Gluck's Iphigénie en Aulide and Iphigénie en Tauride; Beethoven's Fidelio; Weber's Freischütz, Euryanthe, and Oberon; Kreutzer's Das Nachtlager von Granada; Spohr's Jessonda; Auber's La Muette de Portici; Meyerbeer's Huguenots (performed in the presence of the composer) and Robert le Diable; as well as a concert performance of Méhul's Joseph en Égypte (Hasse, Der Dichtermusiker I, 30; Cornelius, Peter Cornelius, 1:56).

³⁰ Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Sr., 8 April 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:15).

³¹ Cornelius started counting opus numbers anew with the Sechs Lieder of 1853.

Cornelius's friends Carl Buths, one Grimm, Herr Hagen, and Cornelius himself on 3

October 1841.³²

We may well ask what music Cornelius knew by other composers at this time. In addition to the operas he played with the Mainz opera orchestra, Cornelius would probably have heard most, if not all, of the other operas performed in Mainz during the late 1830s; these would have included works by Mozart, Weber, and other early-nineteenth-century Germans, as well as the Italians Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini, and the French leaders of *grand opéra*.³³ In addition, Mainz supported both the Mainzer Liedertafel—the local men's chorus—and the associated Damengesangverein (founded in 1836³⁴ in order to perform large-scale works for mixed choir), which together performed such works as Handel's *Messiah*, Haydn's *Seasons*, *Creation*, and *Sieben Worte*, as well as Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* and Graun's *Der Tod Jesu*.³⁵ And since Cornelius's sister Elise sang in the Damengesangverein, it seems more than likely that Cornelius was familiar with most of these works.³⁶ In 1835 a *Musikfest* in Mainz, commemorating Gutenberg's invention of book printing, included a performance of Carl Loewe's oratorio

³² See Cornelius's note on the last page of the autograph, now in *Jugendarbeiten*, 2:fols. 5r–12v (Wagner, *Peter Cornelius*, 32).

³³ Among these operas would have been Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte*; Boïeldieu's *La Dame blanche* (1825); Hérold's *Zampa* (1831); Auber's *Le Maçon* (1825), *Gustave III* (1833), and *Le Domino noir* (1837); Rossini's *Otello* and *Guillaume Tell*; Marschner's *Der Templer und die Jüdin* (1829); Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (1830) and *L'Elisir d'amore* (1832); Bellini's *I puritani* (1835); and Gläser's *Des Adlers Horst* (1832); see Hasse, *Der Dichtermusiker*, 1:13–14.

³⁴ Email communication of Annegret Dick, president of the Mainzer Singakademie (formerly Mainzer Liedertafel and Damengesangverein), 25 March 2005; the articles on "Mainz" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, rev. ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001) and *New Grove/2* give 1835 and 1837 respectively as the year of foundation.

³⁵ Hasse, Der Dichtermusiker, 1:14.

³⁶ Cornelius apparently heard Handel's *Messiah* for the first time in London in 1841 (Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Sr., 8 April 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:15).

Die eherne Schlange;³⁷ and on 2 February 1838, Beethoven's Symphony No. 7 was heard.³⁸ Finally, Cornelius may also have heard the various traveling virtuosi who came through Mainz: the violinists Ole Bull, Charles-August de Bériot, and Teresa and Maria Milanollo, as well as the pianists Sigismund Thalberg, Alois Schmitt, and—most important of all—Franz Liszt.

Musical Tastes

In the summer of 1839 Cornelius wrote that he had been playing "nothing but [Ferdinand] Ries and Beethoven" on the piano, unfortunately without specifying any works.³⁹ His opinion of Ries (1784–1838) is worth citing:

In the compositions of Ries one can see that he took his great teacher as an example. They are serious in character, very profound, and therefore not easy to understand. I like them very much, and even if [Ries] has not reached [the level of] his great teacher, he still is a student who does [his teacher] the greatest honor.⁴⁰

³⁸ AMZ, 40 (1838):col. 564. The correspondent added that "at present, however, not many people here understand and appreciate [this work], which will still remain a 'voice in the wilderness' for quite a while." In general, the writer was not too optimistic about the artistic level of the *Mainzer*: he complains that low attendance of concerts has led to significantly fewer visits of famous artists; and calls the performance of Handel's *Messiah* a "very useful choice to call back to life the sense for higher, nobler music, which has completely died out here, so to speak."

³⁷ AMZ, 37 (1835):col. 581.

³⁹ Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Jr., 27 July 1839 (*Briefe*, 1:4).

⁴⁰ "In den Riesschen Kompositionen kann man sehen, daß er sich seinen großen Lehrer zum Muster genommen. Sie sind von ernstem Charakter, sehr tief gedacht und darum nicht leicht verständlich. Mir gefallen sie sehr, und wenn er auch seinen grossen Meister nicht erreicht hat, so ist er doch ein Schüler, der diesem zur größten Ehre gereicht." Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Jr., 27 July 1839 (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 1:5). Cornelius may have known Ries's opera *Die Räuberbraut*, which was produced in Mainz in 1838 (*AMZ*, 40 [1838]:col. 562–63).

Half a year later Cornelius expressed his admiration for Mozart, comparing him favorably to the composer Julius Benedict, specifically the latter's recent—and apparently very popular—opera *The Gypsy's Warning*:⁴¹

You too have certainly often heard about the big opera *Der Zigeunerin Warnung* of J. Benedict. That there is so much ado just about this opera, that Benedict is made into a second Weber, makes us painfully aware how far Mozart's times with their heaven full of shining stars lie behind us, and to what a helpless and powerless state the German composition has fallen.⁴²

He found another round-about way to praise Mozart in a diary entry of 26 January 1840 about Heinrich August Marschner's *Der Templer und die Jüdin* (premiered Leipzig, 1829), where his criticism of the latter is even more specific:

In this opera, even the tiniest song is accompanied by a flood of instruments that does not allow the words to be heard; that is wrong, for the voice must always rule, whatever happens. Mozart was a master in every respect, including this one; he knew how to orchestrate delightfully; ... but is [the accompaniment] too loud? Certainly not.⁴³

⁴¹ Julius Benedict (1804–1885) studied with Hummel and Weber and became Kapellmeister in Vienna (1824) and Naples (1825). In 1835 he moved to London, where *The Gypsy's Warning* was produced in 1838. The opera was published in Mainz as *Der Zigeunerin Warnung* in the same year, and produced in Berlin as *Der Zigeunerin Weissagung* in 1840 (Nicholas Temperley, "Benedict, Sir Julius," in *New Grove/2*, 3:240–42).

⁴² "Gewiß hast Du schon oft von der großen Oper gehört: "Der Zigeunerin Warnung" von J. Benedict. Gerade daß aus dieser Oper soviel gemahct wird, daß Benedict zu einem zweiten Weber gemacht wird, läßt uns schmerzlich empfinden, wie weit die Mozartschen Zeiten mit ihrem Himmel voll glänzenden Sternen hinter uns liegen, und wie ohnmächtig und Kraftlos die deutsche Komposition danieder liegt." Peter Cornelius, letter to Elise Cornelius, 20 January 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:7).

⁴³ "In dieser Oper ist auch das kleinste Liedchen von einem Schwall von thönenden Instrumenten begleitet, die die Stimme gar nicht zu Worte kommen lassen; das ist gefehlt, denn die Stimme muß nun einmal Meister bleiben, da mag es gehen wie es will. Wie Mozart in jeder Hinsicht Meister war, so war er es auch hierin; er wußte herrlich zu instrumentiren; . . . ist sie aber auch zu stark? – Gewiß nicht" (Cornelius, Gesammelte Aufsätze, 85).

Cornelius's love of Mozart, however, was not altogether without reservation. A few months later, when discussing the repertoire of the London tour, he called *La Clemenza di Tito* "our worst opera." In his diaries Cornelius also expressed his admiration for Haydn, Beethoven (the Fifth Symphony in particular), and Gluck's *Alceste*. 45

Further Musical Activities

When Cornelius's studies with Herr Hagen came to an end in early 1841, Carl intended to send his son for composition lessons to Johann Peter Heuschkel in nearby Biebrich.⁴⁶ Apparently, though, the plan was not fulfilled, perhaps owing to Cornelius's trip to England. But there can be no doubt that Cornelius was already an aspiring composer, as he implies in a 26 July 1842 letter to his sister Elise:

Oh, how I am looking forward to bringing my little bit of talent into practice under the guidance of such a capable man [Heuschkel]. Once I can compose a little bit, you will be happy; then I will compose many songs for you. Should I once (joke!) compose an opera, you can be sure that the heroine will be a contralto⁴⁷ (joke!). We won't get that far.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Sr., 8 April 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:14).

⁴⁵ Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius*, 1:51.

⁴⁶ Johann Peter Heuschkel (1773–1853) had been the piano teacher of Carl Maria von Weber. He became court music teacher at Biebrich in 1818; many of his compositions were published in Mainz (John Warrack and Joachim Veit, "Heuschkel, Johann Peter," in *New Grove/2*, 11:469).

⁴⁷ Elise Cornelius's voice range.

⁴⁸ "Ach wie sehr freue ich mich darauf, mein bißchen Talent unter der Leitung eines so tüchtigen Mannes in Ausübung zu bringen. Kann ich einmal ein bißchen Komponieren, dann sollst Du Dich freuen, dann Komponiere ich Dir viele Lieder. Sollte ich einmal (Spaß!) eine Oper komponieren, so sei gewiß, daß die Heldin Alt wird. (Spaß!) Soweit bringen wir's nicht." Peter Cornelius, letter to Elise Cornelius, 20 January 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:7).

Yet Cornelius did not see his future primarily as a composer of vocal music. Responding to a letter from his brother Carl—who was of the opinion that a "proper composer" should write songs only as "trifles (*Bagatelle*) on the side"—Cornelius wrote that not only is he not yet a "proper composer by far," but

a man must take on what he is most capable of doing, and Franz Schubert ... has composed almost nothing but lieder... But do not believe for that matter that, if my talent proves its worth and increases, I want to become a lieder composer; for I believe that I will sooner achieve something in instrumental composition... ⁴⁹

By the time Cornelius returned home from England in August 1841 another composition teacher had appeared on the Mainz music scene: Heinrich Esser (1818–1872). Since Esser was certainly Cornelius's most important composition teacher up to the composition of the E-flat major sonata, Esser and Cornelius's studies with him will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 2.

By studying with Esser, playing in the Mainz theater orchestra (since fall 1841 with the first violins), and pursuing his acting career, Cornelius continued to expand both his general career and artistic horizons. He got up at six every morning to read Shakespeare, both in English and German, though occasionally his studies with Esser demanded so much time that he had to skip the daily reading sessions.⁵⁰ At the piano he

⁴⁹ "der Mensch muß das ergreifen, wozu er am meisten befähigt ist, und Franz Schubert . . . hat fast nichts als Lieder komponiert. . . . Glaube aber deswegen nicht, daß ich, wenn mein Talent sich wirklich bewährt und stärkt, Liederkomponist werden will; denn ich glaube, daß eher in der Instrumentalkomposition etwas leisten werde. . . ." Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Jr., 26 July 1842 (*Briefe*, 1:36).

⁵⁰ Peter Cornelius, letter to Elise Cornelius, 15 December 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:31).

now had Bach's *Well-tempered Clavier* in his fingers⁵¹ and played "nothing but Beethoven's sonatas and symphonies, to the extent that I can get them."⁵² Interestingly enough, after these "serious studies," Cornelius moved on to the more "pleasant side of piano playing": he memorized

waltzes, mazurkas, gallops, etc. . . . in order to be able to use my talent in social gatherings in a not-too-demanding way. . . . When I come to see you, you will hear a few waltzes [in such a way] that you have to dance, whether you want to or not. But I will also play Bach fugues to you so that you would wish to die from boredom.⁵³

And in addition to his composition studies and work at the keyboard (including score reading) Cornelius still practiced the violin two hours a day and played Mozart and Beethoven string quartets with his friends Carl Buths and Grimm.

Personal Life

Cornelius's extensive experience as an orchestral musician and actor undoubtedly had a social aspect. But what about more "private" friendships and activities? According to Carl Maria Cornelius, the composer's son and biographer, his father was always a social person:

⁵¹ Peter Cornelius, letter to Elise Cornelius of 28 December 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:35). In a letter to his brother Carl he wrote on 26 July 1842: "With the Bach (the *Well-tempered Clavier*) I am almost halfway through" (*Briefe*, 1:37).

⁵² Peter Cornelius, letter to Elise Cornelius, 28 December 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:35).

⁵³ "Walzer, Mazurken, Galopps usw. . . . um mein Talent auch im geselligen Kreise auf eine leichtverdauliche Art . . . in Anwendung bringen zu können. Komm ich einmal zu Dir, so sollst Du ein paar Walzer hören, daß Du tanzen mußt, ob Du willst oder nicht. Aber auch Bachsche Fugen werde ich Dir dann vorspielen, daß Du sterben möchtest vor Langweile." Peter Cornelius, letter to Elise Cornelius, 15 December 1841 (*Briefe*, 1:32).

He felt the need to share and liked other people's company. . . . He was a "friendship enthusiast" [my quotation marks] early on. 54

Certainly Carl Buths, the dedicatee of two of Cornelius's early works, must have been a close friend. But Cornelius also had an eye for girls:

Already at age six, he raved about a girl. In love, too, he was enthusiastic and always took it very purely and earnestly, and if his passions often changed later in life, it was not so much his fault.⁵⁵

However interesting it might be to know more about Cornelius's "love life" at age six, nothing else is known about this relationship. As a teenager, Cornelius had no fewer than four successive "sweethearts," all of whom were named Marie. One of them, Marie Hähnlein, became Cornelius's first "muse," as he wrote a number of poems to her, often using her last name for rhyme and word play:

Seit ich dich sah und nennen hörte, Marie Hähnlein, Flattern Liebesgedanken in mir wie im Winde ein Fähnlein.⁵⁶

Yet Cornelius loved all these Maries merely "from a distance." His first "serious" girlfriend was Fanny Krämer, the daughter of the owner of a blast-furnace at Quint, near Trier, where Peter's sister Elise was employed as a governess. Peter fell in love with Fanny in spring 1840; he was sixteen, she just thirteen. According to Carl Maria Cornelius,

⁵⁴ Cornelius, Peter Cornelius, 1:47.

⁵⁵ Cornelius, Peter Cornelius, 1:47.

⁵⁶ "Since I saw you and heard your name, Marie Hähnlein,/ thoughts of love flutter within me like a pennant in the wind" (Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius*, 1:48).

Fanny [was] to [Peter] the muse of his homeland, as later his bride and spouse Berta Jung was to become, with whom she is said to have had certain similarities, both inside and outside.⁵⁷

The relationship appears to have been a little bit more serious than the average teenage love affair:

Carl Maria Cornelius described his father's appearance and character as follows:

Peter . . . was in many ways like his father, particularly his mood, which went both high and low, leading to excitability as well as to sensitivity, while his mother's equanimity and cheerfulness formed the counterbalance. In stature, the son was only a little less tall than his father, who was six feet tall, and like him remained slim, even thin, all his life, only stronger and more bony, like his mother, and—like her—full of grace and roguery. The only bad inheritance from his father was his severe nearsightedness: later in life, he wore the strongest glasses that were available. His eyes were dark grey-blue like his father's. He was born blond, but later on his hair darkened to chestnut brown, like his father's, later even blackish; his facial color, too, went from pale to brown. He wore his hair long, as was customary at the time, but not excessively long—that he only did during the last years of his life. . . . In the circle of friends and family, his peaceful nature often made him an intermediary and reconciler, and his arguments, coming from an intelletto d'amore, nobody could oppose. He was in no way a coward or a hypocrite, but

⁵⁷ Cornelius, Peter Cornelius, 1:49.

⁵⁸ Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius*, 1:49.

cheery and honest, and brought joy [to those around him] from the early days to the evening of his life.⁵⁹

The Cornelius family was Roman Catholic. Johann Peter (ii) Cornelius, a brother of Peter's grandfather, was a Jesuit. Carl Cornelius, Peter's father, however, was a Freemason; and Friederike Cornelius, the mother, remained a Lutheran all her life, but agreed to raise the children in the Catholic faith. Peter was deeply religious and not particularly happy in Wiesbaden because of its "tedious Protestantism." On the other hand, he was apparently liberal enough not to let his Catholicism stand in the way of his marriage to the Lutheran Bertha Jung.

⁵⁹ Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius*, 1:41.

CHAPTER TWO

CORNELIUS AND HEINRICH ESSER

This chapter focuses first on Heinrich Esser, Cornelius's teacher from fall 1841 through summer 1843 (the period just before Cornelius composed the Sonata in E-flat Major) and then on the student-teacher relationship itself. Although Cornelius mentions Esser only briefly in his "Autobiographical Sketch," Esser was almost certainly Cornelius's most important composition teacher up to the time he composed the Violin Sonata in E-flat Major.

Heinrich Esser

Heinrich Esser was born in Mannheim on 15 July 1818. As a boy, he studied violin with Jakob Heinefetter and theory with Carl Eschborn, and played in the Mannheim theater orchestra. In 1834 Esser continued his studies with Franz Lachner,² who was appointed music director in Mannheim in that year, and two years later followed Lachner to Munich. After serving as concertmaster at the Mannheim theater in 1838,

^{1 &}quot;Scharrer and S. W. Dehn in Berlin . . . are the two [teachers to] whom I owed the most musically speaking. In between those two, I may add Joseph Panny and Heinrich Esser for the years of my boyhood and early adulthood." ("Scharrer und S. W. Dehn in Berlin . . . sind die Beiden, denen ich musikalisch das meiste zu danken habe. Zwischen beiden darf ich für die Knaben- und ersten Jünglingsjahre noch Joseph Panny und Heinrich Esser nennen.") Peter Cornelius, "Biographisches," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Günter Wagner and James A. Deaville, Beiträgen zur Mittelrheinischen Musikgeschichte 38 (Mainz: Schott, 2004), 580–86, at 581. Siegfried Wilhelm Dehn (1799–1858) was one of the foremost theorists and teachers of his time. Cornelius studied with him from 1844 to 1846 and again from 1847 to 1849. Dehn's other students included Mikhail Glinka and Anton Rubinstein; see John Warrack/James Deaville, "Dehn, Siegfried (Wilhelm)," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 7:140 (hereafter *New Grove/2*). On Scharrer, see Chapter One, p. 5.

² Franz Lachner (1803–1890), largely self-taught, was friendly with Schubert, acquainted with Beethoven, and studied with Simon Sechter (see below). A prolific composer in practically all genres, he was appointed *Generalmusikdirektor* in Munich in 1852; see Horst Leuchtmann, "Lachner: (2) Franz Paul Lachner," in *New Grove/2*, 14:96–97, at 96.

Esser went to Vienna to study with Simon Sechter,³ probably on Lachner's recommendation, and worked with him in 1839–1840.

In fall 1840 the position of music director of the Mainz Liedertafel and its associated Damengesangverein⁴ became vacant after its music director, one Messer, had been appointed to the same position at the Cäcilien-Verein in Frankfurt as of 1 October of that year.⁵ Esser was appointed the same year and took office in 1841. His apparent success in working with the choir led to his appointment as Kapellmeister of the Mainz theater in 1845. Two years later Esser succeeded Otto Nicolai⁶ as Kapellmeister of the Vienna court opera, a position he held until 1869. He then retired to Salzburg, where he became music director of the Liedertafel, and died there on 3 June 1872.

In his obituary for Esser, the influential Viennese music critic Eduard Hanslick compared him to the enthusiastic and flamboyant conductor Herbeck, describing Esser as

³ Simon Sechter (1788–1867), organist, conductor, and composer, was "the most influential Viennese music theorist of the nineteenth century." He was said to have written a fugue every day. Among his students were Franz Schubert and Anton Bruckner; see Janna Saslaw, "Sechter, Simon," in *New Grove/2*, 23:27–28.

⁴ The Liedertafel, a men's chorus, had been founded in 1831; in order to be able to perform large-scale works for mixed choir, a Damengesangverein was founded in 1836 (see p. 12, n.34), of which Elise Cornelius was a member.

⁵ The opening was announced in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of October 1840 in a communication dated 7 October 1840. The correspondent ("A—Z") explained that the two societies operate under one board, which is looking for "a competent [tüchtiger] man . . . who keeps the local forces together." The new music director was expected to be able to "rehearse and conduct major oratorios, teach voice," and have "the necessary skills as a piano player." The position was thought "always [to] remain a pleasant one, since people are generally very fond of this society"; it required ten to twelve hours a week, with an annual stipend of 400 Thaler. *AMZ*, 42 (1840):col. 894–95.

⁶ Otto Nicolai (1810–1849) was educated in Berlin and subsequently studied in Rome, where he was the organist of the chapel of the Prussian embassy. After two years as Assistant Kapellmeister of the Vienna Kärntnertortheater and an attempt at a career as a freelance composer in northern Italy, he became music director at the Vienna Court Opera from 1841 to 1847. In that year he was appointed Kapellmeister at the Royal Opera in Berlin and, as successor to Mendelssohn, music director of the cathedral choir. Nicolai's best known work is undoubtedly the comic opera *Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor*, first performed in 1849 in Berlin; see Ulrich Konrad, "Nicolai, (Carl) Otto (Ehrenfried)," in *New Grove/2*, 17:871–74.

a serious councilman of an old German imperial city [Reichsstadt]. Tall and lean in form, always quiet and measured in his walking and speaking, without pedantry, he had a reserved, almost dismissive distinction [Vornehmheit] in company.⁷

Not surprisingly, these character traits were also present in Esser's conducting:

As a conductor, [he] took his duty seriously and conscientiously. He favored quiet, moderate movements in his baton technique.⁸

Hanslick also thought that Esser was "too modest" to perform his own operas in Vienna.

Esser is perhaps most important for his early championship of Wagner; he conducted performances of *Lohengrin* (1858) and *Der fliegende Holländer* (1860). As adviser to the Mainz music publisher Franz Schott, Esser actually introduced Wagner to Schott at the latter's request. Wagner wanted Esser to prepare a "practical," easy-to-play vocal score of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (at the same time, the piano virtuoso Carl Tausig was to prepare a presumably unplayable keyboard reduction "for the future"). After much back and forth, Esser eventually finished the job in July 1868 and went on to prepare piano reductions for most of the *Ring* cycle, his critical attitude towards Wagner's later works (including *Meistersinger* and the *Ring*) notwithstanding.

⁷ Eduard Hanslick, "Zwei Wiener Kapellmeister: II. Heinrich Esser," in Suite: Aufsätze über Musik und Musiker (Vienna: Karl Prochaska, 1884), 52–61, at 53.

⁸ Hanslick, "Zwei Wiener Kapellmeister," 56.

⁹ On Esser's conducting career and his relationship to Wagner, see Margareta Wöss, "Heinrich Esser. Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und Wirkens als Dirigent unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Beziehung zu Richard Wagner," Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna (1947).

¹⁰ Heinrich Esser, letter to Schott, 19 December 1863, cited in Edgar Istel, *Richard Wagner im Lichte eines zeitgenössischen Briefwechsels (1858 bis 1872)* (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1902), 35.

¹¹ Das Rheingold, Die Walküre and Siegfried. Esser also prepared vocal scores for many operas by Gluck, Mozart, Weber, and Beethoven, and made numerous arrangements for piano solo or duet of works by various composers.

Although Esser's own compositions are practically forgotten today, François-Joseph Fétis refers to him exclusively as a composer in his *Biographie universelle*.¹² According to Fétis, Esser established himself mainly with his opera *Die zwei Prinzen* (1844), produced in Munich, and later in Berlin, Frankfurt, and Kassel. Fétis also mentioned Esser's church and chamber music, a symphony, and "a large number of very pretty [*très-jolis*] *Lieder*, which used to be very popular [*qui ont eu beaucoup de vogue*]." Even the 1936 edition of Frank's *Kurzgefasstes Tonkünstler-Lexikon*, while devoting twice as much space to Cornelius as to Esser, still mentioned the latter as a composer of operas and "lieder that were often sung at the time."

According to Hanslick, who knew Esser fairly well owing to their joint committee work, Esser first achieved popularity through Jan Křtitel Pišek's masterful performance of the ballad "Des Sängers Fluch" (The Singer's Curse); ¹⁵ by the mid-1840s, the song had become a pièce-de-résistance in concerts and a favorite piece in amateur circles. ¹⁶ Although Hanslick considered Esser's many songbooks "uneven in quality," they contained, in his opinion

¹² François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2nd rev. ed., 8 vols. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878), 3:159.

¹³ Fétis, *Biographie universelle*, 3:159. (This edition of *Biographie universelle* did not have an entry for Cornelius.)

¹⁴ Paul Frank, Kurzgefasstes Tönkünstler-Lexikon für Musiker und Freunde der Musik, 14th rev. ed., ed. Wilhelm Altmann (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1936), 150. The article mentions two of Esser's songs in particular: "Mein Engel" and "Des Sängers Fluch." (The entry on Cornelius is found on p. 109.)

¹⁵ The baritone Jan Křtitel Pišek (Johann Baptist Pischek, 1814–1873) made his début in Prague in 1835 and became a Court singer in Stuttgart in 1848. Starting in 1845 he frequently performed in England, receiving much praise for his portrayal of the title role in *Don Giovanni*. Although his singing was thought to be mannered by some, Berlioz considered Pišek "perhaps the greatest dramatic singer of the age"; see Jennifer Spencer/Elizabeth Forbes, "Pišek [Pischek], Jan Křtitel [Johann Baptist]," in *New Grove*/2, 19:787.

¹⁶ Hanslick, "Zwei Wiener Kapellmeister," 54.

many tender [zart] and sensitive [sinnig] pieces. They come closest in style to Mendelssohn, to whom Esser seems artistically most closely related in every respect. [In these songs,] the subjective strength of the expression often gives way to a certain clear generality of grace.¹⁷

Example 2.1 gives an idea of the kind of song Hanslick may have had in mind.

EXAMPLE 2.1. Heinrich Esser, Sängers Trost (Justinus Kerner), op. 65 no. 4, mm. 1–15. 18



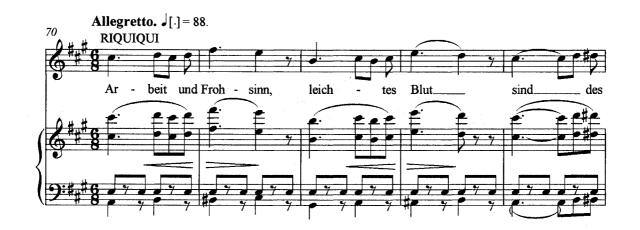
¹⁷ Hanslick, "Zwei Wiener Kapellmeister," 54.

¹⁸ Lieder Album./ Ihrer Königlichen Hoheit/ der durchlauchtigsten Frau Großherzogin/ Luise von Baden/ in tiefster Erhrfurch gewidmet/ von/ Heinrich Esser (Mainz: Schott, n.d.), 12. The text of the fragment reads in translation: "Though no sweetheart cries tears on my grave, still the flowers dribble down [their] gentle dew." The poem was also set by Schumann as no. 1 of Fünf Lieder und Gesänge op. 127 (1840).

Reviewing Esser's Lieder op. 4 in 1840, Robert Schumann was impressed with the young composer: "Harmony: pure and refined [gewählt], — melody: clear, not without character [Eigentümlichkeit], easy to sing, — accompaniment: natural, enhancing [hebend]. . . ." Schumann also heard a "fondness for . . . Schubert" and "a remarkably strong reminiscence of Weber."

Two years later, Schumann reviewed Esser's comic opera *Thomas Riquiqui oder die politische Heirath*. After criticizing the libretto (in which he did not find anything comical at all), he characterized the music as "generally healthy and natural." Example 2.2 shows the refrain of Riquiqui's first song in vocal score.

EXAMPLE 2.2. Heinrich Esser, *Thomas Riquiqui oder Die politische Heirath* (libretto Carl Gollizick, after St. Georges and De Leuven), Act I, Scene 3, No. 2, mm. 70–85. ²⁰



¹⁹ Robert Schumann, "Drei gute Liederhefte," in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1875), 1:177.

²⁰ Thomas Riquiqui/ oder/ Die politische Heirath/ Komische Oper in 3 Akten/ nach dem Französischen der H. St. Georges u. de Leuven/ von Carl Gollizick/ in Musik gesetzt/ und seinem Lehrer und Freund Herrn/ Franz Lachner/ königlich bairischem Hofkapellmeister/ gewidmet von/ Heinrich Esser/ Op. 10 (Mainz: Schott, n.d. [1842]), 13. The text of the fragment reads in translation: "Work and cheerfulness, light blood, are life's greatest good."



According to Schumann, Mozart was clearly Esser's ideal, but he also seemed well acquainted with French opera (Boïeldieu and—less favorably in Schumann's eyes—Adolphe Adam). Schumann did not hear any resemblance to Beethoven, however, nor, as he was pleased to point out, to the commonplaces of Italian opera. Most of all, he praised the "correctness and cleanliness" of Esser's writing; his orchestration, too, was "clear, simple, and natural."

In addition to three operas (the music of *Simas*, produced in Mannheim in 1840, is lost) and a number of sacred vocal pieces, Esser composed an impressive number of songs: 42 for men's chorus, 287 solo songs, and 30 duets. His orchestral works include five symphonies (two of them lost) and two suites; both suites and the two later

²¹ Schumann, "Deutsche Opern: Heinrich Esser, *Thomas Riquiqui oder die politische Heirath*, komische Oper in drei Acten, Werk 10," (1842) in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2:296–98.

symphonies were performed by the Vienna Philharmonic during Esser's lifetime.²² Hanslick thought highly of the two suites in particular; in this context, he noted that, "few composers might maintain the art of polyphonic writing with such ease, correctness, and grace as Esser. . ."²³

Esser's relatively small number of chamber works consists of a septet for wind instruments, a quintet for piano and winds,²⁴ two string quartets (one of which is lost), a piano trio, a Rondo for cello and piano, and four piano sonatas (one of which is lost). Both the String Quartet in G Minor, op. 5, and the Piano Trio in E Major, op. 6, were presumably written during Esser's early years in Mainz and were well received in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*: both reviewers were optimistic about Esser's future as a composer, although not entirely without reservation. The anonymous reviewer of the quartet concluded that Esser was "on the right track," but had not yet perfected his art.²⁵ Half a year later, "K." called Esser "[a]n aspiring composer who promises quite a lot," and wrote about the piano trio:

Most of all, Beethoven is clearly taken as a model, but only in the earlier trios, not the way the master presents himself to us in op. 70, for

²² Some of Esser's choral works were performed during his lifetime by the prestigious Vienna Singakademie: Frühlingstod and Wach auf on 28 November 1858 (the very first concert of the newly-founded choral society, in addition to movements by J. S. and J. Chr. Bach, Durante's Magnificat, Lotti's Crucifixus, and works by Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Schumann); and Es ist so still geworden on 6 January 1860 (in a program that also contained Allegri's Miserere, movements from Bach's St. Matthew Passion, and works by Händel, Mendelssohn, and Schumann). Es ist so still geworden and Wach auf remained on the repertoire until 1884 and 1904 respectively. Anton Schönauer, "Konzertarchiv Wiener Singakademie," last updated 12 December 2002, http://www.wienersingakademie.at/archive/k_esser_. html (8 July 2004).

²³ Hanslick, "Zwei Wiener Kapellmeister," 55.

²⁴ One of the very few works in the literature for piano, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, and French horn, along with Mozart's K. 452 and Beethoven's op. 16, and undoubtedly inspired by either (or both) of these works.

²⁵ AMZ, 43 (1841): cols. 1083-84.

example.²⁶ . . . The last movement . . . reminded us of the humor of Haydn. Contrapuntal richness cannot be found, but instead there is a certain clarity and transparency for which the composer is to be commended. . . . As long as he does not let himself be tempted into prolific mediocrity [Vielschreiberei], he will achieve something quite worthwhile [etwas ganz tüchtiges].²⁷

Example 2.3 offers the beginning of the last movement of Esser's piano trio. A superficial similarity with the finale from Haydn's "Gypsy" trio (Hob. XV:25) is obvious; the witty use of the *General pausen* also remind one of Haydn.

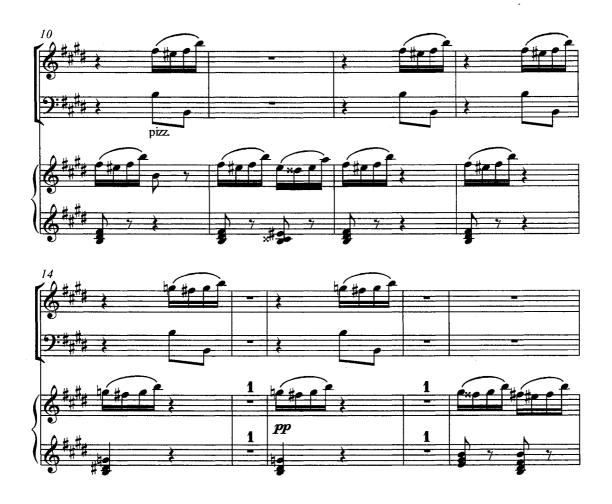
EXAMPLE 2.3. Heinrich Esser, Piano Trio in E Major, op. 6, 28 last movement, mm. 1–19.



²⁶ Beethoven's Piano Trios in D major ("Ghost") and E-flat major. In other words, the reviewer probably sees the models as op. 1 and op. 11.

²⁷ AMZ, 44 (1842): col. 527.

²⁸ Trio/ pour Piano[,] Violon et Violoncelle/ composé et dédié à son ami/ Vincenz Lachner/ par Henri Esser./ Op. 6 (Mainz: Schott, n.d. [1840]), 28.



Although still in the early stages of his career—both as composer and conductor—at the time he came to Mainz, Esser had composed works in all genres: an opera, church music, songs, and most of all chamber music, including three piano sonatas. His years with Lachner and Sechter had made him a fine craftsman. As Karl-Josef Müller points out, the works of Beethoven served as the main models in Esser's early years. Later he became increasingly interested in the music of Bach, adding more depth to his already-strong command of counterpoint.²⁹

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²⁹ Karl-Josef Müller, "Heinrich Esser als Komponist," Ph.D. diss., Johannes Gutenberg University (1969), 64–65. Esser arranged two of Bach's organ works (the Passacaglia, BWV 582, and the Toccata in F Major, BWV 540/i) for orchestra.

Esser and Cornelius

With Esser taking over music direction at the Liedertafel in Mainz, it was logical that he would become the teacher of the then sixteen-year-old Peter Cornelius. Esser was certainly the best-educated and most versatile musician in town, quite possibly in the whole area.³⁰ Thus Esser, at the relatively tender age of 23, was entrusted with probably his most talented student ever, even if Cornelius was still somewhat lacking in technical skills.³¹

Not surprisingly, Esser started off the weekly lessons³² reviewing the "basics"; but by the end of November 1841 Peter was able to write to his brother, Carl, Jr.:

The lessons start to become very interesting. I am now learning to write the bass and the other voices to a given upper voice.³³

Cornelius's next assignment was to write a string quartet:

[Esser] has also given me as a model a Mozart string quartet, after which I

³⁰ It would be interesting to know why the idea of Carl Cornelius, Sr., to send Peter for composition lessons to Johann Peter Heuschkel in nearby Biebrich never materialized (cf. Chapter 1, n.45). Certainly Esser must have made a strong impression as a highly skilled and knowledgeable young musician when arriving in Mainz, whereas the skills and knowledge of Heuschkel—almost seventy—could easily have been considered outdated or provincial by then.

³¹ Looking back after a century and a half, it seems obvious that Cornelius was the more talented of the two men, although Esser was of course much better trained at an early age. Esser may actually have had a fairly accurate view of himself: "I know at least as well as all the critics that I am no musical genius," he wrote to his publisher Schott; see Müller, "Heinrich Esser als Komponist," 167.

³² At least in summer 1842, Cornelius wrote that he went to see Esser once a week; letter to Carl Cornelius, Jr., 26 July 1842, in Peter Cornelius, *Ausgewählte Briefe nebst Tagebuchblättern und Gelegenheitsgedichten (Literarische Werke*, vols. 1–2), ed. Carl Maria Cornelius (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904/05; reprint New York: Johnson Reprint, 1970), 1:37.

³³ "Der Unterricht fängt an sehr interessant zu werden. Ich lerne jetzt den Baß und die übrigen Stimmen zu einer gegebenen Oberstimme zu schreiben." Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Jr., 29 November 1841, in Peter Cornelius, *Briefe*, 1:31.

should compose one, so that I get somewhat used to the forms.³⁴

That Cornelius had actually been working on the assignment is clear from a letter to Elise Cornelius of 15 December 1841: "I have recently composed the beginning of a quartet modeled after Mozart." ³⁵

Cornelius's *Jugendarbeiten* contain string quartet sketches in C major, G major, and D major from the time with Esser. More interesting, however, is a Quartet in D Major, dated fall 1842.³⁶ Its first movement, Allegro molto, survives in two versions: one is clearly Cornelius's "first draft," containing numerous corrections, probably all or in part by Esser; the other version can be considered a "revised version," incorporating Esser's remarks.

While the second version is clearly the "better" one in terms of various technical details, Max Hasse, in comparing the first ten measures of the two versions, is not completely satisfied with Esser's "corrections" and "improvements." Example 2.4a offers the "first draft" of the opening of the quartet, while Example 2.4b shows the revision, presumably incorporating Esser's corrections:³⁷

³⁴ "Auch hat er mir zum Muster ein Mozartsches Streichquartett in Partitur mitgegeben, wonach ich eins komponieren soll, damit ich mich ein wenig an die Formen gewöhne." Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Jr., 29 November 1841, *Briefe*, 1:31.

³⁵ "Ich habe in letzter Zeit wieder den Anfang eines Quartetts nach Mozartschem Muster komponiert." Cornelius, *Briefe*, 1:32. This work is presumably not identical with the D-major quartet discussed below (dated fall 1842).

³⁶ No. 18 in Wagner's catalogue. Günter Wagner, *Peter Cornelius: Verzeichnis seiner musikalischen und literarischen Werke*, Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 13 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986), 41.

³⁷ Hasse cited both fragments in *Der Dichtermusiker Peter Cornelius* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1922–23, reprint Walluf bei Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1972), 1:34–35. I have corrected Hasse's rendering of the revised version after the photocopy of the source available to me; on the other hand, I have followed Hasse's attempt to reconstruct Cornelius's original version by ignoring the many corrections, although it is practically impossible to tell whether a correction was made by Esser or by Cornelius himself (and in the latter case, at whether or not at Esser's suggestion).

EXAMPLE 2.4a. Peter Cornelius, String Quartet in D Major, first version (Peter Cornelius, *Jugendarbeiten*, fol. 22r).



EXAMPLE 2.4b. Peter Cornelius, String Quartet in D Major, revised version (Peter Cornelius, *Jugendarbeiten*, fol. 18r).





Although Hasse is quick to point out that the quartet is the work of "[a] sixteenyear-old . . . whose talent was greater than his skill," he concludes that Esser proved himself to be

only partially the right teacher for this student. He lacks the fine hand to guide this talent, and injects too much *Esserisches* into it right away. . . . Certainly, the teacher is right to require a better voice-leading from m. 2 onward; he brings movement into lifeless bass lines. But on examination, his correction of m. 6 turns out to be more like a real *Kapellmeisterkorrektur*, which actually introduces "revolting fifths" in the work, namely hidden ones; moreover, it takes the momentum out of the phrase by removing the seventh chord. That Esser chooses [the root position of V] instead of the [first] inversion of the seventh chord for the last measure of the period strikes one as schoolmasterish.³⁹

Considering his own recent studies with Sechter in Vienna, it does not come as a surprise that Esser also worked with Cornelius on counterpoint, although this does not seem to have gone much beyond standard four-part exercises.⁴⁰ Esser taught Cornelius to

³⁸ In fact, Cornelius was seventeen years of age in fall 1842.

³⁹ Hasse, *Der Dichtermusiker*, 1:35–36. The "revolting fifths" are a reference to Cornelius's note in the margin of *Jugendarbeiten*, 1:fol. 18v, where Cornelius discusses the profit of working out the whole piece in his head before writing it down (see below): "This way I will also much sooner be able to avoid the revolting [parallel] octaves and fifths. . . ." ("Auf diese Art werde ich auch viel eher dazu kommen, die ekligen Oktaven und Quinten zu vermeiden. . . .").

⁴⁰ Hasse, Der Dichtermusiker, 1:41.

work out the movement of all voices in [his] head. . . . That is apparently the only way to arrive at a clear style. 41

On his teacher's suggestion, the student also practiced score reading "for several hours a day." Cornelius studied Beethoven's Symphony No. 2, hoping to move on to Mendelssohn and to the eight-part motets of Bach. 43

Cornelius appears to have been largely positive about his lessons with Esser:

Herr Esser is a very clever and learned man, and learning from him is a real pleasure, since I can clearly see the progress I make with him from one lesson to another.⁴⁴

He even sees the positive side of a less-than-pleasant experience:

Herr Esser's criticism was a little humbling to me in the right moment, because during the past days of the year I have suffered from a pretty sinful vanity, and it is never good when one thinks—even for a single moment—"This is good!" On the other hand, Herr Esser's criticism is never destructive to me, and that again is good. He is a grumbler; he always wants something original, but I on the other hand am afraid that striving for originality too early on is not good and [this is actually] the biggest mistake of the more recent composers.⁴⁵

⁴¹ "... den Gang jeder Stimme im Kopfe ausarbeitend ... Das ist offenbar der einzige Weg, um zu einem klaren Stil zu gelangen." Cornelius's note in the margin of the fair copy of the D-major quartet, *Jugendarbeiten*, 1:18r; cited in Hasse, *Der Dichtermusiker*, 32.

⁴² Peter Cornelius, letters to Elise Cornelius, 15 December 1841, and Carl Cornelius, Jr., 26 July 1842, *Briefe*, 1:32, 37.

⁴³ Peter Cornelius, letter to Elise Cornelius, 28 December 1841, *Briefe*, 1:34–5.

⁴⁴ "Herr Esser is ein äußerst geschickter und gelehrter Mann, und das Lernen bei ihm ist eine wahre Freude, da ich von Lektion zu Lektion die sichtbaren Fortschritte sehe, die ich bei ihm mache." Peter Cornelius, letter to Elise Cornelius, 15 December 1841, *Briefe*, 1:31.

⁴⁵ "Herrn Essers Tadel war zur rechten Zeit ein bißchen demütigend für mich; denn ich maß die vergangenen Tage dieses Jahres wirklich mit einer ziemlich frevelhaften Eitelkeit, und es ist nie gut, wenn der Mensch auch nur einen Augenblick denkt: Das ist gut! Übrigens schlägt mich Herrn Essers Tadel nicht nieder und das ist wieder gut. Er ist ein Brummbär, er will immer Originelles, aber ich fürchte grade, daß das zu frühe Streben nach Originalität nicht gut ist und der größte Fehler der neueren Komponisten." Peter Cornelius, letter to Elise Cornelius, 28 December 1841, *Briefe*, 1:35. It would be interesting to know which of "the more recent composers" Cornelius had in mind.

All this certainly sheds light on both Esser's teaching and the student-teacher relationship. Yet despite the small difference in age, the relationship appears not to have been particularly "friendly." Esser must have been quite critical at times and could be a bit grumpy, too. And even though it seems—at least on the surface—that Cornelius was able to take his teacher's criticisms fairly well, he probably felt self-conscious about his still limited technical skills and may well have felt that Esser was his only real option as a composition teacher. In any event, Cornelius did not feel a need to visit Esser when they both lived in Vienna, which may suggest that Cornelius harbored something other then particularly good memories of the studies in Mainz. 46 The image of Esser as a "tough" teacher is confirmed by Hanslick, who noted that he could be "strict to the point of harshness."47 Interesting, and frankly a little puzzling, is Esser's wish for originality; it is certainly not the first thing that comes to mind when looking at Esser's own compositions, firmly rooted as they are in Classical and early-Romantic styles.⁴⁸ Certainly it speaks for Cornelius's strong character and artistic personality that he, though clearly dependent on Esser for technical guidance, felt strongly enough to disagree with his teacher on a more "philosophical" level (even though he is unlikely to have confronted Esser to his face). All in all, one wonders whether Esser somehow felt that

⁴⁶ Nor did Esser do much to help his former student, though he was clearly in a position to do so, as Carl Maria Cornelius points out; see Carl Maria Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius, der Wort und Tondichter*, 2 vols., Deutsche Musikbücherei 46–47 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1925), 2:396–97. Carl Maria thought that his father's contact with Wagner was the main reason for Esser's reserve.

⁴⁷ Hanslick, "Zwei Wiener Kapellmeister," 58. Hanslick presumably learned about Esser's teaching much later in life, and it is certainly possible that Esser became grumpier over time; still, that Hanslick and Cornelius agree on this point is striking.

⁴⁸ This is still true for Esser's late works; while a strong advocate of Wagner as a conductor, Esser was apparently unable (or not interested, or both) to incorporate Wagner's innovations in his own music; see Müller, "Heinrich Esser als Komponist," 167.

even though Cornelius's skills were underdeveloped, his talent would ultimately overshadow his own.

Cornelius worked with Esser for just under two years, from fall 1841 until summer 1843.⁴⁹ It is not clear why the lessons stopped, though financial constraints (certainly after the death of Cornelius Sr. in October 1843) may have played a role. It is probably safe to conclude that Cornelius's craftsmanship developed rapidly during his time with Esser; at the very least, his musical horizons widened, likely because of Esser's insistence that he study the works of the great masters. Whether Esser was able to foster Cornelius's specific musical talents in a wider sense is a more complicated question to answer. In the end, Esser was obviously a talented and well-trained musician, but certainly not a visionary. Cornelius, on the other hand, would struggle throughout his career; but to a much greater degree than his teacher, he was able to appreciate the visionary ideas of the New German School—most of all Wagner—while maintaining and developing his own identity as a composer. Even though Cornelius was only seven years younger than his teacher, he belonged to a new musical era, one that, in essence, always remained foreign to Esser.

⁴⁹ Carl Maria Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius, der Wort und Tondichter*, 2 vols., Deutsche Musikbücherei 46–47 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1925), 1:64.

CHAPTER THREE

THREE FEATURES OF THE SONATA AND THE AUTOGRAPH

In this chapter, I examine three features related to both the Sonata in E-flat Major itself and the autograph score (A-Wn Mus. Hs. 4752, fol. 31r–47r): (1) the *Fantasie*, the third movement of the sonata, which is, in effect, a "variation" on the song "Ungeduld" from Schubert's *Die schöne Müllerin*; (2) Cornelius's citation of Justinus Kerner's "Wanderlied" in the last movement; and (3) the (long) fragment of Heine's poem "Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar," which Cornelius copied out on the verso of the title page of the sonata. Each of the three features seems to point to a programmatic background of the sonata relating to Cornelius's biography.

A Fantasy on Schubert's Song

With its evocative title *Fantasie*, the third movement is perhaps the most remarkable movement of the sonata. Though variations are common in violin sonatas of the Classical and early-Romantic eras, the idea of a single variation—here on Schubert's "Ungeduld" from *Die schöne Müllerin*²—is rather unusual. As a title, *Fantasie* is probably more appropriate, since this is a very free variation; in fact, the second half of

¹ For instance, three of Beethoven's ten violin sonatas include a theme and variations.

² D 795/7, to a text by Wilhelm Müller. The song was first published by Sauer & Leidesdorf in 1824 as no. 7 in the second fascicle (*zweites Heft*) of the cycle, which bears the opus number 25. The song appears in Franz Schubert, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, series 4, vol. 2a, ed. Walther Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975), 46–49.

³ Curiously, the single movement that perhaps comes closest to Cornelius's in character is the second movement of Liszt's Duo (Sonate) for violin and piano (composed c. 1832–5, but first published only in 1964); although called "Tema con Variazioni," it "actually consists of one continuous, extended, fantasy variation" on Chopin's Mazurka in C-sharp Minor (Op. 6 No. 2); see William S. Newman, *The Sonata since Beethoven*, 3rd edition (New York: W.W. Norton: 1983), 368. Did Cornelius know Liszt's Duo?

the movement in particular is more like a development of Schubert's song than a variation on it.

There are two remarkable differences between Cornelius's *Fantasie* and Schubert's theme that contribute to the character of the movement. First, and probably most important, Cornelius transformed Schubert's A-major melody by putting it into the minor mode (and transposing it to C minor); the exposed $\hat{\beta}$ on the first downbeat makes the transformation particularly obvious. Second, even though "Ungeduld" may not have been sung quite as fast as it often is today, Schubert did call for a lively tempo: "Etwas geschwind" in most sources, "Lebhaft" in the autograph copy for Schönstein; Cornelius, however, marks the movement "Adagio."

Equally remarkable is the piano accompaniment of the *Fantasie*. Instead of Schubert's lively movement in triplets, Cornelius practically banishes rhythmic impetus from the piano part altogether by using only tremolo chords for the first nine measures. The melodramatic effect is somewhat reminiscent of an *accompagnato* recitative in opera: the transformed melody "hovers" over the harmonies.

Example 3.1 superimposes Cornelius's variation (mm. 1–20; the measure numbers follow Cornelius) over Schubert's original melody (here transposed to C major).

EXAMPLE 3.1. Cornelius's variation (mm. 1–20) superimposed above the melody of Schubert's "Ungeduld" from *Die schöne Müllerin*. (I have omitted measure 19, which constitutes a first ending.)



⁴ Schubert, *Neue Ausgabe*, series 4, vol. 2a, 46 (first footnote).



In essence, Cornelius follows the outline of Schubert's melody. The discrepancy between Schubert's eighth-note pick-up at the very beginning and Cornelius's sixteenth note almost certainly refers to the manner in which the song itself would have been performed, as Schubert's pick-up needs to be adjusted to the last note of the triplet in the accompaniment.⁵ Although Cornelius does not use Schubert's eighth-note rests to

⁵ Indeed, the dotted eighth notes followed by a sixteenth are best adjusted to the triplet accompaniment throughout the song.

separate phrases (see mm. 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11), his phrases basically agree with Schubert's.⁶
Only Schubert's fourth and fifth phrases (mm. 8–11) are seamlessly connected in Cornelius's variation, thus creating a long phrase (of four measures) after three short ones (of two measures each).⁷

To make this long phrase even more poignant, Cornelius introduces large intervals, up to a ninth, whereas with the exception of the octave that approaches the cadence at m. 18, Schubert uses no intervals larger than a minor sixth within any individual phrase. Clearly, both the long phrase and the large intervals are possible because Cornelius's medium is the violin, not the voice; but they also point to a more "Romantic" concept. In addition, by repeating the "low" e" in mm. 10–11, Cornelius creates the illusion of a rich two-part harmony in the violin line. The effect is underlined by Cornelius's change in the piano accompaniment: the tremolo chords give way to a "walking bass" with repeated eighth-note chords in the right hand, thus preparing the listener for mm. 12–20.

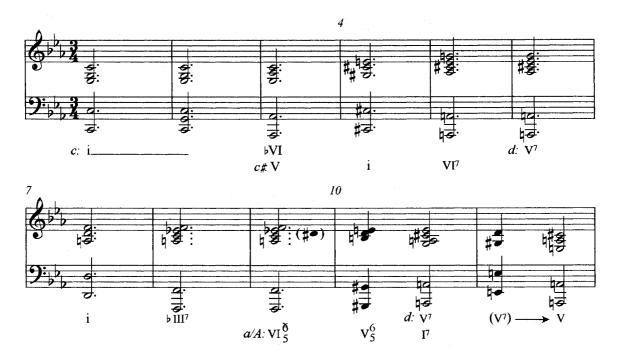
With a simple change of mode as its basis, Cornelius's variation, while closely following Schubert's melodic outline, moves away from the original from a harmonic point of view. Crucial to this "taking leave" is the typically nineteenth-century feature of "searching" chords that take advantage of some striking enharmonic shifts. Cornelius is clearly grasping here (the voice-leading is not always ideal), but he shows a strong sense of harmonic color. Example 3.2 offers a harmonic analysis of mm. 1–11.

⁶ The absence of the eighth-note rests is, of course, possible because Cornelius was writing for the violin, which does not have to catch its breath as a singer does; it also suggests a more Romantic style of phrasing as opposed to Schubert's almost "Classical" short phrases (see below).

⁷ From a purely melodic point of view, this could be considered an "improvement" on Schubert's original.

⁸ The seventh between Schubert's mm. 13 and 14 separates two phrases (a singer would be likely to take a breath here).

EXAMPLE 3.2. The *Fantasie*: harmonic background of mm. 1–11.

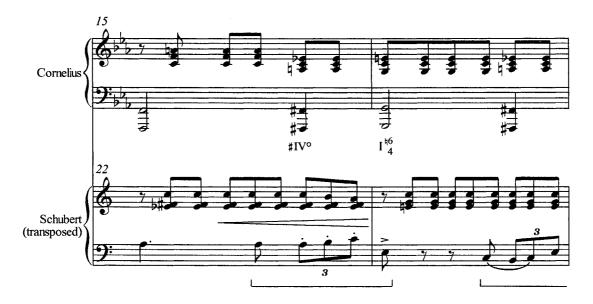


Mm. 12–20 are based on the "refrain" of Schubert's song: "Dein ist mein Herz und soll es ewig bleiben" (Yours is my heart and shall ever remain), which returns in every stanza. The repetition of text within that verse ("Dein ist mein Herz, *dein ist mein Herz*, und soll es ewig, *ewig* bleiben"), the long, exposed notes on "dein," and the more melismatic setting on "blei-" (of "bleiben") all contribute to the climactic character of these measures in Schubert's song. Cornelius's variation of the melody by and large lies in a higher range than the original and contains more large intervals, thus making the variation much more "ecstatic" than the theme.

Cornelius's piano part is similar to Schubert's, and also has one long note in the bass per measure with repeated eighths in the right hand—triplets in Schubert, duplets in Cornelius (with the characteristic eighth-note rest on the first beat in both). Although the left-hand motive in Schubert's mm. 20, 22, 23, and 24 is absent in Cornelius's variation,

the applied diminished-seventh chords on $\# \hat{4}$ in mm. 15 and 16 in a sense compensate for the loss (see Example 3.3).

EXAMPLE 3.3. The Fantasie and Schubert's "Ungeduld": piano accompaniment.



The first half of the *Fantasie* ends in C major, although this is only fully realized with the second ending; the first ending leads back to the dark C-minor tremolo of m. 1. At the beginning of the second half, Cornelius places the theme in the right-hand of the piano (in octaves), first in major, then in minor, and the third time a tone lower. Thus, the progression of the top notes (at the beginning of mm. 20, 22, and 24) is $\frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{3} - \frac{$

EXAMPLE 3.4. Fantasie, mm. 20–24 (piano right hand only).



This descending progression partly mirrors (in reverse) the half-step progression of the violin at the beginning of the piece: the top notes of mm. 2 and 4 are $\downarrow \hat{3}$ - $\nmid \hat{3}$, as shown in Example 3.5.

EXAMPLE 3.5. Fantasie, mm. 2–3 (violin only).



Worthwhile mentioning is also Cornelius's counterpoint in the violin in mm. 21 and 23, which echoes the "dein ist mein Herz" rhythm (Example 3.6).

EXAMPLE 3.6. Fantasie, mm. 21–24 (violin only).



The "mini-development" section continues with the dramatic double-octave passage introducing the Neapolitan harmony; it is played twice, both times answered by a pianissimo chord. But while the answer in m. 26 confirms the Neapolitan harmony, in m. 30 Cornelius introduces the dominant-seventh chord on B-flat, and a recitative-like passage for unaccompanied violin leads to the ending on the same dominant chord and directly into the last movement.

What might Cornelius have had in mind with this unusual movement and its explicit reference to what was already a well-known Schubert song? Or what might we read into it today? The form of the movement, a "fantasy-variation," seems to suggest a higher level of significance for the text of the song than would be the case for a simple set

of variations on a popular theme. The text of the first stanza reads as follows in translation:

I would like to cut it on every tree,
I would like to dig it deep in every pebble-stone,
I would like to sow it in every bed of fresh soil
with cress seed, that would soon betray it,
on every white scrap of paper I would like to write it:
Yours is my heart and shall ever remain.

The second and third stanzas of Wilhelm Müller's poem develop the same idea: the protagonist wants to tell the world about his love—and wants the world to tell *her* about it. But the end of the fourth stanza reveals the not-so-happy reality:

I thought it would show in my eyes, that one could see it burning on my cheeks, that it could be read from my mute lips, that my every breath proclaimed it loudly to her; and she is not aware of all this anxious pleading: Yours is my heart and shall ever remain!¹⁰

In other words, the poet's beloved is still unaware of his love for her! Despite Schubert's "upbeat" setting of the text, the situation is not quite "resolved": perhaps the beloved will answer the poet's passionate love, perhaps not. One possibility, then, is that the *Fantasie* is Cornelius's more subtle interpretation of the poem, reflecting both the passionate love of the poet (the turn to the major key at the end of the first half; the "ecstatic" large intervals in the violin part; the octaves in the piano) and its unfulfilled character (the over-all minor key; the turn to the dramatic Neapolitan; and perhaps the

⁹ Translation adapted from Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau (ed.), *The Fischer-Dieskau Book of Lieder . . . with English translations by George Bird and Richard Stokes* (New York: Limelight, 1995), 171–72.

¹⁰ Translation adapted from Fischer-Dieskau, *The Fischer-Dieskau Book of Lieder*, 172 (italics mine).

"solitary" violin recitative). This would nicely underscore Cornelius's "double identity" as a poet and musician. As we have seen in Chapter 1, Cornelius was an experienced actor at the time he composed the sonata; he was also well read in poetry, 11 and had written some poetry himself. It is hard to believe, therefore, that the "unhappy ending" of the poem would have escaped him. 12

Another more romantic possibility, of course, is that Cornelius wrote the *Fantasie* with a "significant other" in mind. If this is the case, we do not have to look far for the object of the composer's love. As we have seen in Chapter 1, Cornelius had fallen in love with Fanny Krämer in the spring of 1840.¹³ The relationship was much more serious than an average teenage love affair:

The lovers promised to stay together, but [Fanny's] parents considered a marriage of their daughter with the poor musician impossible. The two of them never saw each other again. Fanny remained single, and her ardent love for Peter is said to be the reason that she renounced another love.¹⁴

Although the episode reads almost like a fairy-tale, there is no reason to doubt it: Carl Maria Cornelius is generally a very conscientious biographer, and he may very well have heard the story from his mother. In short, if Fanny Krämer was "the muse of his homeland," it is certainly a strong possibility that Cornelius had her in mind when composing his *Fantasie* on "Dein ist mein Herz." If we accept this, perhaps we can even

Attesting to this is the presence of Heine's poem *Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar* in Cornelius's hand on the verso of the title page of the sonata (see below).

¹² Whether it escaped Schubert is, of course, impossible to say; but evidently it did not bother him enough to come up with a different, perhaps more suitable, ending.

¹³ See p. 18.

¹⁴ Carl Maria Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius, der Wort und Tondichter*, 2 vols., Deutsche Musikbücherei 46–47 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1925), 1:49.

hear the beginning of the second half of the *Fantasie* as a love-duet, with Peter, as pianist, singing out his love in strong octaves, while the violin, with its "Dein ist mein Herz" refrain, is Fanny. The question begs itself whether the "open ending" on the dominant of the *Fantasie* might bear any significance in view of the proposed autobiographical background of the movement: an unrequited, unfulfilled, or frustrated love? It is possible that Cornelius was aware that he would never be able marry Fanny Krämer, and that the relationship would have to end by his leaving town for his proposed studies in Berlin (see below).

A Kerner Song

Towards the end of the last movement of the Sonata in E-flat Major, at m. 200, Cornelius introduces a well-known student song (melodically unrelated to what comes before). Here he entered the words "Wohl auf noch getrunken den funkelnden Wein," (see Facsimile V, p. 85). The words can be identified as coming from the "Wanderlied" by Justinus Kerner (1786–1862). Kerner was a medical doctor (he worked as *Oberamtarzt* in Weinsberg near Heilbronn) and a prolific and popular poet. Robert Schumann set approximately twenty Kerner poems, including the *Zwölf Gedichte* op. 35 (1840); other composers who set Kerner poems include Johannes Brahms ("Klosterfräulein," *Vier Duette* op. 61, no. 2, 1874), Hugo Wolf ("Zur Ruh', zur Ruh'," *Sechs Gedichte*, no. 6), Richard Strauss ("Alphorn," from *Jugendlieder*, with French horn

¹⁵ The final phrase of the song, however, is briefly "announced" near the beginning of the movement (mm. 9–21).

¹⁶ But apparently composed as early as 1852; see Leon Botstein, *The Compleat Brahms* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 310–11.

obbligato, 1878), Louis Spohr, and Henri Vieuxtemps. Some of Kerner's poems became so popular that they might well be termed "folksongs." Perhaps the best example of these is the "Wanderlied." Kerner wrote the song on the way home from Tübingen to Ludwigsburg in March 1809, after passing his medical exams in December 1808. In a letter to Ludwig Uhland of March 1809, Kerner related the genesis of the song:

I strolled along after you left me . . . and actually did write a hiking song [ein Wanderlied]. . . . I wrote it down for boredom in the inn at Echterdingen and as I continued, I sang it on the road from the sheet to a tune of my own. A traveling journeyman came down the road who came over to me and asked me very politely to "please give him this song." I forgot that it had not been polished yet and gave it out to the world before the ten years of polishing (laziness). . . . ¹⁷

The story is almost too good to be true: a young poet composes a hiking song while actually strolling down the roads of Swabia and writes it down in the inn; a little later a stranger is so impressed with it that he asks the poet for a copy. Yet there seems to be no reason to doubt it. The most interesting aspect of the story is perhaps that the poem was meant to be sung from the very beginning: Kerner called it a hiking song, and actually sang it to a tune he apparently composed himself. Much later, the song was set by Schumann, but—apparently in the late 1820s or very early 1830s—somebody "married" Kerner's poem to a folk tune known both as "Hoch droben auf" Berge" and

¹⁷ Theobald Kerner and Dr. Ernst Müller (eds.), *Justinus Kerners Briefwechsel mit seinen Freunden*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1897), 1:29–30; ". . . polishing (laziness)": a play on words with *Feilung* and *Fäulung*.

¹⁸ No. 3 in *Zwölf Gedichte* op. 35 (1840).

¹⁹ "Volkslieder Verzeichnis," http://ingeb.org/Lieder/wohlaufn.html (21 February 2005).

as "Dort oben auf dem Berge, da horstet der Aar"; ²⁰ the melody is said to stem from the Tyrol and is dated 1826 or 1827. ²¹ Along with this "marriage" of text and melody, the Ju vivallera refrain was apparently added; in addition, the last two syllables of the stanza itself (before the refrain) are repeated in the "folksong version." Following is the text of the song as found in Kerner's $Werke^{22}$ with a translation in the right-hand column:

Wanderlied

Wohlauf! noch getrunken
Den funkelnden Wein!
Ade nun, ihr Lieben!
Geschieden muß sein.
Ade nun, ihr Berge,
Du väterlich Haus!
Es treibt in die Ferne
Mich mächtig hinaus.

Ju vivallera, ju vivallera,

Ju vivallerallerallera!

Wandering Song

Come on, one more drink of that sparkling wine!
Now farewell, my dear ones, for we must part!

Now farewell, you mountains, my father's house!
I am drawn faraway with a burning desire.

10

Wohlauf, noch getrunken den funkelnden Wein! Ade nun, ihr Lieben! Geschieden muß sein! Ade nun, ihr Berge, du väterlich Haus! Es treibt in die Ferne mich mächtig hinaus.

²⁰ Ludwig Erk, Erk's Deutscher Liederschatz: Eine Auswahl der beliebtesten Volks-, Soldaten-, Jäger- und Studenten-Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Pianobegleitung (Leipzig: Peters, n.d.), 213 (the song is no. 200 and found among the "Studentenlieder").

²¹ "Volkslieder Verzeichnis," http://ingeb.org/Lieder/wohlaufn.html (21 February 2005).

Justinus Kerner, Werke. Auswahl in sechs Teilen, ed. Raimund Pissin, vol. 2: Gedichte (Berlin: Bong, 1914), 92. The version in Kerner's Briefwechsel has four-line stanzas (i.e., ten stanzas in all); see Kerner, Briefwechsel, 1:29. In later song books, the lines are often combined two-by-two into lines of double length, while the punctuation differs from source to source. In F. Ahrens (ed.), Wanderliederbuch (Reutlingen: Enklin & Laiblin, n.d. [1921]), for example, the first stanza of the song appears as follows (pp. 88–89):

Die Sonne, sie bleibet
Am Himmel nicht stehn,
Es treibt sie, durch Länder
Und Meere zu gehn.
Die Woge nicht haftet
Am einsamen Strand,
Die Stürme, sie brausen
Mit Macht durch das Land.

Ju vivallera, ju vivallera,

Ju vivallerallerallera!

20

30

40

The sun, it does not remain standing in the sky: it wants to go out over land and sea.
The wave does not cling to the lonely shore, the storms, they thunder fiercely through the countryside.

Mit eilenden Wolken
Der Vogel dort zieht,
Und singt in der Ferne
Ein heimatlich Lied.
So treibt es den Burschen
Durch Wälder und Feld,
Zu gleichen der Mutter,
Der wandernden Welt.

Ju vivallera, ju vivallera, Ju vivallerallerallera! With clouds hurrying by, there flies the bird; in faraway lands, it sings a song from home.

Likewise the young man burns to go through field and wood, to be like the Mother—the Wandering World.

Da grüßen ihn Vögel, Bekannt über'm Meer, Sie flogen von Fluren Der Heimat hieher; Da duften die Blumen Vertraulich um ihn, Sie trieben vom Lande Die Lüfte dahin.

> Ju vivallera, ju vivallera, Ju vivallerallerallera!

There birds greet him from across the see; they flew here from the meadows of home. The flowers spread their familiar perfume around him; the air has carried them here from the homeland.

Die Vögel, die kennen Sein väterlich Haus, Die Blumen einst pflanzt' er Der Liebe zum Strauß, Und Liebe, die folgt ihm, Sie geht ihm zur Hand:²³ So wird ihm zur Heimat Das ferneste Land.

> Ju vivallera, ju vivallera, Ju vivallerallerallera!

The birds, they know his father's house; the flowers he once planted as a bouquet for his love; and love follows him by the hand: thus he is at home, in the farthest land.

50

²³ In Kerner's version of March 1809: "Dem Herzen verwandt;" (see Kerner, *Briefwechsel*, 1:29).

The repetition of text in the Tyrolean folksong version of the "Wanderlied" (see Example 3.7) makes it clear that text and melody were not conceived together: lines 3 and 4 of each stanza repeat the music of lines 1 and 2; likewise, lines 7 and 8 repeat the music of lines 5 and 6. Then lines 5–8 are repeated to different music. The *Juvivallera* refrain is sung twice, each time to different music; in *Erk's Deutscher Liederschatz*, that whole section (marked E and F in Table 3.1) is repeated as well. Table 3.1 summarizes the relation between text and melody.

TABLE 3.1. The "folksong" version of Kerner's "Wanderlied": formal scheme.

Text (line)	Measure	Melody	Harmony
1–2	1–4	A	I
3–4	5–8	A	I
5–6	9–12	В	V
7–8	13–16	В	V
5–6	17–20	A'24	I
7–8	21–24	B'25	I
R 1	22–25	С	I
R 2	26–29	D	Ι

Example 3.7 compares the tune as found in *Erk's Deutscher Liederschatz* (transposed to E-flat) with Cornelius's citation of it in the last movement of the sonata.

²⁴ The last three measures of A and A' are identical.

²⁵ With the exception of the first note, B' is a literal transposition (to the tonic) of B.

EXAMPLE 3.7. Justinus Kerner, "Wanderlied," in *Erk's Deutscher Liederschatz* (transposed to E-flat) and Cornelius's Sonata in E-flat Major (m. 200–240; small notes are editorial in the edition).





The minor differences in the melody are probably best explained by assuming that Cornelius knew a slightly different version of the tune (possibly one with a slightly different text for the refrain). Finally, Cornelius introduces two nice touches in his version of the melody: he raises the B section of the melody up an octave (mm. 207–215) and hammers away at a repeated b-flat in the piano at the "echo" in m. 223–224.²⁶

As with the introduction of Schubert's "Ungeduld" in the third movement, there is the question whether or not Cornelius's citation of Kerner's "Wanderlied" towards the end of the finale has a particular significance. And once again, perhaps Cornelius's biography offers an answer. According to Cornelius's note on the title page of the autograph, the sonata was written in January and February 1844 (it was finished by 19

²⁶ The "echo" probably implies less of a "virtuoso" performance than might be expected from the notation.

February, when Cornelius and his friend Buths performed the work "in the school"). Peter's father, Carl Cornelius, Sr., had died in October 1843. The financial situation in the Cornelius family must have been difficult, and the plan for Peter to go and live with his uncle, the painter Peter von Cornelius, in Berlin must have come up early in 1844. Even though the affirmative answer from Peter von Cornelius did not arrive till the end of the summer of 1844 (the young composer moved to Berlin in September of that year), in January/February 1844, Peter may well have expected to move to Berlin "soon." To move from Wiesbaden to Berlin and thus leave home—in all likelihood permanently—must have been an exciting prospect for the nineteen-year-old musician; and the first stanza in particular of the "Wanderlied" precisely expresses the excitement of leaving one's home and traveling to unknown, faraway lands:

Come on, one more drink/ of that sparkling wine! Now farewell, my dear ones,/ for we must part! Now farewell, you mountains,/ my father's house! I am drawn faraway/ with a burning desire.

Given that Cornelius reserves the explicit quotation of Kerner's song for what might be considered the coda of the movement, it is hard to believe that the citation was a mere sign of appreciation of the song. As a true Romantic, Cornelius must have felt compelled to express his excitement about his expected leave for Berlin in the sonata; this, in fact, may partly explain why the work is easily the most ambitious work, both in length and substance, of Cornelius's Mainz and Wiesbaden years.

A Heine Poem

The verso of the title page of the Sonata in E-flat Major contains Cornelius's autograph redaction of the first half of Heinrich Heine's poem "Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar" (see Facsimile II, p. 82). The poem tells of the pilgrimage of an ill young lad named Wilhelm with his mother from Cologne to "Kevlaar" for healing.²⁷ It refers to the custom of offering a waxen body part to the Virgin Mary in the (almost) certain hope of healing of the actual physical body part. In this case, since the boy is suffering from heartache after the death of Gretchen—presumably his beloved—the mother molds a heart out of a wax candle and the boy offers it to the Virgin. His prayer is heard: Mother Mary heals his heart, but in the process carries him to heaven. Cornelius's transcription breaks off after the mother has molded the waxen heart.

Cornelius's version of the poem contains a number of notable variants which are not found in any edition of the poem.²⁸ Cornelius may have written down the ten stanzas from memory and in the process rewritten a number of the lines. Some of the variants can perhaps be explained by the fact that, while they retain Heine's meaning, they present a simpler, more every-day German.²⁹ In other places, Cornelius altered the position of similar lines within the poem³⁰ or inverted the two halves of a single line.³¹ In one instance, Cornelius "improved" Heine's meter by combining the words *an das* into *ans*

²⁷ Kevelaer is a well-known place of pilgrimage in the Rhineland, close to the Dutch border near Venlo, about 70 miles from Cologne.

²⁸ Communication of Marianne Tilch, Heinrich-Heine-Institut Düsseldorf, 21 June 2004.

²⁹ Sehn instead of schaun, for example (v. 4).

³⁰ Cornelius's v. 19 is clearly a variant of Heine's v. 79.

³¹ For example in v. 33.

(v. 7). A more conscious change on Cornelius's part may be that in his version, it is not the church *flags* that *flap* but the church *bells* that *ring*. The most dramatic changes, however, occur right at the beginning: while Heine tells a story of "long ago" (*stand*, *lag*), Cornelius uses the present tense (*steht*, *liegt*); moreover, Cornelius starts off with what is perhaps the most important word of the poem: *die Mutter*, which Heine reserves for the beginning of a line only at vv. 17, 21, 37, 69, and 77.

If nothing else, the presence of the poem in Cornelius's handwriting in the score shows the composer's interest in the poet; he set to music four of Heine's poems.³² But the presence of the poem on the verso of the title page could also point to a more direct relevance to the sonata. While superficially, Cornelius's version of "Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar" reads simply as a highly corrupt version of Heine's famous poem, the dingbat at the end of the poem in Cornelius's handwriting warrants caution: it clearly indicates that Cornelius meant the poem to end there. As it is hard to believe that Cornelius did not know the complete poem, he must have intentionally edited Heine's poem to end there.³³ The present-day reader might argue that Cornelius left out the most dramatic part of the poem: the son's offering the wax heart to the BVM and the "healing" that follows. Perhaps the devout Roman Catholic Cornelius simply did not like the part where Heine's critical attitude towards that church's tradition of offering artificial limbs in the hope of healing reaches its climax. Or he may have wanted the poem to end where he indicated it for a different reason.

³² Der Fichtenbaum (1842) for mixed choir; Es war einmal ein König (1844) for male voices; Die Heimkehr [XXVII from Die Heimkehr] (1848), and Warum sind den die Rosen so blaß [XXIII from Lyrisches Intermezzo] (1862), the last two for solo voice and piano.

³³ Therefore at least some of Cornelius's other changes in the poem could well have been intentional, too.

The crucial word here may be "heart," a word that is also highly important to the third movement of the sonata; Cornelius even cited Schubert's song as "Dein ist mein Herz," thus putting the word "heart" explicitly in the title of the movement. We have seen that Cornelius's heart belonged to Fanny Krämer. Is it too far-fetched, then, to see the whole sonata as Cornelius's "wax heart," which he offers, not to the BVM, but to his girlfriend, as a farewell present before leaving for Berlin? This would also offer another explanation for the end of the third movement: after the passionate love duet, there is the short recitative of the solo violin, as if "left alone," before the dominant seventh chord leads to the optimistic, though slightly melancholic, farewell song in the last movement.

What follows offers the complete text of "Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar" as found in the *Buch der Lieder*³⁴ in the left-hand column, while the right-hand column gives the poem as rendered by Cornelius, with variants highlighted in italics.

Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar

1

Am Fenster stand die Mutter, Im Bette lag der Sohn. "Willst du nicht aufstehn, Wilhelm, Zu schaun die Prozession?"

"Ich bin so krank, o Mutter, Daß ich nicht hör und seh; Ich denk an das tote Gretchen, Da tut das Herz mir weh." –

"Steh auf, wir wollen nach Kevlaar, Nimm Buch und Rosenkranz; Die Mutter Gottes heilt dir Dein krankes Herze ganz." Die Mutter *steht* am Fenster Zu Bette *liegt* der Sohn. Willst du nicht aufstehn, Wilhelm, Zu *sehn* die Prozession?

Ich bin so krank, o Mutter, Dass ich nicht hör noch seh, Ich denk' ans tote Gretchen, Da thut das Herz mir weh.

Steh' auf, wir woll'n nach Kevlaar, Nimm Buch und Rosenkranz, Die Mutter Gottes heilt dir Dein krankes Herze ganz.

10

³⁴ The text follows Heinrich Heine, *Buch der Lieder*, ed. Klaus Briegleb (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987), 163–65.

Es flattern die Kirchenfahnen, Es singt im Kirchenton; Das ist zu Köllen am Rheine, Da geht die Prozession.

Die Mutter folgt der Menge, Den Sohn, den führet sie, Sie singen beide im Chore: Gelobt seist du, Marie! Es *läuten* die Kirchen*glocken*, Es singt im Kirchenton, Das ist zu Köln am Rheine Da geht die Prozession.

Die Mutter folgt der Menge, Den Sohn den führet sie, Andächtig leise singend: Gelobt seist du Marie.

2

Die Mutter Gottes zu Kevlaar Trägt heut ihr bestes Kleid; Heut hat sie viel zu schaffen, Es kommen viel kranke Leut.

Die kranken Leute bringen Ihr dar, als Opferspend, Aus Wachs gebildete Glieder, Viel wächserne Füß und Händ.

Und wer eine Wachshand opfert, Dem heilt an der Hand die Wund; Und wer einen Wachsfuß opfert, Dem wird der Fuß gesund.

Nach Kevlaar ging mancher auf Krücken.

Der jetzo tanzt auf dem Seil, Gar mancher spielt jetzt die Bratsche, Dem dort kein Finger war heil.

Die Mutter nahm ein Wachslicht, Und bildete draus ein Herz. "Bring das der Mutter Gottes, Dann heilt sie deinen Schmerz."

Das Wort aus dem Herzen quillt:

Der Sohn nahm seufzend das Wachsherz, Ging seufzend zum Heiligenbild; Die Träne quillt aus dem Auge, 2.

Die Mutter Gottes zu Kevlaar Trägt heut ihr bestes Kleid Heut hat sie viel zu schaffen Es kommen viel kranke Leut.

Die kranke Leute *legen*Ihr *hin* als Opferspend
Aus Wachs gebildete Glieder
Viel wächserne Füss und Händ.

Und wer eine Wachshand opfert Dem heilt an der Hand die Wund Und wer einen Wachsfuss opfert Dem wird der Fuss gesund.

An Krücken ging mancher nach

Kevlaar,

Der jetzo tanzt auf dem Seil Gar mancher spielt *auf* der Bratsche Dem dort kein Finger war heil.

Die Mutter macht in Eile Dem Sohn ein wächsern Herz: Gib das der Mutter Gottes, Dann heilt sie deinen Schmerz.

[Cornelius's version ends here.]

"Du Hochgebenedeite, Du reine Gottesmagd, Du Königin des Himmels, Dir sei mein Leid geklagt!

Ich wohnte mit meiner Mutter
Zu Köllen in der Stadt, 50
Der Stadt, die viele hundert
Kapellen und Kirchen hat.

Und neben uns wohnte Gretchen, Doch die ist tot jetzund – Marie, dir bring ich ein Wachsherz, Heil du meine Herzenswund.

Heil du mein krankes Herze – Ich will auch spät und früh Inbrünstiglich beten und singen: Gelobt seist du, Marie!"

60

70

3

Der kranke Sohn und die Mutter, Die schliefen im Kämmerlein; Da kam die Mutter Gottes Ganz leise geschritten herein.

Sie beugte sich über den Kranken, Und legte ihre Hand Ganz leise auf sein Herze, Und lächelte mild und schwand.

Die Mutter schaut alles im Traume, Und hat noch mehr geschaut; Sie erwachte aus dem Schlummer, Die Hunde bellten so laut.

Da lag dahingestrecket Ihr Sohn, und der war tot; Es spielt auf den bleichen Wangen Das lichte Morgenrot. Die Mutter faltet die Hände, Ihr war, sie wußte nicht wie; Andächtig sang sie leise: Gelobt seist du, Marie!

80

In all, Cornelius's borrowing of preexistent material in the third and fourth movements as well as his copying out a Heine poem in the autograph strongly links him with the Romantic movement of which Schubert, Kerner, and Heine were—each in his own way—important exponents; also important was the element of folksong, in this case the Tyrolean tune married to Kerner's "Wanderlied." As a mature composer, predominantly of art song, Cornelius was to remain faithful to the Romantic tradition all his life. At the same time, the strong interest in poetry as evidenced by his treatment of Schubert's "Ungeduld," Kerner's "Wanderlied," and Heine's "Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar" undoubtedly reflects Cornelius's own poetic talents. Although Cornelius was, perhaps, even less developed as a poet than as a composer in early 1844, poetry was to become an almost equally important means of expression as music for him. Most of Cornelius's art songs are settings of his own poems and, like Wagner, he wrote his own librettos for his three operas: Der Barbier von Bagdad, Der Cid, and the unfinished Gunlöd. Despite the youthful character of the present work, the three features of the Violin Sonata in E-flat Major and its autograph manuscript discussed in this chapter mark it as being quite typical for the composer. It is certainly to be regretted that Cornelius never returned to chamber music later in life: a mature violin sonata or string quartet by him would certainly be welcomed by performers and audiences today. Perhaps the present edition of the Violin Sonata in E-flat Major can be a modest compensation for that loss.

CRITICAL COMMENTARY

The present edition makes available in print for the first time a chamber music work of the young Peter Cornelius. The aim of the edition is two-fold: first, to make available to scholars one of Cornelius's early chamber music works; second, to offer a completely unknown violin sonata by a fine composer of the mid-nineteenth century to present-day performers. Therefore, the edition and commentary are as accurate and detailed as possible, on the one hand, and as accessible as possible to the modern performer, on the other.

The Source

The only source of the Violin Sonata in E-flat Major¹ is Cornelius's autograph manuscript, which is part of vol. 2 of the composer's so-called *Jugendarbeiten*, now in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Mus. Hs. 4752, fols. 31r–47r.² The title page reads *Sonate/für/ Clavier und Violine./ componirt u. geschrieben in den Monaten Januar u. Februar/ 1844/ aufgeführt in der Schule mit Buths am 19^{ten} Februar (see Facsimile I, p. 81).³ On the top-right of the title page, somebody (Cornelius?) scribbled "Lieber*

¹ The work bears number 33 in Günter Wagner's catalogue *Peter Cornelius: Verzeichnis seiner musikalischen und literarischen Werke.* Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 13 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986).

² There is also a parallel page numbering on the odd pages only, starting with page 1 on fol. 32r and ending with p. 31 on fol. 47r. The page numbering is apparently in the hand of the composer (Wagner, *Verzeichnis*, 51).

³ "Sonata/ for/ Piano and Violin./ composed a[nd] written during the months January a[nd] February/ 1844/ performed in the school with Buths on February 19th." Carl Buths (1823–1901) was the dedicatee of Cornelius's *Introduktion, Andante und Polonaise* for oboe and piano "op. 1" (1840, "Composé et dedié à son ami C. Buths") and of the Violin Sonata in C Major "op. 2" (1840, "seinem Freunde Carl Buths gewidmet"). Since Buths played in the first performance of Cornelius's String Quartet in C Major (Wagner, *Peter Cornelius: Verzeichnis*, 32) and frequently played string quartet with Cornelius, he

Begleiter." The top-left has the word *Cornelius* (apparently in pencil), and—a little more toward the center—the number 8; both may have served as indications for the bookbinder, who had the job of binding a number of Cornelius manuscripts together. On the back of the title page, fol. 31v, Cornelius copied the first half of Heinrich Heine's poem "Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar" ("Die Mutter steht am Fenster"; see Facsimile II, p. 82). The score (as well as the title page) are written on twelve-staff manuscript paper in "portrait" format. There are always four three-staff systems per page; Cornelius did not leave any empty pages or even systems between the movements.

The second and third movement appear in reversed order in the autograph, but their intended order in performance is made clear by notes at the beginning of both movements ("No. 3" for the Adagio, "zweiter Satz" [second movement] for the Scherzo). In the present edition, the movements appear in their intended order. Likewise, the coda of the Scherzo, notated between the Scherzo and the Trio in the autograph, has been moved to the end of the Scherzo, following standard practice.

presumably played the violin as well as the oboe; it seems therefore likely that he was the violinist for the first performance of the Sonata in E-flat Major as well. Cornelius also taught Buths English; see Peter Cornelius, letter to Carl Cornelius, Jr., 30 December 1843, in Peter Cornelius, Ausgewählte Briefe nebst Tagebuchblättern und Gelegenheitsgedichten (Literarische Werke, vols. 1-2), ed. Carl Maria Cornelius (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904/05; reprint New York: Johnson Reprint, 1970), 1:50). Buths later became oboist at the Hoftheater in Wiesbaden. He was the father of conductor and composer Julius Emil Martin Buths (1851–1920).

⁴ Either "Dear accompanist" (as at the beginning of a letter) or "Sooner (rather) accompanist." Perhaps these words indicate that Cornelius would rather play the piano than the violin for the first performance of the sonata.

⁵ Heine's poem was first published in *Der Gesellschafter* 92 (10 June 1822), reprinted two months later in the Rheinisches Unterhaltungsblatt 34 (25 August 1822), then included as part of the cycle Die Heimkehr in Reisebilder I (1826), and finally as part of the Heimkehr cycle in the various editions of Buch der Lieder (1827, '37, '39, '41, '44). Cornelius's version of the poem is not only incomplete, but shows a significant number of variants, none of which are found in any of the prints; they can probably be explained by assuming that Cornelius wrote the poem down from memory. Chapter Three offers a comparison of Cornelius's text with Heine's own version.

The autograph is what could be termed a "composing score": it shows the composer "at work" on the composition. It is, however, more than just a "draft"; in fact, the relatively clear and "determined" handwriting at, for example, the beginning of the first movement, suggests that Cornelius may have drafted at least some of the main themes before he started working at the score. The last movement, on the other hand, is clearly written in haste. And though Cornelius certainly seems to have had a clear concept of the movement as a whole, large parts of it remain rather sketchy: perhaps because he was in a hurry to get the sonata ready for the above-mentioned school performance, Cornelius did not write out the recapitulation in full. If the autograph was indeed used for the first performance (as the title page seems to suggest), Cornelius must have "improvised" the missing notes in the piano part; the violinist almost certainly played from a separate violin part, now lost.

The Critical Commentary

This Critical Commentary lists all instances in which Cornelius's manuscript differs from the edition and records the state of the manuscript at that point. The number in the first column refers to the measure number in the edition. The second column indicates the instrument: V (violin) or P (piano), r.h. (right hand) or l.h. (left hand) within the piano part. The third column gives the item number: each note or rest, irrespective of its value, counts as one item. Tied notes within a measure count as a single item, but if a measure begins with a note tied over from the previous measure, the tied note is counted as item 1 of the new measure. Accidentals do not count as separate items. The last column describes as succinctly as possible how the manuscript differs

from the edition. I have also recorded earlier stages of the manuscript, that is, readings that Cornelius himself eventually altered; thus, the word "originally" in the Commentary refers to such earlier stages of the manuscript. I spell out the notes of chords from the bottom up, with the successive notes separated by a slash; successive melody notes, however, are separated by commas. The following system is used for indicating the octave: C'-B', C-B, c-b, c'-b', c''-b'', c'''-b''', with c' = middle c. Note names with their appropriate accidentals appear in italics in the Critical Commentary; individual accidentals, however, appear in roman type.

Editorial Methods

Notes or rests that are not in the source are printed in small type in the edition; this is true both for single notes or rests and for long stretches of rests (particularly in the last movement), as well as for the last part of the finale, where the manuscript is often sketchy at best.

Beaming of groups of eighth notes has been modernized, except in cases where Cornelius's beaming is suggestive in terms of phrasing or articulation (e.g. III: 16, V). Cornelius's notation [3]. [7] (particularly frequent in the first movement) has been transcribed as [3].

Cornelius's notation of grace notes as a small eighth note (rather than a sixteenth) has been retained, since it may be an important source of information for the performance practice; in the edition, it is always slurred to the main note (Cornelius is not consistent in this regard).

The distribution of the piano part on two staffs has been modernized for the purpose of clarity. Cornelius frequently avoids ledger lines by writing part of a chord in the top staff and part in the lower staff; this kind of notation looks archaic if not awkward to performers today and does not serve any particular purpose (hand division, for example, is never a problem throughout the sonata).

Accidentals

The use of accidentals in the edition is according to modern convention: accidentals are valid for the duration of the measure, unless they are specifically cancelled out by a natural. In general, the character of the manuscript as a composing score—at times clearly written in a hurry—explains why Cornelius's use of accidentals is often inconsistent: sometimes he obviously does not spell out accidentals that are clearly implied for long stretches, sometimes he writes more accidentals than strictly necessary (as if he has "forgotten" which key he is in); yet there is rarely any doubt about what he means.

Accidentals that are very obviously missing have been added in normal print and mentioned in the Commentary. Where the editor felt that an accidental was missing but the evidence is less strong, the accidental has been put in parentheses. Where an accidental is no more than a possibility, it has been added in brackets over the note. The edition retains some of Cornelius's "courtesy" accidentals, while in some other situations they have been added for the convenience of the modern player (who is more accustomed to the help of such "courtesies" than the nineteenth-century performer would have been).

A few changes in key signature have been introduced editorially for the purpose of clarity in the last movement (at mm. 115, 140, 160, and 179, all in brackets, thereafter without brackets at the beginning at each consecutive system), in a sense inspired by Cornelius's own key change at m. 42, and justified by the modulatory character of the movement.

Dynamics and articulation

Dynamics and articulation have been added in parentheses by strict analogy only. Although Cornelius would undoubtedly have added many such markings if the piece had been published during his lifetime, any attempt to add dynamics and articulation throughout the sonata would be purely hypothetical. Performers will have to make their own decisions based on contemporary performance practice, the music itself, and of course their own taste. Obviously missing ties are added in the edition and mentioned in the Commentary; only in a few places (in the Scherzo) have added ties have been "dotted."

Abbreviations

Cornelius makes frequent use of the following standard abbreviations in the score, all of which have all been written out in the edition, and have not been mentioned in the Commentary:

- ·/. indicating repetition of a measure or part of a measure (e.g. I: 3 P, r.h. & l.h.);
- // indicating repetition of a chord (e.g. I: 272 P l.h.: // instead of items 3-4);

"dashed" half notes indicating four eighth notes at the same pitch (or "dashed" quarters to indicate four sixteenths) (e.g. III: 10 P, r.h. items 3-6);

"beamed" half notes indicating eighth notes at two pitches (e.g. I: 16 P, l.h.) (the double-beamed dotted half notes in the third movement have been retained, since it is impossible to tell whether they are meant to indicate regular sixteenths or "free" tremolo);

8 indicating octave doubling (e.g. III: 25 P, l.h.).

In addition, Cornelius sometimes places a measure or a group of measures between repeat signs, often with an explanatory note ("2 mal," twice; see Facsimile III, p. 83). Abbreviations of this kind have also been written out, but are mentioned in the Critical Commentary. The standard repeat sign for larger sections (the exposition of the first movement, the sections of the Scherzo, the first half of the Adagio) have, of course, been retained in the edition. In a few instances, it was necessary to add first and second endings to clarify the situation for the modern performer. In the second movement, Cornelius uses "multi-rests" (always with a number over the staff) for groups of two or three measures of rests. These multi-rests have been written out in the edition without mentioning them in the Commentary.

Movement Numbering, Titles, Tempo Indications

Roman numerals in brackets have been added to head the four movements. The titles of the second and third movements and of the sections in the second movement are the composer's. For the third movement, a brief explanation in the title has been added in

brackets. Tempo indications have been suggested, again in brackets, at the beginning of the second and fourth movement; other tempo indications are original.

FIRST MOVEMENT

Source: Fol. 32r (= p. 1), system 1-fol. 38r (p. 13), system 1

Title: title page

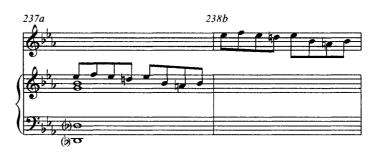
Instrument headings at system 1: original

Measure	Instrument	Item	Comments
1	V	4	no \(\beta\)
2	V	1	originally a newly-articulated e_b " on second beat
7	P, r.h.	2	chord included a_i ; crossed out
8	P, r.h.	3	in lower staff (bass clef)
9–13	P, 1.h.	2–4	in upper staff (treble clef)
9–11	P, 1.h.	1	with E_{β} ; crossed out
10	P, r.h.	1	no tie
12	P, 1.h.	1	with B_{β} '; crossed out
13	P, 1.h.	1	$B \not \triangleright b \not$, crossed out, replaced by single $B \not$
14	P, 1.h.	1	with E_{β} ; crossed out
		3	with Ab' ; crossed out
		8	no h
15	P, 1.h.	3–4	with B_{β} '; crossed out
18	P, r.h.	1	chord e \(\frac{a}{2} \) ''/g''' (cf. m. 217)
	•	2	chord included e '', crossed out; no c '' (cf. mm. 217 and 221)
22	P, r.h.	1	chord $f #'' / a ' '' / d''''$ (cf. m. 221)
		2	chord f#''/a''' (cf. m. 221)
27–30	V		8 ^{va} line ends at end of m. 26 (= end of page in ms.); cf. mm. 224–229
27	P, 1.h.	1	half note E/e , no rest, no tie
28	P, 1.h.	1	half note E/e (no ξ), no rest
31–36	P		accompaniment figure on second, third, and fourth

			quarters originally an octave higher; crossed out
31–33	P, 1.h.	1	with a_k ; crossed out
34–35	P, 1.h.	1	with e_{β} ; crossed out
36	P, 1.h.	1	$E \not \! / e \not \! / b$, crossed out, followed by $A \not \! / b$
37	P, 1.h.	1	B_b'/B_b , both crossed out
39	P, r.h.	1	with additional stem (suggesting quarter note $e^{\prime\prime}$ in "alto")
49	V	7	no \(\psi \) (cf. m. 250)
	P	5	no կ
52	V; P, r.h.	1	no tie
	V	2	originally $c^{\prime\prime}$, crossed out
53	P, r.h.	1	no tie
53	P, 1.h.	3	no tie
60	P, 1.h.	1	chord included F #, crossed out; no \natural
		2	quarter note, no rest; chord included A (no ξ), crossed out
61	V	3	no կ
67	V	2	with half note a', crossed out
	P, r.h.	3, 4	with a'' (no ξ); crossed out
68	P, r.h.	1	chord included f'' and b_b'' , crossed out
		4	no \(\bar{\bar{\pi}} \)
70, 72–74	P		no \qs
75	P		no rest; fermata on half note in r.h., no tie
	V	3	fermata; crossed out
76	P, 1.h.	2	additional quarter note f; crossed out
77	P, r.h.		whole measure written one note too high, crossed out; remark "zusammen" (together) scribbled below staff
79	P, r.h.	3	additional c'
82	V		articulation original, but cf. m. 285
84	P		no \s
85	V	3	no \u03c4
	P, r.h.	3	no h

86	V	1	chord included f'' ; crossed out
89	P, r.h.	1	no \u03e4
90	P, r.h.	4	no \u03a4
91	P	1	no \s
92	P, 1.h.	2	no \u03e4
94	P, r.h.		no tie
	P, 1.h.	3	fermata, crossed out; no tie
95–97			flats inconsistent
98		1	no flats
99, 100	V	2, 4	no flats
101	V	3	no \u03a4
103, 105	P, 1.h.		no ties
107			in right margin on hand-drawn staffs
108	P	5	no h
109/111			Cornelius clearly marks the first and second endings, using "1" and "2do"
111			written between repeat signs, with remark "2 mal" over V staff; on hand-drawn staffs in right margin (the repeat is written out as m. 112 in the edition)
113–114			in left margin on hand-drawn staffs
115			"zweiter Theil" on top of score; page originally started with this measure
116			no ties
117	V	1	half note g_{β} " with stem crossed out; below staff: "fis"
118	V, P		top note for both instruments was b_{β} ", crossed out
123	P	4	slightly unclear, probably a ''/b''/f#'''
123, 124, 126	P, r.h.	1	no \(\sigma_s\), but cf. m. 127
127	V, P, r.h.	1	# original (m. 128, P, r.h., item 2 has a # as well)
133, 134	P	4	top note no #
135, 136	P	2, 4	no #
140	V	1	grace note slurred to main note here but not elsewhere; slurs added in all such places in edition

	P, r.h.	4	previous chord repeated, crossed out
149	P, l.h.	1	a redundant $f_{\#}$; Cornelius wrote the $f_{\#}$ s in m. 148 in the left-hand staff, moving them to the right-hand staff (with ledger lines) in m. 149
150	P, 1.h.	5	no \u03a4
152	V	2–3	same notes as P l.h. (items 2-5 two octaves higher); crossed out
153	P, r.h.	2	no accent, but cf. mm. 148-149, 151, 153.
164	P, 1.h.	4	no \s
167	V	2	ե crossed out
		5	with 4; crossed out
		6	կ crossed out
168	V	1	with tie, crossed out
174	P, 1.h.	1–3, 5	ink spot covers large part of P l.h.; these four notes clarified by letter notation underneath staff
175	P, 1.h.	2	no \(\dagger
186	P, l.h.	. 1	no #s
		2	with D/d , crossed out; no $ ets$
187	P, 1.h.	1	with G''
192	V	1–8	somewhat unclear because of correction and stains; clarified by letter notation underneath staff
193	P, 1.h.	1	originally half notes, corrected
203	P, r.h.	1	top note originally half note, stem crossed out
213	P, r.h.		accompaniment figure originally identical with m. 208, then corrected
223	P, r.h.	1	half notes $e''/b''/e \xi'''$, crossed out and replaced by rest
224	V	1	no \(\psi\)
after 237			two additional bars, crossed out early on:



238	V	1	with e_{b} '', crossed out
239	V	6–8	originally f'' , e'' , f'' ; the $g \sharp''$ is undoubtedly correct (the $g \sharp$ s in the piano part notwithstanding)
240	P, 1.h.	1	d, originally whole note
241	P, r.h.	1, 8	no flat.
	P, l.h.	2	no flat
242	P, l.h.	1	originally A_b , correction clarified with letter notation ("ges")
		2	middle note originally a_b , correction clarified with letter notation
242	P, r.h.		no rests
243	P, r.h.	6–8	originally e_{β} '', d '', e_{β} ''; correction clarified with letter notation
244	V	6–8	originally f'' , e'' , f'' ; no \natural for a''
	P	1	chord originally $a'/f''/a''$; a' crossed out, c'' and e_{β}'' added
245	V	6	originally f'' , corrected to g''
250	P	5	no \(\bar{\psi} \)
254	V	1	no tie
260	P	2–4	with $E \not \! / e \not \! / e_b$, crossed out
264	P	5	bottom note originally $a \not = i$; notehead corrected, $i \in S$ sign crossed out
265	V	5	no \(\dagger\); cf. m. 57
268–270	V		originally, these measures contained the notes now in the right hand of the P (all crossed out)
270	V	3	originally d'' , then a_{β}'' with trill, all crossed out
274	P, r.h.	1	chord unclear, perhaps $b \frac{1}{2} e \frac{1}{2} \frac{g}{g}$; but cf. m. 272
	P, 1.h.	1	with B_{β} , crossed out

278	P	3	with fermata, crossed out
278	P, l.h.	3	no ties
285	V		articulation in edition follows original, but cf. m. 82
286	P, 1.h.		no \s
294	P, r.h.	2	with f'' , crossed out
297	P, 1.h.	1	originally b _b , crossed out
	V	3	with fermata
	P, 1.h.	2	no rest
		3	with fermata, crossed out
299	V		additional notes b' , $c\#'$, $d\#'$, e'' at beginning of measure; crossed out; a barline in the middle of the measure is crossed out as well
301	P	5	no h
302	P, r.h.	5	no h
307–308	V		no tie
312–315	P, r.h.		no 8 ^{va} sign, but cf. m. 306 (V) and mm. 108, 111-112 (P)
	P, l.h.		empty; chords supplied in edition (cf. mm. 305–7 and 108, 111–112)
319	P		here and elsewhere, Cornelius spells with Latin semper
327	P, r.h.	4	originally $e_{\beta}^{"}/g''/b_{\beta}^{"}/e_{\beta}^{"}$; top note crossed out, $a_{\beta}^{"}$ added (turning $b_{\beta}^{"}$ into d''); the bottom note $e_{\beta}^{"}$ was undoubtedly meant to be an f'' ; cf. mm. 328–329
	P, 1.h.	4	with flag (eighth note); flag crossed out
after 327			a superfluous measure of 2/4: V empty, P l.h. repeat sign, P r.h. dotted quarter $f''/b_b'''/d'''$ followed by eight note $d''/f''/b_b'''$, all crossed out; barline following crossed out
331	P, r.h.		no g''; cf. m. 332
	P, 1.h.		no ties
333	V		no fermata
	P, r.h.		no b'

SECOND MOVEMENT

Source: fol. 39r (p. 15), first system-41v (p. 19), second system

Title: heading "zweiter Satz. Scherzo" over first system on left

Measure	Instrument	Item	Comments
15	P, l.h.		no ties (cf. m. 35); dots are missing after half notes here and in many other places; since the situation is always clear, this has been corrected without comment throughout the movement
18	P, 1.h.		no staccato dots
29–30	P, l.h.	3	b_b crossed out (or a previous, perhaps lower note?); there is clearly no reason to leave it out in this particular place only
73	P, 1.h.	1	both notes missing (but no rests either)
78	V	1	Cornelius uses the abbreviation "fo" in the violin, "sfo" in the piano; since he seems to write "ffo" for <i>fortissimo</i> , "fo" in all likelihood means <i>sforzato</i> (see also third movement m. 24)
83–84			written only once between repeat signs; remark "2 mal" over system crossed out
85–86; 87–88; 89–90			only one measure of each pair is notated, but between repeat signs (or at least double bars), with remark "2 mal" or "zwei mal" over system
88/89	P		"zwei" written in the middle of the measure between the two staves
91–92			added in later (the three notes and the barline are crammed-in at the beginning of what is now m.93); only one measure is notated, but a "2" below the P r.h. staff seems to indicate repetition
after 96			a superfluous measure, crossed out in the piano; the violin has a measure rest, which Cornelius perhaps forgot to cross out
99–100	P, r.h.	1	quarter notes $f/a/c'/e_b'$ instead of rests, but cf. mm. 5–6, where the first quarter of each measure is a rest
105	P, r.h.	2	originally $f/b \frac{1}{b} d'$; f and $b \frac{1}{b}$ crossed out
		3	with $b \not \! / d$, not crossed out (but obviously should have been)
127	P, 1.h.	3	treble clef before item 3, crossed out
132	P, 1.h.		performers may want to tie the bass notes (cf. m. 35)

141	V, P	3	the editorial rest is needed to go to the trio
142			in the source, the coda appears here (i.e. before the trio)
142			no repeat sign
after 145	P		m. 145 written out again (but with
146	P, 1.h.	1	originally b_b , crossed out
148	P, 1.h.	2	originally b_b , crossed out
154	P, 1.h.		no ties
158	P, r.h.	2	with e_{\flat} '', crossed out
159	P, 1.h.	1	originally g'/c'' , crossed out
160	P, r.h.	2, 3	originally $b \not = '/d''$; $ extsize crossed out, b' turned into c'' $
	P, 1.h.	1	originally g'/c'' , both crossed out
161	P, l.h.	1	this measure is the beginning of a new system; the lower staff has a bass clef, which technically makes this note a B_k , but it is obvious that Cornelius means g' , and that the bass clef was entered one measure too early
162	P, 1.h.		no clef change (cf. note m. 161)
164	P, r.h.	2	chord with f'
168	P, r.h.	2	no h
170–173	P, 1.h.	1	originally with lower octave doubling, crossed out
172	V	2	no h
	P, r.h.	2	no b
176	P, r.h.	2	no h (cf. V)
177	V	2	no h
178	V	1, 2	originally $g'', b_{\beta''}$
180	P, r.h.	2	no կs
186	P, 1.h.	1	originally g'', crossed out
188	V		two notes (perhaps identical with m. 189), crossed out
199	V		no tie
203	V		no tie
210–211	V		these two measures written on hand-drawn staff in left margin; piano staffs empty, piano part conjectured in

			edition, cf. mm. 226–227
212	P, 1.h.		this measure is the first of the system (apart from the two measures in the margin); clef is erroneously bass clef, yet it is obvious that these notes still need to be read in the treble clef
213	V		originally c''' , crossed out
214–215; 216–217			only one measure of each pair written out, between double bars, with remark "2 mal" over system; no ties
221	V		with tie (or slur?) to m. 222 d_b
226–227	V		these two measures written on hand-drawn staff in left margin; piano staffs empty, piano part conjectured in edition, cf. mm. 210-211
228	P, l.h.		this measure is the first of the system (apart from the two measures in the margin); clef is bass clef, yet it is obvious that these notes still need to be read in the treble clef; cf. m. 212 above
229	V		originally $c^{\prime\prime\prime}$, crossed out (however, the tie from the previous measure is not crossed out)
230–231; 232–233			only one measure of each pair written out, between double bars, with remark "2 mal" over system; no ties
236	P, 1.h.	1	B_b instead of A_b ; cf. m. 240
240	P, 1.h.	1	originally B_b , crossed out, followed by A_b
243	V	1	originally b_b ", tied to m. 242
248–250; 252–254	P		no \(\psi\) s anywhere, but Cornelius would undoubtedly have used flats to "cancel out" the \(\psi\) s in mm. 243–46
255			with instruction "dal segno Scherzo da Capo" and sign, referring to sign at m. 3; however, the musical context strongly suggests that the repeat should start from m. 5, as has been done here (mm. 256–392)
256–392			repeat of mm. 4-141, written out here (for commentary, see mm. 4-141)
392–416			in the autograph, the coda appears at the end of the Scherzo on fol. 40r, before the Trio sections
392	P, r.h.	3	with octave indication over staff; however, right-hand octaves or playing the right hand an octave higher seems unlikely to the editor
406	P, r.h.	1	the end of the octave sign is not indicated, but there can be little doubt that it is here

410 P, r.h. no ties

THIRD MOVEMENT

Source: fol. 38r (p. 13), second system-fol. 38v (p. 14), fourth (= last) system

Title: left margin, in front of violin staff: "Fantasie: N° 3;" over first system: "Variation über: Dein ist mein Herz von Franz Schubert"

Measure	Instrument	Item	Comments
1	V	1	editorial c'' for repeat only (cf. m. 20)
3	V	3	with remark "gis" underneath staff
8, 9	V	1	no h
10	P, .r.h.	3–6	notehead c' (but not its #) possibly crossed out
11	P, r.h.	2	chord includes e' and e; both crossed out
14	V	1	some erasures here; top note clarified with letter notation "c"
15	V	1	half note c'' corrected into dotted quarter
17	V	3	no \u03a4
18–19			source has what is now m. 19 followed by repeat sign (no first/second endings); m. 18 and first/second endings in edition are editorial
	P r.h.		half note chord with dash through stem, followed by quarter note g'' ; the g'' only makes sense when going on to m. 20, whereas continuous eighth notes seem needed the first time, possibly the second time as well
	P 1.h.		no G' (but cf. m. 17)
21, 23	P, r.h.	3	originally half note
24	P		dynamic indication "fo" may mean <i>sforzato</i> ; m. 28 has "ffo" for <i>fortissimo</i> (see also second movement, m. 78)
25, 29	P	1	no "cautionary" \downarrow here (Cornelius does write a cautionary \downarrow for the a " in m. 26)
26, 27	P		no ties
32–34	V		the source has twelve noteheads between two barlines; the rhythm of the first three noteheads is unambiguous, the rest is slightly unclear

FOURTH MOVEMENT

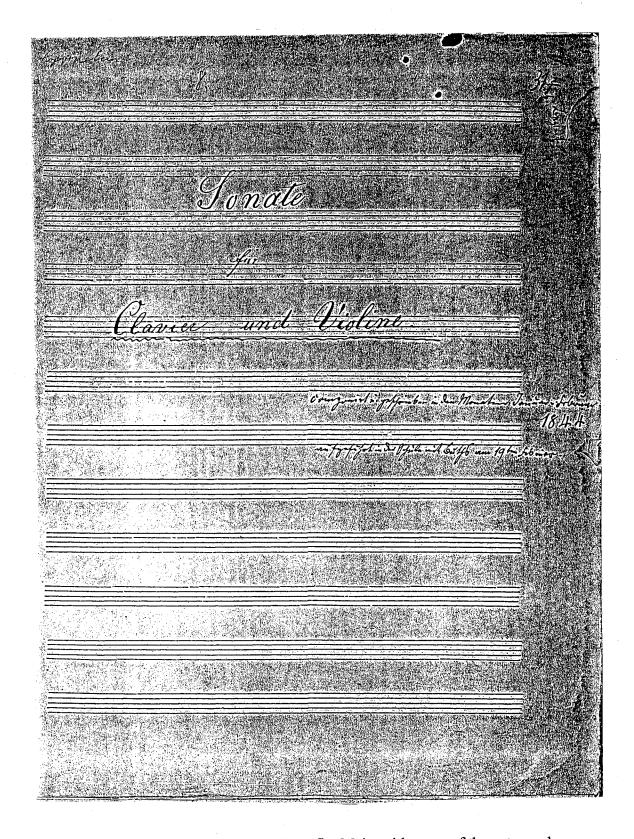
Source: fol. 42r (p. 21), first system-fol. 47r (p. 31)

Title: editorial; source has neither title nor tempo indication

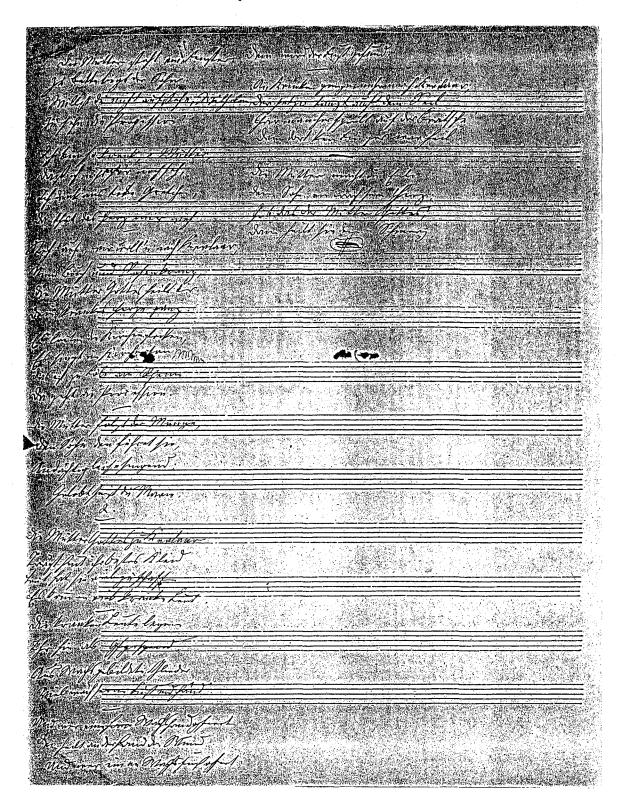
Measure	Instrument	Item	Comments
3–4, 7–8	P, V	1	half-note chords with fermata followed by a barline, but Cornelius notates a whole note in all similar places (mm. 23–24, 27–28, 67–68, 71–72, 184–185, 188–189); the barline after m. 4 is crossed out
15	P	5, 6	originally e \$/g, c/e \$
20	V	5–6	eighth notes g'' f'' , but Cornelius most likely intended the dotted rhythm (cf. mm. 12, 16, 18, 231, 235, 239, 243, 245, 247)
24	V	1	with g'', crossed out
30	P V	1 2	Cornelius notated these items a beat too early (at the end of m. 29) at first; the piano e_b " was crossed out
	P, r.h.	4, 5	originally b_{\flat} '' a_{\flat} '', crossed out
33	P, l.h. V	1 3	no bs, although implied by key signature; P, l.h. item 5 has bs, however
36	V	4, 6	no \(\pi\); cf. P, m. 33
37–38	P		no \s
39	P	8, 16	no \s
40	V	1	editorial (measure is empty in V), but cf. P, m. 36
41	P	4	no courtesy naturals
42	V/P	key sign.	the usual flats indicating C minor are followed by \$\approx\$ signs to indicate key change
44	P, r.h.	1	chord contained g', crossed out
47	P, r.h.	2	$a\#'$ and $a\#''$ corrected from b_{β}' and b_{β}''
		3	b' and b '' corrected from a ' and a ''
		5	no ♭ (but see l.h.)
48	P, r.h.	1	no sharp; chord contained d'', crossed out
		2	no sharp (but see violin)
50-53			between repeat signs; the repeat is written out here
51	P, r.h.		at beginning of measure five eight-note chords (top notes $c\#''d''d\#''e'$), crossed out

52	P, r.h.	1	dotted eighths, but not followed by a sixteenth
54	P, r.h.	1	Cornelius apparently started to write out the repeat here (P r.h. only); he then changed his mind, used repeat signs, and crossed out this first chord; it is nevertheless highly probable that he intended this chord rather than the one in the high register (g''/c'''/e''', as in m. 50)
58			between repeat signs; the repeat is written out here
58/59	V	2	originally f''' , crossed out, followed by notehead d''' (no stem); no quarter rest visible
68	V	1	chord with g'', crossed out
69	P	8	no \(\psi\) (but cf. m. 5)
70	P	2, 8	no \(\psi\) (but cf. m. 6)
75	P, 1.h.	6	chord with g, crossed out
76	P, r.h.	1	no β ; but β signs for the d s in m. 78
80	P, r.h.	2	no b, but see above
82	P, l.h.	3	originally es, crossed out; rest added
83	P		both the slurs and the dots are added (similarly in mm. 85, 87, 95, 97, 99, 107, and 111); cf. mm. 81, 91, and 93
91–92			between repeat signs; the repeat is written out here
after 94			six measures (incomplete), crossed out; these deleted measures contain the material used in the present measures 97–98 (third beat) and 101 (fourth beat)–105
103-105			2/4 measures original (but without the time signature)
109	P, r.h.	6	top note originally $b \xi'; \xi$ crossed out, notehead changed into c ''
115	P		no ties
130–131	V		slur original, although it does not lead to the the b ', but rather looks like a tie to an absent a ''
135	V	6	originally g'', crossed out
138	V	4	originally b4", crossed out
142	P	5	the notehead f' (no sharp) seems to indicate the beginning of a chain of octaves (as begins at this point in the left hand in explicit notation)
150–151			barlines originally placed halfway in what are now

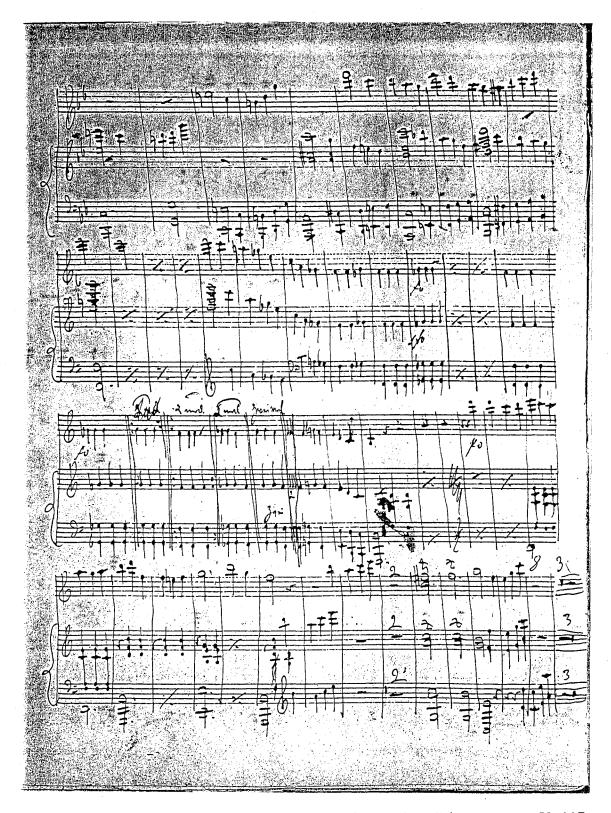
			mm. 150 and 151; crossed out
154–169			this section is incomplete in the manuscript (see Facsimile IV, p. 84), containing only one part at any given time (violin or piano right hand); the completion in small print is based on mm. 29–33 and 42–49
163	V	3, 4	no \s
164–165			extra barlines in the middle of these measures; the barline in the middle of 165 crossed out
166	V	9, 10	no \(\s \) (but key signature in source is technically still C minor)
167	V	1	no \(\(\text{(cf. comment m. 166)} \)
168	V	1	with \(\psi \)
169	P, r.h.	1, 4, 9, 13	with \approx
170	P	1	no \(\psi\) (cf. comment m. 166)
173–178	P, 1.h.		B'/B with \s
174			followed by repeat sign, which must refer to this measure only; the repeat is written out here
185			no h
191	P	1	no \(\psi\), but cf. mm. 190/192
225, 226	P	3–4	the quarter notes are double-dotted, but the last note is an eighth, not a sixteenth; cf. V, and P mm. 229-230
233	V	3	no dots
236	V		source has a rest for the whole measure, perhaps mistakenly
237–252			this last section is again incomplete, containing only one part (piano right hand or violin) at any given time; completed on the basis of mm. 10–19 and of the structure of Kerner's "Wanderlied"



Facsimile I: Peter Cornelius, Sonata in E-flat Major, title page of the autograph score (ÖNB/Vienna, Mus. Hs. 4752, fol. 31r).



Facsimile II: Heinrich Heine, "Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar" (incomplete) in the hand of Peter Cornelius on the verso of the title page of the Sonata in E-flat Major (ÖNB/Vienna, Mus. Hs. 4752, fol. 31v).



Facsimile III: Peter Cornelius, Sonata in E-flat Major, Scherzo, mm. 59–117 (ÖNB/Vienna, Mus. Hs. 4752, fol. 39v), with repeat indications "2 mal" and "zweimal."



Facsimile IV: Peter Cornelius, Sonata in E-flat Major, Finale, mm. 139–157 (ÖNB/Vienna, Mus. Hs. 4752, fol. 45r). The piano part breaks off in the last system (m. 155).



Facsimile V: Peter Cornelius, Sonata in E-flat Major, Finale, mm. 194–122 (ÖNB/Vienna, Mus. Hs. 4752, fol. 45v), with the introduction of Justinus Kerner's "Wanderlied" at m. 200.

PETER CORNELIUS SONATA IN E-FLAT MAJOR

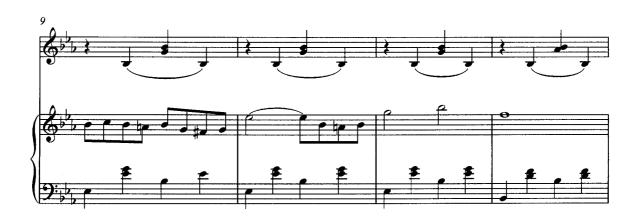
Sonate

[I.]

PETER CORNELIUS





















































[II.] Scherzo









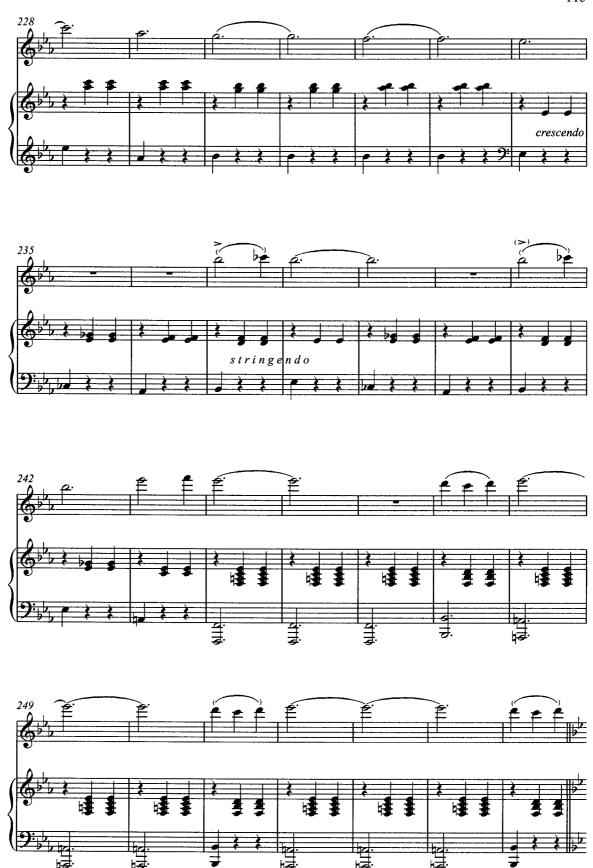












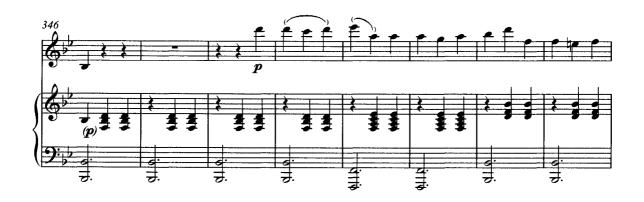
















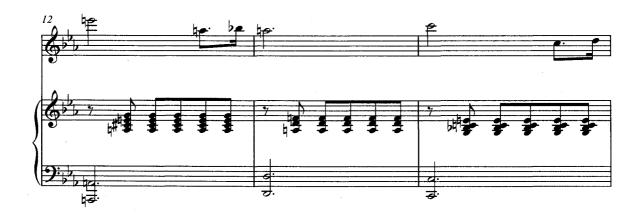
[III.] Fantasie

Variation über: "Dein ist mein Herz" von Franz Schubert ["Ungeduld," from *Die schöne Müllerin*]



















[IV. Finale]















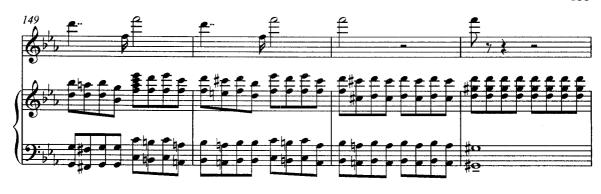




































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