

## Notes

### 1 Brahms the Hamburg musician 1833–1862

- 1 Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1904–14; rpt of final edn of each vol. (1921, 1921, 1912–13, 1915), Tutzing, 1976), vol. I, p. 1.
- 2 Richard Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms*, ed. K Hofmann, 2nd edn (Tutzing, 1976), p. 63.
- 3 Private collection.
- 4 Brahms-Archiv, Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Carl von Ossietzky. The ‘genealogical coat of arms’ is not sufficiently exact to prove, as Kalbeck had assumed, that one of Brahms’s forebears was the Albert Brahms who wrote a theory book on the ‘origins of dyke and waterwork construction’ in Aurich, Ostfriesland in 1745; his family connection to that of Johannes Brahms has never been established to this day; nor has that of an extensively dispersed Brahms family that can be traced in Ostfriesland and Jeverland (Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. I, p. 2).
- 5 Kurt Hofmann, *Johannes Brahms und Hamburg*, 2nd edn (Hamburg, 1986), pp. 18ff.
- 6 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. I, p. 1.
- 7 Alfred von Ehrmann, *Johannes Brahms* (Leipzig, 1933), p. 7.
- 8 Josef Viktor Widmann, *Johannes Brahms in Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1898), p. 95.
- 9 See the ‘Einwohnermeldelisten’, relating to the Hamburger Bürgermilitär (Staatsarchiv Hamburg); see also Friedrich Ebrand, ‘Vom Hamburger jungen Brahms’, *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 11 (1 November 1946), p. 3 (*Separatdruck*), with some variants of detail in the content. In 1864 Brahms’s parents parted and took separate dwellings: Johann Jacob in the Grosse Bleichen 80, the mother with the daughter in a house in St. Georg, Lange Reihe 42, where the mother died on 2 February 1865. The ‘Urzelle’ of the Brahms family is the Ulicusstrasse, in Hamburg Valentinskamp, where the Unilever-Hochhaus currently stands. The Ulicusstrasse was first, from 1870 to 1919 under the name Winkelstrasse, a centre of prostitution, and a street of bordellos from 1934 until its destruction, a fact not broadcast in the Brahms literature.
- 10 Letter from Elise Denninghoff née Giesemann to Brahms of 31 October 1880 (Brahms-Archiv, Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde)

- 11 *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel XII: Johannes Brahms: Briefe an Fritz Simrock*, vol. II, ed. Max Kalbeck (Berlin, 1919), p. 112.
- 12 Private collection.
- 13 Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms*, p. 108.
- 14 *Joseph Joachims Briefe an Gisela von Arnim 1852–59*, ed. Johannes Joachim (privately printed, Göttingen, 2 April 1911), p. 65.
- 15 All printed editions referred to are in the Brahms-Institut, Lübeck, Sammlung Hofmann.
- 16 See *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 64/17 (28 April 1897), p. 195.
- 17 Private collection.
- 18 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. I, p. 32.
- 19 See Julius Spengel, *Johannes Brahms, Charakterstudie* (Hamburg, 1898), pp. 11ff.
- 20 Heinrich Reimann, *Johannes Brahms* (Berlin, 1897), p. 4.
- 21 See Brahms’s mother’s letters of 15 June 1854 and 20 March 1855 in Kurt Stephenson, *Johannes Brahms in seiner Familie: Der Briefwechsel* (Hamburg, 1973), pp. 56 and 60ff.
- 22 Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1906–9), vol. II, p. 372.
- 23 Brahms-Institut, Lübeck, Sammlung Hofmann.
- 24 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. I, pp. 19ff.
- 25 Robert Haven Schaffler, *The Unknown Brahms* (New York, 1940), pp. 224ff.
- 26 Widmann, *Johannes Brahms in Erinnerungen*, p. 95; Siegfried Ochs, *Geschehenes, Gesehenes* (Leipzig and Zurich, 1922), p. 298.
- 27 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. I, p. 47.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- 29 See *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm* (Leipzig, 1873), s.v. ‘Kneipe’.
- 30 Adolf Steiner, *Johannes Brahms*, I. Teil, 86. *Neujahrsblatt der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich* (Zurich, 1898), p. 6.
- 31 ‘Brahmsiana von A. Br.’, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 64/16 and 17 (21 and 28 April 1897).
- 32 Antje Kraus, *Die Unterschichten Hamburgs in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1965), p. 91.
- 33 Florence May, *Johannes Brahms*, trans. Ludmilla Kirschbaum, 2 vols. in 1 (Leipzig, 1911), p. 66.
- 34 *Ibid.*

- 35 Stephenson, *Johannes Brahms in seiner Familie*, p. 55.
- 36 Henny Wiepking, 'Wo ging Johannes Brahms zur Schule?', *St. Georger Blätter* [Hamburg] (Spring 1966).
- 37 Original in Brahms-Institut, Lübeck, Sammlung Hofmann.
- 38 May, *Johannes Brahms*, pp. 68ff.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 75.
- 40 See *Allgemeine deutsche Musikzeitung* 32/33 (10 and 17 August 1900). Elise had subsequently married the Wilhelmshaven hotelier Denninghoff.
- 41 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. I, p. 20.
- 42 'Hedwig von Salomons Tagebuchblatt, Leipzig, 5. 12. 1853', in *Katalog 100: Johannes Brahms, Musikantiquariat Hans Schneider* (Tutzing, 1964), p. 7.
- 43 *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, ed. Berthold Litzmann, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1927; rpt Hildesheim and Wiesbaden, 1989), vol. I, p. 18.
- 44 Brahms-Institut, Lübeck, Sammlung Hofmann.
- 45 Preface to reprinted edition of *Souvenirs de la Russie: Transcriptions en forme de Fantasies* (piano four hands; Hamburg [A. Cranz] before 1852), by K. Hofmann (Hamburg [Karl Dieter Wagner], 1971). See also entry 123 in Kurt Hofmann, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Johannes Brahms* (Tutzing, 1975).
- 46 Brahms-Institut, Lübeck, Sammlung Hofmann
- 47 *Programmzettel* in private collection.
- 48 Brahms-Institut, Lübeck, Sammlung Hofmann
- 49 Walter Hübbe, *Brahms in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1905), pp. 5ff.
- 50 Hübbe, *Brahms in Hamburg*, pp. 4ff.
- 51 Minna Stone [née Völckers], 'Johannes Brahms als Lehrer', in *Hamburger Nachrichten* (3 April 1822), Abend-Ausgabe, Beilage. Minna Völckers was a sister of Betty and Marie Völckers, who belonged to the solo quartet of the Hamburg Frauenchor, which sang under Brahms.
- 52 Stephenson, *Johannes Brahms in seiner Familie*, p. 60.
- 53 See the exact terminology in Hofmann, *Johannes Brahms und Hamburg*, pp. 18ff.
- 54 Carl von Meysenbug, 'Aus Johannes Brahms's Jugendtagen', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* 91–92 (3 and 4 April 1902).
- 55 Brahms-Institut, Sammlung Hofmann.
- 56 Private collection.
- 57 *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe*, vol. I, p. 281.
- 58 *Hamburger Correspondent* 15 (17 January 1861).
- 59 *Hamburger Nachrichten* 28 (25 November 1861).
- 60 Private collection.
- 61 *Hamburger Nachrichten* 37 (13 February 1860).
- 62 Private collection.
- 63 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. I, p. 419.
- 64 Brahms-Institut, Lübeck, Inventar-Nummer 1995.31.
- 65 Hübbe, *Brahms in Hamburg*, p. 14.
- 66 *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe*, vol. I, p. 362.
- 67 The proceedings of the Philharmonic Society, Hamburg are located in the Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg.
- 68 *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe*, vol. I, pp. 412ff. Clara's answer is at pp.414ff.
- 69 Letter of Julius Stockhausen to Clara Schumann from Hamburg, 7 March 1863 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, Mus. Nachl. K. Schumann 2), p. 62. The name is spelled 'Gebweiler' in German; the town is located in Alsace (France), close to Strasbourg.
- 70 *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel XVIII (n.s.): Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Julius Stockhausen*, ed. Renate Hofmann (Tutzing, 1993), p. 18.
- 71 Max Kalbeck's manuscript 'Notizbuch' on Brahms's Hamburg period, p. 46 (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Carl von Ossietzky, Brahms Archiv).
- 72 Unpublished letter of Avé to Stockhausen (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg, Carl von Ossietzky, Brahms Archiv).
- 73 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. I, p. 424.

## 2 Years of transition: Brahms and Vienna 1862–1875

- 1 Carl Georg Peter Grädener (1812–83), active as a conductor and cellist in Hamburg from 1851, was appointed to teach theory and singing at the Vienna Conservatory 1862–5, subsequently returning to Hamburg three years later. Bertha Porubszky, later Bertha Faber, was with her husband Arthur Faber one of Brahms's closest later acquaintances in Vienna.
- 2 Letter of September 1862 from Hamburg, Albert Dietrich, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 45. The letter is misdated by Dietrich as (January) 1863; Brahms did not return to Hamburg until May 1863.
- 3 Florence May, *The Life of Brahms*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1948), vol. I, p. 300. Further indication of his attitude to Vienna is found in his letter of acceptance of the conductorship of

- the Vienna Singakademie in June 1863: ‘anything coming from Vienna is doubly pleasant to a musician, and whatever may call him thither is doubly attractive’, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 344–5. Specht points out that Joachim had already encouraged Brahms to accompany him there in 1861. Richard Specht, *Johannes Brahms*, trans. E. Blom (London, 1928), p. 122.
- 4 Letter of 18 November 1862, *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, ed. Berthold Litzmann, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1927; rpt Hildesheim and Wiesbaden, 1989), vol. I, p. 413.
- 5 Letter to his parents of 30 November 1862, quoted and translated by May, *The Life of Brahms*, vol. II, p. 333; facsimile reproduced in Heinrich Reimann, *Johannes Brahms, Berühmte Musiker: Lebens- und Charakterbild nebst Einführung in die Werke der Meister*, 5th edn (Berlin, n.d. [c. 1919]), facing p. 32. He still expressed these sentiments in March 1863, giving them as a reason for returning home. Letter to Schubring, 26 March 1863, *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel VIII*, p. 196.
- 6 Letter of 6 December 1862 from Christiane Brahms to Johannes Brahms, published in Karl Geiringer, *Brahms: His Life and Work*, 2nd edn trans. H. B. Weiner and Bernard Miall (London, 1948), p. 74.
- 7 Letter to his parents of 30 November 1862, quoted and translated by May, *The Life of Brahms*, vol. II, p. 334; facsimile reproduced in Reimann, *Johannes Brahms*, facing p. 32.
- 8 Letter to his father of ‘Beginning October’ 1864, quoted in Kurt Stephenson, *Brahms’s Heimatbekenntnis* (Hamburg, 1933), pp. 62–3.
- 9 Geiringer, *Brahms*, p. 88. Geiringer cites an unpublished letter from Johann Jacob Brahms of 13 January 1865 (*ibid.*, p. 91).
- 10 After the father’s death, Brahms’s stepmother continued to house his books until she later moved.
- 11 Letter of 30 November 1862, quoted and translated by May, *The Life of Brahms*, vol. I, p. 344, from the facsimile reproduced in Reimann, *Johannes Brahms*, facing p. 32.
- 12 In the short term he was of course angry. ‘Now along comes this enemy of a friend and, for better or worse, pushes me aside. How rare it is for one of my kind to find a permanent position. How happy I would have been to find one in my native city.’ See letter to Clara of 18 November 1862, *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe*, vol. I, p. 413.
- 13 Letter from Joachim to Avé Lallemand, 31 January 1862, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, ed. Andreas Moser and Johannes Joachim, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1911–13), vol. II, pp. 274–5.
- 14 An account of the history of the Philharmonic is included in Josef Sittard, *Geschichte des Musik- und Concertwesens in Hamburg* (Altona, 1890; rpt Hildesheim, 1971).
- 15 Letter of 27 April 1894, quoted in Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1904–14; rpt of final edn of each vol. (1921, 1921, 1912–13, 1915), Tutzing, 1976), vol. IV, p. 345.
- 16 Letter to Joachim of 30 December 1864, *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel VI: Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim*, vol. II, ed. A. Moser (Berlin, 1908), p. 35.
- 17 Letter of 30 April 1869, Stephenson, *Brahms’s Heimatbekenntnis*, p. 108.
- 18 Letter of 16 December 1869 from Chrysander to Brahms, and of 4 December 1876 from Marxsen to Brahms, quoted in Geiringer, *Brahms*, pp. 74–5; Eduard Marxsen (1806–87); Friedrich Chrysander (1826–1901).
- 19 Account summarised in May, *The Life of Brahms*, vol. II, pp. 343–4.
- 20 Remark to Klaus Groth, quoted in Geiringer, *Brahms*, p. 76.
- 21 Lodgings listed in Otto Biba, *Johannes Brahms in Wien* (Vienna, 1983), p. 27. May notes additionally that he also resided in the Wollzeile, as well as staying with the Fabers.
- 22 From a personal communication from Epstein to Florence May; May, *The Life of Brahms*, vol. II, pp. 330–1.
- 23 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 333.
- 24 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 338. Concert of 6 January, 1863.
- 25 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 387.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 340. The circle included the following: the cellist of the Hellmesberger quartet, Heinrich Röver, the violinists Gabriel Lemböck, Anton Fischer and Josef König, the hornist Richard Lewy, the bassoonist Förchtgott, the soprano Passy-Cornet, whom he had known in Hamburg, the composer Johann Rufinatscha and the publisher J. P. Gotthard. And to them should be added the names of two leading pianists at the Conservatoire, Anton Door and, later, Ignaz Brüll, in addition to the friends around the Singakademie which included members of the von Asten family.
- 27 Carl Goldmark (1830–1915); (Carl August) Peter Cornelius (1824–74); Carl Tausig (1841–71).
- 28 Letter of [26] March 1863 to Adolf Schubring, *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel VIII*, p. 196.
- 29 The Sechter canon is reproduced in Biba, *Johannes Brahms in Wien*, p. 13.
- 30 Letter of 12 February 1870. *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel XIV: Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Breitkopf & Härtel, Bartholf Senff, Johann Melchior Rieter Biedermann u.A.* (Berlin, 1920), p. 183.

- 31 Quoted in May, *The Life of Brahms*, vol. II, pp. 330, 341.
- 32 Geiringer, *Brahms*, pp. 66, 71. He had already been taken with Bertha Porubszky and her singing of Austrian folk-songs in Hamburg. Geiringer, *Brahms*, p. 63.
- 33 Letter of 13 November 1867, *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe*, vol. I, p. 568.
- 34 See letter of 7 February 1855 to Clara Schumann, *ibid.*, p. 75.
- 35 The background is illustrated by Max Friedländer, *Brahms Lieder*, trans. C. L. Leese (Oxford, 1928), pp. 79–80.
- 36 Eduard Hanslick, *Aus dem Konzertsaal: Kritik und Schilderungen aus 20 Jahren des Wiener Musiklebens 1848–1868*, 2nd edn (Vienna, 1897), p. 287.
- 37 Quoted in Norbert Meurs, *Neue Bahnen? Aspekte der Brahms Rezeption 1853–1868, Musik und Anschauung im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. III (Cologne, 1996), p. 168.
- 38 Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 170–4.
- 39 Quoted in May, *The Life of Brahms*, vol. II, p. 336.
- 40 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 337.
- 41 Eduard Hanslick, *Aus dem Konzertsaal: Kritik und Schilderungen 1848–68* (Vienna, 1897), p. 320.
- 42 *Die neue freie Presse*, Vienna, 3 December 1867.
- 43 Quoted in May, *The Life of Brahms*, vol. II, p. 369.
- 44 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 513. Bernsdorff, obviously under pressure, commented on the additional presence of outside Brahms supporters.
- 45 Quoted in May, *The Life of Brahms*, vol. I, p. 295.
- 46 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. II, p. 200.
- 47 Adolf Schubring, 'Schumanniana Nr. 8: die Schumann'sche Schule IV: Johannes Brahms', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 56/12–16 (21 March – 18 April 1862).
- 48 See Otto Biba, *Mit den Gedanken in Wien*, trans. E. Hartzell (Vienna, 1984), pp. 26–7.
- 49 Undated letter to Dessoff [November 1876]. *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel XVI*, p. 144

### 3 Brahms and his audience: the later Viennese years 1875–1897

- 1 For the most recent cases in point see David Brodbeck, *Brahms: Symphony No. 1* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 1–19; Walter Frisch, *Brahms: The Four Symphonies* (New York, 1996); and Renate Ulm, ed., *Johannes Brahms: Das symphonische Werk* (Kassel, 1996).
- 2 Louis Ehlert (1825–84) studied with Schumann and Mendelssohn. He worked in

- both Berlin and Wiesbaden. He is perhaps best remembered for his 1878 laudatory article introducing Dvořák to the wider German reading public. See Louis Ehlert, *Aus der Tonwelt: Neue Folge* (Berlin, 1898), p. 247.
- 3 See John H. Mueller, *The American Symphony Orchestra: A Social History of Musical Taste* (Bloomington, Ind., 1951), pp. 187–90.
- 4 Siegfried Kross, *Johannes Brahms: Versuch einer kritischen Dokumentar-Biographie*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1997), vol. II, pp. 545ff.
- 5 See the major analytical and biographical literature of recent vintage including Michael Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1994); Malcolm MacDonald, *Brahms* (New York, 1990); Christian Martin Schmidt, *Johannes Brahms* (Stuttgart, 1994) and *Johannes Brahms und seine Zeit* (Regensburg, 1983) as well as Hans Gál, *Johannes Brahms: Werk und Persönlichkeit* (Frankfurt, 1961).
- 6 The argument that follows concentrates essentially entirely on Vienna from 1875 to 1897. However, it is assumed that apart from strictly local matters, the relevant circumstances described transcend Vienna and apply to German-speaking Europe. Brahms kept up his contacts with Germany, including Berlin and Leipzig. He travelled widely. Although only two of the symphonies, Nos. 2 and 3, were premiered in Vienna, that city was the primary prism through which Brahms experienced and interpreted political and cultural currents. Subsequent first performances of the orchestral music in Vienna were therefore analogous to premieres. The reactions of the Viennese audience and press were crucial to him, particularly during the last years of his life.
- 7 Viktor Miller zu Aichholz, *Ein Brahms Bilderbuch* (Vienna, 1905), p. 67.
- 8 For a laudatory view of Herbeck, see Ludwig Herbeck, *Johann Herbeck* (Vienna, 1885); for a critical assessment see Leon Botstein, 'Music and Its Public', 5 vols. (Ph.D dissertation, Harvard University, 1985), vols. II and III.
- 9 See Renate Wagner-Rieger and Mara Reissberger, *Theophil von Hansen* (Wiesbaden, 1980); and Botstein, 'Music and Its Public'.
- 10 On the Wolf–Brahms relationship – a subject of much controversy – see Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1904–14; rpt of final edn of each vol. (1921, 1921, 1912–13, 1915), Tutzing, 1976), vol. III, pp. 410–11; Frank Walker, *Hugo Wolf* (New York, 1968), pp. 84–7; and Sandra McColl, 'Karl Kraus and Music Criticism', forthcoming in *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998).
- 11 On Rott, Brahms's supposed 'cruelty' to Rott, Bruckner's advocacy and this episode, which took place in 1880, see Henry-Louis de la

- Grange, *Gustav Mahler: Vers la Gloire 1860–1900* (Paris, 1979), p. 128.
- 12 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. IV, p. 508.
- 13 On Nietzsche's view of Brahms see the 'Zweite Nachschrift' in 'Der Fall Wagner' from 1888 in *Werke*, ed. K. Schlechta (Munich, 1966), vol. II, p. 934.
- 14 Friedrich Nietzsche, 'Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie' in *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale as *Untimely Meditations* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 61–6, 78–83.
- 15 See Reinhold Brinkmann, *Late Idyll: The Second Symphony of Johannes Brahms*, trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).
- 16 See Richard Wagner, 'Beethoven' from 1870 in *Prose Works*, vol. V, trans. by W. A. Ellis (London 1896/New York, 1966), pp. 57–126; and Franz Liszt's writings on Beethoven in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. III (Leipzig, 1881/Hildesheim and Wiesbaden, 1978), particularly the essay on *Egmont* from 1854, pp. 29–36.
- 17 See Leon Botstein, 'Time and Memory: Concert Life, Science and Music in Brahms's Vienna' in Walter Frisch, ed., *Brahms and His World* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 3–22, and 'Brahms and Nineteenth Century Painting', *19th-Century Music* 14 (1990), pp. 154–68.
- 18 On Brahms the historian see the two essays – fifty years apart – by Karl Geiringer: 'Brahms as Reader and Collector' and 'Brahms as a Musicologist', *The Musical Quarterly* 19 (1933), pp. 158–68 and 69 (1983), pp. 463–70.
- 19 Brahms had developed this reputation a decade earlier, in the 1860s, when he conducted the Singakademie, where his repertoire included, among others, a work by Schütz.
- 20 See Brahms's Gesellschaft programmes in Richard von Perger and Robert Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (Vienna, 1914).
- 21 For a good example see the discussion on Wagner in Hans Merian, *Geschichte der Musik im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 601–20.
- 22 For a pro-Wagner account see Max Morold, *Wagners Kampf und Sieg: Dargestellt in seinen Beziehungen zu Wien*, 2 vols. (Zurich and Vienna, 1930), particularly vol. II, pp. 54–211. See Volker Kalisch, *Entwurf einer Wissenschaft von der Musik: Guido Adler* (Baden-Baden, 1988), pp. 11–12.
- 23 On Max Bruch and *Odysseus*, see Matthias Schwarzer, *Die Oratorien von Max Bruch* (Kassel, 1988) pp. 1–85; and the forthcoming 1998 recording on Koch-Schwann with the NDR.
- 24 Josef Suk, 'Aus meiner Jugend' (1911), reprinted in Renate and Kurt Hofmann, eds., *Über Brahms* (Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 176–80.
- 25 Kross, *Johannes Brahms*, pp. 747–51.
- 26 See Frisch, *Brahms Symphonies*, pp. 5–27; and Hermann Kretzschmar, *Führer durch den Konzertsaal*, vol. I: *Sinfonie und Suite* (Leipzig, 1919) for a sampling of contemporary symphonic output.
- 27 See Angelika Horstmann, *Untersuchungen zur Brahms-Rezeption der Jahre 1860–1880* (Hamburg, 1986), pp. 199–207.
- 28 See the Heuberger selections cited in Hofmann and Hofmann, eds., *Über Brahms*, pp. 83 and 224–6.
- 29 Brahms's reaction to the B minor Sonata on his visit to Weimar is often repeated. See MacDonald, *Brahms*, p. 13.
- 30 See Robert A. Kann, ed., *Theodor Gomperz – Ein Gelehrtenleben im Bürgertum der Franz-Josefs-Zeit* (Vienna, 1874); and Ernst Kobau, 'Rastlos zieht die Flucht der Jahre . . . ? Josephine und Franziska von Wertheimstein – Ferdinand von Saar' (Vienna, 1997).
- 31 Theodor Billroth, *Wer ist Musikalisch?: Nachgelassene Schrift*, ed. Eduard Hanslick, 2nd edn (Berlin, 1896).
- 32 See Leon Botstein 'Between Nostalgia and Modernity: Vienna 1848–1898' in Linda Weintraub and Leon Botstein, *Pre Modern Art of Vienna 1848–1898* (Detroit, 1987), pp. 10–17.
- 33 Cited in August Böhm von Boehmersheim, *Geschichte des Singvereines der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien* (Vienna, 1908), pp. 44–6.
- 34 Ernst Kobau, *Die Wiener Symphoniker: Eine sozialgeschichtliche Studie* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 13–23.
- 35 See Botstein, 'Music and Its Public', vol. II.
- 36 For the context of this period see John W. Boyer, *Cultural and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power 1897–1918* (Chicago, 1995).
- 37 Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1990), pp. 47–67.
- 38 On Steinway and Sons see Richard K. Lieberman, *Steinway and Sons* (New Haven, Conn., 1995); and D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga* (New York, 1995).
- 39 Ehlert, *Aus der Tonwelt*, p. 247.
- 40 Quoted in Josef Rufer, *Das Werk Arnold Schoenbergs* (Kassel, 1959), p. 139.
- 41 Miller to Aichholz, *Brahms Bilderbuch*, pp. 21–3.
- 42 Brahms conducted the *Triumphlied* on 21 October. See Rene Karlen, 'Geschichte des Konzertlebens in der Tonhalle' in Rene Karlen, Andreas Honegger and Marianne Zelger-Vogt 'Ein Saal, in dem es herrlich klingt': *Hundert Jahre Tonhalle Zürich* (Zurich, 1995), p. 51. On Brahms in Zurich, see Werner G. Zimmermann,

*Brahms in der Schweiz: Eine Dokumentation* (Zurich, 1983).

43 On Brahms's circle of friends, particularly in his last years, see Imogen Fellinger, ed., *Klänge um Brahms: Erinnerungen von Richard Fellinger* (Mürzzuschlag, 1997).

44 On the evolution of the Viennese aristocracy in the first half of the nineteenth century see Hannes Stekl, *Österreichs Aristokratie im Vormärz* (Munich, 1973).

45 James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1995); and Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge, 1995).

46 On Vienna's demographic development see A. Hickmann, *Wien im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1903).

47 See Friedrich C. Heller and Peter Revers, *Das Wiener Konzerthaus: Geschichte und Bedeutung 1913–1983* (Vienna, 1983).

48 On Conservatoire enrolment and the efforts in the 1890s to expand the city's concert life, see Botstein, 'Music and Its Public', vols. IV and V.

49 Marsha Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna 1867–1914* (Albany, NY, 1983), p. 17.

50 See Carl Schorske, 'The Ringstrasse, Its Critics and the Birth of Urban Modernism' in Carl Schorske, ed., *Fin de Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, 1st edn (New York, 1980), pp. 24–115.

51 See Jutta Pemsel, *Die Wiener Ausstellung von 1873* (Vienna, 1989), pp. 75–92.

52 See Margaret Notley 'Brahms as Liberal: Genre, Style, and Politics in Late Nineteenth Century Vienna', *19th-Century Music* 17 (1993), pp. 107–23.

53 In this regard it must be noted that the linkage between liberalism and the Jews of Vienna has too often been exaggerated. Billroth, for example, a close friend of Brahms's, was liberal but himself decidedly anti-Semitic. Many of the liberal literary and cultural Viennese salons with which Brahms and Hanslick were associated were overtly apolitical – politics were never discussed and therefore more heterogeneous groupings assembled, even a mixture of high aristocracy and the second society. See Kobau, 'Rastlos', pp. 311–39; and Ernst Bruckmüller, 'Herkunft und Selbstverständnis bürgerlicher Gruppierung in der Habsburgermonarchie: Eine Einführung' in Bruckmüller, Ulrike Doecker, Hannes Stekl and Peter Urbanisch, eds., *Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna, 1990), pp. 13–20. The Wagner episode can be found in Cosima Wagner, *Diaries 1878–1883*, ed. M. Gregor-Dellin and D. Mack with G. Skelton (New York, 1980), pp. 769–73; on the incident and the trial, see Alexander Zeiss, *Der Prozess*

*über die Ringtheater-Katastrophe* (Vienna, 1882). See also Daniel Spitzer, *Letzte Wiener Spaziergänge* (Vienna, 1894), pp. 266–7. It should be noted that Kalbeck, in addition to his devotion to Brahms, was the editor of the last volume of Spitzer's essays and a reigning expert on Spitzer (1835–93).

54 On Brahms and Schubert, see Leon Botstein, 'Realism Transformed: Franz Schubert and Vienna' in Christopher H. Gibbs, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 13–21. Kalbeck was, like Brahms, Protestant but was married to a woman of Jewish origin. Hanslick was of Jewish origin.

55 On Herzl and *Tannhäuser*, see Amos Elon, *Herzl* (New York, 1975), pp. 3 and 142. *Tannhäuser* was used to open the second Zionist Congress in Basel in 1898. See Ernst Pawel, *The Labyrinth of Exile: A Life of Theodor Herzl* (New York, 1989), p. 360.

56 See Carl Dahlhaus, 'Brahms und die Idee der Kammermusik', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 134 (1973), pp. 559–63; and Notley, 'Brahms as Liberal'. See also Notley's discussion of Bruckner in 'Bruckner and Viennese Wagnerism' in Timothy L. Jackson and Paul Hawkshaw, eds., *Bruckner Studies* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 54–71.

57 Fellinger, ed., *Klänge*, passim; see also Richard Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms*, ed. K. Hofmann, 2nd edn (Tutzing, 1976), p. 82.

58 For Schenker's views on Brahms see the short pieces of criticism written in the 1890s, especially Nos. 1, 3, 8, 13, 14, 42 and 43 in Hellmut Federhofer, ed., *Heinrich Schenker als Essayist und Kritiker* (Hildesheim, 1990).

#### 4 Opposition and integration in the piano music

1 See for instance Denis Matthews, *Brahms Piano Music* (London, 1978); Michael Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms* (London, 1985; revised edn, Oxford, 1994); Walter Frisch, 'Brahms: From Classical to Modern' in R. Larry Todd, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music* (New York, 1990), pp. 316–54; and Malcolm MacDonald, *Brahms* (London, 1990).

2 Matthews, *Brahms Piano Music*, p. 5.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

4 Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, p. 7.

5 One noteworthy study is Jonathan Dunsby's *Structural Ambiguity in Brahms: Analytical Approaches to Four Works* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981). Despite Dunsby's comment (p. 6) that 'there is no literal opposition in music, for events which are perceived independently have at least that quality in common: in one respect

- at least they are similar rather than opposed, this essay regards opposition as a musical force actively exploited as a compositional premise by Brahms and readily discernible by listeners.
- 6 Edward T. Cone, 'Three Ways of Reading a Detective Story – or a Brahms Intermezzo' in Robert P. Morgan, ed., *Music: A View from Delft*, (Chicago and London, 1989), pp. 77–93.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 79–81 *passim*.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 86.
- 9 MacDonald, *Brahms*, p. 266.
- 10 Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), p. 253.
- 11 Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, p. 23.
- 12 Adolf Schubring, 'Five Early Works by Brahms', trans. Walter Frisch in Walter Frisch, ed., *Brahms and His World* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 113, 116.
- 13 Walter Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), pp. 37, 42, 56.
- 14 Details of the Sonata's compositional history are provided in George Bozarth, 'Brahms's *Lieder ohne Worte*: The "Poetic" Andantes of the Piano Sonatas' in George Bozarth, ed., *Brahms Studies: Analytical and Historical Perspectives* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 348ff.
- 15 Letter to Bartholf Senff, 26 December 1853, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 360.
- 16 Bozarth, 'Brahms's *Lieder ohne Worte*', p. 360.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 361.
- 18 Detlef Kraus's term; 'Das Andante aus der Sonate Op. 5 von Brahms' in Helmut Wirth, ed., *Brahms Studien III* (Hamburg, 1979), p. 51.
- 19 Section A: a, bars 1–10 (repeated)  
b, bars 11–24  
a', bars 25–36  
Section B: c, bars 37–44 (repeated, with variants, in 45–52)  
d, bars 53–67  
c', bars 68–76 (d and c' are repeated, with variants, in 77–100/5)
- 20 Both Kraus and Bozarth read the movement as a literal setting of 'Junge Liebe'.
- 21 Bozarth comments that the unusual tonal scheme needs to be viewed 'across the full span of the two [slow] movements', which together articulate an interrupted progression from A<sup>b</sup> major through D<sup>b</sup> major to B<sup>b</sup> minor. 'Brahms's *Lieder ohne Worte*', p. 364.
- 22 Elaine Sisman, 'Brahms's Slow Movements: Reinventing the "Closed" Forms' in Bozarth, ed., *Brahms Studies*, pp. 80, 85.
- 23 MacDonald, *Brahms*, p. 69.
- 24 Hans Gál, *Johannes Brahms: His Work and Personality*, trans. Joseph Stein (London, 1963), p. 124.
- 25 Karl Geiringer, *Brahms: His Life and Work*, 2nd edn, trans. H. B. Weiner and Bernard Miall (London, 1948), p. 213.
- 26 Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, p. 54.
- 27 Geiringer, *Brahms*, p. 214.
- 28 MacDonald, *Brahms*, p. 178.
- 29 Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis: Chamber Music* (London, 1944), p. 167.
- 30 Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, pp. 52, 53.
- 31 Heinrich Schenker, 'Brahms: Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Händel, op. 24', *Der Tonwille* 4/2–3 (1924), pp. 3–48.
- 32 'Der Plan in Brahms's Händel-Variationen', *Neue Musikzeitung* 49/11, 14, 16 (1928), pp. 340–6, 437–45, 503–12.
- 33 Dunsby, *Structural Ambiguity*, pp. 1, 16, 17.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 35 A comment made with reference to the fugue (see below) but no less relevant to the set as a whole. MacDonald, *Brahms*, p. 180.
- 36 In *Music Analysis* 6/3 (1987), pp. 237–55.
- 37 Although crude in conception (reflecting only a few compositional parameters rather than all musical elements), this diagram is analogous to an 'intensity curve', the theoretical basis of which is investigated in John Rink, 'Translating Musical Meaning: The Nineteenth-century Performer as Narrator' in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, eds., *Rethinking Music* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 217–38. An intensity curve is sketched in that essay in the case of a work by Liszt.
- Note, incidentally, that the lower-case roman numerals in Table 4.1 and elsewhere represent minor harmonies, while upper-case roman numerals denote major keys.
- 38 MacDonald, *Brahms*, p. 180. It goes without saying that a graph similar to that in Example 4.3 could be devised for the fugue, reflecting both its prolonged buildup of momentum and its climactic finish.
- 39 Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, pp. 57, 58.
- 40 His comment is made with specific reference to Op. 24. Matthews, *Brahms Piano Music*, p. 31.
- 41 Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, p. 159.
- 42 David Epstein, 'Brahms and the Mechanisms of Motion: The Composition of Performance' in Bozarth, ed., *Brahms Studies*, pp. 192, 198, 199. For further discussion of this topic, see Patrick Shove and Bruno Repp, 'Musical Motion and Performance: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives' in John Rink, ed., *The Practice of Performance: Studies in Musical Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 55–83.
- 43 John Rink, 'Playing in Time: Rhythm, Metre and Tempo in Brahms's *Fantasien* Op. 116' in Rink, ed., *The Practice of Performance*, pp. 254–82.
- 44 MacDonald, *Brahms*, p. 266.

45 Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, pp. 160–1. Compare the description in Frisch, ‘Brahms: From Classical to Modern’, pp. 341 and 343.

46 Compare Geiringer’s comment (*Brahms*, p. 219) that by Op. 76 ‘Brahms had relinquished his orchestral method of writing, and had approached more nearly to the style of Schumann and Chopin, which is particularly suited to the nature of the instrument’.

47 Elsewhere I have warned that ‘simply rebaring Brahms’s music to show implicit alternative metrical schemes, as some analysts do, inadequately defines a performance strategy’, and Examples 4.6a and 4.6b should be regarded in this light, as intentional simplifications of complex phenomena. In the case of Op. 116 No. 2, by way of contrast, I have encouraged pianists ‘to refer simultaneously to as many different organisational schemes in operation at a given point as possible, perhaps practising each separately and then combining them in a rhythmic counterpoint transcending allegiance to any one grouping, with elements of each surfacing here and there to tantalise the listener with hints of stability in that particular direction, only to have the music turn immediately towards another’ (Rink, ‘Playing in Time’, pp. 277, 273). A similar ‘kaleidoscopic’ flexibility is also warranted in Example 4.6b.

48 It is worth noting that the dimensions of this so-called ‘miniature’ (a term often pejoratively applied to Brahms’s later piano pieces) are exactly right to exploit to the full this fundamental metrical opposition: in a longer work, the energy level would almost certainly sag, the tensions so expertly created by Brahms either diluted or dissipated altogether.

49 MacDonald, *Brahms*, p. 355.

50 See Arnold Schoenberg, ‘Brahms the Progressive’ in Arnold Schoenberg, *Style and Idea*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (London, 1975), pp. 398–441; see also Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation*, and Michael Musgrave, ‘Schoenberg’s Brahms’ in Bozarth, ed., *Brahms Studies*, pp. 123–37.

51 Respectively, J. A. Fuller-Maitland, *Brahms*, 2nd edn (London, 1911), p. 99; Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, p. 261; Matthews, *Brahms Piano Music*, p. 49; Edwin Evans, *Handbook to the Pianoforte Works of Johannes Brahms* (London, [1936]), p. 247 (italics in original).

52 See for instance Fuller-Maitland, *Brahms*, p. 99 and Matthews, *Brahms Piano Music*, p. 69. Matthews continues: ‘the remainder of the orchestra, spectators so far, will join in progressively from the entry of the new theme in G<sup>b</sup> – until the great climax suddenly collapses, dispersing and silencing most of them again’.

53 MacDonald, *Brahms*, pp. 359–60.

54 Respectively, David Hicks, ‘Chronicles. Opus 118 No. 6 of Brahms’ (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1991); Lynus Patrick Miller, ‘From Analysis to Performance: The Musical Landscape of Johannes Brahms’s Opus 118, No. 6’ (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1979).

55 The ‘lento’ at bar 85 is perhaps best interpreted with reference to the hemiola in the previous two bars. In performance I treat the crotchets in bars 83–4 as anticipations of the lento beat, that is, new ♩ [i.e. 3 × triplet ♩] = former ♩ as suggested in Example 4.7. For further discussion of this kind of linkage (especially in Op. 116 No. 7), see Rink, ‘Playing in Time’.

56 This comparison serves as a salutary reminder to analysts that ‘motivic unity’ in and of itself is no guarantor of interest or quality, and that what counts most is how related motives create the music’s process and effect.

## 5 Medium and meaning: new aspects of the chamber music

1 *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel XII: Johannes Brahms: Briefe an Fritz Simrock*, vol. II, ed. Max Kalbeck (Berlin, 1919), p. 35.

2 See Elaine Sisman, ‘Brahms’s Slow Movements: Reinventing the “Closed” Forms’ in George S. Bozarth, ed., *Brahms Studies: Analytical and Historical Studies* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 79–103; and Elaine Sisman, ‘Brahms and the Variation Canon’, *19th-Century Music* 14 (1990/91), pp. 132–53.

3 Brahms seems later to have made use of the discarded slow movement of Op. 38 in the Second Cello Sonata Op. 99; see Margaret Notley, ‘Brahms’s Cello Sonata in F major and Its Genesis: A Study in Half-Step Relations’ in David Brodbeck, ed., *Brahms Studies*, vol. I, (Lincoln, Nebr., 1994), pp. 139–60. By the same token, the middle movement of the First String Quintet derives from the early Sarabande in A Minor, WoO 5 No. 1, and Gavotte II in A Major, WoO 3 No. 2: see Robert Pascall, ‘Unknown Gavottes by Brahms’, *Music and Letters* 57 (1976), pp. 404–11; and Michael Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1994), pp. 201–2.

4 Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), p. 253.

5 Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, pp. 252–61. See also Arnold Schoenberg, ‘Brahms the Progressive’ in Arnold Schoenberg, *Style and Idea*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (London, 1975), pp. 398–441.

6 Quoted in Werner G. Zimmermann, *Brahms in der Schweiz* (Zurich, 1983), p. 43. The



complete inventory of chamber works that were dedicated to Brahms is as follows: Carl G. P. Grädener, Piano Trio in E♭ Op. 35; Ferdinand Thierot, Trio in F minor Op. 14; Hermann Goetz, Piano Quartet in E Op. 6 (1870); Bernhard Scholz, String Quintet Op. 47 (1878); Otto Dessoff, String Quartet in F Op. 7 (1878); Robert Fuchs, Piano Trio in C Op. 22 (1879); Antonin Dvořák, String Quartet in D minor Op. 34 (1877); Karl Nawratil, Piano Trio in E♭ Op. 9 (1881); Heinrich von Herzogenberg, Three String Quartets Op. 42 (1884); Richard von Perger, String Quartet in G minor Op. 8 (1886); Fritz Kaufmann, String Quartet in F Op. 14; Giulio E. A. Alary, String Sextet Op. 35; Anton Rückauf, Piano Quintet in F Op. 13; Eugen d'Albert, String Quartet in E♭ Op. 11 (1893); Josef Suk, Piano Quintet in G minor, Op. 8 (1893); Walter Rabl, Piano Quartet (with clarinet) Op. 1; Eugen Philips, Piano Trio in D Op. 28; Heinrich von Herzogenberg, Piano Quartet in B♭ Op. 95 (1897); Carl Reinecke, Sonata in G for Cello and Piano Op. 238 ('To the memory of Johannes Brahms') (1898). Walter Frisch, 'Dedicated to Johannes Brahms' in Walter Frisch, ed., *Brahms and His World* (Princeton, 1990), p. 211–16.

7 Eduard Hanslick, *Music Criticisms 1846–99*, trans. and ed. Henry Pleasants (Baltimore, 1950), p. 84 (in which translation the work is referred to, erroneously, as the Piano Quartet in G major). Robert Lee Curtis, *Ludwig Bischoff: A Mid-Nineteenth Century Music Critic* (Cologne, 1979), p. 269.

8 For an excellent introduction to these issues, see Margaret Notley, 'Brahms as Liberal: Genre, Style, and Politics in Late-19th-Century Vienna', *Nineteenth-Century Music* 17 (1993/94), pp. 107–23. On Wagner and Brahms in this context, see David Brodbeck, *Brahms: Symphony No. 1* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 87–90.

9 The 'F–A–E' Sonata was written jointly for Joachim by Brahms, Schumann and Joachim and based on his motto *Frei aber Einsam* ('Free but Lonely'). Brahms's contribution stands curiously apart from the rest, however, both in its failure to allude directly to the three notes of the motto and in its choice of C minor (the outer movements being in D minor, the Intermezzo in A minor). Indeed, the clearest allusion is rather to the opening of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, which Brahms plainly echoes at the outset. On the genetic relation between the First Symphony and the Piano Quintet in F minor, see my *Brahms: Symphony No. 1*, pp. 9–11.

10 *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel VI: Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim*, vol. II, ed. Andreas Moser, 2nd edn (Berlin,

1912), p. 40; Renate Hofmann, 'Johannes Brahms im Spiegel der Korrespondenz Clara Schumanns' in Constantin Floros, Hans Joachim Marx and Peter Petersen, eds., *Brahms und seine Zeit: Symposion Hamburg 1983* (Laaber, 1984), p. 56; *Johannes Brahms und Fritz Simrock: Weg einer Freundschaft: Briefe des Verlegers an den Komponisten*, ed. Kurt Stephenson (Hamburg, 1961), p. 50. For a transcription of Brahms's hand-written catalogue, see Alfred Orel, 'Ein eigenhändiges Werkverzeichnis von Johannes Brahms: Ein wichtiger Beitrag zur Brahmsforschung', *Die Musik* 29 (1937), pp. 529–41. Notwithstanding Brahms's rigorous self-criticism, Alwin Cranz's recollection, as reported by Max Kalbeck, that the composer claimed to have written 'more than twenty string quartets' before publishing his first two in 1873, seems highly exaggerated. Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1904–14; rpt of final edn of each vol. (1921, 1921, 1912–13, 1915), Tutzing, 1976), vol. II, p. 440.

11 Brahms's calendar books (one each for the years 1867–9 and 1871–97) are housed in Vienna, Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Ia 79.559. Two important studies of the quartets may be found in Michael Musgrave, ed., *Brahms 2: Biographical, Documentary, and Analytical Studies* (Cambridge, 1987): see Arnold Whittall, 'Two of a Kind? Brahms's Op. 51 Finales' (pp. 145–64); and Allen Forte, 'Motivic Design and Structural Levels in the First Movement of Brahms's String Quartet in C Minor' (pp. 165–96). See also Friedhelm Krummacker, 'Reception and Analysis: On the Brahms Quartets, Op. 51, Nos. 1 and 2', *19th-Century Music* 18 (1994/95), pp. 24–45.

12 James Webster, 'Schubert's Sonata Form and Brahms's First Maturity', *19th-Century Music* 3 (1978/79), pp. 18–35; and 4 (1979/80), pp. 52–71.

13 Donald Francis Tovey, 'Brahms's Chamber Music' in his *The Main Stream of Music and Other Essays* (New York, 1949), p. 244. Significantly the work was conceived in 1862 as a string quintet with two cellos (i.e. with the same unusual disposition of instruments as found in Schubert's quintet); it was first revised in 1864 as a Sonata for Two Pianos, in which form it was published as Op. 34bis.

14 Tovey, 'Brahms's Chamber Music', p. 244.

15 For an excellent account, see Walter Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), pp. 83–6.

16 *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel II: Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Heinrich und Elisabeth von Herzogenberg*, vol. II, ed. Max

Kalbeck, 4th rev. edn (Berlin, 1921), p. 146.

17 Tovey, 'Brahms's Chamber Music', p. 243.

18 Letter of 29 July 1861 in *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, ed. Berthold Litzmann, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1927; rpt Hildesheim and Wiesbaden, 1989), vol. I, p. 371.

19 Letter of 15 October 1861, in *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel V: Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim*, vol. I, ed. A. Moser, 3rd edn (Berlin, 1921), p. 313.

20 One other work with paired fifths that might figure into all this is Haydn's so-called *Quinten* Quartet Op. 76 No. 2, whose Menuetto, as Michael Musgrave has observed (*The Music of Brahms*, p. 101), offered a model for the fierce and weighty two-part canon in D minor with which Brahms's trio begins. At the same time, it seems quite possible that Brahms had noticed that Schumann's second theme, with its long-breathed melody (given out twice, taken up by the various instruments and all set over an off-the-beat accompaniment), derives from the second theme in the finale of Beethoven's String Quartet in F Op. 59 No. 1.

21 Hans Keller, 'The Classical Romantics: Schumann and Mendelssohn', *Of German Music* (London, 1976), p. 201.

22 Notably, appearing at the same time as the C major Trio was the String Quintet in F Op. 88, which in its gentle lyrical opening provides the trio with a 'feminine' contrast of its own.

23 As examples of this 'amplified binary form' Daverio cites the first movements of the Piano Quartet in G minor and Piano Trio in C minor, and the finales of, again, the Piano Quartet in G minor, Piano Quartet in A, Piano Quintet, First String Quartet, Violin Sonata in D minor, Piano Trio in B (revised version), Second String Quintet, Clarinet Trio, and First Clarinet Sonata. See John Daverio, 'From "Concertante Rondo" to "Lyric Sonata": A Commentary on Brahms's Reception of Mozart', in David Brodbeck, ed., *Brahms Studies*, vol. I (Lincoln, Nebr., 1994), pp. 111–36. Several of the same movements are discussed in Robert Pascall, 'Some Special Uses of Sonata Form by Brahms', *Soundings* 4 (1974), pp. 58–63. Although Daverio assigns the first movement of Op. 87 to the category of sonata form with both development and recapitulation beginning in the tonic – presumably because one of the themes of the second group is subjected to development – other aspects of this movement, as we shall see, are explained more satisfactorily in terms of a binary model.

24 The slow movements of the First, Third and Fourth symphonies are marked by similar 'digressive' allusions, in which, as Robert Bailey

has put it, Brahms seems 'for a moment...to depart from the context of the movement, bringing in a short section apparently different from anything else in the movement, and then allowing the original context to resume' ('Musical Language and Structure in the Third Symphony' in George Bozarth, ed., *Brahms Studies: Analytical and Historical Perspectives*, (Oxford, 1990), p. 405). Bailey's concern is with the Third Symphony, in which the composer alludes to the 'Immolation Scene' at the end of Wagner's *Götterdämmerung*. In the slow movement of the First Symphony, the composer renews an allusion to Schumann's *Manfred* that had played a large role in the opening Allegro; see David Brodbeck, *Brahms: Symphony No. 1*, pp. 55–7. In the Fourth Symphony, allusion is made to the slow movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony; see Kenneth Hull, 'Allusive Irony in Brahms's Fourth Symphony' in David Brodbeck, ed., *Brahms Studies*, vol. II (Lincoln, Nebr., 1998), pp. 141–9.

25 Similar thematic transformations in the development section mark also the first movements of the G minor Piano Quartet (bars 303ff.), the A major Piano Quartet (bars 144ff.), the Piano Quintet (bars 208ff.), the Violin Sonata in A (bars 137ff.) and the Clarinet Quintet (bars 98ff.).

26 In addition to those instances that I discuss below, a few others can be cited here. In the tonally ambiguous opening of the Second String Quartet, for example, beginning with the notes A–F–A–E, Brahms revisits Joachim's motto 'Frei aber einsam' – and indeed in a far more explicit manner than he had done in the Scherzo in C minor from twenty years earlier. And in the secondary group of the opening movement of the Second Violin Sonata (one of several chamber works that Brahms composed on Lake Thun in the summer of 1886), Brahms alludes to his own songs 'Wie Melodien zieht es mir' Op. 105 No. 1 and 'Komm bald' Op. 97 No. 5, neither of which had yet appeared in print at the time when the sonata was written. Kalbeck concluded that the references indicated that the sonata had been written 'in Erwartung der Ankunft einer geliebten Freundin', that is, in anticipation of the arrival at the Swiss resort of the beautiful contralto Hermine Spies, with whom Brahms was smitten at the time (Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. IV, p. 16). At the same time, in the lyrical primary theme of the same work (beginning  $\dot{3}-\dot{7}-\dot{1}$ ), Brahms makes a rather more 'public' allusion to the 'Preislied' from Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, as noted with disapproval in Eduard Hanslick's early review

of 'Brahms's Newest Instrumental Compositions' (1889) (reprinted in Frisch, *Brahms and His World*, pp. 145–50).

27 Clara Schumann – *Johannes Brahms: Briefe*, vol. I, p. 75. In the summer of 1877 Brahms re-used the same theme as the subject of a canonic study; see my review of *Johannes Brahms: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, by Margit L. McCorkle, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989), pp. 427–30.

28 *Briefwechsel VI*, p. 291.

29 Dillon Parmer, 'Brahms the Programmatic' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1995), pp. 81–3.

30 Letter of June 1879, in *Billroth und Brahms im Briefwechsel*, ed. Otto Billroth (Berlin and Vienna, 1935), p. 293.

31 Dillon Parmer, 'Brahms, Song Quotation, and Secret Programs', *19th-Century Music* 19 (1995/96), pp. 167–77.

32 Quoted in Michael Struck, 'New Evidence on the Genesis of Brahms's G major Violin Sonata, Op. 78', *The American Brahms Society Newsletter* 9/1 (1991), p. 5.

33 James Webster, 'The C Sharp Minor Version of Brahms's Op. 60', *Musical Times* 121 (1980), pp. 89–93.

34 Quoted in Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. III, pp. 12–13; translated in Webster, 'The C Sharp Minor Version of Brahms's Op. 60', p. 91.

35 Hofmann, 'Johannes Brahms im Spiegel der Korrespondenz Clara Schumanns', p. 48; and 'Fragebogen für Herrn Hofkapellmeister Albert Dietrich', ed. Max Kalbeck, transcribed in *Katalog 100: Johannes Brahms*, Musikantiquariat Hans Schneider (Tutzing, 1964), p. 12. Webster ('The C Sharp Minor Version of Brahms's Op. 60'), who did not know of the existence of either Clara's letter to Joachim or Dietrich's recollection, incorrectly assumed that the work dated from 1856, when it entered Brahms's own correspondence with the violinist.

36 Letter from Clara to Joachim of 4 December 1856, quoted in Hofmann, 'Johannes Brahms im Spiegel der Korrespondenz Clara Schumanns', p. 48.

37 For Brahms's subsequent verbal allusions to *Werther* in connection to this quartet, see Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. III, p. 12; *Billroth und Brahms*, p. 211; *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel IX: Johannes Brahms: Briefe an P. J. Simrock und Fritz Simrock*, vol. I, ed. Max Kalbeck (Berlin, 1917), pp. 200–1; and *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel XIII: Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Th. Wilhelm Engelmann*, ed. Julius Röntgen (Berlin, 1918), pp. 22–5.

38 See Schumann's entry in the so-called marriage diaries from March 1841: 'With a dear

gentle wife things go smoothly. Honestly, my next symphony shall be named "Clara" and I will portray her in it with flutes, oboes, and harps' (*The Marriage Diaries of Robert & Clara Schumann: From Their Wedding Day through the Russia Trip*, ed. Gerd Nauhaus, trans. Peter Ostwald (Boston, 1993), pp. 68–9). The reference here is to the first version of Schumann's Fourth Symphony, which dates from the spring of 1841.

39 Basil Smallman, *The Piano Quartet and Quintet: Style, Structure, and Scoring* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 94–5.

40 George Henschel, *Personal Recollections of Johannes Brahms* (Boston, 1907; rpt New York, 1978), p. 30; see also Ethel Smyth, *Impressions that Remained: Memoirs* (New York, 1946), p. 237.

41 *The Music of Brahms*, p. 117. See also Parmer, 'Brahms the Programmatic,' pp. 206–7. As Musgrave notes (*The Music of Brahms*, p. 21), the main theme of the same finale by Mendelssohn had earlier served as a source of allusion in the scherzo of Brahms's Piano Sonata in F minor Op. 5.

42 Although in his hand-written catalogue of his own works Brahms dated this piece 'January 1854', it seems more likely to have been the product of the following spring, at which point it enters the composer's correspondence with Joachim. It was long thought that the public premiere of the trio had taken place in New York, in a performance given on 27 November 1855 by the pianist William Mason, the violinist Theodore Thomas, and the cellist Carl Bergmann. Michael Struck has recently established that the work was actually first heard six weeks earlier in a Trio-Soirée given in Danzig. See George S. Bozarth, 'Brahms's B major Trio: An American Premiere', *The American Brahms Society Newsletter* 8 (1990), pp. 1–4; and Michael Struck, 'Noch einmal Brahms's B major Trio: Where Was the Original Version First Performed?' *The American Brahms Society Newsletter* 92 (1991), pp. 8–9.

43 *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel IV: Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit J. O. Grimm*, ed. Richard Barth (Berlin, 1907), p. 150.

44 Among other comparative studies of the two versions, see Hans Gál, *Johannes Brahms: His Work and Personality*, trans. Joseph Stein (London, 1963; rpt Westport, Conn., 1977), pp. 155–82; Ivor Keys, *Brahms Chamber Music* (Seattle, 1974), pp. 41–50; Ernst Herttrich, 'Johannes Brahms – Klaviertrio H-dur Op. 8, Frühfassung und Spätfassung – ein analytischer Vergleich' in Martin Bente, ed., *Musik Edition Interpretation: Gedenkschrift Günter Henle* (Munich, 1980), pp. 218–36; and Franz

Zaunschirrn, *Der frühe und der späte Brahms* (Hamburg, 1988). Both versions may be heard in a recording by the Odeon Trio (Quintessence, 2PMC-2716).

45 Eric Sams, 'Brahms and His Clara Themes', *Musical Times* 112 (1971), p. 434.

46 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. I, p. 153.

47 Kenneth Hull, 'Brahms the Allusive' (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1989), pp. 236–9. Schumann's allusion was noted in J. W. Wasielewski, *Robert Schumann: Eine Biographie*, 3rd edn (Bonn, 1880); Brahms's allusion was noted by Hermann Kretzschmar in the essay 'Johannes Brahms' (1884), which was reprinted in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze über Musik und Anderes aus den Grenzboten* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 158. Brahms was, of course, familiar with Schumann's own practice of eliminating autobiographical references in the revised editions that he issued of the *Davidsbündlertänze* and other 'personal' works from the 1830s.

48 Sams, 'Brahms and His Clara Themes', p. 433. For a fuller discussion, see Parmer, 'Brahms the Programmatic', pp. 146–61.

49 On Brahms's ambivalent attitude towards the relative merits of the two versions, see his letters to Clara Schumann of 3 September 1889 (*Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe*, vol. II, p. 393) and Simrock of 13 December 1889 and 29 December 1890 (*Briefwechsel XII*, pp. 37, 39).

50 Peter Ostwald, *Schumann: The Inner Voices of a Musical Genius* (Boston, 1985), p. 127.

51 See Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*, exp. edn (New York, 1997), p. 513. In the finale of the Second Symphony the allusion to *An die ferne Geliebte* is achieved by means of a similar process of thematic evolution.

52 The String Quintet was composed shortly after the death in 1889 of Gisela von Arnim, to whom Joachim had been briefly engaged in the early 1850s, and whose evident decision to end the engagement had inspired the violinist's motto 'Frei aber einsam'. As Hans Kohlhasse has suggested, the main theme of the quintet's slow movement begins with a 'double anagram' consisting of a fusion of the notes of F–A–E with a musical spelling of Gisela's name (G#–E–A = Gis–E–La); in this light, Brahms's evident allusion in the third movement of the quintet to Bach's setting of the words 'Ruhe sanfte' ('rest gently') in the *St Matthew Passion* seems all the more moving. See Hans Kohlhasse, 'Brahms und Mendelssohn: Strukturelle Parallelen in der Kammermusik für Streicher', in *Brahms und seine Zeit*, pp. 65–7. On Brahms's

awareness of Joachim's own use of the mottoes F–A–E and G#–E–A, see David Brodbeck, 'The Brahms–Joachim Counterpoint Exchange; or, Robert, Clara, and "the Best Harmony between Jos. and Joh."' in David Brodbeck, ed., *Brahms Studies*, vol. I, pp. 43–7. It seems significant, too, that these allusions should come in a work in which Brahms returned for the first (and only) time since his Second String Sextet to the medium of strings alone in G major; it was in the first movement of the sextet, after all, that the composer had woven a reference to his own erstwhile fiancée, Agathe von Siebold.

53 Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation*, p. 146.

54 The First Clarinet Sonata, in particular, has drawn close analytical attention. See, for example, Christian Martin Schmidt, *Verfahren der motivisch-thematischen Vermittlung in der Musik von Johannes Brahms dargestellt an der Klarinettensonate f-moll, Op. 120, No. 1* (Munich, 1971); Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation*, pp. 147–51; and Peter H. Smith, 'Brahms and the Neapolitan Complex: ♭II, ♭VI, and Their Multiple Functions in the First Movement of the F-Minor Clarinet Sonata' in Brodbeck, ed., *Brahms Studies*, vol. II, pp. 169–208.

55 Following the initial triadic ascent (E–G–B), this tune continues with a chain of descending thirds and ascending sixths. If the opening theme of the Fourth Symphony represents the most famous instance of this fingerprint of the Brahmsian style, the finale of the work at hand offers the most extensive: bars 77–88 unfold a chain of no fewer than thirty-two links (passing from clarinet to piano), which is soon followed by another chain, beginning in bar 97, consisting of another fifteen links (passing from cello to clarinet).

56 On 'axial melody', see Leonard B. Meyer, *Explaining Music: Essays and Explorations* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 183–91. Better-known examples of this melodic type, which consists of an 'axis-tone' embellished by neighbour-notes above and below, are the first theme of the finale of Dvořák's 'New World Symphony' and the main theme of the slow movement of Brahms's Fourth Symphony.

57 Malcolm MacDonald, *Brahms* (New York, 1990), p. 367.

58 Quoted in Walter Frisch, *The Early Works of Arnold Schoenberg, 1893–1908* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993), p. 7.

59 Frisch (*Early Works of Schoenberg*, pp. 6–14) offers the most sensitive account of Zemlinsky's 'Brahmsian' phase (though without much consideration of the Clarinet Trio in D Minor). For an assessment of Zemlinsky's handling of

the ‘Brahmsian’ style in Op. 3, see Alfred Clayton, ‘Brahms und Zemlinsky’ in Susanne Antonicek and Otto Biba, eds., *Brahms-Kongress Wien 1983, Kongressbericht* (Tutzing, 1988), pp. 81–94.

60 Hugo Leichtentritt, ‘German Chamber Music’ in *Cobbett’s Cyclopaedic Survey of Chamber Music*, 2nd edn, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1963), vol. I, p. 449.

61 Arthur Abell, *Talks with Great Composers* (New York, 1955), pp. 148–9. Although Abell might well have taken some liberty with Bruch’s remarks, there is no reason to doubt the general accuracy of his representation of the composer’s ideas. (Abell’s recollections of Brahms himself have always been treated with reserve by Brahms scholars, since he provides information of a kind Brahms hardly ever vouchsafed even to his intimate circle, and because of the declared ‘psychic’ orientation of the writer.)

#### 6 Formal perspectives on the symphonies

1 For an introduction to the music of Brahms, consult Michael Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1994) and Malcolm MacDonald, *Brahms* (London, 1990). A concise survey of critical and analytical issues raised by the symphonies may be found in Siegfried Kross, ‘Brahms the Symphonist’ in Robert Pascall, ed., *Brahms: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 125–45.

2 See the discussion of Brahms’s chromaticism in David Brodbeck, ‘Brahms, the Third Symphony, and the New German School’ in Walter Frisch, ed., *Brahms and His World* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 65–80. Broader in scope and more technical is Christopher Wintle, ‘The “Sceptred Pall”: Brahms’s Progressive Harmony’ in Michael Musgrave, ed., *Brahms 2: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 197–222.

3 Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century*, trans. Mary Whittall (Berkeley, 1980), p. 47.

4 The phrase is Giorgio Pestelli’s. See his *The Age of Mozart and Beethoven* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 136.

5 Leon Botstein, ‘Time and Memory: Concert Life, Science, and Music in Brahms’s Vienna’, in Frisch, ed., *Brahms and His World*, p. 19.

6 See Virginia L. Hancock, *Brahms’s Choral Music and His Library of Early Music* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1983).

7 See Walter Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation* (Berkeley, 1984).

8 See his *Late Idyll: The Second Symphony of Johannes Brahms*, trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), p. 118. Originally published 1990.

9 For a detailed analysis of harmony and voice-leading in this movement, see Carl Schachter, ‘The First Movement of Brahms’s Second Symphony: The First Theme and its Consequences’, *Music Analysis* 2/1 (1983), pp. 55–68.

10 For a more detailed analysis of this movement, including the claim that thematic variation is used to generate almost all materials from a single source, see David Osmond-Smith, ‘The Retreat from Dynamism: A Study of Brahms’s Fourth Symphony’ in Pascall, ed., *Brahms: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies*, pp. 147–165.

#### 7 ‘Veiled symphonies’? The concertos

1 Schumann’s essay ‘Neue Bahnen’ (‘New paths’) was published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 18 on 28 October 1853.

2 As is well known, the autograph of the C major Sonata is inscribed ‘Vierte Sonate’. If the previously completed F# minor Sonata is the ‘Dritte Sonate’, there must have been at least two other discarded examples of the form. The G minor sonata Brahms is said to have played to Louise Japha at the age of eleven may not have belonged to this series.

3 Adolf Schubring, ‘Schumanniana Nr. 8: die Schumann’sche Schule IV: Johannes Brahms’, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 56/12 (21 March 1862), p. 93. Cited here from the translation by Walter Frisch in Walter Frisch, ed., *Brahms and his World* (Princeton, 1990), p. 105.

4 Brahms’s plans for the finale remain unknown, though Christopher Reynolds has suggested (‘A Choral Symphony by Brahms?’ *19th-Century Music* 9/1 (1985), pp. 3–25) that he may have contemplated a choral component à la Beethoven’s Ninth. For a recent and comprehensive re-examination of the source literature of the Piano Concerto’s genesis see George S. Bozarth, ‘Brahms First Piano Concerto Op. 15: Genesis and Meaning’ in R. Emans and M. Wendt, eds., *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Konzerts* (Bonn, 1990), pp. 211–47.

5 *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, ed. Berthold Litzmann, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1927; rpt Hildesheim and Wiesbaden, 1989), vol. I, p. 76.

6 Michael Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1994), p. 122. Although Brahms’s opening seems clearly to evoke that great progenitor, the relationship may not be one of

direct inspiration. Brahms did not, in fact, hear Beethoven's symphony in performance until the end of March 1854, by which time the first movement of his two-piano sonata would appear to have been substantially drafted.

7 'In D minor in 6/4 – slow' is Brahms's description in his letter to Schumann of 30 January 1855: *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe*, vol. I, p. 69.

8 *Letters to and from Joseph Joachim*, selected and translated by Nora Bickley (London, 1914), p. 160.

9 In a recent study – 'Contradictory Criteria in a Work of Brahms' in David Brodbeck, ed., *Brahms Studies*, vol. I (Lincoln, Nebr., 1994), pp. 81–110 – Joseph Dubiel suggests that this passage can be heard as 'an extraneous issue imposed upon a situation still awaiting completion' (p. 88).

10 D. F. Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, vol. III: *Concertos* (London, 1936), p. 108.

11 Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, vol. I: *Symphonies* (London, 1935), p. 216.

12 Walter Frisch usefully reprints Tovey's important essay on this work in Frisch, ed., *Brahms and His World*, pp. 151–9. The concerto was drafted by 1858, though revision occupied Joachim until early 1860. It was published in 1861. It has been most recently recorded by Elmar Oliveira, violin, with the London Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Leon Botstein, CD IMP Masters MCD 27 DDD.

13 Tovey's essay errs, I suspect, in placing Joachim's concerto 'in direct line of descent' between Beethoven and Brahms. A detailed chronology of the Brahms and Joachim concertos would be fascinating and is sadly lacking; but it appears that they evolved almost concurrently, and that in its original sonata/symphony form, Brahms's was the earlier work.

14 Bozarth, 'Brahms's First Piano Concerto', p. 225 n. 55.

15 Siegfried Kross, 'Brahms and E. T. A. Hoffmann', *19th-Century Music* 5 (1981–82), pp. 193–200. Bozarth, pp. 230–8, offers a subtle reading of the parallels between Kreisler's situation in Hoffmann's novel and Brahms's in the mid-1850s.

16 *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe*, vol. I, p. 198.

17 Bozarth, 'Brahms First Piano Concerto', pp. 226–9 notes the soloist's allusion, earlier in the movement, to Brahms's and Clara's joint cadenza to Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 20, K.466 – another potent D minor concerto that certainly occupies some place in the ancestry of Brahms's Op. 15.

18 The multicoloured facsimile of Brahms's

autograph, published in 1979 by the Library of Congress, bears eloquent testimony to this process (*Johannes Brahms: Concerto for Violin, Op. 77: A Facsimile of the Holograph Score with an Introduction by Yehudi Menuhin and a Foreword by Jon Newsom* (Washington, 1979)). It should be noted, however, that the neat red-ink revisions of the solo part, which were thought likely to be in Joachim's hand when the facsimile was published, have since been identified as the work of Simrock's editor Robert Keller, entrusted in June 1879 with putting the various sources for the work in order. See *The Brahms–Keller Correspondence*, ed. George S. Bozarth in collaboration with Wiltrud Martin (Lincoln, Nebr., 1996), p. 22 and n. 3. They thus represent Brahms's final thoughts on the relevant passages, not necessarily the acceptance of Joachim's suggestions.

19 Lalo's five-movement *Symphonie espagnole* for violin and orchestra (1875) is hardly likely to have figured in Brahms's thoughts. It may be more significant that as recently as 8 November 1874 he had conducted Berlioz's *Harold en Italie*, with its concertante viola, at a concert of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.

20 Letter of 'June', 1878, *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe*, vol. II, p. 145.

21 Michael Musgrave has drawn attention to the kinship of the main Adagio melody and the 'Sapphische Ode' from Brahms's Op. 94 *Lieder* (composed, apparently, some years later).

22 The veteran Ruggiero Ricci recorded Brahms's concerto with the Joachim cadenza plus fifteen others – by Busoni, Tovey, Ysaÿe, Kreisler, Singer, Hermann, Auer, Ondříček, Kneisel, Marteau, Kubelik, Busch, Heifetz, Milstein and himself. Curiously he omits the fine cadenza by Enescu, which retains some currency. The most recent cadenza known to me is by Joshua Bell, included on his 1996 Decca recording – testimony to a still-living tradition.

23 It is certainly possible to imagine passages on the violin, and a 'conjectural restoration' might be a fascinating exercise. But the scherzo's ideas seem naturally to require the greater power of the piano, and there is every reason to think that the movement was much altered for its eventual incarnation.

24 As noted by Constantin Floros in his liner notes to the recording of the B♭ Piano Concerto with Maurizio Pollini and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Claudio Abbado, DG 419 471–2 (1977).

25 The F♯ tonality may also be considered a reference to Clara, by a tradition within Brahms's music that goes back to the *Schumann*

*Variations* Op. 9 dedicated to her, and the finale of the 1854 version of the B major Piano Trio, with its appeal to her couched in the F# major second theme.

26 These include the minor-third span of their respective head-motifs, and the hint of extension in each into Schumann's 'Clara-motif'.

27 Once again, Brahms did not necessarily accept all his suggestions. Joachim's florid emendation for bars 328ff. of the finale was published by Karl Geiringer in *Brahms: His Life and Work*, 2nd edn, trans. H. B. Weiner and Bernard Miall (London, 1948), p. 264.

28 One might spare a thought, in the circumstances, for Viotti's two Symphonies concertantes for two violins and orchestra, but I am unable to determine if, or how well, Brahms know these works. The interest of Joachim and Brahms in the Viotti A minor Concerto and its relationship to Brahms's Violin and Double Concertos are further discussed by Simon McVeigh in 'Brahms's Favourite Concerto: Viotti's Concerto No. 22', *The Strad* 105 (April 1994), pp. 343–7.

## 8 The scope and significance of the choral music

1 Robert Schumann, 'Neue Bahnen', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 18 (28 March 1853), p. 1.

2 Hans Michael Beuerle, *Johannes Brahms: Untersuchungen zu den A-cappella-Kompositionen: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Chormusik* (Hamburg, 1987); Virginia Hancock, *Brahms's Choral Compositions and His Library of Early Music* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1983); Siegfried Kross, *Die Chorwerke von Johannes Brahms* (Berlin, 1958).

3 On the changing status of instrumental and vocal music around 1850, see Leon Botstein, 'Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience', *19th-Century Music* 16 (1992), pp. 129–45.

4 Brahms's study of early music during these years is best reflected in the so-called 'counterpoint correspondence', which is considered comprehensively by David Brodbeck in 'The Brahms–Joachim Counterpoint Exchange; or, Robert, Clara, and "the Best Harmony between Jos. and. Joh."' in David Brodbeck, ed., *Brahms Studies*, vol. I (Lincoln, Nebr., 1994), pp. 30–80.

5 See Beuerle, *Johannes Brahms: Untersuchungen zu den A-cappella-Kompositionen*, especially chapter 3, 'Brahms' Verhältnis zum Chor und zur Chormusik', pp. 105, 107, 114–16.

6 For a list of Brahms's performances of early

music see Hancock, *Brahms's Choral Compositions*, pp. 209–11.

7 A distinction must be drawn between actual settings of folk-songs, as contained in the fourteen *Deutsche Volkslieder* WoO 34 that Brahms published in 1864 and dedicated to the Vienna Singakademie (for whom they were presumably composed), and folk-like choral settings such as the twelve *Lieder und Romanzen* for women's chorus Op. 44 (pub. 1866) which are primarily based on romantic poetry. None of the melodies in Op. 44 are based on folk-songs, and the only actual folk-lyrics in the set are German translations from Italian and Slovak (Nos. 3 and 4 respectively).

8 Sophie Drinker suggested that an early version of Op. 41 No. 1 ('Ich schwing mein Horn ins Jammertal') for men's chorus may have existed as early as 1847, when the fourteen-year-old Brahms conducted a men's chorus at Winsen, a country town near Hamburg (Sophie Drinker, *Brahms and his Women's Choruses* (Merion, Pa.), 1952), p. 95. On Brahms's stay in Winsen and his musical activities there (including the composition of two other short choral works) see Florence May, *The Life of Johannes Brahms*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1948; rpt 1977), vol. I, pp. 72–81.

9 See Brodbeck, 'The Brahms–Joachim Counterpoint Exchange'.

10 Brahms had already mentioned the Benedictus in a letter to Clara Schumann on 26 February 1856 (*Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, ed. Berthold Litzmann, 2 vols., (Leipzig, 1927; rpt Hildesheim and Wiesbaden, 1989), vol. I, p. 178). The eighteen-bar canon must have been a favourite of the composer, for in the ensuing months Brahms began to build his canonic mass around that item, and later he reset it for SSAA for performance by his Hamburg women's chorus. Finally, he re-used the canon in the form in which it is best known today, reset to two separate German biblical texts in the motet 'Warum ist das Licht gegeben' Op. 74 No. 1.

11 Brahms's inexperience in practical performance matters is related in the comments of his friend the Göttingen choral director Julius Otto Grimm, to whom Brahms sent a copy of his incomplete mass in 1857. Grimm labelled the mass virtually impossible to perform because of the alto tessitura, which was 'barbarously low', adding: 'I cannot imagine any chorus in Europe singing it the way you have in mind' (letter of 4 May 1857, as cited in Johannes Brahms, *Messe*, ed. Otto Biba (Vienna, 1984), p. 3).

12 Brahms constructed similar canons by fourths in two other choral works of this

period: verse 6 of ‘Der englische Gruß’ Op. 22 No. 1 (see below) and ‘Adoramus Te’ Op. 37 No. 2.

13 The Benedictus appears in the partbooks of the Völkcker sisters; see Margit L. McCorkle, *Johannes Brahms: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Munich, 1984), pp. 534–5.

14 Kross, *Die Chorwerke von Johannes Brahms*, p. 116.

15 For a broad overview of Brahms’s folk-song settings see McCorkle, *Brahms Werkverzeichnis*, pp. 552ff. Therein, fifty-two folk-song arrangements among the repertoire of the Hamburger Frauenchor (see WoO 36–38) and the *Deutsche Volkslieder* WoO 34 can be securely listed among the folk-song settings that Brahms made for choruses he was directing. The twelve folk-song settings for mixed choir WoO 35 were also almost certainly intended for Brahms’s Detmold and Vienna choirs.

16 The *locus classicus* for this characterisation of Renaissance music is E. T. A. Hoffmann’s essay ‘Alte und neue Kirchenmusik’, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 16 (1814), pp. 577–84, 593–603, 611–19. For an English translation see David Charlton, ed., *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 351–76.

17 The socio-political ramifications of choral music in nineteenth-century Germany are discussed in: George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (Ithaca, NY, 1975).

18 The first appearance of Op. 22 Nos. 1–2 and 4–7 stems from rehearsals by the Frauenchor between June and September of 1859. However, when Brahms offered the songs to the publisher Rieter Biedermann in 1861, he claimed to have begun them in 1858. See McCorkle, *Brahms Werkverzeichnis*, p. 77.

19 See Hancock, *Brahms’s Choral Compositions*, pp. 114–15.

20 Brahms made further settings that include the original folk melodies (as transmitted in *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihrer Original-Weisen*, Part I, ed. A. Kretzschmer (Berlin, 1840); Part II, collected [on the basis of Kretzschmer’s work] by A. W. Zuccalmaglio (Berlin, 1840)) for three of the texts in Op. 22. A piano–vocal setting of ‘Der englische Gruß’ appears as No. 8 from WoO 32, thirty-two folk-song settings that Brahms sent in manuscript to Clara Schumann in 1858 and which were published posthumously in 1926. ‘Maria ging aus Wandern’ appears as No. 22 of that set and, with a slightly more developed accompaniment, as No. 14 in the *Deutsche Volkslieder* WoO 33, which Brahms published as

seven books of seven songs in 1894. In 1863–64 Brahms composed an alternative SATB setting of ‘Es wollt’ gut Jäger jagen’ which was published in 1864 as the last in the set of fourteen *Deutsche Volkslieder für gemischten Chor* (WoO 34). See McCorkle, *Brahms Werkverzeichnis*, pp. 583–601.

21 Such chorale-like arch shapes can be found in other of Brahms’s works as well, most notably No. 1 of the much later *Vier ernste Gesänge*, Op. 121 (1896). For a comparison of these melodies see Michael Musgrave, *Brahms: A German Requiem* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 34.

22 Although Dietrich’s remarks are discussed throughout the Brahms literature, Musgrave’s recent monograph explains their relevance most clearly and evenhandedly (*Brahms: A German Requiem*, p. 6).

23 Musgrave succinctly traces the many forms this ‘Selig’ motive takes in the piece (Brahms: *A German Requiem*, pp. 24–6). The most thorough (and perhaps overreaching) examination of the ‘Selig’ motive is undertaken by Walter Westafer in his dissertation ‘Overall Unity and Contrast in Brahms’s German Requiem’ (University of North Carolina, 1973).

24 Christopher Reynolds, ‘A Choral Symphony by Brahms?’ *19th-Century Music* 9 (1985), pp. 3–25. See also Musgrave, *Brahms: A German Requiem*, pp. 26–34.

25 Brahms, however, was not beyond adding his own voice to the tradition: his musical settings often interpreted his borrowed texts quite freely, as is nowhere more apparent than in the instrumental reprise of the *Schicksalslied*, which suggests a reconciliation of sorts that is not implied by Hölderlin’s text. See John Daverio, ‘The Wechsel der Töne in Brahms’s *Schicksalslied*’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993), pp. 84–113.

26 The personal background for the *Alto Rhapsody*, including Brahms’s comments to Clara about Julie, are recounted in Kross, *Die Chorwerke von Johannes Brahms*, pp. 290–7.

27 Among the later choral works only the *Tafellied* Op. 93b calls for (piano) accompaniment. This brief setting of Eichendorff’s ‘Dank der Damen’, which follows the text in its ‘call and answer’ format between the men’s and women’s voices, was composed for the Krefeld Singverein in recognition of a particularly fine performance of the *Gesang der Parzen* in the summer of 1884. See Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1904–14; rpt of final edn of each vol. (1921, 1921, 1912–13, 1915), Tutzing, 1976), vol. III (2nd edn), p. 516.

28 On the history of the ‘Missa Canonica’ and its recomposition in Op. 74 No. 1, see Robert Pascall, ‘Brahms’s Missa Canonica and Its



Recomposition in His Motet “Warum” Op. 74 No. 1’ in Michael Musgrave, ed., *Brahms 2: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 111–36.

29 Brahms became familiar with the text, a German translation of the Latin hymn ‘Rorate Coeli’, by 1864, but did not mention the piece until 1870 in a letter to Max Bruch. See George Bozarth, ‘Johannes Brahms und die geistlichen Lieder aus David Gregor Corners Groß-Catholischen Gesangbuch von 1631’ in Susanne Antonicek and Otto Biba, eds., *Brahms-Kongreß Wien 1983, Kongreßbericht* (Tutzing, 1988), pp. 67–80, and Hancock, *Brahms’s Choral Compositions*, p. 82.

30 Hancock, *Brahms’s Choral Compositions*, p. 119.

31 As described by Heinrich Christoph Koch in his *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main, 1802; rpt Hildesheim, 1985), p. 1271.

32 Siegfried Kross and Hans Michael Beuerle have ably demonstrated the use of motivic development in Op. 93 in analyses of Nos. 1–3: see Kross, *Die Chorwerke von Johannes Brahms*, pp. 407–14, and Beuerle, *Untersuchungen zu den A-cappella-Kompositionen*, pp. 304–14, 324–30.

33 As recounted by Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol IV, p. 521.

34 Reinhold Brinkmann defines the mature Brahms through these qualities in *Late Idyll: The Second Symphony of Johannes Brahms*, trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

35 Whereas Beuerle and Kross also have made this observation, Hancock has made the most thorough study of the implications of Schütz’s music on Brahms’s late choral style: see *Brahms’s Choral Compositions*, pp. 135ff.

### 9 Words for music: the songs for solo voice and piano

1 Brahms wrote over 200 original songs and upwards of 100 folk-song arrangements for solo voice and piano; his original songs appeared steadily throughout his life, sometimes in a sequence of consecutive opus numbers, as in Opp. 46–9, 94–7 and 104–7.

2 Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1904–14; rpt of final edition of each vol. (1921, 1921, 1912–13, 1915), Tutzing, 1974), vol. I, p. 133. His own settings of Heine came later. Op. 71 No. 1; Op. 85 No. 1; Op. 85 No. 2; Op. 96 No. 1; Op. 96 No. 3; Op. 96 No. 4.

3 ‘Mondnacht’ WoO 21, composed in 1853; published in *Johannes Brahms Sämtliche Werke*, vol. VII, p. 62.

4 George Henschel, *Musings and Memories of a Musician* (London, 1918), p. 113.

5 There are two settings of Goethe: the dramatic ballad *Gesang der Parzen* (‘The Song of the Fates’) Op. 89, and the fragment from ‘Harzreise im Winter’ known as the *Rhapsodie* (Alto Rhapsody) for Alto Voice, Chorus and Orchestra Op. 53; Schiller provides the text for the setting of the dirge titled *Nänie*, Op. 82 and Hölderlin a passage from the poem ‘Hyperion’ set as the *Schicksalslied* (‘Song of Destiny’) Op. 54.

6 Henschel, *Musings and Memories of a Musician*, p. 87.

7 Gustav Jenner, *Johannes Brahms als Mensch, Lehrer und Künstler* (Marburg, 1905), p. 30.

8 Jenner, *Johannes Brahms*, pp. 31, 35.

9 Letter of 10 November 1875 to Rieter Biedermann: *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel XIV: Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Breitkopf & Härtel, Bartholf Senff, J. Rieter Biedermann u. A.* (Berlin, 1920), p. 256.

10 *Clara Schumann – Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, ed. Berthold Litzmann, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1927; rpt Hildesheim and Wiesbaden, 1989), vol. I, p. 294.

11 The poem of ‘Therese’ is from Gottfried Keller, *Neuere Gedichte* (Brunswick, 1851) where it forms part of the cycle *Von Weibern: Alte Lieder: 1846*.

12 The text of ‘Es liebt sich so lieblich im Lenze!’ appears with the title ‘Frühling’ in the section ‘Romanzen 1839–42’ in *Neue Gedichte* (Hamburg, 1844). Brahms has slightly adapted the second verse and made other changes.

13 The poem of ‘Wie Melodien zieht es’ is taken from Klaus Groth’s *Hundert Blätter, Paralipomena zum Quickborn* (Hamburg, 1854) in the section ‘Klänge’.

14 Ludwig Hölty’s poem ‘Die Mainacht’, written in 1774, was first published in the *Musen Almanach* (Göttingen) of 1775. Brahms used J. H. Voss’s 1804 edition, where the poem is somewhat altered. He omitted the second stanza of the poem, in which the poet praises the ‘Flötende Nachtigall’.

15 The poem of ‘Wir wandelten’ Op. 96 No. 2 is a translation from the Hungarian and is taken from Daumer’s *Polydora, ein weltpoetisches Liederbuch* (Frankfurt am Main, 1855). Brahms made only minor changes.

16 ‘Feldeinsamkeit’ is taken from Allmers’s *Dichtungen* (Bremen, 1860), with slight variants. The author disliked Brahms’s setting as being too elaborate for his poem.

17 The poem of ‘Wie bist du meine Königin’ is taken from G. F. Daumer, *Hafis* (Hamburg, 1846), a collection of Persian poems with poetical additions of various nations and countries. Brahms retained it intact with the

small exception of the original ‘Rose Glanz’ in verse 2.

18 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. IV, p. 476.

### 10 Conducting Brahms

1 Symphony No. 1 and St Anthony Variations; EMI CD C 754286 2; Symphony No. 2 and Tragic Overture; EMI CD: 0777 7 54875 2; Symphonies Nos. 3 and 4: EMI CD:7243 5 56118 2; *Ein deutsches Requiem* and *Begräbnisgesang* EMI CD: 0777 7 54658 2.

2 Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser, *Violinschule*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1902–5), trans. A. Moffat (Berlin, 1905).

3 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 96 (quoted from Ludwig Spohr, *Violin-schule*, Vienna 1832).

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*, p. 96a.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 95.

7 Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot, *L'art du violon* (Paris, 1835); ed. and trans. Louise Goldberg as *The Art of the Violin* (Evanston, Ill., 1991), p. 239.

8 Article ‘Bow’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), vol. III, p. 133.

9 Letter of c. 20 May, 1879. *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel VI: Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim*, vol. II, ed. Andreas Moser, 2nd edn (Berlin, 1912), pp. 148–50.

10 Florence May, *The Life of Brahms*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1948), vol. I, p. 19.

11 See the visual scheme given in Robert Pascall, *Playing Brahms: A Study in 19th-century Performance Practice* (Nottingham, 1990), p. 13.

12 Aspects of Henschel’s professional life are recalled in George Henschel, *Musings and Memories of a Musician* (London, 1918).

13 The changes in the markings are detailed in Michael Musgrave, *Brahms: A German Requiem* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 73, 91.

14 *Brahms in der Meininger Tradition: seine Sinfonien und Haydn Variationen in der Bezeichnung von Fritz Simrock*, ed. Walter Blume (Stuttgart, 1933).

15 Henschel, *Musings and Memories of a Musician*, p. 314.

16 Quoted and translated by Pascall from *Brahms in der Meininger Tradition* in Pascall, *Playing Brahms*, p. 16.

### 11 The editor’s Brahms

1 Georg, later Sir George Henschel. See George Henschel, *Personal Recollections of Johannes Brahms* (Boston, 1907), pp. 22–3. Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1904–14; rpt

of final edn of each vol. (1921, 1921, 1912–13, 1915), Tutzing, 1976), vol. III, pp. 247–8.

2 Margit L. McCorkle, *Johannes Brahms: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Munich, 1984), pp. 812–13. On Brahms’s friendship with Kupfer, see Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. IV, pp. 549–51.

3 *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel IX: Johannes Brahms: Briefe an P. J. Simrock und Fritz Simrock*, vol. I, ed. Max Kalbeck (Berlin, 1917), p. 162.

4 *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel X: Johannes Brahms: Briefe an P. J. Simrock und Fritz Simrock*, vol. II, ed. Max Kalbeck (Berlin, 1917), p. 80.

5 This is sometimes wrongly described in the Brahms literature as a postcard; in fact, it is a cropped piece of manuscript paper. It is illustrated in facsimile in *Johannes Brahms, Leben und Werk*, ed. Christiane Jacobsen (Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 117, as frontispiece of the current Eulenburg score of the symphony (No. 425) and in *Johannes Brahms; Symphony No. 1*, ed. Robert Pascall (= Neue Ausgabe sämtlichen Werke), series I, vol. I (Munich, 1996), p. 203.

6 *Deutscher Liederhort: Aus der vorzüglicheren Deutschen Volkslieder nach Wort und Weisen aus der Vorzeit und Gegenwart*, collected and elaborated by Ludwig Erk, newly arranged and presented by F. M. Böhme, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1893–4), vol. II, No. 575b. Brahms had already set the Eichendorff text in 1860 as ‘Der Gärtner’, *Gesänge für Frauenchor* Op. 17 No. 3.

7 *Briefwechsel X*, p. 37.

8 Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. III, p. 232.

9 *Brahms-Institut an der Musikhochschule Lübeck: 32 Stichvorlagen von Werken Johannes Brahms*, Patrimonia 107 (Berlin and Kiel, 1995) pp. 36–8.

10 My translation from the original in the Library of Congress, Washington DC. Brahms’s correspondence with Robert Keller has recently been published: *The Brahms–Keller Correspondence*, ed. George S. Bozarth, in collaboration with Wiltrud Martin (Lincoln, Nebr., 1996); for this letter, see pp. 2–3.

11 Frithjof Haas, *Zwischen Brahms und Wagner: Der Dirigent Hermann Levi* (Zurich and Mainz, 1995), p. 106.

12 *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel VI: Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim*, vol. II, ed. Andreas Moser, 2nd edn (Berlin, 1912), p. 220 (my translation).

### 12 A photograph of Brahms

1 One only regrets that Brahms cut such a small *tranche* from the middle of this superb

poem, which ends with a magnificent peroration evoking the subject matter of the paintings of Caspar David Friedrich; and which begins with an arresting image:

Dem Geier gleich  
Der auf schweren Morgenwolken  
Mit sanftem Fittich ruhend  
Nach Beute schaut,  
Schwebe mein Lied.

How could he have resisted the vulture hovering . . . ?

Brahms's own ending – the closing chorale – is, alas, the weakest section of the piece, attempting consolation and reconciliation but only achieving a certain sanctimoniousness.

2 Stated by Webern's pupil, Arnold Elston. See Hans Moldenhauer, *Anton Webern, A Chronicle of His Life and Work* (London, 1978), p. 481.

3 Interest has, however, been increasing latterly, and the centennial year bought some welcome performances. Claudio Abbado has recorded *Nänie*, the *Alto Rhapsody* and *Gesang der Parzen* with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and the Berlin Radio Chorus, CD DG 435342-2 DDD.

4 The first Viennese performance of the Clarinet Quintet took place in the music room of the Palais Wittgenstein – much frequented by Brahms, who had his special chair near the door so he could slip in and out. The room had sculptures by Max Klinger but also panels by Gustav Klimt. Did Brahms avert his eyes? We shall never know. In any case, the room was destroyed during the Second World War. (Captions to illustrations between pp. 420 and 421 in Styra Avins, *Johannes Brahms: Life and Letters* (Oxford, 1997).

5 The visual tastes of the great composers are

another matter entirely, perhaps better left to an article on Schoenberg's paintings (and Ingres's violin playing).

6 Peter Gay, 'Aimez-Vous Brahms? On Polarities in Modernism', in *Freud, Jews and Other Germans: Masters and Victims in Modernist Culture* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 231–56.

7 Michael Musgrave, 'The Cultural World of Brahms' in Robert Pascall, ed., *Brahms: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 21–2.

8 If we are to pursue the comparison: Wagner said that composition was the art of transition. Yet some of Brahms's transitions are better – superior in subtlety and expedition – than the sometimes bumpy scene-shifting to which we are occasionally subjected in Wagner. Conversely, Brahms's subtlety would have gone for nothing in the theatre.

9 Virginia Hancock, articles in *Brahms, Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies*, pp. 27–40 and Michael Musgrave, ed., *Brahms 2: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 95–110.

10 Brahms's comment to Hermann Levi, quoted in Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1904–14; rpt 1976), vol. I, p. 165.

11 Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*, exp. edn (New York, 1997), p. 460.

12 See 'Alexander von Zemlinsky and Karl Weigl: Brahms and the Newer Generation: Personal Reminiscences', trans. Walter Frisch in Walter Frisch, ed., *Brahms and His World* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 205–6.

13 See also Chapter 7, pp. 168–9 and note 28.