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Brahms's Critics

Continuity and Discontinuity In the Critical Reception of Johannes Brahms

PhD Dissertation submitted to the Department of Music,
School of Drama, Film, and Music,
Trinity College Dublin

2008

Nicole Grimes



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Nicole Grimes

Summary

This thesis draws on the writings of a number of nineteenth-century musical commentators, including Richard Pohl, Hermann Deiters, Selmar Bagge, Adolf Schubring, Franz Brendel, and Eduard Hanslick. These critics were writing for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in the 1860s, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in the 1860s and 1870s, and the *Neue Freie Press* from the 1860s to the turn of the century. The major findings are that there are traces of the 'revisionist' views of recent commentators on Brahms in these nineteenth-century writings. Thus these writings can be understood as a significant part of Brahms *Rezeptionsgeschichte*.

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In Memoriam
Marie Grimes

1946–2006

Down, down, down into the darkness of the grave Gently they go, the beautiful, the tender, the kind; Quietly they go, the intelligent, the witty, the brave. I know. But I do not approve. And I am not resigned.

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Note on the translations

All translations throughout this text are my own unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes. In nearly all cases the original German has been included in the footnotes. Original orthography is maintained, except where primary material is cited from a later edition.

Brahms's Critics: Continuity and Discontinuity in the Critical Reception of Johannes Brahms

Introduction

The reception history of Brahms's music is an area of Brahms studies that has been given only marginal attention. Angelika Horstmann's 1986 text *Untersuchungen zur Brahms-Rezeption der Jahren 1860–1880* provides an impressive starting point, in that it collates and critiques a formidable body of critical writings on Brahms in this period. By its very scope and nature such a study cannot explore these writings in any real depth, however. Norbert Meurs has further contributed to the field in his 1996 text *Neue Bahnen? Aspekte der Brahms-Rezeption 1853–1868*. Building on Horstmann's endeavours, this study gives detailed discussion to the writings of Brahms's early critics, and traces in great detail the consequences of Schumann's 1853 article on the young composer. Moreover, by 1868, the year that saw the premiere of *Ein deutsches Requiem*, Op. 45, Brahms had written many of the works that fit into what has been referred to as his first maturity, and thereby provided ample material for critical evaluation. Yet studies on the critical reception of Brahms's music after this date are scant, and the lack of a study in this field in English language publications is becoming increasingly more noticeable by its absence.

The present study redresses this issue. It makes no claims to be a comprehensive study of the reception history of Brahms. Such an endeavour would be futile, if not close to impossible, in light of the volume of material evidenced in Horstmann's text. Rather it focuses on a number of critics who can be understood to have been major players in the reception of Brahms's music during the composer's lifetime. These critics are Robert Schumann, Franz Brendel, Richard Pohl, Adolf Schubring, Hermann Deiters, Selmar Bagge, and Eduard Hanslick.

¹ The phrase was coined by James Webster in his 1978 article 'Schubert's Sonata Forms and Brahms's First Maturity I.' 19th-Century Music 2/1 (July 1978): 18–35.

Recent 'revisionist' scholarship on Brahms has witnessed the unveiling of a number of identities for the composer, each of them highlighting an aspect of either Brahms's personal, professional, or compositional persona: from 'Brahms the Allusive', ² to 'Brahms the Programmatic'; ³ 'Johannes Brahms, Solitary Altruist'; ⁴ and Brahms the 'Liberal Modernist'. ⁵ Each of these commentators draws our attention to an aspect of Brahms's music that has been overlooked in the twentieth-century scholarly literature on Brahms, thereby providing a reevaluation of Brahms's compositional process, and providing us with challenging and evernew ideas with which to approach the composer's music.

The current study is carried out from a different perspective. Rather than looking for aspects of Brahms's music that have not been elucidated in earlier scholarly writings, it revisits the critical writings of Brahms's contemporary press—particularly those in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in the 1860s, those in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in the 1860s and 1870s, and the critical writings of Eduard Hanslick, originally written for the *Neue freie Presse* between the 1860s and the turn of the century—and draws continuities between what his contemporaries said about his music and more recent scholarly writings.

The best way to understand the title 'Brahms's Critics: Continuity and Discontinuity in the Critical Reception of Johannes Brahms' is by locating the emphasis. The continuity to which I refer exists between the nineteenth century writings on Brahms by his contemporary press, and the more recent 'revisionist' Brahms scholarship referred to above. The discontinuity, I argue, lies in the fact that the view of Brahms perpetuated in these nineteenth-century writings was largely suppressed in scholarly writings in the twentieth century until they re-emerged in the last two decades in the guise of a 'revisionist' view of Brahms. In

² Kenneth Ross Hull. 'Brahms the Allusive: Extra-Compositional Reference in the Instrumental Music of Johannes Brahms'. PhD Diss. Princeton University (1989).

³ Dillon R. Parmer. 'Brahms the Programmatic: A Critical Assessment'. PhD Diss. Rochester. University of Rochester1(995).

⁴⁴ Peter F. Ostwald. 'Johannes Brahms, Solitary Altruist', in Walter Frisch, ed. *Brahms and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 23–36.

⁵ Walter Frisch. 'Musical Politics Revisited: Brahms the Liberal Modernist Vs. Wagner the Reactionary Conservative', *American Brahms Society Newsletter* 13/1 (Spring 1995): 1–3.

other words, I argue that there are traces of all of the above-mentioned 'revisionist' views of Brahms in the contemporary criticism; contrary to widespread opinion, I find elements of Brahms the Programmatic in the discussions of Eduard Hanslick, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4; I recognise in the writings of Deiters, Bagge, and Schubring a significant foreshadowing of Schoenberg's 'Brahms the Progressive', and a championing of the modern aspects of Brahms's music, as discussed in Chapter 2; I see Hanslick advancing the notion, along with Ostwald, that in his compositions Brahms sought to establish connections between people and, moreover, I find continuities between the view of Brahms's liberal modernity as espoused by Walter Frisch in 1995, and Hanslick's discussion of his own and Brahms's shared liberal Viennese *Weltanschauung*.

These nineteenth-century views of the composer were suppressed in twentieth-century scholarly writings. I suggest that this was in part due to periods of political tension and unease; while the reception of Brahms's music experienced increasingly nationalistic and even racist trends between the composer's death and World War I, post 1918 critics felt the need to extol Brahms's 'German-ness' as a bulwark against a semitically tainted modernism. Yet, following World War II, hermeneutic or cultural studies of the composer were suppressed in favour of documentary and analytical studies that were privileged by West German, and subsequently Anglo-American, musicological writings in a climate charged with domestic politics, in the wake of National Socialism.

The modern concept of Brahms as a progressive and modern composer owes much to Schoenberg who, in 1933, sought to rescue the composer from the conservative dead-end into which the view of his music had fallen in the early-twentieth century. Schoenberg's view of Brahms as espoused in the Brahms Lecture of 1933, the revision of this lecture as 'Brahms the Progressive' of 1947, and the discussion of Brahms in his didactic writings, provides a cornerstone of the view of Brahms perpetuated in twentieth-century scholarly writings.

⁶ Daniel Beller-McKenna. 'The Rise and Fall of Brahms the German', *Journal of Musicological Research* 20/3 (2001): 187–210 (190–191).

In the essay 'Criteria for the Evaluation of Music', Arnold Schoenberg writes that 'style in art changes every ten to fifteen years, and almost inevitably evaluation changes with style'. Certainly changes in current compositional style alter the way we hear the works of the past. Yet, while the reception of every work of art is in a constant state of flux, elements that are integral to a work of art remain more constant. The critical evaluation of Brahms's music has undergone many changes, but in re-evaluating the writings of Brahms's contemporaries the current study sees it come full circle to the extent that the aspects of Brahms's music that stimulated his contemporary critics continue to do so in the 'revisionist' writings outlined above.

Many of these nineteenth-century critical writings on Brahms have been confined to the bottom drawer of Anglo-American Brahms Studies. Having blown the dust off them, it is seen that these contemporary writings are engaging, and indeed compelling, in that they allow us to see how Brahms's music was received by his contemporaries in light of its allusive references, its poetic adjuncts, its socio-political or even nationalistic underpinnings, elements that have been overlooked in earlier twentieth-century writings on the composer. Moreover, they allow us an insight in to how the critics grappled with Brahms's compositions, and what difficulties they had in understanding his compositional language. In this sense they form an integral part of the critical reception of Brahms.

More than this, however, they allow us to look critically at what it is that drives musicological endeavours in our own time, and in the more recent past. In returning to the writings of these contemporary critics, and comparing them to more recent writings on Brahms, we get a better understanding of what a piece of music can express or reflect about the people who use it. Thus, what resonates most about an age that vetoed the expressive writings of Brahms's contemporary critics is the cultural preoccupations they sought to suppress.

⁷ Arnold Schoenberg, 'Criteria for the Evaluation of Music', *Style and Idea* (London: Faber, 1975), 124–136 (126).

Summary of Chapters

The dissertation is divided into two parts. Part I is concerned with the critical writings on Brahms in the *Neue Zeitschrift fur Musik* and the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in the 1860s and 1870s. Chapter 1 compares and contrasts the editorial policies of Schumann (1835–1844) and Brendel (1845–1868). It explores subjective/objective trajectory of Brendel's writings in the context of his view of music history and of music criticism. I argue that Schumann's 1853 essay 'Neue Bahnen' engages with Brendel's critical discourse and philosophy of history. Thus, the essay did not emerge in a historical vacuum, but rather responded to a clearly defined and well understood strain in the critical discourse of midcentury.

The decade from 1850–1860 was marked by strident critical debate over musical-aesthetic questions. The journal that Schumann founded increasingly promoted the aesthetic tendencies and compositions of the *Neudeutsche Schule* of Wagner, Berlioz, and Liszt. Whilst Brendel continued Schumann's policy of promoting new and promising talents, his editorial policy diverged from Schumann's in a number of respects including his view of the status of the works of past masters, and his exclusivity in promoting the *Neudeutsche Schule*.

An exploration of Richard Pohl's article on Brahms of 1853 argues that these were concerned with both responding to Schumann's 1853 essay, and perpetuating Brendel's editorial policy. Hence much of the early criticism on Brahms in the journal is embroiled in the mid-century partisanship, reacting to Schumann's 'Neue Bahnen' rather than critiquing Brahms's compositions on their own merit.

Brahms remained aloof from these controversies throughout his compositional career with the exception of one brief affair in the form of the 1860 manifesto. Although this *Erklärung* has been widely discussed in the Brahms literature, the episode on Brahms and the *Neue Zeitschrift* merits further consideration. This chapter, for the first time, explores the events surrounding the *Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung* of 1859, and gives a detailed

discussion to the polemical and provocative writings of Brendel in the run up to this national assembly. Brendel's philosophical approach to music criticism—couched in the Hegelian dialectical principle of thesis, antithesis, synthesis—harboured a nationalist agenda that argued that German music was a central feature of German identity. Yet he denied such an identity to composers outside of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. Throughout his editorship Brendel gave to critical writings a leading role in participating actively in the progress of music. Thus his philosophical writings were accorded an independent position in relation to art, bestowing on music criticism an aesthetic significance that was formerly unthinkable.

This reached its pinnacle in the *Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung* of June 1859 where Brendel crowned the achievements of the *Neudeutsche Schule* and of his philosophical approach to music. By inaugurating the *Neudeutsche Schule* of Wagner, Liszt, and Berlioz, as the spiritual and musical heirs of the *altdeutsche Schule* of Bach and Handel, and the Viennese masters of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, he promoted their compositions as a practical manifestation of his own philosophical contribution to the progress of music.

Joachim and Brahms's 1860 manifesto can be understood as a response to such vociferous writings, arguably invited by Brendel himself. Thereby Chapter 1 presents the manifesto in the context in which it was written, exploring in detail for the first time the aesthetic principles of all of the parties involved. Brahms himself abstained from any further forays in musical polemics. However the aesthetic principles evidenced in this chapter form the philosophical underpinnings of much of the subsequent reception of Brahms's music by his contemporary press, as discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 2 is concerned with the notion of organicism as applied to music, and in particular with the pervasiveness of this notion in the writings of a number of Brahms's contemporary critics including Hermann Deiters, Selmar Bagge, and Adolf Schubring in the 1860s and 1870s. I argue that these writings can be understood as a significant foreshadowing

⁸ The *Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung*, and Brendel's speech are discussed in Chapter 1.

of Schoenberg's view of Brahms the Progressive and, moreover, that it was these nineteenth-century commentators, and not Schoenberg, who were the first to point out and give an account of a compositional process in Brahms's music of developing a musical idea, of generating a work from a basic motive so as to imbue the work with an underlying motivic unity.

Schoenberg's writings on Brahms (whom he considered to epitomise the concept of developing variation) serve a didactic purpose. Therefore, they amount to sketches that deal with various aspects of compositional procedure in isolation—harmony, motivic and thematic coherence, and rhythm—for the purpose of demonstrating each of these compositional techniques. The downside for those currently studying Schoenberg's writings on Brahms is that there is no discussion of these various aspects in the context of the work as a whole. To this extent Schoenberg's writings on Brahms can be regarded as sketchy or somewhat fractured.

The nineteenth-century writings explored in this chapter consider Brahms's works as a whole. A close reading of these writings alerts us to the fact that attempts to view Brahms's music through the lens of Schoenberg's concept of developing variation can also lose sight of the larger musical arguments in an effort to categorise Brahms's music according to this concept. In other words, while Brahms's contemporary commentators pursue the development of each of the works discussed from the seed or the few related seeds (in a manner that adumbrates Schoenberg's concept of developing variation), their discussions of Brahms's works consider each one as a whole, and in that sense their discussions of Brahms are comprehensive, and not fractured.

Therefore, this study critiques the 'Schoenberg critical and analytical tradition' that finds its most ardent champions in Carl Dahlhaus and Walter Frisch. I dispute the notion (which is tacitly endorsed in a Schoenberg analytical and critical tradition) that Schoenberg was the first modern thinker with the acuity to grasp Brahms's musical language. Rather, I

argue that a number of nineteenth-century commentators pointed out the modern and progressive aspects of Brahms's music that are central to Schoenberg's notion of 'Brahms the Progressive'. It is further argued that on the basis of a fundamental similarity of outlook on the part of Schoenberg and his nineteenth-century counterparts, we should more accurately speak of a German critical and analytical tradition, albeit it one in which Schoenberg played a valuable role.

Also explored in this chapter is how the writings of these critics respond to the polemical debates of the 1850s that still resonate in the musical press of the late 1870s. Bagge was the most explicit in his critique of the works of the *Neudeutsche Schule* that he considers to be morally reprehensible. For the most part Deiters remained dispassionate to polemical matters, concentrating instead on the compositions themselves. Nonetheless after almost two decades of writing on Brahms's music, his 1878 review of the String Quartets unleashes a potent assault on the aesthetic stance taken by Brendel in the *Neue Zeitschrift* in the 1850s.

Part II is concerned with a revision of what Constantin Floros refers to as *Das*Brahms-Bild Eduard Hanslicks. The received view accords to Hanslick sole responsibility for the view of Brahms as a composer of 'absolute' music; moreover it disproportionately emphasises Hanslick's pitting of Brahms against Wagner, and the composers of the Neudeutsche Schule. Such a formalist view of Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms stems from an over emphasis on Hanslick's 1854 monograph Vom Musikalisch-Schönen and, furthermore, conceals a lack of familiarity with the critical writings themselves. Indeed since Hanslick, and until recent decades, a scholarly tradition has been enforced that disregards not only the extra-musical adjuncts in Brahms's music, but also Hanslick's discussion of these features.

Chapter 3 is divided into two parts. The first explores the relationship between Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms and his 1854 monograph *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*. It examines his terminology in this monograph in relation to matters of form and content, clearly

explicating the philosophical distinction Hanslick made between "leere Form" (empty form), and "beseelte Form" (form in music imbued with spirit). It disputes the notion that Hanslick's 1854 tract can be understood as anti-metaphysical, a view that postulates that Hanslick transformed the romantic metaphysics of instrumental music into formalism and, moreover, that he defended instrumental music as an art form that no longer embodied spirituality. On the contrary, it is argued that Hanslick's notion of absolute music is inexplicably bound up with the "absolute," in the form of *geistige Gehalt* (spiritual content), and very much reliant on philosophy and religion.

Discussion of the relationship between absolute and programme music, from the midnineteenth century to the present day, have tended to misrepresent some of the main writers who participated in the polemical debate raging in the mid-nineteenth century. In particular Hanslick's role has been misrepresented. A discussion of Hanslick, Brahms, and the *Neudeutsche Schule* shows that the received view of Hanslick as the champion of Brahms the absolute on the one hand, and Hanslick as the opponent of programme music and the *Neudeutsche Schule* on the other, are not as mutually exclusive as has heretofore been supposed. In a number of Hanslick's Brahms reviews he pits Brahms against the composers of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. However, a reading of Hanslick's entire critical output on Brahms reveals that the number of reviews in which he engages in this opposition is significantly fewer than those in which there is no mention of any of the composers of this school. I argue, therefore, that this is an aspect of Hanslick's 'Brahms-Bild' that has been given disproportionate attention.

As a corollary to this I highlight the fact that Hanslick is not opposed to programme music *per se*, as formalist writing has suggested. Rather, it is argued that what he is opposed to is music that seeks to be understood in terms of its extra-musical programme, rather than its musical content—thus more accurately he is opposed to what he refers to as 'an abuse of

⁹ Among the authors who have contributed to this received view of Hanslick are Hans Gal, Peter Latham, Kenneth Ross Hull, Dillon Parmer, and Constantin Floros. For a more detailed discussion see Chapter 3.

programme music'. Therefore, I argue for a more moderate, and indeed philosophically and metaphysically more rooted, view of Hanslick's position on programme music. A close reading of the writings on programme music by August Wilhelm Ambros, Richard Wagner, Franz Brendel, and Felix Weingartner reveals that Hanslick stands on common ground with his contemporary aestheticians in this regard.

Chapter 4 explores Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms. I dispute the notion—
pervasive throughout the Brahms literature—that these are formalist writings (concerned only with that which lies within the formal parameters of the work), and argue that they can be more usefully understood as hermeneutic writings (concerned with music's cultural context). The discussion of Hanslick's view of Brahms entails a discussion of the Violin Sonata in G major whereby I show that Hanslick embraces the poetic aspects of Brahms's music. I also consider Brahms's works with suggestive titles such as the *Akademische Fest Ouvertüre*, and the *Tragische Ouvertüre*, titles that invite listeners to hear the works in a particular way. I explores Hanslick's autobiographical and poetic discussions of these works. Indeed although Brahms gave no clues as to the poetic idea embodied in the *Tragische Ouvertüre*, Hanslick suggests a poetic counterpart for the piece that, rather than providing a programme for the work, provides the reader with a number of ways of understanding the work spiritually.

This is followed by a discussion of the shared liberal Viennese *Weltanschauung* of Hanslick and Brahms. They shared a tendency to be unobservant in their respective religious faiths, Lutheranism for Brahms, Catholicism for Hanslick. They embraced the liberal propensity to view Biblical stories as valuable lessons in moral conduct, regardless of the specific faith of the reader. I argue that on account of their shared political and cultural outlook and due to the fact that Hanslick was among Brahms's intimate circle of friends, he was amenable to understanding the composer's position on matters of faith, and his preoccupation with death and bereavement during this period.

The focus in this section is on a number of single movement works for chorus and orchestra that Brahms composed between 1872 and 1883 including the *Alto Rhapsody*, *Schicksalslied, Gesang der Parzen*, and *Nänie*, settings of texts by Goethe, Hölderlin, and Schiller that each deal with the transience of life and the inevitability of death. Hanslick's critical writings portray Brahms as one who took a Liberal approach to his Lutheran heritage, and sought to universalise the spiritual messages embodied in these 'fate-related' choral compositions in a manner that did not discriminate between religious faiths or between secular and sacred. A broader discussion of Hanslick's writings on Brahms in outlines a central tenet in Hanslick's reception of Brahms: that many of his compositions can be understood to embody a spiritual message of the acceptance of the inevitability of death, of providing comfort to the bereaved in the form of reconciliation and transfiguration.

When compared with the analytical writings of Deiters, Bagge, and Schubring in Chapter 2, the argument that Hanslick was the formalist advocate of Brahms the 'absolute' can no longer be sustained. He embraces the poetic aspects of Brahms's music, couching his judgements of Brahms's works in descriptive and metaphorical language that rarely discusses the analytical or technical (formalist) aspects of the works. Moreover, Hanslick's critical writings can be understood as a cultural commentary on the late nineteenth-century musical world of Vienna, and they illuminate the cultural, religious, and political context in which Brahms's works were composed and received, albeit from Hanslick's Liberal perspective.

The chapter ends by investigating the basis for the received view. Recent scholarly writings on the impact of the Cold War on musicological writings form the basis for the argument that portraying Hanslick as a critic of Brahms the 'absolute' in the aftermath of World War II obviated the need to discuss extra-musical adjuncts in Brahms's music. The musicological writings of West Germany in the years of the Cold War, in contradistinction to those of East Germany, can be understood to promote structural analysis of instrumental

¹⁰ The phrase is borrowed from Eric Nelson, 'Johannes Brahms *Nänie* Op. 82: An Analysis of Structure and Meaning,' PhD Diss., Indiana University (1991).

music, and to suppress hermeneutic approaches to music. In this socially functionless, non-authoritarian climate, Hanslick's hermeneutic style descriptions of Brahms's music—be they poetic, socio-political, or even nationalistic—fit less comfortably than a discussion of the formalist aspects of *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*. To this end I argue that such a formalist view of the hermeneutic writings of Hanslick goes hand in hand with what Daniel Beller-McKenna describes as a 'nationally neutral view of Brahms [that] has largely persisted for the past fifty years.' 11

Two appendices follow the main body of the text. The first is a translation of a selection of Eduard Hanslick's Brahms reviews. This consists mainly of texts never before translated into English or else unavailable in English in complete form. It brings together much of Hanslick's professional criticism of the works of Brahms. The second appendix reproduces a selection of the contemporary reviews referred to throughout the text.

¹¹ Daniel Beller-McKenna, 'The Rise and Fall of Brahms the German,' 206.

Chapter 1

Brahms and the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik

1.1: Introduction

The first phase of the reception history of Johannes Brahms is inextricably linked to writings in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. The journal was founded by Schumann in 1834, remaining under his editorship until 1844. Schumann's aim in founding the journal was to provide a platform for a new generation of musicians who deserved critical acclaim. It was explicitly conceived of as an alternative to the perceived critical indifference of some earlier music journals. Furthermore, for Schumann, the essence of the beautiful in music was the originality of artistic statements, in combination with the avoidance of lifeless mechanics and empty virtuosity. Toward this end, the journal sought to discredit the cult of virtuosity that was gaining prominence in musical circles. ¹²

Under the editorship of Schumann's successor, Franz Brendel, ¹³ the journal changed substantially. It became a more philosophical and scholarly journal, with long, theoretical articles and historical overviews being regularly published in it. Furthermore, it increasingly promoted the works and aesthetic tendencies of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. Indeed, more and more of its contributors were in keeping with the aesthetic tendencies of this 'progressive' party. Articles on composers outside of this school of composition were printed noticeably less often. While Brendel continued Schumann's policy of supporting new, emerging artists he did so exclusively for members and followers of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. Thus while there are continuities in the editorial policies of Schumann and Brendel, their approaches to the

¹² For an interesting discussion of the phenomenon of virtuosity in German-speaking lands see James Deaville, 'The Politics of Liszt's Virtuosity: New Light on the Dialectics of a Cultural Phenomenon', in *Analecta Liszti ana III: Liszt and the Birth of Modern Europe: Music as a Mirror of Religious, Political, Cultural, and Aesthetic Transformations*, ed. Michael Saffle (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2003), 115–142.

¹³ Karl Franz Brendel (1811–1868) was born in Stolberg (Holz) and died in Leipzig. He studied philosophy with Hermann Christian Weisse, among others (more on this below) and was a piano student of Friedrich Wieck. His studies were initially in Berlin before he transferred to the Bergakademie in Freiberg where he graduated with a dissertation in medical philosophy in 1840. In 1841 he began studying music history in Freiburg, Dresden and Leipzig. At the end of 1844 he began writing for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, and in 1845 became its lead editor, a position he held until his death in 1868. For further information on Brendel see Robert Determann, *Begrifff und ästhetik der "Neudeutschen Schule"* (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1989), 57–70.

editorship of the journal are in stark contrast. These kinships and contrasts are explored below, and form the background to a discussion of Brahms's treatment in the *Neue Zeitschrift* für Musik.

Schumann's introduction of Brahms to the journal, and to the musical world, followed almost a decade of silence on his part in the pages of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. On 28 October 1853 he published an article entitled 'Neue Bahnen' in which he hailed Brahms as the new messiah of music. ¹⁴ Jürgen Thym contends that 'Schumann's paean to Brahms on the front pages of the journal must have appeared like an exotic bird; a voice like this had not been heard for a long time.' Indeed in 'Neue Bahnen', Schumann not only gave a glowing public letter of recommendation to a little-known composer, he also provided a list of promising composers whom he considered to have been neglected in the journal. He thereby took the opportunity, as will be discussed below, to voice his protest over Brendel's editorial policy. ¹⁵

Following Schumann's article, Brahms was to receive no further attention in the *Neue Zeitschrift* until a series of articles written by Richard Pohl in 1855 under the pseudonym 'Hoplit'. ¹⁶ Pohl's aesthetic outlook in these articles can be understood to appropriate

¹⁴ Schumann, 'Neue Bahnen', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (October 28 1853): 185–186. There are many translations of Schumann's essay including 'New Paths', in Florence May, *The Life of Johannes Brahms*, 2 Vols. (London: Reeves, 1905), Vol. 1, 131–32; 'New Roads', in Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (New York: Pantheon Books 1946), 252–54; 'New Paths', in Robert Schumann, *Schumann on Music: A Selection from the Writings*, ed., trans. Henry Pleasants (New York: Dover, 1965), 199–201; 'New Paths', in Daniel Beller-McKenna, 'Brahms, the Bible, and Post-Romanticism: Cultural Issues in Johannes Brahms's Later Settings of Biblical Texts, 1877–1896', PhD Diss., Harvard University Press, (1994), 25–26. Due to this wide availability the article will not be quoted in full here.

Their Music and Its Context, eds Jon Finson and Larry Todd (Durham N. C.: Duke University Press, 1984), 21—36. These composers included Joseph Joachim, Ernst Naumann, Ludwig Normann, Woldemar Bargiel, Theodor Kirchner, Julius Schäffer, Albert Dietrich, F. E. Wilsing, Niels. W. Gade, K. A. Mangold, Robert Franz and St. Heller.

¹⁶ Richard Pohl (1826–1896), critic with the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. He wrote under the pseudonym 'Hoplit', (a heavily armed foot soldier in ancient Greece). This was in contrast to 'Peltast' (a species of troops between heavy-armed and light-armed, furnished with a pelta (or light shield) and short spear or javelin. These soldiers engaged first from longer ranges), the pseudonym adopted by Hans von Bülow. See for instance 'Die Opposition in Süddeutschland', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 39/22 (25 November 1853): 229–230; 23 (2 December): 240–243; 24 (9 December): 252–255; 25 (16 December):265–266; and 26 (23 December): 276–279. I am grateful to Professor James Deaville for drawing my attention to Bülow's pseudonym.

Pohl and Schumann had planned to write an oratorio, with Pohl providing the libretto, and Schumann the music. The plan was not realised, partly because Pohl changed his outlook having come under the influence

Brendel's dialectical view of music history. The discussion of Pohl's articles is followed by an exploration of the events surrounding the ill-fated manifesto written by Brahms and likeminded colleagues in 1860 protesting against the activities of the *Neudeutsche Schule* and the writings of Franz Brendel. The publication of this famous *Erklärung* has been well documented. Yet the chapter on Brahms and the *Neue Zeitschrift* merits further consideration in that while much literature has stated what it was that Brahms and his colleagues were protesting against, the details of the writings and activities that prompted such a strong response have been given scant attention. Here, Brendel's writings on Liszt in the run up to 1860 are explored. Moreover, for the first time, I discuss in detail the *Tonkünstler-Versammlung* held in Leipzig in June 1859 championing the composers of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. Thus, for the first time, I present the manifesto in the context in which it was written, exploring the aesthetic principles of all of the parties involved.

1.2: Schumann's editorial Policy

One of the main tenets of Schumann's critical agenda, as evidenced in his inaugural statement to the journal in 1835, was that new composers should have a comprehensive training in the form of a thorough knowledge of the works of past masters. According to Schumann, such works should form the foundations upon which new music was built.

Schumann was undoubtedly influenced in this regard by Anton Thibaut, as Mark Burford has pointed out. Thibaut is best known for his 1825 publication *Reinheit der Tonkunst*. Here he

of

of Wagner's writings. See Wolfgang Boetticher, 'Das ungeschriebene Oratorium Luther von Robert Schumann und sein Textdichter Richard Pohl', in *Beitrage zur Geschichte des Oratoriums seit Handel: Festschrift Gunther Massenkeil zum 60. Geburtstag* (Bonn: Voggenreiter, 1986), 297–307. From here on, he was an avid promoter of the works and tendencies of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. On Pohl and the *Neudeutsche Schule* see Martin Geck, "Haben Sie sich wohl uberlegt, was Sie geschrieben haben?" Robert Schumann und Richard Pohl als Kontrahenten im Diskurs uber eine "neudeutsche" Musikasthetik', *Musik-Konzepte* (November 2006): 19–28.

Tor discussions of the manifesto see Michael Musgrave, *A Brahms Reader* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000). The full manifesto is translated on page 97; Norbert Meurs, *Neue Bahnen? Aspekte der Brahms-Rezeption 1853–1868* (Köln: Franz Holsen, 1996), 76–82. The manifesto also forms the centre of discussion in Robert T. Laudon's essay 'The Debate about Consecutive Fifths: A Context for Brahms's Manuscript "Octaven und Quinten", *Music & Letters* 73/1 (February 1992): 48–61, and Daniel Beller-McKenna, 'Brahms's Motet "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her" and the "Innermost Essence of Music", in *Brahms Studies* 2, ed. David Brodbeck (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 31–62.

**Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut (1722–1840) was a professor of law with whom Schumann studied at the University of Heidelberg in 1829, and the well-respected director of the seventy-member *Singverein* (which was

espouses the notion that 'the groundwork of all true knowledge necessarily lies in the historical study and acquisition of standard works that have come down to us'. He deplores the fact that it is only in music, of all the arts, 'that an arrogance that disdains all history is the order of the day', 19 and is firm in his conviction that the past forms 'the groundwork to all true knowledge', advocating the procedure of 'going back to our great ancestors and borrowing from them'.20

Schumann cites extracts from Thibaut's book as an epigraph for a number of issues of the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, 21 and the two share the view that the 'mechanical technique' of the recent past is fundamentally 'unartistic'. In the Spring of 1830, shortly after his acquaintance with Thibaut, Schumann pronounced in his diary that 'the future should be the higher echo of the past'. 22 Moreover, Schumann's belief that through the study of a 'classic' work one could 'gain strength from the bearing and dignity of it as a whole' resonates with Thibaut's writings.²³ In his inaugural statement in the journal Schumann claimed that:

Our intentions have been firm from the beginning, and they are quite simple: to be mindful of former times and their contributions, and to point them out as the only pure source at which present artistic endeavour can find renewed strength. Further, we propose to attack the inartistic tendencies of the immediate past, which has nothing to offer by way of compensation except for great strides in

1967), 85.

attended by such esteemed artists as Zelter, Goethe, Mendelssohn, Louis Spohr, Weber, and Schumann). See Mark Burford, "The Real Idealism of History": Historical Consciousness, Commemoration, and Johannes Brahms's "Years of Study", PhD Diss., Columbia University (2005), 198-210.

¹⁹ Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut, On Purity in Art, trans. William Henry Gladstone (London: J. Murray, 1877),

²⁰ Thibaut, On Purity in Art, 59. Being an avid collector of early music scores, he championed such earlier works as the Ambrosian and Gregorian chants of the Roman Catholic church, the 'genuine old chorales' of Protestant Germany; the strict contrapuntal 'pure church style' of Palestrina; the late seventeenth-century sentimental style of Northern Italian and Neapolitan composers such as Antonio Lotti, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Pergolesi; and the best national songs (that is folk songs) from around the world. He advocated 'treating the works of antiquity, as such, with the deepest respect', as 'this is the sole means by which health and purity of manners can be preserved'. ²¹ See Bodo Bischoff, 'Das Bach-Bild Robert Schumanns', in *Bach und die Nachwelt*, eds. Michael Heinemann,

Hans Joachim Hinrichsen (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997), 421–499 (424).

²² 'Die Zukunft soll das höhere Echo der Vergangenheit sein', Robert Schumann in Robert Schumann, Tagebücher, 3 Vols., ed. Georg Eismann (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971), Vol. 1, 304. ²³ Schumann as quoted in Leon Plantinga, Schumann as Critic (New Haven and London: Yale University Press,

mechanical technique. Finally, we wish to prepare the way for a youthful, poetic future, and to speed its realisation.24

This tripartite music-historical credo is rooted in an intense involvement with the music of the past, bolstered by the expectation of a 'poetic future', and shaped by a critical awareness of the present. Contrary to a mere antiquarian approach to music, Schumann espoused the notion that the study of the work of past masters was not to 'muster erudite astonishment at every minute detail', but 'to trace the expanded artistic means of today back to their sources, and to discover how they can be intelligently employed.'25 Hand in hand with such a historical consciousness, in Schumann's view, must go knowledge of the music of one's contemporaries. He who neglects to keep abreast of developments in contemporary music 'must remain in uncertainty with regard to his own relation to the present'.26

1.3: Brendel's editorial policy

Brendel's View of Music History

Brendel's approach to music history is informed by Hegelian philosophy, specifically the dialectical principle of thesis, antithesis, synthesis. Brendel was part of a leftist group known as the Young Hegelians. This group, which included such figures as Ludwig Feuerbach, David Friedrich Strauss, and Bruno Bauer championed Hegel's absolute spirit as the spirit of humanism rather than of Christianity.²⁷ Brendel studied with the Hegel disciple Hermann Christian Weisse, ²⁸ a philosopher who owed much to Hegel's dialectical system, but also

²⁴ 'Unsere Gesinnung war vorweg festgestellt. Sie ist einfach, und diese: die alte Zeit und ihre Werke anzuerkennen, darauf aufmerksam zu machen, wie nur an so reinem Quelle neue Kunstschönheiten gekräftigt werden können - sodann, die letzte Vergangenheit als eine unkünstlerische zu bekämpfen, für die nur das Hochgesteigerte des Mechanischen einigen Erfatz gewährt habe - endlich die junge, dichterische Zukunft vorzubreiten, beschleunigen zu helfen.' Schumann, Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 2/1 (2 January 1835), 3. Translated in Leon Plantinga, Schumann as Critic, 99.

²⁵ Schumann, translated and quoted in Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic*, 85.

²⁶ Schumann, On Music and Musicians, trans., ed. Fanny Raymond Ritter (Freeport, NY.: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 76.

²⁷ For an interesting discussion of the young Hegelians in the context of musical 'anti-romanticism', see Sanna Pederson, 'Romantic Music Under Siege in 1848', in Music Theory in the Age of Romanticism, Ian Bent, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 57–74.

²⁸ Hermann Christian Weisse (1801–1866) lectured at the University of Leipzig from 1823 until his death in

^{1866.} He is best known for his System der Ästhetik als Wissenschaft von der Idee der Schönheit (Leipzig: Findel, 1830). For further reading on Weisse in relation to music see Adolf Nowak, 'Religiöse Begriffe in der Musikästhetik des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Religiöse Musik in nicht-liturgischen Werken von Beethoven bis Reger,

significantly diverged from it. For Hegel, history was divided into three periods—the Symbolic, Classical, and Romantic. He argued that in the Romantic phase of art the spirit becomes sure of its truth by withdrawing from the external into its own intimacy with itself. In his aesthetics, Hegel pronounced that 'the true content of Romantic art is absolute inwardness, and its corresponding form is spiritual subjectivity with its grasp of its independence and freedom'. ²⁹ However his view of art is ultimately pessimistic in that according to his historical categorisation, art had already reached its most perfect form in the Classical period. The Weltgeist had moved onto philosophy and religion in the Romantic period. Therefore, whilst he considered music the most romantic of all the arts owing to its emancipation from dependence on any actual texts or the expression of any specific content, and thereby to be the purest embodiment of a romantic subjective inwardness or spirituality, this spirituality was condemned as empty subjectivity because the spirit had moved onto religion and philosophy.

For Weisse, on the other hand, the periods of art are Ancient, Romantic, and Modern. He designates the Ancient as the first stage of dialectical development; the second stage is the antithesis Romantic, and as the third positive synthesising stage the Modern. Weisse viewed the Modern period as not only the culmination of art but also of the Weltgeist in art.³⁰ Whilst for Hegel, music's independence from specific subject matter was a flaw, for Weisse, this very feature made pure instrumental music the purest embodiment of the Modern Ideal. And in contradistinction to Hegel who considered the spirit to have progressed to religion and philosophy in his third dialectical stage, Weisse portrayed the modern period as the culmination of the spirit in art itself. In other words, pure instrumental music was a direct

Günther Massenkeil Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller Walter Wiora, eds (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1978), 47–58; see also Sanna Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', PhD. Diss., University of Pennsylvania (1985), 188-89.

²⁹ G. W. F. Hegel, Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art, T. M. Knox, trans. (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), Vol. 1, 518. On Hegel's use of the terms Inhalt, Gehalt, and Gegenstand, and Knox's translation, see Pederson, 'Romantic Music Under Siege', 59, note 5.

³⁰ Nowak, 'Religiöse Begriffe in der Musikästhetik des 19. Jahrhunderts', 50. See also Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic Music Criticism', 188.

manifestation of the modern ideal in that it already contains beauty as in the nature of the divinity, but through music the independent, autonomous appearance of the divine spirit becomes possible. Weisse refers to pure instrumental music as 'ein Gottesdienst der reinen Schönheit' ('a worship of pure beauty').

From the time that Brendel took over the editorship of the *Neue Zeitschrift*, his philosophical and historical articles altered the direction of the journal from what Schumann had envisioned and enacted in his editorship. Brendel's approach to music history can be understood as a dialectical synthesis of the objective and subjective elements of music. In accordance with Hegel, he considers the 'subjective' in music to be the spiritual, the most intimate, private thoughts of the artist that contribute to the *Idee* of the composer's music. Quite literally, Brendel understands 'spiritual' in this context to mean 'coming from within'. In other words, it is through the composer's subjectivity that we witness their uniqueness and individuality. A useful comparison can be drawn between Brendel's notion of the 'subjective' in music, and Eduard Hanslick's notion of 'Gehalt', as discussed in Section 3.2, in that these notions each embody the particular characteristics, spiritual depth, and individuality of the composer. The 'objective' in music, on the other hand for Brendel, is the formal structure on which the composer presents the subjective content. This is comparable to Hanslick's category of 'form'.³¹

Brendel considers Beethoven's contribution to the history of music to lie in his successful synthesis of the subjective and objective elements of music in a manner that he believed to be appropriate to the *Zeitgeist*. Prior to Beethoven, one or other of these elements usually predominated in a given composer's output, as Brendel outlines in his 1845 article 'Robert Schumann mit Rücksicht auf Mendelssohn-Bartholdy'. He considers the music of C.P.E. Bach to be subjective, whilst the works of J.S. Bach and Handel are cited as examples of objectivity whereby the techniques of the composers are considered to have become

³¹ For a discussion of a comparable element in Hanslick's aesthetic see Section 3.2, p. 139.

'pedantic' and 'rigid'. ³² According to Brendel, Beethoven, who was 'prevailingly subjective' and 'entirely dependent upon his own spirituality, withdrew himself more and more into the area of the purely spiritual' at a time in music history that called for a more subjective approach to composition. ³³ The dilemma for composers following Beethoven was whether to become even more subjective, a path that he considers Schumann to have taken, or whether to take a bow turn towards a more objective kind of music, the path he considers Mendelssohn to have chosen. For Brendel, Schumann's path was more appropriate.

Brendel's View of music Criticism

Brendel's editorship of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* ran from 1845 until his death in 1868. The critical culture within which Brendel was writing, however, can be divided into two phases, the dividing factor being the failed revolutions of 1848. Brendel's writings betray a preoccupation with the political events of the day, and consequently we can speak of a *Vormärz* and a *Nachmärz* phase in Brendel's writings. It would be misleading to assume, however, that these phases of Brendel's critical output are mutually exclusive, or that there are not continuities in his thinking. There are aspects of Brendel's critical and historical outlook that remained steadfast throughout his editorship of the journal.

Brendel's agenda in assuming the editorship of the journal in 1845 was to establish a new music criticism that could be understood as a synthesis of what had gone before. Music criticism, as Brendel portrays it in his inaugural article, had taken two approaches up to this point. The first was the objective, thoughtful period of the late eighteenth century. This criticism focussed on rules and theoretical matters at the expense of more spiritual aspects. The second was the enthusiastic, spiritual criticism of the early nineteenth century, as evidenced in the writings of Schumann and E. T. A. Hoffmann among others. The downside

³² Brendel, 'Robert Schumann mit Rücksicht auf Mendelssohn-Bartholdy'. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 23/15 (19 February 1845): 63–67 (64).

³³ Brendel, 'Robert Schumann mit Rücksicht auf Mendelssohn-Bartholdy', 64.

³⁴ For an in-depth study of the music criticism of the late eighteenth century see Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

of this spiritual approach is that it deals more with feelings and the critic's emotional response to the music than it does with principles and rules. Brendel now saw fit to unite the two in a third standpoint, a synthesis of such a spiritual approach with objectivity. As discussed, this combination of objectivity and subjectivity (spirituality) had already been achieved in music by Beethoven. While a more subjective approach was what Brendel now sought in composition, in criticism he sought a synthesis of the current subjective approach with objectivity.

Brendel took music criticism a step further than it had gone before in that he held critical writings up as an integral element in his notion of progress, which is in four stages.³⁵ The first is that a composer must be in sympathy with the progress of one's own age. Secondly a composer must attempt to further the tendencies of a previous age. The third stage requires that new musical ideas and combinations of ideas could not be presented in old forms. The fourth stage has to do specifically with music criticism, and awards critical writings a significance in the progress of music that was formerly unthinkable:

Criticism now has the task to participate actively in the course of events, it holds its own independent position in relation to art.36

In other words, criticism would now take a leading role, presenting the current musical situation in the progress of history. It was necessary for critics to judge works according to whether they were timely or out-of date. As such, critics could be understood as a necessary guide to composers, allowing them to be in sympathy with their own age, and accordingly to compose works that would express the current Weltgeist.

The period before the revolutions was marked by unrest and an increasing uneasiness on the part of Germans at the disparity between sharing one cultural heritage, thus belonging

³⁵ Sanna Pederson's discussion of Brendel's notion of progress has been helpful in the formation of my own views on the subject. See Sanna Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism, 205-214. ³⁶ 'Die Kritik erhält jetzt die Aufgabe, lebendig in den Gang der Ereignisse einzugreifen, sie behauptet ein

selbstständige Stellung der Kunst gegenüber', Brendel, 'Fragen der Zeit. IV. Der Fortschritt', Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 29/37 (4 November 1848): 213-217 (216). This translation is taken from Pederson, 'Enlightened and

to one nation, but living in 39 separate states. There was a broad liberal *Vormärz* movement that called out for national unity. A frequent theme in Brendel's writings (a theme that resonated with the political situation) was the need for unity in the face of fragmentation. Brendel believed that musicians, in particular, needed this unity as in no other realm did he witness such 'splintering off of viewpoints than in music'. ³⁷

The attitude of the respective parties to the works of past masters is one of Brendel's examples of this fragmentation. He observes that fanatics cling to Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven and refuse to hear anything new. His four-stage philosophy of music history rejects such an adherence to the works of past masters. Rather, he views these works as points to be overcome by current composers. This epitomises the task of the critic in Brendel's system in that they would judge whether works were timely or out-of-date, and guide composers accordingly. In borrowing Hegel's term *überwundene Standpunkt* (a point to be overcome) for the works of past masters, his intention was to ensure the progress of music without an over-reliance on that which had gone before. Thus, writing in 1848 he proclaimed that it was necessary for composers to pursue 'new paths' (neue Bahnen) and to 'leave the well-beaten tracks' behind.³⁸

Brendel's historical and critical outlook was met with resistance by musical commentators writing for other contemporary journals, particularly the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.³⁹ In an 1848 article entitled 'Fortschritt' ('Progress'), J. C. Lobe

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 ³⁷ 'Auf keinem Gebiet herrscht größere Zersplitterung der Ansichten, als auf musikalischen.' Brendel, 'Die erste Versammlung deutscher Tonkünstler und Musikfreunde in Leipzig', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 27/18 (30 August 1847), 105.
 ³⁸ '... als Fortschrittspartei, in dem Bewußtsein, daß es nothwendig sei, neue Bahnen einzuschlagen und

³⁸ '... als Fortschrittspartei, in dem Bewußtsein, daß es nothwendig sei, neue Bahnen einzuschlagen und ausgetretene Wege zu verlassen', Brendel, 'Die Tonkünstler-Versammlung in Leipzig', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 29/17 (20 August1848), 92.

³⁹ As Pederson points out, when Schumann founded the *Neue Zeitschrift* in opposition to the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the two had different musical tastes, but basically the same format and readership. However, under Brendel's editorship the *Neue Zeitschrift* became increasingly more scholarly and political. Brendel politicised music in that he sought to promote it as a scientific subject, one that would actively participate in the reform of the nation and could be considered on a par with other scholarly subjects, in an effort to rescue it from its designation as a romantic art which, in the revolutionary years, was tantamount to passive, ineffective escapism. The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* regularly fought with the *Neue Zeitschrit* over this politicization of musical matters. By 1848, with the revolutions looming, these journalistic battles were most pronounced. See Pederson, '*Romantic Music Under Siege*'.

satirised critics who presumed they could guide composers while they themselves could not compose. Lobe's concern was that young composers would neglect the study of the masters in striving for innovation. He feared that such musical lawlessness, without having climbed the levels of artistic training, could lead to an inability to distinguish freedom from licentiousness. In this same issue of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, J. Schucht expressed similar concerns in an article that explicitly dealt with Brendel's concept in its title, 'Der überwundener Standpunkt in der Tonkunst'. He argued that while Hegel had established the notion of a *Weltgeist* being superseded in philosophy, for music the idea was 'preposterous', as compositions did not become obsolete. Furthermore, Brendel's historical outlook can be understood as being antithetical to Schumann's view of the work of past masters as the 'only pure source at which present artistic endeavour can find renewed strength.'

These reservations, however, did not deter Brendel from pursuing his progressive and teleological historical narrative. On the contrary, they provided one side of the dialectic against which he would argue, and an opportunity to present his own views as a synthesis of such opposing views. The principles expressed in his inaugural address of 1845 formed the basis of his critical writings in the journal, and the main tenets of Brendel's philosophy of music remained steadfast throughout the two decades of his editorship. He continually campaigned for progress in terms of spiritual freedom for the political as well as the musical world, and unity in the face of fragmentation. In what seems at first glance to be a contradiction of terms, this unity could only come about through disagreement and opposing view points. By soliciting responses from his opponents, Brendel would then counter them

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⁴⁰ J. C. Lobe, 'Fortschritt', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 50/11 (15 March 1848): 'Dritter Artikel', 169–173. This passage quoted and translated in Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 212.

J. Schucht, 'Der überwundene Standpunkt in der Tonkunst', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 50/33 (16 August 848): 536–38. This passage quoted and translated in Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 208. Both these articles appeared in the final year of publication for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. This year was marked by almost continuous fighting with the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. In one of these hostile exchanges, Brendel described the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* as the journal of the conservative party, and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* as the organ of the reform movement. See Brendel, 'Fragen der Zeit. III. Die Forderungen der Gegenwart und die Berechtigung der Vorzeit', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 29/19 (2 September 1848): 101–102.

⁴² Schumann, translated and quoted in Leon Plantinga, Schumann as Critic, 99.

with rebuttals. It is in these rebuttals, in the form of a synthesis of the opposing view points, that he quite frequently makes his most influential and persuasive pronouncements.

Brendel's actions towards reforming the musical world of Germany in the late 1840s were practical as well as academic. He gave a platform to music and music criticism on a national level with the founding of an assembly to discuss and act upon issues that concerned the progress of music, which he first discussed in his new year's address to the journal in 1847. Modelled on national scholarly conferences that were taking place in Germany at the time, a *Tonkünstler-Verein* was formed, with local chapters that met throughout Germany. 44

The wider scholarly community understood their conferences to symbolise and further German unity in the period leading up to the revolutions of 1848. Thus, the founding of the *Tonkünstler-Verein* can be understood in the context of a broader Liberal *Vormärz* movement to politicise music. Brendel's efforts were part of a plan for how 'music and music criticism could actively take part in the reform of the nation'. He believed that the Germans lacked a common style because composers were out of touch with one another. He

The *Tonkünstler-Verein* would give German musicians a base from which to unite their efforts, ranging from music education, to lobbying the government for funding for the printing and publication of music, and the promotion of new music. With the introduction of examinations for music teachers it was hoped to implement a consistent standard of teaching throughout the country. Brendel further hoped the organisation would help to transform the status of music from amusement to science. He envisioned a national forum on music that would elevate purely theoretical, abstract endeavours into concrete action. This *Tonkünstler-Verein*, it was hoped, would form a united front for music that would match the *Vormärz* political efforts of other professional and intellectual organisations.

 ⁴³ Brendel, 'Ein Vorschlag als Gruß zum neuen Jahr', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 26/1 (1 January1847), 1.
 ⁴⁴ Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 227.

⁴⁵ See Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', especially Chapter 6, 'The Liberal Politics of *Vormärz* Music Criticism', 226–267 (227).

⁴⁶ Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 230.

The first national *Tonkünstler-Versammlung* took place on August 13 and 14 1847 in the *Gewandhaus* in Leipzig. ⁴⁷ In 1848 Brendel formed a commission under the auspices of the *Torkünstler-Verein* which submitted a report to the government for re-organising its role in musical affairs. ⁴⁸ Meetings proceeded in 1848 and 1849. In the aftermath of the 1848 revolutions, however, the *Tonkünstler-Versammlung* was suppressed. The *Tonkünstler-Verein* (the organisation behind the festivals) continued to exist until at least 1851, but its activities after this point cannot be traced. The meetings resumed in 1859, at which time the political and musical situation was less bleak than that of the revolutionary years. ⁴⁹

The immediate impact of the failed 1848 revolutions on the state of musical life was far-reaching and, according to some commentators, still reverberates today. Sanna Pederson gives the title 'The End of Revolution – the End of Art' to her discussion of the subject, alluding to Hegel's pronouncement on the end of art, and the implications of the death of a vital tradition. Indeed, immediately following the revolutions there was a decline in the number of large works published, and music criticism also suffered. This was not a subsequent prognosis—it was noted with anxiety in the contemporary press. Brendel himself acknowledged the downfall in productivity, and while his disappointment was evident, he continued to call for 'recognition of modern times' and 'sympathy for its great ideas'.

Notwithstanding this (somewhat dejected) optimism, in the years between 1849 and 1853 the implications of the revolutions seem to have taken their toll on Brendel. Although he remained editor of the journal, he did not appear to be as active in that role as he had been in

⁴⁷ See Brendel, 'Die erste Versammlung deutscher Tonkünstler und Musikfreunde in Leipzig,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 27/16 (23 August 1847), 93–96; 27/18 (30 August 1847), 105–108; 27/20 (6 September 1847), 117–119; 27/21 (9 September 1847), 121–126; 27/24 (20 September 1847), 141–144; 27/26 (27 September 1847), 153–156; 27/28 (4 October 1847), 165–167; 27/30 (11 October 1847), 177–180.

⁴⁸ Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 239.

⁴⁹ I am grateful to Professor James Deaville for sharing his unpublished research with me in which he discusses the activities of the *Tonkünstler-Versammlung* after the 1848 revolutions.

⁵⁰ See for instance Sanna Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 249.

⁵¹ Whilst this decline in artistic activity was largely caused by the revolutions, we must also bear in mind other factors. In terms of the decline in composition, Mendelssohn (1809–1847) and Chopin (1811–1849) died at this time. In terms of criticism, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the journal that had sparked a lot of debate with the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in the preceding years, closed its doors for business at the end of 1848.

⁵² Brendel, 'Fragen der Zeit (Schluß) .V. Die Stellung der Tonkunst in der Gegenwart', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 30/41 (21 May 1849), 223.

previous years. The 'Zeitgemässe Betrachtungen' for instance, a regular contribution in which Brendel commented on current issues in musical life, was now frequently contributed by Theodor Uhlig, a critic who took an increasingly prominent role in the journal at this time. It was in these years, as Pederson notes, that the *Neue Zeitschrift* made its transition from being a revolutionary journal to one that advocated Wagner. Pederson attributes this transition to three main factors: the zealousness of Uhlig who was a Wagnerian; the failure of Schumann's opera Genoveva; and the political and historical vacuum caused by the collapse of left-Hegelian politics and aesthetics.

Certainly in the years immediately following the revolutions, Schumann's productivity, and positive reception in the press seemed to be peaking. A number of critics invested in him as the composer of the future, looking to him to lift music out of the demise of the failed revolutions.⁵³ However, Pederson charts the gradual shift in the journal, observing how the reviews devoted to Schumann competed in frequency with the writings of Uhlig.⁵⁴ Following this gradual fall from a position of prominence in German musical life, it was the failure of Schumann's opera Genoveva in 1850 that saw his popularity plummet and was the cause of his downfall in the journal (and elsewhere). 55 Brendel's review of this work marked the last major review in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik on this composer. Following 1850, Liszt and Wagner began publishing with increased frequency in the journal. In January 1853 Uhlig died of consumption,⁵⁶ and Brendel's role in the journal became as active as it had been prior to the revolutions. From this point on, the journal was indisputably the party organ for the composers who were to become known as the Neudeutsche Schule. It was for Wagner, Liszt, and Berlioz that Brendel now placed his vote of confidence for the future of music.

⁵³ These critics included Emmanuel Klitzsch, Bernsdorf and Ernst Gottschald.

⁵⁴ A very useful chart of these reviews is provided in Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 255-57.

⁵⁵ Brendel gave the opera an equivocal review, while other journals were more scathing. Brendel, 'R. Schumann's Oper Genoveva', Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 33/1 (2 July 1850): 1-4; 33/4 (12 July 1850), 17-18; 27/10 (2 August 1850), 49-50. The Neue Berliner Musikzeitung, for example, explicitly stated that the work was a disappointment. Neue Berliner Musikzeitung 4 (1850), 222.

⁵⁶ For Uhlig's obituary in the journal, see J. Rühlmann, 'Theodor Uhlig' with an afterword by Brendel, *Neue* Zeitschrift für Musik 38/4 (21 January 1853): 33-37.

Thus, in October 1853 Schumann published his 'Neue Bahnen' article in a journal that bore no resemblance to the one he had founded in 1835. As Thym contends, it must 'have appeared like an exotic bird' on the front pages of the journal.⁵⁷ It marked a break in Schumann's absence in his career as a journalist, and reverberated loudly in the relative silence in the journal on his career as a composer.

1.4: Brahms in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik

Neue Bahnen

After almost a decade of witnessing the journal become increasingly supportive of the *Neudeutsche Schule*, Schumann broke his journalistic silence. On 28 October 1853 he published the article 'Neue Bahnen' in which he hailed Brahms as the Messiah of music. Schumann's public letter of recommendation for Brahms has been widely discussed in the Brahms literature. I will restrict myself, therefore, to a number of observations pertinent to the discussion of Brahms and the *Neudeutsche Schule*.

In 'Neue Bahnen', Schumann did more than introduce Brahms to the musical world. He also, in no uncertain terms, stipulated that the one chosen to carry on the German musical heritage was to be German. The question of the criteria for national affiliation would become more pressing in 1859 with Brendel's inauguration of Wagner, Liszt, and Berlioz as the *Neudeutsche Schule*. Schumann's 1853 essay on Brahms, when considered in this context, seems prescient.

Constantin Floros and Daniel Beller-McKenna have both drawn attention to the particularly messianic implications of 'Neue Bahnen'. ⁶⁰ They point to the mixture of biblical and mythological imagery in the essay, a mixture that they note was typical of Romantic writing. The phrases that are understood to resonate with Christian Gospels, and indeed would

⁵⁷ Thym, Schumann in Brendel's Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, 33.

⁵⁸ Schumann, 'Neue Bahnen', Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 39/18 (28 October 1853): 185–186.

⁵⁹ See in particular Thym, 'Schumann in Brendel's Neue Zeitschrift', 21–36.

⁶⁰ Constantin Floros, *Brahms und Bruckner* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1980), 102–107; Daniel Beller-McKenna, 'Brahms, the Bible, and Post-Romanticism', 24–34.

have been widely understood as such by Schumann's readership, and particularly by Brahms, are: 'one would and must appear'; 'by whose cradle heroes stand guard'; 'this is a chosen one'. 61 Moreover, Floros points to the fact that Schumann frequently used the nickname "eagle" for Brahms (*Adler* or *Aar*⁶²). Eagle had for centuries been a well known attribute for John the Apostle, the author of the Book of Revelation—the great apocalyptic book of the bible. As Beller-McKenna argues, such striking imagery of destruction and renewal are prominent themes in Revelation, and in apocalyptic literature in general. 63 Consider, for instance, Schumann's depiction of Brahms appearing on the musical scene 'fully armed', with musical compositions 'like a rushing current, as if in a waterfall, over whose cascading waves peaceful rainbows were drawn'.

Furthermore, aspirations for a German national state, as Beller-McKenna aptly notes, 'developed from long nurtured nationalistic sentiments in Pietistic thought, and they led to a typically apocalyptic dualism, in which Napoleon and the French were viewed as the personification of "evil" while the German nation represented "good".' Therefore Brahms, and Schumann's readership, would have understood from Schumann's essay that the "one to give the highest expression to the time in an ideal manner", was to be German, and was to lead German music forward on the path laid out by Bach, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. If his introduction to Brahms with such apocalyptic and messianic imagery was not explicit enough to indicate that Schumann thought the German musical heritage should remain in German hands, the list of composers he gave as those who had been neglected in recent years in the journal were mostly German.

The title 'Neue Bahnen' was well observed on Schumann's part. It had become a regular phrase that Brendel used in promoting new music. Also, for one who was as well read

⁶¹ Beller-McKenna, 'Brahms, the Bible, and Post-Romanticism', 28.

⁶² Brahms, of course, was aware of this nickname, as is evidenced in a number of letters. See for example *Brahms Briefwechsel* 5: 35, where he writes 'Der Aar steigt einsam, doch das Volk der Krähen schart sich; gäbe doch Gott, daß mir die Flügel noch tüchtig wachsen und ich einst der andern Gattung zugehöre.'

⁶³ Beller-McKenna, 'Brahms, the Bible, and Post-Romanticism', 30.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 32.

as Schumann, being steeped in the knowledge of German philosophical and literary writings, it cannot have escaped his attention that in his inaugural address to the journal in 1845, Brendel explicitly promoted himself as a young Hegelian, citing a famous quote from the preface to Hegel's *Philosophy of Right:* 'The owl of Minerva spreads it wings only with the falling of the dusk'. ⁶⁵ Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom, was associated with the owl, traditionally regarded as wise and hence a metaphor for philosophy. When Hegel wrote this, he meant that philosophy understands reality only after the event. It cannot prescribe how the world ought to be. ⁶⁶ Yet central to Brendel's concept of progress was the notion that philosophy, in the form of music criticism, was to prescribe how the musical world ought to be. Such a concept would have been preposterous to Schumann. In one section of 'Neue Bahnen', he adapts Hegelian terminology in speaking of one who would 'give the highest expression to the age in an ideal manner'. The passage merits extensive quotation:

I thought, having followed the paths of those chosen ones with the greatest interest, that following this precedent at some point there would and must appear one who would be called on to give the highest expression to the age in an ideal manner, one who would not unfold his mastery to us gradually, but rather, like Minerva, would spring fully armed from the head of Kronus. And he has come, a young blood, by whose cradle heroes and graces have stood guard. His name is Johannes Brahms.⁶⁷

In choosing to represent Brahms as Minerva, Schumann, arguably, banished Minerva's owl, returning to the goddess herself (which can be understood in this context as music) the importance she was due, but that had been eclipsed in recent years in the journal in favour of the significance of the owl. In other words, Schumann questions the significance Brendel accorded to his critical writings in 1845, and had put into practice in the pages of the journal since then. For Schumann, Brendel's philosophy overstepped the mark in guiding present

⁶⁶ Peter Singer in *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, ed. Ted Honderich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 638.

⁶⁵ 'Ernst mit einbrechender Dämmerung, erst wenn eine Gestalt des Geistes schon gereift, schon gealtert ist, beginnt die Eule der Minerva ihren Flug'. Brendel, 'Zur Einleitung', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 22/1–2 (1 January1845), 1. This translation is taken from G. W. F. Hegel, *Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 103.

⁶⁷ Schumann, 'Neue Bahnen'. This translation is taken from Daniel Beller McKenna, 'Brahms, the Bible, and Post Romanticism', 25–26.

artistic endeavours. Furthermore, just as Hegel's *Weltgeist* has never found a permanent home, fleeting from the world view of Plato, to Kant, to Fichte, the niche it found in the journal Schumann had founded was tenuous. Banishing philosophy from the role it had been accorded in dictating the progress of music, Schumann presents Brahms as 'fully armed', as independent of Brendel's 'progress' of the age, and not reliant on the dictates of Brendel's philosophy. Thereby Schumann reinstates music in its rightful place, promoting Brahms as the new Messiah of music, and giving due recognition to a list of promising talents that he felt had been overlooked in the pages of the journal.

Schumann would have realised, moreover, that he was not the only one to undermine the Hegelian stance Brendel took in the journal, which was increasingly viewed as an old-fashioned, historical humanistic stance.⁶⁹ Theodor Uhlig condemned criticism as a sign that music had lost touch with its listeners, and envisioned a utopia where there would be no music criticism because music would communicate directly to the people:⁷⁰

We place our highest pride in the recognition that criticism has a very conditional authority with regard to art, that it must ultimately destroy itself; we also long above all for the conditions of immediacy [Unmittelbarkeit], that must with necessity enter after the destruction of criticism.⁷¹

Expressing similar sentiments, Wagner wrote in an open letter to the editor in 1852 that the fact that he lived in an age of criticism was an indication of how corrupt artistic life had become. While he concedes that the goal of a music journal should be to prepare for the artwork of the future, he argues that when this is achieved 'we will be delivered from critics

⁶⁸ While Hegel discusses the subject of music in *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik*, he does not discuss any actual pieces of music. His philosophical writings, however, informed the Lieder aesthetics of both Mendelssohn and Schumann. Yet while Schumann's aesthetics follow a three-stage historical model, he does not adapt Hegel's pessimistic view, rather espouses an optimistic belief in progress. See Gerhard Dietel, 'Musikgeschichtliche Aspekt der Liedaesthetik bei Robert Schumann und Robert Franz', in Konstanze Musketa, ed. *Robert Franz*, 1815–1892: Bericht über die wissenschaftlicher Conferenz anlasslich seines 100. Todestag am 23. und 24. October 1992 in Halle (Halle, Germany: Handel-Haus, 1993), 188–95.

 ⁶⁹ See Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 261.
 ⁷⁰ Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 264.

⁷¹ 'In der Erkenntniß, daß die Kritik der Kunst gegenüber nur eine sehr bedingungsweise Berechtigung hat, daß sie selbst endlich vernichten muß, setzen wir unsern höchsten stoltz; auch sehnen wir vor Allen uns nach dem Zustande der Unmittelbarkeit, der nach Vernichtung der Kritik mit Notwendigkeit eintreten muß', T. U. [Theodor Uhlig], 'Eine Belehrung', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 35/25 (19 December 1851), 275. This translation is taken from Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 264.

to artists and art-loving people, and then, honoured friend, you may close your music journal: it dies, because the artwork lives!' 72

The *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* does little to help us understand any technical aspects of Brahms's music. Indeed apart from Adolf Schubring's series of articles published in 1862,⁷³ the writings on Brahms in the journal do not discuss the compositions themselves. However the articles in the journal do help us to understand how Brahms was viewed by its commentators in terms of his impact on the history of music. Furthermore it informs us of his role in mid-century partisanship, with the journal being at the centre of much of the controversy of Brahms's early career.

'Hoplit' on Brahms

Following Schumann's article, Brahms was to receive no further attention in the *Neue Zeitschrift* until a series of articles written by Richard Pohl in 1855 under the pseudonym 'Hoplit'. This series exemplifies how Brendel's contributors perpetuated his view of music history. Penned a year and a half after Schumann's 'Neue Bahnen', Pohl charts the composer's success up to 1855 without actually discussing any of his works. Much can be learnt from these articles about the editorial policy of the journal at this time. Pohl's concentration on style and on 'objective expression' reveals a great deal about Pohl and the thinking that he represents. Moreover Pohl's discussion is informed by Brendel's dialectical notion of the subjective and objective elements in music.

Pohl's articles deal with two main areas. The first is a critique of 'Neue Bahnen'. The second is an assessment of where Brahms's works fit in the current schools of composition, and the consequences for Brahms of being a Schumannianer. With regard to the former, Pohl

⁷² 'Dann sind wir aus Kritikern erlöst zu Kunstlern und kunstgenießenden Menschen, und dann, verehrter Freund, schließen Sie die Zeitschrift für Musik: sie stirbt weil das Kunstwerk lebt!', Wagner, Ein Brief an der Redacteur der *Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik*'. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 36/6 (6 February 1852): 57–63 (63). This translation is taken from Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 265.

⁷³; 'Die Schumann'sche Schule, IV. Johannes Brahms', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 56/12 (21 March 1862): 93–96; 56/13 (28 March 1862): 101–104; 56/14 (4 April 1862): 109–112, 56/15 (11 April 1862):117–119, 56/16 (18 April 1862): 125–128.

⁷⁴ For a discussion of Pohl's pseudonym 'Hoplit', see footnote 16.

quotes extensively from 'Neue Bahnen', and questions the benefit of giving a composer such a public and promising introduction to the musical world at such an early stage in his career. Indeed, Brahms himself shared these concerns as he admitted to Schumann in a letter written three weeks after the publication of the article:

The public praise that you have spent on me will have raised the expectations of the public on my achievements so extraordinarily that I do not know how I can do justice to them to the same degree. Pohl admits that he was wary of voicing his opinion on Brahms too soon after Schumann's article in this same journal, and he explains that 'where personal sympathy is available, caution and restraint in judgement must be exercised all the more'. He had further reservations in making an open judgement on a composer after the publication of just one, or a few works. Only when a larger body of works is available can one judge whether there is any evident progress. Indeed he notes 'how few opus 1s there are, and were, on which the stamp of genius is so purely and unmistakably printed that one could build a whole future with certainty on it.'78

Pohl takes a dubious view of Schumann's motivation in writing the article. He doubts the value of Schumann's most recent compositions, claiming that in these works the composer is no longer 'absolutely represented'. In Pohl's opinion, if Schumann proceeded to create in this manner—'creating in himself instead of outside of himself'—the 'future' of his artistic direction would have been jeopardised.

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⁷⁵ 'Das öffentliche Lob, das Sie mir gespendet, wird die Erwartung des Publikums auf meine Leistungen so außerordentlich gespannt haben, daß ich nicht weiß, wie ich denselben einigermaßen gerecht werden kann', Johannes Brahms to Robert Schumann, 16 November 1853, in *Clara Schumann–Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, Band I, 1853–1871, ed. Berthold Lirzmann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927), 1.
⁷⁶ 'Wo persönliche Sympathie vorhanden, Vorsicht und Zurückhaltung im Urtheil um so mehr geübt werden muß', Pohl, 'Johannes Brahms', 13.

⁷⁷ 'Weil die Bedeutung einer künstlerischen Individualität, die mit solchem Aufsehen in die Kunstwelt eingeführt wird, nach einem oder nach wenigen einzelnen Werken überhaupt nicht erschöpfend erkannt werden kann. Erst wenn eine größere Reihe von Werken vorliegt, kann man beurtheilen, ob eine Steigerung vorhanden, ein stetiger Fortschritt ersichtlich ist; ob der Machtspruch, den einer unserer hervorragendsten Meister schon vor dem Erscheinen jedes Werkes öffentlich kundgab, durch die Werke selbst hinlänglich gerechtfertigt erscheint; und ob die späteren Werke halten, was Opus 1 verspricht', Pohl, 'Johannes Brahms', 14.

⁷⁸ 'Wie wenige Opus 1 giebt es aber und hat es gegeben, welchen der Stempel des Genius so rein und unverkennbar aufgedrückt ist, das man mit Bestimmtheit darauf eine ganze Zukunft bauen könnte!' Pohl, 'Johannes Brahms', 14.

This uncertainty on Pohl's part in Schumann's latest compositions echoes Brendel's position on the composer. Assuming Schumann himself to have been aware of this jeopardy, he conjectures that the need arose 'to incorporate fresh, strong blood into the Schumann family tree. Thus, it was 'a single, and deep-seizing fate' that he found Brahms shortly before he was cruelly carried away from the world of art, 'at exactly the time of which one could say "That is he who must come!" In this sense he suggests that Brahms became 'a bequest that the noble master left to his pupils and friends'. In more explicit terms, Pohl conjectures that the Schumann party that is represented ever more strongly among young musicians, 'felt the need to exalt one belonging to their direction in order to provide a prophet of the new times on their side'. For 'Hoplit', such a public introduction of Brahms to the

⁸⁰ 'Denn man fühlte wohl, daß Schumann in mehr als einem seiner neuesten Werke nicht mehr absolut zu vertreten sei, und daß, wenn er so fortfahre, in sich hinein, anstatt aus sich heraus zu schaffen, die "Zukunft" seiner Richtung sehr gafährdet sei. Deshalb mochte es Manchem nöthig erscheinen, ein frisches kräftiges Blut dem Stammbaum auf diese Weise einzuverleiben', Pohl, 'Johannes Brahms' III, 262.

⁷⁹ In 1848 and 1849 Schumann's popularity was peaking as he published new works of every kind, from piano pieces including Album für die Jugend, Bilder aus Osten, Op. 66; chamber works including the Piano Trios, Opp. 63 and 80; Lieder including Spanisches Liederspiel, Op. 74; Lieder-Album für die Jugend, Op. 79; and orchestra with chorus, Adventlied, Op. 71, Beim Abschied zu singen, Op. 84. Having scrutinised Schumann's and Mendelssohn's works for a synthesis of a subjective and an objective approach to music, in terms of Brendel's notion of progress, he considered neither Schumann nor Mendelssohn to have progressed beyond their own limitations. See Brendel, 'Robert Schumann mit Rücksicht auf Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und die Entwicklung der modernen Tonkunst überhaupt', Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 22/15 (19 February 1845): 63-67, 22/19 (5 March 1845): 81-83, 22/21 (12 March 1845): 89-91, 22/27 (2 April 1845): 113-115, 22/29 (9 April 1845): 121-23, 22/35 (30 April 1845): 145-47, 22/36 (3 May 1845): 149-50. Yet in May 1849 he wrote a glowing article on Schumann stating that the reason Schumann's works do not move people as they might is that audiences are still bound up with the old way of thinking, and not 'receptive to the new state of mind that characterises the age'. See Brendel, 'Das Bewußtsein der Neuzeit, der moderne Ideale', Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 30/44 (31 May 1849) 238-39, as quoted and translated in Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 258. As Pederson suggests, however, the article stands out as an anomaly in Brendel's judgements on Schumann; 'he seems to have written it in an attempt to convince himself of Schumann's viability as the leading composer of the age. The premiere of Genoveva on 25 June 1850 in Leipzig saw Schumann's popularity plummet. For details of the reviews of Genoveva in 1850 see footnote 55. For the remainder of the year the Neue Zeitschrift published no further articles on Schumann, and thereafter its judgements on his music were reserved and ambiguous. For an in depth discussion of Brendel's reception of Schumann, and the factions in the journal that Pederson describes as the 'Uhlig (pro-Wagner, anti Meyerbeer)' and 'partisan reviewers of Schumann' see Sanna Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 251-67 (252-53).

⁸¹ 'Es war ein eigenes, uns tiefergreifendes Geschick, daß Robert Schumann gerade um jene Zeit den Jüngling fand, von dem er sagen konnte: "Das ist der, der kommen mußte"!—als seine Stunde nahe war, wo er auf lange Abschied nehmen mußte von der Kunst und seinem rastlosen Werken!', Pohl, Johannes Brahms, 15.

Abschied nehmen mußte von der Kunst und seinem rastlosen Werken!', Pohl, Johannes Brahms, 15.

82 'So wurde Johannes Brahms gleichsam ein Vermächtniß, welches der edle Meister seinen Schülern und Freunden hinterließ, bis er selbst wieder erscheinen würde auf dem Schauplaz der Kunst, dem er plößlich so grausam entrückt wurde', Pohl. 'Johannes Brahms', 15.

83 'Wir wollen nicht in Abrede stellen, daß die exclusiv Schumann'sche partei, die unter den jüngeren Musikern

^{*}S 'Wir wollen nicht in Abrede stellen, daß die exclusiv Schumann'sche partei, die unter den jüngeren Musikern noch immer stark vertreten ist, das Bedürfniß fühlte, einen ihrer Richtung Angehörenden zu erheben, um auch ihrerseits für einen Propheten der neuen Zeit zu sorgen, und für ihm das Panier erheben zu können', Pohl, 'Johannes Brahms' III, 262.

musical world, based on such questionable motivation, amounts to 'well-meant but inappropriate politics'.⁸⁴

In relation to the discussion of Brahms's compositions, apart from Op. 1, he does not refer directly to any of Brahms's works, nor does he consult any of the scores. 85 In this respect his articles are more useful in terms of what they tell us about Pohl's expectations, and by extension those of the journal, of an emerging artist. Pohl maintains that while Brahms's music displays 'skill in form, technical handling of instruments, harmonic boldness and rhythmic diversity' (all objective elements in Brendel's dialectical synthesis), 86 these amount to nothing more than prerequisites for every gifted, talented musician, and are 'to be viewed as still very little, or no progress'. 87 They are an indication, moreover that 'the individuality is thereby represented, but not yet characterised', 88 and merely give Brahms a 'visiting card' into the world of art.⁸⁹ He considers his work at this stage, up to and including the Schumann Variations, Op. 9, to be 'unequal', with 'the invention varying', and at times assuming 'a strange appearance'. 90 According to Pohl, Brahms's output is not consistent because the composer does not deliberate enough. In essence Pohl maintains that Brahms has mastered the technical aspects of his craft, but has not yet arrived at a point where he can express the subjective element of music—that which embodies the spiritual depth of his own individuality His main reservation about Brahms's music is that it 'still lacks style, which allows the artistic subjectivity to arrive at objective expression'. 91

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^{84 &#}x27; ... gutgemeinten, aber verfehlten Politik ...', Pohl, 'Johannes Brahms' III, 262.

⁸⁵ This is despite a promise in the last article published that one further article would examine Op. 1 to 9 in detail. This article never appeared.

⁸⁶ 'Die Formgewandheit, die technische Behandlung der Instrumente, die harmonische Kühnheit, die rhythmische Mannigfaltigkeit, sind Elemente, die jeder begabte, talentvolle Musiker jezt womöglich schon mit auf die Welt bringen muß, wenn er überhaupt "mit fortkommen", wenn er beachtet werden, und eine Stellung in der Musikwelt sich gründen will', Pohl, 'Johannes Brahms' III, 261.

^{87 &#}x27; ... noch sehr wenig oder keine Aussicht, bemerkt zu werden ...', *Ibid.*, 261.

^{88 &#}x27;Die Individualität ist dadurch wohl vertreten, noch nicht aber charakterisirt', *Ibid.*, 261.

^{89 &#}x27;Er hat damit gleichsam nur seine Visitencharte in der Kunstwelt abgegeben', *ibid.*, 261.

⁹⁰ 'Seine arbeit wird dadurch ungleich, die Erfindung schwankend, sie erhält zuweilen den Anschein des

grillenhaften', *Ibid.*, 263.

91 'Sie ist nicht stetig, weil nicht genug überlegt, und vor Allem fehlt ihr noch der Styl, der die künstlerische Subjectivität zum objectiven Ausdruck gelangen läßt', *Ibid.*, 263.

Pohl's articles are similar to Brendel's music criticism in that there is no analytical engagement with the scores. Rather he is concerned with the development of music history and Brahms's place within that development. Consistent with Brendel's conviction that progress in music currently called for a more subjective approach to composition, Pohl considered Brahms, as yet, to lack such subjectivity. He views his compositions as technically adept, but argues that they do not yet embody the particular characteristics, individuality or spiritual depth of Brahms as a composer—in other words Brahms had not yet found his essence ⁹²

Pohl ends the series with the promise of one further article that will examine Op. 1 to 9 in detail. This article never appeared. Nonetheless (without a discussion of the works themselves) he summarises his judgement on Brahms by proclaiming that he understands to a certain degree why the composer earned the honour bestowed on him by Schumann, but he disputes the claim that Brahms came into the world fully armed, suggesting rather that he earned his auspicious introduction 'not as a qualified, rather as an emerging artist'. His reason is that for a master he still lacks the 'main requirement: style'. ⁹³

Pohl next turns his attention to a discussion of the consequences for Brahms of following in Schumann's compositional footsteps. He maintains that 'a nature such as that of

⁹² Certainly it is difficult to make a definitive judgement on a composer after nine published works, and a discussion of the works themselves would have helped to clarify Pohl's judgement on the composer. A number of Pohl's contemporary critics had, at this point, published articles on Brahms, many of them bound up with the consequences of 'Neue Bahnen', but many of which give a detailed, critical discussion to Brahms's music. See for instance [Anonymous] 'Opus 1-4 von Joh. Brahms' in Süddeutsche Musikzeitung (1854): 69-70, 73-74, 77-79; O., 'Johannes Brahms, Sonate (C-dur) für das Pianoforte, Op. 1. Leipzig, bei Breitkopf & Härtel', Rheinische Musikzeitung (1854): 78-79; Gustav Engel, 'Johannes Brahms, sechs Gesänge für eine Tenor- oder Sopranstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte. Opus 3. Leipzig, bei Breitkopf & Härtel, Niederrheinische Musikzeitung (1854): 11; 'Ker' [Louis Köhler], 'Johannes Brahms und seine sechs ersten Werke, Signale für die musikalische Welt (1854): 145-151; Ibid., 'Sechs Gesänge für eine Singstimme mit Pianoforte componirt von Johannes Brahms Op. 7', Signale für die musikalische Welt (1855); 65-66; Ibid., Trio für Pianoforte, Violine und Violoncell von Johannes Brahms', Signale für die musikalische Welt (1855): 89-90; Ibid., 'Variationen für das Pianoforte über ein Thema von Robert Schumann componirt von Johannes Brahms, Op. 9', Signale für die musikalische Welt (1855): 97-98. For an overview of the initial reception of Brahms Op. 1-10 see Angelika Horstmann, 'Die Rezeption der Werke Op. 1 bis 10 von Johannes Brahms zwischen 1853 und 1860', Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft VII (1984): 33-44.

Schumann can exist only once because it is quite final in itself. 94 Acknowledging that Schumann's individuality or, what is the same thing in this context, his subjectivity (subjectivität – that which comes from within) possesses a 'completely unquestionable high worth', he warns that it will be held in high regard 'only in its originality, not in imitation'. 95 Indicating some expectation in Brahms's compositional career, he claims that just as each artistic individuality has something inestimable which cannot be emulated, so Brahms also has an element that is particular to him, and that Schumann does not possess, a feature that promises that he will follow 'his own courses when it is granted to him to attain full development'. 96 In this sense he considers Brahms to be 'no Schumann imitator, rather a Schumannian nature'. 97 The two composers, he contends, share 'that internal brooding and the longing course of the indefinite vagueness that the romantics characterise in such a particular way'. 98 Yet this similarity with Schumann is an element that, in Pohl's opinion, could impede Brahms's progress. 99 Consequently he sees Brahms's progress to be conditional on his ability to 'purge himself of the Schumann consequences'. 100 In other words, it is only if Brahms follows his own particular individual essence that he will reach his full potential. Indicating that Schumann's article carried no special weight in the estimation of the journal he states that if they perceived 'nothing of a Schumannianer' in Brahms it would give them reason to

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⁹⁷ 'Brahms ist kein Nachahmer Schumann's, sondern eine Schumann'sche Natur', *Ibid.*, 262.

⁹⁹ 'Die Klippen für Brahms liegen also in dem, was seine Aehnlichkeit und Verwandtschaft mit Schumann begründet', *Ibid.*, 263.

⁹⁴ 'Und daß eine Natur, wie die Schumannische, eben nur einmal vorhanden sein kann, weil sie in sich durchaus abgeschlossen ist', *Ibid.*, 262.

⁹⁵ 'Wer strenggläubig genug ist, um in Schumann's Fußtapfen treten zu wollen, oder zu beschränkt, um etwas anders zu können, der bannt sich freiwillig in denselben Cirkel, in den er selbst sich festbannte, nur mit den Unterschied, daß Schumann's sehr bedeutende Subjectivität einen ganz unzweifelhaften, hohen Werth besizt, und für die geschichte der Kunst immer behalten wird – aber nur in ihrer Originalität, nicht in der Nachahmung', *Ibid.*, 262.

⁹⁶ 'Wie nun aber jede ächte künstlerische Subjectivität etwas Unberechenbares und nicht Nachzuahmendes enthält, so hat auch Brahms ein Element in sich, das Schumann nicht besizt, jenes Etwas, das uns verheißt, er werde seine eigenen Bahnen suchen, wenn es ihm überhaupt vergönnt ist, zur völligen Entwickelung zu gelangen —eine Bedingung, deren Erfüllung teilweise von ihm selbst abhängt', *Ibid.*, 263.

⁹⁸ 'Auch Brahms hat das innerlich Grübelnde und den sehnsüchtigen Zug nach dem Unbestimmten, Nebelhaften, der die Romantiker auf so eigenthümliche Weise charakterisirt', *Ibid.*, 263.

¹⁰⁰ 'Brahms steht nicht außer dieser Gefahr, und hat sich daher wohl zu hüten, nach dieser Seite dem starken Drange seiner Subjectivität nachzugeben und so auch in die Schumann'schen Consequenzen zu verfallen', *Ibid.*, 263.

consider his future, 'not however to treat it with special honour'. 101 Ultimately reserving his judgement on Brahms, he claims that 'it is less what he carries out now, as what he promises for the future that draws us to him.' 102

1.5: Brendel's Championing of Liszt

An opportunity for Brendel to defend his historical outlook, and by extension his notion of progress, came in the form of an accusation that his party neglects the work of past masters, a judgement Brendel considers to be 'basically false' and 'absurd'. 103 The difference he sees in the attitudes of the parties towards older works is one of perspective. He argues that his party have every reverence for the work of the older masters, however, that reverence is in the form of recognising these works as a point which the *Neudeutsche Schule* must overcome. What he objects to is the 'misinterpretation' of works. Writing in 1857 he explains that 'our remarks against the performance of a Haydn oratorio have been considered as attacks against the work itself, while these remarks should only condemn the laziness by which first the Creation, then the Seasons and then again the Seasons and next the Creation are performed year in, year out. 104 Such works, in Brendel's view, 'belong to a standpoint to be overcome (überwundenen Standpunkt), not however to be thrown into the junk room, rather to stand as immortal shapes in the pantheon of history. ¹⁰⁵

The extent to which Schumann and Brendel differed in their historical outlooks is perhaps best evidenced in Brendel's 1857 article 'Franz Liszt's neueste Werke und die

^{101 &#}x27;Es ist weniger das, was er jetzt leistet, als das, was er für die Zukunft verspricht, was uns zu ihm hinzieht. Je mehr es ihm gelingt, sich von der ihm charachteristischen Schumann'schen Natur zu befreien, je energischer er über den, seinem Vorgänger eigenthümlichen Ideenkreis hinausschreitet, desto vielversprechender wird seine

Zukunft sein', *lbid.*, 263.

Sähen wir also in Brahms Nichts einen Schumannianer mehr, so wäre das höchstens ein Grund für uns, seine Zukunft zu bezweifeln, nicht aber, ihn mit besonderer Auszeichnung zu behandeln.' *Ibid.*, 263.

Franz Brendel, "Franz Liszt's neueste Werke und die gegenwärtige Parteistellung. Die Stellung der Partei',

Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 47/13 (25 September 1857): 129–133 (132).

^{104 &#}x27;Man glaubte, es gelte den Werken selbst, was nur dem Mißbrauche zugedacht war, und hat z.B. unsere gegen die Aufführung Haydn'scher Oratorien gerichteten Bemerkungen für Angriffe gegen die Werke gehalten, während sie jene Faulheit zu rügen die Bestimmung hatten, die zuerst die "Schöpfung", dann die "Jahreszeiten" und dann wieder die "Jahreszeiten" und zuletzt die "Schöpfung" jahraus jahrein aufführt', *Ibid.*, 132 ¹⁰⁵ 'Die alten Größen gehören dem überwundenen Standpunct an, nicht aber um in die Rumpelkammer geworfen

zu werden, sondern als unsterbliche Gestalten in dem Pantheon der Geschichte dazustehen', Ibid., 132

gegenwärtige Parteistellung'. This article, ostensibly a review of a performance of Liszt's *Faust* symphony in Weimar on 5 September, sees Brendel completely won over by the symphony, and again defends his progressive outlook. Each reveres the work of past masters, Schumann regarding such works to be the bedrock of progress, Brendel regarding them as a standpoint to be overcome:

The first task of a music journal – I often remark – consists of breaking new paths ('neue Bahn'). However, the same should also be to protect the rights of what already exists. It is therefore a great misconception if one believes only in achieving this by fighting against progress. Such Zionsguards of art do the opposite of what they seem to intend; they kill the life of the art and look for it in the petrifaction, which praises it as living. ¹⁰⁶

In this same article, Brendel responds to the charge (which at this point was a regular charge) that the journal privileges the works of Liszt, and the *Neudeutsche Schule*. He denies that 'party considerations' are a factor in Liszt being in the foreground, claiming that 'at present we would have turned the same attention to everyone who would arrive outwardly and inwardly to the same importance'. His statements in defence of Liszt's music can be understood as his championing of works which exemplify a subjective approach to composition, and which draw on other art forms, such as poetry and drama, music which he considered to be 'spiritual, poetic' music. Indeed, as Robert Determann posits, the combination of music and poetry was an indispensable prerequisite for a progressively

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^{106 &#}x27;Die erste Aufgabe einer musikalischen Zeitung—bemerkte ich schon öfter—besteht darin, dem neuen Bahn zu brechen. Allerdings soll dieselbe auch die rechte des Bestehenden wahren. Es ist jedoch ein großer Irrthum, wenn man dies lediglich durch Ankämpfen gegen den Fortschritt zu erreichen glaubt. Solche Zionswächter der Kunst thun das Gegentheil von dem, was sie vorgeben zu beabsichtigen; sie töden das Leben der Kunst und suchen es in der Erstarrung, diese als das Lebendige preisend', Brendel, 'Franz Liszt's neueste Werke und die gegenwärtige Parteistellung II', 129–133 (131).
107 'Wenn jetzt Liszt's Werke in den Vordergrund stehen, so ist dies allein schon äußerlich sattsam motivirt.

Liszt's ist im Augenblick derjenige, der ohne alle Frage am meisten producirt, und dessen Werke am schwersten ins Gewicht fallen. Nicht Parteirücksichten sind es demnach, die zur öfteren Beschäftigung damit Veranlassung geben, im Gegentheil Jedem, der äußerlich und innerlich zu gleich bedeutender Thätigkeit gelangt wäre, würden wir dieselbe Aufmerksamkeit zuzuwenden haben', Brendel, 'Franz Liszt's neueste Werke und die gegenwärtige Parteistellung II', 131.

oriented music. ¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, his critique of 'instrumental music' can be understood in relation to the fact that Brendel regarded this genre of music – including sonatas, symphonies, and chamber music – to have come to its natural end. Furthermore, in terms of advancing music as a national artform he considered 'purely musical productivity' to be a dead end:

I regard the new efforts nevertheless, as the great end point of the development; if I expect a rich beautiful flower in the area of instrumental music, then I recognise in the same at present only an after flowering. Instrumental music appears to me in general to have passed through its main course, and the external conditions concerning the general efforts of the nation seem to me, now more so, no longer suitable to support a purely musical productivity, as so far. ¹⁰⁹

He therefore steered the emphasis away from traditional instrumental forms in the journal, the very forms to which Schumann turned for many of his large-scale works in the 1840s. 110

Liszt's setting of Schiller's 'An die Künstler' exhibits a number of the features that were prerequisite to Brendel's notion of progress. He considers this work to offer 'a much preferred position, and a preferred character [to pure instrumental music]' which was evident in the 'greatness of the conception, the mastered attitude, the manly strength and energy, the weight of the thought that is brought to expression in the music' 111. Moreover, this work

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¹⁰⁸ 'Die Verbindung von Musik und Poesie gilt ihnen als unabdungbare Voraussetzung für eine fortschrittlich orientierte Komposition'. Robert Determann, *Begriff und Ästhetik der "Neudeutschen Schule*" (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1989), 58.

^{109 &#}x27;Ich betrachte die neuen Bestrebungen überwiegend doch nur als die großen Endpuncte der Entwickelung, und wenn ich auch nach eine reiche, schöne Blüthe auf dem Gebiete der Instrumantalmusik erwarte, so kann ich in derselben zur Zeit doch nur eine Nachblüthe erkennen. Die Instrumentalmusik scheint mir in der Hauptsache ihre Bahn durchlaufen zu haben, und auch die äußeren Bedingungen bezüglich der allgemeinen Bestrebungen der Nation wollen mir jezt und weiterhin nicht mehr so geeignet vorkommen, eine rein musikalische Productivität, wie bisher, zu unterstützen', 'Franz Liszt's neueste Werke und die gegenwärtige Parteistellung', 124.

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&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Such works of this period include the First Symphony, Op. 38 (early 1841), the String Quartets, Op. 41 (1842), the Piano Quintet, Op. 44 (late 1842), and Piano Quartet, Op. 47 (late 1842).

^{&#}x27;Dafür aber besitz es eine andere Seite, die ihm eine sehr bevorzugte Stellung, einen herrvoragenden Charakter verleiht, das ist die Großartigkeit der Auffassung, die Bewußte Haltung, die männliche Kraft und Energie, die Schwere des Gedankens, die darin musikalisch zur Anschauung gebracht wird', Brendel, 'Franz Liszt's neueste Werke und die gegenwärtige Parteistellung', 121.

epitomises a subjective approach to music at a time in music history that demanded such subjectivity: 112

When set against the trivial music-making, which measures all of the most powerful and rich in thought by their ordinary yardstick, and pulls it down into the normal musical sphere, this work is highly important as an attempt to bring out another new, opposing side, to draw the music nearer to the side of thought. And this relationship, especially characteristic of the new school, is to be defined as the outstanding feature of the intellectually seizing poetic functions. 113

The work that was most exemplary however, in terms of Brendel's notion of progress, was Liszt's setting of Goethe's *Faust*. Here was a crucial document of Weimar Classicism, set to music by Weimar's *Kapellmeister* "in extraordinary service". Brendel extols the combination of music and poetry in the work, and invokes Beethoven to legitimate its musical heritage:

This conclusion is a true sunrise, and I can only compare my rapture to the one I felt when the poetic meaning of the ninth symphony became clear for the first time. In truth, the thought is conceived here in a similar way from instrumental means as in the ninth symphony, but by new and creative means and not through imitation.¹¹⁴

Leipziger Tontkünstler-Versammlung 1859

The opulence and grandeur of the *Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung*, which took place from June 1–4 in the elegance and splendour of some of Leipzig's finest buildings highlights the contrast between the more dejected *Vormärz* years of the *Tonkünstler-Versammlung* and the current assembly. Following the suppression of the organisation,

¹¹² Liszt's subjective approach to music, viewed in a pejorative context in the contemporary press, was tantamount to musical anarchy. See Keith Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt* (Stuyvescant NY: Pendragon Press, 1997), 94: A *National-Zeitung* critic writing in 1855 considered 'Liszt to have abandoned the architectonic principles of discursive music (so important to German music), only to replace them with subjectivity (i.e., anarchy).'

^{113 &#}x27;Der trivialen Musikmacherei gegenüber, die alles das Schwungvollste und Gedankenreichste, auf ihren ordinären Leisten schlägt und dasselbe in die gewöhnliche musikalische Sphäre herabzieht, ist das Werk hochbedeutend als Versuch, ein anderes, neues, das entgegensetze Element zur Geltung zu bringen, die Musik der Seite des Gedankens zu nähern, und in dieser Beziehung auch besonders charakteristisch für die neue Schule, als deren Hauptmerkmal dieses geistvollere erfassen poetischer Aufgaben zu bezeichnen ist', Brendel, 'Franz Liszt's neueste Werke und die gegenwärtige Parteistellung', 121–22.

¹¹⁴ 'So ist dieser Schluß ein wahrer Sonnenaufgang und ich kann mein Entzücken nur mit dem vergleichen, das ich empfand, als mir die 9. Symphonie zum erstenmal in ihrer poetischen Bedeutung klar wurde. In Wahrheit: der Gedanke wird hier in ähnliche Weise aus dem Instrumentalen heraus erzeugt, wie in der 9. Symphonie, aber neu und schöpferisch, nicht durch Nachahmung', *Ibid.*, 123.

Brendel expressed his disappointment in 1849, continuing to call for 'recognition of modern times', and 'sympathy for great ideas'. In his New Year's column of 1850 he buoyed up his readership, that was discontented following the eradication of any liberal hopes for political reform:

Despite everything we may harbour the expectation that the development of music is in no way over; under more desirable circumstances we could hope for a rejuvenation of all life in a new blossoming of art; great tasks are still at hand that wait to be carried out.¹¹⁶

By 1859 Brendel's hopes for music had been realised. The whole undertaking of the *Tonkünstler-Versammlung* was underwritten by Prince Constantin of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, an enthusiastic supporter of new music and Liszt patron. The Gewandhaus orchestra, Leipzig's first-rate soloists and the city's resident choir (or *Gesangverein*) were employed for the occasion. Foreign participants, invited guests, and thousands of members of the public attended free of charge. 117

As the editor of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Brendel delivered a guest lecture at the *Tonkünstler-Versammlung* in recognition of the journal's twenty-fifth anniversary. He drew his audience's attention to the fact that viewing 'the aspirations of [the *Vormärz* era] in the present will bring us closer to the achievement of our current task'. He outlines the reforms that he considers to have come about since then: relating directly to musical matters he highlights an improvement in the correct handling of the singing voice, and the fact that in the

^{115 &#}x27;Ich verlange eine Anerkennung der Neuzeit, wie die hier ausgesprochene, ich verlange Sympathie für die großen Ideen derselben', Brendel, 'Fragen der Zeit, V., Die Stellung der Tonkunst in der Gegenwart', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 30/41 (21 May 1849), 223, translated in Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 248.

¹¹⁶ 'Bei alle dem dürfen wir die Erwartung hegen, daß die Entwicklung der Tonkunst noch keineswegs beendet ist; wir dürfen unter günstigeren Bedingungen, bei einer Verjüngung des gesammten Lebens auf eine neue Kunstblüthe hoffen; groß Aufgabe sind noch vorhanden, die ihrer Lösung harren', Brendel, 'Beim Beginn des Neuen Jahres', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 32/1 (1 January 1850), 1. This translation is taken from Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 248.

¹¹⁷ Keith Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt*, 125.
118 'Es liegt die Erinnerung nahe an jenes erste Unternehmen, indem ich Sie gegenwärtig wieder versammelt sehe, und wenn ich eine Vergleichung anstelle zwischen Jetzt und Damals, so ist dies keine blos äußerliche und zufällige. Ein Blick auf das damals Erstrebte im Gegentheil wird uns der Erfassung unserer gegenwärtigen Aufgabe näher bringen', Brendel, 'Zur Anbahnung einer Verständigung', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 24 (10 June 1859), 266.

area of pure instrumental music, form has been made independent of content. ¹¹⁹ He notes an improvement in concert programming, where new music is included without a removal of the old. ¹²⁰ With regard to national recognition for music and the arts, he continues, 'there has hardly been a time when Germany would have been so bent to support and promote music as now'. The current *Tonkünstler-Versammlung* was made possible, for instance, by the generous financial backing of the King of Hannover, who has also, Brendel reports, pledged an annual stipend of 1,000 Thlr to support the *Händelgesellschaft*. ¹²¹ Further evidence of progress in art since the *Vormärz* meetings is the Weimar court. Harking back to the former glory of Weimar he claims it has long been recognised and appreciated that 'the court has prepared for current art,' which he hopes will gain as firm a foothold as in former times, so that 'as at the time of Goethe and Schiller, a new ideal of art can be prepared throughout all of Germany'. ¹²²

The festival saw the works of Liszt, more than any other composer, exalted on a grand scale. It involved four days of concerts and public lectures, ¹²³ marking the official inauguration of the *Neudeutsche Schule* in Brendel's speech. The poet Adolf Stern wrote a

119 'Dies zeigt sich – um einige Beispiel auzuführen – in der viel correcteren Behandlung der Singstimme bei der Gesangsmusik, ein Umstand von außerordentlicher Wichtigkeit, bei der reinen Instrumentalmusik in der Beseitigung der Schablone, in der Abhängigmachung der Form von dem Inhalt', *Ibid.*, 270.

120 '... um bessere Gestaltung der Concertprogramme, Aufnahme des Neuen ohne Beseitigung des Alten ...',

¹²² 'Mit welcher Liberalität der Weimarische Hof seit nun schon langen Jahren der gegenwärtigen Kunst eine bereitet hat, so daß wo möglich wurde daß dieselbe festen Fuß fassen, und von dort aus, wie zu den Zeiten Goethe's und Schiller's, über ganz Deutschland ein neues Kunstideal sich vorbreiten konnte, ist längst erkannt und gewürdigt', *Ibid.*, 270.

¹²¹ 'Es hat kaum eine Zeit gegeben, wo Deutschlands fürsten so geneigt gewesen wären, die Tonkunst zu fördern und zu unterstützen, als gerade jetzt. Hier finde ich Gelegenheit in dankbarer Anerkennung unseres hohen Mäcens, jenes deutschen Fürsten, zu gedenken, durch dessen Unterstützung das gegenwärtige Fest möglich wurde; Se. Majestät der König von Hanover ferner, hat, wie Ihnen bekannt, eine Unterstützung von jährlich 1,000 Thlr auf lange Jahre hinaus der Händelgesellschaft zugewendet, ebenfalls ein Act großsinniger Kunstprotection', *Ibid.*, 270.

¹²³ Among the lectures, which took place predominantly on the third day of the festival were: Adolf Kullak, 'Ueber musikalische Aesthetik'; August Wilhelm Ambros, 'Die Musik als culturgeschichtliches Moment in der Geschichte'; Louis Köhler, 'Die Bildung eines deutschen Musikvereins aus der Vereinigung aller Parteien, zum Zwecke, das Wohl der Musikvorhältnisse und der Musiker thatkräftig zu befördern'; Karl Friedrich Weitzmann, 'Geschichte der Harmonie und ihre Lehre'; Felix Draeseke, 'Die protestantische Kirchenmusik und die Gründung einer festen Form für dieselbe, analog der katholischen Meßform'; Adolf Stern, 'Ueber die Dichtung der Gegenwart in ihrem Verhältniß zur Musik'; Herr Raabe, 'Tempobestimmung durch Gedankenschwingung'. Liszt gave an unscripted speech, and other speakers included Dr. Reclam, Dr. Schwarz, and Dr. D. Bach.

poem for the official programme which speaks of 'German strength and glory', ¹²⁴ 'the genius of German song', ¹²⁵ 'Lohengrin sent from God', ¹²⁶ of Berlioz's 'brilliance of colours, that appears transfigured by light, that unites the passions with the pious', ¹²⁷ and does not stop short of alluding to the polemical battles raging in Germany at the time:

Outside wild weather roars, sultriness goes through every heart,

The shrill tones of the sisters sound, roars of the battle's rough bronze,

In the place of love comes together only anger, hate, controversy,

And peace flees lonely from an age thirsty for battle. 128

The conspicuous absence of Liszt's name in Stern's poem was certainly compensated for in performances of his works. The following table compiles a list of the pieces performed throughout the festival. 129

Die Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung 1–4 June 1859

Bach, Mass in B minor, BWV 232

Bach, Italian Concerto, BWV 971

D. Bach, Manuscript Trio for Piano, Violin and Cello

Berlioz, Rákóczy March (Damnation of Faust)

Berlioz, Aria of Teresa from Act I of Benvenuto Cellini

Franz Berwald, Duo for Piano and Cello in D minor

Chopin, Nocturne in D flat major, Op. 27, No. 2

Robert Franz, 'Willkommen mein Wald', Op. 21, No. 1 and 'Gewitternacht', Op. 86, No. 6

Ferdinand Hiller, Psalm 137 (Op. 27, No. 1)

Alfred Jaell, Overture to Diana von Solange

Eduard Lassen, 130 'Löse Himmel meine Seele'

Liszt, Leonore, S. 346

Liszt, Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C sharp minor

^{124 &#}x27; ... deutsche Kraft und Herrlichkeit ...', The poem is reprinted in full in Richard Pohl, 'Die Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung am 1.–4. Juni 1859, Erster Artikel', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 50/25 (17 June 1859): 281–283.

^{125 &#}x27; ... der Genius deutschen Liedes ... ', Stern in Pohl, 'Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung', 281.

^{126 &#}x27; ... Lohengrin der Gottgesandte ...'. Stern in Pohl, 'Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung', 281.

127 ' ... Bietet gleichen Glanz der Farben, der von Licht verklärt erscheint' ... Jener, der die Leidenschafte

^{127 &#}x27; ... Bietet gleichen Glanz der Farben, der von Licht verklärt erscheint' ... Jener, der die Leidenschaften mit der Gottergebung eint.' *Ibid.*, 281.

¹²⁸ 'Draußen rauschen wilde Wetter, Schwüle geht durch jedes Herz/ Klingt der Schrille Ton der Schwester, dröhnt des Krieges rauhes Erz/ Statt der Liebe wird gemeinsam nur der Zorn, der Haß, der Streit/ Und der Friede flüchtet einsam aus der schlachtendurstgen Zeit.' Adolf Stern, 'Eröffnung der Tonkünstler-Versammlung', Gedichtet von Adolf Stern. The poem is reproduced in completion in appendix 2.3.

This list is compiled from Richard Pohl's coverage of the festival. Richard Pohl, 'Die Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung am 1.–4. Juni 1859, Erster Artikel', 50/25 (17 June 1859): 281–283; 50/26 (24 June 1859): 289–296

¹³⁰ Eduard Lassen (1830–1904), studied at the Brussels conservatory and subsequently became Liszt's successor as music director of the Weimar court theatre.

Liszt, Hungarian Rhapsody No. 12 in C sharp minor

Liszt, Tasso

Liszt, Les Préludes

Liszt, *Loreley*

Liszt, Graner Festmesse

Mendelssohn, Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt Overture

Moscheles, 'Hommage à Händel'

Carl Müller, ¹³¹ Manuscript Quartet in four Fugal Movements

Schubert, Rondo for Piano and Violin in B Minor, D. 895/Op. 70

Schubert, Müller Lieder

Schubert, Piano Trio No. 1, D. 898 in B flat major, op. 99

Schumann Manfred Overture

Schumann, 'Der Haideknabe' Op. 122, No. 1 and 'Schön Hedwig', Op. 106

Schumann, *Genoveva* (a complete staging)

Tartini, The Devil's Sonata

Wagner, Prelude to Tristan und Isolde

Wagner, Duet from Act II of Fliegender Höllander

The highlights of these performances were Liszt's *Graner Festmesse* performed on the second evening (with the composer conducting), ¹³² and Bach's B minor Mass performed on the third evening, both in the hall of the Thomaskirche, each to an audience of over 3,000 listeners. The performance of Bach's mass is significant in that it marked one of the first complete performances of the work, over a century after the composer's death. ¹³³ The founding of the *Leipziger Bach-Gesellschaft* on 3 July 1850 is a testament to the high regard in which Bach was held as both a composer and as an icon of German nationalism. Both Schumann and Liszt were among the founding members. The aim of this organisation was to produce a complete edition of Bach's music using all available primary sources, thereby setting a standard of

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¹³¹ Carl Müller, composer resident in Münster in 1860, and subsequently Kapellmeister in Frankfurt. See *Brahms Briefwechsel*, 5: 264

¹³² Liszt's *Graner Festmesse*, composed to celebrate the dedication of the Hungarian cathedral at Esztergom ('Gran' in German), was premiered in 1856. See Ilona Mona, 'Erste musikalische Analyse der 'Graner Messe' von Ferenc Liszt', *Studia Musicologica* 29 (1987): 343–51, and Helmet Loos, 'Franz Lisztz Graner Festmesse', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 67 (1983): 45–59.

A recent article by Hirmoi Hoshino indicates that the first performance of the work took place in Frankfurt in 1856, with the *Caecilia Gesellschaft*, conducted by F. J. Messer. Pohl himself does not seem to be aware of this, as he claims (as do most recent sources with the exception of Hoshino) that Riedel was the first to perform the B Minor Mass since the publication of the complete score by the *Leipziger Bach-Gesellschaft*. Hoshino's source is the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1868): 378. See Hiromi Hoshino, 'J. S. Bahha saku "Misa-kyoku-rotancho" no 19 seiki zenhan ni okeru: Enso kiroku no kensho o toshite', *Senzoku-Ronso* 24 (1995): 145–59 (149). I am grateful to Dr Yo Tomita for deciphering Hoshino's Japanese script. An English translation of this article is planned for the proceedings of the International Symposium 'Understanding Bach's B Minor Mass', Queen's University Belfast, November 2007.

accuracy and authenticity that was to be a milestone in the history of musical editing. 134 The intention was to begin publication with the Mass in B minor, indicating the regard with which the work was already held. Due to unforeseen difficulties, the mass was published in the sixth volume of the Gesamtausgabe in 1856, with a revised edition appearing in 1857. 135

With the *Tonkünstler-Versammlung* following the format of a scholarly conference, a number of academic papers were presented throughout the three days. It was in Brendel's speech which was given on the third day of the festival to a packed auditorium, that he inaugurated the Neudeutsche Schule of Wagner, Liszt, and Berlioz. This speech, titled 'Zur Anbahung einer Verständigung', can be understood as the culmination of over a decade of rhetorial strategy on Brendel's part, and his use of the term Neudeutsche Schule can be undersood as a calculated, tactical manoeuvre to claim for these composers a German cultural heritage. Mary Sue Morrow has explored Brendel's motivation in adopting such a term, and refers to what may seem to be the 'patent illogicality of a New German School "led" by a Frenchman, a German, and a Hungarian." ¹³⁶ Morrow examines the cultural tradition that anticipated the ideas Brendel espoused. She draws attention to the tendency on the par of German critics, evident in instrumental music criticism from the 1760s and 1770s, to exto the serious, weighty side of German music—its complex textures, its varied harmonic language, and its contrapuntal dexterity. This, she argues, was juxtaposed to the more trivial, and less consequential Italian music of the late eighteenth century.

This Italian/German polarity became increasingly evident in German music criticism of the bllowing decades. On one side was the 'true German style', the music of connoisseurs, music that reflected the German values of masculinity and moral worth. This was epitomised

¹³⁴ John 3utt, *Bach: Mass in B Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 30.

¹³⁵ Butt, Bach: Mass in B Minor, 30. Carl Riedel, the director of the performance at the Tonkünstler-Versamnlung, was the first to study and perform the work since the publication of this revised score. (Carl Riedel was the founder and for many years the director of the Riedel'scher-Verein, the most important oratorio society in Leipzig in the second half of the nineteenth century. He used his ensemble to make works of many almost forgotten composers of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries accessible.)

¹³⁶ MarySue Morrow, 'Deconstructing Brendel's "New German" Liszt', in Analecta Lisztiana III: Liszt and the Birth of Aodern Europe: Music as a Mirror of Religious, Political, Cultural, and Aesthetic Transformations, ed. Michael Saffle (New York: Pendragon Press, 1998), 157-168.

by the serious style of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, and in particular by the genre of the symphony that these German composers had rescued from triviality at the hands of Italian composers such as Gaudenzio Comi and Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1784). Across the divide was the more trivial music, more suited to ordinary dilettantes and ladies, and not associated with the masculine German character. Therefore choosing the "New German" label, Morrow argues, put Brendel into a position of considerable rhetorical strength in that this label was not only appropriated for himself and the chosen composers, but it also appropriated a 'rhetorical world of German criticism and used its particular logic to enhance his arguments, thereby exploiting thought-patterns and concepts with which his readership was already (if unconsciously) accustomed. 138

This speech brought issues to a head that had been simmering in the musical press for the best part of a decade, paramount among which was the issue of whether Brendel had appropriated or misappropriated Schumann's editorial policy, and the German cultural tradition in music. Brendel highlights continuities between Schumann's editorial policy and his own. A result of this continuity, he argues, is that he sees the present polemical stance arising naturally from the groundwork of Schumann's criticism. His overview of his editorship is that: 'I made the principles of my predecessor my own, above all I stressed the present, demanded the promotion of our time and our art'. In so doing, his aim was to bring 'the side of the objective, scientific recognition' of works to a wider audience. ¹³⁹

Certainly Schumann had criticised new composers for imitating Beethoven, and promoted the view that to further the German musical tradition they must not only imitate Beethoven, but also break free of the Beethovenian model, and move into a new realm. A composer he considered to be exemplary in this regard is Berlioz. Thus in his 1835 review of

 $^{^{137}}$ See Morrow, 'Deconstructing Brendel's "New German" Liszt', 166–167. 138 Ibid., 164.

¹³⁹ 'Indem ich später diese Grundsätze meines Vorgängers zu den meinigen machte, vor allen Dingen die Gegenwart betonte, Förderung unserer Zeit und unserer Kunst verlangte, war ich zugleich bestrebt, zu größerer Bestimmtheit der Auffassung vorzudringen, d. h., die Seite objectiv wissenschaftlicher Erkenntniß herauszuarbeiten', Brendel, 'Zur Anbahnung einer Verständigung', 266.

Berlioz's Symphonie Fantastique, just when he feared that the name of the symphony was to be relegated to history, he could now announce that 'in a darkened corner of the Northern Coast of France a young medical student has thought of something new'. 140

Yet, this provides another example of how Schumann and Brendel are at odds in their editorial policies. While Schumann praises many aspects of Berlioz's composition, he declines to call it a masterpiece. Furthermore he notes the cultural gulf that exists between Berlioz and the Germans. This is evident in his rebuke of Berlioz's programme: 'All of Germany makes him a present of it. Such signposts always have something unworthy and charlatanistic. In a word, the delicately-minded, in their whole personality more ill-disposed German does not want to be so coarsely led through his thoughts. He adds that 'Berlioz wrote first of all for his Frenchmen, who are little impressed by ethereal modesty'. ¹⁴² In this same review, Schumann compiled a list of important symphonic composers that included only German names. Schumann's favour (or bias) for German composers is apparent in his disdain of the Italian influence in the works of some German composers. He asserts that 'the highest peaks of Italian art do not even rise to the foothills of the true German ones'. 143 Almost twenty years later, in his 1853 article 'Neue Bahnen', the list of composers that Schumann provided of promising talents were all German, bar one. 144

¹⁴⁰ 'Es stand zu fürchten, der Name der Sinfonie gehöre von nun an nur noch der Geschichte an'. ... 'Einstweilen sinnt in einem dunkeln Winkel an der Nordküste Frankreichs ein junger Student der Medizin über Neues', Robert Schumann, Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker (Leipzig: Reclam, 1914), 52.

¹⁴¹ 'Berlioz selbst hat in einem Programme niedergeschrieben, was er wünscht, daß man sich bei seiner Sinfonie denken soll. (55-56) [A page in which Schumann describes the music through the programme] Soweit das Programm. Ganz Deutschland schenkt es ihm: solche Wegweiser haben immer etwas Unwürdiges and Scharlatanmäßiges', Schumann, Gesammelte Schriften, 55-57.

^{142 &#}x27;Berlioz schrieb indes zunächst für seine Franzosen, denen mit ätherische Bescheidenheit wenig zu imponieren ist.' Schumann, Gesammelte Schriften, 58. Mary Sue Morrow notes the increasing number of snide references to the frivolity of French taste in German nineteenth-century periodicals. She also notes, however, that the French, unlike the Italians, were not the traditional enemy of Germany, and consistently these German comments about the French lack the bite of those about the Italians. Morrow, 'Deconstructing Brendel's "New German" Liszt, 166.

¹⁴³ 'Die höchsten Spitzen italienischer Kunst reichen noch nicht bis an die ersten Anfänge warhafter deutscher'. Robert Schumann, Shriften über Musik und Musiker (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1982), 200. This translation in Mary Sue

Morrow, 'Deconstructing Brendel's "New German" Liszt', 161

144 These German composers were Joseph Joachim, Ernst Naumann, Luwdig Normann, Woldmar Bargiel, Theodor Kirchner, Julius Schäffer, Albert Dietrich, F. E. Wilsing, K. A. Mangold, Robert Franz and St. Heller. The one non-German composer was the Danish Niels W. Gade.

As a consequence to Schumann's writings, as Brendel portrays it, it is a matter of stages until the current polemics are reached: the holding of certain principles leads to renewed areas of speciality, leading 'not to a chaotic disorder, rather to self-conscious separation, to the development of special groups, and thus finally to factions'. Having perused earlier volumes of the journal he writes that 'this same principle was already put forward'. His approach here is reminiscent of his inaugural address to the journal in 1845. At that stage his agenda had been to establish his own credibility and individuality as a music critic, while appearing to continue the Schumann tradition. At this point his agenda was to review the success of his career since Schumann's retirement, and to draw attention to the achievements of both himself and the *Neudeutsche Schule* in a highly publicised manner. Toward this end he sees the potential that was latent within Schumann's view for a youthful, poetic future to have come to realisation in his own critical writings. Moreover, in terms of Brendel's contention that music criticism was to participate actively in the course of events, and hold its own independent position in relation to art, he now hailed the works of the *Neudeutsche Schule* as a practical manifestation of his notion of progress.

Invoking a dialectical approach to music criticism, Brendel considers the polemicism to be positive in that he 'sees a progress in such battles'. ¹⁴⁸ Indeed it had become a trait of the journal to solicit responses to the statements appearing therein, ostensibly promoting the contribution of different outlooks, which always elicited rebuttals from Brendel. ¹⁴⁹

Kampf einen Fortschritt', Brendel, 'Zur Anbahnung einer Verständigung', 266-67.

¹⁴⁹ Thym, 'Schumann in Brendel's Neue Zeitschrift', 25.

¹⁴⁵ 'Die größere Bestimmtheit der Auffassung, welche angebahnt wurde, das Festhalten bestimmter Principien mußte selbstverständlich zu erneuter Sonderung führen, diesmal jedoch nicht zu einem chaotischen Durcheinander, sondern zu selbstbewußter Trennung, zur Herausbildung besonderer Gruppen, und damit endlich zur Parteiung', Brendel, 'Zur Anbahnung einer Verständigung', 266.

¹⁴⁶ 'Bevor noch von den neuesten Bestrebungen die Rede war, habe ich, wie Ihnen ein Blick in die früheren Bände der Zeitschrift zeigt, zum Theil schon dieselben Principien aufgestellt, und es war nur die Erfüllung des von mir Erstrebten, als die Meister der jüngsten Zeit auftraten, und durch ihr Kunstschaffen den praktischen Beleg gaben', *Ibid.*, 266.

¹⁴⁷ Brendel, 'Robert Schumann mit Rücksicht auf Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und die Entwicklung der modernen Tonkunst überhaupt', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 22 (1845): 63–67, 81–83, 89–92, 1131–115, 121–23, 145–47, 149–50. Translated in part as Appendix 2 in Thym, 'Schumann in Brendel's *Neue Zeitschrift'*, 32–33. ¹⁴⁸ 'Ich beantworte die Frage unbedenklich im entgegengesetzen, im bejahenden Sinne und sehe in solchem

Nonetheless, in apportioning blame for the current partisanship, which he understands to be the product of misunderstandings, he declares that his party entered the polemics to a certain degree 'against its will'. 150 He writes that 'if we follow the causes of such misunderstandings, then we must make the other party almost exclusively responsible, ¹⁵¹ He further elaborates his point in terms of the subjective approach to music for which he campaigned, as opposed to the objective approach that he considers his opponents to have taken:

They did not notice that a new, spiritual world was in the offing, one that has come to development while they slept. Suddenly awoken, our opponents are now disoriented ... and do not know how to find themselves in the current stream of time. They speak of colours like the blind, about things that they did not pursue at all in their development, and they do not notice that they always strike themselves with their own misunderstandings. 152

Calling for a response from the opposing party, as had become his habit at this stage, he states that he wants 'the removal of misunderstandings in those extraordinarily numerous cases', he wants 'communication with reasonable opponents', and a 'removal of the completely useless spitefulness in the press, a removal of those unchivalrous battles'. 153 His requirement is 'that one argues honestly and with decency where one must argue'. 154

There is a tendency in scholarly writings on Brendel to view his rhetorical strategy solely in a benevolent light. Certainly he encouraged dialogue as a source of unity, and his

die Gegenpartei verantwortlich machen', Ibid., 269.

Verschiedenheit der Meinung', Ibid., 268. 154 'Ich verlange, daß man ehrlich und mit Anstand streite, wo gestritten werden muß', Ibid., 268.

^{150 &#}x27;Die "Neue Zeitschrift für Musik" ist dadurch in eine Parteistellung gekommen, im gewissen Sinne eigentlich gegen ihre Willen.' Brendel, 'Zur Anbahnung einer Verständigung', 266.

151 'Gehen wir den Ursachen solcher Mißverständnisse nach, so müssen wir allerdings dafür fast ausschließlich

^{152 &#}x27;Sie hat nicht gemerkt, daß eine neue große Geisteswelt im Anzuge war, und während sie schlief, zur Entfaltung gekommen ist. Plötzlich aufgewacht, sind unsere Gegner jetzt nicht orientirt, haben zu flüchtig, das Eine gar nicht, das Andere nur halb gelesen, und wissen sich darum nicht in die Zeitströmung zu finden. Sie sprechen wie der Blinde von der Farbe, über Dinge, die sie in ihrer Entwicklung gar nicht verfolgt haben, und merken nicht, daß sie stets nur mit ihren eigenen Mißverständnissen sich herumschlagen', Ibid., 269. 153 'Ich will eine Annäherung durch Beseitigung der Mißverständnisse in jenen außerordentlich zahlreichen

Fällen, wo die Differenzen wirklich rein nur auf Mißverständnissen beruhen; ich will Annäherung, Verständigung mit verständigen Gegnern dadurch, daß man sich gegenseitig klarer wird, dadurch daß man sich einigt zum Besten der Kunst in allen jenen ebenfalls sehr zahlreichen Fällen, wo wirklich keine Meinungsverschwiedenheit obwalten kann; ich will ferner Beseitigung der ganz nutzlosen Gehässigkeiten in der Presse, Entfernung jener unritterlichen Kämpfe, selbst bei ausgesprochener und nicht zu beseitigender

system of criticism strived on synthesising opposing viewpoints. Whether by accident or by design, however, the parts of his speech inaugurating the *Neudeutsche Schule* that would have been most offensive to those not affiliated to this school have not, heretofore, been quoted or discussed in the scholarly literature on Brendel. Only a few sentences after his call for honesty and decency, he warns that an opposition against his party would be quite useless, unfounded and mistaken. In a passage that puts one in mind of Stern's poem for the occasion that speaks of an age thirsty for battle Brendel claims that he would mercilessly show that their opposition is groundless, that their argumentation is empty twaddle. Employing his rhetorical skills to their full effect he declares:

Our principles are so comprehensive and always so objective that the allegedly justifiable opposition merely has the unfortunate business to adhere to and support the weakness of each human action, to ignore, however, the positive in what we bring. A miserable, hopeless activity, of which one could believe that it was only undertaken in order to say something else, and thereby to create an existence for themselves.¹⁵⁸

This is the context in which Brendel officially inaugurated the *Neudeutsche Schule*. ¹⁵⁹ Citing a number of musicians including Cherubini, Spontini, ¹⁶⁰ and Mehul, who were not

155 Robert Determann for instance provides what, for the most part, is a comprehensive and unbiased report of the speech, however he does not quote the excerpts I am about to quote which give the speech a different

157 '... wenn wir diesen endlich unnachsichtlich nachweisen, daß ihre Opposition eine haltlose, daß ihre Argumentationen leeres Geschwätz', *Ibid.*, 268.

complexion. See Determann, *Begriff und Ästhetik der "Neudeutschen Schule"*, 57–70.

156 'Aus diesem Grunde muß ich auch die Nothwendigkeit einer Opposition gegen uns als durchaus zwecklos, unbegründet, verfehlt bezeichnen', Brendel, 'Zur Anbahnung einer Verständigung', 269.

¹⁵⁸ 'Unsere Principien sind so umfassend und stets so objectiv gehalten, daß die angeblich berechtigte Opposition blos das bedauerliche Geschäft hat, sich auf die Schwächen, die jedwedem menschlichen Thun anhaften, zu stützen das Positive aber, was wir gebracht, zu ignoriren; eine kümmerliche, trostlose Thätigkeit, von der man glauben könnte, daß sie nur unternommen wurde, um etwas Anderes zu sagen und dadurch sich eine Existenz zu schaffen', *Ibid.*, 269. At no point throughout the entire speech does Brendel actually state who these 'opponents' are.

he term to have been an unfortunate choice. See Carl Dahlhaus, *Musikalischer Realismus* (Munich: R. Piper, 1982), 42. In the same year Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin described the term as 'drivel'. See Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, eds, *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (New York and London: Schirmer, 1982), 384.

¹⁶⁰ Spontini's reception by the German press at the time of his tenure in Berlin was complex. In general he was found wanting by virtue of his nationality (a French citizen born in Italy). Both E.T.A Hoffmann and A.B. Marx wavered between finding the composer lacking the qualities inherent to German music, and in placing their hopes in him as a one who would counteract the influence of Rossini. Other critics were more hostile. Ludwig Rellstab's ire was raised at the power wielded by Spontini in German concert life because, as Rellstab saw it, Spontini was a foreigner not chosen by the people themselves. For further discussion of Spontini in the German

German by nationality, but who found their spiritual home in Germany, Brendel claims that 'the place of birth cannot be the deciding factor in spiritual matters'. ¹⁶¹ Thus he appealed to a sense of national pride, and cultural history, and, as Morrow sums it up, 'claimed the previous century's aesthetic and critical heritage for his own side'. ¹⁶²

Turning the discussion to Berlioz and Liszt, Brendel claims that neither artist would have become what they are if they had not already nourished themselves on the German Spirit, and grown strong by it. Determann asserts that the fact that Brendel included two composers in this school whose foreign nationality cannot be denied in their music can be explained by Brendel's double definition of the German national character: besides the specifically national, artworks of universal, foreign influence are justified and historically proven in the German character. This criteria of national affiliation is also applicable to foreign artists who, in their spiritual formation or education, show a genuinely Germanic basis. Therefore, Brendel announces that Germany must also be the place of their work, and it is in this sense that I appropriated the designation *Neudeutsche Schule* for the whole post-Beethovenian development. Tracing their musical lineage back as far as Bach (quite fitting for a festival that promoted Liszt's *Graner Festmesse* on the same platform as Bach's B Minor Mass in the church where Bach had served as cantor) Brendel proclaims:

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press see Sanna Pederson, 'A.B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity', *19th-Century Music* 18/2 (Autumn 1994): 87–107, in particular 94–96.

Verständigung', 272.

^{161 &#}x27;Die Nation im Gegentheil hat in ihnen ihre Verherrlichung gefunden und erkannt, und es folgt hieraus, daß wir nicht blos das Specifisch-Deutsch im engeren Sinne als das eigentlich Nationale erkennen, die Beschränkung darauf, sondern das Entscheidende in die echtgermanische Grundlage setzten, mag dann auch das, was darauf gebaut wurde, überwiegend deutsch oder universeller sein. Diese universelle Beschaffenheit der Nation hat aber andrerseits zugleich der Folge gehabt, daß umgekehrt hochbegabte Ausländer, welche über die Schranken ihrer Nationalität hinausragen, sich uns angeschlossen, ihre geistige Heimath in Deutschland gesucht und gefunden haben. Dahin gehören Cherubini, Spontini, Mehul und viele Andere, um mich nur auf Musik zu beschränken. ... Nicht der Geburtsort kann in geistigen Dingen entscheidend sein, ebenso wenig, als in anderen Fällen die Jahreszahl, denn es trifft sich sehr oft, daß ein später Lebender geistig einer früheren Richtung angehört, also dahin zu stellen ist, und umgekehrt', Brendel, 'Zur Anbahnung einer Verständigung', 272.

Morrow, 'Deconstructing Brendel's "New German" Liszt', 167.
 Determann, Begrifff und Ästhetik der "Neudeutschen Schule", 69–70.

^{164 &#}x27;Der vorliegender Fall ist sonach ein durchaus analoger. Beide Künstler wären nichts das geworden, was sie sind, wenn sie nicht früh schon durch den deutschen Geist sich genährt hätten, und an ihm erstarkt wären. So muß auch die Stätte ihrer Werke in Deutschland sein, und in diesem Sinne schlug ich daher die Bezeichnung: neudeutsche Schule, für die ganze nach-Beethoven'sche Entwicklung vor', Brendel 'Zur Anbahnung einer

Protestant church music up to and including Bach and Handel has long been named: *Altdeutsche Schule*. The epoch of the Viennese masters under the influence of the Italians is the age of Classicism, the equal supremacy of idealism and realism. Beethoven holds out his hand once more to the specifically German North, and inaugurates the *Neudeutsche Schule*. 165

That the *Neudeutsche Schule* was to meet fierce resistance from opposing parties can have come as no surprise to Brendel. He was promoting a group of composers who were widely thought to be challenging the very foundations of the serious style inherited from Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Various composers who were not under the banner of Brendel's school (and who were consequently excluded from what Brendel referred to as the 'whole post-Beethovenian development') were eager to rectify what they perceived as a misappropriation of their German musical tradition. The group centred around Johannes Brahms and Joseph Joachim were to become major players in this dispute.

1.6: Brahms's Response to the Tonkünstler-Versammlung

For those who did not have the opportunity to attend the festival, coverage of its events was provided, in a report by Richard Pohl, on the front pages of two consecutive issues of the journal, and thereafter his articles continued to appear until the end of November 1859. Referring to the Mass in B Minor, Pohl writes that 'this masterpiece is to be regarded as the foundation of the whole new music', and as 'the starting point of our modern artistic consciousness'. From this, as he understands it, Liszt's mass follows as 'the artistic result of the newest musical reform movement'. The extensive development of the musical art of 'our time', he claims, 'could not be more precisely designated than through these two masses'. 167

¹⁶⁵ 'Die protestantische Kirchenmusik bis mit Einschluß von Bach und Händel führt längst schon den Namen: altdeutsche Schule. Die unter dem Einfluß Italiens stehende Epoche der Wiener Meister ist die Zeit der Classicität, der ebenmäßigen Durchdringung von Idealem und Realem. Beethoven reicht dem specifisch germanischen Norden wieder die Hand und eröffnet die neudeutsche Schule', *Ibid.*, 272.

germanischen Norden wieder die Hand und eröffnet die neudeutsche Schule', *Ibid.*, 272. ¹⁶⁶ Richard Pohl, 'Die Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung am 1.–4. Juni 1859, Erster Artikel', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 50/25 (17 June 1859): 281–283; 50/26 (24 June 1859): 289–296; 'Die Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung am 1. –4. Juni 1859, Zweiter Artikel', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 51/1 (July 1859): 3–5; 51/3 (July 1859): 12–13; 51/5 (29 July 1859): 33–35; 51/6 (July 1859): 63–64; 51/12 (1859): 72–73; 51/19 (4 November 1859): 157–159; 51/22 (25 November 1859): 185–187.

^{167 &#}x27;Dieses Meisterwerk ist gleichsam als Fundament der ganzen neueren, durch 1½ Jahrhunderte weiter entwickelten Musik, als Anfangspunkt unseres künstlerischen Bewußtseins zu betrachten. Alle Mitglieder der Kirchenmusik nothgedrungenen überspringend, wurde hieran als zweiter, die unmittelbare Gegenwart

This clearly incensed those with alternative musical and aesthetic leanings as evidenced in the 1860 Manifesto, which will be explored in greater detail below. Indeed Kalbeck speaks of Brahms's 'horror' when he read Pohl's report of the performance of Bach's and Liszt's masses next to one another, designed 'to set the old and the new in the most obvious contrast.'168 The awfulness of this for Brahms can be understood in the context of both his reverence for Bach, whose music he had studied extensively, ¹⁶⁹ and his disdain for Liszt, whose compositions he considered to be contrary to the 'true essence of music'. 170 Drawing attention to Brahms's derision of the proceedings of the *Tonkünstler-Versammlung*, Kalbeck reports that Brahms smiled at the 'tedious and solemn' reports of Liszt's Symphonic Poem Tasso which, in Pohl's account, 'was performed with all of the brilliant advantages of these ingenious creations in one, designed boldly in monumental outline, and performed with an Italian glow of colour and dazzling splendour, which combine the most nobly breathing tone paintings', and was coloured by 'the artful thematic work, which is so completely characteristic of Liszt's Symphonic Poems'. 171 Brahms's disdain was further fueled by the report of Liszt's Graner Festmesse, of a work whose 'thoroughly new church-dramatic style' would only find 'an approximate model in Beethoven's Missa Solemnis', and of the

bezeichnender Endpunct, das künstlerische Resultat der neuesten musikalischen Reformbestrebungen, die Liszt'sche Festmesse angereiht. Zwischen beiden liegt außerordentlich Vieles und Großes, aber die Grenzpuncte der ganzen, Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der musikalischen Kunst unseres Zeit umfassenden Entwickelung, konnten nicht prägnanter, als durch diese beiden Messen bezeichnet werden.' Pohl, 'Die Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung', 294.

¹⁶⁸ 'Brahms, dem es ein Greuel war, daß (bei der Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung) in der Thomaskirche Bachs Hohe Messe und Liszts Graner Festmesse nebeneinander aufgeführt wurden, um das Alte und Neue in möglichst sinnfälligen Kontrast zu setzten, lächelte gleichwohl nur, als er den durch vier Nummern der Zeitschrift fortlaufenden, dreißig Spalten langen Festbericht Richard Pohls las', Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms* I, 417.

¹⁶⁹ On Bach's years of study, which incorporated his extensive study of the music of Bach see David Brodbeck, 'The Brahms-Joachim Counterpoint Exchange; or, Robert, Clara, and "the Best Harmony between Jos. And Joh.", in Brodbeck, ed. *Brahms Studies* I, 30–80.; and Robert T. Laudon's essay 'The Debate about Consecutive Fifths: A Context for Brahms's Manuscript "Octaven und Quinten", *Music & Letters* 73/1 (February 1992): 48–61.

<sup>61.

170</sup> As explicitly stated in the drafting of the manifesto. See the discussion of the manifesto below.

171 Da wurde ein umständliches und feierliches Wesen gemacht von Liszts symphischer Dichtung

¹⁷¹ 'Da wurde ein umständliches und feierliches Wesen gemacht von Liszts symphischer Dichtung "Tasso", die "alle die glänzenden Vorzüge dieser genialen Schöpfungen in einem, in monumentalen Umrissen kühn entworfenen und mit italianischer Farbenglut und Pracht blendend ausgeführten, die edelste Poesie atmenden Tongemälde vereinigen", und gefabelt von der "kunstvollen thematischen Arbeit, welche Liszts symphonische Dichtungen so ganz eigentümlich ist", *Ibid.*, 417.

'tremendous' impression of the work, 'from which even the most reluctant and disbelieving would not be able to extract themselves.' 172

The Manifesto

Traces of Joseph Joachim's dissatisfaction with the music of Liszt are evident in the Brahms–Joachim *Briefwechsel* from 1857.¹⁷³ In a letter to Brahms in July, Joachim speaks of the

¹⁷² 'von Liszts "großartiger" Graner Messe, für deren "durchaus neuen kirklich-dramatischen Stil man nur in Beethovens *Missa Solemnis* ein annäherndes Vorbild finden könnte" von dem "gewaltigen" Eindruck des Werkes, dem "selbst der Widerstrebendste und Ungläubigste sich nicht zu entziehen vermag".' *Ibid.*, 417. On the relationship between Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* and Liszt's *Graner Festmesse*, see William Drabkin, 'Beethoven, Liszt, and the *Missa Solemnis*', in *Analecta Lisztiana III: Liszt and the Birth of Modern Europe*, 237–252.

On 6 December 1855 Liszt returned to Berlin as a revolutionary composer, to the city in which he had won over the Berlin critics as a revolutionary performer in 1840. As Keith Johns reports, Liszt's visit was treated with great enthusiasm on the part of the concert organisers and his hosts. However, the concert itself, in which he conducted *Les Préludes*, his first *Ave Maria* for mixed choir with organ accompaniment, the E-flat Major Piano Concerto (played by Bülow), *Tasso* and *Psalm XIII*, was a critical failure. See Johns, 92–95. The general feeling amongst the critics is encapsulated in a review in the *National-Zeitung* (8 December 1855) where the anonymous critic announced that Liszt had abandoned the architectonic principles of discursive music (so important in German music), only to replace them with subjectivity (i.e. anarchy).' Johns, 94. And not only Liszt's compositions, but his manner of presentation were criticised. As Johns remarks, 'Liszt attempted to communicate the full spirit of his intentions through his conducting [...] and strove to increase the orchestra's expressive capacity. To this end, therefore, he emphasised what the *Neue Zeitschrift* called "the spiritual".' Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt*, 90.

Joachim related his reaction to this concert to Gisela von Arnim on 9 December, speaking of the 'pain of seeing a man whom I had often called a friend, in whom I had gladly pardoned colossal follies out of respect for his powers, cringing contemptibly to the public and acting with revolting hypocrisy towards himself. Shame on those who are bent on succeeding and cannot refrain from heightening the effect and making themselves cheap with groans and shrieks of woe to heaven because they know they are misusing their powers.' *Letters to and from Joachim*, 113. The following day he wrote to Clara Schumann that 'a more vulgar misuse of sacred forms, a more repulsive coquetting with the noblest feelings for the sake of effect, had never been attempted'. He continued that 'Liszt makes a parade of the moods of despair and the stirrings of contrition with which the really pious man turns in solitude to God, and mingles with them the most sickly sentimentality, and such a martyr-like air, that one can hear the lies in every note and see them in every movement'. He confessed that he could never meet Liszt again because 'instead of taking him for a mighty erring spirit striving to return to God, I have suddenly realised that he is a cunning contriver of effects, who has miscalculated'. *Letters to and from Joachim*,

¹⁷³ Joachim's dissatisfaction with Liszt and his compositions stems from 1855, however, directly following a concert in the Berlin Singakademie on 6 December in which Liszt conducted a number of his symphonic poems. A short digression is in order here to contextualise the relationship between Joachim and Liszt prior to this. Following Joachim's visit to Weimar in 1852, a relationship began between the two musicians that was based on mutual respect and admiration. The dynamic of the relationship was such that Liszt was the master, and Joachim the student. This is evident in their correspondence where Joachim seeks Liszt's guidance on a number of musical matters, and advice on his compositions including his *Hamlet* Overture. (I refer here to Joachim's Hamlet overture, not to be confused with Liszt's Hamlet.) However, Joachim's opinion of Liszt was always somewhat divided, as is clear from a number of letters to Gisela von Arnim in whom he regularly confided. On 3-4 December 1853 he confessed that he had 'a weakness for the spoilt man, although I cannot deny that there is no very sharp distinction in his nature between pride and vanity. There is much in him also which is quite incomprehensible to me-but I feel it my duty to defend him against the charge of thoughtlessness towards many of his colleagues.' Letters To and From Joseph Joachim, trans. Nora Bickley, (New York: Vintage House, 1972), 47. Similarly on June 1 1854 he wrote that 'with his gifts of heart and mind Liszt might spread happiness around him—and in spite of this he requires the most complicated machinery to hide from himself that he is, indeed, unhappy owing to his confusion of mind. There is a tendency to restlessness in his every action that has something unholy about it, in spite of all his moral aims'. Letters to and from Joseph Joachim, 70–71.

people in Liszt's camp as scheming and opportunistic, claiming that 'Liszt understands all too well how to excite enthusiasm and abuse it for himself, as though an honest combat was possible with these bacchants and sycophants'. In relation to the music of Liszt and his followers, Joachim predicts that 'their overbearing fanaticism and false harmonies will dig their own grave'. 174 In August, in what can either be understood as an unusually honest, or unusually audacious letter, Joachim conveyed these same thoughts to Liszt himself, confessing that his music was 'entirely antagonistic' to him, and that it 'contradicts everything' with which the work of revered masters have 'nourished his mind' from the earliest age. With a candour that anticipated the content of the manifesto he told Liszt that he could no longer allow him to think that 'the aims for which you and your pupils are working are mine'. 175

By 1859, there is evidence of Brahms sharing Joachim's disdain for Liszt and his school. For the opening of the fiftieth volume of the journal in January 1859 (the twentiethfifth anniversary of the journal), Brendel ran a competition for the best essay to establish foundations for the harmony found in the works of Schumann, Liszt, Berlioz, Wagner and others. ¹⁷⁶ Karl Friedrich Weitzmann won the competition, much to Brahms's chagrin. ¹⁷⁷ This

^{114.} It was not until 27 August 1857 that Joachim confessed these feelings to Liszt in a letter, despite having received, and not responded to, a number of letters from Liszt in the intervening time.

¹⁷⁴ 'Die Leute in Liszts Lager sind zu schreibgewohnt, zu sehr auf immerwährender Lauer, zu grob, zu sophistisch, und Liszt versteht es überhaupt zu gut, den Enthusiasmus zu erregen und für sich zu mißbrauchen, als daß ein ehrlich Gefecht mit diesen Bacchanten und Sykophanten möglich wäre. Aber es tut auch nicht nötig ihr plumper Fanatismus und ihre falschen Harmonien werden sich selbst die Grube graben', Joachim to Brahms, July 1857, Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel, 5: 190.

¹⁷⁵ Joseph Joachim to Franz Liszt, August 27, 1857, Letters to and from Joseph Joachim, Nora Bickley, 147. 176 The essay had the rather long-winded title 'Erklärende Erläuterung und musikalisch-theoretische Begründung der durch die neuesten Kunstschöpfungen bewirkten Umgestaltung und Weiterbildung der Harmonik' ('Explanations and Music-Theoretical Foundations of the Transformations and Continuing Developments of Harmony Caused by the Most Recent Artistic Creations'), Brendel, 'Zur Eröffnung des 50. Bandes', Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 50/1 (1859), 1. For a discussion of this competition in the context of Brahms's manuscript Octaven und Quinten, see Robert T. Laudon, 'The Debate About Consecutive Fifths: A Context for Brahms's Manuscript 'Octaven und Quinten'', Music & Letters 73/1 (February 1992): 48-61.

¹⁷⁷ Karl Friedrich Weitzmann (1808–80), violinist and a learned writer on musical subjects. Among his publications are 'Geschichte des Klavierspiels und der Klavierliteratur', published by Seiffert. See Brahms Briefwechsel 5: 248. He was also an important member of the Liszt circle. His essay was published in installments as 'Gekrönte Preisschrift' Neue Zeitschrift für Musik (1860): 2-3, 9-12, 17-20, 29-31, 37-39, 45-46, 53-54, 65-66, 73-75. It was also published in its entirety as *Harmoniesystem* (Leipzig: Kahnt, 1860). Laudon points out that he chose 'only one example (not of consecutives) from Liszt, and none at all from Berlioz and Wagner, the ostensible subjects of his essay', Laudon, 'Octaven und Quinten', 54.

coupled with the *Tonkünstler-Versammlung* of 1859, and the honour bestowed on Liszt at that festival raised Brahms's ire. Shortly afterwards he wrote Joachim that 'the Weimar people continue to make their noise'. Having ridiculed Weitzmann's essay, he proceeded to attack Liszt's compositions, which he considered were 'becoming more and more dreadful, e.g. *Dante*!'¹⁷⁸

It was in early 1860 that Joachim and Brahms resolved to write a manifesto protesting against the compositions of Liszt, and the activities of Brendel in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. On a number of occasions during the drafting of the manifesto, Brahms expressly stated his wish to distinguish between Wagner, Berlioz, and Robert Franz on the one hand, and Liszt on the other. ¹⁷⁹ Indeed, the draft of the manifesto in the Brahms–Joachim correspondence on 8 May explicitly refers to 'Dr Fr. Liszt', and his musical *Verirrungen*. ¹⁸⁰ On realising that their protest had been sabotaged, having been parodied in the *Neue Zeitschrift* on 4 May and prematurely published without the requisite signatures on 6 May, on 22 May Brahms wrote Joachim that it would be so villainous that he could hardly believe it. ¹⁸¹ According to Hans von Bülow, it was Weitzmann himself who composed the parody. ¹⁸² Clearly Brahms realised that the impact of the declaration was now lost. The chronology of events is as follows:

17

¹⁷⁸ 'Die Weimarianer machen ihren Lärm fort. Weitzmann beweist jetzt, daß vom ersten Jahrhundert nach Christus an alle Genius verkannt wären, vergißt aber, daß von Hucbald bis Bach und weiter alle Herrn Reformatoren als gute und die besten Musiker und Komponisten anerkannt wurden und mann nur ihre "Absonderlichkeiten" oder was sonst angriff. Da man nun Liszt nie den Titel eines ziemlich guten Komponisten gegeben hat, so müßte wieder einiges Weitere erklärt werden. Brahms to Joachim, 7 August 1859, *Brahms Briefwechsel* 5: 248. This translation is taken from Styra Avins, *Johannes Brahms, Life and Letters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 196.

^{179 &#}x27;Bei unsrer Abwehr kann niemand an Wagner denken. Jedenfalls müßte man für Berlioz und Franz ebenso sorgen. Abfertigen, wie wir, kann man nur Liszt', Brahms to Joachim, 5 May 1860, *Brahms Briefwechsel* 5: 273–74. See also Brahms to Joachim, 9 May 1860. *Brahms Briefwechsel* 5: 279: 'Wie wir schreiben und abfertigen, kann man nur Lisztsche Sudelein abfertigen. Über "Verirrungen" usw. kann man debattieren und sich streiten. Eben wir können und brauchen uns durchaus solchem Scheißzeug gegenüber auf keine wissenschaftlichen Erörterungen einzulassen. Ich wünschte hauptsächlich, wir könnten den Namen Liszt anbringen, damit man uns nicht Verstocktheit gegen Wagner usw. vorwerfen kann.' 180 *Brahms Briefwechsel* 5: 278. See figure 3 below.

¹⁸¹ 'Weiß Du was über eine vorzeitige Veröffentlichung unserer Erklärung in dem *Echo?* Es wäre so bübisch, daß ich's bis jetzt gar nicht glauben kann', Brahms to Joachim, 22 May 1860, *Brahms Briefwechsel* 5: 284. ¹⁸² Hans von Bülow to Felix Draeseke, 6 May 1860, *Hans von Bülow: Briefe und Schriften*, Vol. III, ed. Marie von Bülow (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel,1898), 312–13, cited in Laudon, 'Octaven und Quinten', 58.

- 30 April 1860: A notice appears in the *Berliner Montags Post* announcing that a statement is circulating among musicians. 183
- 3 May 1860: the above notice is copied in the Signale für die musikalische Welt. 184
- 4 May 1860: A parody of the manifesto appears in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, (see figure 1), an action arguably bereft of the honesty and decency Brendel had called for less than a year beforehand.¹⁸⁵
- 6 May 1860: The manifesto is leaked and printed in the music journal *Echo* (See figure 2). 186
- 8 May 1860: A new draft of the manifesto with the new title 'defence'. (See figure 3)
- 15 May: Preparations are still ongoing
- 22 May: Realisation by Brahms and Joachim that the plan had been compromised.

Figure 1: Parody of Manifesto in NZfM 4 May 1860¹⁸⁷:

'Public Protest'

The undersigned desire to play first fiddle for once, and therefore protest against everything that stands in the way of their coming aloft, including, especially, the increasing influence of the musical tendency described by Dr. Brendel as the New-German School, and in short against the whole spirit of the new music. After the annihilation of these, to them highly unpleasant things, they offer to all who are of their own mind the immediate prospect of a brotherly association for the advancement of monotonous and tiresome music.

(Signed) J.Fiddler, Hans Newpath, Slipperman.

Packe, Dick, Tom and Harry

'Office of the Music of the Future'.

Figure 2: Leaked Manifesto as printed in Echo on 6 May 1860:

The undersigned have for a long time followed with regret the activities of a certain party, whose organ is Brendel's *Zeitschrift für Musik*. The said journal constantly disseminates the opinion that seriously striving musicians are in agreement with the position it represents and recognise in the compositions of the leaders and students of this movement works of artistic worth, and that generally, especially in North Germany, the argument for or against this so-called Music of the Future has been fought out and decided in its favour. The undersigned consider it their duty to protest against such a distortion of the facts and declare, at least in their opinion, that they do not recognise the principles that Brendel's journal expresses, and that the products of the leaders and students of the so-called New German school, who put these ideas partly into practical application and partly into the formation and imposition of ever newer and outrageous theories, can only be condemned and deplored as contrary to the innermost essence of music.

Johannes Brahms

Joseph Joachim

Julius Otto Grimm

Bernhard Scholz

Figure 3: Draft of manifesto on 8 May 1860 in Brahms Briefwechsel¹⁸⁸:

¹⁸³ Berliner Montags Post 6/18 (30 April 1860), 4.

¹⁸⁴ Signale für die musikalische Welt, xviii (1860), 277.

^{185 &#}x27;Correspondenz' and 'Oeffentlicher Protest', Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, 3 (1860), 169-70.

¹⁸⁶ Echo, x (1860), 142.

¹⁸⁷ Translated in James Burnett, Brahms: A Critical Study (London: Dent, 1972), 188.

Defence

The *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, edited by Dr. Fr. Brendel, continually disseminates the opinion, that the controversy over the representation of their art direction, particularly in North Germany, has been decided in its favour, and that for this reason all seriously striving musicians are in agreement with the so called *Neudeutsche Schule*.

The undersigned hereby explain that they do not belong to this alleged majority, and consider it their duty to protest against such a distortion of the facts; they must deplore errors (*Verirrungen*) such as those in the works of Dr. Fr. Liszt and other leaders and pupils of the *Neudeutsche Schule*, that are contrary to the innermost nature of music, and a harmful influence on the development of art (perhaps this is too polemical, and too much honour!)

A reading of the Brahms correspondence reveals that there were a further nineteen people who agreed to sign prior to the premature publication. ¹⁸⁹ On the other hand there were also those who declined to sign, such as Robert Franz. In a letter to Joachim of March 23 1860, setting aside his concerns for Liszt's disposition and the impact that such a manifesto would have on the composer, he explained that although he thought the manifesto 'justified by the circumstances', and considered it an 'action taken in self-defence', personal reasons prevented him from 'severing [himself] publicly from L[iszt]'. He doubted that the "New Germans" were a 'serious and lasting menace to art'. In assessing the impact of this school he wrote: 'the "music of the future" has found its place by reason of its own poverty, and the only further use we have for it will be to make the genuine music stand out more clearly. ¹⁹⁰ A meeting ensued with Brahms, Joachim, Scholz, and a number of their other allies in which

¹⁸⁸ 'Die "Neue Zeitschrift für Musik", redigiert von Dr. Franz Brendel, verbreitet fortwährend die Meinung, als wäre der Streit über die von ihr vertretene Kunstrichtung namentlich in Norddeutschland zugunsten derselben bereits entscheiden, und als stimmten im Grunde alle ernst strebenden Musiker mit der sogenannten "Neudeutschen Schule" überein.

Die Unterzeichneten erklären hiermit, daß sie zu dieser vermeintlichen Majorität nicht gehören, und halten es für ihre Pflicht, gegen eine solche Entstellung der Tatsachen zu protestieren, da sie Verirrungen wie sie in den Werken von Dr. Fr. Liszt und anderen Führeren Jüngern der "Neudeutschen Schule" vorkommen, als dem innersten Wesen der Musik zuwider und von schädlichem Einfluß auf die Kunstentwicklung (?) (vielleicht zu polemisch, und zu viel Ehre!) beklagen müssen.

Folgen die Namen.'

Joseph Joachim to Johannes Brahms, 8 May 1860 in *Brahms Briefwechsel* 5: 278. The translation is my own. ¹⁸⁹ These included Carl, Freiherr von Perfall; Carl Reinecke; Emil Naumann; Ludwig Meinardus; Gustav Schumann; Julius Hermann Krigar; Karl Lührsz; Selmar Bagge; Moritz Hauptmann; Julius Rietz; Max Bruch; Woldemar Bargiel; Albert Dietrich; Carl Grädener; Theodor Kirchner; Franz Wüllner; Ferdinand Hiller; Lachner (Franz or Vincenz). See *Brahms Briefwechsel* 5: 247–285. See also Styra Avins, *Johannes Brahms, Life and Letters*, 749–50.

Robert Franz to Joseph Joachim, 23 March 1860, in *Letters from and to Joseph Joachim*, 196–197. Hans von Bülow conjectured that there were a number of other people who did not sign out of cowardice, although they wanted to. See Hans von Bülow to Louis Köhler, 12 May 1860, *Hans von Bülow: Briefe und Schriften*, Vol. III, 317.

they discussed how to proceed with their war against Brendel and Liszt. It is reported that Ferdinand Hiller had the last word in his suggestion that 'the best means of struggle would be to create good music'.¹⁹¹

Beller-McKenna persuasively argues that this is just the approach Brahms took in 1860 in composing the motet 'Es ist das Heil uns kommen her', Op. 29, No. 1, in that the work displays compositional techniques that would have represented the 'innermost essence of music' which, Beller-McKenna argues, he considered Wagner to distort. While Beller-McKenna acknowledges that the manifesto was targeted at Liszt, he nevertheless claims that '[Brahms], more than anyone else, would have been sensitive to the Wagnerian drift of the journal Schumann founded and to the assertion that Wagner's style (not Schumann's) was the rightful successor to Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven'.

This requires some clarification. Following the revolutions of 1848 the divisive issue in the journal was whether one belonged to the Uhlig faction (pro-Wagner, anti-Meyerbeer), or whether they were partisan reviewers of Schumann. ¹⁹⁴ By 1850, following the failure of *Genoveva*, Schumann was no longer a topic of discussion in the journal. By 1860 the question was certainly no longer whether Schumann was to be to be considered the rightful successor to these earlier German composers. The emphasis in the journal was now on the composers that Brendel considered to exemplify a subjective approach to music. It is for this reason that we can, as Beller-McKenna argues, understand Brahms's Op. 29 No. 1 as a musical rebuttal of Brendel's misappropriation of the lineage of German art music. We should be wary, however, of seeing Brahms's objection as being against Wagner, whose compositions Brahms admired. It is more likely that this work is a musical rebuttal of what Brahms's considered to be Liszt's *Verirrungen*, perhaps specifically in the *Graner Festmesse*. In this context, it is

¹⁹¹ Bernhard Scholz as quoted in David Brodbeck, *Brahms Symphony No. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 96 n. 28. Hiller is reported to have been opposed to the struggle at this point.

¹⁹² Beller-McKenna, 'Brahms's Motet "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her" and the "Innermost Essence of Music", in *Brahms Studies* 2, ed. David Brodbeck, 31–62.

¹⁹³ Beller-McKenna, 'Brahms's Motet "Es ist das Heil", 38–39, note 18.

¹⁹⁴ See Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism', 247–259.

reasonable to speculate that Brahms intended Op. 29, No. 1 to provide an example, with musical integrity, of how one ought to 'to set the old and the new in the most obvious contrast.' 195

Coda

At the time of the manifesto fiasco, Brendel and his colleagues were planning a Schumann-Feier to be held in Zwickau on 7–8 June 1860, marking the fiftieth anniversary of Robert Schumann's birth. 196 The festival was given the cold shoulder by Brahms, Clara Schumann, and Joachim, and as the last episode in the events surrounding the manifesto, will be discussed briefly. In a letter to Brahms on 29 April 1860, Joachim informed Brahms that Frau Schumann had received an invitation to the *Erinnerungsfeier*, which he would 'decidedly advise against', as he presumed Brahms would. Clara Schumann felt that 'the participation of the Weimarites would have contradicted too much the wishes of her Robert.' 197 Brahms subsequently criticized the organisers of the festival for leaving 'the personal friends and the brother-in-law [presumably Woldemar Bargiel] unconsidered in their celebration'. 198 In his announcement of the festival in the Zeitschrift on 25 May, which called for all who 'had stood near to the immortal master', Brendel claimed that 'Frau Clara Schumann, whose participation had to be the committee's first task to win, has shown her lively interest in the festival, to be sure, but has declined to participate'. 199 Following the festival, where the three were conspicuous by their absence, Brendel wrote 'If something of a shadow was cast on an otherwise unclouded festival, it was the observation that some of Schumann's special friends

195 The phrase is borrowed from Pohl's review of Bach's and Liszt's masses at the *Tonkünstler-Versammlung*.
 196 For details of this festival see Helmut Loos, 'Die Zwickauer Schumann-Feier 1860', in *Schumanniana Nova:* Festschrift Gerd Nauhaus zum 60. Geburtstag, ed. Bernhard R. Appel, Ute Bar, Matthias Wendt (Sinzig: Studio,

¹⁹⁷ 'Frau Schumann kömmt erst später. Sie hat mir eine Einladung nach Zwickau an sie zu einer Erinnerungsfeier mitgeteilt, zu der ich entschieden abraten will, wie Du wohl auch tüst. Sie hat selbst keine Lust. Bei dieser Gelegenheit kann sie einmal aussprechen, daß die Beteiligung der Weimaraner dem Sinne ihres Robert auch zu sehr widersprechen hätte', Joachim to Brahms, 29 April 1860, *Brahms Briefwechsel* 5: 271.

¹⁹⁸ 'Da sie bei der Feier nun die persönlichen Freunde und gar den Schwager unberücksichtigt lassen, so steht's noch gar empfindlich gegen die Zwickauer aus.' Brahms to Joachim, May 1860, *Brahms Briefwechsel* 5: 275. ¹⁹⁹ Brendel, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 52 (25 May 1860), 200. This translation is taken from David Brodbeck, *Brahms Symphony No. 1*, 8.

and admirers had not come.' Calling for an inclusiveness in the pantheon of art (an inclusiveness that, arguably, did not extend to composers outside of the *Neudeutsche Schule*) in the pages of his journal he observes:

[T]here is now a little circle of Schumann's admirers which seems to want to take his cult as its private possession ... The unquestionable one-sidedness that is implied by this, which is intensifying to the point of becoming pathological, is quite apparent, and no impartial person will agree with this faction if it maintains that the spaces in the temple of art are so limited that there is room only for itself and Schumann.,200

²⁰⁰ 'Wenn etwas einen Schatten auf den sonst ungetrübte Feier werken konnte, so war es die Wahrnehmung, daß einige spezielle Freunde und Verehrer Schumanns nicht gekommen waren, obschon ich diesen Vorwurf nur mit Vorsicht aussprechen darf, da ich nicht wissen kann, ob Privatabehaltung dabei im Spielen waren'. ... 'Es gibt aber jetzt einen kleinen Kreis von Schumann-Verehrern, die den Kultus desselben als ihr Privateigentum im Besitz nehmen zu wollen scheinen und jede Schattierung der Richtung und Anschauungsweise sogleich desavouieren möchten. Die unzweifelhafte, bis zur Krankhaftigkeit gesteigerte Einseitigkeit, welche darin liegt, springt sofort in die Augen, und kein Unbefangener wird dieser Fraktion beipflichten, wenn sie die Räume des Kunsttempels für so beschränkt hält, um nur für sich selbst und Schumann darin Raum zu erblicken'. Brendel, Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 52/25 (15 June 1860), 224. This translation is taken from Brodbeck, Brahms Symphony No. 1, 8.

Chapter 2

The Schoenberg Analytical and Critical Tradition:

A Twentieth-Century Construct?

2.1: Introduction

Current scholarship accords to Schoenberg sole responsibility for revealing the extent of Brahms's thematic work. Certainly, both Schoenberg's Brahms lecture of 1933 and its revision as the seminal essay 'Brahms the Progressive' of 1947 not only rescued Brahms from the conservative dead-end into which the view of his music had fallen in the early twentieth century; it also inaugurated a way of explaining how his music was crafted according to the technique of developing variation.²⁰¹

Schoenberg outlines a number of criteria in 'Brahms the Progressive' by which he considers a composer to be progressive. These are harmony; form; irregularity of phrase/period structure; musical prose, that is a direct and straight forward presentation of musical ideas; knowledge of the consequences which derive from problems existing in material (conscious or subconscious); and the ability to penetrate the most remote possibilities of an idea. Schoenberg, thus, gave powerful expression to a compositional process in Brahms's music of generating a work from a basic motive.

Schoenberg's writings have had an immense impact on the literature on Brahms in the second half of the twentieth century. There is a tendency in these writings, however, to assume that Schoenberg was the first to understand Brahms's musical language, and to disregard nineteenth-century writings that deal with Brahms's music in detail. Focusing on the musical discussions of a number of critics writing for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in the 1860s and 1870s, I aim to bring to light a store of

²⁰¹ For a translation of Schoenberg's original Brahms lecture of 1933, which was to be revised and became the 1947 essay, see Thomas McGeary, 'Schoenberg's Brahms Lecture of 1933,' *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute*, XV/2 (November 1992), 5–99. See also Arnold Schoenberg, 'Brahms the Progressive', in *Style and Idea* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 398–441.

²⁰² Schoenberg, 'Brahms the Progressive'.

critical writings on Brahms that provides evidence of how his music was received by his contemporaries, what attributes were admired in his music, and what difficulties the critics had in understanding his musical language. Unlike much of the critical writings on Brahms by his contemporary press that deal with polemical or aesthetic debates as explored in Chapter 1, and do not discuss the music itself in any detail, these writings very much focus on the music texts themselves. They give careful consideration to the influences of earlier works that Brahms may have used as models for his own compositions, thereby drawing attention to the Austro-Germanic lineage these critics consider Brahms to be perpetuating. The critics I discuss are Hermann Deiters (1833–1907), Adolf Schubring (1817–1893), and Selmar Bagge (1823–1896).

In exploring these writings I have found that Brahms's musical language is discussed and analysed in a manner that adumbrates the writings of Schoenberg. To put it another way, the manner in which Schoenberg discusses Brahms's music draws on the nineteenth century notion of organicism. More specifically, the notion of a compositional process of developing or elaborating a musical idea—of generating a work from a basic motive—so as imbue the work with an underlying motivic unity is one that was deeply embedded in musical thought in the nineteenth century. It is present in Brahms's music and was recognised by his contemporaries. Moreover, this recognition stems from the nineteenth century preoccupation with organicism as applied to music. This is further compatible with, if not dependent on, the eighteenth-century notion of organicism in art —one that may be traced back to Goethe and the *Frühromantiker*. Thus, the writings of these nineteenth century critics provide a link in the history of ideas between the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries.

As will be discussed below, Schoenberg's writings on Brahms are largely didactic, and due to their pedagogical function they amount to sketches that deal with various aspects of compositional procedure in isolation—harmony, motivic and thematic coherence, and rhythm. The writings by these nineteenth-century critics, on the other hand, have no such

didactic function and deal with the works in their entirety and in the context of their initial reception. The observations these critics make about Brahms's music resonate with Schoenberg's comments on Brahms. More than this, however, they provide the historical weight that is lacking in Schoenberg's view of Brahms.

I will explore the writings of each of the respective critics independently as their approaches to, and interpretations of, Brahms's music were informed by separate critical outlooks and philosophical approaches. This will be preceded by a discussion of two topics: the first is nineteenth-century organicism as applied to music. An understanding of this concept is a prerequisite to appreciating these writings on Brahms. Moreover, it will demonstrate how deeply embedded the notion of organicism is in the nineteenth century discourse on music, and thereby will illustrate the link in the history of ideas from Goethe's notion of organicism to Schoenberg's concept of developing variation.

The second topic concerns a number of musical commentators in the second half of the twentieth century who perpetuated Schoenberg's view of Brahms. This branch of Brahms studies has become known interchangeably as the 'Schoenberg analytical and critical tradition' or the 'Schoenberg-Brahms critical tradition'. ²⁰³ Its studies have put flesh on the bones of what Arnold Whittall refers to as Schoenberg's 'seminal yet sketchy' analyses of Brahms's works. ²⁰⁴ I argue that Deiters, Bagge, and Schubring adumbrate Schoenberg's view of Brahms; furthermore, the views espoused by these critics finds a resonance in more recent views of Brahms in the last half century. Together, these nineteenth- and twentieth-century writings illuminate aspects of Brahms's music previously overlooked. Such instances are clearly indicated throughout the text.

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²⁰³ The term was coined by Walter Frisch, 'Brahms, Developing Variation and the Schoenberg Critical Tradition', 19th-Century Music V/3 (Spring 1982): 215–32; See also Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation, 26. Among the discussions of Brahms that draw on the Schoenberg analytical and critical tradition are Frisch, as cited above; Arnold Whittall, 'Brahms's Op. 51 Finales', in Brahms II: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies, Michael Musgrave, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 145–164 (147), Christopher Wintle, 'The "Sceptred Pall": Brahms's Progressive Harmony', in Brahms II: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies, 197–222.

Whittall, 'Brahms's Op. 51 Finales', in *Brahms II: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies*, 145–164 (147).

2.2: Organicism as Applied to Music

The use of the organic metaphor in art can be traced as far back as Aristotle and Plato, but its most recent manifestation has its roots in the writings of the *Frühromantiker* and in particular those of Goethe. In the 1760s Jean Baptiste Robinet developed the concept of an original life form: a small primal element, a cell possessed of a will to develop into higher forms. ²⁰⁵ This was followed in the 1780s by Goethe's theory of evolution based on the notion that there are several different prototypical forms, or *Urtypen* (including *Urpflanz* (generating plant) and *Urtier* (generating animal)) from which all forms of life originate. ²⁰⁶ Indeed, Goethe's subsequent comparison of art works to organisms enabled him to explore the artist's creative process, as the means by which an entire work is developed out of one component part or structure. ²⁰⁷ As David Montgomery puts it, 'in the Goethean prototype all motivic material forms a connective entity that presents an appreciably whole statement. ²⁰⁸ This notion was adopted by musical writers and composers in the nineteenth century to form an organic view of musical structures, whereby an entire composition was to blossom forth from some germinal tonal or motivic structure. ²⁰⁹

The notion of organicism as a model for musical structure found early expression in E.T.A Hoffmann; his 1810 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony is a case in point.²¹⁰ Hoffmann's musical historiography, and the importance he attributed to organic unity as an

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²⁰⁵ Jean Baptiste Robinet (1735–1820), historical and natural philosopher, early evolutionist. Author of *De le nature* (1761–68). See David L. Montgomery, 'The Myth of Organicism: From Bad Science to Great Art', *Musical Quarterly* 76/1 (Spring 1992): 17–36 (18, particularly note 3).

²⁰⁶ Montgomery, 'The Myth of Organicism', 18.

Abigail Chantler, E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Aesthetics (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 66–72 (68).

Montgomery, 'The Myth of Organicism', 40.

²⁰⁹ For a discussion of the notion of organicism in music, see Ian Bent, *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century: Fugue, Form and Style*, Vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 11–14; David L. Montgomery, 'The Myth of Organicism'; and Justin Landon, 'Phrase Structure in 18th - and 19th - Century Theory: An Overview', *Music Research Forum*, 1990, Vol.5, 13–50.

²¹⁰ Ian Bent, *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century: Hermeneutic Approaches*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 12. For a discussion of E. T. A. Hoffmann's musical hermeneutics in relation to the *Frühromantiker* and the thinkers of the *Sturm und Drang* movement see Abigail Chantler, 'Revisiting E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Hermeneutics', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 33 (2002) 1, 3–30.

aesthetic ideal harboured a nationalist ideology.²¹¹ Just as earlier critics compared the compositions of French composers unfavourably with those of their German counterparts (as discussed in chapter 1), Hoffmann extolled the instrumental music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven as evidence of the ascendancy of German culture with the revival of the spirituality which had been stifled by the 'unparalleled frivolity' of the French Enlightenment.²¹² Furthermore, by championing Haydn and Mozart as 'the creators of modern instrumental music', and Beethoven as 'the one who regarded it with total devotion and penetrated to its innermost nature', he contributed to the nationalism inherent in the theory of absolute music to which the ascendancy of the symphony as a genre was central.²¹³

The nineteenth century preoccupation with organicism which is pervasive in German art and literature is equally evident in the compositions of the time. Montgomery's remark that most of the writing about its influence has concentrated on twentieth-century theorists (Schenker and Reti) and composers (Schoenberg and Webern) is particularly relevant to the present study. Indeed, as Montgomery suggests, musicology goes a step beyond other art forms in suggesting that organicism is not merely a matter of content, but that it is a structural process as well. Thus 'in identifying a phenomenon often called "organic form", many musicologists imply that a given structure actually arises from and derives its logic from the original motivic material instead of from a larger formal plan'. ²¹⁴ In an effort to set the record straight, Montgomery reintroduces the organic metaphor to the nineteenth-century music it first served and examines the effectiveness of that service without the aid of an intervening system. His examples of this 'organic form' span the century, some well known in this

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²¹¹ This nationalist ideology is rooted in Hoffmann being one of Herder's 'nineteenth-century disciples', and as such he shared the nationalistic sympathies of the 'father of the fatherland'. On Hoffmann's nationalist agenda see Chantler, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Aesthetics*, 172–178 (172). See also Stephen Rumph, 'A Kingdom Not of This World: The Political Context of E. T. A. Hoffmann's Beethoven Criticism', *19th-Century Music* 19/1 (Summer 1995): 50–67, and Sanna Pederson, 'A. B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity', *19th-Century Music* 18/2 (Autumn 1994): 87–107.

²¹² E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and The Composer, Music Criticism,* David Charleton, ed., Martyn Clarke, trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 353. See also Chantler, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Aeshtetics*, 175.

²¹³ Pederson, 'A. B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity', 89.

²¹⁴ Montgomery, 'The Myth of Organicism', 24.

regard—Schubert's *Wanderer* Fantasie (1822), Liszt's *Préludes* (1848) and the Sonata in B Minor (1853), Schoenberg's *Verklärte Nacht* (1899)—and others not so well known—Berger, Sonata *figuratura* (1802), Mendelssohn, Octet in E flat for Strings, Op. 20 (1825), Schumann, *Fantasie*, Op. 17 (1836), Cesar Franck, Symphony in D Minor (1888).

I wish to pursue a parallel avenue, to reintroduce the organic metaphor that was given powerful expression by Schoenberg in the twentieth century to the nineteenth-century critical writings on Brahms in which it was first elucidated. This will give historical weight to Schoenberg's view of Brahms, and will rectify the anachronistic notion that Schoenberg was—by 1933—the only "modern" thinker since Brahms's time with the acuity to grasp his musical language.

Schoenberg and the Concept of Developing Variation

Arnold Schoenberg's concept of 'developing variation', which forms one of the many aspects of his overall theory of music, was first discussed in his writings in 1917 in the unpublished manuscript "Zusammenhang, Kontrapunkt, Instrumentation, Formenlehre", hereafter ZKIF. Here, in the first section of the manuscript dealing with 'coherence', in a section with the heading 'variety', Schoenberg states that the following ways of producing variety are available:

- A) rhythmic changes (including tempo)
- B) intervallic changes (direction, size)
- C) harmonic changes
- D) phrase changes

upper voice

E) changes in the instrumentation lower voice counter voice etc. middle voice

F) dynamic changes²¹⁶

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²¹⁵ Arnold Schoenberg, *Coherence, Counterpoint, Instrumentation, Instruction in Form (Zusammenhang, Kontrapunkt, Instrumentation, Formenlehre*), ed. and with an introduction by Severine Neff, Charlotte M. Cross and Severine Neff, trans., (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln and London, 1994).

²¹⁶ Schoenberg's methods of varying a motive, of course, are comparable to earlier methods. See for instance the list compiled by Heinrich Koch in 1793 of ways to handle repetition aesthetically: '(1) through increasing or decreasing the strength of the tone in the execution of the repeated section; (2) through the varying of figures in which the principle melodic notes are decorated; (3) through new configurations in the accompanying voices; (4) through the increasing or decreasing of the accompanying instruments; and (5) through the combination of several of these individual means', cited in Elaine Sisman, 'Small and Expanded Forms: Koch's Model and

Schoenberg proceeds in ZKIF to make a distinction between 'two methods of varying a motive'. It is here that Schoenberg defines what is particular to the notion of developing variation:

With the first, usually the changes seem to have nothing more than an ornamental purpose; they appear in order to create variety and often disappear without a trace. (seldom without the second method!!)

The second can be termed *developing variation*. The changes proceed more or less directly toward the goal of allowing new ideas to arise. (to liquidate, unravelling.)²¹⁷

Another application of the principle of variation prevalent in the nineteenth century is thematic transformation. This can be defined as the musical expansion of a theme achieved by varying its melodic outline, its harmony, or its rhythm.²¹⁸ Its purpose is to impart internal cohesion to the music, both between and within separate movements of multi-movement works, whilst preserving a substantive relation between the contrasting passages.

Developing variation, on the other hand, allows new ideas to arise out of the material of the theme. These ideas evolve, allowing further ideas to arise. Because of this constant development, a substantive relation between the passages does not occur as it does in thematic transformation. Rather, developing variation is teleological or goal-oriented, with the material constantly developing in a manner that it does not in thematic transformation. A useful analogy to explain the difference between developing variation and thematic transformation is that of an organism as opposed to a work exemplifying organic unity: an organism *grows* in a *teleological* or goal-oriented manner.

Thus, Schoenberg clearly considers the concept of developing variation to be one that, while dependent on variation techniques, is in a category of its own, and represents a further stage in the evolution of his thinking. Moreover, in terms of its relationship to earlier techniques of variation, it can be seen as a significant advancement of these techniques, and

Haydn's Music', *Musical Quarterly* XLVIII/4, October 1982, 444–75, (453). Sisman regards this as 'the most explicit statement of variation techniques in the eighteenth-century literature'.

²¹⁷ Schoenberg, Coherence, Counterpoint, Instrumentation, Instruction in Form, 39.

Examples of thematic transformation can be found in Liszt's B Minor Sonata, *Les Prèludes*, and the *Faust* Symphony.

indeed is 'the epitome of Schoenberg's theory of artistic coherence as discussed in "Zusammenhang". 219

Schoenberg proceeds to illustrate his theory using the first movement from Mozart's C major String Quartet K. 465, which he considers to be 'one of the most perfect examples of developing variation'. 220 Taking the section from bars 44 to 57, Schoenberg points out bar 57 as the 'goal', ('a1/2') (by which he refers to the manifestation of the development of a new motive from the basic material of the opening idea); 'a sixteenth-note figure that moves upwards in thirds'. 221 His discussion of composers of several periods does not consider progress as teleological as in a Hegel-influenced concept of progress. That is, Schoenberg sees it as continuous and open ended. Indeed in his essay 'New Music, Outmoded Music, Style and Idea', Schoenberg writes 'while Bach was still living a new musical style came into being out of which there later grew the style of the Viennese Classicists, the style of homophonic-melodic composition, or, as I call it, the style of developing variation.'222 The use of Mozart's C major String Quartet K. 465 is a corollary to this. However, he considers Brahms to have employed the method to its most sophisticated level.

Schoenberg refers to the 'Brahmsian School' as those who employ the technique of 'connecting ideas through developing variation, thus showing consequences derived from the basic idea, and remaining within the boundaries of human thinking and its demands of logic'. 223 Central to the concept of developing variation is Schoenberg's assertion that 'in the

²¹⁹ Neff, in the introduction to Coherence, Counterpoint, Instrumentation, Instruction in Form, lxviii. ²²⁰ Ibid., 43.

²²¹ Ibid., 41. For an explanation of Schoenberg's rather skeletal analysis of Mozart K465, see Neff's introduction, lxvi-lxviii.

²²² Schoenberg, 'New Music, Outmoded Music, Style and Idea', Style and Idea, 113–123 (115).

²²³ Schoenberg, Style and Idea, 130–31. The theory of developing variation also appears in a number of his pedagogical writings, including Fundamentals of Musical Composition (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), and Structural Functions of Harmony (London: Faber, 1983, c1969). It is dealt with in a number of his essays, in particular his 1931 essay 'Linear Counterpoint', his 1946 essays 'Criteria for the Evaluation of Music' and 'Heart and Brain in Music', and of particular interest to the present study, his 1947 essay 'Brahms the Progressive'. 'Brahms the Progressive', 'Linear Counterpoint', 'Criteria for the Evaluation of Music' and 'Heart and Brain in Music' are all reproduced in Arnold Schoenberg, Style and Idea, pages 398–441, 289–294, 124– 136, and 53-75 respectively. For a translation of Schoenberg's original Brahms lecture of 1933, which was to be revised and became the 1947 essay, see Thomas McGeary, 'Schoenberg's Brahms Lecture of 1933', Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute, XV/2 (November 1992), 5–99.

succession of motive-forms produced through the variation of a basic motive, there is something which can be compared to development, to growth'. There are clear continuities between Schoenberg's thinking and nineteenth-century 'organic' thinking. Compare for instance, the following two statements, the first made by Peter Lichtenthal in 1826, and the second by Schoenberg in 1947:

Amongst the works of the great masters may be found innumerable pieces that are built upon a single motif. What marvellous unity there is in the structure of these compositions! Everything relates to the subject: nothing extraneous or inappropriate is there. Not a single link could be detached from the chain without destroying the whole. Only the man of genius, only the learned composer can accomplish such a task, one that is as admirable as it is difficult.²²⁵

Whatever happens in a piece of music is nothing but the endless reshaping of a basic shape. Or, in other words, there is nothing in a piece of music but what comes from the theme, springs from it and can be traced back to it; to put it still more severely, nothing but the theme itself. Or, all the shapes appearing in a piece of music are foreseen in the 'theme'. ²²⁶

Relating specifically to Brahms Schoenberg maintains:

The most important capacity of a composer is to cast a glance into the most remote future of his themes or motives. He has to be able to know beforehand the consequences which derive from the problems existing in his material, and to organise everything accordingly. Whether he does this consciously or subconsciously is a subordinate matter. It suffices if the result proves it.²²⁷

Of all the texts referred to above, the explication in ZKIF is regarded as 'one of the most precise illustrations of [the developing variation] technique in all [Schoenberg's] literary works, published or unpublished'. The 'progressive' aspect that Schoenberg argues is

²²⁴ Schoenberg, Fundamentals of Musical Composition, 8.

²²⁵ Peter Lichtenthal cited in Bent, *Musical Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, 13.

²²⁶ Schoenberg, Style and Idea, 290

²²⁷ Schoenberg, 'Brahms the Progressive,' in *Style and Idea*, 422.

Neff, Coherence, Counterpoint, Instrumentation, Instruction in Form, (Introduction), xxv. For a discussion of Schoenberg's concept of developing variation see Michael Musgrave, 'A Study of Schoenberg's Response to Brahms's Music as Revealed in his Didactic Writings and Selected Early Compositions', Ph.D. Diss., University of London (1980), 103-191; Walter Frisch, Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation', 1-35. For a list of Schoenberg's statements on developing variation see Rainer Wilke, Brahms, Reger, Schönberg, Streichquartette: Motivisch-thematische Prozesse und formale Gestalt, Schriftenreihe zur Musik, Band 18 (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung, Karl Dieter Wagner, 1980), Appendix, pages 193–198, and David Epstein, Beyond Orpheus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), Appendix A, 'Schoenberg's Studies of Motive, Motive-Forms, and Developing Variation', 207–212. Those of us writing since the publication of Coherence, Counterpoint, Instrumentation, Instruction in Form have benefited greatly from the availability of this material. In particular it has made available this more lucid explication of Schoenberg's notion of developing variation, which was not available to earlier writers. (In his 1980 dissertation Michael Musgrave holds that the first dated reference to the term developing variation seems to be in 1946, pointing out that the term is conspicuously absent from Models for Beginners in Composition (New York, 1942). (See in particular p. 110.) Similarly Walter Frisch, in his text Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation, does not draw on the unpublished manuscript, citing the 1923 essay 'Twelve Tone Composition' as the first dated discussion of the concept of developing variation in Schoenberg's writings. Rainer Wilke and David Epstein omit the ZKIF source of 1917.)

central to Brahms's compositional process means 'a further development of the musical language toward an unrestricted, though well balanced presentation of musical ideas.'229 This can be further understood in his concept of musical prose:

Great art must proceed to precision and brevity. It presupposes the alert mind of an educated listener who, in a single act of thinking, includes with every concept all associations pertaining to the complex. This enables a musician to write for upper-class minds, not only doing what grammar and idiom require, but, in other respects lending to every sentence the full pregnancy of meaning of a maxim, a proverb, of an aphorism. This is what musical prose should be—a direct and straightforward presentation of ideas, without any patchwork, without mere padding and empty repetitions.²³⁰

The Schoenberg Analytical and Critical Tradition

Schoenberg's view of Brahms as a progressive composer has been variously interpreted, with commentators tending to concentrate on one or more of Schoenberg's criteria. Christopher Wintle, for instance, focuses on the harmonic aspects of Schoenberg's discussion and maintains that 'in singling out harmony as the dimension most appropriate to frame a discussion of the 'progressive' aspects of Brahms's musical language, he attributed to it nothing less than the capacity to revitalize music-drama.²³¹ More frequently, however, it is the motivic aspects of Schoenberg's argument, and Brahms's music, upon which commentators focus. 'With Brahms', writes Carl Dahlhaus following Schoenberg, 'the elaboration of a thematic idea is the primary formal principle, on which depends the integration of the movement as a whole, preventing it from appearing as a mere pot-pourri. Musical form takes the shape of a discourse in sound in which motives develop out of earlier motives like ideas, each of which is a consequence of its predecessors'. 232

²²⁹ Schoenberg, 'Brahms the Progressive', 439.

²³⁰ Ibid., 415.

²³¹ Christopher Wintle, 'The "Sceptred Pall": Brahms's Progressive Harmony', in Michael Musgrave ed. Brahms II: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies, 197. In my reading, Schoenberg's claim was not so much that Brahms could revitalise music-drama, but that the procedures that Brahms employed for creating large scale structures in music were comparable to those of Wagnerian Leitmotif, and in that sense Brahms could be considered to be equally as progressive as Wagner. For further discussion of this view see Dahlhaus, 'Issues in Composition', in Between Romanticism and Modernism, Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century Mary Whittall, trans. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980, 40–75, in particular 45–52. ²³² Carl Dahlhaus, 'Issues in Composition', 50.

Including and following Dahlhaus, there is a tendency to underline the emphasis on motivic coherence in Schoenberg's writings on Brahms on the one hand, and tonal coherence in Schenker's writings on Brahms on the other. 233 Those in the former group include Walter Frisch,²³⁴ Klaus Velten,²³⁵ Michael Musgrave,²³⁶ and Jonathan Dunsby.²³⁷ Of course in his early writings Schenker referred to Knüpftechnik—a particularly Brahmsian technique by which a new idea evolves spontaneously from a preceding one. ²³⁸ As Michael Musgrave posits, however, 'the kind of motivic logic Schoenberg demanded in his writings was steadily dismissed by Schenker.²³⁹

What these commentators have in common is that they are concerned with putting flesh on the bones of what Arnold Whittall refers to as 'Schoenberg's seminal yet sketchy demonstrations'. ²⁴⁰ (These can be understood as sketchy due to the fact that they serve a didactic purpose. Therefore, rather than examining a work in its entirety, Schoenberg's aim was to use parts of Brahms's works to illustrate a particular compositional technique or skill.) In other words, taking Schoenberg's writings on Brahms as an analytical starting point, they seek to understand Brahms's music in terms of Schoenberg's thematic models. It is in this sense that we can understand why Frisch 'attempts to show that a careful clarification, refinement, and enlargement of Schoenberg's concept of developing variation can yield a

²³³ Among the discussions on Brahms in relation to Heinrich Schenker see Peter H. Smith, 'Brahms and the Shifting Barline: Metric Displacement and Formal Process in the Trios with Wind Instruments', in David Brodbeck, ed. Brahms Studies 3 (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 119-229; Ibid., Expressive Meanings in Brahms's Instrumental Music. Bloomington University Press; Indiana University Press, 2005; and Kevin Korsyn, 'Schenker's Brahms: Composer, Critic, and the Problem of Creativity in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna', Journal of Musicological Research 24/2 (April–June 2005): 145–176. ²³⁴ Walter Frisch, 'Brahms, Developing Variation and the Schoenberg Critical Tradition', 19th-Century Music

V/3 (Spring 1982): 215–32; and Frisch, Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation.

²³⁵ Klaus Velten, 'Das Princip der entwickelnden Variation bei Johannes Brahms und Arnold Schoenberg', Musik und Bildung 6 (1974): 547-55.

²³⁶ Michael Musgrave, 'A Study of Schoenberg's Response to Brahms's Music as Revealed in his Didactic Writings and Selected Early Compositions'; and 'Schoenberg's Brahms', in Brahms Studies: Historical and Analytical Perspectives, George Bozarth, ed., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 123–138.

237 Jonathan Dunsby, 'Brahms the Progressive and intermezzo Op. 119 No. 1', in Dunsby, Structural Ambiguity

in Brahms: Analytical Approaches to Four Works (London: UMI Research Press, 1981), 85-105.

²³⁸ Heinrich Schenker, *Harmony*, Oswald Jonas, ed., Elisabeth Mann Borghese, trans. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1973), 9-10.

²³⁹ Michael Musgrave, 'The String Quartets Op. 51 Nos. 1 and 2', in Brahms II: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies, 137–143
²⁴⁰ Arnold Whittall, 'Brahms's Op. 51 Finales', 147.

valuable tool for examining not just brief themes by Brahms, but larger portions of movements, and even entire works.'241

I would add to this that an exploration of the critical writings that adumbrated Schoenberg's view of Brahms further clarifies Schoenberg's view of Brahms in that it demonstrates that Schoenberg's notion of developing variation stems from the deeply embedded notion of organicism in German critical culture. The insights gleaned from such an exploration give historical weight to Schoenberg's writings and, moreover, to subsequent writings on Brahms in the Schoenberg analytical and critical tradition.

2.3: The Contemporary Writings

Hermann Deiters²⁴²

Throughout his critical career Deiters reviewed a large number of Brahms's compositions across a range of genres. The instrumental music that he reviewed includes the Schumann Variations, Op. 23;²⁴³ Piano Quartet in G minor, Op. 25;²⁴⁴ Piano Quintet in F minor, Op. 34;²⁴⁵ String Sextet, Op. 36;²⁴⁶ String Quartets, Op. 51, Nos. 1 and 2, and Op.

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²⁴¹ Frisch, Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation, xiv.

Hermann Deiters (1833–1907). His initial studies were in philology, and at the behest of his parents he turned to the study of jurisprudence. Following a brief legal career, he returned to his philological studies under the directorship of Otto Jahn. (Otto Jahn (1813-69), Rector of the University of Bonn, Professor of Classical Philology and Archaeology, also an important early biographer of Mozart. He was a friend of Julius Otto Grimm, Joseph Joachim, and the Schumanns.) Deiters went on to have a thriving career as a critic, publishing for the Deutsche Musikzeitung from 1860 to 1862, and the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung in the 1860s and 1870s. Among his larger publications are Beethovens dramatische Kompositionen (1865), R. Schumann als Schriftsteller (1865), and Otto Jahn (1870). He revised Otto Jahn's biography of Mozart, and translated the Beethoven biography of A.W. Thayer (1866-79). In 1898 he was the first to publish a short biography on Brahms. See Hermann Deiters, Johannes Brahms (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898). Deiters got no help from Brahms in the preparation of the biography, despite informing Brahms of his intention to write it. See Styra Avins, Johannes Brahms: Life and Letters, 560. For biographical information on Deiters, see Angelika Horstmann, Untersuchungen zur Brahms Rezeption der Jahre 1860-1880 (Hamburg: Wagner, 1986), 302-304. ²⁴³ D. [Hermann Deiters], 'Johannes Brahms, *Variationen über ein Thema von Rob. Schumann*, für das Pianoforte zu 4 Händen, Op. 23 ... 'Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung Neue Folge 1/42 (14 October 1863): cols. 708-11.

H. D. [Deiters], 'Kammermusik. Joh. Brahms, Quartett für Pianoforte, Violine, Viola und Violoncello, Op. 25

^{...&#}x27;, Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung Neue Folge 3/11 (15 March 1865): cols. 182–88.

²⁴⁵ H. D. [Deiters], 'Recensionen. Johannes Brahms, Quintett für Pianoforte, zwei Violinen, Viola und Violoncell, Op. 34 ...' Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 1/17–18 (1866): 134–37 and 142–45.

²⁴⁶ H. D. [Deiters], 'Recensionen. Kammermusik. Johannes Brahms. Sextett ... Op. 36 ...' *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2/11 (March 1867): 87–90 and 95–98.

67.²⁴⁷ Of Brahms's choral compositions he reviewed the *Ave Maria* for Women's Chorus and Orchestra, Op. 12; *Begräbnisgesang*, Op. 13; *Marienlieder*, Op. 22; The 13th Psalm for Three-voice Women's Chorus with Organ or Piano, Op. 23; Two Motets for Five-voice mixed Chorus a cappella, Op. 29; *Geistliches Lied*, op. 30; and *Drei Geistliche Chöre*, Op. 37.²⁴⁸ In 1870 he reviewed Brahms's cantata *Rinaldo*, Op. 50,²⁴⁹ and among the vocal works that he reviewed are the Nine Songs for Voice and Piano, Op. 32 and the *Magelone Lieder*, Op. 33,²⁵⁰ the Lieder Op. 46–49,²⁵¹ the Lieder, Op. 43 and Opp. 57–59,²⁵² and in 1870 the *Liebeslieder Walzer*, Op. 52.²⁵³

From his earliest reviews of Brahms in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1863, Deiters emerged as an ardent, but not indiscriminate, supporter of the works of Brahms. His 1863 review of Op. 23 reads:

Resolute and independent [yes, he is], and we would also express our conviction for his ingenious gift, the complete secure control of form and the fine severity of self examination, evidence of which can be taken from each of his new works. The truth and warmth of feeling which pulls through these give him a claim to affectionate and obliging consideration, and allows us to have a hopeful confidence for him, that has not occurred in musical production since Schumann's death.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁷ H. D. [Deiters], 'Streichquartette von Johannes Brahms', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 13 (28–30 July 1878): cols. 433–39, 449–53, 465–72.

249 H. D. [Deiters], 'Anzeigen und Beurtheilungen. Rinaldo ... Op. 50', Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 5/13 (30 March 1870): 105–107.
 250 H. D. [Deiters], 'Recensionen. Joh. Brahms, "Lieder und Gesänge von A. v. Platen und G.F. Daumer", Op. 32

All of the above spiritual works are reviewed in two articles by Deiters [H. D.] titled 'Anzeigen und Beurtheilungen. Johannes Brahms, geistliche Compositionen,' *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 4/34 (25 August 1869): 266–68 and 4/35 (1 September 1869): 275–78.

²⁵⁰ H. D. [Deiters], 'Recensionen. Joh. Brahms, "Lieder und Gesänge von A. v. Platen und G.F. Daumer", Op. 32 ... Romanzen aus Ludwig Tieck's *Magelone*" ... Op. 33', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 4/14 (30 August 1865): cols. 572–80.

²⁵¹ H. D. [Deiters], 'Anzeigen und Beurtheilungen. Johannes Brahms, "Lieder und Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte" ...' *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 4/14 (7 April 1869): 106–109

²⁵² H. D. [Deiters], 'Neue Lieder von Johannes Brahms', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 10/39 (29 September 1875): cols 613–619.

²⁵³ H. D. [Deiters], 'Anzeigen und Beurtheilungen. *Liebeslieder* ...', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5/21 (25 May 1870): 163–64.

wahren und echten Kunst auch in unserer Gegenwart eine Herzenssache ist, wiederholt dem Namen Brahms in diesem Anzeignen begegnen. Wir gehen hier nicht noch einmal auf die in dieser Zeitung mehrfach besprochenen Entwickelungsphasen ein, welche dieser ausgezeichnete Künstler während der kurzen Zeit seines Schaffens sehen durchgemacht hat. Die entschiedene und selbständige, ja wir sagen unserer Ueberzeugung nach geniale Begabung desselben, die volle sichere Herrschaft über die Form und die feine Strenge Selbstprüfung, von welcher jedes seiner neueren Werke neues Zeugniss ablegt, die Wahrheit und Wärme der Empfindung, welche dieselben durchzieht, giebt ihm Anspruch auf liebevoll und vorurtheilsfrei entgegenkommende Betrachtung und

Noting Brahms's 'skill in formal organisation and thematic work' in the larger works he had composed up to that point—the two Serenades, the Sextet Op. 18, Piano Quartet Op. 26—he also attributes to Brahms a 'particularly pleasing wealth of melodic invention and the fortunate talent of giving a clear impression to certain moods in shorter forms', referring in particular to variation form.²⁵⁵ Deiters considers the Schumann Variations to not 'only line themselves up in a row in dignity' with the Handel Variations and the Variations for Piano on a Hungarian Song in D major, Op. 21, rather he considers them to 'exceed the first two sets by richer and deeper content'. Deiters admires 'the great succinctness of expression' of each variation. He considers the four-handed arrangement to allow for 'greater harmonic richness', 'polyphonic treatment' and 'for a rich detail of charming harmonies and contrapuntal ornaments'. He refers to a 'notable mastery and genuine talent' and claims that an organic feeling belongs to the 'intellectual thoughts themselves', and 'broadens and invigorates the spiritual thought'.256

Present throughout Deiters's critical writings on Brahms is an awareness of the partisanship raging in musical-political circles at the time. Defending himself in 1866 against accusations of a bias toward Brahms's works, Deiters claims that he 'never allowed mere enthusiasm' into his discussions of the composer. There is nowhere that he has stated his

lässt uns vorzugsweise an ihn die Hoffnungsreiche Zuversicht knüpfen, dass in der musikalischen Production seit Schumann's Tode kein Stillstand eingetreten sei.' Hermann Deiters, 'Johannes Brahms, Variationen über ein Thema von Rob. Schumann, für das Pianoforte zu 4 Händen, Op. 23 ... 'Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung Neue Folge 1/42 (14 October 1863): cols. 708-11 (708).

Wenn die grösseren Arbeiten Brahms', die beiden Serenaden, das Sextett, das kürzlich angezeigte Clavierquartett unter anderm auch die Geschicklichkeit in formeller Gestaltung und thematischer Arbeit documentiren, so offenbart sich in den Werken kürzerer Form in besonders erfreulicher Weise der Reichthum melodischer Erfindung und das glückliche Talent, bestimmten Stimmungen in kurzer Form deutlichen Ausdruck zu geben. Unter diesen ist es besonders die Variationenform, die Brahms mit Vorliebe cultivirt; wir erinnern an seine Variationen über ein ungarisches Thema, die in D-dur über ein eigenes und besonders die über das Handel'sche Thema', Ibid., Col. 708.

²⁵⁶ Die hier zu besprechenden Variationen über ein Schumann'sches Thema reihen sich jenen nicht nur würdig an sondern übertreffen die beiden ersten durch reicheren und tieferen Gehalt entschieden, und scheinen uns auch vor den Händel-Variationen den Vorzug grösserer Prägnanz im Ausdrucke der einzelnen zu haben. Sodann giebt ihnen die vierhändige Einrichtung Gelegenheit zu grösserer harmonischer Fülle, vielfach auch zu polyphoner Behandlung oder wenigsten Responsion zwischen grösseren Klangmassen, und zu einem reichen Detail anmuthiger harmonischer und contrapunctischer Verzierungen. Und gerade hier zeigt sich rühmliche Meisterschaft und echte Begabung vornehmlich darin, dass wir nirgendwo bei der Befriedigung über das Formolle als über etwas Selbständiges Berechtigtes stehen bleiben, sondern dasselbe überall empfinden als organisch dem gestaltenden Gedanken selbst angehörend und den geistigen Gehalt selbst erweiternd und belebend,' Ibid., Col. 709.

opinion without good reason, and his opinions are formed through intensive study of Brahms's scores. Indeed, as opposed to those who make such an accusation, he claims he has one advantage: that he actually knows the works of Johannes Brahms.

Deiters compares the gradual acceptance of Brahms's music by the public to that of the reception of Mozart and Beethoven, claiming that 'Mozart's quartets appeared to the critics of his day to be too strongly peppered.' With regard to Beethoven, he refers to the difficult reception of the late string quartets, claiming that these are still generally not understood. Deiters's agenda is not to 'deliver a conclusive opinion on Brahms in relation to the artists of the past and the present'. As one of 'few with the appreciation of the true value of Brahms', he wishes to share his view with his readership in the face of criticism that is 'not always conscientious', and in contrast to judgements that are ' not always impartial'. 'It must be left to the future', he declares, 'to decide what is lasting and what is genuine'. Deiters's Discussion of Brahms Piano Quintet in F minor, Op. 34

Deiters lauds Brahms's thematic development, and comments on the harmonic language, and the instrumentation, often making quite perceptive and subtle observations. The review of the Piano Quintet in F minor, Op. 34 is exemplary in this regard, in particular the

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²⁵⁷ 'Aber auch für die allmälige Anerkennung des Talents und der Tüchtigkeit der Brahms'schen Compositionen machen uns jene Vorwürfe nicht besorgt; denn dergleichen ist zu allen Zeiten da gewesen. Mozart's Quartette erschienen den Kritikern seiner Zeit zu stark gewürzt.' Deiters, 'Johannes Brahms, Quintett für Pianoforte, zwei Violinen und Violoncell, Op. 34', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1/17 (25 April 1866): 134–137 (134). Hereafter, Deiters, Op. 34.

²⁵⁸ 'Beethoven erhielt nach seinen ersten Sonaten von einem wohlmeinende Recensionen in der A. M. Ztg. den Rath, sich mehr an die Natur zu halten. Als seine herrlichen Trios Op. 70 erschienen waren, setzten sich drei vorzügliche Musiker, unter ihnen des Meisters Schüler F. Ries (wir wissen dies aus zuverlässiger Mittheilung) zusammen, um dieselben zu spielen, und was war das Resultat dieser ersten Kentnissnahme?—Beethoven müsse wahnsinnig geworden sein. Nicht viel gelinder lauteten die Urtheile über seine letzten Quartette, deren Verständnis noch jetzt kein allgemeines ist.' *Ibid.*, 134.

²⁵⁹ 'Man verstehe uns. Wir haben mit all dem Gesagten keine Vergleichung anstellen wollen; es steht weder uns zu, noch ist es überhaupt an der Zeit, über die Stellung von Brahms zu den Künstlern der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart eine endgültige Meinung abzugeben; wir wollten nur zeigen, wie wenig bei der Würdigung des wahren Werthes desselben auf den Geschmack des Publicums, auf die Auslassungen der keineswegs immer gewissenhaften Kritik, auf das Urtheil der keineswegs immer vorurtheilsfreien, zur Erfassung fremder Individualität sofort fähigen Kunstgenossen unbedingter Werth zu legen sei und dass es hier wie überall der Zukunft überlassen bleiben müsse, zu entscheiden, was bleibend und ächt war. Unterdessen wollen wir wie bisher versuchen, durch detaillirte Betrachtung des Gebotenen über den Inhalt und die Absicht des vorliegenden Werks zu bestimmter Anschauung zu gelangen.' *Ibid.*, 134.

first movement. The following chart represents the form of this movement as outlined by Deiters:

Table 1: Johannes Brahms, Piano Quintet in F minor, Op. 34/I (Deiters's thematic outline):

Exposition	I		II				
Bar	1	23	35	39	(47)	74	
Subject		1a	1b	2a	2b	(2a')	2c
Key	f	bb	c#	c#/C#	(c#)	D_{b}	
Development	I			II			
Bar	96	122		137		150	
Subject		1a	3a/tr		2a		2a
Key	f	bb		bb		c	
Recapitulation	n						
Bar	166	184	196	200	208	235	261
Subject		1a	1b	2a	2b	2a'	2c' coda
Key	f	bb	f#	f#	f	F	F-Bb -f

As with a number of more recent commentators who have discussed this work, Deiters considers a number of compositional models that Brahms may have had in mind. Noting the 'pathetic-tragic, dark and gloomy' tonality of F minor, he finds a musical analogy in Beethoven's String Quartet in F minor, Op. 95. He notes that in both works the close of the first group is in the subdominant B flat minor. Apart from such individual similarities, we are repeatedly reminded in Brahms's works of the 'particular intimate nature of late Beethoven'. It is not only 'reminiscences and resemblances' that Deiters thinks we recognise, but much more importantly 'an inner course of relations' that Brahms's talent 'allows to appear more versatile and more deep than his contemporaries.' He attributes to Brahms not only a 'complete control of the Romantic style', but more importantly recognises that the 'spirit of the great past' is alive with Brahms whereas with the vast majority of contemporary

²⁶⁰ See in particular James Webster, 'Schubert's Sonata Form and Brahms's First Maturity', 19th-Century Music III/1 (July 1979): 52–71; Walter Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation*, 83–95.

composers he sees only a 'one-sided emulation of a Mendelssohnian or Schumannian nature'. ²⁶¹

Deiters's discussion of Brahms's use of sonata form merits further consideration, in particular his discussion of the end of the exposition, and the development section. ²⁶² Drawing attention to the rhythmic dislocation at the end of the exposition, he observes 'uncertainty and doubt' in the conclusion by the continual emphasis on weaker beats of the bar. For this reason, he argues, this conclusion 'forms an inner, well motivated connection between the last theme and the repetition of the opening'. ²⁶³ Deiters remarks that at the beginning of the development section this 'uncertain, timid movement goes a long way forward'. He continues that 'between the quiet chords of the strings played on the offbeat' one hears 'a legato figure on the piano', and twice the appearance of the first theme, but not with the 'pathetic strength' with which it was played initially, rather like the piano motif it is 'doubtful and fearful.' Another factor contributing to this 'timid, almost sinister' character is the 'surprisingly changing modulations'. ²⁶⁴ After the 'close on B flat minor [bar 122]' he observes that the music 'yields a restless theme put together from broken figures, which supplies in hasty motion a strong conclusion on the dominant of B flat minor [bar 135], at which point the

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²⁶¹ 'In den Figuren glaubten wir einige Verwandschaft mit entsprechenden Partien des Beethoven'schen F moll-Quartetts (Op. 95) zu erkennen; auch findet sich eine Analogie mit demselben in der Folge der Tonarten, indem der Abschluss des ersten Theiles nicht in der Paralleltonart, sondern in der Unterdominante derselben, erfolgt. Aber abgesehen von einzelnen Aehnlichkeiten sind wir mehrfach sowohl in diesem wie andern Werken Brahms an die eigenthümlich-innige Weise der späteren Beethoven'schen Werke erinnert worden, und glauben, dass darin mehr wie Reminiscenzen und Anklänge, dass vielmehr ein innerer, verwandtschaftlicher Zug darin erkannt werden darf, der, wenn wir uns in dieser Beobachtung nicht täuschen, Brahms' Talent schon darum als vielseitiger und tiefer als das der meisten seiner Zeitgenossen erscheinen lässt, weil ihm sich neben vollständiger Beherrschung des modern-romantischen Stils der Geist der grossen Vergangenen lebendig erweist, während wir bei der grossen Mehrzahl der Lebenden nur einseitige Nachahmung Mendelssohn'scher und Schumann'scher Weise finden.' Deiters, Op. 34, 135.

While Deiters uses the term 'development section', he does not use the terms 'exposition' or 'recapitulation', however it is evident from the review that these are the categories to which he refers.

²⁶³ 'Der Schluss erhält durch die fortwährende Betonung der schwächeren Takttheile etwas unsicheres, zweifelndes und bildet dadurch eine, wie man fühlt, innerlich wohl motivirte Vermittlung zwischen dem letzten Thema und der Wiederholung des Anfangs.' *Ibid.*, 136.

²⁶⁴ 'Die unsichere, zaghafte Bewegung geht im Anfange des zweiten Theile noch lange fort, man hört zwischen den leise, gegen den Takt angeschlagenen Accorden der Instrumente eine gebundene Figur des Claviers, zweimal erscheint auch die Bewegung des ersten Themas, aber nicht mit der früheren pathetischen Kraft, sondern ebenfalls zweifelnd und ängstlich; und die oft und überraschend wechselnde Modulation in diesem Abschnitte vollendet den Charakter des Zaghaften, fast Unheimlichen', *Ibid.*, 136.

second theme [2a] begins again.'²⁶⁵ In this second part of the development section the theme is 'developed in different situations, with many changes, in particular the extensions, until it begins again in full strength in C minor [bar 150], and ends there.'²⁶⁶

It is here that Deiters makes a particularly perceptive observation. He draws a comparison between Beethoven's and Brahms's treatment of the development section. 'This is reminiscent', he suggests, 'of many Beethoven works, in particular the great symphonies (*Eroica* [Symphony No. 3 in E flat Major, Op. 55], C minor [Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67]), that in the development section of the second part a place occurs in which the expression of the whole piece, as it were, reaches its peak, on which the expression concentrates itself, and intensifies to the highest strength and wealth. Also in Brahms's compositions it is easy to find this peak, to which everything preceding leads, and he knows how to prepare the same with great skill.'²⁶⁷

A comparison of the respective sections in Brahms's Piano Quintet and Beethoven's Symphony No. 3 gives credibility to Deiters's observation. Unlike the division of Brahms's development section, which Deiters considers to be in two parts as outlined in Table 1, Beethoven's development section is divided into four parts. In bar 236 of this second section a fugato develops which brings about a dislocation of the rhythm, effectively moving the downbeat from the first beat of the bar to the second, and subsequently from bar 248 to

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²⁶⁵ 'Nach einem Abschluss auf B-moll weicht dasselbe einem unruhigen, aus gebrochenen Figuren zusammengesetzten Thema, welches in eiliger Bewegung einem kräftigen Schlusse auf der Dominante von B-moll zuführt, worin dann das zweite Thema (früher Cis-moll) wieder einsetzt', *Ibid.*, 136.

²⁶⁶ 'In verschiedener Lage, mit manchen Veränderungen, namentlich in den Anhängen, wird desselbe durchgeführt, bis es noch einmal in voller Kraft in C-moll einsetzt und darin ausklingt', *Ibid.*, 136.
²⁶⁷ 'Jeder wird sich aus vielen Werken Beethoven's, namentlich der grösseren Symphonien (*Eroica*, C-moll) erinnern, dass in der Durchführungspartei des zweiten Theiles einmal eine Stelle eintritt, in welcher der Ausdruck des ganzen Stücks gleichsam seinen Höhepunkt erreicht, an welchem der Ausdruck sich gleichsam concentirt und zur höchsten Kraft und Fülle steigert. Auch in der Brahms'schen Compositionen ist es leicht, diesen Gipfelpunkt, zu welchem alles Vorhergehende hinleitet, zu finden, und er weiss denselben mit grossem Geschick vorzubereiten', *Ibid.*, 136.

²⁶⁸ My discussion of Beethoven's Symphony No. 3 is largely based on the 1970 article by Philip G. Downs, 'Beethoven's "New Way" and the *Eroica*', *Musical Quarterly* 56/4 (October 1970): 585–604. Downs divides the development section into four parts as follows: I: 170–223; II: 224–288; III: 288–342; IV: 342–. Walter Frisch discusses the metrical displacement in Beethoven's Op. 55 in relation to Brahms's Op. 34. He seems to have observed the same influence on Beethoven that Deiters did in 1866. Frisch's discussion is concerned with a comparison of the rhythmical displacement, and does not make the observation about the second part of the development section that Deiters does.

271 Beethoven alternates 6 beats (2 bars) of the dislocated triple meter with 12 beats (6 bars) of duple meter. (See example 1)

Example 1: Beethoven Symphony No. 3/I, bars 248-271²⁶⁹:



The seeds of this metrical tension were sown earlier in the movement when in bars 25 and 26 the second beat of the bar is marked *sf*. Bar 27 reverts to the emphasis on the first beat of the bar, but from bar 28 to 34 this hemiola style dislocation continues, with temporal order being restored on the real downbeat of bar 37, and the return of the main theme. The emphasis on the second beat of the bar returns, however, at bar 45 with the fragmented melody that is heard initially on the oboe before being transferred to other instruments. The downbeat is restored this time following a *ff* on the second beat of bar 55, and crotchet movement leading to the notated downbeat of bar 57. From bar 95 to 101 the second beat is again emphasised with the entry of each of the instruments. A return to an emphasis on the notated down beat ensues, with the emphasis on the second beat returning when from bar 109 to 116 the second beat is again marked *sf*, and from this point to bar 131 the metrical irregularities are striking.

²⁶⁹ Example 1 is taken from Downs, 'Beethoven's "New Way" and the *Eroica*, 595.

It is in this sense that we can understand Beethoven to arrive at the peak on which the expression concentrates itself in the second part of the development with the arrival of the fugato at bar 236, and the immense dislocation of rhythm that ensues, intensifying the piece, to use Deiters phrase, 'to the highest strength and wealth.'

It remains to chart the skill with which Brahms prepares his analogous peak. The seeds for metrical displacement are sown from the beginning of Brahms's exposition. In the first theme the 'powerful chords' that answer the semiquaver movement in bar 5 occur initially on the second and third beats of the bar. These powerful chords next occur on the fourth beat of bar 6 and the first beat of bar 7. However, if we consider time to be frozen on the rests, as I hear it, then the chords occur in an analogous place to their first voicing in bar 5 in that they interrupt the semiquaver motion on the second beat of the sequence.

Example 2: Op. 34/I, bars 5-9:



It is in this sense that we can understand the connection Deiters draws between the end of the exposition and the repetition of the beginning.²⁷⁰ Indeed throughout the exposition Brahms employs a number of subtle ways of indicating the significance of the second beat. In the first theme of the second group the emphasis on the second beat in bars 37 and 38 is unsettling. Similarly the dynamic markings in bars 51 and 52 underline the second and fourth beats. Again in bars 57 and 58, and 61 and 62, the sound swells on the second beat only to retreat to the end of the bar. With the entry of theme 2c at bar 74 the descending piano figure leads to the accented *fp* on the second beat, joined at that point by the strings. All of these factors are leading towards the downbeat on the second beat of bar 86. What follows this bar is comparable to the striking metric displacement discussed in Beethoven's *Eroica*.

Walter Frisch, writing in 1984, discusses this rhythmic displacement in the exposition of Op. 34. Operating within the framework of the Schoenberg-Brahms critical tradition, Frisch maintains that 'we see Brahms adapting the techniques of developing variation' in a manner that reflects 'the influence of Beethoven', pointing to the *Eroica* Symphony, as Deiters had done in 1866, as a possible model. Unlike Deiters, Frisch speaks of a dual heritage, considering Schumann's Symphony No. 3 to be another possible source. He sees the effect of Brahms's metric displacement lying solely in its relationship to the beginning of the work. He writes, 'in the last bars of the exposition, the piano mediates quietly upon a fragment of the opening theme (F-G-A flat). The motive climbs slowly in rising sequence, when suddenly the double bar thrusts us back to the beginning of the exposition. This is a shocking moment for as the D flat of bar 95 (first ending) moves to the F of bar 1, and the theme begins its hollow course, we comprehend the deception: the metrical framework has

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²⁷⁰ 'Der Schluss erhält durch die fortwährende Betonung der schwächeren Takttheile etwas unsicheres, zweifelndes und bildet dadurch eine, wie man fühlt, innerlich wohl motivirte Vermittlung zwischen dem letzten Thema und der Wiederholung des Anfangs'. Deiters, Op. 34, 136.

²⁷¹ My own discussion of the relationship between the *Eroica* and Op. 34 was formulated as a result of reading Deiters review, and not Frisch's passage. I note that Frisch refers to the same Philip Downs article on the *Eroica* as I do, and that his musical examples are derived from Downs's in his discussion of Beethoven's Op. 55.

abruptly been straightened.'272 Frisch, like Deiters, understands that the 'displaced motive of bars 91–93 reflects or embodies the metrical-rhythmic process that has in part shaped the exposition.'273 What follows is Brahms superimposing the opening theme above the displaced rhythm in the legato piano figure. When the main theme returns at bar 96 beginning on the notated downbeat with the displaced pattern underneath, Frisch claims that we can perceive the superimposition, but suggests we do not experience any real metrical conflict, 'for when the violin enters in the notational framework, we immediately perceive the displaced pattern once again as syncopation'. 274

For Deiters the metric displacement of the exposition has further reaching implications for the development section. He sees the return of the opening theme above the displaced piano figure to be 'doubtful and fearful' and for this reason does not consider the tension to be resolved. (See example 3)

Example 3: Op. 34/I, bars 91-100:



In other words, for Frisch the tension that was mounting towards the end of the exposition is dissipated by the start of the development section. For Deiters on the other hand, this metric displacement is but one of the factors on the way towards the work's highest peak. The

²⁷² Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation*, 94. ²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 94.

tension continues to mount through the restless theme of broken chords, and the rhythmic intensity continues through the restatement of 2a, in particular through its extensions. It is at the restatement of 2c in C minor that 'the expression of the whole piece, as it were, reaches its peak', the point 'to which everything preceding leads'. Herein lies the significance of the Beethoven reminiscence. It is only now after the *ff* at bar 150 that 'slowly and unexpectedly, the return to the first theme begins.' He describes the 'almost veiled re-entry to the descending chords of the piano and the C of the bass, deliberating, as it were, between major and minor', which just once reminds us of the 'doubting and anxiety' at the second part of the development, 'until the piano breaks in with the semiquaver figure that is familiar to us, and with completely the same modulations as the beginning leads to the strong repetition of the main theme.' 276

While Deiters understands the effect Brahms was aiming to achieve in the second part of the development, he refers to this particular effect as a 'cliff' that occasionally poses a danger to 'Brahms's inclination towards harsh modulations and rational working out'. ²⁷⁷ He notes that special caution is necessary that beauty does not come second to the intention of a great effect. ²⁷⁸ The success of such an effect, he writes, depends not only on 'the same developing organically from the basic thematic elements and the character of the piece', but also depends on these remaining 'continually recognisable and perceptible, that they summon

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²⁷⁶ See original German in preceding note.

²⁷⁵ 'Nach diesem ff beginnt nun, schnell und erwartet, der Rückgang zum ersten Thema, dessen gleichsam verdeckter Wiedereintritt zu den absteigenden Accorden des Claviers und dem C der Bässe, einmal sogar zwischen Dur und Moll sich gleichsam besinnend, und noch einmal an jenes Zweifeln und Zagen zu Anfang des zweiten Theiles zurückerinnert, bis das Clavier mit jener uns bekannten Sechszehntelfigur durchbricht und mit denselben Modulationen, wie ganz zu Anfang, zu der kräftigen Wiederholung des Hauptthemas führt.' Deiters, Op. 34, 136.

²⁷⁷ 'Sagten wir oben, dass die Durchführungspartei, namentlich der Höhepunkt derselben, eine Klippe sei, an welcher Brahms' Neigung zu herben Modulationen und zuverstandesmässiger Durcharbeitung mitunter zu scheitern Gefahr laufe' *Ibid.*, 136.

²⁷⁸ 'Wir glauben – und müssen das aufrichtig aussprechen – dass Brahms in einigen seiner früheren Werke an dieser Stelle zu weit gegangen ist, und auch wenn wir die Stelle betrachten, welche in unserm Quintett den oben angeführten starken Eintritt auf C-moll vorbereitet, die Imitation mit dem Motive des zweiten Themas und die darauf folgenden punktirten Figuren, so glauben wir im Allgemeinen aussprechen zu dürfen, dass hier die Stelle ist, wo Brahms zu jenen früher erwähnten Herbigkeiten und Gewaltsamkeiten, welche zum Theil in einem Vorwiegen der Reflexion vor dem ununterbrochenen Strome des Empfindens am meisten hinneigt, und wo daher besondere Vorsicht Noth thut, dass nicht vor einer beabsichtigen grossen Wirkung die Schönheit zurücktrette.' *Ibid.*, 136.

up all strength—but not to forcefulness, to lead to a loss of musical beauty—and that at such places we do not feel completely distant from the basic type of the piece.'279

There are no reservations about the recapitulation as there had been about the development section. For Deiters, the recapitulations are the 'brilliant sections' of Brahms's movements. He notes the 'refinement' with which Brahms uses 'the main theme here and again for unexpected and marvellous effects'. In viewing all of Brahms's first movements up to this point, Deiters observes the 'wealth of independent, expressive themes', their 'skilful, preparation and development', and the overall 'certainty of thematic, harmonic, and formal treatment'. In view of these elements, Deiters contends that with Brahms 'the conception is equally important to the execution, the content is equally as important as the form'. 280

Deiters's Discussion of Brahms Piano Quartet in G minor, Op. 25

Deiters's review of the Piano Quartet No. 1, Op. 25 is concerned with Brahms's compositional process. The most attention is given to the first movement, and of that the exposition is given the most detailed discussion. Deiters outlines five main themes in the movement. I label them here as follows: 1a, bars 1–4; 1b, bars 11–20; 2a, bars 50–54; 2b, bars 79–84; 2c, bars 101–106. The following table outlines Deiters's scheme for the movement:

Table 2: Johannes Brahms, Op. 25/I (Sketch of Deiters's formal outline):

Exposition										
Bar	1	11	27	41	50	79	101	130	161	
Subject		1a	1b	1a	strug.	2a	2b	2c	C.G.	1a
Key	g/i	Bb/III	g/i	g/C/	d/v	D/V	DV	D/V	g/I	
					F/d					
			Dev.		Recap					
Bar (ctd.)		171	181	237	259	281	304	332		

²⁷⁹ 'Es kommt nämlich darauf an, nicht nur dass derselbe sich organisch aus den thematischen Grundelementen und dem Charakter des Stücks entwickele, sondern dass dieselben auch in ihm selbst fortwährend erkennbar und fühlbar bleiben, dass namentlich das Aufbieten aller Kraft nicht zu Gewaltsamkeiten, zum Verlassen der musikalischen Schönheit führe, und dass wir uns an solchen Stellen nicht ganz von dem Grundtypus des Stücks entfernt fühlen', Ibid., 136

²⁸⁰ 'Wenn wir auf den ganzen ersten Satz zurückblicken, auf den Reichthum selbständiger, ausdrucksvoller, dem Ausdruck nach vollkommen von einander verschiedener Themata, auf die geschickte, ganz ihrem Charakter entsprechende Vorbreitung und Entwicklung derselben, auf die Sicherheit thematischer, harmonischer und überhaupt formeller Behandlung, so müssen wir ihn als der Anlage wie der Ausführung, dem Gehalt wie der Form nach bedeutend bezeichnen,' Ibid., 137

Subject	(ctd.)	1b	strug.	1b	2b	2c	close	
Key (ctd.)	c/iv		G/I	g/I	e♭/VI g/i	g/i		

In his review he concentrates on the compelling logic of the movement, and his discussion focuses on how one theme develops from the other. Deiters sees three motives in Brahms's first theme, which are to have far-reaching implications for the movement as a whole. Of the first ten bars of the work he writes:

The main theme of the first movement (G minor Allegro 4/4) is contained in these four bars:

Example 4: Brahms Op. 25/I, bars 1-4:



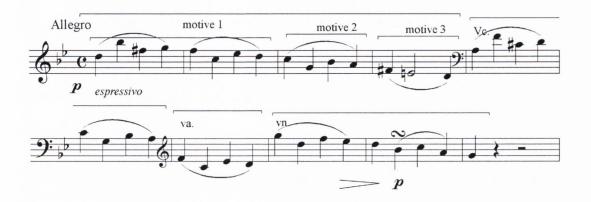
After the cadence on D minor, the cello takes up the first two bars of the theme in this tonality, the viola repeats the second motive of the same in B flat major (1 bar), the violin brings G minor back, and therein closes.²⁸¹

The reader is urged not to 'misjudge the characteristic of this opening'; it is 'a theme fully enclosed in itself in only four bars, which arrives at a parallel tonality within itself and reaches the dominant tonality'. Three themes are observed that later on will each be 'treated independently; the first 10 bars consists of four rhythmic sections, 4, 2, 1 and 3.'²⁸² The following figure represents Deiters verbal description as a musical example:

Example 5: Sketch of Deiters's description of Op. 25, bars 1–10:

²⁸¹ 'Das Hauptthema des ersten Satzes (G-moll *Allegro* 4/4) ist in diesen vier Takten enthalten: [musical example of bars 1–4 as in the main text]. Nach dem Abschlusse auf D-moll nimmt das Violoncell in dieser Tonart die beiden ersten Takte des Themas auf, die Bratsche wiederholt das zweite Motiv desselben in B-dur (1 Takt), die Violine bringt G-moll wieder und schliesst darin.' Deiters, 'Johannes Brahms, Quartette für Pianoforte, Violine, Viola und Violoncello. Op. 25', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung Neue Folge* 3/11 (15 March 1865): Cols. 182–188 (182). Hereafter Deiters, Op. 25.

²⁸² 'Man wird die Eigenthümlichkeit dieses Anfangs nicht verkennen. Ein in sich völlig abgeschlossenes Thema von nur 4 Takten, welches innerhalb derselben durch die Paralleltonart gelangt; in diesem Thema drei Motive, deren jedes später eine selbständige Behandlung findet; die erste 10 Takte aus vier rhythmischem Abschnitten von 4, 2, 1 und 3 Takten bestehend', *Ibid.*, Col. 182–183.



Schoenberg did not discuss the Piano Quartet in G minor in either the essay 'Brahms the Progressive' or in his didactic writings. His response to Op. 25 came in the form of an orchestration of the work completed in 1937. He orchestrated the piece because he considered it always to be played badly. 'The better the pianist is', he complained, 'the louder they play, and one does not hear the strings. I wanted for once to hear everything, and I have achieved this.' Walter Frisch claims that this 'orchestral score represents more than just an eccentric gesture of homage. 'In fact, it is a document of critical analysis. Much like the examples from his textbook, *Fundamentals of Musical Composition*, the orchestration becomes a purely musical explanation of Brahms's motivic procedures.' 284

Deiters's review of Op. 25 anticipates that of Dahlhaus who discusses the work in the essay 'Issues in Composition', and the text *Nineteenth-Century Music*. Considering the first ten bars, he states that 'here Brahms takes developing variation to an extreme which Schönberg, who arranged the piece for orchestra, must have found paradigmatic.' He continues that 'each note is based on the same initially inconspicuous four-note idea, whether in ordinary notation (mm. 1 and 5), in inversion (mm. 2–3 and 6–8), in cancrizans (m. 9), or with its two middle notes "verticalised" (m. 4 where F#–C#–E–D = F–C–E flat–D).' ²⁸⁶

²⁸³ 'Das Stück "wird immer sehr schlecht gespielt, weil der Pianist desto lauter spielt, je besser er ist, und man nichts von den Streichen hört. Ich wollte einmal alles hören, und das habe ich erreicht."' Letter from Arnold Schoenberg of 18. 03.1939 in *Arnold Schoenberg Letters*, Erwin Stein, ed. (California: University of California Press, 1987), 223.

²⁸⁴ Frisch, Developing Variation, 75.

²⁸⁵ Dahlhaus, Nineteenth Century Music, 256.

²⁸⁶ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, 257. See also 'Issues in Composition' in *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, 45–52.

Yet Walter Frisch does not consider the motivic treatment in Op. 25 to qualify as developing variation; in this work Brahms 'does not treat his primary interval as flexibly as in the examples Schoenberg so admired.' He continues that 'the feeling is less of development than of repetition or reiteration, largely because the first group of Op. 25 keeps returning stubbornly to theme 1a.'287 Such contradictory understandings of Schoenberg's concept of developing variation highlights the lack of clarification of what exactly Schoenberg meant by the term, and alerts us to the fact that while Schoenberg gave powerful expression to the procedures he distilled from Brahms's music, we should be wary of applying the concept of developing variation indiscriminately.²⁸⁸

Deiters's 1866 review of the work, however, provides a way of understanding Brahms's musical argument as originating from 1a, whereby the logic of the music is due to the fact (and not despite the fact) that he keeps returning to the opening theme. Continuing his discussion of 1a Deiters remarks that we have rarely 'found a similar concision' in a new work, such a concentration of themes and harmonic content, that almost borders on bitterness, but here appears almost as a certain tendency of an intentional and fortunate expression.' 289

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²⁸⁷ Frisch, Developing Variation, 67.

²⁸⁸ Because of this lack of clarification on what exactly Schoenberg meant by the concept, the Schoenberg analytical and critical tradition has come in for some harsh criticism. Siegfried Kross, for instance, despite appreciating many of the details of Walter Frisch's work, fundamentally disagrees with Frisch's writings on the topic in the basic matter of what can be considered a manifestation of the principal of 'developing variation'. The problem of defining 'developing variation', as Kross sees it, begins with Schoenberg, who never stated clearly what he meant by the term.' See Siegfried Kross, 'Thematic Structure and Formal Process in Brahms's Sonata Movements', in Brahms Studies: Historical and Analytical Perspectives, George Bozarth, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 430, note 24. He goes on to say that the difficulty with Frisch's approach is that 'he interprets the term so broadly that it becomes applicable to virtually all of Brahms's works, thereby obscuring the coherence of groups of compositions previously delineated on historical and stylistic grounds.' John Rothgeb has similar concerns, and offers his own definition of the concept: 'Developing variation, although less elusive than that other familiar Schoenbergian construct, the Grundgestalt, does not easily admit of verbal definition in the abstract. Broadly speaking, the term refers to certain techniques of organising diminution so as to yield a musical surface characterised by maximal fluidity and continuity. Most obviously, it involves operations on motivic components: expansion, contraction, fragmentation, variation of metric position, and the like.' See John Rothgeb, Review of Frisch, Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation, Music Theory Spectrum 9 (Spring 1987): 204-215 (204). Rothgeb's greater concern, however, is that 'Schoenberg's own analysis of Brahms is not just inaccurate: it leads directly away from Brahms's music and towards Schoenberg's own.' He claims that 'Schoenberg disregarded Brahms's harmony and voice leading, and thus falsified even the motivic dimension with which he was exclusively concerned.'

²⁸⁹ 'Wir haben selten eine ähnliche Knappheit, wir möchten sagen eine solche Concentration thematischen und harmonischen Gehaltes in neuereen Werken gefunden, die fast an Herbigkeit grenzt, aber hier wohl als beabsichtiger und glücklicher Ausdruck einer bestimmten Stimmung erscheint.' Deiters, Op. 25, Col. 183

He maintains that the continuation, a strongly contrasting theme that appears in the form of 1b in B flat major, 'does not need to have an equally understandable reason'. ²⁹⁰ The material following 1b sees the restatement of the first motive of 1a, this time 'performed by the string instruments with the greatest strength, accompanied on piano with a short, broken off semiquaver-figure and chords on the downbeat.' In a manner that draws our attention to the development of one theme from another, Deiters observes that this 'is followed by a continuation that itself turns into semiquaver motion'. From here the piano and string instruments lead a short imitation with that semiquaver accompaniment figure which closes through many modulations to A as the dominant of D minor. ²⁹¹ At bar 41 Deiters highlights 'a new place' that provides interesting 'harmonic relationships', and is 'rich in new and beautiful idioms'. He describes a struggle between the string instruments that want to go back to G minor with the main theme [1a], and the piano that answers with sorrowful chords and modulates to C. This exchange proceeds with the string instruments playing the main theme in F. It is 'only after the third entry' that the piano gets the space 'to lead to D minor with an ascending, sorrowful figure [cadence at bar 50]. '292 It is out of this struggle that Deiters understands theme 2a to arise. 'The urging figure of the piano' that had been 'halted and bound by the main theme becomes completely perceptible here. Now the cello brings a second theme in D minor which both arises from and is carried on by, the other instruments [2a at bar 50]. ²⁹³

Example 6: Second subject, bars 50-54 (my example, not Deiters's):

²⁹⁰ 'Einen nicht gleich verständlichen inneren Grund muss nun auch der Fortgang haben.' *Ibid.*, Col. 183.

²⁹¹ 'Das Thema wird nun von den Instrumenten mit grösster Kraft ausgeführt, vom Clavier mit einer kurzen, abgebrochenen Sechszehntelfigur und Accordschlägen begleitet; es schliesst sich eine Fortsetzung daran, die selbst in Sechszehntelbewegung übergeht, und dann früher Clavier und Instrumente eine kurze Imitation mit jener begleitenden Sechszehntelfigur durch, welche nach mannigfaltiger Modulation auf A als Dominante zu Dmoll schliesst', *Ibid.*, Col. 183.

²⁹² 'Es folgt einer in harmonischer Beziehung interessante, an neuen und schönen Wendungen reiche Stelle. Die Instrumente wollen mit dem Hauptthema nach G-moll zurück, das Clavier antwortet mit klagenden Accorden und modulirt nach C, die Instrumenten bringen das Thema in F, und erst nach dem dritten Ansatze bekommt das Clavier Raum zu einer aufsteigenden klagenden Figur, die nach D-moll führt.' *Ibid.*, Col. 183.

²⁹³ 'Wie durch das Hauptthema jenes Fortdrängen der Clavierfiguren gleichsam aufgehalten, gefesselt erscheint, wird hier ganz fühlbar..—Nun bringt das Violoncell ein zweites Thema in D-moll, welches von den anderen Instrumenten aufgekommen und weitergeführt wird; es zeigt den Ausdruck klagenden Drängend.' *Ibid.*, Col. 183



Here is one of the points where Deiters criticises Brahms's writing for strings. He considers the instrumentation in bars 59 to 69 to lack unity, claiming that the string instruments ought only to embellish the melody on piano at this point. Deiters considers this to be a flaw of a pianist writing for string instruments, of one who 'knows the efficiency of the other instruments theoretically, but does not always have their full clear conception in writing, and is thereby easily inclined to transfer pianistic figures on to them.'²⁹⁴

Observing that a modulation to D minor seems to be prepared at the close of theme 2a, Deiters reports that we are unexpectedly led back to D major. It is in this tonality that 'a new joyfully arising theme [2b]' emerges, played in unison by violin and viola, and having as its basis the 'motive of the above second theme [2a]'.

Example 7: Op. 25/I, bars 79-86, 2b (my example, not Deiters's):

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²⁹⁴ 'Wir machen hier zuerst eine Bemerkung, welche von der angeführten Beuertheilung des früheren Quartette abweicht, und welche sich auf die Behandlung der Instrumente bezieht. Diesselben sind an dieser Stelle, wo sie die Melodie nur verzieren sollen, zu wenig als Einheit behandelt, jedes übernimmt eine selbständige Partei; die Violine hat Triolen, das Violoncell Achtel, die Bratsche eine Kette von Doppelgriffen in zum Theil recht unbequemer Lage. Man merkt an der Behandlung hier und anderswo der Clavierspieler, der die Leistungsfähigkeit der einzelnen Instruments zwar theoretisch kennt, aber beim Schreiben nicht immer die volle klare Vorstellung vom Klange derselben hat, und dabei leicht geneigt ist, claviermässige Figuren auf diesselben zu übertragen', *Ibid.*, Col. 184.

²⁹⁵ 'Mit dem Schlussmotive jenes Themas wird nun in interessanter Modulation weitergearbeitet, bei starker Steigerung scheint ein Abschluss in D moll vorbereitet zu werden zu werden, aber unerwartet führt uns ein kräftig bewegter Rückgang von der Dominante nach D-dur. In dieser Tonart setzt nun ein neues freudig aufstrebendes Thema (von Violine und Bratsche *unisono* gespielt) ein, dem das Motiv des obigen zweiten Themas zu Grunde liegt, und welches in seinem harmonisch schönen Gegensatz durch G-dur zur Dominante führt', *Ibid.*, Col. 184.



Deiters sees 2c as a further development of the struggle out of which 2b originated. He hears the 'gloomy f' entering again, with 'the repetitive attempts of the piano', however D major has the victory and arrives at the conclusion after full and powerful courses. But it does not yet want to be silenced; it gladly moves a new melody upwards [2c]²⁹⁶:

Example 8: Brahms, Op. 25/I, bars 107-113 (Deiters's example modified):



With regard to the recapitulation, Deiters witnesses the piano suggesting the opening figure [bar 130], which is answered by 'broken-off harmonious figures in the strings', with

²⁹⁶ 'Bei dem Wiederholungsversuche des Claviers tönt bald das trübe *f* wieder hinein, doch behält D-dur den Sieg und gelangt nach mächtigen und vollen Gängen zum Abschluss. Aber es will sich noch nicht berhigen; froh bewegt schwingt sich eine neue Melodie aufwärts', *Ibid.*, Col. 184.

this exchange being developed for some time 'in very attractive modulations'. Deiters does not elaborate on the modulations at this point, but instead notes that a 'fuller, broader ending' ensues, 'from which a gradual reduction of strength again develops the darker harmonies of G minor, and the return to the opening motive [bar 161].'²⁹⁷

Deiters is by no means an uncritical observer. Having thus outlined the salient features of the exposition and focussed on its main themes, he now takes a broader look at the manner in which Brahms develops one theme from another. He considers the exposition to contain 'a great diversity of new and original motives.' Yet he fears that there may be an excess of material considering that there are five main themes. Hence for the clear and secure impression of the first theme, he claims that too much happens to allow this to form the centre point of the movement.²⁹⁸

To summarise: the succession of themes outlined by Deiters in this exposition is one that can certainly be compared to an organic growth. From the pregnant four bar theme (1a) and its starkly contrasted counter theme in B flat major (1b) Deiters witnesses Brahms developing each of the ensuing motives. 2a is a product of the battle between the semiquaver figure that arises from 1a and the sorrowful lamenting figure that is a derivative of 1b. Subsequently 2a forms the basis for the more joyful 2b, and 2c can be understood to have germinated from the same seeds as 2a, in that it is another victory call of D major.

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²⁹⁷ 'Nach dem Schluss deutet das Clavier das Anfangsthema an, worauf abgebrochene harmonische Figuren der Instrumente antworten, und dieser Wechsel wird eine Zeit lang in der sehr reizender Modulation durchgeführt; dann folgt endlich ein voller breiter Schluss, aus dem sich bei allmäliger Abnahme der Stärke und dem Eintreten dunklerer Harmonien das G-moll und die Rückkehr zum Anfange wieder entwickelt', *Ibid.*, Col. 184.

²⁹⁸ 'Blicken wir auf diesen ersten Theil zurück, so finden wir eine grosse Mannigfaltigkeit neuer und origineller Motive, wir finden überraschende Feinheiten und Schönheiten in harmonischen Wendungen und Contrasten, und in grossen Partien desselben warmen lebensvollen Fluss und schöne durch allmälige Steigerung des Ausdrucks hervorgebrachte Wirkung; wir glauben aber ein Uebermass des Stoffes (man erinnere sich, dass vier, vielleicht sogar fünf selbständige Themen auftreten) und eine daraus hervorgehenden Unklarheit als einen für die Gesammtwirkung weniger günstigen Umstand bezeichnen zu dürfen, und müssen es namentlich beklagen, dass für die deutliche und sichere Einprägung des ersten Themas, wodurch dasselbe den Mittelpunkt des Satzes bildete, zu wenig geschehen ist.' *Ibid.*, Col. 184.

Deiters's Discussion of Brahms String Quartet in B flat major, Op. 67

Norbert Meurs claims that Deiters 'almost completely did without the general historical-aesthetic reflections' that were common currency in contemporary writings, 'in particular those influenced by the New Germans'. ²⁹⁹ Certainly in the period that Meurs covers in his book Neue Bahnen? Aspekte der Brahms-Rezeption 1853–1868 this is the case. However, in the 1878 reviews of Brahms's String Quartets, Deiters becomes embroiled in the partisanship. Providing a lengthy preface in the first of a series of three articles, he outlines his stance in the polemical debates, frequently taking a cynical tone that is not present in any of his earlier writings.³⁰⁰ He argues that 'thoughts, strongly constructed, musical thoughts full of contents!' have become 'extraordinarily rare in recent productions.' 301 Emphasising the point, he states that 'thoughts with the ability to develop, and thereby the ability to develop large organic formulations' are equally rare. 302 What he wishes to see is 'the development of musical laws, no blending of different areas of art, no bringing in objects of representation which oppose music'. 303

In this sense his writings hark back to the polemical debates that were raging in the 1850s, as discussed in Chapter 1, the like of which had become less frequent in critical writings by the late 1870s. Brendel died in 1868, and the absence of the leader of the opposing party makes the outburst by Deiters in 1878 seem all the more anachronistic. Referring to a Hegelian stance that was perpetuated in the 1850s by Franz Brendel and the members of the

433-439; 13/29 (17 July 1878): 449-453; 13/30 (24 July 1878): 465-472.

²⁹⁹ 'Auf allgemeine historisch-ästhetische Reflexionen, wie sie in der gängigen, insbesondere von der Neudeutschen beeinflußten Praxis üblich waren, verzichtete er fast völlig,' Norbert Meuers, Neue Bahnen? Aspekte der Brahms-Rezeption 1853–1868 (Köln: Schwere, 1996), 168.

Deiters, 'Streichquartette von Johannes Brahms', Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, 13/28 (10 July 1878):

^{301 &#}x27;Was den jetzt schreibenden Componisten so vielfach abgeht, was ist vorzugsweise? Gedanken, selbständige, klar concipirte und festgeformte Gedanken, und zwar musikalische Gedanken; nicht etwa Tonweisen und Folgen, bei denen und durch die etwas anderes, den musikalischen-Kunstmitteln an sich Fremdes, gezeichnet und vorgestellt sein soll, sondern solche, in denen die Empfindung sich in schöner Form fühlt und ausspricht', Deiters, 'Streichquartette von Johannes Brahms', (10 July 1878), Col. 433.

³⁰² 'Gedanken also, festgefügte, inhaltvolle musikalische Gedanken sie sind in der neueren Production ausserordentlich selten geworden. Aber auch entwicklungsfähige Gedanken, und dabei die Fähigkeit sie zu

grösseren organischen Gebilden zu entwickeln', *Ibid.*, Col. 434.

303 'Und auch hier Entwickelung nach musikalischen Gesetzen, kein Vermengen verschiedener Kunstgattungen, kein Hineinbringen von Darstellungsobjecten, welche der Musik widerstreben', Ibid., Col. 434.

Neudeutsche Schule, he claims that 'we are instructed in more recent times that the past development of our art from form and content was only one preliminary stage to infinite heights, and that our great masters were to be content with the glory of having been stages in the development of an achievement of art for which they only showed a darkened presentiment'. 304 Taking a disparaging tone he writes that 'we ourselves could certainly not yet soar to the recognition of these heights in our criticism, and therefore restrict ourselves on this occasion to a discussion of works that still follow provisionally on that imperfect preliminary stage². ³⁰⁵ Giving the impression that this diatribe may have been written decades before its publication, he disputes the notion that Beethoven recognised 'the inadequacy of pure instrumental music' and hence included 'words in Symphony No. 9'. He counters this with what by 1878 seems an outdated argument, that following the Ninth Beethoven supplied a 'whole series of pure instrumental compositions', referring to the great quartets and the sketch of a tenth symphony without choir. 306 'The real Beethoven', he writes, and 'not the one the theory loves to distort, remained of the opinion that in the forms of instrumental music, musical thoughts can present themselves and be allowed to develop organically. 307 He continues that 'Schumann and Brahms, and all who strive in a similar manner to them, must consider musical dramas, such as the Neudeutsche Schule conceives and constructs, to be 'sadly mistaken'. 'We others', he continues, 'who are convinced we have the most genuine

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³⁰⁴ 'Wir werden zwar in neuerer Zeit belehrt, dass die bisherige Entwickelung unserer Kunst nach Form und Gehalt nur eine Vorstufe zu einer unendlich höheren gewesen, und unsere grossen Meister sich mit dem Ruhme begnügen müssen, Stufen in der Entwickelung zu einer Kunstleistung zu sein, wovon sie erst eine dunkle Ahnung zeigten', *Ibid.*, Col. 434.

³⁰⁵ 'Zur Entkenntniss dieser Höhe haben wir uns freilich bisher auch in der Kritik noch nicht emporschwingen können und halten uns daher auch diesmal in unserer Besprechung an Werke, welche sich vorläufig noch an jene unvollkommene Vorstufe anlehnen', *Ibid.*, Col. 434.

³⁰⁶ 'Beethoven hat freilich, so will man uns belehren, die Unzulänglichkeit der reinen Instrumentalmusik selbst eingesehen, und dieses Geständniss durch die Hinzunahme des Wortes in der neuenten Symphonie abgelegt, so dass nun eine reine Instrumentalmusik nicht mehr möglich scheint – so versichern uns Leute, deren Theorie, vorher schon fertig, dieser Umformung der Geschichte bedarf. Beethoven hat jedoch – und das lehrt die unertbittliche wirkliche Geschichte – die Hinzunahme des Chors zur Symphonie als einen Fehler erkannt, er hat nach derselben eine ganze Reihe reiner Instrumentalwerke geliefert (denn man wird ja die grossen Quartette doch nicht der Theorie zu Liebe ignoriren wollen) und die zehnte Symphonie ohne Chor entworfen', *Ibid.*, Col. 434–435.

³⁰⁷ 'Und an den wirklichen Beethoven, nicht einen der Theorie zu Liebe entstellen, haben sich die angeschlossen, welche nach ihm der Ansicht blieben, dass in den Formen der Instrumentalmusik sich musikalischen Gedanken sehr wohl darstellen und organisch entwickeln lassen können', *Ibid.*, Col 435.

and true art before us ... do not want to let our long certain aesthetic and artistic principles be revoked from a side that has no right to solely represent "German art". '308

What provoked such an outburst at this late stage in Deiters's critical career that had hitherto steered clear of such polemicism we will never know.³⁰⁹ Nonetheless this is the platform on which he presents Brahms's String Quartets, a genre that 'is considered in far higher degrees to be the blossom of pure instrumental music'.³¹⁰ The string quartet, he writes, 'is awarded motives of a much richer opportunity [than orchestral music], to show their richness of spirit in artful interweaving between few defined individualities'. In describing the tonal language he borrows Goethe's likeness of the string quartet to a 'dialogue between four intelligent people'.³¹¹ He compares Brahms's quartets to Beethoven's late style:

Just as Beethoven was cut off from the world by suffering and fate, and no more felt the necessity to affect in powerful tones, he immersed himself in this intimate language of four quartet voices, and in these created a rare series of deeply intimate, moving, for a long time misunderstood compositions that are more open to the current world.³¹²

Brahms's three works 'are no doubt worth the great model'. 313 Each of the three articles discusses a quartet in turn, beginning with the first. Friedhelm Krummacher, in his 1994

³⁰⁸ 'Die musikalische Dramatik, wie die Neudeutsche Schule sie betrachtet und ausbildet, muss Männer wie Schumann und Brahms und alle, die ihnen gleich streben, für traurig verirrte halten. Wir anderen, die wir überzeugt sind, hat die Fortentwicklung echtester und wahrster Kunst vor uns zu haben, wollen zwar der anderen Entwicklung unsere aufmerksame Beachtung nicht versagen, wollen uns aber nicht unsere längst feststehenden ästhetischen und künstlerischen Grundsätze von einer Seite umstossen lassen, die keineswegs das Recht hat, allein die "deutsche Kunst" zu vertreten', *Ibid.*, Col 435.

³⁰⁹ Unfortunately the *Brahms Briefwechsel* is of little help to us here either. Brahms and Deiters did exchange letters, but Brahms remains true to his reticence on musical matters in these letters. For the correspondence between Brahms and Deiters see *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Karl Reinthaler, Max Bruch, Hermann Deiters, Friedr. Heimsoeth, Karl Reinecke, Ernst Rudorff, Bernhard und Luise Scholz* (Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1908), 115–130.

³¹⁰ 'Das Streichquartett gilt bisher in noch höherem Grade, als die Symphonie, als Blüthe reiner Instrumentalmusik', Deiters, 'Streichquartette von Johannes Brahms', (10 July 1878), Col. 435.

³¹¹ 'Weit weniger wie in der Orchestercomponisten, ist hier Wirkung der Masse, Steigerung der Tonfülle zu den Mitteln der Kunstdarstellung hinzugenommen; es erhalten die Motive eine viel reichere Gelegenheit, in kunstvoller Verflechtung zwischen wenigen, abgegrenzten Individualitäten ihren inneren Reichthum zu zeigen, und gehaltvoller, reicher, feinsinniger wie irgendwo erscheint die Tonsprache in dem "Dialoge von vier geistreichen Personen", *Ibid.*, Col. 435.
³¹² 'Als Beethoven, durch Leiden und Schicksal von der grossen Welt abgeschnitten, kein Bedürfniss mehr

³¹² 'Als Beethoven, durch Leiden und Schicksal von der grossen Welt abgeschnitten, kein Bedürfniss mehr fühlte, in mächtigen Tönen auf sie zu wirken, vertiefte er sich in diese vertraute Sprache der vier Quartettstimmen, und schuf in derselben eine seltene Reihe der tiefsinnigsten, ergreifendsten, lange unverstandenen, der jetzigen Welt immer mehr sich erschliessenden Componisten', *Ibid.*, Col. 435.

³¹³ 'Ihm Brahms mit drei Werken, welche wohl werth sind des grossen Vorbildes', *Ibid.*, Col. 435.

article 'Reception and Analysis: On the Brahms String Quartets Op. 51, Nos. 1 and 2', has discussed Deiters's reviews of the Op. 51 quartets. The current discussion of Deiters will conclude with a study of his review of the String Quartet No. 3 in B flat major.

Walter Frisch has recently published an article on Op. 67 in which he quite rightly states that Brahms's third quartet has been unaccountably neglected in scholarly and analytical literature on the composer, pointing to Friedhelm Krummacher's 1999 article as the single modern study of the B flat quartet of which he is aware. ³¹⁴ Perhaps part of the reason for this neglect is that Op. 67 was not discussed in Schoenberg's writings. While both the Op. 51 quartets have received an abundance of scholarly attention in the wake of Schoenberg's comments on No. 1 in *Fundamentals of Musical Composition*, and on No. 2 in 'Brahms the Progressive', Op. 67 has been overshadowed in this regard. ³¹⁵ Yet while the thematic work in Op. 67 may not be considered to fit into the category of developing variation, the structure of the work and its thematic contents are no less compelling. Moreover, its structure is such that 'if the elaboration of a thematic idea is the primary formal principle, on which depends the integration of the movement as a whole', ³¹⁶ this work is paradigmatic of musical prose. Indeed to borrow further Dahlhaus's slogan, 'the musical form takes the shape of a discourse in sound in which motives develop out of earlier motives like ideas, each of which is a

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³¹⁴ Walter Frisch, 'The Snake Bites Its Tail: Cyclic Process in Brahms's Third String Quartet, Op. 67', *Journal of Musicology* 22/1 (Winter 2005): 154–172. Friedhelm Krummacher, 'Von "allerlei Delikatessen": Überlegungen zum Streichquartett Op. 67', in *Johannes Brahms: Quellen – Text – Rezeption: Internationaler Brahms-Kongress, Hamburg, 1997*, Krummacher and Michael Struck, eds. (Munich: G. Henle, 1999), 127–141. Elaine Sisman's 1990 detailed study of Brahms's use of variation form does not, unfortunately, consider the variations in the finale of Op. 67 in any detail. Elaine Sisman, 'Brahms and the Variation Canon', *19th-Century Music*, XIV/2 (Fall 1990): 132–153. In his 2004 article 'Brahms and the Sense of Ending' David Pacun discusses Op. 67 in the context of Brahms's other variation movements. Pacun's observations are insightful, but unfortunately too brief to explore the finale of Op. 67 in any detail. David Pacun, 'Brahms and the Sense of Ending', *American Brahms Society Newsletter* XXII/1 (Spring 2004): 1–4.

³¹⁵ For Schoenberg's analysis of Brahms's String Quartet in A minor, Op. 51, No. 2, see 'Brahms the Progressive', 430. For his discussion of Brahms's String Quartet in C minor, Op. 51, No. 1, see *Fundamentals of Musical Composition*, 30. The musical example is on 54. Among the literature that deals with Schoenberg's discussion of the Op. 51 quartets see Arnold Whittall, 'Two of a Kind? Brahms's Op. 51 Finales', in *Brahms II*: *Biographical, Documentary, and Analytical Studies*; Rainer Wilke, *Brahms, Reger, Schönberg Streichquartette: Motivische-thematische Prozesse und formale Gestalt* (Hamburg: Wagner, 1980); Friedhelm Krummacher, 'Reception and Analysis: On the Brahms String Quartets, Op. 51, Nos. 1 and 2', 19th-Century Music 18/1 (Summer 1994): 24–45; Walter Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation*, 6–8, and 109–116.

³¹⁶ Dahlhaus, 'Issues in Composition', 50.

consequence of its predecessor'. This discourse takes shape not only within the first movement, but across the work as a whole in that the thematic material appearing in the exposition of the first movement returns in the fourth movement, Poco Allegretto con Variazioni. Brahms fuses this thematic material with the variations theme in a manner that exemplifies thematic logic. Deiters's 1878 review of the work provides a thorough study of Brahms's thematic coherence, couching his analysis in an exploration of the expressive potential of the work. He explicitly draws attention to the striking thematic logic evident in the relationship of the first and fourth movements. Indeed many of the observations he makes find a resonance in Frisch's 2005 article.

The following table is useful in tracing the thematic scheme in the first movement as Deiters perceives it:

Table 3: Brahms, String Quartet in B flat major, Op. 67/I, Deiters's thematic outline:

	Exposition				Devel	opment	Recap.			
Bar	1	32	50	58	69	103	106	149 ³¹⁷	194	205
Subject		1a	1b	trans	2a	trans.	Dev.a	Dev.b	2a	Dev.a 1a
Key	ВЬ	F		F	d		F#	F#	g	ВЬ

The first theme, a 'lively motive', that Deiters considers to lie 'as the basis of all diversity', is played first by the middle instruments, violin II and viola, and repeated by all four instruments, followed by a continuation. ³¹⁸

Example 9: Op. 67/I, bars 1-4 [1a] (Deiters's example modified):

Musgrave claims that the 'thoroughgoing development of the second subject' appears at bar 161. This seems to disregard the return of the second 2/4 subject at bar 149 where it is arranged in imitation. Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, 182.

³¹⁸ 'Ein munteres Motiv in 6/8-Takt beginnt der ersten Satz (B-dur, Vivace) und liegt demselben bei aller Mannigfaltigkeit stetig zu Grunde', Deiters, 'Streichquartette von Johannes Brahms', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 13/30 (24 July 1878): Cols. 465–472 (465), hereafter Deiters, Op. 67.



The contrasting material appearing next is 'in altered rhythm and altered expression', but like the first theme is also 'in two two-bar periods', a structure that permeates the first section.³¹⁹

Example 10: Op. 67/I, bars 9-10 (Deiters's' example modified):



Following its repetition it closes in B flat. The restatement of 1a at this point is joined to a 'lively course', which is based on the theme. Deiters outlines the 'short series' of modulations through E flat minor, G flat minor, B flat minor to F major whereby the figure closes 'brilliantly'. He sees the motion remaining in the violin which creates 'fine, graceful melismas', while the second violin and viola again begin the next theme [2a]. 320

Example 11: Op. 67/I, bars 32-35 [1b] (Deiters's example modified):

³¹⁹ 'Nun tritt in verädertem Rhythmus (*tempo rubato*) und verändertem Ausdrucke ein Gegensatz auf ebenfalls in zwei zweitaktigen Perioden, von denen jede in verstärkter Kraft wiederholt wird, worauf dann der zweitheilige Rhythmus wieder einsetzt und in B abschliesst', Deiters, Op. 67, Col. 465.

³²⁰ Der Wiederholung des Anfangsthemas gelten sich nun lebhafte Gänge, zu welchen jenes gewissermaassen die Grundlage bildet; es wird in kurzer Folge durch Es-moll, durch Ges-dur, B-moll nach F modulirt; die lebhaften Figuren schliessen glänzend (*unisono*), die Bewegung bleibt in der ersten Geige und gestaltet sich feinen, anmuthigen Melismen, zu welchen die Mittelinstrumente mit der Bewegung des Themas einsetzen', *Ibid.*, Cols. 465–466.



This section is 'more graceful' with 'a more lively effect'. Following a repetition in the minor mode, he witnesses the 'most surprising and artful' manner in which the accompaniment and harmonic progressions are stated in retrograde [39–43].³²¹ This is followed by a 'more gloomily coloured, restless minor course', a transition theme beginning at bar 50, that finally comes to a halt with two bars of octave Fs. Drawing attention to the apparent interruption of this theme by the Fs, for Deiters it is 'as though it expected to find something still uniidentified', but rather 'closes unexpectedly'. A new motive ensues in 2/4 [2a at bar 58], a tempo which rules for the rest of the first part, interrupted once by two bars of 6/8 motion [bars 60–62]. Drawing attention to the apparent interruption of this theme by the Fs, for Deiters it is 'as though it expected to find something still uniidentified', but rather 'closes unexpectedly'. Drawing attention to the apparent interruption of this theme by the Fs, for Deiters it is 'as though it expected to find something still uniidentified', but rather 'closes unexpectedly'.

Example 12: Op. 67/I, bars 55-60 [2a at 58] (Deiters's example modified):



 ^{321 &}quot;Dese ganze Stelle ist von anmuthiger, das Gemüth belebender Wirkung. Die Periode wiederholt sich in der Molltonart und höchst überraschend und kunstvoll werden sowohl das Motiv als die begleitenden harmonischen Gämge in umgekehrter Bewegung gebracht', *Ibid.*, Col. 466.
 322 " ... sie geht dann in trüber gefärbte, unruhige Mollgänge aus, die endlich, wie wenn sie noch etwas nicht

Geffurdenes erwarteten, auf F zwei Takte Halt machen. Da schliesst sich unerwartet ...', *Ibid.*, Col. 466. ³²³ "Di schliesst sich unerwartet, aber für das Gefühl verständlich und motivirt, ein reizendens neues Motiv im 2/4--Tikt an, welches, nachdem die 6/8-Bewegung noch einmal dazwischen getreten, für den Rest des ersten Theiles zum herrschenden wird', *Ibid.*, Col. 466.

Deiters considers Brahms's contrast of a 'driving' compound and 'persisting' simple duple time to be 'one of the courses of real genius' in that 'what seems different and incoherent' surprises us 'through inner truth and refinement of motivation'. This puts us in mind, he claims 'of the calmed down mind that having reached its goal happily draws a deep breath.' Implying that something further is to come of the relationship between this simple and compound duple time, he claims that it 'does not yet lead to a perfect conclusion'. The section in 2/4 is developed with a long continuation (beginning at bar 69) that in Deiters's interpretation 'appears to seek and not find peace' until the 6/8 figure penetrates the surface of 2/4 (at bar 97), to give a 'renewed, firm direction' by keeping a 'logical' hold on the material. This marks the end of the exposition which, as Deiters remarks, 'leads without conclusion' either back to the repeat, or on to the development section'.

Deiters considers the development section in Op. 67 to be 'simple and loosely arranged' and thereby 'more transparent' than many others by Brahms. The figure that appears in bars 103–105 in 6/8 is derived from 1a, which 'withdraws itself uncertainly', to repeat itself after the appearance of new material. The new motive at bar 106 is one that Deiters refers to as 'fundamentally determined', which in 'gloomy, restless searching', does not arrive at the 'desired conclusion', and in that sense is 'like a dark cloud shadow over

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³²⁴ 'Das ist wieder einer der Züge des echten Genius; was scheinbar verschiedenartig und unzusammenhängend erscheint, überrascht den Eindringenden durch innere Wahrheit und Feinheit der Motivirung. Der Componist führt uns den Unterschied des treibenden, strebenden 6/8 und des beharrenden, in sich zufriedenen 2/4-Rhythmus lebhaft ins Gemüth; wir meinen plötzlich die heitere Freude des beruhigten Gemüthes, welches an seinem Ziele ist und froh aufathmet, mitzuempfinden', *Ibid.*, Col. 466.

³²⁵ 'Aber freilich führt diese Beruhigung noch nicht zu vollkommenem Abschlusse; sie verliert sich in ungewisse Ahnungen – da macht sich Brahms Modulationsgeschick wieder geltend – die Sechszehntelbewegung des 2/4-Takt wird zu einem kurzen Durchführungssatze verarbeitet und ergeht sich dann in einer längeren Fortsetztung, die Ruhe sucht und nicht zu finden scheint, bis ihr durch Hinzutreten des Sechsachtelmotivs eine erneuerte, fest Richtung gegeben wird, die denn auch durch consequentes Festhalten sich Bahn bricht und durchdringt', *Ibid.*, Col. 466–467.

³²⁶ 'Damit schliesst der erste Theil, oder vielmehr er führt ohne eigentlichen Abschlusse zur Wiederholung oder zur Durchführung im zweiten', *Ibid.*, Col. 467.

³²⁷ 'Der Durchführungssatz ist in diesem Satze einfacher und loser gestaltet und dadurch in seiner Entwicklung übersichtlicher und durchsichtiger wie in vielen anderen', *Ibid.*, Col. 467.

which the cheerful piece rushes'. ³²⁸ It alternates with the 'opening repelled figure (1a)' which reappears from bars 114–117, and again at 127, at which point it 'repeats itself in a period in F sharp major that is harmonically very attractive'. Deiters claims that if we 'do not lose sight of the connection' at this point between the cheerful opening theme, and the new motive of restless searching, it is 'as though all striving, all of the will for the instant, would withdraw us in a sweet dream of impossible things'. ³²⁹ It is only with the entry of the 2/4 motive already 'well known to us' [2a] at bar 149, likewise in F sharp major, that 'the mind gradually gathers itself up in fast harmonic changes and in short rhythms'. With the arrangement of this motive in imitation, 'we are brought to that high point of the development' in which 'the conflict that is represented in the different motives appears in its complete sharpness', leading to a 'passionate outbreak'. ³³⁰

Deiters cannot resist the urge to draw the polemical battles that are evidently still raging into his discussion. He comments that Brahms gives the impression 'that we hear music, beautiful music that does not require a programme'. This lively period closes in the dominant of G minor, and in this tonality the 'half sad, half dissatisfied' theme of the development reinserts itself. 'Naturally', he observes, 'the mind seeks to save itself from such a storm again and returns slowly, devoted and resigned, to the initial tonality in which the

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³²⁸ 'Es tritt als wesentlich bestimmend ein neues Motiv ein, welches in einer trüben, unruhig suchenden und nicht an den gewünschten Abschluss gelangenden Weise, wie ein dunkler Wolkenschatten, über das heitere Bild hinrauscht.' *Ibid.*, Col. 467.

³²⁹ 'Die anfänglichen Motiv ziehen sich unsicher zurück, verlieren sich, nachdem jene Periode sich wiederholt hat, in eine harmonisch sehr reizvoll behandelte Periode in Fis-dur, so die anfangs abgestossenen Figuren in gebundener Bewegung einen kleinen Satz von reizendem Wohllaute durchführen, die aber doch, wenn wir den Zusammenhang nicht aus dem Auge verlieren, die Emfindung erregt, wie wenn sich alles Streben, alle Wille für den Augenblick zurückzöge in eine süsse Träumerei von unmöglichen Dingen', *Ibid.*, Col. 467.

³³⁰ 'Mit dem Eintritt des uns bekannten 2/4- Motivs, ebenfalls noch in Fis-dur, rafft sich das Gemüth allmälig wieder auf, in schnellen Harmoniewechseln und in kurzen Rhythmen, in welchen das 2/4-Motiv imitirend verarbeitet wird, werden wir zu jenem Höhepunkt der Durchführung gebracht, den wir auch sonst bei Brahms in diesen Abschnitten finden, und welche den Conflict der in den verschiedenen Motiven sich darstellenden verschiedenen Stimmungen in seiner ganzen Schärfe und zu leidenschaftlichem Ausbruche zugespitzt erscheinen lässt', *Ibid.*, Col. 467.

³³¹ 'Brahms versteht es, über die Schönheit setzt, zu gewagten Experimenten verleiten könnte, uns das Gefühl zu lassen, dass wir Musik, schöne Musik hören, die keines Programmes bedarf', *Ibid.*, Col. 467.

more courageous 6/8 motive [1a] rises again.³³² Thus the recapitulation has begun, one in which, 'as is expected', there are 'new, sensitive and characteristic courses, especially in harmony'. Deiters notes an apparent increase in 'power and skill' that is particularly evident at the conclusion, notably 'in the rhythmic doubling of the theme, accompanied by syncopated movement' (bars 316–317 and 322–323). He considers the movement to close with the tone of 'glad, courageous revolt'.³³³

It is Deiters's discussion of the finale, Poco Allegretto con Variazioni, that is most outstanding because he relates the local aspects to the large scale continuity across the movements in a manner that we do not see in the writings of Schoenberg or his followers. He outlines the form of the movement as consisting of a theme and eight variations. Furthermore he notes that the first three variations form a group in which the content of the theme is illustrated, made more urgent, decorated, but in which the basic mood is not left. ³³⁴ Indeed the tonality of these three variations remains in B flat major. The following three are likewise inwardly connected and he depicts each of the three in turn as portraying the 'entry of a gloomier, introspective, and finally a dreamy tone'. ³³⁵ In variations 4, 5, and 6 we are led further away from the original key, variation 4 being in the parallel minor, variation 5 in D flat, and variation 6 in G flat. Furthermore, Deiters points out the intimate relationship of the first and last movements. The return of Brahms's thematic material from the exposition of the

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eindringlicher gemacht, ausgeschmückt, aber die Grundstimmung nicht eigentlich verlassen wird', Ibid., Col.

470.

³³² 'Diese lebendige, ja das Gemüth aufregende Periode schliesst in der Dominante von G-moll; in dieser Tonart setzt dann noch einmal das neue, halb traurig, halb unzufrieden klingende Thema der Durchführung wieder ein – natürlich sucht sich das Gemüth auch aus solchem Sturme wieder zu retten – und leitet langsam, hingebend und resignirend, in die Anfangstonart wieder zurück, in welcher dann das muthvollere 6/8-Motiv wieder anhebt', *Ibid.*, Col. 467.

Ibid., Col. 467.

333 'Die Wiederholung enthält, wie zu erwarten, neue, feinsinnige und charakteristische Züge, besonders in der Harmonie; dann macht sich auch in der Kraft und Fertigkeit der Bewegung eine Steigerung bemerkbar, die besonders gegen den Schluss in der rhythmischen Verdoppelung des Themas, von synkopirter Bewegung begleitet, sich geltend macht. Mit dem Tone froher, muthiger Erhebung schliesst der Satz', *Ibid.*, Col. 467.

334 'Diese drei Variationen bilden eine Gruppe, in welcher der Inhalt des Themas gleichsam illustrirt,

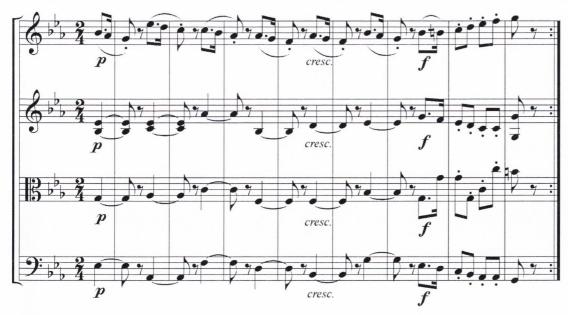
³³⁵ 'In den drei folgenden, ebenfalls innerlich zusammenhängenden Variationen, tritt ein trüberer, in sich gekehrter, schliesslich ganz der Träumerei hingegebener Ton ein', *Ibid.*, Col. 470.

first movement is fused with the variation theme in Nos. 7 and 8, a procedure that Deiters understands to capture the 'poetic idea of the whole'. 336

Musgrave and Frisch have both observed that Brahms's quartet evokes Mozart's 'Hunt' Quartet, K. 458, with which it shares its theme, key, and a basic tempo, with the themes in the first movement presented in two voices – two violins in Mozart, and second violin and viola in Brahms. Indeed it is certainly possible, as Musgrave claims, that Brahms may have used this work as a background model, given the classical period structure evident from the outset in two measure units that are given varied repetition. Deiters points to another musical analogy, however, in drawing a parallel with Beethoven's String Quartet in E flat major, Op. 74, which likewise has an Allegretto con Variazioni as its finale. The parallels go even further in that the theme of each of the variations goes to V of vi at the end of the A section – G major in bar 8 in Beethoven, and D major in bar 4 in Brahms. (See example 13 for Beethoven and example 14 for Brahms in this regard.)

Example 13: Beethoven, String Quartet in E flat major, Op. 74/I, bars 1-8:

Allegretto con Variazoni.



^{336 &#}x27; ... die poetische Idee des Ganzen ...', *Ibid.*, Col. 471.

³³⁷ Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, 179–82; and Frisch, 'The Snake Bites Its Tail'.

Moreover, just as Brahms's variations are grouped in two groups of three, so too are those of Beethoven's Op. 74.³³⁸

Deiters's discussion of the theme of the variations outlines the structure clearly and concisely [A, B, A1], noting how in the 'short run' of the theme 'the feelings are already expressed in a terse form'. 'A comfortable, friendly motive begins in B flat, to close already with its continuation in the fourth bar in D' [A].³³⁹ He observes the second part [B] beginning in this tonality, and notes that it 'secures a surprisingly longing tone in legato motion', which then, with the 'surprisingly fast return' to B flat major leads back to the 'friendly, peaceful tone', of the opening [A1], and closes with two bars of this material.³⁴⁰ Deiters encapsulates this structure in depicting it as one in which 'the shortest form' has 'a beginning, rich full development, and conclusion', with a 'rhythmic and harmonic evenness'. It 'could hardly be more beautifully thought', he writes, claiming that 'only the truly appointed master' could achieve such brevity.³⁴¹

Example 14: Op. 67/IV, bars 1-8 (Deiters's example modified):

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³³⁸ Nicholas Marston has further argued that corresponding sets of Beethoven's six variations are closely linked by other means, so that 'in addition to the grouping 1 3 5/2 4 6 there arises a grouping in pairs: 1–2, 3–4, 5–6'. See Nicholas Marston, 'Analysing Variations: The Finale of Beethoven's String Quartet Op. 74', *Music Analysis* 8/3 (October 1989): 303–324 (306).

³³⁹ 'In dem kurzen Verlaufe des Themas sind diese Empfindungen schon in gedrängter Form ausgesprochen; ein behagliches freundliches Motiv in B beginnt um schon mit seiner Fortsetztung im vierten Takte in D abzuschliessen', Deiters, Op. 67, Col. 469.

³⁴⁰ 'Diese Tonart nimmt der zweite Theil auf und schlägt in gebundener Bewegung einen überraschend sehnsüchtigen Ton an, der dann mit dem überraschend schnellen Rückgange nach B-dur in das Thema und dessen freundlich friedlichen Ton zurückleitet und mit den beiden Haupttakten desselben schliesst', *Ibid.*, Col. 469.

³⁴¹ 'In kürzester Form Beginn, reiche volle Entwicklung und Abschluss, dabei in einem rhythmischen und harmonischen Ebenmaasse, wie es schöner kaum gedacht werden kann; das vermag nur der wahrhaft berufene Meister', *Ibid.*, Cols. 469–470.



Deiters continues to describe each of the variations individually. A table outlining his observations is useful in this regard.

Table 4: Op. 67, Deiters's outline for the form of the Finale of Op. 67:

	Theme	Var. 1	Var. 2	Var. 3	Var. 4	Var. 5	Var. 6	Var. 7	Var. 8	Coda
Key	Вр	Вβ	Вр	Вр	bb	$\mathrm{D}\flat$	Gψ	В	Dβ	Gb - Bb
Meter	2/4	2/4	2/4	2/4	2/4	2/4	2/4	6/8	6/8	2/4
Bar	1	11	18	39	52	66	81	94	111	150

In Variation 1 'the viola leads in semiquaver motion, to the *pizzicato* accompaniment of the other instruments .'³⁴² In Variation 2 the viola again takes the lead, after which the violin takes over the motive. The accompaniment and the whole motion is in legato figures.³⁴³ By Variation 3 Deiters notes 'a livelier movement', where 'the first violin varies the theme in triplet motion', accompanied by chords in the remaining instruments. He observes the emphasis on the fourth quaver, which is stressed 'in a remarkably astounding way'. In the second part of this variation the other instruments take part in the triplet motion through imitation.³⁴⁴

In the fourth variation, the first of the second group of three, the tonality changes to the parallel B flat minor. The violin and cello play *unisono*, in quiet, legato passages, whose conclusion is accompanied by a 'richer harmony', with triplets in the accompaniment in the repetition at bar 57. In the **B** section of Variation 4, as Deiters hears it, the music 'gets a dreamy, longing colour of inimitable attractions'. ³⁴⁵ In the following two variations 'this sweet dream', which is 'sunken in itself in the wonderfully charming harmonies and the sensitive voice leading', finds 'a still more satisfied expression'. ³⁴⁶ He notes the D flat tonality of the fifth variation in which 'the semiquaver passages are combined with triplet motion'. This puts Deiters spontaneously in mind of one of the Beethoven variations, most likely Variation 6 in which Beethoven combines continuous quavers and triplet quavers

³⁴² 'In der ersten Variation führt die Bratsche, zu *pizzicato*-Begleitung der übrigen Instrumente, eine Sechszehntelbewegung durch', *Ibid.*, Col. 470.

ja Meister in der Behandlung dieses eigenthümlich bestrickenden clair-obscur', *Ibid.*, Col. 470.

³⁴³ 'In der zweite tritt auch wieder zuerst die Bratsche selbständig auf, nach welcher dann die Geige das Motiv ünernimmt; die Begleitung und ganze Bewegung erfolgt in gebundene Figuren,' *Ibid.*, Col. 470.

³⁴⁴ 'Eine lebhaftere Bewegung kommt durch die dritte Variation in das Stück, wo die erste Violine in Triolenbewegung das Thema variirt, und dir übrigen Instrumente mit Accorden, wobei in besonders frappirender Weise das vierte Achtel besonders betont wird, begleiten. Durch Imitation nehmen im zweiten Theile auch die übrigen Instrumente an der Triolenbewegung Theil,' *Ibid.*, Col. 470.

³⁴⁵ 'In B-moll setzen Violine und Violincell *unisono* leise gebundene Gänge ein, deren Abschluss vollere Harmonie begleitet, und zu deren Wiederholung in der Begleitung Triolen auftreten; hier bekommt jene Stelle des zweiten Theiles eine träumerisch-sehnsüchtige Farbe von unnachahmlichem Reize,' *Ibid.*, Col. 470. ³⁴⁶ 'Diese süsse, in sich versunkene Träumerei finden in den wunderbar reizenden Harmonien und den feinsinnigen Stimmführungen der beiden folgenden Variationen einen noch gesättigteren Ausdruck; Brahms ist

simultaneously (bar 120ff).³⁴⁷ Continuing with his images of reverie, he claims that in Variation No. 6 'the mind sinks still deeper in dreamy reminiscences', while also the tonality itself 'sinks to G flat'. Here, 'to the chords of the upper instruments, the cello suggests the theme pizzicato'. 348 In the **B** section of the variation (from bar 89) the viola takes over the pizzicato movement in wider intervals, with 'increased movement' in the chords. Describing the wonderfully tranquil quality of the music at this point, Deiters writes that 'finally, however, the composer completely soothes us in sweet dreams, where we forget everything around us. 349 With this, the **B** section is uniformly closed. 350

It is the seventh variation that marks the pinnacle of the movement, and indeed of the piece as a whole. According to Deiters 'we are brought back to consciousness with a bang' as the composer 'with surprisingly fine and eloquent passages' brings back the material of the 'fresh and driving motive of the first movement for the new variation', thus reverting to compound duple time and B flat major, 'and now makes this the basis of all further development, 351:

Example 15: Op. 67/IV, bars 94-97 (Deiters's example modified):

³⁴⁷ 'Die fünfte geht in Des; Sechszehntelgänge werden mit Triolenbewegung verbunden – die Erinnerung an eine, der Variationen bei Beethoven steigt hier unwillkürlich auf, ohne dass von einem Anklange in den Motiven gesprochen werden könnte', *Ibid.*, Col. 470.

348 'Noch tiefer versinkt das Gemüth in träumerische Rückerinnerungen in der folgenden sechsten; die Tonart

sinkt in Ges; zu den Accorden der oberen Instrumente deutet das Violincell *pizz*. das Thema an', *Ibid.*, Col. 470.
³⁴⁹ 'Im zweiten Theile übernimmt die Bratsche die *pizzicato*-Bewegung in weiten Intervallen, die Accorde zeigen eine etwas gesteigerte Bewegung, schliesslich aber wiegt uns der Componist ganz in süsse Träumerei ein, worin wir alles um uns her vergessen', Ibid., Col. 470.

^{350 &#}x27;Damit ist diese Gruppe einheitlich abgeschlossen', *Ibid.*, Col. 470.

^{351 &#}x27;Mit einem Schlage werden wir wieder zur Besinnung, zu frischem Aufraffen gebracht, und mit einem überraschend feinen und sprechenden Zuge bewirkt dies der Componist dadurch, dass er das frische und treibende Anfangsmotiv des ersten Satzes als Motiv zu der neuen Variation verwendet und nun zur Grundlage aller ferneren Entwicklung macht', Ibid., Cols. 470-471.



It is here that Deiters understands the work to have reached its structural and expressive peak. He exclaims, 'thus enters the poetic idea of the whole, as far as it allows itself to be captured in words.' Revelling in the catharsis he experiences through the work he continues that 'we win the feeling of an attained result, of full satisfaction' a feeling that is based on 'an inner harmony and peace'. 352 This harmony and peace is that which was denied in the first movement. It is at this point that we can understand the statement he made about the relationship between simple and compound duple time being 'one of the dictates of real genius', 353 as we now experience the 'inner truth and refinement of motivation'. 554 For the remainder, 'the composer leads us through small, certainly no longer serious difficulties'. 355

Moving straight on to the eighth variation (beginning in bar 111) 'the memory of the contents of the first movement allow the gloomier, legato idioms again to emerge without clouding the mind more deeply. These legato idioms make their reappearance in the **B** section of variation 8 at bar 123. It will be remembered that at the initial appearance at bar 50

353 '... einer der Züge des echten Genius ...', *Ibid.*, Col. 466.
354 '... innere Wahrheit und Feinheit der Motivirung ...', *Ibid.*, Col. 466.

^{352 &#}x27;So tritt die poetische Idee des Ganzen, soweit sie sich in Worte fassen lässt, in die Erscheinung, und wir gewinnen das Gefühl eines erlangten Resultates, voller Befriedigung, in eifrigem, muthigem Wollen auf dem Grunde innerer Harmonie und Ruhe', Ibid., Col. 471.

^{355 &#}x27;Noch führt uns der Componist durch kleine, nun freilich nicht mehr ernstliche Schwierigkeiten', *Ibid.*, Col.

^{356 &#}x27;Die Erinnerung an den Inhalt des ersten Satzes lässt auch die trüberen gebundenen Wendungen wieder auftauchen (Variation 8), ohne jedoch das Gemüth tiefer zu trüben', Ibid., Col. 471

in the exposition of the first movement Deiters commented that it is 'as though it expected to find something still not identified'.³⁵⁷ Thus, here, the expressive potential of that which was not fulfilled in the exposition of the first movement finds a more powerful expression in the culmination of the work. See example 16 for the initial appearance of this material, and example 17 for the reappearance in Variation 8:

Example 16: Op. 67/I, bars 50-54 (my example, not Deiters's):



Example 17: Op. 67/IV, bars 122-29 (my example, not Deiters's):



Herewith we encounter a deceptive cadence (*Trugschlusse*). The cadence at the first time bars 148–49 was a perfect cadence in Bb. In the second time bar we are brought to the wrong

^{357 &#}x27; ... wie wenn sie noch etwas nicht Gefundenes erwarteten ... ', *Ibid.*, Col. 466.

mode by a deceptive cadence on Gb 7, which results in the coda beginning in G flat major at bar 150. The variation theme rises again in small sections, striving powerfully upwards, and the main tonality (B flat major) arrives again at bar 161, elevated to a peak by the triplet motion. Everything strives onward in a 'more secure, conscious way'. The music stops at bar 191. At this point Deiters expects 'the short expression of longing desire' from the B section of the initial variation (bars 5–6) to be heard, but rather the violin issues forth in a 'broad, aimless' manner, quietly suggesting the main motive. It is at bar 198 with the upper string instruments playing in syncopation, that the viola and cello now allow the B section of the variation theme to sound quietly, in augmented rhythm to compensate for the Doppio Movimento that was initiated in Variation 7:360

Example 18: Op. 67/IV, bars 198-202 (Deiters's example modified):



Theile des Themas soll auch hier noch einmal voll und ganz ausklingen', *Ibid.*, Col. 471.

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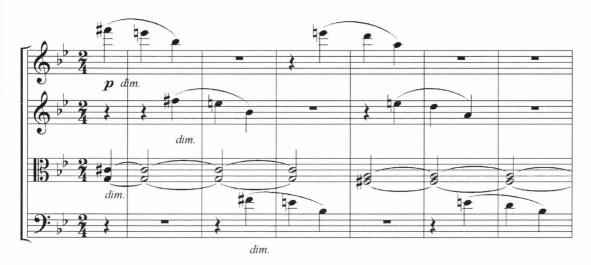
³⁵⁸ 'Auf einem Trugschlusse in Ges erhebt sich leise das Variationenmotiv in kleinen Absätzen wieder, und dann wird in mächtiger Steigung bis zur höchsten Höhe, gehoben durch die Triolenbewegung, die Haupttonart wieder erreicht und alles strebt nun in sicherer bewussten Weise, in vollem Tone dem Abschlusse zu', *Ibid.*, Col. 471.

³⁵⁹ 'Noch einmal lässt der Tondichter Halt machen; der kurze Ausdruck sehnsüchtigen Verlangens im zweiten

³⁶⁰ 'Noch einmal ergeht sich die Violine in weiten, ziellosen Gängen, zu welchen das Hauptmotiv nur leise angedeutet wird; dann bleibt sie in synkopirter Bewegung auf einem Tone, und die tieferen Instrumente lassen das leise erklingen', *Ibid.*, Col. 471.

The violin fades playing in syncopated rhythm. Each of the instruments subsequently accepts the conclusion, allowing the second part of the theme to fade in a 'thoughtful and dissolved rhythm', 361:

Example 19: Op. 67/IV, bars 206-212 (Deiters's example modified):



But with that it is now forgotten, allowing the **A** section of the variation theme to emerge in bar 214, accompanied by the earlier triplets, which lead shortly and definitely to a conclusion.³⁶²

Deiters's observations on Brahms's thematic development and harmonic language are perceptive and subtle. Moreover, he understands Brahms to actively further the course of Austro-Germanic music, recognizing the 'spirit of the great past' to be alive in his compositions. His discussion of individual aspects of Brahms's works—the development of motives, the thematic development, and the harmonic language—feeds back into a holistic view of the works that allows the reader, along with Deiters, to witness the musical logic unfold. Thus his discussion of Op. 34/I clearly charts the trajectory of the whole movement and where he considers the work to reach its highest peak. Likewise his discussion of Op. 25/I allows us to understand how the logic of this movement is due to the fact (and not despite the

³⁶³ Deiters, Op. 34, 135.

³⁶¹ 'Die Violine giebt es synkopirt wieder und dann verklingt, nachdenklich gleichsam und in aufgelöstem Rhythmus der Schluss, indem ihn die Instrumente nacheinander aufnehmen,' *Ibid.*, Col. 471.

³⁶² 'Aber damit ist er auch vergessen, und schnell wird das Thema der Variationen wieder aufgenommen, von den Triolen des früheren begleitet, und führt kurz und bestimmt zum Abschlusse', *Ibid.*, Col. 471.

Dahlhaus and Frisch on whether this movement exemplifies the concept of developing variation does not invalidate the concept itself, a reading of Deiters's review of the work allows us to somehow reconcile this disagreement. Furthermore, his discussion of Op. 67 is the earliest (and one of very few) discussions to grapple with this work, and provide a written account of how the motives develop out of earlier motives, this time not only within a single movement but across an entire work. Therefore, Deiters's reviews of the works of Brahms are an integral part of the critical reception of Brahms's music. Moreover, in his ability to uncover the underlying motivic unity in Brahms's works, he anticipates Schoenberg's view of Brahms, which would gain great critical currency in the later twentieth century.

Selmar Bagge

The Neue Folge, or new series, of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* was founded in 1863 by Breitkopf und Härtel, who wished to give new life to the journal that had been formerly active until 1848. The aim was to publish articles on the music of contemporary composers without taking part in the polemics raging at mid-century. In its inaugural edition the journal claimed that, as in former times, it would be 'thoroughly independent, in no way personal or interested in partisanship.' In 1866 the journal was taken over by the publishing house J.M. Rieterman-Biedermann, with the slightly altered name *Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, and in 1869 reverted to its original title. The journal continued to be published by this company until its disbandment in 1882. The editorial seat was initially occupied by Selmar Bagge, from 1863 to 1868. At the end of October 1868 it was passed to Friedrich Chrysander, following a number of shorter appointments of Arrey von Dommer and Robert Eitner. Chrysander continued to edit the journal until the publication of the last issue in 1882.

³⁶⁴ 'An unsere Leser,' *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, Neue Folge,* I, 1863. Quoted in Imogen Fellinger, 'Das Brahms-Bild der Allgemeinen Musikalischen Zeitung,' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musikkritik*, Heinz Becker, ed. (Regensburg: Bosse, 1965), 27–54.

Unlike Deiters and Schubring, Selmar Bagge (1823–1896) was a critic whose background was steeped in experience as a musician. Having studied at the Prague Conservatory, and with Simon Sechter in Vienna, in 1851 he was appointed lecturer in composition at the Vienna Conservatory, and in 1854 appointed organist at Gumpendorf near Vienna. His career as a critic involved editing and contributing articles to the *Deutsche Musikzeitung*, and from 1863 to 1868 editing the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* to which he also contributed articles. He left this position in 1868 to take up a post as director of the *Musikhochschule* in Basel. Among the works of Brahms that Bagge reviewed are the Serenade No. 2 in A Major, Op. 16, Handel Variations, op. 24, Two Motets Op. 29, *Geistliches Lied*, Op. 30, and 3 Quartets for Soprano, Op. 31, Cello Sonata No. 1, Op. 38, and the Horn Trio, Op. 40, Hong and the Waltzes, Op. 39.

Horstmann considers Bagge to belong to a group of reviewers who ignored the progressive character of some of Brahms's music by rigidly adhering to a classical music tradition, thereby contributing to the hardening relationship between traditional and progressive thought. Such an acceptance at face value of the polarities that marked the musical-aesthetic debates at mid-century does not do justice to the intricacies of Bagge's argument, and tacitly supports the view that the more traditional aspects of Brahms's music were contrary to the notion of progress. Bagge, however, did not consider Brahms to be non-

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25. Bagge, 'Recensionen. Vierhändige Walzer von Johannes Brahms, Op. 39', *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1/37 (12 September 1866): 293–96.

³⁶⁵ For discussions of Bagge's musical background see Horstmann, *Untersuchungen zur Brahms Rezeption*, 304, and Hugo Riemann, *Musilexikon* (Leipzig, 1900), 68.

³⁶⁶ Bagge, 'Recensionen. Johannes Brahms: Serenade in A-dur (Blasinstrumente, Violen, Violoncelle und Bässe) Op. 16', *Deutsche Musikzeitung* 2/6 (9 February 1861): 42–44.

³⁶⁷ Bagge, 'Recensionen. Johannes Brahms: Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Handel für das Pianoforte, Op. 24 ...', *Deutsche Musikzeitung* 3/41 (11 October 1862): 323–25.

³⁶⁸ Bagge, 'Recensionen. Neue Gesangscompositionen von Johannes Brahms.' *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung Neue Folge* 2/34 (24 August 1864): cols. 573–77.
³⁶⁹ Bagge, 'Recensionen. Neue Kammermusik-Werke von Johannes Brahms,' *Leipziger Allgemeine*

³⁶⁹ Bagge, 'Recensionen. Neue Kammermusik-Werke von Johannes Brahms,' *Leipziger Allgemeine musilkalische Zeitung* 21/2 (2 January 1867): 4–6; 2/2 (9 January 1867): 15–17; and 2/3 (16 January 1867): 24–25.

³⁷¹ 'Er gehört damit einer Rezensentengruppe an, die durch vehementes Engagement für die Bewahrung der klassischen Musiktradition den progressiven Charakter mancher Brahms'scher Komposition außer acht ließ und zu einer Verhartung des Verhältnisses zwischen Traditionalisten und fortschrittlich Denkenden beitrug', Horstmann, *Untersuchungen zur Brahms Rezeption*, 309–10.

progressive. While he adheres to classical formal structures in his analysis of Brahms's music, it is the innovative and highly original manner in which Brahms uses these older forms that he highlights as the 'modern' aspects of his works. Bagge quite intentionally avoids the predicate 'progressive' in his discussions of Brahms, as though he considers the term to be tainted by its association with the *Neudeutsche Schule* who had hijacked this predicate as one of their numerous banners. And while Bagge seems willing to allow them the term 'progressive', he adamantly defends Brahms's right to all that the term implies. His cynical use of quotation marks in the following assessment of Brahms's success up to 1863 is telling in this regard:

Brahms's past success, actually modest with the greater public, is not be underestimated, because it is not the worst musicians and friends of music who are interested in him – namely those who require a poetic content of music, and apart from the immeasurably high worth of the master, have retained a sense and understanding for the efforts of the present. And if they do not believe in a particular 'progress', nonetheless they believe in a possible enriching of the art through an artistic nature that is actually organised.'³⁷²

Thus, Bagge seeks to assert the innovative aspects of Brahms's music in the face of such 'progress'. The terms 'independent', 'modern', and 'new' are alternatives to 'progress' in Bagge's writings. His musical preferences are for composers whose works exemplify an organic approach to music. Thematic construction is paramount for Bagge, and he reveres artists who give new life to the older forms. His concern is to support 'independent thinkers, artists aware of the achievements of the past'. Thus he writes in this same review that Brahms's music stimulates and attracts us, as it does 'not move on well-trodden ways, rather it appears to be the fruit of a sufficiently independent spirit. In the 1864 review of the

³⁷² 'Brahms' bisherige Erfolg, an sich bei den grössern Publikum gering, dürfen dennoch nicht unterschätzt werden, denn es sind nicht die schlechtesten Musiker und Musikerfreunde, da sich für ihn interessiren, diejenigen nämlich, welche von der Musik poetischen Gehalt verlangen und neben der vollsten Ueberzeugung über den unermesslich hohen Werth der Meister, Sinn und Verstandniss für die Bestrebungen der Gegenwart bewahrt haben, und, wenn auch nicht an sonderliche "Fortschritte" doch an eine mögliche Bereicherung der Kunst durch eigenthümlich organisirte Künstlernaturen glauben.' Bagge, 'Johannes Brahms', Col. 462.

³⁷³ Horstmann, *Untersuchungen zur Brahms Rezeption*, 304.

^{&#}x27;Anregend, anziehend wirkt Brahms' Musik auf uns, da sie sich nicht auf breitgetretenen Wegen bewegt, sondern als die Frucht eines hinlänglich selbständigen Geistes erscheint', Bagge, 'Johannes Brahms', Col. 462.

Geistliches Lied, Bagge claims 'it is always pleasant to see how a thoroughly modern talent such as Brahms moves with such skill in the difficult forms of an earlier period'.³⁷⁵

It was under Bagge's editorship that the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* had claimed not to be interested in partisanship. Bagge expressed a wish to redress the neglect in the area of music, and to give the readers of the journal a new confidence through a rigid non-partisanship. It seems that Bagge's concern (much like that of Schoenberg in 1933) was to level the playing field, and accord to Brahms the recognition he felt had been denied to him, as the musicians of the future were claiming sole rights to the notion of progress. Nevertheless it is difficult to view Bagge's writings in a non-partisan light. The 1863 review titled 'Johannes Brahms' categorises the musical production of his contemporaries in three main groups. This categorisation is a sorry indictment of the contemporary music scene, both in terms of compositions and critical writings. Of the three groups, the first produces an over abundance of mediocrity which he considers the critics elevate as high art. The second group is morally reprehensible, intoxicating the public by faking eternal inebriation and enthusiasm. It is only the third group that Bagge considers to give rise to real hope. These groups merit a closer inspection.

The music of the first group is devoid of 'strong stimulating and attractive characteristics'. While these works have a completely decent structure, they offer little that is new, and for this reason 'they will remain unnoticed, and form an encumbrance for art' and 'an abundance of waste for the publisher'. ³⁷⁶ Furthermore, Bagge holds contemporary critics responsible for the saturation of such mediocrity in music circles. The 'ability to differentiate the elevated from the mediocre' he claims, 'was only weakened by the behaviour of criticism

³⁷⁵ 'Auch bleibt es immer sehr erfreulich zu sehen, wie ein so durchaus modernes Talent wie Brahms sich mit so viel Gewandbewegt.' Bagge, 'Recensionen. Neue Gesangscompositionen von Johannes Brahms', Col. 576. ³⁷⁶ 'Betrachten wir unter diesem Gesichtspunkt die gesammte Production der gegenwart, so kann es bei der erstaunlichen Ausdehnung, welche sie gewonnen, nicht überraschen, dass die übergrosse Merhzahl derselben der kräftig anregenden und anziehenden Eigenschaften entbehrt: er sind darunter Sachen von ganz anständiger Factur, die aber so wenig des Neuen bieten, dass sie unbeachtet liegen bleiben und nur einen Ballast für die Kunst, für die Verleger aber reichliche Maculatur bilden.', Bagge, 'Johannes Brahms', Col. 461–462.

rather than strengthened' by it.³⁷⁷ The pervasiveness of the mediocre above high and important works leads to 'a listlessness of judgement'. Deploring musical circles in which 'everything is extolled as beautiful and accepted as such', he goes so far as to claim that music criticism in larger cities is 'lazy and saleable.' ³⁷⁸

Art, for Bagge, requires above all the highest spirituality. He privileges organic construction and thematic development as a means to moral edification.

The second group of composers that he outlines falls short in this regard, and hence this is an area of art by which he feels repelled due to the 'lack of moral harmony'. The considers these works to 'lack dignity'. It is regrettable to Bagge that it lies outside the critic's jurisdiction to draw a connection between such works of art and the artists who produce them, in other words to make moral judgements on the characters themselves and not only the music. He goes so far as to say that such productions, that are full of 'superficially sentimental melodies or dance rhythms', do not come from an 'ennobled and honourable feeling and fantasy'. The second series of the secon

That this moral indictment is made against the composers of the *Neudeutsche Schule* is apparent from Bagge's musical 'confession' written a year later, where Wagner and Berlioz, and in equal measure their supporters and emulators, are held up as representatives.³⁸¹ Bagge

³⁷⁷ 'In den eigentlichen Musikkreisen aber würde jene Fähigkeit, das Höhere von dem Mittelmässigen zu unterschieden, durch das Gebahren der Kritik nur abgeschwächt, statt gestärkt.' Bagge, 'Johannes Brahms', Col. 462.

³⁷⁸ 'Man betrachte in dieser Hinsicht gewisse Dilettantenkreise, wo die Wuth zu musiceren so weit geht, dass es schliesslich einerlei ist, als des Hohen und Bedeutenden, so entsteht eine Schlaffheit des Urtheils, durch welche die Musik ihrer höheren sittlichen Wirkung nicht selten gänzlich verlustig geht. Man betrachte ferner die Musikzustände in grossen Städten, wo eine faule und feile Kritik seit Jahren wirthschaftete. Es ist erstaunlich, was da Alles als schön gepriessen und hingenommen wird.' *Ibid.*, Col. 462.

³⁷⁹ 'Eine andere Gruppe von Musikwerken vermöchte wohl durch einige bedeutende Züge fesseln. Aber man fühlt sich von dem Mangel an sittlicher Harmonie im Ganzen des betreffenden Kunstwerkes, oder dieser Gattung überhaupt, abgestossen.' *Ibid.*, Col. 462.

³⁸⁰ 'In welchem Falls sich unsere sittlich-harmonische Natur bedroht und verletzt fühlt, das lässt sich hier nur andeutungsweise sagen. Es ist der Fall, wenn dem Werke Würde zu fehlen scheinen, indem er sich in Kunstgattungen, die von vorneweg die höchste Geistigkeit erfordern, in oberflächlich sentimentalen Melodien oder Tanzrhythmen, oder auch in einem wüsten Tongewirre mit Vorliebe bewegt, welches, indem es uns mit Grauen erfüllt, zugleich beweist, dass das Werk nicht aus geadelter, geläuterter Empfindung und Phantasie hervorgegangen ist.' *Ibid.*, Col. 463.

³⁸¹ Horstmann, Untersuchungen zur Brahms Rezeption, 306.

continues that an over-emphasis on dramatisation amounts to hypocrisy. He maintains that 'the artist who is honest with the world is also a supporter of truth in and of his art. Where he is not this his art will remain fruitless. Hence the difficulty of seeing Bagge's judgements through non-partisan eyes, all the more so in light of the caustic attacks he makes on the characters of composers who do not subscribe to his musical ideals. In his musical 'Glaubensbekenntnis' of 1864 Bagge claims that 'that which is to last and have a future must be based on harmony, thus on consonance'. Referring to the advocates of the 'future-thought', and striking at the heart of a Hegelian line of defence for such works, in what seems an undeniably polemical manner, Bagge writes that 'music that is devoid of strength, wealth, and order, is neither a reverberation of the real *Zeitgeist*, nor has it to wait for the approval of the future. Sas

A third group, the only one 'to give real hope', is naturally considered by Bagge to be small. They are still in the developmental epoch, and therefore need to be handled with care. The lack of writings on them in the 'Neue Folge' is due to the fact that since the discontinuation of the *Deutsche Musikzeitung* and the founding of the 'Neue Folge', very little has been published by this third group. Bagge counts Johannes Brahms among them.

With regard to Brahms's thematic work, Bagge knows no second among the younger composers of the present who is comparable in this regard. Terms allied with the nineteenth-century discourse of organicism in music are *notwendig* and *notwendigkeit*—that which comes about in the music as a matter if inner necessity. Thus In the work of the majority of young contemporary composers, he writes, 'the individual tones of a theme appear as a complex in order to maintain figures, they do not stand in their place with necessity (*Notwendigkeit*), no

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³⁸² Horstmann, *Untersuchungen zur Brahms Rezeption*, 306.

³⁸³ 'Der Künstler, der es mit der Welt ehrlich meint, wird auch in seiner Kunst ein Anhänger der Wahrheit sein und umgekehrt. Wo er das nicht ist, wird seine Kunst unfruchtbar bleiben.' Bagge, 'Über die Stellung und Aufgabe der modernen Tonkunst', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2/4 (1864): 57–61 (61).

³⁸⁴ Bagge, 'Über dei Stellung und Aufgabe der modernen Tonkunst', 61.

³⁸⁵ 'Musik ... die der Kraft, Fülle und Ordnung entbehrt ist weder ein Widerhall des echten Zeitgeistes, noch hat sie die Billigung der Zukunft zu erwarten'. Bagge, 'Über die Stellung und Aufgabe der modernen Tonkunst', 61.

actual melody full of character is produced. *386 With some of Brahms's works, on the other hand, he could claim that 'as with our exemplary masters, each note is melodically and rhythmically important and necessary (*notwendig*) in its place, if not the whole character of the theme is altered. *387 The significance that Bagge places on thematic work in a composition is 'so fundamental that it seems to us to be the criterion for real talent. *388 Not only should each note stand with importance in its place, but 'in the further execution it should seem to the listener as though everything must be as it is. *389 It is in this respect that Bagge considers Brahms's works, by July 1863, not yet to have attained perfection. He sees the strength that is latent within Brahms's themes to be temporarily insufficient for the whole work of art. He regards Brahms's larger works composed by 1863—the Serenades and Sextets—to be works in which not all movements are of the same worth. While some of Brahms's movements give an indication of such talent, this is inconsistent. Brahms has not yet reached a place in his art where, like the exemplary masters, he is irreproachable, and the musical content, from beginning to end, forms a steady increase. *390 (In this respect, there are parallels between Bagge's early judgement of Brahms, and that of Richard Pohl as discussed in Chapter 1.)

In his capacity as editor of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* on more than one occasion Bagge added disclaimers to Deiters's discussions of Brahms, claiming that while he was happy to allow his colleague to publish his articles, he was not in agreement with the

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³⁸⁹ 'Nicht blos im Thema muss jede Note mit Nothwendigkeit an ihrem Platze stehen, auch in der weiteren Ausführung soll es dem Hörer scheinen, als müsse Alles so sein', *Ibid.*, Col. 466.

³⁸⁶ 'Sogleich wird auffallen, dass dort in den meisten Fällen die einzelnen Töne eines Themas nur zusammengesetzt erscheinen, um Figuren zu erhalten, es steht nicht jeder mit Nothwendigkeit an seinem Platze, daher keine eigentliche charaktervolle Melodie zu Stande kommt, sondern eine phrasenhafte Tournure, die keinen Eindruck macht.' Bagge, 'Johannes Brahms', Col. 466.

³⁸⁷ 'In Brahms' Melodik dagegen ist, wie bei unseren vorbildlichen Meistern, jeder Ton melodisch und rhythmisch wichtig und an seinem Platze nothwendig, wofern nicht der ganze Charakter des Themas sich verändern soll.' *Ibid.*, Col. 466.

³⁸⁸ 'Wir halten diesen Punkt fur so wesentlich, dass er uns geradezu das Criterium wirklichen Talents zu sein scheint.' *Ibid.*, Col. 466.

³⁹⁰ 'Hier ist nun der Punkt, wo Brahms noch nicht zur Vollendung durchgedrungen ist. Die Kraft, die sich in seinen Themen zeigt, scheint vorläufig noch nicht fürs Ganze eines Kunstwerkes auszureichen. Weder sind in seinen grösseren, umfangreicheren Werken, wie in den Serenaden, dem Sextett u.s.w. (von den ersten Sonate u.s.w. sprechen wir nicht, weil dort des Unausgehorenen allzuviel vorhanden), alle Sätze von annahernd gleichem Werth, noch sind selbst die besten Sätze unseres Componisten immer formell untadelhaft gebildet und der musikalische Inhalt von Anfang bis zu Ende in stetiger Steigerung', *Ibid.*, Col. 466.

judgements made therein. One such case is the review of Brahms Piano Quartet in G minor published by Deiters in 1865. 391 The disparity between Deiters's and Bagge's estimation of Op. 25 is evidenced more clearly by examining Bagge's own review of the Viennese premiere of the work by the Hellmesberger Quartet at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde on 16 November 1862, where the composer was pianist. Here he expresses the wish that Brahms would have chosen a work other than this for his Viennese debut, claiming it is not the most advantageous introduction of his musical talent to the Viennese public. Of the thematic material in the first movement he writes 'the melodic invention is not significant, the style of the whole monotonous. The four instruments are almost incessantly busy, not the nature of chamber music according to which they are strictly individualised, rather serving only the sound effect'. 392

By 1867, however, in his review of the Cello Sonata, Op. 38, Bagge shows more confidence in Brahms's thematic work. 393 In his discussion of how the individual parts of a work relate to the larger form, Bagge claims that the musical work should come 'from the wealth of relations of the individual parts to the whole, from that which is organic in the construction and at the same time in the growth, all the more so when the musical work develops itself before our very ears, not stands at once clearly before us. 394 Bagge argues that the ability to amuse with mere sensuous sounds 'presupposes no special capacity.' The ability

³⁹³ Selmar Bagge, 'Neue Kammermusik-Werke von Johannes Brahms', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1 (2 January 1867): 4-6 (4).

³⁹¹ Bagge's footnote reads 'We gladly allow one of our principal colleagues a word to express his opinion on Brahms, in general and in particular, without editorial interference. We note, however, that for the present we cannot whole-heartedly agree with him.'. The original: 'Wir lassen gerne einem unserer Hauptmitarbeiter das Wort, um ohne redactionelle Eingriffe seine Ansichten über Brahms' Schaffen im Allgemeinen und Besondern auszusprechen; bemerken jedoch, dass wir vorläufig nicht überall aus vollem Herzen beizustimmen vermögen', Bagge's editorial remark in Deiters, 'Kammermusik. Joh. Brahms, Quartett für Pianoforte, Violine, Viola und Violoncello, Op. 25', Col. 182.

³⁹² 'Sollen wir aufrichtig sein – und Herr Brahms wird uns das umso lieber gestatten, als diese Bl. sein Talent allezeit mit großer Achtung behandelt haben – so müssen wir gestehen, daß wir wünschten, er hätte zu einem ersten Debut lieber ein anderes Werk gewählt als gerade dieses. Die vier Instrumente sind fast fortwährend beschäftigt, nicht dem Wesen der Kammermusik gemäß streng individualisirt, sondern nur der Klangwirkung dienend.' Bagge, Deutsche Musikzeitung 3 (1862), 375

³⁹⁴ 'In aller Musik, die als solche für sich werken, interessiren und auf die Dauer gefallen soll, die nicht blos bestimmt der Beziehungen des einzelnen zum ganzen an, auf das organische des Baues und gleichsam des Wachsthums; umsomehr, als das Musikwerk in der That sich vor unsern Ohren aufbaut, nicht auf einmal übersichtlich vor uns steht', Ibid., 4.

to compose interesting, spiritual music, on the other hand, 'presupposes something that not everybody has—namely the ability to understand the tones in their individuality or in their immediate combination, then however to understand their common bond in the process of the piece; in other words to pursue their development from the seed or the few related seeds.' The secret of the masters, he claims, apart from their fine sense of form, lies in the originality of their particular nature, their original ideas, mainly in their strength. Such thematic work must seem as though it has arisen freely and unintentionally from the fantasy if it is to be proven to be genuine, and not just to make a claim to understanding, rather to offer continual nourishment for the sense of beauty.

Bagge considers a further secret of the master to lie in the art of diverse building of periods. 'The sense of beauty', he writes, 'demands a wealth of shorter and longer periods with larger forms, and in these a great flow that grips the listener and holds them to the end of the piece.' He defends his 'long held opinion', that if Brahms is to be considered a master, he must apply himself to these points. He refers to those 'who only experiment in music but do not possess the strength of diverse invention, the art of thematic work, or sufficient strength for longer pieces', characteristics that Bagge considers 'most important for instrumental music'. ³⁹⁹

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³⁹⁵ 'Am blossen sinnlichen Wohllaut sich zu ergötzen, setzt keine besondere Capacität voraus: das interessante geistvolle Musikwerk aber setzt in der That etwas voraus, was nicht jedem gegeben ist, nämlich die Fähigkeit, die Töne im einzelnen oder in ihrer augenblicklichen Zusammenwirkung aufzufassen, dann aber ihre Zusammgehörigkeit im Verlauf des Stücks zu verstehen; mit andern Worten: die Entwicklung aus dem Keim oder wenigen verwandten Keimen zu verfolgen.' *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁹⁶ 'Das Geheimniss der Meister und das immer grösseren Wellenkreises, den sie schlagen, liegt, ausser in ihrem feinen Formensinn, der Originalität ihres besonderen Wesens, ihrer originellen Gedanken, hauptsächlich in jener Kraft: aus wenigem immer herrlicheres hervorgehen zu machen, mit bekannten Worten: in ihrer Kunst der thematischen Arbeit – die aber freilich etwas anderes ist als jene mechanische Künstelei, die nicht selten für obige Kunst ausgegeben wird.', '*Ibid.*, 4.

³⁹⁷ 'Frei und absichtslos muss sie, wenn sie sich als echt erweisen will, aus der Phantasie entsprungen scheinen, und nicht blos den Verstand in Anspruch nehmen, sondern zugleich dem Schönheitssinn fortwährend neue Nahrung bieten.' Bagge, *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁹⁸ 'Ein weiteres Geheimniss der Meister liegt in ihrer Kunst des mannigfaltigen Periodenbaues. Der Schönheitssinn fordert bei grösseren Formen einen Reichthum von kürzeren und längeren Perioden, und in diesen einen grossen Zug, der den Hörer fesselt und festhält bis ans Ende des Stücks.' *Ibid.*, 4.

Obiger Satz ist uns wieder einmal recht klar geworden durch das Stück, das wir eben recensiren wollen, und hat es unsere Theilnahme eben desshalb in immer höherem Grad in Anspruch genommen. Wir sind dadurch in der längst gehegten Ansicht bestärkt worden, dass Brahms gerade in diesem Punkte als Meister gelten muss, gegenüber so vielen, die nur musikalisch experimentiren, aber weder mannigfache Erfindungskraft, noch die

In his review of the Sonata for Cello and Piano, Op. 38, Bagge considers Brahms to have reached a point in his artistic progress where he meets the requirements to be a master, as evidenced in particular in Bagge's discussion of the first movement, Allegro non troppo, E minor, 4/4. He examines the movement in relation to its 'modulatory, architectonic construction.' He considers it to be a work with 'every desired diversity in periodic structure', a work that 'rejects 8 to 8 bar purity', and rather 'allows a never faltering whole to appear with freedom and great passages'. He considers Brahms's music to 'exhibit economy, where the effect of a special increase is experienced, to allow the mainly large places to appear through simple preparation of periodically closed forms.'⁴⁰⁰

Bagge's discussion of Brahms Cello Sonata No. 1 in E minor, Op. 38

Bagge's analysis of Op. 38 is not as thorough, nor indeed as eloquent, as Deiters's reviews. Nonetheless it serves the purpose of outlining how the movement develops from the motivic kernels contained in the first theme. He outlines Brahms's first subject of 8 bars which begins in E minor and ends in what he refers to as B minor-major, played by the cello, and accompanied on the piano by syncopated chords. He points to 3 motifs, a, b, and c, which are to have far reaching implications for the movement:

Example 20: Brahms Sonata for Piano and Cello in E minor, Op. 38/I, bars 1-8:

Kunst thematischer Arbeit, noch genügende Kraft für längere Musikstücke besitzen – Eigenschaften, die für Instrumentalmusik die allerwichtigsten sind. Mag man dann bei Brahms immerhin über Schroffheiten und Härten klagen – die wir selbst nicht abläugnen -, mag es immerhin sein, dass der Kreis derer, die seine Musik zu würdigen wissen, gegenüber dem Publicum der anerkannt "classischen" Meister noch ein kleiner ist – er muss immer grösser werden vermöge der Erfahrung, dass das innerlich tüchtige allmälig zum Sieg gelangt!' Bagge, op. 38, 4.

⁴⁶⁰ 'Hieraus ergiebt sich für uns jene erwünschte Mannigfaltigkeit der periodischen Gestaltung, die es eben verschmäht 8 Takte an 8 Takte zu reihn, sondern mit Freiheit und mit grossen Zügen ein nirgend stockendes Ganzes zur Erscheinung kommen lässt, und namentlich jene Oekonomie aufweist, die die hauptsächlich grossen Stellen, wo der Affect, eine besondere Steigerung erfährt, durch einfache periodisch geschlossene Formen vorbreitet erscheinen lässt.', *Ibid.*, 5.



Drawing attention to the irregularity of the phrase structure, Bagge notes the consequent of 12 bars that ensues [bars 9–20], going from G major to B major. ⁴⁰¹ The figure in the cello in bar 9–10 is understood to be a translation of the rhythm in the first two bars (example 20, bars 1–2):

Example 21: Op. 38/I, bars 9-10:



From this Brahms builds 'new and yet rhythmically related material' forming the transition to the theme now played in the piano. ⁴⁰² Here again this theme appears in E minor with a new continuation – now a 13 bar phrase [bars 21–33]. ⁴⁰³ He further notes how motif c from the start of bar 5 is taken up again [bar 25], and firmly held until the next E minor cadence [bar 33]. ⁴⁰⁴ The theme is next heard in the cello in C major [bar 34], once more 'with a new continuation of the phrase, and an independent triplet-quaver accompaniment on the piano'. This 20 bar section is understood as a connection to bar 55 which 'establishes itself on F sharp

⁴⁰¹ 'Ein von G –dur ausgehender, zur Dominante der Haupttonart führender Nachsatz von 12 Takten knüpft sich daran', *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁰² 'Das erste Thema haben wir oben mitgetheilt. Im 9. Takt übersetzt das Cello den Rhythmus der ersten zwei Takte in Stufenweise Melodik, und bildet aus diesem neuen und doch rhythmisch verwandten Stoff jene Ueberleitung zum Thema im Clavier', *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁰³ 'Ein von G –dur ausgehender, zur Dominante der Haupttonart führender Nachsatz von 12 Takten knüpft sich daran. Hierauf das Thema im Clavier mit neuer Weiterführung – 13 Takte. In C-dur dann das Thema im Cello mit abermals neuer Weiterführung, und einer selbständigen Achteltriolenbegleitung des Claviers', *Ibid.*, 4. ⁴⁰⁴ 'Vom 5. Takt daselbst angefangen wird Motiv *c* desselben aufgegriffen und bis zum nächsten E moll-Schluss festgehalten.' *Ibid.*, 5.

.⁴⁰⁵ Here in its next appearance, remaining firmly in F sharp, motif c is further employed as the basis of the transition [bar 54–57] to the second subject in B minor at bar 58:

Example 22: Op. 38/I, bars 58-65:



Bagge has reservations about Brahms's harmonic language at this point, considering the return of C minor to the dominant of B minor to be too daring. Contrary to the peaceful main theme, he argues, this theme attains a 'demonic colour, through a certain inner conflict', yet then 'dissolves into more melodic passages', finally leading to what Bagge describes as rumbling, imitative material. This theme is the 'focus of our attention for 20 bars, then one follows the more melodic portion in B major [bar 79], that in 12 bars leads to the reprise (perhaps, Bagge claims, for the sake of a melodic contrast to the previous B minor section)':

⁴⁰⁵ 'Dieser Satz bildet ein zusammenhängendes Stück von 20 Takten, welches nach sehr kühnen Modulationen (die Rückung von C-moll zur Dominante von H-moll, Seite 3, vorletztes und letztes System scheint uns zu weit ausgreifend) mit dem 21. Takt sich auf *Fis* feststellt, um nach weiteren 4 Takten ein neues Thema in H-moll einzuleiten', *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁰⁶ 'Auf der Dominante *Fis* fest stehen bleibend, muss wieder Motiv *c* dazu dienen zum zweiten Thema in H-moll zu gelangen, das im Gegensatz zu dem ruhigen Hauptthema durch eine gewisse Zerrissenheit (schnell folgende Imitation und heftiger Vortrag im *forte*) ein dämonisches Colorit erhält (siehe oben), sich aber dann in ausdrucksvolle, mehr melodische Gänge auflöst und endlich zu dumpf grollenden, anders imitirenden Partien führt.' *Ibid.*, 5.

Example 23: Op. 38/I, bars 79-82 (Bagge's example modified):



The legato two-crotchet motif (See example 24) that precedes this melodic B major third theme is significant to Bagge in that it not only forms a 'wonderful', and 'most original interrelation in *pianissimo* to the following Cantilene in B-major', it is also the basis of the culmination of the development of the first subject group in that the material that is understood to germinate from this seed presents a stark contrast to the melodic motif b from the first subject.⁴⁰⁷

Example 24: Op. 38/I, bars 77-78, containing two-note figure as indicated:



Thus, in the development Bagge notes 6 4-bar phrases built mainly from the initial four bars of the first subject 'spreading itself in ever richer modulations'. He notes the 'rhythmic motive from the theme', motif b, appearing in the last of these 24 bars [bar 114], which in the following *fortissimo* passage is incessantly repeated:

Example 25: Rhythmic motif b from first subject:

⁴⁰⁷ 'Die Schlussfigur dieser für uns wunderbaren Stelle: [example 24] nämlich die ligirten Noten, greift dann die linke Hand des Claviers und ein Viertel später das Cello auf, um zu der folgenden Cantilene in H-dur (siehe oben) das originellste Wechselspiel im *pianissimo* fortzusetzen', *Ibid.*, 5.



This motive is now gripped by that minor-major-sound to which Bagge earlier directed our attention in the first subject, 'and gives it increased importance through changing tonalities'. And with each further playing of the two-crotchet figure', he writes, 'now in fifths, now in octaves, first quietly and trivial, then coming more to the fore, until finally it is manifest in the culminations of the first group in the development, 'as though lashed by an enraged storm', and played in full chords in 'the right hand of the piano, later in the cello, to deliver the wildest contrast to the thematic motive B from the first theme'. At this point Bagge fully understands the need for 'harsh dissonances': 409

Example 26: Op. 38/I, bars 114-117:



This lasts for 12 bars, at which point 'the second theme arises in F minor [bar 126], and in 15 bars over B flat and G minor and the dominant of C leads from the dominant of A minor, where the third theme is heard in the cello [bar 141], to be expressed more clearly 8 bars later [bar 149] on B as the dominant pedal of E minor – 12 bars, with an extension 13'. The

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⁴⁰⁸ 'Der zweite Theil greift nun vor allem jenen Moll-Dur-Klang, der schon im ersten Theil das Thema hinein geklungen auf, und giebt ihm durch wechselnde Tonart erhöhte Bedeutung', *Ibid.*, 5.

geklungen auf, und giebt ihm durch wechselnde Tonart erhöhte Bedeutung', $\mathit{Ibid.}$, 5.
⁴⁰⁹ 'Bei alledem spielt jene zwei-Viertelfigur bald in Quinten bald in Octaven ihr Spiel weiter, erst leise und wie nebensächlich, dann mehr hervortretend, um endlich (S. 6 Takt 2), wie von wüthendem Orkan gepeitscht, in vollen Akkorden der rechten Hand des Claviers, später im Cello, zu dem thematischen Motif b aus dem ersten Thema den wildesten Gegensatz zu liefern, den man denken kann, wobei es begreiflich ohne scharfe Dissonanzen nicht abgeht', $\mathit{Ibid.}$, 5.

recapitulation begins with the first theme in the tonic [bar 162], and the movement develops corresponding to the exposition with new additions and modulations, 410.

Whilst Deiters avoided the polemical debates of the nineteenth century in most of his critical output, Bagge was more explicit in his disparagement of the *Neudeutsche Schule*.

Thus, in his writings, we become aware of how the terms 'independent', 'modern', and 'new' are alternatives to the tainted term 'progress'. Moreover, we are also made aware that *notwendig* and *notwendigkeit* were terms allied with nineteenth-century discourse of organicism in music. The features that Bagge sought to identify an exemplary composer included organic construction and thematic development. For Bagge, moreover, these features bestowed a dignity on a work, and those that he considered lacking in this regard were deemed to be morally deficient. Bagge considered Brahms to be incomparable among his contemporaries in meeting this criteria, as is best evidenced in his review of Op. 38. And this review, of all of Bagge's writings on Brahms, can be understood as part of the critical tradition that would find powerful expression in Schoenberg's view of Brahms.

Adolf Schubring

Between 1861 and 1862, less than a year after the manifesto fiasco, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* published a series of articles by Dr. Adolf Schubring under the cipher 'DAS' titled 'Schumanniana, Die Schumann'sche Schule.⁴¹¹ This series of articles comprises

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⁴¹⁰ 'Im zweiten Theil zuerst sechs 4-Taktige Gruppen, hauptsächlich aus den vier ersten Takten des Themas gebildet und in immer reicherer Modulation sich ausbreitend; mit dem 24. Takt folgt ein *fortissimo*, das rhythmische Motiv aus dem Thema [musical example as above] immerfort verschiedentlich wiederholend – 12 Takte, worauf das zweite Thema in F-moll auftritt; und in 15 Takten über B und G-moll und die Dominante von C nach der Dominante von A-moll führt, wo das dritte Thema im Cello anklingt, um 8 Takte später auf H als Dominanten-Orgelpunkt von E-moll sich deutlicher auszusprechen – 12 Takte, durch eine Erweiterung 13 – dann tritt das erste Thema in der Tonika ein und der Satz entwickelt sich, parallel dem ersten Theil, mit neuen Zusätzen und Modulationen weiter.' *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴¹¹ Adolf Schubring ['DAS']. 'Die gegenwärtige Musikepoche und Robert Schumann's Stellung in der Musikgeschichte', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 55/23 (31 May 1861): 197–98; 55/24 (7 June 1861): 205–6; 55/25 (14 June 1861): 213–14; 'Die Schumann'sche Schule I. Carl Ritter', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 7 (9 August 1861): 53–55; 'Die Schumann'sche Schule II. Theodor Kirchner', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 55/18 (25 October 1861): 153–56; 55/19 (1 November 1861): 165–67; 'Die Schumann'sche Schule III. Woldemar Bargiel', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 55/25 (13 December1861): 217–219; 55/26 (20 December 1861): 225–227; 56/3 (17 January 1862): 17–19; 'Die Schumann'sche Schule, IV. Johannes Brahms', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 56/12 (21 March 1862): 93–96; 56/13 (28 March 1862): 101–104; 56/14 (4 April 1862): 109–112, 56/15 (11 April 1862): 117–119, 56/16 (18 April 1862): 125–128.By profession, Schubring was not a music critic but a jurist. As

a critical review of the work of four composers: Carl Ritter, Theodor Kirchner, Woldemar Bargiel and Johannes Brahms. Notably, three of these composers were included in Schumann's list of promising talents in the 1853 article 'Neue Bahnen'. Schubring's articles on Brahms extend over five issues of the journal – the most space dedicated to any of the four composers in the 'Schumanniana' series. 412 Moreover, this is the first series of articles in this journal to deal with the actual texts of Brahms's music. 413

Schubring's explanation of why he chose to house these articles in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik states that 'being a Schumannianer', he wished to have these articles published in the most widely read journal, however there was no musical journal that 'represented the Schumann line, that is the musical centre'. Thus, he chose the *Neue Zeitschrift* which, as he wrote, 'certainly champions the extreme left', but would surely grant a place to the articles 'even if only out of gratitude to its founder'. 414 Brendel's editorial response to this clearly states that 'it was not out of gratitude to Schumann that we accepted that [Schubring's] article, our action was principally an acknowledgement of its right to be published.⁴¹⁵ This may be understood as part of an attempt on Brendel's part in the 1860s to reconcile the opposing factions. Further evidence is the founding of the Allgemeine Deutscher Musikverein, whereby writing on music was replaced by performance. 416

One of the outstanding features of the articles is Schubring's ability to draw attention to the underlying motivic unity in Brahms's works. Also one of their strongest assets is that they provide an 'inside' commentary on the way Brahms's early compositions were viewed at

such, his highly successful career took him from positions in the High Regional Court to one of Senior Counsel.

He was also recognised as a Sanskrit teacher. For further background and biographical details on Schubring see

Angelika Horstmann, 'Untersuchungen zur Brahms-Rezeption der Jahre 1860–1880, 308–310. See also Max Kalbeck in the introduction to the Brahms-Schubring correspondence in Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel, Max Kalbeck, ed. Vol. VIII (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms Gesellschaft, 1915), 161-83. Schubring was educated in music by his brother Julius Schubring, and can today be regarded as one of the cultivated Austro-German amateurs of those days, such as Billroth, and Hanslick, with whom Brahms chose to surround himself as his circle of friends. ⁴¹² For a comprehensive overview of Schubring's articles on Brahms, see Walter Frisch, 'Brahms and Schubring: Musical Criticism and Politics at Mid-Century', 19th-Century Music VII/3 (April 1984): 271-81. Also Frisch has translated a number of Schubring's articles in Frisch, ed. Brahms and His World, 103-122.

⁴¹³ For further discussion of the earlier reception of Brahms in the journal, see Chapter 1.

⁴¹⁴ Schubring quoted in Frisch, 'Brahms and Schubring: Musical Criticism and Politics at Mid-Century', 272.

⁴¹⁵ Brendel quoted in Frisch, 'Brahms and Schubring: Musical Criticism and Politics at Mid-Century', 272.

⁴¹⁶ I am grateful to Prof. James Deaville for sharing his unpublished research on this topic with me.

the time of their first appearance, without the benefit of hindsight of much of the later criticism. They provide a significant assessment of Brahms's output up to 1862 including Op. 1 to 18 and deal with the actual texts of Brahms's compositions. The main body of articles was supplemented in 1868–9 by a further two articles on Brahms published in the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung. 417 In these later articles, Schubring categorised the composers of the 'Schumann School' of which he wrote as those who had either been 'genuine pupils' of Robert Schumann, or at least had perpetuated his 'sense and direction.'418

Schubring's reviews of the Piano Sonatas Opp. 1, 2 and 5, and the Serenade in D Major, Op. 11, give considerable attention to the underlying motivic unity of Brahms's compositional processes. Of particular interest for the present study is the review of the Piano Sonata in F sharp Minor, Op. 2. Here it is worth quoting Schubring at length:

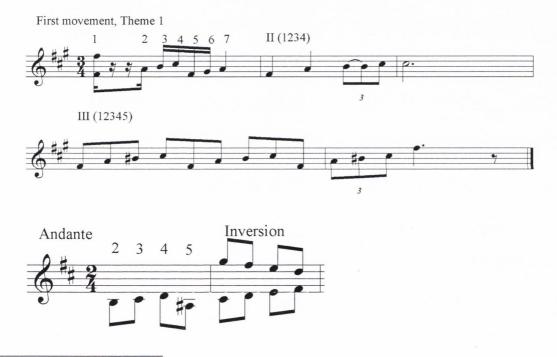
The thematic work in Brahms's first sonata consists mainly in dividing a beginning theme, which appears fully formed, into its particles, and putting together new musical constructions from these particles. He takes the reverse procedure in the F# minor Sonata. Thus here, he develops from musical particles, a main and sub theme before our very eyes. And what is most admirable; these quite different melodies, complete in their character, are taken from one and the same basic motive, the first arriving at the broadest execution and development in the Finale:



⁴¹⁷ Adolf Schubring, 'Die Schumann'sche Schule. Schumann und Brahms. Brahms's vierhändige Schumann-Variationen', Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung 3 (1868): 41-42, 49-51, and 'Ein Deutsches Requiem...von Johannes Brahms', *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 4 (1869): 9–11, 18–20. In 1878 Schubring published a further series of articles in the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* titled 'Von Beethoven bis Brahms.' Despite their title, unfortunately these articles do not discuss Brahms's music at all, rather they seem to be concerned with a history of Western music, which is charted from the origins of the sonata as far as Beethoven. See Schubring, 'Von Beethoven bis Brahms: No. 1. Praeludium', Musikalisches Wochenblatt 25 (14 June 1878): 301-303; 'Von Beethoven bis Brahms: No. 2. Das Beethoven'sche Orchester und Clavier', Musikalisches Wochenblatt 27 (24 June 1878): 321–322; 'Von Beethoven bis Brahms: No. 3. Der Bau der Sonate: I. Ursprung der Sonate', Musikalisches Wochenblatt 44 (25 October 1878): 527-529; and 'Von Beethoven bis Brahms: No. 3. Der Bau der Sonate: II. Wachsthum der Sonate von Corelli bis Haydn-Mozart', Musikalisches Wochenblatt 45 (1 November 1878): 539-541.

⁴¹⁸ 'Es sei mir gestattet, diese Schule kurzweg die Schumann'sche Schule zu nennen, weil die zu ihr gehörenden Componisten entweder wirkliche Schüler Robert Schumann's sind, oder doch wenigstens in dessen Sinn und Richtung fortwirken.' Adolf Schubring, 'Die Schumann'sche Schule. Schumann und Brahms. Brahms's vierhändige Schumann-Variationen', 41.

This not very important fifth motive had already been used from Bach to Bargiel (introduction to the Trio Op. 8). There were other composers before Brahms who had written a sonata in the older form over a theme, for example Berger, 419 Löwe and Leonhard. However, the difficulty is in cleverly combining the unity with the diversity, which, if it fails, is purged to dryness. Brahms solved the difficult problem in a truly ingenious way and brought to fulfilment his basic motive by rhythmic change, by transfer into other chord locations, through straight or retrograde reversal, more or less recognisable, and brought to the themes and melodies the most outstanding contrasts. It is impossible in this situation to follow Brahms into all the hiding places of his artistic workplace. But I cannot refrain from explaining the main motives of all four movements in simple shape, and to name thereby with numbers the tones of the initial motive out of which they are taken. 420



⁴¹⁹ Presumably Berger, Sonata *figuratura* (1802).

⁴²⁰ 'Während Brahms's thematische Arbeit in seiner ersten Sonate hauptsächlich darin besteht, ein gleich Anfangs vollständig ausgebildet auftretendes Thema in seine Partikeln zu zerlegen und aus diesen Partikeln neue Gebilde musikisch zusammenzusetzen, hat er in den zweiten Fis Moll Sonate das umgekehrte Verfahren eingeschlagen. Hier entstehen aus musikischen Partikeln vor unseren sichtlichen Augen erst die Haupt und Nebenmelodien und, was das Bewundernswerteste ist, diese sämmtlichen, in ihrem Charakter so durchaus verschiedenen Melodien sind einem und demselben Grundmotive entnommen, dem erst im Finale zur breitesten Durchführung und melodischen Entfaltung gelangenden (Einleitung zum Trio Op. 8) benutzten Quintenmotive. Es haben vor Brahms andere Componisten, z.B. Berger, Löwe, der Münchener Leonhard, auch schon Sonaten der alten Form über Ein Thema geschrieben, sind aber an der Schwierigkeit, die Mannichfaltigkeit mit der Einheit zu verbinden, gescheitert und in den Fehler der Trockenheit verfallen. Brahms hat das schwierige Problem auf warhaft geniale Weise gelöst und es zuwege gebracht, sein Grundmotiv durch rhythmische Veränderung, durch Versetzung in andere Accordlagen, durch gerade oder krebsgängige Umkehrung mehr oder weniger erkennbar umzugestalten und zu Themen und Melodien des abstechendsten Gegensatzes zu verwerten. Es ist an diesem Orte unmöglich, Brahms in alle Verstecke seiner Künstlerwerkstatt zu folgen, eben so unmöglich kann ich mir aber versagen, wenigstens die Hauptmotive aller vier Sätze in einfachter Gestalt vorzuführen und dabei mit Zahlen die Töne des Anfangsmotivs zu bezeichnen, aus welchen sie entnommen sind', Schubring, 'Die Schumann'sche Schule. IV. Johannes Brahms', Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 13 (28 March 1862): 101–104 (101).

Scherzo, the same but rhythmically altered



Trio (1234) in second inversion



Finale, with upbeat



The same varied



The same



Likewise in the theme of the small fugato



In Retrograde



In a footnote Schubring further adds:

I say specifically sonatas in the older form. Yet it would be inexcusable not to mention here the sonatas of the New German School, composed in a single movement and on a single theme, specifically the Liszt Sonata in B Minor, with its abundance of thematic transformations, and the Sonata Op. 1 of Rudolf Viole. The latter also places the theme in retrograde.⁴²¹

⁴²¹ 'Ich sage absichtlich Sonaten der alten Form, sonst wäre es unverantwortlich, hier nicht der meistens in Einem Satze und über Ein Thema geschriebenen Sonaten der neudeutschen Schule zu gedenken, so namentlich der gestaltungsreichen Liszt'schen H moll-Sonate und des Op. 1 von Rudolf Viole. Letzterer bringt ebenfalls das Thema krebsgängig, *al roverscio*, an,' Schubring, 'Johannes Brahms', *NZfM* 56, 101. The translation of this note is taken from Walter Frisch, *Brahms and His World*, 122.

At first glance Schubring's commentary seems to echo earlier discussions regarding the invention of a theme and the various methods of presenting it. Beyond the cursory glance, we see that in his analysis of Op. 2 Schubring explains each of the subsequent themes as derived from the first theme, the basic idea, to use Schoenbergian terminology. Schubring seems to have chosen his words carefully in order to distinguish between the types of motivic treatment in Opp. 1 and 2. The language he uses indicates that, rather than suggesting transformation of motives in Op. 2, he is attempting to outline a developmental treatment of the basic idea. It is in this sense that we can understand the distinction he draws between the Op. 1 and Op. 2 sonatas. While Op. 1 is recognised as 'dividing a beginning theme, which appears fully formed into its particles and putting together new musical constructions from these particles', Schubring recognises that in the Op. 2 Sonata Brahms 'develops from musical particles a main and sub theme', and throughout the entire work, these quite different melodies, are taken as 'one and the same basic motive'.

Moreover, the distinction he makes between the types of thematic treatment in contemporary piano sonatas can be understood as regarding Brahms's Op. 2 to be in a category of its own, as distinct from his Op. 1 and the sonatas by Liszt, Viole, Berger, Löwe and Leonhard which are based on one theme.

His mention in the footnote of 'the Liszt Sonata in B Minor, with its abundance of thematic transformations,' seems quite pointed, all the more so if one bears in mind that part of Schubring's motivation in writing the Schumanniana articles was to make a case for the Schumann School as distinct from the 'Mendelssohnians' and the *Neudeutsche Schule*, in other words to make a case for a middle ground between the two predominant parties. 422 However, if one considers that Schubring is outlining a type of thematic unity in Op. 2 that he understands to be different to that of the 'thematic transformations' in Liszt's sonata, the

⁴²² R. Larry Todd has commented, '[Schubring], declaring himself a *Schumannianer*, undertook in his writings to make the case for a Schumann school, separate and distinct from the "conservative" Mendelssohnians and the "progressive" *Zukunftsmusiker* represented by Liszt and Wagner.' *Schumann and His World*, Larry Todd, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 362.

reference does not seem quite so pointed. Walter Frisch has argued that in a number of Brahms's early works he attempted to reconcile the principles of thematic transformation and developing variation. Among the evidence that he presents in relation to the Op. 5 Piano Sonata is the fact that Brahms had heard Liszt play his B minor Sonata at Weimar in June 1853 'just a few months before the F-Minor Sonata was composed.' At this stage, however, both the Op. 1 and 2 Piano Sonatas were complete, thus ruling out any Lisztian influence on those particular works, and for present purposes it is to Schubring's discussion of Op. 2 that we refer. Furthermore, Schubring does not seem to have been aware of the dates of composition of these sonatas. Brahms's Op. 2 was completed in November 1852, and only the Andante of Op. 1, written in April 1852 is chronologically earlier than Op. 2. The Opus numbers are a result of the dates of publication of the works; Op. 1 in December 1853 and Op. 2 in February 1854. 424 Schubring may not have been aware that Brahms's Op. 2 was composed before Liszt's B Minor Sonata which, according to Liszt's manuscript copy, was not finished until February 1853. 425 Indeed, Schubring may have recognised the affinity of Brahms's early works to the 'Lisztian' practice of thematic transformation, and have attempted to draw attention to the contrast between it and the thematic work in Brahms's Op. 2

2.4: Conclusion: Revisiting the Schoenberg Analytical and Critical Tradition

Schoenberg himself, on a number of occasions, claimed that he was alone in making such observations about Brahms's musical language. In the correspondence preceding the 1933 Brahms Lecture Schoenberg claimed that where Brahms is concerned:

I'd probably have something to say that only I can say. For though my exact contemporaries, and those who are older than I, also lived in Brahms's time, they aren't "modern". But the younger Brahmsians

⁴²³ Frisch, Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation, 47.

⁴²⁵ Kenneth Hamilton, *Liszt: Sonata in B Minor* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 23.

⁴²⁴ Ulrich Mahlert, 'Vorwort,' in *Johannes Brahms Sonate Nr. 2 für Klavier fis-moll*, Op. 2, Eusebius Mandyczewski, ed. (Wiesbaden, Leipzig and Paris: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1997).

can't know the Brahms tradition from first-hand experience, and anyway they mostly tend to be "reactionary". But: what I have in mind is the theory of composition, not anecdotes! ⁴²⁶

In the revised and published version in 1947 Schoenberg wrote:

I assume that I have been the first to lay down a principle which, about four decades ago, began directing and regulating my musical thinking and the formulation of my ideas, and which played a decisive role in my self-criticism. 427

Scholarly writings since the publication of 'Brahms the Progressive' have either tacitly or openly endorsed Schoenberg's claim to originality, as the only "modern" thinker since Brahms's time with the acuity to grasp Brahms's musical language. Assessing the large number of commentators that have been attracted by Schoenberg's ideas on thematic procedure from the 1940s to 1984 Frisch aptly notes that their approaches are remarkably, and refreshingly diverse. He continues that 'several writers were students or direct disciples of Schoenberg; others had little or no personal contact with him (and occasionally fail even to acknowledge his authority). Yet, because of a fundamental similarity in outlook, they can be said to constitute a Schoenberg critical or analytical tradition'.

What remains overlooked in these studies is the contemporary critical reception of Brahms's music, and any antecedents to Schoenberg's views of Brahms remain unacknowledged. It is well known that Schoenberg was no reader, as he confessed himself in a letter of 3 December 1946 to Hugo Leichentritt regarding the German books that interested him. The point here is not that Schoenberg was unaware of the writings of Brahms's contemporaries. Rather, the point is that in denying, or failing to acknowledge, antecedents to

⁴²⁶ Arnold Schoenberg to Hans Rosbaud, 7 January in response to an invitation to give a radio talk. *Arnold Schoenberg Letters*, Edwin Stein, ed. Eithne Wilkins and Ernest Kaiser, trans. (London: Faber, 1964), 170. ⁴²⁷ Schoenberg, 'Brahms the Progressive', 407.

⁴²⁸ To this effect Jonathan Dunsby posits that Schoenberg's 'analytical approach is often unhelpful, but his subdued argument makes a convincing and, for the time, radical tribute to Brahms.' Dunsby, 'Brahms the Progressive and intermezzo Op. 119 No. 1', 103.

⁴²⁹ Frisch, Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation, 18.

⁴³⁰ Schoenberg explicitly stated that 'I am no "reader" and therefore actually know the following books only superficially'. Schoenberg, *Arnold Schoenberg Letters*, 207.

Schoenberg's view of Brahms, we tacitly endorse the notion that Schoenberg expounded his ideas on Brahms's thematic procedure in a historical vacuum. This is not the case.

Schoenberg's view of Brahms is derived (whether consciously or subconsciously) from organic thinking as applied to music. As Ruth Solie remarks, however, the organic idea has become so ubiquitous that there is a tendency for its language to be taken for granted and for certain fundamental questions to go unasked'. 431 Therefore, while Frisch notes that critics following Schoenberg have failed to acknowledge his authority, he overlooks the fact that Schoenberg and those who have perpetuated the Schoenberg analytical and critical tradition commit the very same offence: they fail to acknowledge the authority of the leading critics of Brahms's own time, and thereby dismiss the historical roots for Schoenberg's view of Brahms. Similarly, in surveying the writings by the leading theorists of Brahms's own time, Michael Musgrave regrets that 'despite the great emphasis on the concept of "durchgebrochene-Arbeit", Riemann gives little attention to Brahms's thematic work in general'. Indeed he posits that 'despite the prominence of this feature in Brahms, Schoenberg was alone in revealing its scope and he has been the primary spur to the great emphasis on this feature in the discussion of Brahms's work since the Second War (my emphasis). 432

It has been suggested by a number of commentators that Schoenberg's tendency to align himself with a tradition of 'Austro-German' music, as he did both in his compositions and in his writings on music, was for him a method of associating himself with his inherent German-ness, an attempt on his part to claim his place in the Austro-German musical canon, and to legitimate his own compositional processes. 433 To be sure, Brahms stood to gain in that

⁴³¹ Ruth Solie, 'The Living Work: Organicism and Musical Analysis', 19th-Century Music IV/2 (Fall 1980): 147-156 (148).

⁴³² Michael Musgrave, 'A Study of Schoenberg's Response to Brahms's Music as Revealed in his Didactic Writings and Selected Early Compositions', Ph.D. Diss., University of London (1980), 117. Although Musgrave has more recently written on Schoenberg's view of Brahms, most notably in the 1990 essay 'Schoenberg's Brahms', he never revises the view that Schoenberg was alone in revealing the scope of Brahms's motivic

⁴³³ I have in mind here such a work as the Variations for Orchestra Op. 31 in which 'as an homage to Bach, the notes B-flat, A, C, B, which spell in German BACH, were introduced as a contrapuntal addition to the principal thematic developments,' and the fact that Schoenberg so explicitly stated his intention as in the above excerpt

Schoenberg was outlining his role in a historical progression which he felt himself to represent, but also one in which he felt Brahms had hardly been recognised:⁴³⁴

It is important to realise that at a time when all believed in 'expression', Brahms, without renouncing beauty and emotion, proved to be a progressive in a field which had not been cultivated for half a century. He would have been a pioneer if he had simply returned to Mozart. But he did not live on inherited fortune; he made one of his own.....⁴³⁵

Certainly, as was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, Schoenberg's writings on Brahms rescued him from the conservative dead-end into which the view of his music had fallen in the early twentieth century; it also gave powerful expression to a way of explaining how his music was crafted according to the technique of developing variation. Anotheless, we must remember that Schoenberg's ideas were also concerned with legitimating his own compositional procedures. We should be mindful, as Krummacher notes, that to pursue the fruitful consequences of Schoenberg's legitimation of Brahms exclusively runs the risk of reverting to a one-sided teleology:

In short, Brahms the Classical heir suddenly became Brahms the prophet, whose procedures Schoenberg was the first to recognise and develop. If scholarship takes seriously its claim to be a historical discipline, it must recognize the dangers of such an anachronistic way of thinking. '437

The above discussion has shown that a number of Brahms's contemporary critics discussed the thematic coherence in his music in a lucid and engaging manner. I argue that at the very least these discussions can be understood as a significant foreshadowing of Schoenberg's twentieth-century view of Brahms. Whether Schoenberg had read, or was even aware of, any of the articles to which I refer, is to some extent irrelevant. His claim with regard to earlier

⁴³⁴ For such an interpretation of 'Brahms the Progressive,' see Jonathan Dunsby 'Brahms the Progressive and *Intermezzo*, Op. 119, No. 1, in *Structural Ambiguity in Brahms: Analytical Approaches to Four Works*, 85–105. ⁴³⁵ Schoenberg, 'Brahms the Progressive,' in *Style and Idea*, 439.

from his essay 'Composition with Twelve Tones (I),' *Style and Idea*, 213–244, (243). See also 'The Orchestral Variations, Op. 31: A Radio Talk.' The original German version of the talk is published as 'Vortrag über Op. 31' in Schoenberg *Stil und Gedanke*, 255–71.

⁴³⁶ For a translation of Schoenberg's original Brahms lecture of 1933, which was to be revised and became the 1947 essay, see Thomas McGeary, 'Schoenberg's Brahms Lecture of 1933,' *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute*, XV/2 (November 1992), 5–99. See also Arnold Schoenberg, 'Brahms the Progressive', in *Style and Idea*, 398–441.

⁴³⁷ Friedhelm Krummacher, 'Reception and Analysis: On the Brahms Quartets Op. 51, Nos. 1 and 2', 27.

German writings on music that 'I am no "reader" and therefore actually know the following books only superficially' is well known. ⁴³⁸ But Schoenberg was a talker and a thinker, and many of the ideas on Brahms's music in the German-speaking lands of the late-nineteenth, and early-twentieth century would have been disseminated by word of mouth.

It has been shown that the same 'fundamental similarity in outlook' to which Frisch refers in writings following Schoenberg is also evident in writings on Brahms as early as the 1860s. Indeed it was common currency in discussions of Brahms's music in the late nineteenth century, to the extent that it must have been still in the air, so to speak, by 1933. Therefore, if Hans Keller could claim in 1969 that Réti's work 'would be unthinkable' without Schoenberg, ⁴³⁹ we equally can claim that Schoenberg's work is 'unthinkable' without its critical forebears. To this end I posit that we should more accurately speak of a German analytical and critical tradition that reaches back beyond Schoenberg, albeit one in which he plays a significant role.

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438 Schoenberg, Arnold Schoenberg Letters, 207.

⁴³⁹ Hans Keller, 'The Chamber Music', in *The Mozart Companion*, H. C. Robbins Landon and Donald Mitchell, eds (New York: Norton, 1969), 93. Consider the fact that when Arno Mitschka reinvented the concept of developing variation as *variiredende Entwicklung* (varying development) in 1961 he was unfamiliar with Schoenberg's writings. Schoenberg and Mitschka can claim the same historical lineage for their ideas.

Chapter 3

Hanslick in the Context of His Contemporary Critics and Aestheticians 3.1: Introduction:

This chapter explores the relationship between Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms and his 1854 monograph *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*. It examines his terminology in this monograph in relation to matters of form and content, clearly explicating the philosophical distinction Hanslick made between "leere Form" (empty content), and "beseelte Form" (form in music imbued with spirit). It disputes the notion that Hanslick's 1854 tract can be understood as anti-metaphysical, a view that postulates that Hanslick transformed the romantic metaphysics of instrumental music into formalism and, moreover, that he defended instrumental music as an art form that no longer embodied spirituality. On the contrary, it is argued that Hanslick's notion of absolute music is inexplicably bound up with the "absolute," in the form of *geistige Gehalt* (spiritual content), and very much reliant on philosophy and religion.

This is followed by a discussion of Hanslick, Brahms, and the *Neudeutsche Schule* of Liszt, Wagner, and Berlioz. In a number of Hanslick's Brahms reviews, he pits Brahms against the composers of this school. However, a reading of Hanslick's entire critical output on Brahms reveals that the number of reviews in which he engages in this opposition is significantly fewer than those in which there is no mention of any of the composers of this school. It is argued therefore that this is an aspect of Hanslick's 'Brahms-Bild' that has been given disproportionate attention. It is further shown that the received views of Hanslick as the champion of Brahms the absolute on the one hand, and Hanslick as the opponent of programme music and the *Neudeutsche Schule* on the other, are not as mutually exclusive as has heretofore been supposed. It is shown that Hanslick is not opposed to programme music *per se.* What he is opposed to is music that seeks to be understood in terms of its extramusical programme, rather than its musical content—thus more accurately he is opposed to what he refers to as 'an abuse of programme music'. An exploration of the writings on

programme music by August Wilhelm Ambros, Richard Wagner, Franz Brendel, and Felix Weingartner reveals that Hanslick stands on common ground with his contemporary aestheticians in this regard.

3.2: Hanslick's 'Form' and 'Content' in Music

The question of the relationship between Hanslick's reception of Brahms and his aesthetic theory as espoused in *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* is a complex one. One may be tempted to think that in his later critical writings, Hanslick attempted to shed the autonomy music had acquired over the last century or so. The alternative is to consider the view put forward by Geoffrey Payzant whereby he reminds us that Hanslick's aim in 1854 was primarily polemical. *On the Musically Beautiful* was directed against the aesthetics of feeling, its aim being to 'clear away the rubble of obsolete prejudices and presuppositions, then mark out the foundations upon which a new theory might be built'. 440

A reading of Hanslick's autobiography written in 1894 supports this. Hanslick discusses what he refers to as his 'much quoted and much abused little book.' It was clear to him, he claims, that the text in its original form amounted to only a sketch or foundation, and he was aware that its negative, polemic aspects towered above its positive, systematic ones, both in extent and severity. However, he considered a complete, systematic *Ästhetik der Musik* to be an undertaking which demanded an undivided capacity for work, and complete concentration of thought. Moreover, Hanslick was aware of the weaknesses of his 1854 text stating that he recognised, as did most of is adversaries, that it was misleading to speak of a "lack of content" ["Inhaltlosigkeit"] of instrumental music. The difficulty he was trying to

⁴⁴⁰ Geoffrey Payzant, 'Translator's Preface,' Eduard Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful*, Geoffrey Payzant, trans. (Indiana: Hackett, 1986), xiii.

⁴⁴¹ Eduard Hanslick, *Aus meinem Leben*, Peter Wapnewski, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), 150.All further citations of *Aus meinem Leben* are to the Wapnewski edition unless otherwise noted.

⁴⁴² 'Ich hatte natürlich die Absicht, meine Abhandlung "vom Musikalisch-Schönen" mit der Zeit zu einer eigentlichen Ästhetik der Tonkunst zu erweitern und auszuführen. Daß jene Schrift nur eine Art Skizze oder Unterbau bedeute, war mir ebenso klar, als daß ihr negativer polemischer Teil den positiven, systematischen an Umfang und Scharfe uberrage. Aber eine vollständige, systematische Ästhetik der Musik – das ist ein Unternehmen, welches ungeteilte Arbeitskraft und unzersplitterte Konzentration des Denkens erfordert........' Eduard Hanslick, *Aus meinem Leben*, 153.

overcome was how form in music imbued with spirit ["beseelte Form"] was to be differentiated philosophically from empty form ["leerer Form"]. 443

In order to understand exactly what Hanslick means by 'form imbued with spirit' as opposed to 'empty form' it is instructive to examine his terminology in *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* when it comes to matters of form and content.⁴⁴⁴

- 1) geistige Gehalt, translatable in English as 'spiritual content' or 'ideal content.' Hanslick introduces this term in chapter III, 'Das Musikalisch-Schöne.' In the last chapter of the monograph, Hanslick also uses geistige Gehalt as the correlative of form.
- 2) *Gegenstand*, translatable in English as 'subject matter', and can be understood as the purpose of a piece of music. Hanslick uses this term frequently throughout the monograph, and its meaning in English is discussed in detail below.
- 3) *Inhalt*, translatable in English as 'content.' Hanslick introduces the distinction between *Gehalt* and *Inhalt* in chapter VII, 'Die Begriffe "Inhalt" und "Form" in der Musik'.
- 4) Form, translatable in English quite simply as 'form'.

Payzant's understanding of these terms offers a clarity and systematic insight into Hanslick's use of terminology that is worth adopting. He considers *Inhalt* to be 'content in the sense that the literary and visual arts have content but music has not.' This content can be reduced to concepts, which can be represented in words, colours, or abstract feelings, and can be understood as being external to the particular means by which art shapes its contents.

⁴⁴³ 'Das Wesen der Musik ist aber noch schwerer in philosophische Kategorien zu bannen als das der Malerei, weil die entscheidenden Begriffe "Form" und "Inhalt" in der Musik nicht standhalten wollen, der Trennung sich widersetzen. Will man der reinen Instrumentalmusik einen bestimmten Inhalt vindizieren, (—in der Vokalmusik liefert ihn das Gedicht und nicht die Musik—) so müßte man die kostbarsten Perlen der Tonkunst über Bord werfen, denen niemand einen von der Form trennbaren "Inhalt" nachzuweisen oder auch nur herauszufühlen vermag. Anderseits ist es, wie ich wohl einsehe, ein mißverständlich Ding schlechtweg von der "Inhaltlosigkeit" der Instrumentalmusik zu sprechen, was auch meiner Schrift die meisten Gegner erweckt hat. Wie ist in der Musik beseelte Form von leerer Form wissenschaftlich zu unterschieden?' Eduard Hanslick, *Aus meinem Leben*, 155.

⁴⁴⁴ The writings of Geoffrey Payzant have been of great benefit in the formation of my own views on this matter. See Payzant, *Hanslick on the Musically Beautiful: Sixteen Lectures on the Musical Aesthetics of Eduard Hanslick* (Christchurch, New Zealand: Cybereditions, 2002), and Payzant's preface in *On the Musically Beautiful*.

He considers *Gehalt* to be content in a sense particular to musical themes. Payzant uses the English word 'substantiality' for *Gehalt* and *geistige Gehalt*. He claims that 'substantiality gives to a theme its individuality and its spontaneity, these being the properties par excellence of *Geist*. They are reflected in the structure of the musical artwork as a whole.' It is in this sense that Hanslick uses *geistige Gehalt* as a correlative of form. Hence, 'music has its content *as* its form, or, what is the same thing, its form *as* its content.' In other words, *Gehalt* is replete with the particular characteristics, spiritual depth and individuality of the composer. 447

It is not as straightforward to render *Gegenstand* in English. Hanslick uses this word in a number of contexts, and accordingly Payzant translates it in a number of manners throughout the monograph. Most often the term is bound up with the negative thesis that the content of music is not to represent feelings. Regarding the specificity of feelings, Hanslick claims that the strength or weakness, and the fluctuations of inner activity can be similar with different feelings, while the same feeling can differ from person to person. He argues against the generally accepted misnomer that music 'can signify not the particular object ['Gegenstand'] of a feeling, but rather the feeling itself, e.g., not the person loved, but rather Love.' Rather he understands the fact that no one can ascribe a particular feeling to any of J. S. Bach's Preludes and Fugues from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* to be proof 'that music does not necessarily arouse feelings and have feelings as its content ['Gegenstand']. ⁴⁴⁹ Thus, for Hanslick, music cannot represent the content of feelings.

⁴⁴⁵ Payzant, 'Hanslick's "Immanent" Formalism,' in *Hanslick on the Musically Beautiful*, 9–16 (15).

⁴⁴⁹ 'Die Musik nicht Gefühle erwecken oder zum Gegenstand haben muß', VMS 51, OMB 14.

⁴⁴⁶ Payzant, 'Hanslick's Formalism,' in *Hanslick on the Musically Beautiful*, 82–91 (83).

⁴⁴⁷ Payzant, On the Musically Beautiful, 82, note 9.

⁴⁴⁸ 'Gemeiniglich glaubt man, das darstellende Vermögen der Musik genügend zu begrenzen, wenn man, sie könne keineswegs den Gegenstand eines Gefühls bezeichnen, wohl aber das Gefühl selbst, z. B. nicht das Object einer bestimmten Liebe, wohl aber "Liebe".' Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Ästhetik in der Tonkunst*, II Bände, Dietmar Strauß, ed. Vol. I, 47. Translated and quoted in Payzant, ed. *On the Musically Beautiful*, 11.Unless otherwise stated, the translations of Hanslick's monograph in this discussion are taken from this Payzant edition. Due to the large amount of material quoted from this volume, the remainder of citations will have the following format: Hanslick, *VMS*, 47 (referring to the Strauß edition); *OMB*, 11 (referring to Payzant's translation).

Nevertheless, music has one ingredient in common with emotional states—motion. This motion can be understood as being intrinsic to the diatonic system in which nothing moves, but there is a perceptible striving of individual notes and chords towards and away from one another, and a motion embodied in harmonic progressions that is temporal but not spatial—that is nothing physically moves. That is to say, the only movement of the ideas of feelings that music knows how to seize effectively is 'motion', an important concept that Hanslick considers to have been neglected. 450 Further clarifying what he considers to be a fundamental misunderstanding of the purpose of music, he refers to a common analogy between motion in space and motion in time. Thus, he concedes, 'one can in fact portray an object ['Gegenstand'] musically', by which he means that music can imitate external phenomenon. 'But to want to portray in tones the feelings which falling snow, a crowing rooster, or flashing lightning produce in us is just ridiculous. 451 Thus turning to his positive thesis, Hanslick's use of 'Gegenstand' occurs in the most frequently cited sentence from the monograph, to which the concept of motion in music is integral. In the first three editions this reads: 'Tönend bewegte Formen sind einzig und allein Inhalt und Gegenstand der Musik'. Thereafter it reads 'Der Inhalt der Musik sind tönend bewegte Formen'. 452

Thus, while music is "Inhaltlos" according to Hanslick, it is not without substance, or worth. Central to Hanslick's aesthetic theory is the notion that musical content is a manifestation of the spiritual, or the ideal. This is evidenced in chapter III, 'Das Musikalisch-Schöne':

⁴⁵⁰ '[Die Bewegung] bildet das Element, welches die Tonkunst mit den Gefühlszuständen gemeinschaftlich hat, und das sie schöpferisch in tausend Abstufungen und Gegensätzen zu gestalten mag', VMS 47, OMB 11. ⁴⁵¹ 'So kann man in der That einen Gegenstand musikalisch machen, —das "Gefühl" aber in Tönen schildern zu wollen, das der fallende Schnee, der krähende Hahn, der zuckende Blitz in uns hervorbringt, ist einfach lächerlich', VMS 61, OMB 20.

⁴⁵² The first can be rendered in English as 'tonally moving forms are the one and only content and subject matter of music'. Payzant translates the second as 'the content of music is tonally moving forms'. VMS 75, OMB 29.

In no way is the specifically musical beauty to be understood as mere acoustical beauty or as symmetry of proportion ... in order to make our case for musical beauty, we have not excluded ideal content ["geistigen Gehalt"] but, on the contrary, have insisted on it.⁴⁵³

He posits that 'as the creation of a thinking and feeling mind, a musical composition has in high degree the capability to be itself full of ideality and feeling.' As though pre-empting the objections that his monograph would incite, he writes that 'nothing could be more misguided and prevalent than the view which distinguishes between beautiful music which possesses ideal content ["geistiger Gehalt"] and beautiful music which does not.'

In other words, as Hanslick understands it, the very idea of beautiful music that does not embrace the spiritual and the ideal is a misnomer. He sees the problem with this misguided view being that 'the elaborately constructed form and the ideal content ["hineingegossene Seele"] with which the form is filled' are in danger of being understood as two separate entities.' As he sees it, this is a gross misunderstanding of what the beautiful in music actually is, and leads to the division of all compositions in to two categories, 'the full and the empty, like champagne bottles. Musical champagne, however,' he writes, 'has the peculiarity that it grows along with the bottle.'

In chapter VII he makes the distinction between *Inhalt* and *Gehalt* explicit:

Regarding the question of the *content* ["Inhalt"] of music, we must take particular care not to use the word in its laudatory sense. From the fact that music has no content ["Gegenstand"] in the sense of "subject matter," it does not follow that music lacks *substance* ["Gehalt"]. Clearly "spiritual substance"

⁴⁵⁴ 'Als Schöpfung eines denkenden und fühlenden Gesites hat demnach eine musikalische Composition in hohem Grade die Fähigkeit, selbst geist- und gefühlvoll zu sein,' Hanslick, *VMS*, 80; *OMB*, 31.

⁴⁵³ 'Keineswegs ist das "Specifisch-Musikalische" als blos akustische Schönheit, oder proportionale Symmetrie zu verstehen …Dadurch, daß wir auf musikalische Schönheit dringen, haben wir den geistigen Gehalt nicht ausgeschlossen, sondern ihn vielmehr bedingt.' *VMS*, 77–78, *OMB*, 30.

^{455 &#}x27;Nichts irriger und häufiger, als die Anschauung, welche "schöne Musik" mit und ohne geistigen Gehalt unterscheidet. Sie faßt den Begriff des Schönen in der Musik viel zu eng und stellt sich die kunstreich zusammengefügte Form als etwas für sich selbst Bestehendes, die hineingegossene Seele gleichfalls als etwas Selbständiges vor und theilt nun consequent die Compositionen in gefüllte und leere Champagnerflaschen. Der musikalische Champagner hat aber das Eigenthümlichkeit: er wächst mit der Flasche.' Hanslick, *VMS* 81; *OMB*, 32.

["geistige Gehalt"] is what those people have in mind who fight with sectarian ardour for the "content" ["Inhalt"] of music. 456

It is in this sense that we can understand Hanslick's quest for 'how form in music imbued with spirit was to be differentiated philosophically from empty form.'457 By drawing the reader's attention to this, Hanslick wishes to discourage listeners from engaging in an emotional, passive reception of music, that is a subjective approach that belongs to the listener and their emotional state, and not to the music itself. Rather he encourages the engagement of the imagination (*Phantasie*) of the listener. Music imbued with spirit, as Hanslick understands it, is music that can be understood as a manifestation of the ideal or "absolute" in music. The following statement leaves the reader in no doubt that he considers geistige Gehalt to be replete with the spirit, the ideal, or the divine in art:

Regarding the accusation of contentlessness, music has content ["Inhalt"], but musical content, which is a not inconsiderable spark of the divine flame, like the beauty of any other art. But only by firmly denying any other kind of "content" ["Inhalt"] to music can we preserve music's substance ["Gehalt"]. This is because from indefinite feelings, to which at best such a content ["Inhalt"] is attributable, no spiritual content ["geistige Bedeutung"] derives; rather, in each composition, the content derives from its particular tonal structure as the spontaneous creation of mind out of material compatible with mind ["der freien Schöpfung des Geistes aus geistfähigem Material"]. 458

⁴⁵⁶ 'Bei der Frage nach dem Inhalt der Tonkunst muß man sich insbesondere hüten, das Wort in lobender Bedeutung zu nehmen. Daraus, daß die Musik keinen Inhalt (Gegenstand) hat, folgt nicht, daß sie des Gehaltes entbehre. "Geistige Gehalt" meinen offenbar diejenigen, welche mit dem Eifer einer Partei für den "Inhalt" der Musik fechten.' Hanslick, VMS, 169; OMB, 82.

⁴⁵⁷ 'Das Wesen der Musik ist aber noch schwerer in philosophische Kategorien zu bannen als das der Malerei, weil die entscheidenden Begriffe "Form" und "Inhalt" in der Musik nicht standhalten wollen, der Trennung sich widersetzen. Will man der reinen Instrumentalmusik einen bestimmten Inhalt vindizieren, (—in der Vokalmusik liefert ihn das Gedicht und nicht die Musik-) so müßte man die kostbarsten Perlen der Tonkunst über Bord werfen, denen niemand einen von der Form trennbaren "Inhalt" nachzuweisen oder auch nur herauszufühlen vermag. Anderseits ist es, wie ich wohl einsehe, ein mißverständlich Ding schlechtweg von der "Inhaltlosigkeit" der Instrumentalmusik zu sprechen, was auch meiner Schrift die meisten Gegner erweckt hat. Wie ist in der Musik beseelte Form von leerer Form wissenschaftlich zu unterschieden?' Eduard Hanslick, Aus meinem Leben, 155.

⁴⁵⁸ 'Gegenüber dem Vorwurf der Inhaltlosigkeit also hat die Musik Inhalt, allein musikalischen, welcher ein nicht geringerer Funke des göttlichen Feuers ist, als das Schöne jeder andern Kunst. Nur dadurch aber, daß man jeden andern "Inhalt" der Tonkunst unerbittlich negirt, rettet man deren "Gehalt". Denn aus dem unbestimmten Gefühle, worauf sich jener Inhalt im besten Fall zurückführt, ist ihr eine geistige Bedeutung nicht abzuleiten, wohl aber aus der bestimmten schönen Tongestaltung. Als der freien Schöpfung des Geistes aus geistfähigem Material.' Hanslick, VMS, 171; OMB, 83.

In a publication as recent as 2000, Hanslick is charged with being 'antimetaphysical.' In what appears to be a fundamental misunderstanding of the tenets of Hanslick's aesthetic theory, Karol Berger posits that:

By 1854 music could afford this antimetaphysical turn: there was so much great instrumental music around that the practice no longer needed philosophical or religious crutches to justify itself. 460

Berger further argues that Hanslick 'does not claim for music the power to disclose the "absolute." Instead, he sees the dignity of abstract music simply in its being a product of a creative mind. But surely the product of a creative mind, with the emphasis on the term *Geist* as Hanslick understands it, that is as a manifestation of the ideal in music, is completely bound up with the "absolute," and very much reliant on philosophy and religion.

This understanding of *Geist* has its roots, for Hanslick, in his Hegelian background. He was profoundly influenced by Hegelian idealism in the *Vormärz* era, as were most artists and intellectuals of his age. Hegelian and intellectuals of his age. This was not a direct influence from the philosophy of Hegel himself. Rather, Hanslick subscribed to the views of the Hegelian left, a position he had in common with, among others, David Strauss, and Franz Brendel. Hegelian left radically criticised Hegel's retrospective recognition of history and conservative attitude towards politics. They were pro-active in that they channelled Hegel's idealistic views into more practical directions. In the *Vormärz* years Hanslick believed (as did Brendel, although they were not part of one another's intellectual or social circles) that art should make some positive contribution to social and political reforms. As Yoshida observes, his critical writing at the time of the Vienna Revolution was at its most politically acute, carrying the banner of social

⁴⁵⁹ Karol Berger, A Theory Of Art (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 145.

⁴⁶⁰ Berger, A Theory of Art, 145.

⁴⁶¹ Berger, A Theory of Art, 143.

⁴⁶² On Hegel's influence on Hanslick see Hiroshi Yoshida, ,Eduard Hanslick and the Idea of "Public" in Musical Culture: Towards a Socio-Political Context of Formalistic Aesthetics', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 32/2 (2001): 179–199 (particularly 179–188).

⁴⁶³ For a discussion of Brendel's appropriation of Hegelian thought in his critical writings see Chapter 1.

reformation based on Hegelian Idealist philosophy. 464 At this time, Hanslick sought to interpret musical works as an expression of Weltanschauung.

Revolution in Vienna, however, went too far for Hanslick's political view: in his autobiography he recalls with horror the violence of the revolution, and of witnessing the brutal hanging of the Secretary of War by a mob in the street for his collusion with antirevolutionary elements. Hanslick cites this as the moment he turned his back on the radical elements of proletarian revolution. 465 The failure of the revolution, as we saw in Chapter 1, put an end to hopes for social reform based on Hegelian Idealist philosophy.

Following the failed revolutions, there were a number of attempts across Germany, as Pederson notes, to 're-conceptualise music at the most basic level of perception in order to disavow Romantic affiliation. '466 She cites a series of articles by Julius Schäffer that sought to counter Hegel's claim that music cannot convey clearly defined ideas by demonstrating the primacy of thought over mere feeling in music. I agree with Mark Burford's assessment that Pederson rightly interprets this view as a precursor to the arguments in Hanslick's Vom Musikalisch-Schönen, but goes too far (as does Karol Berger) in claiming that 'Hanslick parted with Schäffer in renouncing the central Hegelian metaphysical premise of the Idea'. 467

Mark Burford's recent article 'Hanslick's Idealist Materialism' provides a fitting rebuttal to Berger's and Pederson's claim in observing that 'Hanslick did not so much reject musical metaphysics as, to a certain extent, reconceptualize it by arguing that the ideal content of music is the product of a human spirit, not a transcendent one. '468 This can be understood in relation to the notion of 'art religion' that provided the aesthetic justification of

⁴⁶⁴ Yoshida, ,E. Hanslick and the Idea of "Public", 183. See for instance Hanslick's essay 'Censur und Kunst-Kritik', of 24 March 1848 in Eduard Hanslick: Sämtliche Schriften I, 156-157. 465 Hanslick, Aus meinem Leben, 86.

⁴⁶⁶ Sanna Pederson, 'Romantic Music Under Siege in 1848', in *Music Theory in the Age of Romanticism*, Ian Bent, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 57-74 (71-72). See also Mark Burford, 'Hanslick's Aesthetic Idealism', 19th-Century Music 30/2 (2006): 166–181 (171). ⁴⁶⁷ Pederson, 'Romantic Music Under Siege in 1848', 71–72.

⁴⁶⁸ Mark Burford, 'Hanslick's Aesthetic Idealism', 171. Burford further emphasise the extent to which Hanslick's treatise 'took Hegel's aesthetic system as his point of departure and clung to the metaphysical premise of the "Idea" or "Spirit" in music, though in a newly interpreted sense.'

instrumental music as a metaphysical medium by Wackenroder and Hoffmann at the turn of the nineteenth century. Dahlhaus defines this as 'the belief that art, though created by humans, is revelation'. Accordingly, Hanslick's religiosity or spirituality is such that he believes there is beauty to be found in worldly practicality, in the human endeavour of art. This aspect of Hanslick's *Kunstanschauung* will be explored in relation to Hanslick's writings on Brahms in Chapter 4.

Confining this discussion to Hanslick's 1854 monograph for the moment, however, I would argue that Berger's view of Hanslick's aesthetic theory, and the responsibility he ascribes to *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* for the rise of formalism in the twentieth century is too simplistic. He writes that 'Hanslick's transformation of the romantic metaphysics of instrumental music into formalism and the ascendance of formalism in our century represent a change in the interpretation of musical abstraction as profound as the one that occurred in the late sixteenth century. He greer fails to consider the religious (or metaphysical) and philosophical aspects that are integral to Hanslick's monograph. Ironically, it seems Berger has difficulty extricating his own 'formalist' reading of Hanslick's aesthetic ideals from the deeply embedded formalist views against which he argues in his 'Cold War of Mimesis and Abstraction.' To this effect he understands the final paragraph of *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, which was removed from all but the first edition, to be inconsistent with the rest of the monograph. This paragraph reads:

This spiritual content thus combines, in the soul of the listener, the beautiful in music with all other great and beautiful ideas. He does not experience music merely as bare and absolute through its own beauty, but simultaneously as a sounding image of the great movements in the universe. Through deep and secret relationships to nature the meaning of tones is heightened far beyond the tones themselves, and allows us always to feel the infinite even as we listen to the work of human talent. Just as the

⁴⁶⁹ Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 88.

⁴⁷⁰ This discussion is carried out on pages 142–145 under the sub-heading 'Cold War of Mimesis and Abstraction.'

⁴⁷¹ Berger, A Theory of Art, 145.

elements of music - sound, tone, rhythm, strength, weakness - are found in the entire universe, so man rediscovers in music the entire universe. 472

This statement epitomizes the notion that art, though created by humans, is revelation. Furthermore, in its focus on music in its own right, as distinct from music with extra-musical adjuncts, it is evocative of Hoffmann's famous proclamation that instrumental music is 'the most romantic of all arts' because it 'scorns all aid, all admixture of other arts, and gives pure expression to its own peculiar artistic nature, ⁴⁷³ a statement, as Chantler observes, that is inextricably linked to his belief that 'sound audibly expresses an awareness of the highest and holiest, of the spiritual power which enkindles the spark of life in the whole of nature'. 474

In an alternative interpretation to Berger's of this last paragraph of Hanslick's monograph, Mark Evan Bonds embraces the philosophical and religious aspects of this last paragraph, and points to a continuity in Hanslick's argument that reaches its peak at this point. In his 1997 article 'Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century' he writes that 'the significance of this passage – and of its subsequent deletion – can scarcely be overestimated. This was not merely one of many pronouncements buried deep within Vom Musikalisch-Schönen, but rather the ringing culmination of Hanslick's entire treatise. '475

474 Hoffmann, Hoffmann's Musical Writings, 355. See also Abigail Chantler, E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Aesthetics (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 10.

475 Mark Evan Bonds, 'Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth

⁴⁷² 'Dieser geistige Gehalt verbindet nun auch im Gemüth des Hörers das Schöne der Tonkunst mit alle andern großen und schönen Ideen. Ihm wirkt die Musik nicht blos und absolut durch ihre eigenste Schönheit, sondern zugleich als tönendes Abbild der großen Bewegungen im Weltall. Durch tiefe und geheime Naturbezirhungen steigert sich die Bedeutung der Töne hoch über sie selbst hinaus und läßt uns in dem Werke menschlichen Talents immer zugleich das Unendliche fühlen. Da die Elemente der Musik: Schall, Ton, Rhythmus, Stärke, Schwäche im ganzen Universum sich finden, so findet der Mensch wieder in der Musik das ganze Universum.' Hanslick: VMS, 171. The translation quoted above is Roger Lustig's as quoted in Dahlhaus, The Idea of Absolute Music, 28.

⁴⁷³ E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, the Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism* David Charlton, ed., Martyn Clarke, trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 236.

Century', Journal of the American Musicological Society 50/2-3 (Summer-Autumn 1997): 387-420 (415). Bonds still holds the same view, as is evident in his recent publication Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

3.3: Hanslick, Brahms, and the Neudeutsche Schule

A much discussed aspect of Hanslick's reception of Brahms is the fact that he pits Brahms against the composers of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. 476 It is indisputable that Hanslick uses this opposition in a highly polemical way. However, as is shown on table 3 (at the end of Chapter 4), the number of Hanslick's Brahms reviews in which he pits Brahms against Wagner are proportionately fewer than those in which there is no mention of either Wagner or the Neudeutsche Schule. I would argue therefore that this is a feature of his Brahms reviews that has been given disproportionate attention, as evidenced in the citations at the outset of Chapter 4, and in the writings of Constantin Floros:

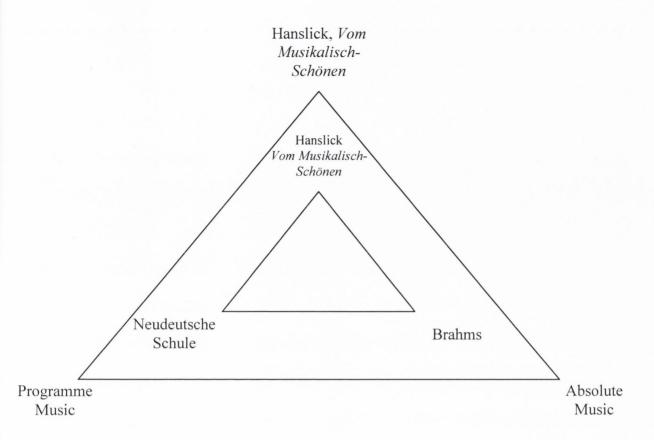
Hanslick saw in some of Brahms's works a position and unexpected confirmation of his own aesthetic theory, which he already established in 1854. And also it is to be explained that he played Brahms against Wagner and Liszt, against the Neudeutsche Schule, against the whole poetic, instrumental music of his time. '477

Floros's statement is problematic in that his placement of Wagner and Liszt, the Neudeutsche Schule and the whole poetic, instrumental music of Brahms's time amounts to a generalisation that cannot be sustained. This generalisation pre-supposes that the poetic instrumental music of the late-nineteenth-century is synonymous exclusively with the *oeuvre* of the *Neudeutsche* Schule. While these composers contributed significantly to this genre, such a generalisation fails to consider the poetic music of many composers from this time, among them Schumann and Dvořák, and ironically Brahms himself.

Figure 3: The Current View of Hanslick's Reception of Brahms

⁴⁷⁶ See for instance Constantin Floros, 'Das Brahms-Bild Eduard Hanslicks', in *Brahms-Kongress Wien*, Susanne Antonicek and Otto Biba, eds (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988), 155-166. See also Siegfried Kross, 'Brahms the Symphonist,' in Brahms: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies, Robert Pascall, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 125-45, in which he refers to 'Eduard Hanslick, who never tired of presenting Brahms as the antipode of Wagner' (139).

477 Floros, 'Das Brahms-Bild Eduard Hanslicks,' 165.



Despite the revisionist scholarship on Brahms in the last thirty years, there still exists a view of Hanslick as the champion of Brahms the 'absolute', and consequently as the vehement opponent of programme music. A three-fold relationship continues to exist, at the three points of which are Hanslick, Brahms, and the *Neudeutsche Schule* (see figure 3). Widening the focus it is seen that there is a broader triangle at the three points of which are Hanslick, absolute music, and programme music. In other words, the tendency in scholarship on Hanslick and Brahms has been to view the points of this contrived triangle as mutually exclusive, and by extension to accept the view of Hanslick as the champion of Brahms the 'absolute' without dispute. Floros is exemplary in this regard. He claims that of the Brahms works that Hanslick reviewed favourably:

⁴⁷⁸ To clarify, the Hanslick at the point of this triangle is the author of *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, and not the author of a large body of critical writings. It is shown in Chapter 4 that Hanslick's critical writings have been largely disregarded in discussions of Hanslick and Brahms. Therefore they have no place in a figure that charts current views of Hanslick.

He saw in them examples of that 'reinen absoluten Musik,' (that pure absolute music) for which he tirelessly campaigned. That in them no extra musical factors (literary or biographical) leave a trace, fills him – the irreconcilable opponent of programme music – with deep satisfaction. 479

The issue is, however, far more complex. Floros's short quotations can be understood to house a number of tacit assumptions; these assumptions are cultivated to support his own thesis. Along the way, however, they misinterpret and misrepresent the evidence. The discussion that follows subjects these tacit assumptions to close scrutiny, and thereby demonstrates that the points of the contrived triangle in figure 1 are not as mutually exclusive as has been understood heretofore. The current chapter shows that Hanslick's views of Brahms and the *Neudeutsche Schule*, and by extension of absolute and programme music, do not fit neatly at the points of the contrived triangle. This provides the context for the arguments in Chapter 4 where it is shown that literary and poetic aspects of Brahms's music are integral to Hanslick's discussion of Brahms's works.

Floros does not clearly define either what he understands by the term 'reine absolute Musik,' ('pure, absolute music', or as Payzant translates it 'music purely and absolutely', and or what he considers Hanslick to have understood by it. It was Richard Wagner who coined the phrase 'absolute music' in a relatively obscure programmatic commentary to his 1846 performance of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9. As Thomas Grey indicates, in Wagner's writings the predicate 'absolute' was a pejorative alternative to the more positive predicate 'pure' that had been widely used since the early nineteenth century in the phrase 'pure instrumental music' in the writings of Hoffmann, Hegel, and Schopenhauer. The predicate 'absolute' is ubiquitous in Wagner's *Oper und Drama:* he speaks of absolute melody, absolute poetry, absolute recitative, absolute opera singer. The extent is such that Thomas

⁴⁷⁹ Floros, 'Das Brahms-Bild Eduard Hanslick's,' 156.

⁴⁸⁰ OMB, 15.

⁴⁸¹ Thomas Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose: Texts and Contexts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 2.

Grey considers Wagner to have deemed the word 'absolute' itself sufficient demonstration of the nullity of whatever object it modified. 482

There is no clear explanation for why Hanslick chose to coin the phrase 'pure, absolute music', or indeed if it had any Wagnerian connotations. But two observations are worth making in this regard. Firstly, if in Wagner's writings the word 'absolute' demonstrated the nullity of the object it modified, in Hanslick's writings it gave that very object significance. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that Hanslick was in fact responding to Wagner's 1852 monograph, and restoring the significance of instrumental music that he considered to have been nullified in Wagner's writing. Secondly, regardless of Hanslick's intentions, when he combined both predicates – as 'die reine, absolute Tonkunst' – in the unique instance of the term within his book, he clearly incensed Wagner, as Thomas Grey has noted. 483 This is because he put Wagner in the awkward position of having to sustain his earlier critique of absolute music in *Oper und Drama* whilst embracing a broader aesthetic of music as a "noumenal" language in the spirit of Schopenhauer and the Romantic tradition of Wackenroder, Tieck, and Hoffmann. 484 It is in this context that we can understand his response to Hanslick in his 1857 essay on Liszt's Symphonic Poems which is directed against the 'advocates of an absolute music'. 485

The context within which Hanslick uses this phrase is in chapter 2 titled 'The Representation of Feeling is Not the Content of Music'. Here Hanslick contends that he has 'deliberately chosen instrumental music' for his examples. He maintains that whatever holds

⁴⁸² Grey, Wagner's Musical Prose, 2.

Grey, Wagner's Musical Prose, 2–3. The single instance of 'reine absolute Tonkunst' occurs in VMS, 52,

⁴⁸⁴ Note that it was in 1854, the same year as the publication of *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, that Wagner came under the influence of a metaphysics of absolute music in Schopenhauer's Die Welt as Wille und Vorstellung ('The World as Will and Representation').

485 Grey, Wagner's Musical Prose, 3. On Wagner's problematic relationship to the concept of absolute music see

Carl Dahlhaus, 'The Twofold Truth in Wagner's Aesthetics: Nietzsche's Fragment "On Music and Words",' in Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century, trans. Mary Whittall and Arnold Whittall (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980), 19-39.

good for instrumental music holds good for all music as such'. 486 This can be understood in the sense that whether or not a piece of music has a poetic heading, a literary adjunct, or a prescriptive programme, the music must remain intelligible in its own right, and not depend on its extra-musical adjunct for its comprehensibility:

If some general definition of music be sought, something by which to characterise its essence and nature, to establish its boundaries and purpose, we are entitled to confine ourselves to instrumental music. Of what *instrumental music* cannot do it ought never be said that *music* can do it, because only instrumental music is **music purely and absolutely**. (Hanslick's italics, my bold typeface.)⁴⁸⁷

Hanslick then explains that 'the concept "music" does not apply strictly to a piece of music composed to a verbal text.' He further explicates the point in writing that 'in a piece of vocal music, the effectiveness of tones can never be so precisely separated from that of words, action, and ornamentation as to allow strict sorting of the musical from the poetical.'488

Hanslick's opposition is not to vocal music or programme music *per se*, rather it is to music that seeks to be understood in terms of its extra-musical content, and not its musical content (that is its tones, latent within which are the ideal content (*geistige Gehalt*), and thereby music's metaphysical status). To this end he writes 'where it is a matter of the "content" ['Inhalt'] of music, we must reject even pieces with specific titles or programmes. Union with poetry' he claims, without denouncing such a union, 'extends the power of music, but not its

⁴⁸⁶ 'Wir haben absichtlich Instrumentalsätze zu Beispielen gewählt. Denn nur was von der Instrumentalmusik behauptet werden kann, gilt von der Tonkunst als solcher', *VMS*, 52, *OMB*, 14.

⁴⁸⁷ 'Wir haben absichtlich Instrumentalsätze zu Beispielen gewählt. Denn nur was von der Instrumentalmusik behauptet werden kann, gilt von der Tonkunst als solcher. Wenn irgend eine allgemeine Bestimmtheit der Musik untersucht wird, etwas so ihr Wesen und ihre Natur kennzeichnen, ihre Gränzen und Richtung feststellen soll, so kann nur von der Instrumentalmusik die Rede sein. Was die Instrumentalmusik nicht kann, von dem darf nie gesagt werden, die Musik könne es; denn nur sie ist reine, absolute Tonkunst.' Hanslick, *VMS*, *52*; *OMB*, 14–15. ⁴⁸⁸ 'Ob man nun die Vocal- oder die Instrumentalmusik an Werth und Wirkung vorziehen wolle, —eine unwissenschaftliche Procedur, bei der meist das Wort führt—man wird stets einräumen müssen, daß der Begriff "Tonkunst" in einem auf Text-worte componirten Musikstück nicht rein aufgehe. In einer Vocalcomposition kann die Wirksamkeit der Töne nie so genau von jener der Worte, der Handlung, der Decoration getrennt werden, daß die Rechnung der verschiedenen Künste sich streng sondern ließe.' Hanslick, *VMS*, 52–53; *OMB*; 15.

boundaries.'489 In other words, we must reject works that have their specific title or programme as the content of the piece.

Hanslick's explication is not entirely clear at this point, and it is only in relating this section to his broader argument that the meaning becomes clear. The key to understanding is in looking closely at Hanslick's terminology. The word "Inhalt" for Hanslick means content in the sense that the literary and visual arts have content, but music has not. Thus he is not invalidating works with specific titles or programmes, rather he is claiming that we must reject works that seek to be understood in terms of such extra-musical content. He makes this point much more clearly in what would become the closing paragraph in all but the first edition: 'only by firmly denying any other kind of "content" ["Inhalt"] to music can we preserve music's substance ["Gehalt"].

In arguing that 'reine, absolute Musik,' is music in which no extra-musical factors (literary or biographical) leave a trace, Floros seems to misread Hanslick's point. 'Reine, absolute Tonkunst' for Hanslick does not require that music be divorced from such extra-musical factors, but that it does not seek to be understood in terms of its extra-musical content. To label Hanslick the 'irreconcilable opponent of programme music' in this context, therefore, not only misrepresents his view of Brahms, but also displays a fundamental misinterpretation of Hanslick's aesthetic ideals. On the basis of this misinterpretation Floros ascribes to Hanslick's *Brahms Bild* a formalist agenda that not only renounces the spiritual and metaphysical aspects integral to Hanslick's aesthetic ideals, but also disregards Hanslick's discussion of the extra-musical adjuncts in Brahms's music. The multifarious aspects of Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms in the form of biographical, socio-political, and literary readings are documentation of the reception history of Brahms's music.

⁴⁸⁹ 'Sogar Tonstücke mit bestimmten Ueberschriften oder Programmen müssen wir ablehnen, wo es sich um den "Inhalt" der Musik handelt. Die Vereinigung mit der Dichtkunst erweitert die Macht der Musik, aber nicht ihre Gränzen.' Hanslick, *VMS*, 53, *OMB*, 15.

⁴⁹⁰ 'Nur dadurch aber, daß man jeden andern "Inhalt" der Tonkunst unerbittlich negirt, rettet man deren "Gehalt".' *VMS*, 171, *OMB*, 83.

Moreover, more than any other contemporary criticism, Hanslick's writings illuminate the cultural context in which Brahms's works were composed, and subsequently received by their Viennese audience. By denying that such readings exist, Floros is not only doing a disservice to Hanslick, he is withholding from the reader documentation that is integral to the nineteenth-century view of Brahms.

To sum up, the triangular relationship between the three points can now be viewed in a new light. Hanslick's reviews of Brahms can be understood to endorse the aesthetic ideals espoused in *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, in that he seeks to understand Brahms's music in terms of its musical, rather than its extra-musical, substance. And indeed this is the case throughout his critical writings on a broad range of contemporary composers. Recent revisionist scholarship has done much to dispel the myth of Brahms the 'absolute'. Yet the view of Hanslick as the champion of Brahms the 'absolute' persists, despite being grounded on a mythological construct. Hanslick was not, as this view holds, indiscriminately opposed to programme music. As will be shown in the next section, Hanslick's reservations about music that sought to be understood in terms of its extra-musical content were no more emphatic than those of his contemporary commentators, among them supporters of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. The common ground on which these writers stood is becoming more and more apparent with recent scholarship. Perhaps, then, Dahlhaus hit the nail on the head in his 1989 text *The Idea of Absolute Music* in positing that:

The dispute between the "New Germans" and the "formalists" over the legitimacy or illegitimacy of programme music, which hardened into a partisan battle of musical politics around 1860, can be viewed as an attempt by each group to deny the other's right to the concept of the "spiritual in music". ⁴⁹¹

3.4: Formästhetik and Inhaltsästhetik: Hanslick in the Context of His Contemporaries

In the mid-1850s aesthetic discussions in the German musical press were centred around the clash between Formästhetik and Inhaltsästhetik. Hanslick was a major player in these debates

⁴⁹¹ Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, 129.

on account of his 1854 monograph which, arguably, spurred a lot of the subsequent contributions. The precise chronology and genesis of much of these writings is not entirely clear. Furthermore, unravelling precisely who responded to whom, and who incited responses from whom in these debates is a difficult, and perhaps futile, task. A rough chronology, however, would take the following form:

- November 1854: the publication of Hanslick's Vom Musikalisch-Schönen in Leipzig.⁴⁹²
- December 1854: Peter Cornelius reviews Vom Musikalisch-Schönen from Weimar. 493
- 1855 (1850?): the publication of Liszt's review articles in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, including 'Robert Schumann'; ⁴⁹⁴ 'Marx: Die Musik im neunzehnten Jahrhundert'; ⁴⁹⁵ and 'Berlioz und seine Haroldsymphonie'. ⁴⁹⁶ According to Lina Ramann, however, Liszt wrote 'Berlioz und seine Haroldsymphonie' as early as 1850, although it was rejected by the French journal 'trop élogieux'. ⁴⁹⁷
- 1855: Franz Brendel reviews Vom Musikalisch-Schönen in Neue Zeitschrift für Musik.⁴⁹⁸
- 1856: the publication of Franz Brendel's article 'Programmusik'. 499

⁴⁹² Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Tonkunst* (Leipzig: R. Weigel, 1854).

⁴⁹³ Peter Cornelius, 'Concertmusik: Clavierauszüge zu vier Händen', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 24 (8 December 1854): 257–259. This article is not ostensibly a review of *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, but Cornelius's comments are such that Günter Wagner and James Deaville refer to it as 'the first reaction from Liszt's Weimar to Eduard Hanslick's book *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen'*. See Peter Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius: Gesammelte Aufsätze: Gedanken über Musik und Theater, Poesie und bildende Kunst,* Günter Wagner and James A Deaville, eds (Mainz: Schott, 2004), 251.

⁴⁹⁴ Franz Liszt, 'Robert Schumann I', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 42/13 (23 March 1855): 133–7, 'Robert Schumann II' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 42/14 (30 March 1855): 145–53, and 42/15 (6 April 1855): 157–65, Robert Schumann III', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 42/17 (20 April 1855): 177–82, and 42/18 (27 April): 189–96. ⁴⁹⁵ Franz Liszt, 'Marx und die Musik des neuenzehnten Jahrhunderts', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 42/20 (11 May 1855): 213–21, and 42/21 (18 May 1855): 225–30.

⁴⁹⁶ Franz Liszt, 'Berlioz und seine Haroldsymphonie', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 43/3 (13 July 1855) 25–32, 43/4 (20 July 1855): 37–46, 43/5 (27 July 1855): 49–55, 43/8 (17 August 1855): 77–84, and 43/9 (24 August 1855): 89–97.

⁴⁹⁷ Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt: Als Künstler und Mensch* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1880–94), 2.2:77.
⁴⁹⁸ Franz Brendel, 'Bücher, Zeitschriften: Dr. Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen. Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Aesthetik der Tonkunst.* Leipzig, R. Wiegel, 1854', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 8 (16 February 1855): 77–82; 9 (23 February 1855): 89–91; 10 (2 March 1855): 97–100.

⁴⁹⁹ Franz Brendel, 'Programmusik', Anregungen für Kunst, Leben und Wissenschaft, vol.1 (1856).

- 1857: Hanslick's Review of Liszt's Symphonische Dichtungen. 500
- April 1857: Wagner's essay on Liszt's Symphonische Dichtungen published in Neue
 Zeitschrift für Musik.⁵⁰¹
- September–October 1857: Franz Brendel's article 'F. Liszt's neueste Werke und die gegenwärtige Parteistellung' in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. 502

Dietmar Strauß argues that although the first edition of *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* was not developed as a manifesto of the anti-Wagnerian, it 'was immediately understood as such, and thus Hanslick was considered as the head of the anti-Wagner party, to which he contributed by his later variants of the prefaces which critically turned explicitly against Wagner and Liszt.'503

Franz Brendel provides evidence of such an anti-Wagnerian interpretation in his 1855 review of Hanslick's monograph. Before discussing this aspect, however, it is interesting to note his overall judgement of *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*. Brendel points to common ground in his own thinking and that of Hanslick, his dispute residing only in the details of Hanslick's monograph and not its overall thesis. ⁵⁰⁴ He agrees with Hanslick that the composer is not concerned with translating certain content into tones, and that the intention of the composer is not to describe certain passions, but to invent a melody.

It is here, however, that Hanslick and Brendel diverge in their aesthetic outlooks. Brendel considers all of this musical activity to rest on a 'psychological basis', 'on certain excitations of the soul' which 'present themselves directly' (unmittelbar), unlike the arbitrarily selected signs of language. He invokes his 1845 inaugural article as editor of the *Neue Zeitschrift* in which he argued for a more subjective approach to composition (as

⁵⁰⁴ 'So viel im Allgemein. Ich wende mich nur zu dem Einzelnen', Brendel, 'Bücher, Zeitschriften: Dr. Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* (16 February 1855), 82.

⁵⁰⁰ Eduard Hanslick, '"Les préludes." Symphonische Dichtungen für großes Orchester von Franz Liszt', Sämtliche Schriften 1/4, 47–53.

Wagner, 'Liszts Symphonische Dichtungen', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (April 10 1857): 157–163. Franz Brendel 'Franz Liszt's neueste Werke und die gegenwärtige Parteistellung', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (18 September 1857): 121–24; (25 September 1875) 129–133.

⁵⁰³ Dietmar Strauß, 'Eduard Hanslick und die Diskussion um die Musik der Zukunft,' in Eduard Hanslick, Sämtliche Schriften: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe 1/4 (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2002), 412.
⁵⁰⁴ 'So viel im Allgemein, Ich wende mich nur zu dem Einzelnen', Brendel 'Bücher, Zeitschriften: Dr. Ed

discussed in Chapter 1). Still advocating this subjective, spiritual approach, Brendel continues that without this, composition would appear as 'an empty play of technical musical rules, not as a real work of art in accord with the concepts of a modern philosophy of art'. ⁵⁰⁵ To pursue Hanslick's line of thinking, he continues, one would never arrive at an understanding of the artwork 'as the inner life of the soul, i.e. as an organic development'. 506 For this reason he considers Hanslick to have a one-sided approach in his monograph: he goes too far in his quest for objectivity, and thereby overlooks the subjective. Thus, whilst he considers the issues raised by Hanslick to be important ones, he does not think the author provides solutions to these issues, rather he poses the questions from a new angle.

Noting the increased activity in musicological areas (musikwissenschaftlichem Gebiet) in recent years, Brendel maintains that this progress must be attributed, in part, to Wagner's initiative. This is because in Chapter 2 of Vom Musikalisch-Schönen, on a number of occasions, Hanslick refers directly to Wagner, both responding to the 1852 text Oper und *Drama*, and referring to a number of the operas. ⁵⁰⁷ Hanslick refers to Wagner's discussion in Oper und Drama of the Gluck-Piccini conflict. He sees this conflict being between music and drama, and accordingly judges Wagner's operas: 'Richard Wagner pursues specific dramatic tendencies in contrast to musical ones in his opera Lohengrin. We can delight in the intelligent emphasis of the prescribed expression and words, but not without the knowledge that music, divorced from its text, grants very little satisfaction. ⁵⁰⁸ He further maintains that in accordance with the principles laid down in Oper und Drama, Wagner must consider

^{505 &#}x27;Wäre dies nicht der Fall, so erschiene das Tonstück nur als ein leeres Spiel nach technisch-musikalischen Gesetzen, nicht als wirkliches Kunstwerk nach den Begriffen der modernen Kunstphilosophie'. Brendel, Bücher, Zeitschriften: Dr. Eduard Hanslick, Vom Musikalisch-Schönen' (16 February 1855), 81.

^{&#}x27;Auf dem Wege des Vers.'s ferner wäre nie dahin zu gelangen, das Kunstwerk als das Resultat inneren Seelenlebens, d. h. als ein organisch Entstandenes zu begreifen.' Brendel, 'Bücher, Zeitschriften: Dr. Eduard Hanslick, Vom Musikalisch-Schönen' (16 February 1855), 81.

⁵⁰⁷ See in particular VMS, 68-70.

^{508 &#}x27;Specifisch dramatische Tendenz im Gegensatz zur musikalischen verfolgt Richard Wagner in seinem "Lohengrin". Wir werden uns an dem geistreichen Betonen des vorgeschriebenen Ausdrucks und Wortes erfreuen, doch nicht ohne die Erkenntniß, daß die Musik, abgelöst von ihrem Texte, eine sehr geringe Befriedigung gewähre.' Hanslick, VMS, 68. Hanslick altered, and finally deleted this passage from the later editions. See VMS, 68 for the chronological details. This passage does not appear in OMB, because by the eighth edition (1891) it had been completely removed. The translation is my own.

Lohengrin to be his best work. 'We place *Tannhäuser* inestimably higher', Hanslick continues, because in this compositions 'the composer had not yet ascended to the peak of the standpoint of real musical beauty, but also, thankfully, had not yet overcome it. ⁵⁰⁹

He further takes issue with Wagner's contention that 'the mistake of opera as an art genre lies in this, that a means (music) is made an end, but this end (drama) is made a means'. Hanslick sees Wagner's contention as being founded on a false premise, because as Hanslick sees it, 'an opera in which the music is always and actually used as a means for dramatic expression would be a musical monstrosity.

Whether or not Hanslick intended these comments to ignite a polemical battle, this is exactly what came about, as is evident in Brendel's review. Brendel considers Hanslick to have misjudged not only Wagner's efforts with regard to music and drama, but also Gluck's conflict. 'It was not the dramatic and musical principles that were spoken of in [Gluck's] conflict', Brendel argues, 'it was the fight between vocal virtuosity and deeper musical expression.' He argues that 'in theory, Gluck grasps ahead of his time and approaches Wagner', and likewise that Wagner was the first to 'bring to execution what Gluck had aimed at' in his opera reform. ⁵¹³

Brendel considers Hanslick to 'have no idea' what the 'Wagner movement strives for'. He agrees that if the 'intention was to reach the highest certainty of expression and dramatic movement at the expense of beauty', then this could certainly be considered hopeless.

wird, ist ein musikalisches Unding'. Hanslick, VMS, 70; OMB, 25.

was Gluck anstrebte.' Brendel, 'Bücher, Zeitschriften. Dr. Eduard Hanslick, Vom Musikalisch Schönen', 98.

⁵⁰⁹ 'Aus seinem Princip, dem rcksichtslos dramatischen, muß Wagner gleichwohl den "Lohengrin" für seine bestes Werk erklären. Wir stellen den "Tannhäuser" unbedingt höher, in welchem der Componist den Standpunkt echt musikalischer Schönheit zwar noch nicht erklommen, aber Gottlob auch noch nicht überwunden hatte.' Hanslick, *VMS* 68. Again, this passage was amended, and finally removed from later editions. The translation is my own.

Hanslick quotes Wagner: 'Der Irrtum der Oper als Kunstgenre besteht darin, daß ein Mittel (die Musik) zum Zweck, der Zweck (das Drama) aber zum Mittel gemacht wird', VMS 70; OMB, 25.See also Richard Wagner, Sämmtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 5th ed., 12 vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), vol. 3, 231.
 Denn eine Oper, in der die Musik immer und wirklich nur als Mittel zum dramatischen Ausdruck gebraucht

^{512 &#}x27;Nicht der Widerstreit des dramatischen und musikalischen Princips kam damals zur Sprache, es war der Kampf zwischen Gesangsvirtuosität und tieferem musikalischen Ausdruck'. This is also the point that Wagner makes in *Oper und Drama*. See Richard Wagner, *Sämmtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*, vol. 3, 230–32.
513 'In der Theorie greift Gluck seiner Zeit vor und nähert Wagner; in der Praxis ist auch für ihn die Musik in der Oper das Erste und Wesentliche [...] So ist es zuerst Wagner gewesen, der wirklich zur Ausführung gebracht hat,

However, this is not the case, rather it is something Hanslick 'imagines'. ⁵¹⁴ With regard to musical beauty in Wagner's works, Brendel posits that 'only the specifically musical beauty is destroyed, a new one [is] born from the new principle'. ⁵¹⁵ He argues that Hanslick did not have the opportunity in Vienna to provide a direct opinion of *Lohengrin*, and therefore sees the truth from the distance. For this reason he considers Hanslick's judgement on Wagner to be based on misunderstandings. ⁵¹⁶

Turning to Liszt's review articles, it is difficult to determine whether or not these were a response to Hanslick's monograph. Detlef Altenburg claims that a letter purportedly sent from Hanslick to Liszt in October 1854 requested that Liszt write a foreword for the monograph. Assuming, therefore, that Liszt was familiar with Hanslick's monograph before the publication of his own review-articles in 1855, these publications can be understood as a response to Hanslick's monograph. Strauß disputes Altenburg's claim. He does not doubt the authenticity of the letter itself, rather he provides a list of reasons to support his argument that this letter must have been written by a 'Hanslick' other than the Eduard Hanslick with whom we are currently concerned. Among Strauß's reasons are the claim that the letter is signed 'E.F. Hanslick', a signature Hanslick did not use in any of his other correspondence or published reviews. (Usually Hanslick signed his reviews with Ed. H.)

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⁵¹⁴ 'Der Verfasser hat keine Ahnung von dem, was durch die Wagner'sche Bewegung erstrebt werden soll. Wäre die Absicht nur darauf gerichtet, höchste Bestimmtheit des Ausdrucks und dramatische Bewegung auf Kosten der Schönheit zu erreichen, so müßte das etwas sehr Trostlos genannt warden. Das aber denkt sich der Verfasser.' Brendel, 'Bücher, Zeitschriften. Dr. Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch Schönen*', 99.

⁵¹⁵ 'Nur das specifisch musikalische Schönheit wird vernichtet, eine neue aus dem neuen Princip geboren.' Brendel, 'Bücher, Zeitschriften. Dr. Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch Schönen*', 99.

⁵¹⁶ 'Er hat in Wien keine Gelegenheit gehabt, sich eine unmittelbare Anschauung, vom Lohengrin z. B., zu verschaffen und sieht darum die Wahrheit nur wie aus weiter Ferne'. Brendel, 'Bücher, Zeitschriften. Dr. Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch Schönen*', 99.

⁵¹⁷ This letter is reproduced in its enirety in both Altenburg's article 'Vom poetisch Schönen: Franz Liszts Auseinandersetzung mit der Musikästhetik Eduard Hanslicks', in Detlef Altenburg (ed.), *Ars musica, musica scientia: Festschrift Heinrich Hüschen zum Fünfunsechzigsten Geburtstag am 20. März 1980* (Cologne: 1980), 1–9 (8–9); and in Dietmar Strauß, *Eduard Hanslick: Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Ästhetik in der Tonkunst: Teil 2: Eduard Hanslicks Schrift in textkritischer Sicht*, 49–52 (50).
518 James Deaville argues that with 'lack of evidence to the contrary, this letter should be considered authentic,

Surrounding Liszt's Conception of Programme Music', in *Nineteenth-Century Music: Selected Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference*, Jim Samson and Bennett Zon, eds, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 98–124 (106, note 9). It is not the authenticity of the letter that Strauß disputes, however, but the authorship, which is at best suspect, and for which Altenburg himself does not provide hard evidence. Strauß provides a convincing argument to dispute such authorship.

Furthermore he ventures that the date of October 1854, a month before the publication date of Vom Musikalisch-Schönen in November 1854, would not have left enough time for such a foreword to have been included in the publication. He notes that the author of the letter is a self-proclaimed 'poet', and suggests that a literary character with the same name is more likely to have penned the letter. ⁵¹⁹ The matter may never be solved. Nonetheless what is significant in all of this, as Deaville reminds us, is: 'The fact that Hanslick struck at the heart of the New Germans in Weimar, at Liszt, was an unintentional coincidence, but one that would have the most serious consequences for the ongoing debate about progress in music.'520

On Programme Music

Hanslick's pronouncements on programme music span the mid- to late-nineteenth century. While there are ambiguities and contradictions in these writings, a central tenet throughout Hanslick's contributions to the debate on programme music is that a piece of music should seek to be understood in terms of its musical, rather than its extra-musical, content. Hanslick's most lucid discussion of programme music is evidenced in an 1898 review of Brahms's Piano Concerto No. 2 and Rimsky Korsakov's Scheherezade. This was penned at a juncture when the hotbed of controversy surrounding programme music in the mid-nineteenth century had long since cooled down, and Hanslick could review his position, and those of his contemporaries, with some amount of detachment.

This review will form the basis upon which I argue that Hanslick's pronouncements on programme music, or his objection to what he referred to as the 'abuse of programme music' were no more resounding than those of his contemporaries, among them members and advocates of the Neudeutsche Schule. I argue that the difference is one of degree, rather than the 'parties' holding opposing positions. Earlier discussion has alluded to continuities in the

⁵¹⁹ Strauß, Vom Musikalisch-Schönen II, 50-51.

⁵²⁰ James Deaville, 'The Controversy Surrounding Liszt's Conception of Programme Music', 106.

aesthetic thought of Hanslick and his counterparts in the *Neudeutsche Schule*. ⁵²¹ However such debates have concerned themselves only with the aesthetic monograph of 1854. The present discussion draws on Hanslick's critical writings on a number of Brahms's contemporaries, considering both those affiliated to and not affiliated to the *Neudeutsche Schule*. Therefore I highlight the common ground on which these commentators stood, and argue that rather than Hanslick being an opponent of programme music, he was, no more than his contemporaries, only opposed to the abuse of programme music. The greater implication of this is that it shakes the very foundation that forms the basis of the argument that Hanslick was an irreconcilable opponent of programme music, and by extension a champion of Brahms the 'absolute'.

Hanslick considers programme music in its most 'serious and artistic meaning' to be a nineteenth-century phenomenon. He refers to earlier examples of 'tone painting' as 'mere play things', thereby undermining the historical roots that Liszt had attributed to the genre in his attempt to disengage it from such charges of ahistoricism and superficiality in 1855. ⁵²²

Liszt claimed that the programme was encountered 'prior to Haydn's period' citing the Capriccio by Bach: *Auf die Entfernung eines sehr theuren Bruder's* as a sufficiently well-know work to illustrate his point, and further invoking the works of the sixteenth century composer Clément Jannequin to strengthen his case. ⁵²³ Hanslick, however, accords to Berlioz the responsibility for setting the trend of programme music, a trend in which

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See for instance Deaville, 'The Controversy Surrounding Liszt's Conception of Programme Music'; and Vera Micznik. 'The Absolute Limitations of Programme Music: The Case of Liszt's "Die Ideale", *Music and Letters* 80/2 (May 1999): 207–240.

⁵²² 'Die Programm-Musik in ihrer ernsten künstlerischen Bedeutung ist von neuem und neuestem Datum. Was eine frühere Zeit an vereinzelten Tonmalereien besaß (Klavierstücke à la "Schlacht bei Leipzig"), war lediglich Spielerei, zum Ergötzen kleiner und großer Kinder. Erst Berlioz hat Programm-Symphonien von künstlerischer Bedeutung und großen Formen geschaffen.' Hanslick, 'Brahms B-dur-Concert.—Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow.—Broschüre von F. Weingartner', *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts*, 286–295, 291.

⁵²³ Franz Liszt, 'Berlioz und seine Haroldsymphonie'. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 43/4 (20 July 1855), 38. Liszt had claimed that 'Wir begegnen [dem Programm] schon vor der Haydn'schen Periode. Das Capriccio von Bach: Auf die Entfernung eines sehr theuren Bruder's ist geügend bekannt ... im 16ten Jahrhundert hatte man schon: 'Le dixiesme livre de Chansons, contenant La Battaile à 4 de Clément Jannequin...' (We already encountered [the programme] prior to Haydn's period. The Capriccio by Bach: Auf die Entfernung eines sehr theuren Bruder's is sufficiently well known. ... Already in the 16th Century one had: 'The tenth book of Songs, containing The Battle with 4 by Clement Jannequin...'), original quoted in James Deaville, 'The Controversy Surrounding Liszt's Conception of Programme Music', 102. The translation is my own.

'orchestral works ascribe to a certain poetic programme', and one that he considers to have been followed in France, Russia and Germany in equal measure. ⁵²⁴ Hanslick's discussions of programme music contain ambiguous and contradictory definitions. ⁵²⁵ Most often, however, Hanslick reserves the term 'Programmusik' for those compositions with a prescribed programme.

The main objection to be raised by Hanslick against programme music is that it subordinates the musical construction to a poetic counterpart. He makes a distinction between works that seek to be understood in terms of their poetic programmes, and works that, while they may have a suggestive title or descriptive heading, carry their meaning within the music itself. In an 1898 review of a concert of Brahms's Piano Concerto No. 2 and Rimsky Korsakov's *Scheherezade* published in *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts: 1895–1899* he writes:

That is the poverty of strictly-implemented programme music; if the programme does not tell us in complete detail what each movement of the symphony represents, then the composition becomes incomprehensible; if it does tell us, then it becomes ludicrous. A simple heading is something else, which energises our fantasy in a certain direction without stifling it, and is something different to a detailed programme.⁵²⁶

In this particular review, Rimsky-Korsakov bears the brunt of Hanslick's tirade against programme music. Citing *Antar* and *Scheherezade* as examples, Hanslick claims that Rimsky Korsakov's music 'offers a poverty of musical thought and an insolence of instrumentation, such as would never have occurred to us in former times.' Hanslick objects to the compositional process employed by Rimsky-Korsakov whereby the composer undertakes not

See for instance his insistence that the *Akademische Fest Ouvertüre* is nothing less than programme music, as discussed in Chapter 4.

⁵²⁴ 'Seither hat die Mode, Orchesterwerken ein bestimmtes poetisches Programm zu unterlegen, sich ungemein verbreitet und festgesetzt, in Frankreich und Rußland nicht weniger als in Deutschland.' 'Brahms B-dur-Concert.—Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow.—Broschüre von F. Weingartner', *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts*, 291.

bestimmter Richtung enregt, ohne sie zu knebeln, und etwas anderes ein detailliertes Programm.' Eduard Hanslick, 'Brahms B-dur-Concert.—Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow. —Broschüre von F. Weingartner', *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts*, 289.

to compose with musical elements, but rather to 'paint, to poeticise, to explain, to philosophise,' to the extent that no explanatory programme notes can compensate for the lack of musical construction. He argues that the more a composer 'employs this prosaic service, the more he falsifies the nature of pure instrumental music and degrades its worth.' He maintains that we want to hear what the composer has to say to us, and not what a particular character narrates. 527

Hanslick does not only apply such criticism to the composers of the New German, Russian, and French schools. Dvořák, a composer that Hanslick admired on many levels, faces similar charges. In a review titled 'Brahms und Dvořák,' published in Am Ende des Jahrhunderts: 1895–1899, Hanslick considers Dvořák's 'Heldenlied' (Hero's Song), Op. 111 'just as little programme music as Beethoven's Eroica of which it is reminiscent by name.'528 His reason is that Dvořák 'does not force upon the reader detailed directions,' as he does with the three symphonic poems composed in rapid succession in 1896 on texts by Karel Jaromír Erben, 'Wassermann' (Water Goblin), Op. 107, 'Mittagshexe' (The Noon Witch), Op. 108, and 'Spinnrad' (The Golden Spinning Wheel), Op. 109. 529 'Heldenlied' is, for Hanslick, independently musically intelligible.

^{527 &#}x27;Wenn ein Komponist wie Rimsky-Korsakow es unternimmt, mit musikalischen Elementen nicht zu komponieren, sondern zu malen, zu dichten, zu erzählen, zu philosophieren, so kann sein erklärender Vorreiter nicht redselig genug sein. Je genauer er aber diesen prosaischen Dienst thut, desto mehr fälscht er das Wesen der reinen Instrumental-Musik und erniedrigt ihre Würde. Wir wollen hören, was der Komponist uns zu sagen hat, und nicht was der Prinz Kalender erzählt.' Eduard Hanslick, 'Brahms B-dur-Concert.-Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow. —Broschüre von F. Weingartner', Am Ende des Jahrhunderts, 289–291.

⁵²⁸ 'Heldenlied', Op. 111 is considered to be one of Dvořák's symphonic poems, even though the composition has no clear-cut programme. For further reading on Dvořák's symphonic poems see John Clapham, 'Dvořák's Unknown Letters on His Symphonic Poems', Music and Letters 56/3-4 (July-October 1975): 277-287. For an interesting overview of their initial reception in Germany see Karin Stöckl-Steinbrunner, 'The "Uncomfortable" Dvořák: Critical Reactions to the First Performances of his Symphonic Poems in German-Speaking Lands', David R. Beveridge, trans., in Rethinking Dvořák: Views from Five Countries, David R. Beveridge, ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 201-210.

⁵²⁹ 'Die Aufschrift "Heldenlied" bezeichnet Charakter und Stimmung des Werkes; der Form nach ist es eine "symphonische Dichtung" im Sinne Liszts und spielt sich in Einem fortlaufenden Satze ab, welcher mehrere in Tonart, Tempo und Ausdruck kontrastierende Teile ohne scharfe Abgrenzung in sich faßt. Eigentliche Programm-Musik ist das "Heldenlied" ebensowenig wie Beethovens "Eroica," an die es durch seinen Namen erinnert. Dvořák zwingt dem Hörer keine detaillierte Gebrauchsanweisung auf, wie bei seinen symphonischen Dichtungen "Wassermann," "Mittagshexe," "Spinnrad," welche diesen Notbehelf leider nicht entbehren können. Das "Heldenlied" ist in der Hauptsache rein musikalisch verständlich und wirksam, wenn auch einige Mittelglieder uns unklar geblieben sind.' Hanslick, 'Brahms und Dvořák,' in Am Ende des Jahrhunderts, 308-313 (312).

Turning the clock back to an 1857 review of Liszt's Symphonische Dichtungen, and dealing more specifically with Hanslick's treatment of the Neudeutsche Schule, Hanslick's quibble is that he considers Liszt's prescriptive programmatic text to be forced, and in some way to compensate for a lack of quality in the music. In an unquestionably polemical manner he protests that the 'objection to be raised against Liszt is that he imposes a much bigger—and abusive—mission on the subjects of his symphonies; namely, either to fill the gap left by the absence of musical content ('Inhalt') or to justify the atrocities of such content as there is.'530 (It is worth noting that Hanslick uses the term *Inhalt* for the content of Liszt's music, and not Gehalt. The passage when read in German, therefore, seems even more caustic than when rendered in English. It is as though Hanslick does not even consider the possibility that Liszt's composition has a spiritual content.) Hanslick differentiates between texts that he considers to be suitable or not suitable for musical setting. In this same review he continues:

Assuming descriptive music to be justifiable at all, there is still a great difference between the subjects chosen for it. In Meeresstille und Glückliche Fahrt, in the Midsummer Night's Dream, in the programme of the 'Pastoral' Symphony and similar pieces, no one will misunderstand the spontaneity of the musical allusion. But a Mazeppa is absolutely anti-musical; a Prometheus is so far removed from every musical reference that just to associate such titles with symphonies can only create the impression of a braggadocio.531

The pitting of the music of a member of the Neudeutsche Schule against that of Mendelssohn occurred frequently in contemporaneous musical writings, and was certainly not particular to

^{530 &#}x27;Die Hauptbedingung wird immer bleiben, daß die Musik, allem Titel und Programm zutrotz, denen sie ihre Färbung leiht, doch immer auf ihren eigenen Gesetzen ruhe, specifisch musikalisch bleibe, so daß sich auch ohne Programm einen in sich klaren selbständigen Eindruck mache. Dies nun ist die erste wichtige Einwendung, die man gegen Liszt erheben muß, daß er dem Sujet seiner Symphonien eine weit größere mißbräuchliche Mission auferlegt: nämlich den fehlenden musikalischen Inhalt entweder geradezu zu ersetzen oder dessen Atrocitäten zu rechtfertigen,' in Eduard Hanslick, Sämtliche Schriften 1/4, 49; this translation slightly altered from Henry Pleasants in Vienna's Golden Years of Music: 1850–1900 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1950), 47. ⁵³¹ 'Die Berechtigung der descriptiven Musik überhaupt angenommen, ist doch wieder ein großer Unterschied zwischen den Stoffen, welche man ihr zumuthet. In der "Meerestille und glücklichen Fahrt," im "Sommernachtstraum," im Programm der Pastoralsymphonie u. dgl. wird niemand die Ungezwungenheit der

musikalischen Anspielung verkennen, ein Mazeppa aber ist geradezu widermusikalisch; Charaktere, wie Prometheus, sind jeder musikalischen Beziehung so fern, daß solche Ueberschriften von Symphonien nur den Eindruck einer prahlhaften Spielerei machen können,' Eduard Hanslick, Sämtliche Schriften 1/3, 49; translated in Eduard Hanslick, Vienna's Golden Years of Music, 46-47. Hanslick is equally critical of Beethoven's setting of the Prometheus legend. See Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 220-221.

Hanslick. One obvious reason for this is that works by Mendelssohn such as *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1826) and *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt* (1828), which had won instant universal acclaim, became a paradigm for an approach to descriptive music that preserved the autonomy of the composition as a musical artwork.⁵³²

Floros would have us believe that Hanslick's objections to programme music were inconsistent with the critical voices of his time, to believe that Hanslick's derision of programme music went against the grain of the 'progressive' views of the *Neudeutsche Schule* and the *Zukunftsmusiker*. However, the opposition to what Hanslick refers to as an 'abuse of programme music,' and the objection to compositions that seek to be understood in terms of their extra-musical, rather than their musical, content, is not particular to Hanslick. It is a view that held great currency in mid to late nineteenth century musical discourse, with traces of it even showing up in the writings of the advocates of the *Neudeutsche Schule*.

A case in point is August Wilhelm Ambros's 1855 text *Die Grenzen der Musik und Poesie: Eine Studie zur Aesthetik der Tonkunst.* This text was originally conceived as a rebuke of Hanslick's 1854 monograph, the irony being, however, that for the most part it echoes Hanslick's claims, further supporting the argument that Hanslick was not alone in his aesthetic ideologies. As Thomas Grey has argued, 'although [Ambros] attempts to address Hanslick's ideas about the relation of musical form and content, it is clear that Ambros's own thought is itself too deeply rooted in an aesthetic of "feelings" to provide an adequate challenge.' Discussing Berlioz's *Romeo and Juliet* Ambros writes:

With all of the extraordinary beauty of the execution, in the end this wondrous medley of symphony, oratorio and opera has become only a sort of monstrous Tragelaphus.⁵³⁴ A completely natural

⁵³⁴ An African antelope, a fabulous animal, one of the symbols of Diana.

⁵³² For a more detailed discussion of the early reception of these works, see Thomas Grey, 'Richard Wagner and the Aesthetics of Musical Form in the Mid-19th Century (1840–1860)', PhD Diss., University of California, Berkeley (1988), 122–131.

⁵³³ Thomas Grey, 'Richard Wagner and the Aesthetics of Musical Form in the Mid-19th Century', 189.

consequence of the mistake inherent in the principle of wishing to translate a poetic work, with all of its peculiarities, into music. 535

Further, in words that could quite easily be mistaken for those of Hanslick himself, and drawing on the ubiquitous alternative of Mendelssohn, Ambros claims that:

If *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt* must be recognised in a similar manner as an exact translation of the poem, there is a great difference nonetheless, *in that this composition, completely apart from Goethe's poem, is explainable and intelligible in and of itself, and carries within itself its aesthetic centre of gravity, the conditions of its existence. While with <i>Romeo and Juliet* this centre of gravity lies *outside* the composition – namely in Shakespeare's dramas. (Emphasis in original.)⁵³⁶

Wagner's 1857 essay on Liszt's Symphonic Poems, furthermore, exhibits similar pronouncements. In this essay Wagner contrasts the poetic music of Berlioz and Liszt. This essay constituted a 'thank-you' note from Wagner to Liszt for the considerable aid Liszt had given him both in support of his own compositions and because Liszt had helped him clarify his own ideas about programme music. This perhaps goes some way toward explaining why Berlioz is given such a bad press in this letter by comparison with the more tolerant discussion of Liszt. Defending the latter against accusations of belittling music by bringing it into association with other arts, Wagner writes:

Music can never, and in no possible alliance, cease to be the redeeming art. It is of her nature, that what all the other arts but hint at, through her and in her becomes the most undoubtable of certainties, the most direct and definite of truths. 538

By contrast, however, he considers Berlioz's compositions to 'reduce "pure, absolute music" to the material aims of description or narration. '539 Unlike Hanslick, Wagner has no

⁵³⁵ 'Bei aller, mitunter außerordentlicher Schönheit der Ausführung ist am Ende dieses wunderliche Mittelding von Symphonie, Oratorium und Oper doch nur ein ziemlich monströser Tragelaph geworden. Eine ganz natürliche Folge des im Prinzip gelegenen Mißgriffes, ein Dichterwerk mit allen seinen Besonderheiten in Musik übersetzen zu wollen', Ambros, *Die Grenzen der Musik und Poesie*, 169.

⁵³⁶ 'Wenn *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt* als ein ähnliche genau Uebersetzung des Dichterwortes erkannt werden muß, so ist der große Unterschied dabei, daß dieses Tonwerk, auch völlig abgesehen vom Göth'schen Gedichte, aus und durch sich selbst erklärbar und verständlich ist, und seinen ästhetischen Schwerpunkt, die Bedingungen seiner Existenz in sich selbst trägt, während bei Romeo und Juliette dieser Schwerpunkt außerhalb des Tonwerkes—nämlich im Shakespearischen Drama liegt.' Ambros, *Die Grenzen der Musik und Poesie*, 171. ⁵³⁷ Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt*, 106.

⁵³⁸ Wagner, 'Liszts Symphonische Dichtungen', translated in Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Man and His Music* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), 359.

objections to the subjects Liszt chose for his *Symphonische Dichtungen*. He does object, however, to the manner in which Berlioz's compositions seek to be understood in terms of their extra-musical rather than their musical content. In this sense Wagner can be understood to be voicing the same reservation as Hanslick and a host of other mid-century critics that such works sacrifice their autonomous musical intelligibility. The disparity of views between Hanslick and Wagner on 'programme music' (or to put it another way, on how far a composition can turn away from 'absolute music') when considered in this light, is one of degree, rather than the two holding opposing positions. Standing on this same common ground is Franz Brendel, an ardent supporter of the composers and tendencies of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. In his 1856 article 'Programmusik' Brendel claims that:

The composition must always leave a satisfactory impression, apart from its programme ... However the composition suddenly throws the listener into a completely heterogeneous condition if it is only intelligible through its *Phantasiebild* ...in such cases it goes beyond the boundaries of instrumental music. 540

Hanslick was to stand by these views throughout his critical career, as is evident in his scathing remarks about Rimsky-Korsakov in his 1898 review of Brahms's Piano Concerto No. 2 and Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherezade* with which we opened this section. Returning now, by way of conclusion, to that same review, it is worth mentioning Hanslick's thoughts on an 1898 publication by Felix Weingartner. Hanslick alludes to Weingartner's text *Die Symphonie nach Beethoven* in an attempt to amplify and qualify his own misgivings on programme music. ⁵⁴¹ He cites a number of passages from Weingartner's monograph that he

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⁵³⁹ Grey, 'Richard Wagner and the Aesthetics of Musical Form in the Mid-19th Century', 138.

⁵⁴⁰ 'Das Tonstück muß stets als solches, auch abgesehen von seinem Programm, einen befriedigenden Eindruck hinterlassen ... Wirft aber eine Composition unvermittelt den Hörer in ganz heterogenen Zuständen umher, die sich nur durch das zu Grunde liegende Phantasiebild erklären ... so ist die der Instrumentalmusik gesteckte Grenze überschritten ...', Franz Brendel, 'Programmmusik', Anregungen für Kunst, Leben und Wissenschaft, Vol. 1 (1856), 1. The German is quoted in James Deaville 'The Controversy Surrounding Liszt's Conception of Programme Music,' 111–112. The translation is my own.

Weingartner, *Die Symphonie nach Beethoven* (Leipzig: Fischer, 1898). Weingartner's book went through four editions with the last being published in 1909. His negative views of Brahms as evidenced in the earlier editions were revised in Brahms's favour in this last publication. Indeed in the preface he specifically states that a revision of his view of Brahms was his main motivation for revising this last time. For an English language

considers to be in accord with the principles that he laid down in his own 1854 monograph Vom Musikalisch-Schönen.

Hanslick considers Weingartner's book to contain 'intelligent ideas on music and remarkable judgements on composers,' and to be more than 'mere polemicism.' Moreover he praises Weingartner for his objectivity regarding Berlioz and Liszt. While on the hand, as he points out, Weingartner justifiably defends works by these two composers 'in which the fantasy is importantly prompted, but to which it is not fearfully bound', on the other hand he highlights such passages as Weingartner's criticism of Berlioz's Romeo and Juliet. Weingartner maintains that in the absence of its explanatory title and programme, Romeo and Juliet amounts to 'a senseless complex of tones.' 543 He claims that Berlioz 'tried to show the details of dramatic action through melodic fragments, accents, chordal progressions, and expressive figuration with a clarity that one would like to believe he was capable of pursuing in every bar.'544 The impression Weingartner has of the piece, even in its best performances, is 'absolute bewilderment, yes in parts it even seemed ridiculous.' 545 Moreover, this 'feeling of meaninglessness,' he claims, 'is not alleviated when we know what is being presented to us. '546 In more general terms Weingartner maintains that:

translation of this fourth edition by H. M. Schott, see Felix Weingartner, On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies and Other Essays (New York: Dover, 1969).

⁵⁴² 'Nach diesen Proben mußte Weingartners kürzlich erschienene Broschüre "Die Symphonie nach Beethoven" sehr angenehm überraschen. Sie entwickelt geistreichte Ideen über Musik und treffende Urteile über Komponisten und das alles nichts weniger als polemisch; vielmehr sachlich, maßvoll, mitunter sogar warm und liebenswürdig.' Hanslick, 'Brahms B-dur-Concert.—Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow. —Broschüre von F. Weingartner', Am Ende des Jahrhunderts, 291.

⁵⁴³ 'Wäre nicht durch den Titel ein Hinweis auf den Vorgang des Dramas gegeben, so wüßten wir überhaupt nicht, was wir hörten, und hätten die Wirkung eines sinnlosen Tonkomplexes.' Weingartner as quoted in Hanslick, 'Brahms B-dur-Concert. —Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow. —Broschüre von F. Weingartner', *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts*, 292. ⁵⁴⁴ 'Berlioz hat hier versucht, die Einzelheiten der dramatischen Handlung durch melodische Bruchstücke,

Accente, Akkordverbindungen und ausdrucksvolle Figurationen mit einer Deutlichkeit wiederzugeben, daß man sich die Fähigkeit zutrauen möchte, in jedem Takt den Vorgang verfolgen zu können.' Weingartner as quoted in Hanslick, 'Brahms B-dur-Concert. —Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow. —Broschüre von F. Weingartner',

Am Ende des Jahrhunderts, 292.
545 'Dennoch ist der Eindruck dieses Tonstückes selbst bei der besteb Wiedergabe ein durchaus verwirrender, ja stellenweise sogar ein lächerlicher.' Weingartner quoted in Hanslick, 'Brahms B-dur-Concert. —Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow. —Broschüre von F. Weingartner', Am Ende des Jahrhunderts, 292.

⁵⁴⁶ 'Die Empfindung der Sinnlosigkeit wird aber auch nicht aufgehoben, wenn wir wissen, was wir uns vorzustellen haben.' Weingartner quoted in Hanslick, 'Brahms B-dur-Concert. —Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow. —Broschüre von F. Weingartner', Am Ende des Jahrhunderts, 292.

music is an art that can never speak to us through concepts; that it undresses its sovereignty if an artist attributes a concept falsely that they should explain to us in words; that it is degraded if it is slavishly bound to a programme from bar to bar. Music has the tendency to show the psychological arrangement that a series of events produces in us, not, however, to describe the series of events itself."

Weingartner continues to condemn Liszt's *Die Ideale*. He claims that when Liszt interprets fragments of Schiller's poem in a musical sequence and then attempts to weld this interpretation to a movement, it results in the music developing a limp as 'it cannot develop freely according to its own nature, rather it is bound to the successive fragments of the poem, thus it is bound to a set of concepts.' Richard Strauss's *Also sprach Zarathustra* faces similar criticism, with Weingartner claiming that it is a work in which 'the impression of music, in the truest sense of the word, is also lost.' Rather than marking the pinnacle of Strauss's compositional career, Weingartner views it as 'a mark of how far music can turn away from its own nature.' 549

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⁵⁴⁷ 'Weingartner beharrt dabei, "daß die Musik eine Kunst ist, die niemals durch Begriffe zu uns sprechen kann; daß sie ihrer Hoheit entkleidet wird, wenn ein Künstler ihr Begriffe unterschiebt, die sie uns nach Art des Wortes erklären soll; daß sie erniedrigt wird, wenn er sie sklavisch von Takt zu Takt an ein Programm bindet. Die Musik vermag die Stimmung, die seelische Disposition wiederzugeben, die ein Vorgang in uns erzeugt, nicht aber den Vorgang selbst zu schildern".' Weingartner as quoted in Hanslick, 'Brahms B-dur-Concert. —Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow. —Broschüre von F. Weingartner', *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts*, 292.

^{548 &#}x27;Mit Recht verteidigt Weingartner nur jene Uberschriften, durch welche die Phantasie bedeutsam angeregt, aber nicht ängstlich gefesselt wird.' ... 'Er sagt: "Wenn Liszt in seiner symphonischen Dichtung "Die Ideale" Bruchstücke des Schillerschen Gedichtes der Reihe nach musikalsich zu interoretieren und dann diese Interpretationen zu einem Satze zusammenztschweißen versucht, ja so weit geht, in seiner Partitur über die einzelnen Musikstücke die Teile des Gedichtes zu schreiben, die er an den betreffenden Stellen vorgestellt wissen will, so daß eigentlich nur der mit der Partitur Bewaffnete wissen kann, was er sich gerade im Augenblick denken soll, und nicht einmal derjenige folgen kann, der die Teile des Gedichtes selbst vor sich hat, so wird die Musik, wie es in diesem Stücke thatsächlich der Fall ist, flügellahm ausfallen, weil sie sich nicht ihrem Wesen gemäß frei entwickeln kann, sondern von vornherein an die aufeinanderfolgenden Bruchstücke des Gedichtes, also an eine Reihe von Begriffen gebunden ist." Hanslick, 'Brahms B-dur-Concert. —Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow. —Broschüre von F. Weingartner', *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts*, 293.

^{549 &}quot;Um diese Übergänge zu verstehen, "fährt Weingartner fort, "ist man fortwährend genötigt, die zweifellos geistreichen Gedanken, die den Komponisten dabei geleitet haben, sowie die eventuellen Beziehungen zur programmatischen Vorlage Takt für Takt herauszugeheimnissen, daher auch hier der Eindruck von Musik im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes verloren geht." Weingartner gesteht offen seine Verwunderung darüber, wie "Zarathustra" als ein Höhepunkt des Straußschen Schaffens, ja sogar als ein Höhepunkt in der bisherigen Entwickelung der Musik gepriesen werden konnte. Für ihn sei der "Zarathustra" vielmehr "ein Merkzeichen, wie weit die Musik sich von ihrem eigenen Wesen abwenden könne".' Hanslick, 'Brahms B-dur-Concert.— Scheherezade von Rimski-Korsakow. —Broschüre von F. Weingartner', *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts*, 294.

3.5: Conclusion

Hanslick scholarship has witnessed something of a renaissance in recent years in various guises in the work of authors such as James Deaville, ⁵⁵⁰ Vera Micznik, ⁵⁵¹ Mark Evan Bonds, ⁵⁵² and Mark Burford ⁵⁵³. In these writings, the purported gap between Hanslick and the *Neudeutsche Schule* is increasingly being called into question, and the common ground between these nineteenth-century musicians and commentators is becoming increasingly evident. Yet all of these recent commentators focus on Hanslick's 1854 monograph *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, and not Hanslick's critical writings.

The discussion in this chapter, therefore, adds a further dimension to the growing body of work on Hanslick. It deconstructs the myth that Hanslick was an opponent of programme music, instead demonstrating that Hanslick, no more than his contemporary aestheticians, is opposed only to the abuse of programme music. Furthermore I have argued that Hanslick's notion of absolute music is inexplicably bound up with the "absolute," in the form of *geistige Gehalt* (spiritual content), and is very much reliant on metaphysics, philosophy, and religion. This is evident both in the 1854 monograph, and in the critical writings discussed above. The significance of these findings becomes even more apparent when applied to Hanslick's view of Brahms, as will be explored in Chapter 4.

553 Mark Burford, 'Hanslick's Aesthetic Idealism'.

⁵⁵⁰ James Deaville, 'The Controversy Surrounding Liszt's Conception of Programme Music'.

Vera Micznik, 'The Absolute Limitations of Programme Music: The Case of Liszt's "Die Ideale".

⁵⁵² Mark Evan Bonds, 'Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century'; *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven.*

Chapter 4

Hanslick and Brahms⁵⁵⁴

I could almost envy [Hanslick] his power of expressing himself, if not exhaustively, yet with an intuitive sympathy, which not only provides an outlet for his own feelings but helps others who have no command of words to express theirs.

(Elisabet von Herzogenberg to Brahms, 3 January 1882⁵⁵⁵)

4.1: Introduction

Brahms scholarship in the last fifty years or so accords to Eduard Hanslick the main responsibility for the view of Brahms as a composer of 'absolute' music. 556 Although this view has been challenged in more recent scholarship on that composer, the notion that Hanslick established this view remains deeply embedded. The present chapter redresses this issue. It examines Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms, and argues that Hanslick was aware of, and discussed the poetic aspects of Brahms's music and his allusions and secret programmes. Although little survives to point to how Brahms's intimates actually received his music in light of the allusive references and clues, evidence of which would form an integral part of the reception history of Brahms's music, Hanslick's reviews are just that.

The chapter opens with an assessment of the views of a number of commentators on Hanslick's reception of Brahms. I argue that their over emphasis on Hanslick's 1854

⁵⁵⁴ This chapter is an expanded version of a lecture delivered at the 2005–2006 Lecture Series at the University of Ottawa in November 2005. I am grateful to Prof. Dillon Parmer and Prof. Murray Dineen for their thought-provoking and stimulating thoughts and comments on that occasion. I am further grateful to Prof. Parmer for reading and responding to a number of drafts of this chapter.
555 'Ich könnte fast den Mann beneiden, dem es vergönnt ist, wenn auch nicht Erschöpfendes, doch so

sympathisch Empfundenes in anmutigster Form von sich zu geben, sich damit befreiend und anderen zu Hilfe kommend, denen kein rechtes Wort für ihre Empfindungen zu Gebote steht.' Elisabet von Herzogenberg to Johannes Brahms, Leipzig, 3 January 1882 in *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Heinrich und Elisabet von Herzogenberg*, Max Kalbeck, ed. (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1908). English translation by Hannah Byrant in *Johannes Brahms: The Herzogenberg Correspondence*, Max Kalbeck, ed. (London: Murray, 1909), 147.

⁵⁵⁶ The commentator to advance this view most explicitly is Constantin Floros, 'Das Brahms-Bild Eduard Hanslick's', *Brahms Kongress Wien* (1983), Suzanne Antonicek and Otto Biba, eds. (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988), 155–166. That it is deeply embedded in the writings of a number of other commentators is shown in section 4.2.

monograph *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* conceals a lack of familiarity with Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms. 557

Section 4.2 highlights the disparity between such commentary and what Hanslick actually wrote on Brahms by showing the extent to which Hanslick himself embraces the poetic and extra-musical aspects of Brahms's music. It also takes into consideration Hanslick's discussion of Brahms's overtures with suggestive titles. Although the composer prescribed no particular programme or hermeneutic aid for these overtures, other than the titles themselves, Hanslick discusses the music in the context of autobiographical associations, or of literature that he considers to be a poetic or spiritual counterpart to the music.

This is followed, in Section 4.3, by a discussion of the Liberal Viennese *Weltanschauung* that Hanslick and Brahms shared. It is argued that on account of this shared political and cultural outlook, and due to the fact that Hanslick was among Brahms's intimate circle of friends, that he was amenable to understanding what Dillon R. Parmer has referred to as the 'musical meaning for the few'. ⁵⁵⁸ The argumentative thread that runs throughout the discussion of Hanslick's writings on Brahms is that since Hanslick, and until recent decades, a scholarly tradition has been enforced that disregards not only the extra-musical adjuncts in Brahms's music, but also Hanslick's very discussion of precisely these features.

The discussion of Hanslick's writings is followed by an investigation into why such a formalist view has been enforced. An exploration of trends in East and West German musicology in the Cold War Era forms the foundation on which I claim that portraying Hanslick as a critic of Brahms the 'absolute' in this era obviated the need to discuss extramusical adjuncts in Brahms's music. These were aspects that may have rested uncomfortably

⁵⁵⁷ See Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur der Aesthetik der Tonkunst: Teil I: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, Dietmar Strauß (hrsg.) (Mainz: Schott, 1990). For those wishing to consult the monograph in English see Eduard Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful*, Geoffrey Payzant, trans. (Indianapolis, Hackett, 1986). For an overview of Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms see Table 6 at the end of this chapter. 558 Dillon R. Parmer, 'Musical Meaning for the Few: Instances of Private Reception in the Music of Brahms', *Current Musicology* 83 (Spring 2007): 109–30.

with the view of Brahms as the antidote to Wagner, whose music had become so loaded with National Socialist ideologies in the aftermath of World War II. ⁵⁵⁹ I posit that the Hanslick Brahms reception that has been perpetuated in the last fifty years or so can be understood as the product of a formalist ideology that considers only one category of Hanslick's output – his aesthetic theory – at the expense of a wealth of critical and autobiographical writings. I further assert that such a formalist view of the expressive writings of one of the nineteenth-century's most influential critics goes hand in hand with what Daniel Beller-McKenna describes as a 'nationally neutral view of Brahms [that] has largely persisted for the past fifty years.' ⁵⁶⁰

4.2: The Received View

To date there is no comprehensive study of Hanslick's Brahms reception in English. As such, Anglo-American scholars are restricted to those studies available in German, as well as to brief discussions of Hanslick and Brahms in the Brahms literature. A survey of these studies reveals that they are based on conjecture and hearsay, and highlights an incomplete understanding of Hanslick's writings. Rather than actually basing their comments on Hanslick's writings on Brahms, some commentators seem more concerned with denigrating Hanslick as a musician, and speculating on the extent to which he played Brahms against Wagner and the *Neudeutsche Schule* in his critical output. Hans Gal, for example, claims that 'of course [Hanslick] had a special interest in Brahms as the only possible "antipope" whom he could pit against the "musicians of the future" and his understanding of his friend's music may at times have been no more profound than that for Wagner's works. '562 Gal bases this

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⁵⁵⁹ Among the abundance of literature on this topic see *Richard Wagner im Dritten Reich: Ein Schloss-Elmau-Symposion*, Saul Friedlander and Jorn Rusen, eds (München: Beck, 2000); Stephen McClatchie, *Analyzing Wagner's Operas: Alfred Lorenz and German Nationalist Ideology* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 1998); Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln, USA: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

Daniel Beller-McKenna, 'The Rise and Fall of Brahms the German,' *Journal of Musicological Research* 20/3 (2001): 187–210 (206).

<sup>(2001): 187–210 (206).
&</sup>lt;sup>561</sup> See in particular Constantin Floros, 'Das Brahms-Bild Eduard Hanslick's', 155–166. This article was republished in Floros, *Johannes Brahms "Frei aber einsam": Ein Leben für poetische Musik* (Zürich; Hamburg: Arche, 1997), 225–238. Page numbers in this dissertation refer predominantly to the Tutzing edition unless otherwise noted. Floros's article remains the standard source of reference on Hanslick's reception of Brahms.
⁵⁶² Hans Gal, *Johannes Brahms: His Work and Personality* (London: Knopf, 1963, 78).

statement on Hanslick's first review of Brahms written in 1862 where Hanslick reserves judgement on Brahms's works, and voices what was a commonplace among Brahms's earliest critics, the doubt that he would fulfil the prophesy outlined by Schumann in his 1853 article 'Neue Bahnen'. ⁵⁶³ Gal gives no further discussion to Hanslick's Brahms reviews published in subsequent years. Peter Latham considers more than Hanslick's early reception of Brahms, and neatly encapsulates the misrepresentational view of Hanslick's *Brahms-Bild* in writing: Hanslick was an 'Austrian music critic in Vienna and lecturer on music history at the university. He was hostile to Wagner and somewhat indiscriminately enthusiastic about Brahms. ⁵⁶⁴

Most commentators, moreover, consult only those reviews available in translation. The standard source of reference for Hanslick's critical writings in English is Henry Pleasants's 1950 volume, *Vienna's Golden Years of Music*. ⁵⁶⁵ Only Hanslick's reviews of the four symphonies are included in Pleasants's translation, at the expense of an abundance of Hanslick's Brahms reviews as evidenced in his nine volume *Collected Criticisms*, and outlined in Table 6 at the end of this chapter. Commentators relying solely on this edition are immediately restricted to Pleasants's necessarily narrow choice of reviews. Moreover, they are susceptible to being swayed by the interpretations that are implicit both in his choice of reviews and in his translations. ⁵⁶⁶

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⁵⁶³ For a discussion of such views see Chapter 1. See also Angelika Horstmann, 'Die Rezeption des Werke Op. 1 bis 10 von Johannes Brahms zwischen 1853 und 1860,' *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1984): 33–44.

Peter Latham, *Brahms* (London: Dent, 1975), 40–42. Richard Leppert also emphasises the Brahms/Wagner dichotomy in his portrayal of Hanslick as 'one of the most influential nineteenth-century anti-Wagnerians, and a famous champion of Brahms'. See Theodor W. Adorno, *Essays on Music*, introduction, commentary and notes by Richard Leppert (California: University of California Press, 2002), 126, note 4.

⁵⁶⁵ Eduard Hanslick, *Vienna's Golden Years of Music: 1850–1900*, Henry Pleasants, tans. and ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1950).

in the selection of Hanslick's Brahms reviews in his book. Also, Pleasants spent many years in West Germany working as a CIA agent in the aftermath of World War II. The emphasis on 'absolute' music in his choice of Hanslick's Brahms reviews does nothing to dispel the myth of Hanslick as an opponent of programme music, and in this sense is consistent with the tendency to disregard Hanslick's discussions of the extra-musical elements in Brahms's music. See Helen Sheehy, 'The Spy Who Loved Music', *Opera News* 70/6 (December 2005): 32–35. A discussion of East- and West-German musicological writings is found at the end of this chapter.

More recently a number of scholars have explored extra-musical connections in Brahms's works and consequently challenged the received view of Brahms as a composer of 'absolute' music, among them Dillon R. Parmer, Kenneth Ross Hull, George Bozarth and Susan McClary. 567 Yet, ironically, these studies on Hanslick's reception of the composer are still burdened by the received view. This false characterisation of Hanslick is based on insufficient familiarity with the critical writings, and an over emphasis on Vom Musikalisch-Schönen.

The association of Brahms with Hanslick's 1854 publication is misleading. By 1854 Brahms had just been introduced to the musical world through Schumann's 'Neue Bahnen' article, and had set about trying to find a publisher for his first works. At the time of writing, Hanslick had not yet discovered Brahms's music, and at no point in Vom Musikalisch-Schönen, nor indeed in any of the subsequent nine editions, does he mention Brahms. ⁵⁶⁸ In his 1989 text 'Brahms the Allusive: Extra-Compositional References in the Instrumental Music of Johannes Brahms,' Kenneth Ross Hull states that 'Brahms's friendship with, and championing by, Hanslick seems to have caused an identification of Brahms with Hanslick's aesthetics of music.' Hull takes pains to distance Brahms from these aesthetics:

The treatise Vom Musikalisch-Schönen outlines a formalist theory of musical meaning, and includes polemical attacks on an array of writers who view music as fundamentally concerned with the expression of feeling. Brahms however seems to have had a different point of view, to the extent that he bothered to formulate his own views. 569

⁵⁶⁸ See Hanslick/Strauß, Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur der Aesthetik der Tonkunst: Teil I: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe.

⁵⁶⁷ See, for example, Dillon Parmer, 'Musical Meaning for the Few: Instances of Private Reception in the Music of Brahms'; *Ibid.*, 'Brahms, Song Quotation, and Secret Programs,' 19th Century Music: (Fall 1995), 161–190; Ibid., 'Brahms the Programmatic? A Critical Assessment,' PhD. Diss., University of Rochester, New York, 1995; Ibid., 'Brahms and the Poetic Motto: A Hermeneutic Aid?,' Journal of Musicology 15 (1997): 353–389; Kenneth Ross Hull, 'Brahms the Allusive: Extra-Compositional Reference in the Instrumental Music of Johannes Brahms, PhD. Diss., Princeton University (1989); Susan McClary, 'Narrative Agendas in "Absolute" Music: Identity and Difference in Brahms's Third Symphony,' in Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship, Ruth Solie, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 326-44; George Bozarth, 'Brahms's "Lieder ohne Worte: The "poetic" Andantes of the Piano Sonatas,' in Brahms Studies: Analytical and Historical Perspectives, Bozarth, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 345-378.

⁵⁶⁹ Hull, 'Brahms the Allusive: Extra-Compositional Reference in the Instrumental Music of Johannes Brahms,' 10-11.

The main focus of Hull's dissertation is a revision of the view of Brahms as a composer of 'absolute' music. A revision of Hanslick's Brahms reception is not on his agenda. Therefore, in his effort to distance Brahms from Hanslick's aesthetic ideals, he tacitly endorses the view that Hanslick set about pitting Brahms against Wagner and the Neudeutsche Schule, in claiming that 'Brahms's circle was anxious to portray him as hostile towards Wagner's music.'570 Hull does not clarify who the members of Brahms's circle are, but in the context of his discussion, it can be understood that he considers Hanslick to have been among them.⁵⁷¹

Writing in 1995, Dillon Parmer refers to Hanslick as the critic who found in Brahms the mature composer 'a counterexample of the new school.' He writes that 'in Hanslick's reception, Brahms was again opposed not only to the new school, but also, by implication, to program music, for his seeming reliance on musical laws alone makes programmatic texts unnecessary, even irrelevant.'572 Parmer consults only Pleasants's translation. Whether or not Pleasants was aware of it, implicit in his choice of reviews is an interpretation that emphasises Hanslick's opposition to the Neudeutsche Schule. And rightly so, where these particular reviews are concerned. But to judge Hanslick's Brahms reception on the basis only of the reviews of the symphonies (a genre largely associated with the notion of absolute music), in such a polemical context, obscures the bigger picture. Pleasants's selection reflects his own tastes and preferences, arguably influenced by the West German environment in which he was working at the time of publication.⁵⁷³ However, they are not representative of the broader range of Hanslick's Brahms reviews, nor do they reflect the tendency on Hanslick's part to view Brahms's works as a reflection of the composer's personal life, a stance that very much shies away from a discussion of musical laws. Furthermore, Parmer too cites Vom

⁵⁷⁰ Hull, 'Brahms the Allusive: Extra-Compositional Reference in the Instrumental Music of Johannes Brahms,'

⁵⁷¹ There is no further discussion of Hanslick in Hull's dissertation. His bibliography indicates that he consulted only those reviews available in translation.

⁵⁷² Parmer, 'Brahms the Programmatic?,' 12.

⁵⁷³ The differences between East and West German musicology in post-World War II writings is explored towards the end of this chapter.

Musikalisch-Schönen as evidence of Hanslick's formalist reception of Brahms. The fact that the 1854 monograph has come to stand for musical formalism, for Parmer, 'only reinforces this purely musical reception of Brahms oeuvre. The composer's friendship with the critic no doubt gives the impression that he endorsed Hanslick's position.'574

Thus, there is a case to be made that the Anglo-American view of Hanslick's Brahms reception perpetuated in the last half century or so is due to a lack of engagement with Hanslick's original German writings on Brahms. These same misconceptions proliferate, however, in the writings of Austro-Germanic commentators on the subject, who have frequently confused Hanslick's aesthetic ideals of 'absolute' music and formalism as espoused in his 1854 monograph, with his view of Brahms. An example of this can be found in the 1987 publication by Ruth Katz and Carl Dahlhaus, Contemplating Music: Source Readings in the Aesthetics of Music. Here, in their introductory note to Hanslick's 1854 publication, Katz and Dahlhaus describe Hanslick as a critic who, although he was familiar with, and involved in, the lives of a number of composers, 'concentrated on the works themselves' in his critical writings. 575 Citing the friendship of the two, Katz and Dahlhaus claim that it is not surprising that in his critical writings on Brahms, Hanslick found musical integrity combined with originality of composition.' They add that 'music that tries to combine with other art forms or to resemble language, whether through the symphonic poem or by the dominance of the word, in Hanslick's view, is at least a compromise. 576

A further example of the confusion between Hanslick's 1854 monograph and his writings on Brahms is to be found in Siegfried Kross's 1983 article 'Brahms the Symphonist,' in which Kross considers Hanslick's criticisms of the technically challenging

York: Pendragon Press, 1987) Volume III, Essence, 383.

⁵⁷⁴ Parmer, 'Brahms the Programmatic?', 12–13, note 35. Parmer does draw attention, however, to the paradox that exists between Hanslick's practical criticism [as evidenced in the metaphorical description of Symphony No. 4] and his aesthetic theory, considering this an area worthy of further study. See note 37.

575 Contemplating Music: Source Readings in the Aesthetics of Music, Ruth Katz and Carl Dahlhaus, eds (New

⁵⁷⁶ Katz and Dahlhaus, Contemplating Music: Source Readings in the Aesthetics of Music, Volume III, Essence, 382.

aspects of Brahms's works to be an anomaly. Kross portrays Hanslick as the critic who 'never tired of presenting Brahms as the antipode of Wagner'. Discussing Symphony No. 4, he attests that Hanslick 'simply capitulated before that very work of Brahms which comes nearest to his polemically formulated statement of formal aesthetics'. He further cites the critic: "During the whole first movement I felt as if I were being beaten soundly by two terribly clever people." Aside from denying Hanslick the opportunity to revise his early opinion on this work, Kross's statement is problematic. Both it and Katz and Dahlhaus's above statement, exemplify a polarised judgement of Hanslick's view of Brahms which has left an indelible impact both on Brahms scholarship and on the literature concerning the aesthetics of music. This misrepresents Hanslick's critical outlook in general, and his view of Brahms in particular, in that it can be understood as promoting a formalist ideology that is not present in Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms. It was a decade after the publication of his monograph that Hanslick's first discussion of the music of Brahms appeared in *Neue freie Presse*, and in these reviews, Hanslick very much concentrated on the personal life of the composer and the cultural context in which his works were composed and received.

While the above sources are primarily concerned with the history of aesthetics or Brahms studies, their discussions of Hanslick's view of Brahms is tangential. Of the few

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⁵⁷⁷ Siegfried Kross, 'Brahms the Symphonist,' in *Brahms: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies,* Robert Pascall, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 139.

⁵⁷⁸ Siegfried Kross, 'Brahms the Symphonist,' 139.

⁵⁷⁹ Siegfried Kross, 'Brahms the Symphonist,' 139. For an alternative depiction of this scene see Max Kalbeck, Johannes Brahms III, 452. Kross is as unfair here to Hanslick's musical sensibilities as Hans Gal was above, and implies that Hanslick was somehow not musically astute enough to appreciate the finer points of Brahms's compositional writing, Hanslick's comment on Brahms's Symphony No. 4 takes on a different complexion when understood in its original context. Hanslick had just heard this symphony for the first time in a four-hand piano reduction with the composer and Ignaz Brüll. This remark reflects his very first thoughts on the composition, and not his considered opinion having had time to digest the work. Elisabet von Herzogenberg, one of Brahms's close friends, and one whose opinion Brahms valued on musical matters, had similar difficulty penetrating the tough exterior of Op. 98. Writing to Brahms in 1885 of this symphony, Herzogenberg stated: 'How happy I am to have withdrawn from my half-digested impression; today I know it so much better, I have played the lovely E Minor movement so often, both in my mind and at the piano – actually in every free moment I had from my chores. I am now completely intimate with it, and much of what I said about it recently now seems inappropriate to me.' ('Wie bin ich froh, damals mit meinen halbverdauten Eindrücken zurückgehalten zu haben; denn heute kenne ich ihn schon so viel besser, den lieben E-moll Satz, habe ihn mir so oft-eigentlich in jeder freien Minute, die ich mir von der Einrichtungsarbeit eroberte-innerlich und am Klavier vorgespielt, daß ich schon ganz intim mit ihm bin und Vieles von dem, was ich neulich sagte, mir gar nicht mehr zutreffend erscheint.') Elizabeth von Herzogenberg to Johannes Brahms, Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Heinrich und Elisabet von Herzogenberg, II, 80.

studies that have as their main objective a discussion of Hanslick <u>and</u> Brahms, Constantin Floros's article 'Das Brahms-Bild Eduard Hanslicks,' originally published in 1983 and included in his 1997 collection of Brahms essays, is the most outstanding. Whilst Floros sheds light on many aspects of Hanslick's *Brahms Bild* that had not been discussed in scholarly articles prior to his, his article also contains a number of highly questionable claims. Taking Hanslick's 1854 monograph as his point of departure, and considering only a limited number of Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms, Floros continues to perpetuate a misrepresentational view of Hanslick's reception of Brahms. He claims that of the Brahms works that Hanslick reviewed favourably:

He saw in them examples of that 'reinen absoluten Musik,' for which he tirelessly campaigned. That in them no extra musical factors (literary or biographical) leave a trace, fills him – the irreconcilable opponent of programme music – with deep satisfaction. 580

In portraying Hanslick's Brahms reviews as a quest for that 'reinen absoluten Musik', Floros is among those who are familiar with Hanslick's aesthetic writings, and who claim to understand his critical writings on that basis. For example, Berthold Hoeckner writes that 'the difference between prosaic analysis and poetic criticism counts among the most enduring legacies of early nineteenth-century writings about music, having persisted through Hanslick and Hausegger, Kurth and Kretzschmar, Babbitt and Boretz. 1582

Hoeckner, quite rightly, is referring to Hanslick's 1854 monograph, which was indeed pitted against Friedrich von Hausegger's 1887 text *Die Musik als Ausdruck*:⁵⁸³ This was understood at the time of its publication as the expressive counterpart to Hanslick's formalist monograph. Its thesis is that the essence of music is expression. The immediately positive reception of this text has been attributed in part by Stephen McClatchie to the fact that 'it gave

⁵⁸⁰ Floros, 'Das Brahms-Bild Eduard Hanslick's,' 156. Floros's claims are viewed in a broader discussion of mid-century music debates in Chapter 3.

⁵⁸¹ Floros's statement is reconsidered in Chapter 3 in the context of Hanslick and his contemporaries, in a discussion that widens the focus to consider Hanslick's writings on composers other than Brahms.
⁵⁸² Berthold Hoeckner, *Programming the Absolute: Nineteenth-Century German Music and the Hermeneutics of*

the Moment (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 66.

583 Friedrich von Hausegger, *Die Musik als Ausdruck*, 2nd edn. (Vienna: Konegen, 1887).

Hanslick's opponents the appearance of an equally firm scientific basis from which to argue.'584 To Hausegger and his faction, Hanslick and his advocates are concerned only with the outer shell of a work, and in this sense are missing the internal substance, or the core. McClatchie notes that this 'polarity between objectivity and subjectivity expresses itself in a series of binary oppositions that continue to exert influence even today: form/expression; conservative/modern; Brahms/ Wagner; Hanslick/ Hausegger. '585

Yet, Hoeckner's association of Hanslick with prosaic analysis on the one hand, and that of Hausegger with poetic criticism on the other, disregards Hanslick's critical writings. Yet, if we apply Hoeckner's related distinction between hermeneutic criticism and formalism to Hanslick's critical writings, we see that Hanslick can no longer be exclusively considered a formalist: his critical writings are more usefully understood as 'hermeneutic criticism (in search of music's cultural meaning),' than being bound up with 'the legacy of formalism (in search of music's autonomous structure). 586 But unlike Hoeckner's more general statement in a context that is not particularly concerned with Hanslick or Brahms, Floros's Brahms-Bild article is explicitly concerned with both.

4.3: Hanslick on Brahms

A disparity exists between the views outlined above about Hanslick as critic and what Hanslick's writings actually state. As is evident from reading those writings, their author is clearly sensitive to both the expressive character of Brahms's music and its poetic aspects. His discussions are descriptive and metaphorical, and rarely analytical or technical (formalist). Indeed when compared to the writings of Deiters, Bagge, and Schubring as discussed in Chapter 2, the claim that Hanslick's writings on Brahms are formalistic quite simply cannot be sustained. In these writings Hanslick explicitly discusses Brahms's extramusical associations, be it programmatic texts, literary adjuncts or prefaces, or suggestive

⁵⁸⁴ Stephen McClatchie, Analyzing Wagner's Operas, 39.

⁵⁸⁶ Berthold Hoeckner, Programming the Absolute, 66.

titles. With regard to certain works that do not have overt extra-musical associations (such as the *Tragische Ouvertüre*), he discusses the music in the context of literature that he considers to be its poetic or spiritual counterpart. These writings are filled with traces of literary and biographical factors, and Hanslick tends to view Brahms's personal life and compositional output as being inextricably bound up with one another.

A further feature of Hanslick's writings is that they give us an insight into the social and intellectual aspects of late-nineteenth century Viennese Liberalism. This is a topic explored at great length by Margaret Notley in her recent book Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism. 587 Notley describes the basic aspects of the Liberal worldview as 'pro-German sentiment, antagonism toward the Catholic Church, and profound distrust of anti-intellectual trends'. 588 This Liberalism shared common traits with European Liberalism of the time such as a belief in progress and the promotion of scientific methods, with Austrian Liberalism being largely made up of *Bildungsbürgertum*: the educated, culturally formed German and Jewish-German middle and upper middle classes. 589 Brahms, Hanslick, Theodor Billroth, Max Kalbeck, and Gustav Dömpke were among the intellectual elite of Viennese Liberalism, and indeed Hanslick and Ludwig Speidel held the roles of music and theatre critics respectively for the Neue freie Presse, Austria's leading Liberal daily.

Brahms's Liberalism is evident in a number of his works that through their extramusical texts question the nature of human existence, and are preoccupied with death, fate and suffering. Despite his well-known reticence when it came to letters and correspondence, there is sufficient evidence in the *Brahms Briefwechsel* to point to a Liberal approach on

⁵⁸⁷ Margaret Notley, Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). For related issues on fin de siecle Viennese Liberalism with regard to Dvořák's Reception see David Brodbeck, 'Dvořák's Reception in Liberal Vienna: Language Ordinances, National Property, and the Rhetoric of Deutschtum', Journal of the American Musicological Society 60/1 (2007): 71–132. ⁵⁸⁸ Notley, Lateness and Brahms, 15.

Notley, Lateness and Brahms, 16-17. See als Carl Schorske, 'Politics and the Psyche: Schnitzler and Hoffmannsthal', in Fin-de-siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture (New York: Vintage Books, 1981): 5-10.

Brahms's part to many of these works including the *Tragische Ouvertüre*, *Schisksalslied*, *Gesange der Parzen*, *Nänie*, and *Ein deutsches Requiem*. Hanslick was in a unique position among Brahms's critics—as one who shared Brahms's Liberal outlook, was within his circle of confidants and therefore privy to the private musical meaning of many of his works—to be able to convey such meaning to his readership.

Thus, in short, Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms which consider the cultural context in which his music was both composed and received seem more akin to recent 'revisionist' Brahms scholarship that considers the cultural, programmatic and poetic aspects of his music, than they do to the autonomous and formalist writings with which they have been associated. What follows is an exploration of Hanslick's writings on Brahms, one that considers the cultural context in which Brahms's works were composed, and in which Hanslick would have become acquainted with them.

Hanslick's Reflections on Brahms's Poetic Overtones

Of the reviews that can be understood as Hanslick embracing the poetic aspects in Brahms's music, perhaps the most outstanding is the 1879 review of a concert of Brahms's chamber music originally published in the *Neue freie Presse*, and included in the 1886 volume *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, in which he discusses the Violin Sonata No. 1 in G Major, Op. 78. ⁵⁹⁰ This sonata, as is well known, is called the *Regenlied* Sonata, on account of its thematic connection with two Klaus Groth Lieder from Brahms's Op. 59; *Regenlied* and *Nachklang*. In his review, Hanslick compares the sonata, which he considers to belong 'among the pearls of Brahms's chamber music,' to the F Minor Piano Quintet, Op. 34 which was played at the same concert.

In a style that represents Hanslick's subjective, descriptive approach to Brahms's music (this is an aspect of Hanslick's writings that will be discussed in detail below), he

Eduard Hanslick, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen der letzten fünfzehn Jahre, 1870-1885: Kritiken* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1886), 257–259. The original review was published in *Neue Freie Presse, 23* November 1879.

comments that in contrast to the quintet, in the sonata there is a more peaceful landscape, where we rest with a kind of melancholic pleasure; instead of a storm in the heart, a reconciled resignation; instead of the thundering waterfall, the quiet trickle of warm summer rain.'591 Hanslick observes that although the first movement of the sonata opens with the same three repeated notes as *Regenlied*—which he refers to as 'the first slow raindrops, as it were, pounding at the window'—it is not until the Finale that the theme and accompaniment figure are taken faithfully from 'Regenlied.'592

Yet Hanslick considers Brahms to have gone further than earlier composers in his setting of the song, arguing that 'what we have here is in no way a literal repetition of the song as we had in Schubert's well known instrumental works with their songs: 'Der Wanderer,' 'Die Forelle,' 'Der Tod und das Mädchen.' Rather, 'Brahms leaves himself, as it were, to work from a subconscious memory, and to create in the same mood, from the same main motive, a new one.' Hanslick continues his discussion stating that in the Finale 'the storm of feeling is held back, in that particular, superior, reflective way...' He then suggests

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⁵⁹¹ 'Während wir dort, von finsteren Gewalten getrieben, in der Sturmnacht umherirren, zwischen Felsen, Abgründen und tosenden Wasserfallen, führt uns die Sonate in eine friedlichere Landschaft, wo wir mit einer Art wehmütigen Behagens ausruhen. Statt der Stürme im Herzen ein versöhntes Resigniren, statt der schroffen Felsen ein trauliches Dörfchen, statt der donnernden Wasserfälle das leise Rieseln eines warmen Sommerregens. Daß letzterer wirklich in der Sonate mitspielt, sagt uns das Finale, dessen Thema und Begleitungsfigur getreu dem "Regenlied" von Brahms (Op. 59, Heft 1) entnommen ist. Eigentlich beginnt schon der erste Satz (G-dur) mit den drei gleichen Anfangsnoten des Liedes, gleichsam den ersten langsam and Fenster pochenden Regentropfen; dies Motto wird aber nur flüchtig angedeutet. Desto bedeutungsvoller sehen wir das Regenlied Thema in dem Finalsatz sich ausbreiten.' Eduard Hanslick, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 258.

This is rather a subjective view on Hanslick's part. For an alternate reading of Schubert's Lieder see Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1974. For instance, Cone states that 'The composer is not primarily engaged in "setting" a poem. As I have pointed out elsewhere, a composer cannot "set" a poem directly, for in this sense there is no such thing as "the poem": what he uses is one reading of the poem – that is to say, a specific performance, for even a silent reading is less accurate than to say that he appropriates it,' 19.

⁵⁹⁴ 'Es liegt hier keineswegs eine buchstäbliche Wiederholung des Liedes vor, etwa wie sie Schubert in bekannten Instrumentalwerken mit seinen Liedern: "Der Wanderer", "Die Forelle", "Der Tod und das Mädchen" vorgenommen hat. Brahms überläßt sich gleichsam unbewußt einer in ihm fortarbeitenden Erinnerung und schafft in derselben Stimmung aus dem gleichen Hauptmotivs Neues.' Hanslick, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 258.

that there is a further facet to the sonata in stating that 'something undecided, blurred or hazy lies therein. 595

The Neue freie Presse review of 1879 ends here. However, in the 1886 version in Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, Hanslick is more explicit. He adds one more section implying in no uncertain terms that he understands the work to have an expressive context: 'it seems to us, besides, that the sonata is produced much more for the intimate benefit of the private circle than produced for the effect of the concert hall. A completely sensuous, not to mention secret piece requires a certain frame of mind from the players!' Hanslick's contention that the piece is more suited to private performance than public performance is reminiscent of a letter that Billroth had sent the critic in October 1879 in which he wrote of Op. 78: 'The feelings are too fine, too true and warm, the inwardness too heartfelt for publicity.'597

In a recent article titled 'Musical Meaning for the Few: Instances of Private Reception in the Music of Brahms', Dillon R. Parmer makes a legitimate case for a dual reception history of Brahms's works. This entails a category of musical meaning that exists only in select private circles of reception chosen by Brahms, and a wider, public category in which such clues are held back. Op. 78 epitomises such a case of dual reception which is evident in Hanslick's review of the work, as we will see. In February 1879 Brahms wrote to Clara Schumann that the slow movement of the sonata was written with her son, and his godson, Felix in mind. In his discussion of Op. 78, Michael Struck refers to 'a single undated leaf of ornamental music paper, on one side of which Brahms wrote bars 1–24 of the slow movement of the Violin Sonata.' On the opposite side Brahms wrote:

⁵⁹⁵ 'Da wird der Storm der Empfindung in jener eigentümlich überlegenen, reflectirenden Weise zurückgehalten, die wir an ähnlichen Werken von Brahms kennen. Etwas Unentschiedenes, Verschwommenes liegt darin', Hanslick, Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 259.

⁵⁹⁶ 'Sie scheint uns überdies noch mehr für den intimen Genuß im Privatcirkel, als für den Effect im Concertsaal geschaffen. Ein ganz eigen sinnendes, um nicht zu sagen heimliches Stück verlangt sie auch von den Spielern eine gewisse Gemütsverwandschaft', Hanslick, Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 259.

⁵⁹⁷ 'Die Empfindung sind zu fein, zu wahr und warm, die Innerlichkeit zu herzlich für die Öffentlichkeit', Theodor Billroth to Eduard Hanslick, October 1879, quoted in Eduard Hanslick, Aus meinem Leben, II, 321.

If you play what is on the reverse side quite slowly, it will tell you, perhaps more clearly than I otherwise could myself, how sincerely I think of you and Felix – even about his violin, which however surely is at rest. 598

The twenty-four year old Felix had died on 16 February of that year, having lost a seven year battle with tuberculosis. Brahms was particularly fond of Felix, admiring his musical talents (as a pianist and violinist), and his poetry, among other qualities. Indeed Brahms set three of Felix's poems to music: 'Junge Lieder I/II', Op. 63/5–6 (1873) and 'Versunken', Op. 86/5 (1874). Struck argues that this manuscript 'unequivocally confirms as well as defines the importance which Brahms's thoughts of Clara and Felix Schumann had for the origins of the sonata,' and 'demonstrates that at the very least Brahms made use of and possibly also understood the slow movement of the Violin Sonata as an explicit sign of his sympathy for Felix as well as for Clara Schumann.' In a letter telling how 'deeply affected' she was by the sonata, for which she had wept with tears of joy having played through it, Clara wrote referring to the *Regenlied* allusion:

After the first fine, enchanting movement, and the second, you can imagine my delight when in the third, I rediscovered *my* so ardently beloved melody with its delightful eighth-note rhythm! I say *my* because I don't believe there is a *single* person who perceives this melody as joyously and as wistfully as I.⁶⁰⁰

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⁵⁹⁸ See Michael Struck, 'Revisionsbedürftig: Zur gedruckten Korrespondenz von Johannes Brahms und Clara Schumann: Auswirkungen irrtümlicher oder lückenhafter Überlieferung auf werkgenetische Bestimmungen (mit einem unausgewerteten Brahms-Brief zur Violinsinate Op. 78,' *Die Musikforschung* 41/3 (1988), translated in part by Ben Kohn and George Bozarth and published as 'New Evidence of the Genesis of Brahms's G Major Violin Sonata, Op. 78,' *American Brahms Society Newsletter* IX/1 (Spring 1991): 5–6. Struck's is the first discussion of this letter and musical manuscript from Brahms to Clara Schumann.

⁵⁹⁹ See Michael Struck, 'Revisionsbedürftig: Żur gedruckten Korrespondenz von Johannes Brahms und Clara Schumann'. On the autobiographical background to Op. 78 see also Jürgen Beythien, 'Die Violinsonate in Gdur, Op. 78, von Johannes Brahms—Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis zwischen formaler und inhaltlicher Gestaltung', in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Leipzig 1966*, Carl Dahlhaus, ed. (Leipzig: Kassel, 1970), 325–332.

^{600 &#}x27;Nach dem ersten feinen reizenden Satz und dem zweiten kannst Du Dir die Wonne vorstellen, als ich im dritten meine so schwärmerisch geliebte Melodie mit der reizenden Achtel-Bewegung wiederstand! Ich sage meine, weil ich nicht glaube, daß ein Mensch diese Melodie so wonnig und wehmutsvoll empfindet, wie ich.' Clara Schumann to Johannes Brahms, 10 July 1879, *Johannes Brahms, Life and Letters*, Josef Eisinger and Styra Avins, trans., selected and annotated by Styra Avins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 551). For original German see *Clara Schumann, Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, Berthold Litzmann, ed. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), 177.

Furthermore, in June 1879 Brahms wrote to Billroth in a typically self-deprecatory manner that 'the finale is not worth playing through more than once,' and requires 'a nice, soft, rainy evening to give the proper mood.' In his response of June 26 1879 Billroth replied:

The recurring motif in the last movement seems familiar to me. First I thought of Klaus Groth's *Heimat*, and then at last it dawned on me that it was *Regenlied*. Now, for the first time I understand your sentence about a rainy evening, for I had taken that remark as completely innocuous without realising that it pointed toward the leading motif. You rogue!⁶⁰²

That Hanslick was aware of this 'secret' programmatic text can be inferred from his review of Op. 78. Indeed, in a subsequent review in which he again discusses this sonata Hanslick writes:

For me the *Regenlied* Sonata is like a dear and true friend whom I would never forsake for anyone else. In its soft, contemplatively dreamy feeling and its wondrously consoling strength, it is one of a kind. It moves me in more or less the same way as Goethe's poem 'An den Mond,' and like the poem it is incomparable, irreplaceable – rather like our own youth, which indeed seems to peer out at us as from within, as if from the mists of a faraway landscape. ⁶⁰³

Hanslick understands the *Regenlied* Sonata to have a hidden musical meaning of a nostalgia for lost youth, and an attempt to recapture the experiences of youth. Given his reference to the sonata's 'wondrously consoling strength,' and his association of it with Goethe's 'An den Mond,' a central theme of which is lost love and lost youth, it is possible that Hanslick understood the sonata to have been written with the death of Clara's son Felix in mind. He is faithful to the secrecy of the programme to the extent that the contemporary reader would have been aware that there was a further facet to the sonata, without being privy to the

Musical Friendship, 80–81.

Gold Johannes Brahms to Theodor Billroth, June 1879, Johannes Brahms and Theodor Billroth: Letters From a Musical Friendship, Hans Barkan, trans., ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1957), 80.
 Theodor Billroth to Johannes Brahms, 26 June 1879, Johannes Brahms and Theodor Billroth: Letters From a

^{603 &#}x27;Mir ist die Regenlied-Sonate wie ein lieber bewährter Freund, den ich für keinen andern hergebe. In ihrer weichen, nachdenklich träumenden Empfindung und ihrer wundersam tröstenden Kraft steht sie ganz für sich allein da. Sie wirkt auf mich ungefähr wie Goethe's Gedicht "An den Mond" und ist, gleich diesem, unvergleichbar, unersetzlich, fast wie die eigene Jugend, die ja wie aus dämmernder Ferne uns daraus anblickt,' Eduard Hanslick, 'Brahms' neueste Instrumental-Compositionen,' in *Musikalisches und Litterarisches: Kritiken und Schilderungen* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1889), 149–56 (153–54); translated as 'Brahms's Newest Compositions,' Susan Gillespie, trans., in *Brahms and His World*, Walter Frisch, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 145–150 (148).

expressive significance of it. A comment made in a letter from Brahms to Hanslick in 1877 suggests that Hanslick was within Brahms's circle of confidants; but a note of caution against revealing the expressive significance of his works can also be detected. Of Symphony No. 2 in D Major Brahms wrote to Hanslick: 'what's behind this, however, does not want to be finely written up in the newspaper.' It is beyond doubt that Brahms wanted the *Regenlied* allusion to be noticed as is the fact that he intended the biographical significance, or secret programme, as it were, to be intended for only a select few. 605

Suggestive Overtures

Brahms wrote two orchestral overtures in 1880, giving each of them a suggestive title: *Akademische Fest Ouvertüre*, Op. 80, and *Tragische Ouvertüre*, Op. 81. He prescribed no particular programme or hermeneutic aid for these overtures other than the titles themselves, which undoubtedly invite the listener to hear the works in a particular way. The close proximity in the dates of composition, and the fact that they are the only two orchestral overtures in Brahms's *oeuvre*, each with a suggestive title, have led commentators since Brahms's time to view the overtures as a pair. The composer himself spoke of them in such terms, claiming that 'one cries, the other laughs'. 606 Max Kalbeck refers to the *Academic Festival Overture*, and 'its tragic twin sister'. 607

Hanslick discusses these overtures in terms of autobiographical and poetic contexts. Indeed, with regard to the *Tragische Ouvertüre*, although Brahms gave no clues as to the poetic idea embodied in the work, Hanslick suggests a poetic counterpart for the piece that,

⁶⁰⁴ 'Was hier hinten steht, wünscht aber nicht schön stillisiert in die Zeitung zu kommen.' Johannes Brahms to Eduard Hanslick, Summer 1877, quoted in Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, III, 175; quoted and translated in Reinhold Brinkmann, *Late Idyll: The Second Symphony of Johannes Brahms* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 11. My translation is a modified version of Brinkmann's.

⁶⁰⁵ Max Kalbeck was prompted by the closing theme of the first movement of the sonata that reappears in the second movement as a funeral march to hypothesise that the sonata may have been composed in mind of the death of Brahms's friend Franz v. Holsteins, and Felix Schumann (news of whose imminent death had just been broken). Kalbeck goes on to point out that the fee Brahms earned for the publication of this sonata (3000 Mk.) was donated anonymously to the 'honorarium' collected by Frau Schumann. See Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms* III, 192, and note 2.

⁶⁰⁶ Brahms quoted in John Daverio, 'Brahms's *Academic Festival Overture* and the Comic Modes', *American Brahms Society Newsletter* XII/1 (Spring 1994): 1–3 (3).

⁶⁰⁷ 'Ihrer tragischen Zwillungsschwester', Max Kalbeck, ed. *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Elisabet und Heinrich von Herzogenberg*, 133, note 3.

rather than providing a programme for the work, provides the reader with a number of ways of understanding the work spiritually. Hanslick's reviews of these works are explored in their own right before, in the next section, being seen in the broader context of his Liberal, Viennese response to Brahms's music.

Akademische Ouvertüre

In a performance review published in Hanslick's 1899 text *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts*, titled 'Alice Barbi für das Brahms-Monument,' Hanslick speaks of the 'enchanting' *Akademische Fest Ouvertüre*, Op. 80, which, he claims 'was used in a failed attempt by his adversaries to accuse Brahms, the opponent of programme music, of inconsistency. The academic overture is,' he claims, 'nothing less than programme music.' Hanslick concedes that the overture 'does not tell a series of events, nor does it describe emotions that would require explanations in words', as by implication other contemporary pieces of programme music do. Rather the notorious student songs that Brahms chose to weave through the overture 'ring out here as natural, one might say necessary quotes'. The overture was completed in the summer of 1880, with the composer conducting the premiere in Breslau in January 1881. Along with the

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^{608 &#}x27;Hans Richter hat die "Philharmonischen Concerte" mit der F-dur-Symphonie eröffnet, mit der hinreißend gespielten "Akademischen Ouvertüre" beschlossen. Letztere ward seinerzeit von eigenen Widersachern zu dem mißlungenen Versuche benützt, den Gegner aller Programm-Musik, einer Inconsecuenz zu zeihen. Die *Akademische Ouvertüre* ist aber nichts weniger als Programm-Musik.' Eduard Hanslick, 'Alice Barbi für das Brahms-Monument,' in *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts: 1895–1899 Kritiken und Schilderungen* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1899), 296–300 (297). Hanslick's discussions of programme music contains ambiguous and contradictory definitions, as is evidenced in his insistence that this work is programme music. For an in-depth discussion of Hanslick's position on programme music, see Chapter 3. Perhaps this inconsistency can be explained in Hanslick's defence of Brahms against the critical assaults that both his honorary doctorate, and by extension the composition of his *Akademische Fest Ouvertüre*, were receiving at the hands of the *Neudeutsche Schule*.

⁶⁰⁹ 'Sie erzählt keinen Vorgang, noch schildert sie Gemütsbewegungen, die einer Worteklärung bedürfsten. Als eine Dank- und Gelegenheits-Musik für das von der Königsberger Universität empfangene Ehrendoktorat hat Brahms diese Ouvertüre mit einigen allbekannten Studentenliedern durchflochten; sie erklingen hier als natürliche, man darf sagen notwendige Citate.' Eduard Hanslick, 'Alice Barbi für das Brahms-Monument,' in *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts*, 296–300 (297).

Unfortunately it is not possible in the context of the current study to provide original dates for all of the Hanslick reviews cited. Hanslick's critical writings were originally published in the Viennese daily newspaper *Neue freie Presse* over a forty-year period. Where possible I give the original date of his reviews in the footnotes, along with the corresponding citation in the collected criticism. However, for the most part, I cite only the collected criticisms where, unfortunately, the original dates of the reviews are not available. Throughout the period of my doctoral studies I have had the opportunity to search through this daily newspaper for a limited time-span only. Furthermore, Dietmar Strauss's edition of Hanslick's complete writings only go as far as 1861, and Hanslick first wrote on Brahms in 1862. Further progress on Strauss's publications has sadly been halted due to lack of funding.

mention of the Rákóczi March, Hanslick's list of student songs upon which Brahms draws includes the following songs⁶¹⁰:

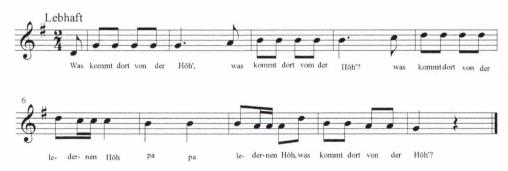
Example 27: August von Binzner's "Burschenschaftslied" of 1819 (bar 63):



Example 28: "Der Landesvater" or "Alles schweige! Jeder neige" (bar 129):



Example 29: the Fuchslied "Was kommt dort von der Höh'?" (bar 157):

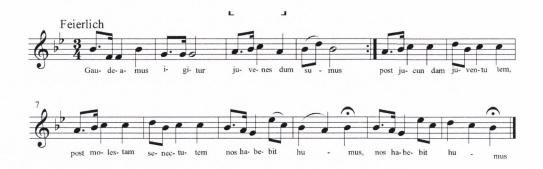


It is noted that Brahms saves the 'Gaudeamus Igitur', one of the most famous student songs,

for the conclusion:

Example 30: "Gaudeamus Igitur" (bar 379):

⁶¹⁰ The musical quotations, and the indications for the bar numbers at which they initially occur are taken from Roger Fiske's introduction to the Eulenburg score of Op. 80. Brahms, *Akademische Fest-Ouvertüre*, Op. 80 (Mainz: Eulenburg, 1976). Fiske in turn takes the student songs from two German song books, the first of which Brahms was familiar with, and the second because it is easily available today: *Erk's Deutscher Liederschatz* (Peters), and *Deutsche Heimat* (Schott). Friske notes that Brahms seems to have quoted the songs from memory. Hanslick names each of the songs without supplying musical examples or bar numbers.



Hanslick compares Brahms's approach in this work to that of Weber's *Jubel Overture* in which he reuses his orchestration of the anthem 'Heil Dir im Siegerkranz' from his cantata *Kampf und Sieg*; Schumann's Overture to Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*, Op. 136, which contains a reference to the Marseillaise, Haydn's use of 'Gott Erhalte' in the 'Emperor' Quartet, and Dvořák's overture *Mein Heim* which quotes and develops two patriotic Bohemian songs. 611

In comparing Hanslick's 1899 discussion of the overture to an earlier 1881 discussion of the *Akademische Fest Ouvertüre* published in *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, it is clear that what is more significant to Hanslick than the quotation of such songs, is what he considers to be Brahms's autobiographical motivation in writing the piece:

The honorary promotion of Brahms, which lost none of its gloss through the snide remarks of Wagner, was meanwhile only the outer cause for the composition of the *Fest Ouvertüre*. For Brahms the internal impulse is the more important. Of the student songs that he celebrates in his overture, there sound many valuable memories of youth. He had sung them often with Joachim, inspired in the student circles of Göttingen.⁶¹²

^{611 &#}x27;Es verhält sich damit genau so wie Webers "Jubel-Ouvertüre," welche, eine Huldigung für den König von Sachsen, mit der Volkshymne "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" schließt; wie mit Schumanns Ouverture zu "Hermann und Dorothea" und der darin anklingenden Marsellaise; wie mit Haydns "Gott Erhalte" in dem Kaiserquartett, oder mit Dvořák's Ouvertüre "Mein Heim," welche zwei patriotisch-böhmische Volkslieder citiert und durchführt.' Eduard Hanslick, 'Alice Barbi für das Brahms-Monument,' in *Am Ende des Jahrhunderts*, 297.

612 'Diese Ehrenpromotion unseres Brahms, welche durch die Stichelreden Richard Wagners nichts an ihren Glanze verlor war indessen der äußere Anlaß zur Composition der "Fest-Ouvertüre" – bei Brahms ist der innere Impuls das Wichtigere. Aus den Studentenlieder, welche er in seiner Fest-Ouvertüre feiert, klingen ebenso viele theure Jugenderinnerungen; er hat sie mit Joachim in den Studentenkreisen Göttingens oft und begeistert gesungen.' Eduard Hanslick, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 298. The 'snide remarks' that Hanslick refers to by Wagner were in reaction to Brahms's honorary doctorate. The diploma hailed Brahms as 'the current leader of the most serious musical art in Germany.' Wagner's response in the form of an article that ridiculed Brahms titled 'Über das Dichten und Komponieren' appeared in the *Bayreuther Blätter* in July 1880. For a discussion of the entire incident see Albrecht Riethmuller, 'Wagner, Brahms, und die *Akademische-Fest Ouvertüre'*, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 61/2 (2004): 79–105.

The impression of Brahms, the high muse of counterpoint, revelling in a surge of youthful memories to be skilfully integrated into his 'academic' overture, is wonderfully portrayed in Hanslick's review. The work 'begins *pianissimo*' he writes, 'with a particularly tingling Allegro-Motiv of staccato quavers, almost like a light clatter of spurs, which after a while follow the solemn song "Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus" in celebratory, high trumpet tones. '613 He refers to the bassoons as the 'comedians' of the orchestra (*Humoristen des Orchesters*), and praises Brahms's handling of the 'quaint *Fuchslied*' which is treated as a *cantus firmus*, noting that he 'weaves all of these motives with each other and against each other, always refined and spiritual and nonetheless never unclear or overloaded', an effect that to Hanslick's ears is 'absolutely delightful to hear'. 614 Highlighting Brahms's particular ability to infuse a work of contrapuntal dexterity with such an element of humour, Hanslick writes that 'only a composer who, like Brahms, has all the art of counterpoint in his power that he plays with it gracefully, is able to write a piece of this kind, one that is both artfully combined and has popular effect.'615

Tragische Ouvertüre

Another work with a suggestive title, but one that does not give further clues as to its origin, is the *Tragische Ouvertüre*, Op. 81. There is no denying that such a title invites listeners to hear the work as tragic. However, Brahms left no record of having a specific tragedy in mind.

Moreover, he did not even hint at the tragedy being of the literary kind. Several commentators have put forward suggested readings of the overture, from Kalbeck's proposal that its origins are in Goethe's *Faust*, ⁶¹⁶ to Tovey's comparison with Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. ⁶¹⁷ The piece 'is

⁶¹⁴ 'Wie nun der Componist alle diese Motiv mit einander und gegen einander verwebt, stets fein und geistreich und doch in seinem Tacte unklar oder überladen, das ist ganz köstlich zu hören.' *Ibid.*, 297–298.

⁶¹³ 'Sie beginnt pianissimo mit einem eigenthümlich prickelnden Allegro-Motiv von stakkirten Achtelnoten, fast wie leises Sporenklirren, dem nach einer Weile das weihevolle Lied "Wir hatten gebaut ein stattliches Haus" in feierlichen hohen Trompeten-Accorden folgt.' Eduard Hanslick, 'Brahms Akademische Fest Ouvertüre', *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 297–298.

Nur ein Componist der, wie Brahms, alle Künste des Contrapunktes so in seiner Macht hat, daß er mit ihnen anmüthig spielt, vermag ein zugleich kunstvoll combinirtes und populär wirkendes Stück dieser Art zu schreiben. *Ibid.*, 297–298.

⁶¹⁶ Kalbeck, Johannes Brahms III, 258–260.

certainly not written at the dictation of any one tragedy', Tovey writes. Rather he considers any tragic characters of which we may be reminded in the work to be 'our own illustrations of its meaning'. It is on this basis that Tovey makes a legitimate comparison between 'Brahms's energetic but severely formal conclusion with Shakespeare's Fortinbras, not as a course of events, but as an esthetic fact. Tovey

James Webster follows Tovey's lead, and focuses on the closing passages of the overture in search of Brahms's tragedy. For Webster, the overture's motto can be taken to represent a tragic hero, and the tragedy lies in the inability of this motto to articulate the tonic. The struggle brought about by this tragic element is evident throughout the overture, but reaches a powerful culmination in the coda. Webster speaks of a 'last defiant gesture' (bar 379) as the coda moves towards its relentless close. It is in the passage that follows that the work takes on all of the struggles that have gone before, and thrashes them out in a formidable finale. Parmer suggests that the tragedy could proceed along purely musical lines by 'focussing on aspects of form, tonal schema and motivic material.' (Parmer's ideas on the work are discussed in greater detail below.)

In the absence of clues to the poetic idea embodied in the work, or how the work embodies the notion of tragedy, Hanslick too suggests his own reading in his 1880 review. Before doing so, he outlines the fact that Brahms 'places independent musical thoughts and themes, from which the composer's characteristic, rigorous logic organically develops the whole work.' He notes that Brahms has no specific *Trauerspiel* in mind for his overture,

⁶¹⁷ Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, 152. ⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁶²⁰ James Webster, 'Brahms's *Tragic Overture:* The Form of the Tragedy', in *Brahms: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies,* Robert Pascall, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 99–124.

⁶²¹ Parmer, 'Brahms the Programmatic?', 56–62.

⁶²² 'Sie stellt selbständige musikalische Gedanken, Themen hin, aus welchen mit der den Componisten charakterisirenden strengen Logik das Ganze sich organisch entwickelt', Eduard Hanslick, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 280.

'rather an "Actus Tragicus" (just as J.S. Bach's label reads) for the whole. '623 Hanslick further comments that 'if we had to call on a tragedy to be introduced by Brahms's overture, we would probably call on *Hamlet*.'624

Hanslick's use of the term *Trauerspiel* in relation to the overture is noteworthy. Brahms himself had toyed with the idea of giving the work the title 'Trauerspiel-Ouvertüre'. 625 In John Deathridge's 1996 discussion of Wagner's Tristan und Isolde (composed between 1857 and 1859), where he argues that Isolde's Liebestod is reminiscent of the Trauerspiel on account of its 'chorale-like beginning' and 'hymn-like gestures', Deathridge draws attention to Walter Benjamin's description of the Baroque tragedy [Trauerspiel] as 'showing an antinomic relation between Lutheranism and the everyday, [...] a process that actively resists the sense of disenchantment brought about by rigorous, anti-Transcendentalist Lutheran dogma. '626 The significance of Deathridge's statement in the current context is that it underlines the common currency of the notion that the Trauerspiel was linked to Lutheranism, but could also be understood as resisting such dogma. Hanslick's Liberal Viennese readership in 1880 would most likely have been aware of such associations. Lest the term 'Trauerspiel' alone would not conjure up such images, Hanslick employs further references to Lutheranism.

Hanslick's reference to "Actus Tragicus" in this context can be read in a number of ways. The very mention of Bach, the composer revered as a German cultural icon in the

^{623 &#}x27;Brahms hat für seine "Tragische Ouvertüre" kein bestimmtes Trauerspiel als "Sujet" im Sinne gehabt, sondern einen "Actus Tragicus" (wie eine Seb. Bachsche Aufschrift lautet) überhaupt.' Hanslick, Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 280. Hanslick is referring to Bach, 'Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit', BWV 106. 624 'Wenn wir uns durchaus für eine Tragödie entscheiden müßten, welche mit Brahms' Ouvertüre einzuleiten wäre, so würden wir wohl "Hamlet" nennen. Hanslick, Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 281. Hanslick is not the only critic who mentions Hamlet in relation to Op. 81. Kalbeck critiques Hanslick's discussion of Hamlet as a programme, but finds it not entirely suitable, Kalbeck, Johannes Brahms III, 259. It seems to me that Kalbeck may have missed the point here. Hanslick is not suggesting Hamlet as a possible programme that Brahms may have had in mind. Rather he is offering what he personally considers to be a poetic counterpart to the piece. As discussed here, the allusion makes little sense when not considered in the context of Bach BWV 106. Tovey also discusses Op. 81 in terms of Hamlet. If his inspiration came from Hanslick he does not say so. See Donald Francis Tovey, Essays in Musical Analysis: Symphonies and Other Orchestral Works (London: Oxford university Press, 1981), 151-154.

⁶²⁵ Parmer, 'Brahms the Programmatic?', 54.

⁶²⁶ John Deathridge, 'Post-mortem on Isolde', New German Critique 69 (Autumn 1996): 99–126 (120).

nineteenth century, draws attention to the historical lineage of Brahms's music. Moreover, in referring to a Bach cantata, Hanslick evokes the image of Brahms as a Lutheran-North German. "Actus Tragicus" was one of the better known Bach cantatas during the nineteenthcentury, having appeared in A. B. Marx's 1830 edition of the cantatas, and having received frequent performances. 627 In this work, Bach sets texts chosen from the Old Testament, the New Testament, and Martin Luther's chorale 'Mit Fried und Freud' ich fahr dahin.'628 Eric Chafe points out that the actus differs from its sister genre, the biblical historia, in having a more meditative and less purely narrative emphasis. 629 The subject of meditation in this case, he states, 'is the understanding of death according to the stages of salvation history.' He outlines these stages being 'of the history of Israel to the coming of Christ, his death on the cross, and the era of the Christian church. The sequence can also be read as an internal progression from fear of death and acceptance of its inevitability to faith in Christ and in the promise of the Gospel, and, finally, to the willingness of the believer to die in Christ and his church. '631 In other words, the theme of "Actus Tragicus," a work steeped in Christian dogma and Lutheran theology, can be understood as the inevitability of death, or, as Beller-McKenna understands it, as 'a sequence of ideas that progress towards an acceptance of death.'632

Hanslick does not end his review here. He further comments that 'if we had to call on a tragedy to be introduced by Brahms's overture, we would probably call on *Hamlet*.' A

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⁶²⁷ Daniel Beller-McKenna, 'Brahms, the Bible and Post-Romanticism,' 82.

⁶²⁸ A similar approach is taken by Brahms in his motet 'Warum ist das Licht gegeben dem Mühseligen?', Op. 74 No. 1. For a discussion of the relationship between Bach BWV 106 and Brahms Op. 74 No. 1, see Daniel Beller-McKenna, 'The Great *Warum*? Job, Christ and Bach in a Brahms Motet,' 19th-Century Music XIX/3 (1996): 231–251. If Hanslick was aware of the relationship between these two works, he did not mention it in his review of the Op. 74 motets in *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 222–23.

⁶²⁹ Beller McKenna, 'Brahms, the Bible, and Post-Romanticism,' 93–94.

⁶³⁰ For Chafe's discussion of BWV 106, see Eric Chafe, *Analyzing Bach Cantatas* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 149–160.

⁶³¹ Beller-McKenna, 'Brahms, the Bible, and Post-Romanticism', 93.

⁶³² Beller-McKenna in relation to "Actus Tragicus", 'Brahms, the Bible, and Post-Romanticism', 53.

^{633 &#}x27;Wenn wir uns durchaus für eine Tragödie entscheiden müßten, welche mit Brahms' Ouvertüre einzuleiten wäre, so würden wir wohl "Hamlet" nennen. Hanslick, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 281. Hanslick is not the only critic who mentions *Hamlet* in relation to Op. 81. Kalbeck critiques Hanslick's discussion of *Hamlet* as a programme, and finds it not entirely suitable, Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms* III, 259. It seems to me that Kalbeck may have missed the point here. Hanslick is not suggesting *Hamlet* as a possible programme that Brahms may have had in mind. Rather he is offering what he personally considers to be a poetic counterpart to

sequence of ideas that progress towards an acceptance of death' is a good description of what happens in *Hamlet*. ⁶³⁴ We witness the character's progression from a state of depression in Act 1, to that of an exemplary Shakespearean villain, with an over-reliance on reason and a strong belief in a free will, in Act 2. By the last scene, Hamlet seems to have become indifferent to death, neither desiring it nor fearing it. The speech where he shows his newfound acceptance of death is:

... we defy augury: there's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If it be now, 'tis not to come; if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come: the readiness is all: since no man has aught of what he leaves, what is't to leave betimes?⁶³⁵

This can be understood as being indicative of a state of stoical detachment. Moreover, despite the fact that Hamlet has now come to put his trust in providence, it seems his attitude towards death is not that of a devout Christian. Hamlet shows no particular concern to repent of his sins for example, as a devout Christian should in the same circumstances.

Of course there is no way of knowing for certain why Hanslick, or indeed later Tovey, considered *Hamlet* to be a poetic counterpart to the *Tragische Ouvertüre*. Nevertheless, while neither the reference to BWV 106 or Hamlet in Hanslick's review seem of much importance in themselves, taken together they illuminate one another. Perhaps his allusion to both these works in the same review can be understood as juxtaposing a sequence of ideas steeped in Christian dogma and Lutheran theology that progress towards an acceptance of death, with a secular counterpart. In this sense, his allusion to Bach and *Hamlet* can be understood not as suggesting a programme for the work, as Kalbeck did in his discussion of *Faust*, but as providing the reader with a number of ways of understanding the work spiritually. Hence, the

the piece. As discussed here, the allusion makes little sense when not considered in the context of Bach BWV 106. Tovey also discusses Op. 81 in terms of *Hamlet*. If his inspiration came from Hanslick he does not say so. See Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis: Symphonies and Other Orchestral Works* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), 151–154.

⁶³⁴ Beller-McKenna, 'Brahms, the Bible, and Post-Romanticism', 53. I am grateful to Dr Brian Garvey for alerting me to such a reading of Hamlet.

⁶³⁵ William Shakespeare. Hamlet. Act V, Scene 2.

death, while the reference to *Hamlet* distances this message from its dogmatic, religious meaning. Thus, arguably, he sees Brahms universalizing the spiritual message that he understands the work to embody.

The Liberal Viennese Weltanschauung of Hanslick and Brahms

Evidence of Brahms's critics interpreting such universal or humanitarian messages in any of Brahms's works other than *ein Deutsches Requiem* is scant. Yet as Margaret Notley aptly notes 'beginning with Kalbeck, who referred to the composer as a "heretic", Brahms's biographers have usually regarded him as having been an unobservant Christian in his adult years, to have become a liberal like Hanslick in this respect. '636 Notley further argues that among Hanslick's liberal propensities was a tendency to be an unobservant Christian, to view Biblical stories as valuable lessons in moral conduct, regardless of the specific faith of the reader. To this end he wrote in his autobiography in 1894:

The essence and foundation of religion should be only ethics; all faiths with the same moral principles were of equal worth. We became acquainted with the Biblical stories only from their amiable, tenderhearted, and poetic side, with the 'miracles' only as allegories.⁶³⁷

While it is highly unlikely that the reading of the work I suggest by Hanslick was indicated by Brahms himself, it is not beyond possibility that it stems from an awareness of both Brahms's position on matters of faith, and the Liberal *Weltanschauung* that he shared with Hanslick and the readership of *Neue freie Presse*. Brahms's tendency to use sacred texts for philosophical reasons, and to present them in a non-dogmatic context whereby he could universalise their message is a subject that has received much attention in recent scholarly writings. Daniel Beller-McKenna has explored this topic in great detail in a number of his studies. ⁶³⁸ In a

⁶³⁷ 'Wesen und Grundlage der Religion sei nur die Moral; bei gleichen moralischen Grundsätzen seien alle Bekentnisse gleichwertig. Die biblischen Geschichten lernten wir nur von ihrer liebenswürdigen, gemütvollen und poetischen Seite kennen', Hanslick, *Aus meinem Leben* I, 6–7. This passage is translated in Margaret Notley, *Lateness and Brahms*, 209.

⁶³⁶ Margaret Notley, Lateness and Brahms, 214

⁶³⁸ The most recent exposition of Beller-McKenna on Brahms and religion is chapter 2, 'Religion, Language, and Luther's Bible', of *Brahms and the German Spirit*. The topic is discussed at length in his PhD Dissertation 'Brahms, the Bible, and Post-Romanticism,' and features in a number of his articles including 'How Deutsch a Requiem?', and 'The Great *Warum?'*.

similar vein Hanns Christian Stekel observes that 'in his texts Brahms continually dealt with the questions of human existence, with death, fate and suffering'. 639 Notley discusses such humanitarian inclinations in the context of Brahms's liberal tendencies. 640 The image of Brahms that emerges from these studies is a composer who is a product of his Lutheran North-German heritage. This heritage is deeply embedded, and clearly evident in his works. Furthermore, such works frequently omit any specifically Christian dogma in order to universalise their message. 641

An example is the omission of John 3:16 from the text of Ein deutsches Requiem. 642 On account of this omission, Hanslick considers the work to stand 'closer to our hearts, because it is stripped of every confessional dress, every sacred convenience. 643 A further example is the absence of a text that mentions Christ or his *Erlösungstod* in Brahms's motet 'Warum ist das Licht gegeben dem Mühseligen?' Op. 74, No. 1. This work, like Bach BWV 106, juxtaposes old and new testament texts with Luther's 'Mit Fried' und Freud' ich fahr dahin.'644 Beller-McKenna argues that the ultimate message of this motet appears to come in the closing chorale where death is welcomed 'like sleep' according to 'God's will'. 'Whereas accepting death as God's will is a central concept in Christian thought,' he argues, 'it loses its dogmatic meaning when it is separated from the larger symbolism of Christ's sacrifice, as it is in 'Warum ist das Licht gegeben?' 645

⁶³⁹ Hanns Christian Stekel, Sehnsucht und Distanz: Theologische Aspekte in den wortgebundenen religiösen Kompositionen von Johannes Brahms (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997).

⁶⁴⁰ Margaret Notley, Lateness and Brahms. This is a recurring theme in Notley's book, but see especially 'The Twilight of Liberalism', 204-220.

⁶⁴¹ Beller-McKenna, 'The Great Warum?' 231.

⁶⁴² John 3:16 reads 'For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that everyone who believes in him may not perish but may have eternal life.'

⁶⁴³ 'Ja, unserem Herzen steht letzteres noch näher, schon deshalb, weil es jedes confessionelle Kleid, jede kirchliche Convenienz abstreift Hanslick', 'Brahms: "Deutsches Requiem" und "Rhapsodie", Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 134-136 (135).

¹⁶⁴⁴ It is worth noting that there is a relationship between Bach's Actus Tragicus and Brahms's Motet 'Warum ist das Licht gegeben,' Op. 74 No. 1'. The latter has been understood as an "homage" to Bach on account of its dedication to Philipp Spitta (the Bach scholar and Brahms's friend) and its concluding Bach-like harmonization of Luther's chorale 'Mit Fried' und Freud'. Beller-McKenna discusses this relationship in his article 'The Great Warum?'

⁶⁴⁵ Beller-McKenna, 'The Great Warum?' 243.

The *Tragische Ouvertüre* was composed in the summer of 1880. On a number of occasions in the years straddling 1880 Brahms expressed his dissatisfaction with his lot as a composer of spiritual music, and explicitly stated his wish to find heathen texts for musical setting. On 14 July 1880 he writes to Elisabet von Herzogenberg:

I am quite willing to write motets, or anything for chorus (I am heartily sick of everything else!); but won't you try and find me some words? One can't have them made to order unless one begins before good reading has spoilt one. They are not heathen enough for me in the Bible. I have bought the Koran but can find nothing there either.'

In August 1882 Brahms asks Herzogenberg, 'shall I never shake off the theologian?' Most likely referring to *Gesang der Parzen*, he writes that 'I have just finished one which is actually heathenish enough to please me and to have made my music better than usual I hope.' Kalbeck adds a footnote to his edition of the correspondence at this point to contextualise Brahms's comment. He claims that 'Brahms really prided himself on his Biblical knowledge, in which he was a match for any theologian. He had always taken pleasure in hunting up "godless" texts in the Bible. Nothing made him angrier than to be taken for an orthodox Church composer on account of his sacred compositions.'

Given Brahms's open search for heathen texts, as evidenced in the above letters to Herzogenberg, it is likely that this is a subject he may have discussed with members of his intimate circle of friends, of which Hanslick was a member. (We know from Hanslick's autobiography that Brahms shared the familiar 'Du' with him, and that he considered himself,

647 'Den Theologen aber kann ich nicht los werden!', Brahms to Elisabet von Herzogenberg, 8 August 1882 in *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Heinrich und Elisabet von Herzogenberg*, Vol. I, 199.
648 'Es war für Brahms von jaher ein Vergnügen, die Bibel nach "heidnischen" "gottlesen" Stellen zu

^{646 &#}x27;Motetten oder überhaupt Chormusik schreibe ich ganz gern (sonst schon überhaupt gar nichts mehr), aber versuchen Sie, ob Sie mir Texte schaffen können. Sie sich fabrizieren lassen, daran muß man sich in jungen Jahren gewöhnen, später ist man durch gute Lektüre zu sehr verwöhnt. In der Bibel ist es mir nicht heidnisch genug, jetzt habe ich mir den Koran gekauft, finde aber auch nichts.' Johannes Brahms to Elisabet von Herzogenberg, 14 July 1880, in Max Kalbeck, ed. *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Heinrich und Elisabet von Herzogenberg*, Vol. I (123). English translation in *Johannes Brahms: The Herzogenberg Correspondence*, Max Kalbeck, ed., Hannah Byrant, trans. (London: Murray, 1909).

⁶⁴⁸ 'Es war für Brahms von jeher ein Vergnügen, die Bibel nach "heidnischen", "gottlosen" Stellen zu durchforschen. Nichts Ärgeres konnte ihm, als um seiner geistlichen Musik willen für einen gläubigen Kirchenkomponisten angesprochen zu werden. Nicht nur seine "Vier ernste Gesänge" sind ein lebhafter Protest dagegen'. Kalbeck in *Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Heinrich und Elisabet von Herzogenberg,* Kalbeck, ed., note I, 200.

Billroth, and Brahms to form the 'closest musical threesome'. ⁶⁴⁹) Indeed Beller-McKenna sees the observation made by Clara Schumann that 'Brahms was no churchgoer, yet he was of a deeply religious nature' as indicative of Brahms's 'private versus public relationship to religion. ⁶⁵⁰ The fact that no documentary evidence exists of such a discussion between Hanslick and Brahms does not preclude the possibility that the two conversed on such issues, given that they shared a Liberal outlook. In any case, Hanslick's discussion of the *Tragische Ouvertüre* presents the listener with alternate ways of understanding the work's spiritual message – one bound to its religious context, the other not. Such a reading would, moreover, have been self-evident to the secularised public for whom Hanslick wrote in Vienna's Liberal daily newspaper.

A Humanitarian Response to Brahms's 'Fate-Related' Works⁶⁵¹

In what has been broadly regarded as the middle period of Brahms's choral compositions, he produced four one-movement works for choir and orchestra. These works are settings of texts by three of Germany's most eminent poets of Brahms's recent past: Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832), Johann Christian Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843) and Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805). The most obvious factor uniting all four works is that they deal, in one way or another, with the transience of life and the inevitability of death. Three of them, Opp. 54, 82 and 89 are frequently viewed as a group because their texts are based on legends of classical antiquity. Furthermore, common to these Greek mythological works are endings that can be viewed as a commentary on their preceding texts either in the sense that they serve as an extension of the text or that they reverse its meaning.

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650 Beller-McKenna, Brahms and the German Spirit, 31.

⁶⁴⁹ 'Den engeren musikalischen Dreibund aber doch wir Drei: Billroth, Brahms und ich'. Eduard Hanslick, *Aus meinem Leben*, Peter Wapniewski, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), 273.

⁶⁵¹ The phrase is borrowed from Eric Nelson, 'Johannes Brahms *Nänie* Op. 82: An Analysis of Structure and Meaning,' PhD Diss., Indiana University (1991).

⁶⁵² Among those who adapt a tripartite division for Brahms's choral works are Virginia Hancock, *Brahms's Choral Compositions and His Library of Early Music* (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1893), and Daniel Beller-McKenna, 'The Scope and Significance of the Choral Music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Brahms*, Michael Musgrave, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 171–194.

Taken individually, Hanslick's reviews of these works focus on the various ways in which Brahms's settings deviate from the poets' original texts. Viewed collectively, however, and in the context of Hanslick's consideration of Brahms's attitude toward death in his broader critical writings, what emerges from these reviews is a portrait of Brahms in the 1870s and 1880s – one that conveys Brahms's difficulty reconciling his position on matters of faith, and his preoccupation with death and bereavement during this period. Therefore, Hanslick's review of these choral works is related to, if not consistent with, his review of the Tragische Ouvertüre.

Further evidence is provided here of how Brahms is depicted in Hanslick's writings as one who attempted to understand the ultimate problems of existence without leaning on a specific religious dogma. 653 Hanslick again draws attention to the fact that Brahms frequently omits any specifically Christian dogma from these works in order to universalise their message. I argue that Hanslick's reading of these works stems from an awareness of both Brahms's position on matters of faith, and the Liberal Weltanschauung that the two shared with the readership of the *Neue freie Presse*. Accordingly his reading of these works is largely concerned with how they can be understood as a source of comfort and reconciliation for a secularised public.

Alto Rhapsody, Op. 53

The work is a setting of three stanzas (5–7) of Goethe's *Harzreise im Winter*, and for each of the three Brahms provides contrasting musical material. This section of Goethe's poem, as Hanslick states, 'is occupied with the portrait of the lonely, misanthropic young man'. 654

⁶⁵³ Evidence of Brahms's dark mood during these years abounds, both in his correspondence and in his music. Evidence of the former is found in the letter from Brahms to Vincenz Lachner, translated and quoted in Reinhold Brinkmann, Late Idyll: The Second Symphony of Johannes Brahms, 128-29. Evidence of the latter is found in Siegfried Kross, 'Die Terzkette bei Brahms und ihre Konnotationen,' in Die Sprache der Musik: Festschrift Klaus Wolfgang Niemoller zum 60. Geburtstag, Jobst-Peter Fricke, ed. (Regensburg: Bosse, 1989), 335-346, in which he discusses Nänie, Op. 82, 'Feldeinsamkeit', Op. 86, no. 2, and the Piano Trio No. 2 in C Major, Op. 87. Kross examines Brahms use of a progression of all semitones within the interval of a third, and argues that this is meant to be the expression of an inexorable fate, and particularly of the inevitability of death.

^{654 &#}x27;Der mittelere Theil von Goethes "Harzreise im Winter" (das von Brahms componirte Fragment) beschäftigt sich mit dem Bilde des einsamen, menschenscheuen Jünglings und hat diesem zur Unsterblichkeit verholfen.'

Hanslick considers this poem to become 'truly musical initially with the closing strophe'. (It is interesting that here he is referring to Goethe's text, rather than Brahms's composition.)⁶⁵⁵ The first strophe witnesses a misanthrope lost in the wilderness. The music at this stage is in C minor, Adagio 4/4. This strophe has been understood variously as a 'recitative', 656 or as 'lying somewhere between Arioso and coherent melody'. 657 The second strophe is a reflection on the lonely youth, hostile to man, and despised by himself. It too is in C minor and just as dissonant as the preceding strophe, this time a Poco Andante 6/4. It is in the third strophe, that the music modulates to the parallel major (Adagio 4/4), and that the four-part male voice choir joins in with the contralto. The addition of the choir is fitting in that while the first and second strophes provide accounts of the misanthrope and his psychological states, the third strophe is a prayer, or indeed a hymn, to the 'Father of Love'. Goethe's text speaks of restoring the heart of the youth, and not only the text, but also the music is brighter at this point.

Hanslick's statement that 'the poem becomes truly musical initially with the closing strophe, which brings comfort and reconciliation' can be understood in a number of ways. Perhaps he considered the preceding verses of Goethe's text to be unsuitable for musical setting. Perhaps the third strophe was closer to his ideals of what should be expressed in a musical composition. He goes on to say that the 'peculiar, ethical character which is

Hanslick, 'Brahms, Deutsche Requiem, Op. 45 und Rhapsodie', Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 138. In his review of the Alto Rhapsody, Hanslick makes no reference to this being Brahms's Brautgesang, or to the fact that it was largely understood by his contemporaries as a 'confessional' on Brahms's part with regard to his disappointment and loneliness in his unrequited love for Julie Schumann. The seeds for this view of the work seem to have been planted by Brahms himself. For a detailed discussion see Aubrey S. Garlington Jr., 'Harzreise als Herzreise: Brahms's Alto Rhapsody', Musical Quarterly 69/4 (Autumn 1983): 527-542, especially 530-533. See also John Daverio, 'Wechsel der Töne', 111. For an alternative reading of the Rhapsody see James Webster, 'The Alto Rhapsody: Psychology, Intertextuality, and Brahms's Artistic Development,' in Brahms Studies 3. David Brodbeck, ed. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 19-46. 655 'Recht musikalisch wird das Gedicht eigentlich erst mit der Schlußstrophe, welche Trost und Versöhnung bringt', Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 134-36 (136).

⁶⁵⁶ Garlington, 'Harzreise als Herzreise', 534.

impressed on us so completely and utterly in Brahms's music' arises in the Rhapsody 'in gentle tendentious strength. 658

Hanslick's choice of the word 'ethical' merits further discussion. He does not define what he means by this term, but does go on to say that this is a feature through which Brahms's music 'is so closely related to Beethoven's music.' Beethoven and Brahms had in common a broad intellectual curiosity, paramount in which was an interest in philosophical issues. Both read widely, and both kept a log of proverbs and philosophical sayings that were significant to them. With regard to Beethoven, such quotations can be found in his Tagebuch of 1812–18.659 With regard to Brahms, such quotations and writings were kept in his Deutsche Sprichworte, found in the composer's apartment after his death and currently housed at the Handschriftensammlung of the Stadt- und Landesbibliothek in Vienna. 660 In his baptismal 1833 Luther Bible, Brahms underlined passages and recorded his comments in the margins.⁶⁶¹ He had a handwritten pocket notebook of biblical passages, and his 1859 eleventh edition of Gottfried Büchner's popular Bible concordance. 662

Moreover, while Beethoven and Brahms each nominally subscribed to a religious faith, Catholicism in Beethoven's case, Lutheranism in Brahms's, neither was an observant church-goer. As with Brahms, Beethoven's image of God, as Barry Cooper has observed, 'was not based solely on traditional Christian teaching but was drawn from a wide variety of influences including Classical antiquity and oriental religions. The work that epitomises this universal approach in Beethoven's music is, of course, the Ninth Symphony. In order to

^{658 &#}x27;Der eigenthümlich ethische Charakter, welcher der Brahmsschen Musik im großen und ganzen aufgeprägt ist und sie in so nahe Verwandschaft mit Beethoven bringt, tritt in der "Rhapsodie mit fast tendenziöser Stärke auf und läßt sie als ein Seitenstück zu seinem "Schicksalslied" erscheinen.' Eduard Hanslick, Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 136.

⁶⁵⁹ See Barry Cooper, 'Beethoven's Beliefs and Opinions' in The Beethoven Compendium: A Guide to Beethoven's Life and Music, Barry Cooper, ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 142-61 (142).

⁶⁶⁰ For an introduction to, and translation of, these German Proverbs, see George Bozarth, 'Johannes Brahms's Collection of Deutsche Sprichworte (German Proverbs)', in Brahms Studies, David Brodbeck, ed. (London and Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 1-29.

⁶⁶¹ See Stekel, Sehnsucht und Distanz, 65–69.

⁶⁶² See Daniel Beller-McKenna, 'Brahms, The Bible, and Post-Romanticism', Chapter 2.

⁶⁶³ Cooper, 'Beethoven's Beliefs and Opinions', 145.

embrace the message of this work one need not profess allegiance to one true faith or nation. Rather, the nonspecific religiosity of Schiller's poem is enhanced by Beethoven's music which, as David B. Levy reminds us, embraces the "millions" of the world without the slightest hint of exclusivity'. 664

As noted above, among Hanslick's liberal propensities was a tendency to be an unobservant Christian, to view Biblical stories as valuable lessons in moral conduct, regardless of the specific faith of the reader. It is on account of this Liberal *Weltanschauung* that Hanslick is amenable to understanding Brahms's works as ethical (one might go so far as to say universalising or humanitarian), as works that bring comfort and reconciliation whilst not discriminating between religious faiths or between secular and sacred. It is in this sense that Hanslick sees the *Alto Rhapsody* to be closely related to Beethoven's works, and to be a companion piece to *Schicksalslied* which he reviewed three years earlier.

Schicksalslied Op. 54

Since its premiere, critical opinion on Brahms's *Schicksalslied* has been divided on account of the orchestral postlude. His choice to end a choral work with a purely instrumental orchestral section perplexed critics as much then as it does now. The work opens with a 28 bar orchestral introduction in E flat Major, with a performance direction of 'Langsam und Sehnsuchtsvoll' ('slow and full of longing'), an unusual tempo designation for Brahms. The postlude uses all of the same musical material as the introduction, but transposed down a minor third to C Major. It is worth noting that the tempo designation is now Adagio. Brahms seems quite literally to have removed the longing.

Hölderlin's poem, to which Brahms set the work, ends in hopelessness, with suffering humanity being hurled into an abyss of uncertainty. The majority of critics at the time of the work's early performances saw in the instrumental movement an 'imaginary continuation of the contents of the poem' and sensed in this final section the effect of comfort and

⁶⁶⁴ David B. Levy, Beethoven: The Ninth Symphony (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 8.

reconciliation. 665 An anonymous critic writing for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1871 for instance wrote:

Such an ending could seem permissible to a musician. The poetic justice, however, demands resolution and reconciliation. And so enters a bright, comforting *Nachspiel* in C Major, which takes the thoughts of the introduction and brings them to a satisfactory conclusion in a small orchestral section of really wonderful harmonic and instrumental effect.⁶⁶⁶

Several critics, on the other hand, understood the *Nachspiel* to be at odds with Hölderlin's poetic message. Some understood the music to have conquered or subjugated the words of the poem, while some lamented the fact that the work was evidence of the mistake being made by composers of the day to venture near a text of high poetic quality.⁶⁶⁷

In his 1993 article 'The "Wechsel der Töne" in Brahms's *Schicksalslied*', John Daverio takes a broader look at the contemporary reception and at more recent views espoused in current scholarly writings. On the one hand there are those who 'sense in the orchestral *Nachspiel* a reconciliatory tone markedly at odds with Hölderlin's poetic message. '668 Peter Petersen goes so far as to consider it 'as a rare instance of a composer not merely placing an arbitrary interpretation on words but explicitly contradicting a poet's statement. '669 Michael Musgrave claims the text 'posed a problem for Brahms in ending in despair, with mankind plunged "headlong into the abyss", thus denying him the opportunity,

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⁶⁶⁵ Angelika Horstmann, Untersuchungen zur Brahms-Rezeption der Jahren 1860–1880, 196.

^{666 &#}x27;Dem Musiker könnte ein solcher Schluss vielleicht zulässig erscheinen. Die poetische Gerechtigkeit aber fordert eine Ausgleichung und Versöhnung. So tritt denn in hellem tröstlichen C-dur ein Nachspiel ein, welches den Gedanken der Introduction aufnimmt und in einem kleinen Orchestersatze von wirklich wunderbar schöner harmonischer und instrumentaler Wirkung zum befriedigenden Abschluss bringt.' Anonymous, 'Neuestes Werk von Brahms', *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 46 (1871): Col. 729–30 (730).

⁶⁶⁷ Horstmann, *Untersuchungen zur Brahms-Rezeption*, 197.

⁶⁶⁸ John Daverio. 'The "Wechsel der Töne" in Brahms's "Schicksalslied", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46/1 (Spring 1993): 84–113, 87.

^{669 &#}x27;In Brahms' Hölderlin-Vertonung begegnet uns der seltene Fall, daß ein Komponist einen vorgegebenen Text durch die Musik nicht nur eigenwillig interpretiert, sondern erklärtermaßen in Opposition zur Aussage des Dichters tritt'. Peter Petersen, 'Werke für Chor und Orchester', in *Johannes Brahms: Leben und Werke*, Christiane Jacobsen, ed. (Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1983). This translation by Mary Whittall in sleeve notes for Deutsche Grammophon, 'Johannes Brahms: Werke für Chor und Orchester', Cat. No. 449 651 2, 22–28 (25).

always exploited in the texts of his own selection, for ending with consolation, with a hope of some kind.'670

On the other hand there are those who assert a congruence between the poem and the music, as for example Malcolm MacDonald in claiming that 'the "hopeless longing" aroused in the postlude underscores the impassability of the divine/human cleft in Hölderlin's poem. Brahms's ultimate decision to close without recourse to words thus reinforces the conviction that verbal recall would create only a "false sense of comfort". '671

With regard to Hanslick's 1872 review, Daverio notes only that Hanslick interpreted the postlude 'as a Brahmsian *Gegenstück* to the Finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, that is, as a *revocation* of meaning at some level.' Taken out of context, Hanslick could be understood at this point to be making a crude comparison of Brahms's work with Beethoven's Ninth. What Daverio fails to refer to or to interpret, however, is the passage immediately before Hanslick's reference to Beethoven, a passage that to my mind contains much wealthier observations.

Unlike those who see the postlude as being either in congruence with or in contradiction to the poem, Hanslick's concern is in recognising that the expressive potential latent within pure instrumental music is such that it can express that which cannot be seized in words. In Hanslick's interpretation, Brahms's postlude of 'purely instrumental music' reveals to us the 'whole transfiguring power of music'. Rather than protesting to or being in congruence with the poem, Hanslick understands the postlude to go beyond the capabilities of the poem. In other words, he understands the orchestral postlude to fulfil the expressive potential announced by the poem, but never within its reach. It is worth quoting Hanslick at length here:

⁶⁷⁰ Michael Musgrave, The Music of Brahms, 88.

⁶⁷¹ Malcolm MacDonald, Brahms, 203.

⁶⁷² Daverio, 'The "Wechsel der Töne" in Brahms's "Schicksalslied", 87.

⁶⁷³ 'Es ist eine überaus schöne poetische Wendung, welche uns die ganze verklärende Macht der Tonkunst offenbart', Hanslick, 'Brahms *Triumphlied* und *Schicksalslied'*, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 51–54 (54).

In this hopelessness the poet finishes – but not so the composer. It is an extremely beautiful poetic turn, which reveals to us the whole transfiguring power of music. Brahms returns, after the last words of the choir, to the solemn, slow movement of the opening, and dissolves the confused hardship of human life in a long orchestral postlude, in blessed peace. In touching, understandable ways, Brahms carries out this train of thought through purely instrumental music, without the addition of a single word. The instrumental music here replenishes and completes, and it articulates/expresses that which can no longer be seized in words. 674

Daverio's article, which is rich and multi-layered, has deep and insightful findings. The mention of Hanslick in his article is very much in passing, and his Hanslick citation is taken from an excerpt in a secondary source, rather than from Hanslick's complete review. 675

Excerpts can, of course, quite easily be read out of context. It seems to me that this is exactly what has happened with Daverio's article. Moreover, this feeds into my basic argument that it is a lack of familiarity with Hanslick's critical writings that has led to the polarised view of him in recent literature. It is to be regretted that Daverio did not see the Hanslick review in its entirety. It is likely that he would have found a continuity between Hanslick's view of *Schicksalslied* and his own. Daverio speaks of 'a leap over the abyss separating the manifest content of a poetic text and its spirit or aesthetic quality'. 676 It is this spirit latent within Hölderlin's poem that Hanslick considers Brahms's music to express, a spirit that could not have been articulated in words.

The notion of music being a more precise language than words, and being able to express that which words cannot express was eloquently summed up in the famous letter from

676 Daverio, 'The "Wechsel der Töne" in Brahms's "Schicksalslied", 91.

^{674 &#}x27;In dieser Trostlosigkeit schließt der Dichter—nicht so der Componist. Es ist eine überaus schöne poetische Wendung, welche uns die ganze verklärende Macht der Tonkunst offenbart, daß Brahms nach den letzten Worten des Chors zu der feierlich langsamen Bewegung des Anfanges zurückkehrt und in einem längeren Orchesternachspiel das wirre Mühsal des Menschenlebens in seligen Frieden auflöst. In ergreifender, allen verständlicher Weise vollzieht Brahms diesen Gedankengang durch reine Instrumental-Musik, ohne Hinzufügung eines einzigen Wortes. Die Instrumental-Musik tritt also hier ergänzend und vollendend hinzu und spricht aus, was sich in Worte nicht mehr fassen läßt.' Eduard Hanslick, 'Brahms *Triumphlied* und *Schicksalslied'*, 54.

⁶⁷⁵ Angelika Horstmann, Untersuchungen zur Brahms-Rezeption der Jahren 1860–1880, 198.

Felix Mendelssohn to Marce-André Souchay on 15 October 1842 regarding the *Lieder ohne Worte*:

Words seem to be so ambiguous, so vague, so unintelligible when compared with music. ... What music expresses to me is not too indefinite to put into words, but too definite.⁶⁷⁷

In this sense, Hanslick's view of *Schicksalslied* draws on Romantic Ideology. Moreover it would be mistaken to see this view as being incompatible with the views espoused in *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*. When considered in the context of the discussion of Hanslick's terminology in Chapter 3, this postlude, for Hanslick, exemplifies a postlude that is *Inhaltlos* but whose meaning is a manifestation of the spiritual. The *geistige Gehalt* of Brahms's *Schicksalslied*, latent within Hölderlin's poem, is manifest in the orchestral *Nachspiel*.

Gesang der Parzen, Op. 89

Gesang der Parzen, after one of Goethe's classical dramas Iphigenie auf Taurus, was completed in 1882. Brahms's setting is not of the play in its entirety. It concerns itself only with the Song of the Fates that Iphigenie sings in Act IV in her attempt to come to terms with the conflicting demands of heavenly decree and worldly practicality. In his correspondence with Billroth however, Brahms emphasises that he does not want to explicitly link his Parzenlied with Iphigenie in the title. 678 His reservation stems from an awareness that in overtly linking the play to his composition, he would invite criticism that his setting was not true to Goethe's original. Brahms does not elaborate on what exactly it is he wanted to avoid in linking his composition to the play. James Frieman has ventured that 'the only answer readily apparent is that Brahms recognized his own philosophical stance – and the world of

⁶⁷⁸ Brahms to Billroth, August 6 1882 in *Johannes Brahms and Theodor Billroth: Letters From a Musical Friendship*, 123.

⁶⁷⁷ Felix Mendelssohn to Marce-André Souchay, Oct 15 1842. Translated and quoted in George Grove, 'Mendelssohn's Scotch Symphony (in A Minor, Op. 56), *Musical Times* 45/740 (1 October 1904): 644–646 (644, note 1).

feeling expressed in the *Gesang der Parzen* – to be more or less at odds with the eventual outcome of the play, with Iphigenie's actions, and finally with Goethe's overall viewpoint.' ⁵⁷⁹

And not only is Brahms's composition at odds with Goethe's play, his music has been largely understood as being at odds with the very section of text he chose to set. The poem is concerned with the hopelessness of man in the face of the gods. The text opens with the lines 'In fear of the Gods shall ye dwell, sons of men', as the gods hold dominion over mankind in their eternal hands. It further warns mankind that despite being exalted by the gods, they live in constant peril of being plunged, abused and shamed, into the nocturnal depths. In fact the higher one is exalted, the further one may fall. And while mankind remains bound in darkness in the hope of justice being served, the gods turn their blessed eyes away from an entire, once beloved, race of people.

It is Brahms's musical language in the fifth strophe that has elicited most comment in relation to the incongruity between poetry and music. The verse reads: 'the rulers turn their eyes away from entire races of people, and they shun in grandchildren the once-beloved, silently speaking features of our ancestors.' Brahms chose this peak of ruthlessness and mercilessness to introduce the parallel D major modality to the work for the first time, albeit with subtle minor mode tilts to ward off any false sense of security in the major. Having asked for his opinion on this passage, Gustav Ophüls reports Brahms as saying:

I often hear people philosophising about the fifth strophe of the *Parzenlied*. I think that, at the mere entry of the major key, the unsuspecting listener's heart must soften and his eyes become wet, only then does the whole misery of mankind take hold of him.⁶⁸⁰

Ophüls himself, writing in 1921, recognised in this passage 'not the lasting wrath of the gods offended by mankind' but 'the melancholy of mankind' in which 'the rigid expression of pain

⁶⁷⁹ Frieman, James R., 'The *Gesang der Parzen* of Johannes Brahms: An Historical, Aesthetic, Analytical and Performance Study', DMA Diss., Stanford University (1999), 19.

⁶⁸⁰ Johannes Brahms as quoted in Gustav Ophüls, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms*. Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Brahms Gesellschaft, 1921, 280. This translation is taken from Eftychia Papanikolaou, 'Brahms, Böcklin, and the *Gesang der Parzen'*, *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* 30/1–2 (2005): 155–165 (162).

dissolves in tears.'681 Conversely Walter Niemann professed that 'with the gods, as with nature, there is no pity.' He claims that Brahms's soft and warm-hearted nature forced him to make what can only be understood as an 'unintentional musical confession'. 682 More recently Peter Petersen put forward the suggestion that there is a strong case for arguing that the composer felt a 'lack of sympathy with the content of Gesang der Parzen'. Petersen continues that as the composer's interpretation diverges from the substance of his text 'the purpose of the setting must be to express rejection of the idea contained in the words.'683

It was 1883 when Hanslick reviewed Gesang der Parzen. 684 He too notes the incongruity of Brahms's musical language in the fifth strophe. According to Hanslick, 'this reconciling, almost transfiguring conclusion is not explainable from the poem itself—it is not necessarily a result of it.' Hanslick goes on to say 'the fact that the gods turned their blessed eyes away from the innocent grandchild of the unfortunate, once beloved ancestor does not signify a softening, but rather indicates the merciless life of their cruel sense'.

The approach taken by Hanslick in this review is similar to that in his review of Schicksalslied. 685 Indeed, Hanslick understands 'the stuff of Parzenlied' to form a 'companion piece to Brahms's Schicksalslied. '686 He avoids making a value judgement on the text, or

⁶⁸¹ Ophüls Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms, 280. This translation in, Papanikoloau, 'Brahms, Böcklin, and the Gesang der Parzen', 163.

⁶⁸² Die niederdeutsche Bürgerlichkeit (im schönsten Sinne!) und Weichheit seiner angeblich so herben und harten, in Wirklichkeit tief gefühlsgesättigten, weichen und gemütvollen Natur zwingt ihn zu dem sicher ungewollten musikalischen Geständnis, daß er Universalität und wirkliche Größe nicht besitzt, daß er iene antike Ewigkeitsidee nur dadurch darstellen kann, daß er sie durch Mitleid mit den gestürzten Menschen ersetzen zu können glaubt, daß die unversöhnlichen Götter mit ihnen alle Zukunft bis in die entferntesten Enkel nicht haben. Die Größe zerrinnt in Gefühlssentimentalität—freilich in jene schwerblütige norddeutsche, die so edel und musikalisch Brahmsisch ist, wie nur irgend etwas. Niemann, 'Brahms' Gesang der Parzen und Ophüls' Brahms-Erinnerungen', Zeitschrift für Musik 89/7 (1922): 156–60 (156–57).

⁶⁸³ 'Ein gleichfalls nicht-kongruentes Verhältnis des Komponisten gegenüber dem Inhalt des Gedichtes kann auch für den Gesang der Parzen unterstellt werden. So wenig der Dichter mit dem Gehalt eines Text distanziert zu befragen oder gar durch die Vertonung in Frage zu stellen. Peter Petersen, 'Werke für Chor und Orchester', 172. Translated by Mary Whittall in the Sleeve Notes for Deutsche Gramophon, 'Brahms Chörwerke mit Orchester', 449 651 2, 22-28 (27).

⁶⁸⁴ Hanslick, 'Gesang der Parzen', Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 372–74.

⁶⁸⁵ Hanslick, 'Brahms Triumphlied und Schicksalslied', Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 51–54. 686 'Dem Stoffe nach bildet das "Parzenlied" ein Seitenstück zu Brahms' "Schicksalslied" (von Hölderlin), das die ewig ungetrübte Ruhe der Götter dem wechselvollen, in stetem Kampf sich aufreibenden Dasein der armen Menschen gegenüberstellt. Eine andere musikalische Analogie zu Brahms' neuestem Werke kennen wir in seinen "Nänie", der erhabenen Todtenklage Schillers.' Hanslick, 'Gesang der Parzen', Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 372.

indeed of taking a position on whether Brahms has been faithful to it or not in his musical setting. Rather Hanslick's emphasis is on the significance of the text as a stimulus for Brahms's musical needs. Brahms, in Hanslick's view, is not refuting or reversing the harshness of the heavenly decree of the gods as expressed in Goethe's poem. Nor indeed is the musical language in the fifth strophe to be understood as an 'unintentional musical confession' as Niemann had suggested.

On the contrary, it is fully intentional. As Hanslick sees it, 'Brahms's deeply sensuous interpretation' does not deny the hopelessness of mankind in the face of the gods. Rather he chooses to privilege the human position. For mankind, who along with Iphigenie face the conflicting demands of heavenly decree and worldly practicality, there is beauty and comfort to be found in worldly practicality, in the human endeavour of art, and more specifically in Brahms's composition. Here Brahms is understood to ally himself with mankind. This is entirely consistent with Hanslick's ethical, humanitarian reading of Brahms's works. In Hanslick's opinion, Goethe's 'gloomy tones of lament', and the 'penetrating cry' of the poem, taken in isolation, 'brings us hopelessly down to earth'. But when coupled with Brahms's 'well-being sound' it 'rises against this hopelessness'. ⁶⁸⁷ Hanslick sees *Gesang der Parzen* as being 'highly important in its perfect union of the severity and simplicity of classical antiquity, with the liveliest, most moving expression of feelings'.

Brahms's demand in *Parzenlied*, as seen through the lens of Hanslick's criticism, seems to be that if there must be destitution, there must also be hope and reconciliation. 'Just as Rubens or Rembrandt often need a bright colour and, without the compulsion of the subject, use it for individual portions of a darkly held painting' Hanslick writes, 'so, we think, Brahms the musician deemed a more reconciled ending to be essential to this choir and therefore arranged it so touchingly, and beautifully, that we too will not be able to do without

⁶⁸⁷ 'Es bricht der Zwist aus, dumpfe Klagetöne und ein durchdringender Schrei wie aus der Tiefe verkünden den Sturz in den Tartarus, als glänzender Gegensatz, von Wohllaut erfüllt, erhebt sich dagegen die Strophe: "Sie aber, sie bleiben in ewigen Festen." Hanslick, 'Gesang der Parzen', *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 373.

it from now on. '688 Indeed Hanslick claims that 'no one can remain insensitive to the ripe, solemn beauty of *Parzenlied*. '689

Nänie, Op. 82

Brahms's *Nänie*, completed in August 1881, was dedicated to the memory of the artist, his friend, Anselm Feuerbach. Feuerbach died in Venice on 4 January 1880. *Nänie* is a setting of Schiller's poem 'Auch das Schöne muß sterben!', a lament on the transience of life. The title derives from the ancient *noenia*, and seems to have denoted at various times and places a goddess invoked at a funeral, or a funeral lament or dirge. ⁶⁹⁰ A number of people who were dear to Brahms had met untimely deaths. The most recent, and ostensibly the one who inspired this work, was Feuerbach. Felix Schumann died on 16 February 1879 at the age of 24, and his father, Robert, died in 1856 at the age of 46. Schiller's poem makes reference (without explicitly naming them) to three mythological characters who are not only beautiful, but are also young, and each of whom, one way or another, met an untimely end: lines 3–4 refer to Eurydice whose immortality was reclaimed by Hades, who revoked the terms of her conditional release because of Orfeus's premature gaze; lines 5–6 refer to the death of Adonis, the son of Aphrodite, who was gored by a wounded boar; line 7 refers to Achilles, the godly hero who was killed at the hands of Paris at the gates of Troy, despite attempts on the part of Thetis to save her son.

Brahms found the manner in which Schiller here speaks of death and beauty, within an eloquent Greek mythological framework, to be a becoming tribute to Feuerbach (and perhaps to those others mentioned above). Feuerbach himself was steeped in knowledge of Greek

⁶⁸⁸ 'Wie Rubens oder Rembrandt oft eine hellere Farbe braucht und, ohne Nöthigung von Sujet aus, anwendet für einzelne Partien eines dunkel gehaltenen Gemäldes, so, denken wir uns, hat Brahms, der Musiker, ein versöhnteres Ausklingen seines Chors für unentbehrlich erachtet und dasselbe so rührend schön gestaltet, daß auch wir es fortan nicht entbehren könnten. Brahms' "Gesang der Parzen" ist hochbedeutend in seiner vollkommenen Vereinigung von antiker Strenge und Einfachheit mit dem lebendigsten ergreifendsten Ausdrucke der Empfindungen.' Hanslick, 'Gesang der Parzen', *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 373.

⁶⁹⁰ Regarding the etymology of Nänie, see John A. C. Greppin, 'Latin Nenia and the Armenian Galen Dictionary', *American Journal of Philology* 108/3 (Autumn, 1987): 487–490; John L. Heller, 'Festus on Nenia', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 70 (1939): 357–67.

mythology, and was recognised as the leading classicist painter in Germany in the nineteenth century. Among his outstanding works in this genre are *Iphigenie*, ⁶⁹¹ *Dante at Ravenna*, *Medea*. ⁶⁹² and *Orpheus and Eurvdice*.

It was 1882 when Hanslick reviewed *Nänie*. ⁶⁹³ In this review he draws attention to Feuerbach's love of music, as evidenced in his paintings *Orpheus* and *The Concert*. Moreover, he alludes to Feuerbach's tendency to draw an analogy between his own art and that of music, the comparison of his painting *Dante* to an Andante by Mozart being one example. According to Hanslick, 'it is less this love of music, than the similarity in the whole *Kunstanschauung* that connected Feuerbach and Brahms in friendship and affinity.' ⁶⁹⁴ He considers them to have in common an 'imperturbable direction toward the great, the exalted and the ideal', characteristics that for both artists lead to 'sharp severity and seclusion'. ⁶⁹⁵ Hanslick enlists the words of Feuerbach in relation to his painting *Poetry* to illustrate this affinity between artist and composer:

It is no painting dictated by fashion; it is severe and unadorned. I expect no understanding of it, but I can do nothing else. And he who takes the trouble to consider it for a long time becomes somewhat overcome, as though the picture is not a picture of our time. 696

In citing these words, Hanslick alludes to artistic ideals that Brahms and Feuerbach shared – an aspiration toward truth in their respective art forms that was not dependent on superficial or colouristic means.

Like most other commentators who have written on this work, both contemporaneously and more recently, Hanslick notes the fact that Brahms reverts to the

⁶⁹² Currently housed at the Neue Pinakothek, München.

⁶⁹³ Eduard Hanslick, 'Nänie', Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 345–47.

⁶⁹¹ Currently housed at the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart.

⁶⁹⁴ 'Doch war es weniger diese Musikliebe, als vielmehr die Ähnlichkeit in der ganzen Kunstanschauung, was Feuerbach mit Brahms in Freundschaft und Seelenverwandschaft verband'. Eduard Hanslick, 'Nänie', *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 376.

^{695 &#}x27;...dieselbe unerschütterliche Richtung auf das Große, Erhabene und Ideale, die oft bis zur herben Strenge und Abgeschlossenheit führte.' Eduard Hanslick, *Ibid.*, 376.

⁶⁹⁶ 'Es ist kein Bild nach der Mode; es ist streng und schmucklos. Ich erwarte kein Verständniß dafür, aber ich kann nicht anders. Und wer sich die Mühe nimmt, es lange aufzusehen, den wird etwas daraus anwehen, als ob das Bild kein Bild aus unserer Zeit sei." Feuerbach as quoted in *Ibid.*, 376.

penultimate line of Schiller's poem for his ending, rather than finishing the work with Schiller's less optimistic outlook. 'It is a sensuous course that Brahms does not leave the last word with "for the entire community goes down to the underworld in silence" he writes, 'but rather closes with the previous verse, "to be a dirge on the lips of loved ones can be a marvellous thing!",697 It is here that Hanslick sees the return of the opening musical material, again in D major (6/4), 'rounding off the whole harmoniously'. ⁶⁹⁸ Botstein quite eloquently captures the essence of *Nänie* in stating that it is a 'musical evocation of the idea that, despite the inevitable death of beauty and perfection, in the memory of lamentation there remains the triumph of the aesthetic over the common. '699

Hanslick's discussion of Brahms's fate-related compositions provide evidence of how a member of Brahms's intimate circle of friends responded to such deeply felt and spiritual compositions. For that reason they form an integral part of the reception history of Brahms's music. This is all the more important because these works, which have been given scant attention in recent scholarly writings by comparison with Brahms's instrumental music, are as Michael Musgrave attests—among Brahms's most moving and characteristic works. 700

Furthermore, consistent throughout Hanslick's articles on the choral music is a concerted effort, indeed almost a campaign, to reverse the trend to privilege Brahms's instrumental music over his choral music, a trend that was just as evident in Brahms's lifetime as it is today. 701 Hanslick revered Brahms as a composer of spiritual, choral music. In 1875

^{697 &#}x27;Es ist ein sinniger Zug, daß Brahms das letzte Wort nicht dem "Gemeinen, das klanglos zum Orcus hinabgeht", beläßt, sondern mit dem vorletzen Verse schließt "Ein Klagelied zu sein im Mund der Geliebten ist herrlich—herrlich!" Ibid., 347.

⁶⁹⁸ 'Die Musik nimmt hier den Anfangs- und Hauptsatz in D-dur (Sechsviertel-Tact) wieder auf, das Ganze zu harmonischen Ring abrundend.' Ibid., 347.

⁶⁹⁹ Botstein, 'Brahms and Nineteenth-Century Painting', 19th-Century Music 14/2 (Fall 1990): 154–168 (162). 700 Musgrave, The Music of Brahms, 168.

⁷⁰¹ Evidence of this trend abounds in the contemporary criticism. The instrumental music, then as now, was given most attention—the number of critics who reviewed Brahms's instrumental works and the Lieder and songs in his lifetime far outweighs the number publishing critical writings on the choral works, with the exception of ein Deutsches Requiem, Op. 45. Selmar Bagge, for example, deals only with the instrumental music, with the exception of one 1864 review that discusses the songs Op. 29, Op. 30, and Op. 31. See Selmar Bagge, 'Recension. Neue Gesangscompositionen von Johannes Brahms', Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung Neue Folge II/34 (24 August 1864): cols. 573-77. Hermann Deiters focuses predominantly on the instrumental works and the Lieder. He published one review in 1869 which, prompted by the success of the Requiem, surveys

for instance, his favour for the leading composer of spiritual music is transferred from Mendelssohn to Brahms, whom he considers to compose spiritual music of a 'deeper seriousness and stronger character than Mendelssohn. 702 He bemoans the difficult reception that choral music is afforded in Vienna. Of Nänie he writes 'novelties of such deep seriousness and artistic execution have nearly always to fight in order to exist within the comfort of the public; this battle leads to victory only with later repetitions.'703 In his review of Gesang der Parzen Hanslick contends that attention to serious choral music in Switzerland or the Rheinish states, 'is just as common and intensive as [Vienna's] is sporadic and superficial'. In Vienna, 'choral compositions are rarely given a respectful reception.' 704

4.4: The Received View: A Reconsideration

Hanslick has frequently been accused of seeing in Brahms's works a confirmation of his own aesthetic theory, and of exploiting this confirmation for his own formalist ends. If formalism is to be defined as eschewing that which is outside the formal aspects of the work, then such a

702 'Heute gilt der Ausspruch nicht mehr vollständig. Man macht in unserer Zeit wieder geistliche Musik von tieferem Ernst und mächtigerem Gepräge, als jene Mendelssohnsche. Das heißt, man, macht sie nicht, aber Brahms macht sie.' Eduard Hanslick, Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 139.

Brahms's earlier spiritual choral music. His 1870 review of Rinaldo, op. 50, is the only one that considers Brahms's later choral compositions. See Hermann Deiters, 'Anzeigungen und Beurtheilungen. Johannes Brahms' geistliche Compositionen', Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung IV/34 (25 August 1869): 266-28; IV/35 (1 September 1869): 275-78; Hermann Deiters, 'Anzeigen und Beurtheilungen. Rinaldo, Cantate von Goethe, für Tenorsolo, Männerchor und Orchester componirt von Johannes Brahms, Op. 50', Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung V/13 (30 March 1870), 98-101; V/14 (6 April 1870), 105-107. The Lieder and songs were discussed more frequently than the large scale choral works, thereby falling on the favourable side of the instrumental/vocal dichotomy. Certainly in the second half of the nineteenth century, as James Deaville points out, 'the Lied came to be regarded as a 'revered national treasure'. He attributes this to the fact that although the Lied tied music to text, it was redeemed by its organicism—'Since the Lied as poem ideally arose from the depths of the German soul and soil (unlike the operatic text), and the music of the organically conceived song arose from that text, the Lied as poetic-musical entity was a manifestation of the German spirit', James Deaville, 'A Multitude of Voices: The Lied at Mid Century', in The Cambridge Companion to the Lied, James Parsons, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 142-167 (146).

^{703 &#}x27;Das Werk, das Übringens einen viel feineren, weihevolleren Vortrag zuläßt und eine correctere Novitäten von so tiefem Ernst und kunstvoller Ausführung haben fast immer einen Kampf zu bestehen mit der Bequemlichkeit des Publikums; zum Siege führt dieser Kampf erst bei späteren Wiederholungen.' Hanslick, 'Nänie,' Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 347.

^{&#}x27;Unempfindlich für die reife feierliche Schönheit des "Parzenliedes" kann wohl niemand bleiben: eine große populäre Wirkung wird dasselbe jedoch ebensowenig erzielen, wie die "Nänie" oder das "Schicksalslied". Anderwärts freilich, wo die Pflege ernster Chormusik ebenso verbreitet und intensiv ist, wie bei uns sporadisch und overflächlich - in schweizerischen und rheinischen Stadten z. B. - ist sowohl die "Nänie" als das "Parzenlied" gleich bei der ersten Aufführung stürmisch zur Wiederholung verlangt worden. In Wien bringen es solche ernste, strenge Chorcompositionen über eine respectvolle Aufnahme selten hinaus. Diese allmählich zu einer warmen, verstandnißvoll innigen zu steigern, giebt es nur ein Mittel: die häufigere Wiederholung solcher Werke', Hanslick, 'Gesang der Parzen', Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 374.

view has no basis in fact. By overemphasising Hanslick's aesthetic theory and failing to consider his critical writings, many commentators (as we saw at the outset of this chapter) place Hanslick squarely in a formalist arena within which he is alleged to privilege a reading of Brahms's music that focuses on the formal aspects of the work, and is alleged to disregard that which lies outside these formal aspects.

The 1997 essay by Hans Joachim Hinrichsen, "Auch das Schöne muß sterben" oder Die Vermittlung von biographischer und ästhetischer Subjektivität in Musikalisch-Schönen. Brahms, Hanslick und Schillers *Nänie*', falls into a different category. ⁷⁰⁵ Hinrichsen seeks to recover Hanslick and his 1854 monograph from the formalist arena to which they have been assigned. Here the formalist reception of Vom Musikalisch-Schönen is attributed to a lack of clarity in Hanslick's explication of his concept of 'form imbued with meaning' evident in all ten editions, and not to a formalist agenda in the book itself. 706 Hinrichsen considers Hanslick's 'famous formulation of "tönend bewegten Formen" as the only content of music' to have been 'intended as a paradox and received as a tautology.' Indeed it is the most oftquoted excerpt from his book, and is usually cited out of context.

Refuting such a narrow view of Hanslick's claims, Hinrichsen quite aptly notes that 'form in Hanslick's aesthetics is not barely acoustic beauty, but a carrier and medium of representation of the spiritual content.' Nevertheless, the difficulty in understanding Hanslick's aesthetic ideals lies in the fact that on the one hand Hanslick made it easy for his detractors to reduce his aesthetic theory to a 'formalistic exterior', while on the other hand he did not make it easy for his readers to distinguish between 'autonomy and objectivity'. 707

⁷⁰⁵ Hans Joachim Hinrichsen, "Auch das Schöne muß sterben" oder Die Vermittlung von biographischer und ästhetischer Subjektivität in Musikalisch-Schönen. Brahms, Hanslick und Schiller's Nänie', Johannes Brahms oder Die Relativierung der "absoluten" Musik, in Hans Werner Heister, ed. (Hamburg: Bockel, 1997), 121-154.

⁷⁰⁶ See my discussion in Chapter 3 for a more in-depth discussion of the relationship between Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms, and his aesthetic theory.

^{707 &#}x27;Hanslicks berühmte Formulierung von den Tönend bewegten Formen als einzigem Inhalt der Musik war als Paradox gemeintund wurde als Tautologie rezipiert. Form ist in Hanslicks Ästhetik nicht etwa blos akustische Schönheit, sondern Trägerin und Darstellungsmedium des geistigen Gehalts.' Hinrichsen, 'Auch das Schöne muß sterben!', 152-53.

So far as this goes, Hinrichsen is one of the few commentators in recent years to view Hanslick's monograph in an impartial light in a publication concerning Brahms. His discussion goes further however, in that he also considers aspects of Brahms's compositional process, and subsequently relates these to Hanslick's aesthetic arguments. A slight digression is in order here to consider Hinrichsen's argument, which in turn will feed back into my overall thesis that it is an over-emphasis on Vom Musikalisch-Schönen, and a lack of familiarity with Hanslick's critical writings that has lead to the polarised view of his writings in the last fifty years or so. Hinrichsen rejects the coupling of the Akademische Fest Ouvertüre Op. 80 and the Tragische Ouvertüre Op. 81 as a pair, as they have frequently been considered. ⁷⁰⁸ He ventures that Brahms's *Tragische Ouvertüre*, Op. 81 and *Nänie*, Op. 82, can be understood as complementing one another as it is only in both works together that one perceives the 'peculiar ambivalence, above all the radicalism, in Schiller's view of lost beauty', which he perceives to be 'mourning and tragedy on the one side, comfort and transfiguration on the other'. 709 He considers this to be a 'characteristically Brahmsian mode of "speaking" or "thinking" in music. '710 Moreover, when considered in this light Hinrichsen considers both works to be concerned with the death of Feuerbach. ⁷¹¹ Such a reading of Opp.

The composer himself spoke of them in such terms, claiming that 'one cries, the other laughs'. Brahms quoted in John Daverio, 'Brahms's *Academic Festival Overture* and the Comic Modes', 3. Max Kalbeck refers to the *Academic Festival Overture*, and 'its tragic twin sister': 'Ihrer tragischen Zwillungsschwester', Max Kalbeck, ed. *Johannes Brahmsim Briefwechsel mit Elisabet und Heinrich von Herzogenberg*, 133, note 3. Daverio notes that the anonymous reviewer for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (after a performance in Leipzig on 13 January 1881) and the author of a short piece for the *Musical Times* (1 May 1881) 'agreed that the *Academic Festival Overture* was a more accessible but less important work than its 'tragic' counterpart. Daverio, 'Brahms's *Academic Festival Overture*', 1.

Trauer und Tragik auf der einen Seite, Trost und Transfiguration auf der anderen—möglich also, daß sich nicht so sehr, wie scheinbar nahegeliegend, die beiden Ouvertüren Op. 80 und 81, sondern vielmehr Op. 81 und 82 durch unterschiedliche Behandlung desselben Gegenstands zum Werkpaar ergänzen, zwei Werke mithin, die in der Ästhetik Eduard Hanslicks durch ihre Gattungszugehörigkeit eigentlich prinzipiell voneinander zu scheiden wären. Die eigentümliche Ambivalenz, vor allem aber die Radikalität in Schillers Blick auf die verlorene Schönheit hat man jedenfalls nur in beiden Werken zusammen.' Hinrichsen, 'Auch das Schöne muß sterben!', 152.

⁷¹⁰ '… ein charakteristisch Brahmsscher Modus des "Sprechens" oder "Meinens" von Musik', Hinrichsen, 'Auch das Schöne muß sterben!', 152. One is reminded of Brahms's claim in a letter to Clara Schumann in September 1868: 'In meinen Tönen spreche ich'. *Clara Schumann-Johannes Brahms Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, Band I, 595.

⁷¹¹ 'Auch alledem ist natürlich nicht zwingend abzuleiten, daß die Komposition der *Tragischen Ouvertüre* überhaupt mit Feuerbachs Tod zu tun zu haben könnte', Hinrichsen, 'Auch das Schöne muß sterben', 152.

81 and 82 is certainly provocative, considering Schiller's and Brahms's art closely to draw its conclusions.

The weakness in Hinrichsen's argument, however, lies is his discussion of Hanslick's aesthetic theory in relation to Brahms's compositions. He claims that the coupling of the Tragische Ouvertüre and Nänie as a pair would actually be separated in principle in the aesthetics of Eduard Hanslick due to their Gattungszugehörigkeit (the one being considered pure absolute music, the other vocal music). 712 Yet what is remarkable about Hinrichsen's reading is how closely aligned it is with Hanslick's own views of Op. 81 and Op. 82, and of Brahms's fate-related compositions in general. While Hanslick does not go so far as to view these works as a pair, the writings of both authors are comparable in that they each distil from Brahms's music the notion of mourning and tragedy on one side, comfort and transfiguration on the other. In Hinrichsen this is evidenced in the coupling of Op. 81 and 82. In Hanslick it is a recurrent theme in his reviews of Brahms's fate-related compositions, as we saw above.

Noticeable by its absence in Hinrichsen's article is any discussion of Hanslick's critical writings, despite the fact that Hanslick reviewed all of the works to which Hinrichsen refers. In making a case for his own aesthetic reading of Brahms's works, Hinrichsen argues that 'the musical poetics and aesthetics of a composer who only expresses himself in a taciturn manner—like Johannes Brahms—are to be deduced predominantly from the compositions themselves.⁷¹³ It strikes me as an anomaly, therefore, that in such an otherwise aesthetically perceptive article such crucial evidence as Hanslick's reviews of these works is disregarded. Hanslick is represented yet again only by the polemical monograph of his youth, with the critical writings of his maturity being overlooked. This leads Hinrichsen to such

⁷¹² Trauer und Tragik auf der einen Seite, Trost und Transfiguration auf der anderen – möglich also, daß sich nicht so sehr, wie scheinbar nahegeliegend, die beiden Ouvertüren Op. 80 und 81, sondern vielmehr Op. 81 und 82 durch unterschiedliche Behandlung desselben Gegenstands zum Werkpaar ergänzen, zwei Werke mithin, die in der Ästhetik Eduard Hanslicks durch ihre Gattungszugehörigkeit eigentlich prinzipiell voneinander zu scheiden wären. Die eigentümliche Ambivalenz, vor allem aber die Radikalität in Schillers Blick auf die verlorene Schönheit hat man jedenfalls nur in beiden Werken zusammen.' Ibid., 152.

^{713 &#}x27;Die musikalische Poetik und Ästhetik eines Komponisten, der sich – wie Johannes Brahms – über sie nur äußert wortkarg geäußert hat, ist vorwiegend aus den Kompositionen selbst zu erschließen.' Ibid., 121.

claims as: 'only in the instrumental music, as is well known, does Hanslick see music completely fulfilling the term as pure, absolute music; general conclusions about the poetic and compositional concept that are drawn from a piece of vocal music would be, according to this, of limited stylistic range.'714

In relation to Hanslick's critical writings on Brahms, Hinrichsen's argument cannot be sustained. This becomes more apparent when he broadens the discussion to include *Schicksalslied*. He suggests that the orchestral postlude in this work can be understood as being contrary to Hanslick's notion of pure instrumental music as espoused in *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*. For Hinrichsen, the musical poetics and aesthetics of a composer are deducible predominantly from the compositions themselves. Yet, he does not consult Hanslick's discussion of the compositions, and in this regard overlooks compelling evidence.

As we saw in the above discussion of *Schicksalslied*, the *geistige Gehalt* of the orchestral postlude as Hanslick understands it, which 'dissolves the confused hardship of human life', is inextricably bound up with, and would not have been conceived were it not for, Hölderlin's poetic text. Hanslick explicitly refers to this postlude as 'pure instrumental music'. The His argument is that Brahms's postlude expresses that which cannot be expressed in words, that which is, arguably, more definite than words, and can in this sense be seen to exemplify the 'leap over the abyss separating the manifest content of a poetic text and its spirit or aesthetic quality'. The

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⁷¹⁵ 'Die Überzeugung, im Orchesternachspiel von Op. 54 werde der reinen Instrumentalmusik etwas zugemutet, was dort, wo Worte zur Verfügung stehen, nicht ihre Aufgabe sei, bildet gleichsam das Reversbild der eingangs zitierten Äußerung Eduard Hanslicks', *Ibid.*, 131.

^{714 &#}x27;Nur in der Instrumentalmusik sieht Hanslick bekanntlich die Musik ihren Begriff als reine, absolute Tonkunst ganz erfüllen; generelle Schlüsse auf das poetische und kompositorische Konzept, die aus einem Stück Vokalmusik gezogen würden, wären hiernach nur von begrenzter systematischer Reichweite.' *Ibid.*, 121.

Verständlicher Weise vollzieht Brahms diesen Gedankengang durch reine Instrumental-Musik, ohne Hinzufügung eines einzigen Wortes.' Hanslick, 'Schicksalslied', in Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 54.

4.5: Towards an Understanding of the Construction of History

'Das Brahms-Bild Eduard Hanslicks' that emerges from the present study is entirely at odds with Floros's. The view of Hanslick as a critic who saw, in Brahms's music, examples of that 'reinen absoluten Musik' for which he tirelessly campaigned, who saw no extra musical factors (literary or biographical) in Brahms's compositions, and who was the irreconcilable opponent of programme music, ⁷¹⁸ amounts to a misconception. It is striking that this argument for a formalist view is put forward by a writer who is renowned for his "hermeneutic" style analysis and fondness for programmes. Indeed the collection of essays in which this article is (re-)published is titled 'Johannes Brahms: "Frei, aber einsam": Ein Leben für eine poetische Musik. And the author subscribes to the 'conviction' that for Brahms 'personality and Oeuvre form a unity—consequently an enquiry into his personality can only contribute to a deeper understanding of his music.'719 Arguably, the forefront of Floros's hermeneutic approach to Brahms's music seems all the more striking when set against the background of Hanslick's alleged formalism. It is worth considering that Floros's tendency to favour 'formalist' aspects of Hanslick's writings stems from what Anthony Newcomb refers to as a 'twentieth-century reaction away from an expressive aesthetic and toward a formal aesthetic.'720 Since Hanslick, and until recent decades, a scholarly tradition has been enforced that disregards not only the extra-musical adjuncts in Brahms's music, but also Hanslick's very discussion of precisely these features. This can be understood in the context of a formalism that still governs the broader reception of Brahms. And not only Floros, but Katz and Dahlhaus, and Siegfried Kross, as outlined above are among others who exemplify this twentieth-century reaction. And so the question is not how we account for these scholarly inconsistencies. Rather the question is how we account for the broader issue – how such a construction of history could

⁷¹⁸ Floros, 'Das Brahms-Bild Eduard Hanslick's', 156. Page numbers in this dissertation refer to the Tutzing edition.

⁷¹⁹ Floros, *Johannes Brahms, "Frei aber einsam",* 12.

Anthony Newcomb, 'The Birth of Music Out of the Spirit of Drama: An Essay in Wagnerian Formal Analysis,' 19th-Century Music V/1 (Summer 1981) 38–66 (39).

occur. The remainder of this chapter is concerned with the effect the Cold War has had on musicological writings, both broadly speaking and specifically regarding Brahms literature. It is argued that the path these writings took in West Germany assigned to Brahms the role of composer of 'absolute' music while also vetoing expressive discussions of Brahms's music as evidenced in Hanslick's writings.

In recent decades a number of publications have addressed the impact that the Cold War has had on scholarly writings. ⁷²¹ Philip Gossett, writing in his 1989 article 'Carl Dahlhaus and the "Ideal Type"' discusses a 'gulf that continues to exist between Eastern and Western scholars'. ⁷²² Broadly speaking, musicology in West Germany in the years of the Cold War can be understood as identifying certain modes of thought, such as socio-political readings of musical works, as extra-musicological, and thereby outside the concerns of musicological discussion. In this climate, music was considered to be a 'socially functionless, nonauthoritarian discourse'. ⁷²³ Dahlhaus's writings are considered to epitomise this trend. James Hepokoski speaks of 'The Dahlhaus Project' that was concerned primarily with nineteenth-century German music, 'a connotation-saturated repertory that had been pivotal in establishing a German national identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. ⁷²⁴ He argues that Dahlhaus's project was 'carried out in an atmosphere charged with domestic politics during a period deeply involved with how West Germany was confronting its not-so-distant past and the misuse of its own traditions. ⁷²⁵

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⁷²¹ For a very interesting study of the impact of politics on music during the Cold War years in Berlin see Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Musical Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005).

⁷²² Philip Gossett, 'Carl Dahlhaus and the Ideal Type,' 19th-Century Music 13/1 (Jan/Feb 1989): 49–56 (49), footnote 2. See also James Hepokoski, 'The Dahlhaus Project and Its Extra-musicological Sources,' 19th-Century Music XIV/3 (Spring 1991): 221–246; and Anne C. Schreffler, 'Berlin Walls: Dahlhaus, Knepler, and Ideologies of Music History,' Journal of Musicology 20/4 (2003): 498–525.

⁷²³ Hepokoski, 'The Dahlhaus Project,' 222.

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*, 225.

East German musicology during this period can be understood as 'theorizing music as social discourse.'726 In this sense, the Marxist musicology of East Germany is seen as anticipating the tenets of the North-American "New Musicology" as promoted by commentators such as Joseph Kerman and Lawrence Kramer. For Marxist music historians, the priority was to reconnect music with society. As Anne Schreffler argues 'East German musicology was concerned with the need to find out how music communicates, between whom and in what contexts, how it did so in the past, what is communicated and for what purpose, and finally how the "message" of a work changes, if it does, over time. '727 The fact that this East German discourse was carried out under a Marxist banner meant that it could be rejected out of hand by West Germans as they did not accept its basic premise. The dividing line between East and West German musicological discourses was that certain ideas being associated with one side or the other made them a priori unacceptable to the other side. 728

Following Dahlhaus's death in 1989, and the then recent translation of his works into English, a number of evaluations of Dahlhaus's writings appeared, Philip Gossett and James Hepokoski being among his sharpest critics. 729 Discussions of inconsistencies in Dahlhaus's own system followed. Thus, while Christopher Wintle points out on the one hand that Dahlhaus's writing on nineteenth-century music 'makes a special feature of integrating musical with sociological issues', on the other hand he notes that Dahlhaus's view of Wagner is the 'modern, sterilised one'. He further points to Dahlhaus's (admittedly unusual) suppression of contradictions inherent in historical evidence regarding Wagner. He considers Dahlhaus's greatest influence to be exerted through his comments on Brahms. But there is no getting away from the fact that these comments which eschewed hermeneutic discussions of Brahms's works.

⁷²⁶ Schreffler, 'Berlin Walls,' 500. ⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, 504.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, 501.

⁷²⁹ See also Philip Gossett and J. Bradford Robinson, 'The Music of Dahlhaus: An Exchange,' The New York Review of Books, 26 April 1990.

Susan McClary further draws attention to this disparity whereby in *The Idea of* Absolute Music Dahlhaus 'painstakingly delineates [a] history whereby a social discourse was appropriated and redefined first by romantic mystics and then by objectivists,' while in his Nineteenth Century Music he continues to respect the prohibitions of that tradition of objectivity, in that 'he practices only structural analysis on instrumental music, and he scorns those who would venture into hermeneutic studies of symphonies.' McClary attributes this to a philosophy that in 1993 still regulated 'much of musicology, blocking all but the most formalistic approaches to criticism.' ⁷³⁰ And in his discussion of the 'Cold War of Mimesis and Abstraction,' (with which Karol Berger does not seem to realise that he himself is bound up in his discussion of Hanslick⁷³¹), Berger argues that:

With only a slight exaggeration, one might claim that by the middle of [the twentieth] century, only popular song and film music dared to be frankly mimetic, without shame or apology. The symptoms of this development were the rejection of ways of hearing instrumental music as if it encoded a hidden programme.'732

The broader context within which he couches this comment is that 'the unprecedented traumas inflicted on her societies by criminal politicians between 1914 and 1989 would induce some of Europe's artists to seek refuge in a realm of art hermetically sealed off from the rest of the world.⁷³³

Dealing more specifically with Brahms, Daniel Beller-McKenna reminds us of the role nationalism and religion played in Brahms's music. He argues that Brahms approached the Bible as an icon of his German heritage, during a period of immense social, political and religious change (i.e. the mid-nineteenth century), citing Ein deutsches Requiem, Op. 45 and Triumphlied Op. 55 as examples. 734 Such works for choir and orchestra can also be

⁷³⁰ McClary, 'Narrative Agendas in "Absolute" Music: Identity and Difference in Brahms's Third Symphony,'

⁷³¹ See further discussion in Chapter 3.

⁷³² Karol Berger, A Theory of Art, 140.

⁷³⁴ See Daniel Beller McKenna, 'Brahms, the Bible, and Post-Romanticism, 1994; *Ibid., Brahms and the* German Spirit; and other articles as outlined below.

understood as being closely bound to Brahms's realisation of the expectations that Schumann had raised in the influential essay 'Neue Bahnen', 735 in which he predicted that Brahms would give the 'highest expression to the times in an ideal manner'; in essence, that Brahms would carry on the great Austro-German musical tradition. Hanslick's review of Triumphlied and Schicksalslied published in 1872 in Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen is a testament to this. 736 Hanslick writes that *Triumphlied*—a work that celebrates the Prussian military victory over France and the founding of the *Kaiserreich*, by a patriot who was an ardent supporter of the Iron Chancellor—can be understood as a realisation 'of the marvellous effects that Schumann forecast "if Brahms would direct his magic wand over the combined forces of choir and orchestra".' And for Hanslick, Brahms not only follows in the Austro-German musical tradition, but he represents a modern rebirth of the holy Trinity of Bach, Handel and Beethoven. He writes:

From all three masters [...] there is an influence on Brahms; they are flowing so completely in his blood, in his own independent individuality, that one does not deduce Brahms simply from one of these three, rather one can only say that Brahms is somewhat risen up from these three in one spirit, in modern rebirth.737

In his article 'The Rise and Fall of Brahms the German,' Beller-McKenna traces an increasingly nationalistic and at times even racist trend in Brahms reception during the years between the composer's death in 1897 and the end of World War II. Drawing on the writings of Walter Niemann, 738 and Rudolf von der Leyen, 739 Beller-McKenna recalls how Brahms was held up as an echt Deutsch composer, whose Niederdeutsch origins were portrayed as

⁷³⁵ Robert Schumann, 'Neue Bahnen,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 39 (28 October 1853): 185–86.

Faluard Hanslick, 'Brahms "Triumphlied" und "Schicksalslied", 'Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 51–

<sup>54.

737 &#</sup>x27;Von allen drei Meistern, von Bach, Händel und Beethoven, spielen Einflüsse in Brahms; sie sind aber so völlständig in sein Blut verflöst, zu so einiger, selbständiger Individualität aufgegangen, daß man Brahms aus keinem dieser Drei einfach herleiten, sondern nur sagen kann, es sei etwas von diesem dreieinigen Geist in moderner Wiedergeburt in ihm auferstanden.' Hanslick, 'Brahms "Triumphlied" und "Schicksalslied",' in Concerte Componisten und Virtuosen, 51.

⁷³⁸ Walter Niemann, *Brahms* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1920); Catherine Alison Phillips, trans. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929).

⁷³⁹ Rudolf von der Leyen, Johannes Brahms als Mensch und Freund (Düsseldorf and Leipzig: Karl Robert Langeweische, 1905).

hallmarks of 'a pure blooded and culturally superior Teutonic past,' an identity that stressed his *völkisch* credentials. The aftermath of World War I, German commentators on Brahms, Niemann being one of them, felt an urgency to 'extol Brahms's Germanness as a bulwark against a Semitically tainted modernism. That that time, Brahms and Wagner were held up as 'two complementary sides of the same German coin. The Similarly, Furtwängler's 1933 essay on Brahms stressed the composer's inherent Germanness, and his unity with the German folk, albeit under the guise of cultural heritage, as opposed to political or ideological agendas. Indeed, Brahms's inherent Germanness was widely regarded as an important aspect of his identity, by liberals and conservatives alike.

What then of Brahms's German legacy after World War II? The rise of objective musical analysis and documentary studies in the Cold War period is considered by Beller-McKenna to have removed the aura of cultural significance from most repertoires, so that only those that were overt and explicit in their nationalist or political intent were understood

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⁷⁴⁰ Daniel Beller-McKenna, 'The Rise and Fall of Brahms the German,' 190–191. (For his discussion of the implications of the label *Niederdeutsch* in early twentieth-century Brahms literature, see note 11.)
⁷⁴¹ Beller-McKenna, 'The Rise and Fall of Brahms the German,' 194.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, 194–95.

⁷⁴³ During the time of writing up this dissertation, as a result of the feedback I received from a number of scholars, both at conferences, and in private correspondence, I considered including a discussion of Adorno at this point. Certainly Adorno's work focuses on the cultural context of a composition, and he tends to approach a musical work from both the outside (social practices) and inside (objective musical analysis). Furthermore, along parallel lines as I have argued for Hanslick, Adorno reconciles his contention that 'music's intentions, first and foremost, are musical' with his insistence that music has a 'theological aspect'. See Richard Leppert, introduction to Theodor Adorno, Essays on Music (California: University of California Press, 2002), 75. The meaning of music, for Adorno, is 'at once distinct and concealed'. Ibid., 85. However, whilst there are many analogies between the aesthetic thought of Hanslick and Adorno, and many interesting avenues that I would be interested in pursuing in further studies, a number of factors influenced my decision not to discuss Adorno at any length in the current study. Primary among these is the surprising neglect by Adorno of Brahms's output, which would render a discussion of Adorno in the current context somewhat redundant. Adorno devoted no extended work exclusively to Brahms, although he developed his ideas about Brahms in *Philosophie der neuen Musik*, Einleitung in der Musiksoziologie, and a manuscript on Beethoven unfinished at his death and published much later. See Beethoven: The Philosophy of Music, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998). In a short essay, written in 1932 and published posthumously, he discusses Brahms, as he does in a 1932 review of the piano music. The essay "Brahms aktuell", and the review "Eduard Steuermanns Brahms-Ausgabe" both appear in Vol. 18 of Gesammelte Schriften V, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Klaus Schultz (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1984). Furthermore, his lack of engagement with Hanslick's aesthetic and critical writings, and his contention that the central tenet of Hanslick's Vom Musikalisch-Schönen 'was much too thin and abstract a principle to serve as the foundation of a highly organised artform', does not, I feel, provide a suitable starting point for a discussion of Adorno and Hanslick in the context of a dissertation on Brahms. See Theodor Adorno, 'On the Contemporary Relationship of Philosophy and Music', in Essays on Music, 139.

to have such meanings.⁷⁴⁴ Viewing the more openly nationalistic Brahms reception of pre-World War II against that of the later twentieth-century, Beller-McKenna sees the latter 'as an attempt to neutralise [Brahms's] legacy, an endeavour born of the need to salvage something good, noble and pure from the German cultural tradition in the wake of National Socialism.⁷⁴⁵

In the Cold War climate of West-German musicological writings, whereby theorizing music as social discourse was viewed as suspect, and the Marxist musicology of the other side was unacceptable, Hanslick's hermeneutic style descriptions of Brahms's music fit less comfortably than a discussion of the formalist aspects of *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*. The result is that Hanslick's late-nineteenth century discussion of the extra-musical aspects of Brahms's compositions, be it poetic, cultural, or socio-political, were to be silenced.

The Hanslick-Brahms *Rezeptionsgeschichte* that has been perpetuated in the last fifty years can be understood as the product of a formalist ideology that considers only one category of Hanslick's output—his aesthetic theory—at the expense of a wealth of critical and autobiographical writings. I argue that such a formalist view of the expressive writings of one of the nineteenth-century's most influential critics goes hand in hand with what Beller-McKenna describes as a 'nationally neutral view of Brahms [that] has largely persisted for the past fifty years.' In this light, the tendency to disproportionately emphasise Hanslick's pitting of Brahms against Wagner becomes somewhat understandable. And indeed Floros's 1997 hermeneutic monograph on Brahms, one in which he focuses on the cultural context of Brahms's compositions, and holds the conviction that an 'enquiry into [Brahms's] personality can only contribute to a deeper understanding of his music', seems all the more politically acceptable in an age where all that remains of *Die Berliner Mauer* is 'a narrow strip of granite inlaid in the pavement, slightly darker grey than the footpath itself.'⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴⁴ Beller-McKenna, 'The Rise and Fall of Brahms the German,' 205.

¹⁵ Ibid., 206.

Anna Funder, Stasiland: Stories from Behind the Berlin Wall. London: Granata, 2003, 258.

Table 6: Eduard Hanslick's Brahms Reviews

Die moderne Oper: Kritiken und Studien. Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1875. No Reviews of Brahms's Compositions

Aus dem Opernleben der Gegenwart: neue Kritiken und Studien. Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1834. No Reviews of Brahms's Compositions

Musikalische Stationem. Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1885. No Reviews of Brahms's Compositions

Musikalisches Skizzenbuch: neue Kritiken und Schildenrungen. Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1888.

No Reviews of Brahms's Compositions

Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen der letzten fünfzehn Jahre, 1870-1885: Kritiken. Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1886.

- Brahms: Trio Op. 8 (1870)
- Brahms: "Triumphlied" Op. 55 and "Schicksalslied" Op. 54 (1872)
- Brahms: Haydn Variations, Op. 56a (1873)*
- Brahms: 3 Chöre Op. 62, No. 1 (1874)
- Brahms: Piano Concerto No. 1 in D Minor (1874)
- Brahms: Cello Sonata Op. 38 and Three String Quartets Op. 51, No. 1 & 2 and Op. 67 (1874)
- Brahms: Ein Deutsches Requiem, Op. 45 und Rhapsodie, Op. 53 (1875)
- Gesangvereine: Chöre von Schubert, Brahms, Schumann, Liszt, Grädener
- Brahms: Symphony No. 1 in C Minor, Op. 68 (1876)*
- Brahms: Piano Sonata No. 3, Op. 5 (1877)
- Brahms: Motet, Op. 74, No. 1 (1878)
- Brahms: Symphony No. 2 in D Major, Op. 73 (1878)
- Brahms: Violin Sonata No. 1 in G Major, Op. 78 (1879)
- Virtuosen: Joachim (Brahms Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 77
- Brahms: Tragische Ouvertüre, Op. 81 (1880)*
- Brahms: Academic Festival Overture, Op. 80 (1881)*
- Brahms: Piano Concerto No. 2 in B Flat Major, Op. 83 (1881)*
- Brahms: Nänie, Op. 82 (1882)
- Brahms: Sextet in B Flat Major, Op. 18*
- Brahms: Symphony No. 3 in F Major, Op. 90 (1883)
- Brahms: Gesang der Parzen, Op. 89 (1883)
- Brahms: Rinaldo, Op. 50 (1883)
- Brahms: Quintet for Strings No. 1 in F Major, Op. 88 (1883)
- Lieder Performances by G. Walter (New Lieder by Brahms and A. von
- Goldschmidt)
- Quartets by Brahms, Dittersdorf, Herzogenberg, Gernsheim

Musikalisches und Litterarisches: Kritiken und Schilderungen. Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1889.

- Der neue Brahms-Katalog (1888)
- Neue Gesänge von Brahms (1888)
- Brahms' neueste Instrumental-Compositionen (1889)

Aus dem Tagebuche eines Musikers: Kritiken und Schilderungen. Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1892.

- Brahms, Vierte Symphonie*
- Brahms, Zwei neue Sonaten*
- Brahms, Concert für Violine und Violoncell*
- Chöre von Durante, S. Bach und Brahms
- Chöre von Mendelssohn, Bach und Brahms
- Neue Quintette von Brahms und Dvořák
- Brahms, Klaviertrio Op. 8 (Neue Bearbeitung)
- Brahms, Klavierconcert D-moll

Fünf Jahre Musik, 1891-1895: Kritiken. Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1896.

- Brahms: Klarinett Quintett und Trio (1891)*
- Brahms: Neue Klavierstücke (1893)
- Brahms: Zwei Klaviersonaten (1895)

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Appendix 1

Translation of a Selection of Eduard Hanslick's Writings on Brahms Preface

This appendix consists mainly of texts never before translated into English or else unavailable in English in complete form. It brings together much of Hanslick's professional criticism of the works of Brahms, including writings on most of the genres to which Brahms addressed himself. The texts offered here complement the readily available translations of a number of Hanslick's reviews of Brahms; those by Henry Pleasants of the four Symphonies,⁷⁴⁷ and the more recent translations by Susan Gillespie of a number of works.⁷⁴⁸

The sources consulted for the present translation include Hanslick's 1886 text
Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen der letzten fünfzehn Jahre, 1870-1885: Kritiken. This book houses more of his Brahms reviews than any of the nine-volume collected criticisms
published between 1888 and 1900. This 1886 collection represents the order in which the
reviews were written, an order that is maintained in the present translation. Thereafter it
consults a number of texts from the collected criticism in the order they were published.
(Unfortunately this gives no indication of when Hanslick actually reviewed the works for
Neue Freie Presse. One would need to consult the Neue Freie Presse for exact dates. While I
provide these where possible, I have not had the opportunity to consult this paper for all of the
years spanning Hanslick's critical career.)

Hanslick's poetic approach to Brahms's music is reflected in his writing style, bestowing an air of beauty on Brahms's works that is both critical and perceptive – with the composer at times coming in for harsh criticism. The writings assume a knowledge of German literary writings that would have been common currency in Hanslick's day. Annotations are

⁷⁴⁷ Henry Pleasants, *Vienna's Golden Years of Music* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950). Pleasants translates the reviews of each of the four symphonies.

⁷⁴⁸ Eduard Hanslick, 'Brahms's Newest Instrumental Compositions (1889)', Susan Gillespie (trans.) in Walter Frisch (ed.), *Brahms and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 145–150. Included here are reviews of Cello Sonata No. 2 in F Major, Op. 99; Violin Sonata No. 2 in A Major, Op. 100; Violin Sonata No. 3 in D Minor, Op. 108; Double Concerto in A Minor, Op. 102.

provided at such places. Moreover, the writings contextualise the cultural Viennese world in which the works were both composed and received, both in terms of literature and the arts, and in terms of the political situation in late-nineteenth Century Vienna – albeit from Hanslick's liberal perspective. And indeed, the reviews are to be enjoyed in parts for their dry humour, and amusing episodes. It is hoped that the reader will enjoy this exploration of Hanslick's writings on Brahms as much as the translator.

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Brahms Piano Trio Op. 8⁷⁴⁹

We are endlessly grateful to Hr. Door's trio society for acquainting us with Brahms's B flat major Trio (op. 8). Since the time of its composition, however, Brahms has cultivated his talent, refined his art, perhaps he himself now judges this work more strictly as an unripened artistry – nevertheless it remains a lively, thoroughly poetic composition. The stormy urge of youth, the bursting strength of this composition (particularly in the first two movements) sweeps us directly along with it. Over monotonous lengths, and harmonic and rhythmic crudities, we are consoled by an abundance of beautiful thoughts and the characteristic, energetic, musical spirit that flows through the whole. How warm and convincing the theme of the first movement sounds! How organically it is constructed, incessantly rising! Yet this movement could end a little earlier, shortly before the fugato, whose entry works somewhat like a Latin scholastic quote in an inspired love poem. The Scherzo is of the same freshness, but is more solid, it is one of the best that has been written since Beethoven. Less satisfactory is the Adagio with its rhapsodic form and its superficial oddities. The Finale stands behind the first movements. Nevertheless, Brahms's B flat major Trio is a piece, the like of which one would not find searching with a lantern in the chamber compositions of recent times.

Brahms Triumphlied and Schicksalslied 750

The *Triumphlied* by Brahms for eight-voice choir, orchestra, and organ, belongs with *Ein deutsches Requiem* to those great tone poems which rank Brahms among the first masters. In these two works the marvellous effects are realised that Schumann forecast "if Brahms would direct his magic wand over the combined forces of choir and orchestra." Here Brahms found his true ground, and built upon it up to such a height that no living composer could follow him. Nothing has appeared in the area of spiritual music in the broadest sense since Bach's passion music, Handel's oratorios and Beethoven's masses, that comes close to the greatness

⁷⁴⁹ Hanslick, 'Brahms: Trio Op. 8', Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 23–24 (1870).

⁷⁵⁰ Hanslick, 'Brahms "Triumphlied" und "Schicksalslied", Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 51–54 (1872).

of conception, the loftiness of expression, and the force of polyphonic movement of each Brahms's *Requiem* and *Triumphlied*. From all three masters, Bach, Handel, and Beethoven, there is an influence in Brahms; they are flowing so completely in his blood, in his own independent individuality, that one deduces Brahms not simply from one of these three, rather can only say that he is somewhat risen up from these three in one spirit in modern rebirth.

Triumphlied originally had the title: "On the Victory of the German Arms", and this glorious cause will always clearly speak of the work itself. Brahms did not want to be seen to express a direct tendency. Also, one can not possibly pass off a composition whose text was written over a thousand years before the Battle of Sedan. The texts are taken namely from Revelations, John, Chapter 19. The first of the three great double choruses, of which the Triumphlied consists, sings the words: "Alleluia; salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God!" the main motive of which reproduces the notes of "Heil dir im Siegerkranz", but in completely altered rhythm and harmony. The jubilant trumpet fanfares in D placed at the beginning of the work establish how close Handel's character is to the piece, which unites the enormous, healthy strength of expression with the highest art of the movement. "Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great, because the all-powerful God has taken the Kingdom", those are the words on which the second choir is constructed. Towards the end, the movement changes into a lullaby melody introduced by gentle triplets: "Let us be glad and rejoice", whose mildly rapturous expression increases itself to true transfiguration through the wonderful *piano* at the end. Of extraordinary effect is the third and final movement that, after the lyrics of the first two choruses, introduces a dramatic-epic element, certainly very moderate and fast passing. It begins with the baritone solo: "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat" (here the solo voice stops and both choirs begin:) "he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war." "And he treadeth", it continues with tremendous force, "the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty

God." Then the solo voice takes over again: "And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, that reads thus: King of Kings and Lord of Lords!" With that the Alleluia enters again in somewhat altered rhythm which, swelling in ever greater power, finally concludes the whole in the highest rejoicing and radiating splendour.

We cannot agree with those who set *Triumphlied* beside or above *Ein deutsches Requiem*. Above all the very unequal range of the two works hinders such a parallel. Moreover, a larger internal variety goes hand in hand with the conception of *Ein deutsches Requiem*, a wealth of different tendencies and changes between choir and solo voice which, when extremely well done, provide places of rest. (In *Triumphlied* these are almost completely lacking.) Finally the melodies in the *Requiem* appear to us to flow richer, clearer and more characteristically, in which sense this work has a more direct and more deeply seizing effect upon the unprepared listener. The comprehensible *Triumphgesang* is by all means equally great, but more arduous and difficult in its combinatorial art.

Best however not to compare. We congratulate ourselves that our modern literature possesses two so powerful, so highly towering works!

Another tone poem of deep content and striking peculiarity is Brahms's *Schicksalslied* for choir and orchestra (op. 54). In terms of content or verse, this beautiful poem by Hölderlin does not seem particularly favourable for music; in any case it could only attract a devoted tone poet as serious as Brahms, one who is unwavered by the ideas of the great and immortal. The two first strophes of the poem praise the blessed peace of the Olympic gods, who, "breathe up there in fateless light." The choir sings this strophe in a noble and broadly ending Adagio (E flat major, 4/4). In contrast to this, the third strophe of the poem describes the pitiful lot of mankind who are "given no place to rest". The composer brings about this contrast in a dark Allegro (C minor, 3/4) with shattering eloquence, and without clouding the great style of the work through categorical courses. How vivid, and quite simply described is the fall "from cliff to cliff", how penetrating the long sustained voices on the word

"Jahrlang"! The poet finishes in this hopelessness—but not so the composer. He takes an extremely beautiful poetic turn, which reveals to us the whole transfiguring power of music. Brahms returns, after the last words of the choir, to the solemn, slow movement of the opening, and dissolves the confused hardship of human life in a long orchestral postlude, in blessed peace. In a touching, understandable way, Brahms carries out this train of thought through purely instrumental music, without the addition of a single word. The instrumental music here replenishes and completes, and articulates that which can no longer be seized in words: a remarkable counterpart to the reverse procedure in Beethoven's Symphony No. 9. Brahms's *Schicksalslied* reminds us in style and mood of an after effect of his admirable *German Requiem*, the same Christian outlook, but in Greek form.

Brahms, Variations for Orchestra on a Theme by Haydn, Op. 56⁷⁵¹

We heard a new orchestral work by Brahms for the first time: Theme with Variations (op. 56). Brahms appears to us now as a strong tree, full of vitality, whose green branches continue to stretch higher and further, always carrying more plentiful, sweeter fruit. It is a joy to watch this healthy production strengthen. Each success he achieves makes him more strict with himself and more generous towards the world; in more serious work that is not laboured, in full joyfulness of his work, each autumn Brahms now brings to us a richer seriousness. The theme of the variations (Andante, B flat major, 2/4) ought originally to have been a pilgrimage song of popular (*Volkstümlich*), devout expression, simple and nevertheless very idiosyncratic with its five bar rhythms. Brahms orchestrated it very simply and beautifully, just winds and bass; the violin features only in the first variation. We would gladly have characterised these variations in more details, if only to show the reader how skilfully Brahms prevents each monotony through changes of major and minor, through differences of tempo, tonality and instrumentation, and nevertheless binds the parts organically to form a unity. But it is an idle and sad thing to oppose such a literal description to a genuinely instrumentally

⁷⁵¹ Hanslick, 'Orchesterconcerte,' Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 71–72 (1873).

conceived work. The serious, almost pious expression of the whole, along with the polyphonic and contrapuntal mastery, are frequently reminiscent of Sebastian Bach. However this element is not too prominent; it forms, as it were, only the dark, dry ground above which the silver flute plays freely, and modern forms and feelings move. The work has the advantage both of not being too long, and of becoming stronger and increasingly more lively. If the first two variations sound somewhat dry, and strike the unprepared listener as not totally transparent in their figuration, in the third variation an ever freer, individual life blooms and arrives in the Finale at an enchanting peak. A rich, truly musically constructed strength, which does not need to lean on printed or discreet programmes, spreads its treasure without demand here. The serious and the wise get along remarkably well with Brahms, with completely new, daring courses.

A word about the instrumentation: if one announced a prize for the composer who introduced piccolo and triangle into such a serious, almost spiritually coloured tone poem, without becoming vaguely banal or desperate to be admired, what other composer would have a chance of winning? Brahms was able to use these two objectionable instruments to the most beautiful effect, employed them so harmonically and characteristically in his variations, that one cannot think of the piece without them. Moreover he uses the contrabassoon to wonderful effect, this so rarely used, and dignified instrument! It gives the whole composition, especially the theme, a completely peculiar, dark, solemn colouring, for whose sake we gladly do without the hurling brilliance of the trombones.

Brahms, Seven Songs for Mixed Choir, Op. 62⁷⁵²

Much more pleasing was the effect of a modest novelty by J. Brahms, actually a lyrical coversheet, three Lieder for mixed choir (from op. 62). One knows the simple warmth of the expression, the sonorous vocal movement that is reminiscent of a folksong, every now and then an antiquated tone, that distinguish the choral Lieder of Brahms. For the most beautiful

⁷⁵² Hanslick, Untitled Review, Concerte Componisten und Virtuosen, 106–107 (1874).

of the three we have decided on: "Dein Herzlein mild" (from Paul Heyse's *Jungbrunnen*); in the "Waldesnacht"⁷⁵³ the octave leap with the call "o wie ist dein Rauschen süß!" is a beautiful and true passage. The love song "Spazieren wollt ich reisen" does not satisfy us to the same extent.⁷⁵⁴ Its refrain "trab, trab" does not work well in such a high a register; a choir of soprano voices snatches the staccato high A in this figure with difficulty and harshness.

After Brahms had distinguished himself in the concert as conductor and composer, he shone above this as the pianist in Beethoven's E flat major Concerto. To shine is actually not the correct word, because if his noble, solid musical performance departs, so it is precisely in his brilliance, that self confident and self content boldness, with which we see the concert player explode internally. Brahms's sensuous, more introvert nature avoids everything that is reminiscent of the outward effect of virtuosity, and goes too far in his modesty. He played the Adagio unusually beautifully; in the Allegro movements we missed the strong decisiveness of the bass and the brilliant refinement of the passage. Brahms wants always only to let the composition speak, and to push the player back too modestly.

Brahms, Piano Concerto No. 1 in D Minor, Op. 15⁷⁵⁶

The piano concerto by Johannes Brahms takes a high towering, and at the same time distinctive, place in the literature of this art form. No composer, including Beethoven, has ever sought to surrender the concerto (whose practical task and whose whole development has been a merry tournament of virtuosity) to the pathos of painful passion. The thunder of the ninth symphony grumbles in the first movement of the Brahms concerto. It almost sounds like a free rendering of that tremendous creation; almost as though Brahms wanted to describe the powerful feelings that were awakened in him under the fresh influence of the Ninth Symphony in his own independent language. It is not only the D minor tonality, the clasps of thunder on the timpani on low D, and many details that are common to both, rather the great

⁷⁵³ Op. 62/3

⁷⁵⁴ Hanslick is referring to Op. 62/2, 'Von alten Liebesliedern,' which has the incipit 'Spazieren wollt ich reiten.' ⁷⁵⁵ Beethoven, Piano Concerto No. 5 in Eb Major, Op. 73.

⁷⁵⁶ Hanslick, 'Brahms Clavierconcert in D-moll,' Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 109–111 (1874).

pathetic character of the whole. "A dark spirit goes through this house" one would like to say with Wallenstein, of the Maestoso of the Brahms Concerto that stands strangely apart from the cheerful spirit of the remainder of the piece. ⁷⁵⁷ But this "dark spirit" drives no eerie ghost, he walks head upright and steps through the wide hall.

The similarity does not extend beyond this first movement, which stands next to the wealth of Beethoven's musical ideas. The noble but somewhat tired and blurry sounds of the Adagio are not reminiscent of the heavenly transfiguration of Beethoven's slow movement; finally in the Finale Brahms uses the conventional Rondo form, fills it with a new, rich spirit, and solves the problem that is so difficult here, to protect the unified character of the whole. Not cheerfulness, rather stubborn courage to face life, flows through the veins of this closing movement. The D minor Concerto is more a symphony with obbligato piano, developed in great dimensions, and free from all conventional passage work. The inner relationship between Brahms and Beethoven that appears in Brahms's piano pieces, as though prismatically broken in a Schumannian light, become surprisingly evident in the concerto, as it does in most of his trio and quartet movements. Apart from Franz Schubert, Brahms is indisputably the most immediate outlet of Beethovenian spirit. However, while Schubert has independently developed the soft, feminine (to use Schumann's expression), the "Provençal element" of Beethoven, Brahms adheres to the masculine, pathetic side, to the Germanic element of the master. Schubert is much more delightful, more melodic, more sensuous than Brahms, he works more directly. However, more prevails in the great compositions by Brahms of the strength to hold a large work together, and of the strict logic of thoughts, which is impressed on Beethoven's compositions as a mark of inner necessity. The D minor Concerto is the fifteenth work by Brahms, which has since been exceeded by the sixteenth. 758 How slowly he has broken paths! It was played in Vienna by Brahms three years ago for the first time. Only rarely and hesitantly does a virtuoso dare to play this concerto, which requires

⁷⁵⁸ Op. 16, Serenade No. 2 in A Major for Small Orchestra.

⁷⁵⁷ Hanslick is referring to Friedrich Schiller, Wallenstein: Ein dramatisches Gedicht (1799).

of the player no Lisztian witch craft, but rather requires a great style, and demands of the listener a serious, collected reception. It is no effortless task to follow this tone poem, not possible to seize it completely in one go. Brahms does not belong to the pleasingly obliging, he wants to be known exactly, to be studied with devotion. Then, however, he is amply worth our trouble, worth our trust.

Brahms, Cello Sonata, Op. 38, and String Quartets, Op. 51, Nos. 1 and 2, Op. 67⁷⁵⁹ Herr Door, Herr Popper and Herr Em. Wirth opened their trio-Soirée with Beethoven's G major Trio, Op. 1. These early works by Beethoven are so important for art history (no youthful attempts, rather pure art works), so worthwhile for domestic musical worship, that there seems to us little need for public concerts nowadays. These simple trios, influenced by Haydn, are only fully enjoyable when one plays themselves; one must have something to do. Just listening one feels that their understanding and *Phantasie* are not adequately occupied. Herr Door and Herr Popper played Brahms's Sonata for Cello and Piano (Op. 38) with extraordinary success, a masterwork for which we are gratefully obliged to them for introducing to us. The first movement (E minor) with a main motive of Beethovenian strength and concision, flows proudly and clearly in wonderful leadership of both voices, so rich and nevertheless so modest in its genuine lyric poetry! ("Lyrik!") Of still more immediate and beguiling effect is the Minuet with its stately, effortless attitude with a touch of Rococo and its melodious Trio, all free and natural, the "art" hardly noticeable. The Finale is less effective. It commences as a two voice fugue and develops a rapid tarantellian motive with predominantly intellectual consequences. What one misses most in the three movements of this sonata is a fourth, and indeed an Andante, which would bring the expression of the cello to its full beauty in stately song.

Brahms's three String Quartets (op. 51) are the first publications by the tone poet in this genre. The Quartet No. 1 in C minor is a thoughtful and clear work, intelligent and

⁷⁵⁹ Hanslick, 'Kammermusik,' Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 115–117 (1874).

nevertheless not extravagant. The first movement, which we rate highest, develops a splendid, passionate theme completely masterfully; a sensuous Adagio in A flat major, reminiscent of Beethoven's late quartet style, follows an bright F minor Allegretto with a charming melodic Trio in F major. The lively stormy Finale (C minor) stands behind the earlier movements in originality of invention and directness of effect. The inadequacies of quartet playing, with incessant strain in passionate *forte* passages, also damages this piece, allowing us to wish for a double arrangement with double bass. The quartet is dedicated to a friend of the composer's, Prof. Billroth in Vienna, who has the *Jus primae noctis* of all Brahmsian chamber music, and also played the new quartet for the first time. The preference for the second (A minor) or the first (C minor) is divided; it is even divided mathematically with my preference being to take two movements from each of the quartets. The passionate Allegro and the witty Scherzo of the C minor Quartet tower above the two similar movements in the A minor Quartet, which again in the deep, calm melancholy of its Adagio, and the rhythmical course of its Finale, eclipses its predecessor.

The third String Quartet by Brahms, B flat major, a work of the ripest mastery equal to the first two, ought to have an advantage over them: it sounds more cheerful, clearer, more benevolent. The themes are truly suitable for quartet, as is the whole development – a rare achievement with modern quartets, which seem now to remind us of a movement for piano, and now to demand the entry of an orchestra. Here is the finest contrapuntal art, and the boldest harmony, that we are accustomed to with Brahms. Where he surprises us this time is the cheerful clarity, which forms the basic character of the quartet, evident in the themes of the first and last movements which assume an almost popular (*Volkstümlich*) colouring. This motive could stem from Mozart or Haydn. If one wished to enumerate the most beautiful

⁷⁶⁰ Hanslick does not seem to be aware that the String Quartets are Op. 51/1 in C minor, Op. 51/2 in A minor, and Op. 67 in B flat major. Instead he groups all three as Op. 51. This review is purportedly written in 1874. Op. 67 was written in 1876. Perhaps Hanslick incorrectly remembered the date of the original review in *Neue Freie Presse*. Further, the fact that Hanslick does not refer to the movements by their various genre titles, but rather refers to them merely in terms of tempo designation suggests that he had not seen the scores of these works.

ideas, one would have difficulty finishing. The effect in the first movement of the rhythmic change between the notated 6/8 and the furtively insinuated 3/4 bars is delightfully surprising, as in the Finale is the sudden emergence of the main motive from the Allegro! The Andante (F major) is a broad, sweet song on the first violin. The Scherzo, a kind of fantastic viola solo that is accompanied by the other three instruments with mutes, belongs to Brahms's most original pieces, but is not easy to grasp on first hearing. The Finale (Poco Allegretto) varies a cosy-cheerful theme, a sound from the old Vienna in the simplest Liedform of four to four bars, with tonic and dominant accompaniment.

Brahms, German Requiem op. 45 and Alto Rhapsody op. 53⁷⁶¹

What great success Brahms's *German Requiem* celebrated today! I was reminded of the first fragmented performances of this work in 1867, and the resistance it met with both the public and the critics. At that time it was a particularly long organ point in the third movement that was hammered mercilessly by a manic timpanist that irritated the public and a number of elderly fanatics to impertinent hissing. "Brahms", so I wrote at the time, "has no need to grieve. In a few years the public will accept his Requiem with undivided appreciation, and the concert-servants of hearsay themselves will have enough respect for it to set up musical hissing vipers at the door." That was very confidently spoken, but success has proven me right. Seldom have I witnessed such devout listening, such a deeply seized audience.

What a strange coincidence that one after the other, in the same hall, scenes from Wagner's *Götterdämmerung* and Brahms's *German Requiem* were played; the principal works of the two most outstanding tone poets of the present time! Greater contrasts in the

⁷⁶¹ Hanslick, 'Brahms: "Deutsches Requiem" und "Rhapsodie", *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 134–136 (1875).

⁷⁶² The first performance of *Ein deutsches Requiem* was a semi-private concert in Vienna on December 1 1867 at the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, and dedicated to the memory of Franz Schubert. A series of problems wreaked havoc with the performance. The first two movements, Kalbeck and others report, were accepted with little hesitation; the third (and for Vienna, final) movement, however, became immediately notorious because of a misunderstanding on the part of the timpanist: in the pedal fugue section of the third movement, his repeated D's were played not as the written *pf*, but instead as *f* or even *ff*: the effect was to completely drown out the rest of the orchestra and the vocal soloists. See Michael Musgrave, *Brahms: A German Requiem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 60.

music of two contemporaries from the same country are hardly conceivable. In Brahms's *Requiem* we see the highest goal achieved with the purest artistic resources. Warmth and depth of mind with complete technical mastery, nothing sensuously brilliant but nevertheless everything so deeply touching; no new orchestral effects, but great, new ideas, and with all the wealth, all the originality of the noblest naturalness and simplicity. With Wagner each movement is dipped in affectation, with Brahms not even one. Wagner builds his completely new art on the rubble of all earlier music; on the other hand, Brahms believes in the descent of ancestors, such as Bach and Beethoven whom he is not ashamed to follow. While music with Wagner has the inwardness of power in order to be painting, with Brahms it remains the most individual language of a strong spirit, and shows us how a tone poem can shake all hearts, without shaking the basic celebrations of music.

One may calmly claim today, that since Bach's B Minor Mass and Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, nothing has been written in this genre that can take its place beside Brahms's *German Requiem*. Yes, the latter still stands nearer to our hearts, because it is stripped of every confessional dress, every sacred convenience. Instead of the ritual Latin text, German words are chosen, and chosen in such a way that both the individual nature of the music and the mind of the listener are drawn into a more intimate involvement. The most fortunate ones who never experience loss will enjoy the *German Requiem* with that internal blessedness, which is granted only by beauty. For those, however, who mourn dearly, do not presume to remain dry-eyed through the overwhelming, touching sounds of the soprano's aria. But one will experience how transfiguring and strengthening the purest comfort is that flows from this music. Brahms is to have written this requiem after the death of his beloved mother when he himself was in deepest emotion. No son has set a more beautiful monument for his mother—and for himself.

A new, important, and completely characteristic work by Brahms: "Rhapsody for Solo Alto, Male Choir and Orchestra" (op. 53), could not possibly be more favourably introduced

then by Frau Amalie Joachim. With her voice sounding incomparably well, and the most expressive declamation, she solved the difficult task. The dark seriousness of the composition and the musically austere poem by Goethe, which is difficult to understand without commentary (it begins questioning with questioning words: "But who is that, on one side?"), makes the public reception of this work more difficult. Brahms, who goes somewhat off the beaten track, the broad, lyrical military road, in his choice of texts, has taken those fragments of Goethe's *Harzreise im Winter* after Goethe's explanation, that have their own sentimental-novel-like story. The Brahms "Rhapsody" works through an extremely dark mood that appears strange at first; the poem becomes truly musical initially with the closing strophe, which brings comfort and reconciliation. The entry of the male-voice choir, through which the female voice bolts like a streak of lightning, is movingly beautiful. The peculiar ethical character, which is impressed so completely and utterly on us in Brahms's music, and through which it is so closely related to Beethoven's music, arises in the rhapsody with an almost gentle, tendentious strength, leaving this work to appear as a companion piece to his *Schicksalslied*.

Brahms, Piano Sonata Op. 5⁷⁶³

Herr Door played one of the earliest compositions by J. Brahms: the F minor Piano Sonata, op. 5, which still does not belong to the public. A fantasy of equal tenderness and passion weaves through this composition which, at the same time, shelters as many errors as attractions of stormy youth. All of Brahms is there in it, however he is still under the spell of Schumann, whose ingenious youthful works worked a magic power on our composer. The characteristics of the melodies, the frequent jumps, the dreamy singing lines of the middle voices, the oddly enchanting harmonies, the far-reaching chords – all is reminiscent of Schumann. There are certain poetic allusions, such as the motto over the Andante, the interweaving of a student fraternity song in the Finale (similar to the "Großvatertanz" in the

⁷⁶³ Hanslick, 'Kammermusik', Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 200–201 (1877).

"Davidsbündlern") and such things. The first movement with its urgent passion has something intoxicating about it, after which the love-blessed intimate Andante addresses us all the more touchingly. Following the cheeky, flourishing Scherzo (which could stand without further ado in Schumann's "Davidsbündler-Tänzen") is a short Intermezzo, with "Rückblick" written over it. Here again, the A flat major theme of the Andante is heard in the minor; the story of a distraught love, told with almost the dramatic vividness of a scenic staging. In the Finale it becomes somewhat wild and colourful; the motives accumulate; the development, now faltering, now rushing, wants to find no end. But like all genuine passion, even the most foolish, it takes its own faith prisoner along with ours. One must have lived inside this work in order to understand and enjoy it completely. Technically it belongs to the most difficult piano pieces; not one passage lies comfortably under the hand.

Brahms, Two Motets for Mixed Chorus a capella, Op. 74⁷⁶⁴

A new motet by Brahms followed the "Barber of Baghdad" overture. 765 How differently this last piece affects me! A pure, shining choral song, in the mild light of transfiguration, almost a visual echo of Brahms's greatest and most perfect work, the *German Requiem*. The bible-setting composer arranged the words from the Holy Bible with an extremely fortunate hand, only the generally true and humanly touching, without confessional colouring. "Childlike questions, seizing wisdom and man's doubts, it's all in there", expressed an avid friend of music sitting close by me. The motet consists of four short vocal movements, the first and last for four voices, the two middle movements for six voices. If I should express a preference for one of these unified four movements, it would be the first in D minor. Just one instant stops one short of the unusual declamation of the word "Warum?", whose first syllable is sustained somewhat longer and more strongly accented. Then the deep, soulful, melancholy overwhelms us, with which the choral movement is introduced with a repeated "Warum?" and

⁷⁶⁴ Hanslick, Untitled Review, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 222–223 (1878). Originally reviewed in *Neue Freie Presse*, 10 December 1878.

⁷⁶⁵ Peter Cornelius, Barber of Baghdad Overture.

quietly closes. An artful fabric of voices pulls through the whole piece, that almost no other contemporary composer could arrange, and nevertheless it flows clearly, naturally and in pure melodious sound. It is understood that such a spiritual choral work as this cannot achieve its full effect in the concert hall. One would like to hear the motet on an evening in a quiet church, undisturbed by worldly impressions and sights.

Brahms, Violin Sonata in G Major, Op. 78⁷⁶⁶

Brahms's new sonata for violin and piano is quite a sensuous work spun from silver threads. It is of a more contemplative than passionate character, and is a formal contrast to the F minor Quintett played shortly beforehand. While during the quintet we are beaten by dark powers, wandering in the stormy night between rocks, abysses and raging waterfalls, the sonata leads us to a more peaceful landscape, where we rest with a kind of melancholic pleasure. Instead of a storm in the heart, a reconciled resignation. Instead of the precipitous rock, a cosy little village. Instead of the thundering waterfall, the quiet trickle of warm summer rain. And indeed this rain actually plays a part in the sonata, especially in the Finale, whose theme and accompaniment figure are taken faithfully from "Regenlied" by Brahms (Op. 59, Book I). Refers to movement begins with the three opening notes of the song, the first slow raindrops pounding at the window, as it were. However this motive is only fleetingly suggested. The Regenlied theme is performed more substantially in the final movement. Pour down raindrops, pour down!" the regular sweeping-away accompaniment figure seems to repeat, "reawaken for me the dreams again".

What we have here is in no way a literal repetition of the song, as we had in Schubert's well known instrumental works with their songs: "Der Wanderer", "Die Forelle", "Der Tod und das Mädchen". Brahms leaves himself, as it were, to work from a subconscious

⁷⁶⁶ Hanslick, 'Kammermusik', *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 257–259 (1879). Originally reviewed in *Neue Freie Presse*, 23 November 1879.

⁷⁶⁷ Brahms, Piano Quintet in F Minor, Op. 34.

⁷⁶⁸ Brahms 'Regenlied,' Op. 59/3.

memory, and to create in the same mood, from the same main motive, a new one. This final movement is clear and graceful, and belongs among the pearls of Brahms's chamber music. The first two movements develop less freely and originally. There the storm of feeling is held back in that particular superior, reflective way, that is evident in similar works by Brahms. Something undecided, blurred or hazy lies therein; the motives are not afraid of bright colours and plastic forms, valuable rhymes, which do not quite want to emerge to their full independent beauty. Brahms loves to smear the contours of the melody and the rhythm through frequent syncopations, sextuplet and triplet accompaniments, and rhythmic shifts. In the Adagio of the sonata the listener feels uncertain every now and then of where the bar line falls. This tempo-adjusting ambiguity is also attributable to Brahms's piano playing, which in its refinement (perhaps too much refinement) neglects the sharp rhythmic modulation, and in particular saves the little finger all too tenderly in the left hand. The new violin sonata ranks among the most important compositions that improve with repeated hearings. It seems to us to have been produced more for the intimate benefit of the private circle than for the effect in the concert hall. A completely sensuous, not to mention secret piece, requires a certain frame of mind from the players.

Brahms, Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 77⁷⁶⁹

The new Violin Concerto by Brahms that Joachim played to the Viennese public for the first time is a ripe fruit of the friendship between Joachim and Brahms. A work of high, strong stature, of that calm, genuinely masculine cheerfulness which, to our joy, wins ever more ground in the mind of the composer. The Violin Concerto seems closely related to Brahms's Symphony No. 2, not only in the tonality of D major, rather in its whole character. It is related to the Piano Concerto No. 1 in D minor as his second symphony is to the first. The great, dark pathos, the painful passion, that pulls through the Piano Concerto, is a kinder mood in the

769 Hanslick, 'Virtuosen, Brahms' Violin-Concert (gespielt von Joachim),' Concerte, Componisten und

Violin Concerto, a more graceful river. One should certainly deduce from this that the Violin Concerto is already popular and brilliant. Brilliance and popularity are characteristics that are furthest from Brahms's personality and most alien to his style. And yet brilliance and popularity are among the characteristics that we have difficulty separating from the genre of "concerto", and are reluctant to overlook in the best individual concertos. Beethoven's and Mendelssohn's concertos would not possess that dowry of brilliance and popularity without their deeper and more difficult characteristics, they would not have found such unparalleled vivacious and continuing approval with performers and listeners. Of all existing violin concertos Beethoven's and Mendelssohn's still assume the highest rank in terms of general popularity, they stand almost in isolation. No new violin concerto since their time has been able to swing up beside those two, or to remain in the public for any time longer than them. Of the older concertos, every now and then one still plays those by Viotti or Spohr, although they are played less frequently from year to year. In recent times, Joachim's Hungarian Concerto seems to me the most original and fresh. There were violin concertos by Max Bruch, Saint-Saëns, Goldmark and other interesting appearances, but they lacked sufficient vitality to conquer that empty third place, and to stake a claim to indispensability.

Brahms's Violin Concerto ought, from today, to be recognised as the most important one that has appeared since Beethoven's and Mendelssohn's. I doubt whether it would ever rival the general favour of those two, however. It lacks the immediately recognisable and delightful melody, the rhythmic river that flows not just in the beginning but throughout the whole, in which sense the Beethoven and Mendelssohn are so uniquely effective. Many wonderful thoughts are not brought to their full effect, because they disappear too quickly, or are too closely bound to artful weaving. – Brahms's concerto is completely in the old form, three movements, the cadenza in the first often left open, filled out naturally with a performance by Joachim, the orchestra without trombones. In its mood and rhythmic motion, the first movement (D major, 3/4) sounds somewhat like the *Eroica*; it is reminiscent of

Beethoven in many details. A Larghetto in F major of serenade-like character follows. The rather long introduction, performed by woodwinds and horns, is complete garden music. In gracious curves it bends the song of the solo violin up and down, at the beginning accompanied by only string quartet, to which the winds throw individual calls. Later the violin melody sprays a shower of dainty passages, particularly sextuplet figures, and closes with the most delicate *pianissimo* exhalation. The Finale is in rondo form, an Allegro giocoso in 2/4 time. The expression "giocoso" is used here for the first time by Brahms, who rarely jokes to the best of my knowledge. In this Finale, however, the violin begins quite merrily, with a rousing, affable theme, that might fall apart quite easily under the arms of some players. The bravura of the solo violin faces some of its most difficult passages here; for pages at a time it walks in double stops, a formal sixth-etude flows in a long avenue of arpeggios, from which finally rapid scale runs flash like rockets. The technical virtuosity of this concerto is comparable to that of the Beethoven concerto, as the bravura of Joachim is comparable to that of Franz Clement. 770 We ask whether the violin concerto is violinistic and composed with violin thoughts? Many virtuosos might risk those incessantly high and highest positions; they are the so-called risky places where even Joachim did not always bring it off completely purely. To conclude: it is a piece of music of masterly formal and cultivated art, but of a somewhat austere invention, and with half spun sails of expiring fantasy.

Brahms *Tragic Overture*, Op. 81⁷⁷¹

The fourth Philharmonic concert opened with "Vorspiel und Isoldes Liebestod" from Wagner's Tristan und Isolde. Many a youthful, passionate nature, goes into raptures from the sounds of the somewhat meaningless words "Liebestod" alone. One can argue how completely effective the music of Wagner's "Liebestod" is, a music in which each bar is

⁷⁷⁰ Franz Clement (1780–1842) was an Austrian violinist, conductor and composer. His playing was characterised by clarity, elegance and tenderness, and Beethoven himself bore the highest testimony to his powers by writing his Violin Concerto, Op. 61, for him.

771 Hanslick, 'Brahms "Tragische Ouvertüre", Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 280–81 (1880).

"outside itself". Moreover this virtuoso orchestral work, which is painted with Makart colours, was splendidly performed by the Philharmonic Orchestra.

Johannes Brahms's Tragische Ouvertüre, performed for the first time, formed an interesting contrast to Wagner's pathological mood music. It deals with independent musical thoughts, themes, from which the composer organically develops the whole, with his characteristic, rigorous logic. Brahms had no specific tragedy in mind for his overture, rather an Actus Tragicus (as Sebastian Bach's title reads). The overture (D minor, alla breve) flows in a continuous course, Allegro moderato, without changes of time signature or tempo, filled throughout with a pathetic seriousness that sometimes touches the severe, but never the horribly distorting "tragic". The work is hardly understandable and appreciable in one hearing, with its broad conception and its rich, artful combination. I do not believe that many hearts will beat for the *Tragic Overture*. Its pathos is of a stifling, depressing weight, as though soaked with Northern fog. Neither the fair maiden-shape nor the hurling battle fanfare (that are not lacking in any Shakespearean tragedy) illuminate the exalted darkness of the Brahmsian Trauerspiel. If one had to call on a tragedy that was to be introduced with Brahms's overture, one would probably call on "Hamlet."

Brahms, Academic Festival Overture, Op. 80⁷⁷²

"Was kommt dort von der Höh?" Directly from the summit of tragic tone poems into the circle of merry students, who sing the "Fuchslied" and other student songs. 773 It is Johannes Brahms who even the boldest foxes do not venture to call "leather". Indeed after Brahms's Tragic Overture he composed an Academic Festival Overture that he constructed from the themes of student songs. It begins *pianissimo* with a particularly tingling Allegro-Motiv in

⁷⁷² Hanslick, 'Brahms: "Akademische Ouvertüre", Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 297–98 (1881). Originally reviewed in Neue Freie Presse, 27 March 1881.

[&]quot;Fuchslied" or "Fox Song" is another title for "Was kommt dort von Höh?", a humorous freshman song in Germany. For a discussion of the student songs Brahms uses in this overture with musical examples, see Chapter 3.

staccato quavers, almost like a light clatter of spurs, which after a while follow the solemn song "Wir hatten gebaut ein stattliches Haus" in celebratory, high trumpet tones.

Accomplished together with the first (belonging to Brahms) Allegro-Motiv, it unexpectedly takes the refrain of the student song "Landesvater": "Hört, ich sing das Lied der Liede! Hört es, meine deutschen Brüder!" Informally and nevertheless surprisingly it closes to the quaint "Fuchslied": "Was kommt dort von der Höh?" The bassoons, the comedians of the orchestra, first knock quietly, then all of the instruments answer jubilantly *fortissimo* with the refrain. How now the composer weaves all of these motives through one another and against one another, always refined and spiritual and yet never unclear or overloaded. It is absolutely delightful to hear. Brahms wisely saved up the "Gaudeamus igitur!" for the conclusion; surrounded by swirling violin passages, the peaceful Marseillaise of student life rises in full splendour, crowning the celebration of studentship. Only a composer who, like Brahms, has all the art of counterpoint in his power and can play with it gracefully, is able to write a piece of this kind, both artfully combined and of popular effect. It is a ceremony of the noblest form of the musical student fraternity to which the newly graduated doctor of philosophy is invited, with his former fellow students and the dignitaries of the famous old Breslau University.

This honorary promotion of our Brahms, which lost none of its brilliance through the snide remarks of Wagner, was only the outer cause for the composition of the *Festival*Overture. With Brahms the inner impulse is the more important. Of the student songs he celebrates in his overture there sound many valuable memories of youth; he had sung them often, inspired in the student circles of Göttingen. "Wir hatten gebaut ein stattliches Haus" and the "Landesvater" had grown in his heart, songs which were sung only once a year for especially solemn ceremonies in fraternity meetings, memorable and significant landmarks in the history of German studentship. In Vienna where student life has only recently moved, the work found only meagre points of contact with the public, actually only "Gaudeamus" and the "Fuchslied" have become generally known and popular. A gesture of amused recognition

rustled gently through the rows of listeners as the last named song emerged from Brahms's Festival Overture.

Brahms Piano Concerto No. 2 in B flat Major, Op. 83⁷⁷⁴

And now to the new Piano Concerto by Brahms in B flat major, which the composer himself performed for us in the Philharmonic concert on 26 December. The first and second symphonies by Brahms were also Christmas performances in 1876 and 1877, Christmas presents. What Brahms hung on the Christmas tree this year for the Viennese is a pearl of concert literature. The B flat major is in the strictest sense (although this is also claimed of other concertos) a great symphony with obbligato piano. It earns this description not only in consideration of the unusual number of four movements (instead of the usual three), but also on account of the orchestra completely penetrating the voice of the piano, which only emerges with a few solo bars in each movement, piano and orchestra acting as equals.

The horn alone introduces the first movement with a simple, concise motif, with unusual scope for construction, an Allegro non troppo in 4/4 time. In the course of the whole movement this short main motive develops an undreamt of wealth, not in the sense of a dry reception of a didactic art, rather in lively flowering and growth. Conscious strength and cheerfully considered seriousness form the basic tone of this movement, the one most frequently performed of all four.

The shortest and most energetic movement of the concerto follows, a wildly frothing Allegro passionato in D minor. There is no actual Scherzo but in its place an almost daring bravura belligerently tumults. A tuneful cello solo introduces the third movement, an Andante in B flat major. The piano gives it time to unfold before richly winding the most delicate garlands of tones around the singing of the orchestra. The piece does not belong to the meditative, dark Andante movements by Brahms, in whose secretive depths (to borrow a phrase from Schumann) "the mining lamp goes out", rather it belongs to the more seldom,

⁷⁷⁴ Hanslick, 'Brahms: Zweites Clavierconcert in B-dur', *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen,* 298–303 (1881).

second kind of a lovely, serenading character. The last movement (Allegro moderato, B flat major, 2/4 time) appears to me to be the pinnacle of the whole work. Regardless of my opinion, it achieves this by the most direct, enchanting effect on the public. Its graceful, melodious final main theme, which immediately takes the listener prisoner by flattery, finds a characteristic counterpart in the equally singable second minor theme, whose tender, lamenting path is reminiscent of a Hungarian folksong. This Finale flows away to a rapid conclusion in a continuous golden river.

These feeble suggestions say nothing, and nevertheless they say far too much. Pure instrumental music cannot be retold in words, and the more conscientiously one tries the clearer the impossibility becomes to capture a certain music in the closed ring of description. Some general remarks on the recent works of Brahms may perhaps orientate the reader a little better. It is an obvious perception that Brahms's new Piano Concerto No. 2 is related roughly to the first in D minor, as his second symphony is to the first. While the D minor Concerto and the C minor Symphony are illuminated by the gloomy light of distressing passion, where a wonderful but also frightening drama beckons, we look calmly, gladdened on the safe, green landscape that the Second Symphony and the Second Piano Concerto extend before us. A partial ambiguity is connected with that thunderous mood of both first mentioned works, a submergence of musical trains of thought that the listener excessively exerted and released, held on to in between wonderful lookout points, on terrible, evermore puzzling paths. This music seems to hardly breath freely, and speaks more to itself than to the people. In contrast to the first symphony, the second appears to us not only of a reconciled and friendly nature, rather also more clear musically, more reasonable.

The same can be said in earnest of the new B flat major concerto that, without touching on the great tragedy of the D minor concerto, nevertheless surpasses it in intelligence, wealth of colour and pure beauty. I would almost like to say it is an all round musical completion. Those who see the more "genuine" Brahms in the first symphony also

claim to prefer the first concerto, as Brahms is more himself in this work than the second. It is my feeling that the current Brahms is more genuine and himself, like the earlier but somewhat different. He has not only become clearer in his art with the course of the years, but also luckier in life. That can be heard in his music, exactly as is revealed in the reversal of fate in Beethoven's production. Brahms initially played his first piano concerto in Leipzig in 1859 (op. 15). Between this and the second there lies 22 years and the publication of no fewer than 63 works. At that time Brahms fought with all the bitterness of life. The first disappointments and strokes of fate rained down on the young man, who required enormous strength in order not to timidly break down in view of the high mission that Schumann had set before the whole world. 775 The Brahms of today, to a wonderful extent, has become part of what he lacked and desired at that time. Without being unfaithful to himself he is not only a greater, rather a more dear and beloved artist, a more dear and beloved person. Hence there is the happy and delightfully warm sunshine that now breaks out from Brahms's music, and which it may never again miss.

When we speak of clarity and easy intelligibility in relation to the B flat major concerto, none of Brahms's trusted friends will misunderstand – we measure with the yardstick of Brahms's music. The new Brahms flows by no means into the ear as fresh and original as a concerto by Mozart or Beethoven, as delightfully refreshing as Mendelssohn's G minor or Schumann's A minor. 776 One knows his kind: "buttoned up music", as some have called it. If now the musically experienced listener is successful in gradually unbuttoning, or if Brahms does so himself in the B flat Concerto – something else nevertheless always remains if one, like Mozart or Schubert, comes from the house "unbuttoned" to greet us with a friendly hand. Brahms is an immoveable feast and secure in his resting individuality, serious, true and distinguished to the point of abruptness, an artistic nature that will never

⁷⁷⁵ Hanslick is of course referring to the weight placed on the young composer's shoulders by Robert Schumann's article 'Neue Bahnen,' Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 39 (1853) in which he hailed the then twenty one year old Brahms as the new Messiah of music.

776 Mendelssohn, Piano Concerto No. 1 in G Minor, Op. 25; Schumann, Piano Concerto in A minor, Op. 54.

change its core, never mind its shell. His melodic invention is, as one knows, not as rich and powerful as his harmonic and contrapuntal art, his sensuousness not so developed as his intellect, his music is more deep and full of thought, than it is expressive and warm.

Those are the essential characteristics without which one is unable to think of Brahms, as is also the case with his newest concerto. To wish to invite a great artist to change from their own nature is just as presumptuous as it is useless. So often one would like to call to the wonderful Franz Schubert; "Do not let yourself go so comfortably and cosily, put yourself together energetically!" Just as often one would like to say to Brahms: "Let yourself go more freely and easily. Leave down the suit of armour for a short while and lie down in the hazy grass!" The one would be just as little able to do this as the other, even with the best will. A characteristic that Brahms's newest work has in common with the noblest works of our Classicists – it certainly does not stand in favour with all listeners – is still emphasised: It is pure music and there is no reference point for poetic in- or after- interpretation. No one will find a certain feeling, a situation, a picture, expressed musically. Rather everything is thought of purely musically, flows from a uniformly lifted mood, which is just as far removed from deep pain as it is from jubilant delight. Here, as in most of his chamber music, Brahms holds himself in a *juste-milieu* of feeling, a middle degree of temperature, in which his extraordinary creative power seems to prosper best. When Tieck puts the reproduction of "in tones" in his much cited strophe "sweet love thinks in tones", so Brahms puts the word "thought". 777 It may now be of sweet love or of what is always animated, his music is in the most beautiful sense a thinking in tones, ⁷⁷⁸ a thinking that does not exclude the warmth and the poetic momentum. If we should identify a feeling which is unmistakeable in Brahms's newest concerto, then it would be the pleasant feeling of having new, good thoughts. Thus in

⁷⁷⁷ Hanslick is referring to Ludwig Tieck's poem 'Liebe' that contains the words 'Liebe denkt in süße Tönen' (1798). He misquotes the poet. See Ruprecht Wimmer, *Ludwig Tieck, Schriften in zwölf Bänden*, Bd. 7. (Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1995), 313.

This bears a marked resemblance to Brahms's own claim that 'In meinen Tönen spreche ich' (I speak in tones) in a letter to Clara Schumann of September 1868. See Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann, Johannes Brahms, Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1869*, Bd. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927), 270.

Brahms's B flat major concerto we possess a work for which exposure will appoint ever new beauties and ever new pleasures. A long youth flowers before it.

Brahms, Nänie, Op. 82⁷⁷⁹

A new work by Brahms is Schiller's *Nänie* for choir and orchestra. Only two years ago we heard a composition to the same words by Hermann Götz in a Gesellschaft concert, whose warm feeling was all the more touching, due to a spontaneous relationship of the mourning choir with the premature death of the talented composer. ⁷⁸⁰ This time in Brahms's choral work, a certain relationship to Schiller's mourning poem is known: the lament "Alles Schöne muß sterben!", which is concerned with the ingenious painter Anselm Feuerbach who, through his activities in Vienna, also became close to the composer, is carried off in full masculine strength. Brahms's Nänie is a musical death-fire for Anselm Feuerbach, as is also betrayed by the dedication to Feuerbach's mother. For this marvellous woman the publication of the booklet reads: "A bequeathal from Anselm Feuerbach" (1882), which must touch the splendid, quite ideal people as well as those who should find Feuerbach's works strange or be unmoved by them. The fragment of an autobiography, the letters to his mother, finally Feuerbach's intelligent aphorisms form a truly valuable bequeathal. Painters tend to be sincere, warm-hearted friends of music, usually without playing an instrument themselves. The history of art will quote few opposing examples; in my personal experience I find absolutely none. The bequeathal betrays Feuerbach's love for music in more than one place. A private performance of Gluck's *Orpheus* inspired his painting of the same name. His last Viennese painting (which he considered to be his best) is called "The Concert"; of his great Dante picture he wrote, "it is just like an Andante by Mozart."

But it was less this love of music, than the similarity in the whole *Kunstanschauung* that connected Feuerbach and Brahms in friendship and affinity; their same imperturbable

⁷⁷⁹ Hanslick, 'Brahms: "Nänie", Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 345–47 (1882).

⁷⁸⁰ Hanslick is referring to *Nenie* by the Swiss composer Hermann Goetz (1840–1876), which predates Brahms's setting by seven years.

direction toward the great, the exalted and the ideal, that often led to sharp severity and seclusion. The beautiful utterance of Feuerbach made in relation to his painting "Poetry" is just as effective when applied to Brahms's tone poems: "It is no picture dictated by fashion; it is severe and unadorned. I expect no understanding of it, but I can do nothing else. And he who takes the trouble to consider it for a long time becomes somewhat overcome, as though the picture is not a picture of our time." This severe, noble and pure spirit also flows through *Nänie*, a work that Brahms dedicated to Feuerbach.

Just how enticing and at the same time dangerous Schiller's poem is for the composer, being heavy in ideas and rich in imagery, was already emphasised in the Götz composition. The Götz may have an advantage over the deep and artistic work of Brahms, through pleasing melodies and plentiful change. Brahms does without the latter and holds his mourning choir together in a final movement of melancholic ceremony. After a gentle instrumental introduction in which the oboe leads the lamenting word, the soprano sings the first verse alone, the three other voices follow canonically. In solemn majesty the middle movement rises in F sharp major: "she ascends from the sea", in the most touching simplicity he lowers the lament to *pianissimo*; "that perfection can perish."

It is a sensuous course that Brahms does not leave the last word with "for the entire community goes down to the underworld in silence," but rather closes with the previous verse: "to be a dirge on the lips of loved ones can be a marvellous thing!" The music takes up the opening and main movement again here in D major (6/4), rounding off the whole harmoniously. The work, which would benefit from a much finer, more solemn performance, and a more precise orchestral accompaniment, was given a rather cool reception. Novelties of such deep seriousness and artistic execution have nearly always to fight in order to win the comfort of the public; this battle leads to victory only with later repetitions.

Brahms, Gesang der Parzen, Op. 89⁷⁸¹

Brahms's Gesang der Parzen (Op. 89) belongs among the jewels of modern choral music. Perhaps the choice of the wonderful poem appears strange. Taken from Goethe's Iphigenie, it finds no general understanding in the concert public, and in this isolation brings us hopelessly down to earth. This cold, arbitrary envy of the Gods who do not oppose the counterweight of human elevation (as in Prometheus), effects us too horrifyingly. The stuff of *Parzenlied* forms a companion piece to Brahms's Schicksalslied (by Hölderlin), which confronts the eternally unspoilt peace of the Gods, in comparison with the constant fight of the stressful existence of poor humans. There is a further musical analogy to Brahms's newest work in his Nänie, the awe-inspiring lament by Schiller. After a few introductory bars of the most piercing, tragic expression, the choir (a three-voice male choir alternating with a three-voice female choir) begins simply reciting: "Let all men on earth be afraid of the Gods!" On the words "let him fear them doubly" he unites all six voices to tremendous strength. It brings out the dispute, the gloomy tones of lament, and a penetrating cry, as from the depths, announces the fall in to Tartarus, as shining contrasts of well-being sound fulfilled, rise against the strophe: "the Gods though remain there eternally feasting." Once more the choir repeats the first, dark motive: "let all be afraid of the Gods", which now carries itself to a mild, stately song in D major: "They turn then, these rulers, their eyes that bring blessings."

This reconciling, almost transfiguring conclusion is not quite explainable from the poem itself; it is not necessarily a result of it; that the Gods turned their blessed eyes away from the innocent grandchild of the unfortunate, once beloved ancestor, does not signify a softening, but rather indicates the merciless life of their cruel sense. We leave it to others to find these surprising mood changes in Brahms's deeply sensuous interpretations, and would rather the key to search for it on the surface, particularly in the musical needs of the composer. Just as Rubens or Rembrandt often need a bright colour and, without the

⁷⁸¹ Hanslick, 'Brahms: "Gesang der Parzen", Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 372–374 (1883).

compulsion of the subject, use it for individual portions of a darkly held painting, so, we think, Brahms the musician deemed a more reconciled ending to be essential to this choir, and therefore arranged it so touchingly, and beautifully, that we too will not be able to do without it from now on. Brahms's *Gesang der Parzen* is highly important in its perfect union of the severity and simplicity of classical antiquity, with the liveliest, most moving expression of feelings. After the dark main motive, the middle movement works with delightful sounding beauty; it is harmonically rich, and therefore not so much arranged polyphonically as similar works by Brahms. No one can remain insensitive to the ripe, solemn beauty of *Parzenlied*; however, a more favourable public reception will be just as difficult here as with *Nānie* and *Schicksalslied*. Elsewhere certainly both *Nānie* and *Parzenlied* were stormily in demand for repeated performances, in places where the attention to serious choral music is just as common and intensive as ours is sporadic and superficial – in Switzerland or the Rheinish states, for example. In Vienna such strict choral compositions are rarely given a respectful reception. There is only one way for this to gradually increase to a warm, understanding intimacy: frequent repetition of such works.

Brahms String Quintet in F Major, Op. 88⁷⁸²

In the new String Quintet (op. 88) we step towards one of the most perfect creations by Brahms, one of the clearest, and one of the most charming. His newer compositions bring fewer surprises compared to his revolutionary youthful works, to which perhaps only the second piano rhapsody is again bound – however the beautiful is more concentrated in them, and the whole mood becomes more cheerful, more satisfied. So it is in the new quintet. The simple *cantabile* main theme adapts an idyllic tone, that animates itself in the attractive subtheme of A major, and the transparent interplay of these two motives spreads a lasting sunshine over the whole first movement. Naturally it looks different when the sun shines with Brahms than it would with Haydn or Mozart. They would light up even a more serious, more

⁷⁸² Hanslick, 'Kammermusik', Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 386–87 (1883).

harsh landscape, one which had individual rocky reefs and strangely branched trees. One of the most beautiful blooming movements of Brahms's chamber music is this Allegro, nevertheless exceeded by the following Adagio. It is of a moving, intimate song, new and characteristic in form: a kind of fusion of Adagio and Scherzo, the latter missing as an independent component in the quintet (of only three movements). The Adagio begins with a rapturous, passionate melody in C minor, however soon moves to a merry Allegretto in A major that, after a long flight, sinks back into the thoughtful depths of the Adagio. The Adagio is somewhat broader here than at the opening and closes in the main tonality, but only apparently: a delicate Presto in A major flutters in unannounced, in order to lead the early Allegretto again to the first Adagio that appears and now remains in A major. The gradual, quiet exhalation of this movement is of celestial beauty. Friends of poetic interpretation may search their art for a strange and yet nowhere arbitrary change of mood. We cannot help them, certainly also we cannot contradict them, if they imagine themselves transferred in to a violetaired, quiet spring night, looking at an open window full of joy and sorrow in the small moonlit garden. Also in the Finale all is clear, transparent, unified. It begins with a quaver figure rising up in the viola for four bars, which later arises as an accompaniment motive of a song theme, and leads, by a number of intelligent transformations to a brilliant, fiery conclusion. It is a splendid movement and its only misfortune is the insurmountable attraction of the first two movements.

Brahms, Lieder, Opp. 84, 85 and 86⁷⁸³

The second Lieder evening of the chamber singer G. Walter was devoted exclusively to the music of Schubert and Brahms. After several frequently and gladly heard Schubert Lieder, Walter sang five numbers from Brahms's three new books of songs (op. 84, 85 and 86) for the first time. Among this collection are some of the most beautiful works that Brahms has produced in this genre, and that says a lot in view of over 100 Lieder by this composer. There

⁷⁸³ Hanslick, 'Brahms, 3 neue Lieder, Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen, 395–396 (1883).

are two different yet equally characteristic sides of Brahms's Lieder art: the soft, dreamy, deeply serious, and the popular, cheerful. They both step towards us this evening in full illumination. In relation to the first genre, we would like to point out 'Feldeinsamkeit; 784 what blessed peace in this so deep and agreeably breathing melody: "I rest quite still in the tall green grass!" The second Lied "Nachtwandler", sets a sensuous poem by Kalbeck: "Do not disturb the gentle slumber of one encircled by a relieving dream." It is impossible to convey the mysterious, half sweet, half gruesome mood of this poem more truly and more beautifully than Brahms has. There is a fantastic charm in the change from C major to C minor in the short prelude, a deeply moving strength in the increase at the end: "Woe to the lips that would call out to him." Like the night wanderer himself, the music cries out here with inconceivable peace and security at an abyss in which everyone irredeemably fell to the "dramatic," gracious composer. Incomparable delicacy also filled the third Lied sung by Walter: "In Waldeinsamkeit,"786 which, however, does not match the melodic attraction of the first two, and perhaps goes too far in the intellectual independence of the harmonically soaked accompaniment. What delightful kernels of popular idea and amusement are known to the more exact connoisseurs of Brahms's music – a kernel that is hardly foreseen in his instrumental music. Is there anything more charming than the two duets "Guter Rath" and "So laß' uns wandern" (op. 75), than the Lieder: "Sonntags", 789 "Mei Mutter mag mich nit",790 and so many others? Walter sang two attractive pieces of this kind from the new books: "Mädchenlied" whose gentle melancholy and strange rhythm (5/4) correspond to the South-Slavic character of the poem, and "Vergebliches Ständchen". 792 One would not expect this

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⁷⁸⁴ Feldeinsamkeit, Op. 86/2

⁷⁸⁵ Nachtwandler, Op. 86/3

⁷⁸⁶ 'Vergebliches Ständchen', Op. 84/4.

⁷⁸⁷ 'Guter Rat', Op. 75/2

^{788 &#}x27;So laß uns wandern', Op. 75/3

⁷⁸⁹ 'Sonntag', Op. 47/3

^{790 &#}x27;Die Trauernde', Op. 7/5

^{791 &#}x27;Mädchenlied', Op. 85/3

^{792 &#}x27;Vergebliches Ständchen', Op. 84/4

popular, refreshing, cheerful melody of Brahms, with the most refined accompaniment lying half-hidden underneath it.

New Quartets, 423-424 (1884)

The farewell-production of the Heckmann String Quartet was such a clear holiday. It began with Schumann's A major quartet, the same quartet with which the then unknown players won the full sympathy of the public at their first soirée. Thereafter followed the A minor quartet by Brahms. 793 Beside his recently heard in B flat major, 794 the clear, sensuous attraction. An Adagio of this sweet, long breath of melody, like that in Brahms's A minor quartet, had not been written since Beethoven. Positioned in a programme between Schumann and Beethoven, Brahms in his beautiful individuality had to suffer neither from the great nor greater neighbour. He has taken elements of Schumann's and Beethoven's music in his own – initially more in his youthful works, more recently in the later period – but both influences are completely absorbed in Brahms's individuality, so that nobody who is thoroughly familiar with this composer can misjudge him anywhere. No earlier performance made the veins of Brahms's quartet so transparent as the Heckmann. This warm clarity – because there is also a harsh, cold clarity of performance, which makes the blood of the composer freeze – could only be a product of deep understanding and countless rehearsals. Obviously everyone of the four performers knew their part by heart along with that of their colleagues. Their peak was, however, the general delight in the incomparable performance of the Beethoven C major Quartet, op. 59.

Brahms String Quintet in G Major, Op. 111; Dvořák⁷⁹⁵

In its first production, the Rose Quartet played a new, still unpublished String Quintet (with 2 violas) by Johannes Brahms. One could not wish for a better opening. The new work is of that sweet, clear ripeness, which is only brought about by complete mastery and strong invention,

⁷⁹⁴ Brahms, String Quartet in B flat major, Op. 67.

⁷⁹³ Brahms, String Quartet in A minor, Op. 51/2.

Hanslick, 'Neue Quintette von Brahms und Dvořák', *Aus dem Tagebuch eines Musikers*, 316–20.

with a harmoniously refined view of life. In mood and content it follows Brahms's earliest chamber music, which we were glad to praise for the beautiful warm-hearted competence of their content, the continuity of mood and the admirable conciseness of the form. Ever more Brahms seems to concentrate; ever more consciously he finds the strength to express healthy, relatively simple feelings. A rich inner life lives in this piece, with no presumption, with no excess. There is nothing of the complacent disunity, the mysterious tone painting and the "dramatic" descriptions, which are afflicted upon us today in pure instrumental music by demanding semi-geniuses. The beauty, which is just as consistent with the harshness as with the passionate, steps ever more consciously, ever more purely into the foreground with Brahms. In that sense he forms a contrast to the Liszt-Wagnerian, the young Russian and Norwegian schools, about whom a word on the "Impressionists" in painting would be appropriate: they are continually afraid of making something beautiful.

Brahms's chamber music of the last ten to fifteen years reminds me in its effect of Beethoven in his second period; the similarity lies not in individual aspects, rather in the complete character, in the whole atmosphere, which drifts over us with such agreeable, gentle strength. In all probability Brahms may persist with this tendency. He has gone the opposite way to Beethoven: from storm to peace, from night to light. As Beethoven wrote his last quartets, these grandiose dramas of pessimism and of irreconcilable humour, he was exactly as old as the Brahms of today. What a contrast of undeniable, internal relationship! Perhaps it is only individual preference, that makes no claim to universality, that Brahms always appeared most perfect to me in his chamber music. Apart from the *German Requiem*, a work that stands completely above and by itself, I find Brahms to be strong in invention and construction, with the most intimate fusion of particular and nevertheless general human contents with beautiful form, at his best in his B flat major Sextet, his String Quartets and Piano Quartets, the F major Quintet, the Violin Sonatas.

The new quintet ranks among those works in which I see not the most original and the boldest, but rather the best Brahms. The first movement is completely wonderful, an Allegro con brio in G major in 9/8. How joyously victorious the theme from the cellos swings under the rushing tremolos of the violins! Here that sweet melody of the second subject sung by both violas, and the answer of the violins, gracefully slopes and bends down into the great seventh chord! How the motives and motivic fragments of the first part are so artfully and nevertheless so casually used in the development; nearly always surprising, and nevertheless as though it could not be any other way! The Adagio sounds gentle and intimate, a melancholic, slavic influenced song in D minor. It follows an Allegretto in G minor, with a lovely rocking Trio in G major. As with most of Brahms's Scherzos, it is neither joking nor funny, rather it saunters along in comfortable humour, as if it were singing before itself. The Finale, which works its way up from an easily masked B minor to the main tonality G major, is a sharply rhythmical 2/4 section of light Hungarian colour. It is less effective through the importance of its themes than through its temperament, that in cheerful, completely popular, yet fading passion sweeps everything away with itself.

It so splendidly happened that two days after the Brahms String Quintet, a new Piano Quintet by Dvořák was performed. The instrumental music of today must scold itself often enough for being unproductive. But a time that sees two new works such as the Quintet by Brahms and that by Dvořák truly cannot be called impoverished. The younger of the two does not work as consistently and as scrupulously as Brahms. Between good and excellent works, he occasionally produces works of less distinction, especially with Lieder and piano pieces, a second harvest, as it were, "between the sheafs". The new Quintet, however, belongs to his most beautiful pieces. It is real Dvořák: original, directly felt and sung out freshly. He has long since broken away from the wild impetuosity and the sudden, sharp contrasts of his "Slavonic Rhapsodies"; likewise from the exaggerated, forward surges of the Slavonic

⁷⁹⁶ Dvorak, Piano Quintet in A major, Op. 81.

character. His newer works, among them the A major Quintet, show freedom of fantasy, logical development of thought, unity of form, and a genuinely international style, which is reminiscent of the composer's homeland only through fleeting, attractive resemblances. Dvořák's compositions are without question more universal, more generally human, than those of his Russian and Norwegian colleagues. At least he denies the German school, which they all followed. Beethoven, Schubert and Brahms are his only models. The spirit of the latter runs underground, as it were, in Dvořák's later works, without doing its characteristic demolition. His Piano Quintet greets us as one of the most gloomy new buds on the tree of our chamber music. It loses itself every now and then in its breadth, but the many attractive ideas, which this composer almost never abandons, always keep our interest alive. The first Allegro has strong, cantabile themes in long phrases. The Adagio in F sharp minor, a melancholic elegie ("Dumka") with a delightful singing middle section in D major, appears to us to be the most significant of the four movements. The Scherzo, in which a fleeting Schubert reminiscence does not distract us, is more effective through the rapidly flowing course of its cheerfulness, than through absolute novelty of invention. In the Finale Dvořák shows up as a courageous contrapuntalist, without being dry or boring. The whole work bears the stamp of healthiness and originality.

Piano Trio in No. 1 in B flat Major, Op. 8⁷⁹⁷

We are surprised by a completely remarkable novelty: an old composition by Brahms that nevertheless has become completely new. I refer to the Piano Trio Op. 8 that, in its thirtieth year, the composer now pursues like a malicious goblin to whisper: "Dear Papa, you have made what you could have made out of me better!" The public would never have spoken out as poorly of it as Brahms himself. They greeted the piece with extraordinary warmth in its first performance by Door (1870). "Brahms," so I wrote after that premiere, "has cultivated his talent, refined his art, perhaps he himself now judges this work more strictly as an

Hanslick, 'Klaviertrio op. 8 von Brahms', Aus dem Tagebuch eines Musikers, 320–321.

unripened artistry – nevertheless it remains a lively, thoroughly poetic composition."⁷⁹⁸ He put youth into it, and youth is a beautiful thing.

Now Brahms has lovingly added to the inspiration of his youth, and yet at the same time, being frustrated with its technical lack, has completely reworked the Trio which maintains its themes, so that it stands there as a similar, new work. The sharpest eye will not notice a trace of patchwork in it. After his bright, main theme in the first movement, he introduces a completely new subtheme, extends it in tremendous development, and only in the last few bars does he make his way back to the original theme. The fugato, which at the time I said works like a Latin scholastic quote in one's favourite poem, has disappeared, as have many empty places. The Scherzo has been changed the least, whose uniform meagre construction does not require assistance. But a new conclusion of more brilliant effect surprises us here. Of the Adagio only the first bars remain, nothing further. The original second theme, reminiscent of Schubert's "Am Meer" has been replaced by another motif. The noble flow of this movement is no longer interrupted by an Allegro, which now ends just as solemnly as it began. The Finale has received a completely new, energetic sub-theme in D major, from whose entry everything is newly invented up to the conclusion. How much fire and passion is now built up in this Finale! The small details that Brahms has changed or added cannot be discussed here; but they are certainly no less interesting for the musician than the new construction as a whole. Young composers should not neglect making a comparison of the original Trio Op. 8 and this new edition. One can be taught here how a master never stops learning.

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⁷⁹⁸ See Hanslick's review of Op. 8 in *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen*, 23–24, translated above.

⁷⁹⁹ Schubert, "Am Meer" from *Schwanengesang*, D. 957. It is interesting that Hanslick did not note the presence of the Schubert reference in his original review of Op. 8, but notes its absence here. To my knowledge this is the only instance where the allusion to 'Am Meer' is noted in Brahms's lifetime. The earliest critic, other than Hanslick, to draw attention to the Schubertian theme is Kalbeck. See Kalbeck, *Brahms* I, 152.

Brahms, Piano Concerto No. 1 in D Minor, Op. 15800

Only rarely does a piano virtuoso dare to play Brahms's Piano Concerto No. 1 in D minor, which we got to hear the Philharmonic play after a considerable absence. The difficulties of this work, both inner and outer, affect not only the creativity of the player, but also that of the listener. I confess that, despite its unmistakeable geniality, in the beginning the D minor Concerto seemed more repellent than attractive to me. Its thunderous, scorching passion and defiant force seems, to the mind of the listener, to threaten like a demon of pessimism, while at the same time our musical thinking attempts to solve its contrapuntal secrets. One must hear this powerful piece repeated and hear it well, in order to completely seize and enjoy its strange and harsh beauty. To Brahms's second concerto, that needs only to be performed to triumph, this first behaves somewhat like his first symphony to his second. Not only in its dark, wild feeling of pain, also in its resemblance to Beethoven's "Ninth", Brahms's D minor Concerto and the C minor Symphony (of twenty years later) are related. Never before had a piano concerto with such serious, severe speech arisen, so absolutely symphonic, and all merely virtuosic effects turned away. How remarkable that Brahms wrote the D minor Concerto, a work of mature masculinity and mastery, as a young man, and performed it publicly more than thirty years ago in Leipzig. Those who heard the piece by Brahms himself, or by Bülow, would have missed much in the performance by Mr. Leonard Vorwick. The young man is still lacking sufficient strength, intellectual as well as physical, for this task. Mr. Vorwick gets little tone from the piano, his touch is dull in the cantabile parts, hard and nevertheless poor in the *forte* passages. Everything was played correctly – which in itself verifies an important technique – but the depth and passion, the burning colours were missing. In this cool, immaculate, inoffensive manner of performing, Mr. Vorwick almost seemed to me like an English Gentleman, which indeed he really is.

Hanslick, 'Brahms D-moll-Concert', Aus dem Tagebuch eines Musikers, 344–345

Brahms, Clarinet Quintet, Op. 115, and Clarinet Trio, Op. 114801

We heard a still unpublished Trio by Brahms for Piano, Cello and Clarinet. 802 This combination of instruments has the effect of something new, or more truthfully, of a fortunate renewal of an old practice. Our musical ancestors, from whom a lot could still be learned, had in their chamber music a much greater diversity of instruments than us. One need only think of Bach's Sonata for flute, violin and piano, of Handel's trios for two flutes and bass, two oboes and bass. The clarinet was at that time a new instrument not yet used, not even cited in Matheson's [sic.] Neu eröffnete Orchester (1713). 803 Over sixty symphonies by Haydn and all the youthful works of Mozart still do without the clarinet. Of the wind instruments the oboe was the former spokesman. From Mozart's later works we have a delightful piece of chamber music with clarinet – the so-called Stadler Quintet. 804 Beethoven in his first period, as is well known, employed the clarinet in a Piano Trio (op. 11) and a Piano Quintet (op. 16), but all of his later music on piano and string instruments avoids it. The composer who first allowed the clarinet to speak to its full extent and its full, characteristic beauty was C. M. Weber. He was formally in love with the instrument and gave it the most attractive singing parts in the orchestra. For his friend, the excellent clarinet-virtuoso Bärmann, Weber wrote three concertos, a string quintet with clarinet and a large duo for clarinet and piano. Since then the instrument has almost completely retreated to the orchestra. With the exception of completely isolated appearances (such as Schumann's small "Märchen Erzählungen" and Brahms's Horn-Trio⁸⁰⁶) one can say that since Mendelssohn and Schumann, for the last half century, chamber music has done without wind instruments. It was a fortunate idea by Brahms, to provide a completely new element of sound, with the most soulful of wind instruments, the

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Hanslick, 'Brahms, Klarinettquintett und Trio', Fünf Jahre Musik, 168–173.

⁸⁰² Brahms, Clarinet Trio in A Minor for Clarinet, Cello and Piano Op. 114.

⁸⁰³ Johann Mattheson, *Das neu eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1713).

⁸⁰⁴ Presumably Hanslick is referring to Mozart's Clarinet Quintet in A major K581, referred to as the Stadtler Quintet because it was inspired by the playing of (and the new instruments invented by) Anton Stadler.

⁸⁰⁵ Robert Schumann, Märchen Erzählungen, Op. 132.

⁸⁰⁶ Brahms, Horn Trio Op. 40, the horn part of which can be played on viola or clarinet.

clarinet. The first movement of the Trio begins in idyllic stillness, which soon intensifies to a more moving, even more passionate mood. The whole process is full of soulful wanderings, rich in spirit; the up and down rolling scales of the development section seem to me not to grow out of the whole, but give more the impression of "redundant full stops". The elegiac song of the Adagio is shared mainly by the cello and clarinet, whose deep shawm-like-tones spread a romantic twilight over the whole. The pearl of the work is the third movement (Andante grazioso in A major), a sweet, songlike melody of warm-hearted serenity. The movement is so immediately enticing, it is popular in the most noble sense, that I could say of few works by Brahms. After this refreshing little poem the Finale appears to be more the work of compositional combination than joyful creation. At any rate, it stands up less than the first two movements on freshness and originality of melodic invention.

Brahms's new quintet in B minor for clarinet and string quartet is incomparably more significant. For a long time no work of serious chamber music was so immediately ignited in public, had such a deep and lively effect. The quintet is a more broadly executed, more significant counterpart to the Clarinet Trio in A minor. The particular charm of the sound of the clarinet reigned here even more strongly and more mysteriously than in the latter. Like the artist who, given a certain external means, a certain material, measure or restraint frequently turns into an artistic "motive", that supplies new ideas, so Brahms's youngest, grateful adopted child, the clarinet, has stimulated in him charming new inventions and combinations. The first moderately moving 6/8 movement, flows in idyllic contentment and light, peaceful nostalgia; Just before the end it gives an intense outburst of all the instruments, which then themselves calmly deflect against the depth, and it ends *pianissimo*.

The most important of the four movements, and in general one of the most beautiful, warmest pieces by Brahms, is the Adagio in B major. The clarinet plays a gentle, melancholic, leading song, which in its opening bars and its whole mood is reminiscent of the F major

Quintet, op. 88. All four string instruments (con sordini) carry the lovely simple song on gentle, quiet, soft chords. A delayed tempo leads to a remarkable new section, a middle section in A minor. The clarinet rises from its coordinated position to one of supremacy, raised to the status of a solo instrument. As though improvising, it strides across in freely curving passages repeating the whole range of its richness of tones. Its emancipation from the regular rhythm, its sobbing and wailing comes from the gypsies. Gradually this free fantasising flows back again into the original bed, and the movement ends, quietly resounding. The whole movement is as though it were dipped in dark sunset. For one who possesses Heine's "Sound-picture-talent" the picture of a young shepherd might emerge, who in the loneliness of a Hungarian plain melancholically plays his shawm. In this comforting release of the soul, his joy mixes unconsciously with the art-rich treatment of the instrument. After the Adagio follows an Andantino in D major of a somewhat calm character; it proceeds "Presto non assai", its short, conversational motif reminiscent of something similar by Brahms. After an artful development this movement closes, like all the others, pianissimo. Again the Finale rises to important heights, which brings something completely new in its form. It consists of five variations over a very simple song, whose second part is repeated. One is aware of Brahms's sovereign control of variation form. His inexhaustible, always rich in spirit control of art binds us from beginning to end. And this ending belongs to the most remarkable passages of the quintet; the Finale ends gradually slowing down from a fast tempo, ending with exactly the same elegiac closing bars of the first movement.

A peculiarity of style that is minted in almost all of the new chamber music by Brahms seems particularly remarkable in the B minor Quintet. There is a much closer relationship, a unified character of all four movements. In the quintet everything belongs to a scale of colour, while a diverse life prevails therein. With Haydn and Mozart (and in the beginning with Beethoven) the individual movements stand out by their contrast to one another, for instance by setting a melancholy Adagio beside a merry Scherzo, and nonetheless ending with a fast

sweeping away, cheerful or passionate Finale. But with Brahms we see that he has endeavoured to bring the four movements closer together in a quiet transition of moods. The actual Scherzo can hardly be blinked at, still less so the Minuet; an "Andantino quasi Allegretto," or "Allegretto non troppo" steps in to their place. The moderate, reserved designations "non troppo", "non assai", "quasi" and so on, are characteristic of late Brahms who, gladly, does not go beyond a certain level of emotion, and prefers to avoid calling on glaring contrasts. The fact that many listeners would desire to hear a hearty, cheerful Scherzo after a little moved first movement, to hear a fiery, storming Finale after a dark Adagio, should neither be concealed nor criticised. But the feeling of disappointment, if it occurs at all, will rapidly disappear. For those who have occupied themselves seriously and lovingly with Brahms, the moderate, refined style of his late epoch with all of its particular features will soon be dear to them and trusted. One may claim that each large composition by Brahms will uncover a secret favour, that is, we can trust that a second hearing will be rewarded with greater joy than the first. Not all works which have this virtue also have the advantage of capturing us immediately and absolutely, as was the case with the clarinet quintet, as it recently addressed a completely unprepared public.

New Piano Pieces by Brahms (Opp. 116-119)⁸⁰⁷

Hugo Becker played Brahms's Cello Sonata Op. 99 with Ignaz Brüll. Directly following this not so easy to grasp, passionately-rooted composition, Brüll played four of the newest piano pieces by Brahms. These are the seven "Fantasies" (op. 116) and the three "Intermezzi" (op. 117). For a long time pianists had longed for something new by Brahms, who did not seem to want to traverse this territory again. Of his few piano compositions, most are condensed into his first period; after his famous Handel Variations (1862), it was 18 years until the next two books of "Piano Pieces" and the "Two Rhapsodies" appeared. Since then twelve years

⁸⁰⁷ Hanslick, 'Neue Klavierstücke von Brahms', Fünf Jahre Musik, 257–259.

⁸⁰⁸ Brahms, Klavierstücke Op. 76, (published in two books).

⁸⁰⁹ Brahms, Zwei Rhapsodien, Op. 79.

have passed. With his best strength in the larger choral and instrumental forms, Brahms seemed to have become indifferent to the smaller art. If he was drawn towards the miniature painting, he would not have waited for the urgent "Baal, hear us!" of the piano high priests. Now, nevertheless, three booklets are bestowed upon us at once. The seven "Fantasies" are short character pieces, roughly in the form of Schumann's Nachtstücke, Kreisleriana and so on, 810 but without headings. The three Intermezzi are of a similar nature, and could be included under the title "Fantasies". All pieces sound either wildly passionate or painfully resigned – an epitome of pessimism. Of the ten numbers, only four are major, which move slowly, in gentle melancholy. Not one cheerful or joking piece. Almost throughout Brahms speaks a harsh, hard language, which in its effect also reaches a cutting dissonance. A strong, proud nature steps before us here, at times unreconciled, at times deeply sad, as though bothered by secret pain. Beautiful melodies in the narrower, and thus more generally valid sense of the word, can only be praised in the Intermezzi Nr. 2 and 6 in the "Fantasies". These pieces, which do without melodic attraction, will hardly build a big conquest with the greater public. However, the musician may look more closely at them. They betray throughout the claw of the lion.

*

Brahms's newest "Piano Pieces" (op. 118 and 119) are closely related in form and character to their immediate forerunners, the "Fantasies" and "Intermezzi" Op. 116 and 117. They are as impressive in their energetic expression, as in the artful technique. It is masculine, serious music throughout, sharp and dark, a music that is not won over at first sight. The wild storming "Rhapsody" with its five-bar rhythms and light Hungarian touches, the just as passionately excited "Ballade" in G minor, finally the F major "Romance" with its lullabyinset is genuine Brahms. One could put the caption "Monologues at the Piano" above both these collections – monologues that Brahms holds with, and for, himself in the lonely evening

⁸¹⁰ Robert Schumann *Nachtstücke*, Op. 23 and *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16.

hours, in stubborn, pessimistic rebellion, in meditative reflection, in romantic reminiscence, every now and then also in dreamy nostalgia. There is much iron content in these pieces, and this iron content will conserve them for a long time. How peculiar that directly after these character pieces came an Adagio by Spohr, a noble, wallowing song, whose sweet smell once delighted us, so long as the flowers were fresh. Now they come before us weary and exhausted. The nine Brahms pieces do not speak directly to the mind, nor flatteringly to the ear; for that they have no such early withering to fear.

Brahms, Two Sonatas for Clarinet and Piano, Op. 120811

Within the last two days we got to hear two new unpublished compositions by Johannes Brahms, sonatas for clarinet and piano. Each new work by this economical, reserved composer moves our public into a festive mood. This time his magnificent clarinet quintet promised a hopeful turnout. One after the other a quintet, a trio, and two sonatas. Brahms's late love for the clarinet seems to grown to a formal bride character. C. M. Weber and Brahms, two so entirely different natures, agree in their preference for this organ of rapturous Romanticism, even to the point of their personal suggestions for the ideal clarinetist. Weber found him in Bärmann, Brahms in Herr Richard Mühlfeld, the most famous angel of wind players in the Meiningen Court Orchestra. We are grateful to the new clarinet sonata for an idiosyncratic enrichment of our chamber music. The thrilling effect that the Clarinet Quintet has, especially in its ingenious, deeply seizing Adagio, was certainly not reached by Brahms in the more delicately formed sonatas. Modesty of stature and calmer temperaments are both merits of Brahms's genuine character. Unlike in the quintet, in the duo the clarinet is the prominent voice; the composer, whom it knowingly holds in the borders of its beautiful effects, is here in charge of the not so broad scope. Brahms cannot possibly bring new surprises to each of the eight sonata movements without sometimes recalling some of his earlier compositions for clarinet.

⁸¹¹ Hanslick, 'Brahms' zwei Klarinett-Sonaten', Fünf Jahre Musik, 312–314.

The first movement of the E flat major Sonata is delightful. A theme, as though it had fallen from heaven, or to be more precise with the fragrance of the most beautiful youth, full of sweet raptures and impetuous happiness in love. This melody, which the clarinet begins without a prelude, wants to be intoxicated in its own song. It is the dearest to me in this movement, and it is the reason that the E flat major Sonata is more dear to me than the F minor. The second movement, an Allegro appasionato in E flat minor interrupts the less beneficial storm of feeling of the clarinet, to give in to a tuneful, slow major middle movement, after which the first part returns and lies there dead in deep shawm-like tones. A 6/8 movement in E flat major, in the reflective, comfortable vein that Brahms loves for his middle movements, brings some attractive variations and leads directly to the Finale, which forms an effective conclusion despite less invention. ... In the F minor Sonata, the first movement (similarly an Allegro appasionato) is the most musically significant, not so much through melodic invention as through its multi-form artful combinations. An idyllic, short Andante in A flat major, utilizes all of the high and deep sound effects of the clarinet in beautiful alternation. This is followed directly by the most appealing of all movements, an Allegro grazioso, whose tranquil beauty and serenity is reminiscent of both Schubert's and Brahms's Ländler. It will build conquests everywhere. The Finale flows freshly and swiftly, a rapid alla breve movement, in which a clarinet figure of staccato quavers stands out as original and witty. With closer acquaintance a growing success stands before both sonatas. They by no means belong among the difficult specialist works, nevertheless their finest aspects do not lie on the surface. Certainly not every city could share the historical unveiling and the Nimbus of the first Viennese performance, Brahms and Mühlfeld working together in harmony! Of Mühlfeld's incomparable art I can today only make the point that it remained completely as the old. To see Brahms, the creator of these beautiful things, at the piano himself is always a sight filled with joyful emotion to us. Now and then he may play more in

himself and for himself, than for the public – almost as Schumann liked to conduct.

Nevertheless, one cannot replace him.

Choral Works by S. Bach, Brahms, and Mendelssohn⁸¹²

The penultimate Gesellaschaft concert brought us the first performance of one of Handel's oratorios, *Debora*. In the last we heard a cantata by Bach that was new to Vienna. The two great masters of German music are inexhaustible – still a century and a half after their death. "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," is the name of the cantata that Bach composed in 1731 on a 3 strophe church Lied by Philipp Nicolai. A recitative and two duets separate the strophes themselves. The listeners followed this music with solemn devotion, but in the end more seemed estranged than enthusiastic about the whole. All reverence and admiration for Bach's astonishing art cannot prevent the fact that today we find the sweet, tetchy, pious poetry disturbing. Christ sings two formal love duets with his bride. Herewith the 'faithful soul' is portrayed, a stereotypical figure in old protestant church music, but also in Bach's wonderful cantata: "Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis" and others are in direct relationship with the Redeemer. The endless repetition of words in the first duet: "Wann kommst du, Mein Heil? – Ich komme, dein Heil!" "Komm Jesu! – Ich komme!" fatigue and disgruntle us; even more so in the operatic chain of thirds of the second duet between Christ and his bride: "Mein Freund ist mein und ich bin dein! Die Liebe soll nichts scheiden!" One must be an avid believer in Protestantism and an absolute Bach enthusiast in order to enter this cantata with their whole heart. Certainly it is to our shame, and the shame of the nineteenth century, that we do not have the same warmth for these pious views and feelings as Bach and his congregation. But we cannot deny this reluctance, and neither historical understanding nor the powerful impression of Bach's art can make it disappear completely.

Joyfully we greet some all too rarely heard vocal music by Brahms. In particular "Nachtwache," an admirable six-voice movement, and "Letztes Glück" (the beautiful poem

⁸¹² Hanslick 'Chöre von S. Bach, Brahms und Mendelssohn', Aus neuer und neuester Zeit, 94–96.

by Max Kalbeck)⁸¹⁴ belong to the pearls of Brahms's vocal music. The folk song harmonised by Brahms, "Wollust in der Mayen" whose popular effect never fails, had to be repeated, as with the vigorous choral Lied "Beherzigung".⁸¹⁵

The concert ended with Mendelssohn's cantata *Die erste Walpurgisnacht*. It is 55 years since its first performance in Vienna, and this tone poem has lost none of its youthful freshness. The victorious immediacy of its impression hardly belies what conscientious work and inspection Mendelssohn applied to this. Composed in Rome in 1831, *Walpurgisnacht* was first performed twelve years later after thorough revision. What doubts over the instrumentation of the witch's chorus! Mendelssohn had repeated doubts about whether he should remove the drum. Luckily he defeated his aesthetic scruples; he left the bass drum in, not only where it is effective, rather where it is indispensable. Tonight there are no more "symphonic poems" to which they do not with-poeticise (*mitdichten*).

Generally noticeable were the alterations to Goethe's poem, which the Viennese concert programme exhibits. With Goethe, as is well know, the heathen guards sing "Come! With prongs and pitchforks/ and with fire and rattling sticks – let us terrify them with their fabled devil/ These foolish-cleric Christians/ Let us make proper fools of them!" Who can the lively censor be who made 'these Christians' out of 'priest-ridden Christians' and has proudly ignored the 'Gabeln, fabeln' rhyme, changing fabel (fabeln) to fears (fürchten)? One would think that this "improvement" dictated by anxiety and arrogance, celebrated through Mendelssohn's music in all circles of the native poetry of Goethe, must have crept out of the Vormärz in to our day unnoticed. However, it is not so! As a student, I heard Mendelssohn's Walpurgisnacht sung in Prague and Vienna, always with Goethe's original text. The extraordinarily religious sensitivity of our authorities is thus a small plant newly blossoming. "It has come to this!" the old Druid sings.

813 Op. 104/

⁸¹⁴ Op. 104/3

⁸¹⁵ Op. 93a/6

Appendix 2

Reproductions of Selected Nineteenth-Century Writings on Brahms

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det, der tommen mußte"! - ale feine Stunde nabe war, mo er auf lange Abiscied nehmen mußte von ber Runft und feinem raftlofen Biten! - So

ter war er gange wer team gerenten arteinen Ergelen unter Ersch an eine Bereine in Werter und Preußen ziehen Werfellen eine Ergelin wieder Erfolgener erfoffenen ein Preußen ziehen Erfolgen erfolgener erfoffenen und der auf dem Schapelag der Kauft, dem er erlöglich ist, gegensten ertrieffen an eine Preußen ziehen er Politikerie der Gegensten ertrieffen in der er erfolgen der erfolgen erfolgen auch gegen er er er erfolgen mußte. Und fie genachen ertrieffen er Benachen er Schapen der erfolgen mußte. Und fie genachen und weit freuender er Schapen der freigen werden er gegen gegen

wog aere Jider ben King, den er erwählte, für den Kechten halt, des, die anderen Wosten, die Kunk-tichung, der einstegg, für hie die einzig wehre if und fris muß — des for der neir fegare, derm fenst wärer der Kanflire ja kiu chierei fich nur zu eft! Da than Dalberden von beri Ring Des ferfei in Spiegel für bie Runft, wie für gen ift efenfe in Spiegel für bie Runft, wie für bie Beligianen ... nur butften feber bei Ringe für genftgen! Being, ben er ermählte, und nicht mehr Dag aber

am 25ften unb 26ften Juni 1855. Mufitfest in

Siehe "Rene Bahnen". -Banb 39. 90; 18 blefer Blatter.

Monatschrift für Theater und Musik

252

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In Folge dessen ist die Monstelricht und dem Wege sich in ein Centralorgan für die Kunst und die künstlerischen Interessen annabilden, und weij wir diese Interessen leibheit lördern wollen, so glauben wir nus nicht auf jene Urschöpgn-Annabi beschrücken zu sollen, weiche zu liefern wir auflaglich die Abiebt katten, anndern wir erhöhen liebet im Siau der meisten unserer Leser den Pranumerations-Preis

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Dreiundvierzigfter Banb.

Nº 24.

Den 7. December 1855,

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Mufife und Runfthanblungen an.

Inhalt: Bobannes Brahms von Deplit. - Mus Paris. - E Ritter von Abelburg. - Rieine Beltung: Correspondeng. Nages: aufdidite. - Intelligeniblott.

Johannes Brabms.

goplit.

Das tunfilerifde Schaffen ift und bleibt ein fur und unergrundliches und in letter Inftang außer affer Berechnung liegendes Geheimnig. Es mogen noch fo biele gegebene Clemente jur Borausberechung eines Bu bilbenben Runftwertes betannt fein - ein Gles meni wird immer ein unberechenbares fein und bleis ben: bad ber Inbivibualitat ureigene Clement, welches in Berbinbung mit ben Ginbruden ber Mugen: welt, mit ber Trabition, mit bem Erworbenen und Grerbten, ein Renes, Gelbfffanbiges, bie mabre fünftlerifde Gubjectivitat, and fich beraus

Wenn icon jeber Menich im Staate, im Religioneverband, in ber Befellicaft, im Bertehr bas ibm ureigene und angeborene Recht ber Gubjectibitat, ber freien Meinungsaugerung und Gelbfibeftim mung fich ju mabren weiß, und wenn man nach bem Grad bet Energie und Confequeng, bie er hierbei ent: widelt, einen galtbaren Schluß auf feine Bebentung ale Charafter, ale Inbivibualitat gieben fann: fo

wird ber Ranftler in um fo boberen Grabe baffelbe Stocht in Unipruch nehmen muffen, und une um fo bedeutenber ericheinen, je ausgeprägter und felbfiffane biger feine Subjectivitat im Runftwert fic aus pricht.

Bir fagen: "im Runftwert" - und foliegen hiermit alle unselbstftandigen, fo wie alle verfehlten, weil jeden objectiven Gehaltes entbebrende Bers fuche einer irregeleiteten Gubjectivitat felbftverftanblich and, benn eben fo mie ein rein obfectives Runfts wert für und nicht bentbar ift, eben fo menig wird Die Subjectivitat an fich icon ein Runftwert bilben tonnen, fofern fle jenen Runfigefeben, melde biefelbe ewige Beltung wie bie Raturgefete haben (wenn fle nicht ichlieflich fogar in biefe übergeben follten) jus wiber banbeln wollte, ober ber fcmache inbividuelle Gebalt bes Schaffenden eine Intenfivitat ber Bebans ten und eine Ertenfieltat ber Behandlung abfolut berbieten follte.

In einer Beit, welche fic baburch auszeichnet, baß fle Mues unter einen gemiffen Bilbungsgrab gu neglier und ju generaliften ftrett, bas Seprage ber Jabbibbullität zu verwifigen, aber bas Appifche zu fordern fucht, — find die einem Subjectivitäten im Gangen ofinifin felten genug, io bas wir jede neu auftauchenbe mit Freuden begruben muffen.

Warum ruft benn jebe tanftlerifch bebeutenbe

urigidaums eine feldje Strage von Bradafuntungen eine Vertege, herm man im Studieden Bidges ein der die Belgen Belgen Geben bet gestellt Belgen der Straum genigt eine für Soun, ein eine Gebenkt, jo schon ein Studie. Ben stellt Gemen Studien Stellt Beraden Belgen eine Studienser (eine Stüdien Schollen Belgen Belgen Belgen Gebalk, der Studien und Stanferber Bildget Schollen bei Belgen Gierr Gern Belgen Belgen Belgen Ber all Studie Belgen Bel

Alfer mancher Linteri der nach oder mit ihn m yam gleichen Aller fehrt, inde de fahrlicher Gut. E.
jeettuld auf childer Gnuelchingshafen nub Bieglintet spien, oden des fish wür ungenen nur,
in deier Elichung der Erflie fen ju Cannen. Er kommi hirtzurch in den Berbach der Brahamme, offer kommi hirtzurch in den Berbach der Blachshamme, offer kommi hirtzurch in den Berbach der Blachshamme, gliche auf fild bereuschung, wie fegen im Elichen gib-ver iffen, mit Gluicher Daanleinen.

Eine bereit geben ein Elicher gel ver ihreit des Angentiguet, wer gen ein bei pheiniglich fei, wo der gleich der im Elicher gibperlinglich fei, wo der Eliches der Brachgelich mer der bei bei heine fille der

(Bortfegung folgt.)

Mus Paris.

Plachen ich Jhren in meinem vorigen Bericht bir Der wichigsfen Arecang aus der Legen. Zeit milher die felt fie der dem gegenwärligen Einflige und heit ist der dem gegenwärligen Einflige und der günglich Bergangenfeit nachtengen. man berem Einflichen Er Amfleichmagen, des nach er mannen Einflich der der Arfalf eine gedorer folg geber maten, gefen des Siehe ber Walten geben eine Arte mehr er gelt ang nar hurten, gefen bie des Art er Erklanter fert an praktien von der erigie erigiehen von ein Gitz wurffelige Erp de pablisten innelten anberer, we es nicht feist wurffelige Erp

Mm 2ten Dec. fant in Berlin im Caale ber Gingafar bemie eine Anffahrung ju Chren Frang Bifgt'e Giati. In Berlin ging Epontini's Diampia ale Sefteper

bel Belegenheit bee Weburtetuges ber Ronigin wieber in Scene, Tobesfalle. Bu Munchen ftarb am 14ten Dovemb. ber hofmufifbirector 3of. Dioralt, geb. ju Comreingen bei

verein biefer Ctabt unter Leitung bes Mufitbirectore Grang Munchen ale Biolinift eingetreten und murbe im Jahre 1800 Beber biefen Binter hindurch Ubonnementroncerte gu geben jum Concertmeifter ernannt. 1827 erfolgte bie Ernennung jum hofmufifbirector.

Drudfehler.

Rt. 23. S. 249. Ike Spales ift dos "Schluß folgt" unter der Gerespendenz aus Schwerin zu tilgen, da dieselbe beendet ift, Eine ungenaue Beziehnung im Manuscript gab zu dem Irriftum Beranloffung.

Intelligengblatt.

Nova-Sendung III.

F. E. C. Leuckart in Breslau.

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Leipzig, im November 1856.

Breitkopf & Härtel.

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Drud von Gr. Rudmann. hierzu eine Beilage bon B. Schott's Gobnen in Maine.

Hene

Brang Brenbel, verantwortlicher Rebactent.

Berleger: C. F. Rabnt in Leipzig.

E. Erautwein'fde Buche u. Dtufff, (M. Babn) in Beelin. 3. Fifder in Brag. Gebr. Bug in Burid. Mathan Richardfon, Musical Exchange in Bofton

D. Dtedetti gm, Carlo in Bien, 23. PReftermann u. Comis. in Reme Dorf. Rub. Friedlein in Baricau. G. Caffer u. Rorabi in Bbilabelphia

Dreiundvierzigfter Banb.

Den 14. December 1855.

Bon biefer Beitidr, erfcheint wochentlich Preis bee Banbee von 26 Rrn. 21/2 Thir. 1 Dummer von 1 ober 11/2 Bogen.

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Johannes Brahms.

Bon

Soplit п.

(Bortfehung.)

Gine feltene, frappirenbe Ericheinung mat es irbenfalls, bağ ein fo junger Componift in feinen erften Werten mit einer Greibeit ber formbehandlung, einer Dannigfaltigteit ber barmonifchen und thuthe mifden Entfaltung, und einer Bulle ber Gebanten auftrat, wie fie in ben Jugenbwerten nur folder Zalente gefunden werben tonnen, welche ben Beruf jum einstigen Deifter in fich tragen. - Aber, wer wollte langnen, bag beutzutage Bieles ,in ber Luft" liegt, mas man chemale mit fcmeren Rampfen erringen, ober lediglich ans fich beraus entwideln mußte?

Die Formgewandheit, Die technifche Behandlung ber Stuffrumente, Die barmonifche Ragnheit, Die rhptha mijde Mannigfaltigfeit, find Clemente, Die jeder bes gabte, talentvolle Mufiter jeht womdglich icon mit auf die Belt bringen muß, wenn er überhaupt "mit fortfommen", wenn er beachtet merben, und eine Stellung in ber Dufitwelt fich grunden will. Das

burd bağ Giner einen gewandten Rlavierfat foreibt, ein ansprechenbes Lieberheft, ein formell tabellofes ma unpermenen wierergei, ein jormel tabellofed Buartett, eine geschiet infrumentirte Duverture camponiten fann, ift fit ibn, ale Rünfter ber Gegenwart, nuch febr menig ober feine Musficht, bemertt gu merben. Er hat bamit gleichfam nur feine Bifitencharte in ber Runftwelt abgegeben; es ift ein Dame mebr genannt worden; bie Inbibibualitat ift baburd mobi vertreten, noch nicht aber daratterie firt. Belder geborig gebilbete, gut gefculte unb einigermaßen gewandte junge Dann, beffen Berg warm ichlagt, beffen Phantafte lebhaft arbeitet, mare jest nicht im Stanbe, eine Profa gu fcreiben, Die ale "Reifeftigge", "Robelle aus ber Befellichaft" ic. im Drud fich gang anftanbig ausnahme, oder einen Band lyrifcher Erguffe in ble Welt gu fegen, die nicht folechter und nicht beffer maren, ale bunbert anbere auf bem Buchermarft? Wenn man alle biefe Beute Dichter nennen wollte (fie felbft balten fich freilich meift bafür) fo murbe bet Barnag an einer Uebervollerung leiben, welche ber lebervollerung bes Pro-Tetariate in ben gabrifftaaten numerifc nicht viel

nachgeben burfte! Daffelbe Urbermag ber Brobuction jeigt fich in ber Dufit, - für bas Bublifum gwar nicht fo augenfällig, für bie mit ben Berbaltniffen Bertrauten

war gu erpeife gegen nur oberstäcktich faßt, ift mit den Kathere is der feite feite bei Arthur is der Arthur is de gu berveifen. eben

"Rachts in Waltestinsmitt, Ben die Brüner kräumen kaulchen, Ind der Filder duffel (glock), Ind im Jius der Liener versigen: Konm herad, sier iffe so kähler.

if the and mit den Bomantiften, und namentift in in die Gebrana, jenn gatte mit Betten Galauben as die Gingdaman, jenn gatte mit Betten Galauben as die Gingdaman, jenn gatte mit Betten Galauben as die Gingdaman, gene gelten die Afrijkenform den Betten den auffrigen Willede genützt, den mit den Afrijkenform der Sobie fürigt ger i, "Was ih gestigt gen Trop, der Sobie fürigt ger i, "Was ih gestigten erben mit der Sobie fürigt ger i, "Bas ih gestigten, der der Betten mit der Sobie fürigt. Die "Gerstligtung licht, der der Sobie fürigten, mit der Sobie fürigten, mit der Betten der Merke in hat der Benten mit der Sobie fürigten. Gie für hieft fürig, der der Sobie fürigten, der Der der Gerstligten, Gie für für für der der Giegen mer der Kerke in hat de ber der fürigten wie die Gersobie geben für der Gersobie der Gebreich der Gersobie der Gebreich der Gersobie der Gebreich der Gersobie der Gersobie der Gebreich der Gebreich der Gersobie der Gebreich für geben der für geltzen wird. Der der für geltzen wird geltzen mit der Gersobie der Gebreich für für geben der Gebreich für der Gebreich der tad'en, wenn es ihm überthaupt bengömni iht, jur vödzin gen Cantuckinga jun gelann, ... eine Bedömigh, Eres ihr erniget kad, noch er ight finlett, slö kad, noch ihr eri peticht, mos und zu gen ihr eri peticht, mos und zu gen ihr eri peticht, mos und zu gen ihr über ihre Bengünger eine eine princht ihr eri peticht, mos und zu ihr ihr und zu gentrelließen Gemann's fem Begänger eigentsigent Benauße zu ber eigentsigent Benauße zu ber eigentsigent Benauße zu ber eigentsigent Benauße zu geben zu gestellt der Ericht je erner bei eine Behauft ihr ab die der Ericht genen bei eine Behauft ihr ab die der Ericht genauße zu geben zu gestellt aus der einem Benauft ihr ab die Genem bei eine Behauft ihr der Salut ihr der ihr alleit der geltricht ihr der in geltre der genen der einem gewißer Genauben der Ericht gelt, auch fein ihr zeit ihr geltre der in geltre ihr ger einem gewißer Geben der in geltre ihr geltre der in geltre der geltre der einem gewißer Geben fin anukerne geltre geben mich der Germeßer ernicht, nur de fig zu beim Germe Germe zu geltre der der Gesten geltre geltr

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und im Werden wert weil afte ble Befaltate, bir gan wurden, geinem Be wert Aust, steine Centurklung beigkeunigen und dass wert einemen.

1. Dien dem nit mit Bestlamitgen von der bei des wert einem er ab den ans einem Minglier generen baker, wenn er ab der best geste helt, außent istelnte bei der keinen er ab der ber jerer Zeit geste helt, außent istelnte bei der eine Eine Bestlande gestelnt in der gestelnt in der gestelnt in der gestelnt in der gestelnt, das John von der keine Bestlamite, der Bestlamite gestehn mehrt. Eine festelnt in der gestelnt, auch ein gleichen gestehn mehrt, werm fein vor gestelnt, und eine John gestelnt gestehn mehr gestelnt, das Gestelnt gestehn mehrt. Der gestelnt gestehn mehr gestelnt in der gleichte bei gestelnt gestelnt gestelnt in der gleichte bei gestelnt gestelnt gestelnt, der gestelnt gestelnt gestelnt, der gestelnt gestelnt, der gestelnt gestelnt, der gestelnt gestelnt, gestelnt gestelnt gestelnt, gestelnt gestelnt, gestelnt gestelnt, gestelnt gestelnt, gestelnt gestelnt, gestelnt gestelnt, gestelnt gestelnt gestelnt, gestelnt gestelnt, gestelnt gestelnt, gestelnt gestelnt, gestel

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Frang Lift in Berlin.

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2.2: Franz Brendel, 'Zur Anbahnung einer Verständigung'. Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 24 (10 June 1859): 267–273.

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Beethoren, T. van, Stease und Artei, "Ahl parfölö, pargino". If R Sopra mit Ordeneter, Op, 65, eingerichte für Pimolorien vier Händen von Graine, 38 Ngr.

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Gin Beitrag gur Mefthetit ber Confanft Leipzig, D. Matthes. 1858. Beiproden bom Inliue Schlffer. Das Mufikatifch-Schöne. Dr. Abolph Kullah.

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2.3: Richard Pohl. 'Die Leipziger Tonkünstler-Versammlung am 1–4 Juni 1859, erster Artikel'. Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 50/25 (17 June 1859) 281–83; 50/26 (24 June 1859): 289-96.

> Sezet ber Lite wied gemeinsam nur ber Born, ber haß, ber Umb ber Friede Klichter eirsam and ber ichiachtenburfigen Belt. Späkrub grei i ag Skanz des Saddens und des Kortensk Urderfukly, Schördigelt und brittes Schördigen dermit in Lierer Ziere Zalle, Bibert gleichen Skiezz, der Gestea, der dem Elde berflätt erfelefut, Jane, der de Erbenjegtigen mit der Spettragdung eint. Drauficn raufden wide Weiter, Schwlie geht burch jedes Perz, Liegt der schille Lon der Schwerter, bröhnt des Artiges tautes lied der Deniss denigken Liebes gab an belde feinen Krang. Schundt bei ihm verwarden Alängen auch den Ramen Bodert Dam ein Deilber rein und cbet, wie im geben fo im Zon, Racbeit, Bathett, Butbe einenb. Do gart's Erde. Membelo. Bugrend Schumaun's eignes Schaffen feigen beign filich L. Webermann v Comp. in News-Horf. L. Agentundsch in Wier. Und. Jiledich in Warf-Cou. E. Oddier v Korad in Philadelphis. Jour, dem sei allem Alingen boch der Dueil des Waßes Kieft, Doffen Russ gleigt und Lingengen gent der John Scher Gefrieg. Jour Seifes ener: Befrie, der itr pett am volllen wertb, Benn ifs für ist der Zösen nab in stenn feldf end, der. Hend token det Gefaulra, deren Gelha er geabut. Ig. 1de felb beder Acken en fle de ersp gemedat. De geber er er er befen hend er de ber gehra Allefar war, Stor de gerende, de de ungeken sen der beuten Ockerischen. 9ebes Jih, das tekuh, tinund jeht der unfere Kugan fleht, Genta, Killen am Halbet, diff am diffeldeth, Lebengein der Geitgefandte und der fode Solngergetti, Klas athant dexiden Attanes, deutsiche Kenft aud Herrichfelt. Beigt bann jene hochgeftalten, bie bie Bege ing erfenf, Die rineit zu arnen Leben Richarb Elegn er's Banberruf. entqued, Elie ein reichften Dichterteben, farbig, tief und abnungevoll. Den 17, Juni 1859. frang Arendel, Berantwertlider Rebacteur. - Berieger: E. S. Ragnt in Lepzig. 25 yarrft mit idazirm Edente gegen Giliter, Land wad Damft, etigde bis Cauptiejerge applier, tritari, eddier Amog, ere feide med ford excident, mit Geselfen, gelffetspil, n tream Gelf bereflindet, ber zum nådpigsn Sfram der Darft. Mr. Stuf eine Miles, die von nafe wie door feen herbeigerlit, die jand Miter, werde Lannel der ber die des Kind grocht. Dem allet doo Spile, der Seirleen, dem eine beleit Hammefellit. Dem der de Geleiner de Macht befahren, in dem Reiche der Blufft. Dech mit manden Frubgeichieburn, ben Die Rung uit Recht beweint, species, geren.
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> 190ffen mir vor alem deute einen, der ier tith gefreit.
> Und mit jozue vollen Mange, den ein Derg weltommen helfe, gilt dem fis der eine Gegennand pelife, den eine Gegennen des geitigt euch Koberert Schumann Belli. All his Lidner, die dernasjeien, jeden Lan, der dies verbald, ber ein Geffen aus erch All, der die Geffenst Allgemad. Geforendern Geispessehen, werdes Kunn ern Zeit benefrild, Bar in Eurif der des dein Philipses, der zu jeld gefeiten ift. Die Leipziger Conkunfler-Verfammlung Rubalt : Die Betplore Anabafifer-Berfemnlung, ... Kus Brog. ... Briefe aus Grentfint a. Bt. (Gdiug). ... Reinn Jaftung i Gerichen-beng ; Logedycfelichte; Brenifchet. ... Intelligenglatt. Eröffnung ber Tonlunfler. Berfammlung. Gebietet von Abelf Stera. Gefprochen von Fran Kanjiska Kitter, geb. Wahret. Bericht von Richard Pohl. Leanusier'fde Bads ik Mustiffs, (M. Bohn) in Verfla, 3. Kicher in Piess. Souther hog in Jerich. Bathen Asherhan, Maskon Rachange in Bohra. am 1.-4. 3uni 1869. Erfter Artifel. Prolog Sunfgigfier Band.

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Die Untermiehnnen haben laugere Zeit hindurch dem Unteg der Verbreitung von Nachdrücken kere Mercheinen Verbreichen Freigen aus der Scheinenst, Z. M. G. Wieder *u. A., instellerer mit Nachschalten wegen der Scheinenst, der Scheinenst, Scheinenstaufer, welche sieh mit den Vertriche Anstalten Ausgeben betreiten selber, nicht die Scriementhaufer, welche sieh mit den Vertriche Neutwick-Ausgeben beitresten; in Anspruch genommen beher. In zeutwere Zeit ist har der Vertrichen Vertrichen Zeit werden der Vertrichen von der Vertrichen werden Merchen Wermen fahre hertieben Genetich vor der Pertregeberechigen hertieben Genetich vor der Pertregeberechigen hiererung vertren Gehalten den der Neutwerkerten geloben den Gehaltens, indem sie miglieh auf die unassichablishen Polgen hir weiten 1860 der Gehalten gehen Warnung haben wärde.

Rechtliche Hoffmersten und der Vertreuge haben wärde. Friedrich Hoffmelster, Friedrich Hofmeister, B. Schott's Söhne Beim Beginn des 51. Bandes werden die verehrlichen Abonnenten der Zeitschrift ersteht, um Störungen bei der Versendung zu vermeiden, ihr Abonnement bei den respectiven Buchhandlungen und Postämtern gefulligst recht zeitig erneuern zu wollen.

Die Verlagshandlung von G. F. KAHNT.

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Rieden und was der mar kurz auf das Abalfäsliche be
harden.

ungarilge Khapledt R. 2 (Cit mal) gamöle, wechge er im Tingang mit einer meitern Rhaplode (Rt. 19) auf gestibedt Seitel imprecifierad verkand. Durch beit gestich ungereiferad verkand. Durch beit Merche waren die Kapitalische der eine feste der möglich gekardterster — Cho pie in et fansfähig ir dearsterigten fig mit klijfe graiel basine in möglich were die gestieren meitern gehörte Westernigten flig mit klijfe graiel basine in der eine Franklikerun beite State in der eine gestieren der eine Gestieren der Steinen Vollege der eine gestieren beiter kliefe der eine Westernischen Litze flie feine mößlich in die Steinen State von der eine Gestieren der Steinen Vollege flie fein mößlich in die Steinen State flie fein mößlich in die Gestieren gestieren der Steinen werden gestieren der Steinen der gestier der Steinen der Steinen gericht der Steinen gestier der Steinen der der Steinen gestier der Steinen der Steinen gestier der Steinen gestier der Steinen der der Steinen gestier der Steinen der Steinen gestier der Steinen der der Steinen gestier der Steinen der der Steinen gestier der Steinen gestier der Steinen der der Steinen gestier der Steinen der steinen der der der Steinen gestier der Steinen der steinen der der der Steinen gestier der Steinen der steinen der der der Steinen der der Steinen der der Steinen der der Steinen der Steinen

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tungen (e gau eigenkhmids it. Ein weiteres ster biefes Breit — seifen berikknuiß wurch bast dem Constitution und der Stein der Stein biefes Breit — seifen berikknuiß werd bast dem Constitution und der Stein der Stein

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meidersfluden fomnten, erwies sich schon in den ersten erkenache Serjeinmenstliem. Ann erstelle spaul und schenden der Serjeinmenstliem. Ann erstelle spaul und sich erne Bradenstscheiten gedomern nach und gegenschiege Benkflung mögliche Veisfleite Britischeren. Bis an sich ist Gestengisch, im des nur vertreteren. Bis and Mitternach filed der gefält Reich ber gefält Reich ver gefält Reich ver gefält Reich ber gefält Reich ver gefält Reich ver an der ferner, den nach der mit der Mann nur alt wernig Schnen, um am rächsten Wenter in benjelten Rönnen sich

undien (Bender des Munifers). Das Bert ift unices Bufflest fann in Being aufglicht merben; es beite füß dies die einer Egaligien Auflasden einer einerfig nem Weing aufglicht merben; es beite füß dies die einer Baffligen Auflasden die einerfig nem un ein ernfesten. In der die die die du ein Grünnung ihr der die die die die die die die einerfig nem pinnenen Berthe ind, is erstement, is der die einer mit die die Multiflesten in der fermenten Bertheh füngen. In fehren Ziell der dem Einer Bertieb die glagten mit dem einer Gegengen Bertieb die Grünsten die Grünsten gesten. Die fan Ziell der dem Einer Bertieb füngen. In dem Ziell der dem Führt der des Grünsten Grünsten gesten die Grünsten gesten der Grünsten Grünsten gesten der Grünsten Grünsten gesten der Grünsten gesten gesten gesten der Grünsten gesten der Grünsten gesten der Grünsten gesten gesten gesten gesten der Grünsten gesten gesten gesten gesten der Grünsten gesten gesten gesten gesten gesten der Grünsten gesten gesten gesten der Grünsten gesten gesten gesten der Grünsten gesten gesten

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pagiriente Gempeul i vorte mit der Sängerin und dem
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*) "Reae Beitschrift file Mankle", 1835, Banb 8. Rt. 33. Schaunann's "Wefarinnette Schriften., Banb 1. Pag. 188.

ericienene Befprechung.

Mel akzichet weden. Gener Fester in ben bei den gester in der Angele der "Gener Fester felter sein List seine der Gester der der Gester der Ges

1858. F. Mary n. Comp.)

iungen", jumal über tehtere bereits schreich febreich aber einer aber ein könnagen der Zeilere schöen. Bescharen und einiger einigehem Kutleit als spierteinigen derenden der ein gefenden Verstellen Blättere, moch sehr werig geschieden werden ih. Es wie des der eine macht hat, is könner wir der Berfüsst alle aber ein aber einem köre de geschicht geschieden werden. Das Kreit al mas gemanige der inn, bier des Berfüssten in einer eisgen sehrenden könner der eine Kreide wie der eine Kreide wir der eine Merche der geschie Angele des Ereigen alle aber ein der eine Kreide wir der eine Angele fern sich vor eine Angen fern sich vor eine der eine Kreide wir der eine Kreide wir der eine Kreide wir der eine Angele fern sich vor eine Angen fern sich vor eine der eine Kreide wir der eine Angele fern sich vor der eine Kreide wir eine Kreide wir eine Kreide wir eine Angele fern sich vor der eine Kreide der kreide der kreide der kreide der eine Kreide der kreide der eine Kreide der kreide der kreide der kreide der kreide der kreide der der eine Kreide der kreide kreide der kr

nit seiner Rebe "B bie unter ben lebh und gablreichen Ber und Shmhathie bers Beihmann aus ? D. Frang Brennet erffinete die Berfauntlung mit feiner Boefilandigung.", bie mire ben fehne gener Berfländigung, bei mire ben fehne felden felden felden felden felden felden felden und gehrer und gehrenden Breflacentgen völliger liebereinsfilmmung und Schmachte twarte. Heiren fie Musik-Kirt. We thin ann aus Berfin eine ebenjo gedindlicht und Betöprie, als intersflamte und beleigende Abgamblung über
"Die Geschichte ber Harmenie in liere Bouptmennen
tu", ein in stene Bestammteit Bie jett nech niegende
begandettes Erfgenzunge Abgapt nechtiges Zienen, auchten glich
ken allgeneissten Schafte Beite gehörten American enstlichtigkeren
stereten kenten. Beit ihmen einen ausstädischeren
spätze gehleren Bortäge bier fägligt um sie seien über
gegen, als de beite Serge getzen muche, fämmilighe
Michamlungen burch den Draud tigeils in ib. Büt, tigtis
anderwärtig beginnen. Dra Dre Lie Bortag gegen
über der Geren Kluperen Bortag in voner; Biet im auft
Khamlung mirch den Si. Bam der "Riem Zieligneit"
Erkspandung wird den Si. Bam der "Riem Zielt an
Erkspandung wird den Si. Bam der "Riem Zielt an
Erkspandung wird den Si. Bam der "Riem Zielt an
Erkspandung wird der Si. Bam der "Riem gelich
über geigen für gegen Bortag der
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mittagsligung 1915, Ube geschoffen.
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geschiefte Bornen in der Geschoffen.
geben abgeren Bortag der Erkspannung
führenden, feit benktenwertsfen Mirche Bereimung
führenden, feit benktenwertsfen Mirche Erkspelichtung
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berna bernandig auf geschiefte Bereim
geschieften beite unspre-

bermeifen. Die Borlefungen bes hentigen Tages

vermeiten.

The Bortelangen bes hentigen Ages waren hiernit Echighein, wwo man knutz Agest al ült zum goriten Azhel der Eriepakungen, den annibisken Bei her.

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keltung der Boetsten Gelegkistsorung und
keltung der Boetsten eine Boggamm
und Elektreteries, somie die Ernemung von Aren

Localanten miligenwerth.

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ertipreckand siehe Kerde der Breigenmum
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Aufleren der Berreigung der Verteirt, zum Zielette

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kan den der Breitnigung der Verteirt, den mit Derekt,

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denten Personner, der Bereigung der Verteirt der

jenneten Physiquum "er will ginder mit Derekt,

denten Personner, der Personner file den mit Sozue

befannt densch werder, der bereigenfiglich feihmut

den, den eigentlichen Rern ver Bereknabungen ginden.

8 sonis Edişter verlas şinen Mitten noş eminal don ben Koneriaşı, un bişta minlinğe efediatemingen mu Brodivirangen bei. — Şierval noşun Dr. (1] şi. bir Koneriaşı, şieti Bebe be Büştiştişti beğ giçimmirt Mitteşi, — mit fedia bermen Şinbiği ani Pen şirturiş bir giçitlik beş giçimmirt Mitteşi, — mit fedia bermen Şinbiği ani Pen şirturiş bir giçitlik beş giçimmirt Mitteşi, — mit fedia bermen Şinbiği ani Pen şirtuşi, mitmer Edişler Bertlan gorullikasıy pu bem şinliya mağıt. ") — Dr. Bertlan and Etişiş remeirte be mitting mağıt. ") — Dr. Bertlan bir dişlen mağıt. ") — Dr. Bertlan Bertlan Bertlan

Aus Prag.

Far heuer fiel bie Waft ber gur Mitwirfung bei-gezogenen Rolabilifarn auf inferen Lanbonaum, ben Raniften Aleganber Dreyfcoa nab auf Gervais,

the Repallemante des medernes Bitmojenthungs eine erfen Repallemante des medernes Bitmojenthungs eine reichen Kamfreit gundigelehr, hiefte Bereit der erfen Kamfreit gundigelehr, hiefte Bereit der eine Pellien.

Pellien, ehbe mit Dreigherbegiehung, Erdien für zur Fellien.

Pellien, ehbe mit Dreigherbegiehung, Erdien für zur Behörnen gleiche Treigher Behemmag gebeget Treight, is bei mit Dreigher Behändige Gereit des eines fielt geber der Spein felligen Erfell, mit Bereit gereit geben, der Gereit gibt aus Gereit geben der Gereit geben gereit geben der Gereit geben geben der Gereit gereit gereit ge

miner bedeuten, all in andem Jahren. Est kannt planer, agite tre floon angelijetter Enderette Schur heart, agite the floon angelijetter Enderette Schur heart, agite the floon angelijetter Enderette Schur mann's in bem Extreoacette und einer neuen von der Schur heart aus der Anschließer Schur heart aus der Anschließer Schur heart aus der Schur heart geführen der Schur heart aus der Anschließer Schur heiter Schurch ist einer Schurch ist der Anschließer Schur heiter Schurch aus der Anschließer Schur heiter Schurch aus der Anschließer Schur heiter Schurch hie michte Formiger der Anschließer Schur der Schur heiter Schurch aus der Anschließer Schur der S Parijer Conjervatorium zu erfreuen. Beeth voern's, in okjolut muffigliet Bysichung retgende. Sopwor ift eine weit matchgier eund dendbarrer Enkigade für dei Prarifection einer volldommenen Schale, und na einem Glafflichen Bolteinigen unter solchen Berdeckingungen dam zu poeifela.
Die Anderen großer, seleskändigen Dechefigungen Die Ansbeute an großen, seischabten Draheltel-filden war, wir ichen angebeutet worben und aus ben benerkten augeren Grinden, qualitatie und qaautitali ninder keveuten, als in aveen Jagren. Es tamen

ten gerwacht.
Die Leiffungen bes Eanfervaloriums Ibnuen
bem Gefagten, trey der angefährten, heure eden:
ben Gefagten, trey der angefährten, volle Bebigung gemikren. Benn ernos beielten tulben fon
min and der Regation ipt Kecht gu falfrer: fo wa

genen Melabie inte nosfillingenberte Gegenstimmer zu improvolgener – Giegebrauchten abei paret genplichtig hie genomient Euripamagn, voch itsigm fic. hrem Gehörer und izere magne blichtigen Inhierian folgen, am dan dersochlicht an abere, aus Integen Inhierian einflichtiete Innere de schwert, bere glichten gelingen einflichten Auserstellen wurde es schwert, bere glichten gelmportit Gegenfühmen in Negelu zu fallen, und auch die Berte er folkeire meh ar erwähenen Gehörflicher Du ebalb. Brane von Gelt, Merchette derfülftler in Du ebalb. Brane von Gelt, Merchette derfülftler in Indiquen zu Wassifikung derfellen. Mie die bie dem inter ert Berennung, "Neumen" befannten Erzgeligene für Kymete mit Beteit derfelligt, erfelten die feder jedter in Kymete mit Beteit derfelligen. Alle propositionen bir Rameten mit Beteit aberginge, erfelten die feder in terble Hamer: Contrapanto alla mente, all'improviso, estampouranea u. d., fa artefur immer mét um in mét sus, un Hopp 13 vie aux XII. verbel im Jufer 1352 berglicique regelfele Contrapante gapillé ne rétaude nur en béper légique de contrapante gapillé ne rétaude nur en béper légique des contrapantes des parties de l'égit au ber Churte. Iran Improblationen abec, an meté den plètre aud bet une bére Chiri, je legie de Chilitumer ille Africa au de la mobile Chirice, je legue Chilitumer ille Africa au de l'une bére Chiritumer ille Africa au de l'anner problationen plus de la contrapante de l'arte de l'arter d'ictention me Bactina gegn ben Bilgious folder extemportier Damonien une justice bielle un l'adjonance y début je, lefiel in 17. Apper fundet erfétienen nob Amedique n'allem je, lefiel in 17. Apper fundet erfétienen nob Amedique n'allem je, lefiel in 17. Apper fundet erfétienen nob Amedique n'allem je, lefiel in 17. Apper fundet erfétienen nob Amedique n'allem je lefiel in 17. Apper fundet erfétienen nob Enuelli und 1618 von fin an problitier n'allem an appendix per l'allem par l'allem

Diniten und Octaven mit einauder festlärfeiten; doch zieht er fei feinen, "neideren Glopbenien" de Daarte Koninte vor. Anten, "neideren Glopbenien" de he Daarte Koninte vor. Engleifen an den feurt fe unedenigtet vertestenen henelltig Octaven und Daintenfolgen gefünden!

3n der greifen an der geiter de "deschieden der gefünden tog Sprieden von Daintenfolgen gefünden!

3n der greifen gefünden Wandleglange au verfalten mit des jufigen, "vor erfalten und sprieden von der gesten 1984 zu soch allen und priede in einer Etheren Gerte, gerein der Sprieden und der Gesten gesten Geste, preider un des dagen 1984 1980 feller, priede in einer Ethypenie ver Genjamagn und der Antenformalier Schreigung, und gelter bereinfigen Gelfang, auch gesten der Gesten gesten Gesten der Gesten Ges

fo ninmt das deren.
ungekehtte.
Die Biophanie und das Degamm, diese k

werden. Die Alfgendlungen fleter bas Degennu und fleer bem Dechauf aus bem Erne Er. Ber 11. und aus bem 12. Bachguberte enthalten nun felon bestimmte nun unsfallnere Megan gur Bildung einer Gegenstimme zu einer gegebenen Haupmulcheie,

würdige Thomostiche, in melder der Alluncifier Bach einft lor legenkricht dun blagteit, gruntlichte, mar bie an ir en tetern Romm gefüllt. Als die geneisten Hallen ab den eine eigen 100järiger Paule, von den genöchigen Hallen der eich eigen Allen der eine fellette würche, war es als schweiber der vertlätte Geliß den großen, untletäden Alliters spekeit der vertlätte Geliß den großen, untletäden Alliters spekeit den den der den den der den den den der der kentlichte fieren der fellen den geligte nur hehreit fiert und Beröreitung mit allen Kettlen yn Urderen, ware der einf finflicttigke Ausreging, melde dei Kufführung des 3. Juni an die anweienden Antlinster fieben foller, und fieder auch geliße hat

Der tehte Festag — (er wax zugleich der Stutige Schlaching von Mygetat a. – (nordeilund führ der mitztelliche Gestagent a. – (nordeilund führ der meinfellung der Archaften der meinfellich bespennen, als der werer kenfe musstlich der gestagen der Mygelfe kenfe musstlich der Packfelnen Michte kennen werten weren – frih 91%, ütr fülten sich er Wähmer der Geneandbausflacke zu einem Consect für Kamme der Geneandbausflacke zu einem Consect für Kamme der Mynger und kenken Aunge und kadpannen der feine — Eliza nur er ernereren Inkumentalem ist, wer der der feine — Eliza nur der erner von Franz, Hiller wie Gart im Archafter, Hiller und Gart Miller, im Anschule an des Akaderenecerk in Ausgabe hatten, der na Septifer, wei nach Setziger

fanntes, ohnebies nicht leicht verftändliches Manuscript. Duartett wie das gewählte, begreiflicherweise nicht besonders geeignet. Um so anerkennenswerther ift diese Bahl in fünsterischer Begiebung, da es ibnen ein leichtes gewesen ware, mit einem eingang-licheren ober befannteren Daartett fich als Birtuofen geltend zu

and ichreiben bie Lone vor, melche zu Anfang, in der Mitte nach en Schlieft gu nichmer fleien. And geben ich procliche, mit Belipfelm verleben Kachfoldig, par Bildung von Dia-bhonien und beflümmen die Intervalle, welche der Dietenmus pur her der bieden bei der der der der der der der konfend bied, wenn ble derpfendede um ett, guet, der, beter der fins Gunfen flege der falle. Wet elselige Schritte von feche, jieden oder ach Seufen erscheiden ader erst spekter.

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Die Ceipziger Conkünfler-Versammlung

am 1,-4. Juni 1859.

Bericht von Richard Pohl.

Bweiter Artitel.

Den musstellich en Theil des britten Hestlages einbert die vereistlich wurdigtung von E. Bach de beder Westle in D. mad. Aleene Bis, lust in der erteinstellen Keitung des Bereitstellich werden der Stade beder Westlage in Bereitstellich in Aleene Bis, die der Bereitstellich in Aleene Gerpran, Fri. Cierce Hert (Alt) und der Gespran), Fri. Cierce Hert (Alt) und der Gespran), Fri. Cierce Hert (Alt) und der Erstlagen Erit (Best effect der Gespran), Fri. Cierce Hert (Alt) und der Erstlagen Erit (Best effect der Bereit), Geri Cierce, Gerstlagen Erit (Best effect der Bereitstellich (Bestigert), Bestigen er ausgezichen Einstlagen Gespran der Stade Bestigen Gespran der Gespran der Stade Gespran der Stade Gespran der Gespran der Stade Gespran der Stade Gespran der Gespran der Stade Gespran der Gesp

Aus Königsberg.

pinreisjender Erwalt, so durchaus denmatisch, im edelsten Gehte gehten, nas der mestedenmir Briegerische Stalae-nit kaum gechnier Geräge vor uns hinten. Diermit best ein dannische, gemitte Gelott ber Vellysschen Gempolition (vorüber späere nachandsschein) der Verlysschen Gempolition gede einen vollenderen Geschausschein genematigen, ihr verkunden.— pak einen vollenderen Geschausschein von nadelspezicikische, mit unvergesischer Wicklung, weiste in dem Acitischigturu des Kindteriums seinger einspezieren Kadanus des Kindteriums seingerungspezieren Kadanus des Dr. Bretlam burd ben Bortog bed 1377, Iglain von Greb.

5.filter, C.D. 27. St. 1. Durch weiche be mightlight Bichtung ber re bei in ich en Schild angebrucht wurze. Fram Dr. Brece fam he beifes Sind ang voreträftig gelungt, inflictific angejeigt, und mit obtem Ausbrucht Bless bezug gemach, mass herten vor Burden Burdenn Blessens gemach, mass herten ber ber Burdenn, wiecke die Schigerin bandbar percorrief. Mass aber die Edwarden Burden Blessens gemach, mas mit bleffer albermig Burden Burde ungen. Im übrigen dermelfen wir unfere Lefer auf die über ste erschienene Brodure ban Louis Abhlers, welche fich eine eingeherde Watzüge zur Auf-Den Gefang reprafentirte im beutigen Programm Fran

more ihnen marint made hier ga Egell.

Der Cachmielen gerträuget her Brijtigheter ver Bertraumtmage Ver Andenheit der gerträuget her Brijtigheter ver Bertraumtmage meiteren Besträuge nur Dere es han ge im Saade bes
gan Lage. Deit Amerikanis der Bertraumtung vom vertgan Lage. Deit Amerikanis der Bertraumtung vom vertgan Lage. Deit Amerikanis der Bertraumtung vom vertgen Lage. Deit erführt, meider mahren Der persigna Debesten auch des Prichbiam behielt. — Den Kalanis und
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Behindigter Gult aus Amerikanis der Mandomie und
Behindigter Gult der Amerikanis der Mandomie und
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ker beplackiginen Keutzig bestraumtung
ker perliktigen Gertraiß des merigitigen Gertraugen
kendt erfehent zu nebgalb um feit er mich nichen betre gefandigter und der Fertraußer der Marchigkeit ber (Ge
fandigter und der Fertraußer Gertraußer betre ge
fandigt faller, fiel aus, weit ber Betreflante zur Bertimangen,

micht erfehren. geniak Schaling, giese Aleisen melfeligiene Hoht in einem vollen giptigken und hehren mignen. D. v. Bit gewalt gebaldung, den melfeligiene Hoht in einem vollen giptigken und hijforligen Kern aufgeligten Ehren wahren der sie eine eine Erste zu eine eine eine eine Erste zu erste zu eine Erste zu erste z

inommen.— Ferrier wurde beitrig bei Blicherfflemein eine gufacht des her. Geligienraches Aftenner. Gevehf auf
Ferrebung vertiefen, werin vertiebe rettlict, daß perihalinge,
inde twenstig in fernen Gehnde ihn vertimerten, feinen anbigen wolle, indem ein Malen, das en fich dere beitre nitsgabigen wolle, indem er im Kaufe bed Jahres beitre nitsgaber "Merum Belichfigt", mienetigen merte,
Wachem burch Wireffe Dit., Sontier aus Blankenerg
und Dr., Beetam aus Leipig einige Angaden des Pienlehale allong vein, fiel and, veel ber Setzelfeinde gus Berjammüng nicht ersteilenen war.

Dertauf wurden ist Bergankingn bes vorjen Zages weber aufgenament. Rach Berjaufung bes Protofolis der Berjaufung erst Protofolis der Berjaufung erst Protofolis der Berjaufung erst Protofolis der Berjaufung und Setzen Berjaufung der Protofolis der Berjaufungen Ersten Berjaufungen Berjaufung der Aufgeber Berjaufungen Berjaufungen Reiter, 2010 der uns Bin
kerfau falle der Berjaufung ersten Berjaufungen Berjaufungen Reiter, Berjaufungen Berjaufungen Reiter, Berjaufungen Berjauf The fight stars he can it is a fitter, melde burch has Apatercos meet breith has a missing a mental pass a cannot be started ber entisticene Eiching has Habit. Starter Spracers mar, mit hem Bertage have Brings per sp., Runser', 31 meldere hie melderamalishe (Labrer-Brighting, pan ersten Boal'), componirt, burch Brings have been start (schem) wit have flowing boar by the Sprace Sprace Brings help in the starter brings before guttern Wantish mit bantenmersher flowing because mit and starter brings better men mit starten has mit geben handler bereichen benischen Brings bereite mit den der Bereite Brings of the Brings with a management was mit starten benischen Maniferi (der Berstansen).

*) "Die Gefether Miller und bas Sireichquarute" bon Louis

ansgeführt murbe. Brau Ritter's Bortrag

Das Şāndelfeji in Rönigaberg murde am 15. und 16. Juni Michaelar an ben we inderet been Bis Juni Michaelar an ben we inderet been Bis Juni Michaelar an ben we inderet between Bediefer und greife Wildenie gehörtet. Der hielgen werdenspoelen mutleiligier Alledenie gehörtet. Der hielgen werdenspoelen mutleiligier Alledenie gehört bet des Gerten an der Egiep des Shiftiattet, Der Fired. Randel Bis des Gerten an der Egiep des Shiftiattet, Der Fired. Randel Bis des Gerten an der Egiep des Shiftiattet, Der Fired. Randel William Bis des Gerten der Gerten Gerten der Gerten der Gerten der Gerten der Gerten der Gerten Gerten der Gerten der Gerten der Gerten der Gerten der Gerten Gerten der Gerten der Gerten der Gerten der Gerten der Gerten der Gerten Gerten der Gerten Gerten der Gerten der Gerten der Gerten Gerten der Gerten Gerten der Gerten Gerten der Gerten der Gerten Gerten der Gert Umftand, bag Brobe und Mufflibrung an bemfelben Cage ftatts fomie noch bobern Comung in einzelnen

vom vorigen Tage berickligt waren, vandem bie Debatten über den Löße lewischen Antreg, wieder außgenommen. D. v. Bla. den motgen umdickligt des Eugebrijk der Eugedrijk der Debatten des verigen Tages, jerach für Annahne des Fob de teisper Antregs an doe, mägrend das Detail einer zweiten

gergelnmilung zu berathen obligen merde, welcher ein einem generunglichene Gemithe wordlichen Benten erweiglichene Gemithe werzunglichene Gemithe werzunglichene Gemithe werzunglichene Gemithe eweiglichen haus der Leitzel zu der Leitzel zu der Leitzel zu gegenztung aber Erstellung aber Schwarg, im Ramen ber Derfiquever, Befchalteftung gegen bie Beltunternehmer ausgesprochen

(Soffuß feigt.)

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Die Leipziger Conkünftler-Verfammlunn am 1.-4. Juni 1859.

13

Bericht von Richard Pobl. 3meiter Artifel.

Den mullfalische Gehler bet Mistensch, und homit bes gangen Fighte, bliebte bit Mullfraug som Gehumann's Gennenan's Gennenan's meinstissette burch bis Acidit ber Lübigiger Den Gehumann's Gennenan's Gehumann's Gehumann's

(Bortfepung folgt),

örieflige Berbindungen zum Erfah der perfonlichen an, sprach der bestfallg mergenden und budslieftig in erechholitigun Belait-tate best feltum Besten den demmat bereich meb verscherte eine freigliche Wiedervereinigung, die man im nächsten Jahre mot

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prigone enterecentaging one aim in angiget vogte nor propose enterecentaging one aim in angiget vogte nor gelec Zefetiefare maren bard bie Berfülling genblügt, moch im Lauf beiter Rocht in ihre Heimaß jund ju treifen. In der bei fest, forzigiet Ledennöft ju beingen. Upper Enter genminfgelführen Göget nag Wertfeberg, wo Multi-Die, Erg Gewalag Rocht nag Wertfeberg, wo Multi-Die, Erg Gewalag Rocht nig Wertfeberg, we Muchtigen Goget nag Wertfeberg, we in fairfied in Dame verensfellet helte. Er Referent mer tiebter ertjehrer, fich bilefe unterginnten Anlichtinkt angatiefließen, er fann begte nicht aust einger Erifsband aus her Die einer Beite Erige in die ingere Anlichausgen der her Gortere Beite Gereit mer der geber der Gereit der Gereite Beite Gereit mer der gelege Die Gereite mer her Grifg kriefe leten Gortere Beite der Gripbalt mögen her Die eines anderen Referenten fegar, wet- der De Erigie mit fremklicher Bereitstuffilt ilbernom-

Aus Dresden.

2.4: Deiters, Hermann [H. D.]. 'Kammermusik. Joh. Brahms, Quartett für Pianoforte, Violine, Viola und Violoncello, Op. 25'. Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung Neue Folge 3/11 (15 March 1865): Cols. 182-88.

> Verwandlung, Markthätz in Constant. Rechts in Verwandlung, Markthätz in Thom; Fastug unter feir-feinben Chen des abslreich versauenletu Volkes. Der Henold Der den Kaiser, Allemeiner Cher: Der Henold Mer den Kaiser, Allemeiner Cher: Der mitt Wie leistesstul De versats a satuliteit Herr! Verment Wie helbestault Der essents and seinber! Wie mager und ment Wie Heisesstul Der werst as satuliteit Herr! Vermen Denken und Beiterstaut in Der essent abslreich Errie die Greichaseene gans mit den Werten des Ortginalgeichekt. Die Denken und Rateite beram him nicht Vorkleitung von ild. Bendir wirk hie die derlieher Frage die Vorkleitung von ild. Bendir wirk hie die derlieher Frage die Vorkleitung von ild. Bendir wirk he die derlieher Schende Filmen und erneun den Schler zum Abt. Der nichten gesche Gerichasen, denn er kann ja nicht leen, nicht rechnen, denn er kann ja nicht leen, nicht rechnen, denn er kann ja nicht leen, nicht rechnen den Schler zu der verzeilt, Alfe philassen Frage der Wickerschaufen er erkeite und der Oper Abhilassen Frage der Wickerschaufen er verzeilt, Alfe philassen Frage, der Abh Hold sain alter Hinskraus und Newe und ille sich und die Oper schliessen Frage. 10.b. Brahms, Quantum and March 10.b. Brahms, March 10.b. Nach dem Abzehlussa auf D-moil nimmt des Violenzell in dieser Tonart die beider serion Take der Themas auf, die Enazole wiederbolt das sweite Moilv desselben in B-dur (* Takty, die Violine bringt G-moil wieder und schliest darin. Man wird die Eigenthumlichkeit dieses Anfange nicht we need as find the growth we have a soft of the growth was the soft of the growth when the soft of the growth was the soft of the growth was the growth was

the liches. Jibs is then keine stundhalfe Thui, doch wandight with a she and exer and the Study and the Abid ann your was hist aftended detent, dat Brate bringen Der Abi, helper and a she an derson are access in States bringen been by the bear and the study of the Australia of the Abid ann set of the Abid and set of the Abid

har wad as tribs trees Liebe to Bedwig east in difficial lief in the Childhar, when the tree Liebe to Bedwig east in difficial lief the Childhar, easted foundation and gowinners verrogen. Solids, who die the Childhar, easted foundation and the Childhar, who was the control of the childhar and Alberton and the Childhar and Chard and Childhar and Childhar and Childhar and Childhar and Child

1865.

werkennen. Ein in sich willig abgeschlossenes Thema von mur 4 Takten, welches innerhalb derselben durch die Palanleltoart indernchight und zur Dopinantentoart gebangt; in diesem Thoma drei Motive, deren jedes später eine schattudige Behandlung findet; die ersten do Takte ein schattudige Behandlung findet; die ersten do Takte zu vier rhyttmischen Abschmitken von 4, 2, 4 und 3 Takten der het in der der het in der der het in der het in der het in der der het in der het in

Land skur gewinden.

Das Hons wird nur von den instrumenten mit grössehrechten Sochatsenfelgt und Acordachisgen begeletet, at in the Grand der Sochatsenfelgt und Acordachisgen begeletet, at sich dasse Sochatsenfelgt und Acordachisgen begeletet des Cinvier in Sochatsenfelgt und Acordachisgen der Jehre und des Abaggstherna an, werend abgehören her Berichten in Stramonische Begähnung interessenate, on ewent und eine Zusi bag in dem erherheit für dem Achter vertet mit tägenden Acoorden und mochligt nach C, die dem eich hei alltätiger Abnahme der Stafte und dem Achter hanzten bekennt das Changstherna in Manten bekennt das Carbon konsten und Acordachis dem Achter vertet mit tägenden Acordachische nach C, die dem eich her intilätiger Abnahme der Stafte und dem Achter hanzten bekennt das Carbon konsten und Schatsche und dem Achter hanzten bekennt der Staften und Schatsche und dem Achter hanzten bekennt der Staften und Schatsche und schaften der nachten begehörten gestescht erheit der versichen ber der auf der nachten befrechte Wirfer der Staften und Schatsche und schaften der nachten befrechte Wirfer der Staften und Schatsche und schaften der nachten der vieler halbit, welches von den anderen Instrumenten aufgenähnten Berufellung übernehmen, die bei und ersich hermonische begächtig über werden von Classifier und schaften begächtig über werden von Classifier und schaften Löng leich befachten, die Staften und schaften Löng leich befachten der staften und schaften Löng leich bedachten und versicht sich auf der werden berüftlung der Tietten beid in der werde der Staften Promein und verleit sich der versichen berüftlung der Staften Promein der verleiten Staften der versichten beweigen der versichen berüftlung der Staften Promein der verleiten Staften der versichten beweigen der versichten Staften der versichten begähnig der Staften Promein der verleiten Staften der verleiten Staften de

von bat Triolen, das Violencell Achtel, die Bratsche eine Keite von Doppelgriffen in sum Theil recht unbequenner Lage.

gehat merkt an der Bahandlung hier in dandersvo den Claplater vierspieler, der die Leistungsfähigkeit der einzelnen Inriekte strumente zwer theoretisch kennt, aber heim Schreiben inleich eine Tigeren auf dieselben zu übertragen. Mit lange dernicht immer die velle kiner Verstellung vom Klange der
nicht inner die velle kiner Verstellung vom Klange der
nicht jenner in der den der der Schlussin aus dieselben zu übertragen. Mit dem Schlusien
nach Beduns in D-noil vorbereitet zu werden, aber den Schlussin die Abwie außtrebandes Thema (von Voline und Ernstele untenwarde
wie außtrebandes Thema (von Voline und Ernstele untenwagespielt) ein, dem das Moltv des obigen zweiten Themaun Grunde liegt, und welches in einem harmonisch achbonen
nu Grunde liegt, und welches in einem harmonisch achbonen
und Grunde liegt, und welches in einem harmonisch achbonen
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und Wiederholungstresspiel des Claviers tom hind des trübe f
wieder hinein, deen hehalt D-dur den Sieg und gelangt
unem sich eine neue Meladie aufwarts

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mit taus zu am er me sik (e. linz) hörten wir zum Beginn ein

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jeb. Schar, mit derchius freie Passeg der 1. Yolken im Fund), aum

sich Diwisst ein eiten berüges Stick aus dem vorigen habriundert;

vas in D-dur van der Streichquartet, Contrabass und zwei Hörert

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der Bekannteinft), oud zwiehen beiden ein neues Carter-Cuintatt

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zur der Zeit ummittelbur nehn zie den kenn Einstere Reiben beiten ein eines Carter-Cuintatt

bleto wir ei imme für gehlichte mehn ziem gene Knite erfülken Gehlide

gung oblie neue Werk benoder bederklich. Es wurde von ver
sol keinerwegt pienen allgemein durchgreitenden Eindrucht, wel
de Der este Stat besteht aus ein besten des Ganzen), denn holg

die Hildering und denn frichten Allegro, der zweite Saxt ist einer

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den Beitlens, die, wir werden nicht erch klar wir und woh

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be 14. Abone ment con ert (1,5 Mar) particle and the content (1,5 Mar) particle and die Feris. Die Schein Mit Geleger behanden zu dem die Feris. Die Schein Mit Geleger behanden zu die behande die Deutsch, das der behande zu dem die Feris. Die Schein Mit Geleger behande zu dem die Feris dem die Schein Mit Geleger behande zu dem die Feris dem die Schein Mit Geleger behande zu dem die Feris des Gelegers des

wer eine vorzügliche und wusste namentlich Herr David seine heine dem Verwurfs is Mitroben viellich deminirenden Pariten höchst werkenn zu gestakten.

— Das 18. Ab onn em en it en ne ert (9. März) brechte Schamanf; seit awn 5.3 hren ihr nicht üffenlicht stigsführte Mitroben aber understächligen Nobetschier traumständung in die Mitroben aber und die Mitroben aber aber die Mitroben aber Patantatie zu bieden liebt. Wir porzeben unt zwe Mitroben aber aber die Mitrob

Nr. 11. 15. Marz.

2.5: Hermann Deiters. 'Johannes Brahms, Quintett für Pianoforte, zwei Violinen, Viol und Violoncello. Op. 34." *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1/17 (25 April 1866): 134–37; 1/18 (2 May 1866): 142–45.



Nr. 17.

- Wenn wir

das Clavier verstummt) in syncopirten Accorden ganz leise hinauf- und wieder hinabsteigen; das Cello deutet in der der an, und als dasselbe immer deutlicher erklingt, fällt auch des Clavier wieder ein, eine muchtige Steigerung an schon früher gebörten zweifelnden Weise das Thema wiepositionen ist es lelcht, diesen Gipfelpunkt, zu welchem alles Vorhergehende hinleitet, zu finden, und er weiss denselben mit grossem Geschick vorzubereiten. Doch der Durchführungspartie des zweiten Theiles einmel eine Stolle eintritt, in welcher der Ausdruck des ganzen Sücks schen Kraft, sondern ebenfalls zweifelnd und angatlich; B-mell zustührt, worin dann das zweite Thema (früber Gis-moll) wieder einsetzt; in verschiedener Lage, mit wird dasselbe durchgeführt, bis es noch einmal in voller Kraft in C-moll cinsetat und darin ausklingt. Jeder wird iich aus violen Werken Beethoven's, namentlich der grösseren Symphenien (Eroice, C-moll) erinnern, dess in gleichsam seinen Höhepankt erreicht, an welchem der Ausdruck sich gleichsam concentrirt und zur höchsten ich darauf an, nicht nur dass derzelbe sich organisch aus welches in anderer Form wiederholt wird and wobei die punktirte Bewegung sich zu Achtein abschwächt. Der Schlass erbalt durch die fortwährende Betonung der schwächeren Taktiheile etwas unsicheres, zweifeindes and bildet dadurch eine, wie man fühlt, innerlich wohl der Wiederholung des Anfangs. Die ensichere, zaghefte Bewegung geht im Anfange des zweiten Theiles noch lange schlagenen Accorden der Instrumente eine gebundene Figur des Claviers, zweimal erscheint auch die Bewagung und die oft und überraschend wechselnde Modulation in diesem Abschnitte vollendet den Charakter des Zaghaften, fast Unbeimlichen. Nach einem Abschlusse auf Bnoll weicht dasselbe einem unruhigen, aus gebrochenen Figuren zusammengesetzten Thema, welches in eiliger Bewegung einem kruftigen Schlusse auf der Dominante von manchen Veränderungen, namentlich in den Anhängen, Kraft and Pulle steigert. Auch in den Brahms'seben Comkann derselbe auch zur Klipps werden. Es kemmt nummotivirta Vormittlung zwischen dom letzten Thema und des ersten Themas, aber nicht mit der fruheren pathetifori, man hört zwischen den leise, gegen den Takt ange-

lauf; der nothwendige Wechsel der Tonart wird kurz dedurch berheigeführt, dass das Gegenthema vom Violenderholt wird — aber nur harmonisch übersinstimmead, während dia springenden, abgebrochenen Figuron in Ans nussinmenbagende rubige Achteibewegung übergegangen varänderter Vertheilung (werum?) auftritt. In sobönen darmonischen Gängen über dem tiefen F als Orgelpunkt Claylers die Instrumente im Wechsel Achtelfiguren, die schlingend anstimmen, nach B-dur führen und (während Entrit auf C-moll vorbereitet, die Imitation mit dem Mo-tive des xveriete Themas und die darauf falgenden tenn-sitzen Figuren, so glauben with darauf falgenden tenncell sefert statt in F-mell, in B-mell singefuhrt wird, so folgt. Aus den Fortsetzungen desselben bildet sich ein worden wir zu einer Goda (poco sostenuto) hingeführt, in welcher zu dem noch immer festgehaltenen tiefen F des ten, welche zum Theil in einem Vorwiegen der Reflexion vor dem naunterbrochenen Strone des Ismpfindens em einmal sogar awischen Dur und Mell sich gleichsam besinnend, uns noch einmal an jenes Zweifeln und Zagen fang, zu der kruftigen Wiederholung des Hauptthemes dass nun der Binsatz des zweiten Themas in Fis-moll ersind - das Phantastische, Wilde hat einer sohwermulhgen Resignation Platz gemacht. Die früheren Schlusswendungen treten nun in F-mail auf und führen nach langem sich aus dem Thema entwickeln, mannigfeltig sich verionen früher erwähnten Herbigkeiten und Gewaltsamkeimeisten hinneigt, und we daher besondere Versicht Noth thut, dass nicht vor einer beabsichtigten grossen Wirkung schnell und unerwartet, der Rückgang zum ersten Thems, dessen gleichsam verdeckter Wiedereintritt zu den absteigenden Accorden des Claviers und dem C der Basse, tu Anfang des zweiten Theiles zurückerinnert, bis des Clavier mit joner uns bekannten Sechszehntelfigur durchbricht und mit denseiben Medulationen, wie ganz zu Anführt. Nun wiederholt sich im Genzen der frühere Verrascher Uebergeng nach F-moll, worin das Thema wiedie Schunheit zurücktrete. --- Nach diesem / beginnt nun, Zuge nech einnal zu P-dur, worin das dritte Thema,

inf den ganzen ersten Satz zurückblicken, auf den Beichcollkommen von einander verschiedener Themata, auf die behandelt, nur selten finden sich auch wieder Figuren denselben zugetheilt, die wir als olaviermässig bezeich-Vorke, um zu erkennen, mit welcher Feinboit er hier die bum seibsundiger, susdrucksvoller, dem Ausdruck nach eitung und Entwicklung derselben, auf die Sicherhoit bendlung, so mussen wir ihn als der Anlege wie der Ans-führung, dem Gehalt wie der Porm nach bedeutend benen durfen. Und auch der tiefere poetische Gebalt muss bei ueferem Bindringen ergreifen; wir glauben einen weiches unz, indem wir mancherlei Wussche verfolgen und frei binausstreben möchten, vor dem Eingreifen des supinetive noch einmal zu unerwarteten, ganz wunderseichnen. Auch der Ansserliche Punkt der Instrumentirung en in mehr geschlossener Weise dem Clavier gegenüber, die einzelnen sind einseaher und mehr ihrer Natur gemäss Kampf mit einem unarbitdichen Geschick zu vernehmen, geschickte, ganz ihrem Charakter entsprechende Vorbehemalischer, hermonischer und überhaupt formeller Betoigt einen Fortschritt gegen früher: die lastrumente trescheinbar Erreichten schau zurückschracken lässt. area Wirkungen zu verwenden verstebt.

(Schluss folgt.)

Die Lelpziger Concertsalson 1865/86.

S. B. in der folgenden statistischen Zasammenstellung geben wir vorerst ein Bild der Thätigkeit der biesigen öffenlichen und wichligeren Musikriosiltrite, und knüpfen dann einige allgemeine und specielle Bemerkungen an dasselbe an.

Rosemunde (aum i. Mai), Sohumann, Ouretiire, Schotro und Phais, Fr. Lachner, Sulte Nr. 3 F-moil (neu), Esser, Sulte Sulte F-dur (neu), Goury, Allegor, Sollienen Brensst and Epilos (and the Verke (ir. Cho en d Ore heater: S. Bodh, Nich ist das Helle Chalae, Hacke, Plegendher aus Fareet, Schothert, Eyre and der Fragelianen state statester, Schothert, Eyre Der von der Tabelseen, Spoint, Fregmonts aus abstroods. Rednormer, Onder Charlesie, Mandelseche, Lobgeang, Fregments aus Antigone, Finale aus storeinyer, Schumann, Manfred. Hiller, nan 20 shousement-Generic entire Presidentibusis and Armer-Freezoli (Abenducks). D. 18 19.2. D. Mill. B. Veneric S. Trub to nic 18. Rock, D. 18 19.2. D. Mill. B. Mr. Filt-group (Abenducks) and B. Mosteri, Ed. Beschoven, S. Schubert, G. Schumann, D.-molil, B. G. un B. Ricincelo, A. — Our ser tire su Moster, Zamberffele, Med. Ind., 19.0. Special of Structures (non L. Mill). Vogeter and Standeri. Beschnern, Lesoners (Nr. 1 and 2 Gorddan, Welho and Entracello, Armeron, Abenducergen, W. P. Mred Livership, American, Abenducergen, W. m. Pr. Wreddischn, Mestership and Barrells (non C. Mill). Rocking Control of Mills (19.0. Special Armeroparty (non Dr. 18.0.). Special Armeroparty (non L. M.). Mayerbox. Grid Hophand, T. Ladohre, Duractura, Ed. (1904). All Mayerbox. Grid Hophand, T. Ladohre, Duractura, S. (1904). All Mayerbox. Grid Hophand, M. Ladohre, Caronic (1904). J. Raff, Farl, Farl, Remanderic (1904). Special of the Armenastrabiat (1904). Andero Orobesterwerke: Glock, Ballesticke ass Orbone, designeden aus Hands und Paris. Bath, Corner in G. Monar, Seconde für Bachstramento. Besboren, Egworth Wask. Cherubini, Enrica ans Modes. Schulter, Enricata ru Nask. I. Gewandbaus.

n Ringstein. — And ser to use to the head, March States of the head of the hea Han beobsohte die moisten seiner früheren | Püngsten, — Andere Chöre von L. Schröter, Mozent, Chem-

Blassistentende Catary, virus characteristics of the state of Blassisten and in Caracteristics, Tar. 8 glatten Honora and in Corrections of the State-States, Herr Beitecke, A. E. Salder-States, Herr Beitecke, inc. 7 de parest, Herr Labor, Herr Hammann, Frields, Bren, Frial, Hauffe, Herr Bearrille, Pell, Reide, 'Holling: Del Berra Dreit, Herr Bearrille, Herr Bearrille, Pell, Reide, 'Holling: Del Berra Dreit, Hamfe, Herr Bearrille, Pell, Reide, 'Holling: Frial von Geral, July 1998, 1 ish-Airers und Peditz.

S. Mentulenthalingen für fanmermuth. Sit ei chitrio:

S. Mentulenthalingen für fanmermuth. Sit ei chitrio:

Benthwen, Seerande Op. 5. Orp. 86, B. Op. 13, Cle-moll

D. O. Monard, C. Sentlower, O. Or. 86, B. Op. 13, Cle-moll

D. O. 13, Spohr, E. moll, Mondhaloth, Rop. 44, Schmenn,

D. 13, Spohr, E. moll, Mondhaloth, Roser, Charle und

Valoncell: Benkersen, Geoll, Brinche frond, Ellion, Garrer und

Valoncell: Benkersen, Geoll, Brinche frond, Ellion, Clarier und

Valoncell: Benkersen, Geoll, Brinche frond, Manchessohn,

Hyde, G-der, Benkroun, Fr. S. Schubert, M. Manchessohn,

Hyden, G-der, Benkroun, Fr. S. Schubert, M. Manchessohn,

Bandon, "Volle: So as is ven Lachin. - Pür Steele- und

Dumoll. - Volle: So as is ven Lachin. - Pür Steele- und

Bannstrumento. Notart, Divertimento, B. . Clarier - Solo-

The conserve of the conserve o 7 (8) §redester/Greecite. Sy mp hon i en: Boethoven, Nr. 3

1 und 9. Schabers, C-dur. Schamman, B-dur. Yolkmann, Dmoll, Salamenha, C-dur.— Ouveri is ren. Cherubia, Ansmoll, Salamenha, C-dur.— Ouveri is ren. Cherubia, Ansmond, Radaenha, C-durer, or the sir ex is facts. Schaneann, Genorwa.— An der er Or neast ren kiele en: Bindel,
mann, Genorwa.— An der er Or neast ren kiele en: Bools
Concert D-mail. Wegner, Vorspiel au Tristan und leofenmend Or De bester: Gluck, Orphones (sinks noch weier unten
mend Or bester: Gluck, Orphones (sinks noch weier unten II. Musik verein Kuterpe.

nes. Quariai mit Flöte: Monnt, Straichguinteil: Monat, Gradl. Septell: Benhoren. Clarier-Tric: We-ber, G-moll. Clarierquinteil: Schomann. -- Vorschle-2 Soirsen für Kammermusik: Streichguntelle: keivan Motart, Boethoven, Mendelssohn

pas Verreichniss maght keinen Anspruch auf Volleitindigkolt, namentlich in Hinscht der Kammernusik-Unterhaltungen.

verstandesmüssiger Durcherbeitung mitunter zu schallern Gefahr laufe; so dürfen wir im Gegensots hierzu die

Schlusspartien durchweg als Glanzpunkte seiner Satze be-

Kraft und Sehnelligkeit fehrt zu F-moll zurück, und mit der Seehszehntelbewegung und den begleitenden Accor-

den, zuleizt mit dem Moliv des Hauptthemes wird der

Schluss in wabrhaft grandioser Weise herbeigeführt. --- Sagten wir oben, dass die Durchführungspartie, nament-

lich der Echepuakt derselben, eine Klippe sei, an weloher Brabms' Neigung zu herben Modulationen und su-

> und müssen das aufrichtig aussprechen --- dass Brahme in einigen, seiner früheren Werke an dieser Stelle zu weit gogangen ist, und auch wenn wir die Stelle betrachten, welche in unserm Quintatt den oben angeführten starken

und dass wir uns an solchen Stellen nicht ganz von dem Grundtypus des Stücks entfernt füblen. Wir glauben --

namentlich das Aufbieten aller Kraft nicht zu Gewaltsam-

den thematischen Grundelementen und dem Charakter des Stücks entwickele, sondern dass dieselben auch in ihm selbst fortwährend erkennbar und fühlbar bleiben, dass keiten, zum Verlassen der musikalischen Schönheit führe,

damals in Wien concertirenden Rivalen Clementi zu besiegen. Der ungemeine Brfolg von Mozart's und Clementi's Kunst im Improvisiren von Variationen steigerte diese Mode bis zum Uebermaass, so dass man nach Ditters dorf's Behauptung sicher sein konnte, überall, women ein Clavier anschlagen hörte, mit zverkräuselten Thematen regalirt zu werden. a*) Abbe Vogler war einer der berühmtesten Phantasten (hier ist der Ausdruck wohl erlaubt) auf dem Clavier und der Orgel, bekanntlich verwendete er dies Talent mit grosser Charlatanerie am liebsten zu grotesken Tonmalereien. In Paris blendete er ganz besonders durch sein Phantasiren, da, wie er erzählt, in Paris (1783) diese Kunst, trotz der grossen Anzehl tüchtiger Pianisten daselbst, ganz unbekannt war. **)

Nach Mozart war ohne Zweifel Beethoven der erste Meister in der freien Phantasie, noch tiefer, gewaltiger und kühner als sein Vorgänger, wenngleich kaum bezaubernd für das grosse Publicum. *** Später in den Zwanziger Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts haben Hummel und Mosobeles am häufigsten und erfolgreichsten sich im freien Phantasiren (meist fiber ihnen aufgegebene Themen) producirt und dieses Genre zum zweitenmal formlich zur Mode erhohen. J. N. Hammel's Bravour, Elegenz und Geistesgegenwart im ofreien Phantasirens hatte zuerst die allgemeine Bewunderung erregt. Diese mehr für susse Heimlichkeit oder traulichen Freundeskreis als für die Oeffentlichkeit geeignete Gabe war dem grossen Publicum ein neues Reizmittel; in Anmmel's Concerten bildete die freie Phantasie regelmässig den Schluss. Die anderen Claviervirtuosen glaubten nun, ohne engherzige Rucksicht auf ihre Begabung, es ihm nachmachen zu müssen. Mit unleugharem Beruf und Erfolg haben ausser Hummol unseres Wissens nur Moscheles und G. M. Bocklet die streie Phantasies im Concertsaal geubt. Wir finden in den Wiener Concertprogrammen der zwanziger Jahre (ausser den eben Genannten, Hummel, Moscholes, Bocklet) mit afreien Phantasiene erscheinen: L. Schunke, den elfishrigen Liszt, C. M. Weber, F. Clement u. A. Die Mode bat sich seit 40 Jahren sehr vermindert und seit etwa 30 fast ganzlich verioren; ein wahrhaft origineiles und reiches Talent des Improvisirens ist sehr selten, und der blosse Schwindel wird jetzt leichter durchblickt und strenger beurtheilt | Liszt pflegte in den vierziger Jahren manchmal, wenn er wiederholt gerufen und zur Repetition eines Stückes stürmisch aufgefordert wurde, die Haupt-Motive desselben in freier Improvisation zu verarbeiten. Wenn er gut disponirt war, leistete er in solchen Improvisationen

*) "Hernach ist ein Herr dabey gewesens, berichtet der humaristische «Votter Eipeldauer« von einem Privatconcert (4794), »der hat aufm Kiavter phantasirt! Ich hab' bisher immer glaubi, dass Ausserordentliches. Doch hat er, als gereifter Künstler, eine »freie Phantasie« nur sehr selten auf dem Programm angesetzt C. Czerny's ausfithrliche Munst auf dem Clavier zu phantasiren«, sollte seiner Zeit noch einem tiefgefühlten Bedürfniss abhelfen. Gegenwärtig ist ebensowenig Nachfrage pach diesen Recepten, als pach den darnach verfertigien Phantasien. (Schluss folgt.)

Recensionen.

Johannes Brahms, Onintett für Pianoforte, zwei Violinen, Viola und Violoncell. Op. 36. Leipzig und Winterthur, Rieter-Biedermann, Preis & Thir,

(Schluss.)

Im zweiten Satze, Andants un poco Adagio (As-dur 1/4), kommt das Element susser Schwärmerei, eines sehnstichtigen Verlangens, zum Ausdrucke. Derselbe zerfällt in drei Theile, wovon freilich der dritte nur eine Wiederholung des ersten ist. Der erste ist eigentlich nur eine lange, weit ausgesponnene Periode, aus diesem Motiv des



gebildet, welches in Abschnitten von le vier Takten, durch Hebung und Hinabsteigen sowie durch die Abschlusse verschieden, von abgebrochenen Achteln der Instrumente begleitet, in schweigender Anmuth wie eine unendliche Melodie (hier könnte man diesen Ausdruck anwenden) sich ausdehnt. Der lange und sehon vorbereitete Schluss führt mit einer unerwarteten enharmenischen Rückung nach E-dur, der Tonart des Zwischensatzes, Nach kurzer Vorbereitung erklingt in den Mittelinstrumen-



welchem das Clavier mit einem langsameren Motiv ant- [schon angodeutet), welche nach zweimaligem Auftreten wortst, von rubig-seligem Ausdruck; dasselbe wird nach einem Abschlusse auf der Dominante in versetzter Lage wiederholt, durch die Achtelbewegung des Claviermotivs, welche nach der Molltonart hinüberschwebt, fortgesetzt (sempre poco accelerando) und an einem vollen, froben Abschluss auf E-dur geführt: der Componist macht hier von der Verbindung von Triolen und Achteln, die er überhaupt liebt, wieder einen sehönen Gebrauch. - Nun folgt ein oigenthumlicher Rückgang. Nachklingende Accorde des Claviers deuten die begleitende Bewegung des ersten Themas wieder an, während die Instrumente die punktirte Figur des Auftakts zu dem Zwischenthema wiederholt anstimmen, und mit derselben in sonderbaren Nonensprungen zur Anfangstonart zurückleiten; offen gestehen wir, dess wir uns mit denselben nicht befreunden können und die kleine Uebergangspartie (42 Takte) nicht glucklich finden. Sehr schön ist wieder, nachdem des Metiv des ersten Themas zweimal in G-dur und G-moll angedeutet worden ist, der resche Aufschwung der ersten Violine, wolcher nach As-dur zurückführt. In der Wiederhelung des ersten Theils felgt nun keine formelle Veränderung, nur geht das Thema sehr baid in die Instrumente über und die ganze Behandlung wird voller und reicher. In dem leng ausgeführten Schlusse erscheint das angeführte punktirte Motiv wieder; derselbe ist harmonisch interessant und erhält namentlich durch die Behandlung einer ganz einfachen



eine eigenthumliche Färbung von Innigkeit und Wärme. Ganz vernehmlich werden wir bier wieder auf die spät-Beethoven'sche Weise hingewiesen.

Ein phantastisches, ganz von hergebrachter Form abwelchendes Stuck ist das nun folgende Scherzo (Allegro C-moll %). Es hat drei getrennte Bestandtheile, die sich, in demselben Rhythmus naturlich, immerfort ablösen. Nachdem das Gello pizz. den Rhythmus angedeutet, bringen Violine und Bratsche in Octaven ein syncopirtes Motiv, unstat und ruhelos bineilend, mit herber barmonischer Begleitung, auf der Dominanto ohne Terz schliessend. Es folgt (3/4) ein etwas festeres, doch auch unruhiges Motiv:



welches ebenfalls, unsieher und fragend, nach 9 Tekten mit dem Dominantaccorde aufbört. Nach kurzer Pause setat in G-dur in grossier Fülle und Kraft eine glänzende Melodie, wie einen Siegeszug begleitend, ein fibr Hauptmotiv war in dem Schlusse der punktirten Bewegung

glanzend absoblicast. Nun folgt das erste Motiv (welches schon zu einem berb-kräftigen Anhange des eben genannton Motiva benutzt worden war) wieder wie zu Anfang, führt aber vermittelst anderer Harmonien zu D als Dominante von G-moil: das sich anschliessende %-Motiv erscheint in canzer Kraft von allen Instrumenten gespielt. wird dann zu einer fugirten Verarbeitung mit einer contrapunktischen Begleitung in Achteln benutzt, welche mit dar Deminante von Es-moll schliesst, und wieder folgt das rauschende Siegesthema in Ee-dur. Das non wiederkebrande erste Thema tritt diesmal nicht in Syncepen, sondern mit dem Takte fest und kräftig auf, an Fulle und Kraft sich immer steigernd; ein mächtiger Abschluss, wild und herb klingend, wird mit dem %-Motiv herbeigeführt. Ein Kampf von Unruhe, Hestigkeit und siegesgewissem Stolze wird uns in diesem Stucke mit last dramatischer Lebendigkeit vergeführt - wir müssen nur, ehe wir eine vollkommene Darstellung des Stücks gehört haben, zweifeln, ob die Fulle des Stoffs und das Verlessen der bergebrachten Form der Wirkung desselben günstig ist. --In dem nicht entsprechend langen Trio (C-dur) kommt eine contrastirende, wir möchten sagen weiblich-sanfte Stimmung zum Ausdruck. Das Glavier ergeht sich in ruhig friedlichen barmonischen Gängen voll sussen Ausdrucks, namentlich in der Modulation; nur das Gelle bringt in der Tiefe eine etwas bewegtere Begleitung hinzu. Die melodische Periode wird von den Instrumenten aufgenommen. Den Anfang des zweiten Theils bildet eine kurze Periode in %-Takt, gebuadene Figuren, welche aufsteigen, und contrapunktische Achtelbegleitung. Zur Wiederbolung des Themas klingt das B im Bass besonders hübsch; auch wird die Wiederkehr des syncopirten Anfangmotivs mit Feinheit engedeutet. Vielleicht durfte man wunschen, dass das Trio etwas weiter ausgeführt wäre; namentlich scheint uns der Anfang des zweiten Theiles im Verhältniss zum Usbrigen nicht bedeutend genug. Nur mochten wir die, welche etwa hier und anderwärts an einem gewissen Uebermasss des Stoffs Anstoss nehmen wollten, aufmerksam machen auf die Klarbeit der Gegenuberstellung aller Motive und Perioden, auf die vollkommene Symmetrie in den einzelnen Abschnitten, auf die sorgsame rhythmische Gliederung, auf die Abwesenheit jeder Phrase and jeder verschwimmenden Unbestimmtheit. Der Stoff strömt dem Compenisten reichlich zu, und wenngleich es vielleicht der Wirkung mancher seiner Satze gunstiger ware, wenn er weniger gabe, als er zu geben hat, so wird doch niemand sich der Beobachtung verschliessen können, dass er das Gegebene mit bewusster Meisterschaft beherrscht und gestaltet. Und man nenne uns den zweiten lehenden Componisten, bei dem man nur entfernt versucht wäre zu sagen: gieb uns weniger, so wird es mehr soin!

Das Finale wird durch ein kurzes poco sestenuto (Fmoll 3/4) eingeleitet, world sich mit einem unscheinbaren

nur d' Narren phantasirea.« r d. Natren phakasaron.* **!] Cramer, Megazin d. M. I. Jahrgang 2, Hillie S. 785. ***) In einem Wiener Borleht der Leipziger Allg. M. Zig. (l. Band S. 572) heisst es von Feet hoven: «Er zeigt sich am allervortheil-baftesien in der freien Phantesia. Seit Mozart's Tode, für mir bier noch immer das non plus witra bleibt, habe ich diesen Genuss nir gend in dem Measse gefonden als bei Boetbovan.

monie bilden will; es ist wie ein unsicheres Suchen im Dunkeln, nach dem angestümen Drange des Scherzos ist alles verstummt und nichts übrig geblieben, als das Gefühl der Ohnmacht und der Nothwendigkeit der Ergebung. In dem von dem ausgehaltenen Des (als kleine None zu Fmolf absteigenden, an Schumann erinnernden Gange erhält dies Gefühl einen schmerzlichen Ausdruck. Am Schluss wird, nachdem das Octavenmotiv noch einmal erklungen ist, das Motiv des Allegros schon leise angedeutet. Man wird sich an diese Einleitung gewöhnen müssen - ahnlich wie man sich an die berühmte Einleitung des Mozart'schen Cdur-Quartetts gewöhnt hat. -- Das folgende Allegro non troppo (%) beginnt mit einem bestimmt und rubig einherschreitenden Thema des Cellos, welches in seiner rhythmischen Bewegung uns an den letzten Satz des thundigen Duos von Franz Schuhert erinnerte, nur viel dunkler gefärbt ist. Dasselbe wird vom Clavier übernommen, es kommen abwechselnde Figuren, und in F-dur scheint ein sanft einschlummeroder Schluss sich vorzubereiten, aus dem wir durch heftige Stesse mit dem

Hauptmotive A 12 12 aufgeweckt werden.

Nach einer durch Sechszehntelfiguren, die zum Motive hinzutreten, heftig bewegten Periode erfolgt ein Schluss auf G, und in etwas gesteigertem Tempo scizon die Instrumente ein zweites Theme ein



dessen Topart offenbar C-moll ist, welches aber durch die wieder frei eintretenden Vorhalte, das sichtliche Vermeiden der eigentlichen harmonischen Tone, wie durch seine ganze Bewegung einen Eindruck unwilligen Zegerns hervorbringt, der durch die Versetzungen und Medulationen noch verstärkt wird - wir mussen unserer Ueberzeugung gemäss hinzufügen, nicht in musikalisch schöner Form. Es scheint uns besonders ungunstig zu sein, dass dieses seiner Natur nach hermonisch nicht ganz bestimmte Thema im Polgenden zur Verarbeitung mit benutzt wird, was grossen Theilen des letzten Satzes etwas Unklares, harmonisch Herbes giebt. Das Thema geht in eine hestige Triolenbewegung über, welche, mit syncopirten Figuren verbunden, einen lane ausgeführten, stürmischen Schluss

herheiführt, in welchem sich nur zuletzt die Achtelbewegung des Themas wieder anktindigt. Schön ist eine kleine aus dieser Achtelbewegung gebildete Coda, dunkel und trube gefärbt; schön auch der augernde Wiedereintritt des ersten Themas; man fühlt den Ausdruck einer unerbittlichen Nothwendigkeit, der man gern, aber vergeblich answeichen möchte. Mit klainen Modificationen kehrt der ansangliche Verlauf wieder, das zweite Thema mit seinen Anhangen in F-moll, die Schlusspartie; die kleine Code diesmal in verändertem, ganz ruhigem Charakter, so dass man nur an der Harmonie die Uebereinstimmung erkennt. Die immer leiser verhallenden Tone, die zurückhaltende Bewegung, ohne dass ein eigentlicher harmonischer Abschluss erreicht ist, spannt unsere Ewartung auf's Höchste, und höchst genial und phantastisch entwickelt sich ein Presto (%) in Cis-mell mit einem hastig erregten Thema, welches bei genauerem Aufmerken als aus dem ersten Thema entstanden sich darstellt, wenn es auch rhythmisch und harmonisch von demselben gänzlich verschieden sich zeigt. Nach 8 Tekten schliesst es auf H-moll, nach weiteren acht auf A-moll, jedesmal durch gebundene Gange des Claviers vermittelt; die Violinen steigen in höchste Lage bis b wir glauben, nicht mit gunstiger Klangwirkung), we sich plotslich die Modulation nach F-moll vollzieht; die Instrumente steigen in voller Kraft hinab, und des neue Thema tritt in der Grundtonert ein, und führt, durch verschiedene Tonarten modulirend, einen kräftigen Schluss herbei - und bier, meinen wir, hatte das Ganze schliessen können. Dass mit diesem neuen Motiv das oben abgedruckte zweite Thema verbunden zu neuer Verarbeitung benutzt wird, woraus sich, der eigenthumlichen harmonischen Beschaffenheit desselben zufolge, netürlich noch mancherlei kühne harmonische Verbindungen entwickeln und wobei viel thematische Kunst aufgeboten wird, um endlich in hestigster Aufwallung zum Schlusse zu gelangen - das kann nicht zur günstigen Wirkung des Stücks beitragen, es vollendet den schwankenden, einheitslosen Charakter des letzten Satzes, den men in dem so fest auftretenden ersten Thema gar nicht erwartet. Nirgendwo so sehr wie hier fühlten wir uns zu der Forderung des Maasshaltens veranlasst, nirgends steht das Uebermaass des Stoffs wie der Verarbeitung einer bestimmten Wirkung se entgegen; wir können uns nicht denken - so grosse Ueberwindung es uns kostet es auszuspriechen - dass dieser Satz einen befriedigenden, wirklich kunstlerischen Kindruck binterlassen könne.

Man wird Beschreibungen von Tonwerken, wie die vorhergebende, zu ausstihrlich finden, und das wird, wir fürchten es, Manchen abhalten sie zu lesen. Indessen haben dieselben ihren grossen und berechtigten Vortheil darin, dass solchen, welche ein Werk nur durch Studium kennen zu lernen Gelegenheit haben, dieses Studium erleichtert wird von Jemanden, der dasselbe für sich durchgemacht hat; und nur ein solcher, der Beschreibung und Tonstück angleich und vergleichend durchnimmt, wird im Stande und berechtigt sein zu sagen, in wieweit unser Urtheil zutreffend, in wieweit es zu enthusiastisch eder vielleicht hin und wieder nicht hinlänglich gerecht sei. Nur das Urtheil solcher, die sich nicht dem aberflüchlichen Eindrucke bingeben oder gar der Meinung des Haufens anschliessen, sondern die sich einer ausgeprägten Künstlerindividnalität mit Interesse nähern und auf sie eingeben, kann für uns von Bedeutung sein; pur von ihnen werden wir lernen können, inwieweit wir mit dem Gesagten und noch zu Sagenden Recht haben oder nicht. Die technische Arbeit. die formelle Gestaltung, die contrapunktische, harmonische, rhythmische Behandlung - alles das sind Dinge, über die bei Brahms ger nicht zu reden ist; der oberflächlichste Blick auf irgend eine Seite zeigt ihn als fertigen und siehern Meister in ell diesen Dingen. Aber wir finden darüber binaus das, was dem schaffenden Künstler eigen ist, einen Reichthum origineller Gedanken, die ihm ungesucht in grösserer Menge zuströmen, als er sie gerade nothwendig braucht; Gedanken voll des verschiedenartigsten Ausdrucks, jeder Stimmung entsprechend und in passenden Contrasten einander gegenübergestellt. Sie lassen unverkennbar eine ganz selbständige Anlage bervortreten; jeder Gedanke sagt etwas Bestimmtes in fester, knapper Form, und jeder Satz bildet ein Ganzes, welchem man kein Stückwerk anmerkt, welches aus einem Gusse entstanden ist. Das schliesst nicht aus, dess wir Anschlüsse, je auch Anklänge an Frühere wahrnehmen; hier hat er einmal das vor den meisten Gleichzeitigen voraus, dass es nicht die Weisen eines Binzelnen sind, die er repreducirt, dess er nicht Schumann'sch etc. schreibt, sondern von Allen sich geistig berührt zeigt, ohne dass seine Selbständigkeit dabei gelitten hätte; und von besonderem Interesse ist hier eine nicht zu verkennende Verwandtschaft seines musikalischen Denkens mit der Eigenthümliebkeit der spat-Beethoven'schen und daneben der Franz Schubert'schen Weise. Alles des haben wir auch bei fruheren Gelegenheiten gesagt; wir wiederholen es, da Brahms inzwischen mehrfach und keineswegs immer mit der auch sehen dem künstlerischen Streben gehührenden Anerkennung besprochen worden ist, und um daher gerade jetzt eine wirklich eingebende gründliche Prüfung auch von anderer Seite hervorzurufen, die uns zeigen wurde, ob unsere Meinung richtig oder nur in welchen Punkten sie unrichtig sei. Denn wir können es weder für gewissenbaft halten, wenn ein Kritiker ohne eigene Prufung auf die Stimmung des Publicums hin absprechend artheilt, noch für angemessen und würdig, wenn die momentane Uniust eines Orchesters dem Dirigenten einen willkommenen Aulass bietet, ein ihm unbequemes Werk zurückzulegen. Wie von den menschlichen Dingen überbaupt, so gilt auch von Künstlern und Kunstwerken des bekannte Wort: wir sollen sie weder beklagen noch verlachen, sondern sie zu verstehen trachten.

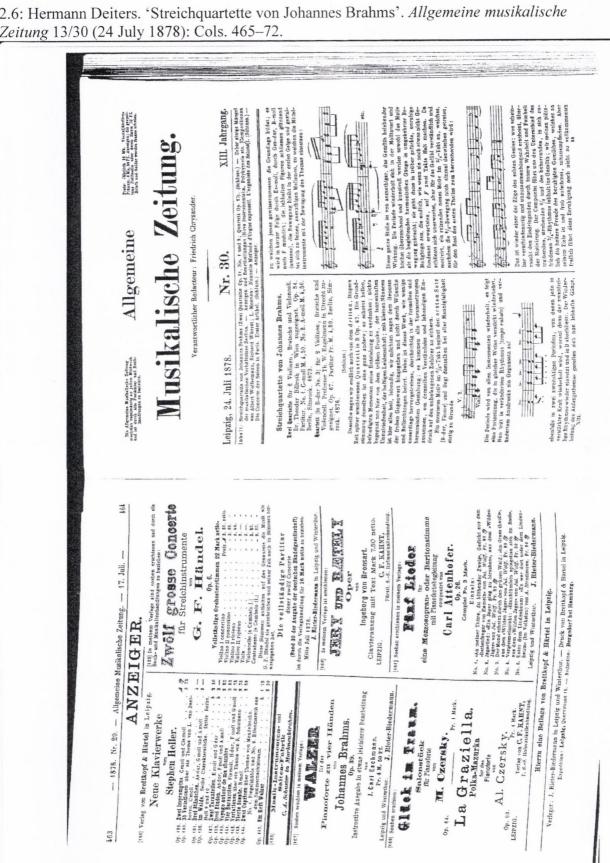
Die Leipziger Concertsaison 1865/66.

Schines.

Das Musiklehen einer Stadt, die wie Leipzig als Verort lange Zeit gegolten hat und sicherlich diesen Rang hehaupten könnta, wenn immer die Sache der Kunst über den Personen stande, mass danach beurtheilt werden, welche Masik-Gattungen und welche Melster daseibst die stärkste Pflege finden, Leipzig hat als Nicht-Residenz immer das voraus gehabt, dass in seinen Mauern nicht die Oper, sendern das Concert den Vorrang behauptete, weshalb wir es auch für wohltbütig belten, dass die Musiker zunächst von der Stadt und thren Instiintlonen, night vom Theater-Director abhängen. Nur diesem Umstande ist es zu verdanken, dass wir so viele Concerto mit Orchester haben. Freilich könnte men mit Recht sagen, dass in mancher Hinsicht ein etwes Weniger ein Mehr bedeuten würde, insofern nämlich bei der raschen Polge von Concerten eine gehörige Vorbereitung der Programme und der Ausführung oft ausser dem Bereich der Möglichkeit liegt. Und hierunter leidet gerade jenes Institut am meisten, welches senst mit Recht den stolzen Namen » Concertinstitute führt und dem dadurch von vornherein die Suprematie verliehen ist. Es dürfte indess sehr schwer halten, an der historisch begründeten Anordnung unserer Abonnement-Concerte nach dieser Seite etwas zu ändern, und bei persönlichen Wohlverhältnissen, welche ein tiichtiges Zusammenwicken möglich machten, dann wenn wir im Besitz eines grösseren Saales waren, welcher gestattete, öfters Chor- und Orchester-, also cratorische Werke zur Aufführung zu bringen, würde unter den gegebenen Verhältnissen immerhin ein sehr zufriedenstellendes Musikleben möglich sein. Durch die Herstellung eines grossen Saales namentlich würde unser erstes Institut sowohl den Wansch vieler jetzt ausgeschlossenen Musikfreimde befriedigen, als einen stärkeren Chor organisiren und verwenden können, augleich jenen häufigen kleinlichen Programmen entgehen, we das Unbedentenda dus Uebergewicht hat und sogar nicht seiten den Genuss des Bedeutenden beeinträchtigt, und endlich auf die natürlichste Weise dem Parieiwesen und dem Treiben allzu ehrgeiziger Aufkömmlinge die nothwendige Grenze setzen. *}

Bin Blick auf das oben mitgetheilte Repertoire unserer Concertanstalten zeigt sogleich ein Missverbältniss auf; wir baben zaviel von remantischer and Virtuesenmusik, za wenig von erhabener Chormusik. Von den allen Italienern hat man die sen Winter gar nichts, von Händel nur ein Fragment aus »Israel« vernommen | S. Bach war vertreten durch die jührlich wiederbolte Matthunspassion, deren Wiedergabe überdies vielfach ungenügend, ja in einigen Punkten dem Schlendrian verfallen ist, so dass von verständigen Musikfreunden nicht seiten der Wunsch ausgesprochen wird, das Werk möchte lieber einmal ein paar Jahre ruhen gelessen und denn von Grand auf neu einstudiri werden; - dann durch die Johannespassion und eine einzige aus einem Satze bestebende Cantate. Es will uns das für eine Stadt wie Leipzig, wo Bach geleht und gewirkt hat, herzlich wenig erscheinen; namentlich will es uus nicht zu Sinne, dass man nicht daran denkt, das Publicam mit den weggelsssenen Arien der Matthhuspassion wenigstens bel anderer Gologenheit bekannt zu machen, ganz zu schwoigen von der künstlerisch dankbaren Aufgabe, die herrlichsten der vielen herrlichen Cantaten, nach unsern heutigen Bedürf-

*) Biner unserer Mitbürger und Directoren des Gewendhauses, einer der reichsten hierigen Benquiers, hatte einen Vorschieg zur einer der reichsten niesigen Banquiers, hatte einen Vorschieg zur Hersfollung eines grossen Geucertsnales gemecht und bedeutende Mittel aus Eigenem dazu in Aussicht gestellt. Dieser dankenswertbe sizum aus sugment cazu in nassent genent. Preset untereurere Plea scheint sbor, unglaublicher Weise, nicht zur keine Olarertillzeng, sendern sogar lebasfus Viderspreit und jede Art von Gegenwir-kung gefunden zu haben, dann es ist wieder ganz stille davon ge2.6: Hermann Deiters. 'Streichquartette von Johannes Brahms'. Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 13/30 (24 July 1878): Cols. 465–72.



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Sochszehnielbewegung des $2/\sqrt{12}$ ktes wird zu einem kurzen Derebführungssatze werarbeitet und ergeht sich dann in einer Rügeren Fortestrung, die Rube socht und nicht zu finden sebeizt, bie ihr durch Hinzurveten des Sechsachtelmotivs

durch consequentes Festhikten giegeben wird, die denn noch für der eine Verteur der ein verteur der eine Verteur der ein der Verteur der ein Verteur der der ein Verteur der der der ein Verteur der der der ein der Verteur der der der ein der Verteur der der der ein der der Seiter de

zu einer ebenfalls selbständig geformten Begieltung der Übrigen Instrumente, weiche in den sieben. Tekten vor Eintritt der Hauptmelodie schon angedeutet wird:

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er das Verlaugen — das genz gehalt in de nach der verlaugen der verlau wegien Harmonien , und von jener uneddlich , sich ger sie W gewig thoenden Ausschaung und Fillin , webei Madinkide in verwandie Tomrten [K-dur — Ax-dur) den Ausstruck waslen-bar hebt, nimmt des Gefüllt volkstaolig gestogen. Nachdem in einer langen (selbstwesständlich durch Alzechnitte untersteitet-einer langen (selbstwesständlich durch Alzechnitte untersteitet-



der dann mit dem überrascheud schnellen Rückgraße nach Bedur in dus Thenn und dessen freutien lassanhen schliest, rückisliet und mit den beiden Hauplinkten Jassanhen schliest, rückisliet und mit den beiden Hauplinkten Jassanhen schliest, habei in seinem reches volle Entwickiung und Abrechtust, übei in seinem rhythmischen und harmosischen Ebermassie, wie es schöner haum gedacht werden kann; das vermassie, wie es schöner haum gedacht werden kann;

1878. Nr. 30. — Allgemeine Masikalische Zeitung. — 24. Juli. mag nur der wahrhaft bereiene Meister. Tellrigena gemeint mag einer der wahrhaft bereiene Meister. Geberhaupt gestatet ist uns dieser Franklischen und einer gewisse Fernandstechnich der Paralleien aufzusichen — seiner Stellung, dem Zaschnitt des Ideen nachzogoben — seiner Stellung,

Die Malodie wird in ihren zwei Theilen in einfacher, nicht weit ist ausgeführter Ferm gebrecht, um dann alsbald wieder in iter ausgeführter Ferm gebrecht, um dann alsbald wieder in ju den gebrechten des Monnetiasizes zurücknichten; st. das phantasierelle Treiben des Monnetiasizes zurücknichten kurze and dem Schlusse des letzteren felst daam noch eine kurze Cods. in welcher das Moll dem Dur, die punktirten Figure Cods. in welcher das Moll dem Dur, die punktirten Figure Cods, in welcher das Moll dem Dur, die punktirten Figure Cods, in welcher das Moll dem Dur, die punktirten Figure Cods, in welcher des Molles dem Dur, die punktirten in dem Dur dem

Der letzte Satz, Poss Allegreite een Verlasiont, B-der Verwenket uns, wenn wer uns prosision ausdrücken Artes wieder auf den Boden der Ranklut; er abheel in dem kurzes wieder auf den Boden der Ranklut; er abheel in dem kurzes Verlaufe des Thomass und auch in des Werklinnen; ein filbrens Zahriedenheit, rubiges Honnehmen des Werklinnen; ein filbrens Zahriedenheit, rubiges Honnehmen des Werklinnen; ud Reserve macht det wer in jeiser Abnung bemerklich, ung Rener macht det wer gillen Souther der Sonnsucht, erregt aucht wohl noch einer stillen Souther der Sonnsucht, ann aber des Gemüth nicht dassend bengrubtigen, weichte kann aber des Gemüth nicht dassend begrechten ogsehen und froh sich under wieder zu dem sichet erreichen ogsehen und froh sich under wieder zu dem sicher erreichen. Sampfindungen schon in gedrängter Form ausgesprochen; ein

behagliches freundliches Motiv in B beginnt

Ideat andrigsphan sainer Suldrug, dem Zascanna var international des productions of the control Transfer of the second 3-3

Im zweitan Tiele übernimm) die Braterbe die pfzielede-Bewe-len gla weiten latervallen, die Accorde zeigen eine stwat ge-geng la weiten latervallen, die Accorde zeigen mas der Genaponist etelgraß nawegengen, sociale weiten der stehe met-etelgraß nawegengen, sociale weiten der der betreten gant in gisse Träumere den wenie wir sitze etechnomen; mit gesten. Damit ist diese Gruppe einhehillich abgestehnsen; mit gesten. 1 7 7 5



und nen zur Grupdiage aller ferneren Entwicklung macht. So tritt die positische Idee des Ganzen, zoweit sie sich in Wortz fassen lässt, die Breichung, und wir gewinnen das Gefühl eines erlaugen Ineutituse, voller Bafriedigung, in eifrigem, mentigem Wolten auf dem Grunde innerer Barmonite und Rube. Noch fährt uns der Gomposit durcht kliene, una freisieh nicht mehr ernstliche Schwierigkeiten. Die Erinnerung au den Inhalt die zeräum Batzes lässt auch die rührern gehundenen Weindungen wieder auftruchen (Vriations 8), ohne jedoch das Gemitht tiefer au trüben, auf einem Trogschlusse in Ges erhabt sich leise das Vertätionsen Vriations Absitzen wieder, und dann wird in machtigen Stegung bis tur bächsten Höbe. gereicht und alles atreit nun in Scharer bewussen Weise, la vollem Tone dem Abschlusse zu. Noch einmal löste der Tonünfeler fahl mechen; der Furnes Ausdruck sehnsüchtigen Verlagens im zweiten, reinles des Thones soll auch hier noch einmal voll und ganz austillogen. Noch einmal stept sich die Wilsen und verlen, reinles of Gingen, zu weichen des Hauptmötir unr leite angedeute wird, dann blotht sie in synkopirter fleweigung auf einem Tone, und die tieferen Instrumente b

leiss erklingen, die Violine gieht es synkopirt wieder und dann verklingt, nachdenklich gleichsam und in aufgelöstem Rhythmus der Schluss, indem ihn die Instrumente nachelounder aufnehmen

aber damit ist er auch vergessen, und schneil wird das Thema der Variationen wieder anlicenommen, von den Irojen des früheren begeltet, und führt kurz und bestummt zum Abschlussn.—
Ibt ausstührliche Beschreibung, die wir von den drei Brahmeischen Quarteiten zu geben versuchten, wie wir das auch früher mehrfach von anderen seiner Compositionen zu thun gewohnt weren, wollte den inneren Zuannnenhang, die seelische Entwicklung, die Einheit nachzuweihen suchen. Auf die tech-

siedem Schlage werden wir wieder zur Besinaung, zu frischen Aufzäfen gebrecht, und mit einem überraschend feinen und grechenden Zuge hewirkt dies der Componist dafahrch, dass er das frieste und terübende Anfangsmotiv des ersten Satzes als Motiv zu der negen Verästign verwendet.

Budiv zu der negen Verästign verwendet

**Budiv zu der negen Verästig sein ver behärenden zu der Verästig verästig sein veröstigt zu bemerkten, das Stehabeit der von Bietzneten erwertet, sodern vollständig beherrechen. Für unst des westenlich verästig wir der Verästig von der vollständig verästig von der Verästig von der vollständig verästig von der Verästig von der Verästignen der verästig von der Verästig von

Ueber einige Mangel der musikalischen Verhaltnisse Berlins.

Pin untingst erschienanes Büthlein, welches den Titel führt:

Die Munik in der Familie und die mutikaliterb Frieleine ger

Die Munik in der Familie und die mutikaliterb Frieleine ger

Dennet, bei der Steht für Eitern und Lehrer von der

Bennet, Verfasser der Klavtermiterfalksbriefet. Berlin

1878. Sehlstvorlag des Verfassers. Leiptig, C. A.

Haendel. [50 Seiten kl. 8. Pr. 4 Mark.]

und seinem sjeculichen in babte nach den Cla wie unterricht behandelt, berührt dahoi so Vieles, was für Berliner
richt behandelt, berührt dahoi so Vieles, was für Berliner
richt behandelt, berührt dahoi so Vieles, was für Berliner
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berrechaben, um so nabt, wei der Verlesser die Saden mit
berreihen gewöhnlichen Unbelengenheit antlebt.

Eigenhünnichkeiten: die, dass ihr mutikalischen Zustlande
fest operablingerlich keinstätilich hied, umd daueben der kertesser auf die
prodern von steme grossen vollkommanheideliche erfüllt sied.
Die eitseltenden Worte S. 1—2, in webene der Verlesser auf die
Verbreitung den Musik in den letzene fo bis 70 ahren häweist,
sind ebenfalls nur von Berlin aus begrifflich, aber doch söbst
für diess Statt sinbt, ganz unreflend, denn sehen vor 69 Ahreit
für dess Statt sinbt, ganz unreflend, denn sehen vor 69 Ahreit
für dess Statt sinbt ganz unreflend, denn sehen vor 69 Ahreit
für dess Statt sinbt ganz unreflend, sehn sehen Selat hierir
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ergene sagen – alber rillier, dass jone Andenein in einger
für dess Schalde gedarch nicht gestädert wird. Denn
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he den hier die Schulde sieht den kass jene Andenein leite mehr der

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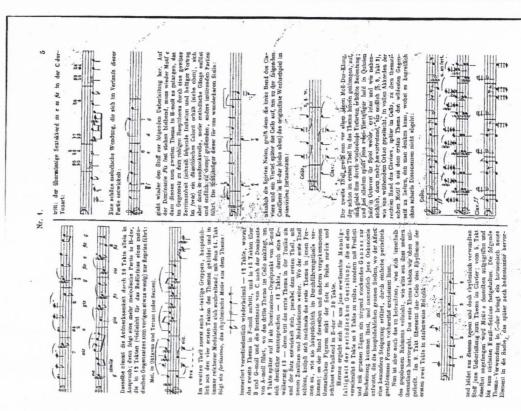
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1878. Nr. 30. - Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung.

**) Dass der grosse und præbtveilte Concortasel der iftelobre in hallene troit des eichtness Orge bletzt handels Groefweste in den bestelligen, der das Treiben und eige konnes gelerch halt. Auser gibt un ist en hannen diese Gebaudeniere für den dieselbe ist derech die Weischel der Ben dru un te. Alle müsse der Profes genes wendelte, die Und min die spotlischen und über die erlach in betreib der Ben die konnes der Ben der einer die erlach bestellt der der erlach in betreib der Ben die kenten und über die erlach sie ter de erlach der bestellt der der erlach der erlach der der erlach der der erlach der erlach

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gene sich eine Gestischen den sich den gewisse Geleichgewicht berieden. Wenn
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Das medicate la Rices H. Hor, who man siebt, von benonderer Lichblichte in and forzale, und dieser Charakter beherzeldt dann sach das ganes Stock, ungswohet entiger ernster werdenber des ganes Stock, ungswohet entiger ernster werdenber des ganes Stock, ungswohet entiger kenter werdenber stocken, so wirden diese erstens eine barnonsische Polise des zweien Taleit (zat 17—12) bereifen, wo die Modulbugo sich siewe gazwungen und wickerhang beweigt, indem austitt Zweigers mörkten vir einen leisen Zweift aussprechen, ob die Behandlungsart des Trie, vor Gelt und Grüffer Bestländig dieselbe Michole in Ociavor spolen, fruct des an aich reizuselse Ricket des singenden Gelle mit verirende unschreiben, der Gariefiger, gatten ge en it as sei, oh nieke ten abwechschaft Under serveren.

Das Fin als eist eit oontspunktisches Meiserstlick, nännlich eine Fuge mit 3 Subjekton:

Salo im dreidoppolen Contrapunal gearbeite. Das Clavier brings zuerst im Base das erste Thema, worzeit das Cello in S. Taki Diff of the state 2017年11月日 u. s. w.

The state of the s

Thems prairieth in der Quinnie pageliche; drawfoldelde rechte Thems prairieth in der Quinnie pageliche; drawfoldelde rechte Inac Hand mit dem ersten Thems, as des Callo had das zwelles, die line Hand mit dem ersten Thems, and der Molt-Durchen, dess die eigenbünniche Neonraug wird dem Komer aufhlen, des har bie der Drumen werden nan den garnen Satz hiedurch auf de mennigkehne mut komstvollere Weise ausgehauft, mit wurer in seriolie kühnen Combinationen (wie z. B. der Orgelpunke) kannen bann die entharmonischen Rückungen und Generande man hieder zu, der wird her Fanol nach Hedre zu, w. S. 40. Syst. 3). — Also Englührungen, der son der Antennichen Stehen München, wirdes au weitluning sein. Der Componist Instet hierio wahren erstellen, wirdes au weitluning sein. Der Componist Instet hierio wahren er weitluning sein. Der Componist Instet hierio wahren er weitluning ander zu, windler wir her Gestellen Müncher, wirdes und sich erstellen, der nicht er auch finder in medicale erstellent, sondern die Reiste Buntlerische und phenatsische Gestilung anderen, den ericht erstellt, ordigien! und nach Gestelle erstelltung anderen, der nicht etwa in eitstlicher Melodik allein seinen Genas stefann Les dahie, und muss Jeden mit Genas speit und Indet.

Uebersicht neu erschienener Musikwerke.

Kannaremaelk.

Folgende ehrewerten und eine crigische Gestellschaft laber die noorgegeneide Wegen der Spiese nut Lussen Kedasfonstäteld zusammender der Spiese nut geleine Zielen Kellen der Spiese nut der Spiese der Spiese nut der Spiese der Spiese nut der Spiese der Menden der Kellen der Verlagen und Vielenen II Op. 3.

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Wil die der Deman und Gesten vorragiot, zum Tauli imit Stepsten.

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no man der Manarfeche Ferlüte rum Tauli Selfphalten auf die

Den der Merken Fernden und Selfpen eine Vertrag iner und des

norden Ferngene der Vertreiffolden Selfphalten wir filter. Der met der Selbhalten fer Auftragen und werten gesten der Selfphalten wir filter. Der Manarfeche Ferlütze vertreig Anne das gesten vertreigen des Auftragen und wer der Manarfeche Ferlütze vertreig. Auf der Selfphalten vertreig Anne der Pill gewesen ist. — Auf sein Gewiche Auftragen der Auftragen isternosió, Mythures, Tonari, Fern, Contisponist cenaert, volkumber place and the Manach and the Wood and the Manach and the Manach

With bemerken hier für die betreffenden Herren Componitien als und verlegengen die den matset feine nichtganden habstellen, das auf regengengen siedt, auf Lied der mit Heren weranit haben, noch einem Listen der Listen de

The NETT of M. H. L. And M. M. Into the Understroad deven on the determ (these Bestlein fields) and the second of the second of

Berichte.*)

Brefin. R. W. Seit melown letzien Klageschrei über unser Opernreit auf zeiten wweitigenen ziehen eine Besterung eingeriebon, kind auf zeiten gener der der der der der gegeben warde, und zwer zeiten wieder auf. A present ein der der den kontradien an Antillerung auf unserer Hoftdine Ner Present dem und Gestüne, zwer der

"A Auser den folgenden sind uns noch sehr denkeuswertes Mit-biellungen ses Winn, Stelligher, Frankfers M. "Obelens, Wenster-Henberg und Koslock sugekoomen, welden wir für diement zu-reckingen musses. Dissolben folgen in des nächsten Nurmenn.

Aus dem welteren wollen wir nur noch auf die Begleitung andwarms wieder aufgenneuten Hanglingens (Seide B) aufnarfersam nachen, wachde aus den voherspeängente Addeltiteiben Hande von salbei haverorgeht, und dann in der rubigeren Form des filmes des Galle stellte Begleites.
Them des Galle stellte Begleites.
Des der well in hanht, wom auch z. Th. seit kennstvell, dech nicht so volgentlig ist as der des serten Siezes.
Des Allgeries ques Mennete (Aucholl 17), zeichet sich der sich geren far seiche Siezes in der seiche Siezes der Sicheltichkeit des "thematischen Stoffs aus, punk de seicht an Ziefe Fre-nooll 30 stellent sich im Hanghaste als Einleitunge- oder Bindegile vorkommenden gleich Kottes gehöfdet ist.

Cl. in 3 Oktaven.



Das mološische Bitanzal ist hier, wie man siebl, von besonderen Lebilchkeit und Grark, und dieser Character beherricht dam end das ganze Büede, ungsachte dinger errister werdenden Solden. Wenn se uns strikult sit, einige Mehre Bedenken aussenderen, so weitend inder estieren sich bermonistelte Fölge des rweiten Theis (Takt 47—41) betreiten, wer die Mehre statt des erwerten Cheis (Takt 47—41) betreiten, wer die Mehre statt des erwerten Cheis (Takt 47—41) betreiten, wer die Mehre auf die dieselbe Maholie in Ochsten peijenen, best des an nels reinen die derbendingsart des Trie, we Calle und Clarier bestimde die derbendingsart des Trie, we Calle und Clarier bestimder der Garberfighur, gat int nig ge en is as seit, de hofte dien abwecheiche Weiterfigur, gat int nig ge en is as seit, de hofte dien abwecheiche Urbeit der Garberbeiter von der der Garberbeiter von der Garberbeiter der Garberbeiter wir. Davon abgeselen ist uns das Bück much seinen Gedankenfahlt und dessen Verwendung kusserri ind perverden.

Marie There of 1 27 7 7 7 12 7 1 Diff and the transfer of the t

also in dreidoppulten Conkrepunki gearbeitet. Das Clavier bringd zuerst im Bass das erste Thema, worauf das Gelio im 5. Takt

Them studied had des Clavlers mit dem tweiten Treas notation to de (princip legicilet i dars) (logifiet recellet line mit dem extent Them. 3 des Calo had das zweite, die linde had des Carviers des defet Thema u. s. w. Als eine inited had des Carviers des defet Thema u. s. w. Als eine linde had been versienten des Carviers des defet dem garmen Siste hindurch auf de mennighens und kunstvollete Weise ausgebeuts, mit- make in erfamlet, mit der Denisans ep tim e Stet 47 unter u. s. w., der sich in jeden Tatl anflöst um mit markvelletige Consequentz sich in jeden Tatl anflöst um mit markvelletige Consequentz sich in jeden Tatl anflöst um mit markvelletige Consequentz sich in jeden Tatl anflöst um die enharmonetchen Bückungen gelab weiger genbewegungen u. s. w., hier anfamlichen, würde u. weifer ist sich bei der in wahrhaft erfastenliches. Doch fehlt es auch micht um meddischen Monsentan, weile wei hat, so jest, sich weiter der scheinfelsten. Doch fehlt es auch micht um meddischen Monsentan, weile weit heit onder Scheider versiehen missen. Dass dingen annarm, weile wer hier, oblein verlier Scheider wich der Scheider weiter Gestaltung annurma, weile wer hier, obleinder versiehen missen. Dass dingen beneden des Eriekes beine Scheider weiter Gestaltung und in einem Gestalt kinstellerieb er oblighen in der Gestaltung erwan in stästlicher Melodik allein selnen eines Scheider Melodik allein selnen missen.

Uebersicht neu erschienener Musikwerke.

Desires werden in eine Besetzung anschen die steit gern gabierte Oper feist, im Tore, und Kentlinung absetz sich der Hommanklaßen gelüßteren Bereits wist die Arfüllung absetz sich der Greite Desire Aber der Wall die der Denne nod Genien vorrüglich, jarzugallt die Bereits weil die der Denne nod Genien vorrüglich, jarzugallt die Bereits der Bereits der Wall der Schale der der Bereits der Schale der der Bereits der Schale der der Registelnis under Gabante Bereit ist al. 18 matatt der einfallen Erreits der Kaptenbilt under Gabante Bereit der Aber der Schale der der Kaptenbilt under Gabante der der Gabante der Gabante der Mannen der Manart sehn der Matart ein der Historieck Mykthen, Stratek Pran. Calinpaniki erinaet, volikomna shegetruli. Erizhitel das nichtiche has Mykthen delegen aus gehet Towe von sich, Ush Kimmad verdieche has Mykthen delegen das wird a beneune, viellende in Kimmad verdieche has Mykthe delegen mit fertebet en wird as beneune, viellende in Kimmad verdieche Erizhitel mit fertebet delegen die eine State delegen die eine State delegen die eine Verdien mit stäte heben bleche informatie mit fertebet der Wirde sew vier mas verlated bedrached. Jest begede im it stem mit eleme Britanians und der tilben Nachredig plach, sich mit der hand bedrached in eine State insich bedrache wer in state verlate bedrached. Jest begede im die stem benacht der Britanians und en tilben Nachredig plach, sich versien auch State in der State der State

Frankfurt a. O. H. L. Am 11. d. M. knin in der lösteitriche for frichte spinistere Aufflätunge des Deltinge des Stad-bankfürtenden Hin. des Gebruiken spinistere Aufflätunge des Indiangen Gebruiken und des Stad-bankfürtenden Hin. der Stad-bankfürten nicht der Stad-bankfürten und Grobeiter, weren einem Außeite der Aufflatung des Choese zeglan von aftigen und nicht unter erfüglich verten die gebenden des Verlaugen unt der Stad-bankfürten Nomesen der Stad-bankfürten und Grobeiter, weren einem Außeite der Aufflatung der Choese zeglan von aftigen und nicht den der viellende Hin. der Stad-bankfürten nicht der Stad-bankfürten der Stad-bankfürten ni

Berichte.*)

Parfile, W. Sell mediami lettes Klagsschreit über unser Operaregeriet ist weutgenen intolori ness Beseutung deligensen, wieder auf. Deten er mehrfalb gegöben werde, und gestranten wieder am 4. Deten ber auf er der delikunderten Auflänbrung auf unserer Heidelber auf Kras Deservationen und Gestlam geweiten, sowie die

"I Ausser den folgenden sied mas noch sehr denkenwertibe Mit-theilungen aus Wick. Stutiger, Frankfur a. U. Cobens, Manter-themberg und Roscok ungekomman, welche wir itzt diemmi zw-riedingen mussen. Disselben folgen in den abshakou D. Red.