A. B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity

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Why does one go to a symphony concert? Not so long ago, the answer seemed self-evident: to listen to the music on the program. But as a number of recent writers have argued, listening to music for its own sake is anything but "natural."[1] Indeed, as an expectation of "normal" concert behavior it crystallized only about two centuries ago, as a corollary to what Carl Dahlhaus has called "the idea of absolute music."

19th-Century Music XVIII/2 (Fall 1994). © by The Regents of the University of California.

A version of this essay was read at the American Musicological Society meeting in Pittsburgh, 1992. I am grateful to James Hepokoski for his editorial comments and suggestions.

[1]See Hanns-Werner Heister, *Das Konzert: Theorie einer Kulturform*, 2 vols. (Wilhelmshaven, 1983); Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago, 198➡ Leon Botstein, "Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience," this journal 16 (1992), 129–45.

This modest historical observation, however, leads to numerous complex ramifications. Historians—particularly German literary historians—have recently been tracing the emergence of autonomous art with increasing attention to its social, political, and economic implications.[2] The emerging view, in brief, is this: at the end of the eighteenth century, new ideas were put forward about art—above all in Kant's *Critique of Judgment*—that described the aesthetic object as purposeless and the subject (the viewer, the reader, the listener) as disinterested. This "functionless" role for art was in large part a negative reaction to the immediately preceding efforts of Enlightenment thinkers to implement art as an instrument for the social good. These new aesthetic theorists, most prominently Karl

[2]See, for example, the important essays in *Aufklärung und literarische Öffentlichkeit*, ed. Christa Bürger, Peter Bürger, and Jochen Schulte-Sasse (Frankfurt, 1980).

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Philipp Moritz and Friedrich Schiller, rejected the idea that art should be judged by its effectiveness in pragmatic matters—by, for instance, how popular a novel or poem was and how readily the "message" or moral was accepted.[3] Opposing the concept of utility with that of beauty, they countered the Enlightenment desire to subordinate all things to the principle of instrumental rationality—practical, means-ends rationality (the term is Max Weber's)—with the theory of autonomous art. This new view held that the only purpose of art was to be beautiful and to be experienced as such.[4] Music's claim to "high art" status gained enormous ground during this aesthetic turn. What was regarded earlier as its most serious problem, its nonrepresentational nature or lack of relation to the "real" world, came to be transformed into its most celebrated quality.[5]

Recent analysis has complicated this history of aesthetics, however, by emphasizing how autonomous art subsequently flourished by being simultaneously perceived both as a purely aesthetic object *and* as an available medium for furthering certain social projects. For example, just as music attained status as high art, music instruction and musical organizations were seized on to help consolidate a middle-class society by means of appreciating music for its own sake. As the literary theorist Peter Bürger has observed with regard to German literature: "Nothing appears to contradict the idea that art is set up as an autonomous institution in bourgeois society more than the fact that works of art in this very society are pressed into service as instruments of schooling [*Erziehung*] and socialization."[6] In short, even while claiming art's ability to withdraw from the demands of instrumental rationality, its proponents were setting up new social purposes and goals for this aesthetic enterprise.

To keep sight of this paradox while considering the establishment of the modern symphony concert, I shall adopt the strategy that treats art as an "institution." According to Bürger, a central theorist of this approach, this focus can expose "the shaping influence of an institutionalized understanding of art on the reproduction and reception of works."[7] Bürger's colleague, Peter Uwe Hohendahl, has tried to distinguish institution theory from more traditional reception history. According to Hohendahl, a study from the standpoint of the category of the institution of literature—and it is an easy matter to transpose the key terms into musical ones—should address:

1. the (social, economic, political) conditions under which writing and reading occur;
2. the system of conventions and norms for reading and writing (without falling into merely an explication of individual works or authors);
3. the particular significance and function of the institution within society, or its relation to other institutions; and
4. the historicity of the institution of literature itself.[8]

Institution theory seeks not to legitimate or evaluate individual works but to provide a critique of the ideology that underlies or constitutes the work. In adapting this method to study music, then, "absolute music" would be located not in the works themselves but in the way that institutions focused the social perception of musical works as absolute.

[3]For an important new, economic view of Schiller's and Moritz's turn against "instrumentalist" aesthetics, see Martha Woodmansee, *The Author, Art, and the Market: Rereading the History of Aesthetics* (New York, 1994).

[4]The crucial text that precedes Kant in defining the "purposivelessness" of art is Karl Philipp Moritz's "Versuch einer Vereinigung aller schönen Künste und Wissenschaften unter dem Begriff des in sich selbst Vollendeten" (1785), where he declares that the beautiful object "has no extrinsic purpose. It is not there to fulfill anything else, but it exists on account of its own perfection. We do not contemplate it to discover what use we may make of it; we use it only to the extent that we can contemplate it" (*Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Peter le Huray and James Day [Cambridge, 1981], p. 187).

[5]See M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York, 1958), pp. 88–94, for a classic account of music's role in this aesthetic turn.

[6]Peter Bürger, "The Institution of Art as a Category of the Sociology of Literature," in Peter Bürger and Christa Bürger, *The Institutions of Art*, trans. Loren Kruger (Lincoln, Neb., 1992), p. 10.

[7]Bürger, "The Institution of Art," p. 6.

[8]Peter Uwe Hohendahl, *Building a National Literature: The Case of Germany, 1830–1870*, trans. Renate Baron Franciscono (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989), p. 34.

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My own attempt to explore the institutional aspects of the symphony and the symphony concert—that is, the extramusical considerations that endow works with "aesthetic essence"—will focus on the nationalism inherent in the German theory of absolute music. From this perspective we may witness an attempt to constitute art music not only aesthetically but also as a relation of nations: at the same time that autonomous music was being defined as distinctly and qualitatively different and better than entertainment music, German music was being proclaimed as high art by designating foreign music as frivolous, unsubstantial, and unworthy. Aesthetic and national categories of distinction coincided, overlapped, and blurred. What further complicates the matter is the way that this confusion of categories continues into the present. Dahlhaus, for instance, has observed that "the idea of absolute music—gradually and against resistance—became the esthetic paradigm of German musical culture in the nineteenth century."[9] I would like to suggest the reverse: it was the idea of a German musical culture that—gradually and against resistance—became the paradigm of absolute music in the nineteenth century. My premise is that "the idea of absolute music" arises primarily out of the correlation of two systems of differences: one of function (music for its own sake as opposed to other kinds of music); the other of nation (German music as opposed to that of other countries). Absolute music is distinguished not so much by intrinsic properties but on the basis of what it (presumably) is not. Therefore, the absence of non-Germanic music in the realm of "absolute" music is hardly an accident; rather, this very concept was shaped by a new, exclusionary ideology directed at other nations.

This claim may be supported by examining the ways in which nationalistic music criticism nourished an audience for the symphony concert in early nineteenth-century Berlin. A strong connection between nation and symphony—or more precisely, between nation building and concertgoing—was forged during Beethoven's lifetime, a period during which (not coincidentally) music criticism and the symphony concert took shape as institutions constitutive of autonomous art music. During this period no one worked more zealously toward having Beethoven's symphonies performed and appreciated than the Berlin music critic Adolf Bernhard Marx. Although he is remembered today more as a music theorist, Marx began his career as the eager editor of the *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, which began appearing in 1824.[10] His basic strategy was to delimit the symphony by positioning its "other," foreign opera, and by establishing this other's undesirable nature. Rossini was his main target, but his treatment of Spontini reveals the same approach. The obverse of this strategy was to champion the symphony as a national treasure and the symphony concert as an edifying experience.

Rossini: The Antithesis of the Symphony

The ostensible antithesis to "the idea of absolute music" is music dependent on occasion or text. This assumption, for example, lies at the core of much of Dahlhaus's work, who emphasized the difference between the musical "work" and the musical "event"; that is, between score-oriented and performance-oriented music.[11] Such a claim, though, presumes that this difference lies in the music itself rather than in the way the music was and is treated. For Dahlhaus, therefore, musical works have an aesthetic essence, and musical events do not; events can be of historical documentary interest, but it would be misguided to classify them as absolute music. His primarily evaluative interest in the distinction surfaces when he accepts uncritically the descriptions of performance-oriented music as ephemeral entertainment and of score-oriented music as worthy of a place with literature and the visual arts. Because he does not distinguish his own

[9]Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, p. 9.

[10]For a detailed account of Marx's journal and its role in the early reception of Beethoven's works, see Elisabeth Eleonore Bauer, *Wie Beethoven auf den Sockel Kam: Die Entstehung eines musikalischen Mythos* (Stuttgart, 1992).

[11]Dahlhaus, "The Twin Styles," *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), pp. 8–15, and *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 4–5.

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categories from the historical ones he is describing, his own work reproduces nineteenth-century strategies to define and preserve high art music.[12]

During Beethoven's lifetime, the antithesis of the symphony was recognized in Berlin as non-German opera. For the Berlin critics, this meant, above all, the operas of Rossini, which dominated all of Europe, and those of Spontini, which dominated more locally. The figurative language used by these critics reveals how this supremacy was no mere matter of aesthetics: foreign opera was described as nothing less than the enemy invading German lands. In 1830 the critic R. O. Spazier recounted with pride that although Munich, Dresden, and Vienna had fallen to Rossini, Berlin was a fortress that still held. The city's shields were Weber, Gluck, and certain "masterworks" that kept critics and people free of the delirium.[13]

The citadel of Berlin was reinforced by the paper blockade of Marx's journal, all seven years of which (1824–30) battled with righteous fervor against the popularity of Rossini. Marx employed three main strategies of denunciation; all relied on the fact that Rossini was Italian. First, Marx insisted that these operas were disagreeable for aesthetic reasons: the Germans valued the dramatic aspect of opera above all and Rossini simply had no dramatic sense. Nor were the characters and the plots natural or true to life.[14] But perhaps sensing that such an abstract theory of drama was of little use in persuading Germans to renounce their favorite composer, Marx often switched to a second type of argument, which took an *ascetic* rather than aesthetic position: here he emphasized the morally superior stance of renouncing pleasurable sensations. Within Marx's ascetics, Rossini's only value was to serve as an exemplary warning of what would happen when superficiality and indolence took over.[15] He predicted gloomily: "If one gives an audience nothing other than Rossini and similar music, it will ultimately ruin the opportunity for anything better; it will teach and accustom them to be satisfied with fleeting sensual pleasure and will give up for lost the deeper and more inner receptiveness."[16]

Marx's third main line of argument against Rossini employed the even more formidable weapons of Hegelian historical-philosophical reasoning. Marx's more speculative writing—typically found in his end-of-the-year editorials—often echoed the section on "World History" from Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* (1821; Hegel also lectured at Berlin University on the topic during the academic years 1822–23 and 1824–25).[17] As was the case in the *Phenomenology of the Spirit*, the *Philosophy of Right* charts the progress of the spirit, whose goal is to arrive at full ethical self-consciousness or *Sittlichkeit*, defined as the true consciousness of freedom. In "World History," Hegel described how the world spirit progressed through increasingly higher states of consciousness, which were not represented by individuals but by the spirits of different peoples, communities, or nations (*Volksgeister*).[18] Each stage of the

[12]This point is also made → James Hepokoski in "The Dahlhaus Project and Its Extra-musicological Sources," this journal 14 (1991), 221–46.

[13]"Dort hielt sich, am Anschauen unverdrängter Meisterwerke erstarkt, Kritik wie das Volk vom Taumel frei. Von dort aus ward sein Reich zerstört, thronte niemals, verschwand am Ersten wieder" (R. O. Spazier, "Scherz und Ernst—Bemerkungen über Nationalität in der dramatischen Musik, über die Verhältnisse der dresdner deutschen und italienischen Oper u.s.w.," quoted by Marx in "Streit zwischen der deutschen und italienischen oper in Dresden," *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* [hereafter *BamZ*] 7 [1830], 34).

[14]"Was der Deutsche von einer Opera begehrt, wahre, naturgemaße Empfindung, Haltung der Karaktere u.s.w., daran hat Rossini niemals gedacht—wenigstens nicht ernstlich" (Marx, "Rossini und die diebische Elster auf dem Berliner Theater," *BamZ* 2 [1825], 22).

[15]"Uns aber soll der reichbegabte Rossini ein warnendes Beispiel sein, wohin Oberflächlichkeit und Schlaffheit selbst bei der glücklichsten Anlage führen" (Marx, "Rossini und die diebische Elster," p. 37).

[16]"Man gebe einem Publikum nichts als rossinische und ähnliche Musik, so wird es endlich für alle bessere verdorben werden; es wird lernen und gewohnen, an augenblicklichem Sinnengenuß sich zu befriedigen und die tiefere und innigere Empfänglichkeit wird verloren gehn" (Marx, "Königstadtisches Theater: Berlin, den 24. August," *BamZ* 2 [1825], 281).

[17]See Allen Wood's introduction to G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, ed. Wood, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge, 1991), p. xxxiv; and Arno Forchert, "Adolf Bernhard Marx und seine *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*," in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg, 1980), pp. 387–88.

[18]See Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, sections 341–53, pp. 372–77.

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progress of the spirit favored a given nation whose people during that time would function as center and focus of world history—as had occurred most powerfully and immediately with the French Revolution. In Hegel's view, after the struggle for absolute freedom had been articulated in France, the world spirit had moved on to Prussia, whose government and society, he believed, would come to embody the world spirit more perfectly.

Marx's Theory of National Differences

Like Hegel, Marx also began with the premise that the world was progressing as a whole, with the spirit of the age appearing in different ways in different nations. Thus in 1825 Marx argued that the Germans should have little to do with Rossini because their spirit had progressed further and higher: "Insofar as we Germans now certainly stand spiritually higher than Italy with its Rossini, so it is certain that the desire for higher music lies in us and will be satisfied."[19] He argued further,

> In Italy Rossini's operas must take root, for do the people of Italy have any tendency today other than that which lives in Rossini? For this reason he has been occasionally referred to as the composer of his nation. . . . With us everything is different. We can be amused by Rossini's operas as sensual pleasure, but cannot value them as artworks comparable to Gluck and Mozart, for then we would first have to forget what music can be for the spirit and the heart and what we seek and desire in every artwork—and that is not forgotten so easily where a spiritual culture is so lively and so advanced.[20]

In Marx's moralistic view, the Italian, compared to the German, was "the fallen person next to the unbowed and untempted. And that knowledge should remind us that the picture of Italian life in their operas can hardly also be the image and the idea of our life."[21]

In the same year, Marx presented an even more extreme argument in a review of a book on the vocal techniques of different nations. Here he elaborated at length the reasons why Germans should avoid Italian music: the reasons essentially rested on the idea that Germans and Italians necessarily had antithetical natures because the former were located in the north, the latter in the south. Under the hot sun, Marx explained, the Italians had developed more flammable natures—unstable, excitable, easily satisfied. Never having felt a need for higher or more abstract ideas, Italians had been caught up and satisfied with their own individuality.[22] Thus Rossini, as their most characteristic composer, expressed only his personality and could neither develop nor sustain the ideas that were implicit in his operas.[23] On the other hand, as northerners, Germans had had their nature shaped differently:

> [The northerner's] life is no game, it demands seriousness. He is not the darling of nature, but rather its proud ruler. He has been raised and strengthened in a harsher school, and the less he finds satisfaction

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[19] "So gewiß nun wir Deutschen geistig höher stehen, als Italien mit seinem Rossini, so gewiß ruht in uns das Verlangen nach einer höhern Musik und wird sich befriedigen" (Marx, "Rossini und die diebische Elster," p. 23).

[20] "In Italien mußte die rossinische Oper wurzeln; denn hat wol das Volk von Italien heute eine andre Tendenz, als, die in Rossini lebt? Darum ist er schon bei anderer Gelegenheit der Komponist seiner Nation genannt worden. . . . Bei uns ist das alles anders. Uns kann rossinische Oper als Sinnenlust erjötzen [*sic*], nicht aber neben Gluck und Mozart als Kunstwerk gelten; dazu müßten wir erst vergessen, was Musik dem Geist und dem Herzen sein kann und was wir in jedem Kunstwerke suchen und begehren—und das vergißt sich nicht so leicht, wo die Geisteskultur so belebt und vorschreitend ist" (Marx, "Königstadtisches Theater," pp. 281–82).

[21] "Es ist der gefallene Mensch neben dem ungebeugten und unverführten. Und das Bewusstsein soll uns erinnern, dass auch das Bild italischen Lebens in ihrer Oper nicht das Abbild oder gar das Ideal unsers Lebens sein kann" (Marx, "Streit zwischen der deutschen und italienischen Oper in Dresden," *BamZ* 7 [1830], 37).

[22] "Die heißere Sonne, die durchglühtere, darum aber auch leichter sich in sich verzehrende Zone des Südens hat dem Italiener eine leichtere, erregtere, aber auch weniger befestigte und widerhaltige Natur gegeben. Jeder Sinn und jedes Organ hat in ihm erhöhtes Leben, theilt der Seele schnell aufwallendes Gefühl, dem Geiste einen schnellen Schwung der Phantasie mit, um dann rascher und entschiedener zur Ruhe—zur Abspannung zurückzukehren" (Marx, review of "Vollständige Singschule in vier Abtheilungen, mit deutschen, italienschen und französchschen Vorbemerkungen und Erläuterungen von Peter von Winter u.s.w.," in *BamZ* 2 [1825], 158).

[23] "Rossini ist in der Sphäre der italienischen Komponisten geblieben und hier der erste. Er, der reichbegabteste unter ihnen, giebt überall sich und nur einfallsweise deutet er hier und dort auf die Ideen, die den Inhalt seiner Opern, Personen, Situationen abgeben sollten, stets auf sich zurückkehrend" (Marx, "Vollständige Singschule," p. 159).

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in paltry offerings, the more it delights him to leave the realm of more subjective, trifling kinds of satisfaction for the endless realm of ideas. In order to acquire the southerner's spirit, he struggles with what is and was there in order to put together a truer picture for himself and create a higher and richer environment than that which the southerner himself occupies. The tendency of northern—and in particular German—art is to take everything up into itself, to re-create spiritually a true and perfect life.[24]

Marx's claim is striking: the northern viewpoint gave access to nothing less than the ability to understand others better than they understood themselves. True, he acknowledged, the northerner was certainly affected by the heat of southern music, but in a more inward way, one that yielded insight into himself as well as into humanity and nature in general. In short, German music was capable of subsuming or (to use Hegelian terminology) sublating Italian music.[25]

In another essay from 1826, Marx assessed the self-consciousnesses of Italy and France and found them far behind that of Germany.[26] At present, Italy's character was at a stage of egotism, where personal affairs absorbed the people at the expense of public or more general concerns. Italians participated fully and passionately at the sensual level but could not progress beyond this—and certainly not to the stage where one could forget oneself in comprehending the aesthetic object. This was evident in both Italian singers and composers, who cared little about the music itself, but instead regarded it merely as an opportunity for self-indulgent expression of their natural Italian sensuality. For this reason, in Marx's view, all the music by Italian and Italianate composers, such as Rossini, Mercadante, and Meyerbeer, sounded basically the same.

As for the French, their cold, impatient, and quick temperament had prevented them from opening their inner being to music. Marx criticized both the French's inability to appreciate "independent" music—that without extramusical associations—and their preference for sensual delight and virtuosic display. Although conceding that they had shown some enthusiasm for Haydn, Marx argued that, if they had truly appreciated that composer, they should have progressed by now to an enthusiasm for Mozart and Beethoven.[27] Moreover, because the French had always relied on the intervention of foreigners for their music, they lacked a music they could call their own. This lack of character placed the French below the Italians.[28] Similarly, in other articles Marx frequently cited England as a country without a pronounced musical character, whose focus on external rewards had inhibited its spiritual life. In his "standpoint" article two years earlier in 1824, Marx had subordinated England and France to Germany on the basis of the progression of the world spirit:

England, whose sons have never produced anything distinguished for music, who regularly borrow and buy from foreigners, appear on this account not as remarkable as France, which has begun to grasp that it can also learn and take from other countries, particularly Germany. The earlier settlement makes amends for it through a residue that will now be especially obvious so that they gaze at works and hardly realize that for a long time they have been far

[24]"Sein Leben ist kein Spiel, es fodert Ernst; er ist nicht das Schoßkind der Natur, sondern ihr selbstbewußter Gebieter; in strengerer Schule hat sie ihn gekräftigt und erhoben; und je weniger er an den spärlichen Gaben Genügen finden kann, desto mehr reizt es ihn, aus dem Kreise subjektiver dürftiger Befriedigung hinaus in das unendliche Reich der Ideen einzuschreiten. Was da ist und war, ringt er, in wahrer Gestalt um sich zu versammeln, und eine höhere und reichere Umgebung, als der Südländer besitzt, seinem Geiste zu erwerben. In sich alles aufzunehmen, alles zu einem wahren und vollkommenen Leben geistig wieder zu erschaffen, ist die Tendenz der nordischen und namentlich der deutschen Kunst" (Marx, "Vollständige Singschule," p. 159). Compare this to Wagner's statement in his 1840 essay "On German Music": "It is possible for the German more than any other to go to another country, develop the aims of a nation's artistic epoch to the highest peak and raise it to universal validity" (Richard Wagner, "Über deutsches Musikwesen," in *Dichtungen und Schriften*, vol. V, ed. Dieter Borchmeyer [Frankfurt am Main, 1983], p. 170).

[25]"Allein—die deutsche Kunst schließt die italische nicht aus, sondern ein" (Marx, "Vollständige Singschule," p. 168).

[26]Marx, "Olympia, große Oper in drei Akten, in Musik gesetzt . . . Klavier-Auszuge," *BamZ* 3 (1826), 366.

[27]The French, of course, would shortly become famous for their dedication to Beethoven, especially with François-Antoine Habeneck's performances of Beethoven's symphonies at the Société des Concerts beginning in 1828. → James H. Johnson, "Beethoven and the Birth of Romantic Musical Experience in France," this journal 15 (1991), 23–35.

[28]Marx, "Olympia," p. 368.

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surpassed by us. So an alliance is forming in the realm of music, proceeding from Germany as its middlepoint (as before from Italy) in all of higher educated Europe. Only Italy in all its circumstances is too enfeebled to associate spontaneously or can only be on the receiving end of the new life. The last spark that has been ignited in them by Rossini is the strongest proof of their situation.[29]

Marx thus proclaimed Germany's new prerogative as the most advanced in the progress of the Hegelian world spirit: it was to function as the musical center of Europe, giving new life to the more enfeebled nations. Because its standpoint encompassed and surpassed all others, Germany could be called the only nation with a truly *universal* musical point of view. Its task, then, was to take up everything musical in Europe and transform it to its own viewpoint, thereby furthering the progress of the world spirit. As stated in "Description of German Criticism, by an Englishman," in Marx's journal (1829), "the Germans have reached a point at which no other nation has yet arrived. . . . To ask them for what use [poetic beauty has] would be blasphemy for the Germans, like inquiring into the use of divinity, religion and virtue, since for them the poet stands truly at the height of humanity and is their king!"[30] This approach tried to finesse the problem that Germany's achievements, compared to other nations, were in the spiritual rather than in the economic, political, or technological realms.[31] In this view, the Germans' idealistic absorption in contemplating the beautiful had distracted them from competing with other nations on a more material level. Therefore, rather than disputing Germany's relative backwardness, Marx insisted on it as a positive virtue. In defining his own role as that of the emphatically German critic, he portrayed his chauvinism as ultimately benevolent, as something of a disinterested stance that would further European civilization:

> It has appeared as our task to strive after the higher, more comprehensive point of view, proper to our age and our fatherland, that is in the middle of Europe, in its heart as it were, in order to take up and to bring everything that has arisen in our neighbors to a higher, more spiritual maturity. To develop these ways of looking at things will be the chief task of our paper.[32]

In 1828 he reminded his readers that he had founded his journal on the belief that Berlin, currently at the forefront in scholarly and artistic activity, deserved it: "The capital of the fatherland, that is even now one of the most important central points in Europe for art and science [*Wissenschaft*] and is heading with certain steps to an even higher goal, was also suited for an organ devoted exclusively to the concerns of music."[33]

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[29]"England, dessen Söhne nie bedeutendes für die Tonkunst geleistet haben, das in dieser Sphäre stets von Ausländern lieh und kaufte, erscheint desswegen nicht so bemerkenswerth, als Frankreich, das zu begreifen anfängt, es könne auch vom Auslande und namentlich von Deutschland lernen und empfangen. Die frühere Abschließung büßt es durch ein Zurückbleiben, das nun erst recht augenfällig wird, da es Werke anstaunt und kaum faßt, die bei uns längst und weit überboten sind. So bildet sich im ganzen höher gebildeten Europa eine Verbindung im Fache der Tonkunst, wie früher von Italien, jetzt von Deutschland, als dem Mittelpunkte, ausgehend. Nur Italien ist nach allein seinen Verhältnissen zu geschwächt, um sich dem neuen Leben selbstthätig, oder nur empfangend zuzugesellen. Der letze Funke, der sich ihm in Rossini entzündet hat, beweiset am stärksten seinen Fall" (Marx, "Andeutung des Standpunktes der Zeitung. (Als Epilog.)," *BamZ* 1 [1824], 447–48).

[30]"Wohin noch keine Nation gekommen ist, dahin sind die Deutschen gedrungen . . . und nach ihrem Nutzen zu fragen, wäre für den Deutschen Blasphemie, wie etwa nach den Nutzen der Gottheit, der Religion und Tugen zu forschen; für sie steht der Dichter wahrhaft auf den Höhen der Menschheit und ist ihr König!" ("Schilderung deutscher Kritik, von einem Engländer," *BamZ* 6 [1829], 15–16).

[31]For a discussion of how Germany has historically been conceptualized as an essentially "spiritual" or cultural nation, see Horst Ehmke, "What is the Germans' Fatherland?" in *Observations on "The Spiritual Situation of the Age": Contemporary German Perspectives*, ed. Jürgen Habermas, trans. and intro. Andrew Buchwalter (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), pp. 309–32; see also the special issue on German unification, ed. Stephen Brockmann and Anson Rabinbach, *New German Critique* 52 (Winter, 1991).

[32]"Die höhere, umfassendere Ansicht zu erstreben, geziemt unserer Zeit und unserm Vaterlands, das, in der Mitte von Europa, gleichsam sein Herz, alles, was bei den Nachbarn ersteht, im sich aufzunehmen und zu höherer geistiger Reife zu bringen, zur Aufgabe zu haben scheint. Diese Ansichtsweise zu entwickeln, wird eine vorzügliche Aufgabe unserer Zeitung sein" (Marx, "Ueber die Anfoderungen unserer Zeit an musikalische Kritik; in besonderm Bezuge auf diese Zeitung," *BamZ* 1 [1824], 19).

[33]"Der Hauptstadt seines Vaterlandes, die schon jetzt für Wissenschaft und Kunst einer der wichtigsten Zentralpunkte Europa's ist, und sichern Schrittes einem noch höhern Ziel entgegengeht, ziemte auch für die Angelegenheiten der Tonkunst ein eignes Organ" (Marx, "Standpunkt der Zeitung," *BamZ* 5 [1828], 493).

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Gasparo Spontini's arrival in Berlin in 1819 presented a more complex challenge than did Rossini to the arbiters of north-German musical taste. As a French citizen born in Italy who occupied one of the most powerful musical positions in Germany, he obviously posed a problem for a simple categorization by nation. Despite the more complicated situation, however, an examination of Spontini's treatment by the Berlin critics yields more evidence for the emphatic way in which these critics distinguished German from foreign music.

Spontini came from Paris at the invitation of his royal admirer, the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III, and was given an extravagant yearly salary of 4,000 thalers, with the title "Intendant der Königlichen Schauspiele."[34] The manager of the theater, Count von Brühl, tried repeatedly to engage Carl Maria von Weber, but was unsuccessful because of the political sensitivity surrounding Weber, who was best known at that time for his war songs. Instead of the popular and patriotic Weber, then, Berlin found itself with a one-time favorite of the Empress Josephine. Spontini, who never learned the German language and by all accounts had a poor sense for public relations, was unpopular from the beginning.[35] Many of his conflicts were with Brühl, but his most publicized confrontations were with Weber, whose premiere of *Der Freischütz* had eclipsed the success of Spontini's *Olympia* in 1821. Rumors that Spontini was trying to prevent further performances of *Der Freischütz* and to hinder the premiere of Weber's *Euryanthe* in Berlin caused his standing to deteriorate even further.[36]

For many of the anti-Spontini Berliners, E. T. A. Hoffmann's past criticisms of Spontini proved to be especially influential. In 1815, while Spontini was still in Paris, Hoffmann had written a negative review for the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* that condemned Spontini on the basis of his use of melody, harmony, orchestration, rhythmic figures, and keys; every aspect was found wanting. "Because of all of this," wrote Hoffmann, "it seems to me that Spontini's music is completely lacking in inner truth, and that this explains why it cannot deeply touch the feelings of the listeners."[37] These early criticisms were to be repeatedly invoked in subsequent attacks on Spontini by other critics. Hoffmann himself, however, made a baffling reversal in 1820 and hailed the composer's imminent arrival in Berlin as a joyous event. The fulsome "Greeting to Spontini" Hoffmann published in the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* that year dismayed and perplexed many of his colleagues.[38]

Despite Hoffmann's new allegiance to Spontini (which, in any case, was cut short by the former's death in 1822), Spontini's treatment by others remained generally hostile and became even vicious with Ludwig Rellstab's mid-decade attacks. Rellstab's antagonistic, bitingly sarcastic approach—a style identified and celebrated as specifically "Berlinish"—made him one of the most feared and respected music critics of the time.[39] His review of *Agnes*

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[34]Jürgen Rehm, *Zur Musikrezeption im vormärzlichen Berlin: Die Präsentation bürgerlichen Selbstverständnisses und biedermeierlicher Kunstanschauung in den Musikkritiken Ludwig Rellstabs* (Hildesheim, 1983), p. 113.

[35]Marx, *Erinnerungen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1865), II, 244.

[36]*Euryanthe* premiered in Vienna on 25 October 1823, but was not performed in Berlin until more than two years later, on 23 December 1825. For an account of the very complicated circumstances that delayed the Berlin premiere, see Dennis Albert Libby, *Gaspare Spontini and His French and German Operas* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1969), pp. 281–305.

[37]"Nach allem diesem scheint es mir, daß es der Spontinischen Musik gänzlich an innerer Wahrheit mangle, und daß hieraus es sich dann von selbst erkläre, warum sie nicht tief in das Gemüt des Zuhörers eindringen könne" (Hoffmann, "Briefe über Tonkunst in Berlin: Erster Brief," in *Schriften zur Musik: Nachlese*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp [Munich, 1963], p. 288. The article originally appeared in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* [hereafter *AmZ*] 17 [1815], 17–27).

[38]Hoffmann, "Gruß an Spontini," in *Schriften zur Musik*, p. 338. For a theory of why Hoffmann changed his opinion so dramatically, see Libby, *Gaspare Spontini and His French and German Operas*, pp. 260–77. In brief, Libby suggests that Hoffmann did not so much change his view of the music as of the situation in Berlin. By the time Spontini arrived, another non-German composer even more loathed by Hoffmann—Rossini—had taken over Berlin audiences. Thus, Hoffmann may have decided to support Spontini in the hope that he would counteract Rossini, and that perhaps, under the influence of German musicians such as himself, Spontini could be guided toward a more true (i.e., German) conception of opera.

[39]See Arend Buchholtz, *Die Vossische Zeitung: Geschichtliche Rückblicke auf drei Jahrhunderte* (Berlin, 1904), p. 98.

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von Hohenstaufen in the *BamZ* in 1827 set off a series of bitter confrontations between the pro- and anti-Spontini factions.[40] Rellstab threw down the gauntlet with his opening remarks:

> My opinion is this, that this work is to be considered a complete failure throughout from beginning to end, and a failure to a degree that we have never seen before. Even the more recent operas by the same composer (whose right to be called works of art we wholly dispute) have been better propped up on many grounds, and still have the advantage over the opera under discussion, especially because they were better supported by the librettist.[41]

Although Rellstab savaged the libretto, he had little to say about the music. The degree of energy in Rellstab's critique seems to have been kindled not so much by Spontini's music per se as by a frustration at the power wielded by a foreigner not chosen by the people themselves. (Several years later Rellstab spent four months in jail for slander against Spontini.[42])

Marx, on the other hand, tried to play both sides of the Spontini *Streit.* Indeed, his personal acquaintance with and favorable disposition toward Spontini may have been a factor in obtaining the editorship of the *BamZ,* which was underwritten by Spontini's publisher and supporter, Adolph Schlesinger. In his memoirs, Marx devoted two chapters to reminiscences of Spontini, in which he explained that, while others fell into petty factional disputes, he remained a nonpartisan who appreciated Spontini's impressive abilities, especially as a conductor.[43] In the *BamZ,* Marx initially exhibited his frequently proclaimed impartiality by giving Spontini an even-handed treatment. He issued lengthy articles on each of Spontini's operas in the first year of his journal: while some of these were critical of the operas, none was critical of Spontini himself.[44]

While still proclaiming an official policy of neutrality, however, the journal shifted toward the anti-Spontini position in 1826, when Marx reviewed the piano-vocal arrangement of *Olympia.*[45] This wordy essay veiled its position in an ambiguous tone. Marx spent the first installment of the nine-part article establishing his more objective approach by contrasting it to the attacks of other critics, who, Marx claimed, had shed light on neither the work itself nor the aesthetic issues it had raised. He then recalled that when the *BamZ* had been founded, all the criticism of Spontini had been uniformly negative, and that he had realized it was "urgently necessary" to present Spontini's works impartially by both pointing out their outstanding features and placing them in a historical context of the development of art as a whole. Spontini will always be found wanting if he continues to be judged by German standards, Marx insisted; therefore we must judge him according to his Italian and French background. Not long into the essay, however, this "disinterested" historical view turned into a reiteration of his theory of national differences.[46] Marx went on to argue that if the foreigner was successful, it must mean that the native product was lacking in some way. Therefore foreigners could be of use in helping a country realize what it lacked.[47]

By his fourth installment, Marx was ready to offer the hardly surprising judgement that *Olympia* represented the combination of French and Italian artistic principles in the field of

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[40]Ludwig Rellstab, "Königliche Oper in Berlin: Ueber Spontinis neueste Oper," *BamZ* 4 (1827), 183–84, 189–90, 195–96, 205–08.

[41]"Meine Meinung ist die, daß dieses Werk ein durchaus von Angang bis zu Ende ganz mißlungenes zu nennen ist, und zwar in einem Grade mißlungen, wie wir noch kein Beispiel haben, indem selbst die neueren Opern desselben Komponisten, denen wir durchaus den Namen der Kunstwerke streitig machen, aus manchen Gründer, und inbesondere weil sie vom Dichter besser unterstützt sind, noch den Vorzug vor dem in Rede stehenden haben" (Rellstab, "Ueber Spontinis neueste Oper," *BamZ* 4 [1827], 183).

[42]Rehm, *Zur Musikrezeption im vormärzlichen Berlin,* p. 130.

[43]Marx, *Erinnerungen,* I, 218–58; II, 1–17.

[44]*BamZ* 1 (1824), 25–26, 33–34, 59–61 (*Olympia*), 75–78 (*La Vestale*), 119–22 (*Nurmahal*), 145–48 (*Fernand Cortez*).

[45]Marx, "Olympia, große Oper in drei Akten, in Musik gesetzt . . . Klavier-Auszug," *BamZ* 3 (1826), 349–51, 357–59, 365–68, 378, 386–88, 395–98, 401–04, 409–11, 417–20.

[46]In his second installment, Marx defended his use of national difference as the basis of his understanding of Spontini, at one point reproducing almost entirely his earlier description of Italy from the previous year: the paragraph beginning "Die heißere Sonne, die durchglühtere" is the same in *BamZ* 3 (1826), 366, and *BamZ* 2 (1825), 158.

[47]Marx, "Olympia," p. 350.

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grand opera.[48] The final installments discussed the libretto at great length—it was found undramatic and unconvincing in its characterization—and finally dealt cursorily with the music. Here Marx did little other than to repeat the charges of other critics—excessively regular rhythms and phrasing, incorrect part writing, meaningless figuration—and to attribute them to the French concept of drama.

In sum, Marx's grounds for delegitimating Spontini, who dominated Berlin, and Rossini, who dominated Europe, were only superficially different. Rossini's supposed deficiencies lay in his neglect of opera's dramatic side in favor of an indulgence in lyric sensuality; Spontini's weaknesses were attributed to generally poor compositional technique. In each case, however, these objections were traced back to their nation of origin. Ultimately, Rossini was to be avoided because he embodied the decadent spirit of Italy, and Spontini was of little value because of his mixture of French and Italian traits.

Building a National Symphony Audience

Just as the historical-philosophical argument could be used negatively, to argue against foreign opera, it could also be used positively, for the cultivation of the symphony. In 1826 Marx urged the German people to listen to the symphonies of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven not only for the music itself but also for themselves as a nation: "We must be aware of [symphonies] if we want to recognize our age and ourselves."[49] Two years earlier, he had written that the German people's response to these symphonies would inevitably be positive, because the music would rouse a spirit "slumbering" within. Other music would not meet with this recognition and would pass away like chaff scattered by the wind.[50] Similarly, other nations would not be able to respond to German works and, in particular, to the symphony: "The more light-minded nations, for example, the French and the Italians, have never produced anything substantial in the entire genre [of the symphony]—they could never grow to like and understand it; among other things, therefore, they have fallen far behind the Germans, for whom the symphony is characteristic."[51]

Not only was the symphony "characteristic" (*eigen*) of the Germans, Marx went so far as to declare that the symphony "could be identified as virtually the exclusive property [*Eigenthum*] of the Germans."[52] In order for the Germans to own exclusive rights to the symphony, however, music itself had to assume a more objective existence. Music had previously not fared well in aesthetics because of its lack of tangible substance. In Kant's view, for example, music was as ephemeral as a scent on a handkerchief.[53] Hegel also expressed concern for how quickly the musical note as an external sign vanished, how it was "cancelled at the very moment of expression." "Things together in space can comfortably be seen at a glance," Hegel observed, "but in time one moment has gone already when the next is there, and in this disappearance and reappearance the moments of time go on into infinity."[54] Therefore, music seemed more an occasion for a performer to exhibit taste and refinement in expression than an object representing a concrete and lasting accomplishment.[55]

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[48]Marx, "Olympia," p. 378.

[49]"Wir sie kennen müssen, wofern wir unsere Zeit und uns selbst erkennen wollen" (Marx, "Standpunkt der Zeitung," *BamZ* 3 [1826], 422).

[50]"Berichte: Königstädter Theater: Torwaldo und Dorliska," *BamZ* 6 (1829), 45.

[51]"Darum haben leichtsinnigere Nationen, z.B., die Franzosen und Italiener, in der ganzen Gattung nie Erhebliches geleistet, nie sie verstehen und liebgewinnen können; darum unter andern sind sie aber weit hinter den Deutschen zurückgeblieben, denen die Symphonie eigen ist" (M., "Korrespondenz: Berlin den 13. Dezember 1824," *BamZ* 1 [1824], 444).

[52]After praising the violinist Carl Möser for putting the *Eroica* Symphony on one of his concerts, Marx continued, "Wir wollen nun sehen, wer ihm zunächst folgen und den Kompositionen, welche geradezu ausschließliches Eigenthum der Deutschen genannt werden können, so wie dem größten Meister in ihnen ihr Recht widerfahren lassen wird" ("Korrespondenz: Berlin, den 28. April," *BamZ* 1 [1824], 163).

[53]Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, trans. Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis, 1987), sec. 53, p. 200.

[54]Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford, 1975), II, 626, and I, 249 (see also II, 891–92).

[55]In his classic 1939 study of "The Civilizing Process," the sociologist Norbert Elias documented how the emerging bourgeois Germany of the late eighteenth century distinguished its cultivation of tangible achievements in literature and philosophy from the French "civilized" nobility's display of taste and behavior. See Elias, *The History of Manners* (*The Civilizing Process*, vol. I), trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York, 1978), p. 9.

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In order to regard music as a fixed object, like any other artwork that could be owned, Marx began to advocate certain ways of treating the musical work. One of the most important was his insistence on performances of multimovement works as continuous, integrated wholes. As is widely known, during Beethoven's lifetime a symphony's first movement was often treated as an overture to open a concert, whereas the other movements appeared, if at all, at various other points on the program.[56] Even as late as 1826, for instance, Johann Nepomuk Hummel gave a concert in Berlin in which movements from Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony opened the two halves of the program.[57] A similar attitude toward concerts and the pieces on them motivated Hummel to perform his own "Rondeau brillant" between the Summer and Fall sections of Haydn's oratorio *The Seasons* when it was given in Berlin around the same time.[58] Although Marx was not the first critic to censure the practice of breaking up movements, his criticism represents the beginnings of a sustained effort to alter it.

Even more significantly, Marx called for repeated performances of these complete works. He argued that symphonies, especially those by Beethoven, could not be grasped on first hearing: only when a complete work was heard several times could it be comprehended. One of the most consequential features of Berlin music life in 1825 was the unprecedented number of performances of Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony. Within a span of five months the piece was heard four times: first in March on the first Bliesener brothers subscription concert of the season; then on a subscription concert given by Carl Möser in April; again later that month on a concert conducted by Spontini; and finally at the end of July on the fourth and final Bliesener concert of the season.[59] The Pastoral Symphony remained the most popular of Beethoven's symphonies in Berlin that decade. The concert reports for Berlin from the *BamZ* and the *AmZ* during 1824–30 mentioned eleven performances of the Pastoral, with the *Eroica* and the Fifth Symphonies the next most frequently played, with eight performances each.

The importance of repeated performances, and particularly the significance of those of the Pastoral, was taken up in Marx's indictment of the concert business in 1825, "A Few Words about Concert Life, especially in Big Cities." This article deserves to be quoted at length because it articulates a decisively "modern" concept of both the work and the concert. Marx used the essay to distinguish between his preferred type of concert and the more prominent concerts of virtuosic display, which, he claimed, "grant the listener nothing more than admiration for a mechanical dexterity and that sensual pleasure that is as far removed from aesthetic enjoyment as animals from humans."[60] In arguing for the "purer" form of concert, Marx asked:

> Must then always new pieces be played? Only worthless compositions should not be heard again, and the preference of the concert giver for such works is the only reason for the ill-mannered craving for the new. An artwork is new as long as it offers nourishment to our mind and heart. Many will prove upon hearing to be old; many will still be new after a hundred hearings. When so many operas in many cities obtain fifty, a hundred performances, should not a Beethoven concerto deserve ten performances? A few of those attending the concerts will be in the situation to understand such a work completely for the first time, and a few will hear it for the tenth time without finding new pleasure in it. In Berlin we have recently seen an at least closely related example. In Berlin, where symphonic works have been neglected—thereby impairing the sense and education of the public—the *Pastoral Symphony by Beethoven* was nevertheless given *four times* in one winter season. . . . This writer has spoken to many musicians and friends of art who misjudged the sense of the work after the first performance, taking in

[56]See Klaus Kropfinger, "Klassik-Rezeption in Berlin (1800–1830)," in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, pp. 301–79, esp. 328–35.
[57]"Nachrichten: Berlin: Uebersicht des May," *AmZ* 28 (1826), 392–93.
[58]*BamZ* 3 (1826), 132.
[59]"Korrespondenz," *BamZ* 2 (1825), 95, 138, 144, 259, 358.
[60]"Die den Zuhörern nichts gewährt, als Bewunderung einer mechanischen Geschicklichkeit und jenen Sinnengenuß, der vom Kunstgenuße so weit entfernt ist, wie—das Thier vom Menchen" (Marx, "Einige Worte über das Konzertwesen, besonders in großen Städten," *BamZ* 2 [1825], 350).

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nothing, trying to see much foolishness in the comical parts, who then after the second performance became conscious of many individual beautiful parts, and finally reached the idea and the magnificence of the whole. Why shouldn't this happen with good concert pieces? What can be more simple than the immortal Adagio in Beethoven's G-Major Concerto? This delighted the writer the first time he read it in score; and after hearing it three times, he still did not dare to presume that he had grasped its entire profundity.[61]

Marx's defensive tone, implying that he anticipated resistance, bears witness to the "newness" of the idea of repeated listenings. He soon became more confident, however, and later in 1825 he refused to apologize for devoting a concert review largely to Beethoven's Overture to *Coriolan* when other more popular items appeared on the program: "Many concert attenders may wonder that the undersigned places such an importance on this work, which was silently passed over, while every movement of the Lafont and Mercadante was applauded out of well-deserved enthusiasm for the performer."[62] The overture's failure, he insisted, was due to two factors: it was hard to hear the orchestra because of the noisy audience and the inadequate number of players; and—more important—the audience lacked the education and the familiarity necessary for understanding Beethoven. "It could hardly be expected that a great many of the audience would fall in with such a profound work on *first* hearing *without preparation*. Only when we in *Berlin* have come as far as *Leipzig*, where year-round *all* the Beethoven symphonies and those by other masters are performed, will then the sense of the public for such artworks be sharper and more responsive."[63]

Organizers and Performers of the Symphony in Berlin

Marx's most important ally in his symphony campaign was the violinist Carl Möser, whose concert series for both chamber music and larger works were acclaimed for setting the standard for what we may now regard as the new, serious, and emphatically German institution of art music. Möser's impact on Berlin concert life had in fact been considerable for some time. He had begun regular quartet soirees in the winter season of 1813–14. In 1819 and 1820, Hoffmann had published two letters in the

[61] "Muß denn immer Neues gespielt werden? Nur werthlose Kompositionen mag man nicht wieder hören und aus der Neigung der Konzertgeber zu solchen Werken ist allein ihr ungezügelter Drang zu Neuem entstanden. Ein Kunstwerk ist so lange neu, als es unserm Geist und Herzen Nahrung gewährt. Manches wird schon in der Probe alt befunden, manches wird nach hundertmaligem Hören noch neu sein. Wenn so manche Oper in vielen Städten funfzig, hundert Vorstellungen erwirbt, sollte nicht ein beethovensches Konzert zehn Aufführungen verdienen? Wenige von den Konzertbesuchern werden im Stande sein, ein solches Werk auf das erste Mal ganz zu verstehen und wenige werden es zum zehnten Male hören, ohne neuen Genuß daran zu finden. Wir haben in Berlin vor nicht langer Zeit ein mindestens nahe verwandtes Beispiel gesehen. In Berlin, wo früher das Symphonienfach von den Konzertgebern vernachläßigt und dadurch der Sinn und die Bildung des Publikums geschmälert worden war, ist dennoch die *Pastoralsymphonie von Beethoven* in einem Winterhalbenjahre *viermal* aufgeführt worden. . . . Der Schreiber dieses hat mehre, Musiker und Kunstfreunde, gesprochen, die nach der ersten Auffassung den Sinn des Werkes verkennend, nichts davon hielten, ja manches Unverstandene ins Komische zu ziehen suchten, darauf nach der zweiten Aufführung sich zahlreicher einzelner Schönheiten bewußt und zuletzt von der Idee und Herrlichkeit des Ganzen hingerissen wurden. Möchte es nicht mit guten Konzertstücken eben so gehen? Was kann einfacher sein, als das unsterbliche Adagio in Beethovens G-dur-Konzerte? Den Schreiber dieses hat es entzückt, als er es zum ersten Male in Partitur las; und als er es noch dreimal gehört hatte, hätte er nicht zu behaupten gewagt, es in seiner ganzen Tiefe aufgefaßt zu haben" (Marx, "Einige Worte," p. 358).

The slow movement of Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto continued to preoccupy Marx. For his later "programmatic" interpretation of it, see Ow → Jander, "Beethoven's 'Orpheus in Hades': The *Andante con moto* of the Fourth Piano Concerto," this journal 8 (1985), 195–212.

[62] "Daß der Unterzeichnete eben auf dieses Werk solches Gewicht legt, welches still vorübergegangen ist, während in Lafont und Merkadante jeder Satz aus gerechtem Interesse an den Ausübenden applaudirt wurde, könnte manchen der Konzertbesucher wundern" (Marx, "Korrespondenz: Berlin, den 30. November 1825," *BamZ* 2 [1825], 395).

[63] "Allein es ist *zweitens* auch gar nicht zu erwarten, daß ein zahlreiches Publikum auf ein so tiefes Werke *ohne Vorbereitung* bei dem *ersten* Anhören eingehe. Freilich wenn wir in *Berlin* erst so weit gekommen wären, wie man in *Leipzig* ist, wo alljährlich *sämmtliche* Beethovensche und vieler andern Meister Symphonien aufgeführt werden, dann wurde der Sinn des Publikums für solche Kunstwerke empfänglicher und geschärfter sein" (Marx, "Korrespondenz: Berlin, den 30. November 1825," *BamZ* 2 [1825], 396).

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Vossische Zeitung in praise of Möser's concerts, which, he claimed, enabled one "to forget one's neighbor, oneself, and the whole world."[64] Möser was also on good terms with Spontini, having translated his French for the orchestra players during rehearsals. In 1825 Möser was promoted from concertmaster to music director, which gave him the responsibility of conducting operas as well as concerts.[65] At the end of 1827, Möser initiated a subscription series of two cycles of six concerts, alternating chamber music with symphonies.[66] In 1828 a report on the last concert that year mentioned that their growing popularity was causing Möser to look for a larger hall for the next season.[67] During the summer months in Berlin, regular concert life fell off, but the popular and numerous military wind bands, which performed outdoors, began to present symphonies by Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven.[68] After Beethoven's death, Möser added annual concerts commemorating Beethoven's birth and death days, which joined the Mozart birthday concert and ball in January. For the Beethoven birthday concert in 1829, for instance, his program opened with the Fourth Symphony, continued with "Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt," the Fourth Piano Concerto, and concluded with the Ninth Symphony.[69] In short, Möser's concerts aggressively took possession of the "classical" repertoire in Berlin at this time.[70] During the 1820s, when nearly all of his concerts featured works by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, Marx consistently praised Möser as a concert giver who cared more about his audience than his own glory.[71] These subscription concerts continued until 1842, when Wilhelm Taubert and the royal orchestra took them over.[72]

Marx did not need to rely exclusively on Möser; he could also count on the Bliesener brothers, who had begun giving subscription concerts as early as 1807.[73] Ernst and Friedrich August Bliesener, both court musicians, had established "Übungskonzerte" in 1800 at which dilettantes could improve their skills; performances by this orchestra school were only occasionally open to the public. Some of these amateurs, however, participated in the subscription concerts, which did not evidently hold to high technical standards.[74] Despite their indifferent performances, the Blieseners were praised in the *BamZ* for their very lack of cosmopolitan gloss; above all, their concerts were affirmed for being appropriately German in their serious and attentive approach to music.[75]

Although Marx considered the Bliesener concerts exemplary, they were, at least initially, accustomed to treating the Beethoven sympho-

[64]"Daß jeder seine Nachbarn, sich selbst, die ganze Welt vergißt" (Hoffmann, "An den Herrn Konzertmeister Möser," in *Schriften zur Musik*, p. 333. The letter originally appeared in the *Vossische Zeitung*, 6 November 1819).
[65]Möser was portrayed positively throughout the *BamZ*. The author of a book on Georg Abraham Schneider, a colleague and rival of Möser, however, cites two sources from the late nineteenth century to support his claim that Möser, in his ambitious pursuit of titles and offices, overreached himself and was utterly incompetent in his capacities of opera conductor and orchestra school director. See Andreas Meyer-Hanno, *Georg Abraham Schneider (1770–1839) und seine Stellung im Musikleben Berlins* (Berlin, 1965), p. 149.
[66]"Konzertwesen," *BamZ* 4 (1827), 376; and "Nachrichten: Berlin, Bericht vom Monat November und December," *AmZ* 30 (1828), 43.
[67]See Marx, "Letzte Mösersche Versammlung," *BamZ* 5 (1828), 146.
[68]Christoph-Hellmut Mahling erroneously states that an 1830 *AmZ* report is the "first mention of performances by wind bands of Beethoven's symphonies" (Mahling, "Berlin: 'Music in the Air'," in *The Early Romantic Era: Between Revolutions: 1789 and 1848*, ed. Alexander Ringer [Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1991], p. 133). A report in the *AmZ* in 1828 mentions six different garden concerts where arrangements of Weber's Overture to *Oberon*, Haydn's E♭ Symphony, and Beethoven's D-Major and Pastoral Symphonies were being performed in wind-band arrangements. See "Nachrichten: Berlin," *AmZ* 30 (1828), 480.
[69]"Nachrichten: Berlin, Anfangs Januar 1830," *AmZ* 32 (1830), 46–47.
[70]In 1831 the Berlin correspondent for the *AmZ* praised a Möser quartet soiree, remarking that "these performances of instrumental music are virtually the sole refuge of those who worship content-laden chamber music" (diese Instrumentalmusik-Aufführungen sind fast noch das einzige Refugium der Verehrer gehaltvoller Kammer-Musik) ("Nachrichten: Berlin," *AmZ* 33 [1831], 56).
[71]"Korrespondenz: Berlin, den 28 April," *BamZ* 1 (1824), 163.
[72]Mahling, "Music in the Air," p. 111.
[73]Mahling, "Music in the Air," p. 116.
[74]Meyer-Hanno, *Georg Abraham Schneider*, p. 74.
[75]Although the Bliesener subscription concerts apparently continued throughout the 1820s, they were not mentioned in either the *BamZ* or the *AmZ* after 1826. A *BamZ* report in 1827 referred to Möser, Spontini, and Bliesener as the only concert givers who invested their concerts with "value, dignity and utility to the public" (See "Korrespondenz: Berlin, im Mai," *BamZ* 4 [1827], 148).

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nies in the earlier way, as an introduction or frame for the concert. In 1825, for instance, one of the Bliesener subscription concerts began with a complete performance of Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony and continued with seven more pieces: an aria with chorus by Rossini; Oboe Potpourri, played and composed by Hambuch; an aria by Mercadante; Double Concerto for Waldhorns by Lenz, played by the Schunke brothers; Trombone Potpourri, played and composed by Wieprecht; a duet from *Jessonda* by Spohr; and an overture by Fränzl.[76] But one must interpret such a list of events in context: because many other concerts at the time featured gimmicks, such as instrumental effects (for example, a newly invented violin that could imitate a glass harmonica), vocal tricks (holding a note for forty seconds), and spectacles (a hundred-voice male chorus), the Bliesener concerts appeared more serious than many, even though they relied heavily on Italian opera and virtuoso instrumentalists.[77]

Besides Möser and the Blieseners, there was another, more unlikely participant in "serious" concert life in Berlin in the 1820s: Spontini. Here Marx found himself again in a perplexing situation with the composer. Because Spontini was responsible for many performances of Beethoven symphonies (as well as works by Bach and Handel), Marx praised his efforts and treated him as a colleague, often singling him out in order to shame less patriotic German musicians, whom he accused of contemptible laziness in neglecting the great artworks they had "possessed for many years."[78] On the other hand, Marx never failed to add that Spontini was aiding the cause as an outsider: because he was not German, he could never become part of the symphonic musical world—he could, at most, help that world to be realized. In 1827 Marx claimed in the *BamZ* that Spontini had told him: "It is fitting that every concert be produced with a complete symphony, especially since this most sublime type of instrumental music belongs utterly and exclusively to the Germans." Needless to say, Marx was delighted to relate this—an opinion "to be respected twice as much, coming from a foreigner"—and added, "May Herr Ritter Spontini work enthusiastically to that end, to further his true and noble declaration. He himself can lay claim to the respect and love of the Germans no more certainly than through the active promotion of their artworks."[79]

Leipzig as a Model of Serious Concert Life

Marx's vision of an elevated German concert life for Berlin owed much to the musical situation in Leipzig. The Leipzig Gewandhaus concerts were more "progressive" than anything in Berlin, mainly because of Friedrich Rochlitz, who served as one of the directors of the Gewandhaus orchestra besides editing the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. Rochlitz was responsible for the first performance of the *Eroica* Symphony in Leipzig in January 1807; a month later he printed an influential technical analysis of the piece in the *AmZ*.[80] No doubt

[76]"Korrespondenz: Berlin, den 29. Juli," *BamZ* 2 (1825), 259.

[77]Instrumental and vocal tricks were advertised in the notice for a concert by "Herr Joseph Fahrer nebst Gemahlin, aus Wien," in *BamZ* 2 (1825), 348. A 100-voice chorus of Scandinavian warriors from *Die eiserne Jungfrau* by Kanne was featured in a concert given by Wilhelm Ehlers; see *BamZ* 2 (1825), 127.

[78]"Was müßte *dann* über manchen deutschen Musiker ausgesprochen werden, der seit vielen Jahren im Besitz aller großen Kunstwerke, im Besitz der besten Mittel zur Aufführung, nie daran gedacht hat, auch nur eine Probe von ihnen dem Publikum zu gönnen" (Marx, "Letzte Mösersche Versammlung," p. 146).

[79]"Auf die Gefahr, einer kleinen Indiskretion beschuldigt zu werden, wenn wir Privatmitheilungen benutzen, erzählen wir nach: daß *Spontini* die edle Absicht des Herrn Bärmann bestärkt und unterstützt, mir der im Munde des Ausländers doppelt ehrenwerthen Erklärung: *es zieme sich, daß jedes Konzert mit einer vollständigen Symphonie ausgestattet werde, zumal da diese erhabenste Gattung der Instrumentalmusik den Deutschen ganz ausschließlich zugehöre.* Möchte Herr Ritter *Spontini* eifrig dazu thun, diesen seiner wahren und edlen Ausspruch allgemein geltend zu machen. Er kann sich auf die Achtung und Liebe der Deutschen keine sicherern Ansprüche erwerben, als durch thätliche Beförderung ihrer Kunstwerke" (Marx, "Großes Konzert von Bärmann," *BamZ* 4 [1827], 408).

[80] → Erich Reimer, "Repertoirebildung und Kanonisierung: Zur Vorgeschichte des Klassikbegriffs (1800–1835)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 43 (1986), 241–60, who emphasizes Rochlitz's influential role as both an editor and one of the directors of the Gewandhaus concerts. Martin Geck also places an enormous amount of importance on Rochlitz in the reception history of the *Eroica* and of "absolute music" in general. See Martin Geck and Peter Schleuning, *Geschrieben auf Bonaparte: Beethovens "Eroica": Revolution, Reaktion, Rezeption* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1989), pp. 206–23.

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Marx took his cue from Rochlitz's role in establishing Leipzig's reputation as a serious and educated city for music. In 1827 one of the Leipzig correspondents for the *BamZ*, Amadeus Wendt, mentioned the pleasure that the city was taking in Beethoven's symphonies, with which they "had become so familiar in the last few years through their repeated performances in the Gewandhaus concerts."[81] The Gewandhaus subscription series, which in the 1820s consisted of twenty-four concerts, came close to performing regularly all of Beethoven's symphonies in numerical order.[82] At the beginning of the 1825–26 series, the *AmZ* reported: "Perhaps we will hear this winter the master's [Beethoven's] symphonies in sequence, which we all certainly hope for. At the same time the directors must be particularly praised for alternately bringing to the concertgoers the diverse works of other masters, through which the one-sidedness in the players and listeners is at best eliminated or at least reduced."[83]

At the beginning of the 1828–29 season, the *AmZ* again reported that it expected all of the Beethoven symphonies to be on the program, "since for years Beethoven's works, and his symphonies above everything else, have become a fixture of our concerts."[84] It was not until 1829–30, however, that Berlin could similarly boast of having heard all the Beethoven symphonies in one season.[85] In this emerging Berlin-Leipzig rivalry, the determining factors were not only aesthetic preferences: since Leipzig did not have Berlin's lavish royal opera theaters, concert life in that city had less competition. When Wendt reported on how the Gewandhaus Orchestra concerts had won the public over to symphonies in Leipzig, he attributed the success to two factors: first, "most of our public is not so interested in the concert [event] as in the great pure instrumental works"; and second, traveling virtuosos had found that it did not pay to visit Leipzig.[86] Because Berlin's musical life was centered around the royal opera, the *BamZ* had to dedicate all its energy to achieve the focus on serious and high quality music that Leipzig had enjoyed for years. Over the course of the 1820s, both cities settled on an average of about ten performances a year of Beethoven's symphonies.[87]

Perhaps because the Leipzig Gewandhaus subscription series put on twice as many concerts a season (twenty-four) as did Möser (twelve)—and therefore had more room on their programs—Leipzig displayed a concern, absent in Berlin, about balancing their cultivation of the masterworks with new symphonies.[88] The Gewandhaus regularly featured symphonies by Feska, Spohr, Ries, Kalliwoda, and many others. This more open policy extended not only

[81] "Der großen Beethovenschen Symphonieschopfüngen, mit denen wir in den letzten Jahren durch die wiederholten Aufführungen in dem Gewandhauskonzerte so vertraut geworden sind" (A. W., "Korrespondenz: Ueber die Musik in Leipzig im Winterhalbjahre 1826–27," *BamZ* 4 [1827], 120).

[82] See Alfred Dörffel, "Statistik der Concerte im Saale des Gewandhauses zu Leipzig," in *Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerte zu Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1884; rpt. Leipzig, 1980), pp. 4–5.

[83] "Wahrscheinlich hören wir des Meisters Symphonieen diesen Winter der Reihe nach, was Allen erwünscht seyn müsste. Dabey muss es aber noch besonders gerühmt werden, dass sie die Direction, mit den Werken anderer Meister so mannigfaltig wechselnd, zu Gehör bringt, wodurch die Einseitigkeit bey Spielern und Hörern am besten vermieden oder doch gemindert wird" ("Nachrichten," *AmZ* 27 [1825], 856).

[84] "Denn seit Jahren sind Beethovens Werke, vor allen anderen seine Symphonieen in unseren Concerten . . . ein stehender Artikel geworden" ("Nachrichten: Leipzig," *AmZ* 30 [1828], 805).

[85] The first time all of Beethoven's symphonies performed in Berlin in one season: First Symphony: 25 November 1829 (*AmZ* 31 [1829], 839). Second Symphony: 2 December 1829 (*AmZ* 32 [1830], 46). Ninth Symphony: 19 December 1829 (*AmZ* 32 [1830], 46–47). Third Symphony: 30 December 1829 (*AmZ* 32 [1830], 47). Sixth Symphony: 10 February 1830 (*AmZ* 32 [1830], 171). Seventh Symphony (*AmZ* 32 [1830], 171). Fourth Symphony: 17 March 1830 (*AmZ* 32 [1830], 254–55). Fifth Symphony: 24 March 1830 (*AmZ* 32 [1830], 255). Eighth Symphony: 31 March 1830 (*AmZ* 32 [1830], 255). There were additional performances during this period of the Fourth, Fifth, and Ninth Symphonies.

[86] "Daß den größten Theil unsers Publikum nichts so sehr in dem Konzert interessiert, als die großen reinen Instrumentalwerke" (A. Wendt, "Ueber das Abonnement-Konzert in Leipzig," *BamZ* 4 [1827], 392).

[87] The number of performances of Beethoven symphonies in Leipzig for the years 1824–30 were: ten in 1824; eight in 1825, ten in 1826, nine in 1827, ten in 1828, ten in 1829, twelve in 1830 (Dörffel, "Statistik," pp. 4–5). The number of Beethoven symphony performances in Berlin (as reported in the *BamZ* and the *AmZ*) were: five in 1824, six in 1825, eleven in 1826, one in 1827 [*sic*], eleven in 1828, eleven in 1829, eleven in 1830.

[88] The Leipzig concerts were reduced from twenty-four to twenty starting with the 1827–28 season. See Dörffel, "Chronik der Concerte im Saale des Gewandhauses zu Leipzig," in *Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerte*, p. 74.

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to other German composers but also, at least theoretically, to foreigners. Perhaps intentionally distinguishing himself from Marx, Wendt often added to his reports for the *BamZ* such comments as: "This loyal devotion [to German music], however, neither induces us to treat the merits of the French and Italians slightingly nor to wish to characterize and, as it were, dispose of them with general terms, such as predominance of sensuality, frivolity, etc."[89]

Leipzig undertook a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony as soon as the parts were published in 1826. In a report on this performance, the *BamZ* described the city as "the most outstanding site for concert music in northern Germany (perhaps, at present, in all of Europe)."[90] After calling on Berliners to follow Leipzig's example of serious concertgoing, the *BamZ* report went on to group Berlin and Leipzig together as making up the "North German character":

> Fortunately, the North German character is so admirable that the difference between the sugary, sensual titillation of Italian and French music and the spiritual pleasure of musical artworks is still generally acknowledged and will remain. Whoever really wants to hear a Beethoven symphony in our area knows that he must receive a spiritual baptism of fire to his head and banish thoughts of amusement and sensual pleasure. Therefore, Beethoven's listeners will not lack the *concentration* needed for the entering into the spirit that lives in artworks.[91]

If the Beethoven symphonies would need to be frequently performed to familiarize the audience with them, other works would have to be neglected. Marx's clear choice was to overlook the growing number of works being published and performed in favor of concentrating intensively on a small number of pieces. Thus it comes as no surprise that, despite his call for a symphony on every concert, he did not encourage composers to write new symphonies, even after Beethoven's death in 1827. In 1828 he stated unequivocally:

> In and of itself one can only appreciate and rejoice that the public has proved good in gradually becoming acquainted with all composers; the talent of our exquisite *Spohr, Lindpaintner, Ries* and others has well-founded claims on them. However, one can easily go astray by naming as many *names* as possible—these are artists worthy of treasuring, but their acquaintance is still not as necessary to our public as the further establishment of the *works* of all the great musical artists. *Beethoven* alone has contributed nine symphonies; *Haydn's* creations of youthful beauty and joy have been all too seldom approached; so little use has also been made of *Mozart's* symphonies. No recent composer has come out with works that compensate for the exclusion of any of these.[92]

Marx's reaction to music outside his canon was deliberately to ignore it; his justification was that there was simply not enough time for including more music. In 1985 the literary theorist Friedrich Kittler described this strategy of the early nineteenth-century German critic/edu-

[89] "Diese treue Anhänglichkeit verleitet uns jedoch nicht, die Verdienste der italienischen und französischen Musik geringschätzig zu behandeln, oder sie mit allgemeinen Benennungen, wie Herrschaft der Sinnlichkeit, Frivolität u.s.w. karakterisiren und gleichsam abthun zu wollen" (Wendt, "Ueber die Musik in Leipzig," p. 120).

[90] "*Leipzig*, dem ausgezeichnetsten Orte Norddeutschlands (vielleicht in gegenwärtigen Augenblicke ganz Europa's) für Konzertmusik" ("An die Berliner Kunstfreunde: Von einem aus ihrer Mitte," *BamZ* 3 [1826], 384).

[91] "Glücklicher Weise ist der norddeutsche Karakter so tüchtig, daß man sich des Unterschiedes zwischen dem konditoreimaßigen Sinnenkitzel italienischer und französicher Musik von dem geistigen Genuß an Tonkunstwerken noch allgemein bewußt ist und bleiben wird. Wer also überhaupt bei uns eine beethovensche Symphonie hören will, weiß, daß er geistige Feuertaufe auf sein Haupt empfangen soll und daß der Gedanke an Zerstreuung und Sinnengenuß verbannt sein muß. *Sammlung* also zur Aufnahme des Geistes, der im Kunstwerke lebt, wird den beethovenschen Zuhörern nicht fehlen" ("An die Berliner Kunstfreunde," p. 384).

[92] "An und für sich kann man es nur mit Lob und Freude anerkennen, daß das Publikum nach und nach mit allen Komponisten, die sich bewährt haben, bekannt gemacht werde; das Talent unsers trefflichen *Spohr, Lindpaintner, Ries* und andrer hat darauf gegründetsten Anspruch. Allein man kann dbei [*sic*] leicht auf den Abweg gerathen, möglichst viel *Namen* aufzuführen,—schätzenswerther Künstler, deren Bekanntschaft aber dennoch unserm Publikum nicht so nothwendig ist, als die nähere Einführung auf die *Werke* aller großen Tondichter. *Beethoven* hat allein 9 Symphonien gespendet; *Haydns* Schöpfungen voll Jungendschöne und Jugendfreude sind unserm Publikum noch so wenig genähert; auch *Mozarts* Symphonien noch so wenig benutzt. Kein neuerer Komponist hat Werke bekannt werden lassen, die für die Ausschliessung jener entschädigten" (Marx, "Bekanntmachung: Mösers Akademien," *BamZ* 5 [1828], 444).

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cator—of focusing on a small number of works and ignoring the others—as a typical response to the dramatic increase in popular, "light" entertainment.[93] In contrast to earlier practices of intensive reading of the Bible, this prescription for large amounts of time spent on a few classics was new in that it was positioned specifically against reading inexpensive, mass-produced novels, and listening to and playing music for amusement and enjoyment.

Marx prescribed not only which pieces to put on a concert, but he was also concerned with the presentation-order of works, both across the concert season and in individual concerts. Thus he justified including Haydn's and Mozart's symphonies by not only their own merits but also their educational value in teaching audiences how to understand the more difficult works of Beethoven. Taken together, these three composers represented stages in the evolution of music's ability to embody specific ideas. As symphonies progressed from mere moods or psychological states to detailed dramas, Marx theorized, they became more difficult to comprehend without extensive familiarity with the genre.[94] When Möser increased the number of his symphony concerts in 1827, Marx advised: "Because the receptiveness for higher works requires education through the understanding of more easily comprehended ones, it is highly desirable that Herr Music Director Möser make use of his more expanded undertaking to educate the public first through the best Haydn and Mozart symphonies and through the easiest Beethoven symphonies to more profound works."[95] Works that did not contribute to the listener's education and taste for more difficult works did not belong on the program. This reasoning excluded foreign and "trivial" works, as well as pieces that theoretically had nothing to offer the German people.

Nor would the audience be the only ones to benefit from such an approach: the orchestra too could learn to play the most challenging pieces by successively mastering the easier ones. Commenting on the Bliesener subscription series, Marx suggested:

> *Four* or *eight* concerts arranged in advance can make good what perhaps could not be brought about in the first concert; it can purposefully arrange a progression of compositions, and, gradually through this the strength of the performing group as well as the public's ability to take in and receive is raised and assisted. Works that would not be completely successful on first hearing, or not completely understood, could be repeated, based on the justified hope of better success and fuller comprehension.[96]

Performers and Performances versus the Autonomous Work

Although Marx recognized the importance of an effective performance and had practical suggestions for improving the orchestra, he insisted that a bad performance of a good piece was preferable to a good performance of a bad one. When Beethoven's Fifth Symphony was performed on a Bliesener concert in 1825, for example, Marx commented:

> The performance, especially of the C-Minor Sym-

[93]Friedrich A. Kittler, *Discourse Networks: 1800/1900*, trans. Michael Metteer, with Chris Cullens (Stanford, 1990), pp. 143–45. See also Woodmansee, "Aesthetics and the Policing of Reading," in *The Author, Art, and the Market*, pp. 87–102.

[94]For a discussion of Marx's "progressive" account of the symphony, → Scott Burnham, "Criticism, Faith and the *Idee*: A. B. Marx's Early Reception of Beethoven," this journal 13 (1990), 183–92.

[95]"Sehr wünschenswerth ist es aus diesem Grunde—denn auch die Empfänglichkeit für höhere Werke fodert Heranbildung durch die Auffassung faßlicherer—wenn Herr Musikdirektor Möser seine räumlichere Unternehmung benutzt, das Publikum vorerst durch die besten Haidnschen und Mozartschen und durch die einfachsten Beethovenschen Symphonien zu tiefern Werken heranzubilden" (M., "Dritte Mösersche Versammlung," *BamZ* 4 [1827], 422).

Marx had given the Bliesener concert series the same advice: "Sehr rathsam wäre es, daß die Herrn Konzertgeber die Anzahl ihrer Konzerte benutzten, um an den soviel leichtern und dabei meisterhaften Symphonien Haidns und Mozarts ihren Verein und die Zuhörer erst zu den größten und schwersten Werken heraufzubilden" (M[arx], "Erstes Abonnements-Konzert im Jagorschen Saale," *BamZ* 2 [1825], 404).

[96]"Bei *vier*, oder *acht* vorausbestimmten Konzerten kann, was in den ersten vielleicht nicht bewirkt werden konnte, nachgeholt werden; es kann eine Folge von Kompositionen zweckmäßig geordnet und dadurch sowohl die Kraft des ausübenden Vereins, als die Auffassungsfähigkeit und Empfänglichkeit des Publikums stufenweis gefördert und erhoht werden; Werke, die das Erstemal nicht ganz gelingen wollen, oder nicht ganz verstanden worden, können wiederholt werden in der gegründeten Hoffnung bessern Gelingens und vollkommnern Auffassens" (M[arx], "Erstes Abonnements-Konzert," p. 403).

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phony, left much to be desired in precision, nuancing of forte and piano, and so on. Nevertheless, do not twenty measures of this symphony, indifferently performed, give greater enjoyment and nourishment than a concert in which a polished performance is squandered on a shoddy work and nothing pleases except the individual offering of a singer, whom one enjoys better and more sufficiently in any opera?[97]

Performers were never to overshadow the work. This position, of course, was inimical to the era's fascination with virtuoso performers, and Marx frequently found himself protesting against enormously popular singers and instrumentalists.[98] Merely by looking at a concert program, he commented, one could surmise what kind of an artist the soloist was. Although almost all performers failed to realize it, a single Mozart or Beethoven concerto could display their artistry better than a hundred more difficult virtuoso concertos. Marx further criticized performers who wrote their own works as vehicles for their own particular talents.[99] In an 1824 review of a concert that featured Beethoven's Second Symphony, Marx contrasted the extramusical "distractions" of genres that relied on individual performers to the self-sufficiency of his favored genre:

> Not merely the actions of the principals, but also the extras, the dancers, the decorations, and the finery of the singers, capture [the audience's] attention and interest, while they imagine themselves to be occupied with the music. The content of the composition does not enthrall the greatest part of the listeners, rather this or that run or trill; the visual aspect [*das Auge*]—or more precisely, the singer's aigrette and cloak trimmings. . . . In the performance of a symphony nothing external takes part, not even an alluring personality or a conspicuous virtuosity. Whoever does not follow the course of the composition has nothing at all. And so symphonies teach music without distraction and require one to listen [to music] for its own sake.[100]

For Marx, symphonies, unlike other kinds of music, were composed of inner qualities that could not be seen, only heard. The symphony was to be a world apart from "spectacular" music, or music for spectators, with its performers who pleased through flashy costumes and conspicuous mannerisms. Performers were to subordinate themselves to the work itself, he insisted; they should attribute their success to the genius of the composer rather than to their own artistry, in order to escape the negative charges of merely pleasing the audience and detracting from the music. For their part, audiences must learn to pay attention, perhaps by closing their eyes to appearances that could lead them astray.

On those occasions when Marx did acknowledge the existence of undeniably important performers, he normally attributed their greatness to their association with only the finest works.[101] This issue emerged when Marx

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[97]"Die Ausführung, besonders der C-moll-Symphonie, ließ an Präcision, Nüancirung von Forte und Piano u. s. w. manches zu wünschen übrig; dennoch—geben nicht zwanzig Takte jener Symphonie, mittelmäßig ausgeführt, mehr Genuß und Nahrung, als ein Konzert, in dem eine treffliche Ausführung an armselige Werke verschwendet wird und nichts erfreulich ist, als etwa die persönlichen Gaben einer Sängerin, die man in jeder Oper besser und reichlicher genießt?" (M[arx], "Erstes Abonnements-Konzert," p. 404).

[98]A major hindrance to Marx's campaign was the phenomenal success of Henriette Sontag in her Berlin debut in August 1825 as Isabella in Rossini's *L'italiana in Algeri*. Sontag had begun her career singing the title role in the premiere of Weber's *Euryanthe* and had also been a soloist in the premiere of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Confounded by her defection to Italian opera, the *BamZ* appealed to her to return to German composers and by so doing honor her art and her country. See "Königstadtisches Theater," *BamZ* 2 (1825), 280–84; and "Konzert im Königstädter Theater," *BamZ* 2 (1825), 296–98.

[99]Marx, "Einige Worte," p. 351.

[100]"Nicht blos die Handlung der Hauptpersonen, auch die Statisten, die Tänzer, die Dekorationen, der Putz der Sängerinnen, nehmen ihre Aufmerksamkeit und ihr Interesse gefangen, während sie sich einbilden, mit der Musik beschäftigst zu sein. Nicht der Inhalt der Komposition, sondern dieser, jener Laufer oder Triller, das Auge—oder auch die Reiherfeder und der Kleiderbesatz der Sängerin im Konzerte, fesseln den größten Theil der Hörer. . . . Bei der Aufführung einer Symphonie wirkt nichts Aeußerliches, nicht einmal eine anlockende Persönlichkeit oder vorstechende Virtuosität mit. Wer nicht der Komposition in ihrem Gange folgt, hat gar nichts, und so lehren Symphonien, Musik ohne Zerstreuung und um ihrer selbst willen hören" (M[arx], "Korrespondenz: Berlin den 13. December 1824," *BamZ* 1 [1824], 444).

[101]"Garrick soll verstanden haben, das ABC so rührend herzusagen, daß man sich der Thränen nicht erwehren können; es war aber nicht dieses Kinderspiel, sondern sein Eindringen in Shakespeare, das ihn unsterblich gemacht. Nicht die Triller und Laufer der Mara, sondern ihn tiefer Vortrag Handels hat ihr vor allen Sängerinnen den größten Ruhm erworben" (Marx, "Mösers und Rombergs Quartette," *BamZ* 5 [1828], 23–24).

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launched an attack against the quartet series of the well-known cellist and composer Bernhard Romberg. Although Romberg's quartet could only be praised for its polished performances, Marx felt obliged to protest, because in his view the works performed (for the most part by Romberg himself) were not of the highest quality. Loss of the *BamZ*'s support was the "necessary and well-deserved consequence of the artist's perfidy in failing to leave open a single little place in a cycle of six concerts for our masters Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven."[102]

Marx's views on the performer's relation to the work departed significantly from earlier concepts of music; they even diverged from those of his immediate predecessor, E. T. A. Hoffmann. In an 1815 report on musical events in Berlin for the *AmZ*, for instance, Hoffmann had also singled out Romberg, but had praised him for the very qualities that Marx would later condemn. Instead of being distressed by the visual distractions of Romberg's performance, Hoffmann claimed the opposite:

> I wanted to see and hear [Romberg] where he himself was the focus of the whole concert. I say deliberately: *see* and *hear*. The general desire to not only hear a concert but also to see, the rush for seats in the hall where this is possible, does certainly not originate out of mere idle love for display: one hears better when one sees: the hidden affinity of light and tone clearly reveals itself: both, light and tone, embody themselves in individual form, and so the soloist, the singer, become themselves the sounding melody![103]

[102]"Die nothwendige und wohlverdiente Folge der künstlerischen Perfidie, in einem Cyklus von *sechs* Versammlungen auch nicht *ein* Plätzchen für unsere Meister Haidn, Mozart and Beethoven offen zu lassen" (Marx, "Mösers und Rombergs Quartette," p. 23).

[103]"Doch mochte ich ihn nur in dem seinigen, wo der Brennpunkt des Ganzen er selbst war, sehen und hören. Ich sage mit Bedacht: *sehen* und *hören*. Die allgemeine Begierde, im Konzert nicht allein zu hören, sondern auch zu sehen, das Drängen nach Plätzen im Saal, wo dies möglich ist, entsteht gewiß nicht aus bloßer, müßiger Schaulust: man hört besser, wenn man sieht; die geheime Verwandtschaft von Licht und Ton offenbart sich deutlich; beides, Licht und Ton, gestaltet sich in individueller Form, und so wird der Solospieler, die Sängerin, selbst die ertönende Melodie!" (Hoffmann, "Briefe über Tonkunst in Berlin," p. 281).

Toward the Institutional Emergence of Autonomous Art Music

When in the 1820s Marx asked his readers to listen to music "on its own account" or "as music," he was calling not so much for an increased technical competence as for the cultivation of a certain kind of attitude toward musical comprehension. As Christa Bürger has recently shown in the field of literature, many of those who encountered the new autonomous art in the early nineteenth century did not respond by dedicating large amounts of time to analyzing and studying these works—this task was taken on by a small, elite circle of intellectuals/artists. Instead, they acknowledged high art's importance and superiority by taking on social responsibilities for promoting and preserving it.

> With the exception of a small group with literary interests, the bourgeois reader turned to literary products that we would today classify as entertainment literature. Yet nevertheless, in that the middle class saw its legitimation in the course of the nineteenth century in the consciousness of being bearers of cultural progress and at the same time keepers of national tradition, the reception of canonized authors of classicism was a necessary component of the ideology of *Bildung*.[104]

Bürger's analysis sheds light on the paradoxical musical situation in which the majority revered art music for its symbolic significance, not for its aesthetic superiority. In his 1983 study of the symphonic concert, Hanns-Werner Heister pointed out that musical scores were too expensive and too scarce for the vast majority of the public.[105] He speculates that very few could read an orchestral score as almost all orchestral pieces were published in piano reduction or in parts; study and pocket scores were not widely available in Germany until the

[104]Christa Bürger, "Literarischer Markt und Öffentlichkeit am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland," in *Aufklärung und literarische Öffentlichkeit*, p. 171. For a psychoanalytic exploration of the appreciation of autonomous art in modern bourgeois society, ➞ Jochen Schulte-Sasse, "The Prestige of the Artist under Conditions of Modernity," *Cultural Critique* 12 (Spring 1989), 83–100.

[105]Heister, *Das Konzert*, II, 422.

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end of the nineteenth century.[106] Nevertheless, Heister observes, it was assumed that concertgoers "knew" the established repertoire.[107] If in truth the work remained something of a mystery to its audience, this did not hinder its being understood as central to the German tradition. More likely, it guaranteed it.

Once a significant part of German society accepted the notion of the symphony as an object—a prize possession of the German people—it followed that its contemplation would lead to self-knowledge, self-improvement, and self-satisfaction. After a concert given by Möser, Marx described the complacency of those who had attended:

> [There was] everywhere the gratified consciousness of finding oneself in a respectable place, unified in an intellectual and artistically educated public—which in no way can be asserted for the usual concerts. . . . Those who enable and ennoble themselves and their people for music, who want to cleanse and cure music from the detrimental influence of shallow and depraved fashionable music, will not fail to fall in with Möser's undertaking.[108]

Thus, the symphony itself could serve as an aesthetic object, and the concert as a public occasion for a certain kind of behavior. Within the duration of the concert—as one concentrated on following the music, but also as one surveyed the concert hall and the surrounding audience—attention could focus on how coming together and concentrating inwardly on good, true, German music brought them one step further toward realizing an inward, good, and true German nation—one articulated, if not politically, at least culturally.

[106]Heister, *Das Konzert,* II, 423. Hans Lenneberg has documented that miniature scores circulated in London and Paris at the beginning of the nineteenth century. See his "Revising the History of the Miniature Score," *Notes* 45 (1988), 258–61.

[107]Heister, *Das Konzert,* II, 424.

[108]"Überall das zufriedne Bewußtsein, sich an einem für ein geistreich und künstlerisch gebildetes Publikum änstandigen Orte zu befinden—was sich von den gewöhnlichen Konzerten keineswegs behaupten ließe. . . . Wer daher sich und die seinen für Musik befähigen und veredln, von dem nachtheiligen Einfluß der seichten und verderbten Modemusik reinigen und heilen will, versäume nicht, sich dem Möserschen Unternehmen anzuschließen" (M., "Dritte Mösersche Versammlung," p. 422).

After five years of campaigning, Marx could announce with satisfaction that

> the unceasing reproaches of [this] journal have called the concert giver and the public of Berlin out from the poverty and shallowness of earlier concert life to the more noble path, and have encouraged them to make the great instrumental works in particular at home among us; so that now one can hardly give and see attended a concert without [hearing] a symphony, whereas earlier there were hardly any with a symphony.[109]

Marx's attitude toward the symphony—which extended to many other influential Berlin music brokers—was innovative in bringing about change, but obstinate in opposing the existence of other traditions, such as music for entertainment. But Berlin's musical life did not acquire its conservative tendency only from its self-conscious cultivation of a narrow repertory. The situation in Leipzig demonstrated that it was possible both to foster a canonic repertory and to preserve its reputation as a progressive and lively city for music. Berlin, however, stagnated under the combination of canon formation with limited concert opportunities for other works and an oppressive opera situation dominated by Spontini's productions of his own works. The Berlin correspondent to the *AmZ* frequently complained about the lack of anything new at the opera.[110] In 1829 the corre-

[109]"Die unabläßigen Mahnungen der Zeitung die Konzertgeber und das Publikum von Berlin von der Armuth und Seichtigkeit des frühern Konzaertswesens auf die edlere Bahn zurückgerufen, zu ihr ermuthigt, namentlich die großten Instrumentalswerke unter uns einheimisch gemacht haben; so daß man jetzt kaum ein Konzert ohne Symphonie gegeben und besucht sieht, wie früher kaum eines mit einer Symphonie" (Marx, "Standpunkt der Zeitung," *BamZ* 5 [1828], 494). The *AmZ* corroborated this in 1830: "Die Instrumental-Musik hat durch den allgemeiner erhöheten Sinn für *Symphonieen* gewonnen, dagegen scheint das Interesse für das einfachere Quartett etwas abzunehmen. Beethovens Symphonieen und Quartette finden weit mehr Eingang, als früher" ("Nachrichten: Berlin, Anfangs Januar 1830," *AmZ* 32 [1830], 45).

[110]See, for example, a report that complains of the Königliche Theater staying with old operas and only staging three new works in 1828: "Nachrichten: Berlin," *AmZ* 31 (1829), 27.

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spondent, who had generally praised Möser's undertakings, even ventured to criticize Möser for not keeping up with the times and playing new quartets.[111]

Times had changed. When Marx took leave of his journal in 1830, the institution of the symphony concert had been secured to support the commemoration of an established repertory of pieces embodying German national identity. Around this time, with the deaths of Hegel (1831) and Goethe (1832), the sense of the "end of an age" became prominent, especially in the blossoming genre of literary history. Once this sense was announced and generally shared, the period could be evaluated and summarized, and the great works ranked and classified. Situating the great works and achievements of Germany within a golden age that had passed away did much to anchor their preeminent position. The high regard enjoyed by the "classical age" of German music, however, lent an inevitable epigonous status to symphonies composed in the following years. The price paid for establishing the symphonies of the "Classical" era as an object and occasion for German cultural identity was to preclude the possibility of higher achievements in the future.[112] Meanwhile, as concertgoing became routine, the features of the great works grew so familiar as to be taken for granted. Heister has characterized the problem of maintaining a stable concert repertory while broadening the audience's horizons as a dialectic between innovation and stagnation.[113]

This dialectic would continue to preoccupy music critics up to the present. Fitful bursts of anxiety about the future of the symphony orchestra have appeared over the last 150 years—they are still very much with us—with the situation always represented as a sudden acute crisis, a cultural emergency. Characteristically, these conservative critics have perennially claimed that the sheer greatness of masterpieces has in the past been sufficient to sustain the significance and value of the symphony concert, and that classical concerts should be able to continue to draw audiences without making concessions to what current audiences want. In short, in this often-heard view, the crisis of classical music is an inevitable result of the general decline of standards or even of civilization. By recognizing the historically variable, interdependent relation between institution and artwork, however, we can begin to address contemporary predicaments without being transfixed by a mythical golden age, when music was appreciated "for its own sake."

[111]"Nachrichten: Berlin, den 1sten März 1829," *AmZ* 31 (1829), 212.

[112]I have explored the historiographical problem of symphonic composers after Beethoven in "On the Task of the Music Historian: The Myth of the Symphony after Beethoven," *repercussions* 2 (Fall 1993), 5–30.

[113]Heister, *Das Konzert*, I, 269.

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