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"***Subjectivity and interiority in the instrumental music of Franz Schubert. 1828-1928***"

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Contents

List of abbreviations

AGA	*Franz Schubert's Werke. Kritisch durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe*, Leipzig, 1884-1897
AMZ	Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung Leipzig
Dok.	Otto Erich Deutsch (ed.): *Schubert. Die Dokumente Seines Lebens* (1996),
Dok. I	Till Gerrit Waidelich (ed.): *Franz Schubert. Dokumente 1817-1830*. Band I (1993)
Dok. II	Ernst Hilmar (ed.): *Franz Schubert. Dokumente 1801-1830*. Band I. Addenda (2003)
Erinn.	Otto Erich Deutsch (ed.): *Schubert. Die Erinnerungen seiner Freunde* (1983)
Kongreß 1928	Alfred Orel/ Robert Haas (ed.) Internationaler Kongreß für Schubert Forschung in Wien, 1928
NZfM	Neue Zeitschrift für Musik
SDB	Otto Erich Deutsch (ed.): *Schubert: A Documentary Biography* (1946)
SMF	Otto Erich Deutsch (ed.): *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends* (1958)
WZ	Wiener Zeitung

Introduction

The principal aim of this master's thesis is to shed light on the interpretation of Franz Schubert's subjectivity in the first century of the composer's reception (1828-1928). It seeks, more precisely, to investigate the main tendencies, notions and topoi which, within the German speaking territories, informed the first century of music critical and musicological reception of the manifestations of subjectivity and interiority in the instrumental music of the Viennese composer. My enquiry will hence clarify how and to what extent a specifically Schubertian form of subjectivity has been hypothesized and defined, and moreover why his instrumental compositions have increasingly been perceived as epitomizing a subjectivity and interiority characterized primarily by an irrational, sentimental and melancholic aura.

As generally known, the philosophical, music-aesthetical, political trends and the contexts of music-making and music-consumption that characterised the turn of the 19th century (1780-1830 ca.) seem to inevitably place subjectivity and interiority at the core of any reflection about Schubert's music. In order to elucidate some of the current understandings of the central ideals and concepts that shaped these trends, and in particular those notions that play a fundamental role in my investigation, I will in the first chapter provide a brief, introductory account of influential interpretations of the concepts of *subjectivity*, musical subjectivity, *interiority* and *depth* which have been outlined in more or less recent philosophical, music-philosophical, music-aesthetical, critical theory and music-historiographic research. Needless to say, the aim of such an introductory outline cannot be the exhaustive illustration of the historical and conceptual complexity of these terms. In other words, this introductory chapter will identify and define some of the central concepts which shaped the epistemological and aesthetical horizon within which Schubert's existence and artistic creativity unfolded – a horizon which, following the terminology employed by Tobias Janz, I shall consider primarily defined by an "idealistic" epistemological paradigm and an "expressivist" aesthetical paradigm[1]. The preliminary analysis of the concepts of subjectivity and interiority should likewise contribute to unveil a fundamental thesis: postulating subjectivity as a central category in the discourse concerning Schubert implies, in Hegelian terms, delineating a discourse about *modernity*, a modernity in which subjectivity is intrinsically understood as the realm of *freedom*.

[1] Cfr. Tobias Janz, "Musikalische Subjektivität und musikalische Normativität" in Feige / zur Nieden (Ed.): *Musik und Subjektivität. Beiträge aus Musikwissenschaft, Musikphilosophie und kompositorischer Praxis*. (2022), p. 23.

Consequently, throughout this entire investigation, the concepts of subjectivity and interiority will not be approached from an ontological or epistemological perspective, but primarily as profoundly aesthetical and political categories. Hence it shall be maintained that subjectivity, depth and interiority, already during their redefinitions within the theology of Lutheran and Pietistic circles, in their subsequent idealistic, romantic or Viennese-Biedermeier manifestations, as well as in period around the two Schubert-centennials (1897 and 1928), were deeply entangled in aesthetical, political and culture political discourses and agendas. This first chapter will finally comprise a brief methodological reflection regarding some of the challenges of reception analysis in relation to the specific genealogy attempted in this enquiry.

In order to outline a genealogy of the idea of a specifically Schubertian subjectivity it will be necessary to reconsider well known biographical documents and music-historical categories alike. In the second chapter of this enquiry, I will therefore re-examine several ego-documents, especially those collected by Otto Erich Deutsch, Ernst Hilmar and Till Gerrit Waidelich, and on this basis, emphasise that the definition of Schubert's subjectivity in terms of irrationality, intuitiveness, heteronomy, melancholy and aptitude for "small" music genres was mainly a posthumous *construction* carried out by his friends, acquaintances and early biographers.[2]

Moreover, it will prove useful to reflect on the implications of the asynchronism between the early depictions of Schubert's artistic persona and the reception of his works, since the latter developed mostly decades after his death within a cultural and aesthetical horizon often quite dissimilar to that of the composer. In this connection my enquiry will attempt to demonstrate that some of the fundamental challenges, ambiguities and aporias affecting the interpretation of subjectivity in Schubert's music are determined by the composer's situatedness in a phase, which from a music-historical as well as music-aesthetical perspective should be defined as *transitional*. In other words, some of the hermeneutical shortcomings which inhibit a *positive*[3] definition of the nature of this subjectivity will be explained by referring to Schubert's music-historical and music-aesthetical embeddedness between the towering paradigm of Beethovenian subjectivity and, on the other hand, the rather unprecedented tendency –

[2] Cf. Otto Erich Deutsch (ed.): *Schubert. Die Dokumente Seines Lebens* (1996) and *Schubert. Die Erinnerungen seiner Freunde* (1983), Till Gerrit Waidelich (ed.): *Franz Schubert. Dokumente 1817-1830*. Band I (1993), and finally Ernst Hilmar (ed.): *Franz Schubert. Dokumente 1801-1830*. Band I. Addenda (2003).

[3] In his influential *Beethoven Hero* (1995) Scott Burnham addressed the apparent ineluctability of a *negative* definition as follows: "From Theodor Adorno to Carl Dahlhaus and Susan McClary, Schubert's music is consistently characterized as non-Beethovenian rather than as Schubertian. We can hardly begin to talk about Schubert in any other terms: Schubert is non-processual rather than processual; reminiscent rather than goal-oriented; the sense of self projected by his music is permeable rather than autonomous, or feminine rather masculine, or "gay" rather than "straight". (Burnham, 1995:155)

expounded for ex. in the analysis elaborated by Mark Evan Bonds in *The Beethoven Syndrome* (2020) – towards formulation and popularisation of explicit poetics and self-confessional texts by such composers as Hector Berlioz, Robert Schumann, Franz Liszt and Richard Wagner.

Accordingly, in the third chapter, a closer look at Schumann's music critical writings, aided primarily by Marie Luise Maintz's *Franz Schubert in der Rezeption Robert Schumanns* (1995), will reveal the impact of his reception on the interpretation of Schubert's artistic persona and instrumental music, and especially on the construction of a Schubertian subjectivity defined in a more or less dichotomous relation to Beethoven. Schumann's reception, I will argue, introduced not only long-lasting gendered topoi, but more importantly, inaugurated an influential hermeneutical tradition which, especially in German music criticism (e.g. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and Franz Brendel), celebrated the composer's subjectivity and interiority as manifestations of a "romantic", "poetic" "Genius", essential to the German music tradition, yet depicted them at the same time as lacking (Beethovenian) profundity and reflectiveness.

Round the half of the 19th century the biographical enterprises of, above all, Ferdinand Luib and Heinrich Kreissle v. Hellborn revived epistolary and public debates (in form of memoirs and newspapers articles) amongst Schubert's friend and acquaintances, which in most cases paved the way for more or less consistent revisions of previous depictions, though in some cases, such as Leopold v. Sonnleithner's assessment, they remained unchanged – this in spite of Schumann's influential writings, and the growing (even international) recognition of the composer's instrumental and "large" forms compositions. I will argue that most of these revisions and confirmations of older assessments, formulated in the 1850s and 1860s, conveyed a slightly *démodé* portrayal of Schubert as a "natural", divinely inspired and clairvoyant composer, in a period where musical and music-aesthetical norms were undergoing several transformations – such as those inspired, for example, by the writings of Adolph Bernhard Marx – towards an idealistic celebration of a rational, organic sense of economy in the motivic-thematic work and goal-oriented development of musical *ideas*. At the same time, I shall indicate that these revisions and Kreissle's biography did not remain unaffected by the coeval growing popularity of phrenology and physiognomy, which, together with the subtle influence of moralistic stances to Schubert's allegedly indecorous life style, resulted in various pathologizing depictions of his subjectivity: the latter was not only allegedly irrational, "unmanly" and unheroic, since by then, to Schumann's benevolent evocation of "femininity" and "childishness", was superimposed the suspicion of sickliness and even depravity.

The last trend which will be examined in this third chapter, concerns the possibly paradoxical simultaneity of the coinage and success of the "Liederfürst"-cliché in the 1850s and 1860s (the most enduring and influential of all Schubertian caricatures) with the growing rediscovery, recognition and public performance of the composer's instrumental repertoire. If it is true, as we shall observe, that the imago of "Liederfürst" as composer of songs and "small" music genres, was detrimental to the reception of Schubert's instrumental music, then it is equally true that these two parallel developments informed each other and should not be grasped in abstract separateness. Hence, there will be no definitive answer to the question whether the 1860s represented a first "culminating point" in the Schubert reception – an impression apparently confirmed by Eduard Hanslick's coeval enthusiastic music criticism –, or, on the contrary, a phase in which Schubertian subjectivity was finally overwhelmed by caricatural depictions of cosy and intimate music-making and Biedermeier sentimentalism.[4] In order to avoid, in this connection, both an excessively *pessimistic* assessment of the development in the Schubert reception and scholarship, as well as the slightly naïve, *optimistic* longing for a teleological *progress*, paradigmatically displayed in Walther Dürr's retrospective account "*„Der Liederfürst" – Kritik alter und neuer Schubert-Klischees*" (1997), my enquiry will *negatively* hold onto the fundamental contradictoriness of this crucial phase of the Schubert reception, abstaining from the temptation of any positive hermeneutical *resolution*.

In the fourth chapter the genealogy of the Schubertian subjectivity and interiority will be broadened in order to involve the examination of an only apparently parallel reception-thread. The analysis of the advance of patriotic, national and nationalist discourses within 19th century Schubert reception will provide evidence to support the thesis that, generally speaking, subjectivity and interiority, far from being inherently intime, "apolitical" and private categories, are essentially shaped through public, deeply political and culture-political agendas and ideologies, and, more specifically, that the comprehension of this process is fundamental for a better comprehension of several connotations of the Schubertian subjectivity. Opening therefore such examination with Franz Brendel's assessments of Schubert, implies pursuing, not only the development of the music critical reception by Schumann and the *NZfM*, but also,

[4] Already in 1974 had Dahlhaus questioned the fundaments for the association of Schubert with a "musical" Biedermeier in "Romantik und Biedermeier. Zur musikgeschichtlichen Charakteristik der Restaurationszeit." in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 31. Jahrg., H. 1. (1974), pp. 22-41. In this investigation I will approach this correlation critically inspired not least by Ernst Hilmar's more recent and explicit remarks: "Biedermeier existiert nicht „*als Stilepoche in der Musik*" and finally "Schubert war ein »Zeitgenosse des Biedermeier«, gilt aber ebensowenig wie Beethoven als Protagonist des musikalischen Biedermeier." (Hilmar, 2002:17-22).

and most importantly, how his interpretation of the examined categories was driven by an idealistic and teleological understanding of the German people's quest for a spiritual, cultural and musical *Bildung*, and consequently that his normative take on Schubert's music, subjectivity, interiority and depth (or lack thereof) was influenced by the role the composer could assume in this historical *mission*.

In this connection we will have the opportunity to observe the impact of well know topoi, such as the dualism of "Southern" and "Northern" musical ethos[5], and how the latter was differently conceived and interpreted by Austrian and German protagonists of the Schubert reception. Whereas Schubert's close friend Franz v. Schober, for instance, celebrated the paradigmatical balance of this dualism within Schubert's music and character, or in other words the equilibrium between warm "Southern" melodic extroversion and "Northern" poetic introversion and depth, others, such as Franz Brendel and the influential music critic Ludwig Speidel, found in the Schubertian embeddedness in the Viennese musical tradition also the reasons for the supposed lack of "universality", "manly" rigour, introspection and profundity of his musical language and subjectivity. This analysis will likewise highlight that traits such as melancholy, conviviality and folksiness (*Volkstümlichkeit*), difficult to identify in music analysis and define in rigorous academical reasonings, thrived in the increasingly public popularisation of the *Liederfürst*. Moreover, in order to avoid an excessively *abstract* analysis of the development of these trends within the Schubert reception, they will be *concretely* interpreted in light of the transforming geopolitical, political and cultural relationship between the Habsburg territories and the nascent German Empire. Although we shall encounter reasonable music-historiographical objections to an excessively historicist and "over-politicised" approach to the transformations in the discourses concerning nation and German identity, we will at the same time examine several sources supporting the thesis that the increasing influence of political events (such as the Prussian victory at battle of Königgrätz in 1866, the exclusion of the Habsburg territories from the German Confederation and the birth of the German Empire in 1871), the development of particularistic and Pan-Germanic ideologies intersected very tangibly with the Schubert reception and with the definition of his ethos, identity, subjectivity and interiority.

[5] As Carolin Krahn has recently elucidated in her *Topographie der Imaginationen. Johann Friedrich Rochlitz' musikalisches Italien um 1800* (2021), the dualism "Northern"/"Southern" (or German/Italian) represents a polarisation of topoi that had originated already in 18th century philosophical and musical treatises and writings.

In the last section of the fourth chapter, this thesis will receive further corroboration through the analysis of the manifold actors, newspapers and political factions involved in the 1897 Schubert-centennial. The conspicuous, almost complete absence in the Viennese public debate and Schubert reception of the representants of the newly defined and institutionalised musicological discipline, left unchallenged the dominance and claims of highly politicized newspapers and music critics and the legitimate desire of the new ruling party (the Christian Social Party of Karl Lueger) to capitalise on the celebrations of *the most Viennese of all composers*. In a centennial largely characterised by unchecked political exploitation and journalistic banalisations the *Liederfürst* Schubert turned into the embodiment of a sentimental nostalgia for the bygone days of Biedermeier "Old-Vienna" (Alt-Wien). Overshadowing the increased importance of the composer's instrumental repertoire in gilded concert halls, the reception of this phase reflects primarily the unprecedent size, magnitude and function played by the urban masses, participating to some extent as performing members in often rearranged part-songs transformed into monumental choral works, but primarily as onlookers and passive recipients of culture-political agendas.

The fifth chapter will examine some trends of interwar Schubert reception, but primarily focus on the interpretation of Schubert's subjectivity and interiority in a period shaped by the radical transformations and traumas caused by WWI and the search for new cultural and political identities (e.g. the small Austrian Republic or *Großdeutschland*). In this connection we shall observe that a sentimental, melancholic, retrospective and introspective interiority proved obsolete for factions appealing, through radio-broadcasted mass events, to the *deutsche Liederfürst* as the chanting herald of a brighter future and stronger *Volksgemeinschaft.* The first section will focus on the public debates and celebrations of the second Schubert-centennial (1928) and observe the different forms of political reshaping and assimilations of Schubert's subjectivity and the commercial exploitations and trivialisations promoted by the nascent "culture industry". In the second section we shall examine the academical contributions to the Schubert-centennial, especially Robert Lach's festive speech *Das Ethos in der Musik Schuberts* and the involvement of the department of musicology of the University of Vienna in the organisation of the *Internationaler Kongreß für Schubert Forschung* (25.-29. November, 1928). In this connection we shall observe that in the exacerbated politicisation of the interwar period also musicological interpretations, not least through the rising influence of ethnomusicology, revived time-honoured clichés and definitions of Schubert's music and subjectivity in terms of Viennese identity, local rootedness and folksiness.

1) Subjectivity, interiority, reception. A concise terminological and methodological outline

If linking subjectivity, interiority and instrumental music to the investigation of the reception of an Austrian composer of the 19th century can nowadays neither strike as particularly original nor surprising, then such approach has, on the other hand, the advantage of potentially benefitting from the insights developed in numerous publications and a long, articulated and rich debate exponentially grown in the second half of the 20th century. Many of these inquiries have thoroughly expounded and discussed the impact of the poetics and music-aesthetics of the 17th and 18th century on those of the 19th century, and, not least, the increasing coeval perception and conception of a symbiotic relation between subjectivity, interiority and instrumental music. Innumerable philosophical, music-philosophical and music-historical enquiries have likewise concurred in identifying the last decades of the 18th century, and particularly the paradigm-change catalysed by the so called Kantian "Copernican Turn", as turning points not only in the history of Western culture, but also, more specifically, in the philosophical and artistic treatment of subjectivity, the self or "I".[6] A recent exemplification of this trend within musicological scholarship is represented by Tobias Janz's analysis of the interrelation between this idealistic epistemological paradigm and the novel and increasing significance of "musical subjectivity" in late-18th century:

> …musikalische Subjektivität ist Teil der Musikgeschichte. Historisch verbindet man eine frühe markante Erscheinungsform im mitteleuropäischen Raum konventionell mit der »expressivistischen Wende« um 1770, dem Wechsel vom barocken Affekt zum subjektiven Ausdruck, den man fortan auf Normen wie Wahrhaftigkeit und Authentizität verpflichtete. (Janz, 2022: 23)

The gradual decline – in some musical genres and traditions more slow than in others – of the more "objective" doctrine of affects, poetics of rhetoric and mimesis, and the increasing importance assumed by "subjective" poetics[7] as a result of the idealist and "expressivist turn" involved an unprecedented prominence of the subjectivity, sentiments, ethos, "truthfulness", "authenticity" and "originality" conveyed by the composer's music and artistic persona.[8]

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[6] Bernhard Greiner, for instance, formulates the implications of this epistemological transformation as follows: "With his "Copernican turn" in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant fundamentally established the prevalence of interiority, understanding it in a gnoseological way as the place of cognition and the consciousness that turns toward itself."; Cf. Rüdiger Campe und Julia Weber's (ed.) *Rethinking Emotion: Interiority and Exteriority in Premodern, Modern, and Contemporary Thought* (2014), p. 140.

[7] In similar terms Christiane Wiesenfeldt emphasises a transition from a "Regelpoetik" to an "Individualpoetik". Cf. *Die Anfänge der Romantik in der Musik* (2022), p. 68.

[8] In his inspiring philosophical genealogy of the *Western self*, Charles Taylor has stressed this unprecedented significance of "originality as a vocation" as follows: "Expressive individuation has become one of the cornerstones of modern culture. So much so that we barely notice it, and we find it hard to accept that it is such a recent idea in human history and would have been incomprehensible in earlier times." (Taylor, 1989: 376).

The late-18th and early-19th century custom of declaiming poetry in literary salons, especially of *Sturm und Drang* and early-romantic poetry, had undoubtedly contributed to the construction of a "lyrical-I" as the intelligible, recognisable and accepted "public" *artistic* manifestation and unrestrained *confession* of potentially "private", "individual", "intimate" feelings and experiences – i.e. not only suitable, but essentially conceived for intersubjective, convivial communication and enjoyment. [9] As Wiesenfeldt has recently stressed, the unfolding of this *lyrical liberty*, "originality" and "truthfulness" partook also in the creation of a new status of the individual artist and his expressivity, which largely transcended the contexts and topoi of the *Empfindsamer* and *Galant* styles: "Das Lyrische wird »das Subjective, Besondre und Freie« in der Musik und somit Ausdruck einer künstlerischen Individualität, die den äußerlichen Subjektivismus der Empfindsamkeit des 18. Jahrhunderts endgültig überwindet." (Wiesenfeldt, 2022: 23) Although aristocratic patronage and the centrality of the church did not lose their hegemony and prestige overnight, it is commonly underscored that, especially in bigger cities of the German-speaking territories, such as Berlin, Leipzig and Vienna to name but a few, the "invention", "constitution" and "exhibition" of this novel interiority and musical subjectivity unfolded primarily in bourgeoise contexts and genres of music-making such a the instrumental music and Lieder that prevailed in the *Hausmusik* and *Salonmusik*:

> Komponisten wie Interpreten wurden zu Göttern, deren Äußerungssucht sich das Publikum willig, doch mit einer meist gehörigen Portion wiederum subjektivistischer Response unterwarf. Und im kleinen Kreise von Hausmusik und Salon hatte dann jede und jeder die Chance, die eigene Innerlichkeit musikalisch zu exhibitionieren bzw. durch die Musik überhaupt erst zu konstituieren, oder gar zu erfinden." (Wald-Fuhrmann, 2013: 303)[10]

As numerous publications have highlighted, at the turn of the 19th century, particularly in German speaking territories, prevailed a striking consensus amongst such diverse schools of thought as, for instance, the Kantian, idealistic music-aesthetics of C.F. Michaelis, the wholehearted commitment to absolute subjectivism of romantic poetics, but also in the

[9] In her insightful analysis of the apparent irreconcilability of intimacy and interiority with public performance, inherent to the practices of literary and musical salons of early 19th century, Jennifer Ronyak has convincingly argued that the (semi)public recitation of poetry contributed to mediate and redefine the boundaries between "public" and "private". Regarding, for instance, Wilhelm Müller's poems for "liederspiel" the author stresses the following important point: "poems featuring a lyric speaker engaged in public intimate expression present seemingly private sentiments, exposing the general paradoxical condition of audience-oriented subjectivity at the heart of notions of the inward self during the period." (Ronyak, 2018: 86)

[10] Throughout this investigation I shall generally consider the concept of "Innerlichkeit", here employed by Wald-Fuhrmann, as synonymous with the English term "interiority" (rather than inwardness) as observed in Greiner's above-quoted remark and in the following one by Mark Evan Bonds, whose analysis we will recounter in the following chapters. The musicologist employs this specific term, for instance, when he specifies his use of the notion of subjectivity and expounds the latter as the sensible manifestation of the former: "*subjectivity* as it was primarily understood in discourse about music throughout the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth: as the projection of a composer's interiority." (Bonds, 2020: 4)

powerful criticism of romanticism developed for instance by G.W.F. Hegel, regarding the inexorability of subjectivity, not only as an epistemological, ethical, political and aesthetical *fact* and *category*, but also as the vehicle for individual perspectives, personal feelings, aesthetical experiences and existential conditions and ideas representing potential materials for artistic treatment.[11] In his influential lectures on aesthetics, Hegel formulated a definition which sealed an indissoluble bound between subjectivity, interiority and instrumental music:

> Das Prinzip der Musik macht die subjektive Innerlichkeit aus. Das Innerste aber des konkreten Selbsts ist die Subjektivität als solche, durch keinen festen Gehalt bestimmt und deshalb nicht genötigt, sich hierhin oder dorthin zu bewegen, sondern in ungefesselter Freiheit nur auf sich selbst beruhend. Soll diese Subjektivität nun gleichfalls in der Musik zu ihrem vollen Recht kommen, so muß sie sich von einem gegebenen Text losmachen… (Hegel, XV: 213)

In spite of the well known *limits* which Hegel attributed to music and art in general, his coupling of subjectivity, interiority and freedom with instrumental music – since only in the latter: "macht sich zuletzt die subjektive Willkür […] zum fessellosen Meister" (Hegel, VX: 218) – has inspired generations of music critics and music-aesthetes, some of which we will encounter in the course of this investigation (e.g. Franz Brendel and Eduard Hanslick). However, evidently operating with a different notion of *concreteness*, the musicologist Janz, two hundred years after Hegel's famous analysis, (justifiably) laments the persisting difficulty of discerning the substance of the phenomenon from its accidences and unessential manifestations:

> Sobald man meint, den Gegenstand fixiert zu haben, sieht man nicht das (musikalische) Subjekt, sondern bloße Objekte – Noten, Zeichen, Worte, Sätze und Texte, musikalische Formen, Bewegungen, Rhythmen, Klänge, sprachliche Ausdrücke musikalischer Normativität, menschliche Körper, materielle Klangerzeuger. Das heißt, es gibt zwar einen historischen Diskurs über musikalische Subjektivität, das Phänomen, auf das sich dieser Diskurs bezieht, ist in den historischen Quellen jedoch allenfalls indirekt präsent, als Spur vergangener Subjektivitäten, die sich nicht ohne weiteres dechiffrieren lassen. (Janz, 2022: 23) [12]

Janz's analysis addresses a crucial problem, which nevertheless represents a slightly peripheral issue in the present investigation, since, as we shall observe in the following chapters, a genealogy of the early construction of the Schubertian subjectivity and interiority and analysis

[11] Wiesenfeldt stresses that Michaelis in his *Ueber das Humoristische oder Launige in der musikalischen Komposition* (1807) marks the centrality of the subject as follows: "Im Sinne Jean Pauls stellt er dafür zunächst das Subjekt des Künstlers in den Vordergrund: Der Komponist drücke schließlich seine »subjektive Individualität« aus." (Wiesenfeldt, 2022: 202)

[12] Although a detailed philosophical and music-aesthetical analysis of musical subjectivity transcends the scope of the present enquiry, it is worth quoting a passage from Albrecht V. Massow meticolous investigation of the phenomenon which itemises many terms related to the latter, that will emerge in the course of this paper: "Die Uneindeutigkeit der vielen Verwendungen entsteht unter anderem immer wieder dadurch, daß in vielen Formulierungen nicht klar unterscheidbar ist, ob das Wort *subjektiv* (ebenso *Subjekt* und *Subjektivität*) mit anderem Worten seines begrifflichen Umfelds, wie *unmittelbar*, *expressiv*, *Gefühl*, *willkürlich*, *Selbstermächtigung*, *bewußt*, *unbewust*, quasi synonym und somit wiederum durch sie näher bestimmt gemeint soll oder ob es jenen eine weitere zusätzliche Bedeutung zukommen läßt." (Massow, 2001: 66)

of their reception which is limited to the period 1828 to 1928, will in fact prove to be the *pre-history of an epiphany* which unfolded only during the second half of the 20th century. Consequently in the ensuing enquiry "notes", "musical forms" and musical analysis in general, will play a very marginal role, since, in the examined period, the musical subjectivity theorised by Janz was still primarily identified with ego-documents, such as "words" or "expression of musical normativity" (poetics), and finally with the artist's "body". In other words – and hereby I refer to an eminent example of the abovementioned epiphany or theorisation of a proper musical subjectivity – in the first century of the reception of the subjectivity and interiority conveyed by Schubert's music the non-identity of "biographical subject" and "aesthetical subject" remained, if not utterly inconceivable, then surely unstated.[13] This notwithstanding we will observe that, already within the examined period, the subjectivity and interiority projected by Schubert's music or constructed on the basis of few ego-documents and several second-hand recollections, were not reduced to a self-referential extrication of purely "biographic", "private" individual experiences of a "biographical subject". As manifestations of an artistry epitomising or conveying many of the characteristics of the abovementioned "idealist turn" and "expressivist turn", Schubert's subjectivity was mediated through a musical *language* which was coevally regarded as the carrier not only of exclusively "private" sentiments, but also of *ideas* which transcended individual particularity, thus representing *autonomous*, self-sufficient values, deemed often *eternal* and *universal*. In other words, the interpretation of Schubert's subjectivity, artistic persona, instrumental music and Lieder alike was initially inextricably embedded in discourses and contexts connected to the Enlightenment's quest for subjective emancipation, dignity and edification (*Bildung*) – through a humanist confidence and delight in intersubjective conviviality – which defined the European continent at the time:

> Im besonderen Rahmen des gemeinsamen Musizieren im häuslichen Kreise schienen also gewissermaßen die Ideale der Aufklärung verwirklicht: Zu einer von Geschmack, Bildung und geistigem Interesse getragenen Kunstausübung jenseits ökonomischer Notwendigkeit, an sie sich mühelos das ästhetische Raisonnement unter Gleichgesinnten anschließen und so zur beständigen Selbstbildung beitragen konnte, kann die Vergesellschaftung der Menschen nicht aufgrund von willkürlichen Standesgrenzen, sondern aufgrund von verwandten Fähigkeiten und Interessen. Dieser aufgeklärte Charakter läßt sich auf zweierlei Weise sogar noch deutlicher herausarbeiten: Zum einen beschränkte er sich aufgrund des häuslich-privaten Rahmens auch auf eine bestimmte Gattungsauswahl, darunter neben kleineren Gesangsformen in allererster Linie die Kammermusikalischen Gattungen einer dezidiert empfindungs-, charakter- und ideenhaltigen Instrumentalmusik. (Wald-Fuhrmann, 2010: 135)

[13] This distinction betwenn "biographische Subjekt" and "ästhetische Subjekt", which I shall employ throughout my investigation, refers evidently to Carl Dahlhaus' analysis, only partly summed up by the following remark: "Das ästhetische Subjekt ist also weder die empirische Person des Komponisten noch die des Hörers, sondern ein imaginäres Subjekt, das eine Vermittlungsinstanz zwischen der werkkonstituirenden Tätigkeit des Komponisten und der nachvollziehenden des Hörers darstellt." (Dahlhaus, 1987: 72)

Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann's concise analysis outlines a constellation of essential notions and contexts which we shall encounter in the course of the present investigation of the reception of Franz Schubert's instrumental music. Stressing that the subjectivity conveyed by Schubert's music, its performance and its reception unfolded within a cultural horizon and particular social contexts characterised by specific actors (e.g. artists, intellectuals and members of the *Bildungsbürgertum*), whose aesthetical experience often exceeded utilitarian considerations, since it was ideally concerned with the "pure disinterested delight"[14] of aesthetical judgment, and participated in a broader quest for *Bildung* and *Mündigkeit*, understood not only as intellectual, but also as social emancipation (beyond "willkürlichen Standesgrenzen"), embeds the present investigation in a philosophical tradition and, in a certain sense, in a *narrative* which regards subjectivity and its emancipation or *freedom*, as the substance of *modernity*. Emphasising the inherently social and even political nature of the modern stance on subjectivity and interiority does not represent an anachronistic interpretation shaped by 20th century historic-materialistic or deconstructive analysis, but builds also on the coeval appreciation of the constitutive function of intersubjectivity, conviviality and, at least in Hegel's case, on the understanding of the dialectical mediation of the "I" and "us", of interiority and exteriority, of "public" and "private"[15]. This mediation, still too often excessively understated in musicological and Schubert scholarship, is justly stressed by Janz as follows:

> Die damit ausgedrückte notwendige Verschränkung des Subjekts mit der Welt des Sozialen, zwischen Ich und Wir, richtet sich schon bei Hegel sowohl gegen eine Verabsolutierung des Subjekts zu einer allmächtigen Instanz als auch gegen die Position, die man heute einen starken sozialen Konstruktivismus nennen würde, in deren Konsequenz das Subjekt letztlich als sozial produzierte Fiktion erscheint. Die konkrete Subjektivität konstituiert sich erst im Wir und bleibt abgesehen davon unbestimmt und unbestimmbar. (Janz, 2022: 35-36)

The present enquiry, which eschews both nominalist and constructivist relativisations of subjectivity, will implicitly pursue a criticism of solipsistic and undialectical approaches which fail to appreciate the inherently intersubjective, extrovert, mediated (convivial, social, political, etc.) constitution of subjectivity which characterised the "expressivist" paradigm and consequently the subjectivity involved in Schubert's artistry and related music-making alike. This critical approach will equally define my approach to an abstract and undialectical approach to *interiority* and to what I shall define the (German) ideology of *profundity*.

[14] More precisely: "dem reinen uninteressierten Wohlgefallen im Geschmacksurteile" (Kant-W, X: 116), the well-known, influential definition of aesthetical judgment formulated by Immanuel Kant in his *Kritik der Urteilskraft*.
[15] My interpretation of the dialectical relationship between "private" and "public sphere" is inspired by Hegel's and Adorno's philosophy, but also by Jürgen Habermas' investigation *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1990).

In his influential *Sources of the Self* (1989) Charles Taylor has traced the origins of the modern, western understanding of the relationship between subjectivity and interiority, as so often the case, in ancient Greek and early Christian thinking, since, as well known, both platonic philosophy and Augustinian theology shared a common scepticism regarding the *opinions* obtained from the outer, finite, sensible world and urged to seek *wisdom* in the inner, intellectual, ideal world.[16] To put it simply, in spite of the centuries and Weltanschauungs dividing them, Augustine's apology of interiority (390 AD) – "Noli foras ire, in te ipsum redi. In interiore homine habitat veritas." (Augustine, 2007: 200) – still resonates, for instance, in Johann Gottlieb Fichte's (1797 AD) idealistic understanding of interiority: "Merke auf dich selbst: kehre deinen Blick von allem, was dich umgiebt, ab, und in dein Inneres; ist die erste Foderung, welche die Philosophie an ihren Lehrling thut. Es ist von nichts, was außer dir ist, die Rede, sondern lediglich von dir selbst." (Fichte, 1797: 6) However, the specifically German approach to interiority as the foundation on which the response to the Horatian/Kantian incitement "sapere Aude!" should be constructed, was never confined to academical, philosophical cogitations, but, true to its abovementioned origins, represented an insight shared with theological precepts (particularly Lutheran and pietistic) and aesthetical theorisations. Cities such as Weimar, indelibly linked to the towering figures of Herder, Goethe and Schiller, and above all Jena, the veritable epicentre of early-romanticism and idealistic philosophy (dwelling of Novalis, the Schlegel brothers, F.W. Schelling, Hegel, Fichte, to name but a few) were some of the principal laboratories of an eminently German development of Enlightenment (increasingly divergent from, for instance, the French or Scottish) which, by bringing into dialogue and often merging theological, philosophical and aesthetical reasonings, laid the foundations for extraordinarily inspiring, influential and resilient values, concepts and theories. An example of the application to aesthetical thinking of the novel appreciation of the interrelation between the artist or "genius", nature and his interiority can be observed in the following remark by A.W. Schlegel, published in 1808, a year in which the intellectual held lectures in Vienna that captured the interest of scholars and laypersons alike:[17]

> Wo aber soll der Künstler seine erhabene Meisterin, die schaffende Natur, finden, um sich mit ihr gleichsam zu berathen, da sie in keiner äusseren Erscheinung enthalten ist? In seinem eigenen Innern, im Mittelpunkte seines Wesens durch geistige Anschauung kann er es nur, oder nirgends. (A.W. Schlegel, 1808: 15)

[16] Cf. especially the chapter titled "Inwardness", in Charles Taylor: *Sources of the Self* (1989), p. 111-199.

[17] The impact of the Schlegel brothers on Schubert's peers and circle of friends has been examined for instance by Ilija Dürhammer in: "Schlegel, Schelling und Schubert. Romantische Beziehungen und Bezüge in Schuberts Freundeskreis", in *Schubert durch die Brille 16/17* (Januar, 1996), pp. 59-93.

However not only conceptual, linguistic artforms such as poetry and drama (clearly the central concern of Schlegel's reflections) were regarded as expressions of subjectivity and interiority, since, as observed in the abovementioned Hegelian analysis, these were also emphasised in relation to the musical artform. Whereas, however, in Hegel's theory the supposedly non-conceptual nature and semantic indeterminacy of instrumental music represented a serious flaw, then in Herder's view, these made music the unparalleled vehicle of the spiritual, metaphysical, intimate and profound intuitions, values and longings of modern humanity:

> Herder ist also, so kann festgehalten werden, für die Wirkungsgeschichte der Begriffe Innigkeit und Tiefe im Hinblick auf Musik von kaum zu überschätzender Bedeutung. Er modifizierte nicht nur die Inhalte entsprechend, die beide Bezeichnungen einzeln aus dem Pietismus mitbrachten, sondern griff auch den komplementären Zusammenhang auf, der sie dort verbunden hatte – Tiefe als transzendentale Wahrheit, wird durch Innigkeit, als gesammelte Empfindung, erfahrbar. Diesen Zusammenhang reklamierte Herder exklusiv für die Musik, die aufgrund ihrer Unabhängigkeit vom Begriff nicht nur die innigste, sondern auch die tiefste Kunst darstellte**.** (Geiger, 2003: 272)

Both Friedrich Geiger's analysis of the complementarity of "depth" and "Innigkeit" and Holly Watkins' *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought* (2011) draw analogous outlines of the origins of the concept of profundity, depth or "Innigkeit" and of its growing significance within German music-aesthetical discourses of the 19th century. Outlining, albeit with utmost brevity and approximation as I have done so far, some of the conceptual premises and contours of this trend and its interrelation with the expressivist, idealist and romantic paradigms of subjectivity and interiority, is of great relevance for the present investigation, since, as we shall have ample opportunity to observe, it greatly affected the reception of Schubert's subjectivity and music throughout the entire examined period. In this connection a central topic which shall be inspected is the entanglement of the constellation of subjectivity, interiority and profundity in discourses which in the course of the examined century became increasingly nationalistic and ideological, since they professed interiority and profundity not only as peculiarly, but even as essentially and exclusively German aptitudes and features. Although from early on, interiority and profundity, apparently so intrinsically belonging to the private sphere, were in fact often linked to an obviously public sphere, "national" and potentially political feelings,[18] in the present investigation I shall focus on some of the later exemplifications of this trend by considering their impact on the Schubert reception in the analyses, for ex. of Franz Brendel, Theodor Helm and those developed during the two Schubert-centennials of 1897 and 1928.

[18] In his *Allgemeinen Brouillon (1798-99)* Novalis formulated with poetic ambiguity and irony this intuition: "Die Innere Welt ist gleichsam mehr Mein, als die äußre. Sie ist so innig, so heimlich – man möchte ganz in ihr leben – sie ist so vaterländisch. Schade, daß sie so traumhaft, so ungewiß ist." (Novalis, 2001: 476)

As Frank Hentschel in *Bürgerliche Ideologie und Musik* (2006) has highlighted, although this ideology of profundity was already flourishing in late 18th century, it was primarily in the first decades of the 1820s, for instance in the writings of Karl Christian Friedrich Krause (1827)[19], that this idea assumed an organic function in discourses about music and music-history writing. Not only as the editor of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (*NZfM*) from 1844 until his death in 1868, that is to say of that periodical which beginning with Schumann's pathbreaking and influential music critical endorsement of Schubert's music shaped the early reception of the composer, but also as the dominant figure in the cultural clashes surrounding the *Neudeutsche Schule* and the *music of the future*, Brendel's reception of Schubert represents a paradigmatic exemplification of the entanglement of the discourses on subjectivity, interiority and profundity with wider culture-political agendas regarding *Bildung* and national *identity*, hence also the status of German music as mediator of "Northern" and "Southern" inclinations and traditions. Regarding his music-history writings, Hentschel stresses that it is impossible to overlook:

> …dass seiner Theorie ein vehement nationalistischer Gestus eingeschrieben war. So erschien die Fähigkeit zur Synthese, noch bevor sich die eigentliche Wendung zum Nationalen vollzog, als eine spezifisch deutsche Eigenschaft. Denn währende die deutsche Musik die Sinnlichkeit Italiens in sich aufnahm, also die Gabe der Synthetisierung besaß, schwanchte die französische Musik zwischen italienische und deutschen Elementen. Bei dem Franzosen *sehen wir* auch *nicht jenes Gleichgewicht von Fantasie, Gefühl und Verstand wie in Deutschland* […] meinte Brendel. Das Spezifisch deutsche Vermögen der Harmonisierung und Vereinigung hing sogar irgendwie mit der Innigkeit und Tiefe des Deutschen zusammen: Diese Innigkeit, diese Gemütstiefe des deutschen Volks ist es gewesen, welche es befähigte, die Basis für eine organische Einigung der genannten Stilen zu werden und den Mittelpunkts der europäischen Musik zu werden. (Hentschel, 2006: 399)

In the course of this investigation we shall get a clearer idea of the influence of Brendel's writings on the reception of Schubert (for instance on Robert Lach's interpretation), and observe how this Northern-Southern dualism was involved in the construction of a subjectivity and interiority connotated primarily by heteronomy, melancholia, intimacy and sentimentalism, rather than autonomy, rationality, volition and profundity.

The contextualisation, notions and topoi briefly outlined so far, represent also an attempt to explicate the specific perspective to which I shall commit my investigation of the reception of Schubert's instrumental music. Specifying this commitment to a specific perspective and the abovementioned *tradition* and *narrative* constitute also, from a methodological point of view, the attempt to avert some of the dangers potentially inherent to reception analysis.

[19] Hentschel summarises the latter's standpoint regarding this topic as follows: "Die längste und in sich stabilste Tradition besaßen die Eigenschaften Tiefe und Innerlichkeit, die in einheitlichen positiver Bewertung seit Krause den musikhistorischen Diskurs durchdrangen und zunehmenden als exklusive Merkmal deutscher Musik galten." (Hentschel, 2006: 417-418)

Explicating and approaching critically the chosen perspective and *narrative* (and in fact avoiding to hermeneutically smoothen contradictions in order to create a "coherent" narration) could also be regarded, for instance, as an attempt to respond to some of the time-honoured objections which Carl Dahlhaus raised to the aims and methods of reception analysis, which, in spite of decades of sensible counterarguments and sound musicological praxis, have not lost their topicality.[20] The terminological and methodological reflections illustrated to this point could consequently therefore likewise be considered as an effort to avoid the possible "positivistic" and "accumulative" tendencies of reception analysis evoked by Dahlhaus. The musicologist spoke, for instance, of "Schilderungen und Urteile, die man sammeln kann, ohne je an eine Ende zu gelangen" and warned that "Zudem ist es keineswegs selbstverständlich, daß ein Rezeptionsgeschichte überhaupt ein erzählbarer Prozeß und nicht eine bloße Häufung von Daten ist, die sich zu keinem Muster zusammenfügen." (Dahlhaus, 1977: 243) At the same time my analysis, well aware of the subtle mechanisms and temptations underlying teleological reasonings and interpretations, will neither present the developments of the examined Schubert reception as participating in a homogenous, unidirectional, goal-oriented "progress" nor bemoan or stigmatise, for instance, the relapse of the interwar reception into nationalistic and ostracising discourses as symptoms of a general "decline". In other words it will avoid a risk stressed by Dahlhaus, which Geiger sums up as follows: "Musikalische Rezeptionsgeschichte läuft Gefahr, entweder zum „Verfalls" oder zum „Fortschrittschema" zu tendieren" (Geiger, 2019: 215) While carefully balancing the implicit normativity of the progress/decline narratives, my investigation will incidentally homage the idea of a "Kairos" which Dahlhaus briefly mentions, in the same text, as a possible alternative to this dualism:

> In einer Musikgeschichte, deren chronologisches Gerüst weniger durch Kompositions- als durch Rezeptionsdaten bestimmt wäre […], würden Bachs Werke – differenziert nach Gattungen – in verschiedene Perioden des 19. Jahrhunderts, Schuberts späte Symphonien in die Mitte des Jahrhunderts […] rucken. […] Die Idee eines Kairos oder eines point de la perfection in der Wirkungsgeschichte musikalischer Werke mag spekulativ metaphysisch anmuten und dadurch Historiker befremden, deren Gewissen sich beunruhigt fühlt, wenn man sie zu überreden versucht, einen Augenblick lang den Boden der Empirie zu verlassen." (Dahlhaus, 1977: 248)

[20] I'm referring primarily to the scepticism illustrated in Carl Dahlhaus, "Probleme der Rezeptionsgeschichte" in: *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte* (1977), p. 237-259. My interpretation is at the same time influenced by Friedrich Geiger's analysis of the same chapter contained in "„Probleme" – und Perspektiven – „der Rezeptionsgeschichte", in Janz, Tobias / Geiger, Friedrich (Ed.) : *Carl Dahlhaus' Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte* (2019), p. 211-225.

A provocative idea, as he himself implied, which however seems particularly relevant (in spite of its likely limits)[21] to thematise the unparalleled *asynchronism* which has characterised the Schubert reception in the examined period. In other words, if the hypostasised non-identity of the "history of impact" (Wirkungsgeschichte) and the "history of reception" (Rezeptionsgeschichte) represent two substantially and meaningfully distinct perspectives and approaches, then they should possibly prove their cogency especially when applied to the reception analysis of the output of a composer in which a great span (chronological, social, cultural and music-performative) separated the coming into being of *autonomous* artworks ("Relikte", stemming from the artist's existential horizon) and the paradoxical concomitance of his *reception* as primarily Lied composer simultaneously with the exponential *impact* of the "aesthetic presence"("ästhetische Präsenz") of his instrumental works beginning in the 1860s.[22] However, since my investigation alludes to Dahlhaus' theory only incidentally, it will refrain for a critical examination, leave open this question and mention it as a possible perspective on the complexity and ambiguity of the 1860's coeval experience (paradigmatically expressed by Hanslick) of a veritable revival of the "aesthetical presence" of the composer and music alike.

The genealogy of the construction of the Schubertian subjectivity and interiority which this investigation wishes to outline is not primarily concerned with (hermeneutically) *solving* or (dialectically) *sublating* the contradictions, complexity and heterogeneity of the rich and articulated reception and debates developed over the course of a century. Furthermore this enquiry eschews the logics of decline/progress narratives as well as the chimera of exhaustivity of historical *overviews*, even though it certainly does pursue the examination of trends developing over long time-spans in their *concrete* and manifold entanglements, instead of seeking insights in the profundity of few *abstractly* singled out and isolated phenomena.

Conclusively the general methodological attitude expressed in this investigation regarding genealogies, narratives, contradictions, homogeneity etc., which shall not be further expounded here, may most concisely be synthesised with the following axiom, hereby possibly betraying a hardly original inclination for oxymora, stressing the necessity of the inherently paradoxical, mutual mediation of conceptions voiced by two intrinsically irreconcilable, influential *mottos*: "Das Wahre ist das Ganze." (Hegel,III:24) and "Das ganze ist das Unwahre." (Adorno, IV:55).

[21] Dahlhaus' theory was vastly debated from early on. Cf., for instance, Danuser/Krummacher (Ed.): *Rezeptionsästhetik und Rezeptionsgeschichte in der Musikwissenschaft* (1991).
[22] These notions were expounded in Dahlhaus, "Textgeschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte", *GS*, 1, pp. 331-339.

2) Subjectivity- and interiority-topoi in the early Schubert reception

Since specific assumptions as well as general narratives regarding the composer's "biographical subject" regularly influence readers', listeners' and analysts' perception and conceptions of the "aesthetical subject", I deem it necessary to examine some of those sources and testimonies which have played a crucial role in the definition and dissemination of the earliest portrayals of Franz Schubert's subjectivity. The well known scarcity as well as the characteristics of the ego-documents seem to inexorably lead the focus of such an enquiry towards the anecdotes and accounts that originated within the composer's circle of friends[23], in the earliest biographies and music-critical writings. Analysing how the descriptions of the character, subjectivity and creativity of the composer transformed over time will not only help emphasising to what extent these statements were affected by changing social, cultural and aesthetic trends, but will also highlight the composer's and indeed his first interpreters' situatedness in a music-historical and music-aesthetical *transitional phase* and finally stress some of the hermeneutical challenges faced by modern scholarship.

On the other hand, in the here-examined sources and time-frame the image of Schubert as primarily a song composer, as the "Liederfürst" was quickly established as a stable, enduring topos within the early reception. In the first two chapters I will therefore also explore how the association with primarily Lieder, piano-duos, dances and piano trios, i.e. with "small genres", mostly private *Hausmusik* or semi-public *Salonmusik*, paved the way for the emphasis on intimacy, inwardness and "femininity" in the earliest accounts and interpretations of the composer and his oeuvre. In other words this also implies considering whether in the brief, but hectic so-called "era of Beethoven and Rossini", in which these two composers to some extent monopolised the "public sphere" and music genres (e.g. concertos, symphonies and operas and related contexts of performance in Vienna), the only remaining successful narrative would have seemed to require the creation of a *myth* of a local "genius", born in the suburbs of Vienna, who slowly gained access to the "private spheres" and salons of educated, bourgeoise elites, as immortalised in Moritz von Schwind's retrospective pictorial glorification of a *Schubertiade*.

[23] Since this inquiry does not primarily deal with the members and structures of the composer's *circle of friend*s I will not dwell on the differences between the "Viennese-" and "Linz-circle", nor will I problematise the notion itself. It will here suffice to mention that David Gramit is among those authors stressing that "a loose and constantly shifting web of relationships offers a more apt metaphor" rather than "the image of a circle, with its associations of fixity and completeness" (Gramit, 1997: 60). I will nonetheless settle with the English equivalent of the German "Freundeskreis", term used by Walther Dürr in *Schubert Handbuch* (1997) and by Michael Kohlhäufl in *Poetisches Vaterland. Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts* (1999).

a) Subjectivity and ethos. The influence of the circle of friends

Quite unsurprisingly the very first obituaries, published few days after the composer's death, expressed concisely the mourning for the loss of the young and beloved artist and restricted themselves to celebrate the his dignity and diligence. In fact these obituaries, written for Viennese magazines by a few anonymous authors, Josef Christian v. Zedlitz and Josef L. Blatheka, were in most cases too brief to articulate personal or detailed reflections about the career and character of the composer. However already with a "Biographical sketch", published anonymously by Leopold v. Sonnleithner in February 1829, began – alongside a generally benign appraisal of the creativity and persona of the artist – a quest for those contradictions, paradoxes, ambiguities and limits that seemed, in the eyes of his friends and acquaintances, to have characterised the composer. The backgrounds, motives, personal agendas and competences of those participating in this both private and public debate about the legacy of Franz Schubert varied enormously. Accounting in detail for the biographies and speculating on the motives of those involved does not constitute an aim of this enquiry, it will hence suffice to point out that the increasing international recognition of the composer, genuine devotion to his memory, nostalgia for bygone times – and not least a more untroubled relationship to newspapers and public debates after 1848 – fostered the desire to have a say in the definition of Schubert's persona and in the depiction of the artistic and social milieu to him connected.

When, three months after Schubert's death, Leopold v. Sonnleithner published his brief obituary in the *Monatsberichte der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des österreichischen Kaiserstaates* he principally shared his thoughts with a restricted, musically qualified readership, regarding a composer who had not only enjoyed great successes in the concerts organised by that music society, but who had also, after becoming a member in March 1822, gradually gained an increasingly influential position within that prestigious organisation. After a description of the composer's amiable character, admirable modesty and appreciation of German composers as well as of the "genius" of Rossini, the author turns his attention towards some unfortunate circumstances and limits, which in his view affected the oeuvre of Schubert:

> Es ist sehr zu bedauern, dass Schubert zu seinem nächsten und vertrautesten Umgange, besonders in früherer Zeit, beinahe gar keinen Tonkünstler, sondern meist nur Künstler anderer Fächer wählte, welche wohl seinem Genius huldigen, aber ihn nicht leiten konnten. Ein ausgezeichneter, erfahrener Tonsetzer würde sein Streben wahrscheinlich noch mehr auf größere Werke hingelenkt haben, und ihm dabei, in Bezug auf äußere Form, planmäßige Anlage und Effekt im Großen rathend zur Seite gestanden seyn. (Dok. I.: 484)

> It is much to be regretted that, especially in his earlier days, Schubert chose scarcely a single musical artist for his closest and most intimate relationships, but for the most part only artistic practitioners in other branches, who could indeed pay homage to his genius, but were incapable of leading it. An excellent, experienced composer would probably have guided Schubert towards even more works of the larger kind and have stood by him as adviser in matters of outward form, well-planned disposition and large-scale effect. (SMF:11)

Leopold (1797-1873) – a member of the vastly influential Sonnleithner family, like his father Ignaz (1770-1831) and his uncle Joseph (1766-1835), which was "by early 1821, […] ardently promoting Schubert and his music." (Gingerich, 2014: 182) – had befriended Schubert in 1816, by all evidence a benign and reliable observer, set with his remarks the founding stone for a momentous and long-lived narrative characterised by a generally apologetic pathos, but at the same time eager to theorise and emphasise a causal relation between deficiencies in the composer's personality, his surrounding milieu and his instrumental compositions. In other words, from the very outset the Schubert reception was defined by a rejection, for more or less evident reasons, of otherwise popular topoi (e.g. the child-prodigy, demonic artist, heroic artist, etc.) which eventually paved the way for the "poor Schubert" narrative, a myth which has been profusely described and debunked by Christopher Gibbs.[24] More specifically, in the second sentence of the quoted remark, Leopold v. Sonnleithner addressed issues which, as we shall observe in the course of this investigation, have afflicted the reception of Schubert's instrumental composition ever since: "large works", "form", "well-planned disposition" and "large-scale effect" remained, in his opinion, unresolved issues in the artistic output of the composer. Rather than examining the motives and legitimacy of his objections, let us for the present simply acknowledge what they seem to imply on a most basic level. Notably they suggest that in his youth the composer had lacked musical mentoring in his inner circle of friends and that he, generally speaking, had needed *guidance*. In other words, in spite of his successes, and not only with Lieder, as Leopold v. Sonnleithner well knew, Schubert would have benefited from "advises" by a more "experienced composer". Let us only ask ourselves for the time being: how frequently and with what degree of consensus was a similar scepticism concerning *Mündigkeit* and *Autonomie* formulated in relation to f. ex. Mozart and Beethoven?

The issues raised in the obituary published by a musically competent member of the Viennese *GdM* resonate, albeit in a different form, with a famous letter that Joseph v. Spaun wrote to Eduard v. Bauernfeld in early 1829, which readily identified the Lied as Schubert's trademark:

[24] "My view of Schubert's professional life is optimistic, perhaps at times even overcompensating for the historically pervasive images of a *"poor Schubert"*– without money, love, fame, or good health." (Gibbs, 2000: 2) ; see also ""Poor Schubert": images and legends of the composer" in: Christopher Gibbs (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*. (1997), pp. 36-55.

> Bei aller Bewunderung, die ich dem Teuren seit Jahren schenke, bin ich doch der Meinung, daß wir in Instrumental- und Kirchenkompositionen nie einen Mozart oder Haydn aus ihm machen werden, wogegen er im Liede unübertroffen dasteht. In dieser Art von Kompositionen hat er seinen Ruhm erreicht, den er mit niemanden teilt. Ich glaube daher, dass Schubert von seinem Biographen als Liederkompositeur aufgegriffen werden müsse… (Erinn.: 39)
>
> In spite of all the admiration I have felt for my dear friend, for years, I am of the opinion that, in the field of instrumental and church music, we shall never make a Mozart or a Haydn out of him, whereas in song he stands unsurpassed. It was in this type of composition that he made his name, and in it he knows no peer. I believe, therefore, that Schubert must be approached by his biographer as a song writer… (SMF: 30)

Notably already in 1829 both Joseph v. Spaun (we shall see that he expressed a more nuanced view in 1858) and Leopold v. Sonnleithner, while celebrating the composer of songs, ultimately expressed uncertainty regarding the quality of his instrumental (and sacred) compositions. The first, lacking the profound musical knowledge of the second, justified his opinion simply by mentioning two towering models "Mozart and Haydn", while the second articulated his reservations by referring to strictly music-morphological concepts, pertaining foremostly to the organisation of sonata-form and with terms that, towards the middle of the 19th century, would become increasingly associated with the music of Ludwig van Beethoven.

In an obituary published in February 1829, the poet Johann Mayrhofer (i.e. another of those friends without musical formation mentioned by Leopold v. Sonnleithner) gave a first account of the ambivalent complexity of the composer's character by pointing out that "in seinem Charakter mischten sich Zartheit und Derbheit, Genußliebe mit Treuherzigkeit, Geselligkeit mit Melancholie." (Erinn.:19), but more importantly, after a not wholly uninjurious remark, introduced another notion that would become vastly influential in the Schubert reception: "Ohne tiefere Kenntnis des Satzes und Generalbasses, ist er eigentlich Naturalist geblieben." (Erinn.: 18) When describing his friend as a „natural artist" Mayrhofer was resorting to a widespread vocabulary shaped by both idealistic (e.g. Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft*)[25] as well as romantic concepts of genius, thus he choose an epithet which was positively connotated, in accordance with current aesthetic norms, and at that time regularly employed when referring also to Beethoven's personality and creativity.

A great song composer, with boundless melodic inventiveness and intuitive predisposition for the musical elaboration of the semantic content and mood of poems, a "natural artist", however one who had lacked the guidance necessary to attain the discipline and meticulosity required

[25] The most famous and influential definition of the dialectics of nature and genius is possibly the following: "*Genie* ist das Talent (Naturgabe), welches der Kunst die Regel gibt. Da das Talent, als angebornes produktives Vermögen des Künstlers, selbst zur Natur gehört, so könnte man sich auch so ausdrücken: *Genie* ist die angeborne Gemütsanlage (ingenium), *durch welche* die Natur der Kunst die Regel gibt. […]" (Kant-W, X: 242)

to design grand, dramatic sonatas and symphonies. This was essentially the state of the depiction of the artistic persona of Schubert in the year 1829, a characterisation that Gibbs aptly summarises in the following manner: "Small genres work best for such flashes of inspiration: one can image a song written on a scrap of paper, but not a symphony. As a consequence of such views – combined with accounts of insufficient training in musical theory – Schubert appears to have been a great composer despite himself." (Gibbs, 2000: 63)

It is not irrelevant to point out that the publishing of the abovementioned obituaries was followed by a slight decline in the public and epistolary debate about Schubert amongst his friends, who approximately only 30 years later began anew to transcribe substantial recollections. These were in many cases responses to letters received from Ferdinand Luib in 1857/58, who wished to collect materials for a planned, but eventually unpublished biography of the composer – thus preceding by a few years and partly laying the foundations for Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn's extensive enterprise. Drawing attention to this lapse of time does not aim at a simple arousal of chronological and historical awareness, but rather implies an emphasis on the significance and magnitude of the political, cultural, aesthetical and music-aesthetical transformations that had occurred in the meantime and which were still developing. In this chapter we shall therefore consider those sources which are most likely to substantiate my thesis that the early Schubert reception developed intermittently and *slowly* in a phase of transition and *fast* paradigm-changes, and that this asynchronism played a major role in the rise of some of the hermeneutical challenges and aporias that have long affected this reception.

In a letter written by Albert Stadler, a well-trained pianist, in January 1858 in response to Luib, one finds descriptions of Schubert's subjectivity and creative process that reflect aesthetical ideals still very similar to those which had influenced Mayrhofer's obituary. Most revealing is his quotation (albeit slightly unprecise, not modifying the substance of the argument) of the following distinction between two approaches to composition which Johann Michael Vogl, Schubert's first and foremost advocate since 1817, had previously (on 15th November, 1831) spelled out in a letter to him:

> Es gibt zwei Arten von Komposition, eine die wie bei Schubert in einem Zustande von Clairvoyance oder Somnambulismus zur Welt kommt, ohne alle Willkür des Tonsetzers, sondern wie er muss, durch höhere Gewalt und Eingebung. Die zweite Art zu komponieren ist die durch Willkür, Überlegung, Anstrengung, Wissenschaft. (Erinn.: 170)
>
> There are two kinds of composition, one which, as in Schubert's case, comes into existence during a state of clairvoyance or somnambulism, without any conscious action on the part of the composer, but inevitably, by act of providence and inspiration – one may well be astonished and charmed at such a work, but not criticize it. The second way of composition is through willpower, reflection, effort, knowledge, etc. (SMF: 146).

When Stadler in 1858 appealed to Vogl's authority to strengthen a depiction already sketched by Mayrhofer, now with even stronger terms like "clairvoyance" and "somnambulism", he was clearly resorting to the enduring "vocabulary of idealism" by means of which "Music is widely described as "supernatural," "mystic," "holy," "divine," "heavenly."" (Bonds, 2006: 26) In a circle of friends where poetry had always constituted the principal binding force, Schubert's immense talent for swift and yet "profound" musical interpretation of poems remained comprehensibly an unforgettable, delightful memory and, especially for non-specialists, a somewhat mysterious, unaccountable process. As well known, Beethoven's "naturalism" began, from a music-philological perspective, to be explored already in the second half of the 19th century by pioneers like Martin Gustav Nottebohm, and Mozart's alleged divine inspiration and effortless composition came likewise soon after under scrutiny.[26] Regarding Schubert this development was much slower and took off concretely only in the second half of the 20th century, thus leaving unchallenged the validity and influence of his friend's claims and other apocryphal anecdotes. Given the aims of the present inquiry it would hardly be relevant to outline a lengthy summary and refutation of such testimonies, hence it seems adequate to simply draw attention to Walther Dürr's warning that they all "beruhen nun allerdings keineswegs auf Beobachtungen (kaum einer von Schuberts Freunden war während seiner Arbeitsstunden anwesend…" (Dürr/Krause, 2007: 78).[27] Nevertheless Vogl's and other friends' and acquaintances' remarks have shaped for over a century the perception of Schubert's subjectivity and his creative process, let us therefore have a closer look at his abovementioned distinction. The first, Schubertian, approach to composition is described as (heavenly) guided through "inspiration", hence a process not visible nor leaving tangible traces of its becoming, that cannot be comprehended, analysed nor indeed "criticised". The artwork consequently comes into being as a *mediation* of the infinite/ideal and finite/real, through a creative process fundamentally obscure and impenetrable, buried in the intuitions and inwardness of the "medium"/composer. However Vogl's definition bears only positive

[26] Regarding Mozart's creative process Alan Tyson notes: "Although it is beyond doubt that he often continued to compose with enormous rapidity and fluency, some kinds of works seem to have been written very slowly, and perhaps laboriously." (Tyson,1981: 506) and sums up some of the main stages of this music-philological research in *The Mozart Fragments in the Mozarteum, Salzburg: A Preliminary Study of Their Chronology and Their Significance*. Journal of the American Musicological Society, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Autumn, 1981), pp.471-510

[27] Closing this brief, deconstructing excursus on the relation between topoi of "industriousness", creative process and music-philological analysis with Dürr's diagnosis is quite illuminating: "Nicht das Beethovensche Verfahren der Anlage umfangreicher Skizzenbücher, das heute in der Regel als Model ernsthafter kompositorischer Arbeit erscheint, war das übliche, sondern gerade das Schubertsche. Wie man eine Komposition zuerst im Umrissen vollständig entwerfen (als «Verlaufsskizze» oder «continuity draft») und dann im Detail ausführen kann, scheint Schubert bei Salieri gelernt zu haben (selbst darin also war er nicht «Naturalist»)…" (Dürr/Krause, 2007:79).

connotations and clearly resorted to a "vocabulary of idealism", which in the first decades of the 19th century was increasingly shaped by the early-romantic writings and aesthetical theories of, amongst others, Friedrich Schiller, August Wilhelm Schlegel, Friedrich Schlegel, Novalis and Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling.[28] When, on the other hand, Vogl described the second method of composition as defined by "willpower, reflection, effort, knowledge", he was consciously shedding a negative light on this approach. Evidently his dichotomous analysis juxtaposed a heavenly-inspired "genius" with the all too human volitions and struggles of a *craftsman*, whose reflections and doubts leave traces, who must proceed by means of trial and error, whose meticulous industriousness could ultimately be suspected of concealed philistinism. In this regard Gibbs has no doubts that Vogl's definition implied "a clear allusion to Beethoven." (Gibbs, 1997: 50), but Suzannah Clark articulates an even more relevant consideration:

> When Vogl assigned the trait to Schubert, he no doubt assumed it was an immutable sign of genius that would gain for Schubert everlasting and incontestable entry into the pantheon of great composers. Vogl could not have predicted that, of the two modes of composition he mentioned in that letter to Stadler, he had chosen the one that not only was rapidly going out of fashion but also would leave the composer open to fierce criticism. (Clark, 2011: 38)

When Mayrhofer in 1829 had defined Schubert a "natural artist", he had resorted to an epithet often applied to Beethoven and which adequately reflected coeval cultural, poetical and music-aesthetical ideals. However when around the middle of the 19th century Beethoven gradually lost this epithet (paradigmatically through the works of A.B. Marx), its popularity in relation to Schubert did not equally wane, but on the contrary was strengthened, for example through such retrospective recollections as those of Stadler. The latter in fact divulged in 1858 an utterance, formulated by Vogl nine years before his own death (a singer born in 1768), still drenched in the vocabulary of idealism and fairly "Apollonian" early-romanticism, in a time where – broadly speaking – music-aesthetics and -criticism (with few exceptions) were about to embrace the romantic infatuation for the profound and esoteric creations of *heroic* composers and the "Dionysian" *artwork of the future* would soon conquer the European stages.

[28] In his lectures on art held in Jena, the epicentre of early, german romanticism, from 1802 to 1805, later published as *Philosophie der Kunst* (1859), F.W.J. Schelling, gave a paradigmatic description of this *mediation*, one that – even "etymologically" – indicated interiority as the principal *locus* of artistic fantasy and creation: "Durch die Kunst wird die göttliche Schöpfung objektiv dargestellt, denn diese beruht auf derselben Einbildung der unendlichen Idealität ins Reale, auf welcher auch jene beruht. Das treffliche deutsche Wort Einbildungskraft bedeutet eigentlich die Kraft der Ineinsbildung, auf welcher in der That alle Schöpfung beruht. Sie ist die Kraft, wodurch ein Ideales zugleich auch ein Reales, die Seele Leib ist, die Kraft der Individuation, welche die eigentlich schöpferische ist." (Schelling: 386)

b) Subjectivity and interiority in a transitional phase

Before continuing the analysis of the development and reception of the early constructions of Schubertian subjectivity, it will be necessary to have a closer look at the nature and implications of the abovementioned "rapid" transformations, alluded to by Clark, as well as the music-aesthetical paradigm-changes already broadly referred to in the previous section. Fostering a reductive, dichotomous understanding of subjectivity and interiority, and of these transformations in general would obviously constitute a rough misrepresentation of the complexity of the music-aesthetical theories predominant in the first half of the 19th century. However, even more crucially, it will be worth highlighting to what extent some of these developments and paradigms – especially when implying abstract dichotomies – were detrimental for the reception of Franz Schubert's music and the comprehension of his subjectivity. In this connection I will ultimately not fail to point out those concrete cases where Schubert's oeuvre appears as the most adequate challenger of some of those approximations, dichotomies and ideologisms that affected the music-aesthetics and music-criticism of the time.

Let us hence return to Vogl's obviously exceedingly abstract, dualistic definition of approaches to composition. From a present day, "common sense" perspective it would seem to imply a conception of subjectivity in which rationality (or "Wissenschaft") lies entirely on the side of the second approach, while the first (the Schubertian) either necessarily relies on some form of divine wisdom or simply must accept to be considered as completely lacking rationality. It would likewise seem to imply that the rational and planning approach reflects a mode of subjectivity which was intelligible, explicable and communicable – thus suited for and inclined to intersubjectivity. The second approach, on the contrary, evokes the image of a mysterious sphinx, seductive yet unfathomable, whose process of inward formation ("Ineinsbildung"), to use Schelling's term, was destined to remain unaccountable and in the depths of the subject, whose objective, tangible expression must be apprehended and accepted as a *fait accompli*. However a contextualisation of Vogl's distinction within the categories of coeval music-aesthetics reveals that rationality, depth or esotericism never fell exclusively under one of the two approaches he outlined. For this purpose let us briefly consider a remark that Schubert recorded in his diary on June 16th 1816, describing the celebrations of Salieri 50th anniversary of activity in Vienna, which ended with the performance of works by Salieri self, but also by absent former pupils (e.g. Hummel and Moscheles) and many present ones, like Schubert.

The latter praised these compositions as expressions of "pure nature" and – still under the influence of his teacher and in terms not dissimilar from those used in the influential music-criticism of Amadeus Wendt in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1815 –,[29] most likely aiming his criticism at Beethoven, opposed them to the "bizarrerie" of the coeval composers:

> Bizarrerie . . . welche bey den meisten Tonsetzern jetzt zu herrschen pflegt, u. einem unserer größten deutschen Künstler beynahe allein zu verdanken ist, von dieser Bizzarrerie [sic], welche das Tragische mit dem Komischen, das Angenehme mit dem Widrigen, das Heroische mit Heulerey, das Heiligste mit dem Harlequin vereint, verwechselt, nicht unterscheidet. (Dok.: 45)

> The eccentricity that is common among most composers nowadays, and is due almost wholly to one of our greatest German artists; that eccentricity which joins and confuses the tragic and the comic, the agreeable with the repulsive, heroism with howlings and the holiest with and harlequinades. (SDB: 64)

Both Schubert's and Amadeus Wendt's reservations resorted to terms rooted in a polemic at least half a century old: the latter lamented the "grossen Verirrungen" (Wendt,1815: 385) provoked by the unrestrained unfolding of musical phantasy in Beethoven's sonatas and symphonies, and the "Harlequin" outlined by Schubert was a widespread topos, not unlike the "musikalisches Ungeheuer" evoked by G.E. Lessing in his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* in 1768.[30] In this connection it seems appropriate to stress that the rationality, "conscious action" and "willpower" (Willkür) that Vogl ascribed exclusively to the Beethovenian approach to composition, was experienced by the young composer much more as arbitrariness (Willkürlichkeit), indicating, if not irrationality, at least an overflow of subjective phantasy and artifice, disregarding the restrains dictated by the simple, *rational harmony* of "pure nature". An exercise in counterfactual history would speculate that had the famous singer and the young composer together put down on paper a distinction of approaches to composition when they had first met in 1817, it would most likely not have been formulated in the terms that Vogl later used in 1831. However a lot happened in that very short span of time – especially in the genres, aesthetics and music-critical reception of instrumental music –, and for what directly concerned Schubert, *everything had in fact already happened*.

[29] Deutsch (Erinn.:45) has emphasised that, in his "Gedanken über die neuere Tonkunst" (*AmZ* 17, 1815) Wendt had defined the Beethovenian manner as "Bizarr" (Wendt, 1815: 387-389)

[30] Lessing had warned against the disorienting combination of opposed characters in music which would inevitably result in a "musikalisches Ungeheuer"; cf. G.E. Lessing: *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1875), 128-130.

The young composer had in the meanwhile, like his novel chief model Beethoven, become an expert in "Sünde gegen Form und Regel" (Wendt,1815:385) in the name of "musical phantasy", both from a stylistic perspective and from the point of view of music-genre: already in November 1822 had he completed his ambitious and influential *Fantasy in C-Major* (D 760), published in 1823 as op. 15, and even the *Sonata for piano* in G-Major, op. 78 (D894), composed in October 1826, was apparently ambiguous enough – for instance through its inclination to three-keys exposition in the first movement (mm. 48 ff.) – to allow a shrewd publisher like Tobias Haslinger to publish its four movements in 1827 as four separate pieces entitled "*Fantasia, Andante, Menuetto und Allegretto für das pianoforte allein.*";[31] in the next chapters we shall examine how swiftly his approach would, along the lines of Leopold v. Sonnleithner's reservations, in turn be criticised for epitomising a subjectivity defined by "bizarrerie", arbitrariness and even sloppiness.[32] Apparently one could argue that any concrete exploration of the music styles and music genres that Schubert had engaged with could have challenged the abstract dichotomy that Vogl had formulated in 1831, and that the indebtedness to the Beethovenian approach was not only something that the composer himself was well aware of, but was even increasingly recognized in the music-criticism of the time. On the other hand one should not forget that Vogl's distinction and his evocation of "clairvoyance", hardly based on empirical observation as emphasised by Dürr, applied foremost to the composition of Lieder and not to large, instrumental music genres; in this connection, once again, Gibbs remark seems most apt: "The Lied is the genre ideally suited for a natural genius because of its small scope, intimacy, and more obvious melodic, rather than structural, character. A Lied can be dashed off on the back of a menu perhaps, but a symphony cannot." (Gibbs, 1997: 50)

Furthermore Vogl could have objected that the composer had himself been responsible for spreading accounts of his subjectivity that evoked irrationality, intuition and heteronomy, a penchant apparently documented through some recollections and famous anecdotes. Karoline Pichler, for instance, had argued in her memoirs *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben* (1844), that Schubert, like Mozart and Haydn "haben keine deutliche Vorstellung weder von ihren Anlagen noch weniger von dem Prozesse, der in ihrem Innern vorgeht, wenn sie sich bestreben,

[31] A review in the *WZ* (29. September 1827) f. ex. emphasised the Beethovenian influence by speaking of "die von Beethoven eingeführte Art und Weise", Schubert's status as song-composer and that the first movement showed the characteristics of a Fantasy: "Der beliebte und talentvolle Lieder-Kompositeur übergibt hier der Musikwelt eine Fantasie, in welcher er seinem Erfindungsgeiste freien Spielraum gab […] ohne doch durch Anhäufung allzu großer Schwierigkeiten die Executierung zu erschweren." (Dok.: 454)

[32] In fact only three months after the aforementioned review, the *AmZ* in Leipzig (on December the 26th 1827), probably at the hand of G.W. Fink, published a positive review of the *Sonata* in G-major, which conclusively warned against indulging in a style that could turn out to become "übertrieben, bizarr, ungenießbar" (Dok.:469).

sie Schöpfungen, die in ihnen gären, durch Tone deutlich zu machen…". However when she attempted to corroborate her claim that Schubert "brachte das Schöne, das Ergreifende seiner Kompositionen fast unbewusst hervor" (Erinn.: 347)[33], then she had to resort to an anecdote she had previously heard from Vogl. This anecdote, which has received much critical attention, tells of how Schubert, confronted by Vogl with a transposed version of one of his own songs ("Der Unglückliche", D713) had apparently not been able to recognize it, but had answered "Das ist nicht übel; von wem ist es den?!" (Erinn.: 249), thus confirming in Vogl's view the unconsciousness inherent to Schubert's creative process. In Gibbs' opinion however "there is a chance Vogl simply misunderstood an ironic comment: when he transposed or embellished a song, as he often did, it was no longer Schubert's." (Gibbs, 2000: 62) This anecdote comes to us also through a private letter written in 1850 by the singer's wife Kunigunde Vogl to her daughter, and other much debated descriptions of the composer's alleged clairvoyance are based on even later recollections by Gerhard von Breuning (1884) and others related to Franz Lachner (posthumous, 1905)[34]. Notwithstanding the limited credibility of the latter's anecdote depicting Schubert ostensibly obtaining a new musical theme (in reality already previously composed) before his eyes from the grinding of a coffee mill, Clark stresses: "The important point from the perspective of the reception of Schubert is that he was portrayed as mocking the idea that he – literally – grinds out his music by interpreting signals from another source." (Clark, 2011: 19) While the last two mentioned sources reflected and emboldened the myth of the somewhat childish, divinely inspired artist (or even by trivialities as in Lachner) popular towards the turn of the century, it is safe to conclude that around the half of the century, Vogl was – directly and indirectly – the principle "responsible" for the dissemination of a highly influential misrepresentation of Schubert's subjectivity and creative process, which would increasingly be susceptible to unfavourable or trivialising interpretations in terms of undiscipline, superficiality, unconsciousness, heteronomy and irrationality.

So far we have examined sources that illustrate to what extent the interpretation of Schubert's subjectivity was shaped – at least before the publication of Heinrich Kreissle v. Hellborn's biography in 1865 – mainly by his circle of friends, acquaintances, retrospective memoirs and recollections, and music criticism. Conspicuous is the *absence* of any impact, before and after the composer's death, of ego-documents outlining, in some form, instances of implicit or

[33] "They themselves have no clear conception either of their gifts or, still less, of the process which goes on inside them when they endeavour to make manifest in sound the creations which are fermenting within them […]He too, brought into existence what was beautiful and moving in his compositions almost unconsciously…" (SMF:301)
[34] Cfr. Deutsch has collected the recollections of Breuning (Erinn.:288) and about Lachner (Erinn.:336).

explicit poetics. The remaining part of this section will hence try to determine how this absence has influenced the early Schubert reception and more precisely, how this absence should be interpreted in relation and comparison to the coeval tendency of composer toward self-explication, and finally how it has contributed to the development of the notion of a specifically Schubertian form of subjectivity and interiority.

In his letters, diary entries and in his rare, fragmentary and vaguely poetic remarks, the composer resorted primarily to a language strongly influenced (like indeed most young people) by his friends – whose leading trinity was literary classicism, sentimentalism and "Bildung" ideals –,[35] by terms and metaphors rooted in that German and English literature and poetry he passionately read and often set to music, and which essentially reveals great affinity with the abovementioned "vocabulary of idealism". The entries and remarks formulated in this vocabulary mirror attitudes and aesthetic ideals quite attuned to those of his time (as were Vogl's), but there is no single ego-document in which these categories are organically articulated into an explicit poetics, music-aesthetical writing or self-confessional text, and, furthermore, these documents gradually gained wide scholarly and public attention only after the publication of Hellborn's biography – with few exceptions, most notably those published by Robert Schumann in 1839 in his *NZfM*.[36] In this connection, one should not fail to recognize that the divulgation and distribution of these ego-documents is not ascribable exclusively to Schumann's ardent advocacy of Schubert, but reflected also the legitimate editorial intention to capitalise on the public's and music-critics' growing demand for such documents.

By publishing four letters, two poems and the text "*Mein Traum*", Schumann undoubtedly provided the readers a fascinating depiction of the character of the composer, and likewise, based on the later-collected ego-documents, have scholars believed to gradually gain an insight into Schubert's "*Doppelnatur*" (Erinn.:53), of which his friend Eduard v. Bauernfeld spoke of in 1857, and his Weltanschauung: his distinctive joviality, but also his premature inclination towards sorrowfulness; his delight in the wonders of nature and a romantic disposition to introspection; his need and enjoyment of informal conviviality and his dread of superficial mundanity; etc. Even more schematically speaking, one *could* go so far as to argue that, from the "vocabulary of idealism" and brief remarks scattered about in his letters and entries, it may

[35] In *Poetisches Vaterland. Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts* (1999) Michael Kohlhäufl gives an insightful account of the interaction of literature, poetry (classicism, sentimental and romantic), enlightenment and political ideals in Schubert's circle of friends; we shall return to the justly stressed: "Konflikt zwischen «unbedingtem Gefühlskult und rationalistischer Bescheidung»" (Kohlhäufl, 1999: 64).

[36] "Am 1. und 5. Februar 1839 veröffentlicht Schumann als *Reliquien von Franz Schubert* biographische Quellen, auf deren Authentizität er in einer einleitenden Bemerkung hinweist: vier Briefe, zwei Gedichte und die Aufzeichnung *Mein Traum*, die laut Schumann »tiefere Deutung« zuläßt." (Maintz, 1995: 63)

be inductively established that the composer manifested an inclination to operate with dichotomies which, for the time being, could be outlined as follows: interiority he conceived as the *locus* and *modus* of authenticity of feeling, reasoning and expression, of connection with nature, originality, depth, suffering, "truth-beauty-virtue" and love, while exteriority and the mundane sphere epitomised convention, superficiality, obliviousness, trivialities, hypocrisy and interest, etc. Let us briefly consider an ego-document, made public by Eduard v. Bauernfeld and later included in modified form in Hellborn's biography, which seems to paradigmatically reflect some of these dichotomies. Following the first traumatic manifestations of his disease in the Spring of 1824, the composer expressed most vividly the misery intrinsic to the prospect of a monadic, estranged existence and to the risk of a (music-critical) belittling of those compositions stemming from and addressing this condition:

> Keiner der den Schmerz des Andern, und Keiner, der die Freude des Andern versteht! Man glaubt immer, zu einander zu gehen, und man geht immer nur neben einander. O Qual für den, der dieß erkennt!
> Meine Erzeugnisse sind durch den Verstand für Musik und durch meinen Schmerz vorhanden; jene, welche der Schmerz allein erzeugt hat, scheinen am wenigsten die Welt zu erfreuen. (Dok.: 233)

> There is no one who understands the pain or the joy of others! We always imagine we are coming together, and we always merely go side by side. Oh, what torture for those who recognize this!
> What I produce is due to my understanding of music and to my sorrows; that which sorrow alone has produced seems to give least pleasure to the world. (SDB: 336)

In this pessimistic vision of human aptitude for empathy and intersubjectivity, interiority hardly seems a desirable, elective refuge for consciousness. Nevertheless Schubert's account of the creativity stemming from this painful, solitary introversion was voiced with turn of phrases strongly resembling those previously employed by his peers Heinrich Heine and Marry Shelley, and, more generally speaking, echoed those idealistic and romantic notions of sorrow and interiority as infinite sources of knowledge and inspiration, discussed in the philosophy of Fichte and Hegel, and celebrated in the writings of the Schlegel brothers and Novalis. Consequently one could apparently argue that this ego-document reveals essential features of Schubert's subjectivity, and that it seems to imply that the latter was prominently shaped by the romantic rediscovery of mankind's solitary anguish and inner turmoil (the pietistic "Zerissenheit"), rather than by a self-confident, enlightened celebration of the autonomy of individuals – not to mention the likelihood of their intersubjectivity and brotherhood. It likewise incidentally gives the impression of corroborating Vogl's previously analysed distinction and thus apparently identify Schubert as a composer inspired by sentiment (pain/sorrow) rather than by the elaboration of ideas (or "Wissenschaft"). On the other hand it is necessary to emphasise, already at this point, that this source should be considered as the

first example of the risk inherent to a somewhat *abstract* definition of Schubert's subjectivity, in other words based on "decontextualised" ego-documents or recollections.[37] This abstractness, simply put, does neither take into account the difference between *theory and practice*, the aforementioned conflict between "unbedingtem Gefühlskult und rationalistischer Bescheidung", nor that between the subjective, "private" experience of solitude and estrangement, the artist's mediation of these experiences, and their final artistic transfiguration into musical compositions, performance, conviviality and intersubjectivity. In this connection Gernot Gruber's analysis constitutes a fitting admonition against the postulation of the identity of "biographical" and "aesthetical" subject, and more specifically against readings of this ego-document that eventually lead down a slippery slope resulting in interpretations of Schubert's subjectivity in terms of solipsism and self-referential sentimentalism:

> Eine Zuspitzung dieser Gefühlslage in Richtung auf einen poetischen Nihilismus machte dann aus dem empfindsamen notwendig ein einsames, weltverlorenes und weltverlassendes Ich. Vermutlich deshalb neigen Interpreten so sehr dazu, den »späten« Schubert zu einem in seiner Kunst einsamen Beobachter der Welt, ja noch radikaler zu einem, der den Abschied von sich selbst voraussieht, zu stilisieren – und dabei ihr Wissen von Schuberts gesellschaftlicher Einbindung und seiner Freude an Geselligkeit zu verdrängen: Einsam war Schubert wie jeder Künstler bei seinem Schaffen, sonst nicht. […] Schmerz, Einsamkeit und der drohende Tod waren für ihn ästhetische Gegenstände, die zu künstlerischen Lösungen drängten. (Gruber, 2010: 234)

For what must have concerned Schubert's own experience as human being and as objects of a biographical enquiry, "sorrow, solitude and the menace of death" undoubtedly had a terribly tangible quality and relevance, which can't be dismissed and sublimated as materials merely waiting to be submitted to a process of "aestheticization".[38] On the other hand we shall in the course of this enquiry have several opportunities to appreciate the pertinence of Gruber's criticism and to observe that in the Schubert reception the temptation of portraying a solitary and melancholic artist has regularly proved to be irresistible in spite of the familiarity with dissuading documents and sources. Even more important is stressing, along the lines of Gruber's reasoning, that in this reception the construction of Schubert's subjectivity has not been challenged exclusively by the scarcity of ego-documents, but even more, as we have observed in this case, by their potentially misleading nature, especially when decontextualised and abstractly accepted as *prima facie* evidence of the artist's intentionality and ethos.

[37] Opposing such *abstract* approach by means of an observation and *positive* definition of this subjectivity, not only by analysing the documentary evidences and reception trends, but also though its concrete manifestation in the aesthetic frames of coeval music-genres, -practices and -institutions would be a vast task, elaborated by recent scholarship (e.g. Gingerich's *Schubert's Beethoven Project*), which transcends the limits of the present enquiry.

[38] The diary entry under examination was followed by a letter, sent on the 31st March 1824 to his friend, the painter Leopold Kupelwieser, written in an even more gloomy and touching tone, which Gibbs has defined, from a biographical point of view, as "the key verbal document of Schubert's life" (Gibbs, 2000:115).

As well known, through the centuries, composers have regularly wished to intervene "publicly" with explanatory or apologetic *words* to defend their *music*, as for example the Monteverdi brothers did in the first decade of the 17th century, react in more or less subtle ways to academic *querelles* or fully articulate in a treaty their views regarding the relation between performance and musical expression as f. ex. C.P.E. Bach. However it was chiefly with the gradual decline of the doctrine of affects, of the poetics of rhetoric and mimesis, and the increasing centrality assumed by the "lyrical-I" within expressivist and romantic aesthetics that also composers (like their lyricist and novelist colleagues) began to perceive their sentiments, personal experiences, values and aesthetics ideals as having a constitutive, synthetic function in the making and in the listeners' subsequent perception and understanding of their creations.[39] Consequently the exhibition of the artist's persona and the divulgation of his writings, the knowledge concerning the "biographical subject" was increasingly perceived as crucial for the comprehension and interpretation of the "aesthetical subject" and the musical work itself. Mark Evan Bonds, for instance, identifies the publication in 1827 of Beethoven's so-called "Heiligenstadt Testament" as a critical year in this music-historical and music-aesthetical development, since it emboldened the listeners' belief "that a knowledge of Beethoven the individual would help them understand his music" and because, after its publication, "biographical interpretations of the music became the norm." (Bonds, 2020:130), and furthermore "…the perception of music as an oracular art changed the perception of the verbal clues composers were now providing for such works. Audiences were beginning to read these as keys to unlock what might otherwise seem to be opaque utterances." (Bonds, 2020:149) "Verbal clues" (not too dissimilar from the "Wegweiser" which almost a century later would trouble Gustav Mahler) exorcizing "opaqueness" and indeterminacy, as well as explicatory, self-confessional, poetics and music-aesthetical writings, which the European audiences were growing accustomed to and learning to rely on through the music and writings of, amongst others, Hector Berlioz, Robert Schumann and Richard Wagner, were, as previously stressed, evidently absent from the artistic output and documentary legacy of Franz Schubert. Although no exhaustive account can be provided here, let us briefly consider some implications of the differences between Schubert's and these composers' approach to the autonomous definition of musical subjectivity and their public image.

[39] In *Die Anfänge der Romantik in der Musik* (2022) Christiane Wiesenfeldt has formulated a similar analysis: "Der romantische Autor begreift sich als Sinngeber durch seine Kunst, sein Publikum wertet sein Tun entsprechend höher als noch zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Das Interesse am Autor als Autor (und nicht nur als Produzent) von Kunst beginnt. Seine Individualpoetik rückt ins Zentrum, seine Originalität interessiert, sein Werdegang und seine Wirkung werden analysiert…" (Wiesenfeldt, 2022: 88)

In the case of Beethoven, the foundation for the construction of his subjectivity in terms of "freedom and self-determination, as well as the decidedly human (as opposed to godlike or demigodlike) nature of the heroic type." (Burnham,1995: 25) was laid already before and immediately after the composer's death (for instance with the publication of the abovementioned "Testament") and the accusations of abstrusities and "bizarrerie" in his instrumental music would increasingly be dismissed in name of this ethos and its related "idea of musical necessity" (Burnham, 1995: 63). In the case of Berlioz (most famously in the 1830, 1845 and 1855 programs for the *Symphonie Fantastique* op. 14), Schumann and Wagner the heteronomy and the apparent irruption of irrationality and arbitrariness, the challenging or disrespect of formal conventions, or the prescription of music-dramatic idiosyncrasies was, to some extent, rationalised and defended through the external intervention, like a *deus ex machina*, of extra-musical, intertextual, poetic references as well as music-historical *myths* or dramaturgical and music-philosophical theorisations. This self-explanatory extroversion was denied to Schubert – or he indeed denied it to himself – as it had, after all, been to most composers of the generations preceding his own.[40] Consequently those listeners and music-critics who soon felt themselves *clueless*, disoriented, and who seldomly praised the *length* of his soloistic, chamber and orchestral compositions with terms as flattering as those employed in Schumann's famous expression, could obviously not expect to find in Schubert's writings any satisfactory guidance nor a representation of his subjectivity sufficiently imposing or romantically charismatic to legitimise alleged oddities and idiosyncrasies; in other words listeners could in the image and writings of Schubert never envisage a Delphic oracle nor an Atlas carrying the whole weight of the *creation* on his shoulders. With the assistance of Bonds' following consideration we should further unpack some of the implications of this documentary situation in relation to Schubert's embeddedness *in* and premature withdrawal *from* this music-historical phase of transition and great transformations:

> …by the 1830 most composers were compelled to fend for themselves in the open market. They quickly learned that their public personae, their individual "brands", could help them promote their music. Berlioz, Liszt, Schumann and Wagner, all born within the decade 1803-1813, belonged to the first generation of composers who consciously fashioned their own distinctive public image through prose criticism. […] By the middle of the nineteenth century, it was not simply the published score alone that was for sale, but also, within its wrappers, the soul of the composer. As a wordless confession from the innermost recesses of the genius-artist, instrumental music offered something more emotionally direct. (Bonds, 2020: 12-13)

[40] It is sufficient to mention the case of the two other – alongside Beethoven – most influential composer's in the turn of the century Vienna: beside his famous announcement for the Quartets op. 33, written in a "gantz neue Besondere Art." (Finscher: 408), Haydn left no autograph programmatic writings, and scholars have in this respect found very limited satisfaction from the investigation of the correspondence between Leopold and W.A. Mozart.

Franz Schubert, a pupil of Antonio Salieri, a composer whose whole artistic development and career unfolded in the brief, yet revolutionary "Epoche Beethoven und Rossini",[41] but whom, especially from a reception perspective, was more a peer to Berlioz, Mendelssohn, Schumann (who did in fact consider him so) and even Liszt and Brahms, seems truly – more than most great artists –, a composer peculiarly stretched out between *past, present* and *future*. [42] Since we have already had a glimpse into what was soon to constitute the (musical) *past*, through the young composer's praise of "pure nature", of a Gluck-inspired decorum and simplicity guaranteed by the respect of the principle of *unity in variety*, let us now, in relation to Bonds' evoked "open market", "brand" promotion and publishing of scores, as tokens of the *present* (i.e. Schubert's), consider two letters. In the first, written in 1823, the composer addressed his former teacher Josef Peitl concerning the possibility of a public performance of some orchestral works, in a pupils' concert in Vienna's Normal-Hauptschule:

> Da ich fürs ganze Orchester eigentlich nichts besitze, welche ich mit ruhigen Gewissen in die Welt hinaus schicken könnte, und so viele Stücke von großen Meistern vorhanden sind z.B. von Beethoven: Ouverture aus Prometheus, Egmont, Coriolan etc. etc. etc. so muß ich Sie recht herzlich um Verzeihung bitten, Ihnen bey dieser Gelegenheit – nicht dienen zu können, indem es mir nachtheilig seyn müßte mit etwas Mittelmäßigen aufzutreten. Verzeihen Sie daher meiner zu schnellen u. unbedachten Zusage. (Dok.:183)

> Since I actually have nothing for full orchestra which I could send out into the world with a clear conscience, and there are so many pieces by great masters, as for instance Beethoven's Overture to 'Prometheus,' 'Egmont,' 'Coriolanus,' &c. &c. &c., I must very cordially ask you pardon for not being able to oblige you on this occasion, seeing that it would be much to my disadvantage to appear with a mediocre work. Forgive me, therefore, for having accepted too rashly and unthinkingly. (SDB:265)

These are the words of a composer who had recently completed the Overture for *Alfonso und Estrella* (D732), and had publicly unperformed symphonies in his drawers, written between April 1816 and October 1818, such as his thoroughly Beethoven-inspired Symphony No. 4 in C-Minor "The Tragic" (D417), the Symphony No. 5 in B-flat Major (D485) and the Symphony No. 6 in C-Major (D589) written in an "undeniably Rossinian style" (Griffel, 1997:196). The composer denied himself this opportunity of a public performance of these symphonies (even of a single movement), although he had already participated as violist in their "informal, social, salon-style performances" (Griffel, 1997: 197) by the amateur orchestra based in the house of

[41] I.e.1800 to 1832 according to the division outlined by Raphael Georg Kiesewetter in the second edition (1846) of his influential *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen oder unserer heutigen Musik* […]; cf. p. 98

[42] That the asynchronism between the life-span of the "biographical subject" and the impact of the work and related "aesthetical subject" was already perceived by Brahms who somewhat paradoxically could consider Schubert his peer, is stressed by Leon Botstein in the following terms: "The Schubert who rose to prominence in the public imagination and the repertoire of the concert hall after 1850 had first been "conceived" in 1839 when Schumann wrote about the newly discovered "Great" C-Major Symphony. This, his second life, lasted until 1867, when the "Unfinished" was published. Thus the Schubert inherited and embraced by the twentieth century as one of the great composers was born not in 1797 but rather in 1839, making him more a contemporary of Brahms and Wagner than of Beethoven and Weber. Brahms was keenly aware of this anomaly." (Botstein, 2014: 307)

the Viennese merchant Otto Hatwig.[43] As also these semi-private performances testify, Schubert was generally not overly timorous of exposing his compositions to judgment, nor did he ever suffer from a "Brucknerian" inclination to constant revision of finished scores, leaving several authorial variants and versions of his instrumental compositions. Regardless of his motivations for declining and the questions regarding the prestigiousness of the music venue, this letter certainly reveals the remarkable, self-critical conscientiousness of the composer – even a distant echo of Giulio Caccini's wise admonition that "Quest'arte non patisce la mediocrità" (*Le nuove musiche*, 1602) –, his by that time unshakable admiration for Beethoven, but undeniably also a weak sense for the self-promotion of his works and "public image".[44]
On 21st of February 1828, pressed by financial struggles and the awareness of his most precarious health conditions, but also with the attained self-confidence of a composer who had in the meanwhile written successful compositions in all the major musical genres of his time, Schubert wrote a letter to the Mainz-based publisher Schott, in the following tone:

> Ich fühlte mich durch Ihr Schreiben vom 8. Febr. sehr geehrt, und trette mit Vergnügen mit einer so soliden Kunsthandlung, welche ganz geeignet ist meine Werke im Auslande mehr zu verbreiten, in nähere Verbindung. Vorräthige Compositionen besitze ich folgende:
> a)Trio für Pianoforte, Violine und Violoncelle, welches mit vielem Beyfall hier producirt wurde.
> b) Zwey Streich-Quartetten (G-Dur u. D-Moll)
> c) Vier Impromtu's fürs Pianoforte allein, welche jedes einzeln oder alle vier zusammen erscheinen können.
> d) Fantasie fürs Pianoforte zu 4 Hände, der Comtesse Caroline Esterhazy dedicirt.
> e) Fantasie für Pianoforte u. Violine […]
> Dieß das Verzeichniß meiner fertigen Compositionen außer 3 Opern, einer Messe und einer Symphonie. Diese letztern Comp. zeige ich nur darum an, damit Sie mit meinem Streben nach dem Höchsten in der Kunst bekannt sind.
> Wenn Sie nun von obigem Verzeichniß etwas für ihren Verlag wünschen, so überlasse ich Ihnen solches gegen billiges Honorar mit Vergnügen… (Dok.:495)

This letter exemplifies a *modern* artist's difficult exercise in entrepreneurship, with its subtle balance between flattering opening remarks addressed to the publishing company (the Leipzig-based publisher Probst would soon put the composer's patience to the test, with "misunderstandings" regarding fees and by constantly delaying the publication of the Trio No. 2 in E-flat major for piano, violin, and cello (D929), which was eventually published Posth. in November 1828)[45], a dignified assertion of his own abilities and achievements, but not without

[43] Consequently these symphonies were respectively first publicly performed and published: D417, 19.11.1849 in Leipzig / Publ. Leipzig 1884 (AGA) ; D485, 17.10.1841 in Vienna / Publ. Leipzig 1885 (AGA) ; D589, 14.12.1828 / Publ. Leipzig 1885. The opera *Alfonso und Estrella* was finally performed in Weimar in 1854, in a shortened version conducted by Franz Liszt, and the Overture was first published in 1867, by Spina in Vienna.
[44] Already in Blahetka's necrology, published in the *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung* (27.12.1828), was this attitude highlighted in the following terms: "…*Schubert* war ein so strenger Richter seiner selbst, daß er nur das aufhob, was ihm des Aufhebens werth schien, seine Jugendversuche vertilgte, und vieles auch von seinen späteren Schöpfungen vernichtete." (Dok. I: 463)
[45] The impatience of the composer and the unrhetorical, modern character of the work's dedication is captured in his letter written on August 1st 1828: "Das Opus des Trio ist 100. Ich ersuche, daß die Auflage *fehlerlos* ist, und

a final pledge of inexpensiveness. It testifies likewise the composer's careful outlook for more favourable markets ("abroad", i.e. mainly northern Germany), where such compositions as those itemised in this letter were receiving much positive music-critical attention, and constituted an increasingly essential repertoire for both private, amateur musicmaking as well as for professionals in public music venues.[46] At the same time it can hardly go unnoticed that Schubert, in a manner which reminds of his 1823 letter, although evidently eager to see his works published, left unmentioned five completed operas, four Masses, and just like in 1823, six symphonies, plus two movements from his Symphony "Unfinished" in B-Minor (D759), which he had not deemed unworthy of being sent to his friend, the composer Anselm Hüttenbrenner, who in 1824 had become the director of that *Steiermärkischen Musikverein* in Graz of which Schubert had been an "external honorary member" since April 1823.[47] Still this letter has incessantly received scholarly attention not only because it depicts the composer's relation to an important publisher and his behaviour on the "open market", but also for its conclusive, lofty remark regarding his "strivings after the highest in art". As long as it is carefully read in the context of the letter, this remark is bound to reflect foremostly the composer's awareness of the hierarchy of the music genres and music venues of his time – i.e. the yet unchallenged prestige of the large music-forms and -genres of public music such as the opera and symphony –, thus confirming, from this perspective, his indisputable embeddedness in the "Epoche Beethoven und Rossini". It would however be a mistake, given the absence of articulate poetics and music-aesthetical writings by the composer, to give in to the temptation of elevating it into a paradigmatic expression of the artist's *ethos*, as if it was an epitaphial maxim along the lines of the Kantian "Der bestirnte Himmel über mir, und das moralische Gesetz in mir." (Kant-W,VII: 300).[48] Conclusively, I suggest considering this letter as a first reminder that Schubert epitomised a fairly unprecedented relationship between composers and

sehe derselben mit Sehnsucht entgegen. Dedicirt wird dieses Werk Niemanden außer jenen, die Gefallen daran finden. Das die einträglichste Dedication." (Dok.: 529).

[46] It was, as Gingerich observes, a wise and necessary choice, since "while, in Germany the legacy of Viennese classicism was being embraced as a source of "national" identity, Vienna with the foundings in 1824 by Joseph Lanner and one year later by Johann Strauss the Elder of their phenomenally successful orchestra, rediscovered the waltz. […] While Schubert's turn to strings quartets, piano sonatas, and piano trios thus cut against the grain of preoccupations in Vienna it dovetailed with trends in Germany." (Gingerich, 2014: 256-257)

[47] The apparent carefreeness with which Schubert sometime treated his scores, in this case the only autograph score of what was to become one of his most revered compositions, also reveals a not always strategical approach to self-promotion: "What Schubert could not have anticipated was that the Hüttenbrenner brothers would appropriate his symphony themselves, that the Graz music society would never know that he had fulfilled his obligation to them, and that they would never have the opportunity to perform his two movements. But neither, in the next five years, did he mention the symphony or the Graz society's failure to acknowledge its receipt or to perform it." (Gingerich, 2007:111)

[48] This happens, for instance, when it is decontextualised or perhaps even when it is used as a captivating chapter title; cf. Gingerich, 2014 p. viiii, and Gibbs, 1997, p. vii.

the "open market", music publishers and the growing influence of the urban bourgeoise. As well known, when Schubert began his career as composer in Vienna – ca. 1820, since as Leopold v. Sonnleithner specified "dieser Zeitpunkt einen Wendepunkt, nämlich den Eintritt in die Öffentlichkeit, bildet" (Erinn.: 137) –, hardly thirty years had passed since Mozart had seen his earnings significantly diminish in 1786, following the decrease of subscription concerts, salon appearances and score publications, and during his own lifetime Schubert had witnessed how Beethoven had set a trend by showing how the *modern, emancipated composer* should answer principally to his own creative inspiration and the "inner necessities" of his music and not compose in order to satisfy contingent work commissions; safe having previously secured an annual allowance granted by highly influential members of the Viennese nobility (i.e. Archduke Rudolph of Austria, Count Franz Joseph Lobkowitz and Prince Ferdinand Kinsky).[49]

Only recently has scholarship begun to stress that Schubert was amongst the first "truly freelance composer, without title or station" (Gibbs, 2000:10), whose determination for artistic and financial autonomy was, in comparison to Beethoven's, "just as strong, his direction just as determined, but less loudly announced." (Gibbs, 2000: 64). [50] However emphasising such trend, reflects a retrospective judgement based not only on a documentary and music-historical overview that far exceeds that of Schubert's peers and early biographers, but which also obviously responds to different aesthetical norms and ideological categories, (some of which shall be further examined in the final chapters of this enquiry). Consequently it would be anachronistic and unreasonable to lament that in the necrologies and early testimonies so far examined, the composer's determination (or *necessity*?) to find "without title or station" international recognition in the "open market" – i.e. in the spheres of private musicmaking and public music venues, as well as the endorsement of important publishing companies –, was neither stressed nor exploited in order to promote a definition of Schubert's subjectivity in terms of emancipation and autonomy, of courageousness and stubbornness in the face of challenges and a tragic epilogue. Let us nevertheless – as 21st century observers –, not fail to acknowledge the novelty represented by Schubert's condition as paradigmatic of some

[49] A still valid overview of Mozart's earnings can be found in Solomon's *Mozart a Life* (1995), pp. 521-528. A brief, but brilliant deconstruction of the myth of the lonely, emancipated composer can be found in Birgit Lodes' article "Jenseits der Einsamkeit: Beethoven am Hof und im Salon", in: Birgit Lodes, Melanie Unseld und Susana Zapke: *Wer war Ludwig van? Drei Denkanstöße*. Wien: Picus Verlag, 2020, pp. 13-34

[50] Actually in the 1820's neither Beethoven nor Schubert had excluded accepting a position as court Kapellmeisters. Regarding the former it should be remembered that "als Erzherzog Rudolph 1820 Erzbischof von Olmütz wurde, hoffte Beethoven auf eine Anstellung als dessen Kapellmeister." (Lodes, 2020:17). Schubert did as late as April 1826 unsuccessfully apply for a position in Vienna as "Vizehofkapellmeister" (Dürr/Krause: 48).

essential aspects of the unprecedented socio-material conditions and ideal status of composers in the beginning of 19th century and, as such, as a token of his projection towards the *future*. Regarding the latter, we have observed that Bonds has stressed that between the 1830s and the 1850s, not only a composer's "brand" and "score", but also his "soul" was becoming increasingly reified and marketable.

In this section I have accordingly emphasised to what extent, in this same lapse of time, Schubert's subjectivity, due to the quality and scarce quantity and divulgation of the ego-documents, was largely defined posthumously, *in absentia* and – to express it along the lines of Bonds' crude metaphors – "sold" by his friends and acquaintances.

The obituaries written by Johann Mayrhofer and Joseph v. Spaun, by a member of a most influential Viennese family like Leopold v. Sonnleithner, and especially the early recollections of Johann Michael Vogl, emphasised Schubert's supreme skilfulness as composer of Lieder and small genres, disseminated scepticism regarding his aptitude for devising of large, instrumental compositions, and laid the foundations for a construction of the Schubertian subjectivity in terms of heteronomy, intuition, irrationality, inconstancy, and simplicity (in spite of contradicting inclinations and moods), which would influence the interpretation of the first biographers and music-criticism round the middle of the 19th century. I have likewise brought the attention to the fact that their depiction of the ethos of the composer did hardly emphasise the challenges that Schubert had to face as a composer *determined* to live on the revenues of his artistic creations – haunted by the ancient dread of artistic mediocrity –, carefully looking beyond the Viennese boundaries to find markets where his instrumental music was being favourably received and music-publishing was blooming, yet, finally, not always showing an exactly "hanseatic" sense of business (i.e. unlike that shone by G.P. Telemann a century earlier) in the promotion and handling of his scores.

It will be worthwhile examining in the next chapter the development and reception of Schubert's subjectivity in that phase where his "scores" and instrumental compositions finally began to reach markets and audiences. This analysis will further highlight the inherent asynchronism of the early Schubert reception, where these compositions, originated in the "epoch of Rossini and Beethoven" – to use Bonds' expression, these "wordless confession from the innermost recesses" – would, like many "*relics*", slowly reach shores in many cases altered almost beyond recognition by the "romantic" storms stirred up by, to name a few, Berlioz, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Liszt and Wagner.

3) Instrumental music, the "Liederfürst" and interiority in the mid-19th century reception

In the previous chapter I have emphasised that Schubert's lifetime and the decades that immediately followed his death – as stressed in the analysis of Bonds –, were times of great paradigm-changes. That a coeval, in some cases more than others, profound consciousness of these radical transformations was widespread also amongst composers, performers and music-critics, has by now been established by means of countless methodological approaches and through the investigation of manifold typologies of sources. The coining of new terms or gradual revision of old ones, for instance, testify the coeval attempt to account for these changes and often reflect a normative stance on them. In his recent *Kulturgeschichte der europäischen Musik* (2020) Gernot Gruber, who fittingly labels the so far here-examined historical period as "Vom Wiener Kongress zu den Revolutionen 1848/49", underlines that it was also in order to differentiate two increasingly significant contexts of music-making – both crucial in the Schubert reception –, that the term "Hausmusik", in opposition to "Salonmusik" (Gruber, 2020: 457), was devised and popularised on the pages of Schumann's *NZfM* in 1837. As well known, one year earlier, Amadeus Wendt had associated the notion of "classical" to the repertoire of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, in opposition to the negative connotations he had given to the notion of "romantic".[51] In view of the aforementioned *asynchronism* or, in other words, of the fact, that the instrumental works of a composer of the "epoque of Rossini and Beethoven", and – as we shall to some extent examine in this enquiry –, of a *modern*, "freelance composer" who deeply experimented with harmony, music-forms and -genres, were discovered on the threshold of these new music-historical and aesthetic categories, it should not surprise that, from early on, the Schubert reception suffered from those aporias that inevitably characterise the desire to define the music and subjectivity of Schubert as either "classical" or "romantic".[52] While deliberately avoiding getting entangled in such dichotomies and fruitless ponderings, this chapter will primarily examine, against the backdrop of the mid-19th century, the influence of Schumann's Schubert reception and of the publications of the first biographies on the further development of the construction of a Schubertian subjectivity, and the paradoxical concomitance of the establishment of the "Liederfürst"-cliché with the reception of many of his most influential instrumental compositions.

[51] Cf. the "Zügellosigkeit and Willkür" (Wendt, 1836: 82) he, in spite of some appreciative remarks, ascribes to the music of Chopin and his denigrative notion of a "überromantisch" music (Wendt, 1836:81).
[52] As we shall see a "healthy skepticism upon that old dichotomy" was, also within the Schubert reception, very slowly attained. Cf. Leon Plantinga: ""Classic" and "Romantic," Beethoven and Schubert", in Erickson, Raymond (ed.): *Schubert's Vienna*. Yale University, New Haven & London, 1997, p. 95.

a) Schumann's Schubert reception: the poetic geniality of a composer without depth?

As previously mentioned, the debate among Schubert's friends and acquaintances was, in the decades following the composer's death, often revived by the requests received for planned biographies of the composer. After the aborted attempts by Aloys Fuchs and Franz Liszt – or the unsuccessful ones like Wilhelm Neumann's *Franz Schubert: Eine Biographie* (1855) – this debate was greatly reinvigorated around 1857/58 by Ferdinand Luib's effort to collect sources for his planned biography. These materials, however, remained largely unpublished, until they were fortunately handed over to Heinrich Kreissle v. Hellborn, a state functionary and board-member of the *GdM*, who incorporated them into his extensive biography titled *Franz Schubert* (1865). The publication of this biography, immediately followed by a first English translation by Edward Wilberforce and a second one published as *The Life of Franz Schubert* in 1869 by Arthur Duke Coleridge (with a foreword by Sir George Grove), and even a French original publication by Hippolyte Barbedette titled *Fr. Schubert. Sa Vie, Ses Oeuvres, Son Temps* (1865), attest the increased international interest for the composer in the 1860s. However to better understand this great acceleration in the Schubert reception, particularly in regard to his instrumental music, it will be necessary to draw attention to some critical preceding stages.
While Franz Liszt did not succeed in his endeavours as biographer (as he later instead did in the case of Chopin), he did, on the other side, contribute to an international popularisation of Schubert's Lieder, with 55 of them arranged for piano between 1833 and 1846, rearrangements of dances for piano (i.e. with his *Soirées de Vienne*, S427, in 1852), and even with the aforementioned first performance of *Alfonso und Estrella* (D732) in 1854. However, as well known, among the composers nobody was as ardent and influential an advocate of Schubert's instrumental compositions as Robert Schumann. The latter, "le musicien de l'intimité solitaire" (Barthes, 1982: 253), "the very embodiment of Romantic interiority" (Watkins, 2011: 86), unsurprisingly had no qualms labelling Beethoven and Schubert as "moderns" and "romantics", and mentioned the two "immer wieder in einem Atemzuge" (Dürr/Krause, 2007: 121), although as we shall see, sometime in an antithetic relation. In *Franz Schubert in der Rezeption Robert Schumanns* (1995) Marie Luise Maintz identifies three main stages in the development of Schumann's attitude as composer towards Schubert, which, in her view, correspondingly determined three phases of his reception as music-critic. In the first period (ca.1827-1836), which started with Schumann's private diary entries, continued with the famous letter he sent from Heidelberg to Friedrich Wieck on the 6th of November 1829 and

ended approximately with the first three year's issues of the *NZfM*, Schubert served primarily as a revered source of artistical inspiration for the young composer, and was accordingly unconditionally praised by the nascent music-critic.[53] The second period (ca. 1836-1839), according to Maintz, is defined by a first "revision" of music-aesthetic ideals and characterisation of Schubert, generally indicating a more critical admiration, not least since the composer considered "aufgrund der eigenen mittlerweile erreichten Position und seiner kompositorischen Leistung den Vorgänger als eingeholt an." (Maintz, 1995:116) The third period, finally, began with Schumann's "rediscovery" of Schubert's C-Major Symphony (D944) in 1839, an occurrence, whose significance Maintz has summed up as follows:

> Vor dem Hintergrund der Entwicklung von Schuberts Position – vom Idol zum abgelösten Vorgänger – lässt sich auch verstehen, weshalb mit dem Auffinden der großen *C-Dur-Symphonie* das geänderte Urteil über Schubert offensichtlich zurückgenommen wird und somit als temporär erscheint. Eine Einschätzung Schuberts, die sich nun wieder in Superlativen ausdrückt, indem er Schumann in seiner Symphonie »alle Ideale [s]eines Lebens« aufgehen lässt, muss als eine »Revision der Revision« erscheinen; er wird mit der vorbildlichen Verwirklichung des Ziels Symphonie, das Schumanns Werdegang als Komponist begleitet, wieder als Idol eingesetzt. (Maintz, 1995: 114)

Unsurprisingly the writings of the first period are shaped by reasonings that attempted to account for the felt uniqueness of the revered composer, reasonings which undoubtedly constitute a remarkable moment in the process of the construction of a Schubertian subjectivity. The composer, profoundly influenced by the poetics of Jean Paul, argued that the "genial originality" of Schubert manifested itself in the symbiosis between a "poetic" immediacy of inventiveness and variety of forms of musical expression in manifold musical genres, with the always recognizable individuality of (musical) character – Schumann spoke of "Particulargeist" while avoiding the notion of *style* –, what we have also observed Bonds define, in a somewhat more crude language, as the *individual* "brand". Schumann's letter to Friedrich Wieck (6th November, 1829) encompasses some of the here-mentioned concepts:

> Es gibt überhaupt, außer der Schubert'schen, keine Musik, die so psychologisch merkwürdig wäre in dem Ideengang- und Verbindung und in den scheinbar logischen Sprüngen, und wie Wenige haben so, wie er, eine einzige Individualität einer solchen unter sich verschiedenen Masse von Tongemälden aufdrücken können und die Wenigsten soviel für sich und für ihr eignes Herz geschrieben. Was Andern ein Tagebuch ist, in dem sie ihre momentanen Gefühle etc. niederlegen, das war Schubert'en so recht eigentlich das Notenblatt… (Maintz, 1995: 82)

> There is no other music which presents so bewildering a psychological problem in its train of ideas, its apparently abrupt transitions. It is rare to find a composer who can stamp his individuality plainly on such a heterogeneous collection of tone-pictures, and still rarer are those who write, as Schubert did, as their hearts prompt them. Schubert unburdened his heart on a sheet of music-paper, just as others leave the impression of passing moods in their journals. (Storck, 1907: 44)

[53] Cf. Maintz, p. 114

The conclusive remark reveals that, to some extent, Schubert and Schumann shared an aesthetical frame of reference within which compositions were regarded as "poetic"[54], apparently *immediate*, self-confessions of personal experiences and feelings, not least – as we have previously observed in Schubert's diary entry from Spring 1824 –, of feelings of sorrow and *longing*; or to use Hoffmann's expression, formulated in his analysis of Beethoven's Symphony in C-Minor (1810): "jene unendliche Sehnsucht, die das Wesen der Romantik ist." (Hoffmann, 1963: 36) In his early diary entries and in the here-quoted letter, still influenced by a certain resistance to the alleged stiffnesses of music-theory and music-morphology, Schumann suggests that motivic-thematic discontinuities and formal inconsistencies – which would still be ever-present in the eyes of music-critics and music-theorists one century after Schubert's death –, were indeed only "apparent", and in fact reflected a "psychologically peculiar" ("*problem*" hardly seems the fitting term) musical development. In absolute unison with early romantic aesthetics and its repudiation of rationalism, Schumann argued, in a diary entry from 20th August 1828, that such poetic composition and psychological peculiarity, being the unequivocal product of "Genialität", was bound to transcend simple "logic", thus: "zu hoch für die jetzigen Menschen u. zu überirrdisch, so klar sie sind, so kann man sie doch im ersten Augenblike nicht fassen; dies hat er mit Beethoven gemein." (Eismann, I: 119) In this first phase of Schumann's reception, and generally within its connected aesthetical frame, the work of art was evidently conceived as that unfathomable *fait accompli* we have previously encountered in the description of Vogl, yet it should be emphasised that, in his remark – in spite of the scepticism for reason and "logic" –, comprehension (or primarily a sentimental attunement) seems in fact involved in the process of aesthetical reception, and potentially furthered by repeated playing or listening;[55] noteworthily, this defiance of a *prima vista* appreciation (be it a rational grasping or a poetic sympathy), he posited, was common to Schubert and Beethoven alike.

[54] As, amongst others, Carl Dahlhaus, Bernd Sponheuer and Bernhard Appel have emphasised, Schumann's use of the notion of "poetic", influenced primarily by his readings of Jean Paul and Hoffmann, is best defined negatively, through its distinction from the "prosaic", an inclination incompatible with the "distance" necessary for preserving the integrity of the aesthetic autonomy of the artwork: "Gerade diese Distanz verletzen die von Schumann inkriminierten Negativkategorien des Gemachten, Mechanischen, Prosaischen, Salonmäßigen, des Virtuosenhaften und des Unsittlichen…" (Sponheuer, 1980: 6)

[55] Schumann was by no means the first to observe that the lengths and complexity of some of Schubert's compositions required *repeated listening*. In fact already the very first public performance of one of Schubert's quartets (i.e. String Quartet in A-minor, D804), was followed by an article in the Viennese *Allgemeinen Musikalischen Zeitung* (27.3.1824), which contained the following commend: "Diese Komposition muß man öfter hören, um dieselbe gründlich beurteilen zu können." (Dok.: 230) Only recently has the connection between such a listening attitude and novel social and aesthetic values, and more generally how Schubert was involved in the definition of a "new culture of musical listening" been explored; cf. Gingerich (2014) pp. 68-71.

While Vogl's depiction of Schubert's subjectivity and creativity, based primarily on personal observation (with the aforementioned empirical limits) of the composer's ethos and creative process, resulted in a definition in terms of naivety, naturality and simplicity antithetical to that of Beethoven, Schumann's characterisation of the persona and "geniality" of Schubert, based almost exclusively on the latter's compositions, highlighted a complexity and peculiarity of subjectivity and "psychology", which, evidently in contradiction with Vogl's, in this respect, equated Schubert and Beethoven. Already in the first phase of his both private and public Schubert reception, Schumann notably outlined a depiction of the composer that diverged from that which was gradually being defined by the latter's friends and acquaintances. It is furthermore worth stressing, that it was the German composer (son of a book-seller and publisher, and eager reader of romantic literature), younger than most of the members of the Schubert-circle, who tenaciously brought the notion of genius and geniality in association with the subjectivity of Schubert. Even more indicative of the generational and formative differences between Schumann and the members of the Schubert-circle is his introduction of the category of "psychology" in the discourse regarding Schubert's subjectivity. In comparison with the terms encountered in the depictions by Sonnleithner, Mayrhofer, Vogl, Spaun, which, although generally resorting to a "vocabulary of idealism" and reflecting romantic influences, were still partially rooted in the aesthetics and Weltanschauung of late 18th, Schumann's recourse and the specific connotations given to the notion of psychology, concurred to the construction, within the Schubert reception, of a discourse which was genuinely embedded in the still embryonic cultural and aesthetical horizon of mid-19th century. Schumann's resort to this category reveals not only the impact of the coeval philosophical, scientifical and literary trends[56], but should also be considered as laying the seed for the subsequent, albeit distantly related, psychologizations of the Schubertian subjectivity and interiority. Finally it should not pass unmentioned that the more or less simultaneous and parallel development of a Schubert reception in the Habsburg territories (e.g. the circle of friends and acquaintances, Kreissle v. Hellborn, the Viennese newspapers) and in north-German states like Prussia and Saxony (e.g. above all Schumann, the *NZfM* and *AmZ*) would, from this moment on, slowly entangle itself into a nationalistic discourse, which would be fully unleashed after the revolutions of 1848 and reached, as we shall see, an uncanny culmination in the first decades of the 20th century.

[56] Especially in the writings of E.T.A. Hoffmann, for instance in *Lebens-Ansichten des Katers Murr* (1819-1821) and in the collection *Die Serapionsbrüder* (1819-1821), Schumann encountered the notion of "psychology" as a dimension of human experience and nature increasingly investigated also by natural sciences, such as by proto-psychiatry (e.g. Philippe Pinel and Johann Christian Reil) or magnetism (e.g. Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert).

The first phase of Schumann's music-critical reception, had begun with a review of Salon music compositions, such as the German Dances and Ecossaises op. 33 (D 783), ended in 1835 with his review of the Piano Sonatas in A-minor, op. 42 (D 845), D-major, op. 53 (D 850), G-major, op. 78 (D 894) and the Sonata for Piano four-hands in B-flat major, op. 30 (D 617). The latter opened with a remark addressing an issue which shall be explored in this chapter – "…Franz Schubert, den vielen nur als Liederkomponisten, bei weitem die meisten kaum dem Namen nach kennen." (Kreislig, I, 1914: 124) – before proceeding with the following praise:

> Er hat Töne für die feinsten Empfindungen, Gedanken, ja Begebenheiten und Lebenszustände. So tausendgestaltig sich des Menschen Dichten und Trachten bricht, so vielfach die Schubertsche Musik. Was er anschaut mit dem Auge, berührt mit der Hand, verwandelt sich zu Musik; aus Steinen, die er hinwirft, springen, wie bei Deukalion und Pyrrha, lebende Menschengestalten. Er war der Ausgezeichnete nach Beethoven, der, Todfeind alle Philisterei, Musik im höchsten Sinne des Wortes ausübte. (Kreisig, I, 1914: 125)
>
> He has sounds for the finest sensations, thoughts, even events and situations. As manifold as are man's poetic dreams and aspirations, so variously expressive is Schubert's music. What his eye sees, his hand touches, turns to music. From the stones that he tosses behind him spring living human figures, as with Deucalion and Pyrrha. Archenemy of all Philistines, he was, after Beethoven, the most distinguished, and one who practised music in the finest sense of the word. (Pleasants, 1988: 90) [57]

In Schumann's initial, passionate reception of Schubert, the latter was conceived as a worthy potential member of the *Davidsbündler*, and thus an enemy of philistinism, not least because, in his view, these compositions did never betray imitative, programmatic, contrived, "prosaic" and trivial features, nor virtuosity for its own sake, but preserved always an "original", "poetic" *immediacy* and richness of expressivity. Certainly through its recourse to irrationalistic notions, Schumann's celebration of Schubert's creativity hardly differed from Vogl's and Mayrhofer's evocation of divine intuitions and clairvoyance, but on the other hand it went further in highlighting the talents of the composer of instrumental music, his ability to rise above mere sentimentalism, and convey deeply poetic *ideas*, "thoughts" and even "states of life".[58]

[57] Here is a perhaps preferable translation of the same passage by Paul Rosenfeld (1946), republished in 1983 by the University of California Press,: "As for the general inward meaning of these creations, Schubert has tones for the most delicate feelings, thoughts, even events and states of life. As thousandfold as are the dreams and passions of man, as multiple is Schubert's music. That which his eye sees, his hand touches, is wrought into music; from the stones which he throws about him there sprang, as from Deukalion and Pyrrha, living human forms. He is the most eminent composer since Beethoven. The deadly enemy of all Philistinism, he practiced music in the highest sense of the word." (Wolff, 1983: 114) Rosenfeld's translations are rarely more adequate than those by Fanny Raymond Ritter (1877) or Henry Pleasants (1965, 1988). Undoubtedly a new, rigorous English translation of Schumann's music-critical writings would be welcomed as a most beneficial scholarly and publishing enterprise.

[58] *En passant* it is noteworthy that, in spite of the metaphysical and ethereal quality of Schumann's depiction of Schubert's subjectivity and persona, in his language and metaphors sometime emerge, so to speak, a sublimated desire to transcend the exclusively work- and document-based approach and apprehension, in order to grasp the physical, material artist. In this quote *hands, eyes, thrown stones* and *human figures* are evoked, and similarly, quite unsurprisingly one may say, in his description of his encounters with Ferdinand Schubert, the wish to recognize in the brother tangible, physiognomic signs of the Schubertian genius is quite palpable.

Whereas in the first phase of his reception, Schumann was fully absorbed by Schubert's poetic ingeniousness and the wealth, overwhelming immediacy and "enthusiasm" (Begeisterung) of his musical expression, during the second phase the depiction of Schubert's subjectivity and interiority became more articulated, and the relation to Beethoven more antithetically pronounced. This transformation was encouraged, according to Maintz, primarily by Schumann's own development as composer, and is from a conceptual and aesthetical perspective particularly noticeable in his emphasis on the notion of *Besonnenheit* ("reflection"). This concept, assimilated mainly from the reasonings of Herder, Jean Paul and Hoffmann, played an increasingly central role in that constellation of the poetic, depth, geniality and originality which illuminated Schumann's writings; or differently expressed: "This depth – the depth of Besonnenheit, of synesthesia and the metaphorical imagination – is where Schumann's notion of poetic depth ultimately leads." (Watkins, 2011: 98). In Maintz's apt analysis we can trace some of the most important implications of this shifting attitude:

> Wird in vielen fällen Schubert mit Beethoven in gemeinsamen Qualitäten der eigenen Generation als Vorbild vorangestellt (wie etwa bei der Einschätzung als »individueller Meister«), so liegt in der Bewertung der Besonnenheit ein wesentlicher Unterschied der Darstellung beider. Währende Schuberts Leichtigkeit und Unmittelbarkeit des Schaffens ohne erkennbare »Arbeit« vonstatten gegangen zu sein scheint, hebt Schumann an Beethoven »seine nie rastende moralische Kraft« hervor, und, »daß er auf dem Wege eines jahrelangen Studium zur poetischen Freiheit gelangte«. (Maintz, 1995: 110-111)

Alongside a more profound appreciation of the dialectics of "enthusiasm" and "reflection" within the creative process, Schumann's changed approach to Schubert reflects a gradual reassessment of the significance of thematic work, especially within the sonata-form, and of the organic and processual moments in the becoming of the musical work of art, – a *reassessment*, incidentally revealing the growing influence of Goethean and Hegelian thinking. The persisting stigmatisation of the planned and contrived (or, in Sponheuer's term, "Gemachten") notwithstanding, a re-evaluation of the worked-out aspects of composition began to shine through, which – especially in the case of Beethoven – could ultimately be legitimated by a proper ethos and moral stance. Furthermore, that a "poetical freedom" or *idea* could be finally attained by means of "study", rather than exclusively by purity of intentions, sentiments and "enthusiasm", should undoubtedly be considered as a step towards an important paradigm-change; a change which, albeit based on often different theoretical and aesthetical

premises and goals, above all A.B. Marx was steering from Berlin, through his celebration of the Beethovenian German reflectiveness and *work-ethics*.[59]

Noticeably in the second phase of Schumann's reception we have a concrete glimpse of the "rapid" transformation discussed in the last chapter, and which, according to Clark's analysis, meant that Mayrhofer's and Vogl's ascription of naturalism, clairvoyance and intuitions to Schubert's subjectivity was "rapidly going out of fashion". Whereas in the first reception-phase we have observed Schumann denying, in stark contrast to Vogl, an antithetical relation between Schubert and Beethoven, in the "revision" of the second stage the relation between the two composers became in fact to some extent antithetical, yet in terms essentially opposed to those enounced by Vogl. The negatively connotated "reflection" (Überlegung) that characterise the second approach to composition (the Beethovenian) described by Vogl, is in Schumann's writings – inspired by the eminently *German* cogitations of Herder, Jean Paul and Hoffmann – countered by the positively connotated notion of *Besonnenheit*, likewise generally translated as "reflection". The rationality inherent to the latter form of reflection was thus denied to the Schubertian subjectivity, and in this manifestation of irrationality, contrary to what Vogl would have expected, wasn't anymore the emblem of geniality, but rather a subjectivity and interiority undeniably *poetic*, yet without the – (possibly) exclusively German – "depth of Besonnenheit".

A provisional roundup of the comparison of the Schubert-circle's and Schumann's depictions of the Schubertian subjectivity and ethos, should generally avoid the temptation of positing a wholly divergent relation between the two, but on the contrary emphasise their, at times, potential overlapping, and particularly stress, that Schumann's depiction, articulated in several writings, evolved and "revised" over time, was bound to deliver a more complex, nuanced (not necessarily inherently consistent) picture of Schubert's subjectivity and, especially a less dichotomous definition of his relation to Beethoven, than the one devised by Vogl in the 1830s and still generously divulged twenty years later. We shall in the course of this enquiry have numerous opportunities to consider whether nuanced and complex depictions have primarily informed the Schubert reception, or whether, as so often is the case – for reasons whose thorough examination exceed the scope of this investigation –, more reductive, stereotypical, cliché-like and caricatural representations gained, for a long time, a central role in it.

[59] The interplay of music-theoretical, -aesthetical and -sociological concerns in Marx's writings have been widely examined. In her recent study Holly Watkins remarks that "Thematic work is […] a crucial contributor to the work that music performs on the listener's soul. This edifying labor rings out loud and clear in Beethoven's music, the pinnacle, for Marx, of sonata composition and the embodiment of the bourgeois commitment to hard work." (Watkins, 2011: 65)

This examination of the second phase of Schumann's reception should, quite appropriately, be brought to a conclusion with a famous depiction, which through a succession of decontextualizations and banalisations, turned over time into a veritable, enduring cliché:

> Die Anklänge an Beethoven erwähnten wir schon; zehren wir doch alle von seinen Schätzen. Aber auch ohne diesen erhabenen Vorgänger wäre Schubert kein Anderer geworden; seine Eigenthümlichkeit würde vielleicht nur später durchgebrochen sein. So wird, der einigermaßen Gefühl und Bildung hat, Beethoven und Schubert auf den ersten Seiten erkennen und unterscheiden. Schubert ist ein Mädchencharakter, an Jenen gehalten, bei weitem geschwätziger, weicher und breiter; gegen Jenen ein Kind, das sorglos unter den Riesen spielt. So verhalten sich diese Symphonieensätze zu denen Beethoven's und können in ihrer Innigkeit gar nicht anders, als von Schubert gedacht werden. Zwar bringt auch er seine Kraftstellen, bietet auch er Massen auf; doch verhält er sich immer wie Weib zum Mann, der befiehlt, wo jenes bittet und überredet. Dies alles aber nur im Vergleich zu Beethoven; gegen Andere ist er noch Mann genug, ja der kühnste und freigeistigste der neueren Musiker. (Kreisig, I, 1914: 330)

> We have already mentioned the reminiscences of Beethoven. Well, we all draw upon his treasure. But even without this illustrious predecessor, Schubert would have been no other, although his individuality might have emerged more slowly. Thus, whoever has some sensibility and schooling will recognize both Beethoven and Schubert on the first page and distinguish between them. Compared with Beethoven, Schubert is a feminine character, much more voluble, softer and broader; or a guileless child romping among giants. Such is the relationship of these symphonic movements to those of Beethoven. Their intimacy is purely Schubertian. They have their robust moments, to be sure, and marshal formidable forces. But Schubert conducts himself as wife to husband, the one giving orders, the other relying upon pleas and persuasion. All of this in relationship to Beethoven! Compared with others he is man enough, the boldest and freest, indeed, of all the newer musicians. (Pleasants, 1988: 142)

This terse and richly imaginal description, which Schumann published in his review for the *NZfM* (5.6.1838) of Schubert's Sonata in C major for piano four-hands "Grand Duo", op. 140 (D 812) and three last piano sonatas (D 958-60), evidently added quite original and novel elements to the characterisation of the composer. Representative of the more critical and detached attitude of the second phase of his reception is Schumann's preliminary remark about these compositions, defined as slightly inferior to the String Quartet in D-minor (D 810), the Piano Trio in E-flat Major, op. 100 (D 929) and other "kleinen Gesangs- und Klavierstücke" (Kreisig, I, 1914: 329). Equally illustrative of the altered position and self-confidence of the composer is the boldness of his music-critical approach, indicated not least by his interpretation of the "Grand Duo" (D 812) as a piano arrangement of a symphony (in spite of his familiarity with an autograph title explicitly labelling it as "four-hand sonata"), which is the reason for the hint to "symphonic movements" in the quote above. In spite of such criticism and idiosyncrasy, Schumann still regarded the music of his former "idol" as revealing the aforementioned "peculiarity" (in this case "Eigenthümlichkeit"), which made it immediately recognizable and, he hypothesised, could well have flourished independently of Beethoven, thus manifesting a greater confidence in the composer's potential for autonomous development, also in regard to instrumental music, than, for instance, that expressed in Sonnleithner's judgements.

It is however the second part of the quote, in which Schumann gave vent to a series of gendered metaphors, that have over time proven particularly influential in the Schubert reception and, in many occasions, suitable for ideological interpretations and agendas. His resort to a gendered "masculine"-"feminine" dualism – also in regard to the "quality of keys"[60] – reflected above all the influence of Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (1794), Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's *Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst* (1806) and Jean Paul's *Vorschule der Äesthetik* (1804/1813), and was, in mid-19th century, by no means an isolated case, since this same dualism would soon become a codified, constitutive category also of A.B. Marx's composition- and music-theory.[61] Most importantly, however, in his article Schumann drew a more complex constellation, which has played a crucial role in the definition of Schubert's subjectivity. The latter, we are told, manifests itself as "a feminine character" (Mädchencharakter), "voluble, softer and broader" (i.e. also passive), a "child" (i.e. naïve), and finally reveals this essential trait: "intimacy is purely Schubertian". The partially antithetical relation between depth and intimacy has already been stressed in the first chapter, yet it is worth recalling that the increasing femininization of the notion of intimacy in the 19th century, informed by coeval philosophical and anthropological gender-discourses, implied a connotation of the "feminine" in terms of sentimental interiority, intimacy and passivity, which however, excluded profound introspection and action alike. Consequently we encounter once again, after the denial of profound reflectiveness, inherent to the notion of *Besonnenheit*, a depiction of Schubert's subjectivity deprived of ("masculine") rationality and depth. Although the analysis and thorough deconstruction of the philosophical, anthropological and ideological premises and implications of this gendered discourse belongs primarily to 20th and 21st century Schubert reception, it is useful to involve, already at this point, Friedrich Geiger's critical discussion of the notions of inwardness and depth in the German music-aesthetical discourse:

> …der weiblichen Sphäre [wird] alles zugeschlagen, was musikalisch einerseits intensiver Empfindung, anderseits einer gewissen Harmlosigkeit entspricht, die dadurch entsteht, dass die Empfindung eben innerlich bleibt und sich nicht fordernd nach außen wendet. Letzteres bleibt vielmehr der männlichen Sphäre vorbehalten, ebenso der Komplex 'Tiefe'. […] Die wertende Etikettierung der Musik Beethovens als männlich, also: ernst, gewichtig, aktiv ins Grenzenlose strebend; dagegen derjenigen Schuberts als weiblich, also: harmlos, oberflächlich, passiv auf das Innere begrenzt, die Schumann hier vornimmt, zieht sich durch die gesamte Rezeptionsgeschichte der beiden Komponisten. (Geiger, 2003: 276-277)

[60] Cf. Messing, 2006; p. 16

[61] As well known in her *Feminine Endings. Music, Gender and Femininity* (1991) Susan McClary has critically investigated "…the custom of calling the opening theme "masculine" and the subsidiary theme "feminine." ", and remarked that "To be sure, this custom extends back only as far as the mid-nineteenth century. Theorist A. B. Marx seems to have been the first to use this terminology, in his *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* (1845)" (McClary, 1991: 13).

Even though it would probably be unreasonable to pretend from Schumann's imaginal, metaphorical language a sustained consistency of reasoning and terms, in spite of the music-aesthetical and philosophical import of his music-criticism, one might nevertheless wonder whether the depiction of Schubert as a naïve "child", is ultimately compatible with the closely following portrayal as a "wife" resorting to "pleas" and "persuasion"; while the former certainly seems a behaviour befitting a "child", the latter evokes rather the *act* of a rational (and even sensual) being. At the same time it is worth stressing that many of those who assimilated Schumann's criticism were in their reasonings often less "nuanced" than the composer, and seemed to forget his conclusive remark stressing that Schubert was among the "new" composers "man enough, boldest and freest". Scott Messing, the musicologist who has most extensively investigated the development of gendered discourses in the Schubert reception, calls attention to a phenomenon, which shall be further examined in the course of this enquiry:

> Subsequent understanding did not comprehend the nuanced complexity that undergirded Schumann's creation of Schubert's *Mädchencharakter*. Considering Schumann's allusions in his compositions of the 1830s, there is a thread of irony in the context of the later nineteenth century's use of gender terminology. […] The unique position held by the Lied in Schubert's posthumous reputation and its increasingly common association with the private world of feminine domesticity was not one that Schumann slavishly aped. (Messing, 2006: 55)

Before turning our attention to the significance of this tension between "private" and "public" music-genres and -performance contexts – hence also the importance of the Lied – in the definition of Schubertian subjectivity and interiority, let us briefly consider the essential features of the third phase of Schumann's reception, which according to Maintz's analysis, involved, to some extent, a "revision of the revision" of his assessment of Schubert, a change prompted primarily by his "rediscovery" in January 1839 of Schubert's Symphony in C-major (D944). In a famous article for the *NZfM* (12; 1840) regarding this symphony, whose first performance in Leipzig on the 21st of March 1839, under the baton of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, he had paved the way for, Schumann declared:

> Sag' ich es gleich offen: wer diese Sinfonie nicht kennt, kennt noch wenig von Schubert […] Es ist so oft und zum Verdruß der Komponisten gesagt worden, „nach Beethoven abzustehen von Sinfonischen Plänen" […] Wie ich geahnt und gehofft hatte, und mancher vielleicht mit mir, daß Schubert, der formenfest, phantasiereich und vielseitig sich schon in so vielen anderen Gattungen gezeigt, auch die Sinfonie von seiner Seite packen, dass er die Stellen treffen würde, von der *ihr* und durch sie der *Masse* beizukommen, ist nun in herrlichster Weise eingetroffen. (Kreisig, I, 1914: 461)

> I must say at once that he who is not yet acquainted with this symphony, knows very little about Schubert[…] Partly, no doubt, because composers have been so often advised, to their own injury, that it is better for them – after Beethoven –to abstain from symphonic plans; […] The hope I had always entertained –and many, no doubt, with me – that Schubert, who had shown himself, through many other kinds of composition, so firm in form, so rich in imaginativeness, so many-sided, would also treat the symphony, and that mode of treatment certain to impress the public, is here realised in the noblest manner. (Ritter, 1877: 50-51)

Ever an attentive observer, Schumann was worried that the opening remark could have been perceived as hyperbolic, but at the same time he was well aware that in 1839 (except for those fortunate musicians of the aforementioned Hartwig house, and the audiences of two Viennese performance of the "little" C-Major Symphony (D589) in December 1828 and March 1829)[62] hardly anybody had ever heard a symphony by Schubert. In fact he regretted introducing audiences to the composer's last symphony, without their knowledge of the latter's previous creations in that genre, incidentally betraying his belief in the idea of an organic development of the composer's symphonic language. Nevertheless Mendelssohn's performance represented clearly a fundamental stage in the reception of Schubert's orchestral, large-genre music, and as many scholars have stressed, it finally gave audiences and music-critics alike the opportunity to concretely attain a better understanding of the composer's "strivings for the highest in art".[63] In his unreserved praise, Schumann delivered a picture of Schubert's subjectivity, skills and ethos as symphonic composer quite original and unprecedented:

> Hier ist, außer meisterlicher musikalischer Technik der Komposition, noch Leben in allen Fasern, Kolorit bis in die feinste Abstufung, Bedeutung überall, schärfster Ausdruck des Einzelnen, und über das Ganze endlich eine Romantik ausgegossen, wie man sie schon anderswoher an Franz Schubert kennt. Und diese himmlische Länge der Symphonie, wie ein dicker Roman in vier Bänden etwa von Jean Paul […] Die Symphonie hat denn unter uns gewirkt, wie nach den Beethovenschen keine noch. (Kreisig, I, 1914: 463-464)

> Here we find, beside the most masterly technicalities of musical composition, life in every vein, colouring down to the finest grade of possibility, sharp expression in detail, meaning throughout, while over the whole is thrown that glow of romanticism that everywhere accompanies Franz Schubert. And then the heavenly length of the symphony, like that of one of Jean Paul's romances in four thick volumes […] The symphony produced such an effect among us, as none has produced since Beethoven's. (Ritter, 1877: 54-56)

The great composer and essayist set out by juxtaposing two qualities – "formal firmness" and "imaginativeness" – which may well mutually exclude each other, not so however in the art of a *Tondichter*, in the emphatic sense, like Beethoven and Schubert. Consequently no risk of "bizarrerie" in the latter's *poetic* effusion of ideas, since the "many-sided" composer, by means of his "mastery" was capable of igniting *also* in the symphony, a dialectics between the quest for the *particular* "expression", which left no semantic vacuums (i.e. unnecessary lengths), and the progress towards a "whole", which Schumann predictably defined as "romantic".

[62] John Gingerich apparently disproves Otto Biba's claim that the Concerts Spirituels on 12th of March, 1829 included a performance of the "Great" C-major symphony (D944): "Biba's "proof" consists entirely of painstakingly parsing a letter written by Josef Hüttenbrenner in 1842, and is proof only if one puts absolute faith in Hüttenbrenner's honesty and the meticulous precision of his memory. Unfortunately Hüttenbrenner is notorious for his self-serving dishonesty […] and his early senility. Hüttenbrenner is also directly contradicted by Leopold Sonnleithner, a much more reliable witness, albeit a later one." (Gingerich, 2014: n203)

[63] As Marie Luise Maintz has observed, it likewise represented for Schumann self "den Kulminationspunkt seiner Schubert-Rezeption" (Maintz, 1995: 231).

In a fashion admittedly at times similar to Schubert's friends and acquaintances, in his review Schumann resorted as means of comprehension – to decipher what was no longer only a "relic" from a recent past – to the composer's ethos, "biographical subject", "soul" and milieu. Nevertheless after having evoked familiar images of Vienna (the tower of St. Stephan's Cathedral, the mist of catholic incense, the Danube and the surrounding hills) as a potential semantic substratum or programme ("Folie") of the symphony, he avoided giving a prescriptive function to elements supposed *contingent* and diverged the attention towards what he must have deemed in a higher degree *necessary*, more *profound* and yet *universal*:

> Aber dass die Außenwelt, wie sie heute Strahlt, morgen dunkelt, oft hineingreift in das Innere des Dichters und Musikers, das wolle man nur auch glauben, und dass in dieser Sinfonie mehr als bloßer schöner Gesang, mehr als bloßes Leid und Freud, wie es die Musik schon hundertfältig ausgesprochen, verborgen liegt, ja dass sie und in eine Region führt, wo wir vorher gewesen zu sein uns nirgends erinnern können, dies zuzugeben, höre man solche Sinfonie. (Kreisig, I ,1914: 462)

> But every one must acknowledge that the outer world, sparkling to-day, gloomy tomorrow, often deeply impresses the inward feeling of the poet or the musician; and all must recognise, while listening to this symphony, that it reveals to us something more than mere fine melody, mere ordinary joy and sorrow, such as music has already expressed in a hundred ways, – that it leads us into a region which we never before explored, and consequently can have no recollection of. (Ritter, 1877: 53)

Whereas in the words of Mayrhofer, Stadler and Vogl we have encountered a description of the composer's creativity as the unconscious processing of infinite/ideal and finite/real by an unfathomable medium or "clairvoyant", in this article Schumann's focuses on the composer's finite creation and its "aesthetic presence", which in turn becomes the lieu where the non-identity of the everchanging finitude of the exterior world (real), with its connected "Ach und Oh des Gemüts" (Hegel, XV:150), and the composer's interiority (ideal) is sublated in the listener's experience of a "hidden", poetic depth and a reminiscence of the domains of infinitude; an experience being described in terms similar to those employed in Hoffmann's famous review of Beethoven's 5th symphony in C-Minor: "und selbst das im Leben Empfundene führt uns hinaus aus dem Leben in das Reich des Unendlichen." (Hoffmann, 1963: 35). On the basis of the above-emphasised "mastery" of the dialectics between "part" and "whole" and the harmony between "formal firmness" and "imaginativeness", both united in a movement rising above mundane, "prosaic" trivialities and reaching poetical, "hidden" domains, it seems appropriate to wonder whether Schumann, in consequence of his "revision of the revision" and the reinstatement of Schubert to his former status of "idol" – no longer in a wholly antithetical relation to Beethoven –, ultimately granted to his subjectivity that profundity of reflectiveness (Besonnenheit) he had previously denied. While in his enthusiastic reception of Schubert's symphony this question, at least in these specific terms, remained

unanswered – and that exact notion unmentioned –, it is clear that Schumann had paved the way for the timely performance of a new symphony, "a genre which was in crisis after Beethoven's death" (Gingerich, 2014:215),[64] a catalyst for symphonic compositions for himself and Mendelssohn (e.g. his Symphony in A minor "Scottish", Op. 56), and had published an article that celebrated Schubert, alongside Beethoven, as the fundamental "new artist" of this eminently grand and public genre.[65] Whereas in the review of the "Grand Duo", it was primarily the author's hermeneutical desire that had conjured a symphony, only a year later, Schumann had finally found a "Great" symphony that gave him the perfect opportunity to firmly establish Schubert, not as a mediocre epigone, but as the authentic continuator – especially welcomed in a time of "crisis" – of the Beethovenian symphonic legacy, that is to say of an eminently *German* legacy; after all, as Schumann significantly pointed out, Hector Berlioz, in spite of all his qualities,"gehört Frankreich an und wird nur als interessanter Ausländer und Tollkopf zuweilen genannt." (Kreisig, I,1914: 461) That the Schubertian "geniality" and subjectivity should assume this *national* connotation and *redemptive* role, in that music-genre which the Schubert-circle unwillingly and with great scepticism associated to him, clearly constituted an unexpected and quite original turn in the early Schubert reception.

In this section I have tried to emphasise that in the three phases of his music-critical output about Schubert, Schumann unfolded a veritable *tour de force* of metaphors (in some cases gendered) and music-aesthetical terms, which altogether introduced in the Schubert reception a novel, profoundly romantic language – influenced primarily by the writings of Jean Paul and Hoffmann –, but also eminently rooted in the nascent philosophical and aesthetical horizon of the 19th and mid-19th century (e.g. the "discovery" of psychology as a dimension potentially connected to pathological phenomena and ultimately to the natural-sciences). From the columns of the Leipzig-based *NZfM* he had gradually outlined an unprecedent constellation which, from that moment on, would illuminate the construction of the Schubertian subjectivity – albeit, as we shall observe in the next chapters, even less clearly and unambiguously than one might have expected.

[64] Likewise a token of the coeval consciousness of the epoque as one of musical "crisis" and transformations, is Schumann's remark, contained in his article "*Sonaten fur Clavier*" (*NZfM* 10;1839), regarding the fate of the piano sonata, which "has practically run out its life course, but this is indeed in the order of things, for rather than repeat the same forms for centuries, we should be intent on creating new ones instead." (Daverio, 1997: 125)

[65] Yet as McClary has stressed, in a fashion similar to the review of the "Grand Duo", also this "essay carefully establishes a dichotomy between the masculine example of Beethoven and the more sensitive, romantic Schubert; and throughout the essay, Schumann shields himself from Schubert's influence by calling upon Beethoven's "virile power" at moments when he is about to be overwhelmed by Schubert's charm." (McClary, 1991: 31)

b) Early revision attempts and pathologization of Schubertian subjectivity

Particularly impermeable and unreceptive to Schumann's celebration of Schubert's geniality as instrumental composer seemed, at times, those friends and acquaintances, who thought *they* knew him best. In this section I shall examine their willingness for "revision" against the backdrop of the, possibly paradoxical, simultaneity of the emergence and reception of Schubert's instrumental compositions with the establishment of the cliché of the "Liederfürst".

The irreconcilability between Schumann's exalted eulogy of Schubert's mastery of the symphonic genre (the greatest "since Beethoven's") and the scepticism which Leopold v. Sonnleithner had aired ten years earlier regarding Schubert's aptitude for "large works", "form", "well-planned disposition" and "large-scale effect", could hardly be more striking. Moreover, given his position in the *GdM*, Sonnleithner was amongst the few who had witnessed that after Shubert had presented the score of his new C-Major Symphony to that association, its performance was abandoned as soon as members of the orchestra of the Conservatory had objected to its "Länge und Schwierigkeit" (Erinn.: 498). Equally revealing of the differences, in administration and *milieu*, between Felix Mendelssohn's Gewandhaus Orchestra in Leipzig and the concerts organised by the *GdM* in Vienna, is Gingerich's following analysis based on Sonnleithner's account:

> The storm of acclaim blowing from Leipzig prompted the first serious attempt to have the "Great" C-major Symphony produced for a "society concert" in Vienna. A performance was scheduled for 15 December 1839, but according to Leopold Sonnleithner the paid "artists," i.e., the wind and brass soloists, refused to do the repeated rehearsing required for a decent performance, so that the concert committee felt it necessary to limit the performance to the first two movements only, with the "Bravourarie" from *Lucia di Lammermoor* sandwiched in between. (Gingerich, 2014: 205)

Consequently the audience of Schubert's hometown had to wait till the 1st December 1850 before it could experience a complete performance of the symphony. In the light of such resistance to some of Schubert's most progressive and ambitious instrumental creations, it seems proper to infer that Sonnleithner, ever a great supporter of the composer's Lieder, reflected well the overall attitude of the city and of the *GdM* in particular.[66] Therefore it should not surprise that, in spite of the growing recognition of Schubert's large-genre compositions (mainly in Berlin and Leipzig), his judgment had by 1857 remained noticeably unchanged:

[66] Also from Frankfurt a. Main however, authored by Anton Schindler in his "*Erinnerungen an Franz Schubert*" (1857), arrived a fierce criticism of the enterprise in Leipzig, which mentioned that this *all too long and repetitive* "sinfonische Ungeheuer" – yet another Lessing echo? – was in the city "*ad majores Auctoris gloriam*" (Erinn.:364) performed, since the 1850s, in a significantly shortened version.

> Vogls Einwirkung war auch (nebst den Maler-Freunden) großenteils daran Schuld, daß Schubert sein Genie viel zu sehr in der kleinen Liederform zersplitterte und es nicht zur Vollendung in der großen Form der Sinfonie und Oper brachte.[…] Ein vollendeter Komponist als Lehrer und musikalischer Ratgeber und ein väterlicher Freund zur Regelung der Lebensweise, das war es, was Schubert fehlte und was ihn hinderte, jene Größe zu erreichen, zu der ihn die Natur bestimmt zu haben schien. (Erinn.:131)

> Vogl's influence (along with that of the painter friends) was also largely responsible for Schubert's having dissipated his genius far too much in the small song form and for his not having perfected it in the large forms of symphony and opera. […] What Schubert lacked was a really accomplished composer to act as teacher and music counsellor, and a fatherly friend to regulate his mode of living, and it was the lack of these which prevented him from attaining that greatness to which nature seemed to have destined him. (SMF:112)

After almost thirty quite eventful years, Sonnleithner had hardly bothered to modify the turn of phrases of his assessment, hence in the remarks he wrote in response to Luib's requests, one finds not only the reiterated belittling of Schubert's capacity as composer of "large forms", the same parenthetic remark about "the painter friends", but also the unflattering hint to his lack of autonomy and need of guidance. Whereas Schumann, through his work-based criticism, interrogating so to speak the "aesthetic subject", discovered the incontrovertible signs of the "new artist" and a herald of the proud (allegedly) *German* symphonic tradition, Sonnleithner, on the contrary, recalling his personal experience of the "biographical subject", dully remarked that in Schubert's character there was nothing new under the sun: "Von einem Zukunftsmusiker hatte er keine Spur an sich." (Erinn.:141).

More generous and literary informed were the writer Eduard v. Bauernfeld's descriptions of Schubert's subjectivity, which involve an interpretation of the composer's "deviance" and geniality as *demonic* – a topos which had become increasingly popular also in Vienna, not least by the time Paganini had captivated audiences with more than a dozen concerts in the city in 1828. As Bauernfeld later recalled, in articles for the Viennese newspaper *Die Presse* (published on 17. and 21. April 1869), he and Schubert had heard the "infernalisch-himmlischen Geiger" (Erinn.: 261), and shortly after he mentioned the "Dämon der Trauer und Melancholie" (Erinn.: 268) that at times hovered over his friend. Consequently I suggest that Bauernfeld's following depiction should be interpreted within a semantic field stretching from Schumann's evocation of the naïve "child" to the here-evoked romantic celebration of the *demonic* and of *folly* (concept gradually returned fashionable some three centuries after Ludovico Ariosto's and Erasmus of Rotterdam's *eulogies*):

> »Du bist zwar ein Genie«, versetzte ich ihm, lustiger als ich mir zumute war, »aber auch ein Narr! Nullum magnum ingenium sine aliqua mixtura dementiae fuit – möchte man dir mit dem altrömischen Jean Paul, dem bisweilen etwas geschraubten Seneca zurufen. (Erinn.: 270)

»You are indeed a genius«, I replied, more cheerfully than I felt, »but also a fool! Nullum magnum ingenium sine aliqua mixtura dementiae fuit–one might exclaim to you with that Jean Paul of ancient Rome, the sometimes rather stilted Seneca. (SMF: 236)[67]

As well known, the Rousseau-inspired, romantic (and non-romantic) fascination for the hypothetical nobleness of a human nature unspoiled by civilisation thrived in the 19th century throughout Europe, in literature – in the same year that the author Eduard v. Bauernfeld celebrated his friend as "Narr" in a Viennese newspaper, in the Saint Petersburg-based newspaper *The Russian Messenger* Fyodor Dostoevsky was publishing his novel *The Idiot* –, as well as in opera (e.g. Wagner's *Parsifal*). While Bauernfeld was to some extent, as late as 1869, still perpetuating a depiction in terms of naivety and simplicity – "Die Lebensweise Schuberts war einfach wie er selbst." (Erinn.: 266) he wrote in the same article –, even amongst some of the composer's friends, prompted by Luib's requests, a "revision" of judgments and a self-critical assessment of their role in the definition of Schubert's artistic persona had begun a decade earlier. In this connection particularly interesting, though as previously stressed not always unambiguous and trustworthy, are Josef Hüttenbrenner's statements:

Der Naturalist Schubert. Wer ist Naturalist? Wir nannten Schubert einen Naturalisten. Ich, Mayrhofer […] Mayrhofer verstand nichts von Musik; ich verfeindete mich mit ihm hierüber; seine Ansicht von Schubert – kann man Schubert mehr erniedrigen und beschimpfen? Indes Sechter, Assmayr, Preyer hatten die gleiche Ansicht – sie erklärten Beethoven nur als Naturalisten?!! Pereant! (Erinn.: 88-89)

Schubert the natural composer. Who is a natural composer? We called Schubert a natural composer at first. I did. Mayrhofer did […] Mayrhofer understood nothing about music. I fell out with him over this; his opinion of Schubert – can one degrade and insult Schubert more? Meanwhile Sechter, Assmayr, Preyer were of the same opinion–they declare Beethoven and Schubert to be merely natural composer?!! Pereant! (SMF: 76)

Influenced by Otto Erich Deutsch's warnings regarding the senility that affected Josef Hüttenbrenner in his old age, scholars resort with caution to the latter's testimonies. Yet Clark makes the following important observation regarding these retrospective, regretful assertions: "While it is true that they are not lucid, they do reveal that he seems to have become obsessed with the damage that Vogl's story had done to Schubert's reputation, and he feared the same for Beethoven. Clearly Beethoven did eventually shed the image of the natural composer. Schubert never really has." (Clark, 2011: 22) Leaving her trenchant final remark momentarily aside, and focusing on the core of Hüttenbrenner's polemical comments from 1858, one may in fact recognize an unrefined attempt to adjust the depiction of Schubert's subjectivity to

[67] Whereas it can easily be established that folly and "fool" (rooted in the French *folie*) refer to the notion of *madness*, which in turn can be considered as the correct translation of the Latin term "dementia", investigating the etymological relatedness between "Narr" and "dementia" would certainly constitute a too lengthy excursus.

changing aesthetic norms.[68] It certainly shouldn't be claimed that Hüttenbrenner was inspired by notions and categories identical to those that informed Schumann's music-criticism, nor was his unsatisfaction with the notion of "Naturalist" expressed by recurring to Jean Paul and his concept of "Besonnenheit". Nevertheless it ought to be stressed that, even though moved by different music-aesthetic ideals, Schumann's celebration of "formal firmness" and "imaginativeness" and Hüttenbrenner's notion that no composer showing aptitude as "unerschöpflicher Melodiker", "strenger Kontrapunktist und Harmoniker" (Erinn.: 88) should be called a "natural composer", converged in a representation contradicting Vogl's, Mayrhofer's and Spaun's definition of the Schubertian subjectivity in terms of simplicity, unconsciousness and irrationality. Equally telling and partly paradoxical is the "revision" which Spaun attempted in his memorandum written for Luib in 1858. Whereas in his letter to Bauernfeld from 1829, he above all had expressly emphasised that "Schubert must be approached by his biographer as a song writer", faced by the increasing distribution and appreciation of the composer's instrumental works in Vienna and abroad, he declared that:

> Es ist ein Vorurteil, dass Schubert nur für das Lied geschaffen gewesen. Seine Klavierstücke sind wunderbar. Sein herrliches d-Moll-Quartett, seine großartige Sinfonie in C fielen in Wien durch, und nur Mendelssohn und Schumann, die Schubert besser zu schätzen wussten, sind schuld, dass der Ruf dieser herrlichen Kompositionen aus Leipzig zu uns gelangte […]. Wahr ist es, dass Schubert seine Kompositionen nicht mehr durchging, nicht nachträglich mit der Feile daran arbeitete, wodurch hie und da Längen oder Mängel entstanden, dagegen aber haben sie etwas Ursprüngliches und Frisches an sich, das sich sehr oft durch vieles Feilen verliert. (Erinn.:163)
>
> There is a prejudice that Schubert was born only to be a song writer. His pianoforte pieces are wonderful. His splendid D minor Quartet, his magnificent Symphony in C were failures in Vienna and it is only due to Mendelssohn and Schumann, who knew better how to value Schubert, that the fame of these wonderful compositions reached us from Leipzig […] It is true that Schubert did not revise his compositions, did not subsequently polish them, and that, because of this, tedious and faulty passages crept in, but on the other hand, they have a certain originality and freshness which too much polishing very often destroys. (SMF: 140)

Whereas in the first part of his argument Spaun acknowledges, candidly and without any chauvinism, Schumann's and Mendelssohn's positive influence on the Schubert reception, and likewise extols the virtues of his friend's piano compositions and newly "discovered" chamber music (he mentions the performances by the Müller and Hellmesberger quartets), in the second part he unfolds a series of platitudes which were based on scant empirical basis and poor understanding of the creative-process of the composer (as concisely underscored in the second chapter by means of Dürr's music-philological observation), which finally result in a banalisation of the latter – thus reinforcing a "prejudice" –, testified by his aversion for

[68] Needless to say, these transformations were complex and took many directions and forms over time. For instance as late as 1870, in a famous essay, inspired not least by Schopenhauer's philosophy, Richard Wagner celebrated Beethoven's genius with abundant resort to the notion of "natural" and "clairvoyance" (Hellsichtigkeit); cf. Richard Wagner: *Beethoven*, p. 46.

"polishing", expressed in terms much akin to Vogl's criticism of the laborious, reflective (Beethovenian) approach to composition.

While some of the composer's friends and acquaintances participated in an early revision of the depiction of Schubert's artistic persona and creativity, which still resorted mainly to the "vocabulary of idealism" and early romantic aesthetic notions and norms, a very different approach to the composer's irrationality and "deviance" was simultaneously taking root. To better comprehend the development of this discourse, let us return to the above-analysed recollections by Sonnleithner, who in his memorandum for Luib did not avoid incidentally appending a rather vulgar allusion – also, I dare infer, dictated by his belonging to a very diverse social class – to Schubert's hedonism and "Neigung zum Trunke" (Erinn.: 128). In spite of some friends' vehement denials, this insinuation became an influential topos since it sowed the seeds of a pathologization of Schubert's subjectivity which, as we shall see, grew into a problematic trend within the Schubert reception – that would over time become intrinsically tied to the bourgeoise (moralistic and hypocritical) stigmatization of the venereal disease that had likely caused the composer's death.[69] This overstatement of habits quite common, especially among lower classes,[70] was uncritically accepted by Kreissle, who underscored that Schubert's productivity surely disproved that the composer was altogether lost to "Trunkboldenthum", yet did not refrain from formulating the following speculations:

> Man ist auch vielfach geneigt, den häufigen Genuß von Wein als die Ursache der Kopfleiden und Blutwallungen zu bezeichnen, welchen er in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens unterworfen war, und selbst die Krankheit, der er so schnell erlegen, wenigstens zum Theil seiner Neigung zu geistigen Getränken zuzuschreiben. (Kreissle: 479)

> One is disposed to set down to a too frequent indulgence in wine the cause of the pains and rushes of blood to the head, to which Schubert was subject in the last years of his life, and even the illness to which he so quickly succumbed must at least in part be ascribed to his fondness for strong liquors. (Coleridge, 2014: 165-166)

To this pathologization of Schubert's subjectivity participated also his friend, the poet and bureaucrat Josef Kenner (himself hence incarnating, as so many of Schubert's friends, a twofold *nature*, a "Doppelnatur") with a remark, on the basis of which much would later be conjectured regarding Schubert's sexuality, which testifies to what extent, as formerly

[69] The memoirs of Wilhelm von Chézy, the son of the writer and librettist Helmina, published in 1863 contained, for instance, the following statement: "Leider hatte sich Schubert mit seinen lebenslustigen Neigungen zu jenen Abwegen verirrt, die gewöhnlich keine Rückkehr mehr gestatten, wenigstens keine gesude…" (Erinn.: 299)

[70] A proper understanding of Sonnleithner's remarks about Schubert's frequent homages to Bacchus should take into account the social condition and age of the composer. In a somewhat similar manner has Manfred Wagner felt the necessity to contextualise superficial diagnosis of Bruckner's passion for a more Germanic beverage: "Selbst Bruckners in vielen Biographien verschämt gerühmter Biergenuß ist typisch für das Wien der damaligen Zeit. Bier zählte auch für die untersten Schichten zu den Grundnahrungsmitteln." (Wagner, 1983: 89)

observed, even the "soul" of composers was increasingly scrutinized and eventually exposed in the public debate: "sein doch so kräftiger Körper unterlag dem Zwiespalt seiner – Seelen – möchte ich sagen, deren eine zum Himmel drang und die andere im Schlamme badete." (Erinn.: 96) However, as previously mentioned in relation to Schumann's readings of Hoffmann, the first half of the 19th century saw also the development of esoteric, experimental and positivistic approaches to the investigation of soul, character or subjectivity (and related pathologies) such as magnetism, psychiatry and phrenology (Schädellehre). Especially anecdotes related to the latter discipline (the Vienna-based anatomist Franz Joseph Gall was among the founders of this pseudoscience around the turn of the 19th cent.) became an influential topic in the Schubert reception, not least because it intersected with an already established parameter of comparison, namely the (gendered) Beethoven paradigm, as we can observe in Kreissle's ensuing account:

> Als nach der am 13. October 1863 vorgenommenen Ausgrabung der irdischen Reste von Beethoven und Schubert des Letzteren wohlerhaltener Schädel der Reinigung und Waschung unterzogen wurde, vermochten die dabei anwesenden Aerzte und der die Waschung vollziehende Spitalsdiener sich des Erstaunens über die zarte, fast weibliche Organisation desselben nicht zu erwehren. Kennzeichen musikalischen Sinnes fanden sich weder bei Schubert noch bei Beethoven an jener Stelle vor, wo man diese sonst zu suchen gewohnt war. (Kreissle, 1865: 466)

> When the mortal remains of Beethoven and Schubert were disinterred in October 1863, the skull of the latter, which was in a good state of preservation, was cleansed and washed, and the doctors and hospital attendants who were present were astonished at its delicate, almost womanly organisation. Neither on Beethoven's nor on Schubert's head were discovered the marks of a musical organisation stamped on those parts where one would ordinarily expect to find them. (Coleridge, 2014: 152)

Whereas according to Kreissle's report the feminine connotation of Schubert was now *written in bone*, but no far-reaching differences between Beethoven and Schubert could be hypothesized, a subsequent account of the exhumation by (the previously encountered) Gerhard von Breuning, himself a physicist, lived much more up to coeval expectations:

> Writing in the *Neue freie Presse* in 1886, he recalled Kreissle's description, now characterizing the "feminine delicacy" of Schubert's skull in contrast to that of Beethoven with its "definite compactness and thickness". […] In support of his explanation, Breuning cited the authority of Hermann Schaaffhausen, professor of anatomy at the University of Bonn and author of an analysis of Beethoven's skull, who asserted the equivalence between the composer's wide, powerful, forehead, his mighty, serious face, and the force and defiance that were articulated in both his expression and his music. (Messing, 2006: 85)

Noticeably the development of phrenology had grown parallel to the increasing popularity of physiognomy, which likewise delivered many influential topoi for the description of the "biographical subject" – e.g. the characterisation of Schubert's face as "mohrenartiges Aussehn" (Kreissle, 1865: 466) translated as "negro look" (Coleridge, 2014: 152). In Messing's remarks one recognises primarily the current scepticism and criticism, inspired for instance by post-colonial and gender-theory discourses, of such pseudoscience:

> Carl Vogt's *Vorlesungen über den Menschen*, appearing in 1863, was one of many contemporary treatises asserting that the study of skulls indicated racial and sexual differences and that women's skeletal features were allied to those of the child and the savage. Kreissle's description of Schubert's skull stands as emblematic of an era in which scientific categorizations by race and sex were often twinned, to the detriment of certain human types. (Messing, 2006: 84)

Evidently that association of Schubert with the "feminine" and "childish" which Schumann had paved the way for, informed by philosophical, anthropological and literary discourses, was reaffirmed twenty-five years later by means of a quite antithetical, reductivist approach. The increasing psychologization and pathologization of psychic and behavioural phenomena (which Schumann himself fell victim to), especially when socially stigmatised, the phrenological somatism – i.e. its *abstract* localisation and reduction of consciousness and *interiority*, as modus of subjectivity, to the most *inner* region of the body – or, on the other hand, the complexity of character reduced by physiognomic studies to its most blatant, *superficial* substantial manifestation, the facial expression, are all tendencies that around mid-19th century informed the construction of Schubertian subjectivity and interiority, not least in Kreissle's internationally influential biography. While Messing's criticism addresses essentialisms which may be particularly offensive to current readership, it is worth stressing that a precocious, ironical *reductio ad absurdum* of the materialism and reductivism inherent to phrenology, was already formulated by Hegel in his *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (1807):

> Die andere Seite der selbstbewußten Individualität aber, die Seite ihres Daseins ist das *Sein* als selbständig und Subjekt oder als ein *Ding*, nämlich ein Knochen; die *Wirklichkeit und Dasein des Menschen ist sein Schädelknochen.* (Hegel, III: 250)
>
> However, the other side of self-conscious individuality, namely, that of its existence is *being* as self-sufficient and as subject, or as a thing, namely, a bone. The *actuality and existence of man is his skull-bone*. (Hegel, 2017: 193)

Although the present enquiry will not investigate to what extent reductivism, sentimentalism, solipsism and *individualism* affects the current interpretation of Schubertian subjectivity and interiority, it seems crucial mentioning that already the early 19th century saw the formulation of objections both to some of the reductivist tendencies of the natural sciences, as well as to those philosophical and poetic trends in which the celebration of the immediateness of feeling and intuition had paved the way for the chimeric fascination of an absolute unity of subject and substance, where the levelling of all negativity or non-identity – thus any *concrete* difference and dialectical process between "outer" and "inner" – had lead into that *darkness* of indeterminacy and *abstract* universality in which "alle Kühe schwarz sind" (Hegel, III: 22).

c) Mid-century reception: Liederfürst or "intermitting Spring"? Between Kairos and paradox

It is worth emphasising that although Hüttenbrenner and Spaun addressed somewhat dissimilar issues, with distinct aesthetical approaches (the latter even in his "revision" partly celebrated Schubert as natural composer), their remarks, as stressed also by Clark, reveal an early, nascent consciousness of the presence and influence of prejudices and stereotypes in the depiction of Schubert's artistic persona. Whereas they, alongside the biographers Luib and Hellborn, conceived in all likelihood the gradual expunction of such prejudices and stereotypes as corresponding to an unidirectional progress from *myth* towards *logos*, 20th century musicological scholarship, especially when influenced by the principles of philosophical hermeneutics, has noticeably attained a less reductive understanding of the constitutive function of prejudices (for instance in the dialogue between past and coeval "horizons of comprehension") and a scepticism towards a teleological conception and triumphalist representation of the developments and achievements in the analysis of the reception-trends of a given phenomenon. The jubilee year of the second centenary of Schubert's birth constituted for many musicologists, and not least for an eminent protagonist of the Schubert-research such as Walther Dürr, the appropriate occasion for a critical, retrospective assessment, informed in his case by such hermeneutical approach, of the accomplishments of the Schubert-research. In his article "*„Der Liederfürst" – Kritik alter und neuer Schubert-Klischees*" (1997) the musicologist outlined a concise and critical – probably exceedingly pessimistic – account of the persistence of "clichés" within the Schubert reception and popular depiction of the composer, which opens with the following caustic remark: "Es gibt wohl nur wenige Komponisten, deren Erscheinungsbild – aber auch deren Werk – so sehr von Klischees verstellt ist, wie das Schuberts." (Dürr, 1997: 12) Let us incidentally observe, not without some irony, that hardly any scholar or specialist, not only in the human sciences, will be disinclined to experience and argue, at some point, that particularly *his* field of expertise is generally misconceived (overlooked, underfinanced, etc.) and affected by clichés. At the same time, and far from wishing to psychologise Dürr's criticism, it is evident that the present genealogy of the Schubertian subjectivity and interiority is also inspired by a critical and deconstructive intent which is not insensible to Dürr's polemical assessment – and has admittedly been set in motion partly by this very article: by the intelligent, passionate, self-critical dissatisfaction of a great contributor to the Schubert-research, but also by the slight naivety and frustrated *impatience* of the hermeneutical approach informing it. The following remark (where "modern

picture" refers to that created by 20th century scholarship), reflects an hermeneutical approach which acknowledges the truth-content ("Wahrheitsgehalt") of prejudices and clichés, and which should also be kept in mind as one investigates those first attempted revisions of mid-19th century we have so far examined: "Das konventionelle Schubert-Bild etwa wird durch ein neues, „modernes" ersetzt, das aber dann – notwendigerweise, schon, damit es gegenüber dem alten Gewicht genug erhält – neue, bisher unbeachtete Züge in ähnlicher Weise überbetont, wie bis dahin die alten." (Dürr, 1997:12) Such awareness is especially relevant as we now briefly consider the influence of the establishment of the Schubertian *Urklischee*, the imago of "Liederfürst", on the interpretation of the composer's subjectivity and interiority. Inspired to some extent by hermeneutical insights and by Dürr's specific warning, this investigation does consequently not strive to discover the "authentic" Schubertian subjectivity by ignoring or deconstructing the "Liederfürst"-cliché and simultaneously overemphasising the reception of the instrumental-music composer. These reflections, which partly anticipate considerations pertaining to the final chapters of this investigation, may hopefully serve as a *local* methodological explication as we return to the mid-19th century debate and the possibly paradoxical concomitance of the coinage of the "Liederfürst"-epithet with the acceleration in distribution, performance and appreciation of Schubert's instrumental compositions.

In the same period in which the cliché "Schubert the natural composer" was being unorderly challenged by Joseph Hüttenbrenner, and other members of the Schubert-circle attempted partly ambiguous revisions of previous assessments or stubbornly kept their evaluation unaltered in form and content, the cliché which would lastingly epitomize the Schubertian association with the Lied was finally being carved. Spaun's explicit suggestion and desire to see his friend approached and celebrated primarily as a "Liederkompositeur", had been followed and fulfilled, to a degree apparently exceeding even his own expectations, by means of a popularisation of the most resilient of the Schubertian epithets. The title "Liederfürst" (Prince of Songs) was first conferred upon the composer by Anton Schindler in a private letter written on 4th January 1853.[71] It was however only with Moritz Bermann's publication of the tale "*Ein Maikonzert für den Liederfürsten*" (*Wiener Courier*, 6-7.2.1856), that the epithet became of public dominion. Although Messing's analysis of the Schubert reception is often excessively absorbed by the gendered discourses (i.e. abstracting from their inherent connection with coeval philosophical, anthropological and socio-political currents), he outlines a clarifying contextualisation of such popular literature and its exploitation of the increasing

[71] Cf. Erinn., p. 247 ; SMF, p. 215.

association of Schubert's artistic persona "with the repertoire appropriate to the sensibilities of feminine domesticity." (Messing, 2006: 64), and describes this entanglement as follows:

> When Schubert's musical idiom became the stuff of sentimental fiction, avian imagery commingled easily with feminized language. One of the earliest such examples, once again connected with the composer's grave, was Elise Polko's short story "Meister Schuberts Grab" (1852). […] Polko's feminine imagery nonetheless had sufficient appeal for Moriz Bermann, a chronicler of *Alt-Wien* and writer of historical novels, to spin off a later version under his own name in an issue of the *Wiener Courier* in 1856. (Messing, 2006: 68-69)

In spite of his great advocacy of Schubert as operatic and symphonic composer, and his early, insightful recognition of the "Fluch des Liederruhms" (*WZ*, 14.3.1858), the influential feuilletonist Ludwig Speidel similarly associated the composer to the private, domestic sphere in contrast to the public sphere (and in this case religious) when he resorted to the label "Liederfürsten Schubert" in opposition to the "Oratorienfürsten Händel" (*WZ*, 8.12.1858). It is finally worth stressing that this epithet was likewise endorsed by Kreissle v. Hellborn, who greatly emphasised Schubert's output as Lied composer, as noticeable in the following quote, and it consequently did not for long remain confined to the Viennese Schubert reception, but soon reached English readership reformulated as "monarch in the Lieder kingdom":

> Das deutsche Lied feiert in Franz Schubert seinen größten, genialsten Meister. Er hat sich wohl in allen zu seiner Zeit bekannten Musikgattungen versucht, und als Einer der Ersten hervorgethan: das Eigenthümlichste und Vollendetste aber, was wir von ihm besitzen, ist das Lied. Kein Tondichter hat ihn darin erreicht, geschweige denn übertroffen, und so wird er allenthalben als Fürst im Liederreich begrüßt und hochgehalten. (Kreissle, 1865: 485)

> In Franz Schubert the German Lied has found its greatest and most genial exponent. His efforts were directed to composition in every known department of music, but his speciality, and the most splendid legacy Schubert bequeathed to the world, is the Lied. No musician has approached, much less surpassed him in this particular province; on all sides we greet and venerate him as an undisputed monarch in the Lieder kingdom. (Coleridge, II, 2014: 117)

Although, as correctly stressed by Clark, "openly questioning the opinion of Schubert's friends" (Clark: 24) did partly define the agenda of Kreissle v. Hellborn's monumental biography, it is likewise evident, not least in this quotation, that he shared, quite comprehensibly, that admiration for Schubert's Lieder-output widespread amongst the composer's acquaintances and the general public, which had steadily grown since the public performance and subsequent publication as op.1 of his Lied *Erlkönig* (D 328) in 1821. It is equally true however, that the biographer did in 1865 in fact lament, and not without a fair amount of bitterness and impatience, the still insufficient recognition and appreciation of Schubert's compositions, especially of those not belonging to this specific music-genre:

> …Gesänge aller Art, Cantaten, Ouverturen, Orchester-, Opern- und Kirchenmusik, von denen bisher auch nicht Eine Note zu Gehör gebracht wurde. Seit vierzig und mehr Jahren liegen sie unbenützt, da und dort in ängstlicher Verwahrung, als hätte sie der Tondichter nur für sich und nicht auch für Mit- und Nachwelt auf das Papier hingezaubert. (Kreissle, 1865: 580)

> …all kinds of vocal works, cantatas, overtures, orchestral, opera, and church music, of which hitherto not a single note has ever been heard. For forty years and more have these works remained unused, in some cases mere objects of painful solicitude, as though the musician had written his enchanting music only for himself, and not for ourselves and our children. (Coleridge, II, 2014: 256)

Considering Kreissle's polemical remark, and the presence of dissonant voices amongst acquaintances and music-critics emphasising the quality and quantity of the instrumental and large-forms compositions still awaiting (re)discovery and appreciation around the 1860s, one may be prompted to wonder whether the establishment of the "Liederfürst" cliché proceeded partly independently and even *in spite* of the influence of *individual* agents, and consequently whether the causes of this development ought rather to be sought in the coeval *structures* or material *conditions* of music-making, -distribution and -consumption in the "open market". In this connection the relation between Schubert and his music-publisher's *modus operandi* and "business models", already examined among others by Walther Dürr and Ernst Hilmar, emerges as an essential aspect.[72] Nevertheless, given the complexity and empirical vastness of the issue, the present investigation can only, beside redirecting to the specific studies of the topic, hint at the circumstance that the music-publishers' legitimate desire to capitalise on the popularity of Schubert's Lieder and their publications of compositions for domestic performance in musical albums and anthologies greatly contributed to the popularisation of Schubert as "Liederfürst", associated with the "private world of feminine domesticity", and ultimately as the composer epitomising the evanescent idyll of Biedermeier-Vienna. Nevertheless, very much along the lines of Gibbs's deconstruction of the "poor Schubert"-discourse and Dürr's criticism of persisting clichés in the Schubert reception, it is necessary to contest the fashionable, but misrepresenting tendency to ascribe the responsibility of the connection of the composer with the gendered sentimentalism of *Hausmusik* and *Salonmusik* exclusively to the mechanisms of music-publishing. To be more specific, Dürr stresses that the composer had during his lifetime secured the distribution, with ten different publishers, of the following compositions: 4 church-music works, 1 String Quartet, 1 Piano Trio, 1 Rondo for Piano and Violin, 4 Piano sonatas for two and four hands, 11 Piano compositions, 16 part-songs, 160 Lieder and 15 anthologies with Dances and Marches.

[72] Cf. Dürr "Vom Bittsteller zum Umworbenen: Schubert und seine Verleger", in Dürr, Walther / Krause, Andreas (Ed.) : *Schubert Handbuch*. Bärenreiter und J.B. Metzler, 2007, pp. 66-76; and Ernst Hilmar "Vienna's Schubert", in Erickson, Raymond (Ed.): *Schubert's Vienna*. Yale University, New Haven & London, 1997, pp. 246-256.

Dürr then concludes his exhaustive itemisation, with the following insightful observation:

> Das ist ein stattliches Oeuvre – auch wenn darunter all die Werken fehlen, die Schubert »das Höchste in der Kunst« waren: Opern, feierliche Messen und Sinfonien. Das ist nicht verwunderlich. Solche Werke wurden in der Regel nicht im Druck, sondern in Abschriften verbreitet. […] Ein »Opfer« der Verleger ist Schubert jedenfalls kaum gewesen... (Dürr/Krause, 2007: 75)

In the 21st century we can easily look back, with the aid of this and similar analysis, at the Liederfürst-cliché as part of the surpassed, mystifying narrative of a "poor Schubert", "victim" of the greedy commercialism of music-publishers and the unsatiable appetite of the rising bourgeoise for trivial *Gebrauchsmusik* (in itself a partly ideologically connotated interpretation), well knowing, moreover, that the responsibility for the failed circulation (also of the abovementioned eventual "copies") of the symphonies was, with the important exception of his "Great" C-major Symphony, primarily ascribable to composer himself. Music-critics and the general public of the first half of the 19th century, however, based on the compositions circulating in print and performed mostly in private (*Hausmusik*) or semi-public venues (*Salonmusik*) – which clearly correspond to the almost totality of the repertoire itemised by Dürr, with the exception of the church-music compositions and the String Quartet in A-Minor (D 804) –, were bound to associate Schubert with these spheres and consequently welcome, by the mid of the century, the Liederfürst-epithet as a most fitting, celebrative depiction. The very first instrumental compositions to appear in print, such as the *36 Walzer* (D 365) for two hands piano, published as Op. 9 in 1821, soon followed by compositions for piano four hands such as the *Variationen über ein franzosisches Lied*, op. 10 (D 624) and the Piano Sonata in B major, op. 30 (D 617), had equally paved the way for an association of the composer primarily with domestic and convivial music-making, fairly accessible to amateurs with varying technical skills.[73] The picture however had soon become more complicated, since already the aforementioned publication of the *Fantasy in C-Major*, op. 15 (D 760) by Cappi & Diabelli in 1823, which from a technical point of view certainly wasn't within the reach of all dilettantes (and according to Schumann fused a "whole orchestra into two hands"), was promptly recognised, as illustrated by the following review from *WZ* (24.2.1823), to live up to requirements differing from those of convivial *Gebrauchsmusik*:

[73] As Thomas Denny underscores, four hands piano compositions were only gradually emancipated from their gendered and domestic boundaries: "Während ausübende Künstler eifrig Werke anderer, ebenfalls häuslicher Natur, wie das Lied, auf der Bühne darboten, ist es wohl wahrscheinlich, dass keine Klavierduette Schuberts bis zu den 1850er Jahren öffentlich aufgeführt wurden." (Denny, 1999: 260-261).

> Die Fantasie ward von jeher als jene Gattung der Tonstücke anerkannt, in welcher die Kunst des Tonsetzers sich, von den Fesseln der Form befreit, am deutlichsten entfalten, und ihren Wert ganz erproben kann. Herr *Schubert* bewährte seine *Meistershaft* in diesem neuesten Werke, in welchem er zeigte, daß er nicht nur die Gabe der *Erfindung* besitzet, sondern auch seine glücklichen Motive nach allen Forderungen der *Kunst* durchzuführen versteht. (Dok.: 186)
>
> The fantasy has always been recognized as that kind of musical piece in which the composer's art, freed from the shackles of form, may most clearly unfold itself and wholly prove its worth. Herr Schubert has certified his master-hand in this latest work, in which he has shown that he not only possesses the gift of invention, but understands how to develop his felicitous themes according to all exigencies of art. (SDB: 269)

As previously mentioned in the second chapter, by 1827 in a review by *WZ* (29.9.1827) of the Piano Sonata in G-Major op. 78 (D 894) Schubert was certainly addressed (just as Spaun had wished), as "Lieder-Kompositeur", but at the same time the reviewer acknowledged the influence of a pianism of Beethovenian "*Art und Weise*" alongside a great inventiveness. In the same magazine, in a review (7.6.1828) of his *Rondeau brillant* in B-Minor for piano and violin, op. 70 (D 895), a composition well-suited to display the *brilliance* of the violinist (the work was in fact commissioned by the virtuoso Josef Slavík), Schubert was likewise addressed as composer of "Lieder und Romanzen", but at the same time it celebrated his mastery of "harmony", "forms" and "groups" united in a "beautiful whole", and began with an evocation of depth and sublimity recalling Hoffmann's Beethoven-reviews:

> Eine feurige Phantasie belebt dieses Tonstück und reißt den Spieler in die Tiefen und Höhen der Harmonie, bald in stürmischen Gewalt, bald in leichten Wellen getragen. Obwohl das Ganze brillant ist, so verdankt es doch nicht seine Existenz den bloßen Figuren […]. Der Geist des Erfinders hat hier oft recht kräftig seinen Fittich geschwungen und uns mit ihm erhoben. (Dok.: 521)
>
> A fiery imagination animates this piece and draws the player to the depths and heights of harmony, borne now by a mighty hurricane, now by gentle waves. Although the whole is brilliant, it is not indebted for its existence to mere figurations […] The inventive spirit has here often beaten its wings mightily enough and lifted us up with it. (SDB:781-782)

It was soon acknowledged that Schubert not even in *brilliant* compositions reduced himself to "flache Virtuosengeist", which according to Eduard Hanslick often affected the virtuoso concerts and fashionable genres of the Viennese concert-life of the 1820s such as polonaises, variations sets and potpourris.[74] On the other hand even his works for the larger audiences of amateurs did seldomly throughout respect their pledge to simplicity and accessibility, thus challenging performers' and listeners' expectations, and ultimately an excessively dichotomic understanding of compositions *for* and music-making *by* "Liebhaberen" and "Kenner".[75]

[74] Hanslick associated this "flache Virtuosengeist" and "Verflachung des Geschmachs" amongst others to the virtuoso concerts of the violinist Joseph Mayseder. Cf. Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens*, I, p. 330.
[75] Cf. Gruber's pertinent remark: "Die selbst bei Musik für die Geselligkeit von Liebhabern bisweilen auftretenden Kompositorischen Irritationen ziehen diese Unterscheidung wiederum in Zweifel." (Gruber, 2010: 196)

The essential role played by friends and acquaintances, after the composer's death, in the construction of a Schubertian subjectivity and interiority, and how this construction was inherently defined by the association to Lieder and small genres compositions has been examined in the second chapter. That these widely popular and distributed genres belonged mainly to the contexts and repertoires of *Hausmusik* and *Salonmusik* (which, as discussed in the first chapter, given their intersection across private and public sphere inherently reflected political and gendered discourses), has now likewise been briefly stressed. Regarding the latter however, it is likewise crucial to point out that Schubert has only in recent scholarship been increasingly represented as a protagonist and pioneer of the gradual *emancipation* of the piano sonata, piano trio and chamber music, (and Lied) from the *boundaries* of amateur, domestic or convivial, semi-private music-making;[76] but this interpretation belongs in fact to some of the fundamental insights of 20th century Schubert reception (and not only) and shall therefore be examined profusely in the final chapters. These reflections should be kept in mind as we return to the analysis of the simultaneous consolidation of the Liederfürst-epithet and the unrelenting discovery of instrumental, large-genre, increasingly *publicly* performed compositions.

By mid-19th century the association of Schubertian subjectivity with the "demonic" and the Beethovenian paradigm was, less than ever, a Viennese prerogative, as attested by the following observations of the Berlin correspondent of the *NZfM*, who reported that a public performance of the String Quartet in D-Minor (D 810) had given him the impression that it was a composition "voll von dämonischer Gewalt, aber auch von neckischem Humor" and that the second movement, with its marvellous variations, was "ganz im Geiste Beethoven's."(*NZfM* 35, 1851: 264) More noteworthy is particularly the coeval perception of a changing attitude towards Schubert's chamber and instrumental compositions – prompted by changing musical tastes, but certainly, quantitatively speaking, also by the increase in distribution and public performance of his works – a trend explicitly addressed 10 years later in the same magazine:

[76] Although each genre made its own specific journey out of domesticity, it can be asserted that both the piano (and connected Piano Trios), the instrument associated primarily with domestic, female music-making, and the predominantly male genre of the string quartet, were in Vienna both conquering more or less public music-venues beginning in the 1820s. Regarding the string quartet (and their role in the *Abendunterhaltungen* series) Gingerich emphasises that: "At a time when the symphony and its short relative, the overture, were the only truly public instrumental genres, Schuppanzigh's series also presented string quartets in public for an audience of paying listeners. Chamber music, with the string quartet as its leading genre, was still first and foremost music for the home, "Hausmusik", serving primarily for the edification of its participating performers." (Gingerich, 2014: 68) This edification (Bildung) of *gentlemen entertaining each other* (in the Goethean sense) is f. ex. perfectly captured in the painting by Nikolaus Moreau *Musikalische Soiree bei Denis Bernhard Freiherr von Eskeles* (1830).

> Es verdient in Erinnerung gebracht zu werden, daß Schubert's Instrumental-Compositionen, die unseren reactionärsten Musikreferenten heute „herrlich" erscheinen, vor nicht allzu langer Zeit noch für „düster und schwerfällig" galten, seine C dur-Symphonie ward u.a. irgendwo ein „Versuch, von geringem Glück begleitet" genannt. Das Finale eines seiner Quartette wurde noch vor Kurzem in einem Leipziger Blatte dem Sinne nach als „zu gewöhnlich" bezeichnet! (*NZfM* 54, 1861: 75)

Regardless of the extent to which this polemical tone may seem justified, it is evident that much had changed since the first reviews of the only String Quartet Schubert had seen published during his lifetime, the String Quartet in A-Minor (D 804), and one should not fail to appreciate the irony of the reoccurrence of that exact noun which the young Schubert had used in his criticism of Beethoven; the reviewer for the *AMZ* had in fact stressed that this Quartet was not "frey von Bizarrerie" (*AMZ* 35, 1833: 259). The growing appreciation of Schubert, just as the more mature composer had *planned* in his "*Beethoven-Project*", however went hand in hand with the comparison to the Beethovenian-paradigm, as regards to the still prevalently male-oriented String Quartet and female-oriented Piano Trio.[77] Possibly nowhere was this mid-century, coeval perception of the transforming assessment of Schubert's oeuvre, particularly of the instrumental music, and the experience of a perpetual discovery of his creations, more insightfully and tangibly expressed than in Eduard Hanslick's articles, written among others for Viennese magazines, and essays collected in his influential *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (1869). The author was amongst the first to reason on the aforementioned asynchronism between the short life-span of the composer and the subsequent slow reception of his work, and regarding the Lied, which in the meanwhile had become (also) a fully public genre, he was able to make the following retrospective observation: "ist nicht zu vergessen, daß Schubert gerade in einem Kunstgenre sein Bestes leistete und seine Carrière began, welches damals noch nicht in das öffentliche Concertleben aufgenommen war: im Lied." (Hanslick, I, 1869: 283)[78] Even more revealing of the awareness of this extreme asynchronism is a review for *Die Presse* (11.3.1862) of the Hellmesberger Quartet's performance of the String Quartet in B-Major (D 112) and Octet (D 803) – defined as "*Reliquien*":

[77] Gingerich's brief analysis regarding the situation in the *Abendunterhaltungen* makes this gendered polarisation most explicit: "the piano had become the pre-eminent locus of display for marriageable young women of the better classes. (Where pianoforte players are specified on the Abendunterhaltungen programs […] the "Fräuleins" outnumbered the "Herren" by forty-four to six, with just one "Frau" mentioned)." (Gingerich, 2014: 76) This was equally true on "*Gallic soil*", as we can observe in the following quotation, which incidentally opens with an important detail regarding the French reception of Schubert: "Despite a commonly held opinion, it was thus not Schubert's Lieder, but rather his chamber music that first penetrated Gallic soil. The earliest public performance recorded is also that of a chamber work, the Piano Trio in E flat, played by Mlle Malzel at one of the Colbert matinées of the Tilmant brothers at the end of 1833 or the beginning of 1834." (Hascher, 1997: 264)

[78] Gibbs' translation sounds: "it should not be forgotten that Schubert began his career and achieved his best work in a musical genre which at that time had still not been taken up in public concert life: the Lied."(Gibbs,1997: 46)

> Dieser Nachlaß Schubert's hat etwas Unbegreifliches; er ist wie eine intermittirende Quelle, die plötzlich wieder neue Gaben ausströmt, nachdem man sie längst für erschöpft gehalten. Wenn Schubert's Zeitgenossen seine Schöpferkraft mit Recht angestaunt, was müssen erst wir Nachkommen sagen, die noch unaufhörlich Neues von ihm erleben! Seit 30 Jahren ist der Meister todt, und dennoch ist es, als arbeitete er unsichtbar weiter – man kann ihm kaum nachkommen. (Hanslick, 2008:60)

> [There is something incomprehensible about Schubert's legacy; it is like an intermittent spring which suddenly pours out new gifts long after it has been thought to be exhausted.] If Schubert's contemporaries justly gazed in astonishment at his creative power, what indeed must we, who come after him, say, as we incessantly discover new works of his? For thirty years the master has been dead, and in spite of this it seems as if he goes on composing invisibly ‑ it is impossible to keep up with him. (Gibbs, 2000:170)

It seems reasonable to argue that Hanslick captured in this famous account the enthusiasm caused by the finding of "Reliquien", or better – to express it along the lines of a prose rich in aqueous metaphors, and relying on Dahlhaus' image –, of "relics" finally reaching the transfiguring shores of "aesthetic presence". For an interpretation of the mid-century Schubert reception it is even more essential to underscore that his final remark relies on the consciousness that potential biographer and music-critics, "30 years after the master's death", were far from possessing a settled, immutable picture of the composer and an exhaustive empirical knowledge of his oeuvre, and thus should self-critically, even humbly – since "one can hardly keep up with him" – be willing to adapt or perhaps radically change the perception of the artistic persona and the assessment of his works. Such an occasion occurred only three years after this profound observation, and to a degree which seemed to surprise even the vigilant music-critic. The impression of an overwhelming "aesthetic presence", even *physical* presence of the "biographical subject", is in fact even more remarkably palpable in Hanslick's account of the premiere of the Symphony in B Minor (D 759) on 17.12.1865, which is characterised by a *pathetic* tone apparently difficult to reconcile with the author's admonition, in the same article, "against overzealous Schubert worship and adulation of Schubert relics":

> …da kennt auch jedes Kind den Componisten, und der halbunterdrückte Ausruf „Schubert!" summt flüsternd durch den Saal. Er ist noch kaum eingetreten, aber es ist, als kennte man ihn am Tritt, an seiner Art, die Thürklinke zu öffnen.[…] als stände Er nach langer Entfernung leibhaftig mitten unter uns. Dieser ganze Satz ist Ein süßer Melodienstrom, bei aller Kraft und Genialität so krystallhell, daß man jedes Steinchen auf dem Boden sehen kann. Und überall dieselbe Wärme, derselbe goldene, blättertreibende Sonnenschein! (Hanslick, 2011: 474)

> …every child recognized the composer, and a muffled "Schubert" was whispered in the audience. He had hardly entered, but it seemed that one recognized him by the step… every heart rejoiced, as if, after a long separation, the composer himself were among us in person. The whole movement is a melodic stream so crystal clear, despite its force and genius, that one can see every pebble on the bottom. And everywhere the same warmth, the same bright, life-giving sunshine! (Hanslick, 1950: 103-104)

Inspired by these lofty statements let us then briefly ascend to a bird's-eye view and contemplate the following roughly sketched mid-century scenario. In Vienna, a critical and rigorous music-critic like Eduard Hanslick voiced his astoundment for the quantity and quality of newly emerging compositions in most excited terms. As aforementioned, before and after Schumann's and Mendelssohn's enterprise in Leipzig, the amount of sympathetic performers, music-critics, music-publishers and audiences in northern Germany cities had only been growing. In England Charles Hallé championed Schubert's pianistic repertoire, and since 1856 August Friedrich Mann and George Grove had been paving the way for their pioneering venture, which John Reed aptly sums-up in the following terms:

> Together they were able to bring about a revolution in public taste in the second half of the century by means of the regular Saturday concerts at the Crystal Palace. This revolution led to the revaluation of Schubert's orchestral music which coincides in the 1860s with Halle's advocacy of the piano sonatas so as to make this decade a sort of *Wunderjahrzehnt* for Schubert lovers. It also coincided with the first attempts to put together a coherent story of Schubert's life and work. (Reed, 1997: 260)

Whereas his symphonies would only slowly conquer "Gallic soil", the sweeping success of Schubert's "German Lied", aided among others by Franz Liszt and Adolphe Nourrit, had inspired not only countless instrumental transcriptions, but had persuaded Dessauer, Berlioz, Meyerbeer, and Heinrich Proch to compose Lieder and *mélodie*, and last but not least " the second half of the century saw the accession of some of the chamber compositions to quasi-repertory status. If performances of these works seem rather infrequent during the 1840s […], they became almost weekly occurrences in the 1870s and the 1880s." (Hascher, 1997: 266) Considering the swiftly growing scope (geographical and material) and complexity (agents, music-genres, performance contexts, assessments of the works and artistic persona) of the here roughly sketched reception-scenario of mid-century and 1860s, it seems neither surprising nor unreasonable that it has retrospectively been interpreted as constituting the acme from a "history of impact" (Wirkungsgeschichte) perspective, yet less so from a "history of reception" (Rezeptionsgeschichte) standpoint. In this connection it is worth wondering whether this phase could be hypothetically considered, to use Dahlhaus' previously mentioned image, as the first "Kairos" of the history of impact of Schubert's instrumental output, thought, at the same time, from a history of reception perspective, it emerges as a paradoxical and contradictory phase.

As underscored in this section, the Liederfürst-epithet became of public dominion, increasingly popular and regarded as the most apt celebration of Schubert's genius in the 1850s in concomitance with the genre's conquest of public music-life and public discourses. That this "cliché", with its reductive nature and Biedermeier, sentimental and gendered connotations,

casted its roots simultaneously with the Europe-wide discovery and appreciation of Schubert's compositions in large-forms (overshadowing Sonnleithner's scepticism and Spaun's and Schindler's reservations) appears in fact as a *contradiction*, *problem* or *paradox*, especially within a retrospective, history of reception analysis.

If, as is the case in this investigation, "die Geschichte gegen den Strich zu bürsten." (Benjamin, GS, I.2:697) is considered the foundation of critical analysis, one ought consequently to set out to *redeem* the Schubertian subjectivity from some of the clichés and banalisations considered in these two chapters, and ultimately, expressed with Hugo v. Hofmannsthal's poetic image: "Was nie geschrieben wurde, lesen." (Benjamin,GS-I.3:1238) This utopic goal however hardly constitutes the principal task of this enquiry, which arrests its reasoning at the threshold of *negativity*, seeking thus primarily the moments of non-identity and contradiction, apprehending the latter as the dialectical principle behind historical development and its concrete manifestations and artefacts, not as a moment to be *sublated* or hermeneutically *solved*. The latter approach and task informed Dürr's aforementioned article, which warned against the confutation of the Liederfürst-cliché by means of abstract dichotomies in the following terms:

> Will man daher dem „Liederfürsten" Schubert heute den Sinfoniker, den Komponisten von Klaviersonaten oder gar den Theatermusiker entgegenstellen […], dann sollte bedacht werden, daß Experimente, Neuerungen, die auch auf die Instrumentalmusik zurück wirken (in der Harmonik, in der Periodik) gerade im Schubertschen Lied stattfinden, daß er tatsächlich vom Lied ausgeht, im Lied zu neuen Bahnen findet […], während seine Instrumentalmusik (etwa bis 1816) noch Mozartischen und Haydnschen Mustern verpflichtet ist. Nicht der Begriff „Liederfürst" selbst ist also falsch – es gilt nur, ihn mit neuen Inhalten zu füllen. (Dürr, 1997:15)

In spite of his fundamentally hermeneutical approach, Dürr delivers, informed primarily by his musicological expertise and reasoning, a brilliant example of dialectical thinking. A more adequate depiction of Schubert he stresses, will not be obtained *more geometrico*, seeking the *aurea mediocritas* between "Liederfürst" and the instrumental composer, since the potential "truth-content" of these two extremes is revealed only in their mutual, concrete mediation; a Hegelian insight wittingly evoked by Adorno in the following terms: "Aber Vermittlung zwischen den einander entgegengesetzten Paaren des Denkens stellt sich nicht auf dem berühmten goldenen Mittelweg her, von dem Arnold Schonberg einmal sehr hübsch gesagt hat er sei der einzige Weg, der ganz bestimmt nicht nach Rom führe. Diese Vermittlung ist, wenn überhaupt, dann möglich nur durch die Extreme hindurch." (Adorno,PhT:38)

The quest for a new imago of the composer and his subjectivity, for instance as "*Schubert the Progressive*",[79] must according to Dürr come to terms with the experimental nature of music too easily dismissed as convivial *Gebrauchsmusik*, and at the same time recognise the propulsive role of the small-genres compositions in the emancipation, within the large-forms instrumental compositions, from the inherited Haydnian, Mozartian and Beethovenian models. As we have explored in the so far outlined genealogy of the construction, early revisions and pathologization of the Schubertian subjectivity, the latter was primarily shaped by abstract dichotomies since this mediation remained largely ignored. In a phase marked by growing public passion for the Lied and the quest for its "monarch", it was Schumann, above all, who proposed a counternarrative and exposed some of the contradictions and banalisations affecting the depiction drawn by Schubert's friends and acquaintances. To the subjectivity of the "natural composer" defined by heteronomy, intuition, irrationality, inconstancy, sloppiness and aptness for small genres only, Schumann counterposed the "poetic composer", a "genius" possibly without all the reflective depth of Beethoven, yet a subjectivity capable of mastering any formal, content-related, poetic challenge in *all* the genres of the time, ultimately a *redeemer* of the allegedly German symphonic tradition (and exporter into "Gallic soil" of the German Lied).

In this chapter we have likewise examined Bauernfeld's timid attempts to supply the Schubertian subjectivity with demonic and "Narr"-like connotations, which were soon overshadowed by the Paganinian and Beethovenian paradigms, and surpassed by moralistic scrutinization of the "soul" in the public debate, which exposed it in its *reified*, *ossified* form, reduced in fact to a "skull-bone" in the phrenological, detrimental comparison with Beethoven. As we have seen these pseudosciences informed the construction of Schubertian subjectivity and interiority, not least in Kreissle's internationally influential biography in spite of coeval (e.g. Hegel's) criticism of the materialistic reductivism of phrenology and physiognomy.

[79] The reference to Schoenberg's famous essay *Brahms the Progressive* (1933, 1950) is evident in the volume edited by Brian Newbould "*Schubert the Progressive*" (2003).

4) Patriotism, nationalism and the politicisation of Schubertian subjectivity

This chapter will examine the impact of patriotic, nationalistic and political discourses on the Schubert reception, and in particular their influence on the construction of Schubertian subjectivity and interiority. This investigation will identify some of those notions, ideals and socio-historical phenomena which were coevally regarded as crucial within the elaboration and interpretation of these discourses, and at the same time seek to uncover the intricate web of intersecting and overlapping constellations involved – a deconstruction inspired however primarily by the insights of 20th century discourse analysis and current Schubert scholarship. Informed by both, it will be possible to expose the interaction of patriotic and nationalistic discourses with essentialisms and categories partly already encountered, such as the unfathomable, apparently inextinguishable dualism of Germanic and Austrian, the (increasingly ideological) concept of German depth and interiority, the role of gendered discourses, the Beethovenian paradigm, the evolving interpretation of the *Biedermeierzeit*, etc.

Whereas the preceding chapter has examined some implications of the increasing association in mid-19th century Schubert reception of the composer's subjectivity with the "Liederfürst"-cliché, the "German Lied" or the alleged "German symphonic tradition", in this chapter we shall explore how these topoi proceeded down a path which eventually lead, in concomitance with the Schubert-Centennial (1897), to the strongly politized depiction of a composer epitomising a nostalgic representation of the bygone bourgeoise virtues of Biedermeier Vienna. Noticeably such investigation covers a vast timespan, beginning with the aftermath of the Vienna Congress and the leading role of Austria in the German Confederation (Deutsche Bund), the increasing bearings of Pan-Germanism and the "Deutschlandfrage", but ending with the Prussian affirmation of hegemony on culture-political agendas and a strong imprint on music-history writing. In this connection an analysis of Franz Brendel's Schubert reception will reveal its indebtedness to Schumann's pioneering music criticism, but also the increasingly political and nationalist connotation of music-aesthetical concepts such as interiority and depth. On the other hand, the Austrian trauma caused by the battle of Königgrätz, Vienna's radical urban transformation and the rise to power of the Christian Social Party shall represent three symbolic watersheds which will inform the analysis of an Austrian particularistic *counternarrative*, gradually outlining a sentimental and unheroic representation of the composer, celebrating his rootedness within local landscape and *colour*, and embracing him as a vital asset in the construction and preservation of the image of "Musikstadt Wien".

a) Personification of the Viennese *genius loci* or sidekick to the German "Volksgeist"?

Particularly among the eldest of Schubert's friends and acquaintances (not least in their roles as state-functionaries) could easily be perceived enduring traces of the fading *Josephine* enlightenment, with its connected patriotism ("Landespatriotismus") which involved – for instance in the influential theorisations by Joseph von Sonnenfels – a celebration of the "harmonious" symbiosis and synergy of ruling dynasty, religion, civic-virtues, territories (hereditary and non), and last but not least, of language(s).[80] Consequently all these dimensions were already entangled in a "Politisierung der Kultur" (Fillafer, 2020: 30) during the last decades of the 18th century, before this trend became more noticeable through its involvement in the rising national-language patriotism ("sprachnationalen Patriotismus"), and finally in the often inherently conflicting, ostracizing nationalistic movements and discourses of the 1820s. The young composer had prematurely made the experience of belonging to a specific *community* (the Viennese, the Austrian, the Habsburgian territories, etc.) through its, literally speaking, *conflictual* relation with an irresistible foreign power – he had possibly neither the age nor the intellectual instruments necessary to apprehend the Napoleonic invasions with that ambiguous excitement and historical awareness which Hegel expressed in his evocation of Napoleon as a "Weltseele" on a horseback (Hoffmeister, 1952: 120), or with the profound bitterness experienced by Grillparzer and Beethoven. Probably underappreciating this dubious privilege of (indirectly) witnessing the "world-soul on horseback", but more likely impressed by the resulting hardships – "Im Juni [1809] war in Wien die Hungersnot so groß, daß die Bäcker und Fleischhauer nur mehr unter dem Schutz von Wachen ihre Läden außperren konnten." (Badura-Skoda/Gruber, 1999:32) –, Schubert grew up in a city carrying the visible scars left by the Napoleonic sieges, where *also* artists bemoaned and celebrated those fallen in battle; to the latter belonged Theodor Körner, whose patriotic poems he would often set to music in the following years. Shortly put, Schubert's formative years in the *Stadtkonvikt* intersected with fading echoes of Josephine enlightenment, a widespread sense of the French (and "revolutionary") menace – and the connected resurging revanchism, plus a definition of

[80] An inspiring and detailed analysis of the evolution of patriotic and nationalistic ideals and discourses within the Habsburg territories, from 1750 to the *Vormärz* and 1848 revolutions, recently outlined by Franz L. Fillafer in *Aufklärung habsburgisch. Staatsbildung, Wissenskultur und Geschichtspolitik in Zentraleuropa 1750–1850* (2020), stresses the following significant implications: "In der Tat wurde der Patriotismus in den habsburgischen Ländern lange gut eudämonistisch als Bürgertugend, als Inbegriff der vernünftig-sittlichen Optimierung des Bürgers, definiert. Nur langsam vollzog sich der Wandel von einer gleichermaßen universalen wie ethisch privaten Bedeutung des Patriotismus, deren Verwirklichung von der konkreten Förderung durch den jeweiligen Staat abhängig war, zu einem gemeinschaftsspezifischen Bedeutungsgehalt. So wurden die historischen Länder der Monarchie zu Vaterländern, zu Trägern des gemeinschaftsstiftenden Loyalitätsgefühls." (Fillafer, 2020: 29)

his own community often in opposition to that culture, values and *nation* – the beginning of the "Restaurationszeit" following the Congress of Vienna and finally, coinciding with his coming of age, the proclamation of the infamous Carlsbad decrees in 1819 (a juridic milestone for the implementation of the censorship, surveillance and repression defining the Metternichian "police state"). Who, partly still inspired by Josephine enlightenment, argued for a new political, supranational entity enclosing the Habsburg and German-speaking territories, like for example the theologian and philosopher Bernard Bolzano, immediately lost, as consequence of these decrees, his professorship. The advocacy of a German-Austrian unification likewise inspired several members of Schubert's circle of friends and acquaintances, amongst others Franz Grillparzer, Anton Ritter von Spaun (Joseph's brother) and Johann Senn, whose detention (and subsequent exile) Schubert personally witnessed in 1820. The "politicization of culture" and the sense of belonging to a community bound by language and culture, were consequently by no means peripheric elements of Schubert's formative horizon, but constituted on the contrary a crucial concern, albeit somewhat illicit and clandestine, of his circle of friends, and apt materials for poetic and musical elaborations. A thorough and vivid analysis of this state of affairs has been outlined by Michael Kohlhäufl:

> Der verbindende Gedanke war der einer freien Entfaltung von Humanität durch Nationalität. Als deren Ausdruckform galt die Kunst, insbesondere das Lied als die volksspezifische Einheit von Wort und Ton. Der Liedbegriff entwickelte sich ästhetisch von einem natürlichen Ideal des Zusammenklang von Poesie und Musik zum hohen Kunstideal der unbewußten »Naturpoesie« des »kunstlosen Gesang(s)« der Seele. Als »Schöpfer« des deutschen Kunstliedes stand auch Franz Schubert in diesem Brennpunkt von Kulturnation und europäischer Romantik. – Die Morgenröte der politischen Freiheit der Nation und der schöpferischen Freiheit des gottbegeisterten Sängers, die im frühen 19. Jahrhundert am Ideenhimmel aufgegangen war, schien auch in der österreichischen Literaturlandschaft und in Franz Schuberts Freundeskreis. (Kohlhäufl, 1999: 138)

Although lacking the humanist "cosmopolitanism"[81] and philosophical gravity of J.G. Herder's study of the binding force of language, identity and nation and its edifying, invigorating expression through the Lied (the synthesis of "poetry and music"), or the insightfulness of Friedrich Schlegel's theorisation of a "natural poetry", it has been established that a quest for cultural identity, the longing for national self-determination, for the unrestrained, uncensored unfolding of intellectual-artistic individuality, constituted fundamental endeavours within the composer's circle of friends and can neither be regarded as subsidiary ideals and preoccupations in the composer's existence and consciousness, nor as *intentionality* arbitrarily superimposed within the interpretation and reception of his artistic persona and subjectivity.

[81] Incidentally it should be pointed out that "Herder is often classified as a "nationalist" or […] a "German nationalist", but this is deeply misleading […] On the contrary, his fundamental position in international politics is a committed cosmopolitanism, in the sense of an impartial concern for *all* human beings." (Forster, 2004: xxxi)

Consequently the gradual emergence, amongst the recollections of friends and acquaintances of characterisations linking Schubert's ethos, artistry and subjectivity to either a German/Northern or an Austrian/Southern constellation – or both – (significantly this happened mostly after the 1848 revolutions and the termination of the Metternichian repression of nationalist thought and movements), were initially moulded by figures of speech and discourses that had belonged to his own experiential horizon, and were possibly less alien to the composer, than f. ex. some of those contexts where his instrumental works were about to be performed.[82] Let us in this connection consider an illustrative case, represented by the second strophe of the poem *An Franz Schubert* (1842), in which the composer's close friend Franz von Schober honoured the memory of his friend and his aforementioned "Doppelnatur":

> Es kann ihn Oesterreich stolz den Seinen nennen, / Und Wien ihn preisen, seine Vaterstadt,/
> Sein Wesen ist vom Lande nicht zu trennen, / als ächten Sohn erweiset ihn die That:/
> *Hier* konnt' allein er nord'sche Tiefe einen / Mit Gluth und Melodie aus Südens Hainen. (Schober, 1842: 110)

In his eulogy – published in Tübingen and Stuttgart – the poet, born in Sweden and much accustomed to travel beyond the Habsburg territories into Germany and Poland, embedded and circumscribed the artistry and identity of the composer to a country (Austria), city (Vienna), and more abstractly, to a specific *cultural Heimat*: "*here* could only *he*" merge and express, through the Lied, its unique combination of Northern, German "depth" and "heat and melody" of Southern soil.[83] The essentialisms operating in Schober's lyricism are quite explicitly addressed by Kohlhäufl who stresses, that the composer's artistry is here "auf Grundlage einer ontologischen Topographie als synthese von Spezifischen Eigenschaften bestimmter kultureller Räume vorgestellt." (Kohlhäufl, 1999: 3) The inclination to elect and erect an artist as the archetypical carrier of national culture and identity is noticeable in the reasoning of Schober, and generally in many of the cases that will be examined in this chapter. This Atlantean task, which as aforementioned hardly fitted the coeval, unheroic image of Schubert, became an honour and burden that would posthumously weight on the shoulder of the composer, reaching, as we shall examine in the end of this chapter, *unbearable* contradictions.

[82] It seems safe to infer that whereas the dissimilarity between the small, private context of the Hartwig house and the public hall of the *GdM* at the *Haus zum roten Igel* (inaugurated in 1831) could have been overcome, the architectural "glass and steel" gigantism of the Crystal Palace in London, where Mann and Grove organised the performance of his symphonies, would have utterly bewildered and alienated the Viennese composer.

[83] Since the 18th century, such *southern* "heat and melody" (and "melancholy", which we will encounter in Hermann Bahr's panegyric) – opposed to the Germanic inclination for "depth", counterpoint and harmony – had become increasingly synonymous with *Italian* climate, culture and music; cf. Carolin Krahn: *Topographie der Imaginationen. Johann Friedrich Rochlitz' musikalisches Italien um 1800* (2021), pp. 293-318.

Within the German speaking areas, Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (1823) represented the most thorough and influential theorisation of a "Volksgeist" of nations and the possibility of an individual (or artist) to rise as "world-historical individual" into a "heroic" incarnation of the historical, general, even "universal" – although bound to a specific *people* – "truth" of a culture and nation.[84] It was evidently along this line of reasoning that Goethe had become the "Dichterfürst", retrospectively reinterpreted as the paradigmatic embodiment of a whole historic-artistic era (i.e. the "Goethezeit", which englobed the whole life span of Schubert), and according to a similar logic Spaun, Schober and Bauernfeld tried to elevate Schubert to the "Liederfürst", incarnating the Austrian "Volksgeist", or particularly in the poem of Schober, the essence of "Austrian" and "Nordic" *spirit* and culture alike.

If we look beyond the circle of friends and acquaintances and consider the music-critical reception, it is worth recalling that it was originally in the columns of the *NZfM*, in the article regarding the C-Major Symphony (1839), that Schumann had indirectly associated the Schubertian subjectivity to the Austrian mountains, rivers and fields and to the towers and streets of Vienna, yet at the same time elected the composer as the saviour of the German symphonic tradition. Even more illustrative of the dissemination of nationalist discourses and essentialist reasoning, is the development of the debate about Schubert in the *NZfM* under the direction (begun in 1844) of Franz Brendel. Although the writings of this influential music-critic are no longer dismissed as instances of dogmatic advocacy of the "music of the future", of the "New-German-School", of nationalist and even antisemitic agendas (as well known his magazine had published Wagner's *Das Judenthum in der Musik* in 1850), it is still necessary, in spite of his historicist approach and indebtment to the Hegelian philosophy, "to distinguish Brendel's ideological and philosophical positions from those of G. W. F. Hegel and, even more important, from those of Wagner." (Golan, 2012: 352)[85]

[84] All these notions are developed already in the introduction of Hegel's lectures; more specifically the following extrapolations touch upon these concepts: "Die geschichtlichen Menschen, die *welthistorischen Individuen* sind diejenigen, in deren Zwecken ein solches Allgemeines liegt." (Hegel, XII: 45) ; "Das Allgemeine, das im Staate sich hervortut und gewußt wird, die Form, unter welche alles, was ist, gebracht wird, ist dasjenige überhaupt, was die *Bildung* einer Nation ausmacht. Der bestimmte Inhalt aber, der die Form der Allgemeinheit erhält und in der konkreten Wirklichkeit, welche der Staat ist, liegt, ist der Geist des Volkes selbst. Der wirkliche Staat ist beseelt von diesem Geist in allen seinen besonderen Angelegenheiten, Kriegen, Institutionen usf." (Hegel, XII: 69)

[85] This necessity was already addressed by Sponhauer in 1980 who admitted, regarding Brendel's attempt to combine historicist music-criticism and music-historical writing, "Dass es sich bei diesem Versuch um eine im Philosophischen eklektische – auf Hegel, Weisse und Feuerbach zurückgreifende – , und im Historischen nicht selten verzerrende Darstellung handelt, wird niemand bestreiten." (Sponheuer, 1980:11) For a more recent account of Brendel's indebtment to Hegel's philosophy of history, see Gur Golan: "Music and Weltanschauung. Franz Brendel and the Claims of Universal History", in *Music & Letters*, vol. 93, no. 3, 2012, 350–73.

In the second edition of his *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich*, published in Leipzig in 1855, Brendel for example identified Liszt and Wagner as the pioneers of the newest, most "progressive" approach to composition incarnating the "music of the future", but he likewise acknowledged a specific placement and function for Schubert within his teleological reading of music-history, and unsurprisingly it was especially in regard to the Lied that he assigned him an eminent role:

> Durch Beethoven erst wurde der Anstoss gegeben zu grösserer Erweiterung und innerlicher Vertiefung, eine Richtung, die in Schubert sich fortgesetzt und hier ihren ersten Culminationspunct erreicht hat. Dem älteren Standpunct zufolge bewegte sich das Lied noch in sehr enger Sphäre […]. Jetzt trat auf subjectivem Boden ein dramatisch bewegtes Element hinzu. […] So geschah es, dass auf diese Weise das Lied eine der wichtigsten Kunstgattungen der Neuzeit wurde, eine Schöpfung, in die sich der tiefere, deutsche Geist, der sich von dem öffentlichen Leben der Tonkunst unbefriedigt abwendete, flüchtete. (Brendel, 1855, II: 177)

Similarly to some of Schumann's previously examined writings, in Brendel's analysis one encounters a *tour de force* of strongly connotated concepts and evaluations, and evidently of great relevance for the present investigation, is his formulation of a constellation explicitly involving the concepts of interiority, subjectivity and depth; a trinity apparently inextricably tied to the "German Spirit". Whereas the aforementioned issue regarding Schubert's affinity with the Beethovenian reflectiveness ("Besonnenheit") remains still unsettled, in Brendel's assessment, Schubert's Lieder involved nothing less than the (provisional) apex and realisation of the Beethovenian ideal of "inner deepening". According to Brendel the composer unleashed the subjective dimension, precisely within that genre in which poetry and music could "dramatically" express, not only the individual, *private*, emotive and intimate experiences of the lyrical I, but even carry and convey concepts, pertaining – expressed in the terms of the idealistic doctrine – to humanity *as such*, thus a potentially "universal" idea synthesising a whole "Weltanschauung" or "Zeitgeist". Whereas in Schumann's interpretation Schubert posthumously acted as redeemer of the German symphonic tradition, through his transformation of the Lied, Brendel argued, Schubert's subjectivity had constructed a sanctuary where an akin subjectivity – i.e. that of the "deep, German spirit" – could find refuge.

Moreover Brendel's appraisal of Schubert's subjectivity referred to an ethnical, national, culture-political framework, apparently not too dissimilar from that which had informed Schober's homage, but eventually entangled it within an excessively dichotomic interpretation and nationalistic polemic, quite alien to the composer and his closest friends: the dissatisfaction felt by the "profound, German artistry" regarding the "public life of music" should undoubtedly be regarded as an element of Brendel's crusade against the pervasiveness of Italian and French

opera[86] and his hostility towards the "triviality" of most Salon-music.[87] However regarding Schubert's instrumental output, – that is to say, that genre which eminently embodied the "modernen Geist", the "innere Unendlichkeit" of romanticism and the autonomy of the artwork, in which subjectivity, freed from the boundaries of texts, according to Hegel's expression, could finally turn "zum fessellosen Meister" – Brendel's comparison of Schubert with the Beethovenian paradigm resulted in a half-hearted, unoriginal appraisal:

> Besitzt Schubert auch nicht den grossartigen Ernst, die Haltung, den hohen Kunstverstand, diese zusammengehaltene Kraft Beethoven's, zeigt er sich bei weitem einseitiger, erblicken wir hin und wieder eine zerfliessende Weichlichkeit, so ist er doch nach vielen Seiten hin mit diesem verwandt. Das Zarte, Phantasiereiche und Schwärmerische, der Ausdruck blühenden Lebens ist sein Bereich, der Zauber melodischer Schönheit, den er im höchsten Grade besitzt. Es lag gewissermassen in dieser Eigenthümlichkeit, in dem Uebergewicht derselben, dass ihm strenges Maasshalten, insbesondere Kürze, Präcision des Ausdrucks, die Energie des Verstandes nicht in gleichem Grade eigen sein konnte. (Brendel, 1855, II:178)

This assessment reveals its profound indebtedness to Schumann's celebration, reflects the overall positive attitude of the *NZfM* towards Schubert as a "progressive" composer,[88] but draws altogether, with weighty concepts, an unfavourable depiction of Schubert's subjectivity, deemed incapable of "seriousness" or gravitas, concurring, particularly in the last part, with Sonnleithner's scepticism regarding its aptitude for *measure* and *precision* – i.e. the two fundamental attributes of rationality ("clara et distincta perceptio") in cartesian epistemology. While this *all too manly* "potency of comprehension" is negated to the Schubertian subjectivity, its connection to an (equally gendered) discourse involving "softness", "delicacy", "flourishing", "magic" is brought to an extreme, which goes beyond Schumann's original "child", "Mädchencharakter" and "wife" metaphors. The poetic, overflowing creativity of Schubertian subjectivity had (through the Lied) undeniably facilitated the development of a refuge for the "deep, German spirit", nevertheless in the domains of instrumental music and fully unbridled subjectivity it could not epitomise the "nord'sche Tiefe" evoked by Schober:

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[86] Incidentally it should be pointed out that, in spite of the competition between German and Italian opera, no chauvinistic *ressentiment* was expressed amongst Schubert and his friends (many of them were employed in the theatres, or served as in the cases of Schober, Kupelwieser and Bauernfeld also as librettists for Schubert) against the Italian dominance, which reached an apex with Rossini's triumphs and Barbaja's grip on the Viennese theatres. Spaun recalled in 1857: "Obgleich durchaus von deutscher Richtung, stimmte er doch keineswegs dem damals gewöhnlichen Schmähen gegen italienische Musik und namentlich die Rossini Opern bei." (Erinn.:158) An entrenchment like Brendel's following, was indeed inconceivable among Schubert and his friends: "Die deutsche Tonkunst nimmt mehr und mehr eine Nationale Richtung, und das Ausland, nicht mehr beeinflusst von Deutschland, tritt dieser Richtung äusserlich und feindlich gegenüber." (Brendel, 1855, II: 175)

[87] The latter is dismissed as "triviality", "frivolity", as a "Versenkung in die Aeusserlichkeit"(Brendel, 1852: 118).

[88] Although in 1849 Brendel had labelled Schubert's Trio for piano, violin and violoncello in E-flat Major (D 929) as "inadequate", the *NZfM* celebrated in the same year his chamber music as instances of "Fortschritt" and "Neuigkeit" (*NZfM* 31, 1849: 115).

> Es waltet jedoch in Schubert's Auffassung und Darstellung das süddeutsche Wesen noch entschieden vor, es ist, bei dem Uebergewicht der Phantasie in ihm, ein genialer Instinct, der ihn leitet. Das kritische Bewusstsein beim Schaffen, die norddeutsche Reflexion, sehen wir noch nicht in gleichem Grade vertreten. Nicht mit ausdrücklichem Bewusstsein hat Schubert seine Richtung ergriffen, es war die Grösse seiner Begabung, es war specielle, angeborene Befähigung, die ihn in den Stand setzte, das zu leisten, was er geleistet hat. (Brendel, 1855, II: 567)

In spite of his Hegelian inclinations and the elicitation of "critical consciousness", Brendel's hints to "instinct" and "special, innate ability" represent a resort to *precritical* notions and platitudes (encountered already in Vogl's, Mayrhofer's and Spaun's depictions), which relegates Schubert's subjectivity to a "south-German essence" (a noteworthy terminological choice) defined by irrationality and unconsciousness – lacking the "north-German reflection", and thus, I now dare infer, finally settling the matter regarding the absence of the aforesaid *Besonnenheit*. Needless to say, it should not be forgotten that Brendel's assessments were written approximately ten years before the publication of Kreissle's biography, and even more importantly, almost a decade before that 1860s scenario of constant rediscovery and transformation examined in the previous chapter and so vividly portrayed by Hanslick, but unfortunately by that time Brendel had only few years left to consign to paper eventual reconsiderations of his judgments. Whether Brendel's teleological – hardly dialectical, much dichotomic – conception of music-history could genuinely contemplate the possibility of such developmental disruptures and critical revisions is difficult to establish; it would finally, so to speak, be *unfair* to pretend that he should have regarded Schubert's Symphony in B Minor (D 759) rather than Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* as the noteworthiest discovery of the year 1865.

Although the comparison with the towering Beethovenian paradigm brings several shortcomings to the surface, it is equally true that in Brendel's interpretation, Schubert was represented as an artist of the greatest interest for composers, performers and audiences longing for a novel, serious and profound realisation of the lyrical and dramatical potential of the Lied, or for aesthetical and intellectual delights and challenges through the overwhelming outbursts of musical imaginativeness in his instrumental works. In his music-historical, culture-political and music-pedagogic agenda, solemnly pursuing the "Bildung" of the (North)German Spirit (with its allegedly incomparable inclination for interiority, subjectivity and depth) and its receptiveness for the "music of the future", Schubert could indeed play an important role. A stark, revealing contrast to Brendel's interpretation, shaped by lofty and zealous ideals, mainly aimed – in spite of the frequent elicitation of the "Volk" at large – at an intellectual minority and fairly restricted community of performers and audiences, can be achieved by briefly considering Johann Herbeck's following advocacy for a popular, somewhat folksy Schubert.

A decade after Brendel's critical appraisal of the artistical complexity and profundity of Schubert's oeuvre on the columns of the *NZfM* or in lectures held in Leipzig and other German cities,[89] one of the greatest champions of Schubert in his native city, the composer, conductor and Choirmaster of the Wiener Männergesang-Verein (WMgV), Johann Herbeck – in a time of increasing professionalisation of Lied performances – accentuated, in the introduction to a collection he had curated and published for Spina in 1865, the accessibility and convivial character of Schubert's part-songs and choral works.[90] Exactly in the same year in which he had rescued the autograph of the Symphony in B Minor from its long, dusty captivity in Graz and paved the way for its first performance, Herbeck praised the composer by highlighting his rootedness in the Viennese soil and its *genius loci*, his typically Austrian "receptiveness for life and nature", in that genre which later played, as we shall observe in the final chapter of this enquiry, a crucial role in the popularisation and politicization of Schubert's persona and music:

> Schubert's Muse aber weihte sich nicht einzig und allein dem hohen Liede, stimmte nicht immer die erhabenen Klänge der „Hymne", des „Geistergesanges" an – sie weilt auch gerne auf freundlicher Erde, unter freundlichen Menschen, die „der Geist der Liebe" erfüllt, sich nach „Liebe und Wein" sehnen, im „Dörfchen" den kindlich unbefangene belauschen! – Und den „Naturgenuss" musste ihn nicht Schubert schreiben, Franz Schubert, der geborne Wiener, mit der hellen Frische, der Empfänglichkeit für Natur und Leben, die sein Oesterreich kennzeichnet?! Der „Nachtgesang" ertönt, die Stimmen und Hörner verklingen in Eins, – ist es da nicht, wie wenn ein leiser, warmer Hauch aus Wälschland den tiefgrünen, deutschen Wald durchzittert? Ja, durch die reizvolle Vermählung deutschen, innigen Gemüthes mit südlicher, farbenprächtiger Gluth berührt uns Schubert so wunderbar! (Herbeck, 1885: 112)

The affinity with Schober's homage is noticeable, particularly the conclusive emphasis on Schubert's congenial embodiment of *both* a southern ("Gluth" exactly as in Schober's poem) and a northern essence, the latter once again defined primarily by an "introspective disposition". It is equally worth stressing that in Herbeck's idyllic depiction, the evergreen topos of the "German forest" welcomes the southern "warm breeze" in a *harmonious* embrace, whereas more chauvinistic thinkers, like Brendel and Wagner (of whom Herbeck was a staunch champion as choirmaster of the WMgV), were increasingly using the term "Wälschland", in most cases synonymous with France and Italy, exclusively in a derogatory sense, epitomising in fact the antithesis of German spirit and artistry; Herbeck on the contrary, like Schober, recognised Schubert as the insuperable embodiment of southern (i.e. Italianate) and northern (i.e. German) and Austria as the fertile *soil* where this symbiosis all too briefly flourished.

[89] Brendel did stress that these lectures where aimed at "Dilettanten und Laien" (Brendel, 1852: iii). Nevertheless, without going into quantitative and qualitative (music)sociological details, I will still insist that his audiences constituted a *minority* and relatively *restricted community*.

[90] An overview of the collections edited for the publisher Spina and a thorough analysis of the significance of Herbeck's editorial enterprise can be found in Hettrick, W.: "Johann Herbeck's Edition of Choral Works by Franz Schubert: History and Analysis", in *Nineteenth-Century Music Review, 16* (3), 2019, 349-382

Even more explicit is Herbeck's attempt to bring about a disassociation in the mind of potential buyers and performers, between Schubert and the intellectual, introvert, "sublime" and classicist themes and pathos of some of his most famous Lieder, by cleverly using (with quotation marks) the titles of other Lieder, thus evoking a picture of carefree (unsurprisingly even "childish"), folksy (volkstümlich), convivial musicmaking, inspired by friendship, love and wine, preferably rooted in the welcoming, familiar and unpretentious setting of a hamlet ("Dörfchen"). Whereas Brendel's interest for the instrumental, orchestral and chamber repertoire of Schubert tied his representation of the composer and his subjectivity primarily to the values of bourgeoise audiences and skilled performers, emphasising the autonomy of the artwork, its complexity, and ultimately its participation in long-term aesthetical and spiritual edification, Herbeck's attempt to popularise Schubert's part-songs is directed primarily to convivial music-making (more accessible from a semantic and performative perspective), unafraid of unveiling a hedonistic, somewhat naïve enjoyment of performance and music-listening, neither relentlessly concerned with the autonomy of the artwork nor with its allegiance to sophisticated "Bildung".[91] Nevertheless it cannot be stressed enough that part-songs and particularly some of Herbeck's choral arrangements paved the way for those "monumental" performances, which would play a crucial role in the *mass culture-politics* of the two Schubert-centenary celebrations in Vienna.[92] Moreover, Herbeck's praise of simplicity and conviviality, his depiction of folksy cheerfulness and its harmonious coexistence with the Austrian landscape, even more untroubled and idyllic than the atmospheres evoked by Adalbert Stifter's writings, far from being *unideological*, clearly intersected with the increasing appeal of the narrative of a "popular" Liederfürst, epitomising also the waning allure of "Biedermeier", "Alt-Wien"; in other words, his celebration of Schubert's popularity and *Volkstümlichkeit* reflected and bolstered the notion of the composer as the personification of an Austrian *Volksgeist* and of the imago of Vienna as the *Musikstadt* par excellence.

[91] Brendel did not miss the chance to celebrate the contribution of Leipzig, *the musical capital of the North*, to the early reception of Schubert's instrumental repertoire: "Was Schubert in der anderen Fächern, auf dem Gebiet der Orchester-, Quartett und Pianofortemusik geleistet hat, ist in Leipzig vorzugsweise gekannt und geliebt. Die meisten dieser Werke haben von hier aus ihren Ausganspunct genommen." (Brendel, 1852: 511)

[92] Unsurprisingly singer-associations were barely tolerated during the Metternich-era and early years of the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph, and only in 1867 was a "Vereinsgesetz" issued which recognized and regulated their activities. The accessibility, pathos, and increasingly public and political character of this repertoire (gradually involving performers from the *petite bourgeoisie* and ultimately from the working classes) should also be read in light of the following consideration: "A significant change in the performance practice of these and other similar works had already taken place by Herbeck's time. Originally conceived for and performed by one-on a- part ensembles (consisting of Schubert's friends, who evidently volunteered their services), with the advent of large men's choruses in the German speaking world these pieces had entered the genre of choral music, characterized by a full blend of sound not possible with small ensembles." (Hettrick, 2019: 353)

So far I have argued that Franz Brendel's interpretation of the composer and his subjectivity were informed by fundamental categories of the eminently (North)German ideology of depth and interiority, and were consequently assimilated and processed (alongside Beethoven) as *moments* in the development of a specific musical "Volksgeist" occupied with its own edification and progress towards "unbridled subjectivity", longing to fulfil the idealistic call for autonomy and *Mündigkeit*, but fostering at the same time an obsession with origins, identity, essences and (national) *missions*, and increasingly hierarchical, normative and undialectical in its sometimes dogmatic intolerance towards *alterities*. Dying three years before the unification and gradual merging of the "North German" and "South German" territories and *spirit* – before, so to speak, the historical sublation of some of the dichotomies informing his interpretation –, Brendel's analysis was equally influenced by an exceedingly dichotomous representation of the supposed irreconcilability of "serious", "poetical", profound music and the "triviality", brilliance and "exteriority" of most Salon music. Although only indirectly connected to the issue of national, ethnical connotation of Schubertian subjectivity, but generally related to influential music-aesthetical ideals and culture-political discourses, it is worth incidentally stressing also this shortcoming in Brendel's reasoning. The quotations here condensed by Sponheuer, extrapolated from the first two chapters of Brendel's *Die Musik der Gegenwart und die Gesammtkunst der Zukunft* (1854) will serve this purpose:

> Es entsteht für die Bedürfnisse der „höheren Classen der Gesellschaft" eine hedonistisch orientierte Salonmusik als „Gegenstand des Luxus für die vornehme Welt", „eingestandener Massen ein Industrieartikel, ... innerlich hohl und heuchlerisch ... auf Effect berechnet", „jenes ästhetische Genussleben", „welches jedweden Inhalt vermissen lässt."; auf der anderen Seite - aber ebenfalls für eine „Aristokratie des Geistes" - eine Musik von „esoterischem Charakter", von „nur geistreicher Natur", die „nur für den Kenner bestimmt" ist und sich „nur in schroffer Opposition" gegenüber der „Trivialität" behaupten kann. (Sponheuer, 1980: 21)

If we recall Dürr's previously mentioned emphasis regarding the crucial influence of Schubert's Lieder and Salon music on his "serious" instrumental and orchestral compositions, the progressive, experimental character of the former and their gradual, positive impact on (initially more conventional) large-forms and "serious" music, or Gruber's similar criticism of any rigid separation between "Liebhaber"- and "Kenner" compositions which ignores their concrete, musical mutual influence, we can grasp to what extent the excessively dichotomous representation of the divide between "serious" and "trivial" music, which affected Brendel's analysis (and would for decades affect those of many music-critics, musicologists and Schubert scholars), had a detrimental effect on the understanding of Schubert's music, of its challenge of sedimented genre-boundaries and -conventions, and finally inspired a misrepresentation of the complexity and irreducibility of the "Doppelnatur" of his musical subjectivity.

We have likewise observed that though different in form and aims, Schober's and Herbeck's depictions were primarily circumscribed tributes to the composer *per se*, not interpretations seeking to identify Schubert as a *moment* within a larger, teleological music-historical narrative. Yet it has also been stressed that it would be erroneous to consider them as disentangled from patriotic and nationalistic discourses, since they sought in the Schubertian subjectivity and artistry (and indeed Austrian and Viennese soil) a conciliation of "Northern" and "Southern", "sublimity" and "familiarity", "large" and "small" (music-genres), "interiority" and "exteriority", which reflected aesthetic values largely intertwined with coeval Habsburg culture-political discourses, rhetoric and goals.

b) Schubert the Austrian? Nationalists interpretations after the trauma of Königgrätz.

Herbeck's promotion of Schubert through performances and editorial initiatives, which reached a climax in 1865 with the discovery of the composer's possibly most accomplished symphonic, "absolute music" composition, and the simultaneous celebration and printed distribution of apparently carefree, folksy and convivial part songs and choral compositions, represented undoubtedly a fundamental moment of that possible "Kairos", evoked in the previous chapter, which the history of impact of the Schubertian oeuvre appeared to have reached round mid-19th century. If, on the one hand, during the 1860s this impact seemed to increasingly convey the possibility of coexistence in Schubert's compositions – in his oeuvre as a whole rather than in the single works – of subjectivity, interiority and profundity with intersubjectivity, "exteriority" (not intended as superficiality and triviality as Brendel did) and *joie de vivre*, on the other hand, the military and political events of the second half of the 19th century would progressively set in motion growingly politicised, polarised, ideological and eventually caricatured representations of the composer's works and artistic persona. When Schober (in 1842) and Herbeck (in 1865) represented Schubert as the ideal incarnation of the synthesis of "Northern" and "Southern" nature, culture and artistry they, more or less consciously, endorsed a Vienna-centric conception, which participated in political and culture-political discourses and strategies that propounded the Habsburg Residenzstadt as the fittest cradle for the thriving of the German Confederation as territorial, political and cultural entity. As well known, these pretences were increasingly challenged by growing Prussian military, political and cultural strength, and in this connection, as historian Pieter Judson emphasises, the Austrian defeat at the Battle of Königgrätz (3.6.1866) constituted a decisive turning point:

> …historians have marked the summer of 1866 as that crucial moment when Austro-German political links to the rest of the Germans in Central Europe were severed. Indeed, Austria itself was expelled from the German Confederation. The explicit goal of political hegemony in Germany, which had provided the impetus for so many domestic and foreign policies since 1848, vanished overnight. (Judson, 1996:107)

The momentous events of the 1860s, such as the centrifugal geopolitical tendencies initiated by the Austrian exclusion from the German Confederation, the humiliating debacle of the Second French Empire which enabled the rise of the German Empire of Emperor Wilhelm I, the Realpolitik of chancellor Otto v. Bismarck and the increasing Prussian hegemony on the question of German identity, and last but not least the increasing isolation and imposed, often frustrated and self-critical, introspectiveness of (*New*-)Vienna and the Habsburg territories, were events gradually recognised as very significant, and did constitute a highly charged

backdrop for the Schubert reception of the second half of the 19th century, especially, needless to say, for the nationalist and identitarian constructions of the Schubertian subjectivity. Nevertheless, according to Hentschel, one should resist the temptation of theorising sudden, all-encompassing transformations in music-history writing as consequence of these events:

> Nun wäre es falsch zu behaupten, diese Ereignisse hätten ausnahmslos keine Spüren in den Musikgeschichten des 19. Jahrhunderts hinterlassen. Hin und wieder, wenn auch sehr selten, wurde explizit auf die politischen Ereignisse angespielt, doch solche politischen Einsprengsel besaßen keine historiographische Bedeutung. […] Die Anspielungen auf konkrete politische Ereignisse hatten weder einen Einfluss auf die Tiefenstruktur der Musikgeschichten, noch bildeten sie ein regelmäßig wiederkehrendes Motiv mit einer einheitlichen Stoßrichtung aus. […] Auch die Vorstellung davon, was deutsch war, änderte sich nicht; und das gilt noch für Texte, die nach 1871 entstanden sind. (Hentschel, 2006: 421)

The soundness of Hentschel's analysis notwithstanding, in the remaining part of this chapter we will observe that, whereas German self-conception and music-history writing possibly "did not change" overnight, the question of Austrian and Viennese identity and its relation to German culture and artistry did in fact rapidly evolve as a consequence of the here mentioned historical events, and most importantly, that the artistry and persona of Schubert became a central and favourite prism for the investigation or ideological promotion of these identities.[93]

Admittedly the first necrologies by Zedlitz and Bauernfeld had already emphasised Schubert's belonging to the "Austrian fatherland",[94] therefore, even though various "deep structures" had possibly remained unaffected, it seems advisable not to underestimate the significance of the novel historical and political background when interpreting the remarkable recurrence of the notions "Austrian", "vaterländisch" and "soil" in Bauernfeld's recollections published in 1869 for the newspaper *Die Presse*. In the ensuing quote his recalling of the criticism of the influence of "popular tunes" on the "poetic" Lied reflects primarily a scepticism towards genre and stylistic mixtures, which remained widespread during Schubert's lifetime and in the first half of the 19th century; nevertheless his complaints regarding the "too national", "too Austrian" character of this music appears at the same time somewhat ambiguous and unusual:

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[93] 20th cent. Schubert research has amply investigated this issue. Marie-Agnes Dittrich, for ex., has brought attention to several sources that highlight the magnitude of the transformation regarding self-conception and national identity in both Austrian and German writings on Schubert, which *did* impact music-history writing, and thus, in my opinion, seem in part to question the validity of Hentschel's music-historiographical claims. Cf. Marie-Agnes Dittrich: "*„Jenem imponierenden Heroismus entzogen"–Franz Schubert und das Österreich-Bild nach Königgrätz*" in, Berke/Dürr/Litschauer (ed.): *Bericht über den Internationalen Schubert-Kongreß.* (2001) 3-23.

[94] Unsurprisingly Zedlizt saw no contradiction in Schubert's simultaneous *austrianness* and *germanness*: "Der Verstorbene gehört zu den wenigen großen Talenten, deren Namen dem österreichischen Vaterlande zu beständigem Ruhme, dessen Werke dem gesammten Deutschlande zu beständiger Freude gereichen werden." (Dok I.: 441) Similarly in the anonymous obituary published in the *Wiener Zeitung für Kunst, Litteratur und Mode* (11.12.1828) - which according to Ernst Hilmar "stammt möglicherweise von Eduard v. Bauernfeld" (Dok. II: 326) – Schubert was celebrated as "der Stolz seines Vaterlandes" (Dok. I: 452).

> Das österreichische Element, derb und sinnlich, schlug im Leben vor wie in der Kunst. Neue und frische Melodien wie Harmonien und Rhythmen sprudelten in Hülle und Fülle aus einer reichbegabten Brust, trugen auch nicht selten den Charakter des von jeher sangreichen Bodens an der Stirne, welchem ihr Schöpfer entsprossen war – was übrigens kein Tadel sein soll, weit davon!... Bei Schubert läßt sich an der Form, an der musikalischen Deklamation, an den frischen Melodien selbst so manches tadeln. Die letzteren klingen bisweilen zu vaterländisch, zu österreichisch, mahnen an Volksweisen, deren etwas niedrig gehaltener Ton und unschöner Rhythmus nicht die volle Berechtigung hat, sich in das poetische Lied einzudrängen. In dieser Richtung kam es gelegentlich zu kleinen Diskussionen mit Meister Franz. (Erinn.:267-268)
>
> The Austrian element, uncouth and sensual, revealed itself both in his life and in his art. New and original melodies, as well as harmonies and rhythms, welled forth abundantly from the bosom of a richly gifted nature and not infrequently their features displayed the character of the soil, rich in song from time immemorial, from which their creator sprang—and this, moreover, should be no reproach, far from it! . . . With Schubert there is many a thing one can find fault with in the form, in the musical declamation, and even in the fresh melodies. The latter sometimes sound too national, too Austrian; they remind one of popular tunes whose rather commonplace sound and unattractive rhythm are not fully entitled to invade the realm of the poetic song. From time to time there were little arguments on these lines with Meister Franz. (SMF:234)

Noticeably Bauernfeld celebrated the "Austrian element", the alleged musical fertility of the Viennese soil and Schubert's musical inventiveness (both in "melody, harmony and rhythm") in terms resembling those employed by Schober and Herbeck, yet his censure of its *volkstümlich* character could be interpretated as a fear of musical *provincialism* rather than musical nationalism, as if the shimmer of Viennese local colour and the emergence of "popular tunes" could implicitly reveal the *apartness* of Austrian artistry, the national instead of transnational vocation of Vienna and ultimately the fragility of the bonds with German culture and music. From a 21st cent. perspective, Bauernfeld's worries seem all too easily dismissible: with the exceptions of the quotation of the (*nota bene*) Swedish song "*Se solen sjunker ner*" in the Andante of the Piano Trio in E-flat Major (D 929), of a lower Austrian popular tune in the last of his *8 Ecossaises* (D 529) or of a "*Totenwachtlied*" from Burgenland in his *Deutschen* (D 783),[95] the imitation of *volkstümlich* rhythmic and melodic traits and references to popular topoi in Schubert's Lieder (such as in those itemised above by Herbeck) or instrumental compositions, have been scrutinized attentively by contemporary Schubert scholarship, and generally lead to an emphasis on the musical ineffability of such markers as *Volksliedhaft* and *im Volkston*, which according to Ernst Hilmar ultimately "sich in Anbetracht des Fehlens einer klaren (greifbaren) Definition im Klisheehaften verlieren." (Hilmar, 1997: 488) Yet Bauernfeld's accentuation of the local rootedness of Schubert's music was not an isolated case, however, as we can notice in Ludwig Speidel's following observation, published in the Viennese *Deutsche Zeitung* (15.5.1872) (a German-national newspaper) to mark the unveiling of Karl Kundmann's Schubert monument, the latter saw this embeddedness in a positive light:

[95]Regarding D 929 see Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming* (2011) p. 147, and moreover Hilmar (1997), 488.

> Neben Beethoven kehrt Schubert seine lokale Natur hervor, sein begrenztes Wienertum; er ist der Jüngling neben dem Manne. Die mächtige Logik Beethovens ist seien Werken nicht eigen, an Wucht der thematischen Arbeit kann sich Schubert mit Beethoven nicht vergleichen. Aber mit diesem Mängeln hängen bei Schubert unendliche Reize zusammen, und seine Hauptreiz entfaltet er in seiner Harmonik. Zauberhaft klingen seine überraschenden Rückungen und Fortschreitungen: Helldunkel in der Musik, das in seien Wirkungen unvergleichlich ist. Hierin ist Schubert einzig und originell, auch gegen Beethoven. Es gehört *zu* seinem weiblichen, einschmeichelnden Wesen, zu seine Wiener Natur… (Speidel, 1910: 124)

Leaving aside the unimaginative recapitulation of Schumann's dualism (i.e. Schubert's "childish", "female" character opposed to the Beethovenian "manly" rigour and laboriousness), the remaining part of Speidel's reasoning comes forth as surprising and perceptive, since it inverts and upsets some of the sedimented, central associations examined so far. Most striking is his tying of Schubert's "Viennese nature", not to the melodic element (traditionally linked to the abovementioned southern or Italianate influence), but, on the contrary, with "Harmonik" – i.e. that component which, alongside the techniques of counterpoint (by then perceived by some as slightly less crucial, archaic even *scholastic*) and thematic-motivic development constituted the "essence" of the German (hence also Beethovenian) musical heritage. Admittedly it is paradoxical that, according to Speidel, the Schubertian subjectivity, qua its "Viennese nature", exceeded the Beethovenian mastering of "Harmonik" through a "lack", "flatter" and "magic", rather than through rationality, introspection or "logic".[96] Still his evocation of Schubert's "uniqueness" and "originality", unsurpassable talent for "chiaroscuro" effects, and even more his appreciation of the composer's daring harmonic progressions and employment of "Rückungen", outlines an assessment, largely emancipated from Sonnleithner's paradigmatic criticism, which would become mainstream only by mid-20th cent.

In current Schubert-scholarship the notion of a musical *regionalism* and *volkstümlichkeit* is often disproved from an immanent, music analytical perspective, and by referring to the long list of important German (or even English) poets, whose texts Schubert set to music. As highlighted in the second chapter, it has likewise been stressed that the musical genres he chose to deal intensively with and his interaction with German music-publishers revealed the composer's attention to the north-German "market" and its musical developments. In this connection, however, yet another seeming paradox comes forth, one which was particularly evident and painful to those who proudly supported the "local", "Viennese nature" of Schubert.

[96] Concerning the identity and local embeddedness of Schubert's subjectivity, Andreas Mayer has correctly stressed that in Speidel's eulogy "steht dem Wienertum als lokaler Begrenztheit die Universalität Beethovens gegenüber" (Mayer, 1997: 33). As well known, even in the 20th century the interpretation of the Beethovenian musical subjectivity and its possible "universality", as an expression of subjectivity *as such*, remained a debated topic, and elaborated perhaps most radically by Adorno in his (posth.) *Beethoven. Philosophie der Musik* (1993).

In an article published in *Die Presse* (10.10.1867), entitled "*Noch ein Schubert-Monument*", Speidel in fact gave vent to his frustration concerning the dominance of German music-publishers (e.g. Breitkopf & Härtel) and advocated the realization of a complete edition of Schubert's works by Viennese publishers in order to avoid a reiteration of what had occurred with the works of Beethoven – and soon would with those of Mozart (i.e. *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* from 1876). The conclusion of Speidel's article, proves to what extent he had grasped not only the correlation between music-philological and music-publishing enterprises (particularly *Gesamtausgaben* and *Denkmäler*) and national identity, but also the unique role Schubert's oeuvre could play in times where a Viennese *identitarian revanche* seemed most longed-for:

> Die großen musikalischen Geister, die in Wien gelebt und geschaffen, haben, volkswirtschaftlich gesprochen, ungeheure Werthe erzeugt. Haydn und Mozart haben lange Zeit den musikalischen Markt Deutschlands beherrscht, und nach der Versicherung Otto Jahn's besteht die Hälfte aller Musikalien, die jährlich in Deutschland verkauft werden, aus Beethoven'schen Compositionen. Leider hat sich Wien nicht bemüht, den Verlag der Werke jener Meister festzuhalten, und auf den Verzeichnissen der Wiener Verleger, die einst so reichhaltig waren, findet man kein einziges großes Werk mehr von Haydn, Mozart und Beethoven. Diese Thatsache bedeutet einen großen Verlust an Nationalreichthum, und sie bedeutet einen ebenso großen Verlust an deutschem Nationalgeist. Der einzige, der uns noch bleiben könnte von allen den hervorragenden Tonkünstlern, die Wien beherbergt, ist Franz Schubert, zugleich der einzige, der ein geborener Wiener war. Sollen wir auch diesen verlieren? Wir meinen, man sollte nicht alle österreichischen Lerchen nach Deutschland stiegen lassen. (Die Presse, 20, no. 278)

Noticeably, unlike Bauernfeld, the German-born Speidel did not perceive the potential *austrianness* of Schubert's music and identity as a *problem*. On the contrary, his "local nature" needed to be proudly reaffirmed with a music-publishing "Monument", in order to prevent that yet another representant of the *genius loci* should "fly off to Germany".[97] Hence, in his opinion, the danger of *provincialism* and disentanglement from the greater German cultural community and musical identity, came not from the music of the composer, but rather from the lax attitude of the culture politics and contraction of the music-publishing industry of the "Musikstadt Wien". Surely the city soon inaugurated concert halls (*Hofoper* in 1869 and *Musikverein* in 1870) which became trademarks of its international status, yet the modest success f. ex. of the celebrations of the Beethoven-centennial would soon reveal that the centrality of Vienna was no longer self-evident, and that Speidel's apprehension were perhaps not wholly unfounded.[98]

[97] Speidel's worries where soon proven correct, then, although in 1874 Friedrich Schreiber (the successor to the Viennese publisher C. A. Spina) "…was offering Schubert editions representing 140 of the 173 known opus numbers, as well as all 50 of Diabelli's posthumous-song publications – a total of 190 out of 223, amounting to 85 per cent of this repertoire…" (Hettrick, 2019: 360), the first complete edition of Schubert's works (*AGA*) was finally published in Leipzig by Breitkopf & Härtel between 1884 and 1897.

[98] Joseph Joachim's, Clara Schumann's, Franz Liszt's and Richard Wagner's refusal to participate in the Viennese centennial celebration undoubtedly challenged its "internationality" and prestige; cf. Messing, Scott: "The Vienna Beethoven Centennial Festival of 1870", in *The Beethoven Newsletter*. 1991;6(3):57-63.

On the northern shores of the Danube, Schubert and his instrumental compositions were in fact increasingly celebrated as exemplifications of the *spirit* of the German people (and soon, *nation*). This tendency came primarily to the fore in north-German music criticism, as best illustrated in a review, published in the *NZfM* (20.12.1867), by the influential composer and music critic Peter Cornelius (who, after a five-year sojourn in Vienna, had returned to his native soil, the *authentic* cradle of the "music of the future"). In his account of a performance by the German-Italian *Florentiner* ensemble in Weimar,[99] which included string quartets by those composers (Haydn and Beethoven) which Speidel had described as *larks flown off to Germany*, we can see, how they were, alongside Schubert, welcomed as wholly *autochthonous* species:

> Was wir je Schönes erlebt hatten von diesem Zauberspiegel des deutschen Quartetts, der eine Weltgeschichte des Gemütsleben vor dem Auge der Seele entrollt, wurde heute wieder ganz lebendig, ganz unser Eigentum, und alle edelste Wollust des Empfindens drängte sich in den stolzen Gedanken: ein Deutscher zu sein, Musiker zu sein, diese Sprache zu verstehen, Bürgerrecht zu haben in der Heimat der Geister. (Cornelius, 1904: 152)
>
> This magical mirror of the German quartet, which reveals to the eye of the soul a world history of emotional life, this is entirely our possession, and all the most noble passions of sentiment drive us to these proud thoughts: to be a German, to be a musician, to understand this language, to possess citizenship in the nation [*Heimat*] of the spirit. (Botstein, 2014: 301)

In agreement with the tendency of the *NZfM* (encountered already in Schumann's and Brendel's interpretations), which involved, amongst other things, a refusal of formalist music-aesthetics, Cornelius stressed the semantic, even philosophical import ("Weltgeschichte des Gemütsleben"), of the "musical idea" he perceived unfolding in these string quartets. In obvious disagreement with Hanslick's notion that such a "musikalische Idee aber ist bereits selbständiges Schöne, ist Selbstzweck und keineswegs erst wieder Mittel oder Material der Darstellung von Gefühlen und Gedanken. Der Inhalt der Musik sind tönend bewegte Formen." (Hanslick, 1971: 59), with an emphasis indeed seldomly found in Austrian music criticism, the significance of instrumental music and its potential in the pursuit of individual and national *Bildung* and identity is formulated in the clearest terms. According to Cornelius the *determinacy* of the musical ideas conveyed by these quartets could hardly be more explicit: their aesthetical apperception elicited in the introspective listener the consciousness of belonging to a specific community, the experience of an exclusive spiritual "citizenship", the proud sense of "possession" and "comprehension" of a musical language deemed inimitable.[100]

[99] The performance included an unspecified String Quartet in G-Minor by Haydn (op. 20 or op. 74?), a String Quartet in A-Minor by Beethoven (i.e. op. 132) and a String Quartet in D-Minor by Schubert (i.e. D 810).

[100] It is worth considering that in an article entitled "*Teutschland – teutsche Musik*" (1840) G. W. Fink had already expressed a similar sense of self-pleased, exclusive possession regarding the symphonic genre in the following fashion: "Die Symphonien in ihrer ganzen Herrlichkeit sind unser, sind teutsch." (Schilling, 1840: 623)

Only few year had passed since Brendel had celebrated Schubert's contribution to the development of the Lied as the creation of a *sanctuary* where the depth and interiority of German subjectivity could flourish undisturbed by mundane virtuosity and triviality. The music critic's reservations regarding Schubert's limits as instrumental composer seem fully overcome in Cornelius' acknowledgment of the latter, alongside Haydn and Beethoven, as a protagonist of a genre which wasn't anymore an aristocratic or domestic domain where "...vier vernünftige Leute sich untereinander unterhalten" (Goethe, 2017:349), but through its increasingly professionalised and *public* performance, had become involved in the artistic, spiritual and ultimately political endeavours of a community and nation.[101] Considering the strength of the latter's academia and music-publishing industry, the vast network of cities and contexts of musical performance, the popularity not only of the Lieder, but also of the instrumental music, and especially a music-criticism fostering public debate and a normatively charged, philosophically informed, culture-politically self-conscious frame of reception, it is no surprise that a discerning journalist like Speidel perceived the new-born (Second) German Empire as a strong centre of attraction likely to assimilate a complex and heterogenous musical heritage, rewrite its history – in a narrative where Schubert risked being overshadowed by the two *titans* Beethoven and Wagner – and reshape it *in its own image*.

Also in Germany however, even in the "musical Metropol Leipzig", the reception of the instrumental works of Schubert was neither so immediate nor fast growing as might be expected based on Cornelius' review (or Brendel's previously highlighted praise of Leipzig). A criticism, in this regard, was formulated, quite appropriately, by an illustrious daughter of that city, the music historian La Mara (alias of Marie Lipsius), who, even more than Cornelius, was closely associated with Wagner and especially Liszt.[102] The tone of her assessment was certainly less self-celebratory, than that of her "colleagues" Brendel and Cornelius:

[101] While it is true that the first public performance of Schubert's String Quartet in D Minor (D810) occurred in Berlin on the 12th of March 1833 in a concert organised by Karl Moser, and on the occasion of its first Viennese performance in Vienna by the Hellmesberger ensemble in 1849, Hanslick defined this composition as the "so gut wie verschollenes D-Moll Quartett" (Hanslick,1869,I: 401), it should not pass unnoticed (and it should have prompted some optimism in Speidel) that thanks to the strong endorsement by the Hellmesberger Quartet the String Quartet in B Major (D112), String Quartet in G Minor (D 173), the String Quartet in C Minor (D 703), String Quartet in G Major (D 887) and the String Quintet in C Major (D 956) had their first public performances in Vienna. In many cases the positive reception of these performances lead also to their publication by Viennese publishers (e.g. D112 was published by Spina in 1863, D887 by Diabelli in 1851 and D 956 by Spina in 1853). Certainly Speidel was correct in maintaining that the publication of the complete works would have had a specific significance and relevance, yet generally speaking, also concerning the Viennese reception of his instrumental output, the topos of the "poor Schubert" as well as the "»Opfer« der Verleger"-myth manifest their strong limits.

[102] From the latter, Marie Lipsius – the editress of Liszt's letters, published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1893 – had possibly heard blaming remarks in a similar tone: "Unsere Pianisten ahnen kaum, welch herrlicher Schatz in den

> Man hat vielfach angenommen, daß Schubert's Größe als Liedercomponist dem Erfolg seiner Schöpfungen auf dem Gebiet der Instrumentalmusik Eintrag gethan habe, und in der That scheint es, als ob man sich leichthin damit begnügt hat, seine Herrschaft auf jenem einen von ihm eroberten Terrain bereitwillig anzuerkennen, und sich damit der Verpflichtung enthoben glaubte, auch den anderen seiner Werke einiges Interesse entgegen zu bringen. Denn woher erklärte sich uns sonst die befremdende Thatsache, daß, während Schubert, der Liedersänger, in Aller Herzen lebt, der Schöpfer einer unserer schönsten Symphonien noch elf Jahre nach seinem Tode als solcher selbst der musikalischen Metropole Leipzig eine eben erst neuentdeckte Erscheinung war, daß aber heute noch, nach fünfzig Jahren, seine größeren Pianofortewerke […] jenes dunkle, wenig beachtete Dasein fristen? (La Mara, 1877: 115)

"*Our* most beautiful symphonies" is stressed with an earnestness that would have pleased Schumann. However, the rise of appropriation and familiarity regarding Schubert's solo piano repertoire, especially the piano sonatas, – repertoire which was, generally speaking, slowly conquering the stages in the second half of the 19th cent. – was particularly tardy, and it would probably have discomforted La Mara to apprehend that yet 50 years would have to pass before Schubert's piano repertoire would become an essential part of pianists' public performances in Germany (e.g. Eduard Paul Ernst Erdmann and Artur Schnabel in the 1920's).[103]

As observed in the previous chapters, the reception of the composer's Lieder as well as instrumental repertoire inspired the construction of a Schubertian subjectivity primarily in terms of a sentimental interiority devoid of rationality and *Besonnenheit*, yet in the second half of the 19th century, within the reception of his instrumental music, the connotation of this subjectivity through national and nationalist discourses was inhibited by several factors (only marginally, I claim, by the emerge of formalist music-aesthetics), thus not succeeding in the delineation of clearcut dichotomies and engaging narratives. Whereas the gradual theorisation of the opposition between northern (i.e. German) and southern (i.e. Italianate) had inspired in the course of its century-long development (in the best of cases) *meaningful* interpretations, characterisation and caricatures – also within the Schubert reception –, the "Nation" as novel music-historiographical category still struggled to relieve itself of its abstractness and vagueness (which as Hentschel stresses could also be a strength), and this became most evident in the attempts to hypostatise essential differences between German and Austrian musical identity. In this connection Hentschel's circumspect analysis seems, once again, quite relevant:

Claviercompositionen von Schubert zu heben. Die meisten durchspielen sie en passant, bemerken hier und da Wiederholungen, Längen, anscheinliche Nachlässigkeiten…und legen sie dann bei Seite." (La Mara, II, 1893:132)

[103] Regarding the symphonic-genre and the affiliation of Schubert, Bruckner and Mahler as representants of a hypothetical "Austrian symphonism" opposed to a "German Symphonism" the following remark by Wolfram Steinbeck, formulated in "*Symphonie der Nation. Zu frage einer österreichischen Symphonik*" must here serve as a partial sum-up of a subject that would alone require a lengthy discussion: "Die deutsche Musiksprache von Schumann bis Mahler bleibt in ihren Grundzügen übernational, und zwar gerade wegen ihres Gattungsanspruchs. So sehen es auch und vor allem die Zeitgenossen. Die "*Musik bei den Deutschen*" habe sich "*nicht an das nationale Bedürfnis einseitig*" angeschlossen, heißt es im Artikel *Deutschland* von August Reissmann im *Musikalischen Conversations-Lexicon* von 1873. Nur dadurch "*gewinnt diese höchste Vollendung*". Und dies "*hauptsächlich ist das charakteristische Merkmal der deutschen Musik*". (Steinbeck, 1993: 73)

> Die nationalistischen Stereotype der deutschen Musikhistoriografie transzendierten schon immer die staatlichen Formationen. Sie besaßen, vielleicht gerade aufgrund ihres imaginären Bezugspunktes, eine sehr viel dauerhaftere Konsistenz, als es falsche Differenzierungen suggerieren. Man darf die Stereotype der Musikgeschichteschreibung nicht »überpolitisieren«; die bloße Synchronie zwischen einzelnen herausgegriffenen musikalischen Nationalismen und politischen Konstellationen legitimiert keinesfalls den Rückschluss auf einen kausalen Zusammenhang. (Hentschel, 2006: 422)

It will be useful to keep Hentschel's warning in mind as we approach the analysis of the two Schubert-centenaries. Within these two complex festive frames, Austrian journalism, music criticism and novel *musicological* research did not necessarily attain a clear definition of the "national" character of Schubertian subjectivity and artistry, but the attempts were certainly intensified, more polarising, ideological, political and possibly even "over-politicised".

Whereas nationalist characterisations of Schubert's instrumental repertoire developed slowly, with evident difficulties and inconsistencies, it was primarily the cliché of the *Liederfürst* that became the vehicle for conveying German and Austrian nationalist discourses and construct a national aura around the composer's persona and his musical output as a whole, since, in many cases, the public debate and music criticism regarding the Lied was less concerned with those hermeneutical nuances and intellectualisms that often defined academical studies and reception of the instrumental music.[104] Latest by 1890, for the occasion of the *Vierten Allgemeinen Deutschen Sängerbundesfestes*, it had become manifest to what extent this genre (which had already emancipated itself from private houses and semi-public salons and become a fully *public*, professionalised genre) was ready to undergo a new mutation of its musical style and performative conditions, to embrace the participation of more or less musically educated *masses* of singers, and literally speaking, flow into the new, broad streets of a transformed Neue-Wien. As Martina Nußbaumer has illustrated in *Musikstadt Wien. Die Konstruktion eines Images* (2007) such musical festivities constituted essential opportunities for the city's strategy to safeguard and promote its "brand" as international capital of music, and as we shall observe in the following section and chapter, Schubert would represent an increasingly central asset in this culture-political objective.[105]

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[104] Hanslick had for ex. emphasised the irreducibility of the *Germanness* of Viennese music as follows: "Leichte Anklänge slavischer, magyarischer, italienischer Weisen, belebend und verschönernd wie Racenmischung überhaupt, klingen leise herein, ohne den eminent deutschen Charakter der Wiener Musik zu beirren." (Hanslick, 1886:124) It goes without saying that underscoring the complexity, heterogeneity and over-national character of Viennese music, and especially its Slavic nuances (not to mention a celebration of "race mixture"), would increasingly be met with lukewarm enthusiasm or antagonism. In the case of Hanslick and later Guido Adler, such views would also be opposed with *ad hominem* arguments, often betraying a more or less concealed antisemitism.
[105] It is worth mentioning this event since it also represented an important "rehearsal" for the even bigger *10. Deutsche Sängerbundesfest* organised in 1928, which would focus on the Lied of the "Deutsche Liederfürst" Schubert. Nußbaumer gives a fitting evocation of this early mobilization of the Lied, singing masses and crowds

c) The Schubert-centennial celebrations (1897). The composer of Alt-Wien?

1897 was an eventful year in the capital of the Austrian-Hungarian empire. The newly-found Christian Social Party (Christlichsoziale Partei, or CSP) had recently gained the majority in the Niederösterreichischer Landtag, and by the 16th of April 1897 it had finally succeeded in installing its founder and leading figure Karl Lueger as Mayor of Vienna. From its very outset in January, the Schubert-centennial was thus entangled in a overheated political campaign, culminating in a landslide election, in which all newspapers and culture-political institutions and actors were mobilized, and where Schubert – *the most Austrian and Viennese of artists* – was unsurprisingly expected to give a very generous, posthumous contribution.

The culture-political magnitude of this centennial was sealed already at the inauguration of the *Schubert-Austellung* in the Künstlerhaus, with nothing less than a *imperial-royal* imprimatur. The liberal *Neues Wiener Journal* dedicated its front page to the inauguration on the 31st of January 1897 (the composer's 100th birthday), and the symbolic import of the event was signalled by the participation of the Emperor Franz Joseph I, an occasion that revealed "wie ein Kaiser die Kunst in einem ihrer edelsten Apostel zu ehren wußte". Noticeably the eulogy of the event omitted references to German identity, but ostensibly celebrated the Austrian one:

> So ist das Kaiserwort zu verstehen, daß Franz Schubert der Vertreter der reinsten Kunst, und daß seine Weise längst da- Besitzthum der ganzen Welt sei. Und dabei ist nicht zu vergessen, und der erlauchte Redner hat es auch nicht vergessen, hervorzuheben, daß diese Feier doch eine echt österreichische sei. Wenn schon die Kunst im Allgemeinen international ist, dann wohl zumeist die Musik, die ihre tönenden Schallwellen hinaussendet in die Welt, über alle Grenzsteine und Schlag bäume hinweg, und doch darf man sagen und man soll und muß es sagen, daß die Kunst Schubert's in der That eine echt österreichische ist. Sie hat den heimischen Erdgeruch und die heimatliche Klangfarbe. (*Neues Wiener Journal*: 21.01.1897)

The romantic notion of music as universal language could still substantiate and convey the image of Schubert as an "apostle" whose *word* transcended national borders, whose music, underscored the journalist, brought, like that of no other composer, comfort and joy to people regardless of class, level of instruction and nationality, and who represented possibly the last incarnation of the specifically Viennese conciliation of local-rootedness and over-national flair, – in this contextualised evocation of the "odours of native soil", Bauernfeld's worries of *regionalism* seem subtly, paradoxically exorcized. As such, however, the composer and his

of listeners: "Im August 1890 rüstete Wien zur größten deutschnationalen Manifestation im Feld der Musik, die die Stadt bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt erlebt hatte. […] Rund 13.000 Sänger aus Deutschland, Österreich-Ungarn und anderen Orten in der Welt, an denen es deutschsprachige Männergesangvereinigungen gab, sollten sich zu Massenchorkonzerten und Festkommersen in einer eigens für das Fest erbauten, für 8.000 Sänger und 12.000 Zuhörerinnen und Zuhörer konzipierten Festhalle im Wiener Prater versammeln." (Nußbaumer, 2007: 251)

music embodied a peculiarly Austrian art, and this called unsurprisingly for a "truly Austrian celebration", which according to the journalist meant setting aside, or in fact completely omitting issues pertaining to German identity and other petty, brotherly matters or resentments, and focusing wholly on the international recognition and "mission" of Schubert's music.

The same day a very different celebration of the composer, authored by Theodor Helm, was offered to the readers of the *Deutsche Zeitung*.[106] In a too often ignored, albeit fascinating and insightful article entitled "*Franz Schuberts künstlerische Bedeutung*" Theodor Helm formulated not only the customary exaltation of the melodic inventiveness of the composer, but also acknowledged (like Speidel had previously done) his daring approach to harmony and, most importantly, the *topicality* of this contribution. In spite of some limits, Helm's assessment testifies that by the end of the century the time seemed ripe to more fully recognise the aforementioned peculiarly Schubertian stretchedness between past, present and future and the asynchronism between the all too transient existence of the biographical subject and the longevity of the artistical impact. Indeed Helm stressed that Schubert's experiments with harmony had inspired generations of composers and had not ceased doing so: "In dieser Beziehung ist aus seiner Musik ein nicht geringer Theil der Schumannschen und Lisztschen herausgewachsen, ja selbst die tonkünstlerischen Bestrebungen der Gegenwart zeigen sich noch von den Sonnenstrahlen des Schubertschen Genius erleuchtet und erwärmt: man denke nur an Brahms, Bruckner und deren Nachfolger." (*DZ*, 31.1.1897:1) Certainly the primacy of the Lied and the *Liederfürst*-cliché were not abandoned overnight, yet Helm perceptively pointed out the positive impact the songs had had on the instrumental compositions (as emphasised in the much later analysis by Dürr, previously mentioned in the second chapter):

> So herrliches, ja ewig Unvergängliches wir unserem Schubert auch auf instrumentalem Gebiet verdanken, so gewiß er als Meister der Symphonie, der Kammermusik sowie der zwei- und vierhändigen Claviercomposition eine vereinzelte Richtung des Beethovenschen Kunstschaffens – die man häufig die Romantische genannt hat – bedeutsam weiter führte und zur blühendsten Entfaltung brachte…[…] Das wahre Reich seiner Phantasie, in welchem er als unumschränkter Herrscher sein Scepter führte, blieb jedoch zeitlebens das Lied. In ihm wurzelt der Nerv seiner phänomenalen Begabung, er hat es zehnfach eifriger gepflegt, als jede andere Kunstform, er übertrug seinen tief seelenvollen, süßmelodischen Liederstil endlich auch in epochemachender Weise auf die Claviermusik, ist er dich mit seinen reizende Impromptus und „Momens musicals" […] diesen nach damaliger Unsitte leider französisch benannten liederartigen Clavierstücken, recht eigentlich der Vater des modern gewordenen „Liedes ohne Worte". (*DZ*, 31.1.1897: 2)

[106] The *Deutsche Zeitung* had considerably changed since Ludwig Speidel had written for it in 1870. The arrival of Theodor Wähner as chief-editor in 1887 involved a shift from its liberal, German-national origins, in favour of a more radically nationalistic and antisemitic editorial line, before finally becoming completely aligned with the policies of the ruling Christian Social party. By the time Helm wrote this article, the newspaper was "in der gleichen Druckerei hergestellt, die das DEUTSCHE VOLKSBLATT herausbrachte, nämlich in der Druckerei J. N. Vernay. Ab Juli 1894 galt sie als christlichsoziales Organ und Sprachrohr Luegers." (Paupié, 1960: 158)

By the time of the first Schubert-centennial the music critical reception of Schubert's instrumental music, here typified by Helm, had developed a more receptive attitude towards the coexistence of "profound soulful" and "sweet melodic" dispositions, and had become less dismissive of its harmonic and formal idiosyncrasies; such appreciation of Schubert's employment of startling modulations and "Rückungen", enharmony, third-relations, remote keys and relativisation of the Minor-Major modes dualism, had certainly also been facilitated by the growing familiarity with the music of for ex. Schumann, Liszt, Chopin and Wagner.[107]

A modern reader of Helm's meticulous and relatively sober analysis (in spite of its often exalted and romantic pathos) should not get surprised by the sudden flare-up of incendiary nationalistic claims, which represented also an obligatory deference to the editorial line of the *DZ*. Immediately after the above-quoted expression of his disapproval of the former *goût* for French labels, Helm conceded the presence of a further *foreign* feature in Schubert's music, namely the influence of "ungarische Nationalmelodien", but only in order to point out the mastery with which Schubert had processed and assimilated these into a *wholly* German musical language, and, so as to banish any doubts in the readership of the *DZ*, conclude with a thickly highlighted final assurance: "Seiner innersten Natur aber gehört er uns Deutschen mit Leib und Seele." By now we have encountered this "inner nature" and interiority in manifold manifestations and forms: within Schubert's circle of friends and acquaintances it was evoked through the "vocabulary of idealism" and the irrationalism and intuitionism of romantic aesthetics, and we have likewise observed the development of reductionistic theories pinning down the "inner nature" and "soul" through phrenology and physiognomy, but also the (Hegelian) defence of the absolute irreducibility of subjectivity. Helm's article reflects that complex, contradictory blend of idealist and romantic conceptions with essentialisms and positivism, which, by the turn of the century, influenced scientific and public discourses in Europe, and especially in the German speaking territories. Although the "inner nature", "soul" and subjectivity of the "Genius" was less frequently reduced to its *skull-bone* or *facial traits* (both soon resurfaced in racist theories) and often still romantically depicted as ethereal, incommensurable and divine, it was increasingly, as in Helm's analysis, at the same time tied to a specific *blood and soil*:

[107] While the fin-de-siècle music criticism began signalling a broader acceptance of Schubert's harmony and was often compelled to capitalise on shifting tastes, the musicological investigation of his harmonic and formal strategies remained rather unhurried. As Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen has stressed, the unchallenged recognition that Schubert had "als Harmoniker Epoche gemacht" was first formulated in 1952 in Alfred Einstein's influential *Schubert. Ein Musikalisches Porträt*. (1952), yet almost a century after Helm's article, and a century after the Viennese contribution to the codification of the musicological discipline, "gibt es kaum Untersuchungen, die sich der formbildenden Funktion seiner Harmonik widmen." (Hinrichsen, 1988: 47)

> Franz Schubert, der einzige wahrhaft große Tondichter, der nicht nur wie die Gluck, Haydn, Mozart und Beethoven in Wien den Gipfel künstlerischen Schaffens erreichte und daselbst seine Tage beschloß, sondern dessen Wiege auch bereits am Donaustrande stand, war ganz unser. Als Mensch und als Künstler. Seine Musik ist Blut von unserem Blut, in ihr spiegeln sich gleichsam verklärt die besten seelischen Eigenheiten Alt-Wiens wieder: dessen ungeschminkte Treuherzigkeit und Gemütlichkeit. Allerdings auch ein wenig dessen Schwächen: als echter Wiener verrät Schubert in seinen größeren Werken hie und da eine gewisse Leichtlebigkeit und Leichtfertigkeit, er lässt sich gehen, er weiß mit seinem unermeßlichen musikalischen Reichtum nicht immer hauszuhalten. Aber diese kleinen Abweichungen vom absolut Vollkommenen, weit entfernt, Franz Schuberts leuchtendes Künstlerbild zu entstellen, bringen uns dasselbe nur menschlich näher; wenn heute der edle Sänger herniederstiege, würden wir ihn nicht nur den großen Meister, sondern vielleicht vor Allem den theueren Landsmann, den Freund und Brüder begrüßen. (*DZ*, 31.1.1897:2)[108]

In spite of a bourgeoning consciousness of the possible non-identity of the ephemeral biographical subject and the enduring presence of the aesthetical subject, Theodor Helm needed necessarily, in order to firmly embed both in the Viennese soil, to postulate the unity of "man" and "artist". As soon as it ventures onto this slippery terrain, Helm's argumentation slides down a slope which leads directly into discourses shaped by topoi and clichés with which we are largely accustomed with by now. Consequently both the "strengths" and the "weakness" of Schubert's artistry were determined by stereotypical conceptions of Viennese nature: its absence of conceitedness and the straightforward "innocence" and "cosiness" incarnated the "best spiritual features of Alt-Wien", whereas, on the other hand, Helm's reference to its lack of "manly" rigour (the article opens with a homage to Schumann's gendered topos), "self-restraint" and sense of economy, its self-indulgence in the blissfulness of melodic invention, restored both Sonnleithner's dated assessment regarding Schubert's faulty mastering of large forms as well as the cliché regarding the southern or Italianate inclinations of Viennese music.

Objections to Helm's dense and provoking article can be raised from many perspectives. It could be considered surprising that the author praised the harmonic language of the composer, but failed to recognise how this interacted with distinct and novel approaches to inherited musical forms (for ex. to sonata form). However, as stressed above, a deeper comprehension of the peculiarity of this interplay between harmony and music-morphological developments

[108] Incapable of commanding the *theophobia* incited by the apollonian Mozart or the titanic Beethoven, Schubert the humanly "imperfect" *Schwammerl* has been, like no other composer, light-heartedly assimilated and declared "one of us" from surprisingly heterogeneous fronts throughout history; exploited in nationalist discourses as the "German", or as the *cosy*, Biedermeier composer at *Augenhöhe* with just any dweller of Alt-Wien, and finally as paladin of musical homoeroticism in Brett's article "*Piano Four-Hands: Schubert and the Performance of Gay Male Desire*": "Schubert, we find somewhat to our surprise, is really one of us after all." (Brett,1997: 176) It seems highly problematic that an interpretation, such as Brett's, attempting a critical deconstruction of sedimented epistemological prejudices and discourses entangles itself in the replication and protraction of this pattern of assimilation. The paradox familiarity and assimilation theorised by Brett has been recently addressed by Hinrichsen with the following lucid and ironic criticism: "Das nun eröffnete die Möglichkeit einer neuen Vertrautheit mit Schubert – erstaunlicherweise fast nach dem Muster der alten Schubert-Nostalgie, die sich hier lediglich vom Biedermeierlichen ins Subkulturelle ummöbliert findet […] Schubert ist einer von uns – wer das sagen kann, darf für sich […] eine beneidenswerte Nähe zum Phänomen reklamieren…" (Hinrichsen, 2021:58)

was first systematically attempted in 20th century musicological research. Nevertheless, even without resorting to musical analysis, Helm could have reasoned that those composers (Schumann, Liszt, Brahms, Bruckner, etc.) who, he claimed, had been influenced by Schubert's approach to harmony, would hardly have been great admirers of his compositions and inspired by these, if the latter were *faulty* from a formal perspective and indeed so far from "absolute perfection" (whatever that might be) as he maintained; e.g. in the previously quoted letter by Liszt the composer expressed regret regarding those who "bemerken hier und da Wiederholungen, Längen, anscheinliche Nachlässigkeiten", and interesting considerations could likewise had been framed regarding Schubert's impact on (Helm's friend) Bruckner and his approach to the expansion of the sonata form (often a "paratactic" one) in his symphonies.[109]

Schubert, a composer who, as stressed in the second chapter, in comparison to his peers had left exceptionally few ego- and poetics-documents which could reveal his character, intimate experiences and longings, worldview and aesthetical inclinations (leave alone political ones), who in spite of Kreissle's and few other biographers' and friends' endeavours (and particularly before the vast distribution of Deutsch's documentary biography) remained a hardly decipherable dim silhouette, was greeted by the end of the century as "compatriot", "friend" and "brother". Certainly some of his Lieder (again, for instance those mentioned by Herbeck) and the most convivial and potentially *volkstümlich* of his instrumental compositions could have motivated and apparently legitimated this sense of immediacy and familiarity, or, on the other hand, perhaps exactly the lack of documentary evidences and of a clearly shaped persona and subjectivity made him perfectly malleable and adaptable to mechanisms of identification and exploitation, to the aesthetical trends, culture-political agendas and ideologies that emerged

[109] An *en passant* remark regarding the vast topic concerning the relation between Schubert and Bruckner and how their reception often intertwines. It is worth mentioning, for instance, that in his ground-breaking and influential works on Bruckner, f. ex. "*Die Symphonie Anton Bruckners*" (1914), August Halm described the composer's approach to sonata form as essentially "episch" (in oppositions to Beethoven's "dialektisch" one) where "*die thematischen Bilder, sich etwa wie in einem Epos folgen.*" (Halm, 1914: 56), and that this notion re-emerged in 1978, slightly transformed, in Dahlhaus's interpretation of Schubert's "episch-lyrische" (Dahlhaus, 2003: 678) approach to sonata form. In her article "*Schubert's Sonata Forms and the Poetics of the Lyric*" (2006) Mak Su Yi has argued that "Dahlhaus' "lyric-epic," then, may be understood as a reference to paratactic style, a description for the ways in which variation technique interacts with, and modifies, the thematic processes typically associated with sonata form." (Mak, 2006: 286). The emphasis on this "paratactic style" formulates anew, according to Lee Rothfarb, a peculiar affinity between Schubert and Bruckner (in Halm's interpretation at least): "Most important, Mak contrasts the hypotactic approach to rhetorical organization, which stresses syntax and hierarchy, as in Beethoven, with the paratactic approach, which downplays those elements, yielding rhetorical structures that are associative rather than grammatical […], as in Schubert and, for Halm, Bruckner." (Rothfarb, 2009: 240).

round the end of the century, as well as to those which would dominate the interwar period, and finally also to those which would emerge in the course of the 20th century.

In 1897 the Christian Social party, which had only recently gained control over the city council of Vienna, struggled to define and impose its culture-political agendas and still suffered from the competition by the more organic and established social democratic and liberal intelligentsia, media outlets and associations. It consequently regarded the Schubert-centenary as a vital momentum in its pursuit of ascendancy over the Habsburg Residenzstadt, and ostensibly considered it a Christian duty to assert the *unio mystica* between Schubert and the Christian, Austrian people, thereby delivering the artist from any posthumous promiscuity with the "Judenliberalismus" or the masses and internationalism of the "jüdische Socialdemokratie". On the 100th birthday of the composer the *Deutsches Volksblatt*, mouthpiece of the party candidly defining itself on the frontpage as the "christlichsociale antisemitische Partei", dedicated several articles to Schubert, including one entitled "*Ein Gedenktag*", which declared:

> Freudig begrüßten wir es, daß es dem neunen Geimeinderathe der Stadt Wien gegönnt war, diese Schubert-Feier in's Werk zu setzen. Oft ist der Partei, die jetzt im Rathhause die herrschende ist, der Vorwurf gemacht worden, daß sie für Ideale, für die höchsten Güter der Menschheit keinen Sinn und kein Verständnis besitze. Es ist freilich kaum nöthig, derlei Angriffen, deren schlammige Quellen der Neid und der Haß sind, ernstlich entgegenzutreten. Dennoch war es gut, daß der Stadt Wien in der „kunst- und bildungs-fendlichen" Aera unserer Partei bereits Gelegenheit geboten wurde, zu zeigen, daß sie im Kampfe nicht der Pflichten vergessen hat, die der Friede dem Sieger auferlegt. Und wie hätte der gegenwärtige Gemeinderath diese Pflichten einem Schubert gegenüber nicht erfüllen sollen. Schubert war ein Sohn des Volkes, sowie auch der Partei, die die Verwaltung Wiens führt, die Stadt nach außen hin repräsentiert und aus dem Volke hervorgegangen ist. (*DV*, 31.1.1897: 2)
>
> We joyously welcomed [the fact] that it was granted to the new council of the city of Vienna to bring about this Schubert celebration. The party that now governs in city hall has often been reproached for possessing no sense or understanding of ideals, of the greatest good of mankind. It is of course hardly necessary to confront seriously such charges, whose slimy sources are envy and hate. Yet it was good that, in this "art- and image-hostile" era, the city of Vienna would already have offered our party the occasion to show that in its battle, it has not forgotten that duty which imposes peace upon the victor. And how could the present government not fulfill this duty in relation to Schubert. Schubert was a son of the people as well as the party that leads Vienna's government, represents the city to the outside world, and arises from the people." (Messing, 2007: 61-62)

Evidently the truce offered by the "victor" was very brief indeed, then the author proceeded to implicitly recruit Schubert in the ranks of the CSP, since the composer wasn't only a "patriot, friend and brother" (as in Helm), but had become, like any *authentic* member of the Austrian *Volksgemeinschaft*, a *militant* of the only party defending its precious heritage. This article reminds us also, if necessary, that the growing national and nationalist connotations of the Schubertian subjectivity were carried out from very different perspectives, more or less concretely concerned with the musical substance, and addressed to several typologies of readerships. Evidently the composer, his persona and his "soul" which, as emphasised with

Bonds' analysis in the second chapter, had become a product in the open market already round mid-19th century, had mutated, by the end of the century, into a valuable asset for popular entertaining (in novels and operettas) and the burgeoning "mass media" and "culture industry".

A somewhat less public, but very refined thread in the Schubert reception and depiction of the artist was initiated by Nikolaus Dumba's profound passion for the composer. The wealthy industrialist, who generously sponsored many of the 1897-celebrations and meticulously created an important collection of autograph manuscripts by the composer, commissioned for the music room of his Ring-Strasse palace a painting by Klimt. The well known *Schubert am Klavier*, exhibited in the 1899 *Sezession* (and lost during the final days of WWII), awakened in the writer Hermann Bahr, an important exponent of the "junge Wien" alongside Hugo v. Hoffmanstahl and Peter Altenberg, very intense feelings which are worth quoting at length:

> Ich weiß nur, dass ich bös werde, wenn man mich fragt, ob ich ein Deutscher bin. Nein, antworte ich, ich bin kein Deutscher, ich bin ein Österreicher. Das ist doch keine Nation, wird entgegnet. Es ist eine Nation geworden, sage ich, wir sind nur anders als die Deutschen, etwas für uns. Definieren Sie das! Ja, wie soll man das »definieren«? Aber in diesem Schubert [Klimt's painting] ist es zu sehen! Diese Stille, diese Milde, dieser Glanz auf einer bürgerlichen Bescheidenheit – das ist unser österreichischen Wesen! Da haben wir unser österreichisches Gefühl: dass der Mensch, wie klein er sein mag, doch eine Flamme in sich hat, die in keinem Sturm des Lebens je verlischt. Wir haben jeder unser Heiligtum in uns, das vom Schicksal nicht betreten werden kann. Mag es brausen, es kann uns nichts geschehen. Die kleine Flamme lischt nicht aus. Unseren tiefen Wert nimmt uns niemand weg. Das ist es, was ich das wienerische Gefühl des Lebens nennen möchte. […] Das lässt mich dieser Schubert mit den singenden Mädchen, die etwas Bürgerliches und doch fast religiöses haben, in einer unbeschreiblichen – ich möchte sagen: fröhlichen Melancholie empfinden, in derselben tröstenden Traurigkeit, die die kleinen Berge in der Brühl haben. (Bahr, 1900: 122-123)

Any exegesis of Bahr's poetic evocation, almost an ekphrasis of a bygone epoque, should not fail to recognise it as an explicit apology of Austrian particularism and a resolute refusal of pan-German attitudes such as those expressed, for example, by Theodor Helm. The "silence", a symbol of an inwardness not synonymous with introspective interiority, and "gentleness" celebrated by the writer marked the irreconcilability with Prussian *Blut und Eisen*. The uniquely glossy "radiance" of Klimt had little in common with pale Nordic light (even less with the newly invented neon lighting), and an aesthetics of the "small" could certainly claim a subtle affinity with Stifter and possibly Schubert (hardly with Bruckner and Mahler).[110] Klimt, according to Bahr, symbolically captured the earthbound quality of Austrian art, embodied supremely by Schubert, never able to forget its transcendental longings, hence condemned to

[110] In the Prologue to his collection *Bunte Steine* (1853), seemingly a veritable manifest of Biedermeier literature, Adalbert Stifter expressed his disapproval of artists capable of finding suitable subjects exclusively in the "grand" and epic or wilderness, but praised the sublimity of the "small", of the heroism of everyday, modest humanity and of the beauty of familiar nature and landscapes. Cf. Stifter, "Vorrede" in *Bunte Steine und Erzählungen* (1996).

"joyous melancholy", yet able to find its "comforting sadness" in the aesthetical (and religious) consciousness of a *divine flame within*; ultimately Schubert redescended as Prometheus for all those artists who chose to believe that the Viennese soil had not lost its ancient artistic fertility.

Scott Messing has carefully investigated the glorification, popularisation and "over-politicisation" that characterised the first Schubert-centennial, and has, most importantly, shown that it was instantly perceived as such by more or less authoritative observers.[111] A particularly noteworthy denunciation of the fetishism of the biographical subject involved in the journalistic and public debate, as well as in the accumulation of Schubert memorabilia[112] in the exhibition in the Künstlerhaus, came, perhaps unsurprisingly, from a music theorist. However being Heinrich Schenker the theorist in question, the matter isn't so straightforward as it might first seem (Schenker's Schubert reception would alone deserve a lengthy investigation).[113] In his following opening remark from "*Ein Epilog zur Schubertfeier*", a resemblance to Dürr's previously quoted account from the 1997 bicentennial can be detected, as if a century later the musicologist was implicitly paying tribute to the famous music theorist:

> Kaum hundert Jahre sind über den Namen Franz Schubert's hinweggegangen, und schon hängen sich tausend Mißverständnisse und Vorurtheile, sowohl für als gegen ihn, and die Vorstellung von seinem Wesen und Leben. Es ist auch bei ihm Dasjenige eingetroffen, was bei den älteren Meistern der Fall war; den Zeitgenossen und Biographen fehlte es am nöthigen Medium comparationis oder an einem einfachen klugen Menschenverstand, um den Kern jener letzteren aufzufassen. Worin die Meister über ihre Mitmenschen und Biografen hinausgingen, war ja das Genie und dieses Unerklärliche gab den Nichtverstehenden Vorwand zu allerlei Deutungen des Lebens und des Schaffens, von denen keine Rede sein durfte. (Federhofer, 1990: 209)
>
> Hardly one hundred years have passed over the name Franz Schubert and already a thousand misunderstandings and prejudices, for as well as against him, are attached to the image of his character and life. What has happened to him has also been the case with older masters; it is wrong for biographers and contemporaries, as a necessary means of comparison or a simple commons sense, to collect every last tidbit. The master certainly transcended his fellow creatures and biographers with his genius, and this inexplicability gave to those who do not understand a pretext for every interpretation of his life and work, about which there should be no talk. (Messing, 2007: 72)

[111] Messing includes also vignettes from the satirical journal "Der Floh" which ridiculed the politically overheated atmosphere surrounding the celebrations. Cf. "1897: The politics of a Schubert Year" in Messing, Scott: *Schubert in the European Imagination. Volume 2.* University of Rochester Press, Rochester, 2007, pp. 37-69.

[112] 1,248 such items were collected in the Künstlerhaus and Julius Schmid's painting *Ein Schubertabend in einem Wiener Bürgergasse* (1897), commissioned especially for the occasion, was the highlight of the event. Noticeably inspired by Moritz von Schwind's sepia drawing *Ein Schubert-Abend bei Josef von Spaun* (1868), Schmid's oil painting conveys a magnified depiction of the warmth, cosiness, intimacy and conviviality of a Schubertiade in a representation that gratified the nostalgia for the charms of Biedermeier Alt-Wien and the Liederfürst-cliché alike.

[113] Schenker's music-analytical interpretations of Schubert's *Impromptu* No. 3 (D 899) and *Moment Musical* in F-minor, No. 3 (D 780) published in the tenth volume of his *Der Tonwille: Flugblätter zum Zeugnis unwandelbarer Gesetze der Tonkunst einer neuen Jugend* (1921-1924) testify the growing interest for the harmonic language and formal structures of the composer's instrumental output. In spite of Clark's well-founded suspicion that "Schenker domesticates Schubert." (Clark, 2011: 86), his analytical endeavours constituted an important stimulus for the music-theoretical and musicological debate that preceded the 1928 Schubert-centennial.

In spite of several essential differences in perspective, approach and aims, it seems appropriate to underscore that a further feature common to both Schenker's and Dürr's assessments is their slightly excessive *pessimism*. Briefly dwelling on Schenker's analysis, will in fact give us the opportunity to mention some areas (partly transcending the topic treated in this section) where the fin de siècle Schubert reception seemed to have reached some, if not *progresses*, then, at least, some well-founded critical stances to some of its most significant inherited topoi. Furthermore the figure of Heinrich Schenker – since 1884 a citizen of Vienna, yet born from a Jewish family in former Austrian Galicia, currently Ukraine, and one of the conspicuous absentees of the 1928 Schubert-Congress – exemplifies most fittingly the fascinating (often contradictory) complexity of the worldview and aesthetical reasonings that could cohabit in an intellectual and music theorist of the German speaking area round the turn of the century.

In the ensuing quotation, for example, as we return to the aforementioned trend of Schubert-"assimilations", the remarks of the meticulous music-theorist, who devised a highly influential *reductive* music-analytical approach, who referred to the "life" of the artist as a non-subject, who was simultaneously deeply influenced by Goethean organicism, betrayed also the enduring long shadow cast by romantic and idealistic aesthetics of the genius: "Nur ein Mendelssohn konnte einen lang verschollenen Bach aufs neue wecken und sich Einiges von ihm assimilieren. Nur ein Brahms kann sich Einiges von Händel, Bach, Beethoven oder Schubert assimilieren. So ist es wahr, daß bloß die Genie die Genies assimilieren können […]. Dasselbe gilt in Bezug auf die Deutung des Schicksals und des Menschlichen im Genie, das wirklich nicht von jedem Zeitgenossen richtig beurtheilt wird." (Federhofer, 1990: 210) Schenker's admonition, directed principally at composer biographers, represented certainly a marginal position in a Schubert-centennial where liberals, social democrats and Christian socials were all too impatient to enlists the composer within their own ranks. In this context, claiming that only to the greatest artists or "Geniuses" were granted the experience of an authentic familiarity with other artists, that a "Genius" remained for ever incommensurable and beyond reach not only to common people – i.e. neither "compatriot, brother, nor friend" –, but also to friends and acquaintances (a very significant objection within the Schubert reception), constituted an obstinately *unfashionable* attempt to challenge the assimilating trends he was witnessing. Considered from the perspective of the antisemitic, *ad hominem* banalisations that would increasingly poison the public discourses, his position could appear as an emblematic exemplification of the internationalism and alleged *Heimatlosigkeit* of a typical member of the

intelligentsia of the "jüdische Socialdemokratie".[114] However any judgement avoiding such banalisations of Schenker's reasonings would also have to draw attention to the fact that the music-theorist did not always abstain from reducing the art of the "Genius" to a manifestation of a national character or "assimilate" *him* into a celebration of a national greatness.[115]

The fin the siècle Schubert reception interpreted differently the novelty of Schubert's social status, a peculiarity which was, as previously mentioned, not obvious to friends and acquaintances, but which gradually assumed a very pregnant meaning towards the end of the *bourgeois century*, and unsurprisingly remains an often emphasised topos (in the second chapter we have seen Gibbs talking of a first "freelance composer"). Schenker had no doubts: "Wie nun das Schicksal den Plan seiner Jugend entwarf, war er berufen, just der erste *bürgerliche* Musiker zu sein, der nie in die Lage gekommen ist, irgend Ruhm oder Geld der Aristokratie zu verdanken." (Federhofer, 1990: 212) However it would be a mistake to interpret his words as an implicit praise of the bourgeoise spirit of initiative or of the hard-labour of that proletariat which was becoming a visible and influential political actor in the Neue-Wien, then Schenker remained, and became even more after WWI, a staunch enemy of any form of philistinism, profoundly sceptical of democracy or of a *volonté générale* of the masses.[116] Whereas, on the one hand, within his aesthetic and culture-political frame of mind, dragging Schubert down to earth (as Bahr and Helm did) and assimilating him as "genius of the people"

[114] Scott Messing underscores that Schenker's participations in the public debate and in free public lectures received positive advertisement from "the Oesterreichische Volks-Zeitung, a newspaper known for its sympathy with the working classes" and incidentally mentions likewise that in such occasions "Schenker's audience was drawn from people other than the wealthier Viennese who could afford to attend the sumptuous concerts sponsored by the city's elite music organisation." (Messing, 2007:73)

[115] This is not the appropriate context to digress upon the stark *germanocentrism* of his music-analytical theory, but a remark like the following, contained in "*Von der Sendung des deutschen Genies*", almost an opening manifest for his first pamphlet in *Der Tonwille* series, is, as well known, no rare encounter in his writings: "ein Satz von Luther, Gedanke wie Fassung, ein Adagio von Sebastian Bach hat fürwahr mehr Nervenkraft, mehr wirkliche Tapferkeit, als sie geistig und körperlich alle französischen Armeen in allen Jahrhunderten gezeigt haben; ein Vers von Goethe, ein Lächeln von Brahms in Tönen mehr Unmut, als alle Animalität französischen Manns- und Weibstums."(Schenker, 1921, I :5-6) ; "truly, a proposition by Luther, its content as well as its formulation, or an Adagio by Sebastian Bach, has more nervous energy, more true bravery than all the French armies over all the centuries have exhibited in body or spirit; a line of Goethe's poetry, a musical smile by Brahms, has more loveliness than all the bestiality of French masculinity and femininity." (Drabkin, 2004, I: 6)

[116] It is worth contextualising Messing's vague claims regarding Schenker's affinity with the working classes with Suzannah Clark's lucid assessment of Schenker's aesthetical and political attitudes, contained in "*The Politics of the Urlinie in Schenker's "Der Tonwille" and "Der freie Satz"*"(2007): "Yes, genius is aristocratic; yes, it is also God-given. This is why, in Schenker's mind democracy was doomed to fail: it inspired the members of the workers' movement to raise their fists in the air, to 'force their way up the social ladder by deceit and become "middle class"' instead of recognizing in genius the hand of God; and it inspired a self-congratulatory middle class to presume they possessed the capacity for insight, originality, and so on, and to take it upon themselves to advocate a 'genius of the people' - a concept which, to Schenker's mind, is inherently oxymoronic." (Clark, 2007:143) This interpretation is corroborated by the more recent investigations of Schenker's political attitudes and identity as German *and* Jew conducted by Martin Eybl, cf. "Heinrich Schenker's Identities as a German and a Jew" (2018).

was certainly out of the question, on the other hand persisted the already encountered idealistic *option*, supposedly implicating an opposite conceptual *movement*, namely that of an elevation of the "Genius" into the distant Olympus, as the sublime incarnation of an entire *Volksgeist*.[117]

Noticeably Schenker's indebtedness to idealistic and romantic notions of the "Genius" did entangle his reasoning with some longstanding clichés of the Schubert reception and, paradoxically, with discourses employed by those political movements whose ideologies and aesthetical views he fiercely opposed. Nevertheless he did not fail to conclude his polemical article with some truly innovative remarks, then according to Schenker it had finally become necessary, not only to repudiate the pathologization of Schubert's persona and references to his drinking habits set forth by biographers and "modernen, hygienisch gesinnten Leute", but, even more importantly, to debunk both the beloved myth of the "poor Schubert" as well as the misconception of the composer as "»Opfer« der Verleger":

> Es ist nun heute die höchste Zeit einzusehen, daß das Leben Schubert's sich so günstig als es nur möglich war, gestaltet hat. Ja, es kam in seinen zwei letzten Lebensjahren so weit, daß auch die Instrumental-Compositionen – und es waren die zuletzt und am besten geschriebenen – große Erfolge fanden. Der Ruhm seiner Instrumentalwerke war gerade im Begriffe, sich mit dem langjährigen Ruhm seine Lieder auszugleichen, als in einer sowohl für die Aerzte als die übrige ganze Welt unbegreiflichen Laune der Tod den Künstler, man möchte sagen, den Verlegern und dem Geld entriß. (Federhofer, 1990: 214)

It's hardly meaningful to discuss what *could have been*, to oppose counterfactual arguments to Schenker's prophesies and hypothetical scenarios of pecuniary plenitude and courtship by music publisher *if* the composer hadn't died so suddenly. The letters Schubert wrote to the publishers in the last years of his life (some of which have been quoted in the second chapter), Hanslick's 1849 remark regarding the "so gut wie verschollenes D-Moll Quartett", La Mara's disheartened account from Leipzig, the dates of first performances and publications of many of Schubert's important instrumental compositions which have been itemised throughout this investigation, appear altogether to mitigate the impression that "great success" and "fame" were just around the corner in the 1830s. However the strength of the "poor Schubert" myth seems to justify Schenker's resort to hyperbolic claims, and his (here) optimistic, retrospective judgment was probably subtly influenced by the fame of that Schubert which was celebrated during the first centennial and possibly also by the recently concluded publication of the *AGA*.

[117] A delightfully naive representation of Schubert's possible heavenly dwelling with other "geniuses" is depicted in the famous silhouettes by Otto Böhler, f. ex. in "*Die Feier von Schubert's 100 Geburtstag im Himmel*", "*Bruckners Ankunft im Himmel*" or "*Brahms' Ankunft im Himmel*"; the latter, as well known, ascended to that Olympus in the year of the Schubert-centennial.

In this chapter the attempt to outline a genealogy of the development of patriotic, national and nationalist discourses within the 19th century's construction of the Schubertian subjectivity, and to investigate how these influenced the interpretation of the latter's disposition for interiority, introspection and depth, has involved, chronologically speaking, the drawing of long lines (from Metternich to Lueger so to speak), preferring a macroscopic approach and sometime slightly kaleidoscopic account (particularly in this last section), which could convey an idea of the multiplicity of actors, positions and discourses involved over time, but which necessarily often implies sacrificing several sources and the exhaustiveness of examination.

Especially in the first section I have drawn attention to the diverging representations of Schubert's artistry and subjectivity which developed in the German reception (exemplified by Brendel and Cornelius who, alongside La Mara, elaborated on some of Schumann's hermeneutic insights and on the proud tradition of the *NZfM*) in contrast to the Austrian, Vienna-based reception (embodied by Schober, Bauernfeld, Hanslick, Herbeck, Speidel, Helm and Schenker). In spite of the general consensus regarding the primacy of the Lied in Schubert's artistic output which dominated the mid-19th century reception, in the first section it has been possible to highlight different characterisations of Schubert's subjectivity, to a greater or lesser extent defined through his instrumental output. In Brendel's assessment, for instance, the constellation of interiority, subjectivity and depth informed the music-historical, but also culture-political evaluation of the worth, *authenticity* and impact of Schubert's contribution to the edification of the "German spirit". In this connection it was emphasised that the assertion of a specific German *Volksgeist*, defined in music by "manly" rationality, rigour and sense of economy (i.e. an organic, *meaningful* sense of the thematic-motivic development of a musical idea and rational mastering of large musical forms), the affinity to the Beethovenian paradigm stressed by Schumann, and an implicit rejection of French and Italian "femininity" and unchecked melodic hedonism, became increasingly central preoccupations in the definition of Schubertian output and subjectivity, also in the music criticism of Cornelius and Helm. In the second and third sections, on the other hand, it has been emphasised that before, and even more after, the trauma of Königgrätz the potential *Austrianness* of the composer became a favourite topos among music critics and old friends. With the possible exception of Hanslick, who primarily underscored the irreducibility and internal heterogeneity of national music styles, and Helm who regretted a certain lack of universality caused by Schubert's alleged local embeddedness, for the vast majority of Viennese newspapers and leading figures of public music-making (e.g. Herbeck) the concern for the rationality and metaphysical profundity of

Schubertian subjectivity and interiority was increasingly abandoned (finally persuaded this constellation belonged to Nordic, Lutheran and Prussian horizons?) in favour of the construction of a primarily *sentimental* interiority bound with the convivial "innocence" and "cosiness", the "Southern" warmth and soothing "melancholy" of his music; the potentially intimidating "Genius", who in his instrumental music had painstakingly followed the path paved by the titanic Beethoven, remained a sublime incarnation of an entire *Volksgeist for a few* (e.g. Schenker), but was *by the most* enthusiastically assimilated as the unsophisticated Liederfürst of Biedermeier, *Alt-Wien*, as a composer which the celebrating masses of *Neue-Wien* could familiarly embrace as "one of us" and ultimately as a "patriot, friend and brother".

5) Subjectivity and interiority in the reception of the interwar period

The 1897 Schubert-centennial had been primarily a *popular* success, since the composer had been truly *publicly* celebrated and *popularised*, yet almost exclusively his vocal music, in more or less rearranged forms, had left gilded concert halls and become accessible to *the man in the street*. Since the new-born Viennese musicology had hardly informed, let alone shaped, the celebrations, the latter were, as seen in the previous chapter, capitalised and steered primarily by music critics, newspapers and political factions. Especially for the city's new leading party the centennial had served as catalyser to define in greater detail its culture-political profile and strategies, regarding which Messing has stressed: "Indeed, the highly effective treatment of the ceremonies of 1897 by Vienna's rightist forces provided the immediate model for Christian Social conduct with regard to a more significant commemoration in the following year: the fiftieth anniversary of Franz Joseph's accession to the throne." (Messing, 2007: 66)

However, in this chapter, the investigation of Schubertian subjectivity resumes within a radically transformed historical and political scenario, then by the 1920s not only was the Emperor Franz Joseph no more, but no less than four empires (including the Habsburgian) had ceased existing. Vienna, no longer the Residenzstadt of a populous multi-ethnical empire (ca. 50 millions inhabitants and 11 languages spoken), had become the capital of the novel "Republik Deutschösterreich", promptly rebaptised as "Republik Österreich", with six millions inhabitants and few, barely tolerated ethnic-linguistic minorities. If the "trauma" of Königgrätz had influenced, as I have argued, the dominating culture-political discourses and Schubert reception in the second half of the 19th century, then it seems the political and cultural impact of this veritable "catastrophe" – seen from the Austrian viewpoint – can hardly be overstated.

Unsurprisingly the persona of Schubert, more than ever embodying all the virtues and joys of bygone Habsburg *Alt-Wien*, was soon involved in the collective elaboration of this new trauma. This emerged already in the novels by Joseph August Lux in which the composer was labelled as "das Allerösterreichischen" (Lux, 1915: 7), evoked with palpable despair, as if the eternal flame poetically acclaimed by Hermann Bahr was about to burn out after all, and handled as a talisman against the demons of modernity: "Die Seele der Heimat ist nicht tot. Eine Sehnsucht erwacht, Schuberts Geist, sie geht heimlich durch die Zeit, stärker und stärker vernehmlich, je mehr Roheit und Schmutz in der Gegenwart überhandnehmen." (Lux, 1922: 152) Lux's solemn pledge should be considered paradigmatic of that widespread catholic and conservative reaction, which against the collapse of the monarchy, the growing influence of social-

democratic "materialism", and the tangibility of industrialisation and proletarianization in the *Neue-Wien* "ein harmonisches bürgerliches Alt-Wien mobilisiert." (Mayer, 1997: 53) In this context, although reluctantly, yet another famous Viennese *label* must be recalled, namely that of "Rote Wien" which defines primarily the years 1919 to 1934 in which the *Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei Deutschösterreichs* (SDAP) held a majority in both the "Gemeinderat" and "Landtag" of the city in spite of the growing monopoly exercised by the CSP, then inspired by the charismatic guidance of the politician (prelate and theologian) Ignaz Seipel in the National Government. Against this *dystopic* scenario a vast majority revered Schubert, more than ever, as a redeemer and Prometheus becoming nothing less than "die tragische Verkörperung des österreichischen Genius" (Mayer, 1997: 53). Noticeably the days in which the "fröhlichen Melancholie" evoked by Bahr could be enjoyed like a bittersweet cocktail were, in the eyes of Lux, unquestionably over. It is worth noticing that the novelist (and similarly Max Friedlaender as we shall see) insisted that, if there still was room for melancholy, alongside indignation and religious awakening, then it was bound to be a "tragic" one and Schubert its prophet, sharing nothing with the hollow sentimentalism and banalisations conveyed through recent successful fictional biographies (i.e. Rudolf Hans Bartsch's *Schwammerl*, 1912) and operettas (i.e. Heinrich Berté's *Das Dreimäderlhaus*, 1922).

The first section of this chapter will outline a brief examination of the public celebrations of the composer in order to highlight the unprecedented significance, magnitude and role of the participation of masses (singing and non) in the politicisation and popularisation of Schubert's artistry, which by the 1928 Schubert-centennial reached a veritable climax, a tendency intensified by Vienna's hosting of the *10. Deutsche Sängerbundesfest* which was mainly dedicated to remembrance of the "deutsche Liederfürst". This overview will also involve a reflection on the impact exercised by radio transmission and the growth of a "culture industry". In the second section, on the other hand, I will analyse some of the musicological contributions to the Schubert reception which developed parallelly to the music critical, public and *en plein air* celebrations. Noticeably absent during the "over-politicised" 1897 centennial, in 1928 this newly institutionalised discipline seemed determined to reform with academical rigour the main trends in the Schubert reception with a dedicated *Internationale Kongress für Schubertforschung* and the participation of musicologists in official ceremonies, such as in the case of Robert Lach, whose *Festrede* will be worth examining, yet entered the public spheres in a period in which, in many cases, not the most rigorous, but the most *militant* approaches seemed likely to reshape the interpretation of Schubert's ethos, subjectivity and interiority.

a) Subjectivity and interiority in the context of public and mass celebrations

In Andreas Mayer's *Schubert. Eine Historische Phantasie*, the most insightful analysis (albeit very concise) regarding, not only the central notions, discourses and ideologies, but also material transformations and commemorative events that defined the Viennese Schubert reception in the period between the two centennials (1897-1928), the author has stressed that, by the beginning of the century the *Musikstadt* had begun turning increasingly into a *Museumstadt*. As part of this musealisation process (certainly not an isolated case in Europe), Schubert's birth-house had been converted into a museum in 1908 and the composer had, more than ever, become the purest embodiment of the city's quest for "Bildung" and "Identität" (Mayer, 1997: 50). Devising and carrying out the preservation, remembrance and promotion of a cultural heritage or "Genius", while at the same time minimizing the inherent risks of decontextualization and reification – a challenge still unsolved by contemporary societies – wasn't exactly the main preoccupation of the majority of Viennese institutions and actors involved in the Schubert-centennials, and in this connection Mayer has reasonably argued for the necessity of a "Kritik der Gedenkindustrie" (Mayer, 1997: 74). Noteworthily, the culture-criticism and historic-materialist approach of his study suggests that Mayer's notion of a "commemoration-industry" is indebted to the more famous concept and criticism of the "Kulturindustrie", theorised by Adorno and Max Horkheimer in *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (1947).[118] The increased significance of the nascent commercial radio-broadcasts, which shall be expounded in the following pages, the already emphasised "Vermassung des Musiklebens" (Mayer, 1997:63) and the reification and commercialisation of the composer's "soul" and subjectivity on the "open market" – previously encountered in Bonds' analysis of the state of affairs in mid-19th century and further examined in the discussion of the 1987 centennial –, which reached a veritable climax in the 1928 centennial, corroborates the intention of approaching the latter as participating in the broader frame of a culture industry, even more so, since the exploitative, commercial and "industrial" nature of public commemorations of the composer in the interwar period was already caricaturised in coeval satirical newspaper, as well as exposed in the writings of polemists and members of the academic community.[119]

[118] Cf. the chapter titled "Kulturindustrie. Aufklärung als Massenbetrug.", in Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer: *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (1988), pp. 128-176.

[119] As so often, satirical publications capture the coeval perception of new tendencies. In a caricature tellingly titled "Armer Schubert!" *Das kleine Blatt* (10.4.1928) ridiculed the renaming of common products with a Schubert affix. Even more sharp is the wittiness of the vignette "Im Zeichen Schuberts!" in the *Illustrierte Kronenzeitung* (10.6.1928) which depicts a shop full of products renamed for the occasion: round "Schubert glasses", "Wanderer" shoes, fresh Schubert "Forellen", etc. Cf. Andreas Mayer: *Schubert. Eine Historische Phantasie*, p. 75, 79.

Heinrich Schenker, who by 1928 had become a member of the committee for the *Internationaler Kongreß für Schubert Forschung*, had in the sixth pamphlet of *Der Tonwille* (1923), in a chapter very properly defined "Vermischtes", included a brief entry titled "Staat und Genie", containing a criticism of the abovementioned public exploitation of Schubert which, given its remarkable terminological choices, is worth quoting at (almost) full length:

> „Mich soll der Staat erhalten, ich bin für nichts als das Komponieren auf die Welt gekommen", sagte Schubert einmal zu Anselm Hüttenbrenner. Nun ist das Umgekehrte eingetroffen: Schubert schenkt dem Staate Geld und Ehre. Das Fassungsvermögen des Staates ist noch nicht so weit vorgeschritten, diesen Sachverhalt zu verstehen; skrupellos, ohne sich den Kopf zu zerbrechen, steckt er Schuberts kapital ein. Seine Behörden kennen zwar alle Industrien, Betriebe, Stände und Künstler, die sich mit dem Betrieb des Schubert-Gutes befassen, nur Schubert selbst, der die ewige Kapitalsanlage geschaffen, unzerstörbarer als alle Industrien der Welt, fehlt in ihrem Gesichtskreis als Miterzeuger des Nationalvermögens, in ihrer Sprache von heute zu reden: als Industrieherr; in den Rechnungsbüchern des Staates fehlt der Name Schubert. Noch stellt sich eben der Staat nur auf das Diesseits, ganz nur auf die Diesseitigen ein, denen der Geist schon an sich ein Jenseits bedeutet. […] Und doch behält Schubert recht: Der Staat wird erst dann ein Staat zu nennen sein, wenn er die Jenseitigen, die erlesenen Geistigen, als diejenigen einschätzt, die die Millionen übriger Menschen mit Geist und Geld, mit Seele, Ehre und Wohlstand beschenken, wenn er es endlich unternimmt, den Beschenkten fest einzuprägen, daß sie die Beschenkten sind, statt auf Kosten der Geistigen das Ellbogengetriebe, Überhebung, Arbeitsscheu und Müßiggang des Volkes, des Pöbels zu fördern. (Schenker, 1923: 41-42)[120]

> "The state should provide for me. I came into the world for one thing only: to compose," Schubert once remarked to Anselm Hüttenbrenner. Now the reverse has come true: Schubert brings money and honor to the state. The state's intellectual capacity has not progressed far enough to appreciate how things stand: unscrupulously, without a qualm, it pockets Schubert's capital. To be sure, its officials know all the industries, businesses, professional craftsmen, and artists involved in marketing Schubert wares. But as to Schubert himself, who created this inexhaustible capital investment and who is more impregnable than all the industries of the world, of him they are oblivious as a co-producer of national wealth—in their current jargon, as a captain of industry. In the account books of the state, the name of Schubert is nowhere to be seen. Moreover, the state has its mind fixed on this side of the grave, solely on those earthly things to which the spirit already attaches a meaning beyond the grave. […] And so Schubert is proved right. The state will not be a state worthy of the name until it at last comes to value those on the other side of the grave, the chosen spirits, for bestowing upon the millions of other people spirit as well as money, soul and honor as well as prosperity; until it at last undertakes to impress firmly on the beneficiaries that they are in fact beneficiaries, instead of encouraging the rapacity, arrogance, sloth, and bone-idleness of the people, of the rabble, at the expense of the spiritual ones. (Drabkin, 2004, II: 36)

Although evidently not carried out with a sociological meticulosity and insightfulness comparable to that of his peer Max Weber or the critical aplomb of Adorno and Horkheimer, Schenker's polemical analysis remains thought-provoking, not least because it reflects a precocious consciousness of the *alienation* caused by the growing complexity, opacity and unaccountability of *processes*, number and nature of *actors* involved at the outset of the 20th century in the shaping of public discourses, culture-political agendas and marketing strategies.

[120] Schubert's opening expression quoted by Schenker is an apocryphal remark, recollected not by Anselm Hüttenbrenner, but included in the already discussed late recollections by his brother Joseph Hüttenbrenner: "»Mich soll der Staat erhalten«, äußerte Schubert ein paarmal zu mir, »ich bin für nichts als das Komponieren auf die Welkt gekommen«." (Erinn.: 89).

The bitter sarcasm underlying the choice of *economicistic* terminology and his emphasis on the notion of *capital* reveal the uncomfortable realisation that the time-honoured entanglement of State administration and mechanisms of capitalist economy casted, *more than ever before*, its shadows also over the reception of artists and challenged the alleged irreducibility of "Geniuses" and the autonomy of their artworks. In a certain sense – though roughly articulated – Schenker's polemic betrays the alarmed awareness of the fact that music-theory and the nascent musicology were about to become fully embedded in the laws of the "open market"; a possible *destiny* which Adorno, thirty years later, diagnosed for all human sciences and especially for academical and non-academical philosophy.[121] I argue, in other words, that in 1923 Schenker witnessed (certainly not with a Marxist anti-capitalist mindset, but with his elitist, relentless anti-philistinism) and warned against the unbending assimilation of Schubert-commemorations and scholarship and of the subjectivity and "soul" of the "Genius" by marketplace mechanisms and that culture industry which characterised the *late-capitalistic* scenario.[122] In the following pages I shall briefly examine some examples of this assimilation.

Few months before the official opening of the 1928 centennial, Vienna hosted the *10. Deutsche Sängerbundesfest* (19. - 23. July). As seen in the previous chapter, hosting the fourth edition in 1890 had required the construction of a hall for 8.000 singers and 12.000 listeners. In 1928, in the so called *Jesuitenwiese* of the Wiener Prater, a new hall was designed to welcome singers from all the German speaking territories, since Vienna, especially in the year of the Schubert-centennial, was according to the president of the association, Friedrich List, the best place to assert the longing for unity of the "deutsche Stämme" (in contempt of the Treaties of Sain Germain and Versailles forbidding such unification): "Dem deutschen Lied und dem deutschen Vaterland sollen die beiden Hauptaufführungen des Wiener Festes gewidmet sein. Noch nie waren diese Hochziele so sinnreich verkörpert als in der Ehrung des deutschen Liederfürsten Franz Schubert und in der Kundgebung für den Anschluß-gedanken." (List, 1927: 5)

[121] Adorno developed this criticism throughout his late writings, but formulated it concisely and clearly already in *Minima Moralia* (1951): "Aber dem außerakademischen Denken, das solchem Zwang und dem Widerspruch zwischen hochtrabenden Stoffen und spießbürgerlicher Behandlung sich entziehen möchte, droht kaum geringere Gefahr: durch den ökonomischen Druck des Marktes, vor dem in Europa wenigstens die Professoren geschützt waren. Der Philosoph als Schriftsteller, der seinen Lebensunterhalt erwerben will, muß gleichsam in jedem Augenblick etwas Pikfeines, Erlesenes bieten, durchs Monopol der Seltenheit gegen das des Amtes sich behaupten. Der widerliche Begriff des geistigen Leckerbissens, den Pedanten sich ausgedacht haben, kommt am Ende an ihren Widersachern noch zu seinem beschämenden Recht." (Adorno, IV: 74)

[122] In his influential *Der moderne Kapitalismus* (1902/1927) Werner Sombart theorised a three-stage division of the evolution of capitalism: *early capitalism* (Frühkapitalismus), corresponding to capitalism before the industrial revolution, *high capitalism* (Hochkapitalismus) beginning ca. 1760, and *late capitalism* (Spätkapitalismus) beginning with WWI. Cf. Sombart, Werner: *Der moderne Kapitalismus: Historisch-systematische Darstellung des gesamteuropäischen Wirtschaftslebens von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (1969).

In her comprehensive study entitled *Wiener Musikfeste zwischen 1918 und 1938* (1991), Gabriele Johanna Eder has described in great detail the festival and the official centennial celebrations, and gives the following account of the festival hall constructed for the occasion:

> Die halle selbst war 110 Meter breit, 182 Meter lang und 25 Meter hoch. […] Das Podium, in 32 Stufen bis auf 6 Meter ansteigend, bot mit einer Fläche von 7.000 Quadratmetern Platz für rund 30.000 Sänger. In das Podium war ein Orchesterraum für 400 Musiker eingebaut. Damit der Dirigent die riesigen Sängerscharen bei den Hauptaufführungen auch tatsächlich überblicken konnte, errichtete man für ihn einen 4 Meter hohen Dirigententurm. (Eder, 1991: 161)

Not constructed in glass and steel like the previously mentioned Londoner Crystal Palace, but in solid styrian wood, nor to carry out monumental performances of Handel, but to celebrate the "deutsche Liederfürst" with singing multitudes; as Mayer justly stresses "Es ist diese quantitative, empirische Dimension der Größe, die für die Festmasse entscheidend ist" (Mayer, 1997: 65). In other words, the quantitative paradigm enthroned the qualitative one, the alleged profundity and interiority of the German Spirit was transfigured into the horizontal depth of the masses of a *Volksgemeinschaft* (a concept immortalised by Leni Riefenstahl few years later in *Triumph des Willens*).[123] In this context a music and a music-performance conveying a sense of unheroic, introspective, sentimental interiority would have represented a hardly tolerated *defeatism*, therefore against any purely museal celebrations of the "Genius" of the past, almost with a touch of futurist dynamism, the singing multitude *acted* as an indivisible political corpus: "Das gemeinsame Singen des Liedes, in dem die Verehrung Schuberts und der Anschluß Österreichs and das deutsche Reich in einen Akt zusammenfallen, führt die potentielle *Aktivität* der Masse vor: Welcherart die zu vollbringenden Taten sein sollen, davon künden die zumeist kriegerischen Lieder, die in der Festhalle gesungen werden." (Mayer, 1997: 71) – on the 21st of July the songs and cliché of *deutsche Liederfürst*, exploited as instruments to convey the *general will*, were broadcasted to an even more anonymous mass of ca. 70 millions listeners.[124]

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[123] Adorno and Horkheimer have emphasised that both modern, liberal societies and the totalitarianisms of continental Europe, although not identical, were both manifestations of the *dominion* and *violence* inherent to the "Enlightenment" (understood in the broadest thinkable terms): "die Zahl wurde zum Kanon der Aufklärung. […] Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft ist beherrscht vom Äquivalent. Sie macht Ungleichnamiges komparabel, indem sie es auf abstrakte Größen reduziert. Der Aufklärung wird zum Schein, was in Zahlen, zuletzt in der Eins, nicht aufgeht; der moderne Positivismus verweist es in die Dichtung. Einheit bleibt die Losung von Parmenides bis auf Russell. Beharrt wird auf der Zerstörung von Göttern und Qualitäten." (Adorno/Horkheimer, 1988: 13-14)

[124] Although no identity between these pan-Germanic manifestations and the national socialist ideology should be postulated, it is relevant to quote Adorno and Horkheimer's criticism of the role of radiobroadcast technology and culture industry in the militarisation of the masses: "Dort wird das Radio zum universalen Maul des Führers; in den Straßenlautsprechern geht seine Stimme über ins Geheul der Panik verkündenden Sirenen, von denen moderne Propaganda ohnehin schwer zu unterscheiden ist. Die Nationalsozialisten selber wußten, daß der Rundfunk ihrer Sache Gestalt verlieh wie die Druckerpresse der Reformation. […] Das gigantische Faktum, daß die Rede überall hindringt, ersetzt ihren Inhalt […] Das menschliche Wort absolut zu setzen, das falsche Gebot, ist die immanente Tendenz des Radios. Empfehlung wird zum Befehl." (Adorno/Horkheimer, 1988: 168)

Not dissimilarly from Adorno and Horkheimer, both Mayer's[125] and Eder's analysis reflect the widespread contemporary tendency to interpret the inherently choreographic nature of these and similar mass mobilisations as propaedeutic or preluding to the disciplined, monumental, often explicitly militaristic choreographies so often associated with the Third Reich and more recent totalitarian regimes, which represents undeniably a comprehensible choice, but one that should not be uncritically and automatically replicated. The inclination to suggest the analogy between these musical events and military parades is likewise evident in Eder's account of the events of the 22nd July 1928: "An jenem Tag war die ganze Stadt auf den Beinen, denn die Festteilnehmer boten Wien ein beindruckendes Schauspiel: 130:000 Sänger marschierten in Wohlgeordneter Formation vom Burgtor über den Ring zur Festhalle im Prater. Acht Stunden dauerte das Ereignis, 700.000 Zuschauer schätze die Polizei" (Eder, 2007: 297).

The vast amount of visitors (hence consumers) of the Schubert-centennial celebrations were, as Schenker had prophesised in 1923, by no means ignored by the "industries, businesses, professional craftsmen, and artists involved in marketing Schubert wares" nor by the responsible civic "Fremdenverkehrskommission". Apparently a less preorganised and disciplining form of mass mobilisation, and more responding to the bourgeois ideals of individual choice and leisure time, the fairly new phenomenon of mass tourism represents a further instance of the participation of the Schubert-centennial in the wider context of the nascent culture industry. In this connection Eder has highlighted that the desire to capitalise on the masses of tourists resulted in the organisation by the Vienna Philharmonics of outdoor, evening concerts of vocal and instrumental music advertised as "Serenaden" – that is to say in forms and contexts that went against even the coeval understanding of Schubert's status in music-history and notions of performance practices. Eder quotes, for example, Otto Erich Deutsch's dismay for the commercialism inspiring these concerts and the evident wish to emulate successful models recently employed in the new-born Salzburg Festival. That Schubert, unlike Mozart and Haydn, had written no "Nachtmusiken, keine Divertimenti, Cassationes oder Serenaden" did certainly not embarrass the tourists flocked to the *Musikstadt Wien*, possibly irritated a few scholars and inspired ironic smiles in seasoned music critics:

[125] This attitude is also explicit in the following analysis: "Damit ist nicht nur der schrittweise Übergang von einer höfischen zu einer bürgerlichen Musikkultur gemeint, das Auftreten eines anonymen, zahlenden Publikums im Konzertsaal, sondern auch das entstehen neuer musikalischen Körperschaften und Gattungen, die immer größere Zahlen von Menschen einbinden: der Chormusikbewegung und Sängerbunde. Und die Formierung dieser Bewegungen und Vereine in Deutschland ist ein wesentlicher Teil eines anderen Prozesses, der zugleich im politischen und kulturellen Sinn als »Nationalisierung der Massen« zu verstehen ist." (Mayer, 1997: 63-64)

> Tatsächlich erwiesen sich die Serenaden der Philharmoniker auch hier als so zugkräftig, daß sie ab nun fixer Bestandteil des Wiener Festwochenprogramms wurden. Von der heimischen Presse wurden die Veranstaltungen des ersten Teiles der Schubert-Zentenarfeier der Stadt Wien wie der Festwochen überhaupt kaum einer Erwähnung für würdig befunden. […] Die Veranstaltungen wurden als Fremdenverkehrsattraktionen betrachtet, bei denen die künstlerische Bedeutung zugunsten einer Kommerzialisierung des kulturellen Erbes zurückstehen mußte. (Eder, 1991: 206)

Evidently by 1928 not only Lieder and choral music, but also the composer's instrumental music (in this case, his Symphony n. 5 in B-Major, D 485 and the slow, variations movement from the D-Minor String Quartet, D 810) had transcended the walls of Salons, concert halls and gigantic festival halls and reached common streets and noble squares (the Serenades were performed in the enchanting, hardly *bourgeois* let alone *proletarian*, Josefsplatz). What primarily mattered was the cosiness and entertainment of outdoor evening concerts, while the anachronisms and banalisations, amplified through the mechanisms of the culture industry, worried few scholars and passed unmentioned in newspapers. However it is important to stress that, exactly as in the 1897 celebrations, the desire to popularise and make Schubert and his music widely *accessible* was likewise evident in the choice of repertoire for the concerts and official events organised by the social democratic civic administration (15. – 19. November), and that also in this context rearranged part-songs were deemed as the most suitable genre:

> Eine kritische Betrachtung des Festprogrammes ergibt, daß Schubert fast ausschließlich als Chorkomponist präsentiert wurde. Vier der insgesamt acht musikalischen Veranstaltungen hatten ein reines Chorprogramm, darunter zahlreiche von fremder Hand vorgenommene Bearbeitungen von Schubert-Liedern. Mit Ausnahme des Konzertes in der Akademie des Wissenschaften bildeten Sätze aus Schuberts Streichquartetten, Lieder oder Klavierstücke auch bei den übrigen Aufführungen nur kurze Unterbrechungen der Chorvorträge. Der Symphoniker und Kirchenmusiker Schubert erfuhr hingegen überhaupt keine Berücksichtigung. Daß im Festprogramm der sozialdemokratisch regierten Gemeinde Wien eine Schubert-Messe fehlte, ist weniger verwunderlich als der Ausschluß des Symphonikers Schubert. (Eder, 1991: 211)

The social democratic civic council's eagerness to promote large participation, even of musically uneducated citizens, across class boundaries (though more in theory than in reality, as Eder has demonstrated),[126] and to counter the allegations coming from Austrian and German conservative parties, intelligentsias and institutions of endorsing modernist music and generally neglecting the safeguard and promotion of the cultural heritage, lead to musical choices (i.e. the primacy of a spurious choral repertoire) and resort to discourses only marginally different from those boasted by the pan-Germanic movements a few months earlier.

[126] Eder stresses the following contradiction: "Ebenso nahm offenbar niemand Anstoß an der grundlegenden Inkonsistenz einer Feier, deren Veranstaltungen zwar theoretisch für das „Volk" bestimmt, diesem jedoch zum überwiegenden Teil nicht zugänglich waren." (Eder, 1991: 211) The fact that pan-Germanic movements and *Sängerbund* more successfully mobilised the masses (and through broadcast evoked a sense of participation and belonging) than the initiatives by the SDAP is symptomatic of the growing crisis of the latter's culture-politics.

The celebration of the incorruptible dignity of the cultural heritage and the Schubertian virtues of Alt-Wien in opposition to the *perversions* (soon *Kulturbolschewismus*) of the modernist music of Neue-Wien, defined unsurprisingly the policies of the ensuing celebrations (17. – 25. November) organised by the CSP led federal government. Also under the leadership of Seipel the culture-political coordinates of CSP had remained "Antimodernismus" and "Antisemitismus", though the latter had not prevented Guido Adler from playing a central role in the organisation of the 1927 Beethoven-centennial.[127] However, the official celebrations of the Schubert-centennial suffered not only from the lack of Adler's supervisorship, but also from the fact that city council and federal government, since July 1927 increasingly in open and even *armed* conflict through their paramilitary formations (i.e. *Schutzbund* and *Heimwehr*), had organised each their own program, avoiding as far as possible any form of coordination. On the 17th of November the *GdM* inaugurated their festive program with sacred music, namely with the Mass in E-flat Major (D 950), thus ostentatiously setting off with the genre so far ignored by the city council. The following day, after a Pontifical High Mass in the St. Stephen's Cathedral, the official opening of the governmental celebrations in the Great Hall of the Konzerthaus, attended by the highest civic and national authorities, the Archbishop Piffl, international diplomatic corps and illustrious guests, began likewise with a Mass, namely with the Mass in F-Major (D105) – undeniably a touching choice, since it had been Schubert's first publicly performed work, when the composer, aged 16, had conducted it in the Lichtental church on the 25th September 1814. Comparing the repertoire selected for the celebrations of the previous year with that chosen for the Schubert-centennial, Eder remarks:

> Im Programm der Beethoven-Zentenarfeier des Vorjahres hatte zwar Beethovens Werk eine überragende Stellung eingenommen. Es waren aber auch Komponisten aus früheren Epochen berücksichtigt worden, ohne daß ein direkter Bezug zu Beethoven unbedingt gegeben war. Adler hatte für diese Raritätenkonzerte vor allem die zum Kongreß angereisten Musikwissenschaftler als potentielles Publikum ins Auge gefaßt. Die Gestaltung der Schubert-Feier war von anderen Aspekten bestimmt. Die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde und die Konzerthausgesellschaft bemühten sich, durch die Verpflichtung hervorragende Solisten, Ensembles und Orchester Schuberts Werke, und zwar ausschließlich Schuberts Werke, in beispielgebender Form zur Aufführung zu bringen. (Eder, 1991: 216-217)

With the exception of the possibly excessively overstated association between church music, religiosity and Schubert, whose religious fervour was, as well known, particularly

[127] Regarding the two mentioned main coordinates, cf. Gabriele Johanna Eder: *Wiener Musikfeste zwischen 1918 und 1938* (1991), p. 17. The attitude to Schubert by the intelligentsia of CSP had not changed since the 1897 centennial, and the following depiction by the influential advisor in the Ministry of Education Karl Kobald should be considered as paradigmatic: "Aus Schuberts Musik hören wir die Seele Alt-Wiens […] Wie in den Werken Schuberts, so tritt auch in seinem Leben am reisten das spezifisch Österreichisch-Wienerische hervor, jene feine Mischung von Heiterkeit und Tiefsinn, von Ausgelassenheit und Melancholie, von anmutiger Schlichtheit und sinnlich leidenschaftlichem Temperament." (Kobald, 1922: 5)

*un*ostentatious and moderate, the loftiness of the aspirations of these celebrations seem to prevent any objections whatsoever. Entirely focusing on the oeuvre of Schubert, performed by the finest artists in the most prestigious concert halls of the city, the programmed concerts give the impression of a definitive acknowledgment of the worth of Schubert's instrumental music (not only of his Lieder) and their acceptance into the finest Viennese canon. At the same time, however, a comparison with Adler's concept ("Raritätenkonzerte") may provoke the following second thoughts: was Schubert's music deemed less interesting for musicologists than Beethoven's? Perhaps devising concert programs exclusively with Schubert's music, without any by his peers and predecessors meant subtly embracing the image of Schubert as "natural" composer, *original* and unique thanks to his clairvoyant irrationality, hence unbound to tradition, and thus perpetuating an attitude failing to perceive the laborious rationality involved in his appropriation and elaboration of preceding musical traditions, genres, styles and forms? Consequently, though not implying a comparable level of commercialisation and trivialisation, weren't such monographic concert programs decontextualizing in a fashion not too dissimilar to the aforementioned "Serenaden" organised by the Wiener Philharmonics?

Certainly, the opening concert and the etiquette of the immediately ensuing official speeches did not constitute the context for profound reflection on these or any other possible paradoxes. As Eder underscores in her analysis, the presence of international diplomats and the international broadcasting of the events[128], called for more cautious, *introspective* and *retrospective* statements than those carefreely uttered by the singing masses during the summer. This attitude was exemplified in the speech given by the Austrian Federal President Michael Hainisch, a fervent pan-Germanist, who according to Eder, understated his views as follows:

> Da unter den Leistungen Österreich die musikalischen in erster Reihe standen, war für Hainisch das feierlich Gedenken an Schubert die Erfüllung einer patriotischen Plicht. Er betonte, daß aus Schuberts Musik das Herz des deutschösterreichischen Volkes spreche, eines außergewöhnlich musikalischen Volkes mit einem reichen Innenleben. Ähnliche Eigenschaften hatte Hainisch währende des Sängerbundesfestes dem gesamten deutschen Volk zugeschrieben. (Eder, 1991: 218)

In his ensuing speech, the Federal Chancellor Seipel, an opponent of pan-Germanic aims, genuinely defended the austrianness of Schubert, and praised the preservation and promotion of such cultural heritage, not only as a duty per se, as Hainisch had done, but as a vital moment of the "soul of the people's" struggle in the crusade against (social democratic) materialism.

[128] This internationality is stressed in Eder's analysis: "Der Festakt wurde vom Rundfunk übertragen, und zwar nicht nur in Österreich, sondern auch nach Deutschland, Polen, Frankreich, Belgien, England, Jugoslawien und der Tschechoslowakei. Insgesamt schätze man, daß etwa fünf Millionen Zuhörer den Festakt via Radio live miterlebten." (Eder, 1991: 217)

In this politically and culture-politically introspective and retrospective agenda, the contemplation and even fetishization of a vaguely defined interiority and "reichen Innenleben", albeit stripped of any revanchist volition, regained that dignity and function formerly denied by Hainisch and List, during the feverish, musical parades of the summer.

The only scholarly speech of the evening was held by the composer Franz Schmidt, present for the occasion as Rector of the *Fachhochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst*. On that evening only his speech transcended the diplomatic vagueness and rhetorical abstractness of the abovementioned political statements and managed to add some complexity and marked connotations to the public discourse (it was reported in its entirety in the *Wiener Zeitung* issued on the 21st of November, 1928); it also represents an interesting link between unacademic and academical celebrations, thus a suitable case to analyse as we approach the transition from public to scholarly debates and discourses. One century after the composer's death, the central issue which, according to Schmidt, needed to be reassessed was the question of the national or international nature and impact of Schubert's music:

> Wir Wiener von heute stellen die Musik Schuberts derjenigen seines Zeitgenossen Beethoven trotzt aller großen Charakterverschiedenheit als unbedingt gleichwertig zur Seite. Diese in unserer heimatlichen Gefühlswelt begründete Einstellung wird aber vom Ausland nicht ganz begriffen und unsere Ansicht nicht durchaus geteilt. Vielmehr erkennt das Ausland Schubert bei aller Bewunderung für sein Genie eine mehr nationale, im Hinblick auf Wien präziser ausgedrückt, lokale Bedeutung zu, während es Beethoven einstimmig als Genie von internationaler Bedeutung anerkennt. (*WZ*, 21.11.1928: 1)

The hypostatisation of a peculiarly Viennese perception of the possible equal status of Schubert and Beethoven opposed to a lacking discernment by foreign observers, was indeed a very fragile dichotomy, built on a precarious documentary basis, as evincible from the substantial evidence examined so far: in 1872 the influential German-born, Vienna-based music critic Ludwig Speidel had stressed that "alongside Beethoven, Schubert emphasizes his local nature, his limited Viennese nature" and, as late as 1897, Theodor Helm had explained both the "strengths" and the "weakness" of Schubert's artistry based on stereotypical conceptions of Viennese character. Furthermore, on the 19th November, centennial of the composer's death, thus only two days after Schmidt had praised the coeval insightfulness of the local "Gefühlswelt" and scholar community, as part of the University of Vienna's contributions to the federal government's celebrations, a prominent institutional representative of the Viennese musicological community, Robert Lach held a speech that roused furore in the public debate and which, as we shall observe in the next section, wholly refuted that acknowledgment of equality of artistic worth assumed as a *fait accompli* by Schmidt.

However, as abovementioned, according to Schmidt, the crucial issue remained the question of the national character and international impact of Schubert's music. In order to explain his procedure for establishing the latter, the composer briefly elucidated some etiological premises of his reasoning. Here one finds notions derived from Herder's previously mentioned theories, combined with references to, at the time, increasingly fashionable race-theories:

> Das nun jede Nation ihre eigene Sprache, ihre eigene Kultur, ihre eigenen Volkslieder hat, so ist es begreiflich, daß die aus diesen Wurzeln emporkultivierte Musik einer bestimmten Nation auch ganz bestimmte nationale Eigentümlichkeiten aufzuweisen haben wird. Da die nationalen Eigentümlichkeiten in der Musik je nach dem Ursprunge voneinander außerordentlich verschieden sind, so entstehen in der Musik ausgesprochene Rassentypen, die einander so wie die sie hervorbringenden Nationen mehr oder weniger fremd, mehr oder weniger sympathisch gegenüberstehen. (*WZ*, 21.11.1928: 1)

According to Schmidt, in most cases throughout music history the following axiom had showed its validity: the stronger the local embeddedness and "Rassentyp" connotations presented by the works of a composer, the more limited remained their international impact (he mentioned Antonin Dvorak's output as a recent example). At the same time he stressed that few, exceptional cases in music history had raised above the inexorability of this "artistic and natural" *law*. For example the "Rassenreinheit", he claimed, of Johann Sebastian Bach and Georg Friedrich Handel had not prevented their international impact and this had also been the case for Beethoven, who, in his instrumental music, had combined his inherently northern-German nature, inherited from his hometown along the Rhine, with the character of his elective Heimat along the Danube, and elevated his musical language to international impact and universal appreciation. Similarly, Schmidt maintained, in spite of the fact that Schubert's music spoke undeniably a "Viennese dialect", the composer had showed his worth and exercised his influence across national and historical boundaries. In support of this claim he resorted to examples in which Schubert's Lieder seemed to have paved the way for the artistry of Richard Wagner, in Schmidt's view, the most recent and eminent example of the internationality of German musical artistry.[129] However also the composer's instrumental output had proven pathbreaking and shown great impact on the music of for ex. Smetana, Dvorak and Bruckner:

> Im ersten Satze des G-Dur-Quartettes von Schubert schlagen zum ersten Male in der Musikgeschichte Brucknerische Klänge an das Ohr der fassungslosen Menschheit. Aus diesem Samenkorn ist das gesamte Lebenswerk Bruckners entstanden! (*WZ*, 21.11.1928)

[129] In the following analysis, especially the secondmentioned affinity is particularly concrete and convincing: "Man nehme eines der ganz größen, monumentalen Lieder Schuberts vor, zum Beispiel die „Gruppe aus dem Tartarus". Ist darin nicht schon ganz unverkennbar das Pathos, die ungeheure dramatische Dialektik des späteren Wagner vorhanden? Wer erkennt nicht sofort die innigste Blutsverwandtschaft etwa des Bassmotives in dem Liede „Die Junge Nonne" mit dem formidablen Themen des Hagen und des Alberich in der „Götterdämmerung"?" (*WZ*, 21.11.1928: 4)

In spite of the various decontextualizations, banalisations, political and commercial assimilations – amplified through the exploitative and homologising mechanisms of the cultural industry –, it can be argued that even in the public debate, as Schmidt's speech testifies, the recognition of Schubert's "genius", of the innovative and *original* nature of his musical output (i.e. equally worthful, yet distinct from that of Beethoven) expressed in his Lieder and instrumental music alike, was eventually furthered during the 1928 centennial celebrations. In Schmidt's reasonings, Schubert emerged as an artist who rightfully belonged to the larger canon of German music stretching, so to speak, "from Bach to Bruckner" (a paradigm similarly advocated by August Halm). The comprehension and appreciation of his status, artistic subjectivity, national character and international impact of his music could thus not simply rely on anecdotes from local Viennese music-history, but required a resort to several of the coeval instruments of music-historical and musicological disciplines. On the other hand, as Eder rightly stresses in her recapitulating remark, the retrospective nature of this and other assessments is very conspicuous, particularly in the specific, carefully eluded question of the topicality of Schubert's impact in regard to his influence on the musical modernism of Vienna:

> Insgesamt zeugen all diese im Namen Schuberts vorgebrachten Überlegungen und Wünsche von einer völlig vergangenheitsbezogenen Geisteshaltung. Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Schicksal Schuberts ließ die Festredner nicht zu der Schlußfolgerung gelangen, man müsse aus der Geschichte lernen und zeitgenössischen Komponisten mehr Beachtung schenken als Schubert zu seiner Zeit erfahren hatte. Im Gegenteil: Das Werk Schuberts, das man als bodenständig erkannt zu haben glaubte, wurde zum Maßstab ernannt, an dem sich die gegenwärtige Musik orientieren sollte. (Eder, 1991: 221)

Reading nowadays Schmidt's "*Gedenkrede auf Schubert*" one gets the impression that the coeval reception of Schubert and appreciation of his topicality was indeed primarily directed to the *Museumstadt*, rather than the *Musikstadt Wien*. Yet Schmidt's relation to the musical modernism of Vienna, as composer and performer, should by no means be dismissed as one of dogmatic refusal. Arnold Schönberg, a composer with whom Schmidt had entertained fairly close relationships and who had (quite tellingly) left Vienna by the time of the Schubert-centennial, had expressed, albeit incidentally, a central aspect of the topicality of Schubert's music, remained unmentioned in Schmidt's genealogy, in a conference held on the 20th of January, 1927 at the *Akademie der Künste* in Berlin. Schönberg exposed the topicality and internationality of the path paved by Schubert as follows: "The increasing attraction exerted by foreign harmonies made them more and more a significant element of expression. I shall not adduce all the known facts, for everyone is familiar today with the road that led from Schubert through Wagner to Reger, Richard Strauss, Mahler, Debussy and others." (Schönberg, T14.59:

177) [130], and there should be no doubts that among those "others", Schönberg included himself since in 1931 he confessed: "Ich habe auch von Schubert vieles gelernt und auch von Mahler, Strauß und Reger." (Schönberg, T35.39: 11)[131] However, this affinity between Schubert and a principal exponent of the musical modernism (in the eyes of some, the prototypical proponent of Jewish *Kulturbolschewismus*) remained unspoken on that November evening. Schmidt, who could hardly have failed to notice that Schubert's topicality had not ceased with Bruckner, cut short his genealogy of the Schubertian impact, thus sparing the present and larger audience from any evocation of the evident affinities between Schubert and Gustav Mahler, a composer, conductor and opera director whose name *for better or worse* was still unforgotten in the city.

Unlike during the 1897 centennial, no Emperor had blessed the 1928 celebrations, yet both the ancient spiritual as well as the *new* secular authorities had been summoned to officialise the remembrance of the composer, thus not only High Masses and archbishops alongside the highest civic and federal authorities, but also the "industries, businesses, professional craftsmen, and artists" evoked by Schenker, gathered to capitalise on the potentially Viennese "brand" of Schubert. It proved a "brand" that could only apparently unite across boundaries, and certainly not as the social democrats had wished: the dusty boulevards of the Prater and streets of the inner city and the incensed altars of Saint Stephan's Cathedral, the most elegant square in town and gilded concert halls, all assembled for the celebration of the "Genius" of Schubert. Yet under the homologising surface of militant journalism and radiobroadcasts, behind the carefree exploitations by the culture industry, loomed a fierce political and culture-political struggle, also incited and exasperated by the latter, for the subjectivity, "soul" and national or Germanic identity of Schubert. Since the latter's subjectivity and interiority had increasingly been denied volitive and rational vigour, profundity and reflectiveness, and become the vessel of nostalgic, musealised clichés of *Alt-Wien* and melancholic sentimentalisms (not "tragic", *pace* Lux) they could, in these terms, claim no citizenship in the pan-German vision of *Musikstadt Wien* as the capital prophesising through chant the *brighter, stronger and greater* future of a united German *Volksgemeinschaft*. In the next section we shall examine how the scholarly community entered into the heated debate in that fall of 1928.

[130] The speech, originally held in German, was later revised and translated into English as "Problems of Harmony" for the quarterly *Modern Music* (Vol. XI, 4, May-June 1934, pp. 167-187). See: http://archive.schoenberg.at/writings/transcription.php?id_transcription=58&action=view&sortieren=id%20DESC&vonBis=20-39 ; consulted on 4.5.2023.

[131] Cfr. the manuscript T14.59, titled "Nationale Musik" (24.02.1931). See: http://archive.schoenberg.at/writings/transcription.php?id_transcription=108&action=view&sortieren=id%20DESC&vonBis=0-19; consulted on 4.5.2023.

b) The musicological contributions to the 1928 centennial: Schubert's ethos "reconsidered" and the *Internationaler Kongreß für Schubert Forschung*

The previous section has focused primarily on instances of the involvement of civic and governmental institutions, music-associations and orchestras (*Deutsche Sängerbund, GdM, Wiener Konzerthaus* and *Wiener Philharmoniker*), newspapers, radiobroadcasting and various *culture-industrial* actors in the development of discourses claiming a symbiosis between Schubert's music and subjectivity with the *Musikstadt Wien* or with the German *Volksgemeinschaft* at large. However, as several recent studies have demonstrated, the musicological community and, more specifically, the Institute of Musicology at the University of Vienna (founded by Guido Adler in 1898) was equally involved in the investigation and in some cases exaltation of the *Musikstadt Wien* and/or "*Musikland Österreich*". [132] In the aftermath of WWI, before the CSP had obtained the hegemony over the cultural and political horizon of the new-born republic, but also before personal disappointments (e.g. the dismay for the appointment of Robert Lach as his successor in 1927),[133] Adler, who never doubted the centrality and primacy of the Austro-German musical tradition, idealistically kept conceiving music and the *Musikstadt Wien* as the fittest grounds for a post-war European reconciliation:

> Die zersetzenden Einflüsse und Wirkungen der welterschütternden Ereignisse der letzten Jahre müssen Schritt für Schritt behoben, überwunden und die Verbindung wieder hergestellt werden. Welches geistige Gebiet wäre dazu eher berufen als die Tonkunst, die die Seelen und Gemüter auszusprechen und zu vereinen vermag! Welcher Ort wäre besser geeignet, die internationalen Beziehungen auf dem Gebiete der Musik wieder herzustellen, als der klassisch geweihte Boden Wiens mit der historischen und zukünftigen Mission der Ausgleichung aller Entwicklungsmomente von Nord und Süd, von Ost und West! (Adler, 1919:1)

With the benefit of hindsight it would be all too easy to dismiss the noble, idealistic vision of the conciliatory power of art and the obstinate, utopic belief that "La beauté n'est que la promesse du bonheur." (Stendhal, 1842:34) as naïve optimism. Nevertheless a closer look at the *spirit* of the initiatives of the musicological community during the 1928 Schubert-centennial will incidentally circumstantiate the fragility of the bases for Adler's confidence.

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[132] Strictly speaking the notions *Musikstadt Wien* and *Musikland Österreich* should not be treated as synonymous, since they are embedded in slightly diverging narratives and culture-political agendas, as emphasised, for example, by Martina Nußbaumer in *Musikstadt Wien: Die Konstruktion eines Images* (2007) p. 360. Anita Mayer-Hirzberger defines them nevertheless as "beinahe austauschbar" in her *„… ein Volk von alters her musikbegabt". Der Begriff "Musikland Österreich" im Ständestaat* (2008), p. 23.

[133] As well known, subsequently Adler "had to witness how his scientific contributions and personal achievements were increasingly marginalized by his successor Robert Lach" (Boisits, 2017: 16). The profound impact of Robert Lach and Erich Schenk on the Institute of Musicology and the antisemitic persecution of Guido Adler before and after the so called *Anschluss* of Austria by the Third Reich has only recently been thoroughly investigated, as highlighted by Markus Stumpf / Herbert Posch / Oliver Rathkolb (Ed.) in: *Guido Adlers Erbe Restitution und Erinnerung an der Universität Wien* (2017).

As previously mentioned, on the 19th of November 1928, that is to say, on the exact centenary of the death of the composer, the festive speech arranged for the occasion by the University of Vienna (part of the Federal government's celebrations) was held by Professor Robert Lach.[134] In a speech titled *Das Ethos in der Musik Schuberts*, the orator invited the presents to join him in the commemoration of one of the "größten Genien der Musikgeschichte und zugleich auch eines der größten Söhne Deutschösterreichs und Wiens" (Lach, 1928: 3) and grant their attention to his brief survey of the ethos of the works and soul of the composer. With this preamble, everything seemed set for a cosy and celebratory evening, though, as the orator emphasised, the halls welcoming them, were dedicated primarily to the rigour of the *sciences*. As anticipated, however, Lach's speech not only aroused public furore and even derision,[135] but also severely challenged Schmidt's previously mentioned assumption that primarily the Viennese academical community appreciated the equal artistic worthiness of Beethoven and Schubert, resulting altogether in a veritable *scandal* which motivated Andreas Mayer, seventy years later, to recall it as the "Festrede, die Keine war" (Mayer, 1997: 82). In the following pages we shall examine some of the main reasons for such hostile reception of Lach's speech.

Rather unsurprisignly, according to Lach, in order to attain a better comprehension of Schubert's artistry required: "in den tiefsten Grund des Wesens des untersuchten Künstlers, in die Geheimnisse seiner Seele, in sein etisches Erleben und Fühlen hinabzutauchen und dieses Bloßzulegen." As he continued, in his full-blooded resort to the ideology of profundity reverberated not only Brendel's constellation of interiority, subjectivity and depth, but also a more antique, vaguely Hegelian, already encountered "vocabulary of idealism": "Wenn dies schon für alle anderen Künste und Künstler gilt, wie um so mehr nun erst für die Musik – jene Kunst, die wie keine andere in die tiefsten Tiefen der menschlichen Seele hinabgreift und aus ihnen heraus auftaucht, die Musik, die ja doch die Kunst der Innerlichkeit katexochen ist, jene Kunst, die die tiefsten Geheimnisse der Seele entschleiert und ausspricht…"(Lach, 1928: 4-5).

[134] Though certainly not indispensable to comprehend Robert Lach's interpretation of Schubert, it seems appropriate to underscore (especially since it remains still unmentioned in the online version of the *Oesterreichische Musiklexikon*) just how radically involved in antisemitic and national socialistic organisations Lach was: "Mitglied des antisemitischen Geheimbundes „Bärenhöhle" an der Universität Wien […] seit 27. März 1933 Mitglied der NSDAP (Mitgliedsnummer: 1,529.471) und im NS-Dozentenbund, NSV, Reichskulturkammer und im NS-Lehrerbund tätig. In einer politischen Beurteilung vom 5. Juni 1942 heißt es dazu: „Der Angefragte ist Alter Parteigenosse. Er hat in der Verbotszeit die Bewegung freigibig [sic!] unterstützt und gefördert. Er gilt als einwandfreier Nationalsozialist"..." (Stumpf, 2017: 89-90)

[135] On the 25th of November 1928 the *Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung* dedicated a full, first page to a vignette depicting a musicologist, resembling rather a strict judge – of aesthetic and moral inclinations – that literally *looks down on* the humble composer and declares: "Glauben Sie denn, dass Hohe Musikwissenschaft sich durch Ihr Gedudel beinflüssen lässt, Sie Patzer?!.". Quoted in Mayer, p. 86

Similarly to Schmidt, Lach commenced, for the benefit of his audience, with a clarification of some of the methodological premises of his interpretation, especially those pertaining to the notion of ethos and how the latter could be revealed through the artworks themselves:

> Wenn aus dem äußeren Gebaren, den Gebärden und Gesten sich der Rückschluß auf das Ethos für den Griechen ergibt, so geht die musikalische Hermeneutik nicht anders als der Grieche vor, wenn sie aus dem Klanggebärden und der Klanggestikulation eines musikalischen Kunstwerkes auf den Charakter und die innere Wesensart, das Ethos, des Künstlers, der das Werk schuf, zurückschließt. Und folglich ist auch die musikalische Hermeneutik imstande dieses Ethos aus den Klanggebärden heraus zu erschließen. (Lach, 1928:10)

Perhaps the first, immediate reaction to this reasoning could involve a certain scepticism regarding the soundness of the analogy employed. The "Greek" would observe the "gestures" and "conduct" of another "Greek", one, nota bene, most likely alive and physically in front of him, and thereby evince the ethos of his interlocutor; similarly, Lach claimed, the music-hermeneut observes the musical gestures of a composition and thereby evinces (in this case) the ethos of an *absent* artist, one moreover whose existence and gestures had fallen under a possibly very different *horizon*. In a second moment some might object to the overall idea of the linguistic and semantic potential of music, in this case exemplified by the notions of "Klanggebärden" and "Klanggestikulation". Whereas we have so far encountered interpretations of Schubert's music decisively, though often implicitly, informed by assumptions regarding the biographical subject, or in fact interpretations hardly conceiving the possibility of a difference between the biographical and aesthetical subject, and therefore exposed to a mutual insemination between the aesthetical experience of the artwork and the assumptions and knowledge regarding the ethos of the artist, in Lach's reasoning seems to emerge for a moment the prospect of the non-identity of biographical and aesthetical subject, though, as we shall, he finally negated this possibility most radically. At first sight, it seems as if the musicologist was implicitly proposing the following *experiment* to his audience: let us commence our interpretation by downplaying inherited accounts regarding the personality of the composer, then we proceed to observe, more or less phenomenologically, the ethos and semantic "conduct" of his compositions (the locus where the aesthetical subject potentially dwells) and thereby we finally attain an *authentic*, *original* apprehension of the ethos of the composer (primarily his biographical subjectivity but also his "ethical" and poetic inclinations). The main problem as we shall notice, was not the arguable naivety of this procedure (perhaps adequate for the evening's heterogenous audience), but rather that Lach's hermeneutical circle was based on a wholly fictive *tabula rasa*, and that the apparently *intuitive* appreciation of the artworks, was indeed uncritically determined by clichés and assumptions accumulated over a century, which could not be magically obliterated in the course of a festive speech.

Lach began by roughly sketching the first traits of his alleged *musical physiognomy* as follows:

> …milde, gleichmäßig abgerundete, alle Härten, Eckig-Kantig- und Schroffheiten gänzlich vermeidende […] förmlich ängstlich aus dem Wege gehende melodische Linienführung […] Nirgends zackige, abgebrochene, zersplitternde Linien, alles vielmehr rund, mild, freundlich, ebenmäßig ausgeglichen! Jeder Zug deutet auf eine gütige, milde, freundliche, sanfte Persönlichkeit…[…] Man sehe nur auf diesen Gesichtspunkt hin eine große Anzahl seiner Lieder […] sowie seine Klaviersonaten, Sinfonien (zum Beispiel die große C-Dur-Sinfonie) und dergleichen an, um dies eben gezeichnete Bild eines echt biedermeierlichen „Phäaken vom Donaustrand" immer und immer wieder von neuem bestätigt zu finden: das Bild einer ganz untragischen und unromantischen Behaglichkeit, Zufriedenheit, Ausgesöhntheit mit Welt und Leben…(Lach, 1928: 10-13)[136]

Noticeably, the transition from musical to biographical depiction is seamless, therefore in spite of the announced intention of attaining a definition of the composer's ethos and biographical subjectivity through observations of the musical "gestures" and "conduct" of his compositions, it soon becomes evident that Lach did in reality not conceive the two as possibly extricable entities, but on the contrary postulated resolutely their identity. Consequently his interpretation, rather than effectively downplaying inherited depictions of the composer and prioritising the musical "gestures", resorted to an overtly stereotypical portrayal of Schubert's character, *original* perhaps only its *unsympathetic* attitude – including a depiction as Biedermeier composer, both "untragic" and "unromantic", *pace* Lux and Schumann –, which revealed itself as the authentic epistemological foundation for a dismissive assessment of his music. Moreover, as evincible from the negative definition of certain musical gestures ("never brisk…") it is equally clear that his depiction, rather unsurprisingly, was outlined through a comparison with the Beethovenian paradigm. However, in Lach's interpretation Beethoven assumed not the function of a self-sufficient paradigm, but was joined by J.S. Bach and Richard Wagner in the construction of a mythical trinity of "Titanen", whose unsurpassed example of "strength of character" was to function as the touchstone for the judgment of Schubert's artistry. The three composer showed each in their specific musical techniques, forms and genres a similar "Kämpfernatur" and the noblest exemplifications of the "innerlich notwendigen Zusammenhang des Charakters der Künstlerpersönlichkeit als Menschen mit der in seinen Werken zutage tretenden Offenbarung seines Charakters" (Lach, 1928: 15).

[136] In the course of the 20th century the literature contradicting an analysis like that proposed by Lach, or any interpretation explaining "irregularities" as reflections of Schubert's alleged lack of music-theoretical discipline and training have grown exponentially and cannot be accounted for here. The following, extrapolated *adjectives* can therefore only allude to the gradual definition of a completely different hermeneutical *palette* than that used above by Lach. The recurring and often startling occurrence of metrical "irregularities", of conscious avoidance or postponement of symmetry and balance in the construction of musical phrasing, etc. was already observed by Krenek who praised his "unregelmäßiger Periodenbildung" (Kongreß 1928: 75), by Schönberg in his *Brahms the Progressive*, and more recently an appreciation of the peculiarity of "Schubert's 'irregular' recapitulations" (Newbould, 1998: 52), "irregularity, instability and disruption" (Newbould, 1998: 185), or "Schubert's asymmetrical harmonic forms" (Clark, 2011: 207) has become the norm.

As aforementioned, for instance in the analysis of the analogies employed by Mayer and Eder, the perhaps all too comprehensible abundance of martial connotations in the language and discourses of the interwar period, often betraying an exaltation of discipline, volition and strength, should not automatically and uncritically be interpreted as manifestation of bellicose *intentions* or warmongering *Weltanschauungs*. Nevertheless it seems reasonable to argue that Lach's glorification of titanism, such as in the ensuing quotation, possibly illustrates the long shadow cast by romantic aesthetics, but is certainly also premonitory of a language, aesthetical and even anthropological vision which would play a central role in national socialist ideology:

> Der starke Charakter wird im Kampfe mit den Hindernissen der Form sich erst recht stählen, straffer und entschlossener ausrichten und, wie in einem Stahlbad gestärkt, gerade aus dem Kampfe mit dem Widerstande der Materie und der Form die Kraft zum endgültigen Siege schöpfen […]. Dies ist das sittlich und etisch erzieherisch Moment an der künstlerische Arbeit: jenes Moment, das ich das „Ethos der künstlerischen Arbeit" (und speziell der thematischen Arbeit: der Durchführung) nennen möchte. (Lach, 1928: 15)

If the comparison with the time-honoured Beethovenian paradigm of rationality and "work-ethos" had already, for almost a century by then, as established in the course of this investigation, had a detrimental impact on the reception of Schubert's ethos, subjectivity and music, then it can hardly surprise that, in an interpretation where that paradigm was joined, if not altogether supplanted, by a veneration of "steel", "victory" and "Kampfethos", the chances of a positive assessment of Schubert's personality, ethos and even "ethics" grew smaller than ever. In contrast to the three artists emphatically described as "titanic", "manly", possessing "economical" sense, "strong", "fighting" will and discipline, Lach considered with distrust Schubert's "kind, mild, friendly" personality and even the "unerschöpflichen Reichtum seiner Gedanken" (Lach, 1928: 16). In this connection Schumann's overall sympathetic Mädchencharakter-topos and description of Schubert as a "Kind, das sorglos unter den Riesen spielt" is turned by Lach into a paternalistic observation, in which the composer's supposedly undisciplined, irrational, overflowing inventiveness is described as a "feminine", "passive" inclination for endless decorations and riches – like the *decadent* Lydian king Croesus – and as the unrestrainable, disorderly running of a "Knabe hinter Schmetterlingen" (Lach, 1928: 17):

> Und so kennt dieser Krösus der musikalischen Gedanken etwas ganz und gar nicht, das freilich ein Krösus auch gar nicht nötig hat, zu kennen: Ökonomie. Und so erwächst aus dem Überreichtum Schuberts an musikalischen Gedanken ein künstlerisches Manko: der Mangel an jener musikalischen Ökonomie, Geschlossenheit, Konzentration und Straffheit der kompositorischen Logik, der musikalischen Architektonik, wie sie etwa für einen Beethoven in seiner Fünften Sinfonie bezeichnend sind. Die musikalischen Gedanken werden bisweilen aneinandergereiht wie wunderschöne Blumen in einem während eines Spazierganges wahllos zusammengetragenen Blumenstraße: es fehlt jene harte, feste Hand, die mit eisernem Griffe und in berechnender Auswahl, nüchtern Farben, Größe u. dgl. abwägend und auf ihren Gesamteffekt als Bild hin abschätzend, aneinanderbindet… (Lach, 1928: 18)

Incidentally, when reading Lach's interpretation one can hardly repress the impression that the author preferred steel to flowers, but more importantly, faced by the growing acceptance of culture-political and music- aesthetical discourses praising "fight-ethos", "hard, firm hand" and "iron grip", here exemplified by Lach, it seems neither surprising nor inappropriate that an author like Adorno regarded a criticism of the "violence" immanent to music and music-related discourses – e.g. the fascination for the "Gewaltstreich" (Adorno, 1993: 168) – as an urgent aim of philosophical and aesthetical reasoning, so to speak, both *before and after Auschwitz.*[137]

Furthermore it's hardly startling that Lach's evocation of "flowers", "promenades" and "running after butterflies" turned into the basis for a censure of the "artistic shortcomings" of the composer, obviously outlined in a comparison with the *heroic* Beethovenian paradigm, and eventually paved the way for the resurgence of the consumed cliché of the irrational and "natural" composer: "Bei Schubert ist nichts Berechnung, nichts Künstelei, nichts kalte, flügelnde Vernuft, sondern alles Natur." (Lach, 1928: 19) In this connection, if we recall Suzannah Clark's remark, quoted in the second chapter, regarding the likelihood that "Beethoven did eventually shed the image of the natural composer. Schubert never really has." it seems fitting to underscore that, a century after the composer's death, the validity of her assessment was certainly substantiated by interpretations such as Lach's. However, already by 1928, vehemently dismissive depictions of Schubert's ethos as "natural", "unmanly" and irrational, based on a more or less explicit comparison with the aforementioned Beethovenian paradigm, had become rare within the German reception.[138] Nevertheless one might like to imagine, that until this point in his speech, Lach had still kept the attention and potential sympathy of the vast majority of his audience. The continuation of his analysis, however, must have seemed to some of the present listeners, as well shall see, as designed to loose this possible benevolence altogether.

[137] This analysis and criticism of violence and domination, a central concern of his philosophical and music-aesthetical output, is for instance formulated in his *Beethoven. Philosophie der Musik* as follows: "Der Geschichte der großen bürgerlichen Musik zumindest seit Haydn ist die Geschichte der Fungibilität: daß nichts Einzelnes »an sich« ist und alles nur in Relation zum Ganzen. An der Lösung der Frage der Fungibilität – die eine progressive *und* eine regressive Tendenz hat – läßt sich die Wahrheit und Unwahrheit dieser Musik ablesen. Die Frage aller Musik ist: wie Kann ein Ganzes sein, ohne daß dem Einzelnen Gewalt angetan wird." (Adorno, 1993: 62)

[138] Paradoxically, the only coeval analysis which truly manifest an affinity with that of the ultranationalist, proudly German scholar Lach, is to be found in English-speaking reception, specifically in Cecil Gray's *The History of Music* (1928). The latter, as stressed by Clark, shared with Lach "an unpalable way to phrase this thought" (Clark, 2011:49) and formulated his criticism through resorts to gendered topoi of firmness and bodily virility as can be observed in his remarks about the composer: "There was a lack of intellectual fibre and grit about his personality – a flabbiness and superfluity of adipose tissue in his mind as in his body." (Gray, 1928:193) and, furthermore "side by side with the most exquisite moments we find whole stretches of listless and flaccid music-making and sterile repetition." (Gray, 1928: 193); both passages are quoted in Clark: *Analysing Schubert* (2011), p. 49.

The scholar in fact proceeded with his hermeneutic endeavour, in order to argue that the mildness, lack of firmness, passivity and femininity he had deciphered in the musical "gestures" and "conduct" of Schubert's compositions, were in fact the aesthetical manifestations of a character and subjectivity utterly uncapable of autonomous initiative and of enduring any prolonged struggle for a more secure social status:

> Aber daß er so gar keinen Versuch machte, sich als Künstler eine selbständige Existenz zu erringen, sondern daß er äußerlich zeitlebens über die – wenn der Ausdruck nicht etwas als zu hart empfunden würde und Gefahr läuft, schief gedeutet zu werden als schmarotzer- und parasitenhafte – Symbiose mit Freunden nie hinausgekommen ist, zeigt doch deutlich diese ihm im letzten Grunde tiefinnerlich notwendig angeborene und immanente Unfähigkeit zum Kampfe um eine soziale Position sowie auch den aus dieser heraus mit Naturnotwendigkeit geborenen und erwachsenen Mangel jeglichen ernsten Willens auch nur zum Minimum jener Willensanspannung, Kraftentfaltung und jenes Energieaufwandes, wie ihn ein starker, kraftvoller Charakter entfaltet, um sich und sein Schaffen im Leben durchzusetzen. Schubert war und blieb die typische Bohemiennatur… (Lach, 1928: 20)

Obviously the so far examined ego-documents and recollections by the composer's friends and acquaintances, which Otto Erich Deutsch (Lach's *colleague* and co-participant of the 1928 *Kongreß*) had already began publishing in 1914 as *Franz Schubert. Die Dokumente seines Lebens und Schaffens*, outline a picture very different from that here depicted by Lach. The latter's analysis, at least at this stage, seemed rather inconsistently to refute some clichés and Schubert-topoi and endorse others, since the composer was described neither as "romantic" nor as "tragic", but still "childish", "feminine" (thus accepting only a part of Schumann's reception) and "natural", yet curiously emerged neither as the "poor Schubert" nor as "»Opfer« der Verleger", and finally as a victim not of circumstances, but of his own *looser-nature* (how else should one define the obvious opposite of that "Siegernatur" embodied by Bach, Beethoven and Wagner?). In the light of a so hyperbolical belittling of Schubert's endeavours and of his aforementioned "Streben nach dem Höchsten in der Kunst", we should also reconsider the originality and perhaps even perceive the *necessity* of Schenker's previously examined similarly hyperbolical claim, regarding the composer's prospects of "great success", "fame" and ability to shape a social status, more or less unprecedented for composers, "so günstig als es nur möglich war". Lach did not take the opportunity to acknowledge or even mention the peculiarity of Schubert's artistic and social position within the history of music, yet at the same time he did not miss the chance to demonstrate a blatant misinterpretation of the coeval, romantic "emphatic concept of friendship".[139]

[139] However, it should be stressed that a similar misjudgement was also influenced by the generally unhurried reappreciation of the coeval significance of friendship and conviviality which remained, as late as 1999, still a *work in progress*, as such articles as Walther Dürr's "*Zum Freundschaftsbegriff um 1800*" and Marie-Agnes

The definition of Schubert's relationship with his friends as "parasitism" represents clearly the *faux pas* of a scholar who in his exalted yearning for comradeship and *Volksgemeinschaft*, seemed to have forgotten ancient forms of *disinterested* friendship and ideals of conviviality.[140] At this stage of his interpretation, Lach resurrected also some of those pathologizing attitudes and insinuations we have already encountered in the second chapter, thus manifesting an explicit bias, which seems to justify Mayer severe criticism that "Lach betrieb somit nichts anderes als die Psychologisierung der Legende" (Mayer, 1997: 85). The "conduct" and "gestures" of Schubert's music evoked in his mind a subjectivity, interiority and ethos devoid of profundity, firmness, volition, "fighter-" or "winner-nature", which from an "ethical" as well as anthropological perspective, was finally bound to awake his *distrust*, since such "Bohemiennatur" could hardly constitute a model for the future German spirit and people. Whereas Brendel had, in spite of some reservations, had granted Schubert a not insignificant role in the collective German quest for subjective emancipation, *Bildung* and dignity, Lach on the contrary remained strongly sceptical of Schubert's contributions, and in comparison with Bach, Beethoven and Wagner, was only too convinced that a "Bohemiennatur" was in fact a *degenerate* nature and ethos deserving unequivocal stigmatisation. In this connection it is unsurprising that Lach went on to psychologize one of those myths, which Schenker had passionately polemised against in 1897, in the following terms: "Und seine Liebe zum „Heurigen" und dem Wirtshausleben ging wohl nur aus dem brennenden Durst, das innere Weh, die tiefinnerlichst ihn zerwühlende und aushöhlende Verzweiflung der Unzufriedenheit mit sich selbst zu übertäuben und die in gellendem Jammer aufschreiende Stimme des eigenen Ichs zu übertönen, hervor." (Lach, 1928: 22) Incidentally, this pathologization and psychologization (also of drinking habits) of the "Genius" represents yet another point of contact between the reception of Schubert and Bruckner: it is as if the "Austrian Genius", deprived of the ever more exclusively German profundity, rationality and heroism, was necessarily dismissed as a "natural genius", and finally accountable, not without a touch of slightly philistine moralisation, primarily as a "Sonderling" (Lach, 1928: 22).[141]

Dittrich's "*Der emphatische Freundschaftsbegriff der Schubert-Zeit*" demonstrate; Cf. Badura-Skoda, Eva / Gruber W., Gerold / Litschauer, Walburga / Ottner, Carmen (ed.): *Schubert und seine Freunde*. (1999), p. 45-58.

[140] Incidentally, it is truly ironical that Richard Wagner, whose letters testify insistent pecuniary requests to his friends, famous father-in-law and to the King Ludwig II of Bavaria, was quoted by Lach as an "ethical" counterexample to the "parasitism" of Franz Schubert.

[141] Walter Wiora was just one of many musicologists and biographs who endorsed the cliché of "Sonderling" in connection with Anton Bruckner; cf. "Anton Bruckner" in Heimpel/Heuss/Reifenberg (ed.): *Die großen Deutschen: deutsche Biographie / 4: Von Jacob Burckhardt bis Ludwig Beck* (1957), p. 60.

Reached this point of our brief survey, one might recall with wonder that Lach's speech had opened with the stated aim of celebrating one of the "größten Genien der Musikgeschichte". The best way to address this wonder, is to emphasise that the orator, in accordance with his overt fascination for titanism, had chosen a *dramatic* scheme for his narrative; in other words, his analysis of Schubert's ethos gradually reveals a teleological argumentation, one which could be summed up with the motto *Per aspera ad astra*. Having pointed at the gaping *abyss* of "passivity", "despair" and self-abasement which confronted the young artist, the musicologist unveiled a mysterious force which, against all odds, rose the hopeless bohemian to *celestial* sublimity. However, whereas in Lach's narration Bach, Beethoven and Wagner had transcended asperities through ascetism, rigor, willpower and sheer genius, Schubert had neither rationality, spirit of initiative nor the inventiveness necessary in order to pull himself out of a swamp by his pigtail, like the Baron Munchausen, but had – veritable apotheosis of a pathologizing narrative – only his sickness and despair to rely on. Based on a reference to a famous ego-document from 1823 (the poem "Mein Gebet") in which the composer expressed his inner turmoil and sufferings, Lach unfolded his thesis as follows:

> Und so, wenn man diese Verzweiflungsausbrücke des Unglücklichen in seinem Tagesbuche kennt, versteht man erst recht die Musik des letzten Schubert, das heißt die Musik, die in der letzten Zeit vor seinem Tode entstanden ist. Diese letzten Lieder, Quartette (man denke zum Beispiel an das Streichquartett: „Der Tod und das Mädchen"!) u. dgl. lassen oft solche Akzente tiefsten Jammers und so gellende Schmerzensausschreie sowie so tiefsinnig und tiefernst in sich hinein grübelnde, schluchzende und wimmernde Tongänge erklingen, daß man ganz verwundert aufhorcht und sich fragt: Was? Wie? Ist das derselbe Schubert, der die Müllerlieder oder die C-Dur-Sinfonie geschrieben hat […]? Es ist Schubert ja leider vom Schicksal nicht vergönnt gewesen, sich voll und ganz ausleben und jenes Alter erreichen zu dürfen, wie es anderen großen Meistern, zum Beispiel einem Beethoven oder Bach oder Wagner, beschieden war. Was wäre erst aus ihm geworden, hätte er diesen Weg, den seine Letzten Werke einschlugen, weiter und bis zum Ende gehen dürfen! Er hätte vielleicht alle anderen Wiener Meister turmhoch überragt, wenn zu dem unerschöpflichen Reichtum seiner musikalischen Phantasie auch die entsprechende ethische Vertiefung gekommen wäre, wie sie in seinen letzten Werken sich bereits angebahnt zeigt. Und so sehen wir denn, daß die heitere, sorglose, mit sich und dem Leben scheinbar vollkommen ausgesöhnte Miene nur die Maske war… (Lach, 1928:23-24)

In spite of Lach's emphasis on music hermeneutics and musical "gestures" and "conduct", here it becomes even more evident that his interpretation, especially in decisive passages, rests primarily on biographical documents. Moreover he was neither the first nor the last to conjecture, based on the latter, a transformation of the musical language in the last phase of Schubert's life, in other words, a *late-style* inherently shaped by sorrow, solitude and malady.[142]

[142] The idea of the deep influence of a period or "years of crisis" has been a central topic of Schubert reception in the 20th century; cf. Aderhold, Werner/ Dürr, Walther/ Litschauer, Walburga (ed.): *Franz Schubert, Jahre der Krise, 1818-1823* (1985). As late as 2016, the thorough investigation of the apparently paradoxical notion of a *late-style* (the composer died aged 30) has been the main task of the following brilliant publication: Byrne Bodley, Lorraine / Horton, Julian (ed.), *Schubert's Late Music, History, Theory, Style.* (2016).

On the other hand, however, we have already examined in the second chapter some of the risks inherent to *abstract* definitions of Schubert's subjectivity based on decontextualised ego-documents accepted as *prescriptive* evidence for the interpretation of the artist's intentionality and ethos. In this connection recalling anew Gernot Gruber's previously quoted admonition: "Einsam war Schubert wie jeder Künstler bei seinem Schaffen, sonst nicht. […] Schmerz, Einsamkeit und der drohende Tod waren für ihn ästhetische Gegenstände, die zu künstlerischen Lösungen drängten" is certainly relevant to approach critically Lach's hypostatisation of the pain and despair and the connected, very vague concept of a lacking "ethische Vertiefung" as the essence of Schubert's late compositions. Failing to acknowledge and discuss the (rational, laborious) process of mediation and aestheticization to which the abovementioned sufferings and experiences were submitted in order to be transfigured into poetic expression of a subjectivity and a potential material for composition, Lach, like so many of his predecessors, gave primarily a *sentimental* and *melancholic* (approached with psychologising and pathologizing attitude) definition of the subjectivity, ethos and music of the composer, hence the "so tiefsinnig und tiefernst in sich hinein grübelnde" disposition he underscored cannot, in my opinion, be considered as the recognition of a genuine introspection and profound interiority (similar to that of his Bach, Beethoven and Wagner paradigm) but primarily as a sickly, pathological introversion and egocentrism. Unlike many of his predecessor, and as if ignoring or contesting the recollections of Bauernfeld regarding the irreducibility of the "Doppelnatur" of the composer, Lach did not recognise the complexity and possible coexistence of a serious-melancholic and a "serene-carefree" disposition in the persona and artistry of Schubert, but dismissed the latter as a "mask", a lie to which the "weak, unheroic" composer resorted in order to "passively" conform himself to his coeval social context. Bereft of the *Mündigkeit* and willpower embodied by the abovementioned paradigmatic triumvirate the artist did not grew to be a "man", but remain in fact at best a "göttlichen Jüngling" (thus embracing Grillparzer's epitaphial image of the unfulfilled artist), whose belated immortality and fame, achieved through suffering and asperity – since "sein ganzes Leben war ein einziger Martergang" (Lach, 1928: 30) –, Lach did not refuse to conclusively celebrate with rhetorical pomp and a reference to a famous Nietzschean title and concept: "das Unvergängliche in ihm rang sich triumphierend über die Schlachten des Irdischen und Mennschlichen-Allzumenschlichen hinweg, zu den letzten und höchsten höhen menschlicher Verklärung – zu Unsterblichkeit" (Lach, 1928:30)

As Eder has highlighted in her analysis, with the unsympathetic, approximative and hyperbolic claims that characterised his speech, Lach provided a golden opportunity for newspapers hostile to his persona and views to attack him (e.g. the *Neue Freie Presse* and the aforementioned satire in the *Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung*), and the public debate that ensued suggests that the resolve to stir up an *ad hominem* polemic was stronger than the desire to counterargue in detail the musicologist's misrepresentation of the composer.[143] His colleagues, on the other hand, spared him a public stigmatisation, but appropriately kept their criticism for the more secluded frame of academical discussions in the *congress* which began a week later.

The organisation of the *Internationaler Kongreß für Schubert Forschung in Wien* (25.-29. November 1928) relied initially on the initiatives of University Professors Robert Haas and Alfred Orel, the musicologists Heinrich Kralik and Otto Erich Deutsch, the distinguished musicologist and archivist of the *GdM* Eusebius Mandyczewski (chairman of the committee) and the aforementioned influential advisor in the Ministry of Education Karl Kobald; the committee was later joined, amongst others, by the director of the National Library Josef Bick and Heinrich Schenker.[144]

[143] Eder's analysis of the controversy (which prompted outraged reactions by the "Wiener Schubertbund" in defence of the composer) shows a clear journalistic desire to capitalise on venomous querelles, cf. Eder, p. 223-225. Regarding the ensuing polemics it is worth questioning the correctness of a claim made by Leon Botstein in his article "Schubert in History" contained in Gibbs/ Solvik (Ed.): *Franz Schubert and His World* (2014), pp. 299-347. In his analysis of the 1928 centennial the musicologist argues that the composer and music critic (and Schönberg pupil) Paul A. Pisk, in an article titled "Schubertfeiern", published in the social democratic art-magazine *Kunst und Volk*, was participating in these specific polemics. First Botstein misspells the magazine and number of publication as "Volk und Kunst 25" (Botstein, 2014:347) while the correct title and number is "*Kunst und Volk 15*", then claims that "Pisk was taking aim at the lecture given by Robert Lach" (Botstein, 2014: 339), and the bibliographical references in the footnotes (Botstein, 2014:347) leave no doubt that the musicologist is referring to Lach's November festive speech. The correctness of this claim is questionable since the magazine *Kunst und Volk 15* (KV) was issued in June 1928, that is 5 month before Lach held his lecture.
En passant, it should be mentioned that Pisk's article does develop an analysis vehemently polemical with the discourses promoted by the CSP during the 1928 centennial, but he himself does not resist, with social democratic orthodoxy, to assimilate Schubert among the ranks of the proletariat: "Wenn Arbeiter Schuberts Leben betrachten, muß ihnen zunächst klar werden, daß er aus ihren eigenen Reihen, dem Proletariat, stammt, in materiell schwierigen Verhältnissen lebte und in beständigem Kampf mit der Umwelt seine Werke schuf." (Pisk, 1928: 1)

[144] There are no documents that can explicitly clarify Schenker's motives for finally avoiding the participation at the congress. However the reasons were very likely the same which had persuaded him not get involved in the Beethoven congress of the previous year, and which he had communicated to Guido Adler as follows: "danke für die Einladung, lehne aber ab, weil ich unter dem innern Zwange stehe, mich in der bisher geübten Weise zu Beethoven zu äußern, die aber zu einem Kongreß nicht passe.", quoted in Eybl: "Heinrich Schenker's Identities as a German and a Jew" (2018). Considering Schenker's various remarks examined so far it is to be regretted that he chose not to participate, since, as implied by my analysis above, even his hyperboles and modes possibly *unfit* for a congress, would not have been less precious than those of scholars, like Lach, who in form and content gave questionable contributions to further the understanding of the artistry of Schubert during the 1928 centennial.

The introduction to the published minutes of the proceedings, subsequently penned by Haas and Orel in 1929, gives an impression of the precarious and heated atmosphere in which the congress took place, since they incidentally mention, though without further explanations, the "krisenhafte Veränderung der Sachlage" (Kongreß 1928: XI) that had affected it. According to Eder the last moment changes of locations and schedules had also negatively impacted the *internationality* of the congress, since of the seven contacted speakers, i.e. Robert Pitrou, Paul Landormy, Newman Flower, Donald Tovey, Walter Dahms, Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme and Edmond van der Straeten, only the two last-mentioned eventually accepted the invitation.[145]

After an evening reception hosted by the Minister of Education Richard Schmitz on the 25th of November, the congress was officially opened on the morning of the 26th with a greeting by the same minister, which was followed by the first speaker, Max Friedlaender, who gave an introductory overview of the coeval state of affairs titled "Schubert und Schubertforschung". Friedlander, a professional singer and musicologist, specialised in the music-historical and music-philological investigation of Schubert's Lieder, had also an intense exchange with George Grove, a most influential protagonist of the early English Schubert reception.[146] After praising the *progresses* of the recent Schubert research (e.g. Deutsch's documentary biography, his own and Mandyczewski's contributions to the completion of the *AGA*) the musicologist, though endorsing the general desire to celebrate and popularise Schubert's music and persona, attacked vehemently some of the most well known, recent banalisations.[147] The coexistence of *joie de vivre* and profound sadness characterising many of his instrumental compositions (he mentioned the Symphony "Unfinished" in B-Minor (D 759) or the Piano Sonata in A minor (D 784)) he regretted, was levelled by these (aforementioned) influential *fin de siècle* depictions:

> Dazu paßt nun freilich nicht ganz das in so vielen Werken über Schubert entworfene Bild des gemütlichen „Schwammerl" oder gar des „ewig heiteren Schubert-Franzl", das so bezeichnend ist für die Sucht der kleinen Leute, sich den großen gleichzustellen. Ein besonders falsches Bild gibt auch die leider so erfolgreiche Operette „Das Dreimäderlhaus". Diese Art der Bearbeitung Schubertschen Gutes könnte daran erinnern, wie italienische und südtirolische Gebirgsbauern in antiken, mit verschlissenen Skulpturen geschmückten Sarkophagen das liebe Vieh tränken. Jene Landleute ahnen nicht, daß sie dadurch Heiligtümer schänden; die Hunderttausend von Hörern aber, die dem Dreimäderlhaus zujubeln – doch es ist nicht nötig, den Satz zu vollenden. – Immerhin soll *eine* günstige Wirkung jenes Singspiels nicht verkannt werden: in der Zeit seiner größten Beliebtheit erklangen in den breiten Massen des Volkes oft Melodien Schubertscher Tänze, Märsche und Lieder an Stelle der gewöhnlichen Varieté- und Revueschlager, Gassenhauer und des entsetzlichen Jazz. (Kongreß 1928: 19-20)

[145] Cf. Eder, p. 231 and 428

[146] Their epistolary exchange has recently been investigated by Franz Krautwurst in *George Grove als Schubert-Forscher. Seine Briefe an Max Friedlaender*. (2002)

[147] Incidentally, it is worth remembering that the cliché of "Liederfürst" was newly canonised in 1928 through J. W. Knoch's book *Der Liederfürst Franz Schubert und Wien*.

In spite of the laudable imaginativeness of the allegory – recalling the biblical warning against *casting pearls before swine* (Matthew, 7:6) –, underscoring Friedlaender's not too implicit comparison of the "small people" and masses with "cattle" is certainly relevant, especially in a year and period where they had become protagonists of musical performances and of the commemorations of composers, but his resentment is even more symptomatic of the growing intolerance expressed by paladins of "serious" music against the pervasiveness and grip on the masses of the "entertainment" music (let alone jazz) bolstered by the culture industry. However, even though Friedlander so starkly opposed some of the most influential Biedermeier connotations, he still endorsed the cliché of the "poor Schubert" as the pathetic tone of the following phrases suggest: "nicht Ruhm, nicht Gold, nicht Liebesglück" (Kongreß 1928:4) and "an Leiden und Enttäuschungen fehlte es Schubert, diesem allerärmsten unter den Musikern, bis an seinen Lebendende nicht." (Kongreß 1928:19). After Friedlaender's and Haas' morning-introductions the rest of the day was entirely dedicated to "Vorträge zur geistesgeschichtlichen Stellung Schuberts" – reading the list of speakers one should withstand the temptation to anachronistically caricature the culture-politically polarised nature of the proceedings as an afternoon in company of *four nazis and a Kulturbolschewist*: Alfred Orel began with a talk titled "Schubert und Wien", followed by Ernst Bücken with a talk on "Schubert und die Klassik", Gustav Becking with "Schubert und die Romantik", then Robert Lach on "Schubert und das Volkslied" and finally a talk by Ernst Krenek titled "Franz Schubert und wir".[148]

The Viennese born Alfred Orel regretted, similarly to Friedlaender, the sentimental connotations that still dominated the approach to Schubert's lifetime, but criticised both the overtly critical as well as the nostalgic representations of the police state lead by Emperor Francis II/I and Metternich: "Bald wurde das Dunkle, das jener Zeit anhaftet und vielleicht aus der Perspektive unserer Tage besonders auffällt, durchaus in den Vordergrund gestellt, bald wieder die ganze Zeit mit dem lichte eines süßlich-sentimentalischen falschen Biedermeier übergossen und darüber der größen geistigen Werte vergessen, denen diese Zeit Grundlage und Wurzel war." (Kongreß 1928: 30) Unlike Theodor Helm and Robert Lach, Orel's pan-Germanic (and later national-socialist) sympathies did not inspire a dismissive depiction of Schubert's Vienna, circle of friends and Viennese or "bohemian" nature – he was in fact, and remained also after the WWII, a stark apologist of the uniqueness of the *Musikstadt Wien*.[149]

[148] For a schematical presentation of the (culture-)political orientation of the participants see Appendix 1.
[149] In the back-cover of Orel's *Musikstadt Wien* (1953) the musicologist was presented as the "Zunächstberufenen" to give an insightful, enthusiastic account of the city's musical heritage, although he had been forced to quit his position as professor at the city's Institute of Musicology in 1948. Cf. Stumpf / Posch / Rathkolb (2017), p. 58.

Even though Orel likewise conceived Schubert's subjectivity principally in antithesis to the Beethovenian paradigm, the composer who had unleashed the: "bewußsten Fortschreiten zum unbedingten Individualismus und Subjektivismus" (Kongress 1928: 40) and brought the revolutionary idea to Vienna, his characterisation in fact celebrated in fairly positive terms the:

> inneren wienerischen Grundlage der Musik Schuberts: dem romantischen Subjektivismus spezifisch wienerischer Färbung. […] Ohne Sturm und Drang als allgemeinen geistige Bewegung […] ersteht in Wien die lokal stark bedingte volks*hafte*, nicht volks*tümliche* Romantik, deren Vertreter Schubert ist, in dem Freiwerden der neuen Gesellschaftsschicht zur eigenen Kunst. Der Künstler tritt nicht als solcher in der Gesinnung seines Schaffens dem Hörer gegenüber, wie wir es noch bei Beethoven finden, der bewußt als Führer auftritt und – Gefolgschaft fordert. (Kongreß 1928: 42)

Although Orel's analysis is neither negatively connotated nor implying an unequal artistical worthiness in comparison with Beethoven (thus, unlike Lach, a confirmation of Schmidt's claims about the viewpoint of Viennese scholarship), the scheme he employs is one we have already observed in Speidel's analysis from 1872 ("Neben Beethoven kehrt Schubert seine lokale Natur hervor, sein begrenztes Wienertum") or Helm's 1897 definition of Schubert as the embodiment "seelischen Eigenheiten Alt-Wien"; in other words Beethoven embodied an unleashing of "absolute subjectivity", which in Hegelian and Brendelian terms represented a *universal* idea and value participating in the spiritual progress of German and *world history* alike, while the "romantic" Schubertian subjectivity represented a *local* colour, evoking at best a slightly cavillous distinctions between "folk-like" and "folksy". Moreover, with a linguistic choice that recalls Lach's militaristic vocabulary, Orel underscored that Schubert's folk-like, kind-hearted liberty had nothing of the commanding tone of the *heroic* Beethoven. Witnessing such evocations of "Kampfethos", "Siegernatur" and "Führer" and "Gefolgschaft", in other words this vocabulary of dominion and obedience, one is left with the impression that these are truly exemplifications of the apparently tautological dictum "Die Sprache spricht".[150] Showing, however, a better grasp of the aesthetical significance of conviviality and friendship than Lach, Orel specified also two specific forms of "belonging" linked to the two forms of subjectivity:

> Das Beethoven und Schubert verbindende subjektivistische Moment erhält bei diesem ganz andere Färbung. Das innere Gemeinsamkeitsgefühl des Kreises um Schubert, in dem der Subjektivismus des Einzelnen Teil des Empfindens des ganzen Kreises ist, steht derart dem Gemeinschaftsgefühl des Menschheitsidealisten Beethoven gegenüber, der subjektivistische Ideenkünstler Beethoven dem naiv subjektiv schaffenden Schubert. (Kongreß 1928: 42-43)

[150] The reference is obviously to the great thinker and master of the ideological jargon of profundity as authenticity, Martin Heidegger: "Die Sprache ist: Sprache. Die Sprache spricht. Wenn wir uns in den Abgrund, den dieser Satz nennt, fallen lassen, stürzen wir nicht ins Leere weg. Wir fallen in die Höhe. Deren Hoheit öffnet eine Tiefe. Beide durchmessen eine Ortschaft, in der wir heimisch werden möchten, um den Aufenthalt für das Wesen des Menschen zu finden." (Heidegger, 1985: 11)

Orel's understanding of the Schubertian subjectivity as inherently intersubjective, or in Ronyak's previously quoted terms, as an "audience-oriented subjectivity" is certainly not undiscerning – his appreciation of the coeval notions of friendship, conviviality, belonging and amateur music-making were obviously distant from Lach's evocation of "parasitism".[151] Nevertheless the difference between a Schubertian (inter)subjectivity as the conveyer of a "naïve", individual *feeling* transfiguring into a collective "mutuality-feeling" ("Gemeinsamkeitsgefühl") in opposition to the Beethovenian (inter)subjectivity as the conveyer of an "humanist-idealist" *idea*, transfiguring into a "sense of community" (Gemeinschaftsgefühl) recalls dichotomies and trends that go back to the origins of the Schubert reception, which we have examined in the second chapter (e.g. Vogl's *distinction* or Mayrhofer's depiction of a "natural" composer), and confirms finally the general tendency to define the essence of Schubert's subjectivity and interiority as sentiment and sentimentalism.

Leaving aside the ensuing talks by Bücken and Becking, we briefly return to Lach and the interpretation he delivered in the *now* purely academical context of the international congress. Although a brief reprise, given the conciseness of his analysis, it is not an irrelevant one, since Lach's insistence on the *Volkstümlichkeit* and rootedness of Schubert's music is obviously connected to musical discourses pertaining to identity, nationality, social classes, etc. ; ironically, his identification of various typologies and specific examples of Viennese folk-songs as possible sources for Schubert's instrumental compositions reflect more adequately the music-hermeneutical approach and observation of "Klanggebärden" and "Klanggestikulation" which in his festive speech had remained only stated intentions. Lach argued: "Wenn so das Vorbild der Wiener Volksmusik schon in der Musik der Wiener Klassiker unverkennbar ist, so tritt dies in der Musik Schuberts noch unvergleichlich stärker zutage." and went on to specify the following genres: "1. Polstertänze, 2. „Bratl"musik und Gesänge in Weinschenken u. dgl., 3. Gassenrufe, so vor allem die Rufe der Lavendelweiber, 4. Straßengesänge der Bänkelsänger u. dgl." (Kongreß 1928: 62-63) These sources, Lach specified, were not explicitly quoted or naively transferred into Schubert's music, but were incorporated through musical elaboration "natürlich in edelster Verklärung, Verfeinerung und Sublimierung" (Kongreß 1928: 66).

[151] In 1953 he formulated the specifically Schubertian and Viennese mediation of the "folk-like" and "musical amateurism" as follows: "Wie man seine Kunst als die edelste musikalische Verkörperung des Wienertums ansprechen darf, so seine ganze Erscheinung als den zur höchsten künstlerischen Höhe emporgestiegenen, zur völligen Befreiung des eigenen Ichs vorgedrungenen Wiener Musikliebhaber. So lächerlich der Ausspruch Ferruccio Busoni ist, Schubert sei „ein begabter Dilettant" gewesen, so unverkennbar ist die innere Beziehung des Meisters zum Wiener Musikliebhabertum." (Orel, 1953: 66)

This brief return to Lach's very concise contribution to the congress, gives us the opportunity to stress an important consideration. Whereas in the previous chapter we have observed that, at least up until the 1897-centenary, the development of identitarian and nationalist discourses regarding Schubert's instrumental repertoire had developed slowly and with frail methodological support (thus primarily the *Liederfürst*-cliché and Lied-repertoire had been the vehicle of identitarian, regionalist or nationalist interpretations and connected musical practices), the first decades of the 20th century saw the development of notions, concepts and disciplines that facilitated the elaboration of interpretations of Schubert's instrumental music involving these discourses. Indeed Schmidt's reasoning about musical "Rassentypen" and "Rassenreinheit", Orel's emphasis on the distinction between "volkshafte", "volkstümliche" and local colour, as well as Lach's analysis of the influence of "Volksweise" in Schubert's music, altogether reflect the development and increasing centrality of the disciplines, methods and notions of ethnology, ethnomusicology or comparative musicology (i.e. *Musikalische Volks- und Völkerkunde, Ethnomusikologie, Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft,*) of which Lach, as student and successor of Richard Wallaschek, was an important advocate in Vienna.[152]

Since this investigation has underscored the interconnection between subjectivity and interiority and public and political discourses, but also the political and ideological connotations of music-aesthetical and music-historical writings, it can't surprise that regarding a discipline such as the ethnomusicological, involving concepts and theories of ethnicity, race, *Volk*, primitivity, evolutionism, identity, ethnocentrism, etc., its entanglement in anthropological and political discourses should be highlighted. In the course of this enquiry, we have likewise observed different forms of (pseudo)scientific positivisms and reductivisms, exemplified by the phrenological reduction of the "soul" to the cranium or the measurability of personality and ethos based on facial features and proportions professed by physiognomy; the interwar ethnomusicological, often reductivist, insistence on intimate connections between local landscapes, ethnicities and "forms of life" (*Lebensform*, to use Wittgenstein's notion) and specific musical practices and traditions bestowed similarly a new scientifical (or pseudo-scientific) aura to the essentialisms of the *blood and soil* ideology, a tendency that can be observed in Orel's and Lach's interpretations of the symbiotic relation between Vienna and Schubert. Lach marked Schubert's simultaneous belonging to the larger German spiritual *mission* and ethnical *rootedness* in the Viennese soil both before and after the 1928 centennial.

[152] As also indicated by his dissertation *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der ornamentalen Melopöie* (1913) and publications like *Die vergleichende Musikwissenschaft, ihre Methoden und Probleme* (1924).

In an article titled "Wien als Musikstadt", published in *Wien. Sein Boden und seine Geschichte* (1924) he stressed the *authentically* Viennese essence of Schubert's instrumental music:

> in seinem Auftreten haben wir jene […] Genie-Eruption des Wiener Musikpotentials vor uns, zu der dieses nach jahrhundertelanger Konzentrierung und Verdichtung drängte, nachdem es deren Höhepunkt erreicht hatte. […] Das echte, unverfälschte Wiener Blut Schuberts – er war von Liechtenthal, also einem urwienerischem Viertel gebürtig! – pulsiert mit lustigen Pochen nicht bloß in seinen echt Wienerischen Tänzen, Märschen u. dgl. sondern auch in zahllosen Stellen seiner Lieder, Sonaten, Kammermusiken, Symphonien […], die nur aus dem Geiste der Wiener Volksweisen heraus begriffen werden können. (Lach, 1924: 430)

The development of several culture-political, factional assimilations of Schubert in the music criticism and public debates, before and during the two centennials, found clearly a fertile soil also in the interwar musicological research. As Lach's analysis exemplifies, only with an appreciation of Schubert's belonging to the Viennese people, hence to their musical heritage (e.g. "Wiener Volksweisen"), could his instrumental music be properly understood. In other words, the rootedness and assimilation was no longer explicitly cherished as a political and identitarian *final aim*, but was transformed into a methodological *precondition* for the examination and appreciation of the composer's musical peculiarities. If musicological research still remained engaged in investigations of the craniums of Beethoven, Schubert, Bruckner, etc., then it became similarly involved in cogitations regarding the "*purity*" of Schubert's blood (thus implying the existence of *impure blood*?) and the degrees of authenticity of his Viennese rootedness, which could be sealed with the precious, comforting *ur*- affix. Consequently, Schubert was bound anew to remain a symbol of local identity, in antithesis to Beethovenian universality, also in Lach's interpretation expounded in 1930, in an article tiled "Die großdeutsche Kultureinheit in der Musik", published in the tellingly titled *Die Anschlussfrage in Ihrer kulturellen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung* (1930) in which he seemingly agreed with Orel that, unlike Beethoven, Schubert could not be a "Führer" inciting "Gefolgschaft" for that political *mission* which drove them and the German multitudes:

> Bach-Händel und Schubert, Haydn und Mozart, gehören sie nicht zu einander wie Deutschland und Österreich? Und sind sie nicht vereint durch den gemeinsam in ihnen lebenden deutschen Geist, so wie in Beethoven die deutsche und österreichische Musikseele sich vereinte? Und ist nicht Beethoven ein Symbol dieser Vereinigung der deutschen und österreichischen Seele, eine Symbol, das ewig fortdauern und bestehen wird, so ewig wie die Zusammengehörigkeit von Deutschland und Österreich? (Lach, 1930: 295)

On that November afternoon of 1928, Lach's contribution was followed by Ernst Krenek's talk "Schubert und wir" in which the composer (whose opera *Jonny spielt auf* had met tremendous success the previous year) presented his vision of Schubert's topicality and relation with contemporary composers. His conclusion must have *delighted* Lach and Orel, then it implied that it was now Schubert's turn to be enlisted as proper opposer (ante-litteram) of the *Anschluss*:

> der Weltkrieg hat uns Österreichern das Glück der Kleinheit und Begrenzung wiedergegeben. Bewahren wir es uns in dem Sinne, daß wir uns nicht in den Amerikanismus und den Nivellierungswahnsinn des übrigen Mitteleuropa hineinreißen lassen, so werden wir auch einer Mahnung des Schubertgedenktages gerecht werden. Wir bewundern Schuberts Willen zur Gegebenheit und seien Mangel an Ideologie. Er fand sich in der Welt zurecht wie sie war – und es ihm darin nachzutun und mit etwas mehr Weisheit an alles heranzutreten, das mag die vornehmste Mahnung sein, die Franz Schubert an uns zu richten hat. (Kongreß 1928: 76)

The inclination which Krenek celebrated as a sort of stoical determination to come to terms with surrounding facts and state affairs ("Gegebenheit") must have appeared to some of the present as vile *defeatism*, while others would have considered it is an underestimation of the existential and aesthetical centrality and significance of inner-turmoil and *weltschmerz* in Schubert's life and artistry, which was by then well documented by Deutsch's publications. Admittedly it must be stressed that if one reads Krenek's emphasis on Schubert's supposed proclivity to *get along* and *acceptance* as a reference to an existential "resignation", then he touched upon a topos, which long after 1928 remained central in the Schubert reception.[153]

A further considerable aspect of Krenek's analysis, involved the attempt to connect Schubert's artistry with a positively connotated interpretation of the notion of "convention", a link that is, which could finally account for Schubert's indebtment to musical traditions, forms and parameters (e.g. harmony) and his *laborious* and even *economical* elaboration of the same, instead of celebrating the supposed naivety, irrationality and naturalness of the composer:

> Denn wie gesagt, auch in musikalischer Hinsicht war Schubert konventionell im besten Sinne des Wortes, und das klingt blasphemisch nur deshalb, weil das Wort „Konvention" im Deutschen mit Unrecht einen herabsetzenden Nebensinn erhalten hat. Betrachtet man sein musikalisches Material, worunter ich vor allem die Gesamtheit der verwendeten Harmonien verstehe, […] so wird man sehen, daß er zu dem in seiner Zeit überlieferten Stand der Mittel kaum etwas hinzugefügt hat. […] Seine ganze Originalität lebt sich in der besonderen Handhabung des gegeben Materials aus, nicht in dessen Reformierung. (Kongreß 1928: 73)

Krenek's positive reassessment of the concept of "convention", which challenged also the romantic, but increasingly abstract celebration of "originality", did not imply an understatement of Schubert's innovative approach to the coeval harmony. As implied already by Speidel's analysis in 1870, Helm's 1897 article and more recently by Schmidt, Schubert had certainly not *invented* the employment of third-relations, "Rückungen", enharmony, etc. (already present in Haydn's and Mozart's music), but it was their startling, yet systematic application (i.e. with formal consequence) that was, if not properly "reforming", then certainly innovative and influential; Krenek's interpretation was clearly rooted in this reception-trend.

[153] Adorno did not employ this notion in his essay *Schubert* (1928), but only in his posth. *Ästhetische Theorie*: "Schuberts Resignation hat ihren Ort nicht in der vorgeblichen Stimmung seiner Musik, nicht in dem, wie ihm, als ob das Werk etwas darüber verriete, zumute war, sondern in dem So ist es, das sie mit dem Gestus des sich fallen Lassens bekundet" (Adorno, VII: 171); a topos likewise examined by Dürr (1992) and Kohlhäufl (1999).

Incidentally, it should be stressed that Krenek's analysis was able to rouse polemical responses even from people who were not present at the congress. I'm referring to his former teacher and fellow composer, Arnold Schönberg who (like Schenker) was not less prodigal of polemical quarrels, than of perceptive musical reasonings. [154] Having read Krenek's talk in the minute published in the *Neuen Wiener Journal* (14.11.1928), Schönberg seemed to have (over)reacted to his colleague's interpretation of the notion of "convention" and his possible understatement of Schubert's "originality" in the following interesting (unpublished) response:

> Ein Bekenntnis zu Schubert: man käme sich unkeusch vor, wenn man es täte. Wer es nötig hat, sich dadurch zu bestätigen mag es tun. Zu sagen geben wird es über Schubert noch zur nächsten Jahrhundertfeier einiges Nochnichtgesagte. Mir scheint folgendes bisher unbeachtet; ja das Gegenteil meist behauptet: solche unfassbar große Originalität in jeder Einzelheit neben einer erdrückenden Erscheinung, wie Beethoven. Kein Wunder, dass man sie noch heute nicht voll erkannt hat, wo ihre Kühnheit kaum mehr stört. Dann bedenke man: Welche Selbstachtung in der nächsten Nähe dieses erdrückenden Genies, fühlt er nicht das Bedürfnis, dessen Grösse zu leugnen, um doch irgendwie bestehen zu können! Welches Selbstbewusstsein, welches wahrhaft aristokratische Standesgefühl, das im Grossen den Gleichen achtet: Schubert schrieb ganz Beethovensche Symphonie-Partituren ab, um sie zu studieren und seine Begeisterung daran zu finden: Täte das heute noch jemand? Partituren werden studiert, um abschreiben und schimpfen zu können! Achten kann nur, wer Achtung verdient. Die aber erhält sich über die Jahrhunderte. Nie hat Schubert daran gedacht für jemanden bestimmten zu komponieren, für den Hof oder den Klerus, die Finanz oder das Volk. Ihm genügte es für die Besten geschrieben zu haben und so ist es für alle worden, indem man für sie denkt, aber nicht indem man für sie blödelt – das können sie schon selbst oder haben ihre Leute dafür! [155]

Evidently Schönberg's remark reacted primarily to the tone, pathos and notion of "originality" employed by Krenek, but didn't in fact concretely address the latter's insightful music-analytical and music-morphological observations.[156] Moreover, in a fashion not too dissimilar from Schenker, Schönberg saw himself called to defend the composer's autonomy – i.e. he wrote neither for "court", "church", "finance" nor "people" – from any philistine trivialisation or assimilation. Consequently Schubert, who wrote only for the "best", was bestowed with a *nobility* not of blood evidently, but of *ethos* (truly divergent from the one envisaged by Lach).

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[154] Well known are his countless polemics for instance with "Herr Wiesengrund" (Adorno) and even with Thomas Mann regarding the publication of the latter's novel *Doctor Faustus* (1947). Schönberg, who mockingly referred to his former pupil as "Medio*kre neck*isch" in his introduction to *Drei Satiren für Gemischten Chor*, op. 28, may also have felt himself the target of Krenek's remarks: "Schubert hat wie alle wirklichen Schöpfer keine Zeit und keine Lust, sich mit der Auffindung und Systematisierung neuen Materials aufzuhalten. Einer souveränen Schöpferkraft sind solche Probleme im Grunde gleichgültig, weil es in Wahrheit in der Kunst nur auf das Wie und niemals auf das Was ankommt." (Kongreß 1928: 73)

[155] Arnold Schönberg: "Krenek über Schubert" (14.11.1928). See: http://archive.schoenberg.at/writings/transcription.php?id_transcription=988&action=preview&sortieren=id%20DESC&vonBis=0-19&ergebnisliste-datei=transcription&ergebnisliste-editorFeldNameMitPrefix=&ergebnisliste ; consulted on 4.05.2023.

[156] Krenek for instance emphasised the following central peculiarity of Schubert's music: "In der Erfindung solcher Varianten ist Schubert geradezu unerschöpflich, unnachahmlich und nie wieder erreicht." (Kongreß 1928: 74). The centrality of "repetition", "variation" and "variants" would also play a significant role in Dahlhaus' previously mentioned article "Die Sonatenform bei Schubert. Der erste Satz des G-Dur-Quartetts D 887" (1978).

Noticeably, according to Schönberg, the "originality" of the composer needed neither to be relativised nor understated, as supposedly done by Krenek, but reclaimed more emphatically than even before. However, it should likewise be stressed that the notion of geniality and originality he endorsed had nothing in common with the previously encountered topoi of nativity, childishness, naturalness, intuition and unconsciousness, but build, on the contrary, on an hypothesised "aristocratic", extraordinary "self-consciousness" and "self-esteem". In other words, Schönberg's interpretation implied that Schubert's subjectivity was defined by an originality and geniality which built on humble, patient laboriousness – i.e. he "schrieb ganz Beethovensche Symphonie-Partituren ab…" – , and just as Schubert had *heroically* and with "Standesgefühl" tackled the towering Beethoven paradigm, so should exegetes who proposed a comparison between Beethoven's music and Schubert's not proceed with *negative* definitions of the characteristics of the latter, but with authentic hermeneutical insightfulness *positively* uncover and reappreciate its peculiarities and "original" "boldness" (Kühnheit).

With a similar spirit and pathos did the following day (27.11.1928) Paul Stefan indicate a path for future Schubert research, however not before having admonished recent trivialisations in a remark undoubtedly addressed to Robert Lach (e.g. the reference to the "Bohemien" topos):

> Noch immer schweigen die Stimmen nicht, die Schubert, wenn schon nicht Zeit seines Lebens, so doch unmittelbar nachher und jahrzehntelang als einen „gemütlichen, dumm vor sich hinschreibenden und zufällig von einem Einbläser verzauberten Schulmeister und Heurigentrinker" (Zitat aus meinem Schubertbuch) bezeichnet haben. Selbst gelegentlich der Zentenarfeier seines Todes wurde nicht nur in populären Darstellungen, sondern auch in wissenschaftlicher Betrachtung mit Auffassung kokettiert, als sei Schubert eigentlich doch ein weinseliger Philister und liederlicher Bohemien gewesen." (Kongreß 1928: 143)

Against these more or less recent banalisations and pathologization of Schubert's persona and artistry, Stefan advocated for a fresh approach to the composer depurated from old prejudices and *myths*, one that could gaze at him as his "best" friends once had done. In other words:

> den Schubert, den die rechten Freunde kannten: nicht der unbewußt, fast ohne alle Vorbereitung nur so hinschreibenden, wenn auch meisterlichen Musikanten, als der der Schubert der Vorkriegeszeit bestenfalls gegolten hatte – sondern den genialen Geistesmenschen, der sich in heldischem Ringen mit der Ungust der Zeit und dem Fluch einer Nachfolgegeneration, wohl auch mit den Lockungen einer geliebten Stadt und einer leichteren Lebensauffassung zu früh verzehrte. (Kongreß 1928: 145)

But who were these "authentic friends"? Wasn't it, as the present investigation like countless others after Deutsch have documented and argued, exactly these closest friends and supporters (Vogl, Mayrhofer, Spaun, Sonnleithner, Bauernfeld, etc.) who had paved the way for the image of a clairvoyant, "unbewußt, fast ohne alle Vorbereitung" composer in need of guidance? Surely Stefan couldn't have maintained that for example Hüttenbrenner, thanks to his late uproar against the topos of "natural" composer, was to be regarded as a more authentic friend.

We have already observed that Schenker, who in 1897 had strongly criticised several central trends of that "Vorkriegeszeit" reception which Stefan addressed, had specifically warned against considering Schubert's peers, friends and acquaintances as oracles and wisely challenged the idea that first-hand accounts were necessarily the most credible and insightful, since a "genius" remained incommensurable especially to his contemporaries. As we have likewise mentioned, his friends and acquaintances had similarly failed (for good reasons) to recognise the novelty of Schubert's social status as "freelance-composer", that is to say, exactly that "heroic struggle with the unkindness of the times" which Stefan saw as an important topic for the future Schubert research. Moreover, although I shall avoid as far as possible psychologising interpretations until the very end of this investigation, it is difficult to leave unmentioned that Paul Stefan and Arnold Schönberg, who both felt increasingly marginalised (not *un-assimilated* as Schenker strived for)[157], who saw their contributions and belonging to the German community growingly questioned (both died in the U.S.A), must have felt a particular sympathy with the idea of the outsider[158], of the underappreciated genius, who stoically, with "aristocratic" and even "heroic" aplomb, confronted the asperities of *destiny*. Finally, it comes as no surprise that an investigation that has programmatically strived to unveil and address potential paradoxes and contradictions, should eventually wish to emphasise one last, sorrowful paradox. In the years immediately preceding the *Internationaler Kongreß für Schubert Forschung* – i.e. the first *official*, *institutionalised* contribution of the musicological disciplines to the Schubert-centennials – and in the debate that it inspired, as tragic political and ideological trenches were again getting irredeemably deeper and deeper in continental Europe, it was primarily three Jewish-German/Austrian *thinkers* (and a future "Kulturbolshewist") who emerged as the strongest advocates within the Schubert reception (in the Beethovenian or Wagnerian they remain unquestioned) of such allegedly *authentically ur*-German concepts and values (largely inherited through Christian and Lutheran traditions) as rationality and laboriousness, originality and the irreducibility of subjectivity or "soul" (especially that of the "Genius"), and finally, of artistic autonomy and heroism alike.

[157] Schenker's difficult attempt to balance the belonging to the intelligentsia celebrating and defending German identity and artistry and the desire to avoid assimilation and preserve his *alterity* and Jewish identity is the central issue of the aforementioned article by Eybl (2018).

[158] Stefan, himself born into a family of Moravian origins (like Schubert), had only too gladly made the following introductory remark, which admittedly can't easily be refuted,:"Wer noch die Struktur des alten Österreich kannte, weiß, wie viele seiner bestein Beamten, Lehrer, Intellektuellen überhaupt aus der Lanschaft der Familie Schubert stammen." (Kongreß 1928: 143)

Determined primarily by inherent necessities of selection, priorities and *economy* (which weight heavier than the chimera of exhaustiveness) and hopefully not because of negligence, numerous sources and voices have been left out throughout this investigation. Since outlining an itemisation going back to 1828 would itself be lengthy and tiresome, I shall therefore only mention two examples, which are connected to the last year of the examined century (1828-1928). In this second Schubert-centennial two young, promising and very different theorists (who would nevertheless both soon belong to the *exile*-intelligentsia) published a brief contribution to the Schubert research. The 24 years old music-theorist Felix Salzer, a pupil of both Adler and Schenker, had written a dissertation titled *Die Sonatenform bei Franz Schubert* (1926), which was partly republished in 1928 as an article with the same title. The 25 year old philosopher and music-philosopher Theodor W. Adorno likewise took the Schubert-centennial as an appropriate occasion to publish an essay about the composer titled *Schubert* (1928). A discussion of these two influential contributions, for instance, has been omitted from my investigation since, both from a biographical, generational viewpoint and from that of the content and new perspectives opened by their analysis, their essays belong more properly to an investigation that, unlike mine, *begins* from the year 1928 and not *ends* with it.

If the fourth chapter of this investigation spanned over almost a century (1815-1897), then this fifth chapter has focused on the interwar Schubert reception, but particularly on one specific year, namely the 1928 centennial. A more focused chronological spectrum has been counterweighted by a broad analysis of the manifold contexts, institutions, actors and discourses involved in the Viennese celebrations of the composer. We have observed that within a highly-politicised and often overtly ideological public debate, catalysed and exacerbated by the mechanism of the culture industry, the composer's subjectivity and interiority was often shaped and reshaped in accordance with the desiderata of the various *factions* in order to be assimilated by them. If initially it was primarily the *deutsche Liederfürst* who carried the burden of political, broadcasted mass-happenings and appeals to German *Volksgemeinschaft*, then, not least with the new perspectives opened up by ethnomusicology, also his instrumental music was increasingly appreciated as the epitomisation, not only of *abstract*, musealised, nostalgic values and virtues of *Alt-Wien*, but also of an apparently *concrete* rootedness and vital continuity – often a continuity of *blood of soil* – within the ancient, original and authentic identity of the *Musikstadt Wien* and the supposedly inherent musicality of its *people*. How these trends relate to the wider tendencies examined in the course of this investigation, will be briefly highlighted and recapitulated in the following conclusions.

Conclusion

Should current and future investigations of the biographical and aesthetical subjectivity of Franz Schubert consign to oblivion recent prejudices and interpretations in order to attempt the recovery of even just a fragment of his peers', circle of friends' and acquaintances' supposedly unspoiled, immediate and privileged gaze, as Paul Stefan argued in 1928, or should they approach with scepticism, similarly to Heinrich Schenker, especially the coeval and first-hand accounts of the geniality, creative process and character of the composer and consequently rely primarily on the insightfulness of new, topical notions, methods, theories and agendas? Is a proper compromise between these two antithetical approaches eventually reached by endorsing a hermeneutical dialogue between *past* and *present* paving the way for a *fusion of horizons*?

This investigation has observed several exemplifications of the impact of these divergent approaches within the first century of the reception of Schubert's instrumental compositions (1828-1928). Faced by the well known scarcity of ego-documents and explicit poetics, the present genealogy of the Schubertian subjectivity and interiority has begun by examining several printed obituaries and more or less private, epistolary accounts, remarks and recollections by the composer's friends, earliest supporters and acquaintances. However, already the first stage of this enquiry has corroborated the insights of several previous assessments (e.g. those of Otto Erich Deutsch, Christopher Gibbs, Walther Dürr, Suzannah Clark, etc.) which have highlighted that the intimacy, conviviality and complicity that possibly characterised the relationship of the composer to his closest friends, did not bestow on the latter the faculty to experience, interpret and subsequently relate his subjectivity, interiority, ethos and creative process in unbiased, purely intuitive terms. Through a brief examination of several ego-documents of a seemingly introspective, self-confessional and poetic nature it has been established that even the composer's own written statements were, properly speaking, neither original nor *immediate*, but responded to ideas, values and notions shaped primarily by "idealistic" and "expressivist" paradigms and resorted variably to a "vocabulary of idealism" as well as to the topoi and aesthetics of romantic poetry and literature. The rich palette of cheerful, carefree, exalted, pathetic, melancholic, sorrowful and even despairing sentiments and imageries which the composer employed in his diary entries and letters were thus often conveyed through this vocabulary and topoi, and should consequently, as perceptively argued for instance by Gernot Gruber, not be regarded as programmatic subtext or prescriptive for the interpretation of his subjectivity, artistic intentionality and music.

Accordingly these experiences and existential conditions, which inevitably coloured Schubert's private conversations and personal aura, have throughout this enquiry been approached as materials elaborated and mediated through a process of aestheticization, and only in this form relevant and involved in the *construction* of that "lyrical-I" and "audience-oriented subjectivity" which the artist masterfully weaved into his instrumental compositions – this evidently doesn't justify the depiction of a conceited, self-staging composer hiding a more profound and authentic interiority and ethos behind a "mask" as Robert Lach did in 1928.

Consequently the subjectivity of the artist has not been approached as an intimate, private *possession*, but as an inherently intersubjective, public and aesthetical *construction* – not for this reason less authentic, genuine or agreeable – which was obviously rooted in the concrete and fragile existence of the human being *behind* the artist, but which was, as consequence of the all too sudden and premature death of the composer, substantially carried out by his friends and acquaintances. They, similarly to the composer, could not avoid describing this subjectivity according to the most influential coeval philosophical and aesthetic norms and discourses. As probably best exemplified by Johann Michael Vogl's recollections, even the testimonies which were closest from a personal and chronological perspective couldn't outline an analysis focused exclusively on the composer, but had to proceed *historically* and *comparatively* as illustrated by the singer's comparison with the Beethovenian paradigm – it has incidentally been observed that the comparison with Beethoven was not first introduced by the singer in the 1830s, but emerged already in ego-documents going back as far as 1816 and in coeval music criticism. Consequently the more or less *negative* or *positive* definition and construction of Schubert's subjectivity in terms of irrationality, intuitiveness, clairvoyance, heteronomy, lack of *Mündigkeit*, "naturalness" and aptitude for "small" genres was embedded in aesthetical discourses and paradigms that had preceded the existence of the composer and would undergo further manifold transformations also after the latter's death. Especially the subsequent "revisions", sparked primarily by Franz Liszt's, Ferdinand Luib's and Heinrich Kreissle v. Hellborn's pioneering biographical enterprises, have indicated that an univocal, authentic *blue-print* of this subjectivity and interiority never existed, at least not one that essentially concerns musicological enquiries (though it may possibly interest biographical and psychological ones).

In the second chapter it has been further emphasised that, with an unparalleled example of *asynchronism*, the reception of the composer's subjectivity and interiority was shaped by historical, political and artistic trends that transcended his persona, artistic output and existential horizon. Although somewhat reluctantly, since history is, if anything, inherently

becoming and transformation, it has been argued that the early reception of the composer developed in a period of *transition* and great changes. Inspired, for instance, by Mark Evan Bonds' analyses it has been underscored that between the 1830s and 1850s, not only a composer's subjectivity, "brand" and "score", but also his "soul" were becoming increasingly reified and marketable. In other words, the growing popularity and number of performances and publications of Schubert's compositions developed in decades in which explicit poetics and self-confessional texts (especially after the divulgation of Beethoven's *Heiligenstadt Testament*), that is to say, the tangibility of the "lyrical-I", "audience-oriented subjectivity" or aesthetical subject, was ever more expected by listeners and music critics alike. Having largely denied himself such poetical, self-explanatory extrications (like his most famous predecessors, Haydn and Mozart) his aesthetical subjectivity did never explicitly and programmatically present the loquacious, intellectual charisma which Schumann, Berlioz and Wagner carefully elaborated in those years. Consequently the apparent irruption of "bizarrerie", heteronomy, irrationality and arbitrariness or the challenge and disrespect of formal conventions, were not rationalised nor bestowed with extra-musical, intertextual, poetic references, *ideas* and *heroic pathos* nor with music-historical *myths* and verbose music-philosophical theorisations. The *horror vacui* roused by this considerable poetic and conceptual indeterminacy left by the composer was, as illustrated in this enquiry, in most cases conquered by turning his subjectivity and interiority into a vessel for the sentiments and sentimentalisms which the shifting generations of music critics, biographers and exegetes deemed most adequate or *useful*.

Various exemplification of this trend have been examined in the third chapter of this enquiry, beginning with Robert Schumann's insightful, pathbreaking and influential reception. Informed by Marie Luise Maintz's analysis, this reception has been interpreted through a tripartite division – a first period (1827-1836), a second (1836-1839) and a final sparked in 1839 by his article about the C-major Symphony (D. 944) – which highlights how Schumann's music critical reception of Schubert combined genuine admiration and discerning appreciation of several musical peculiarities with considerations involved in the definition of his own subjectivity, public image or "brand" and overall music-aesthetical agenda. In this connection we have observed that Schubert's "genius" was, for the first time, emphatically raised above its Viennese rootedness (though Schumann did not avoid associating him to local stereotypes) and brought into a dialogue with wider trends and traditions of German artistry and music; as a "romantic", "poetic" "genius", and not least through his last "great" symphony, the composer was celebrated as the latest herald and redeemer of an "exclusively" German musical heritage.

In Schumann's interpretation Schubert's instrumental music possessed all the wit, intimacy, internal-turmoil and longing which, according to E.T.A. Hoffmann characterised romanticism, yet influenced principally by Jean-Paul's aesthetics, the nascent discourse of profundity (popularised f. ex. by Karl Christian Friedrich Krause round 1827) and a confrontation with the Beethovenian paradigm, the music critic theorised also a lack of reflectiveness or *Besonnenheit*, the recurring manifestation of a "a feminine character" (Mädchencharakter), "voluble, softer and broader" (i.e. passive) disposition and the naivety of a "child". Schumann's enthusiastic endorsement and especially these influential (in some cases gendered) topoi, which in his interpretation were unquestionably positively connotated (with the exception of the lack of *Besonnenheit*), laid however, as has been established in this genealogy, also the seeds for psychologizations and even pathologizations of the composer's subjectivity and interiority which had a decisive impact on the Schubert reception *at least* up until the 1928 centennial.

Alongside the criticism of solipsistic, undialectical, sentimental and "unpolitical" approaches to subjectivity and interiority (briefly outlined in the first, introductory chapter) this enquiry has also critically approached *myths* previously debunked by other musicologists and clichés which in spite of their only approximative, relative truth-content (i.e. the *Liederfürst* imago) have and *will* remain notions informing the musicological reception of the composer. Regarding the first mentioned *myths* – i.e. Gibbs' refutation of the "poor Schubert" narrative and Dürr's criticism of the idea of the composer as "»Opfer« der Verleger" – it has been emphasised that, although success, wealth and fame were not *just* around the corner when the composer prematurely died, as Schenker somewhat hyperbolically claimed in 1897, the praise and attention of above all North-German newspapers (e.g. the *NZfM* or G.W. Fink in the *AMZ*) testified nevertheless that during the composer's lifetime and a decade after his death, most clearly through Schumann's reception, also the composer's friends could witness that his music and artistic persona were involved in music critical debates and analysis that increasingly stressed the composer's simultaneous and ambiguous rootedness in the Viennese music tradition as well as a participation in the wider German artistry, *spirit* and *mission*.

Already inspired by the *Weltanschauung* of Josephine enlightenment and patriotism, but especially following the termination of the Metternichian crusade against nationalistic ideals and movements, characterisations of the composer's subjectivity and interiority in terms of Austrian roots and identity operated more than ever with the time-honoured anthropological and music-aesthetical dualism based on stereotypical and essentialist conceptions of "Southern" (i.e. Italianate) and "Northern" (i.e. Germanic) temperaments and musicality.

Accordingly, Schubert's friend Franz v. Schober had celebrated in his poem *An Franz Schubert* (1842) the paradigmatical balance of this dualism within Schubert's music and character, or in other words the equilibrium between the warm "Southern" melodic extroversion and "Northern" poetic introversion and depth, and in 1857 Eduard v. Bauernfeld had similarly endorsed Mayrhofer's early depiction of Schubert's character as a "mixture of tenderness and coarseness, sensuality and candour, sociability and melancholy" with his notion of a "Doppelnatur" which attempted to account for the composer's unique conciliation and embodiment of the peculiarly Viennese synthesis of Southern and Northern inclinations.

In order to illustrate an influential and divergent assessment, inspired by a more normative music-aesthetical and culture-political approach in which the constellation of subjectivity, interiority and profundity (the latter already regressed into an ideology with strong ethnical and national connotations) was formulated explicitly, in the third chapter a relatively detailed analysis of Franz Brendel's reception has been outlined. In this connection it has been stressed that the music critic, music-historian and editor of the *NZfM*, unlike Schober, Joseph v. Spaun (in his "revised" assessment) and Bauernfeld, questioned the idea that Schubert's subjectivity and music embodied in equal proportions both Southern and Northern temperaments. Brendel, whose analysis preceded by a decade the publication of Kreissle's biography and the rediscovery of important instrumental compositions examined in the second chapter (vividly described above all by Eduard Hanslick), revived several elements of Schumann's interpretation, but endorsed a far more dichotomous and gendered comparison with the Beethovenian paradigm (later re-emerging in it most problematic form in Lach's analysis). Consequently Brendel maintained that the composer's music revealed (especially in the Lied) all the overflowing poetic, melodic inventiveness, "softness" and "delicacy" *typical* of southern temperaments and musicality, but on the other hand, gendering more heavily than Schumann had ever done the "child", "Mädchencharakter" and "wife" metaphors, he detected a lack of northern profundity and *Besonnenheit*, "manly" economy, rigour and gravitas (all embodied by Beethoven) – an interpretation which incidentally corroborated Leopold v. Sonnleithner's influential obituary which had paved the way for the scepticism regarding Schubert's aptitude for the design of "large" genres. This notwithstanding Brendel acknowledged, in idealistic, teleological and vaguely Hegelian terms, that Schubert had participated, primarily with his compositions for *Hausmusik* and *Salonmusik*, which eschewed "prosaic" triviality and self-referential virtuosity, in the specifically German (not French, not Italian) quest for subjective expression and *Mündigkeit* and music-historical *progress* towards *the music of the future*.

It has likewise been established that, though not as systematically and normatively as Brendel had done, several and very different actors and institutions participated in the dispute about the definition and assimilation of the Schubertian subjectivity and interiority, a dispute that assumed, as I have argued, a new and central significance in the light of crucial geopolitical events (above all the "trauma" of Königgrätz in 1866) and transformed relations between the Habsburgian territories and the nascent and increasingly hegemonic German Empire (1871). In this connection we have observed that in 1867 Peter Cornelius celebrated Schubert's string quartet on the *NZfM* as the epitomisation of an exclusively German language and "Volksgeist", while ten years later, again from Leipzig, La Mara lamented the all too slow advance of the appropriation and familiarity regarding Schubert's solo piano repertoire, especially the piano sonatas. In Vienna, on the other hand, the influential feuilletonist Ludwig Speidel, among the first to address the "Fluch des Liederruhms" and cliché of the *Liederfürst* – paradoxically flourished in the decade that had witnessed an unprecedented rediscovery and number of first-performances of Schubert's instrumental composition (in Vienna and even London) –, celebrated the specifically Viennese rootedness of Schubert's music (opposed to Beethoven's "universality"), but bemoaned for these same reasons the failing local culture-political capacity and determination to safeguard and promote the Schubertian heritage, a negative trend which he perceptively connected with the waning standing of the Viennese publishing industry (revealing a precocious grasping of the identitarian import of music-philological enterprises).

Apparently less concerned with teleological grand narratives, the ideology of profundity or sophisticated, long-term *Bildung* (yet involved in the rediscovery and first performance of the Symphony in B Minor (D 759)) Johann Herbeck considered Schubert's music and subjectivity as embodiment of *both* a southern and a northern essence (the latter defined as "introspective disposition"), but did not disdain, in music-editorial publications popularising choral rearrangements of Schubert's Lieder, to underscore the specifically Viennese conviviality of his music and its carefree, hedonistic and, most importantly, *volkstümlich* character. Finally it should be underscored that only in the course of the fourth and fifth chapter has the great impact of Herbeck's contribution become more obvious, since, even more than the rediscovery of the composer's symphonic masterpiece, it was evidently the popularisation of choral rearrangements that truly paved the way for the mass-appreciation and monumental performances of the works of the *Liederfürst* which characterised the two centennials, and equally momentous was his emphasis on that *Volkstümlichkeit* which assumed a crucial significance in ensuing culture-political and ethnomusicological reasonings and assimilations.

Conclusively the following consideration represents an even more central insight of this investigation: my analysis of the various interpretations examined in the second and third chapters has highlighted the *relative* concomitance of the gradual transformation of *Hausmusik* and *Salonmusik* into exponentially and finally wholly public genres (the Lied, piano repertoire, chamber music and orchestral works) with the increasingly public, "audience-oriented" development and subsequent culture-political entanglements of the subjectivity and interiority of the composer. From an aetiological and methodological perspective it seems justified to stress that an assessment inspired primarily by a linear causality and chronologically narrow and selective approach could not have accounted for the inherent asynchronism of the Schubert reception, and that only through a genuinely dialectical appreciation of these transformations, over a vast period of time, has it been possible to properly (though not exhaustively) illuminate the concrete, mutual mediation between material, social, sociocultural conditions and contexts and manifold spiritual, aesthetical and artistical techniques, endeavours, paradigms and ideas.

For these reasons this inquiry has combined the emphasis on the experiential, aesthetical, historical and conceptual irreducibility of subjectivity and interiority, implying a criticism of coeval and more recent reductivist approaches – i.e. solipsistic understandings, phrenological and physiognomic positivism, or sentimentalist, pathologizing and psychologising interpretations –, with the investigation of their entanglement into specific aesthetical and culture-political discourses, various performative contexts and even into the most empirical, seemingly deterministic mechanisms and framework of the culture industry. In other words this genealogy has pursued, almost in a sort of katabasis, the tortuous journey of the idealistic and romantic notions of absolute, infinite, incommensurable, pure, ethereal and autonomous subjectivity through the *long 19th century* and towards an interwar scenario – a horizon which according to Adorno and Horkheimer's analysis couldn't be depicted in sufficiently dystopic terms – characterised by a growing hegemony of quantitative and reductive paradigms, in which the autonomy, individuality and profundity of subjectivity and interiority was transfigured (also through mass, monumental musical practices) into the horizontal depth of anonymous masses. Since a genealogy focusing on subjectivity has meant, as anticipated in the first, introductory chapter, unfolding an interpretation (perhaps a *narrative*) of subjectivity and its emancipation or *freedom* as the substance of *modernity*, then an account ending with the year 1928, in the midst of rising nationalism, antisemitism and warmongering totalitarianisms, couldn't avoid giving the impression of a development leading towards a regression or *decline*.

However, as equally anticipated in the first chapter, regarding the development of the reception of Schubert's subjectivity and interiority as such, this has neither been described in terms of *decline* or *progress* nor has the 1860s been presented as the apex or "Kairos" of the history of impact and "aesthetical presence" of his instrumental compositions. Indeed it has been stressed that even in this decisive decade, while numerous accounts, international enterprises and performances brought new knowledge, complexity and nuances to the public image and scientific debate concerning Schubert as composer of instrumental music (such as Herbeck's and George Grove's initiatives, Kreissle's biography and Hanslick's music criticism), the reductive cliché of the *Liederfürst* was concurrently being established and popularised by feuilletons and music critical writings. These simultaneous and apparently discordant reception trends have been considered as symptomatic of state of affairs defined as *paradoxical*, though, rigorously speaking, to pass an univocal judgement on a whole decade implies in most cases the approximative presentation of an homogeneity where heterogeneity in fact rules, since, at that time and nowadays even more, in debates where a plurality of actors and institutions with different agendas, audiences and readership participate, one same phenomenon will always receive divergent accounts, some adding complexity, other trivialisations or even both at the same time. For this reason, but primarily because the hypostatization of a decline or progress presupposes, as well known, the identification and definition of a *goal*, this investigation has avoided teleological schemes and normative takes on the overall trends of specific periods.

This approach, I maintain, has proved especially necessary and beneficial in the examination of the two Schubert-centennials (1897 and 1928) in the fourth and fifth chapter. In this connection, regarding the development of the *Liederfürst*-cliché it has been established that, although already Schubert's friends and Johann Herbeck underscored the cosiness, conviviality and *Volkstümlichkeit* of his output, it was only during the first centennial (1897) that this imago became the conveyer of a depiction of the composer as the embodiment of Biedermeier sentimentalisms and the nostalgia for the waning glories and virtues of *Alt-Wien*. In the Viennese reception, particularly in the public culture-political and journalistic debates, Schubert and his friends, who never knew that they "belonged" to *Alt-Wien* for the simple reason that the could only have suspected that one day a *Neue-Wien* would rise, became the epitomisation of aesthetical norms and culture-political values which, especially in the eyes of citizens with a catholic, conservative, monarchist *Weltanschauung*, often supporters of the novel Christian Social Party, seemed increasingly threatened and challenged by the apparently unstoppable advance of modernity, materialism, industrialisation and proletarianization.

In the face of the last flares of cosmopolitanism, colonialist extroversion and German *Blut und Eisen* rhetoric that illuminated the European *fin the siècle*, Schubert's subjectivity and interiority became, as depicted most elegantly by Hermann Bahr, a paradigm of the peculiarly Austrian retrospective and nostalgic introversion. The writer saw in Klimt's painting *Schubert am Klavier*, commissioned by Nikolaus Dumba and exhibited in the 1899 *Sezession*, the finest apology of Austrian particularism and a resolute refusal of the ideals and longings of pan-German movements. The "silence", as symbol of *Innigkeit* and inwardness, the "gentleness" and aesthetics of the "small", the "joyous melancholy" and "comforting sadness" evoked by the painting, captured in his view, not only the inspiring essence of Schubert's subjectivity and interiority, but also the uniqueness of the *Musikstadt Wien* and the growing irreconcilability between Austrian identity and artistry and the German. This territorial and national rootedness and identity of Schubert's ethos and music, which Bahr celebrated with artistic and almost religious fervour, had already been endorsed by several institutions (even by the Emperor Franz Joseph himself) and political factions, and popularised by influential music critics during the 1897-celebrations. However, for instance in the perceptive writings of Theodor Helm (published in the glowingly pan-German, CSP organ *Deutsche Zeitung*), who acknowledged the progressiveness and topicality of Schubert's instrumental compositions and harmonic language, its absence of conceitedness, "innocence" and "cosiness" as embodiment of the "best spiritual features of *Alt-Wien*", this local rootedness was recoupled with the stereotypical topoi of "Southern" or Italianate artistry, and constituted the basis for a criticism of the *limitedness* of Schubert's mastery of instrumental "large" genres, in terms not dissimilar from those previously employed by Brendel or Speidel, in a – by then *traditional* – comparison with the "universality", profundity, "manly" rigour and volition, "self-restraint" and sense of economy exemplified by the Beethovenian paradigm.

With a precocious, insightful recognition that the sentimental connotations and territorial, local rootedness theorised in the discourses regarding the Schubertian artistry often participated in *philistine* culture-political assimilations and culture-industrial exploitations which paved the way for trivialisations of his "genius", subjectivity and artistry, the music-theorist Heinrich Schenker, himself certainly equally inspired by marked normative, culture-political and aesthetical attitudes, defended in public debates the irreducibility of the artist, countered, with slightly hyperbolic claims, the sentimental *myths* that depicted the composer as an unsuccessful victim of circumstances, and demonstrated his relevance and topicality for music-theoretical analysis by treating his music in specialised publications (f. ex. in his *Tonwille* pamphlets).

The genealogy of Schubertian subjectivity and interiority elaborated in the fifth, final chapter of this enquiry, I have argued, has revealed the relevance and perceptiveness of Schenker's criticism of reductive, sentimentalist, identitarian discourses, representations and assimilations of Schubert's artistry and subjectivity, as well as the topicality of his early warning against the trivialising and exploitative mechanisms of the "market" and culture industry (formulated in his brief comment "Staat und Genie") which affected, in his opinion, not only the autonomy of the artworks and the irreducibility of the "Genius", but possibly also the quality of public debates and even the endeavours of the newly institutionalised musicological community. Regarding the latter it has been established that, while it was evidently absent from the public debates of the 1897-centennial, which left unchallenged the monopoly exercised by interconnected media outlets, political factions and cultural associations, it did finally participate in the definition of the culture-political discourses that shaped the 1928-centennial.

However, whereas during the Viennese Beethoven-centennial of 1927 the contributions of this academical community had been lead principally by Guido Adler, who had supervised the coordinated initiatives of the Vienna's City Council and Austrian Federal Government and mediated between academical activities and musical events, then the protagonist, in many senses, of the musicological initiatives of the 1928 Schubert-centennial, which didn't benefit from a similar institutional coordination, was Adler's newly-appointed successor Robert Lach. In spite of several evident drawbacks that affected the Schubert-centennial, especially in comparison with the preceding Beethoven-centennial, the present account has checked the temptation to depict the composer, even posthumously, as ever the victim of unfortunate circumstances, but has focused primarily on the similarities and differences between the discourses employed in the definition of the Schubertian subjectivity and artistry outlined in public, unscientific contexts and those involved in the purely academic context of the *Internationaler Kongreß für Schubert Forschung in Wien* (25. – 29. November, 1928).

In this connection, it has been highlighted that influential depictions of the composer's subjectivity and interiority in introspective, *retrospective*, particularistic or localist and nostalgic terms was ignored or simply deemed obsolete by the organisers and participants of the *10. Deutsche Sängerbundesfest* in which monumental choral performances and mass celebrations of the songs of *deutsche Liederfürst* were principally concerned with the manifestation of exuberant, forward-looking and *activistic* expressions, conveying the *prospective* sentimental, territorial and ethnical belonging to a *Volksgemeinschaft* which envisaged the impending fulfilment of its ancients longings and *destiny*.

The desire and even *duty* to preserve, promote and *musealise* the artistry and identity of the composer came, on the other hand, clearest to expression in the events organised by the Austrian federal government, lead by Chancellor Ignaz Seipel and his CSP, in the fall of 1928. In this public context it was primarily the composer and rector of the *Fachhochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst* Franz Schmidt who was called to act as promoter of an interpretation that satisfied intimately the desiderata of the alleged custodians of the uniqueness of the *Musikstadt Wien* (though hardly those of its social-democratic City Council) by conjugating the latter primarily as a *Museumstadt Wien*. Schmidt in fact demonstrated the national character (employing vaguely music-ethnological notions such as musical "Rassentypen" and "Rassenreinheit") and international and longevous impact of Schubert's artistry by devising a teleological narrative that placed Schubert in a continuum originating with Bach and Handel and leading towards Bruckner. In other words, in a discourse evidently emphasising identity, continuity, authenticity and roots, Schubert's artistry and subjectivity embodied the past and less recent fertile purity of the Viennese *tradition* and *soil*, yet remained unspoiled from the recent *degenerations* of modernism and musical modernism, thus leaving unmentioned, for instance, its impact on Gustav Mahler and other contemporary composers. As underscored, some of these stigmatised, soon "Kulturbolschewist", composers did respond to this retrospective, musealising narrative, from Berlin (i.e. Schönberg) or even within the frame of the *international congress* (i.e. Krenek) by turning the perspective towards the progressiveness, internationality and topicality of Schubert's contribution to musical modernism, hence drawing an alternative, almost *subversive* genealogy beginning from "Schubert through Wagner to Reger, Richard Strauss, Mahler, Debussy" and leading eventually up to Schönberg himself.

The final stage of the genealogy of the Schubertian subjectivity and interiority outlined in the fifth chapter has stressed that some of the possible contradictions which had seemingly been overlooked or ignored during the pan-Germanic celebrations organised by the *10. Deutsche Sängerbundesfest*, were finally addressed during the purely academic initiatives, sponsored by the Federal Government and the Minister of Education Richard Schmitz, and especially by Robert Lach in a festive speech titled *Das Ethos in der Musik Schuberts*. This speech (in Andreas Meyer's words the "Festrede, die Keine war") finally proved the profound legitimacy of Schenker's warnings against the dangers implied by the inflated popularisation of sentimental and melancholic depictions of Schubert's subjectivity and interiority and nostalgic, *larmoyant* narratives depicting the composer as "poor" and "victim" – not as "tragic" as Joseph August Lux and Max Friedlaender had advocated.

In Lach's speech, in spite of the declared intention to outline a music-hermeneutical interpretation of the ethos of the music and its composer, we have observed the irruption of a violent reaction – focusing primarily on the biographical subject – to those sentimentalist, nostalgic and gendered topoi which had characterised the Schubert reception, especially during the two centennials. A subjectivity and interiority defined in terms of naivety, childishness, femininity, passivity, lack of "manly" rigour, which was not experienced or addressed as a noteworthy dissonance by the organisers of the *Sängerbundesfest*, finally emerged in Lach's analysis in all its problematic nature: if their lack of profundity, *Besonnenheit*, gravitas and sense of economy had placed Schubert, in Brendel's teleological interpretation, in a subordinate position (compared to Beethoven) and implied a relativisation of his contributions for the emancipation and strengthening of German subjectivity and identity, then according to Lach's *Weltanschauung* and music-aesthetics, inspired by an unrestrained ideology of profundity and *blood and soil*, and a veneration for steely "Kampfethos" and "Siegernatur" (embodied by a monolithic Bach-Beethoven-Wagner paradigm), the ethos and even ethics conveyed by Schubert's subjectivity and interiority were nothing short of *suspect* and worthy of stigmatisation. The clichés of Biedermeier cosiness, but also the romantic notions of friendship and conviviality were altogether dismissed, without distinction, as decadent, "Bohemian", "parasitic" lifestyles; an interiority lacking conceptual reflectiveness, denounced as sickly, pathological introversion and egocentrism; finally a subjectivity, neither recognised as the complex manifestation of a "Doppelnatur", emphasised by Bauernfeld, nor as a historical *construction* and not even as a aesthetical medium, simply denounced as a "mask" (sharing none of Luigi Pirandello's coeval, sympathetic comprehension of the latter's artistic, psychological and existential significance). The logic conclusion of Lach's reductive, pathologizing interpretation was, according to its *per aspera ad astra* narrative, that only the "despair" and the earnestness of death redeemed the composer from impending mediocrity and raised him to that sublimity which was only posthumously recognised by all Germans. Although bereft of the ascetism and heroic titanism embodied, according to Lach, by the Bach-Beethoven-Wagner paradigm, and uncapable, in Alfred Orel's opinion, of incarnating a "Führer" inspiring "Gefolgschaft" like Beethoven, in their speeches at the *Internationaler Kongreß* both Lach and Orel outlined a plaidoyer for Schubert's artistry which resorted primarily to the retrospective, musealising discourse of heritage, territorial identity and the ideology of artistic fertility of the *blood and soil* of the Austrian people, the *Musikstadt Wien* and "Wiener Volksweisen", which however, was also conferred an aura of scientific rigour by involving notions and methods from the recently codified discipline of music-ethnology.

Conclusively, this investigation and genealogy of the Schubertian subjectivity and interiority has highlighted that, if Schubert's artistic development as composer of instrumental music was intimately influenced by the towering artistic persona and achievements of Beethoven, so has the posthumous construction of Schubert's subjectivity and interiority accordingly been strongly affected by *negative* and *positive* definitions in a relentless comparison with the construction of a Beethoven paradigm.

Unlike in the reception of the latter, Schubert's persona, subjectivity, interiority, ethos and aura was approached with less awe and theophobia and their construction was more often carried out according to the image and desiderata of the exegetes and assimilated to contingent, particular cultural-political goals. The artist's subjectivity and interiority, apparently the essence of individuality and its intimate, private *belonging* has been revealed as publicly and culture-politically *mediated* and *constructed* from the very outset. Interpreted by his friends, early biographers and Robert Schumann as the embodiment of "natural", "irrational", "poetic", romantic aesthetics. Assimilated into teleological grand narratives concerning the mission of German *Bildung* and identity (Brendel), or as embodiment of "proletarian" emancipation (Paul A. Pisk and social-democratic culture-politics), as cosy, unpretentious *Schwammerl*, personification of the retrospective nostalgia for Biedermeier *Alt-Wien*, or the chanting herald and the *deutsche Liederfürst* of the impending fulfilment of pan-Germanic longings, or assimilated as the paladin of a reactionary crusade against modernity and materialism (the *CSP* of Lüeger and Seipel), as the irreducible and un-assimilable "Genius" (Schenker), as the *outsider*, progressive composer potentially empathic with the sufferings of modern composers and intellectuals (Paul Stefan, Schönberg and Krenek) or as the composer too long stigmatised through gendered stereotypes and conveyer of a feeling of belonging and emancipation for sexual minorities (Philip Brett). This investigation has offered an insight into this contradictory, multifaceted development and suggested that, although subjectivity and interiority are not, epistemologically speaking, dismissible as phantoms deserving a nominalist and constructivist relativisation, still there is no single, authentic subjectivity and interiority which musicological investigation should hermeneutically strive to recovered *behind* the myths and clichés of sedimented during the first century of Schubert reception. Any genealogy of the development of the construction, various interpretations and assimilations of the composer's subjectivity and interiority elaborated during the second century of the Schubert reception (1928-2028) should take into account some of the trends, mechanisms, notions, topoi, discourses, theories and ideologies outlined in this investigation.

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Appendix 1) "A schematical overview of a looming, tragic polarisation." List of participants of the *Internationaler Kongreß für Schubert Forschung in Wien* (25.-29. November 1928):

Richard Schmitz (1885, Mohelnice - 1954, Vienna): Minister of Education. Party membership: Christian Social Party, "Vaterländische Front". During the Dollfuß-Schuschnigg regimes Mayor of Vienna, elected on 7.4.1934. After the so called "Anschluss" he was arrested as opposer to the German annexation and imprisoned in the concentration camp at Dachau.

Max Friedlaender (1852, Brzeg - 1934, Berlin): Protestant of Jewish origins.

Robert Haas (1886, Prague - 1960, Vienna): NSDAP membership n. (1932), 8,450.496.

Leopold Novak (1904, Vienna - 1991, ibid)

Alfred Orel (1889, Vienna - 1967, ibid): applied for NSDAP membership. "Alfred Orel war NSDAP-Anwärter" (Stumpf/Posch/Rathkolb, 2017: 94)

Ernst Bücken (1884, Aachen - 1949, Overath): NSDAP-membership n. 2026645

Gustav Becking (1894, Bremen - 1945, Prague): NSDAP-membership n. (1939), 7165012

Robert Lach (1874, Vienna - 1958, Salzburg): NSDAP-membership n. (1933), 1,529.471

Ernst Krenek (1900, Vienna - 1991, Palm Springs, California): "Kulturbolschewist"

Paul Stefan (1879, Brno - 1943, New York City): Jewish and critic of the NSDAP

Joseph Rudolf Marx (1882, Graz - 1964, ibid)

Felix Günther (1886, Trautenau - 1951, New York City): Composer of Jewish origins.

Johannes Wolf (1869, Berlin - 1947, München)

Georg Ludwig Kinsky (1882, Marienwerder - 1951, Berlin): Musicologist. Jewish origins, hence forced into retirement and deprived of his extensive library and musical collections.

Anthony van Hoboken (1887, Rotterdam - 1983, Zürich)

Otto Erich Deutsch (1883, Wien - 1967, Baden bei Wien): Protestant of Jewish origins.

Willi Kahl (1893 Zabern (Alsace) -1962, Köln)

Hans Költzsch (1901, Gößnitz - 1981, Bad Bevensen): co-writer of the antisemitic lexicon "Das Judentum in der Musik", etc.

Alexander Hausleithner

Otto Vrieslander (1880, Münster – 1950, Locarno)

Ernst Décsey (Hamburg, 1870 – 1941, Vienna): music critic fired in 1938 for "racist reasons"

Paul Mies (1889, Cologne -1976, Cologne)

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Abstract

Die vorliegende Masterarbeit beleuchtet die Wirkung und Entwicklung der Begriffe Subjektivität und Innerlichkeit in der Rezeption der Instrumentalmusik Franz Schuberts im Zeitraum 1828 bis 1928. Diese Genealogie der Konstruktion einer *spezifisch* Schubertschen Subjektivität und Innerlichkeit baut in erster Linie auf einer kritischen Analyse der musikästhetischen und kulturpolitischen Diskurse in der deutschsprachigen Musikkritik und Musikwissenschaft des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts auf, kontextualisiert ihre Erkenntnisse aber auch durch Einbeziehung der jüngsten Beiträge der deutsch- wie englischsprachigen Musikwissenschaft. In Übereinstimmung mit einigen dieser neueren musikwissenschaftlichen und musikphilosophischen Interpretationen und Ansätze wird diese Untersuchung die intrinsisch intersubjektive, extrovertierte, expressive und gesellige (und sogar politische) Beschaffenheit der Erscheinungsformen von Subjektivität und Innerlichkeit hervorheben, die die grundlegenden erkenntnistheoretischen und ästhetischen Paradigmen in Schuberts existentiellem Horizont prägten.

Zunächst werden die Beiträge verschiedener Protagonisten der Schubert-Rezeption wie die Freunde und ersten Biographen des Komponisten, Robert Schumann, Franz Brendel, Eduard Hanslick, Johann v. Herbeck (mehrere einflussreiche Musikkritiker der Wiener Zeitungen), Heinrich Schenker, Robert Lach usw. untersucht, um über die Auswirkungen von Analysen zu reflektieren, die Interpretationen von Schuberts Subjektivität, Innerlichkeit und Tiefe vor allem durch eine Antithese zum Beethovenschen Paradigma entwickelten. Es soll daher erörtert werden, wie dieses mal mehr, mal weniger dichotome Rezeptionsschema einerseits oft zu *negativen* Definitionen von Schuberts Subjektivität und Innerlichkeit führte, denen ein Mangel an Rationalität, Autonomie, ökonomischem Sinn und Tiefe unterstellt wurde, und andererseits zu einer Popularisierung von Interpretationen, die die Subjektivität und Musik des Komponisten vor allem im Sinne von Emotionalität, Melancholie, Biedermeier-Sentimentalität und Wiener Identität definieren. Im weiten historischen Rahmen dieser Untersuchung wird es Gelegenheit geben, zu betonen, dass die Konstruktion von Schuberts Subjektivität und Innerlichkeit nie eine private, intime, rein ästhetische Dimension war, sondern von Anfang an untrennbar mit verschiedenen öffentlichen und politischen Diskursen über Bildung, Identität (zeitweise sowohl deutsche als auch österreichische), Klassenzugehörigkeit oder Zugehörigkeit zu anderen ethnischen oder geschlechtsbezogenen Minderheiten verwoben war. Die vermeintlich *unheroische* Subjektivität und Innerlichkeit des Komponisten, der so wenige Ego-Dokumente und explizite Poetiken hinterlassen hatte, erwies sich als besonders assimilierbar für die Akteure und kulturpolitischen Agenden, die im Laufe des untersuchten ersten Jahrhunderts der Schubert-Rezeption aufkamen.