Royal College of Music London

The Piano Music of Carl Goldmark (1830–1915)

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Thesis Abstract

Carl Goldmark (1830–1915) was a prominent figure in Vienna's cultural life from the 1870s, alongside Johannes Brahms and Eduard Hanslick. Goldmark's opera *Die Königin von Saba* earned him international fame, while many of his operas and symphonic works were performed in major cities across Europe and America. In Hungary at the turn of the century Goldmark was celebrated as a national hero, the most famous, internationally acclaimed Hungarian-born composer alongside Franz Liszt. However, whilst Goldmark's most popular works were still performed for decades after his death, it is striking that his piano music, a considerable number of works, remained almost completely unacknowledged. Following the ban of Goldmark's works in 1936 in Austria, they largely disappeared from concert halls and remained underrepresented after WWII.

The aim of my research is to introduce and contextualise Goldmark's piano works within Romantic piano literature. I approach this from two perspectives: firstly, through an examination of performance history and reception of this repertoire and secondly, by exploring stylistic features in the music which reflect broader musical trends in his day. My research facilitates an understanding of how Goldmark's piano music relates to other contemporary figures', and is thus essential in positioning his music within piano literature. Research findings also inform performance of the works; I offer considerations for interpretational questions, articulated in this thesis.

My research fills a gap in existing literature regarding Goldmark's piano music, but it also contributes to a fuller picture of 19th-century Austro-German piano repertoires. It enables a more comprehensive understanding of a significant personality of 19th-century Vienna and a deeper knowledge of 19th-century Vienna's cultural identities and musical landscape. Through this, the concept of national identities in the context of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Vienna are also explored.

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I. Thesis Introduction

I.1. Background and Context of Research

If there ever was a composer, truly world-famous in his time, prolific in many genres and yet severely under-represented today, Carl Goldmark (1830–1915) is arguably the perfect example.[1] Goldmark was a prominent member of Vienna's cultural elite from the 1870s onwards alongside figures like Johannes Brahms and Eduard Hanslick.[2] His opera *Die Königin von Saba* (1875) earned international fame for him; this and many of Goldmark's other operas and symphonic works were performed in major venues across Europe and America.[3] Influential contemporary critics praised his music. Hanslick recognized Goldmark's talent, hailed 'the distinctive qualities of this most deeply serious composer' and predicted 'universal effect' for his music.[4] Max Kalbeck referred to him as a 'European celebrity' in his landmark biography of Brahms; Karl Kraus considered him the greatest living music-drama composer since Wagner's death.[5] The English critic Alexander Fuller Maitland described Goldmark as the most outstanding composer for the stage, 'working in Germany' [sic], stating that 'he has a distinguished place of his own among contemporary musicians'.[6] In Hungary at the turn of the century Goldmark was celebrated as a national hero, the most

[1] István Kecskeméti, 'Goldmark Károly recepciói. Visszatekintés halálának 75. évfordulóján,' [Károly Goldmark's Receptions. Retrospective on the 75th Anniversary of his Death] *Muzsika* 32, no. 12 (December 1989): 33–37.

[2] Goldmark's ties with the Viennese cultural elite is discussed in Karl Goldmark, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* [Recollections from My Life] (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1922); Harald Graf, 'Carl Goldmark. Beziehung zu den Zeitgenossen,' *Studia Musicologica Academie Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38, nos. 3–4 (1997); David Brodbeck, '"Poison-Flaming Flowers from the Orient and Nightingales from Bayreuth": On Hanslick's Reception of the Music of Goldmark,' in *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression*, ed. Nicole Grimes, Siobhán Donovan, and Wolfgang Marx (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013); Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (Oxford University Press, 2014); Johann Hofer, *Carl Goldmark: Komponist der Ringstraßenzeit* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer GmBH, 2015).

[3] Dates and locations of premiere and further performances of many of Goldmark's operas, symphonic and chamber works are offered in Károly Goldmark, *Emlékek életemből* [Memories from my Life], ed. and trans. István Kecskeméti, 1980, rev. and ed. Balázs Mikusi (Budapest: Gondolat–OSzK, 2017), 188–195.

[4] Ed. H., 'Concerte,' *Neue Freie Presse* (10 January 1865): 2; Ed. H., 'Hofoperntheater Concerte,' *Neue Freie Presse* (7 December 1880): 2. Quoted in Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming Flowers,' 132, 136.

[5] 'europäische Zelebrität' Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms* (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1913), 3:132.; 'seit Richard Wagners Tod der größte lebende Musikdramatiker geworden zu sein.' *Die Fackel*, 105 (May 1902) referred to in Graf, 'Carl Goldmark. Beziehung zu den Zeitgenossen,' 372.

[6] J. A. Fuller Maitland, 'Karl Goldmark,' in *Masters of German Music* (London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co, 1894), 169.

famous, internationally acclaimed Hungarian-born composer alongside Liszt.[7] The young Béla Bartók, in his c. 1900 'catalogue of music-pieces, which every artist (of music) should know' included works by Goldmark.[8]

However, whilst Goldmark's operas and major orchestral works were frequently performed until the late 1930s (and the 1950s in the United States), it is less well known that he composed over fifty piano works throughout his career.[9] Goldmark composed works for piano solo and four hands, from around 1858 through his mature (1877) and late (1903–09) years (see Table I.1. below). These include large-scale collections of character pieces (e.g. *Sturm und Drang* Op. 5, *Charakterstücke* or *Georginen* Op. 52) and individual pieces (e.g. *Magyar ábránd*) as well as original four-hand compositions (e.g. *Tänze* Op. 22) and the composer's keyboard transcriptions of his own symphonic works for piano (e.g. *Ouverture zu Sakuntala* Op. 13).[10] This clearly indicates his strong interest in one of the most significant instruments of the Romantic era, which played an important role in his life and compositional practice despite his not being a pianist himself. At the height of his career, marked by the success of the *Die Königin von Saba*, the *Ländliche Hochzeit* Op. 26 (1876) and the Violin Concerto Op. 28 (1877), Goldmark turned again to the piano with a collection of *Zwei Novelletten* and a *Praeludium und Fuge* Op. 29 in 1877.

Nevertheless, the majority of his piano works are from his latter years, especially from the early 1900s, when Goldmark, as a renowned artist, returned to composing piano pieces, perhaps finding the instrument best suited for expressing his distilled thoughts. The *Charakterstücke* and *Georginen*, together with a number of unpublished piano pieces which might originally have been intended to be part of one of these collections, are from these late years.

Table I.1. indicates the distribution of Goldmark's piano works throughout his career, interspersed with a selection of his major symphonic and operatic works. Piano works are shown in bold type in the table.

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[7] Kecskeméti, 'Goldmark Károly recepciói,' 33–37.

[8] Bartók's 'catalogue' is referred to in Denijs Dille, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Jugendwerke Béla Bartóks 1890–1904* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 219. The inclusions by Goldmark are *Die Königin von Saba, Briseis (Die Kriegsgefangene), Klavierqiuntett* and *Kammermusik.*

[9] Goldmark's music was banned from the *Anschluß* in Austria. Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 41, 59. For performances of Goldmark's symphonic works in the United States see Kate Hevner Mueller, *Twenty-seven Major American Symphony Orchestras: A History and Analysis of their Repertoires Seasons 1842–43 through 1969–70,* Indiana University Studies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973) in Appendix II.

[10] Goldmark's Op. 22 was titled on the manuscript as 'Tanz', however, as on the first printed edition (1876) it appeared as 'Tänzen'. As the piece is a collection of dances, I refer to it as 'Tänzen' throughout the thesis.

WORK	YEAR
Der Trompeter an der Katzbach (first work)	1855
***Sturm und Drang* Op. 5** (9 piano pieces)	1858
Drei Stücke (piano pieces)	1858
***Drei Stücke* Op. 12** (for piano duet)	1861, 1865
Ouverture zu Sakuntala Op. 13	1865
***Tänze* Op. 22** (for piano duet)	1873
Die Königin von Saba Op. 27	1875
Ländliche Hochzeit Op. 26	1876
Violin Concerto Op. 28	1877
***Zwei Novelletten*, Praeludium and Fuge Op. 29**	1877
Merlin (opera)	1885
Magyar ábránd [Hungarian fantasy]	1885
Das Heimchen am Herd (opera)	1895
Götz von Berlichingen (opera)	1902
Charakterstücke (8 piano pieces)	1903–1909
Wintermärchen (opera)	1907
***Georginen* Op. 52** (6 piano pieces)	1909
Individual piano pieces	1903, 1909, 1913
Piano Quintet Op. 54 (last work)	1914

As my experience as a pianist is fundamental to this project, I will begin with an account of my introduction to this music. I began researching Goldmark's piano music in 2005 whilst undertaking a recording project for the Hungarian recording company, Hungaroton. Hungaroton's primary aim was to rediscover and present repertoire that had not been recorded before. My attention was drawn to the composer's oeuvre by my former professor at Yale School of Music, Peter Frankl. Whilst a large amount of Goldmark's oeuvre – *Die Königin von Saba*, the Violin Concerto, and some chamber music and songs – was available on recordings, interpreted by renowned artists, almost none of his piano works had

been released before.[11] I was contracted to record Goldmark's complete works for piano for Hungaroton, as a "World premiere" edition, containing the solo piano pieces and four-hand works, as well as a number of the composer's original arrangements of his other works for piano solo and piano four-hands.[12]

In the course of the recording project, I researched Goldmark's manuscripts, as a number of his piano pieces remained unpublished. Moreover, my attention was drawn to Goldmark's sketchbooks by Gábor Alföldy, who published a detailed description, identifying the origin of the fragments in them.[13] The sketchbooks contain drafts over six hundred pages, of the most varied degrees of elaboration, including fair copies of unpublished canons and fugues. Goldmark claimed that he studied 'every forms of canon and fugue' thoroughly, and pursued counterpoint exercises daily throughout his life, implying that he might well have produced – and discarded – thousands of canons and fugues.[14] However, only eighteen unpublished canons and fugues survived in his sketchbooks. Notably, these are all fully elaborated with very little or no correction. Some of them are dated and signed by the composer, implying that he decided to keep them. After close scrutiny of these manuscripts (in terms of notation, layout and other indications by the composer, or their absence), I established which ones might have been intended for the piano. These will also be further investigated in this thesis.

I.2. Aims of My Research

The aim of my thesis is to introduce and contextualise this forgotten part of Carl Goldmark's oeuvre – the piano works – within piano literature. There has been no comprehensive study of Goldmark's piano works: existing sources have not dealt with them

[11] Károly Goldmark, Violin Concerto Op. 28, Itzhak Perlman, EMI, 2008, CD; Nathan Milstein, EMI, 1957, LP; Joshua Bell, Sony, 2000, CD. Karl Goldmark, *Die Königin von Saba* Op. 27, Adam Fischer, Hungaroton, 1980, LP. Carl Goldmark, *Merlin*, Gerd Schaller, BR Klassik, 2009, CD. Karl Goldmark, *Ländliche Hochzeit* Op. 26 Los Angeles Philharmonic, DECCA, 1981. Karl Goldmark, Complete works for violin and piano, Ulf Wallin, Bruno Canino, CPO, 2000, CD; among others.

[12] Karl Goldmark, Works for piano (Complete) Vol. 1–4, Tihamér Hlavacsek, Hungaroton Classic, vol. 1, HCD 32387, 2005; vol. 2, HCD 32493, 2006–2007; vol. 3, HCD 32612, 2009; vol. 4 (piano duets with Balázs Szokolay), HCD 32673, 2011–2012. 4 CDs.

[13] Gábor Alföldy, 'Goldmark Károly vázlatkönyvei,' [The Sketchbooks of Károly Goldmark] *Magyar Zene* 36, no. 3–4 (1997): 234–296. Sketchbook no. 1 Ms. Mus 11.014/G 111, Sketchbook no. 2 Ms. Mus 11.015/G 114, Sketchbook no. 3 Mus 11.016/G 112, Sketchbook no. 4 Mus 11.017/G 113, National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

[14] 'Arbeitete ich mich gründlich durch Kontrapunkt, Kanon und Fuge in allen Formen … so behielt ich sie bei bis in mein spätes Alter.' Karl Goldmark, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1922), 59.

in any detail, other than mentioning a few titles. Even a full list of the piano works was not available in major dictionaries until very recently.[15] Thus, questions inevitably arise concerning the nature of these works. Performers and scholars need to be able to position unknown repertoire to engage with it. Thus, there is a clear need for an in-depth study of Goldmark's piano works with the aim of enabling readers to locate this music within music literature, increasing familiarity with it.

I approach this from two perspectives: 1) by an examination of performance history and reception of this repertoire; 2) through exploring stylistic features in this music which reflect broader musical trends of Goldmark's day. This is carried out by dissecting stylistic features in the piano music, comparing and contrasting selected examples to relevant sections of more widely-known composers' music. This kind of enquiry facilitates an understanding of how Goldmark's piano music relates to other contemporary figures', and is thus essential in positioning his music within piano literature. Placing his piano music in the context of 19th and early 20th-century Viennese musical milieu increases the understanding of this repertoire amongst musicians and audiences, enabling them to relate it to the wider music literature.

My research fills a gap in existing scholarship regarding Goldmark's piano music, and also contributes to a fuller picture of 19th-century Austro-German piano culture. It enables a more comprehensive understanding of a significant personality of 19th-century Vienna and of Vienna's cultural identities and musical landscape. Through this, concepts of socio-cultural and national identities in the context of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Vienna are also explored.

I.3. Review of Existing Scholarship

When studying scholarly references to Goldmark, it is striking that whilst contemporary sources, as noted earlier, presented him as occupying a prestigious place in late 19th-century Viennese and Hungarian cultural life, appearing as 'one of the [Austro-Hungarian] monarchy's most prominent representatives'; he was relatively neglected until the

[15] The full list of Goldmark's works was prepared in 2022 for David Brodbeck, Tihamér Hlavacsek, and Balázs Mikusi, 'Goldmark, Carl,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 27 January 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000011384?rskey=8L3WIe&result=1

late 20th century, especially in general histories of Romantic music.[16] In the 1980s, István Kecskeméti, musicologist and former head of the musical archives of National Széchenyi Library in Budapest, made a substantial contribution to Goldmark scholarship, including a translation into Hungarian of the composer's recollections *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* [Memories from my Life] (1922), amended with a timeline of important events and a list of works.[17] He pointed out that the popularity of Goldmark's music peaked at the end of 19th century, after having been performed in opera houses and concert halls in cities across Europe and America. However, according to Kecskeméti, awareness of Goldmark's oeuvre 'reached rock bottom' by the late 1980s.[18] *Die Königin von Saba* remained in the repertoire of the Vienna Hofoper almost until the *Anschluß*, but then his works were banned due to his Jewish origin, and largely disappeared from concert halls and operas.[19] Tracing historical and societal reasons for this would exceed the scope of my research. Nevertheless, the fact that Goldmark's music was rarely performed after World War II may partially explain his neglect from scholarly sources of the second half of the 20th-century.

When Goldmark is mentioned at all, it is typically with reference only to his best-known works, primarily to *Die Königin von Saba*. Carl Dahlhaus referred to Goldmark's opera in his landmark *Nineteenth-Century Music*, alongside works by Gounod, Bizet and Massenet when discussing 19th-century exoticism and Orientalism.[20] In his 'Neo-Romanticism', he argued that the second half of 19th century was not easily accessible in terms of 'musico-historical outlines' and that knowledge of such figures as Bruch or Goldmark was 'all too slight and fragmentary'.[21] As a possible, but not exclusive reason for that, he added:

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[16] See remarks by Hanslick, Max Kalbeck, Karl Kraus, Fuller-Maitland and István Kecskeméti above.; Gerald Schlag, 'Geleitwort,' and Gerhard J. Winkler, 'Carl Goldmark: Ein biographischer Abriß,' in *Carl Goldmark (1830–1915): Opernkomponist der Donaumonarchie. Ausstellung des Burgenländlischen Ländesmuseums*, ed. Nóra Wellmann (Eisenstadt: Burgenlandische Ländesmuseen, 1996).

[17] Károly Goldmark, *Emlékek életemből*, ed. and trans. István Kecskeméti (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1980). His further articles include 'Goldmark Károly recepciói. Visszatekintés halálának 75. Évfordulóján,' [Károly Goldmark's Receptions. Retrospection on the 75th Anniversary of his Death] *Muzsika* 32, no. 12 (December 1989): 33–37.; 'Goldmarkiana. Ismeretlen primer források Magyarországon,' [Goldmarkiana: Unknown Primary Sources in Hungary] *Muzsika* 42, no. 4 (April 1999): 18–23.

[18] Kecskeméti, 'Goldmark Károly recepciói,' 33.

[19] 'Jewish nineteenth-century composers were willingly forgotten … Indeed, Goldmark stayed as a regular feature of Vienna's opera season until Hitler's German henchmen persuaded compliant Austrians to have him removed two years before the Anschluß … Prominent Jewish composers largely disappeared from today's concert halls and opera houses [including] Karl Goldmark.' Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 41, 59.

[20] Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 303–4.

[21] Carl Dahlhaus, 'Neo-Romanticism,' trans. Mary Whittall *19th-Century Music* 3, no. 2 (November 1979): 97–105.

> The history of music in the nineteenth century … is still seen primarily as the history of its heroes – the 'great masters,' the composers of the works which constitute the 'canon.'[22]

He pointed out a need to broaden the so-called musical canon already in the late 1970s, and gradual progress in this seems to have taken place since then. Charles Rosen – surprisingly – did not even mention Goldmark when surveying romantic opera repertoire in his 1995 *The Romantic Generation* despite referring to Meyerbeer, to whose music Goldmark's operatic style is sometimes compared.[23] More recently in 2010, Richard Taruskin made an important remark about Goldmark, claiming that he was 'Vienna's leading opera composer at the turn of the century.'[24]

Other scholarship is clustered mainly around the Goldmark anniversaries in 1930 and 1980. In 1930, Lajos Koch, librarian of Fővárosi Nyilvános Könyvtár in Budapest [Metropolitan Public Library], compiled a thematic bibliography of publications on Goldmark up to that year, including books and journals from Budapest, Vienna, German cities and beyond, with quotations from a number of articles.[25] Several articles on Goldmark were published to mark the centenary of his birth in 1930.[26] The tone of these writings is affected by the fact that the composer was still within the authors' living memory; many of them pictured him as a hero of Hungary. Mária Kálmán's account is amongst the few to consider Goldmark's output in more detail.[27] Its special value is that she gained information through personal interviews with Goldmark's famous pupil Caroline Bettelheim and the Gomperz-Bettelheim family. Alongside biographical information, Kálmán discussed premiere performances and reviews of Goldmark's works in not only Hungary and Vienna but in other

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge: Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), 604, 639–40.
[24] Richard Taruskin, *Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 4, *Music in the Early Twentieth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2010), accessed 30 June 2023, https://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/view/Volume4/actrade-9780195384840-div1_011002.xml?rskey=CXxli3&result=1
[25] Lajos Koch, ed., *Goldmark Károly 1830–1930 május 18.* Aktuális Kérdések Irodalma 49. (Budapest: Fővárosi Nyilvános Könyvtár, 1930), 7–41.
[26] Viktor Papp, 'Goldmark Károly,' *Muzsika* 2, no. 4–5 (1930): 141–143.; János Hammerschlag, 'Goldmark az európai zenében,' [Goldmark in European Music] *Muzsika* 2, no. 4–5 (1930): 144–145.; Dezső Márkus, 'Emlékezés Goldmark Károlyra,' [Remembering Károly Goldmark] *A zene* 11, no. 13–14 (1930): 226–227; Ede Sebestyén, 'Goldmark Károly 1830–1930,' *A zene* 11, no. 13–14 (1930): 207–213; Albert Siklós, 'Goldmark és kortársai,' [Goldmark and his Contemporaries] *A zene* 11, no. 13–14 (1930): 227–230.
[27] Mária Kálmán, *Goldmark Károly 1830–1930*: *Adalékok életéhez és műveihez Magyar vonatkozásban* [Károly Goldmark 1830–1930: Additions to his Life and Works in Hungarian Context] (Budapest: Sárkány Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1930).

European cities, furthermore, other important events in his life, and excerpts from his letters. Therefore, while this work does not focus on the stylistic aspects of Goldmark's music, it is useful for locating biographical data and contemporary sources on the composer. In the same year, János Hammerschlag attempted to position Goldmark within the history of European music, and both Hammerschlag and Viktor Papp emphasized the originality of his style.[28] They agreed on the complexity and individuality of his musical language, amalgamating characteristic traits of a number of different styles: 'Old and new trends have perceptible influence on him, but [he] never loses himself. All his phrases have natural and original effect at the same time.'[29] In a somewhat later post-war account, Márton Káldor presented Goldmark's life in a romanticised manner, whilst in the same volume Péter Várnai offered an overview of his era and his compositions.[30]

Scholarly interest in the composer has grown markedly in the late 20th and early 21st century, and continues to do so. Harald Graf explored Goldmark's acquaintance with significant personalities within Viennese musical circles, including excerpts from some of their correspondence.[31] Paul Bertagnolli positioned Goldmark in relation to Wagner and Brahms, showing that the young Goldmark was a true advocate of Wagner's music, however, later sided with Brahms, and became increasingly 'moderate' in his views.[32] The author described Goldmark's musical language as follows: 'He imitated Mendelssohn and revered Brahms but assimilated Wagnerian techniques; and his scores disclose traces of the synagogue's liturgy, Hungarian popular and folk idioms, and, in his later years, Impressionism'.[33] Such broad descriptions offer useful entry points into the piano music, as I will show.

Gerhard Winkler discussed some of Goldmark's views as articulated in his 'Gedanken über Form und Stil,' in response to ideologically-driven attacks against his works.[34] He also explored commonalities in the lives of Goldmark, Joseph Joachim and Mihály Mosonyi in

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[28] Papp, 'Goldmark Károly,' 141–143.; Hammerschlag, 'Goldmark az európai zenében,' 144–145.
[29] 'Régi és új irányzatok érezhető hatással vannak reá, de sohasem veszíti el önmagát. Minden frázisa természetesen hat és ugyanakkor eredetinek is.' Hammerschlag János, 'Goldmark az európai zenében,' 144–145.
[30] Márton Káldor and Péter Várnai, *Goldmark Károly élete és művészete* [The Life and Art of Károly Goldmark] (Budapest: Művelt Nép Tudományos és Ismeretterjesztő Kiadó, 1956).
[31] Harald Graf, 'Carl Goldmark. Beziehung zu den Zeitgenossen,' *Studia Musicologica Academie Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38, nos. 3–4 (1997): 371–407.
[32] Paul A. Bertagnolli, 'Conservativism Assimilates the Prometheus Myth: Concert Overtures by Bargiel and Goldmark,' in *Prometheus in Music. Representations of the Myth in the Romantic Era* (Burlington VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 316, 321.
[33] Ibid, 317.
[34] Gerhard J. Winkler, 'Carl Goldmark und der Antisemitismus,' *Burgenlaendische-Heimatblaetter* 60. Accessed 3 February 2021, https://www.zobodat.at/pdf/Burgenlaendische-Heimatblaetter_60_0128-0134.pdf

crucial ways, including their construction of self-identities.[35] Winkler was also the author of the entry on Goldmark in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* in 2002.[36] Philip V. Bohlman noted, with reference to Goldmark (alongside Haydn and Liszt), that Burgenland, where Goldmark spent his youth, 'was one of the most multicultural regions in Europe', embracing diverse ethnic, religious and racial minorities.[37] Michael Haas investigated ideological aspects of Goldmark's era and his contemporary reception as well as the exclusion of his music in Austria from the late 1930s on account of his Jewishness.[38] Jane Roper commented on the reception of some of Goldmark's symphonic and piano pieces as well as aspects of his musical language.[39]

David Brodbeck has offered major contributions to Goldmark scholarship, including an exploration of Hanslick's reception of Goldmark and how it evolved over time by placing their relationship into the context of 19th-century liberal Vienna.[40] He examines perceptions around Goldmark's socio-cultural identities, contemporary reception, and problems around his assimilation within the shifting ideological context of late 19th-century Vienna in the book-length study *Defining Deutschtum.*[41] Perceptions of Goldmark as a Hungarian, his affiliations to his native land, and his national vs. social identities are teased out in 'Heimat Is Where the Heart Is'.[42] Antecedents of the premiere of *Die Königin von Saba* are outlined, embedded in the story of Goldmark and his brother, who immigrated to America in 'A Tale of Two Brothers'.[43] Aspects of Goldmark's identity, self-perception and various ways of

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[35] Gerhard J. Winkler, 'Joseph Joachim und Carl Goldmark. Zwei parallele jüdische Musikerbiographien aus dem historischen Westungarn,' in *Musik der Juden im Burgenland: Referate des internationalen Workshop-Symposions, Eisenstadt, 9–12 Oktober 2002*, ed. Gerhard J. Winkler (Eisenstadt, 2006).

[36] Gerhard Winkler, 'Goldmark, Karl, Carl, Károly,' *MGG Online*, accessed 28 February 2023, https://www.mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg05452&v=1.0&rs=mgg05452&q=karl%20goldmark

[37] 'Historically, Burgenland had attracted ethnic, religious, and racial minorities for centuries…' Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 210, 212.

[38] Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 26–61.

[39] Jane Roper, 'Carl Goldmark, *Aus Jugendtagen*,' Preface to the study score (Munich: Musikproduktion Höflich, 2014).

[40] Brodbeck, '"Poison-Flaming Flowers from the Orient and Nightingales from Bayreuth": On Hanslick's Reception of the Music of Goldmark,' in *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression*, ed. Nicole Grimes, Siobhán Donovan, and Wolfgang Marx (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 132–159.

[41] David Brodbeck, *Defining Deutscthum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (Oxford University Press, 2014). Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh discuss the evocation of social and cultural identities in music in *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music* (University of California Press, 2000), 31–37.

[42] David Brodbeck, '*Heimat* Is Where the Heart Is; or, How Hungarian was Goldmark?' in *Austrian History Yearbook* 48, ed. Howard Louthan (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 235–254.

[43] David Brodbeck, 'A Tale of Two Brothers: Behind the Scenes of Goldmark's "First Opera,"' *The Musical Quarterly* 91, no. 4 (Winter 2014): 499–541.

belonging are teased out in 'Carl Goldmark and Cosmopolitan Patriotism'.[44] Recently, Brodbeck explored Goldmark's public self-defence as a German composer, relating to the concept of 'Germanness' as understood by the liberals and anti-Semites.[45]

Balázs Mikusi has discussed the reception of *Die Königin von Saba* in Budapest in detail.[46] He also revised and amended with notes Kecskeméti's 1980 translation of Goldmark's recollections *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben.*[47] Ferenc János Szabó compiled a list of early recordings of Goldmark's works from the composer's lifetime to the 1930s.[48] Johann Hofer's recent work offers insight into several aspects of the composer's life, including biographical data, career highlights and reception, and 20th and 21st-century performances in Europe and America.[49] Hofer's reference to Goldmark as 'the composer of the Ringstrasse era' clearly indicates that he views Goldmark as a product of the Viennese cultural and economic milieu. The most recent collection *Carl Goldmark: Leben – Werk – Rezeption* teases out aspects of *Die Königin von Saba*'s premiere, its reception in Vienna, Budapest as well as Goldmark's multifaceted identity and musical language.[50]

Despite this abundance of new scholarship, there has been virtually no literature on his piano works, other than tracing folk-like melodies in the themes of *Magyar ábránd* by Mária Párkai-Eckhardt.[51] Even their existence is sparingly indicated in the scholarship. Furthermore, none of the available sources on Goldmark, including the major dictionaries *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* listed all his piano pieces until very recently. Oxford Music Online's updated entry has the most detailed

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[44] David Brodbeck, 'Carl Goldmark and Cosmopolitan Patriotism,' in *Music History and Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Anastasia Belina-Johnson, Kaarina Kilpiö, and Derek B. Scott (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2019), 47–58.

[45] David Brodbeck, 'Goldmark's "Thoughts on Form and Style" – and on the Wagnerians' Anti-Semitism,' *Nineteenth Century Studies* 33 (2021): 46–72.

[46] Budapest was formed in 1873, by the unification of Pest, Buda and Óbuda. I use the name Pest for the period before 1873.
Balázs Mikusi, '"A magyar Goldmark Károly száműzött gyönyörű dalműve". *A Sába királynője* fogadtatása Budapesten,' [The exiled beautiful work of the Hungarian Károly Goldmark: Reception of *Die Königin von Saba* in Budapest] *Muzsika* (July and August 2015), accessed 28 February 2023, https://epa.oszk.hu/00800/00835/00223/EPA00835_muzsika_2015_07_4070.htm and https://epa.oszk.hu/00800/00835/00224/EPA00835_muzsika_2015_08_4083.htm

[47] Károly Goldmark, *Emlékek életemből* [Memories from my Life], ed. and transl. István Kecskeméti, 1980, rev. and ed. Balázs Mikusi (Budapest: Gondolat–OSzK, 2017).

[48] Ferenc János Szabó, 'Karl Goldmark on Early Recordings: Discography of the 78 rpm recordings of Goldmark's compositions,' accessed 2 March 2023, http://zti.hu/files/mza/docs/2017_08_SzaboF_Goldmark_diszk.pdf

[49] Johann Hofer, *Carl Goldmark: Komponist der Ringstraßenzeit* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer GmBH, 2015).

[50] Peter Stachel, ed., *Carl Goldmark: Leben – Werk – Rezeption* (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2022).

[51] Mária Párkai- Eckhardt, 'Einflüsse der ungarischen Musik bei Goldmark,' [Influences of Hungarian Music on Goldmark] in *Brahms Kongress Wien 1983,* ed. Otto Biba and Suzanne Antonicek (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988), 427–436.

list of works, including the full list of piano pieces.[52] The *Cambridge Companion to the Piano* does not refer to Goldmark at all.[53] Furthermore, a recent anthology of Hungarian composers, despite having an entry on Goldmark, does not mention his piano works.[54] Only two studies make general and limited comments (e.g. on the 'mood') about some of the pieces.[55] Kálmán's presentation of the piano works is limited to mentioning the titles of some of the piano pieces, as the author focussed primarily on reception.

In terms of performance, a rediscovery of his music can be sensed today through performances of *Die Königin von Saba* in Budapest (2015, 2019), Freiburg (2015), Austria, Berlin and New York in 2019.[56] Recordings by CPO, SWR, BR Klassik, Hungaroton and other labels were produced in the past decades covering his instrumental, chamber and vocal works. International musicological conferences and concerts were held on the 100th anniversary of his death (2015) in Vienna and Budapest, as well as a year-long concert cycle featuring his works in the Hungarian Radio. An International Goldmark Society was founded in Berlin in the same year, collecting data on publications and performances of Goldmark and Musikverlag Hoeflich is reissuing scores of the composer's works.[57] This research therefore contributes to this resurgence of interest in a distinctive repertoire after a lengthy period of neglect, and may be viewed as a complement to my complete recording of the piano works.

I.4. Biographical Context up to Goldmark's Breakthrough

Rather than offering a full biography of Goldmark, I provide context about his youth and upbringing, on his early acquaintance with music, and particularly, with the piano; to shed light on the various roles the instrument played in his life, not only in terms of composition but in his self-education, in familiarizing himself with music, as well as a means for self-

[52] David Brodbeck, Tihamér Hlavacsek, and Balázs Mikusi, 'Goldmark, Carl,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 27 January 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000011384?rskey=8L3WIe&result=1

[53] David Rowland, *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[54] Frigyes Frideczky, 'Goldmark Károly,' in *Magyar zeneszerzők* [Hungarian Composers] (Budapest: Athenaeum Kiadó, 2000), 36.

[55] Kálmán Mária, *Goldmark Károly*, 1930; Káldor and Várnai, *Goldmark Károly élete és művészete*, 1956.

[56] *Die Königin von Saba* was performed at Margit-sziget and Erkel theatre in Budapest in 2015 and in Művészetek Palotája [Palace of Arts], in Klosterneuburg Austria and in Koch Theatre, New York in 2019. On Goldmark's reception up to the 1980s and some of its Hungarian aspects see Kecskeméti, 'Goldmark Károly recepciói,' 33–37.; Hofer, *Carl Goldmark*, 239–46.

[57] 'Musikproduktion Hoeflich,' ed. Jürgen Hoeflich, Catalogue, accessed 2 March 2017, https://repertoire-explorer.musikmph.de/en/

support. Furthermore, I briefly touch on the early stages and some later milestones of Goldmark's career. A number of important aspects of his post-1875 career are discussed in Chapters 1 & 2, therefore, I do not include them here.

Goldmark was born in 1830 in Keszthely into a Jewish family, and raised in the territory of Hungary, then part of the Austrian Empire (from 1867 Austro-Hungarian Monarchy).[58] His musical talent showed early, and from the age of 12 he studied violin with Antal Eipeldauer in Sopron (then Ödenburg) and from 1844 with the well-known Leopold Jansa (1795–1875) in Vienna.[59] The family's limited financial means prevented him from pursuing his studies for more than one-and-a-half years. Nevertheless, Goldmark was admitted to the Vienna Conservatory in 1847, where he continued violin lessons with Joseph Böhm (1795–1876), and studied music theory with Gottfried Preyer (1807–1901). This short formal training was ended by the revolution in March 1848. His brother Joseph, with whom he lodged in Vienna, took part in the uprisings and had to leave Austria, thus Carl returned to Hungary.[60] He then played violin in theatre orchestras in Sopron and later in Buda. In 1851 he returned to Vienna, where he played in the Josefstädter Theater and Carl Theater, which surely provided inspiration and experience for future operatic composition.

As Goldmark recalled, an 'important event' was that he rented a piano in 1850 in Buda, and began self-training 'diligently playing scales, practicing etudes and sonatas.'[61] He commented on the decisive role of playing the piano in his development as a musician as follows:

> First of all, the piano helped me in that I could give piano lessons and, more importantly, it acquainted me with a musical literature that was still completely unknown to me. Thus this set a new direction my entire musical life.[62]

As Goldmark claimed, giving piano lessons contributed significantly to his self-sufficiency in Buda and later in Vienna. Having returned to Vienna, he started teaching piano to Caroline

[58] Goldmark himself thought for a while that he was born in 1832, however, according to a register of births of the Keszthely synagogue the 1830 date was correct. Mária Kálmán, *Goldmark Károly 1830–1930*: *Adalékok életéhez és műveihez Magyar vonatkozásban*, 6.

[59] Antal Eipeldauer was violin instructor of the *Sopron Zeneegyesület* founded in 1829. Károly Goldmark, *Emlékek életemből*, ed. Balázs Mikusi, 16.

[60] Joseph was sentenced to death; he fled to the United States. Later Carl had active role in furthering his rehabilitation. David Brodbeck, 'A Tale of Two Brothers: Behind the Scenes of Goldmark's "First Opera,"' *The Musical Quarterly* 91, no. 4 (Winter 2014): 499–541.

[61] Karl Goldmark, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1922), 46.

[62] 'Zunächst half es mir, Klavierunterricht zu erteilen und des weiteren, viel wichtigeren–es lehrte mich die mir noch gänzlich unbekannte musikalische Literatur kennen. Und damit gab es meinem ganzen musikalischen Leben eine andere Richtung.' Ibid. All translations are mine throughout the thesis unless otherwise indicated.

Bettelheim, who was to become an outstanding musician, an important interpreter of his works and a renowned singer at the Vienna Hofoper.[63] She premiered a number of Goldmark's piano pieces included in his first *Kompositionskonzerte*.[64] Goldmark returned to Pest once more in 1858 for 'family reasons'.[65] He claimed this time as crucial in his self-education, 'the time of intense, serious studies' of the music of Bach, Beethoven, Schumann and Wagner, works by emblematic German theorists and intense counterpoint exercises.[66] However, he rightly sensed that Vienna, a major musical centre in Europe at that time, might offer more opportunities for an emerging composer. After this productive period and a compositional concert in Pest, he settled in Vienna in 1860 for good; from then on, he gained recognition and his career progressed steadily.[67]

The premiere of his first opera *Die Königin von Saba* in 1875 signalled a breakthrough. Goldmark became a significant personality in Viennese musical life.[68] His operas and major symphonic works were performed throughout Europe, North and South America. His symphonic and chamber music was interpreted by the most distinguished performers, including the Vienna Philharmonic and Hellmesberger Quartet.[69]

This is not to suggest, however, that the critical reception of his music was homogeneous. As discussed in this thesis, it was highly complex, and laden with ideological features. Nevertheless, on his death, both halves of the Monarchy – Austria and Hungary – claimed Goldmark as theirs, picturing him as a decisive figure within the respective nation's musical heritage.[70]

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[63] The outstanding talent of Goldmark's pupil Caroline von Gomperz-Bettelheim (1845–1925) showed early, she concertized from her early teens and became a singer at Hofoper at age 16. She performed in German cities, London and with Liszt in Aachen. After marrying Julius Ritter von Gomperz in 1867, she had to abandon her performing career. *Österreichisches Musiklexikon Online*, s.v. 'Karoline Bettelheim,' accessed 28 September 2020, https://musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_B/Bettelheim_Karoline.xml; Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 47–48.

[64] The term for Goldmark's compositional concerts is used by Thomas Aigner in 'Carl Goldmarks Werdegang und familiäres Umfeld,' in *Carl Goldmark: Leben – Werk – Rezeption,* ed. Peter Stachel (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2022). These events are explored in detail in Chapter Two.

[65] These family reasons might have had to do with the appointment of Moritz Friedmann, Goldmark's brother-in-law, as the chief cantor in Pest. Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 66.

[66] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 59.; Johann Hofer, *Carl Goldmark: Komponist der Ringstraßenzeit*, 63. Goldmark claimed to use textbooks by A. B. Marx (1795–1866), Ernst Friedrich Richter (1808–1879) and Simon Sechter (1788–1867). Goldmark, *Emlékek életemből*, ed. Balázs Mikusi, 67–68.

[67] That time around his concert in Pest, Goldmark became acquainted with leading figures of Hungary's musical life, including Kornél Ábrányi, Mihály Mosonyi and Ferenc Erkel. That concert is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

[68] A detailed discussion of his Viennese acquaintances is offered in Chapter 1.

[69] For more detail see Chapter 1 and excerpts from contemporary reviews Chapter 2.

[70] András Borgó, 'A zeneszerző, akit két nemzet vall magáénak,' [The Composer, Claimed by two Nations] *Muzsika* 58, no. 1 (January 2015): 14–16; David Brodbeck, '*Heimat* Is Where the Heart Is; or, How Hungarian was Goldmark?,' in *Austrian History Yearbook* 48 (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 235, accessed 21 April 2017, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/austrian-history-yearbook/article/abs/heimat-is-where-the-heart-is-or-what-kind-of-hungarian-was-goldmark/2D7B5836D5511AB038591A5D5C921A77

I.5. Thesis Structure

Chapter One examines the context of Goldmark's compositional career and works, considering its various effects on his career and artistic persona. The aim is to explore and discuss crucial aspects of the environment in which Goldmark lived and worked as a composer, as far as it is pertinent in terms of his piano music. An outline of the historical context, shifting political ideologies and societal trends in Vienna in Goldmark's era, including the rise of nationalism and anti-Semitism are considered, as they have had a significant impact on how his works were interpreted. A few aspects of the controversy between Brahmsians and Wagnerites in 19th-century Vienna as well as Goldmark's repositioning between them are briefly outlined, because this was characteristic of the Viennese cultural milieu, in which not only purely musical concerns, but ideological dimensions were also involved.

Goldmark's complex socio-cultural identity is also explored, as this is central in understanding his music and personality. Viennese conditions forced him to control perceptions of his identity in cultural terms. His views on his self-perception as a German (more precisely Austrian) composer and self-positioning within Austro-German culture, as articulated in his writings, are teased out.[71]

Insight is also offered into the 19th-century Viennese musical landscape, its decisive musical personalities, main institutions, and Goldmark's more immediate working environment. My focus is on Goldmark's affiliations to key figures of his network including Brahms and Eduard Hanslick. Goldmark's reviews of Brahms and Wagner as a critic for Vienna's *Constitutionelle Oesterreichische Zeitung* reveal some of his aesthetic views and his early acquaintance with the young Brahms. Exploring circumstances around decisive events, such as those surrounding the premiere of Goldmark's iconic work, *Die Königin von Saba* sheds light on his relationships with leading figures of the Viennese musical scene. The context offered here serves as a background for examination of reception and stylistic features of Goldmark's piano music throughout subsequent chapters.

More detail and obituaries are offered in Chapter 2.

[71] Karl Goldmark, 'Gedanken über Form und Stil. Eine Abwehr,' [Thoughts on Form and Style. A Defence] *Neue Freie Presse* (4 June 1911); as well as in his recollections *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*.

Chapter Two aims to discover the extent to which Goldmark's piano works were performed in his lifetime and later, furthermore, to explore how they were perceived by musicians and audiences in Vienna and Pest. Exploring performances, performers and critical reviews of Goldmark's piano works helps to establish how much this repertoire was present in concert programmes and was familiar to contemporary and later audiences. Moreover, it sheds light on the role piano music played in Goldmark's emerging career. Thus it offers an understanding of this music's position in the context of musical scenes of Vienna and Pest as well as how these works were claimed to align with dominant ideologies, promoted by critics. The press of Vienna and Pest, the primary stages for Goldmark's music are in my focus, from the 1850s, when Goldmark presented his piano pieces in his first public concerts, through the early 1900s, when he was a celebrated figure in the Viennese musical scene. Due to the exclusion of Goldmark's works in Austria from 1938, reviews in German-speaking countries are scarce after that time.[72]

Recurring themes and their shifts within critical reviews of Goldmark's music, including his self-education as a composer, his originality or individuality, cosmopolitanism, unusual harmonic language, possible sources of inspiration, his complex identity and notably, whether his works belonged to the emerging concept of the 'German Artwork' are teased out throughout the chapter, revealing how perceptions of his music aligned with or challenged prevailing ideologies. Thus the findings extrapolated from reviews, provide the basis for stylistic identifications discussed in the following chapters.

Goldmark claimed a strong affiliation to German culture, a topic which is explored in Chapter Three. He claimed that he 'wrote … German music' and that 'his entire artistic *Bildung* is owed to German art'.[73] The aim of this chapter is to investigate how Goldmark's claims manifest in his piano music, that is, in which ways can his piano works be viewed as 'German'.

I begin with theoretical points of view, exploring works of emblematic 19th-century German theorists (e.g. Franz Brendel and Adolf Bernhard Marx). The work of some significant more recent scholars (including Carl Dahlhaus and Richard Taruskin) is also considered, for a richer historical perspective. Although a comprehensive study of Germanic musical tradition cannot be offered, some sense can be gained of what was considered German music in the 19th-century and why. Furthermore, a few fundamental concepts can be extrapolated from their writings.

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[72] Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 41, 59.
[73] Goldmark, 'Gedanken über Form und Stil,' 53–54.

I then focus on specific aspects in Goldmark's piano music which might be considered Germanic. That is, I examine how the knowledge and inspiration which Goldmark gained through his studies of the music of German composers (including J. S. Bach, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Wagner) and theoretical sources is assimilated in his music. To demonstrate this, a range of score examples is presented, showing specific common features in Goldmark's and other, more canonic Germanic composers' music.

As highly cultivated genres in the Germanic tradition, fugues and canons by Goldmark which remained unpublished are also introduced in this chapter.

In Chapter Four, I examine how music cultivated in Hungary in the 19th century, to which Goldmark was exposed to in his youth as well as later in Vienna, impacted upon the musical language of his piano works. For this, I explore what was considered 'Hungarian' in terms of music during Goldmark's lifetime, when his musical language was developing, from different perspectives, using theoretical and analytical approaches. I also touch on Goldmark's shifting perceptions as a Hungarian as well as his ties to Hungary.

Writings of the most significant 19th-century Hungarian musicians and music theorists are consulted to understand what they perceived as Hungarian music, and later scholars for a historic perspective on the *style hongrois.* I focus on characteristic genres and features, extrapolated from the texts, concentrating on a range of melodic, rhythmic and textural features identified in 19th-century Hungarian repertoires, as well as their occurrence in Western composers' music (termed as *style hongrois*). I then discuss relevant examples featuring similar traits in Goldmark's piano pieces.

The *style hongrois* developed a distinct vernacular by the middle of the 19th-century, associated with characteristic performance practices such as flexibility of tempo, frequent, sometimes abrupt tempo changes, unusually placed accents and so forth. The score in itself offers only limited information for such devices: there is a gap between score and interpretation. Even if there is a reliable edition (which is quite rare in case of underrepresented repertoire) with all the right notes and possibly, indications for interpretation stemming from the composer, it is in many cases not sufficient. I offer suggestions for interpretation of *style hongrois* idioms in Goldmark's piano pieces, drawing on my familiarity with interpretative traditions of *verbunkos, nóta*, *style hongrois* and knowledge of the Hungarian language. Furthermore, the most significant examples are illustrated with musical excerpts in my performance in this chapter.

In the Conclusion, I summarize my original findings, revisiting some of the problems discussed in the previous chapters, and explore ideas for further research on Goldmark's music.

I.6. On Orientalist Markers

Ralph P. Locke, whose definition I rely on throughout this thesis, defined Orientalism as 'the dialects of musical Exoticism within Western art music that evoke the East or the orient' adding that 'the "orient" in the term "orientalism" is generally taken to mean either the Islamic Middle East (e.g. North Africa, Turkey, Arabia, Persia) or East and South Asia (the "far East", e.g. India, Indochina, China, Japan) or all of these together.'[74] In his landmark *Musical Exoticism* Locke notes that 'In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries … "Orient" and its derivative terms were also sometimes used to refer to an even more immense swath of terrain … reaching from Morocco, at the western end, all the way east … to China and Japan.'[75] He also suggests 'how little the European imagination tended to differentiate between various cultures that, to us today, may appear quite disparate.'[76] As Hanslick's remark on Goldmark, stating that he 'grew up under a doubly Oriental influence, the Jewish and the Hungarian' suggests, from a 19th-century Western (more precisely German, and Hanslick's own) point of view, territories roughly beyond river *Leitha* (including Hungary) seem to have been considered collectively as 'East', and music perceived as originated anywhere there or evoking any of those geo-cultural regions, as 'Oriental' – Hungarian, Jewish, Turkish, Arabic etc. perhaps made little difference.[77]

However, from the perspective of 19th-century Hungarian music theorists, even though they positioned Hungarian music as belonging to the 'Eastern family of music', the so-called generic 'Oriental' (or Orientalist) and 19th-century Hungarian music could not be viewed as identical.[78] Although it may be difficult to draw strict borderlines as there are some shared

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[74] Ralph P. Locke, 'Orientalism,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 29 May 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040604?rskey=uMp6X4&result=1

[75] Ralph P. Locke, 'Multiple empires, multiple Orients,' in *Musical Exoticism* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 177.

[76] Ibid.

[77] 'unter doppelt orientalischem Einfluβ, dem jüdischen und ungarischen, aufgewachsen ist.' Eduard Hanslick, 'Merlin,' *Neue Freie Presse* (21 November 1886), quoted in Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 216.

[78] Significant 19th-century Hungarian music theorists' (including Kornél Ábrányi's) views on Hungarian music is discussed in detail in Chapter Four. Goldmark referred to 'Hungarian operas' and the 'Hungarian style' tangentially in 'Eine Ansicht über Fortschritt,' Autograph (1858), 11. Hungarian State Opera, 78.12.12.

musical features between them (including the augmented 2nd or richly ornamented melodies), the music Goldmark composed depicting an undoubtedly 'Oriental' milieu in *Die Königin von Saba* (for example the Queen's Entrance March, in Act 1, or Astaroth's *Lockruf* in Act II) is not identical to the *style hongrois* or *verbunkos*. Some typical characteristics of *verbunkos* are not typically considered as signifiers of 'Oriental' music. Even though 'Orientalism' is an important part of Goldmark's musical reception in general, it is not given a chapter within this thesis, because I have been able to identify very few unambiguously Orientalist allusions in Goldmark's piano music.[79] The discussion is confined to the material below.

Goldmark's name has been largely associated with *Die Königin von Saba* and thus Orientalism, because hardly any of his other works are widely known. Therefore his musical language is sometimes simplistically referred to as 'Orientalist' or even 'Oriental'.[80] However, even labelling *Die Königin von Saba* as 'Orientalist' is highly debated by recent scholarship.[81] Goldmark considered using different kinds of 'Orientalist' markers in the opera as *couleur locale* as appropriate to the subject matter.[82] Moreover, most of his other operas, symphonic and chamber works do not refer to Orientalist topics.[83] Furthermore, as Derek B. Scott argued, 'There was no single homogeneous Oriental culture' and neither is there 'one Orientalist style'. As he pointed out, '[Oriental(ist) music's] purpose is not to imitate [an Eastern cultural practice] but to represent … a more defined Other culture'.[84] Furthermore, representations relied on knowledge of Orientalist signifiers; a range of readily available markers, as he put it 'previous Orientalist styles', rather than knowledge of Eastern musical practices, that is, as Scott summarized, 'representations rely upon culturally learned recognition', a European cultural assumption of what Oriental music might have sounded like,

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[79] Goldmark evoked a much broader spectrum of Orientalisms in a few of his works (including *Sakuntala* and *Die Königin von Saba*) than merely 'Jewish music', thus looking for features of the latter would seem to be reductive. Moreover, given the complexities of 'Jewish music', it would be difficult to define it as a unified entity. The term would refer 'to the traditional music of all Jewish communities, past and present' encompassing ancient – modern, liturgical – secular, and all geographical variants (peculiarities), resulting from the dialogue with surrounding societies, 'and to new contemporary music created by Jews with ethnic or national agendas.' Edwin Seroussi et al., 'Jewish music,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 1 November 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/search?q=jewish+music&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true

[80] Eduard Hanslick, 'Merlin,' *Neue Freie Presse* (21 November 1886), quoted in Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 216.

[81] Daniel S. Katz argued that the suspected allusions to Jewish liturgy and synagogue music are not present in the work. 'Die Suche nach synagogalen Einflüssen auf Carl Goldmarks Oper Die Königin von Saba,' in *Carl Goldmark: Leben – Werk – Rezeption*, ed. Peter Stachel (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2022), 190.

[82] See on page 52.; 'Gedanken über Form und Stil. Von Karl Goldmark,' *Neue Freie Presse* (4 June 1911): 55.

[83] Goldmark seems to have avoided using 'Oriental-Jewish' features after Hanslick's critical reception of *Die Königin von Saba* claiming the 'Oriental-Jewish' character to be the most striking feature of his work. All his later operas represent different styles from *Saba* and from each other. Hanslick, *Musikalische Stationen*, 302 referred to in Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming Flowers,' 139–141.

[84] Derek B. Scott, 'Orientalism and Musical Style,' *The Musical Quarterly* 82, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 309, 326.

rather than actual knowledge of it.[85] Richard Taruskin, when examining Orientalist markers in Goldmark's *Die Königin von Saba* and David Brodbeck, discussing *Sakuntala*'s reception have also made largely similar observations, however, let us also explore Goldmark's views on the subject.[86]

Goldmark commented on how he thought European, including Viennese audiences perceived 'Oriental' music: 'To the musically educated European, Oriental music sounds uniform without distinction, a matter of well-known differences in scales and melismas in the minor.'[87] However, Goldmark noted that he could not utilise the same vocabulary to portray in his music the Indian penitents' grove in *Sakuntala*, King Solomon's splendour-loving (Hebraic) court, the Arabic Queen or her Moorish slave's love call in *Die Königin von Saba*; despite them all being 'Oriental', their representations had to be different. Additionally, he had to distinguish within the Hebrew, between music representing the court and another the temple, evoking religious sentiment, without sounding familiar to the European-trained ears (i.e. without evoking Christian church music).[88] On top of that, Goldmark admitted that 'I had never been in the Orient but intuition helped me even over that.'[89] Thus, he had no direct experience of any musical practices outside Europe.[90] But as Taruskin noted, this would not have made any difference, since the sounds of the ancient 'Oriental' world, that the *Saba* portrays, were no longer available for mimicry.[91] The best Goldmark could strive for was creating an aura of authenticity, that is, stylistic 'verisimilitude', based on what he thought the audience would perceive as 'true' 'Oriental' style, in other words, on the audience's cultural assumptions of what 'Oriental' music might have sounded like.[92]

But Goldmark was not the first composer to face that challenge. By the time he completed *Saba*, others, including Anton Rubinstein (1829–1894) and Félicien-César David (1810–1876) had composed so-called Orientalist and Biblical operas, including *Feramors* 1862, *Lalla Rookh* premiered in 1863, and *Die Maccabäer* 1872–74. Goldmark surely knew them as he was presumably studying potential operatic models when composing *Saba*, and he

[85] Scott, 'Orientalism and Musical Style,' 326.
[86] Richard Taruskin, 'Teeth will be provided,' *Studia Musicologica* 57, no. 3–4 (December 2016): 263–93.; Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 74–77.
[87] 'Für den musikalisch gebildeten Europäer besteht die orientalische Musik ohne Unterschied einheitlich und in den bekannten Skalendifferenzen und Moll-Melismen.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, 116.
[88] Taruskin, 'Teeth will be provided,' 264–65.
[89] 'Ich war nie im Orient, aber die Intuition half mir auch darüber hinweg.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 116.
[90] Athough he surely experienced the music of synagogue services in his youth. (I certainly do not intend to equate 'Oriental' and Jewish music.)
[91] Taruskin, 'Teeth will be provided,' 265.
[92] The term 'verisimilitude' is used by Taruskin: Ibid.

was close friend of Rubinstein from the 1860s.[93] He also reviewed David's opera as well as his Orientalist symphonic ode *Le désert* during his term as critic for the *Constitutionelle Oesterreichische Zeitung*.[94] A vocabulary of Orientalist idioms was already set that Goldmark could draw on in his works. Thus, as Taruskin argued, it was for the most part not intuition (as Goldmark asserted) which may have helped him, but the signifiers Goldmark used 'were taken off the rack, the products neither of intuition, as Goldmark claimed, nor of his own ineluctable *Fremdartigkeit*, as hostile critics alleged, but rather the fruit of professional knowhow, in which he took an eminently justifiable pride.'[95]

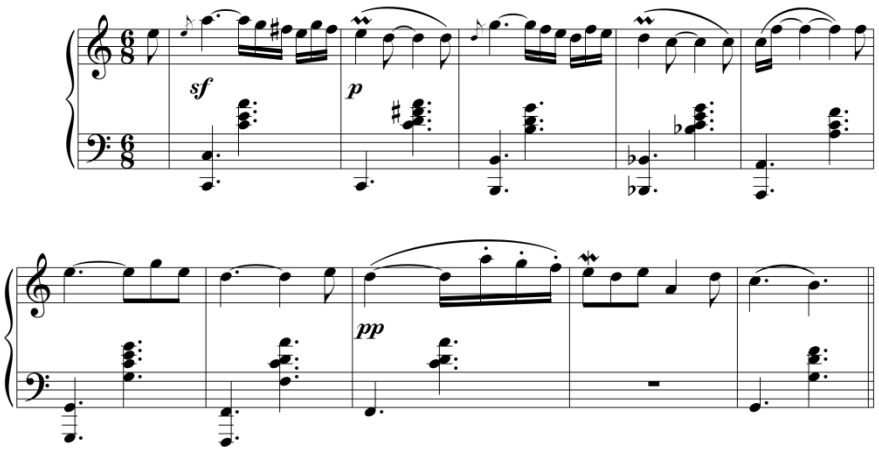
Despite the oversimplistic labelling by some contemporary critics (including Hanslick) in the late 1870s and 1880s of Goldmark's music as 'Oriental', and by malevolent criticism even *Fremdartig* ('Other' in the context of the Germanic ideal), only a few of his 150 works have 'Oriental' associations and subject matter (including the *Sakuntala* overture and *Die Königin von Saba*).[96] In that light, it is better to interpret Goldmark's use of Orientalist markers, as Brodbeck put it, as a 'strategic choice on the composer's part' indeed, 'the composer's strategic calculation of the audience's likely perception' of what 'Oriental music' sounded like, rather than as his 'native' voice.[97]

As noted in Chapter Two, Goldmark utilised genres considered typically Germanic throughout his career but even more particularly after Hanslick's critical reception of the *Saba,* declaring the 'Oriental-Jewish' character to be decisive in the work.[98] This might be viewed as distancing his music from the 'Oriental-Jewish' label and affirming his desired assimilation into German culture. Alongside symphonic and traditional chamber music genres, in terms of piano music he composed collections of *Charakterstücke*. As explored in the thesis, the majority of his piano music stands close to the Schumannesque or Mendelssohnian collections of short characteristic pieces, and, contrapuntal works following the Baroque ideal albeit conceived through a Romantic approach. Amongst his piano works

[93] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen,* 68–71.; Taruskin, 272–73.
[94] -rk [Carl Goldmark], 'Die musikalische Woche,' *Constitutionelle Oesterreichische Zeitung* (17 December 1862) and Idem, 'Lalla Rookh,' *Constitutionelle Oesterreichische Zeitung* (25 April 1863), referred to in Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 72.
[95] Taruskin, 272.
[96] Hanslick in his review of *Merlin*, even asserted that the 'striking national [meaning perhaps Jewish] character' was 'more Goldmarkian' i.e. more profound for him, than *Merlin*'s Wagnerian style, due to his Jewish heritage and upbringing. Hanslick, 'Merlin,' *Neue Freie Presse* (21 November 1886), quoted in Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 216. Ideologically tinted attacks against Goldmark are explored in more detail in Chapter One and Two.
[97] Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 75. Quoted in Taruskin, 274.; Ibid, 277.
[98] Hanslick, *Musikalische Stationen,* 302 referred to in Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming Flowers,' 139–141.

only *Zart Geheimnis*, an unpublished piano adaptation of 'Mägische Töne' from Act II of *Saba* has unambiguously Orientalist allusions, such as rich, melismatic flourishes.

Example I.1. Carl Goldmark: *Zart Geheimnis* (without Opus, undated), bars 13–22.



Features that might be viewed Orientalist occur very rarely in his other piano pieces. Another potential piece with Orientalist markers is 'Trostlos' (*Sturm und Drang* no. 3), with its melismatic flourishes and augmented 2nd in the melody. However, as discussed in detail in Chapter 4, its strong affinities with a piano piece by Mihály Mosonyi rather suggests positioning that piece more closely to *style hongrois*.[99] Moreover, as will be pointed out, this work is far from being homogeneous in terms of musical language; several different styles are incorporated in it. As elsewhere, this may suggest an elusiveness, or stylistic hybridity, which prevents Goldmark's music from being neatly assigned to historically fixed categories.[100]

Having outlined these contexts, now I turn to exploring the Viennese milieu Goldmark lived and worked in. This will set the scene for discussing contemporary reception of Goldmark's piano music within his career. Recurring themes extrapolated from reception are informative in my investigation and stylistic identification of this music: these and their corresponding findings will be cross-referenced throughout the chapters. This then enables positioning that repertoire within piano literature.

[99] Mihály Mosonyi (1815–1870), composer, pedagogue and writer, founder of *Zenészeti Lapok*, the first Hungarian-language musical periodical, was one of the most significant figures of Hungarian musical scene in the 19th century.

[100] This recalls Bertagnolli's description of Goldmark's multifaceted musical language, quoted above. Bertagnolli, 'Conservativism Assimilates the Prometheus Myth: Concert Overtures by Bargiel and Goldmark,' 316, 321.

Chapter 1.

Goldmark's Vienna

1.1. Rationale, Aims and Methodology

In order to gain an informed understanding of Goldmark's compositional career and works, it is essential to examine them in context. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to explore and discuss several crucial aspects of the environment in which Goldmark lived and worked for most of his compositional life. This will serve as a background for an examination of reception and stylistic features in subsequent chapters. The historical context and shifting political ideologies in Vienna in Goldmark's era will be outlined. Goldmark's stay in Vienna overlapped with the Liberals' political power, which initially offered favourable conditions to fostering his career. However, political and societal trends changed markedly with the rise of nationalism and anti-Semitism in *fin-de-siècle* Austria, significantly impacting how his works were interpreted later.

Although a detailed account would exceed the scope of this chapter, a few aspects of the controversy between Brahmsians and Wagnerites in late 19th-century Vienna will be briefly outlined because this was a central phenomenon in the Viennese cultural milieu, and was not associated only with purely musical matters, but rather intertwined with ideological dimensions which deeply affected the interpretation of Goldmark's works and his artistic persona.[1] Related to the core of the debates of Goldmark's era and to how some of his main works were viewed, the problem of what was considered as 'German music' vs. 'Oriental music' in 19th-century Vienna will also be outlined.

Goldmark's complex socio-cultural identity should also be teased out, as this is central in understanding his music and personality. Born in Western Hungary within the Austrian Empire into a Jewish family and later moving to Vienna and absorbing German sources of cultural knowledge, Goldmark gained a complex identity, nevertheless, Viennese conditions forced him to try to shape perceptions of his identity. Goldmark articulated his self-perception and self-positioning within Austro-German culture in *Gedanken über Form und Stil. Ein Abwehr*, partially published in 1911. His views here, as well as in the recollections

[1] Leon Botstein, 'Brahms and his audience: the later Viennese years 1875–1897,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Brahms* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 51–75.

Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben, which he started writing at age 80 in 1910, are informative of his perceived German cultural identity, an acutely important topic in *fin-de-siècle* Austria.[2]

As to Goldmark's more immediate working environment, insight will be gained into Goldmark's affiliations (and continual repositioning) to 19th-century Vienna's shifting musical landscape, its power structures, decisive musical personalities, main institutions. Key figures of his network of contacts were Brahms and the influential critic Eduard Hanslick amongst other, significant personalities such as Joseph Hellmesberger or Anton Rubinstein. His social relations are informative of his development as a composer through what he gained by moving in their circles, in terms of the network of connections, opportunities, exchanging ideas, advice, and feedback he received. Key events, such as the circumstances around the premiere of *Die Königin von Saba* shed light on Goldmark's acquaintances with leading figures of the Viennese musical scene, including Hanslick, Brahms, Johann Herbeck, Otto Dessoff and Liszt.[3] Goldmark's *Erinnerungen* shall also be explored; he recorded accounts of his relationships to significant personalities of Viennese musical life, thus offering a view of the circles he associated with and of his career's progress.[4]

The practice of piano performance within the 19th-century Viennese milieu has also to be taken into account; the piano acquired central significance, not only as a concert instrument of virtuosi and chamber settings but in the home as well; it provided a means for amateurs, audiences and indeed professional musicians and critics to familiarize themselves with new repertoires, and for composers to try out and disseminate their new works.[5] Therefore, as we will see, even though Goldmark was not trained as a pianist, it was crucial for him to compose for the piano, both in the solo and chamber music realm, as well as to make piano arrangements of a number of his symphonic works and parts of his operas.[6]

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[2] While articulating several aspects of his affiliation with Germanic culture and Viennese cultural circles, Goldmark barely mentioned his Jewish or Hungarian origin in his writings.

[3] Although Liszt did not live in Vienna, he was a frequent guest; his opinions were surely influential on the Viennese cultural elite. See page 42–43.

[4] Karl Goldmark, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Vienna: Rikola, 1922). I also use *Emlékek életemből* [Memories from my Life], ed. and transl. István Kecskeméti, 1980, rev. and ed. Balázs Mikusi (Budapest: Gondolat-OSzK, 2017) which includes an annotated timeline of his career. Some of his interpretations inevitably involve some degree of self-imaging; this is taken into consideration.

[5] Katrin Eich, 'Where was the home of Brahms's piano works?' in *Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall: Between Private and Public Performance*, ed. Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 95–97.

[6] Particularly, as the piano was of central importance in the 19th-century in the Germanic realm, and furthermore, Schumann's music made great impact on Goldmark. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. 'Arrangements were a main vehicle for musical literacy in the nineteenth century, not just among non-specialists, but among musical insiders.' Valerie Woodring Goertzen, 'At the piano with Joseph and Johannes: Joachim's overtures in Brahms's circle,' in *Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall: Between Private and Public Performance*, ed. Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 159.

1.2. Literature Review

Much about Goldmark's cultural background can be pieced together from existing literature. For some aspects of the broader historical context, the pre-World War I history of Hungary, an integral part of the Austrian Empire and from 1867 the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Goldmark's lifetime, is thoroughly discussed by Ignác Romsics in *Magyarország története a xx. században* [The History of Hungary in the 20th Century].[7] This reveals that the history of Hungary was in many ways tightly intertwined with that of Austria in the course of the 19th century. Alongside a discussion of the structure of the Dual Monarchy, the work traces societal and economic processes in Hungary from the 1867 *Ausgleich* (Compromise), also outlining societal tensions between the declining middle classes and the upwardly mobile (i.e. economically and socially strengthening) Jewry, who had migrated to Hungary just a few decades earlier. *A zsidóság története Magyarországon* [The History of Jewry in Hungary] by Bence Szabolcsi outlines the history of Jewry in Hungary until 1938, offering insights into Goldmark's era.[8] It focuses on emancipation, enacted into law in November 1867 and climaxing around WWI, and the shifting trends following the war.

Numerous sources offer an understanding of the changing political and societal context and shifting ideologies in 19th-century Austria. Carl Schorske in *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* discusses changing political trends, their contexts and prominent representatives thoroughly.[9] *Forbidden Music* offers insight into the political and societal contexts of 19th-century Vienna, discussing key concepts of liberalism, assimilation, the 1867 Constitution, the shifting ideologies and rising nationalism, sketching the musical scene with particular emphasis on its foremost personalities, such as Brahms, Hanslick, Goldmark and Wagner. It also shows how musicians of Jewish origin were viewed from opposing ideological positions.[10] Viennese liberalism, its twilight and key concepts are also explored in

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[7] Ignác Romsics, *Magyarország története a xx. században* [The History of Hungary in the 20th Century] (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2000). The 1867 Compromise [*Kiegyezés*] aimed at closing the post-revolution (1848) era and settle the relationship between Austria and Hungary, announcing the Dual (Austro-Hungarian) Monarchy, granting somewhat broader sovereignty for Hungary.

[8] Bence Szabolcsi, 'A zsidóság története Magyarországon,' [The History of Jewry in Hungary] in Simon Dubnov, *A zsidóság története* [The History of Jewry], trans. Bence Szabolcsi (Budapest: Gondolat, 1991).

[9] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siécle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981).

[10] Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

Lateness and Brahms.[11] Leon Botstein discusses the polemics between Brahmsians and Wagnerites, outlining their respective political orientations and the role of Wagnerian enthusiasm in rising German nationalism.[12]

Main institutions and foremost personalities of the Viennese musical scene in the second half of the 19th century are outlined by Michael Musgrave.[13] Goldmark's relationships to prominent Viennese musical figures and some of their correspondence are further explored by Harald Graf.[14] The circumstances of the premiere of *Die Königin von Saba* can be reconstructed from recollections and correspondence of Goldmark and Hanslick, as well as from the memoirs of Richard Heuberger.[15] Goldmark's reviews as critic for the *Constitutionelle Oesterreichische Zeitung* reveal his aesthetic views in terms of compositional and interpretational matters.

David Brodbeck's *Defining Deutschtum* covers the era when Goldmark lived and worked in Vienna. By exploring critical reactions to some of Goldmark's major works, he offers a nuanced discussion of the decline of liberalism and rise of anti-Semitism.[16] His work sheds light on the different concepts of German identity promoted by the liberals vs. German nationalists, and its consequences regarding Goldmark's situation within those ideologies. The distinctions between the culturally based concept of nation and race defined by ethnic origin are also teased out by Pamela Potter.[17] In 'Goldmark und der Antisemitismus' Gerhard J. Winkler outlines several aspects of Goldmark's views in his *Erinnerungen* and *Gedanken über Form und Stil*, in response to the markedly shifting interpretations of his work, according to changing political ideologies.[18] 'Joseph Joachim und Carl Goldmark. Zwei parallele jüdische Musikerbiographien aus dem historischen Westungarn' considers the careers of

[11] Margaret Notley, 'Brahms as Liberal, Bruckner as Other,' in *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 15–35.
[12] Leon Botstein, 'Brahms and his audience: the later Viennese years 1875–1897,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Brahms* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 51–75.
[13] Michael Musgrave, 'Years of transition: Brahms and Vienna 1862–1875,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Brahms* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 31–50.
[14] Harald Graf, 'Carl Goldmark. Beziehung zu den Zeitgenossen,' *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38, nos. 3–4 (1997): 371–407.
[15] Richard Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms*, ed. Kurt Hofmann, (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1976).
[16] David Brodbeck, *Defining Deutscthum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (Oxford University Press, 2014).
[17] Pamela Potter, 'The concept of race in German musical discourse,' in *Western Music and Race* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 49–62.
[18] Gerhard J. Winkler, 'Carl Goldmark und der Antisemitismus,' *Burgenlaendische-Heimatblaetter* 60, accessed 3 February 2021, https://www.zobodat.at/pdf/Burgenlaendische-Heimatblaetter_60_0128-0134.pdf

Joachim and Goldmark, and to some extent Mihály Mosonyi, as sharing similarities, such as constructing self-identities from the relevant national options.[19]

In terms of what was perceived as 'Oriental' in music in 19th-century Vienna, a major aspect in the debate on 'German' vs. 'foreign' (*fremdartig*) music, Taruskin offers a discussion, focusing on Goldmark's use of signifiers in *Die Königin von Saba*, noting that they are based on cultural assumptions, 'creating the aura of authenticity,' rather than on actual Eastern ethnic musical practice.[20] This is in alignment with Hanslick's own contemporary account.[21] Derek B. Scott in 'Orientalism and Musical Style' also argues that there is no homogeneous 'Oriental' culture; 'Orientalist music' is rather a set of available markers than imitation of any musical practice.[22]

While these sources cover the various ideological and aesthetic aspects of 19th-century Vienna in Goldmark's time thoroughly, few of them consider his musical works in that context and even if they do, they focus on his main operas and symphonic works rather than his piano music and its performers within the Viennese milieu.

1.3. Politics in *Fin-de-siècle* Vienna

The Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy was established in 1867 and the German Empire in 1871. Their new constitutions guaranteed that no confessional or cultural community would be privileged over any other.[23] Austria-Hungary's Constitution of 21 December 1867 guaranteed equality before the law for all ethnicities and that religious adherence would not result in hindrance in accessing education, employment and the right to living.[24] This clearly included all minorities (albeit without referring to them specifically), and thus was a major act of long-desired emancipation.[25] It also allowed 'the rights of confessional diversity and … meant that Jews, long denied the rights accorded to other

[19] Gerhard J. Winkler, 'Joseph Joachim und Carl Goldmark. Zwei parallele jüdische Musikerbiographien aus dem historischen Westungarn,' in *Musik der Juden im Burgenland*: *Referate des internationalen Workshop-Symposions, Eisenstadt, 9–12 Oktober 2002,* ed. Gerhard J. Winkler (Eisenstadt, 2006). Mosonyi changed his name from 'Brand'.
[20] Richard Taruskin, 'Teeth Will Be Provided: On Signifiers,' *Studia Musicologica* 57, no 3–4 (December 2016): 263–294.
[21] Ed. H [Eduard Hanslick], 'Hofoperntheater,' *Neue Freie Presse* (7 October 1884).
[22] Derek B. Scott, 'Orientalism and Musical Style,' *The Musical Quarterly* 82, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 309–335.
[23] M. Haas, 11. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867) was prepared by Francis Joseph I and the liberal Ferenc Deák and Count Gyula Andrássy.
[24] The 21 December Constitution appeared in full in the 23 December issue of the major liberal *Neue Freie Presse*. M. Haas, 25.
[25] Ibid., 25.

German-speakers, could finally become fully active participants in the culture, language and music of the German-speaking people.'[26]

Liberals became the dominant power in the Austrian political scene from the 1860s. Their worldview included the individual's right to education, progress and self-fulfilment, cultivation of rationality and intellect, *laissez-faire* economics and secularism, but all these were to be carried out within a pro-German framework.[27] In the 1867 constitution liberal values, including equal rights and religious freedom, were effected, thus it 'was from the standpoint of Austrian Jewry the culmination of the long struggle for emancipation.'[28] Thus, as Margaret Notley observed, in Austria, 'Jews felt an especially strong allegiance to the Liberal party.'[29] The Austrian Liberal party 'drew its members from an intellectual elite: the educated, culturally formed German and Jewish-German middle and upper-middle classes, the so-called *Bildungsbürgerthum*.'[30] As Schorske asserted, and crucially in Goldmark's case, 'the liberal system offered status to the Jews without demanding nationality; they became the supra-national people of the multi-national state … [who] in effect, stepped into the shoes of the earlier aristocracy … Their fortunes rose and fell with those of the liberal, cosmopolitan state.[31] More specifically, by musical assimilation 'the Jewish musician or composer was accepted as a full citizen and, from there, could become an active proponent of German culture.'[32]

The pro-German stance, central in Austrian liberal ideology, included a belief in German cultural superiority and promoting its values.[33] The liberal leader, Johann Nepomuk Berger in 1861 wrote that 'The Germans in Austria should strive for … cultural hegemony among the peoples of Austria'. They should 'transmit the propaganda of German intellection [sic], German science, German humanism.'[34] As David Brodbeck argued, the liberals' aims to dismantle privilege by birth and encourage free enterprise were to be carried out 'within the

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[26] Ibid., 11.
[27] Notley, *Lateness and Brahms*, 15–16.
[28] Quoted from Robert S. Wistrich, *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 145 in Notley, *Lateness*, 17.
[29] Notley, *Lateness*, 17.
[30] Ibid.
[31] 'More important … the fortunes of the liberal creed itself became entangled with the fate of the Jews.' Schorske, 'Politics in a New Key: An Austrian Trio,' in *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 129. On the 'upward-striving Jews' receptiveness to that ideology see David Brodbeck, 'Carl Goldmark and Cosmopolitan Patriotism,' in *Music History and Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Anastasia Belina-Johnson, Kaarina Kilpiö, and Derek B. Scott (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2019), 50.
[32] Michael Haas, 'German and Jewish,' in *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 25.
[33] Notley, *Lateness*, 18.
[34] J. N. Berger, *Zur Lösung der österreichischen Verfassungsfrage* (Vienna, 1861), 19, cited in Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siécle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1980), 117.

framework of German elitism. The obvious contradiction embodied in this project in the context of the multinational Habsburg state was glossed over by an almost religious devotion to "culture".'[35] A strong parallel was drawn between cultivating (Germanic) cultural values, *Deutschtum* (Germanness) and Liberalism: 'to be liberal was to be German; to be German was to be liberal.'[36] Thus, this construction of social identity had obviously little to do with race; culture was (as Brodbeck rightly put: theoretically) accessible to all, but only by embracing German social/cultural identity.[37] Overcoming social difference was possible by adopting German cultural norms.[38] The concept of *Deutschtum* was seen as 'a matter of conviction and achievement.'[39]

Goldmark's residence in Vienna from 1860 onwards, his unfolding career and breakthrough, resulting in his becoming a significant figure in the musical establishment, overlapped with the liberals' political power (1867–97), as well as Brahms's Viennese years.[40] And these were hardly coincidences. The welcoming, pro-assimilationist ideology of that era seemed to serve as a perfect environment to foster Goldmark's career as a composer and grant him opportunities.

However, not all social groups were happy with this ideology, including for example artisans who felt it did not serve their interests, and non-German (especially Slavic) nationalities, who defined themselves on the basis of ethnicity; both were left dissatisfied. As Schorske noted, 'German nationalism articulated [by the liberals] … was answered by Slavic patriots clamouring for autonomy. When the liberals soft-pedaled their Germanism in the interest of the multi-national state, they were branded as traitors to nationalism by an anti-liberal German *petite bourgeoisie*.'[41] Moreover, for peasant and artisan, 'liberalism meant capitalism and capitalism meant Jew.'[42] Thus, by the final decades of the 19th century, political radicalism was rising in Austria. 'Central to the platform of this new radicalism was an alliance with the Catholic Church', German (racial) nationalism, 'anti-Semitism and an anti-cosmopolitan ideology.'[43] The Pan-German *grossdeutsch* ideal had also been growing, especially among Viennese university students, aiming at integrating the Austrian part of the

[35] Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 9.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming,' 134.
[38] Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 10.
[39] Ibid. This characterization was borrowed by Brodbeck from Steven Beller, review of Pieter M. Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848–1914*, in *Central European History* 33 (2000): 559–560.
[40] Michael Haas, 43.
[41] Schorske, 117.
[42] Ibid., 118.
[43] Botstein, 'Brahms and his audience: the later Viennese years 1875–1897,' 70.

Monarchy into the Bismarckian German Empire.[44] Emerging leaders, e.g. Georg Schönerer and Karl Lueger (both liberals originally), challenged liberalism, mobilising political energies of dissatisfied masses by promoting German nationalism and in particular, the 'greater German' ideal.[45] However, this increasingly carried anti-Semitic overtones, especially in Schönerer's case, who in 1879 made an explicit statement against 'the heretofore privileged interests of mobile capital – and the … Semitic rule of money and the word [i.e. the press].'[46] As Schorske observed, 'both Schönerer and Lueger composed ideological systems which unified liberalism's enemies', including Pan-Germanists, Austrian Catholics, who remained committed to a conservative order and the anti-Semitic artisan movement.[47] In 1895 Lueger was elected mayor of Vienna; after two years of refusal, the Emperor reluctantly ratified the election in 1897, which meant the end of an era, at once the beginning of a new, characterised by racially-defined nationalism.

This brief outline of some essential aspects of the political landscape reveals the complexity of Goldmark's Vienna, with shifting ideologies and a constant need for Goldmark to reposition himself amidst growing political unrest. I now explore how these ideologies infiltrated the cultural milieu in Austria and extrapolate their relevance in terms of Goldmark's career.

1.4. Brahmsians and Wagnerians

The conflicting political ideologies had an impact on cultural and musical life, which was articulated in aesthetic terms. The controversy between Brahmsians and Wagnerians was intertwined with ideological dimensions which ultimately deeply affected the interpretation of Goldmark's works and artistic persona. Brahms was seen as closely allied to the Viennese liberal elite from the 1860s; many of his acquaintances, including Goldmark, were of Jewish origin.[48] Importantly, as Leon Botstein noted, Brahms was not concerned with the quality of Wagner's music, 'he avoided participating in anti-Wagnerian polemics … Actually, Brahms

[44] Schorske, 127.
[45] Although the ideologies of Shönerer and Lueger had much in common (including Anti-semitism), they were not similar. Schönerer advocated the *grossdeutsch* nationalism (seeking unity with the German Empire) while Lueger was among the founders of the Christian Social Party in Austria. Ibid., 120–146.
[46] Quoted in Schorske, 127.
[47] Ibid., 145.
[48] Botstein, 72. Brahms was almost seen as Jewish by Viennese anti-Semites.; Haas, 46.

often expressed genuine admiration for the greatness of Wagner's music.'[49] He was concerned much more with Wagner's influence. In particular, 'the argument that the models of Viennese classicism were dead … and Wagnerian norms would replace those derived from Viennese classicism and pre-1848 musical romanticism … were anathema to Brahms.'[50] So that, in an essentialist light, for the opposing factions, Brahms (the traditionalist respecting classical traditions and techniques) was associated with the 'old' school of German music and Wagner with the 'new'.[51]

Wagnerian enthusiasm flourished in Vienna in the 1880s.[52] Wagner's writings, notably *Das Judenthum in der Musik* (1850, 1869), *Erkenne dich selbst* (1881) and several others, supplied ideological background to the cultural polemics and fuelled debate by projecting outright racial nationalist views.[53] Amongst allegedly typical features of Jewish musicians, reverence for tradition was claimed, which in Wagner's view was due to their lack of originality and innovation. They were also condemned as being intellectually incapable of attaining spiritual depths in music. Moreover, as Michael Haas observed, it was claimed that Jews were different from Europeans, thus 'in Wagner's opinion, German music would for ever remain a foreign tongue to Jewish composers, implying that the cultural assimilation they were seeking could never end in full integration.'[54] They were viewed as 'pseudo-Germans' whose 'attempts to compose German music was doomed to failure [because] they did not possess the [so-called] true Germanic soul.'[55]

By the 1880s Wagner's music was viewed as a manifestation of 'Germanness', and 'Vienna's Wagnerians saw themselves as defenders of German culture against foreign cosmopolitanism.'[56] And Brahms was well aware how much Wagner's music was linked to racialist nationalism. Moreover, 'by the end of the 1880s Wagnerism and pan-Germanism and other species of German nationalism were closely allied with local anti-Semitism.'[57] So that, as Botstein noted, 'at the heart of what we have come to understand imperfectly and inappropriately as a widespread Brahms–Wagner rivalry in the culture of German-speaking

[49] Botstein, 59.
[50] Botstein, 59. Brahms admired Wagner's music, especially *Die Meistersinger*. Botstein, 57.
[51] The polemics were certainly much more complex, here we may aim at drawing an outline. Haas, 38.
[52] Botstein, 72.
[53] Brodbeck, 209–212.; Haas, 28–40.
[54] Haas, 31, 32.
[55] Ibid., 38.
[56] Botstein, 72.
[57] Ibid., 74.

Europe during the last quarter of the nineteenth century lay a more narrowly defined but more urgent and pressing immediate issue of contemporary cultural politics located in Vienna.'[58]

Brahms and Goldmark were deeply dismayed by the growing political radicalism. They both received hostile political criticism disguised as musical aesthetics. In some extreme cases even the 'conservatives' music, including Brahms's, and he was labelled as 'Jewish'.[59] Some of the anti-Semitic attacks aimed at Goldmark in the 1890s will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two and Goldmark's response in defence later in this chapter.

1.5. Constructing a Self-identity

This background explains much about how Goldmark approached his own self-construction in his memoirs.[60] Goldmark was certainly not the only musician to construct his identity to navigate views about Jewishness; he shared many aspects of this with Eduard Hanslick, Joseph Joachim and Hermann Levi, among others. Hanslick, who also migrated to Vienna from a province of the Empire, where he became a decisive figure of the cultural scene, a flag-bearer of Germanic culture and associated closely with Brahms, denied his Jewish ancestry in his response to Wagner's claim in *Judaism in Music* (1869 revised edition).[61] Joachim, who like Goldmark, was a native Hungarian of Jewish heritage, left Hungary at an early age, spoke German, made an extraordinary career in German territory and despite 'flirting' with the music of Liszt, aligned with Brahms.[62] Assimilation of German sources was central for acquiring a German cultural identity for both of them. Mendelssohn was 'an important role model' for both, and his music a significant source of inspiration for Goldmark.[63] However, while Joachim, like Mendelssohn, converted to Christianity, Goldmark did not reveal much about his attitude to religion. At the same time, they both embraced Hungarian as well as the so-called 'Oriental' idiom in some of their works.[64] Regarding the

[58] Ibid., 60.
[59] *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* (19 October 1890) quoted in Notley, 'Brahms as Liberal,' 122, discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.
[60] Goldmark collected his memoirs in *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1922).
[61] 'The biggest lie, my apparent Jewishness, I put down to a man deranged by anger' *Neue Freie Presse* (9 March 1869), quoted in Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 29–30.
[62] Katharina Uhde, 'Identities,' in *The Music of Joseph Joachim* (Boydell Press, 2018), 297. Furthermore, Joachim also featured in the *Exhibition Album of Hungarian Composers* in 1885 alongside Goldmark. Ibid, 299.
[63] Ibid. 350.
[64] Mihály Mosonyi, born in the region where Goldmark spent his childhood, called Burgenland since WWI, remained in Hungary, choosing the Hungarian option. Gerhard J. Winkler, 'Joseph Joachim und Carl Goldmark. Zwei parallele jüdische Musikerbiographien aus dem historischen Westungarn,' in *Musik der Juden im*

Hungarians' 1848 revolution and War of Independence, Joachim claimed to side with Hungary and confessed himself as a *Magyarember* (man of Hungary).[65] Goldmark asserted that he took active part in some fightings on the Hungarian side.[66] Later, in 1895 at a banquet celebrating a festival of his works in Budapest, Goldmark claimed himself as Hungarian (nevertheless, in his late writings he firmly argued for his 'Germanness' in cultural terms).[67]

On the other hand, Hermann Levi, a Jew by birth and close friend of Brahms and his circles including Clara Schumann, became a 'key figure in the German musical scene'.[68] However, he later realigned with Wagner, who chose him as conductor for the premiere of *Parsifal* on 26 July 1882 in Bayreuth. This shift resulted in the termination of his relationship with Brahms. Wagner kept trying to persuade Levi to be baptised but he did not give in; the dissonances caused by his maintaining a double identity of 'Jewish-Wagnerian' might well have contributed to his personal 'turmoil', characteristic of his inner being.[69] Goldmark, as we have seen, also navigated through the Brahms–Wagner dilemma, but despite being an admirer of Wagner, he aligned with Brahms.

Goldmark began his recollections aged 80, by briefly noting his date of birth and that 'My father was the cantor and notary of the congregation', but without offering any further detail on the congregation's affiliation.[70] He also referred to the family's relocation to Németkeresztúr/Deutschkreutz (today in Austria), focussing on their difficult financial circumstances, without mentioning that the village was one amongst the so-called *Seven Communities* with Jewish inhabitants, created under the protectorate of the Eszterházy family.[71] In the following section, headed as 'Unschooled', he tells us about his lack of

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Burgenland: Referate des internationalen Workshop-Symposions, Eisenstadt, 9–12 Oktober 2002. (Eisenstadt, 2006), 79–100. For a detailed discussion on Joachim's 'Hungarianness' and his *'Hungarian Manner'* see Uhde, 'Identities,' 297–338, on the Jewish aspects of his music 338–350.

[65] Ibid., 303.

[66] Goldmark claimed that he was caught and almost executed by the Austrian army. On Goldmark's recollections of his participation in the war see *Erinnerungen*, 27–43.

[67] On his claim of being Hungarian: August Beer, 'Goldmark-Banket,' *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895); Hubay Jenőné Róza Cebrian, 'Visszaemlékezés Goldmark Károlyra,' [Remembrances on Károly Goldmark] *Zeneközlöny* 13, no. 1 (15 March 1915): 5–9. 'E haza földjében nyugosznak szüleim, itt állott bölcsőm. Büszkén és szívemből mondom mindenkinek: magyar vagyok!' My parents rest in the soil of this homeland, my cradle stayed here. I state proudly and from my heart to all: I am Hungarian!

[68] Laurence Dreyfus, 'Hermann Levi's Shame and Parsifal's Guilt: A Critique of Essentialism in Biography and Criticism,' *Cambridge Opera Journal* 6, no. 2 (July 1994): 133.

[69] Ibid.

[70] 'Mein Vater war Kantor und Notär der Gemeinde.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 11. Brodbeck also explored Goldmark's self-portrait, offered in his memoirs in 'Becoming a German,' in *Defining Deutschtum*, 58.

[71] Deutschkreutz (orig. Sopronkeresztúr, Németkeresztúr) belonged to Hungarian territory until the Treaty of Trianon (1920) when it was attached to Austria. In Hebrew it was named *Zelem*, as one of the *Sheva Kehillot* (Seven Communities) in the Eszterházy's territory, with a systematic Jewish settlement from late 17th century. The community had its own Talmud school. Winkler, 'Carl Goldmark und der Antisemitismus,' 130, accessed 8

education up to age twelve, having his very first writing and reading lesson then, claiming that 'in the small Hungarian village there was no school for German-speaking inhabitants.'[72] Winkler argued that this claim may at best apply to German literacy, as Goldmark, the son of a Jewish notary would surely have grown up educated in Hebrew in the community.[73] The reader also learns from Goldmark's remark that the family spoke German (as opposed to Hungarian), which was not uncommon in the Hungarian territory of the Austrian Empire. However, this comment may also have been hinting at his affiliation with Germanism at his early age. Goldmark added that he would by no means deny the necessity of schooling, as 'lacking any kind of musical education, I lost the most beautiful years of blooming youth' as a composer, and had to make up for educational deficiencies later as an autodidact, by a 'tireless drive to learning which remained until my old age'.[74] His claim of lacking any kind of musical training seems somewhat exaggerated; Goldmark might have referred to his age only up to 12, and to compositional lessons, when he referred to musical training, as he began attending violin lesson at age 12 in Sopron and from 1844 in Vienna under Leopold Jansa.[75] Also, as Brodbeck pointed out, Goldmark's father, Rubin, regretted his decision to be a cantor, by which he could offer only limited means to his family; he could have pursued an artistic career instead, and advised his younger son Leo to avoid committing the same mistake.[76] Considering this, it is likely that Rubin did what he could to support Carl's musical education.[77] Also notable is Goldmark's mention of his tireless drive to learn, which endured until his old age, as it may well be seen as an indication of his affiliation with the liberal concept of self-cultivation, *Bildung*.

One of the most decisive events in terms of his future as a musician is described when, as a child, on a beautiful, sunny Sunday morning, nearby their village, he heard from the distance an organ, 'sounding with tremendous power', followed by four-part singing of the (Catholic) mass. This had an enormous musical impact on Goldmark. As he claimed, 'At that moment my fate, future were decided, my profession defined: I was a musician – in a quite

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June 2023, https://www.zobodat.at/pdf/Burgenlaendische-Heimatblaetter_60_0128-0134.pdf ; Brodbeck, 'Becoming a German,' 58.

[72] 'In dem kleinen ungarischen Dorfe gab es für die deutsche Bevölkerung keine Schule.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 13.; Brodbeck, 'Becoming a German,' 61.

[73] Winkler, 'Carl Goldmark und der Antisemitismus,' 130.

[74] '… aus Mangel jeglicher musikalische Erziehung die schönsten Jahre blühender Jugend (als Komponist) verloren haben … den eisernen, unermüdlichen Lerntrieb (der mir bis ins hohe Alter verblieb).' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 12–13.

[75] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 16, 18.

[76] According to Goldmark, he had 11 living siblings and between further 9 and 12 who did not survive. *Erinnerungen*, 12.; Brodbeck, 'Becoming a German,' 63.

[77] Brodbeck, 'Becoming a German,' 63.

strange way – by the Catholic Church.'[78] It is significant in this nicely drawn picture that Goldmark claimed that the decisive experience which oriented him towards a musical profession was the liturgical music of the Catholic church, characterised as 'beautiful, tender, sweet' by him, as opposed to the synagogue music that his father practiced in their community in Deutschkreutz.[79] He also added that he had never heard music like that before, as they 'were not allowed to enter the church', thus hinting at their community's affiliation.[80] As Péter Varga has observed, in the autobiographies of Hungarian-born Jewish musicians who gained success as acculturated Germans, their first encounter with the non-Jewish world is always portrayed as highly significant, as is the case at Goldmark.[81]

Later, when referring to his move to Pest in 1858, Goldmark briefly indicated that he was compelled by 'family reasons', without offering any further clarification. The unspecified family reason was that Goldmark assisted his brother-in-law, Moritz Friedmann, who was appointed as chief cantor in Pest.[82] Instead, he provided a detailed account of the autodidactic studies he carried out in Pest, of Germanic sources, primarily the music of J. S. Bach, Beethoven's late works, symphonies and quartets and counterpoint studies based on the textbooks of Ernst Friedrich Richter, Simon Sechter and Adolf Bernhard Marx.[83] Notably, again, he claimed to have pursued counterpoint exercises until his old age.

These instances show Goldmark downplaying the Jewish aspects of his background and upbringing, whilst prioritising his affiliation to German language and culture by discussing in detail inspiration and learning he received from Germanic sources and emphasizing their decisive impact on his formative years. This is strengthened by a few further instances. Goldmark refers to 'heights of artistic experience' which are 'unforgettable impulses, moments of the high-voltages of the soul'; one of those decisive experiences for him was the reading of Hebbel's entire *Die Niebelungen* with Eduard Kulke.[84] He admitted

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[78] 'erbrauste die Orgel mit Macht … In diesem Augenblick hatte sich mein Geschick, meine Zukunft entschieden, war mein Lebensberuf bestimmt – ich war Musiker und – sonderbar genug – durch die katholische Kirche.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 15–16.

[79] See also Brodbeck, 'Becoming a German,' 62.

[80] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen,* 15.

[81] Péter Varga, 'Deutsch-Jüdische Identitäten in Autobiographien ungarischer Juden des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts,' in *Mehrdeutigkeit: Die Ambivalenz von Gedächtnis und Erinnerung*, eds. Moritz Csáky and Peter Stachel (Vienna: Passagen, 2002), 109, referred to in Brodbeck, 'Becoming a German,' 62.

[82] As discussed in Brodbeck, 66; Caroline von Gomperz-Bettelheim, *Ein Biographisches Blatt* (Vienna: Haus-Verlag, 1905), 10; Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 58–59.

[83] Goldmark's self-driven studies are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

[84] '… Gipfelpunkte künstlerischen Erlebens … unvergessliche Eindrücke, Hochspannung der Seele.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 78. The wirter Kulke was in close connection with Friedrich Hebbel (1813–1863), who sent him the proof of his *Die Nibelungen* (before it appeared in print in 1862), which he read the first time together with Goldmark. This work became the basis for Wagner's tetralogy. Goldmark's recollection of reading *Die Nibelungen* is discussed in Brodbeck, 68.

that they were 'overcome, deeply shaken' by the work. Another crucial experience was attending a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: according to Goldmark, 'it was no longer a dawn, but a hitherto unsuspected, shocking revelation' to him, adding that 'the work [Beethoven's Ninth] not – only the audience could fail'.[85] Goldmark's claim of the work's 'revelatory' impact is significant here, but even more so is his strong identification with Beethoven's legacy, and thus with the German symphonic tradition.

1.6. Goldmark's Musical Vienna: Institutions and Personalities

Goldmark's life and career in Vienna were intertwined in many aspects with that of Brahms. They settled in the city within the same couple of years, socialised within the same circles, maintaining contact with prominent figures of Vienna's musical life. Thus Goldmark was acquainted with many significant people.[86] Moreover, they shared in many ways similar attitudes towards changing political trends in Vienna. After settling in Vienna, Goldmark embraced the café culture, socialising with intellectuals including scientists, doctors, lawyers and musicians.[87] He recalled meeting Brahms in 1860 or 1861, most likely in Café Čech in Graben, one of their favourite sites.[88] As Michael Musgrave noted, when Brahms arrived in Vienna, 'he soon met Goldmark, the city's most notable composer … now thirty and rising in fame.'[89] According to Leon Botstein, 'Brahms was 'on excellent terms with Johann Strauss Jr., Karl Goldmark and Ignaz Brüll, all highly visible composers in the city.'[90] Goldmark by then already had his successful Viennese debut, which resulted in the renowned Hellmesberger Quartet becoming a regular performer of his chamber works.[91] Nevertheless, Goldmark's 'frequent, if not always relaxed relationship' with Brahms lasted till the latter composer's death.[92] They took part in social gatherings, exchanged views on actual issues of

[85] 'das war kein Aufdämmern, sondern eine ungeahnte, erschütternde Offerbarung ... Nicht das Werk – nur das Publikum kann durchfallen.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen,* 63.; Brodbeck, 86.
[86] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 60–99.
[87] Ibid., 76–77.
[88] Goldmark was not entirely sure of the date of their first acquaintance. He wrote that 'it could hardly have been later than 1860–61' but it likely happened in 1862, when Brahms first visited Vienna. Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 84.
[89] Michael Musgrave, 'Years of Transformation: Brahms and Vienna,' 40. Musgrave's assessment might seem too generous, considering Goldmark's young age at that time and that his career was then ascending, reaching its peak only decades later.
[90] Botstein, 'Brahms and his audience,' 54.
[91] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 73. For more detail on that occasion see Chapter 2.
[92] Musgrave, 'Years of Transformation,' 40.

musical life in Vienna's Café Čech or Roter Igel.[93] During Brahms's first stay in Vienna, 1862–63, Goldmark was amongst a group of musicians whom associated with Brahms. A few of them formed a string quartet, including Goldmark as a violist, frequently playing chamber music.[94] Brahms gave them his new String Quintet for rehearsals, which he later revised several times.[95]

Vienna's leading musical institution in the 1860s was the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, founded in 1812, with its Singverein and Conservatoire. A number of Goldmark's piano, chamber and symphonic works were premiered in the Gesellschaft's concert halls.[96] The artistic director of the Gesellschaft was Johann Ritter von Herbeck (1831–1877). In the 1860s the Gesellschaft transformed from 'a semi-private club, devoted to amateur music-making and governed by aristocratic amateurs … to a public institution dedicated to the dissemination of musical culture led by professionals.'[97] The Gesellschaft concerts were of crucial importance in 'the city's public musical culture throughout Brahms's life.'[98] The Court Opera and the Philharmonic Society were other main institutions.[99] Otto Dessoff (1835–1892) was conductor of the Philharmonic Society, which used the orchestra of the Court Opera. The Conservatoire, a private, not a state institution, was owned and operated by the Gesellschaft.[100] Key figures of Brahms's circle, who also closely associated with Goldmark included Joseph Hellmesberger (1828–1893), director and head of violin at the Conservatoire, former director of the Gesellschaft, concert-master of the Opera (and so of the Philharmonic) and leader of a celebrated, professional resident string quartet in Vienna, as well as Julius Epstein (1832–1926), head of piano at the Conservatoire.[101] Eduard Hanslick, chief critic of the liberal *Neue Freie Presse* from its foundation in 1864, a decisive voice in the musical press, also belonged to Brahms's circle of friends. Hanslick, as we will see,

[93] Goldmark, 84–90.
[94] It is not entirely clear from the wording in Goldmark's *Erinnerungen*, whether they only read chamber music or performed them publicly as well. The word 'spielten' is used. Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 84.
[95] Although String Quintet is indicated in Goldmark's memoirs, the work might well have been the original version of what became the Piano Quintet Op. 34: Its date of composition (the revised version of the Piano Quintet Op. 34) in 1865 makes this more likely than the String Quintets (Op. 88, 1882 and Op.111, 1890). See also, Brodbeck, 67.
[96] Concert hall of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde pre-1870, and Musikvereinssaal from the opening of the Gesellschaft's new building in 1870.
[97] Leon Botstein, 'Brahms and his audience,' 61.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Michael Musgrave, 'Years of Transformation: Brahms and Vienna,' 38.
[100] Botstein, 54.
[101] Musgrave, 38–39.

frequently reviewed Goldmark's works, including some solo piano and piano chamber pieces, thus his name was circulated in mainstream Viennese papers.[102]

Within a few weeks between November 1862 and January 1863, Brahms appeared before Viennese audiences as composer of chamber, symphonic and solo piano music and performer of his and others' works, and soon established his reputation in Viennese mainstream cultural circles.[103] Between December 1862 and April 63, Goldmark served as a critic in Vienna for *Constitutionelle Oesterreichische Zeitung*; he was amongst the reviewers of Brahms's first concerts, held in November and December 1862. Notably, Brahms performed exclusively German repertoires in his concerts, works by Bach, Beethoven, Schumann and himself. Goldmark's account is not only a document of the initial stage of their acquaintance; it also reveals some of his own aesthetic views and how he perceived Brahms both as a composer and performer, when Brahms was still quite unknown. Furthermore, it suggests that he shared many views with Brahms. Taking into account the programmes and the performer, Goldmark in these reviews firmly cast his vote for German music. Moreover, Goldmark referred to the Viennese audiences' allegedly suspicious, critical attitude towards new works, saying that they enter the concert hall 'with the intention of judging (not to say: condemning) rather than of enjoying' new music. In this light, he saw Brahms's success as even more 'joyful.'[104] Apart from some reservations in terms of Brahms's themes in the Piano Quartet Op. 26, Goldmark praised Brahms's compositional ability, for example offering a wide range of moods and characters in *Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Händel* Op. 24.

[102] For a detailed discussion of Hanslick's reception on Goldmark's works, including piano and piano chamber pieces, see Chapter Two.

[103] Brahms performed Piano Quartet Op. 25 with the Hellmesberger Quartet on 16 November, 1862, and his *Serenade* in D major was premiered by Herbeck on 7 December 1862. Moreover, In November–December, 1862, Brahms performed his Op. 26, an organ *Toccata* by Bach in his arrangement for piano, Schumann's *Phantasie*, Op. 17 and his *Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Händel* Op. 24 (reviewed on 5 December, 1862), his own Sonata in F minor Op. 5, Beethoven's *Eroica* Variations, the *Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue* by Bach and Schumann's *Sonata* in F minor (reviewed 8 January 1863). A note from 24 December refers to Brahms's performance of Bach's *Sonata* in E major with Hellmesberger. rk, 'Die musikalische Woche,' *Constitutionelle Oesterreichische Zeitung* (5 December 1862, 24 December 1862 and 8 January 1863). On Goldmark's reviews see Harald Graf, 'Carl Goldmark. Beziehung zu den Zeitgenossen,' 383–85.

[104] 'Vielleicht die Hälfte unseres Publikums betritt bei neuen Erscheinungen den Concertsaal miβtrauisch, mehr in der Absicht, zu urtheilen (um nicht zu sagen: verurtheilen) als zu genieβen. Umso freudiger können wir einem aufstrebenden bedeutenden Talente unsere Annerkennung zollen, wenn es ihm gelingt, wie es H. Brahms gelungen.' rk, 'Die musikalische Woche,' *Constitutionelle Oesterreichische Zeitung* (5 December 1862).

> On the basis of a charming, but in its harmonic structure highly simple theme, Brahms exhausts in 25 variations virtually all the moods of human emotional excitement, from the tender, naïve, even humorous to the gloomy, melancholy-pathetic.[105]

Goldmark highly appreciated Brahms's intimate, straightforward, nuanced playing and his smooth, sensitive touch as a pianist.[106] He noted particularly his enthusiasm for Brahms's interpretation of Schumann's 'profoundly poetic' (*tiefsinnigen poesievollen*) Fantasy.

> Mr. Brahms's playing we find … simple, modest, almost without any glamour, far from any intention to dazzle, everything sounds all the more from within. In the possession of a full touch, that is softly adaptable to all nuances of performance ... All the more wonderful was the unclouded enjoyment of Schumann's profound, poetic Fantasy. In Mr. Brahms's playing it was as if a related string of his own mind was resonating.[107]

Goldmark's reaction reveals similar aesthetic values to Brahms's in terms of composition and interpretation, especially (considering his recollections of Vienna's musical scene between 1830s and 1860s) 'since Beethoven and Schubert closed their eyes, [Vienna saw] unrestricted dominance of empty virtuosity and mere personal cult'.[108] More sympathetic were to him Brahms's heartfelt, nuanced interpretations which, because of their depths and seriousness, initially had a cold welcome in Vienna.[109]

However, Goldmark praised Wagner as well, in reviews for the same paper around the same time, when Wagner stayed in Vienna to conduct extracts from his as yet unfinished *Das Rheingold, Die Walküre* and *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*.[110] In his early thirties Goldmark regarded Wagner's music so highly that he agitated for the foundation of a

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[105] 'Die Variationen allein würden jedoch genügt haben, das bedeutende Talent in Brahms zu erkennen. Auf Grundlage eines war reizenden, aber in seinem harmonischen Bau höchst einfach Themas erschöpft Brahms in 25 variationen ziemlich alle Stimmungskreise menschlicher Gefühlserregung, vom Zarten, Naiven, ja Humoristischen bis zum Düsteren, Schwermüthig-Pathetischen.' Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

[107] 'Das Spiel des Herrn Brahms finden wir ganz im Einklange mit der Totalität seiner Erscheinung. Einfach, bescheiden, fast ohne allen Glanz, fern von jeder Absicht, blenden zu vollen, klingt Alles desto mehr von innen heraus. Im Besitze eines vollen, allen Vortragsnuancen sich weich anschmiegenden Anschlages, geht Brahms auch keiner technischen Schwierigkeit aus dem Wege … Umso herrlicher war der ungetrübte Genuß der tiefsinnigen poesievollen Phantasie von Schumann. Es war uns in dem Spiele des Herrn Brahms bei Reproduction des Stückes, als ob eine verwandte Saite seines eigenen Gemüthes mitklänge.' Ibid. (5 December 1862).

[108] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 61.

[109] Ibid., 84.

[110] Bertagnolli, 'Conservatism,' 321. Brodbeck, 'Becoming a German,' 67.

Wagner-Verein in Vienna.[111] At that time extolling Wagner was a minority opinion in Vienna. Goldmark's openness to both Brahms and Wagner in his early 30's may portray him as a non-partisan critic. The impact of his Wagner enthusiasm can be traced in some of his works, including *Merlin* (1885) and a few piano works such as *Georgine* (*Georginen* Op. 52 no. 1, 1909), [Klavierstück] in D flat major (1887) and *Klage* (1903).[112] However, later, allying himself with Hanslick and Brahms, he took much more moderate views.[113]

Right after Brahms's first Viennese concerts, Hellmesberger became his ardent admirer declaring him 'Beethoven's heir'.[114] Moreover, since 1861 Hellmesberger had regularly performed Goldmark's chamber music, including his String Quartet Op. 8, String Quintet Op. 9 and Suite for Violin and Piano Op. 11, among others.[115] Epstein also performed Goldmark's piano chamber music, starting from his second *Kompositionskonzert* in Vienna, including the Piano Trio Op. 4 and the Piano Quintet Op. 54. Another remarkable interpreter of Goldmark's piano solo and piano chamber works was Caroline Bettelheim (1845–1925), Goldmark's outstanding pupil, whom he taught playing the piano from age 7. She premiered excerpts from Goldmark's piano collections *Drei Stücke* and *Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde's concert hall in 1861 and the Suite for Piano and Violin, Op. 11 with Hellmesberger, in 1865. She also performed at Leipzig Gewandhaus with Goldmark as violinist and Ferdinand David as cellist in 1862.[116]

Brahms was on the governing board of the Gesellschaft for decades; he was appointed as its artistic director in 1872, succeeding Anton Rubinstein.[117] Thus Brahms's choices were highly influential on the programmes of the Gesellschaft concerts.[118] Brahms was viewed as 'a conservative and traditionalist within the musical world of Vienna', based on his 'notoriously abrupt and unkind' views on works of many of his contemporaries; even his

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[111] Bertagnolli, 296, 321. Goldmark asserted that he met Wagner only once in Vienna in 1861. Goldmark, 71–72. On the political contexts of Vienna's Wagner-Vereins see Malou Löffelhardt, 'Wagner-Euphorie, 1871–1914: Der "Wagner-Verein in Wien" und der "Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein,"' in *Richard Wagner und Wien: Antisemitische Radikalisierung und das Entstehen des Wagnerismus*, ed. Hannes Heer, Christian Glanz, and Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2017), 169–94.

[112] What Goldmark gained from studying Wagner's music, in terms of chromatic voice-leading and modulation is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

[113] Bertagnolli, 296, 321. Goldmark was aware of the influence of Brahms and Hanslick on Viennese concert programming and reviewing; in some cases probably even overestimated their impact: Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 122. Goldmark probably realized that his Wagner-advocacy might be dangerous for his own career and eventually declined to join the Wagner-Verein upon its foundation in 1873.

[114] Musgrave, 39.

[115] According to Goldmark, Hellmesberger performed all his chamber works from 1862 on. *Erinnerungen*, 73.

[116] They performed Mendelssohn's Piano Trio in C minor Op. 66. *Erinnerungen*, 95.; *Österreichisches Musiklexikon Online*, s.v. 'Karoline Bettelheim,' accessed 3 July 2021, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml?frames=no

[117] Botstein, 53., Musgrave, Years of Transformation, 41.

[118] Botstein, Brahms and his audience, 57.

'choices in terms of modern repertoire were viewed as equally conservative.'[119] Brahms frequently featured Mendelssohn and Schumann as well as Bruch and indeed Goldmark, including Goldmark's *Frühlingshymne* Op. 23 (which Goldmark dedicated to him) and *Penthesilea* Op. 31 alongside works of Schumann and Mendelssohn in 1873–74.[120]

A few further of Goldmark's works clearly earned Brahms's appreciation. Consider his comment on the *Ländliche Hochzeit* symphony as recorded in Goldmark's memoirs: 'this is your best work – he [Brahms] said – clear, immaculate as Minerva, having suddenly jumped from Jupiter's head', alluding to Schumann's phrase, which had introduced Brahms himself in *Neue Bahnen* in 1853.[121] Moreover, Brahms referred to *Merlin*, Goldmark's second opera (1885) as a 'rechte Tat' (right deed) adding that 'You've got to have respect for a chap like Goldmark; it is a pleasure … to see how the whole thing will work, how everything has its place'.[122]

Brahms occasionally visited Goldmark in Gmunden where Goldmark spent his summers. They made several excursions in the surrounding mountains. Brahms also accompanied him to Rome, one of the locations in Italy where Goldmark's *Saba* was staged.[123] In August 1882 they attended in Gmunden a performance of Brahms's new Piano Trio Op. 87 and String Quintet Op. 88, in a private villa.[124] Goldmark's memoirs suggest that Brahms, who bluntly rejected the (even positive) opinions of those he considered as 'unauthorized', valued Goldmark's views.[125]

As Goldmark noted, Brahms was a man of great stature, straightforwardly expressing his opinion, albeit sometimes rather crudely. Having learned that Goldmark set a text (*Wer sich die Musik erkiest*) by Martin Luther, which was performed at one of the Gesellschaft concerts, Brahms a few days later, at a social gathering, made an unpleasant comment to a

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[119] Students of the Conservatoire, including Hugo Wolf and Gustav Mahler, considered Brahms as anti-Wagnerian and anti-Brucknerian, and developed at least ambivalent or even hostile feelings towards him. Botstein, 55, 57.

[120] Graf, 386–387.

[121] 'Das ist Ihr Bestes – sagte er – rein, fleckenlos, plötzlich wie Minerva aus dem Haupt Jupiters entsprungen.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 89.; Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 102. Brahms appreciated the symphonic writing in the work. Goldmark also recorded that the symphony was written right after the *Saba*, which Brahms did not like. Brodbeck, 202.

[122] 'vor so einem fixen Kerl wie Goldmark muss man respekt haben; es ist eine Freude … zu sehen, wie das alles wirkend wird, wie alles an seinem Platze steht.' Quoted from Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms*, 155 in Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 213.

[123] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 139–140.

[124] Private music making served as good occasions to read new works or to present them before public performance; Brahms used such opportunities to try out new pieces. 'Brahms preferred to play new works in private spaces initially or, with larger works, organised rehearsals or run-throughs and, based on this, did further fine-tuning on the compositions as appropriate.' Katrin Eich, 'Where was the home of Brahms's piano works?,' 104.

[125] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 90–92.

singer, in the presence of Goldmark: 'Don't you find it strange that a Jew sets a text by Martin Luther?'[126] Various scholars have commented on whether or not that remark should be considered anti-Semitic.[127] In Goldmark's view – or at least the view he permitted himself to express – all that rage on Brahms's part was simply because he used that fine text which would have been perfect for Brahms to set.[128] Nevertheless, this incident caused several months of alienation in their relationship.[129]

Even if their relation was not always unclouded, Goldmark served in various official positions alongside, or at the recommendation of Brahms, which is revealing of Brahms's supportive attitude towards him and Goldmark's growing renown in Vienna. Between 1877 and 1883 he was as an adjudicator for the Beethoven Prize, established by the Gesellschaft for graduates (in composition) of its Conservatoire, alongside Brahms and Hanslick.[130] On Hanslick's enquiry, Brahms in 1879 recommended Goldmark as a potential committee member alongside them for a panel selecting young composers for a state stipend granted by the Ministry of Religion and Public Education, adding that 'his [Goldmark's] name is so well respected that the Ministry can overlook the Judaism.'[131] Nevertheless, he made reference to Goldmark's 'Judaism' as a potential hindrance to his taking the position. In 1886/87 Goldmark became president of the Wiener Tonkünstler-Verein (with Brahms as its honorary chairman), of which from 1911 he served as honorary president. From 1886, he was honorary member of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.[132]

1.7. Goldmark's Viennese Breakthrough

Goldmark's success in Vienna is closely linked to the circumstances surrounding the premiere of his opera *Die Königin von Saba*, which marked a decisive shift in his position there. It also reveals Goldmark's relations to key figures of the musical scene, and

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[126] Ibid., 86, 87.
[127] Including Margaret Notley, David Brodbeck.
[128] Hanslick, when reviewed the performance, doubted Luther's authorship of the text. *Neue Freie Presse* (5 December 1893). According to Brodbeck, Luther in fact was not its author. 'Becoming a German,' 59–60.
[129] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 86–87.
[130] Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 202.
[131] in a letter by Brahms, ca. 1879. Christiane Wiesenfeldt, 'Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Eduard Hanslick,' in *Musik und Musikforschung: Johannes Brahms im Dialog mit Geschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Sandberger and Christiane Wiesenfeldt (Bärenreiter, 2007), 292. Referred to in Brodbeck, 201.
[132] The Wiener Tonkünstler-Verein was called to existence as a 'counter-association' to the Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein on 23 November 1885 by a group of 63 musicians, with J. Epstein, A. Door and Brahms amongst its founders. *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon Online*, s.v. 'Wiener Tonkünstler-Verein,' accessed 24 September 2021, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_W/Wiener_Tonkuenstler-Verein.xml

importantly, his self-positioning. Firstly, Brahms included the *Einzugsmarch und Chor* from *Die Königin von Saba* in the programme of the festive concert of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in the grand hall of Musikverein on 11 January 1874, in which Liszt, who had not played publicly for 25 years, took part; this was likely to raise awareness of Goldmark's opera and thus promote its premiere.[133] According to Brahms's close acquaintance and Austrian composer, Richard Heuberger's recollection,

> … Brahms told us that he had contributed a great deal to the performance of Goldmark's opera *Die Königin von Saba* at the Court Opera. He was planning to perform the *Einzugsmarch* and another piece from it in a concert of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde at the time when he was director. Prince Hohenlohe, Intendant of the court theatres … was upset that Brahms wanted to play parts from *Die Königin von Saba*.[134]

In addition, other musicians were also central to the visibility and success of Goldmark's music in Vienna. On the basis of her personal interviews with the Gomperz-Bettelheim family, Mária Kálmán suggested that the pianist Caroline Bettelheim, Goldmark's former pupil drew Liszt's attention to Goldmark's music.[135] Bettelheim, and her husband pursued a busy social life; the Viennese intellectual aristocracy were frequent guests at their house. On one occasion, they hosted Liszt in their salon, and Bettelheim familiarized him with certain parts of Goldmark's *Saba*. No detail survived of how this actually happened but she might well have sung and played excerpts from the work at the piano. Reportedly, Liszt's reaction was 'if the work is half as nice as this part, it must be performed by all means.'[136] At the performance of the *Einzugsmarch und Chor* Liszt was so moved that, as Goldmark

[133] Liszt performed his arrangement of the *Wanderer Fantasy* by Schubert, and his 'Ungarische Rhapsodie für Clavier und Orchester' with Herbeck conducting, which likely have been his *Hungarian Fantasy* for piano and orchestra, according to a historic programme. The excerpt from Goldmark's *Saba* took place right after intermission, with Dessoff conducting. A photo of the original poster of the concert is included in Goldmark, *Emlékek,* 131.

[134] 'Auf eine Landpartie am 8 Marz nach Perchtoldsdorf erzählte Brahms, daβ er seinerzeit viel dazu beigetragen habe, daβ Goldmarks Oper Die Königin von Saba in der Hofoper zur Aufführung kam. Er plane damals nämlich in einem Konzert der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde zur Zeit als er Direktor war, den Einzugsmarch und noch ein anderes Stück aus dieser aufzuführen. Fürst Hohenlohe damals Intendant der Hoftheater kam darauf ganz aufgeregt zu Brahms und hielt sich darüber auf, daβ Brahms Partien aus der Königin von Saba spielen wolle. Die Oper käme ja ohnehin bald in der Hofoper heraus. So kam in diese etwas faule Angelegenheit größere Eile …' Richard Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms,* ed. Kurt Hofmann (H. Schneider, 1976), 98. Quoted in Graf, 386–387. Konstantin zu Hohenlohe-Schilingsfürst (1828–1896), chief marshal of the imperial court of Vienna between 1866 and 1896.

[135] Mária Kálmán, *Goldmark Károly 1830–1930: Adalékok életéhez és műveihez magyar vonatkozásban* [Károly Goldmark 1830–1930: Additions to his Life and Works in relation to Hungary] (Budapest: Sárkány Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1930), 31.

[136] 'Ha a mű felényire is olyan szép, mint ez a részlet, akkor okvetlenül elő kell adatni.' Kálmán, 31.

recalled, complimented him '*coram publico*'.[137] Hanslick shared Liszt's enthusiasm and described the music in his review as 'ingeniously conceived, genuinely dramatic and instrumented with unusual brilliance'.[138] The inclusion of this excerpt in that festive occasion and its public success surely opened doors at the Hofoper for the premiere of the opera. Kálmán claimed that Liszt, who selflessly supported talent, advocated in Viennese circles for Goldmark's work to be soon performed. In any case, *Die Königin von Saba* was premiered on 10 March of the next year.[139]

A significant account of the circumstances around the production of *Die Königin von Saba* is Hanslick's 1900 feuilleton marking Goldmark's 70th birthday.[140] He notes that after ten years of meticulous work on the score, the composer 'only stood at the beginning of almost immense difficulties and obstacles' to have the work performed.[141] He then quotes at length from Goldmark's letter written to him in January 1873, describing his hardships in getting his opera premiered at the Hofoper and asking for Hanslick's intervention in favour of the work's premiere.[142] It is worth examining a few elements of Goldmark's carefully constructed letter, spiced with mild humour, as they shed light on crucial aspects of Goldmark's relation to Hanslick, to the higher-ups of the Hofoper, and on his self-perception. As Hanslick recalled:

> Count Wrbna, the General Intendant [of the Hofoper] at the time, absolutely did not want to give his consent to the acceptance of Goldmark's opera. In his distress Goldmark wrote me a long letter in January 1873, which today, after 27 years, is not without peculiar interest. It says 'The great misfortune of composing an opera happened to me. Whoever has never eaten his bread with tears, who never composed an opera, does not know you, you heavenly powers! But the full depth of such a misfortune can only be appreciated by the one who intends to perform it. And I am in this sad case; therefore I call on you. You alone can help me … I have often had evidence of your personal benevolence. I have always kept a lively feeling of gratitude to you for this.'[143]

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[137] 'in front of the people', that is 'publicly' from Latin in Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 125–126.

[138] '… geistreich concipirt, echt dramatisch angelegt und mit ungewöhnlichen Glanz instrumentirt.' Ed. H., 'Das Liszt-Concert im groβem Musikvereinssaale,' *Neue Freie Presse* (13 January 1874): 2.

[139] Kálmán, 31.

[140] Ed. H. 'Karl Goldmark. (Zum 18. Mai 1900),' *Neue Freie Presse* (18 May 1900): 1–2.

[141] 'Zehn Jahre lang war der peinlich gewissenhafte Componist mit der Partitur beschäftigt. Damit glücklich zu Ende gelangt, stand er aber erst am Anfang fast unübersehbarer Schwierigkeiten und Hindernisse.' Ibid.

[142] Goldmark also included the content of his letter to Hanslick in his recollections. *Erinnerungen*, 122–124.

[143] 'Der damalige General-Intendant Graf Wrbna wollte durchaus seine Zustimmung nicht ertheilen zur Annahme der Goldmark'schen Oper. In seiner Bedrängniß schrieb mir Goldmark im Januar 1873 einen langen Brief, der heute, nach 27 Jahren, nicht ohne eigenthümliches Interesse ist. Darin heißt es unter Anderem "Mir ist das große Unglück geschehen, eine Oper zu componiren. Wer nie sein Brot mit Thränen aß, wer nie eine Oper

After reminding him of his hardships and the difficult task of composing an opera, Goldmark assures Hanslick of his gratitude for his benevolence. Goldmark might well have based this on Hanslick's encouraging reviews of some of his earlier works.[144] More significant is that Goldmark appealed to him on the basis of positioning himself as a well-established, Austrian (i.e. domestic) composer and, importantly, on that in his own judgement, the artistic qualities of his work merits Hanslick's consideration:

> I also do not believe that this recommendation would appear artistically unworthy. With all necessary modesty … I am the only Austrian composer – Brahms and Volkmann cannot count among these – whose works can be found on all German and non-German concert programmes. It is not only the earlier proofs of your friendly attitude that encourage me to invoke your influential word today, but also the worthiness of my work … All in all, I believe I have written an efficient, viable work, for the success of which, for three quarters of the work at least, I would be willing to vouch, if you would allow such a dubious vouching at all – and they will cancel the fourth quarter anyway.[145]

Goldmark also lets Hanslick know that he had heard about the Hofoper's chief conductor, Dessoff's supportive stance towards his work, which in his view should count as a strong vote in the case.[146] Goldmark then refers to recent failures of premieres by Austrian composers which he suspected to be the reason for rejecting his opera, and in this sense, he seemed to

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componirte, der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Mächte! Die ganze Tiefe eines solchen Unglücks kann aber nur der ermessen, der eine solche aufzuführen beabsichtigt. Und ich bin in diesem traurigen Falle; darum rufe ich zu Ihnen. Sie allein können mir helfen, mehr als alle vierzehn Nothelfer. Schon öfter hatte ich mich der Beweise, Ihrer persönlich wohlwollenden Gesinnung zu erfreuen. Ich habe Ihnen allezeit ein lebhaftes Dankgefühl hierfür bewahr."' Ibid.

144 Hanslick's reviews of Goldmark's symphonic, chamber and piano works pre-1875 are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

145 'Auch glaube ich mich dieser Empfehlung künstlerisch nicht unwürdig gezeigt zu haben. Bei aller nothwendigen Bescheidenheit werden Sie mir das bischen Selbstgefühl nicht übel nehmen, wenn ich's hier ausspreche: daß ich der einzige österreichische Componist bin - da man Brahms und Volkmann nicht zu diesen zählen kann - dessen Werke auf allen deutschen und außerdeutschen Concertprogrammen zu finden sind. Allein nicht die früheren Beweise Ihrer freundlichen Gesinnung blos ermuthigen mich, heute Ihr einflußreiches Wort anzurufen, sondern auch die Würdigkeit meines Werkes … Alles in Allem glaube ich ein tüchtiges, lebensfähiges Werk geschrieben zu haben, für dessen Erfolg, für drei Viertel des Werkes wenigstens, ich bei genügender Darstellung einstehen möchte, wenn Sie eine so zweifelhafte Bürgschaft überhaupt gelten lasten - und das vierte Viertel werden sie ohnehin streichen.' Ibid.

146 'Capellmeister Dessoff hat, wie ich erfahre, ein lebhaft anerkennendes, der Aufführung durchaus zustimmendes Urtheil abgegeben. Wer das strenge Pflichtgefühl, die Tüchtigkeit Dessoff's kennt, wird ein solches Urtheil nicht gering anschlagen. I learned that Capellmeister has given an appreciative, approving opinion of the performance. Anyone who knows Dessoff's strict sense of duty, his efficiency, will not disparage such a verdict.' Ibid.

complain that being Austrian would mean a hindrance for him. However, in this indirect way, he in fact firmly claims himself as an Austrian (i.e. domestic) composer, thus appeals to Hanslick's nationalist sentiments.

> I have reason to believe that our management has become fearful and suspicious due to some patriotic failures. It may sometimes be a misfortune to be called an Austrian, but it is not actually a shame … It wouldn't occur to me if my work is bad, to appeal to the 'patriotic'; but if it is good, as is the case here, that [i.e. to be Austrian] shouldn't be an obstacle to me.[147]

Finally, Goldmark emphasized his appeal to what he perceived as Hanslick's influential 'mission' of promoting national (Austrian) artistic matters:

> You have been entrusted by the state with the beautiful honorary task of promoting art and artistic interests – which partly also consists of assisting artists in their hardships. I appeal to this beautiful mission of yours![148]

Hanslick adds that his 'rather dubious' influence was not necessary, as on the recommendation of Herbeck and Dessoff, the Hofoper's new intendant, Prince Hohenlohe was in favour of the premiere. He noted that 'March 10, 1875 marks the actual birthday of Goldmark's fame.'[149] Hanslick's assessment is right as the premiere of *Die Königin von Saba* catapulted Goldmark to international renown. In his critical response Hanslick admitted that Goldmark's work was 'imposing … which at certain places reveals powerful and singular talent,' at the same criticised the libretto and the allegedly overwhelming use of Orientalist features in the music,[150] Goldmark, however, regarded Hanslick's review as 'annihilating' because of its qualified praise.[151] In his memoirs he also admitted that for Brahms 'it was such a work that was inevitably foreign to his inner being.'[152] In his recollections Goldmark suggested that he suspected Hanslick being under the spell of Brahms and that in many cases

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[147] 'Ich habe Grund zu glauben, daß unsere Direktion durch einige vaterländische Mißerfolge ängstlich und mißtrauisch wurde. Es mag wohl manchmal ein Unglück sein, ein Oesterreicher zu heißen, aber eigentlich doch noch keine Schande.' Ibid.

[148] 'Es fällt mir nicht ein, wenn mein Werk schlecht ist, mich auf den 'Vaterländischen' zu berufen; aber wenn es, wie hier der Fall, gut ist, sollte mir das billig kein Hinderniß sein. Sie sind vom Staate mit dem schönen Ehrenamte betraut, die Kunst und die künstlerischen Interessen zu fördern - welches zum Theile auch darin besteht, den Künstlern in ihren Nöthen beizustehen. Ich appellire an diese Ihre schöne Mission!' Ibid.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Hanslick, *Musikalische Stationen,* 301.; Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming Flowers,' 139.

[151] 'es war einfach Vernichtung' *Erinnerungen,* 130.

[152] 'überdies eines Werkes, das seinem innerlichen Wesen fremd sein mußte.' *Erinnerungen,* 122.

Brahms's views influenced Hanslick's judgements, claiming that Brahms 'stood behind him as *spiritus rector*'.[153]

Despite this mixed critical response, and because of its public success, *Saba* was frequently staged in Vienna and performed across Europe and the Americas, translated to several languages. Goldmark's international renown might well have catalysed interest in his compositions in other genres than opera, including piano solo and piano chamber repertoire. However, *Saba* became his 'iconic' work, often suggesting a reductive interpretation of Goldmark's music as a whole as 'Oriental'. This, or other ideological considerations, resulted in a few instances odd reactions to some of his pieces, including for piano.[154]

1.8. Later Viennese Acquaintances

Anton Rubinstein, composer and virtuoso pianist, a director of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna until 1872, belonged to Goldmark's circle of friends. Goldmark recorded memories of Rubinstein's exceptional abilities in improvising on the piano, his two-piano performance with Liszt as well as social events they shared. One such occasion was the foundation of the Tonkünstler-Verein, celebrated with a dinner in the Musikverein's restaurant, where amongst the attendees Brahms, Liszt, Rubinstein and Goldmark were present.[155] Goldmark also recalled gatherings at Rubinstein's flat, with Epstein as frequent guest. As noted earlier, Epstein was also a performer of Goldmark's piano chamber music, starting from his second concert in Vienna in 1861.[156] Goldmark sensed a degree of artistic jealousy in Rubinstein towards Wagner, whose music he could not appreciate, and towards Brahms, Vienna's 'rising star' and that he felt neglected as a composer.[157]

Goldmark was also acquainted with Peter Cornelius, a former pupil of Liszt in Weimar, a Wagnerian, while he resided in Vienna. Cornelius introduced Goldmark's music to Graf Dr Laurencin [Count Ferdinand Peter Graf Laurencin, d'Armond] (1819–90), who praised many of his compositions in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.[158]

Goldmark's links with figures who later became highly significant are revealing of his renown in Viennese musical life from late 1870s. Harald Graf noted that one repeatedly

[153] 'guiding spirit' from Latin. Ibid.
[154] This will be further discussed in Chapter Two.
[155] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 70.
[156] For more detail, see Chapter Two.
[157] *Erinnerungen*, 70–71.
[158] Ibid., 73–76.

comes across Goldmark's person at key points of Gustav Mahler's career. Mahler applied unsuccessfully for the Beethoven-Prize of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, with Brahms, Hanslick, Richter and Goldmark on the jury, with his *Argonauten* overture in 1878 and with *Das klagende Lied* in 1881.[159] Later on, Mahler approached him in a handful of letters to secure his support, when applying for the vacant position of chief conductor at Vienna Hofoper.[160] (Mahler was eventually granted the post without Goldmark's aid.) He premiered Goldmark's *Das Heimchen am Herd* in Hamburg in 1896, *Kriegsgefangene* in 1899, and kept conducting some of Goldmark's operas including his highly successful renewal of *Die Königin von Saba* in 1901. However, although Mahler highly praised Goldmark's operas, especially *Das Heimchen am Herd,* in his letters to the composer, he later began articulating increasingly critical views of Goldmark's music. He was upset by Goldmark's hesitation in supporting his Vienna application; his attitude gradually changed towards Goldmark during his directorship in Vienna.[161] On the other hand, Mahler sensed a growing anti-Semitic tone towards himself in the nationalist press in early 1900s, which might have played a role in his change of mind on promoting Goldmark.[162] Mahler expressed strong criticism against Goldmark's 1902 opera *Götz von Berlichingen*, and refused to premiere it in Vienna, which deeply saddened Goldmark, who was then, according to Max Graf, at the height of his fame.[163]

Jean Sibelius approached Goldmark, seeking advice in composition and for a short period became his student in Vienna 1890–91. He commented on what he perceived as Goldmark's extraordinary prestige in Vienna in a letter to his mentor.[164] Nevertheless Sibelius noted that Goldmark was not a composition teacher in the conventional sense; at best he could

[159] Harald Graf, 394.
[160] Ibid., 395–398.
[161] According to the report of the Viennese music writer and critic, Goldmark's nephew, Ludwig Karpath (1866–1936), a living witness of the matter 'the will was undoubtedly there, but Goldmark was a shy, introverted person and underestimated his influence. What is certain is that he had hardly done anything substantial in Mahler's favour.' Ludwig Karpath, *Begegnung mit dem Genius* (Wien: Fiba Verlag, 1934), 33. Quoted in Ibid., 398. 'According to his sister, Mahler was quite angry because Goldmark did not give him the help he had so ardently requested, and behaved reservedly towards Goldmark throughout his time as director in Vienna.' Ibid., 401.
[162] Ibid., 399. Edward F. Kravitt, Mahler, 'Victim of the "New" Anti-Semitism,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 127, no. 1 (2002): 72–94.
[163] Max Graf, *Legende einer Musikstadt* (Wien: 1949), 226. Referred to in Graf, 401. The *Götz* was premiered in Budapest in 1902, the Vienna premiere took place only in 1910.
[164] 'Goldmark besitze hier in Wien einen auβerordentlichen Ruf und als dessen Schüler geineβe man allerorts groβes prestige.' Sibelius's letter to Martin Wegelius, director des Musikinstituts zu Helsinki is partially quoted in Graf, 403. Erik Tawaststjerna, *Sibelius*, vol. 1, (1865–1905) (University of California Press, 1976), 73.

inspire him, rather than provide a thorough, systematic training, he was seeking, adding that he needed more thorough instruction and a teacher, who was 'less genial'.[165]

Arnold Schoenberg applied to teach composition at the Academy of Music in Vienna (Wiener Musikakademie) in 1909; its director sought the opinion of recognised musical personalities, including Goldmark.[166] In his response, Goldmark claimed that he was not familiar with Schoenberg's music; however, he encouraged the director to give him an opportunity.[167] Harald Graf argued that Goldmark's sporadic remarks on the musical 'avantgarde' revealed his profound lack of understanding.[168]

These brief accounts of Goldmark's circle of friends, later arrivals and correspondences with them may suggest that he was firmly positioned at the mainstream Viennese musical life. However, as pointed out earlier, his situation was far from ideal, due to shifting ideologies. The writings of certain politically affiliated journals caused him serious hardships both professionally and personally. In the following, some of Goldmark's responses to them will be explored.

1.9. A Defence: *Gedanken über Form und Stil* (1911)

As mentioned above, a dominant aspect of Goldmark's Vienna was the increasingly vehement, politically-tainted attacks. Even if these seem unrelated to his piano music and it would be difficult to judge whether they changed the perceptions of Goldmark's piano works or not, they cannot be ignored because they had a major impact on the fate of his oeuvre as a whole. Goldmark hardly mentioned those assaults in his memoirs, probably with the aim of preserving his desired image of belonging to the German canon.[169] However, as they intensified he could not remain silent. He set out his thoughts in defence, claiming his German credentials, some of which he later published as *Gedanken über Form und Stil* (1911).[170] In this Goldmark also revealed his close understanding of Wagner's music, and his significantly

[165] Ibid., 75. Sibelius then enrolled in the Vienna Conservatoire to study with Robert Fuchs. Graf, 404.
[166] Graf, 405.
[167] Goldmark's letter in response to Dr Karl von Wiener, president of the Wiener Musikakademie is quoted in length in Graf, 405–406. Goldmark an Wiener, 17 April 1910, ÖNB, Hs-Sammlung, 545/24–1.
[168] Ibid., 406.
[169] Typical Germanic features Goldmark employed in his piano works will be discussed in Chapter 3.
[170] Karl Goldmark, 'Gedanken über Form und Stil. Eine Abwher,' [Thoughts on Form and Style. A Defence] *Neue Freie Presse* (16 April 1911): 127–129; (4 June 1911): 53–55. See also David Brodbeck, 'Goldmark's "Thoughts on Form and Style" – and on the Wagnerians' Anti-Semitism,' *Nineteenth Century Studies* 33 (2021): 46–72.

different attitudes to Wagner the composer and Wagner the writer. Only parts of the full text of the *Gedanken* manuscript appeared in print, surely as a result of careful consideration; Goldmark noted that such defence could be dangerous, as it might generate further attacks.[171] In a passage omitted from the printed version, he referred to the nature of the attacks, identifying their more precise source:

> It is always suspicious when a composer who, through a series of large-scale works that have long been common property of the musically educated world, now in [his] mature years [when] a new large work that has repeatedly achieved full success is attacked with such vehemence … One is then inclined to examine such a judgement for its purity and honesty, all the more so because some of these judgements have appeared in newspapers that are already characterised by their political direction. It is painful and sad that a whole life full of honest artistic work, always striving towards the ideal, which also did not lack approval, does not protect one from being pelted with such filth and dirt, as this has happened not only to my works but also to me personally.[172]

In the following passages Goldmark uses self-defence to share his understanding of Wagner's influence as a composer and as a writer, a topic that was of crucial importance in Vienna. The last sentence of the following excerpt remained unpublished.

> When musicians take up the pen – not to write music – it is mostly in self-defence ... it is not only the vehemence of various attacks alone that prompts me, but … I have something to say about the matter itself ... I respect every opinion that flows from artistic conviction; I have even remained on friendly terms with people who did not like my artistic work and who attacked me vehemently … But there is a limit where silence

[171] While the immediate cause of Goldmark's essay was the vehement critical attack on the premiere of his *Heimchen am Herd* in 1896 (amongst obviously several others), he gave so much thought to his 'reply' that some of it appeared finally only in 1911.

[172] 'Es ist immer verdächtig, wenn ein Componist, der durch eine Reihe großen Werke, die längst gemeingut der musical[ischen] gebildeten Welt sind, nun in reifen Jahren ein neues größeres Werk, das wiederholt vollen Erfolg hat mit solcher Vehemenz angegriffen wird … Man ist dann leicht geneigt ein solches Urtheil auf seine Reinheit und Ehrlichkeit zu prüfen, umso mehr, als einige dieser Urtheile in Blättern erschienen, sie schon durch ihre politische Richtung gekennzeichnet sind. Es ist schmerzlich und traurig, daß ein ganzes Leben voll ehrlicher künstlerischer Arbeit, stets nur dem Idealen zugewendeten Streben, dem auch die Zustimmung nicht fehlte, nicht schützt davor mit solchem Unflat und Schmutz beworfen zu werden, wo dies nicht blos meinen Werken sondern auch mir persönlich geschehen ist.' Goldmark, *Gedanken* MS, 2–4.; A passage of the manuscript is quoted in Brodbeck, 299. I used my own translation.

> would be cowardice or suicide; and there the author may well be permitted a word of rebuttal.[173]

He discusses some aspects of the compositional techniques and aesthetics of Wagner's musical language, pointing out how he transformed the role of the singers and the orchestra, creating 'the new form, the Wagnerian style'. Thus he not only reveals deep knowledge of Wagner's music but declares that he considers Wagner a genius, capable of creating a 'great, wonderful whole'.[174] He clearly separates Wagner the composer, whom he truly respects, from Wagner the writer of anti-Semitic essays. Having that said, he then turns to the attacks themselves, trying to dismantle them by logically constructed arguments.

> Of course, how often we hear from the far left [sic] wing of our youngest moderns: A non-Aryan (nous autres) cannot understand the German spirit. It is of no use to be born on German soil, or to be nourished and satiated from German sources of education alone. If one has not drunk genuine Aryan mother's milk from the so-called Aryan breast, one does not understand the German spirit. Can one really claim in all seriousness … that an Italian Aryan musician understood Bach's music better than, say, Mendelssohn, the revivalist of J. S. Bach? Or that such a musician plays Beethoven's violin concerto more stylishly, that is, in the spirit of Beethoven, than Josef Joachim; or that the most German Aryan plays the G major [piano] concerto … more genuinely than, for instance, Anton Rubinstein or Karl Tausig?[175]

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[173] 'Wenn Musiker zur Feder greifen – nicht um Noten zu schreiben, handelt es sich zumeist um Notwehr. Um nur die Hervorragendsten zu nennen: Gluck, Berlioz, Schumann, Liszt, Richard Wagner und so viele jüngere. Wenn es auch zumeist den Anschein hat, daß sie nur für ein künstlerisches Prinzip, für eine Sache eintreten, so war es doch zumeist ihre eigene Sache. Mußten sie sich gegen harte Angriffe verteidigen, wenn auch oft nur in rein prinzipiellen Fragen, so war's doch immer Notwehr. Wenn auch ich nun ein Gleiches tuend, zur Feder greife, so ist es nicht bloß die Heftigkeit verschiedener Angriffe allein, die mich hierzu veranlaßt, sondern weil ich, wie schon bemerkt, zur Sache selbst einiges zu sagen habe. Es fiel mir in der langen Zeit meines Lebens nicht ein, mich auch nur mit einem Worte auf die heftigsten Angriffe zur Wehre zu setzen; es ist dies das Dümmste und Gefährlichste. Ich respektiere jede aus künstlerischer Ueberzeugung fließende Ansicht; blieb auch selbst mit Personen, denen meins künstlerisches Schaffen nicht sympathisch war und die mich heftig angegriffen, in persönlich freundschaftlichem Verkehr … Aber es gibt eine Gränze, wo Schweigen Feigheit, oder Selbstmord wäre; und da mag wohl auch dem Verfasser ein Wort der Gegenrede gestattet sein.' Goldmark, 'Gedanken über Form und Stil. Eine Abwher,' *Neue Freie Presse* (16 April 1911): 127.

[174] 'Dem Genie R. Wagners gelingt es selbst häufig, der sonst trockenen Deklamation über ihre beschränkte Fähigkeit hinaus dem Worte adäquaten, selbständigen melodischen (Gefühls-) Inhalt zu geben, und damit ist auch ein einheitlich fließendes Ganzes, Großes und Herrliches entstanden.' The genius of R. Wagner often succeeds in lending the otherwise dry declamation adequate, independent melodic (emotional) content beyond its limited ability, and thus a uniformly flowing whole, great and glorious, has also come into being. Ibid.

[175] 'Freilich, wie oft bekommt man noch vom äußersten linken Flügel unserer Jüngstmodernen zu hören: Ein Nichtarier (nous autres) könne den deutschen Geist nicht begreifen. Es nützt nichts, auf deutschem Boden geboren zu sein oder aus deutschen Bildungsquellen allein sich genährt, gesättigt und großgezogen zu haben. Hat er nicht an der sogenannten arischen Brußt echte arische Muttermilch getrunken, versteht er den deutschen Geist nicht. Kann man wirklich allen Ernstes behaupten ohne zu Lachen, ein italienischer arischer Musiker habe

What is discussed here is in essence the acutely topical definition of 'Germanness' and cultural identities, according to opposing political ideologies, promoted by the liberals, versus racial nationalists. In this, he is arguing against the idea claimed by Wagnerites that one has to be born German, in order to understand the 'spirit' of German artwork. In support of his argument, Goldmark refers to outstanding musicians of Jewish origin (such as Mendelssohn or Joachim) as unsurpassed interpreters of core German music, Bach, Mozart, Beethoven and Wagner; in which cases claiming no understanding of the performed works would be of no sense. He goes on pointing out that even Wagner employed Jewish interpreters for his own works, in contradiction to his writings.

> And didn't R Wagner provide the strongest proof to the contrary for himself, in that among the hundreds of capable Aryan conductors in Germany, he found none better for his Parsifal than precisely – Hermann Levi?! And, as the most understanding literary interpreter of his works (for the King of Bavaria) Heinrich Porges, whom he summoned to Munich especially for this purpose. And [consider] the wonderful interpretations of the 'Iphigenia', 'The Marriage of Figaro' and 'Tristan' under Gustav Mahler. O, glorious logic! O, justice! All these would not have understood the German spirit![176]

And here Goldmark turns to his own case, touching on the most sensitive point:

> And if it were only that. But it is so easy to remove the inconvenient from a whole cultural enterprise with a single word. What one does not forgive *Die Königin von Saba* is that it is not Wagnerian and yet has been able to assert itself alongside Wagner since 1875. No, it is not Wagnerian. Thank God. If it were, it would have been long gone, like so many of his imitators. Just as Mozart had learned from Haydn, Beethoven from Mozart and all together from Bach, so I too have learned from these and some also from Wagner, and only lack of understanding can blame me for this … Recently I read … about *Die Königin von Saba*: 'The foreign work'. The word, however … is in fact its

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Bachsche Musik besser verstanden als etwa Mendelssohn, der Wiedererwecker J. S. Bachs? Oder daß ein solcher daß Beethovensche Violinkonzert stilvoller, das ist im Geiste Beethovens, spielt als Josef Joachim; oder der deutscheste Arier das G-dur-Konzert besser, größer, echter als etwa Anton Rubinstein oder Karl Taussig?' 'Gedanken über Form und Stil. Von Karl Goldmark,' *Neue Freie Presse* (4 June 1911): 55.

[176] 'Und hat nicht R Wagner für sich selbst den stärksten Gegenbeweis erbracht, indem er unter den hunderten tüchtigen arischen Kapellmeistern Deutschlands für seinen Parsifal keinen besseren fand als gerade - Hermann Lewy?! Und als verständnisvollsten literarischen Interpreten seiner Werke (für den König von Bayern) Heinrich Porges, den er eigens hierzu nach München berief. Und die wundervollen Ausführungen der "Iphigenie", "Figaros Hochzeit" und "Tristan" unter Gustav Mahler. O, herrliche Logik! O, Gerechtigkeit! Alle diese hätten den deutschen Geist nicht verstanden.' Ibid. See also Brodbeck, 301.

> greatest praise, for it denotes under all circumstances its subjective uniqueness. The foreign work should probably mean that it does not belong to the German spirit, to German art? Really, then to which one? As a work of art, as it stands, it did not fall from the sky … it must originate from a highly developed culture … it must have a musical ancestor. This 'foreign' is here only to mean 'Oriental'.[177]

The 'inconvenient' one here is *Die Königin von Saba*, which is to be excluded from the 'cultural enterprise', that is from the 'sacred German art'.[178] The 'single word', that is, basis for exclusion, as referred to by Goldmark is the works' putative '*fremdartig*' that is, non-German (non-Wagnerian) nature. In response to this, Goldmark asserts that this equally implies the 'peculiar' nature, in other words, the originality of his work, also implying that while he learned from German masters, was not an imitator of Wagner. His use of Orientalist markers, in his view as *couleur locale* 'strong representation of a musical characteristic' rather than a coherent, defining style, is justified by the subject matter of the opera.[179] Goldmark also draws a line of emblematic composers of core Germanic tradition, claiming that he learned from all of them, consequently his work could belong nowhere else than that.[180]

1.10. Conclusion

[177] 'Und wenn's nur das wäre. Aber es ist so bequem, den Unbequemen mit einem Worte aus einer ganzen Kulturbewegung auszuschalten. Was man der, "Königin von Saba" nicht verzeiht ist, daß sie nicht Wagnerisch ist und doch seit 1875 neben Wagner sich behaupten konnte. Nein, Wagnerisch ist sie nicht. Gott sei Dank. Wäre sie das, sie wäre längst dahin, wie so manches seiner Nachahmer. Sowie Mozart von Haydn, Beethoven von Mozart und alle zusammen von Bach gelernt hatten, so habe auch ich von diesen und manches auch von Wagner gelernt, und nur Unverstand kann mir dies verübeln … Erst jüngst las ich in einem Referat über die "Königin von Saba" die Bezeichnung: "Das fremdartige Werk". Das Wort soll aber nicht sowohl die Eigenart bezeichnen, als vielmehr dem Werk einen Makel anhängen, ist aber tatsächlich sein größtes Lob, denn es bezeichnet unter allen Umständen seine subjektive Eigenart. Das fremdartige Werk soll wohl heißen, als nicht dem deutschen Geiste, der deutschen Kunst angehörig? Ja, welcher denn? Als Kunstwerk, wie es nun einmal dasteht, ist es wohl nicht vom Himmel gefallen und muß mit all seinem Formen und Eigenheiten, guten und weniger guten, einer hochentwickelten Kultur und Kunstrichtung entstammen, eine musikalischen Ahnen haben. Dieses, "fremdartig" soll hier verschämt wohl heißen: orientalisch.' 'Gedanken über Form und Stil. Von Karl Goldmark,' *Neue Freie Presse* (4 June 1911): 55.

[178] Goldmark referred here to *die heilige deutsche Kunst*, a Wagnerian concept. Brodbeck, 301–02.

[179] 'Das "Fremde" an dem Werk ist eben nicht anderes als die dem Stoff gemäße und starke Nachempfindung musikalischer Eigenart.' 'Gedanken über Form und Stil. Von Karl Goldmark,' *Neue Freie Presse* (4 June 1911): 55.

[180] As Brodbeck argues, Goldmark 'deftly turns the argument around by co-opting the term of abuse (*fremdartig*) and using it as a positive descriptor of the work's exoticism (which, of course, presumes Goldmark's position within the German *Kulturnation*).' Ibid., 302.

As we have seen, Goldmark's Vienna was complex, multi-layered, characterised by shifting political ideologies which resulted in dramatic societal changes. On Goldmark's arrival (i.e. his return from Pest in 1860) Vienna seemed to be a welcoming, pro-assimilationist milieu, ideal for him, a migrant from an Eastern province of the Monarchy, to foster a musical career. In order to meet the conditions of liberal Vienna he needed to formulate his self-identity in cultural terms as German composer and frame his background and upbringing, foregrounding his links to German culture (such as self-education and the liberal value of lifelong cultivation), while glossing over his Jewish origin, even though his circle of friends, including members of core Viennese cultural establishment, Brahms, Hanslick, Hellmesberger and Epstein, offered supporting conditions for him at the time. The renowned status he acquired was affirmed by invitations to act in various official capacities. However, changing political trends made significant impact on the interpretation of some of his works. Despite having become an esteemed figure of Vienna's cultural establishment, his works were targeted by ideologically tinted attacks by nationalist press; the emerging ideology of racial nationalism defined 'Germanness' solely by birth, as opposed to cultural assimilation. Thus his desired status, as belonging to the German culture was firmly questioned. Despite that, Goldmark enjoyed reverence until his old age, but the strengthening political tendencies made the fate of his music uncertain after his death.

Within this social/cultural framework will be Goldmark's music, composed for the centrally important instrument of the 19th-century, the piano, placed and discussed in the following chapters. This exploration will shed light on how recurring topics, claimed by contemporary reviewers of Goldmark's piano works, align with prevailing ideologies, for example the topic of 'originality' of his works, his self-training on German sources and life-long cultivation, and, notably, whether his works belong to the so-called 'German artwork'.

Chapter 2.

Contemporary Performances and Reviews of Goldmark's Piano Music

2.1. Rationale and Aims

One way to contextualise Goldmark's piano works within 19th and early 20th century Vienna and, in a broader sense, within Romantic piano literature, is to explore their performance history and reception. Insights into reception are crucial with regard to whether a work would become part of concert programmes at the time and later, and thus noticed by audiences. It is essential, therefore, to discover to what extent Goldmark's piano works were performed in his lifetime and furthermore, to assess how they were perceived by musicians and audiences in Vienna, Pest and beyond.

Music histories are necessarily reductive, written on the basis of particular perspectives and evidence in a particular time.[1] Nevertheless, music critics wield considerable power in formulating a canon, as 'their writing influences public opinion and contributes to how audiences receive works.' Laura Hamer teases out the decisive role of music critics as 'the gatekeepers of the canon': 'they focus attention upon specific works and musicians, thus justifying these as most worthy of public recognition and debate. They help works to achieve repeat performances, and thereby to establish their places within the performing canon.'[2] They make value judgements according to their (supposed) 'gold standards' such as perceived aesthetic strength, complexity and 'eternal qualities' of a work (in an ideal case). Franz Brendel, for instance, Schumann's successor at the *NZfM* emphasized critics' role 'in determining artistic progress.'[3] Thus critics formulate public taste through their writings, and 'decide who should be included within, and who should be excluded from the canon … In the case of music in particular, it is via criticism that a work's [and indeed a composer's] canonical status is established.'[4] But criticism was (and is) never impartial (i.e. judging a

[1] Christopher Dingle, 'Introduction,' in *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism,* ed. Christopher Dingle (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 1.
[2] Laura Hamer, 'Critiquing the Canon: The Role of Criticism in Canon Formation,' in *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism,* ed. Christopher Dingle (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 231, 234.
[3] Laura Tunbridge, 'Constructing a Musical Nation: German-Language Criticism in the Nineteenth Century,' in *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism,* ed. Christopher Dingle (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 181.
[4] Hamer, 'Critiquing the Canon,' 234.

work purely according to its aesthetic values): it has an ideological, in many cases political dimension, which should be taken into account.[5] The 19th-century Austro-German canon is an illustrative example of this.[6] Music 'played a vital role in imagining the construction of the [German] nation' in the 19th century: music was seen as 'the most German of the arts'.[7] Alongside the rise of nationalism, 'Germanising tendencies and an assertion of the supposed inherent superiority of Germanic culture' prevailed: native composers were favoured, 'music written by those outside the Austro-German mainstream was either appropriated or Othered'.[8] Critics had their own specialized media, through which polemics were facilitated, ideas were defined and reception was disseminated.[9] Leading journals 'cultivated ideas about what it meant to be German, musically speaking.'[10] This was indeed true for Austrian regions (especially Vienna) as well: 'Austrian critics of a liberal political persuasion were no less concerned with musical expressions of Germanic identity than their Leipzig- and Berlin-based counterparts', an observation that was hugely relevant for Goldmark's reception.[11] A true example of this was Eduard Hanslick, a liberal nationalist, whose writings were highly influential in Austrian cultural life. He was 'privileging Germanness or *Deutschtum* … by detecting [supposedly] German qualities in a work – seriousness, genuineness, strength – [Hanslick] could grant a status of being German for a composer, even if he came from elsewhere in the Empire.'[12] 'The ability to control large-scale forms' as well as 'originality, balanced against respect for tradition, were firmly identified as German qualities'; these were recurring features in Goldmark's reception.[13] For Hanslick this was a 'cosmopolitan definition of national identity', as opposed to a strictly racial one, which was to change fundamentally by the rise of racial anti-Semitism in the late 19th century.[14]

This chapter investigates the reception of Goldmark's piano works, in order to shed light on how it aligned with dominant ideologies and agendas promoted by critics. While the existing literature on Goldmark deals with his compositional output and stylistic issues in general, exploration of contemporary and later performances and reception of his piano works

[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., 232.
[7] Tunbridge, 'Constructing a Musical Nation,' 170.
[8] Hamer, 'Critiquing the Canon,' 239.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Tunbridge, 'Constructing a Musical Nation,' 177.
[11] Ibid., 183.
[12] Ibid., 185.; Tunbridge quotes from David Brodbeck, 'The Political Context,' in *Defining Deutsctum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 6–11.
[13] Hamer, 'Critiquing the Canon,' 239.
[14] Tunbridge, 'Constructing a Musical Nation,' 185, 189.

is almost entirely lacking. It is known that Goldmark's symphonic works and operas regularly appeared not only on Viennese concert programmes but also elsewhere in Europe and America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but there is almost no information on whether the same is true with regard to his piano works. Gaining a sense of how much these works were represented and how people reacted to them in Goldmark's time and later is important as it offers an understanding of their place in the context of musical scenes of Vienna and Pest and beyond.

2.2. Literature Review and Methodology

While the existing literature hardly offers any information on the reception of Goldmark's piano music, it does provide some understanding of how some of Goldmark's non-piano works were perceived by musicians and historians. Some sources place certain piano works in the context of the general reception of Goldmark's works, however, in most cases they only mention titles within concert programmes and do not discuss the piano works' reception in any detail. This broadly reflects the status of smaller-scale solo piano works within the hierarchy of musical genres.

The 1930 centenary of Goldmark's birth inspired the publication of extensive writings on the composer. Lajos Koch compiled a bibliography of books and press articles on Goldmark's biography and music, including short excerpts from concert reviews.[15] Mária Kálmán discussed significant events in Goldmark's life in *Goldmark Károly 1830–1930*, premiere performances of his works, including a few of his piano pieces, with reference to critical reviews.[16] The special value of her contribution, as she describes, is that she gained detailed information on Goldmark and his close relationship to Caroline Bettelheim, a dazzling interpreter of his piano works, by personal interviews with the Gomperz-Bettelheim family.[17] István Kecskeméti produced an essential contribution to the Goldmark-scholarship. He not only outlines Vienna's significant role in Goldmark's career, his reception history in Hungary up to the 1980s in 'Goldmark Károly recepciói' but also contemplates possible

[15] Lajos Koch, ed., *Goldmark Károly 1830–1930 május 18*, Aktuális kérdések irodalma [Literature of Current Topics] 49 (Budapest: Fővárosi Nyilvános Könyvtár, 18 May 1930).
[16] Mária Kálmán, *Goldmark Károly 1830–1930: Adalékok életéhez és műveihez magyar vonatkozásban* [Károly Goldmark 1830–1930: Additions to his Life and Works in relation to Hungary] (Budapest: Sárkány Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1930).
[17] Ibid., 18.

reasons of his works' disappearance.[18] According to Kecskeméti, it is striking that despite the international renown he enjoyed, especially after the premiere of *Die Königin von Saba* in Vienna in 1875, his music seems to disappear from concert programmes after the 1930s and remain underrepresented until the end of the 20th century.[19] As noted above, Goldmark's works were forbidden after the *Anschluß* (1938) in Austria and though they were not officially banned in Hungary, they also largely disappeared from Hungarian stages.[20] This erasure was mirrored in scholarly literature. More recently, Harald Graf discussed Goldmark's relationship to significant personalities in Viennese musical circles, including Brahms, Hanslick, Johann Strauss, Mahler, and Schoenberg.[21] By investigating the reception of Goldmark's main operas and symphonic works, David Brodbeck in *Defining Deutschtum* discusses Goldmark's identities, assimilation into Viennese cultural life, including their shifting throughout his lifetime, and judging his works according to changing political trends. An earlier version of his study, exploring Goldmark's reception particularly by Hanslick within the context of 19th-century liberal Vienna appeared in *Rethinking Hanslick*.[22] More recently, Jane Roper discussed the reception of some of Goldmark's symphonic and piano works, including data on performances.[23] Johann Hofer's *Carl Goldmark: Komponist der Ringstraßenzeit* focuses primarily on Viennese aspects of the composer's life, including insights into reception history.[24] Goldmark's recollections *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*,

[18] István Kecskeméti musicologist was head of the musical archives from 1966–81 in National Széchényi Library in Budapest. He prepared the Hungarian translation of Goldmark's recollections *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* [Memories from my Life] (1922) and published several articles on the composer e.g. 'Goldmarkiana: Ismeretlen primer források Magyarországon,' [Goldmarkiana: Unknown Primary Sources in Hungary] *Muzsika* 42, no. 4 (April 1999): 18–23; 'Goldmark Károly recepciói: Visszatekintés halálának 75. évfordulóján,' [Receptions of Károly Goldmark: Retrospection on the 75th Anniversary of his Death] *Muzsika* 32, no. 12 (December 1989): 33–37.; and a series of lectures on Goldmark in the Hungarian Radio.

[19] Kecskeméti, 'Goldmark Károly recepciói,' 36.

[20] Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music,* 41, 59. *Die Königin von Saba* was missing from the programme of the Budapest State Opera between 1938–45, although smaller venues could perform Goldmark's works during that time. One such significant venue was the OMIKE (Országos Magyar Izraelita Közművelődési Egyesület) [National Hungarian Israelite Public Cultural Association] concert hall, accessed 6 July 2020, http://omike.hu/. After 1945 *Saba* appeared occasionally in the repertoire of the Budapest Opera until the 1970s.

[21] Harald Graf, 'Carl Goldmark. Beziehung zu den Zeitgenossen,' *Studia Musicologica Academie Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38, nos. 3–4 (1997): 371–407.

[22] David Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (Oxford University Press, 2014); Brodbeck, '"Poison-Flaming Flowers from the Orient and Nightingales from Bayreuth": On Hanslick's Reception of the Music of Goldmark,' in *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression*, ed. Nicole Grimes, Siobhán Donovan, and Wolfgang Marx (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 132–159.

[23] Jane Roper, 'Carl Goldmark, *Aus Jugendtagen*,' Preface to the study score (Munich: Musikproduktion Höflich, 2014).

[24] Johann Hofer, *Carl Goldmark: Komponist der Ringstraßenzeit* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer GmBH, 2015).

translated and issued in 1980 by Kecskeméti, was amended with notes by Balázs Mikusi in 2017.[25]

An understanding of the shifting political trends in Vienna in the second half of 19th century is vital for studying the reception of Goldmark's works. Carl Schorske's *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* offers thorough guidance in this, and Michael Haas considers the musical sphere in that historical, social context, including its foremost personalities (e.g. Brahms and Hanslick's circles), concepts (e.g. assimilation vs. Wagner's cultural and political legacy) and press organs in *Forbidden Music*.[26] Margaret Notley's *Lateness and Brahms* also sheds light on the cultural realm of liberalism and turn-of-the-century Vienna.[27]

However, none of these sources cover the reception history of Goldmark's piano music in any detail. Therefore, gathering the fullest possible picture of performances, performers and critical reviews of Goldmark's piano works helps to establish the extent to which this repertoire was present in concert programmes of Vienna and Pest (and elsewhere). My research focuses mainly on the press in Vienna and Pest since these cities were the primary locations for Goldmark's music. In terms of timeframe, I explore the period from the 1850s, when Goldmark composed his first piano sets and presented them in his first public concerts, through the early 1900s, when the composer in his late years gained a prestigious status in Viennese music life. The investigation should be extended into the 20th century, although due to the exclusion of Goldmark's works from performances from the late 1930s, chances for such reviews after that time are unfortunately much lower.

It is not my aim to discuss Goldmark's general reception history in this chapter; I focus on the piano works' reception. However, the piano works did not exist in a vacuum, but comprised an integral part of Goldmark's oeuvre, therefore I discuss the reception of the piano works chronologically, relating it to key turning points in his compositional career. As we will see, this is relevant not only at his first public concerts, which aroused the attention of influential Viennese personalities, but also at the peak of his career from the late 1870s, when he again composed piano pieces, as well as in his late years. The premiere of *Die Königin von Saba*, discussed in Chapter One, catapulted Goldmark to international fame. Notably, not long after composing *Saba*, Goldmark produced piano pieces (Op. 29, 1877); the context of this

[25] Karl Goldmark, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Vienna: Rikola, 1922); [Emlékek életemből], ed. and transl. István Kecskeméti, 1980, rev. and ed. Balázs Mikusi (Budapest: Gondolat–OSzK, 2017). Kecskeméti and Mikusi were directors of Music Collection of National Széchényi Library in Budapest.
[26] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siécle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981); Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).
[27] Margaret Notley, 'Brahms as Liberal, Bruckner as Other,' in *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 15–35.

will be investigated later in the chapter. This method of presentation is also useful as reviews seldom discuss performed works individually, but tend to make rather general comments on the performed repertoire in which the piano works were integrated. In a few cases though, they make comments on the piano works separately.

Certain themes recur in critics' discussion of Goldmark's music, such as his autodidacticism, the originality/individuality of his works, the so-called 'cosmopolitanism' of his music, the distinctive harmonic content of his musical language and possible influences on musical style. Perceptions of Goldmark's identities are complex; the shifting of these needs investigation considering the different perspectives of critics.

Goldmark was not trained as a pianist; although he acquired piano skills through self-study, he could not perform his piano music to a professional standard.[28] Therefore, we have to bear in mind that twofold interpretative lenses factored in the formulation of the piano works' reception: the perception of the music was filtered through the personality/identity of both the pianist and the critic. Critics perceived music through different lenses again, according to their identities, backgrounds and perspectives. Thus, criticism can in many cases be seen a reflection on the critic himself as much as on the work. It should also be noted that live concert performance was not the only way of getting familiar with a work; reading through pieces at the piano (even symphonic works in four-hand arrangements) was an important evaluational process for critics. This obviously required considerable pianistic skills, but had the advantage, as opposed to concert performance, of allowing listeners to hear certain parts of the music more than once.

Four critics made significant contributions to Goldmark's press reception over a period a time: Eduard Hanslick (1825–1904), Dr Laurencin (Ferdinand Peter Graf Laurencin, Baron of Armond, 1819–1890), Kornél Ábrányi (1822–1903) and August Beer (1853–1915). Hanslick, who like Goldmark, migrated to Vienna from a province of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (namely Prague), became an influential personality in Vienna's musical life.[29] As chief music critic of the major liberal daily *Neue Freie Presse*, Hanslick followed Goldmark's career from his first public appearances, the *Kompositionskonzerte*, through his mature years, by which time both Hanslick and Goldmark were pillars of Viennese musical establishment,

[28] Hanslick referred to Goldmark's training as a violinist: 'in Oedenburg … er als achtjähriger Knabe mit seiner kleinen Geige das erste Concert gab. Es zog den jungen Musikus nach Wien, wo er unter L. Jansa und Joseph Böhm sich zum tüchtigen Violinspieler ausbildete.' (in Oedenburg as an eight-year-old boy with his little violin gave the first concert. Then trained to become a capable violin player under L.(eopold) Jansa and Joseph Böhm.) Ed. H., 'Karl Goldmark. (Zum 18, Mai 1900),' *Neue Freie Presse* (18 May 1900): 1–2.

[29] Lauren Freede, 'The Critic as a Subject. Hanslick's Aus meinem Leben as a Reflection on Culture and Identity,' in *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression,* ed. Nicole Grimes, Siobhán Donovan, and Wolfgang Marx (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 187–211.

alongside Brahms.[30] Hanslick certainly played an important role in Goldmark's career by bringing the young composer's music to public attention and keeping Goldmark's name in mainstream papers by frequently reviewing his works.[31] Dr Laurencin published reviews in major Viennese journals and in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. He produced numerous writings on Goldmark in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* between 1866 and 1879, including a series of articles, surveying Goldmark's works by opus numbers in 1878–79.[32] These surely offered substantial coverage in the mainstream press for the emerging composer. Kornél Ábrányi, one of the most significant Hungarian writers and critics, also commented on Goldmark's music, positioning him within the Hungarian musical scene in his landmark *A magyar zene a 19. században* and emphasizing the importance of Goldmark's concerts in Hungary in launching his international career.[33] August Beer, music critic for *Pester Lloyd*, the leading German-language liberal daily in Budapest paid special attention to evaluating Goldmark's musical language and national significance for Hungarians, especially from 1895.

Goldmark's piano works were performed by some of the most outstanding pianists at the time; the high level of these charismatic performers' interpretation was surely an important factor in promoting the composers' works. The first interpreter of Goldmark's piano music was his outstanding piano pupil, Caroline Bettelheim (1845–1925), who was also

[30] Ed. H., 'Karl Goldmark. (Zum 18. Mai 1900),' *Neue Freie Presse* (18 May 1900): 1–2.
[31] Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming Flowers,' 135.
[32] Ferdinand Peter Graf Laurencin, Baron of Armond (Dr Laurencin) (1819–1890) was trained as a pianist under Václav Tomašek in Prague. He published as critic in the Prague journal *Dalibor*, then in *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst* and *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik.* Laurencin published his critique of Hanslick's *Vom Musikalisch Schönen* [On the Musically Beautiful], 1854 as *Dr. Eduard Hanslick's Lehre Vom Musikalisch Schönen. Eine Abwehr* [Dr Eduard Hanslick's Doctrine On the Musically Beautiful. A Rebuttal] in 1859, dedicated to Liszt. Markéta Štědronská, 'A. W. Ambros and F. P. G. Laurencin: Two Antiformalistic Views on the Viennese Musical Life in the 1870s?' *Musicologica Austriaca* (13 November 2015), accessed 25 September 2020, http://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/pdf/23; Laurencin's evaluation of Hanslick's works is also discussed in Mark Evan Bonds, *Absolute Musik: The Histroy of an Idea* (Oxford University Press, 2014); Halina Beresnevičiūtė-Nosálová, *Artists and Nobility in East-Central Europe: Elite Socialization in Vilnius and Brno Newspaper Discourse 1795–1863* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018), 78–80. Adolph Schubring surveyed Brahms's published works in the Spring of 1862 in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik.*
[33] Kornél Ábrányi (1822–1903) was a significant figure in the musical scene of 19th-century Hungary: founder of the periodical *Zenészeti Lapok*, secretary and professor of the Academy of Music in Budapest from its foundation to 1888, and a prolific composer. However, the most important of his works were his writings: *A magyar zene a 19-ik században* [Hungarian Music in the 19th Century] (Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Társa, 1900); *Mosonyi Mihály élet- és jellemrajza. Arczképpel.* [Life and Character-Sketches of Mihály Mosonyi. With Portrait.] (Pest: Corvina, 1872); *Erkel Ferenc élete és működése* [The Life and Work of Ferenc Erkel] (Budapest: Schunda V. József Zeneműkereskedő- és kiadó, 1895); *Zenészeti Aesthetica* [Musical Aesthetics] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1877); *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai nyelvi, zöngidomi, harmóniai és műformai szempontból* [Characteristics of Hungarian Song and Music from Linguistic, Rhythmic, Harmonic and Formal Aspects] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1877).

a renowned singer at the Hofoper (Vienna Court Opera).[34] She premiered some of his piano works in Vienna. The young Bettelheim must have made a decisive impact as an early interpreter of Goldmark's piano and piano chamber works: her reportedly dazzling interpretations might well have contributed to the success of Goldmark's first concerts and helped him being recognised.[35] Alfred Grünfeld, an internationally renowned pianist, acclaimed as the most outstanding in Vienna at his time, and Moriz Rosenthal, a Liszt pupil, Brahms's friend and foremost pianist of his era, also performed some of Goldmark's piano works.[36] Amongst performers of Goldmark's piano chamber works Julius Epstein and Anton Door are also mentioned alongside Grünfeld, both remarkable pianists and pedagogues in Vienna, as Hanslick put it 'our best'.[37]

Although I am aware of the shortcomings of autobiographies, a study of Goldmark's published recollections and letters is informative as a starting point, as my investigation focuses for the most part on performance dates and performed pieces rather than the composer's self-imagery.[38] In order to build up this picture, I consulted articles/reviews in contemporary newspapers of Pest and Vienna via online resources such as ANNO (AustriaN Newspaper Online), Digizeitschriften.de and Arcanum Digitális Tudománytár (Arcanum Digital Scientific Repertory, Budapest) about concert performances of his piano works.[39] Contemporary articles and some of Goldmark's correspondence are held in National Széchényi Library in Budapest. The majority of letters and contemporary articles on Viennese

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[34] On Caroline von Gomperz-Bettelheim see *Österreichisches Musiklexikon Online*, s.v. 'Karoline Bettelheim,' accessed 28 September 2020, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml; Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 47–48.

[35] 'seine Schülerin Caroline Bettelheim zum erstenmale als Pianistin vor die Oeffentlichkeit trat. Das talentvolle junge Mädchen war Goldmark's erste Interpretin.' (his pupil Caroline Bettelheim appeared in public for the first time as a pianist. The talented young girl was Goldmark's first interpreter.) Ed. H. 'Karl Goldmark. (Zum 18. Mai 1900),' *Neue Freie Presse* (18 May 1900): 1–2.

[36] Alfred Grünfeld (1852–1924) concertized across Europe and America, was a professor at the Vienna Conservatory and recipient of numerous awards and honours. He was noted as the first pianist to make commercial recordings from 1889, on wax cylinder. 'Wien Geschichte Wiki,' accessed 1 December 2020, https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Alfred_Gr%C3%BCnfeld
On Moriz Rosenthal's (1862–1946) outstanding career, see 'Naxos.com,' accessed 1 December 2020, https://www.naxos.com/person/Moriz_Rosenthal_17688/17688.htm

[37] '… das oft gespielte Clavierquintett das unseren besten Pianisten, Epstein, Door, Grünfeld u. A. ein willkommenes Geschenk bedeutete.' (the often played Piano Quintet (to) our best pianists, Epstein, Door, Grünfeld and others meant a welcome gift) Ed. H. 'Karl Goldmark. (Zum 18. Mai 1900),' *Neue Freie Presse* (18 May 1900): 1–2.; Julius Epstein (1832–1926) was one of the most popular pianists of his time and professor of piano at the Vienna Conservatory. 'Mahlerfoundation.org,' accessed 1 December 2020, https://mahlerfoundation.org/mahler/contemporaries/julius-epstein/; Anton Door (1833–1919), a pupil of Carl Czerny, was an internationally recognised pianist, taught in Vienna Conservatory. *Encyclopedia.com*, accessed 1 December 2020, https://www.encyclopedia.com/arts/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/door-anton

[38] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1922).

[39] e.g. *Neue Freie Presse, Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung*; *Blätter für Musik*; *Theater und Kunst*; *Pester Lloyd*; *Pesti napló*; *A zene*; 'Austrian Newspapers Online,' https://anno.onb.ac.at/ ; 'Digizeitschriften,' http://www.digizeitschriften.de/searchcol/?tx_goobit3_search%5Bextquery%5D=docstrct%3Aperiodical&DC=780.musicology; 'Arcanum Digitális Tudománytár,' https://adtplus.arcanum.hu/hu/

performances can be found in the Wiener Stadtbibliothek and Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and on the ANNO website.

2.3. Main Themes in Early Reception (1857–9)

The first mention of Goldmark by the Viennese critic Eduard Hanslick appeared in January 1857, referring to Vienna's concert givers in that season somewhat ironically: 'the season … has not yet brought about a single celebrity … our concert announcements indicated only honourable names from the Viennese address book' including Goldmark.[40] The first documented acquaintance of Goldmark with Hanslick was in the midst of organising his first self-produced concert in Vienna. The programmes of these *Kompositionskonzerte* were comprised entirely of Goldmark's works, were organized by him, and he selected the repertoire for them. The concert was scheduled for 26 December 1856, but cancelled on the day before as a number of the orchestral members, who had agreed to perform without a fee, did not show up at the only rehearsal. Goldmark, attempting to realise the concert, turned to a potential sponsor for help, whom he needed to provide expert statements of his talent.[41] The two experts were Joseph Dachs, piano professor at the Vienna Conservatory, and Hanslick. As Goldmark recalled:

> I sent him [Hanslick] my overture, wrote about what was involved and asked for his opinion. He wrote to my Maecenas: 'Talent but still immature.' He bought 50 tickets, I had help: not only the expenses were secured but what is far more important: I had an audience.[42]

Thus, although he did not comment on this concert, Hanslick 'played a crucial role behind the scenes in bringing Goldmark's music to public attention', as Brodbeck has argued.[43] The concert was ultimately given on 12 March, 1857 with the same programme: a Concert-overture, *Die Trompeter an der Katzbach* (a lied), a piano quartet, a few lieder and a Psalm

[40] 'die Saison … noch keine einzige celebrität herbeigebracht hat … immer nennen unsere Concertanzeigen nur ehrenwerthe Namen aus dem Wiener Adressenbuch: Bondy, Lukaseder, Goldmark …' Eduard Hanslick, 'Musik,' *Die Presse* (15 January 1857): 1.; David Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming Flowers,' 134.
[41] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 55–56.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming Flowers,' 135.

for orchestra. However, Goldmark, recalling this concert, referred to a few fundamental circumstances which will be relevant in terms of his early piano pieces:

> … none of the works [in the programme of his first concert] were published … because I recognised their complete lack of independence. The psalm, which was clear Mendelssohn [sic], I lent and so lost. Everything that I composed till that time – between the age of 14 and 27 – fell victim to destruction … it hurts that my flourishing youth … wasted; because of poverty and deprivation, moreover because of the lack of any kind of instruction.[44]

Goldmark's lack of proper education, and the strong influence of Mendelssohn on his early compositions are recurring themes in his early reception, including his self-reception. Significantly, he claimed that those works composed up to his age of 27 were destroyed, including the works presented in this concert, with the exception of *Die Trompeter an der Katzbach,* the revised version of which was later published by Universal.[45] As Goldmark added, 'a new era started for me: the time of serious, painstaking studies.' – having given his first full concert, at the age of 28![46] As discussed in Chapter 3, these studies focused mainly on works by Bach, Beethoven, Schumann and Wagner and contrapuntal writing. Goldmark also drew on the works of significant German theorists of the time: Adolf Bernhard Marx, Ernst Friedrich Richter and Simon Sechter.[47]

After his autodidactic studies, Goldmark arranged further self-produced concerts in Pest (1859) and in Vienna (1861) in which he programmed a number of newly composed piano works from 1858: *Drei Stücke* and 'Scherzo', 'Trostlos' and 'Toccata' (no. 2, 3 and 9) from *Sturm und Drang* Op. 5.[48] They were performed by notable artists of the time.[49] Considering the composite nature of concert programmes of the time, that would not have

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[44] '… von all den genannten Stücken kein einziges veröffentlicht … da ich ihre völlige Unselbständigkeit erkannte. Der Psalm der ganz Mendelssohn war, ging durch Ausleihen verloren. Alles was ich bis zu dieser Zeit schrieb, von meinem 14. bis 27. Jahr, ist der Vernichtung anheimgefallen … Und tiefe Wehmut ergreift mich … das mir die blühende Jugend … verloren ging, verloren durch Elend und Dürftigkeit, mehr noch durch Mangel jeglichen Unterrichts.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 57.

[45] He destroyed those works, surely not considering them original enough to stand.

[46] '… eine neue Zeit begann für Mich, eine Zeit ernster, rastloser Studien.' Ibid., 58.

[47] Goldmark, *Emlékek életemből*, rev. and ed. Balázs Mikusi, 67. I discuss Goldmark's self-led studies of German sources in Chapter 3.

[48] *Drei Stücke* was originally intended to be part of the set *Sturm und Drang* but Haslinger independently decided to publish the three pieces separately. For precise details on the premiered works and locations see Table 2.1.

[49] Kálmán Mária, *Goldmark Károly 1830–1930*, 15–18.

been unusual, but given that Goldmark was trained as a violinist, not as a pianist, and that he could have filled the programmes of those concerts with chamber music, songs or other works (which he partially did), the presence of a number of piano works in both *Kompositionskonzerte* in Pest and Vienna suggests that the genre was important for Goldmark.[50] He produced a number of works by the time of those concerts, thus could have omitted the piano pieces if he would have felt that those did not represent him well. More significantly, Goldmark referred to his collection *Sturm und Drang* (to which *Drei Stücke* originally belonged) as he found his own voice in them, thus he wanted to present some of those particular pieces publicly:

> Ultimately, I stood on my own feet: I conquered [my] Mendelssohnism. The first apparent fruits of this transformation were the piano pieces titled *Sturm und Drang* and the Piano Trio in B flat major. Both were written in 1858 and 59.[51]

Table 2.1. Goldmark's piano works performed in his early *Kompositionskonzerte*.

Work	Event	Date	Location	Performer
***Drei Stücke* for piano**	*Kompositionskonzert* Premiere performance: Nr. 2 and 3	13 April 1859	Hotel de l'Europe, Pest	Willi (Vilmos) Deutsch
	Nr. 2: Concert of Salvatore Marchesi	April 1860	Vienna	
	Complete set: Haslinger's second 'Novitäten-Soirée'	8 January 1861	Vienna	
	3rd *Kompositionskonzert*	13 January 1861	Concert hall of Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna	Caroline Bettelheim
***Sturm und Drang* set of 9 piano pieces Op. 5**	Premiere performance: Nr.3: *Kompositionskonzert*	13 April 1859	Hotel de l'Europe, Pest	Willi (Vilmos) Deutsch
	Nr. 2, 3 and 9:	13 January	Concert hall of	Caroline

[50] Although Goldmark did not pursue a career as a violinist, he was a violist in a group of musicians which read chamber music regularly in Vienna. Brahms had given them his Piano Quartet Op. 34 in its original version for a first reading. Brodbeck, 66. He also performed Mendelssohn's Piano Trio in C minor in Leipzig Gewandhaus with Caroline Bettelheim and Ferdinand David in 1863, which suggests considerable skills as a violinist. Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 95.

[51] 'Und so stand ich mit einem Male auf eigenen Füßen, der Mendelssohnismus war überwunden. Die erste sichtbare Frucht dieser Umwandlung waren die Klavierstücke *Sturm und Drang* und das Klaviertrio B-dur. Beide in den Jahren 1858 und 1859 geschrieben.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 59. There are no Op. 1 and 2 among Goldmark's works. Op. 3, which he let stand is a Piano Quartet in C minor (1859)(!), Op. 4 is a Trio in B flat major (1858), and the first collection for piano is Op. 5 (1858).

	3rd *Kompositionskonzert*	1861	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna	Bettelheim

Major papers in Pest and Vienna noted Goldmark's second *Kompositionskonzert*, held in Hotel de l'Europe in Pest, on 13 April 1859; *Pester Lloyd*, *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* as well as *Blätter für Theater, Musik und Kunst* reviewed it, which seems significant for an early-career composer. A favourable review appeared in *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* (signed as 'Synonymus').[52]

> The young composer Mr. Karl Goldmark, who had been in Pest for a long time, organised a concert … in Hotel de l'Europe's hall that received the greatest applause. In addition to a quartet and some new songs that had already been performed in Vienna, the highly talented disciple of art also performed a trio (in B flat) composed here, offering surprising originality in terms of both content and form, so that these can unconditionally be ranked among the best works of modern times. His studies of Bach and Schumann directed the young composer away from the former exclusively Mendelssohnian direction, and secured him an honorable position in the field of chamber music.[53]

Goldmark is here considered as highly talented ('hochbegabte'), his music as original, able to be unconditionally ranked with the best works of the 'modern times'. There is not much detail as to how Goldmark's music was 'original', but his 'surprising originality' in terms of content and form suggests that his musical language or formal construction was perceived as different. This may seem as a positive remark for a young composer (i.e. to have his own voice), however, might point to other factors, such as his self-training in composition, or identity, themes to be discussed in forthcoming reviews. The impact of studying Bach and Schumann was perceived in Goldmark's music, which is discussed in Chapter 3. The critic seemed to know about Goldmark's first concert in Vienna in 1857, and its programme, mentioning that some of the works were already performed there. He might well have been in

[52] Synonymus, 'Pesth,' *Neue Wiener Musik Zeitung* (5 May 1859): 71–72.

[53] 'Der junge, seit längerer Zeit in Pesth weilende Komponist Hr. Karl Goldmark veranstaltete den 13. d. M. im Saale des Hotel de l'Europe ein Konzert, welches sich des größten Beifalls zu erfreuen hatte. Der hochbegabte Kunstjünger hat nebst einem bereits in Wien ausgeführten Quartette und einigen neuen Liedern, auch ein, erst hier komponirtes Trio (in B) zu Ausführung gebracht, und in demselben sowohl dem Inhalte als auch der Form nach so überraschend Originelles geboten daß selbes unbedingt den besten Werken der Neuzeit angereiht werden kann. Das Studium Bach's und Schumann's hat den jungen Komponisten vor der früheren ausschließlich Mendelssohn'schen Richtung abgewendet, und sichert ihm auf dem Gebiete der Kammermusik eine ehrenvolle Stellung.' Ibid. The original 19th-century German texts are left unchanged throughout the chapter.

the audience there, too, as he refers to the heavy Mendelssohn-influence in Goldmark's earlier works, which were performed solely at that concert. His reference to Goldmark's background, such as studies of Bach and Schumann suggest that they might have been in correspondence (Goldmark might have invited him to this concert). The piano pieces are not mentioned when listing the performed works, however, the critic later refers to them.

> [the performed songs] do not yet show the desirable independence, but are characterised by rich imagination and deep mind, and show more than the three piano pieces, quite nicely performed by Mr. Deutsch, of the poetic ability of the composer, who seems to be called to reach a glorious level in the art of music.[54]

Goldmark's music is here characterised by a rich imagination and deep emotional content, themes to recur in later accounts, especially in Hanslick's evaluation. The critic predicted a prestigious place for Goldmark in the art of music. The performer of the piano works, Vilmos Deutsch, was a composer and outstanding pianist in Pest, a pupil of Ferenc Erkel.[55]

Pester Lloyd also referred to Goldmark as a remarkable talent, claiming that his works showed ingenuity.

> We have occasion to report on a very remarkable talent … In Goldmark's compositions there is presented, first of all, a wealth of inventiveness … We also recognise an important harmonic skill and the … strive to be as original as possible through striking chords and chord progressions … In the work we finally see a struggle for the new form that corresponds to his imagination, and also an effort to adopt the forms created by our great masters. So we have a young artist with three main characteristics for composing: inventiveness, harmonic agility and knowledge of form. [56]

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[54] '… zeigen zwar noch nicht die wünschenswerthe Selbstständigkeit, zeichnen sich aber durch eine reiche Fantasie und ein tiefes Gemüth aus, und bekunden mehr als die drei von Hrn. Deutsch recht nett vorgetragenen Klavierstücke, die poetische Befähigung des Komponisten, der berufen zu sein scheint, eine rühmliche Stufe im Reihe die Tonkunst einzunehmen.' Ibid.

[55] On Vilmos Deutsch see *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* [Hungarian Jewish Lexicon], accessed 4 December 2020, http://mek.oszk.hu/04000/04093/html/szocikk/11052.htm

[56] 'Wir haben über ein sehr beachtenswerthes Talent zu berichten … In den vorgetragenen Kompositionen Goldmarks bekundet sich zunächst eine reiche Erfindungskraft … Wir erkennen ferner eine bedeutende harmonische Gewandtheit und auch hierbei als Hauptziel das Streben, durch frappante Akkorde und Akkorden folgen möglichst originell zu sein … In der Arbeit endlich sehen wir ein Ringen nach der seiner Phantasie entsprechenden neuen Form, und ein Bemühen auch die von unseren großen Meistern geschaffenen Formen sich anzueignen. So hätten wir den einen jungen Künstler, der drei Haupteigenschaften zum Komponieren besitzt: Erfindungskraft, harmonische Gewandtheit und Kenntniß der Form.' 'g', 'Konzert des Komponisten Karl Goldmark,' *Pester Lloyd* (15 April 1859).

Inventiveness, also referred to as rich imagination in other accounts, peculiar harmonic language and formal structures are highlighted. Goldmark's use of unique, apparently striking chord progressions is suggested as an aspect of his works' originality. The other such aspect is perceived as a struggle to develop new structures, incorporating existing, more canonical forms. These remarks are further explored with reference to some of the piano works:

> Even the close study of Schumann and Mendelssohn, which, as we can see from Goldmark's compositions, had a great deal of influence on his entire way of feeling, should have persuaded him to tighten his imagination … this feeling of tension often arises from the harmonic peculiarities of the composer … a complete indulgence in dissonances of all kinds, and the aforementioned striving for originality leads to chord progressions that unsettle us with their harshness … for example the harmonic sequence in the piano piece 'Trostlos'. It is new, of course, to the highest degree, but why not yet beautiful! ... We see from the great variety of his harmonies that he can command in the great range of harmonies – but now let beauty be the first, even at the risk that originality might suffer.[57]

The impact of Schumann and Mendelssohn is pointed out as prevailing in the performed works. Goldmark has apparently sacrificed 'beauty' for originality in terms of harmonic language. In the critic's opinion, his wild imagination needed curbing and he should seek 'beauty', probably implying he should avoid unusual chord progressions and utilise more conventional harmony. This reaction is unsurprising, considering that our critic regarded Haydn and Beethoven as exemplars and Mendelssohn and Schumann as 'new' masters.[58] He referred to the piano piece 'Trostlos' as highly new work although this remark does not sound entirely complimentary in the context of harmonic harshness. It is difficult to understand the critic's response, since this early work is still conventional harmonically. As we will see, Goldmark's harmonic language was criticised by other reviewers, as well. However, the critic admitted that the piano compositions were still 'more fortunate' (i.e. more appealing to the

[57] 'Schon das genaue Studium Schumann's und Mendelssohn's, die, wie wir aus Goldmark's Komposition erkennen, großen Einfluß auf seine ganze Gefühlsweise gehabt haben, hätte auch ihn bewegen müssen, seiner Phantasie straffere Zügel anzulegen … Dieses Gefühl der Abspannung entsteht aber auch häufig durch die harmonischen Eigenthümlichkeiten des Komponisten … ihn gewissermaßen zu einem völligen Schwelgen in Dissonanzen aller Art, und das vorhin erwähnte Streben nach Originalität bewirkt Akkordenfolgen die uns in ihrer Schroffheit nervös verstimmen müssen. Wir nennen z. B. die Harmoniefolge in dem Klavierstücke: "Trostlos". Neu, im höchsten Grade neu ist sie freilich, aber warum noch nicht schön! … Das er im großen Reiche der Harmonien gebieten könne, sehen wir aus der großen Mannigfaltigkeit seiner Harmonien, – nun aber lasse er auch Schönheit das erste Gesetz sein, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, daß die Originalität darunter leiden könne.' Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

listener), probably meaning more conventional in harmonic language, and clearer in form, than his other (chamber) works.

> He is more successful in his piano compositions, which are rounded and therefore, apart from the harmonic oddities already mentioned, more appealing to the listener … We refer him to a saying by Schumann: 'Only if the form is clear, the spirit is clear'. Our composer may now continue to educate himself on his favorites; but above all, may he let Schumann's more joyful tones work on him, in order to amuse us with sounds of joy; now, sadness and blackest melancholy are too prevalent, and even the images of grace and childish naivety promised by 'Brautlied' and 'Kinder auf dem Rasen' are more fantasies of an elegiac mind and a not so innocent humour.[59]

Goldmark is urged here to gain more clarity by further studying Schumann's music, and turn away from melancholy and an elegiac mood, perceived even in his early *Drei Stücke*. The identification of Schumann as an influence is also notable. The critic concluded that the concert was successful and Goldmark's works received an excellent performance.

> The fairly large audience gave lively applause to almost all of his compositions, which was also due to the impeccable execution by Mr. Deutsch, J. Huber and Frau Eklinger.[60]

A brief mention of the same concert appeared in *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst* on 19 April, 1859. Similarly to the previous reviews, rich imagination and serious studies are associated here with Goldmark's music, as well as good taste.

> In the concert arranged by the composer Mr. Goldmark, we heard … a Trio in B [flat], a Quartet in C minor, characteristic piano pieces and songs. Goldmark proved to be a

[59] 'Glücklicher ist er in seinen Pianoforte Kompositionen, diese sind abgerundet und darum auch bis auf die schon erwähnten harmonischen Sonderbarkeiten für der Zuhörer ansprechender … Wir verweisen ihn dabei auf einen Ausspruch Schumann's: "Nur wem die Form klar ist, ist auch der Geist klar." Unser Komponist möge sich nun an seinen Lieblingen weiter fort bilden; besonders aber möge er auch die freudigeren Töne Schumann's auf sich wirken lassen, um auch uns nachher mit Klängen der Freude zu erheitern; bis jetzt ist die Trauer ja die schwärzeste Melancholie zu sehr vorherrschend, und selbst die par Bilder der Anmuth und kindlichen Naivetät, die er nach dem Titel "Brautlied" und "Kinder auf dem Rasen" zu geben versprach, sind mehr Phantasien eines elegischen Gemüthes und eines nicht eben unschuldigen Humors.' Ibid.

[60] 'Das ziemlich zahlreiche Publikum spendete fast allen seinen Kompositionen lebhaften Beifall, der aber auch der tadellosen Ausführung derselben von Seiten der Herren Deutsch und J. Huber sowie dem Vortrag der Frau Eklinger galt.' Ibid. On the original poster the singer's name appeared as 'Ellingerné'. Goldmark, *Emlékek,* ed. Mikusi, 70.

> composer of imagination. His works reveal thorough studies, often interesting work and sophisticated taste.[61]

Kornél Ábrányi's evaluation of that concert was referred to in an article of 16 May, 1930. The date of Ábrányi's review is not recorded and he likely produced it later on, nevertheless, it tells us that Goldmark was acquainted with leading personalities of the Hungarian musical scene:

> His [Goldmark's] stay in Pest lasted from 1858 to 1860 and during this time he entered the company of the most significant musicians: Robert Volkmann, Mihály Mosonyi, Kornél Ábrányi, Ferenc Erkel and others ... On 13 April, 1859 he held a compositional concert in the Hotel Europe's hall ... Kornél Ábrányi reported on that concert: 'This year Károly Goldmark appears, as brilliant music poet with his substantial and high-value works in public for the first time, organizing a brilliantly succeeded concert, departing toward world-fame from here.'[62]

As the unidentified author continues, 'Goldmark's world renown originated here and led through Vienna to Pest, where the heated and triumphant evenings were repeated after highly successful premieres.'[63] Ábrányi, who was reportedly acquainted with Goldmark, might well have been in the audience. He considered Goldmark's works to be highly valuable and that concert as brilliantly successful for Goldmark, presenting this event in Pest as a breakthrough towards his international recognition.

Summarizing the critical outcome around Goldmark's second public concert: Goldmark was seen as a remarkable talent, for whom a great future was envisaged. Rich imagination, inventiveness and originality were claimed to characterise his music. His originality seems to be associated with peculiar harmonic language and formal concepts, which in some cases appeared to be problematic, suggesting that his music needed to be

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[61] 'In dem vom Componisten Herrn Goldmark arrangirten Concert hörten wir von Seinen Kompositionen ein Trio in B, Quartett in C-moll, characteristische Klavierstücke und Lieder. Goldmark bekundete sich als ein Tonsetzer von Phantasie. Seine Werke zeigen gründliche Studien, eine oft interessante Arbeit und gediegene Geschmacs richtung.' 'Goldmark,' *Blätter für Musik Theater und Kunst* (19 April 1859).

[62] '1858–1860-ig tartott ekkor pesti tartózkodása és ez idő alatt belekerült a legjelentékenyebb muzsikusoknak: *Volkmann* Róbertnek, *Mosonyi* Mihálynak, *Ábrányi* Kornélnak, *Erkel* Ferencnek és másoknak társaságába. … 1859 április 13-án az Európa-szálló termében szerzői estet tartott … E hangversenyről írja *Ábrányi* Kornél: Goldmark Károly ez évben lép először mint zseniális zeneműköltő nagyértékű es tartalmas műveivel a nyilvánosság elé, fényesen sikerült hangversenyt rendezvén s innen indulván ki világhírnévre.' 'Goldmark Károly 1830–1930,' *Magyar Hírlap* (16 May 1930): 2.

[63] 'Goldmark világhíre innen indult ki és Bécsen át vezetett újból egy-egy nagysikerű bemutató után Pestre, ahol a forró és diadalmas estek megismétlődtek.' Ibid.

further clarified. The impact of Mendelssohn and Schumann was perceived in Goldmark's music. Each critic referred to his serious studies, primarily of Bach and Schumann.

2.4. Recognition by the Third *Kompositionskonzert* (1861)

Goldmark's *Drei Stücke* (1858) were performed at the *Novitäten-soirée* organised by the publisher Carl Haslinger in Vienna, on 6 January, 1861, a few days before his third *Kompositionskonzert*. The following is one of the few reviews which addressed piano works specifically.

> Three interesting piano pieces by Goldmark were indisputably the best instrumental works offered that evening. Their titles were not mentioned; however, according to their character one could assign headings as Adagio serioso, Serenade and Scherzo. Whatever their names are, they are attractive in any case, finely harmonised, and except the middle piece, noble in posture [attitude]. Though one may be baffled by some of the boldness of modulation, though some things do not seem clear, we do not claim that movements like the first and last one are written all too often these days.[64]

Goldmark's piano pieces are claimed as the best of that evening, finely harmonised, but again, something seemed to be disturbing or unclear in terms of modulation, although this seems to be contradictory. Thus this comment might refer to occasional, unexpected modulations. These piano works, alongside three others, were also presented a few days later in Goldmark's third *Kompositionskonzert* in Vienna, the first one which Hanslick reviewed. Goldmark recalled the circumstances of that concert:

> If I wanted to be heard, I had to organize a concert again – and I did it. I had my quartet, earlier refused by Hellmesberger, performed, namely by Hellmesberger and his colleagues. (I hired them for an honorarium.) My pupil, Caroline Bettelheim …

[64] 'Drei interessante Clavierstücke von C. Goldmark waren unstreitig das Beste, was an Instrumentalsachen an diesem Abende geboten wurde. Die Titel dieser Piecen wurden zwar nicht genannt, ihrem Character nach könnte man sie jedoch mit den Ueberschriften: Adagio serioso, Serenade und Scherzo versehen. Wie sie indessen immer heißen mögen, anziehend sind sie in jedem Falle, fein harmonisiert und, das mittlere Stück ausgenommen, vornehm in der Haltung. Mag man auch über manche Kühnheiten der Modulation stutzen, erscheint auch Einiges nicht ganz klar, so stehen wir doch nicht an zu behaupten, das Sätze wie der erste und letzte heut zu Tage nicht all' zu häufig geschrieben werden.' 'Z', 'Haslinger's zweite Novitäten-Soirée,' *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst* (8 January 1861): 10.

> performed six from the piano pieces *Sturm und Drang*, Professor Julius Epstein [played] the Trio in B flat major.[65]

Hanslick's review of his first experience of Goldmark's music was positive in general, claiming Goldmark's talent as 'undeniable' which 'promises well'. This was no doubt an important mention by a significant critic in a major paper for the young composer. Hanslick nevertheless outlined some features that needed to be improved, most significantly perhaps, clarity:

> In a series of larger and smaller compositions, the young composer provided undeniable evidence of a talent, that, supported by admirable efforts and no little technical skill, promises well. Calm and clarity are still missing. The effectiveness of very promising outlines is stifled by rhapsodic fragmentation of the form through bizarre rhythm, finally by a peculiar unrest. We may hope that the fermenting must will become a fine wine with time.[66]

Hanslick refers to shortcomings of formal structure, a theme mentioned earlier, which is an unsurprising comment from a critic who was especially keen on form. A certain agitated, passionate character is also mentioned, which will be a typical theme in later accounts. Unfortunately, Hanslick did not discuss the piano works separately, though his general comments probably also applied to them, or he would have stated otherwise. Nevertheless, he did applaud the performer, Goldmark's pupil, Caroline Bettelheim, devoting half of the short review to her. This implies that the high level of her interpretation might well have contributed to the success of the concert and thus to furthering Goldmark's reputation:

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[65] '… ich mußte, um gehört zu werden, wieder ein Konzert geben – und gab es. Ich führte das von Hellmesberger abgewiesene Quartett auf , und zwar von Hellmesberger und Genossen gespielt. (Ich hatte sie gegen Honorar engagiert.) Meine Schülerin, Karoline Bettelheim die ich wieder ein Jahr lang unterrichtet hatte, spielte sechs Stücke aus den Klavierstücke "Sturm und Drang", Professor Julius Epstein das Trio in B-dur.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 73.

[66] 'Der junge Tonsetzer lieferte in einer Reihe größerer und kleinerer Kompositionen unleugbar Beweise eines Talentes, das, von würdigem Streben und einer nicht geringen technischen Fertigkeit getragen, Gutes verspricht**.** Ruhe und Klarheit fehlen noch. Sehr glückliche Apercus werden durch rhapsodische Zerstücklung der Form durch bizarre Rhythmik, endlich durch eine eigentümliche mühlende Unruhe in ihrer Wirkung erstickt. Wir dürfen hoffen, der gährende Most werde seinerzeit guter Wein werden.' Ed. H., 'Musik,' *Die Presse* (17 January 1861): 1–2.

> The pianist Ms Bettelheim was a remarkable figure. The young lady developed an unusual power of touch, great freshness and energy of the interpretation. Mr. Goldmark and Ms Bettelheim were honored by the audience the most sincerely.[67]

This concert was a milestone in Goldmark's career, resulting in acquaintance with not only Hanslick but with other significant personalities of Vienna and beyond. As Goldmark recalled:

> One day after this concert, on my return home I found the cards of Peter Cornelius, Karl Tausig and Count Laurencin, critic of *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (still edited by Brendel) on my table.[68]

The critic of *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* was also in the audience and claimed that concert as an outstanding event of that week in his review on 8 February 1861:

> The second outstanding appearance of the past week was the concert by the composer Carl Goldmark. It offered a string quartet, a longer series of piano pieces, a few songs, and a piano trio, all works by the concert giver. German natural power, German seriousness of striving and German depth of thought as well as thorough studies are the most outstanding basic features of all of Goldmark's works heard in this concert. Assiduously proceeding along the path taken in the recently heard works will soon assert a loud and long-lasting voice [for him] among the best fighters for new German work.[69]

Significantly, a strong affiliation is claimed between Goldmark's music and 'German work'; power, seriousness and depth of thought are indicated as being particular 'German features',

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[67] 'Eine bemerkenswerthe Erscheinung war die Pianistin Fräulein Bettelheim. Die junge Dame entwickelte eine ungewöhnliche Kraft des Anschlags, groβe Frische und Energie des Vortrags. Ihr hin und wieder noch etwas wildes Spiel berechtigt und bedeutender Erwartung. Herr Goldmark und Fräulein Bettelheim wurden von der Zuhörerschaft auf das ehrenvollste ausgezeichnet.' Ibid.

[68] 'Einen Tag nach diesem Konzerte fand ich bei meiner Heimkunft die Visitenkarten von Peter Cornelius, Karl Tausig und dem Grafen Laurencin, dem Musikreferenten der 'Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik' (damals noch Brendel) auf meinem Tische liegen.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 73.

[69] 'Die zweite hervorragende Erscheinung der vergangenen Woche ist das Concert des Componisten Carl Goldmark. Es gab uns ein Streichquartett, eine längere Reihe von Clavierstücken, einige Lieder, endlich ein Clavier-Trio, sämmtlich Werke des Concertgebers. Deutsche Naturkraft, deutscher Ernst des Strebens und deutsche Gedankentiefe wie umfassende gründliche Studien sind die hervorragendsten Grundzüge aller im diesem Concerte zu Gehör geführten Werke Goldmark's. Derselbe dürfte, rüstig fortgehend auf dem in den jüngst gehörten Werken eingeschlagenen Pfade, bald einen laut und lange nachwirkenden Klang unter den besten Kämpen für neudeutsches Wirken behaupten.' 'S', 'Correspondenz,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (8 February 1861): 67.

also characteristic in Goldmark's works. The critic assigned Goldmark a future place amongst representatives of German artwork. The term 'neudeutsche', might refer to Brendel's *New German School*, which would be an entirely new theme in his reception. However, considering that the genres presented at that concert, a string quartet, piano trio and characteristic piano pieces, were typically associated with the 'conservative' line of German musical tradition (hallmarked by Brahms and Schumann), the reviewer's remark on Goldmark's music might be understood as a general reference to new 'German' work. Like some of the reviews discussed above, the composer's thorough studies are emphasized. Shortly after this concert Peter Cornelius borrowed the score of Goldmark's String Quartet at Laurencin's request, who produced a two-part article praising the work in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1867.[70]

A somewhat more nuanced review of the same concert appeared in *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst* on 18 January, 1861:

> To precisely characterise Goldmark's music is difficult, mainly because it is autonomous. Without being at all formless or even vague, fluctuating in form, he nevertheless handles forms with a freedom that does not or rarely allow a comparison with other composers' works … One of the most striking [features] is the treatment of harmony … His modulatory dexterity is truly astonishing … an inextricable net of deceptive harmonies … [we shall return to] his in many ways successful experiments in the as yet little explored field of enharmonic … from Goldmark's work meaning and a great intellectual superiority speak … If we would call Goldmark's music witty, it would be a one-sided recognition; it is more than this, it has character. He shows a rare creative power to model rich forms from apparently insignificant motives, as well as a trained sense for concise, noble sound effects.[71]

[70] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 75. The articles appeared on 26 July and 2 August in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.

[71] 'Goldmark's Musik präcis zu charakterisiren ist schwer, hauptsächlich aus dem Grunde, weil sie selbstständig ist. Ohne im Geringsten formlos oder auch nur unbestimmt, schwankend in der Form zu sein, handhabt sie die Formen, dennoch mit einem Freiheit, die einen Vergleich mit Bildungen anderer Componisten nicht oder nur selten zulässt … Einer der augenfälligsten ist die Behandlung der Harmonie … Seine modulatorische Gewandtheit ist wahrhaft erstaunlich … ein unentwirrbares Netz von Trugharmonien gerathen werde … bezüglich ihrer vielfach geglückten Versuche, aus dem noch wenig befahrenen Gebiete der Enharmonik…aus Goldmark's Arbeiten ein feiner Sinn, eine groβe geistige Ueberlegenheit spricht … Wir würden der Musik Goldmark's sie durchaus geistreich nennend, eine nur einseitige Anerkennung spenden; sie ist mehr als dieses, sie hat Charakter. Sie zeigt eine seltene Gestaltungskraft, aus scheinbar unbedeutenden Motiven, reiche Formen zu modelliren, ebenso wie einen ausgebildeten Sinn für prägnante, noble Klangwirkung.' 'Z,' 'Concert des Componisten Carl Goldmark,' *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst* (18 January 1861): 1–2.

Some recurring aspects can be observed here. Creative power and intellectual superiority are identified, as is independence, likely meaning distinctiveness or originality, in terms of handling forms and harmony. The latter concerns Goldmark's treatment of enharmonic modulation, that the critic considered an 'as yet little explored field' around 1861. It is characterised as striking, operating through 'deceptive harmonies', referring to unexpected harmonic progressions and modulations. However, enharmonic modulation is more characteristic in the late piano works (for example, *Georginen*). Unexpected harmonic progressions might well have been one of the features Hanslick pointed out which he felt needed more clarity.

> The large audience was very enthusiastic. Mr. Goldmark, and his talented student Ms. Bettelheim have every reason to be satisfied with the lively accolades they have received, which they deserved completely … About Ms. Bettelheim who performed six lovely piano pieces by Goldmark … her playing … fully met the strictest requirements for technique and taste. It is the playing needed for the characteristic interpretation of Bach and Schumann, rarely found, tightly-knit, clear, compact, unpretentious, that is devoid of all fineries, but thoroughly musical playing ... We welcome in Ms. Bettelheim a rare musical talent and a pianist with a great future ahead.[72]

The critic found the performed piano pieces 'attractive'. Notably, he associated the performed music with characteristics of J. S. Bach's and Schumann's music specifically, and found Bettelheim's interpretation well suited. The same composers had been recently mentioned in the *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, reviewing partially the same piano repertoire in Pest. Bettelheim must have been a truly charismatic interpreter of Goldmark's piano works.

An entirely contrasting report of the same concert appeared in *Wiener Zeitung* on 16 January 1861:

> … we cannot believe in an original fund given to Mr. Goldmark by nature, the existence or non-existence of which remains the main thing. On the other hand, a certain

[72] 'Die zahlreiche Zuhörerschaft war sehr animiert. Herr Goldmark, wie auch seine talentvolle Schülerin, Frln. Bettelheim, haben allen Grund, mit den ihnen zu Theil gewordenen lebhaften Auszeichnungen zufrieden zu sein, die sie übrigens vollkommen verdienten … Auch über Frln. Bettelheim, welches sechs reizende Clavierstücke Goldmarks vortrug, wird es uns hoffentlich nächstens vergönnt sein, ausführlicher zu sprechen. Über ihr Spiel für jetzt auch nur so viel, daß es den strengsten Anforderungen an Technik und Geschmack volles Genüge leistet. Es ist jenes Spiel, wie es zur charakteristischen Interpretierung Bach's und Schumann's gefordert, selten gefunden wird, jenes gedrungene, klare, compacte, anspruchslose, allen Schönthuereien serne, dafür aber auch durch und durch musikalische durchgeistigte Spiel … Wir begrüßen in Frln. Bettelheim ein seltenes musikalisches Talent und eine Pianistin von großer Zukunft.' Ibid.

> secondary talent, a formal skill … not attainable without natural disposition, cannot be denied … The 'kleine Klavierstück' and the Lied, however, are areas the concert giver should rather avoid altogether, because without a decisive lyrical-subjective talent, which seems to be lacking, nothing significant can be achieved. The piano pieces are all very dry compositions that are reminiscent of Moscheles in their attitude … completely moodless and unattractive structures. We would like the 'Kinder auf dem Rasen' … and similar phenomena to disappear completely … one must find some kind of relation between the musical content and the fundamental idea to which it is supposed to correspond, which is as unsuccessful in this piece as in the following one, titled 'Trostlos', where the author plays with the most refined piano effects, which appear as baffling artistic expressions of a depressed soul.[73]

This is an atypical review, stating Goldmark's lack of lyrical or poetic abilities. The piano pieces are described as dry, unattractive, reminding the critic of the music of Ignaz Moscheles.[74] The critic did not find 'the most artful piano passages', i.e. virtuosic ornaments and runs in 'Trostlos' appropriate for expressing melancholic mood. The review was anonymous. Nevertheless, Goldmark's third *Kompositionskonzert* in Vienna proved to be a milestone on his way towards recognition, as the renowned Hellmesberger Quartet became regular performers of his works:

> … the way opened for me – I did not have to organise concerts anymore. Hellmesberger performed all my chamber works from then on.[75]

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[73] 'An einen, Herrn Goldmark von der Natur verliehenen ursprünglichen Fond, dessen Vorhanden oder Nichtvorhandensein doch gewissermaβen immer die Hauptsache bleibt, können wir nach den uns mitgetheilten Proben freilich nicht glauben; dagegen läβt sich ihm eben so wenig ein gewisses sekundäres Talent, ein durch Bildung erworbenes, ohne Natürliche Anlage auch nicht erreichbares formelles Geschick nicht bestreiten … Das "kleine Klavierstück" aber und das Lied sind Gebiete, welche der Konzertgeber lieber ganz vermeiden sollte, weil in ihnen ohne eine entschiedene lyrisch-subjektive Begabung, die ihm durchaus zu fehlen scheint, nichts Erhebliches zu leisten ist. Die Klavierstücke sind sämmtlich sehr trockene Kompositionen, die in ihrer Haltung etwa an Moscheles erinnern … völlig stimmungs- und reizlosen Gebilden. Wir möchten die "Kinder auf dem Rasen" … und ähnliche Erscheinungen am liebsten ganz verschwinden sehen ... muß man doch irgend einen Rapport zwischen dem musikalischen Gehalt und der empirischen Vorstellung, welcher jener entsprechen soll, wahrzunehmen vermögen, was uns jedoch bei diesem Stück so wenig gelungen ist, wie bei dem folgenden, mit "Trostlos" überschriebenen, in welchem der Verfasser mit den raffinirtesten Klavier-effekten spielt, die sich als künstlerischer Ausdruck einer gedrückten Seelenstimmung sehr verwunderlich ausnehmen.' N.N., 'Musik (Philharmonisches Konzert. – Konzert des Herrn Karl Goldmark.),' *Wiener Zeitung* (16 January 1861): 183–84.

[74] Ignaz (originally Isaac) Moscheles 1794–1870, a remarkable piano virtuoso of his time and teacher of Felix and Fanny Mendelssohn. The critic's aversion might have stemmed from Goldmark's and Moscheles' (shared) origin.

[75] '… damit war mein Weg eröffnet, – ich brauchte keine Konzerte mehr zu geben. Hellmesberger führte von nun an alle meine Kammermusikwerke auf.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 73.

2.5. Recognition by Mainstream Press – Towards Goldmark's Breakthrough (1862–1875)

Goldmark's String Quintet Op. 9 was performed by the Hellmesberger Quartet in December 1862. Hanslick praised its 'strong character … energetically striving spirit and excellent musical technique.'[76] Notably, in the following year Goldmark was awarded an Austrian State Stipend, supporting needy artists, on whose committee Hanslick served. Twenty years later Goldmark served on that same selecting committee, alongside Brahms and Hanslick.[77] In the same year Goldmark travelled to Leipzig with Bettelheim, who appeared as a singer in the Gewandhaus and two days later performed Mendelssohn's Piano Trio in C minor Op. 66 with Goldmark and Ferdinand David.[78] On this trip Goldmark also negotiated with Kistner about publishing his *Sturm und Drang* and Piano Trio in B flat major.

In his review of a performance of Joseph Hellmesberger and Caroline Bettelheim of Goldmark's Suite for Piano and Violin, Op. 11 in 1865, Hanslick characterised the work as 'skillful, ingenious', adding that Goldmark had managed to shed some disturbing characteristics and predicting a promising future for the composer:

> … [his music] has become clearer, formally more free and concise. We hope that he will continue in this liberation, especially in terms of melody, and [in that case] his music, which is realised with the noblest, most serious meaning, will not lack universal effect.[79]

Clarity in this context might refer to harmonic terms; more refined harmonic progressions, avoiding striking turns. Being simultaneously free and formally concise seems to be a contradiction, however, it might also suggest more refined formal skills and thus freedom in handling structure.

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[76] '… charaktervolle … einem energisch strebenden Geist und von tüchtigster musikalischer Technik Zeugniβ gibt.' Ed. H, 'Musik,' *Die Presse* (18 December 1862): 1–2. As discussed in more detail in Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming Flowers,' 135.

[77] Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming Flowers,' 135, 150.

[78] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 95.

[79] '... tüchtige, geistreiche … er ist klarer, freier in der Form conciser geworden. Wir hoffen, er werde in dieser Befreiung, besonders nach melodischer Seite hin, noch einen Schritt weiter thun, seine von edelstem, ernstem Sinn getragene Musik wird dann auch der allgemeinen Wirkung nicht entbehren.' Ed. H., 'Concerte,' *Neue Freie Presse* (10 January 1865): 2.; Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming Flowers,' 136. The *Suite* was also performed in Pest by Hellmesberger and Epstein, on 22 December 1867 and by Jenő Hubay and Károly Aggházy on 10 November 1879. They also performed the work in Pleyel Hall in Paris on 20 April 1879 and in London in 1880. Kálmán, 21.

Goldmark's *Sakuntala* overture, performed by the Vienna Philharmonic on 26 December 1865, clearly earned Hanslick's approval, who claimed that the work was 'far the best that the talented and energetic, forward-striving composer has delivered so far … fresh and characteristic in the invention, of clear arrangement and fine detail'.[80] *Sakuntala* was also discussed in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1866 by Laurencin, who produced a number of enthusiastic reviews of Goldmark's works in that significant journal. [81] Laurencin covered not only *Sakuntala* and the String Quartet Op. 8 in 1867, but also dedicated an extended article to *Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 and *Drei Stücke* for four hands, Op. 12 in 1868.[82] First I turn to Laurencin's discussion of *Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 in the volume of 18 December, 1868:

> Goldmark's … String Quartet Op. 8 in B major … the *Sakuntala* overture … and the Suite for Piano and Violin have revealed a composer who is very much gifted … and highly clarified. However, as the title [*Sturm und Drang*] suggests, this opus ... expresses an entirely unreconciled struggle … Here too, Goldmark has already mastered his material as a master of ideas and technique … He shows himself as the master of thematic design and the harmonic–rhythmic structure of his always clear, original and equally developed thoughts. If, however, I have to speak of lack of moderation, even of pernicious distortions I encountered when looking through these nine pieces, I say this with all the more emphatic reservation, as essence and form completely overlap and intertwine.[83]

Laurencin actually heard three pieces from this set (no. 2 *Scherzo*, no. 3 *Trostlos* and no. 9 *Toccata*) performed by Bettelheim in Vienna on 13 January, 1861; how sharp his memories of that concert might have been seven years later is a different matter. Nevertheless, reading

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[80] '… weitaus das beste, was der begabte und energisch vorwärtsstrebende Componist bisher geliefert hat … frisch und charakteristisch in der Erfindung, von klarer Anlage und feinem Detail.' Hanslick, 'Concerte,' *Neue Freie Presse* (30 December 1865): 2.

[81] For details on Laurencin, see reference no. 32.

[82] Dr Laurencin, 'Concertmusik,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (22 June 1866): 218–20.; Laurencin, 'Kammer und Hausmusik,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (2 August 1867): 279–81.; Laurencin, 'Kammer und Hausmusik. Für Pianoforte zwei- und vierhändig,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (18 December 1868): 452–53.

[83] 'Goldmark's … Werke: das … Streichquartett Op. 8 B dur, die … Ouvertüre zu Sakuntala und die Suite für Clavier und Geige haben uns einen in seiner Sphäre reichbegabten und schon in hohem Grade geklärten Componisten bekundet. Das hier vorliegende Opus … wie schon der Titel besagt … bekundet … einen noch gänzlich unversöhnten Kampf … Goldmark beherrscht auch hier bereits seinen Stoff als Meister der Idee und der Technik … Er zeigt sich auch hier schon durchgreifend als Herr der thematischen Gestaltung und der harmonisch-rhythmischen Gliederung seiner stets klar und urwüchsig hingestellten und ebenso entwickelten Gedanken. Wenn ich dennoch von Maßlosigkeiten, ja von Krankhaftem in Fülle sprechen muß, die mir bei Durchsicht dieser neun Tonstücke entgegengetreten, so sage ich dies mit umso nachdrücklicherem Vorbehalte, als Wesen und Form einander hier vollständig decken und durchdringen.' Laurencin, 'Kammer und Hausmusik. Für Pianoforte zwei- und vierhändig,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (18 December 1868): 452–53.

through works at the piano was a frequent process by critics at that time.[84] Given that Laurencin was a trained pianist, this was doubtless an important method of getting familiar with a work.

The nine–piece set is discussed in general terms, lacking references to individual pieces despite their contrasting characters. The critic perceives a certain struggle in the music, which he attributes to the title (*Sturm und Drang*). Indeed, the title might well have suggested Goldmark's own struggle in searching for his own voice (this being his first collection for the piano), which he claimed to finally have found in this opus.[85] The critic considered Goldmark as master of technique in this work, however he also criticised some unusual melodic and harmonic features – as we have seen, these were recurring themes:

> What emerges here is a real experience of 'Sturm und Drang'. This jumble of sketches placed next to and on top of each other, [different] measure types, enharmonic expansions and transgressions result from the author's ability to do so and not otherwise. Given the modulations and rhythmic play in practically every bar, a constantly kaleidoscopic, tireless struggle of the themes for fulfilment takes place … Every half or even complete cadence that occurs in these pieces sounds like a difficult decision, like a reluctantly thrown out 'It must be' to the always annoyingly floating question: 'Must it be?'[86]

Harmony here is interpreted as deliberately wielded by Goldmark to express struggle, rather than as a compositional shortcoming. This is affirmed by the quoted 'Muβ es sein? – Es muβ sein' (it must be like this) phrases, alluding to Beethoven and thus intellectually linking them, thus affirming Goldmark's German credentials.[87] Notably, frequent unexpected modulations

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[84] Brahms also played through Goldmark's *Merlin* at the piano before its premiere. 'Brahms shared his enthusiasm for the work with Richard Heuberger after playing through the newly published piano score in advance of the premiere.' Brodbeck, 213.

[85] See reference 51; Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 59. The title of Goldmark's work alludes to the 18th-century (ca. 1760s–80s) movement in German literature and music, promoting subjectivism and wide range of emotions.

[86] 'Was hier zu Tage tritt, ist wirklich erlebter "Sturm und Drang." Dieser Wust von auf-, neben- und übereinander gestellten Vorzeichnungen, Tactarten, enharmonischen Weit- und Uebergriffen ergiebt sich hier als ein So- und Nichtanderskönnen des Autors. Mit diesem beinahe tactweisen Modulationswechsel und ebenso gearteten Rhythmenspiele geht hier gleichen Schrittes ein sozusagen immer kaleidoskopisches, rastloses Ringen der Themen nach Abschluß … Jede halb- oder gar vollkommene Cadenz, die in diesen Stücken vorkommt, klingt wie ein ertrotzter, schwer gefaßter Entschluß, wie ein widerwillig herausgeschleudertes "Es muß sein" auf die immer als Quälgeist vorschwebende Frage: "Muß es sein?"' Laurencin, 'Kammer und Hausmusik. Für Pianoforte zwei- und vierhändig,' 452–53.

[87] The phrases with their corresponding musical mottos and a title were inscribed by Beethoven at the final movement of String Quartet, Op. 135: 'Der schwer gefasste Entschluss. Muβ es sein? Es muβ sein!' Beethoven, Ludwig van, 'Quartett für zwei Violinen, Viola und Violoncello (F-dur) Op. 135, Stimmen, Autograph,' Beethoven-Haus Bonn, accessed 6 July 2020,

and a restless character are also identified by Hanslick, by *Pester Lloyd* as well as *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst.* Certain 'rhythm games' are also pointed out by Laurencin, referring to the metric displacement, frequently employed by Goldmark.[88]

Laurencin positions Goldmark alongside foremost Romantic composers on the basis of his piano music:

> And yet – how strangely sympathetic and exciting to look through again and again these great 'Sturm und Drang' images! ... And the whole structure, which emerged from this exuberant detail, remains a delightful sphynx-like riddle ... So far, only his inseparable friends Chopin and Florestan-Euseb-Schumann have composed in this way, any living Romantic of this kind will surely be pleased to be greeted musically by an immediate contemporary with such a language that had been believed to have faded away.[89]

Laurencin associated Goldmark with Chopin and (again) Schumann, by a direct allusion to 'Sphinxes' in *Carnaval* Op. 9, as being similarly enigmatic. The genre of *Charakterstück* is another likely basis for positioning him alongside some of the most significant Romantic pianist-composers, although both of them were dead when Goldmark composed these pieces. 'Trostlos', 'Ländliche Bilder', and 'Im Turnier', (Op. 5 no. 3, 4 & 8) were performed by the Viennese pianist, Gabriella Joel, in a concert of the Hellmesberger quartet in Pest, on 15 December, 1871.

Goldmark's *Drei Stücke* (for four hands) Op. 12 was also discussed in the same volume:

> … predominantly absolute music pulsates in these three pieces. However, they are also mood pictures … in the broadest meaning of the word. The good core spirit of modern times is mainly reflected here purely musically, rather than by a specific programme. The themes have strength, colour and tension; the harmonic-rhythmic design no less.

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www.beethoven.de/en/media/view/5328396112363520/. For a detailed discussion and the motto's links to Handel, see Gerald Silverman, 'New Light, but Also More Confusion, on "Es Muss Sein,"' *Musical Times* 144, no. 1884 (Autumn 2003): 51–53. The impact of Beethoven's late quartets on Mendelssohn's String Quartet, Op. 13, and its allusions to Op. 135 may well have been significant for Goldmark.

[88] This particular technique is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

[89] 'Und dennoch – wie seltsam sympathisch berührend und spannend, wie zum Immerwiederdurchsehen und Durchspielen regt dieses große Sturm- und Drang-Tonbild an! … Und das Gesammtgebilde, hervorgegangen aus diesem überschwänglichen Detail, bleibt reizvolles Sphynxräthsel … Bisher auf solche Art nur angeredet von seinen untrennbaren Freunden Chopin und Florestan-Euseb-Schumann wird es gewiß jeden noch lebenden Romantiker solcher Richtung freuen, durch einen unmittelbaren Zeitgenossen mit derartiger, schon für immer verklungen geglaubter Sprache musikalisch begrüßt zu werden.' Laurencin, 'Kammer und Hausmusik. Für Pianoforte zwei- und vierhändig,' 452–53.

> These are salon pieces of the finest colouring and setting … We warmly recommend this work ... [for] good musical circles who wish to cultivate better piano music of more concise form amongst chamber music works.[90]

Laurencin labelled this work as 'predominantly absolute music', at once perceiving in it the 'good core spirit of modern times', though he could discern moods and emotions, not a programme. This may seem as an attempt to draw Goldmark closer to the 'New German School', hardly surprising of a critic of Brendel's journal (*NZfM*). The author highly recommended the set for 'good musical circles' with fine taste, which, in a mainstream journal like the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik,* might well had a value of advertisement of the work for amateur *Hausmusik* consumption.

2.6. Breakthrough and Continuous Presence in Mainstream Press (1875 –)

The premiere of *Die Königin von Saba*, discussed in Chapter One, launched Goldmark's international career and shaped future reception.[91] Reviewers of the opera's premiere both in Vienna (especially Hanslick) and Budapest identified an 'Oriental-Jewish character' as the most prevailing feature in Goldmark's opera, alongside influences of Wagner and Meyerbeer, whereas such remarks were not typical for his piano works.[92]

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[90] '… pulsiert in diesen drei Tonstücken eine kernige, frische, vorwiegend absolute Musik. Allerdings sind es auch Stimmungsbilder, die Einem hier entgegentreten. Allein sie sind dies in weitester Wortbedeutung. Der gute Kerngeist der Neuzeit spiegelt sich hier vornehmlich reinmusikalisch, nicht gehalten durch ein bestimmtes Programm, wieder. Die Themen haben Kraft, Farbe und Zug; die harmonisch-rhythmische Gestaltungsweise nicht minder. Es sind Salonstücke edelster Färbung und Fassung … Ihnen sei daher dieses Werk mit aller Wärme empfohlen … Gut musikalischen Kreisen, die zwischen Kammermusikwerken auch bessere Claviermusik knapperer Form pflegen wollen, seien diese Tonstücke bestens empfohlen.' Ibid.

[91] The opera was performed in major cities throughout Europe and America. David Brodbeck, 'The Tale of Two Brothers: Behind the Scenes of Goldmark's "First Opera,"' *The Musical Quarterly* 97, no. 4 (Winter 2014): 499–500.; Johann Hofer, 'Carl Goldmarks Leben und Werk im Spiegel der Presse,' in *Carl Goldmark: Leben – Werk – Rezeption* (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2022), 71–74.

[92] '... als hervorstechendste Eigenthümlichkeit der Goldmark'schen Musik bezeichnete ich oben ihren orientalisch-jüdischen charakter.' Hanslick, *Musikalische Stationen,* 302.; In *Pester Lloyd*, a 'radically liberal' paper often favouring Jewish art, a somewhat biased tone can be experienced towards Goldmark's opera. The paper devoted extra attention to the premiere of the work, naming Goldmark a 'genuine talent' having a strong individuality which manifests in originality. The writer suggested that Goldmark's fantasy was most prolific when inspired by 'Oriental' subjects. W., 'Die Königin von Saba,' *Pester Lloyd* (18 March 1876): 5.; A later article in *Pesti Napló*, written most likely by Kornél Ábrányi, represents a more objective tone: Goldmark's opera is pictured as thoroughly worked-out music filled by poetic inspiration and a synthesis of styles of Meyerbeer, Gounod and Wagner – but, as the writer suggests, Goldmark was not seen as a genie, a reformer of music creating new forms or moving to new directions. á-, 'Sába királynője,' *Pesti Napló* (19 March 1876): 1.; Balázs Mikusi discussed the reception of *Die Königin von Saba* in Pest in detail in *Muzsika* 58, nos. 7–8 (July, August 2015): 9–17; 16–20. https://epa.oszk.hu/00800/00835/00223/EPA00835_muzsika_2015_07_4070.htm ; https://epa.oszk.hu/00800/00835/00224/EPA00835_muzsika_2015_08_4083.htm

Shortly after the success of his first opera, Goldmark produced further large-scale works, the *Ländliche Hochzeit* symphony (1876) and the Violin Concerto (1877) which proved to be his best-known works till today. He also composed piano pieces, two *Novelette*s and *Praeludium und Fuge* in Op. 29 (1877). Considering how *Die Königin von Saba* was received, his choice of genres, mentioned above, may well suggest him strengthening his German credentials, which had been doubted in the Viennese press upon *Saba*'s premiere. Thus, he utilized specifically Bachian (*Praeludium und Fuge*) and Schumannesque (*Novelette*) genres in the piano works in Op. 29. The composition of his second opera *Merlin* in 1885, which Brahms received enthusiastically, further emphasizes this ambition.[93] As noted in Chapter One, the *Ländliche Hochzeit* also clearly earned Brahms's acclaim.[94] Jenő Hubay became an advocate of Goldmark; after performing the Violin Concerto in Budapest he premiered the work in Paris, Brussels and Vienna.[95] A notable private performance of the Suite for Piano and Violin, Op. 11 was recorded by Goldmark: upon his visit to Liszt in Budapest in Liszt's flat at Hal tér, Liszt performed Goldmark's *Suite* for his guest with violinist Nándor Plotényi in 1876, an act which amazed Goldmark.[96]

> [Liszt] was cordial, as always; he invited me back in the evening. I went and found a young violinist with him – I think they called him Ploti. Liszt played my *Suite* Op. 11 with him. Well, in any case, I have not heard the piece like that before … he had a certain visionary sensibility for the spiritual accents, which is indescribable …[97]

As noted above, at this significant point in Goldmark's career, Laurencin launched a multi-part series of articles in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, discussing Goldmark's works to

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[93] Brahms considered *Merlin* as 'rechte Tat' (right deed) where 'the whole thing will work … everything has its place. And there is nothing in it that sounds Jewish, not a single triplet' quoted from Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms*, 155 in Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 213.

[94] See Chapter One, page 40. Brahms appreciated the symphonic writing in the work. Goldmark also recorded that the symphony was written right after *Saba*, which Brahms did not like. Not long later Brahms recommended Goldmark to Hanslick in his letter (from ca. 1879) as a possible committe member alongside them in a panel selecting young composers for a state stipend given by the Ministry of Religion and Public Education. Brodbeck, 202. In 1886 Goldmark became a honorary member of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.

[95] Hubay played the concerto with Aggházy in Budapest, on 13 November 1878, in Pleyel Hall in Paris on 13 April 1880. He played the *Air* (second movement) in Brussels in 1880 and two movements from the concerto in Vienna in the same year. József Szigeti performed the work in 1910 at the 'Goldmark 80' jubilee ceremony in Keszthely, Goldmark's birthplace, in Hungary.

[96] Liszt's flat at Hal tér in Budapest served as the home of the Academy of Music as well, from 1875–79 the education was carried out there.

[97] 'Liebenswürdig wie immer, lud er mich ein, abends wiederzukommen. Ich kam und traf auch einen jungen Geiger da – ich glaube sein Name war Ploti. Liszt spielte mit ihm meine Suite Op. 11. Nun, so hatte ich sie allerdings nie gehört … er hatte eine Art divinatorisches Erspähen seelischer Akzente, die man nicht hinschreiben kann.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 113.

date, opus-by-opus. These articles are usually 2–4 pages long (at least 4 columns) within the typically 10–12 page journal of which the core content is about 7–10 pages (not counting advertisements). They appeared almost weekly between October 1878 and February 1879, indicating significant attention and securing a strong presence in the mainstream press for the emerging composer. The success of the Viennese premiere of *Saba* and its subsequent performances across Europe might have catalysed the critic's contribution. Notably, in some cases these are not reviews of concert performances, but rather discussions based on his reading works through, presumably at the piano: the author often refers to 'looking through' them. Laurencin began the series with an introduction to Goldmark's background and musical language in the first volume, on 11 October 1878:

> To be just to Goldmark's compositions ... two main points should be observed. The first concerns Goldmark's artistic education. The second … [is Goldmark's] firmly confined specificity … According to his own confession, [Goldmark] never attended a strictly structured course, or a so-called school. He was never a pupil in composition of a music teacher or educational institution belonging to this field. Goldmark owes everything that can be learned … solely to his individual study of theoretical works … thus his own self. Anyone who is familiar with the … crossroads and detours that an autodidact has to pay pilgrimage to … even given the most brilliant natural talent, will find it impossible not to appreciate the depth of thought, freedom of form, abundance of structures and – mostly perceptibly – strict individuality in Goldmark's works.[98]

Firstly Laurencin refers to Goldmark being an autodidact. He explains Goldmark's struggles as a self-educator so closely that it might suggest in-person communication between them. The phrase 'according to his own confession' strengthens this impression. The outcome of hard-won compositional skills paired with Goldmark's innate talent and diligence, resulting in his works as depth of thought, freedom of form and especially, strong individuality, shall be

[98] 'Um Goldmark's Tonschaffen … gerecht zu werden, gilt es vor Allem, zwei Gesichtspunkte festzuhalten. Der eine betrifft Goldmark's künstlerischen Bildungsgang. Der zweite … die fest begrenzte Eigenart ... Er hat, laut eigenem Bekenntniß, niemals einen streng gegliederten Lehrcurs, oder eine sogenannte Schule durchgemacht. Er war niemals Compositionszögling eines musikalischen Einzelnlehrers oder einer in diese Classe gehörigen Bildungsanstalt. Alles … Erlernbare verdankt Goldmark ausschließlich dem Selbststudium theoretischer Werke … also: seinem eigenpersönlichen Selbst. Wer … die Kreuz-, Quer- und Umwege kennen gelernt hat, die ein solcher Selbstlehrer … nothwendig durchpilgern muß … selbst unter Voraussetzung der glanzvollsten Naturbegabung … wird Goldmark's Werke … durchblickend, der in selben niedergelegten Gedankentiefe, Formenfreiheit, Gestaltenfülle und – zumeist wahrnehmbaren – strengen Abgeschlossenheit seine Würdigung unmöglich versagen können.' Laurencin, 'Tondichter der Genegenwart. Carl Goldmark,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (11 October 1878): 429–32.

even more appreciated. Alongside a 'brilliant' talent Laurencin recognizes a cosmopolitanism and individuality (even peculiarity) arising from Goldmark's Jewishness:

> The second point … the fully pronounced cosmopolitanism in his works, in the best sense of the word, through the eclectic direction of education and creation … imbued with a truly innate individuality. Such a thoroughly individual character emerges by virtue of the ethnic group or ethical-religious-denominational creed to which Goldmark originally belonged, and within whose intellectual-spiritual current … he gradually worked his way up.[99]

The cosmopolitan voice is claimed due to the 'eclectic' nature of his self-education. Cosmopolitanism might refer to a musical language absorbing impacts from a range of different sources, styles and eras, however, in terms of his education, this contradicts with Goldmark's claimed Germanic affiliation. Nevertheless, this also suggests an affiliation of Goldmark with the liberal value of cosmopolitanism, and his self-education with the value of self-cultivation. The individual character of Goldmark's music is attributed to his origin, emerging 'by virtue of the race'. This is amongst the early clear articulations of Goldmark's Jewish origin, however, in my understanding, here this does not carry a negative connotation, but rather claimed as a natural, inevitable reason for Goldmark's 'innate' (meaning perhaps a 'distinct') character.[100] As we see, this would fundamentally change within a decade. However, Laurencin's statement would not help Goldmark achieve his desired accreditation as a German composer. The author continues to tease out these features:

> The cosmopolitan element, characteristic of the composer … can be explained as follows: Goldmark has absorbed the musical treasury that has accumulated from its beginnings to the present day ... Goldmark is in no way a follower of a musical style or so-called school. Except his juvenile works, he does not transmit even the remotest material [trace of influence] … A repercussion … reaching way back into the so-called classic as well as classic-romantic past … [also] embracing the immediate present … in none of Goldmark's more mature works appears as a result of slavish imitation. Rather

[99] 'Der zweite Punkt … in seinen Werken vollends ausgeprägten kosmopolitischen, in des Wortes besten Sinne durch die That erprobten eklektischen Bildungs- und Schaffensrichtung … durchdrungen von einer ganz ursprünglich ihm angeborenen Eigenart. Solches durch und durch individuelle Gepräge erscheint ferner kraft desjenigen Volksstammes, oder kraft des ethisch-religiös-confessionellen Credo, dem Goldmark ursprünglich angehört und innerhalb dessen geistigseelischer Strömung er sich … allmählig emporgearbeitet hat.' Ibid.

[100] These remarks may well refer to Goldmark's *Sakuntala* and *Die Königin von Saba*, which were widely performed across cities in Europe that time, rather than to his piano works.

> … like an organic reworking … This positions Goldmark as a completely independent composer, distinctly separate from the unpredictable number of epigones … which must be pointed out to ensure that such a talent, like Goldmark, receives the appreciation it deserves. Goldmark presents himself ... as a thoroughly distinctive character … a type of its particular kind.[101]

Goldmark is pictured, somewhat idealistically, as someone who does not follow any school or style. At the same time, his cosmopolitanism is explained as a result of absorbing impacts from a wide range of 'worthy' musical sources. This kind of absorption does not imply imitation in Goldmark. Rather, he, as a distinctive entity, amalgamates influences through his own creative process, creating something unique, new out of them. Thus his individuality, defined by these terms consequently sets him far from being an epigone. A sensitive balance of originality and relatability is indicated here. As much as these statements can be considered positive, in terms of suggesting a strong, characteristic musical talent, they might also alienate the composer from the Germanic tradition to which he aimed to belong. As pointed out again, this distinctiveness has to do with non-musical prerequisites which Laurencin considered crucial:

> … the religious-confessional and folk moment that was inherited and instilled in him cannot be bypassed in silence … Goldmark is Hungarian according to his national origin, but according to his religious-national creed, Israelite. In these ethnic groups … there is … a certain melancholy with a tragic pathos ethos of a distinctive colour. This element is irresistibly reflected in melodic styles … in the adapted rhythms … [and] in the harmonic attire that is characteristic of songs arising directly from the most direct folk consciousness.[102]

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[101] 'Was nun zuvörderst jenes, dem Componisten eigene … ersichtliche kosmopolitische Element betrifft, so ist selbes folgendermaßen zu deuten: Goldmark hat den gesammten, von Alters her bis in die jüngste Zeit aufgespeicherten musikalischen Tonschatz … Goldmark ist eben nach keiner Richtung hin ein Parteigänger dieser oder jener bestimmten Tonsetzersekte oder sogenannten Schule. Er liefert daher, ausgenommen in seinen Erstlingswerken, auch den Reminiscenzenjägern nicht einmal den entferntesten Stoff ... Eine Rückwirkung … in die sogenannt klassische wie in die klassisch-romantische Vergangenheit … und … die unmittelbare Gegenwart … äußert sich indeß in keinem der reiferen Werke Goldmark's etwa als Ergebniß eines sclavischen Nachbeterthums. Sie tritt vielmehr im Sinne organischer Durcharbeitung … Diese, Goldmark vollkommen auf sein Musikschöpferselbst stellende, ihn daher von der unabsehbaren Legion aller sogenannten Epigonen sehr scharf trennende … auf das hingewiesen werden muß, um einer so reichen Begabung, gleich derjenigen Goldmark's, die ihrem Bedeuten gebührende Würdigung zu sichern. Goldmark stellt sich als … eine durch und durch ausgeprägte Charakter Gestalt … kurz: als ein Typus seiner bestimmten Art.' Laurencin, 'Tondichter der Gegenwart. Carl Goldmark,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (11 October 1878): 429–32.

[102] '… das ihm angestammte und anerzogene religiös-confessionelle und Volkstümliche Moment durchaus nicht stillschweigend umgangen werden … Goldmark seiner Landesabstammung zufolge Ungar, seinem ursprünglich überkommenen religiös-nationalen Credo nach aber Israelit ist. In den eben näher bezeichneten Volksstämmen

The individuality of Goldmark's music, according to Laurencin, is rooted in this double-origin, resulting in melancholic character and tragic pathos, and rhythmic and harmonic peculiarities. Unfortunately, no specific examples illustrate these claims. The author distinguishes neither between Hungarian and Israelite (i.e. Jewish), nor their respective effects on the music.

Before turning to specific works, Laurencin refers to a few which he discussed earlier in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik,* entrusted to him by the then editor, Franz Brendel:

> … the editor-in-chief of this paper, my deeply revered, immortal friend Dr. Franz Brendel, entrusted to my analytical pen … and [discussion of Goldmark's Op. 5, 8 and 13] once found a place in this paper.[103]

He also noted that he will 'analyse' only works in print. The first opus is the Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 4, which he heard at the concert in Vienna on 13 January 1861. He perceived it as skillfully written but clearly Mendelssohnian:

> Well-intentioned and equally made in all formal musical respects, [the work] … follows … albeit blessed with undeniable decency and skill, the path that Mendelssohn has long trodden in every way.[104]

A discussion of *Sturm and Drang* Op. 5 follows:

> Goldmark's Op. 5, nine characteristic piano pieces, printed by Kistner in Leipzig about 10–12 years ago … [titled] *Sturm and Drang* … separate, variously coloured mood pictures: programme music of the latest trends … Humour is the most distinguished spring from which these generally delightful, beautiful-sounding mood pictures flow, eliciting even some truly unique instrumental effects in their technical abundance. I

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wohnt … ein tragisches Pathos-Ethos ganz selbstständig ausgeprägter Färbung. Dieses Element spiegelt sich … Gesangsweisen, wie in der diesen letzteren angepaßten … Rhythmengestaltung und endlich auch in jener harmonischen Gewandung, die solchen aus unmittelbarstem Volksbewußtsein hervorgegangenen Gesängen verliehen ist.' Ibid.

[103] 'durch den verewigten Redacteur dieser Zeitschrift, meinen tiefverehrten unvergeßlichen Freund Dr. Franz Brendel, meiner zergliedernden Feder speciell anvertraut worden ist …' Ibid.

[104] 'Gut gemeint und ebenso gemacht in allem formell-musikalischen Anbetrachte … Es wandelt vielmehr – wenn auch mit unleugbarem Anstande und Geschick ausgestattet – doch nur die längst breitgetretenen Pfade Mendelssohn's in All und Jedem.' Ibid.

> would like to have these pieces … as filler numbers in concert performances of more concise, not symphonic-orchestral character.[105]

Laurencin's views here seem to be different from a decade earlier. He refers to the pieces as 'mood pictures', and programme music, however, the two are not exactly the same. There is no articulate programme or plot associated with the pieces, especially those titled *Scherzo* or *Toccata*, thus mood painting, embracing one or several characters in a Schumannesque sense would be a more fitting interpretation.

Earlier he perceived the work as an 'entirely unreconciled struggle'; here he saw them as delightful, even humorous and beautiful in terms of sound. Technical abundance and 'peculiar effects' are also pointed out.

Laurencin then turns to *Drei Stücke* (without Opus), the very first of Goldmark's piano works. The composer dedicated the set to Bettelheim and the Chamisso quote, chosen as motto, reveals much about the close connection between them.

> I have come across … [a] booklet of piano pieces … mood pictures … [from] the same period as Op. 5. These were printed by Carl Haslinger in Vienna … titled *Drei Stücke für das Pianoforte*. It is dedicated to one of Goldmark's most talented students, the former Viennese court opera singer Miss Caroline Bettelheim … The second piece is preceded by the following motto of Chamisso: 'How kindly the eyes of my dear Father rested on me! How the almost silent look spoke: You are my delight; I am good to you.'[106]

Laurencin then articulates his reservations about the first two pieces:

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[105] 'Goldmark's Op. 5 ist jene vor etwa 10–12 Jahren bei Kistner in Leipzig gedruckte Neunzahl "Charakteristischer Clavierstücke" … "Sturm und Drang"… abgesonderte verschiedenfärbige Stimmungsbilder zerfällt: also Programmusik jüngster Zeitströmung … Humor ist die vornehmste Springquelle, aus der diese zumeist reizvollen, klangschönen und an technischem Spielreichthum gar manche ganz eigenthümliche Wirkungen dem Instrumente entlocken den Stimmungsgemälde hervorströmt. Ich möchte diese Tonstücke … als Füllnummern von Concertaufführungen knapperen, nicht eigentlich symphonisch orchestralen Charaktergepräges, mit aller Wärme.' Ibid.

[106] 'Dagegen stoße ich auf ein nichtbeziffertes, mir ab er in diese eben angedeutete Stimmungsbilderreihe ziemlich genau passend bedünkendes, und auch aus eine gleiche Entstehungszeit mit dem zuvor angezeigten Op. 5 hindeutendes Clavierstückheft. Dasselbe ist bei Carl Haslinger in Wien gedruckt und führt die Hauptüberschrift: "Drei Stücke für das Pianoforte." Es ist einer der begabtesten Schülerinnen Goldmark's, der einstigen Wiener Hofopernsängerin Frl. Caroline Bettelheim gewidmet … Dem zweiten Stücke ist folgendes Motto Chamisso's vorangestellt: "Wie wohlgefällig hat auf mir, Des theu'ren Paters Aug' geruht! Wie sprach der stumme Blick doch schier: Bist meine Lust; ich bin Dir gut."' Ibid.

> The 'Romanze' seems to have originated from the composer's earlier experimental period, from which Goldmark's above-mentioned Piano trio also emerged. Back then, Mendelssohnian siren arms embraced him and didn't yet want to let his undoubtedly innate, significant idiosyncrasy … break through … The second piece … lacks any melodic flow. There is hardly … a theme that breaks through … a certain monotony and stiltedness of the rhythm is distracting here.[107]

He perceived the 'Romanze' like the Piano Trio as heavily Mendelssohn-impacted and the second piece as lacking melodic flow and thematic clarity. These very simple pieces, dedicated to Goldmark's pupil, embrace one certain character and its corresponding 'siciliano' and a swaying crotchet-quaver rhythmic pattern in the first and second piece, respectively. These prevail throughout the pieces and may well have appeared as monotonous. The third of the set, in Laurencin's opinion the only one to merit 'artistic honour', is characterised by 'amiable, naive grace and humour'.

> … the third and final piece of this opus is breathed through with the spirit of lovable, naive grace and humour. The artistic honour of this whole cycle … appears to be saved by this final piece.[108]

In the issue of 22 November 1878, Laurencin wrote a short review of Goldmark's *Tänze* Op. 22 (1873) for four hands:

> In Opus 22, a cycle of dances for piano four hands, issued by C. Schott's Söhne, prevails, as far as can be gathered from the laboriously combined individual voices, a lightly lilting grace, that in certain … passages even transfigures itself into the language of humour.[109]

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[107] 'Die "Romanze" scheint wohl jener früheren Eigenflugversuchsperiode des Componisten entstammt, aus deren Quelle u. A. auch das oberwähnte Claviertrio Goldmark's hervorgegangen ist. Damals hielten ihn noch Mendelssohn'sce Sirenenarme umschlungen und wollten der ohne Frage angestammten bedeutenden Eigenart Goldmark's noch nicht den rechten Durchbruch gestatten … Das zweite dieser Tonstücke … ermangelt allen melodischen Flusses. Es ist kaum ein Melisma, um wie viel minder ein Thema, das hier zum Durchbruche kommt … gleichvoll beirrt auch hier eine gewisse Entönigkeit und Gespreiztheit des Rhythmus.' Ibid.

[108] '… das dritte und zugleich Schlußstück dieses Opus, vom Geiste liebenswürdiger, naiver Grazie und ebenso gearteten Humors durchhaucht … die künstlerische Ehre dieses ganzen … durch dieses Schlußstück gerettet erscheinen.' Ibid.

[109] 'In Opus 22, einem bei C. Schott's Söhnen in Mainz an den Tag gekommenen Cyklus von Tänze für das Clavier zu 4 Händen, waltet, soweit aus mühsam gegeneinander combinirten Einzelnstimmen zu entnehmen, leicht beschwingte Grazie, die an gewissen … Einzelstellen sogar zur Sprache des Humors sich verklärt.' Laurencin, 'Carl Goldmark,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (22 November 1878): 495–96.

In this very tangential review, Laurencin does not identify the typically Austrian genres of *Walzer* and *Ländler*; neither discusses them in detail. This set will also be referred to later, in an entirely different context by August Beer, critic of *Pester Lloyd*.

2.7. Goldmark's Growing Renown in Budapest (1885)

A nationwide exhibition was organised in Budapest in 1885 with the aim of presenting the achievements of Hungarian economics, culture and arts. For this occasion an album, titled *Magyar Zeneköltők Kiállítási Albuma* [Exhibition Album of Hungarian Composers] was compiled; the most representative collection of Hungarian composers in the late 19th century. Selected composers were invited, including Liszt, Joachim, Stephen Heller, Kornél Ábrányi and Goldmark, to compose one work. The album contained Hungarian-related works, in terms of genres and idiom, folk-inspired songs and piano pieces in a more general (not specifically Hungarian, rather Germanic) romantic style. Goldmark's inclusion indicates that a decade after the premiere of the *Saba* and some of his other large-scale works in Vienna and Budapest, he was considered a leading Hungarian composer in Hungary. Goldmark composed *Magyar ábránd* [Hungarian fantasy] specifically for the album, but although he intended the work to be Hungarian, it was received ambiguously by the local press.

The *Nemzet* devoted an extensive article to the album, describing several works in detail. The critic perceived 'splendour' and 'Oriental ornamentation' in *Magyar ábránd*, adding that Goldmark 'not only gets the rhythm right as Hungarian … but can lend the harmonies a Hungarian flavour'.[110] He identified the 'lassú' [slow] and 'figurás' [fast, which is often called *figura*, *friska* or *friss*] parts of the *verbunkos* music. He suggested that the work's 'rich and diverse rhythm' should be studied by young composers, and because of the 'strong, diverse and original ideas' of the 'beautiful work', an orchestral version should be made and kept in repertoire of the orchestras performing at the exhibition.[111]

The critic of *Fővárosi Lapok* had an altogether different opinion on the work:

[110] 'Nemcsak a rhythmust találja el magyarosan … hanem a harmóniáknak is magyaros zamatot tud kölcsönözni.' W. A., 'Magyar zeneköltők kiállítási albuma,' *Nemzet* (15 May 1885): 134–35.
[111] 'Gazdag és változatos rhythmusát fiatal zeneköltőinknek tanulmányozás végett ajánljuk … VáItozatos, eredeti s erőteljes eszméivel, nagy hatást tenne.' Ibid.

> Goldmark kindly provided *Magyar Ábránd* for the album. If he had not described it thus, surely no one would have known that it was Hungarian and a fantasy. It is by no means Hungarian. Goldmark invested himself so much in his known Oriental-Semitic style, that he always gets tangled up in it. Neither is its form impeccable … simply formlessness … but just because it is formless, it is not a fantasy. What a fantasy looks like was demonstrated already by enough composers, not a destruction of form, but an abundance of imagination. Concerning Goldmark's imagination, that can't ever be questioned. All his works, including this one, are heated by warm imagination. Friends of Oriental splendour may be pleased, as they find that in this work.[112]

Magyar Ábránd was claimed as non-Hungarian, Goldmark's supposed 'Oriental-Semitic' style in it was perceived. The critic was also baffled by the supposed formlessness of the work, despite it following the slow-fast structure of the *verbunkos*. This might imply that the real cause of the author's problems lay not in the music, but in Goldmark's Jewishness. Géza Molnár, a significant music theorist and professor of the Academy of Music in Budapest subsequently accepted *Magyar Ábránd* as Hungarian, based on what he called the 'study of melody', that is, in case a quoted Hungarian folksong and composed melodies revealed similar properties in a work, he considered it as Hungarian-like.[113] Through this method he aimed to distinguish between 'false' and 'true' Hungarian-like melodies.

In 1980, István Kecskeméti discussed Goldmark's works with Hungarian idioms, including *Magyar Ábránd*.[114] He argued that 'Hungarian elements were not incorporated involuntarily, but on request into Goldmark's art … in Goldmark, the Hungarian-like tone

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[112] 'Goldmark Károly "Magyar Ábránddal" kedveskedik az albumban. Ha nem írja oda, bizony senki se tudta volna, hogy magyar és hogy ábránd. Magyarnak ugyan nem magyaros. Goldmark annyira beleélte magát ismert keleties-semi stilusába, hogy abba bonyolódik minduntalan. Aztán formája sem kifogástalan … egyszerűen formátlanság … de azért, mert formátlan, még nem ábránd. Megmutatta már elég zeneköltő, mi az ábránd, nem forma-rongálás, hanem a fantázia pazarlása. Ami Goldmark képzelmét illeti, azt nem vonhatjuk kétségbe soha. Meleg fantázia hevíti át valamennyi művét; ezt is. A keleti színpompa barátai pedig örülhetnek is, mert azt megtalálják a műben szintén.' (B. – o.), 'Zenekiadók és Zeneszerzők az Iparcsarnokban,' [Publishers and Composers in the Industry Hall] *Fővárosi Lapok* (August 1885): 1180.

[113] 'a dallamtanban minden egyes műzenei idézetről igyekszem megállapítani azt, hogy magyaros-e vagy magyartalan, és csak akkor döntök a magyarsága mellett a mikor valamely – közvetlenül előtte idézett – népdallal hasonló természetű. Így fogadom el közös dallamtani tünetek alapján … Goldmark *Magyar ábrándj*át.' Molnár uses both 'magyar' (Hungarian) and 'magyaros' (Hungarian-like) in his terminology, in the case of *Magyar ábránd*, he uses 'magyar'. 'A magyar zene elméletéről – Molnár Gézától,' [On the *Theory of Hungarian Music* from Géza Molnár] *Budapesti Szemle* 118, no. 329 (1904): 283. Géza Molnár was a graduate of the University of Leipzig, Germany and professor of music theory at the Academy of Music in Budapest until 1933 (at the time when Bartók studied there). His book *A magyar zene elmélete* [Theory of Hungarian Music] (Budapest: Rozsnyai, 1904), was intended as a textbook for students at the Academy.

[114] István Kecskeméti, 'Százötven éve született Goldmark Károly,' [Károly Goldmark was born 150 years ago] *Magyar Nemzet* (18 March 1980): 11. He claimed that at the turn of the century, after the death of Liszt, Ferenc Erkel, and Mihály Mosonyi, Goldmark became the foremost Hungarian composer (even though he did not live in Hungary). The article's text partially appeared also in *New Yorki Magyar Élet* (5 July 1980): 7.

does not form a compound with his own characteristic music, at most an alloy'.[115] However, I will argue in Chapter Four that features of *style hongrois* are also incorporated sporadically in a few otherwise non-Hungarian pieces. Kecskeméti suggested that the ornamented violin-fantasy-like slow section in *Magyar ábránd* alludes to the Gypsies' manner of playing. However, he claimed this as a meeting point, in terms of character, between the 19th-century Hungarian *verbunkos* and the so-called 'Orientalist' music:

> … a violin-like fantasy sounds, at similar heights as Goldmark had the violin played in his most peculiar [i.e. Orientalist] music. This is the point where the Oriental character of the *verbunkos* and the Orientalism of the Arabian-Persian legends meet involuntarily and interestingly in Goldmark's music.[116]

The piece was performed at a benefit concert in Budapest by pianist Izabella Kuliffay on 4 March, 1899 and also on 21 December 1903 at the concert of her school of music.[117] Kornél Ábrányi acclaimed Kuliffay in his landmark *A magyar zene a 19-ik században* [Hungarian Music in the 19th Century] as: '[a] Hungarian composer of distinctive talent; in addition … as a pianist, she enjoys the most wonderful success, whenever she appears publicly.'[118]

2.8. At the Summit: Goldmark's Accreditation as a German (1886–)

As pointed out earlier, the *Ländliche Hochzeit* and *Merlin* were highly appreciated by Brahms. In his review of *Merlin*, Hanslick judged the work according to what he did *not* hear in it: 'with sincere pleasure I observe as lacking in *Merlin* the distinctive trait of *Die Königin von Saba*: the Jewish-Oriental melodies'.[119] We do better not to interpret these

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[115] 'ezek a magyaros elemek nem önkéntelenül, hanem felkérésre kerültek Goldmark művészetébe. Goldmarknál a magyaros hang nem alkot vegyületet saját jellegzetes zenéjével, legföljebb ötvözetet.' Ibid.

[116] 'A jobb kéz szólamába a cigányhegedűs játékának fogásai vannak beépítve … hegedűszerű fantaziálás szól, mégpedig hasonlóan nagy magasságokban, mint amilyenben Goldmark a hegedűt legsajátabb zenéiben is játszatta. Ez az a pont, ahol a verbunkos "keletiessége" es az arab- perzsa legendák orientalizmusa Goldmark zenéjében önkéntelenül és érdekesen találkozik.' Ibid.

[117] 'Színház és Zene,' [Theater and Music] *Pesti Hírlap* (26 February 1899): 7.

[118] 'Distingvált tehetségű magyar zeneírónő egyszersmind … mint zongoraművésznő a legszebb sikereket aratja, valahányszor a nyilvánosság terére lép.' Kornél Ábrányi, *A magyar zene a 19-ik században* [Hungarian Music in the 19th century] (Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Társa, 1900), 651.

[119] Ed. H., 'Merlin,' *Neue Freie Presse* (21 November 1886): 1–2; Brodbeck, 215. However, Hanslick, when reviewing Merlin, was contemplating whether Oriental character was 'more original, more Goldmarkian' stemming from within the composer of doubly Oriental (Jewish and Hungarian) heritage. '… dieses prägnant nationalen (referring to Oriental) Charakters die Königin von Saba origineller, "goldmarkischer" finden wird als den Merlin? … unsern Componisten, der unter doppelt orientalischen Einfluß, dem jüdischen und ungarischen

remarks as anti-Semitic, in my view, as both Brahms and Hanslick emphasized the values of *Merlin* (i.e. close to their concept of an ideal 'German' work) in an indirect way, by pointing out that it lacked so-called Oriental characteristics. They seemed ready to accept Goldmark as culturally German in works which eschewed 'exotic' features. In other words, this acceptance was not based on race. Locutions like these are termed by Brodbeck as *Judenantipathie* and considered as being essentially different from the 'racialist anti-Semitism' to emerge later.[120]

The liberal nationalist critic Ludwig Speidel also perceived a 'clarification' in *Merlin*, stating that the music 'has been elevated to a unified German character.'[121] This was a sharp turn from Speidel, who had been highly critical toward Goldmark, especially in a review of *Ländliche Hochzeit*, criticizing some allegedly disturbing characteristics of the music.[122] Even more enthusiastic was Speidel's reaction to Goldmark's Symphony No. 2 Op. 35 (1887). He extols Goldmark as an accomplished, 'genuine *Tonkünstler*', with 'the dazzling success of two operas behind him', whose symphony gives evidence of 'an energetic self-liberation', as it turns away from his earlier Orientalist characteristics, thus he perceives the work as 'German in its invention and certainly German in its aesthetic rendering.'[123] Thus, Goldmark's long-desired acceptance as a German composer seemed to be fulfilled by the liberal Speidel.[124]

Having his German credentials established in the liberal press, Goldmark reached the summit of his importance within the mainstream Viennese cultural establishment by the

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aufgewachsen ist.' Hanslick, *Musikalisches Skizzenbuch*, 81. Quoted in Brodbeck, 'Poison-Flaming Flowers,' 155. For Brahms's comment see reference 93.

[120] Hanslick further referred to Wagnerian impact in *Merlin*, describing it as pre-*Tristan* music. Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 105, 216.

[121] Ludwig Speidel, 'Hof-Operntheater,' *Fremden-Blatt* (21 November 1886) quoted in in Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 218.

[122] 'anxious whining … of the ghetto.' Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 103–105. Brodbeck argued that Speidel's concerns had nothing to do with race. Rather, in Speidel's view, ambitious Jews' (like Goldmark) assimilation 'would require, at least in the public sphere … giving up outward signs of Jewishness.' David Brodbeck, 'Goldmark's "Thoughts on Form and Style" – and on the Wagnerians' Anti-Semitism,' *Nineteenth Century Studies* 33 (2021): 51.

[123] Ludwig Speidel, 'Konzerte,' *Fremden-Blatt* (2 March 1888) quoted in Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 219.

[124] Goldmark was so thankful to Speidel that he expressed his gratitude in a thank-you note to him. Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek H.I.N. 113.091. The political context is outlined in Margaret Notley, 'Brahms as Liberal, Bruckner as Other,' in *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 15–35. For Schorske's discussion of the liberal system offering status to the Jews without demanding nationality, see 'Politics in a New Key: An Austrian Trio,' in *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 129. See also Chapter 1, 26–29. Speidel's odd justification of Goldmark's German credentials through, likely to Haydn or Schubert, incorporating the so-called 'gypsy style' is discussed in Brodbeck, 220.

turn of the 1890s.'[125] He became a honorary member of Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1886, and his main works, the *Ländliche Hochzeit*, the Violin Concerto, *Die Königin von Saba, Merlin* as well as many of his overtures and chamber music were frequently programmed by the most significant venues and performers, including the Hofoper, Vienna Philharmonic and Hellmesberger Quartet.[126] A 'Goldmark cycle' including performances of *Frühlingshymne, Ländliche Hochzeit* and *Im Frühling* was presented at the concerts of Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1891.[127]

2.9. Rejecting Goldmark (from late 1880s)

When exploring Goldmark's reception, reference to anti-Semitic attacks cannot be avoided, even if not directly related to his piano works; the dramatic political shifts in the late 19th-century Austria reshaped the posthumous fate of Goldmark's music, particularly from the 1930s.[128] This turbulent era cannot be covered in detail here, even with respect to Goldmark's reception, however, just to illustrate the vehemence of some of the attacks, let us refer to a few reviews of Goldmark's symphonic works.

As Brodbeck has observed, Goldmark could not enjoy his hard-won status for long; his *Deutschtum* was soon questioned by critics of a younger generation.[129] As discussed in Chapter One, radical nationalist political trends had emerged from late 1870s, alongside virulent anti-Semitism.[130] These new movements found their voice in the *Deutsches Volksblatt* and *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*. The *Deutsche Zeitung* also shifted its tone, conveying the rhetoric of the 'sharper key' politics, praising the 'progressive' music of Wagner while condemning the conservatives as 'Jewish'.[131] Josef Stolzing, critic of *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*, when surveying the Viennese symphonic programmes, went as far to label Brahms as Jew, saying that the repertoire 'will be assembled, as ever, from some frequently heard symphonies

[125] Ibid., 222–23.
[126] Ibid., 202.
[127] W. Fr, 'Konzerte,' *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (24 February 1891) referred to in Brodbeck, 223.
[128] Although, as noted earlier, Laurencin made explicit reference to Goldmark's origin (not intended as anti-Semitic), discussing some of his piano works. Laurencin, 'Tondichter der Genegenwart. Carl Goldmark,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (11 October 1878): 429–32.
[129] Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 231–248. Even Hanslick, after commenting on Goldmark's *Sappho* overture as 'genuine Goldmark … a fiery sea of passion' points out 'lamenting triplets, augmented fourths and diminished sixths' as Eastern, more precisely 'Jewish-Oriental' locales in his music, thus questioning Goldmark's status in a very sensitive era. Ed. H., 'Concerte,' *Neue Freie Presse* (28 November 1893): 1–2.
[130] For a thorough discussion of the shifting politics in Vienna, see Schorske, 'Politics in a New Key: An Austrian Trio,' in *Fin-de-siécle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, 116–180.
[131] On the political affiliation of Viennese journals see Notley, 'Brahms as Liberal,' 119–123.; Brodbeck, 238.

of Beethoven, Schubert and Schumann, along with the most recent works by the Jews … What a pleasing spectacle awaits us when Hanslick, Hirschfeld, Königstein and Kalbeck again offer the palm to their great (?) fellow-clansmen Goldmark, Goldschmidt, Brahms etc. and lead them to the temple of immortality. Long live the music-loving and music-making Jewry!'[132]

August Göllerich, in his writings on Goldmark's overtures apostrophized the Philharmonic's subscription base as a 'Goldmark-seeking … tribe' and his music as 'triplet-activity' in *Im Frühling.*[133] In his review of *Gefesselten Prometheus* Göllerich referred to the music as 'dubious salon-yodeling'.[134] Hanslick, by contrast, described *Im Frühling* as 'warmly felt and freshly painted' and praised the composer for not losing himself 'in pedantic depictive details' of the literary work in *Prometheus.*[135] For August Püringer, a fanatic pro-Wagner critic heavily influenced by writings like Wagner's (1850) *Das Judenthum in der Musik*, Goldmark appeared as a celebrated representative of the allegedly Judaized musical establishment.[136] Other like-minded musicians, including Alfred Grünfeld, a remarkable pianist, interpreter of some of Goldmark's piano works, and Ignaz Brüll were also targeted:

> … the modern Judaization of our artistic conditions … is shown … at today's concert hall and opera house … whose most adored representatives are the Jews Brüll, Grünfeld, Rubinstein, and the Rosé Quartet, who are extolled as 'musical gods'; in the other prevail Mascagni, Goldmark, and Massenet …[137]

Moreover, Püringer labelled *Die Königin von Saba* as a Jewish national opera, which 'understandably continues to have its appreciative audience', doubtless referring to the allegedly large proportion of Viennese Jewish opera- and concert-goers.[138] At the same time, he pictured Goldmark as a 'slavish epigone' of Wagner and found *Heimchen am Herd* a sheer imitation of the 1893 opera *Hänsel und Gretel* by Humperdinck (whom he described as a bright star in 'German operatic sky'), adding the claim taken from Wagner's writings that

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[132] Josef Stolzing, *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* (19 October 1890) quoted in Notley, 'Brahms as Liberal,' 122.
[133] A. Göllerich, 'Aus den Concert-Sälen,' *Deutsches Volksblatt* (5 December 1889): 1–3.; Brodbeck, 239.
[134] Aug. Göllerich, 'Musikalische Wiener Ostern,' *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* (6 April 1890): 14.; Brodbeck, 240.
[135] Hanslick, *Aus dem Tagebuche eines Musikers*, 270, 298, quoted in Brodbeck, 224, 229. Hanslick, when praising Goldmark's Prometheus, referred to Liszt's *Dante Symphony*, performed at the same concert, as a negative example in terms of depictive details of the music.
[136] Püringer published under the pseudonym 'Hagen'. Brodbeck, 242–48.
[137] Hagen, 'Kunstjudenthum,' *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* (6 August 1896); Ibid.
[138] Hagen, 'Das Heimchen am Herd,' *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* (25 March 1896); Brodbeck, 293.

'Jewry … has always been great in imitation.'[139] In another review, Püringer called Goldmark's *Sappho* overture 'Jewish junk … rubbish from the beginning to the end'. Borrowing Wagner's locution, he agitated against the 'plastic demon of degeneration of humanity, [allegedly] destroying our [German] artistic world.'[140] Goldmark was doubtless aware of such attacks and in defence, claimed his German credentials, some of which he published as 'Gedanken über Form und Stil', discussed in Chapter One.

2.10. A 'Great Hungarian' (1895–)

In February 1895, a three-day Goldmark festival, including a festive concert comprised of Goldmark's works, were organized by the Philharmonic Society in Budapest, followed by a banquet for various representatives of the cultural and political elite.[141] Goldmark was celebrated as a world-famous son of the Hungarian homeland and named honorary member of the Philharmonic Society. A report on the banquet, followed by a lengthy feuilleton about Goldmark appeared in *Pester Lloyd*: 'Master Goldmark, when entering was welcomed with a stormy applause … the great master … is admired all over the world.'[142] Then Beer recalls Goldmark's speech given at the banquet (in German), thanking the warm welcome, at once emphasizing his affiliation to Hungary: 'Due to various circumstances, he forgot the language of his homeland, but he had not ceased to be a loyal son of his beloved fatherland.'[143] In the feuilleton, Beer claims Hungary as Goldmark's home (*Heimath*), placing him alongside other Hungarian-born world-renowned artists such as Liszt, and the painter Mihály Munkácsy, who lived abroad, but still considered themselves as Hungarians:

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[139] Ibid.

[140] August Püringer, 'Drittes philharmonisches Konzert,' *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* (30 November 1893); Brodbeck, 246. Püringer quoted from Wagner's *Erkenne dich selbst* [Know Thyself], 1881.

[141] Goldmark's *Sappho* overture, *Violin Concerto*, soloed by Jenő Hubay, lieder, *Psalm* no. 113 and *Scherzo* from *Symphony* in C major were performed by the Philharmonic Society. Lajos Koch, ed., *Goldmark Károly 1830-1930*, 35. Attendees included Count Albert Apponyi (significant politician, diplomat, advisor to Franz Joseph, member of directorate of Hungarian Academy of Science), Arthur Nikisch (director of the Opera, former conductor of Boston Symphony Orchestra), Jenő Hubay, David Popper (professors of Liszt Academy of Music). August Beer, 'Goldmark-Banket,' *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895): 5.

[142] 'Meister Goldmark, beim Eintritt mit stürmischem Applaus begrüßt … Goldmark's diesmalige Anwesenheit zeuge dafür, daß sich in dem großen, von der ganzen Welt bewunderten Meister Genie mit Herz paare.' August Beer, 'Goldmark-Banket,' *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895).

[143] 'Die Sprache seines Vaterlands habe er zufolge verschiedener Umstände verlernen können, allein die Versicherung müsse er geben, daß er nicht aufgehört habe, ein treuer Sohn seines geliebten Vaterland zu sein.' Ibid.

> You are with us, at home, a son of our fatherland; your home (*Heim*) is in Vienna, but your homeland (*Heimath*) is the Hungarian land, your cradle was on a patch of earth [referring to his birthplace, Keszthely] … Like a Liszt, a Munkácsy, Goldmark … each have become citizens of the world in their own way in an artistic sense, but have not forgotten their Hungarian way of thinking and feeling, and have felt like children of their Magyar homeland even under foreign skies.[144]

We have seen in previous accounts references to Goldmark as Jewish (Laurencin), affiliating his musical language with 'Orientalism' (Hanslick) and in other cases with the Germanic tradition (Speidel); however, here Goldmark's Hungarianness is strongly claimed. Beer attempts to justify this in musical terms:

> Goldmark's music has not remained alien to the national element either. That he, long before Brahms, wrote a whole series of piquant Hungarian dances for piano, perhaps very few in this country know.[145]

However, his reference to *Tänze* for piano four hands, Op. 22 (Goldmark's only set of dances for the piano) as a 'Hungarian' work is problematic. The small dances in that set are *Walzer* and *Ländler*, typically Austrian genres, and lacking *style hongrois* features. They have hardly anything common with Brahms's *Hungarian Dances* WoO1 in musical terms, with which they were often associated.[146] Beer furthermore establishes what he perceives as the prevailing features of 'Goldmarkian' music:

> What is called genuinely 'Goldmarkian' in his music is … a very peculiar, interesting mixture of Orientalism and Ungarthum, of Orientalism with its rich glow of colors and lush, swelling sensual lights and the specifically Hungarian nature on the other hand,

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[144] 'Du bist ja bei uns, bist zu Hause, bist ein Sohn unseres Vaterlandes; Dein Heim ist in Wien, aber Deine Heimath ist das Ungarland und Deine Wiege stand auf einem Flecken Erde … Gleich einem Liszt, einem Munkácsy wurde auch Goldmark … sind Jeder in seiner Art Weltbürger in künstlerischem Sinne geworden … aber sich haben ihr ungarisch Denken und Empfinden nicht verlernt, haben sich auch unter fremden Himmelstrich als Kinder ihrer magyarischen Heimath gefühlt.' August Beer, 'Karl Goldmark,' *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895): 5–6.

[145] 'Goldmark's Musik ist denn auch das nationale Element nicht fremd geblieben. Das er, lange vor Brahms eine ganze Reihe seiner, pikanter ungarischer Tänze für Klavier geschrieben, wissen vielleicht die Wenigsten hierzulande.' Ibid.

[146] See Chapter 3 for further discussion of *Tänze* Op. 22.

> with its easily inflamed, tenaciously rising passion and aptitude for strong, sonorous, beautiful, lively pathos.[147]

This claim is reductive for Goldmark's music as a whole. His main works, other than *Saba* or *Sakuntala* (further operas, symphonies and overtures) might display traces of Orientalist and Hungarian features, but those are far from being prevalent or even relevant in many, much less in *all* of them.[148] Germanic features are not viewed amongst the most determining ones in his music, they are not even mentioned, which is surprising given that Goldmark was by now an integral part in Vienna's cultural life, not to mention his self-perception as a German composer.[149] At the same time, Beer ranks Goldmark with Brahms and Wagner, but only in stature, without pointing out anything common in their music:

> [Goldmark] masters every form, feels himself in every genre at home. That is what sets him apart from both of his most famous contemporaries, Wagner and Brahms, to whom he is ranked so closely, from Wagner, the dramatic par excellence … and Brahms, the greatest symphonic of the present, the first representative of absolute music.[150]

No commonalities are foregrounded between Goldmark, Wagner and Brahms, instead, the musical controversy of the two 'German schools' (i.e. Brahmsian absolutists and New-German Wagnerites) is referred to. He continues:

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[147] 'Das, was man als echt 'Goldmarkisch' in seiner Musik bezeichnet … ist eine ganz eigenthümliche, interessante Mischung von Orientalismus und Ungarthum, des Orientalismus mit seiner satten Farbengluth und üppig schwellenden Sinnlichtet und des spezifisch ungarischen Naturells andererseits mit seiner leicht entflammten, zäh aufsteigenden Leidenschaft und der Reignung zu starkem, volltönenden, schön geschwungenem Pathos.' Ibid.

[148] (e.g. hardly any Orientalist or Hungarian features can be found in *Merlin*). Regarding his piano music, the subsequent chapters examine their most significant features.

[149] As noted earlier, Goldmark claimed that 'I wrote … German music' and that 'his [Goldmark's] entire artistic Bildung owes to German art' 'Ich schrieb … deutsche Musik … seine gesamte künstleriche Bildung der deutschen Kunst verdankt' Goldmark, 'Gedanken über Form und Stil,' *Neue Freie Presse* (4 June 1911): 53–54.

[150] 'Er beherrscht jede Form fühlt sich in jeder Kunstgattung zuhause. Das unterscheidet ihn wesentlich von seinen beiden berühmtesten zeitgenossen Wagner und Brahms, denen er im Range so nahe steht, von Wagner, dem Dramatiker par excellence, dessen Genie mit allen Fasern an der Bühne hing und Brahms, dem größten Symphoniker der Gegenwart, dem ersten Repräsentanten absoluter Musik.' August Beer, 'Karl Goldmark,' *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895).

> With his instrumental works he stands firmly on the ground of the great classics and romantics, a highly interesting 'oriental character' whom one would like to think of as standing between the portraits of Schumann and Brahms.[151]

This kind of interpretation might refer to Goldmark's multifaceted musical language; however, it might suggest that the critic soft-pedals Goldmark's affiliation to Germanic culture by not claiming any commonalities, to position Goldmark more convincingly as a great Hungarian, affirming his Hungarian credentials – claiming *Ungarthum* a main constituent of his music. This fits well in celebrating Goldmark as a great Hungarian in the midst of Millennium feasts.[152]

A few days before the festive concert, the young Ernő Dohnányi performed Goldmark's Piano Quintet Op. 30 (1878) at the Academy of Music in Budapest, in Goldmark's presence.

> Today, a large audience listened to the third concert of the students in the ornate hall of the Academy of Music. The significance of this evening was the presence of Goldmark, who sat in the first row with Albert Apponyi and director Nikisch, and who had to stand up for the endless applause after each movement of his Piano Quintet … Ernő Dohnányi, who accompanied his violinist and cellist colleagues with artistic delicacy and discretion, was particularly outstanding.[153]

2.11. 1900: Tributes in Vienna and Budapest

In 1900, Hanslick dedicated a lengthy article to Goldmark's seventieth birthday in the *Neue Freie Presse*. It is amongst the most remarkable accounts of the composer, an appreciative tribute, offering a fairly detailed review of his career to date. The first half of the article appeared on the journal's front page which also lends particular importance to it.

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[151] 'Mit seiner instrumentalwerken steht er durchaus auf dem festen Boden der großen Klassiker und Romantiker, ein hochinteressanter, "orientalischer" Charakterkopf, den man sich am liebsten zwischen die Porträts eines Schumann und Brahms eingereiht denken möchte.' Ibid.

[152] Millennium was the commemoration of Hungarians entering the Carpathian basin in 895. New representative buildings were constructed and festivities held in Budapest in 1895.

[153] 'A Zeneakadémia díszes termében ma nagy közönség hallgatta a növendékek harmadik nyilvános hangversenyét. A mai est érdekessége *Goldmark* személyében összpontosult, aki az első sorban ült gróf *Apponyi* Albert és *Nikisch* igazgató közt és akit a zongoraötös minden tétele után szűnni nem akaró tapsokkal állítottak föl székéről … Különösen kitűnt Dohnányi Ernő, aki a zongorán művészi finomsággal és diszkrécióval kísérte hegedülő és gordonkázó kollégáit.' 'Az Országos Zeneakadémia hangversenye,' [Concert of the National Academy of Music] *Pesti Napló* (10 February 1895): 9.

> Well, so, seventy already? ... The first half of the journey was troublesome and difficult for Goldmark. 'Ich hatte viel Bekümmerniß' he sang with Sebastian Bach. But whoever courageously fought his way through a forest of obstacles to artistic heights and undisputed validity, we celebrate with congratulations and doubled cordiality … Brahms immediately suggested Goldmark … [for] our three-member committee for the distribution of state scholarships to talented musicians … twenty years earlier he [Goldmark] had been the only one of fifteen applicants to receive the state scholarship at our very first meeting. Hand in hand with high esteem for Goldmark the artist goes the general sympathy for him, the man. How loud and festive both were expressed when Goldmark's sixtieth birthday was celebrated ten years ago with the one-hundredth performance of his 'Königin von Saba'![154]

A great arch of Goldmark's professional journey is outlined from the hardships of his youth – his poverty and fight to be noticed as a composer in Vienna – to the 100th performance of *Die Königin von Saba*, suggesting that one who overcomes such immense difficulties deserves sincere appreciation. Brahms's recommendation of Goldmark to Hanslick as a committee member alongside them for the Ministry of Religion and Public Education' stipend was surely a milestone in his career; they recognised not only Goldmark's artistic but personal merits. Hanslick's reference to Bach, the ideal of Germanic culture is notable, creating affiliation between Goldmark and that cultural tradition. In the following, Hanslick recalls Goldmark's training as a violinist, who 'in Oedenburg as an eight-year-old boy with his little violin gave the first concert' and then 'trained to become a capable violin player under L.[eopold] Jansa and Joseph Böhm. He then sat for two years as a violinist in the orchestra of the Leopoldstadt Theater. Fortunately, nothing of that music stuck to his fingers, when he wrote his first own compositions'.[155] Hanslick then recalls:

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[154] 'Also auch schon Siebzig? … Die erste Hälfte der Wanderung verlief für Goldmark sorgen- und mühevoll. "Ich hatte viel Bekümmerniß", sang er mit Sebastian Bach. Wer aber durch einen Wald von Hindernissen sich muthig durchgekämpft zu künstlerischer Höhe und unbestrittener Geltung, den feiern wir glückwünschend mit verdoppelter Herzlichkeit ... Brahms sofort Goldmark vorgeschlagen, als in unserem dreiköpfigen Comité zur Vertheilung von Staatsstipendien an talentvolle Musiker … nachdem er zwanzig Jahre vorher, in unserer allerersten Sitzung, mit dem Staatsstipendium betheilt worden war als der einzige von fünfzehn Bewerbern. Hand in Hand mit der Hochschätzung für den Künstler Goldmark geht die allgemeine Sympathie für den Menschen. Wie laut und festlich kam Beides zum Ausdruck, als vor zehn Jahren Goldmark's sechzigster Geburtstag zugleich mit der hundertsten Aufführung seiner "Königin von Saba" gefeiert wurde!' Ed. H. 'Karl Goldmark. (Zum 18. Mai 1900),' *Neue Freie Presse* (18 May 1900): 1–2.

[155] 'Da mag der Jubilar wol an jenen Abend in Oedenburg zurückdenken, wo er als achtjähriger Knabe mit seiner kleinen Geige das erste Concert gab. Es zog den jungen Musikus nach Wien, wo er unter L. Jansa und Joseph Böhm sich zum tüchtigen Violinspieler ausbildete. Zwei Jahre hindurch saß er dann als Geiger im Orchester des

> He produced in 1860 a well-attended concert in which his pupil Caroline Bettelheim appeared in public for the first time as a pianist. The talented young girl was Goldmark's first interpreter. In the following years she played with Hellmesberger Goldmark's Piano Trio and his Suite for Piano and Violin from the manuscript. This is how we see the two blossoming talents closely connected from the beginning. The success of Goldmark's first chamber works strengthened and increased in … his … two suites for violin [and piano], and especially the often played Piano Quintet, which [to] our best pianists, Epstein, Door, Grünfeld … meant a welcome gift. A pleasing, ingenious work of freely flowing invention, the best we (next to the first Violin Suite Op. 11) know among Goldmark's chamber music.[156]

Hanslick clearly remembered that concert forty years later.[157] The young Bettelheim's playing also made a lasting impact on him. Hanslick evidently admired Goldmark's chamber works with piano, noting that it was a pleasure for the most outstanding Viennese pianists to perform them. As we will shortly see, Grünfeld also performed some of Goldmark's solo piano works.

After discussing the overtures, naming them 'peaks in Goldmark's instrumental music' and extolling *Prometheus* especially, Hanslick turns to the circumstances of the production of *Die Königin von Saba*, discussed in Chapter One.[158] Reflecting on the different nature of each of Goldmark's operas, Hanslick offers what he perceives as the composer's artistic creed:

Leopoldstädter Theaters. Von dieser Musik ist ihm glücklicherweise nichts an den Fingern kleben geblieben, als er seine ersten eigenen Compositionen niederschrieb.' Ibid. Hanslick here referred to the music of little aesthetic worth, played as accompaniment for theatrical plays. (Oedenburg was the German name for Sopron, a town in West-Hungary.)

[156] 'Er producirte sie 1860 in einem gut besuchten Concert, worin seine Schülerin Caroline Bettelheim zum erstenmale als Pianistin vor die Oeffentlichkeit trat. Das talentvolle junge Mädchen war Goldmark's erste Interpretin. Sie hat in den folgenden Jahren bei Hellmesberger Goldmark's Claviertrio und dessen Suite für Clavier und Violine aus dem Manuscript gespielt. So sehen wir die beiden aufblühenden Talente vom Anfang an enge verbunden. Der glückliche Erfolg von Goldmark's ersten Kammermusiken befestigte und steigerte sich bei der Aufführung … seine … beiden Violinsuiten, vor Allem an das oft gespielte Clavierquintett, das unseren besten Pianisten, Epstein, Door, Grünfeld u. A. ein willkommenes Geschenk bedeutete. Ein erfreuliches, geistreiches Werk, von ungezwungen strömender Erfindung, das Beste, was wir (etwa neben der ersten Violinsuite op. 11) im Fach der Kammermusik von Goldmark kennen.' Ibid.

[157] The concert he referred to took place on 13 January 1861.

[158] 'Die dritte Concert-Ouvertüre, "Prometheus" erhebt sich ansehnlich über die beiden genannten durch selbstständigeren musikalischen Gehalt und übersichtliche Form … diesen Spitzen Goldmark'scher Instrumentalmusik …' Ibid.

> … a virtue gilds them [Goldmark's works] all: the beautiful earnestness, with what Goldmark strives for what is real and true [to him] and, [stays] uncompromisingly faithful to his artistic conviction, spurning every ambiguously easy success.[159]

Ábrányi discussed several aspects of music (historic, aesthetic, formal, music criticism) and musical scene in Hungary from 1800 to 1900 in *A magyar zene a 19-ik században* [Hungarian Music in the 19th Century] (1900). Goldmark is positioned as an international 'star' of the Hungarian musical scene, representing the excellence of Hungarian art abroad.

> As a Hungarian-born opera composer, Károly Goldmark, this brightly shining star of the second half-century, occupies an European-standard position, who has not yet written an opera of Hungarian spirit, but has created ones that widely disseminated the artistic excellence of the Hungarian … I turn to those giants whom we like to claim as ours, although their light shines on foreign, rather than domestic skies ... [like] the world-famous opera- and great music poet Károly Goldmark, the greatest king of the violin: József Joachim … [and] János Richter, this supereminent, ingenious conductor, for whose ownership metropolises have been competing.[160]

The concept of 'ownership', that is, to claim a significant personality as belonging to a certain country (or several countries), is outlined here with reference to Richter, however, this is hugely relevant to Goldmark, as well. Karl Kraus considered Goldmark 'the greatest living music-drama composer since Wagner's death', Kalbeck, in his four-volume Brahms biography referred to Goldmark as 'a European celebrity since the brilliant success of *Die Königin von Saba.*'[161]

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[159] '… eine Tugend vergoldet sie Alle: der schöne Ernst, mit welchem Goldmark dem Echten und Wahren nachstrebt und, seiner künstlerischen Ueberzeugung unverbrüchlich treu, jeden zweideutig leichten Erfolg verschmäht.' Ibid.

[160] 'Külön európai színvonalú állást foglal el mint magyar születésű operaíró Goldmark Károly a 2-ik félszázadnak ez a fényes ragyogású csillaga, aki igaz, hogy nem írt még magyar szellemű operát, de írt olyanokat, melyek messze széthordták a magyar név művészeti kimagaslását.' LXV, 'A 2-ik félszázad legújabb magyar zenetermelése és opera-írói,' [The newest products of Hungarian music and opera writers of the 2. half-century] in *A magyar zene a 19-ik században* [Hungarian Music in the 19th Century] (Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Társa, 1900), 635.; '… rátérek azokra a nagymogulokra, akiket szeretünk a magunkénak vallani, bár fényük inkább a külföldi, mint a hazai firmamentumnak világít … Ilyenek: a világhírű opera- s nagy zeneköltő Goldmark Károly , a leghatalmasabb hegedű-király: Joachim József, aki a magyar zenére nézve nevét klasszikus Magyar hegedűkoncertjével tette halhatatlanná; Richter János, ez a gúla-kimagaslású zseniális karnagy, akinek a bírhatásáért világvárosok versenyeznek.' LXVI. 'A 2-ik félszázad szereplő magyar művészei,' [Hungarian performing artists of the 2. half-century] in Ibid., 643.

[161] 'Seit Richard Wagners Tod der größte lebende Musikdramatiker geworden zu sein.' Karl Kraus, *Die Fackel* no. 105 (May 1902), quoted in Graf, 372; 'seit dem glänzenden Erfolge der Königin von Saba ein europäische

At this time of wide recognition both in Austria and Hungary, Goldmark returned to composing piano collections, *Georginen* Op. 52 and *Charakterstücke* (without opus) alongside other characteristic pieces, in 1903–1909. Some of them were performed by remarkable pianists in significant venues of Vienna.

Table 2.2. Performances and performers of some of Goldmark's late piano works in the early 1900s.

Work	Event	Date	Location	Performer
***Georginen*, 6 piano pieces** Op. 52	Premiere performance: Concert of Julia and Steffi Goldner	12 June 1912	Bösendorfer-Saal, Vienna	Julia Goldner (from manuscript)
Selection of four pieces from the collection	Kammermusikabend	February 1913	Musikverein (most likely) Vienna	Julia Goldner (from manuscript)
Selection of four pieces from the collection	Kammermusikabend	2 February 1914	Großer Musikvereinssaal, Vienna	Alfred Grünfeld
Selection of two pieces from the collection	Concert of Alfred Grünfeld	February 1914	Großer Musikvereinssaal, Vienna	Alfred Grünfeld
Charakterstücke (WoO) 'Traumgestalten' 'Bedrängnis'	Concert of Moriz Rosenthal	13 December 1912	Großer Musikvereinssaal. Vienna	Moriz Rosenthal (from manuscript)

Two pieces from *Georginen* Op. 52 were performed in a recital by Alfred Grünfeld, alongside works by Haydn, Beethoven, Brahms, Schumann, Korngold, Graedener and Debussy, in the Großer Musikvereinssaal in Vienna in 1914.[162] Unfortunately, reviewers did not specify which pieces were included. Their tone is appreciative towards the music of the aged Goldmark. The critic of the *Neues Wiener Journal* refers to the pieces as 'beautiful, autumnally coloured mood pictures by Goldmark, from the *Georginen* cycle … Goldmark only recently composed the piano pieces, they are real treasures in modern piano music,

Zelebrität.' Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms. Eine Biographie in vier Bänden* (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1912), 3: 132.

[162] Haydn's Variations in F minor, Beethoven's Sonata in G minor, Schumann's *Etudes symphoniques*, two excerpts from Korngold's *Märchenbilder*, an etude by Debussy, Brahms work(s) and a 'friendly' Graedener piece were performed alongside the two excerpts from *Georginen*.

individual and strong in expression, artful in the form. Music, like the golden glow of the evening sun over a quiet landscape.'[163]

Notably, Goldmark's late piano works are considered here as representatives of 'modern' piano music in 1914, when the Viennese public might have been familiar with works of Schoenberg and Richard Strauss. The *Neue Freie Presse* highlighted that Grünfeld's concert served as an occasion for the audience to appreciate Goldmark's work: 'Karl Goldmark was represented by two of the most beautiful pieces from Op. 52 titled "Georginen". The audience cheered the aged tone poet, who in his humble manner was hiding in the director's box.'[164] These accounts suggest that Goldmark was clearly highly respected in his old age.

2.12. Posthumous Identities: Great Austrian and Great Hungarian (1915)

Within a few days after Goldmark's death on 2 January 1915, numerous obituaries appeared in the press of Vienna and Budapest, praising his works and positioning the composer high within each nation's musical heritage. The tone of the *Neue Freie Presse*'s report is remarkable:

> We, the musical Vienna, [and] the whole musical world stand around shaken, at the bier of the great composer and Austrian Carl Goldmark ... Goldmark has lived for his fatherland, has created eternally touched artworks, served the honour of the fatherland in his own way and increased the cultural property of humanity considerably.[165]

Goldmark's full accreditation as an Austrian is significant, as well as the validation of his cultural legacy. Several memoirs commenting on the composer's death appeared in the same issue, including by Anton Door and by the celebrated singer Amalia Friedrich-Materna. Even

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[163] 'wunderschöne, herbstlich gefärbte Stimmungsbilder von Goldmark aus dem Zyklus "Georginen" … Goldmark komponierte die Klavierstücke erst vor kurzem; sie sind wahre Kostbarkeiten in der modernen Klaviermusik, individuell und stark in Ausdruck, kunstreich in der Form. Musik, wie Goldglanz der Abendsonne über ruhiger Landschaft.' E.B., 'Konzert Alfred Grünfeld,' *Neues Wiener Journal* (27 February 1914): 10.

[164] 'Karl Goldmark war mit zwei der schönsten Stücke aus dem "Georginen" benannten Op. 52 vertreten. Man jubelte dem greisen Tondichter zu, der sich in seiner bescheidenen Art in der Direktionsloge verborgen hielt.' r., 'Konzert Grünfeld,' *Neue Freie Presse* (27 February 1914): 13.

[165] 'Erschüttert umstehen wir, umsteht das musikalische Wien, die ganze musikalische Welt die Totenbahre des großen Komponisten und Oesterreichers Carl Goldmark. Viele unserer Guten und Besten müssen jetzt auf dem Schlachtfelde für das Vaterland sterben. Goldmark hat für sein Vaterland gelebt, hat, indem er vom Ewigkeitshauch berührte Kunstwerke schuf, auf seine Weise der Ehre des Vaterlandes gedient und den Kulturbesitz der Menschheit erheblich gemehrt.' 'Carl Goldmark,' *Neue Freie Presse* (3 January 1915): 14–16.

more striking is the comment of the *Der Merker*: 'Now Goldmark is gone and Austrian music no longer has a center.' As the report continues,

> As many significant talents are creatively active in our country, just as strongly is a new youth heralded, like … Gradener, Fuchs, Kienzl, Reiter, Mandl, or the promising youthful front of Korngold, Schreker, Zemlinsky, Schoenberg, Schmidt, Prohaska, Weigl are, as it were, the vessels in which the blood circulation of our music takes place. But her [music's] heart beat in Carl Goldmark.[166]

A few days later, a lengthy article on Goldmark appeared in *Neue Freie Presse* by Julius Korngold, Hanslick's successor as the editor of the paper, with some truly remarkable comments: '[It is] hard to imagine Vienna without him, which had in him its last great master and [where] especially in recent years, a kind of Goldmark-cult has evolved … He, too, was born to be ingenious … a new expression created by Goldmark, has eternal value.'[167]

Goldmark clearly occupied a prestigious position in Viennese musical scene by his old age. However, picturing him as its 'centre' seems to be exaggerating. Significantly, at the end of his troublesome journey of fighting for cultural accreditation, Viennese papers this time proudly claimed him an Austrian who served his fatherland throughout his life.

Some obituaries referred to Goldmark's piano works and positioned them within the composer's output. After a notification of Goldmark's death, the *Fremden Blatt* turned to Goldmark's autodidactic studies of German music and as its outcome, a more independent voice in his *Sturm und Drang* Op. 5:

> At the venerable age of 85 years, Karl Goldmark, Nestor of Austrian composers has passed away in Vienna … He fled to Pest, trying in the greatest seclusion to fill the gap in his education. In addition to theoretical studies, the works of Bach, late Beethoven, Schumann, Richard Wagner's *Lohengrin* occupied his mind and brought about a mighty change in him. He steered out of Mendelssohn's fairway into new, independent paths, and his piano pieces *Sturm und Drang* ... testify the fermentation into which his whole

[166] 'Nun ist auch Goldmark fort und die österreichische Musik hat keinen Mittelpunkt mehr. So viele bedeutsame Begabungen auch in unserem Lande schöpferisch erfreulich tätig sind, so stark sind auch eine neue Jugend ankündigt - sie alle, mögen sie der reifen Schar der Grädener, Fuchs, Kienzl, Reiter, Mandl, oder der jugendlichen verheißungsvollen Front der Korngold, Schreker, Zemlinsky, Schönberg, Schmidt, Prohaska, Weigl angehören, sind gleichsam die Gefäße, in denen sich der Blutkreislauf unserer Musik vollzieht. Aber ihr Herz hat in Carl Goldmark geschlagen.' Richard Specht, 'Goldmark,' *Der Merker* (15 January 1915): 64.

[167] 'Und schwer, sich ihn von Wien wegzudenken, das in ihm seinen letzten großen Meister besaß und sich gerade in den letzten Jahren zu einer Art Goldmark-Kultus entschlossen hatte … Auch er war zur Genialität geboren … ein neuer, von Goldmark geschaffener Ausdruck, Ewigkeitswert hat.' Julius Korngold, 'Feuilleton. Karl Goldmark,' *Neue Freie Presse* (5 January 1915): 1–3.

> being had gotten back then … Goldmark was not a pioneering genius, but a strong individuality.[168]

The *Neue Freie Presse* referred to the depths and philosophical qualities of the *Georginen*:

> Goldmark calls a cycle of six piano pieces *Georginen* which, like the flowers whose names they bear, came into being when late summer was fading. Instead of a title the composer placed a question mark over the last of the pieces, which is as unfathomable as the ultimate things of the heart, which this tone poem touches.[169]

Quite a number of articles appeared in significant journals of Budapest upon Goldmark's death. *Pester Lloyd* published a lengthy article discussing several aspects of Goldmark's work and identity, accompanied by a biography of the composer. It ranks Goldmark with Liszt, claiming him as 'the greatest Hungarian musician':

> A great son of our country [Hungary] has passed away … the master, alongside Liszt [was] the greatest Hungarian musician … We could be proud of him because, even in the midst of the rich recognition that he received abroad, he never denied us.[170]

Goldmark's 'Hungarianness' is strongly claimed here by naming him a 'great son' of Hungary. The phrase 'he [Goldmark] never denied us [Hungarians]' suggests Goldmark's strong attachment to the Hungarian homeland, his birthplace. Other papers, as we will see, went further and claimed that Goldmark always declared himself as Hungarian, which is a somewhat different claim. A quote from August Beer's article for Goldmark's 80th birthday follows, further affirming Goldmark's Hungarian affiliation by musical terms:

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[168] 'Im Patriarchenalter seiner 85 Jahre ist heute Karl Goldmark, der Nestor der österreichischen Komponisten, in Wien verschieden … Er überfiedelte nach Pest, in größter Zurückgezogenheit bemüht, die Lücke seiner Bildung auszufüllen. Neben den theoretischen Studien beschäftigten die Werke Bachs, der letzte Beethoven, Schumann, Richard Wagners "Lohengrin" seinen Geist und brachten eine mächtige Wandlung in ihm hervor. Er lenkte aus dem Mendelssohnschen Fahrwasser in neue, selbständig Bahnen, und seine "Sturm und Drang" betitelten Klavierstücke (Opus 5) geben Zeugnis von der Gährung, in welche sein ganzes Wesen damals geraten war … Goldmark war allerdings kein bahnbrechendes Genie, aber eine starke Individualität.' R[ichard] Batka, 'Feuilleton. Karl Goldmark,' *Fremden Blatt* (3 January 1915): 1–2.

[169] '"Georginen" nennt Goldmark einen Zyklus von sechs Klavierstücken, die gleich den Blumen, deren Namen sie tragen, erst entstanden sind, als schon der Spätsommer zur Neige ging. Ueber das letzte der Stücke hat der Komponist statt eines Titels ein Fragezeichen gesetzt, das so unergründlich ist wie die letzten Dinge des Herzens, an die diese Tondichtung rührt.' 'Carl Goldmark,' *Neue Freie Presse* (3 January 1915): 14–16.

[170] 'Ein großer Sohn unseres Landes ist dahingegangen … neben Lißt der größte ungarischer Musiker … Wir durften stolz auf ihn sein, weil er uns auch inmitten der reichen Anerkennung, die ihm im Ausländе wurde nie verleugnet hat.' 'Karl Goldmark,' *Pester Lloyd* (3 January 1915): 13–14.

> The classic spirit [and] romantic feeling merge into their own more interesting mixture in his instrumental compositions, through which, in addition to the very specific Goldmark tone, the Hungarian tone also sounds, [and] the national rhythms beat predominantly.[171]

Goldmark's own voice, alongside a certain 'Hungarian tone' are claimed to prevail in his music, as well as 'national rhythms'. Although no more details are mentioned, Beer likely referred to the rhythmic features of the *verbunkos*, however they are far from being typical in all of Goldmark's works.[172]

The intervention of Liszt and influential Hungarian nobles to secure a premiere performance of *Die Königin von Saba* in Vienna, which proved to be crucial to Goldmark's career, is also emphasized not only by *Pester Lloyd*, but other Hungarian papers as well. This lends enormous weight to the efforts of Hungarians, working behind the scenes in favor of Goldmark.

> … at Liszt's instigation, the Vienna Philharmonic performed the 'Einzugsmarsch' in a concert, which had to be repeated from beginning to end. The resounding success of this fragment made it easier for Count Julius Andrássy to open the doors of the Vienna Court Opera to the works of his compatriot.[173]

Goldmark's affiliation to Hungary is further emphasized by claiming his Hungarian citizenship and the frequency of his works' performances in concert programmes in Budapest, furthermore, the awards he received: 'His Hungarian citizenship he never renounced. The Budapest Opera House has performed all of his works. On the occasion of his 80th birthday there was a festival week full of lavish honours for him.'[174]

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[171] 'Der klassische Geist des einen, das romantische Empfinden des anderen verschmelzen zu ganz eigener interessanter Mischung in seinen Instrumentalkompositionen, durch die außer der ganz spezifischen Goldmarknote auch die ungarische Note klingt, die nationalen Rhythmen vornehmlich pochen.' Ibid.

[172] This will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

[173] 'Endlich brachten die Wiener Philharmoniker in einem Konzert auf Lißts Betreiben den "Einzugsmarsch", der von Anfang bis zu Ende wiederholt werden mußte. Der durchschlagende Erfolg dieses Bruchstückes erleichterte die Bemühungen des Grafen Julius Andrássy, dem Werke seines Landsmannes die Pforten der Wiener Hofoper zu öffnen.' Ibid. (Der Lebenslauf des Meister) Gyula Andrássy was the Monarchy's Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[174] 'Auf sein ungarisches Staatsbürgerrecht hat er niemals verzichtet. Das Budapester Opernhaus hat alle seine Werke aufgeführt. Anläßlich seines 80. Geburtstages gab es für ihn hier eine Festwoche voll rauschender Ehrungen …' Ibid. Goldmark was named as a honorary member of the Philharmonic Society in Budapest in 1895 and awarded honorary Doctorate in 1910.

We may glean from the following how exceptionally highly Beer ranked Goldmark, not only in terms of Hungarian musical scene but internationally. He considered Goldmark as a foremost master of the time, standing alongside Brahms and Wagner. Significantly, his works were perceived by Beer as potentially canonic:

> Like the [opera] stages, all the concert halls resound with Goldmark's music. Among the great masters of the modern times his universality assigns him a very special rank as brilliant … In his versatility he surpasses his most famous contemporaries, Wagner, whose enormous genius is rooted in musical drama, Brahms and Bruckner, the developers of pure instrumental music … Nothing speaks more clearly for the authenticity and the inner value of his music that in the course of time it was neither overtaken nor repressed, in the midst of the newest trends has calmly and safely retained its full vitality …[175]

Goldmark's significance as one internationally projecting Hungary's musical and cultural achievements is summed up:

> Well, he has passed away, a piece of great past, a mighty one, a pillar in the construction of Hungary's artistic glory.[176]

Several other papers joined in foregrounding Goldmark's affiliation to Hungary and the esteem he enjoyed in Budapest, especially after he became renowned internationally. In the following quote from *Népszava*, Goldmark appears as a Hungarian, who propagates 'Hungarian talent' at an international stage. This is supported by a vague claim that his works are imbued with so-called 'Hungarian talent'. Here as well, he is ranked with Liszt in terms of international recognition.

> Hungarian culture has its international[ly renowned] dead [sic]. Hungarian-born composer Károly Goldmark, who was known everywhere, where people were educated,

[175] 'Wie die Bühnen, klingen auch alle Konzertsäle von der Musik Goldmarks, Unter den großen Meistern der Neuzeit weist ihm seine Universalität einen ganz besonderen Rang zu als einem glänzenden … In der Vielseitigkeit des Schaffens übertrifft er seine berühmtesten Zeitgenossen, Wagner, dessen gewaltiges Genie nun im Musikdrama wurzelt, Brahms und Bruckner, die Fortentwickler der reinen Instrumentalmusik … Nichts spricht deutlicher für die Echtheit und den inneren Wert seiner Musik, als daß sie im Laufe der Zeit weder überholt noch verdrängt wurde, sich inmitten der neuesten Strömungen ruhig und sicher ihre volle Lebenskraft bewahrt hat.' 'Karl Goldmark,' *Pester Lloyd* (3 January 1915): 13.

[176] 'Nun ist er dahingegangen, ein Stück großer Vergangenheit, ein mächtige, Pfeiler im Bau von Ungarns künstlerischem Ruhm.' Ibid. (Der Lebenslauf des Meister)

> has died. Alongside Ferenc Liszt, probably Goldmark was such a representative of Hungarian talent in the field of music creation, that he was numbered amongst the most respected international names … He lived here [in Hungary] until he grew up, thereafter mostly in Vienna, but he always declared himself Hungarian, and the colour and fierce power of Hungarian talent also shines through his musical works.[177]

The claim that Goldmark always declared himself Hungarian, recurs in most of the obituaries in papers of Budapest. This likely refers to the faithfulness to his native country that Goldmark expressed upon his visits, rather than his chosen (German) cultural identity.

More nuanced is the account from *Pesti Napló*. Here too, Goldmark is presented as a world-famous talent of Hungary, but his path is paralleled with other Hungarians who left the country.

> This afternoon, Károly Goldmark died; one of the most brilliant talents of modern music, who gained world fame with his works and who was a Hungarian. He lived permanently in Vienna – just as not a single Hungarian genius spent his days in such voluntary emigration – but maintained his love for his homeland and attachment to his Hungarianness throughout. Perhaps he would have stayed home all his life if, let it be admitted, ungrateful circumstances had not prevented him from doing so. By the time his works gained recognition from the entire music world, we proudly claimed him as ours … Through all his voices, his range of emotions, a completely independent artist's soul speaks.[178]

No further details offered on the 'ungrateful circumstances' which caused Goldmark to live in Vienna, namely the lack of opportunities and recognition Hungary could offer. In any case, the statement that by the time he gained world-wide recognition he was proudly claimed as

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[177] 'A magyar kultúrának nemzetközi halottja van. Meghalt Goldmark Károly magyar születésű zeneszerző, akit mindenütt ismertek, ahol művelődöttek az emberek. Liszt Ferenc mellett talán Goldmark volt az, aki a zeneköltés területén olyan képviselője volt a magyar tehetségnek, akit a legbecsültebb internationalis nevek között emlegettek … Egész férfikoráig idehaza élt, azután leginkább Bécsben, de mindig magyarnak vallotta magát és zenei műveiből is kicsillog a magyar tehetség színessége, heves ereje.' N.N., 'Goldmark Károly meghalt,' *Népszava* (3 January 1915): 7.

[178] 'Ma délután meghalt Goldmark Károly, aki a modern zeneművészet egyik legragyogóbb tehetsége volt, müveivel világhírre tett szert és aki magyar ember volt. Állandóan Bécsben élt, – mint ahogy nem egy magyar lángész töltötte ilyen önkéntes emigrációban napjait, – de mindvégig megőrizte hazája iránti szeretetét és magyarságához való ragaszkodását. Talán egész életén át itthon maradt volna, ha a – valljuk be – hálátlan viszonyok ezt megengedték volna neki. Mire művei az egész zenei világ elismerését megszerezték számára, büszkén vallottuk őt a magunkénak … Minden hangjából, egész érzésvilágából egy teljesen önálló müvészlélek szól hozzánk.' 'Goldmark Károly 1830–1914,' [sic] *Pesti Napló* (3 January 1915): 16.

Hungarian, is remarkable. It suggests that Goldmark became truly appreciated in Hungary only after having been recognised in Vienna and internationally.

A somewhat different picture is drawn in *Pesti Hírlap*. Goldmark's Jewish origin is noted, although the author quickly adds that he always asserted his Hungarian roots:

> Music poetry fell into deep mourning. One of its most proficient and original cultivators, Károly Goldmark has died … He set off from the shores of Lake Balaton as a simple little Jewish boy on his artistic journey, which then led him to amazing heights. He was never ashamed to boast his Hungarian descent and was always happy to return here … later he moved to Budapest, where he joined the most significant musicians, Róbert Volkmann, Mihály Mosonyi, Kornél Ábrányi and others … he began to set Mosenthal's text *Die Königin von Saba*, which he completed with the help of a state stipend awarded by favour of Baron József Eötvös. The work was premiered through the intercession of Ferenc Liszt and Count Gyula Andrássy in the Hofoper in 1875 and the following year in the National Theater in Budapest.[179]

Various aspects of Goldmark's Hungarian affiliation are pointed out; his acquaintance with significant Hungarian musical personalities, the crucial importance of the state stipend given by the Hungarian secretary of religion and public education for completing *Saba*, and Liszt's and Andrássy's intervention in Austrian cultural circles for premiering it. These are emphasized as decisive steps in Goldmark's career, not only by *Pesti Hírlap* but in *Budapesti Hírlap*, as well:[180]

> One of the best-known composers of recent time, Dr Károly Goldmark of Hungarian descent, has left the ranks of the living … After much adversity, struggle and misunderstanding, the Keszthely-born man reached the stage of his career to have his talent honoured according to his merits … Baron József Eötvös, secretary of culture granted eight-hundred Forints to Goldmark, who set Mosenthal's text *Die Königin von*

[179] 'Mélységes gyászba borult a zeneköltészet. Meghalt egyik legavatottabb és legeredetibb művelője, *Goldmark Károly* ... A Balaton partjáról mint egyszerű kis zsidófiú indult el művészeti vándorútjára, amely aztán szédítően magasra vezette. Soha nem átallott eldicsekedni azzal, hogy magyar származású és mindig boldog volt, ha visszatérhetett ide … néhány év múlva Budapestre költözött, ahol belekerült a legjelentékenyebb muzsikusok, Volkmann Róbert, Mosonyi Mihály, Ábrányi Kornél és mások társaságába ... hozzákezdett a Sába királynője című Mosenthal-féle operaszöveg megzenésítéséhez, amelyet aztán a báró Eötvös József jóvoltából kiutalványozott állami segéllyel fejezett be. A darab 1875-ben Liszt Ferenc révén gróf Andrássy Gyula közbenjárására került bemutatóra a Hofoperben és a következő évben a budapesti Nemzeti színházban.' 'Goldmark Károly meghalt,' *Pesti Hírlap* (3 January 1915): 17.

[180] Baron József Eötvös, head of Hungarian secretary of religion and public education between 1867–71, supported the emancipation of Jews in Hungary.

> *Saba* between 1865–70. Due to the persistent intervention of Ferenc Liszt and Count Gyula Andrássy, secretary of foreign affairs, the work received its premiere in Vienna's Hofoper in 1875. This laid the foundation for his fame.[181]

A quite different interpretation of Goldmark's music and significance appeared in *Egyenlőség*, a Jewish denominational societal and political weekly in Budapest. Goldmark is pictured as a real Jewish composer, a genuine, distinctive entity, not letting himself being influenced by any 'school' or tradition.

> He had no descendants and no ancestors. He did not belong to any school, did not follow any direction. His music is unlike anyone else's. He has no relative … The musical mother tongue of Judaism … shone divinely phenomenally in Goldmark. That the soul of his music is Jewish cannot be scientifically proven. One has to feel it. And everyone feels it.[182]

Goldmark's music is claimed to express the so-called native language of Jewish music, although adding that this cannot be justified analytically. The following claim is then made:

> Goldmark was Hungarian; this, too, is felt in his music, and that is natural … we want to point out that what is Hungarian in Goldmark can also be considered Jewish. For if Jewish music has a relative, that is the Hungarian.[183]

So, according to the author, Jewish music is a relative of Hungarian music, although no more detail is offered.

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[181] 'Az újabbkori zeneszerzők egyik legismertebb alakja, a magyar származású Goldmark Károly dr kidőlt az élők sorából … Sok hányattatás, rengeteg küzdés és félreismerés után jutott el a keszthelyi születésű ember pályájának addig a fokáig, hogy tehetségét érdemei szerint méltassák … Eötvös József báró kultuszminiszter 1869-ben nyolcszáz forint ösztöndíjat folyósított Goldmarknak, aki 1865–70-ig megzenésítette Mosenthal-nak Sába királynője című operaszövegét. *Liszt* Ferencnek és *Andrássy* Gyula gróf külügyminiszternek s e két férfi szívós közbenjárásának lett az eredménye, hogy a bécsi udvari opera 1875-ben előadta a művet. Ez az opera lett hírének megalapozója.' N.N., 'Goldmark Károly meghalt,' *Budapesti Hírlap* (3 January 1915): 16.

[182] 'Nincs utóda és nem volt őse. Nem tartozott egyetlen iskolához sem, nem követett semmiféle irányt. A zenéje senkiéhez sem hasonló. Nincs rokona … A zsidóság zenei anyanyelve … isteni tüneményszerűen kiragyogott Goldmarkban. Hogy zenéjének a lelke zsidó, ezt nem lehet tudományosan igazolni. Ezt érezni kell. És érzi is mindenki.' Gyula Fodor, 'Goldmark,' *Egyenlőség* 34, no. 2 (10 January 1915): 13–14.

[183] 'Goldmark magyar volt, ez a zenéjén is megérzik, ami természetes … arra a körülményre akarunk rámutatni, hogy ami Goldmarkban magyaros, azt is zsidónak tekinthetjük. Ha ugyanis van rokona a zsidó muzsikának: a magyar az.' Ibid.

A few months later, the same author positioned Goldmark among composers of Jewish descent in the history of music in *Zeneközlöny*, claiming him as the only one whose Jewishness is expressed through his music:

> Composers of Jewish descent can be broadly divided into two groups. The first includes those who, if not denied but disguised their Jewry, were shrouded in the guise of internationalism … these were: Halévy, Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Rubinstein … We should assign those composers to the second group, who far from denying their race, shone it above and sought to express, emphasized it. Music history knows only one such composer, Goldmark.[184]

He adds that Goldmark indeed composed 'in the manner of Schubert and Schumann … and Wagner' (*Merlin* is referred to for the latter), but in these cases produced works of only mediocre value. 'But when he wanted to express the depths of his soul, his raciality … in the *Sakuntala*, the *Saba*' – and notably, the Violin Concerto, the *Ländliche Hochzeit* and the quintet [sic] are also claimed – 'he created new, sublime and original value'.[185] His statements are problematic; claiming Goldmark's music as a whole as 'Jewish' is highly reductive, even labelling so *Die Königin von Saba* is debatable.[186] As noted earlier, Goldmark considered using different kinds of 'Orientalist' markers in the opera as *couleur locale* (as opposed to a coherent style) as appropriate to the subject matter.[187] In addition, *Sakuntala* is based on the Sanskrit *Mahabharata*, thus having little to do with Jewishness. Nevertheless, we may also see how differently Fodor received Goldmark's works in terms of their 'value' than for example Brahms, Hanslick or Speidel.

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[184] 'A zsidó származású zeneszerzőket nagy általánosságban két csoportra oszthatjuk. Az egyikbe azokat soroljuk, akik zsidóságukat ha nem is eltagadták, de leplezték, az internacionalizmus köntösébe burkolták … Ilyenek voltak: Halévy, Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Rubinstein … A második csoportba sorolhatnók azokat a zeneszerzőket, akik nem hogy eltagadják zsidó fajiságukat, de fennen ragyogtatták, kifejezésére törekedtek, hangsúlyozták, kiemelték. A zenetörténet csak egyetlen ilyen zeneszerzőről tud. Goldmarkról.' Gyula Fodor, 'Goldmark,' *Zeneközlöny* 13, no. 1 (15 March 1915): 2–4.

[185] 'Goldmark is komponált Schubert és Schumann modorában … és komponált Wagner modorában – például a Merlin, még inkább a Berlichingeni Götz számos részletében – de mindannyiszor a közepesnél nagyobb értéket *nem* termelt. Amikor azonban a saját lelke legmélyét, fajiságát … akarta kifejezni … a Sábában, a Sakuntalában, a hegedűversenyben és sokhelyt a Falusi lakodalomban és a kvintettben is – *akkor* új, nagyszerű, csodálatos és eredeti érték került ki a műhelyéből.' Ibid.

[186] Daniel S. Katz argued that the work does not allude to any synagogue liturgical practice. 'Die Suche nach synagogalen Einflüssen auf Carl Goldmarks Oper Die Königin von Saba,' in *Carl Goldmark: Leben – Werk – Rezeption*, ed. Peter Stachel (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2022), 190.

[187] See on page 52.; 'Gedanken über Form und Stil. Von Karl Goldmark,' *Neue Freie Presse* (4 June 1911): 55.

2.13. Conclusion

Goldmark travelled far from a Hungarian village to become a member of the Viennese musical elite and gain international renown. His music was interpreted according to different perspectives and shifting political interests. Some themes recur throughout the reception of Goldmark's works. His autodidactic studies and the individuality/originality of his music were emphasized from the very first appearances, the latter often linked to a distinctive treatment of harmony, striking harmonic progressions and modulations.

A central aspect of Goldmark's reception as a whole was around whether he was accepted into the Germanic canon. Some reviewers suggested that the original qualities of his music were rooted in his origins. Thus Goldmark was interpreted, quite reductively, as 'peculiar, unique but accepted' by Laurencin, not long later hailed as an 'accredited German' composer by the liberal Speidel, and then as 'one of the enemies of German culture' by the anti-Semitic press. This clearly reflects the shifting political ideologies, particularly of defining 'nationality'. This was broadly defined culturally by liberals, and more strictly along exclusive racial terms by the emerging right in the 1880–90s.

At the same time, Goldmark came to be regarded as one of the foremost Hungarian composers by the Hungarian press, which claimed a dominant 'Hungarian tone' in his works. He was celebrated as an international 'star' of Hungary around the Millennium (1895), a pillar of Hungarian art, and the most famous composer after the death of Liszt, Erkel and Mosonyi, despite leaving Hungary long ago. Moreover, at the time of his death Goldmark was claimed as a fully accredited Austrian by Austrians, one of the greatest Hungarian composers by Hungarians, and a true manifestation of the Jewish 'soul of music' by the Jewish press in Budapest. Thus all these press organs misinterpreted or reduced him in some ways according to their ideological agendas. One thing is agreed on though, in the different interpretations (especially after the 1870s): the international renown he achieved, through diligent work and study.

Although Goldmark's piano works are not prominent within this reception history, they can be seen as part of it. They featured from the early stage of his career, they represented him (among others) in his first *Kompositionskonzerte*. Some of the most outstanding pianists of the time performed Goldmark's piano music; Caroline Bettelheim and Vilmos Deutsch championed his early pieces, performers of late works included Alfred Grünfeld, Moriz Rosenthal, his piano chamber music Julius Epstein and Anton Door. Thus this music was indeed performed in Vienna and Pest in Goldmark's time and did have a role

in his emerging career. Significantly, Goldmark claimed to have found his own voice in Op. 5. Reviewers remarked on a number of piano pieces including *Sturm und Drang* Op. 5, *Drei Stücke*, *Tänze* Op. 22, *Magyar ábránd* and *Georginen* Op. 52, pointing out 'technical abundance' (Op. 5), the impact of Germanic sources, primarily Mendelssohn, Bach and Schumann (Op. 5 and *Drei Stücke*), 19th-century Hungarian idioms (*Magyar ábránd*) and a philosophical quality and 'strong expression' (Op. 52). Some of the significant, tangible features of the alignment of Goldmark's piano music with Germanic tradition, such as characteristic genres, formal, structural and harmonic features will be dissected in the following chapter, to gain view of to what extent his piano music may be considered as German.

Chapter 3.

Germanic aspects of Goldmark's piano music

3.1. Rationale and Aims

Goldmark claimed his strong affiliation to German culture in his essay 'Gedanken über Form und Stil', partially published in *Neue Freie Presse* in 1911, as follows: 'I wrote … German music. This is proven by my entire chamber and orchestral music, as well as by all my operas.'[1] He went on to justify his statement as 'the composer [speaking of himself], living among Germans (in Vienna) since childhood, his entire artistic *Bildung* owed to German art' furthermore stating that 'Beethoven and Bach were his teachers.'[2] The specific circumstances of his essay pertains to Goldmark's Viennese context, however, it is crucial to see how strongly Goldmark emphasized his self-perception as a 'German' composer, even though this is more complex, laden with ideological and aesthetic ambiguities. He affiliated himself with a set of ideas, geographically tied (partly) to Vienna, which were ideologically German but not nationally, but nor were they distinctively Austrian.

In this chapter I investigate how Goldmark's claim to a German artistic identity manifests in his piano music, that is, what aspects of his piano works can be viewed as 'German'.[3] The aim of this exploration is to see how this music affiliates with repertoire which is arguably better-known and regarded as unambiguously German. I focus on a range of characteristic features in Goldmark's piano works relating to Germanic music, spanning from J. S. Bach to Goldmark's contemporaries. Comparing Goldmark's music with that of canonic Germanic composers' will shed light on how the former slots into a 'typical' existing knowledge of piano repertoire. This will enable performers to make confident interpretative

[1] 'Ich schrieb … deutsche Musik. Das bezeugen meine gesamte Kammer- und Orchestermusik, sowie alle meine Opern.' Goldmark, 'Gedanken über Form und Stil. Eine Abwehr,' [Thoughts on Form and Style. A Defence] *Neue Freie Presse* (4 June 1911): 53–54. Goldmark's essay, written after receiving attacks in Viennese press towards the turn of the century, targeting his Jewish descent is discussed in Chapter 1 and 2.

[2] 'der Komponist, seit seiner Kindheit mitten unter Deutschen (in Wien) lebend, seine gesamte künstlerische Bildung der deutschen Kunst verdankt. Beethoven und Bach waren seine Lehrmeister.' Ibid., 54.

[3] While existing literature on Goldmark deals mainly with the political context of his reception, and his operas and symphonic music in general terms, there is hardly any existing scholarship on his piano music, particularly not on its stylistic identification. Moreover, there is no existing scholarship considering Goldmark's claim of German cultural identity with regard to his piano music.

decisions by drawing on stylistic affiliations, and audiences to formulate informed judgements about this music.[4]

However, I do not intend to categorise Goldmark's music in a simplistic way, to refer to his pieces as 'Germanic'. This would not be appropriate as his musical language is more complex than this; nevertheless, inspirations gained from the Germanic tradition seem to be amongst the most decisive and merit detailed attention.

3.2. Methodology

I examine specific aspects of Goldmark's piano music which might be considered 'Germanic'. I use the term 'Germanic' in a historicised stylistic sense, indicating 'of a German nature', rather than the more nationally tinted 'German'. It refers to the musical culture that originated in German-speaking regions and developed particular cultural power during the nineteenth century.[5] It was associated primarily with the music of J. S. Bach, Beethoven, and in Goldmark's time with Schumann, Mendelssohn, Brahms and (from 1859) the so-called *Neudeutsche Schule*.[6] I also use the nuanced term 'Austro-German', indicating that there were somewhat distinctive 'Austrian', or 'Viennese' aspects alongside what is usually referred to as 'German music'. 'Austro-German' does not refer to a geopolitical entity, but rather to an idealized composite of culture, with Vienna, having its distinct

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[4] As Sarah Price argued, to this day, a small number of composers dominate classical concert programming and 'audiences for classical music are primarily attracted to works that are familiar to them' suggesting the idea of supporting audiences to build familiarity with the (relatively unfamiliar) works to be performed in advance. Sarah M. Price, 'In Defence of the Familiar: Understanding Conservatism in Concert Selection Amongst Classical Music Audiences,' *Musicae Scientiae* 26, no. 2 (June 2020): 1–16, accessed 7 July 2023, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1029864920940034

[5] The unified Germany (German Empire, a Prussian-dominated federal state) existed only from 1871. The Cisleithanian lands of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (largely today's Austria) were not part of the unified German state.

[6] John Kmetz, Ludwig Finscher, Giselher Schubert, Wilhelm Schepping, and Philip V. Bohlman, 'Germany, Federal Republic of (Ger. Deutschland),' 3. 1700–1806 & 4. 1806–1918, *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 2 February 2019, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040055?rskey=GTWvGy&result=2

The term *Neudeutsche Schule* was coined by Franz Brendel in his speech at 'the first conference of German musicians (*Tonkünstler Versammlung*)' in 1859, referring to the 'progressive' trends in the music of a group of composers in terms of 'models of new musical genres … innovations in harmonic language and orchestral technique.' Wagner, Liszt and Berlioz were considered as its foremost representatives, although neither Liszt nor Berlioz was actually 'German'. Thomas S. Gray, 'New German School (Ger. Die neu-deutsche Schule),' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 21 January 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040621?rskey=d8PPvb&result=1

As we will see, of these,Wagner's impact proved significant for Goldmark.

dynamic. Thus 'Germanic' culture or music can neither temporally nor geographically be viewed as a unified entity; it encompasses Austro-German music, including the split between the so-called 'traditionalists' and the *Neudeutsche Schule.* However, when referring to this musical tradition as how Goldmark (or his contemporaries) understood or regarded it, I refer to it as 'German'. A comprehensive definition of Germanic musical tradition cannot be offered in this chapter; rather a landscape of thought, including contemporary and non-contemporary sources, outlining some of its key concepts. I focus on some characteristics relevant to Goldmark by examining, how the knowledge which Goldmark gained through his studies of J. S. Bach, Beethoven and Schumann's music and German theoretical sources, his admiration of Mendelssohn and Wagner, and through what he absorbed while living in Vienna, was assimilated in his music.

Given the development of musicology during the 19th century, I start from a theoretical point of view, with reference to key 19th-century German scholars. Franz Brendel (1811–1868), a leading German theorist of his time, editor of *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* at Robert Schumann's request and professor at the Leipzig Conservatoire, promoted a musical canon of German composers in his writings, which were influential for decades.[7] Adolf Bernhardt Marx (1795–1866), director and professor of the Berlin University from 1832, produced landmark works on music history, education and form in particular.[8] Although a detailed discussion of Brendel's and Marx's works would exceed the limits of this chapter, some sense can be gained from their writings of what they considered to be German music. Furthermore, Robert Schumann (1810–1856) became an important voice through his *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Studying Schumann's writings offers insight into how he perceived prevailing influences, especially of J. S. Bach's music, within the Germanic tradition. From the literature we can get an idealized view of Germanic music, principles and key figures. Such knowledge would have been important for Goldmark: Germanic sources were the core of his self-led studies in music theory and composition.[9]

It is also useful to draw on the work of more recent scholars to gain an understanding of 19th-century Germanic music.[10] Dahlhaus in his landmark *Nineteenth-Century Music*

[7] Franz Brendel took over the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* at Schumann's request in 1845 and begun teaching at Leipzig Conservatoire the following year. Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich, von den ersten christlichen Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Verlag von Bruno Hinze, 1852). The version I consulted is (Leipzig, Verlag von Heinrich Matthes, 1860).

[8] Adolf Bernhardt Marx, *Die Musik des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts und ihre Pflege. Methode der Musik*. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1855); Marx, *Allgemeine Musiklehre* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1839).

[9] Including works of A. B. Marx. See page 124 of this chapter.

[10] Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). Richard Taruskin deals with Brendel's work in detail in 'Midcentury,' in *Oxford History of*

(1991) discusses the role of Bach's music and how it was viewed by later German composers, including Schumann. He also investigates the lasting impact of Beethoven on subsequent generations of composers (including Mendelssohn, Schumann and Brahms) and how they perceived it.[11] Taruskin explores Brendel's central role in forging the German musical canon; Jim Samson discusses how the 19th-century concept of 'greatness' was associated with Bach, regarded as a 'great German' and exemplar by Romantics, particularly by Mendelssohn and Schumann.[12]

Having summarised some theoretical perspectives, I will take an analytical approach, comparing examples from Goldmark's piano works with more canonic Austro-German composers' music in terms of genre, form, texture, and harmonic content. I organise my analytical approach around these concepts, acknowledging that they are interrelated. The genre of a work can be defined by recognising a set of typical characteristics shared by a group of compositions, one of which may be form. Form, i.e. the structure of a work, can be understood by examining shifting patterns of texture and (or) harmony. A work's form is drawn by analysis, whereas genre situates the work within the world. While I am aware of these overlaps, tracing common features in terms of texture or harmonic language independently from the form is also a useful tool to point out affinities between Goldmark's and Germanic composers' music.[13]

While this approach allows us to trace features of Germanic music in Goldmark's compositions, it has some limitations. Although there are features considered characteristic in Germanic music, it cannot be viewed as a completely unified entity.[14] Therefore, to look for universal (or near-universal) characteristics in the music is of limited value.[15] For instance, in a general sense, certain features can be regarded as characteristically 'Germanic' in the music

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Western Music, vol. 3, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2010), accessed 2 February 2019, https://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/view/Volume3/actrade-9780195384833-chapter-008.xml

[11] Carl Dahlhaus, 'Beethoven: Myth and Reception,' in *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 75–81.

[12] Including a quote from Forkel's 1802 biography of Bach: 'This great man was a German … His works are an invaluable national patrimony with which no other nation has anything to be compared.' Jim Samson, 'The Great Composer,' in *Cambridge History of 19th-century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 268–278, accessed 6 February 2019, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521590174

[13] Jim Samson, 'Genre,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 3 July 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040599?rskey=aj5uRv&result=1

[14] These, as will be pointed out, include a relatively strict approach to structure, the cultivation of traditional genres, frequent use of counterpoint, and regulated tonal thinking of the 'traditionalists' and the formal and harmonic innovations of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. Tonality expanded during the second half of 19th century, resulting in the weakening of tonal functions, as we will also see in Goldmark's music. See Jim Samson, 'The Nineteenth-Century Background,' in *Music in Transition: A Study of Tonal Expansion and Atonality 1900–1920* (London: Dent, 1993), 1–9 and pages 122–23, 159–167 in Chapter 3.

[15] Dahlhaus argues that there is little sense of searching for 'substantive unity' in for example Bach's, Haydn's and Weber's music. Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 39.

of Bach, Schumann and Mendelssohn (all whom inspired Goldmark), however, when looking for common stylistic traits, we cannot claim that, for example, Schumann's use of counterpoint is similar to Bach's, despite them being both German. Schumann's piano textures have little in common with Bach's writing for the keyboard, but they do show similarities with Goldmark's.[16] Therefore I have chosen to detect and demonstrate specific common features in Goldmark and other, more canonic composers (e.g. Bach, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Wagner, Richard Strauss), rather than between Goldmark and 'Germanic' music in general. Furthermore, this method is not able to point out the numerous un-notated aspects of the music, such as gesture or timbre, so that to unlock the whole of Goldmark's musical language. 19th-century Germanic repertoire has a large and widely familiar performance tradition which does not need further explication here, therefore, interpretative suggestions are not included in this chapter.

3.3. 'German' Music for Goldmark

To understand the music-historical context of Goldmark's music, we need to explore very briefly what was considered as German music in the 19th century and how it gained the particular status it held during Goldmark's lifetime. Social developments in German-speaking regions throughout the 19th century included the strengthening of the middle classes.[17] This was underpinned by the ideologies of liberalism and nationalism, promoting individualism, the right to education and culture, and commitment to the 'nation'. These developments brought about the importance of cultivating musical culture among the urban middle classes, who regarded music as a particularly vital artform.[18] 'Music-making in the cities became increasingly dominant', with public concerts gaining great significance.[19] Growing prosperity also enabled a rise in domestic music-making.[20] These trends brought with them the gradual 'standardization of musical culture' in 19th-century German-speaking regions, promoting the

[16] Bach and Schumann certainly composed for very different keyboard instruments, while Schumann and Goldmark used broadly similar pianos, although the various types of the instrument underwent significant development during the 19th century.
[17] Jim Samson, 'The Great Composer,' 262.
[18] Kmetz et al., 'Germany, Federal Republic of (Ger. Deutschland)'; Jim Samson, 'The Great Composer,' 263.
[19] 'As music at the princely courts diminished', music-making in the cities increased, a process continuing until 1871, the founding of the German Reich, and beyond. Kmetz et al., 'Germany, Federal Republic of (Ger. Deutschland)'
[20] The rise of domestic music-making stimulated the composition of lieder, piano and chamber music, all important genres at Goldmark.

'increasing importance of generic norms and the growing influence of works of the acknowledged masters'.[21] As Jim Samson observed, 'in music, one result was the ceremony of the public concert, whose rituals were designed to install and maintain the pantheon of great composers'.[22] Not only the programming of concert series but the taste-shaping by musical journals and music publishing were also central in promoting a broadly coherent (Germanic-dominated) musical canon: 'Major musical periodicals, mostly belonging to the large publishing firms, greatly influenced public opinion and taste.'[23] By largely these means emerged that which Goldmark would have known and considered important.

Alongside the growth of musical journalism, the emerging fields of music theory and musicology were also crucial in the process.[24] A true example of this was Franz Brendel's influential *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland and Frankreich, von den ersten christlichen Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart,* published in 1852, a history of music which claimed to be 'universal', that is, 'to say everything that is important'.[25] Brendel's work was underpinned by Hegelian idealist or dialectic philosophy, his narrative cast in terms of emancipations of music and musicians, so that 'music could be best measured in terms of the degree to which it embodied its own epoch's evolutionary synthesis and pointed the way to the next.'[26] In these terms, he viewed J. S. Bach and Handel as the 'origins', foundations of the great German tradition.[27] They were considered as the most valuable of their 'sublime' epoch whilst Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, of the subsequent epoch of 'aesthetic'. Brendel 'posited that every age had its perfect representatives' so that later generations would not invalidate earlier ones (e.g. Bach was not invalidated by Mozart).[28] Brendel claimed Bach and

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[21] Kmetz et al., 'Germany, Federal Republic of (Ger. Deutschland)'
[22] Jim Samson, 'The Great Composer,' 262.
[23] For example, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the first specialist music journal and model for others in Europe to emerge, was established in 1789 by Breitkopf und Härtel in Leipzig. Laura Hamer argues that in music particularly, 'it is via criticism that a work's canonical status is established' through 'canonization [;] the bestowal of authority upon certain pieces of music.' in 'Critiquing the Canon: The Role of Criticism in Canon Formation,' in *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism,* ed. Christopher Dingle (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 234, 236. Hamer quotes here from William Weber, 'The History of Musical Canon,' in *Rethinking Music,* ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford University Press, 1999), 350. Weber adds that 'If repertory constitutes the framework of the canon, then critical discourse empowers it.'
[24] Musicology was gradually accepted as an academic discipline; the first full university lectureship was awarded in Vienna in 1856 to Eduard Hanslick. Kmetz et al., 'Germany, Federal Republic of (Ger. Deutschland)'.
[25] As Taruskin observed, the work of decisive music theorists played a central role: 'historians of a certain type [have seen] themselves not only as passive recorders of events but as active participants in their making. This type of activist historian … reached a peak of prestige and authority in mid-nineteenth-century Germany, just as German music was reaching its own peak of prestige and authority.' Taruskin, 'Midcentury,' in *Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford University Press, 2010), accessed 2 February 2019, https://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/view/Volume3/actrade-9780195384833-chapter-008.xml
[26] Ibid.
[27] Brendel discussed Bach's decisive role in originating the Germanic tradition in *Geschichte der Musik,* 225.
[28] Ibid.

Handel as 'the culmination points of their era', naming Bach a 'true German' and the embodiment of the 'national' (i.e. German) style.[29] Bach's music was strongly associated with counterpoint, and a degree of familiarity with 'those artificial forms' was regarded as essential to understand his music.[30] Moreover, Brendel argued for a 'universal amalgamation of style' in Handel's works as a main determinant for 'capturing the German spirit', however, neither the more precise nature of the so-called 'German spirit' nor the means of that amalgamation of styles are further defined.[31] Brendel succeeded Schumann as editor of *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* at Schumann's request, from 1845. In 1859 he introduced the concept of the *Neudeutsche Schule* in *NZfM* and advocated for what he considered as progressivism in music.[32]

Adolf Bernhard Marx shared Brendel's view that 'those two giants, Handel and Bach take the lead.'[33] Counterpoint was also clearly highlighted as significant by Marx, who characterised the music of Bach and Handel's era as '… gothic [sic] structures of … the most ingenious counterpoints' with 'strict … architectonic forms' being its primary features.[34] Another crucial figure, frequently recurring in Marx's writings is Beethoven. Goldmark claimed Beethoven alongside Bach as significant in terms of his studies of Germanic sources.[35] Marx, promoting grand narratives for his music-historic agenda, drew a line of progressive development from Bach to Beethoven, interpreting Beethoven as the culmination

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[29] 'Bach und Händel sind die Culminationspuncte ihrer Zeit innerhalb ihrer Kunst … der Eine das Haupt des Nationalen' (the one [Bach] the head of the national) … Franz Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland and Frankreich*, 225.

[30] 'Noch immer gilt Bach überwiegend als gelehrter Contrapunctist … daβ ohne nähere Vertrautheit mit jenen künstlichen Formen so wie überhaupt der Tonkunst, so zumeist Bach nicht nahe getreten werden könne.' (without closer familiarity with those artificial forms his music can't be approached), Ibid., 229.

[31] 'Repräsentant jener universellen Verschmelzung der Style auf die ich schon in der die Geschichte der deutschen Musik eröffnenden Betrachtung als eine Hauptbestimmung zur Erfassung des deutschen Geistes hinweis …' Ibid., 225.

[32] This triggered heated debates between advocates of what was regarded as 'Old German School', including Brahms, Schumann, Mendelssohn amongst its representatives, and the 'New German School' of Wagner, Liszt and Berlioz. Nevertheless, not only their music but essays by Wagner, Liszt, Brendel and by Eduard Hanslick (amongst others), on their respective positions on the aesthetics of 'absolute music' vs. 'programme music' had central role in fuelling debate. Thomas S. Gray, 'New German School (Ger. Die neu-deutsche Schule),' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 3 July 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040621?rskey=pPYZnw&result=1

[33] Adolf Bernhard Marx, *The Music of the Nineteenth Century and its Culture. System of Musical Instruction*, trans. from *Die Musik des XIX. Jahrunderts und ihre Pflege. Methode der Musik*, August Heinrich Wehrhan and C. Natalia MacFarren (London: Robert Cocks and Co., 1854), 46. Brendel and Marx were engaged in writing big history, working on a broad level, rarely offering specific musical detail on their concepts.

[34] Ibid., 41.

[35] See his statement cited from 'Gedanken über Form und Stil' in Rationale of this chapter. However, Beethoven's impact might be more relevant in Goldmark's symphonic, rather than in his piano music. He produced two symphonies along a number of other symphonic works but no piano sonatas, although he wrote sonatas for violin and piano and for cello and piano. In this his training as a violinist, not a pianist, might have factored in.

of a symphonic tradition which originated with Bach and Handel.[36] He also viewed Beethoven as a reformer of Classical forms and the one who unlocked the spiritual depth of the orchestra.[37] Musical form was of central importance in 19th-century German language musical thought; ability to handle form as well as a perceived sublime, 'lofty' quality in the music were interpreted as Germanic values.[38] Marx placed great emphasis on explaining musical forms in his pedagogical works. He offered thorough discussion of 'polyphonic, homophonic and mixed forms', forms of instrumental and vocal music, including of the 'song-form' in his *Allgemeine Musiklehre* (1839).[39] This emerges as crucial to Goldmark's piano music, as he claimed to have studied Marx intensely.

Amongst the 19th century's emerging composer-critics Robert Schumann's voice became influential through his *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*.[40] Schumann's views on the Germanic tradition and Bach's influential role in it are crucial for my investigation as both Schumann and Bach provided profound inspiration for Goldmark. Schumann truly esteemed Bach's music.[41] He took an active part in the so-called Bach revival and worked on establishing the Bach-Gesellschaft with Mendelssohn.[42] In Schumann's view, 'the whole so-called Romantic school … is far nearer to Bach than Mozart ever was … [I] endeavour to strengthen and purify myself through him.'[43] Schumann saw the concepts of *fugue* and the *Charakterstück* (the genre he cultivated the most) as significant: 'Most of Bach's fugues are in fact *Charakterstücke* of the most superior

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[36] 'regarding the employment of the orchestra for the purpose of characteristic delineation, brings to our mind another progressive step, which, having been commenced by Bach and Handel, was completed by Beethoven.' Marx, *The Music of the Nineteenth Century and its Culture*, 48.

[37] Notably, E. T. A. Hoffmann's review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in *Die Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1810 'is widely regarded as … establishing a tradition for how Beethoven's music should be received', claiming a metaphisical aspect for Beethoven's work, which 'leads the listener … forward into the spirit world of the infinite'. The latter is quoted from E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Beethoven's Instrumental Music,' (1813) cited from Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York and London: Norton, 1998), 1194–95 in Hamer, 'Critiquing the Canon', 237.

[38] Particularly in *fin-de-sciécle* Vienna, where Goldmark lived. Sandra McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna 1896-97: Critically Moving Forms* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 170, 176, referred to in Hamer, 'Critiquing the Canon', 239–40.

[39] Marx's discussion of fugues and canons ('polyphonic forms'), and the so-called air or lied form in *Universal School of Music,* transl. from *Allgemeine Musiklehre* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1839) A. H. Wehrhan (London: Robert Cocks and Co.,1853), 230–42.

[40] Schumann co-founded *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, a journal to become a crucial organ in canon shaping, in 1834 and edited it from January 1835 to July 1844. Hamer, 240. Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* (Leipzig: Georg Wigand's Verlag, 1854).

[41] Consider Schumann's advice in his *Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln* '... vor Allen von Joh. Seb. Bach Das wohltemperierte Clavier sei dein täglich Brod' (… above all let J. S. Bach's *Das Wohltemperierte Clavier* be your daily bread). Nicholas Marston, 'Schumann's Heroes: Schubert, Beethoven, Bach,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, ed. Beate Perrey (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 56.

[42] Ibid., 55–56.

[43] Jim Samson, 'The Great Composer,' 276, quoted from Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, trans. P. Rosenfeld, ed. K. Wolff (London, 1946), 93.

kind … some of them are genuine poetic pictures, each requiring its individual expression, its particular lights and shades.'[44] Indeed, 'Schumann saw no contradiction between the genres of fugue and character piece'.[45] Rather, counterpoint and character piece appear as fundamental concepts in the (Germanic) tradition spanning from Bach to Schumann.[46] This emerges as an important basis for the investigation of Germanic features in Goldmark's piano music, as he shared Schumann's views. Schumann's study of Bach's counterpoint (*Die Kunst der Fuge*, *Das wohltemperierte Klavier*, the organ choral preludes among others) had considerable consequences for his own music.[47] '… Schumann's understanding of the … contrapuntal idiom of Bach [can be well traced] in the delicate handling of inner voices in character pieces … or the use of canon and the evocation of French overture style in numbers 4 and 8 of the *Etudes symphoniques*, Op. 13.'[48] Schumann's remark that 'the combinatorial density, poetry and humour of new music originate primarily in Bach' suggests how decisive he considered Bach's impact on the music of his era.[49]

Felix Mendelssohn, who greatly appreciated Bach, and whose work vastly contributed to the emerging German tradition, was another major inspiration for Goldmark.[50] Mendelssohn's acquaintances in his youth included luminaries such as Hegel and A. B. Marx. He was appointed as musical director in Leipzig, a major German cultural centre associated with Bach; he was conductor of the Gewandhaus orchestra, 'which in his hands became Germany's leading orchestra', and the Thomasschule.[51] The programmes of Mendelssohn's 'historical concerts' in 1838, 1841 and 1847 in Leipzig Gewandhaus featured works from

[44] Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker,* ed. Gerd Neuhaus (Wiesbaden, 1985), 3: 5. Quoted in Marston, 'Schumann's Heroes,' 57.
[45] Ibid.
[46] However, the central significance of both the *Charakterstück* and counterpoint is characteristic especially at Schumann but is not really decisive at other Germanic composers. Goldmark might have been familiar with Schumann's writings (he studied German sources around 1858–60 and Schumann's *Musik und Musiker* appeared in 1854), nevertheless, the primary impact might have been Schumann's music.
[47] Marston, 56. Goldmark's own studies of counterpoint and Schumann's impact on his piano music is discussed later in this chapter.
[48] Ibid., 57.
[49] Quoted from Schumann's letter of 31 January 1841 in *Robert Schumanns Briefe. Neue Folge*, ed. F. Gustav Jansen (Leipzig, 1904), 177 in Marston, 57.
[50] Goldmark claimed that his early works were strongly influenced by Mendelssohn's style. Karl Goldmark, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1922), 59. This will be pointed out in the analytical section of this chapter.
[51] 'The city of Leipzig enjoyed a cultural influence well out of proportion to its population (around 45,000); it was home to one of Germany's premier universities, and its dozens of presses produced a substantial fraction of the books published in Germany, including much of its music.' Peter Mercer-Taylor, 'Mendelssohn and the Institution(s) of German Art Music,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Mendelssohn*, ed. Peter Mercer-Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 20, accessed 29 January 2020, https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL9780521826037.003

Bach to Beethoven.[52] The Leipzig Conservatory was established in 1843 by Mendelssohn, to become 'by far the most influential conservatory' in German territories under his and his successors' directorship, with Robert and later Clara Schumann on its faculty. Its syllabus for music history, established by Mendelssohn and Schumann 'effectively periodised an emergent canon.'[53]

Dahlhaus offers an entry point into some of the main influential processes on compositional practices within the Germanic tradition. He explored how Bach's music was idealized by 19th-century composers and thinkers. He affirms Schumann's views, that 'Bach's influence emerged from an idea that was central to nineteenth-century musical thought: the idea that expressivity and counterpoint need not be mutually exclusive … The main thing which the nineteenth century owed to Bach's music was the insight that fugues can be character pieces and that character pieces can be fugues.'[54] Jim Samson also observed that 'in compositional terms their [Mendelssohn's and Schumann's] own music responded explicitly to Bach.'[55] The assimilation of counterpoint, as a response to Bach's impact, can be clearly traced in fugues by Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and in Wagner's music, and can also be identified in Goldmark's piano works.

Dahlhaus also dealt with the lyrical piano piece, which belongs to the broad genre of *Charakterstück.*[56] He identified it as an essentially Romantic genre and its prevailing forms as ABA (*Lied* form) and ABACA and its variants (rondo), structures crucial in Goldmark's (and many other composers') character pieces. He argued for the close relation between a work's 'poetic content', a central idea at both Beethoven and the Romantics, and its form.[57]

Harmonic language underwent profound changes during the 19th century in terms of the scope of sonority, which brought with it exceeding the traditional tonal functions and

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[52] Ibid, 21; Jim Samson, 'The Great Composer,' 276. Moreover, Mendlessohn also gave an all-Bach organ recital in Thomaskirche on 6 August, 1840. Peter Mercer-Taylor, 'Mendelssohn and the Institution(s) of German Art Music,' 21. Schumann reviewed Mendelssohn's recital in GS 3, 256–58.

[53] including Bach and Handel, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn and Chopin.' Jim Samson, 'The Great Composer,' 276. ; Kmetz et al., 'Germany, Federal Republic of (Ger. Deutschland)'.

[54] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* 31.

[55] Jim Samson, 'The Great Composer,' 276.

[56] 'Das zunächst und vor allem im Bereich der Klaviermusik ab etwa 1825 auftretende und als solches bezeichnete Charakterstück, auch *Genrestück (-bild), lyrisches Klavierstück* und *(Klavier-) Miniatur* genannt …' Bernhard R. Appel, 'Charakterstück,' *MGG Online,* accessed 6 May 2022, https://www.mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg15245&v=1.0&rs=id-bf6dd9c9-1bba-8882-3fe2-4c45ddc47980&q=charakterst%C3%BCck

[57] Dahlhaus argued that Beethoven and the Romantics viewed the 'poetic content' of a work as a determining factor of its form: 'forms are conditioned by their contents, by the stress they place on elements in their content which take musical form as themes and motives … The meaning of a piece emerges from the relation between that extramusical substrate and its musical formulation. For more nuancing of Beethoven's and the Romantics' handling form as Dahlhaus saw it, see Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* 87.

pushing the boundaries of tonality.[58] In these terms Wagner's innovations, including the use of chromatic harmony, were highly significant and influential.[59] The development of harmony was regarded as one of continuous progress, a 'state of evolution' in accordance to the thought of the era.[60] Dissonance, unusual or chromatic sonorities were perceived as expressions of the composers' innermost self, a notion strongly associated with 'originality' – a crucial feature required from the 'authentic' composer.[61] Thus 'unusual' chords were sensed as inspired expressions and regarded as inventions, fitting the thought of the evolution of music. Goldmark was no exception to the impact of these developments, as we will see from his late piano works' harmonic language.

3.3.1. Goldmark's Self-directed Studies

Exploring the sources Goldmark used for his self-directed studies helps to further understand his affiliations. Goldmark claimed in his recollections that he assiduously studied counterpoint and Beethoven's instrumental music; he acquainted himself with J. S. Bach's *Wohltemperiertes Klavier*, Beethoven's symphonies and string quartets and scores of Schumann and Wagner.[62] Furthermore, he claimed to have pursued thorough counterpoint studies, using the textbooks of emblematic theorists of German culture.

> Then [in 1858] the time of intense, serious studies began. I took Richter's counterpoint textbook and for comparison Marx's and Sechter's and completed my daily pensum conscientiously. In one and a half years … I thoroughly worked my way through

[58] 'The expansion of classical tonality in the nineteenth century was a result of … an increasing emphasis on chromatic elements' Jim Samson, 'The Nineteenth-Century Background,' in *Music in Transition*, 3.; Richard Cohn, Bryan Hier, Carl Dahlhaus, Julian Anderson, and Charles Wilson, 'Harmony,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 28 January 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000050818#omo-9781561592630-e-0000050818;
Leonard G. Ratner, *Romantic Music: Sound and Syntax* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), xiii–xix.

[59] 'The intervening period [between the completion of *Tristan und Isolde* and the turn of the century] was characterised by a seemingly inexhaustible richness and variety of chromatic harmony in which the influence of Wagner played an important, though by no means exclusive, role.' Samson, 'The Nineteenth-Century Background,' 6. Nevertheless, not only for his innovations in harmony, but in the dissolution of traditional forms was Wagner's impact significant. Brendel claimed Wagner as the reformer of the German opera. Brendel, *Geschichte de Musik*, 572–99.

[60] [In the 19th century] chords that were surprising and yet … intelligible … were felt to be expressive … the historical evolution of music … was seen as a chain of inventions and discoveries. Richard Cohn et al., 'Harmony,' *Grove Music Online.*

[61] Ibid.

[62] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 59.; Johann Hofer, *Carl Goldmark: Komponist der Ringstraßenzeit* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer GmBH, 2015), 63.

> counterpoint, all forms of canon and fugue. And as I felt that these studies were not only necessary from a purely theoretical point of view, that this exercise of the mind, deepening and strengthening the ability to think, the compositional ability in general … was indeed necessary, I continued these studies till my late age.[63]

The textbooks Goldmark referred to were by Marx; Ernst Friedrich Richter, colleague of Mendelssohn and Schumann in the Leipzig Conservatoire; and Simon Sechter, who taught Schubert and Bruckner.[64] Goldmark most likely studied Marx's landmark *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, though he might also have explored some of his other works.[65] Goldmark's studies of Bach and Beethoven and the textbooks of Marx and other significant German theorists of the time are crucial, as through them he absorbed the theoretical framework of formal and compositional procedures of Germanic music.

Goldmark's development as a composer was largely determined by Vienna's strongly Germanic musical milieu during his lifetime. Beethoven lived the major part of his life in Vienna, where he died in 1827, leaving a lasting impact. Brahms moved to Vienna from Hamburg in 1862, where he lived until his death in 1897, becoming a crucial figure within the musical scene. Schumann's music might indeed have been familiar to Viennese audiences when Goldmark lived there (from the 1860s) through Brahms and Clara Schumann, who often

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[63] 'Nun begann eine Zeit tiefsten, ernsten Studiums. Ich nahm Richters Lehrbuch des Kontrapunktes, auch Marx und Sechter zur Vergleichung, machte gewissenhaft täglich mein Pensum. In den eineinhalb Jahren, die ich da verblieb, arbeitete ich mich gründlich durch Kontrapunkt, Kanon und Fuge in allen Formen. Und da ich empfand, daß diese Arbeiten nicht bloß aus rein theoretischen Rücksichten notwendig, dieser Drill des Kopfes, diese Vertiefung und Kräftigung der Denkfähigkeit, der Kompositorischen Tätigkeit im allgemeinen, das heißt der Vertiefung der Empfindung in melodischer Beziehung nützlich, ja notwendig waren, so behielt ich sie bei bis in mein spätes Alter.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 59. Goldmark studied harmony with Gottfried Preyer at the Vienna Conservatoire in 1847–48, however, these 'official' studies lasted only for a few months. Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 26.

[64] Ernst Friedrich Richter (1808–1879), organist in Thomaskirche in Leipzig, professor of the Leipzig Conservatoire alongside Mendelssohn and Schumann. Simon Sechter (1788–1867), professor of music theory at Vienna Conservatory, taught Schubert and Bruckner. David W. Bernstein, 'Nineteenth-century harmonic theory: the Austro-German legacy,' in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 788.; Hofer, 63. According to Balázs Mikusi, the textbooks Goldmark referred to in his recollections might most likely have been Richter's *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* (1853), Sechter's *Die Grundsätze der musikalischen Komposition* (1853–54) and Marx's four-volume *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, praktisch-theoretisch* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1837/38/45/47), accessed 29 July 2019, https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10599009_00015.html
Goldmark, *Emlékek életemből* [Memories from my Life], ed. and transl. István Kecskeméti, 1980, rev. and ed. Balázs Mikusi (Budapest: Gondolat–OSzK, 2017), 67–68. However, he might also have been familiar with Richter's *Lehrbuch der Fuge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1859), accessed 17 March 2022, https://books.google.de/books?id=wAgtAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=hu&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

[65] Including Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen*. (Berlin: Janke, 1859); *Anleitung zum Vortrag Beethovenscher Klavierwerke* (1863).

programmed Robert's music, and through the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.[66] Goldmark's reviews as a critic for *Constitutionelle Oesterreichische Zeitung* in Vienna (in 1862–63) on Brahms and Wagner offer a view into what he perceived as good German music, as discussed in Chapter One.

In summary, a few fundamental concepts of the Germanic tradition can be extrapolated that might have been important for Goldmark. J. S. Bach was viewed as an ideal and the impact of the contrapuntal idiom was long-lasting. Bach's music was decisive inspiration for Schumann and Mendelssohn, who in turn were ideals for Goldmark. Moreover, Schumann viewed counterpoint and the *Charakterstück* as significant concepts (these are also of primary importance in Goldmark's piano music). Particular emphasis was placed on musical form within Germanic tradition. This included the A-B-A (ternary) form which is frequently encountered in Goldmark's piano works. The transformation of traditional forms and harmonic language and the weakening of tonal functions (to a large extent due to Wagner's impact) were evolving processes in the 19th-century, and these, too, impacted some of Goldmark's late piano pieces.[67]

This will provide the framework for the analytical approach in this chapter, to identify common features in Goldmark's and other Germanic composers' piano music. I explore prevailing genres in Goldmark's piano music, then investigate the treatment of form, textural elements, counterpoint and harmonic content in Goldmark's and various German composers' music.

3.4. Examining Different Aspects of Goldmark's Piano Music

3.4.1. Musical Genres

First I provide a brief account of Goldmark's preferred genres in his piano music: *Charakterstück*, *Novellette*, *Fugue* and typical dance genres rooted in a Germanic tradition.

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[66] Clara Schumann performed a series of recitals in Vienna in 1837–38, where she was established as one of the foremost pianists of her time. She received Austria's highest musical honour, the *Königliche und Kaiserliche Österreichische Kammer-virtuosin* title. Nancy B. Reich, 'Clara Schumann,' in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), accessed 21 January 2020, www.schumann-portal.de/clara-schumann.html

[67] Jim Samson, 'The Nineteenth-Century Background,' in *Music in Transition*; Richard Cohn et al., 'Harmony,' *Grove Music Online*; Leonard G. Ratner, *Romantic Music: Sound and Syntax* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992).

The *Charakterstück*

The *Charakterstück* [characteristic piece] is not precisely defined. According to Maurice Brown, it is 'a piece of music, usually for piano solo, expressing either a single mood … or a programmatic idea defined by its title.'[68] In Bernhard R. Appel's definition, the *Charakterstück* is 'a formally concise and clearly structured … instrumental piece', whose content is clearly defined by its heading.[69] The *Charakterstück* appeared 'first and foremost in the realm of piano music from around 1825.'[70] In some cases it is referred to as *Genrestück*, lyrical piano piece or (piano) miniature and appears designated as *Moment musical*, *Albumblatt*, *Impromptu* or *Intermezzo.*[71] However, in many instances, more than one (contrasting) characters are conveyed. The *Charakterstück* was cultivated typically by 19th-century composers from German-speaking territories, including Felix and Fanny Mendelssohn and Robert and Clara Schumann.[72] It is the most frequently used genre amongst Robert Schumann's piano pieces: *Davidsbündlertänze* has the subtitle *18 Charakterstücke*, and many of the individual pieces in his large-scale collections (including *Intermezzi* Op. 4, *Carnaval* Op. 9, *Fantasiestücke* Op. 12, *Kinderszenen* Op. 15, *Nachtstücke* Op. 23, *Album für die Jugend* Op. 68, *Waldszenen* Op. 82, *Bunte Blätter* Op. 99) and other individual works as *Toccata* Op. 7, *Arabesque* Op. 18, *Blumenstück* Op. 19; Clara Schumann's *4 Pièces caractéristiques* Op. 5, *Scherzo*s Opp. 10&14, *3 Romances* Opp. 11, 21, 22; Felix Mendelssohn's *Characteristische Stücke* Op. 7 and *Lieder ohne Worte* Opp. 19, 30, 38, 53, 62, 67, 85, 102 and Fanny Mendelssohn's *Vier Lieder für das Pianoforte* Opp. 2, 6, 8 and *3 Melodies* Opp. 4&5 belong to this type.[73] *Charakterstücke* were still being composed in the 1860s and beyond.[74] Many pieces with similar structural and expressive features also appeared under different titles.

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[68] Maurice J. E. Brown, 'Characteristic [Character-]piece (Ger. *Charakterstück*),' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 17 August 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000005443

[69] '*Charakterstück* ist die Bezeichnung für ein formal knapp und klar gegliedertes … Instrumentalstück, dessen Ausdruck und Gehalt durch Überschriften mehr oder weniger deutlich festgelegt sein kann.' Bernhard R. Appel, 'Charakterstück,' *MGG Online*, accessed 6 May 2022, https://www.mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg15245&v=1.0&rs=id-bf6dd9c9-1bba-8882-3fe2-4c45ddc47980&q=charakterst%C3%BCck

[70] 'Das zunächst und vor allem im Bereich der Klaviermusik ab etwa 1825.' Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid. Although the genre had predecessors in the keyboard music of Couperin and Rameau. Maurice J. E. Brown, 'Characteristic [Character-]piece (Ger. *Charakterstück*),' *Grove Music Online.*

[73] This is not intended as a comprehensive survey of characteristic pieces.

[74] Hofmeister XIX, accessed 29 December 2018, http://www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/content/database/search/page(4);jsessionid=61DF79F5291F7A34205D5C014FDFB0CC.balancer3

Goldmark contributed to the genre significantly; 41 out of 50 pieces fall within this genre (for example, pieces in the collections *Sturm und Drang* Op. 5, *Drei Stücke*, *Charakterstücke* and *Georginen* Op. 52).

Table 3.1. *Charakterstücke* in Goldmark's piano output.

Collection for piano	Titles of individual pieces	Year
Drei Stücke (WoO)	1. *Romanze* 2. *Brautlied* 3. *Kinder auf dem Rasen*	1858
Sturm und Drang Op. 5 *(9 charakteristische Stücke)*	1. *Am Kreuzwege* 2. *Scherzo* 3. *Trostlos* 4. *Ländliche Bilder I.* 5. *Ländliche Bilder II.* 6. *Traumgestalten* 7. *Erinnerung* 8. *Im Turnier* 9. *Toccata*	1858
Charakterstücke (WoO)	1. *Präludium* 2. *Etude* 3. *Impromptu* 4. *Bedrängnis* 5. *Morgens* 6. *Sturmnacht* 7. *Traumgestalten* 8. *Auf fröhlicher Wanderschaft*	1903–1909
Georginen Op. 52	1. *Georgine* 2. *Im Flügelkleide* 3. *Stille Hoffnung* 4. *Ins Leben* 5. *Mondnacht am See* 6. *Verloren*	1909
Unpublished works	*Arabella, die Flatterhäfte* *Märchen* *Begegnung* *Klage* [Klavierstück] in B flat major [Klavierstück] in E flat major [Klavierstück] in D flat major *Negertanz* *Zart* [sic] *Geheimnis* *Langsam, zart*	1903 1909
piano four hands [*Drei Stücke*] Op. 12	1. Allegretto 2. Moderato 3. Mässig	1865 no.2: 1861
Ländliche Scenen Op. 22	1. *Bauernhochzeitsmarsch* 2. *Brautlied*	1873

The titles reveal much of the mood and character invoked by the music. They convey a general *Stimmung*, rather than a narrative programme. Goldmark's assigned titles evoke typical topoi of German Romanticism (such as 'Traumgestalten' [Dream Images], 'Sturmnacht' [Stormy Night], 'Erinnerung' [Recollection], 'Romanze' or 'Kinder auf dem Rasen' [Children on the Green]), alluding particularly to Schumann, who applied titles of the same kind in his piano works, including in *Fantasiestücke* Op. 12 ('In der Nacht', 'Traumes Wirren') or in *Kinderszenen* Op. 15 ('Träumerei' and 'Der Dichter spricht') among many others.

Goldmark composed his first collections of characteristic pieces for the piano, *Drei Stücke* and *Sturm und Drang* in 1858, an era when the piano held a central place in musical culture, and the genre was extremely popular. Small-scale piano pieces of various titles became a standard part of the concert repertoire and fundamental for the publishing industry.[75] Thus Goldmark, at the beginning of his career, might have regarded composing *Charakterstücke* as a possible gateway to being recognised.[76] Schumann wrote his piano collections between the 1830s and 1853, thus they might have been familiar to Goldmark.[77] Nevertheless, striking affinities between Goldmark's and Schumann's approach to collections of characteristic pieces for the piano alongside various textural features suggest that Schumann might have been a main inspiration for Goldmark in terms of piano music, which I discuss later in detail.

The *Novellette* belongs to the genre of *Charakterstück*, though it is typically more substantial, with contrasting sections. The genre was pioneered by Schumann, who composed nine *Novellette*s (Op. 21 and Op. 99 no. 9) for the piano in 1838.[78] It became a popular title

[75] Alexander Stefaniak discusses Clara Schumann's strategies in selecting excerpts of Robert Schumann's piano collections in her concert programmes in 'Clara Schumann's Compositional and Concertizing Strategies and Robert Schumann's Piano Sets,' in *Clara Schumann Studies*, ed. Joe Davies (Cambridge University Press, 2021), accessed 10 May 2022, https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/clara-schumann-studies/clara-schumanns-compositional-and-concertizing-strategies-and-robert-schumanns-piano-sets/56F9B47BF33EFFB1D5DA166105DE1FAD

[76] The inclusion of selections from Goldmark's characteristic pieces in his early *Kompositionskonzerte* is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

[77] Alongside possible private circulation of Schumann's piano pieces (especially in Brahms's circles), Goldmark might have heard them by Clara Schumann, who concertized in Vienna in 1856 and 1859, performing selections from Robert's *Fantasiestücke*, *Carnaval* and *Kreisleriana*. Stefaniak, 'Clara Schumann's Compositional and Concertizing Strategies and Robert Schumann's Piano Sets,' 212, 214.

[78] According to a letter between Clara and Robert Schumann, Schumann intended to name the set Op. 21 after Clara, but instead of naming it 'Wicketten', he assigned the title of *Novelletten*, after the name of the soprano Clara Novello – referring in fact to Clara Wieck. Clara and Robert Schumann, *Briefwechsel* 1:90–91. See Hans Joachim Köhler, 'Die Stichvorlagen zum Erstdruck von Opus 21 – Assoziationen zu Schumanns Novelletten,' *Schumann Studien* 3/4 (1994): 75–94. At the same time, *Novellette* might well refer to Schumann's well-known affinity for literature (*die Novelle* translates as Novelette).

amongst composers of 19th-century German-speaking territories.[79] A fast, agitated pace and fresh, energetic character are amongst their frequently encountered features. Typical performing instructions in Schumann's Op. 21 include *Äußerest rasch, Sehr munter, Sehr lebhaft, Markiert und kräftig*; in Goldmark's: *Frisch und rhythmisch belebt, Frisch und kräftig*. The F major *Novellette* Op. 29 no. 2 is one of Goldmark's lengthiest and most virtuosic piano works. Two of Goldmark's *Novellettes* are from his Op. 29 (1877), which he composed following the success of his *Die Königin von Saba* (1875), and one unpublished piece dates from early 1900s: *Ungeduld – Novellette*.

Fugue and *Canon*

Various of Goldmark's contemporaries and predecessors cultivated counterpoint. As noted earlier, Johann Sebastian Bach was particularly important for Goldmark; his studies included *Das wohltemperierte Klavier* BWV 846–893, amongst others. Significant cultivators of counterpoint in Goldmark's time included Schumann (*6 Fugues on B.A.C.H*. Op. 60, *Four Fugues* Op. 72, *Seven Piano Pieces in Fughetta Form* Op. 126), Clara Schumann (*3 Preludes and Fugues for piano* Op. 16), Felix Mendelssohn (*6 Preludes and Fugues* Op. 35) and Brahms (for example *Chorale Prelude and Fugue* WoO 7, *Fugue* WoO 8, *Preludes and Fugues* WoO 9&10, *Thirteen Canons* Op. 113 and in *Variations and Fugue on a theme by Handel* Op. 24).[80]

As noted, Goldmark regarded counterpoint writing as an essential skill for a composer. In his judgement, exploring Bach's *Das wohltemperierte Klavier* not only contributed to the 'perfection of [his] counterpoint studies' but also resulted in the 'deepening of [his] style'.[81] He might well have considered composing fugues as a characteristic attribute of the well-grounded, serious composer clearly affiliated with the Germanic tradition. In addition to his self-training in counterpoint, Goldmark claimed that he wrote contrapuntal exercises daily throughout his life, which suggests that he may well have written thousands of canons and

[79] Hofmeister XIX, accessed 29 December 2018, http://www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/content/database/search/do-basic

[80] '… with respect to fugal composition, the years 1650–1700 witnessed the gradual but complete passing of the mantle from Italy to Germany, where it largely remained into the 20th century.' In Paul M. Walker, 'Fugue,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 24 September 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000051678
My list is not intended as a comprehensive survey of the genre's history, rather to point out the strong presence of counterpoint in the Germanic tradition.

[81] 'Zunächst vertiefte ich mich in das Wohltemperierte Klavier von Johann Sebastian Bach … Nicht bloß zur Vervollkommnung meiner kontrapunktischen Studien, vielmehr zu Vertiefung meines … Stils trug er das meiste bei.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 59.

fugues.[82] However, as he discarded most of them, only one published fugue (Op. 29 no. 4) and eighteen canons and fugues survived in his sketchbooks. The lengthy imitational section in *Novellette* Op. 29 no. 1 is also notable. Moreover, contrapuntal sections also appear frequently in his symphonic and chamber works, including the *Ländliche Hochzeit* symphony Op. 26, the Piano Quintets Opp. 30 & 54, the String Quartet Op. 8 and the Piano Trio Op. 4.[83]

Goldmark's unpublished canons and fugues are preserved in his sketchbooks, containing over six-hundred pages of drafts spanning from sketches to complete works.[84] Their degree of elaboration and length varies greatly from ideas of a few notes to fair copies of pieces several pages long. Notably, canons and fugues preserved in the sketchbooks are all highly elaborate with very little or no corrections, suggesting that they survived through selection.[85] The table below lists the fully completed contrapuntal works in the sketchbooks, intended presumably for the piano. To establish whether a fugue was written for the piano, its setting was scrutinised, i.e. how playable it is. Furthermore, works notated in 4x1 staves, suggesting four distinct (probably vocal) voices, or having a text were ruled out. All fugues and canons included in the table are fair copies with few, if any, corrections. In cases where Goldmark dated and signed a work, it further strengthens the idea that he intended it as a 'piece', not just as an exercise.

Table 3.2. Goldmark's published and unpublished canons and fugues for the piano.[86]

Work	Notation	Notes	Location (MS. or sketchbook no./folio)
Fugue F minor		Op. 29 no. 4	published
Fugue A minor		**complete, dated, signed: Carl Goldmark Gmunden 8/10 1877**	manuscript Ms. mus. 6.517

[82] Brahms also studied counterpoint, exchanging exercises with Joachim in the mid-1850s. George S. Bozarth and Walter Frisch, 'Brahms, Johannes,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 26 April 2024, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000051879?rskey=sK8MX5&result=1

[83] For example, fugato sections in *Ländliche Hochzeit* symphony Op. 26 3rd mvt, String Quartet Op. 8 4th mvt, Piano Trio Op. 4 3rd mvt, Piano Quintet Op. 30 4th mvt, Piano Quintet Op. 54 3rd mvt, Sonata for Cello and Piano Op. 39 1st mvt.

[84] Goldmark's four sketchbooks are held in the National Széchényi Library, Ms. mus. 11.014/G 111 (Goldmark III/1), Ms mus. 11.015/G 114 (Goldmark III/2), Ms. mus. 11.016/G 112 (Goldmark III/3), Ms. mus. 11.017/G 113 (Goldmark III/4). For a more detailed description of them, see Gábor Alföldy, 'Goldmark Károly vázlatkönyvei,' [The Sketchbooks of Károly Goldmark] *Magyar Zene* 36, no. 3–4 (1997): 234–296.

[85] My remarks here are based on my own examination of the manuscripts. See also: Alföldy, 235.

[86] The table is based on Gábor Alföldy's descriptions of Goldmark's sketchbooks, however, it contains only the works I identified as piano music. My additional notes are marked with bold type.

Canon G major	2x2 staves 13 bars	**undated, unsigned** **complete**	2. 25/b
Fuge A minor Moderato	14x2 staves 111 bars	4-voice **complete**	3. 11/a – 12/b
Fuge E-flat major Moderato	16x2 staves 110 bars	4-voice **complete** **unsigned**	3. 13/a – 14/b
Fuge F minor Moderato	18x2 staves 114 bars	4-voice dated: 'Meran, April 1888' final version: 12. Febr. 1913 Vienna	3. 15/a – 17/a
Fuge F-sharp minor Allegro moderato	18x2 staves 123 bars	4-voice dated, signed: 'Meran April 1888 CGoldmark'	3. 17/b – 19/b
Doppelfuge C major	19x2 staves 126 bars	**complete** dated, signed: 'Gmunden Februar 1889 Carl Goldmark'	3. 20/a – 22/b
Fuge E flat minor Moderato	20x2 staves 124 bars	**unsigned, complete**	3. 22/b – 25/a
Canon B flat major Andante sostenuto	12x2 staves 49 bars	**complete** dated, signed: 'Gmunden, April 1889 Carl Goldmark'	3. 25/a – 26/b
Fuge F major	17x2 staves 73 bars	**complete** dated, signed: 'Gmunden 17/7 904 Carl Goldmark'	3. 26/b – 28/b

The *Fuge* in F minor Op. 29 no. 4 is one of Goldmark's most substantial piano pieces.[87] He composed it at the height of his career, in 1877, roughly at the same time as some of his most significant works.[88] Goldmark might well have intended this fugue to be a tribute to Bach, as conveyed by the solemn character of the work. A different, unpublished chromatic fugue in F minor is considered to be Goldmark's final piano work, dated 12 February 1913 on the manuscript.[89]

Walzer and *Ländler*

[87] Op. 29 no. 4 will be further discussed in the *Musical textures* section. Here I consider the *fugue* as a genre, in the *Musical textures* section I deal with some of its compositional techniques. 'Substantial' refers to the work's complexity, breadth (duration) and its musical and technical demands.

[88] These include *Die Königin von Saba* (Op. 27, 1875), the *Ländliche Hochzeit* symphony (Op. 26, 1876) and the Violin concerto (Op. 28, 1877).

[89] A highly elaborate earlier version of that fugue is present in the third sketchbook (looking like a fair copy), dated 'Meran, April 1888'. Goldmark revised this fugue 25 years later, its final version was dated in 1913. This suggests that he regarded this work as more important than a daily exercise.

Andrew Lamb claimed that numerous titles, including *Walzer* and *Ländler*, were used to designate basically similar sort of dances under the generic term *Deutscher*.[90] The ballroom dance, referred to as *Walzer* enjoyed tremendous popularity in 19th-century South-Germany and Austria, particularly in Vienna. Schubert produced numerous sets of such dances.[91] Brahms composed sets of waltzes for four hands including the *Walzer* Op. 39, and with voices, the *Liebeslieder-Walzer* Op. 52 and *Neue Liebeslieder-Walzer* Op. 65. As Mosco Carner argued, *Ländler* was 'the most common folkdance' in Austria, south Germany and (today's) German Switzerland, before wider dissemination of the *waltz*.[92] *Ländler* is claimed to have been established 'by the mid-19th century … [as] a kind of unpolished country cousin to the sophisticated Viennese Waltz', having national significance.'[93] The *Ländler* appear in works by Schubert, Mahler, and Bruckner.

Goldmark produced a set of *Walzer* and *Ländler* for piano four hands, titled *Tänze* Op. 22 no. 3 (1873), as a contribution to this highly popular and marketable Viennese genre, hallmarked by Schubert and Brahms in particular. However, his set was mistakenly referred to as 'Hungarian Dances' by some commentators.[94] The work was probably associated with Brahms's *Hungarian Dances* WoO1 (Book 1&2 1869, Book 3&4 1880) on the basis of their proximity in time and place, its title, and the long-lasting relationship between Brahms and Goldmark, although these pieces do not convey features regarded as Hungarian. They are typical Austrian dances. A characteristic feature of Hungarian dances is duple meter, while all of the dances in *Tänze* are in triple meter, in 3/4.

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[90] 'The term 'walzen' was only one of several used as descriptions of basically similar dances – mostly in triple time and danced by couples in close embrace – to be found in southern Germany, Bavaria, Austria and Bohemia. Known under the generic name of 'Deutscher' or 'German dances', their particular names indicated either the nature of the dance, as in Dreher, Weller, Spinner or Schleifer, or the geographical origin, as in Steirer (from Styria) or Ländler (from Landl ob der Enns, another name for Upper Austria).' Andrew Lamb, 'Waltz (Fr. valse; Gr. Walzer,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 15 June 2019, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000029881?rskey=mJS2A5&result=2

[91] A few examples include *20 Waltzes* D. 146, *12 Waltzes* D. 969, *17 Ländler* D. 366, *12 Ländler* D. 681, see full list at Maurice J. E. Brown, Eric Sams, and Robert Winter, 'Schubert, Franz (Peter),' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 4 February 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000025109?rskey=To8epn&result=4#omo-9781561592630-e-0000025109-div1-0002

[92] Mosco Carner, 'Ländler (Ger.),' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 8 February 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000015945?rskey=LoNvUj&result=1

[93] '… when the (allegedly) uncultivated folk lyrics of the classic verse collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* were the embodiment of national 'soul', the *Ländler* was its natural musical accompaniment.' Stephen Johnson, 'What is a Ländler?' *BBC Music Magazine* (Christmas 2011), accessed 10 January 2019, http://www.classical-music.com/article/What-is-a-L-ndler

[94] for example, 'már Brahms előtt átírt zongorára magyar táncokat' (he already transcribed Hungarian dances for the piano, before Brahms) Viktor Papp, 'Goldmark Károly,' *Muzsika* 2, nos. 4–5 (April 1930): 143.; The IMSLP Carl Goldmark worklist also refers to the work as '*Hungarian Dances*, Op. 22'. Accessed 1 April 2022, https://imslp.org/wiki/Category:Goldmark,_Carl

Having identified the typical genres Goldmark cultivated in his piano music, now I explore how this music relates to German music, in terms of form, textural features and harmony.

3.4.2. Musical Structure

In order to gain a sense of how Goldmark's and Schumann's *Charakterstücke* relate to each other, to what extent Goldmark uses structural patterns common to Schumann and in which ways his works differ in terms of form, I explore their structure more closely, as articulated by shifting textures, characters and keys. As John Rink argues, form should be understood as a diachronic process throughout the piece, rather than as the sequence of separate sections.[95] Hence, I use the terms 'sections' 'A or/and B' here only as structural markers, acknowledging that formal units in most cases unfold organically. I first summarise Goldmark's range of structural approaches before turning to Schumann as a comparison.

The typical form of the *Charakterstücke* is ternary (A-B-A), which the majority of Goldmark's characteristic pieces use.[96] Divisions between sections are articulated most frequently by textural and tonal shifts. The opening A section introduces the prevailing character, musical texture and key of the work. Section B may contrast to varying degrees with A in terms of thematic material, texture, tempo, character or key. Then A returns in the original key, unchanged, shortened or otherwise modified. Pieces often close with a coda, derived from the material of the A or B section, although this, too, varies.[97] Goldmark's codas sometimes include instrumental-cadenza-like passages.[98]

The A-B-A-Coda structure is the most frequent at Goldmark (30 out of 41 pieces have a coda of varying length). However, studying the formal structure of all of Goldmark's characteristic pieces reveals that, as with Schumann, this is a loose concept, having many

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[95] John Rink, ed., *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 46.
[96] W. Dean Sutcliffe and Michael Tilmouth, 'Ternary form,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 8 February 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027700?rskey=WUltwq&result=1
For contemporary account see Adolf Bernhard Marx, 'The air (or song form),' in *Universal School of Music*, 242.
[97] This structure is also common in Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte*, many of Schumann's piano pieces and in Brahms's *Intermezzi* in the sets Op. 116–119 amongst many other examples.
[98] Notably, *cadenza*-like passages in Goldmark's piano pieces allude to idiomatic violin-like writing, as in 'Traumgestalten' (*Charakterstücke* no. 7) bars 127–143 or 'Morgens' (*Charakterstücke* no. 5) bars 56–60.

variants.[99] These may include differences in terms of structural units (e.g. Section B appearing twice, making an A-B-A-B-Coda) or structural proportions (e.g. Section B being more substantial or shorter than Section A, including the extremes of 'motto' A and extensive B section, or, a short transitional section in place of Section B). Moreover, Goldmark in some cases employed more complex structures which stand closer to the *rondo*. Diagram 1 presents an example of the most frequent A-B-A-Coda structure in 'Traumgestalten' (*Sturm und Drang* no. 6).

Diagram 3.1. Structural proportions in 'Traumgestalten' (*Sturm und Drang* no. 6). Bar numbers are indicated.

A	B	A	Coda
1-32	33-82	83-113	114-125

In some cases Section B can be even more extensive. In 'Georgine' and 'Im Flügelkleide' (*Georginen* nos. 1 & 3) Section A is a 16-bar-long introduction of the main theme while B is almost three times longer, packed with abundant modulations and development of the main and new themes. This is particularly true for 'Am Kreuzwege' (*Sturm und Drang* no. 1) where Section B is 83 bars long, compared to the A's 31, or 'Scherzo' (no. 2 of *Sturm und Drang*), with its A being 24, and B 70 bars in length (without any tempo changes). In 'Toccata' (no. 1 of *Sturm und Drang*), Section A functions rather as a 'motto' with its 8-bar length, setting the key, rhythmic pulse and character of the piece, while new themes and the development work occur in the 140-bar long B.

Diagram 3.2. Structural proportions in 'Toccata' (*Sturm und Drang* no. 9).

A	B	A	Coda
1-8	9-148	149-57	158-173

[99] Considering Schumann's remark ''I am playing with forms' [which] resulted in fragmented reprises, the embedding of smaller within larger structures' when working on his *Novelletten* Op. 21 might suggest that there were commonalities between Schumann's and Goldmark's approach to form. John Daverio and Eric Sams, 'Schumann, Robert,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 11 February 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040704?rskey=RxvgWr&result=1

There are only a few examples in Goldmark's characteristic pieces which lack a coda: 'Preludium' (*Charakterstücke* no. 1) and 'Ländliche Bilder II' (*Sturm und Drang* no. 5).

Diagram 3.3. Structural proportions in 'Ländliche Bilder II' (*Sturm und Drang* no. 5).

A	B	A
1- 22	23-59	60-81

'Sturmnacht' (*Charakterstücke* no. 6) represents a rare variant; in place of a B section, there is a 6-bar transitional passage between the two A sections. Its texture is somewhat different but not contrasting to that of section A, and it stays in the relative major key. However, the piece has a substantial coda of equal length to the A section.

Diagram 3.4. Structural proportions in 'Sturmnacht' (*Charakterstücke* no. 6).

A	trans.	A	Coda
1-32	33-38	39-70	71-103

A few characteristic pieces have more complex structures than the A-B-A. In 'Trostlos' (*Sturm und Drang* no. 3) and 'Mondnacht am See' (*Georginen* no. 5) section B appears twice (the second time varied), thus forming an A-B-A-B'-A'(Coda). The coda builds on Section A's thematic material.

Diagram 3.5. Structural proportions in 'Trostlos' (*Sturm und Drang* no. 3).

A	B	A	B'	A' (Coda)
1-10	11-33	34-43	44-69	70-84

In 'Romanze' (*Drei Stücke* no. 1) several episodes alternate with Section A, making a structure closer to that of a rondo: A-B-A'-C-A-D-A(Coda). Here too, the coda derives from Section A's thematic material.

Diagram 3.6. Structural proportions in 'Romanze' (*Drei Stücke* no. 1).

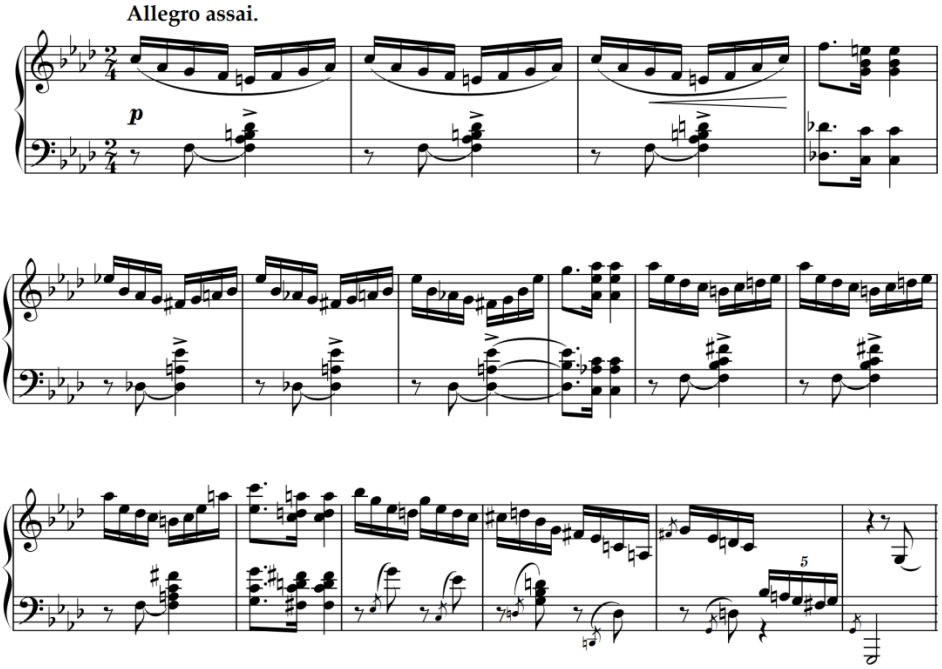
A	B	A'	C	A	D	A'(Coda)
1-12	13-28	29-33	34-48	49-60	61-76	77-93

Nevertheless, more complex structures (e.g. *rondo*) appear more frequently amongst Goldmark's late unpublished works, including 'Klavierstück' in D-flat major (1887), 'Begegnung' (1903), 'Klage' (1903) and 'Ungeduld' (1903).

In the following I take one example each from Goldmark and Schumann to demonstrate the use of the typical A-B-A-Coda structure, and further ones to show some of its variant**s**. However, it is not my aim to consider and compare all formal variants of Goldmark's and Schumann's characteristic pieces, given the variety of their use of the ternary form; my purpose here is to point out both affinities and differences in their treatment of structure, which helps in relating Goldmark's characteristic pieces to Schumann's as a German composer.

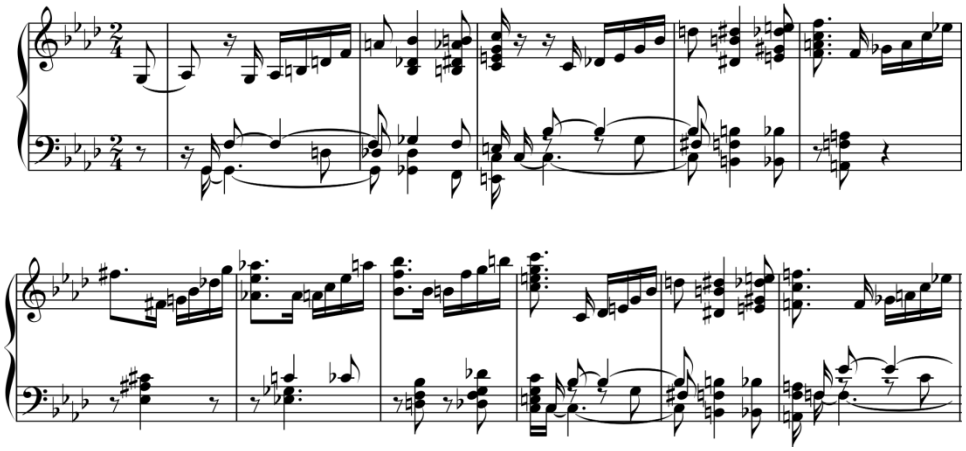
'Traumgestalten' [Dream Images] (*Sturm und Drang* no. 6) has an A-B-A-Coda structure. Section A's exaltation is characterised by restlessly whirling semiquavers, occasionally interrupted by dotted rhythms (Example 3.1a). This unsettled quality is reinforced by continuous modulations to unexpected keys, starting from F minor and, by the end of the section, reaching E major (as dominant of A minor, the temporary tonic at the start of Section B).

Example 3.1a. Carl Goldmark: 'Traumgestalten' [Dream Images] (*Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 no. 6), bars 1–16 (section A, part one).



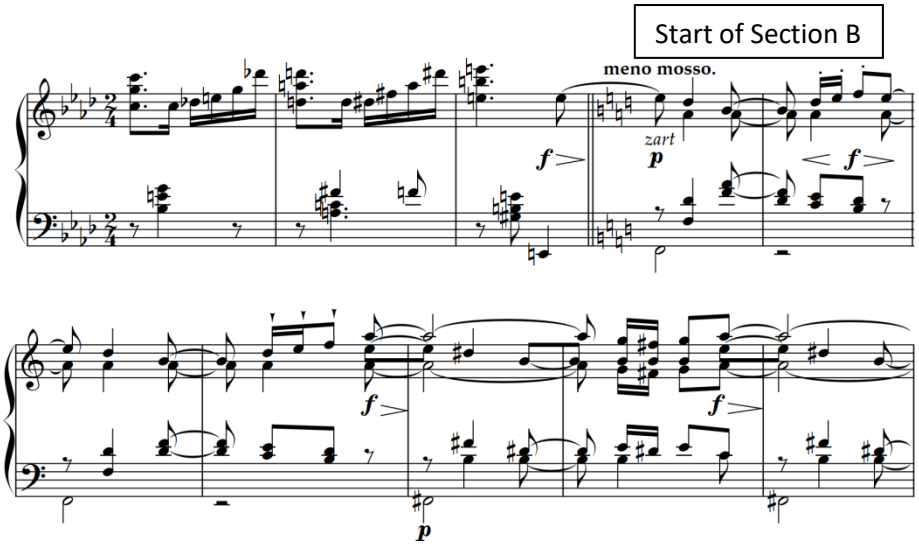
Section A falls into two subsections: the character and the churning semiquavers are shared, however, in the second subsection syncopation prevails alongside dotted rhythms (Example 3.1b).

Example 3.1b. Carl Goldmark: 'Traumgestalten' [Dream Images] (*Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 no. 6), bars 17–27 (excerpt from section A, part two).



Section A's second part links into Section B through a tied upbeat, preparing the prevailing syncopation of the B section (from bar 6 in Example 3.1c.), marked *meno mosso*. Following a tonally ambiguous area, the key settles in E minor (then in G major); the contrasting swaying character is marked as *zart*.

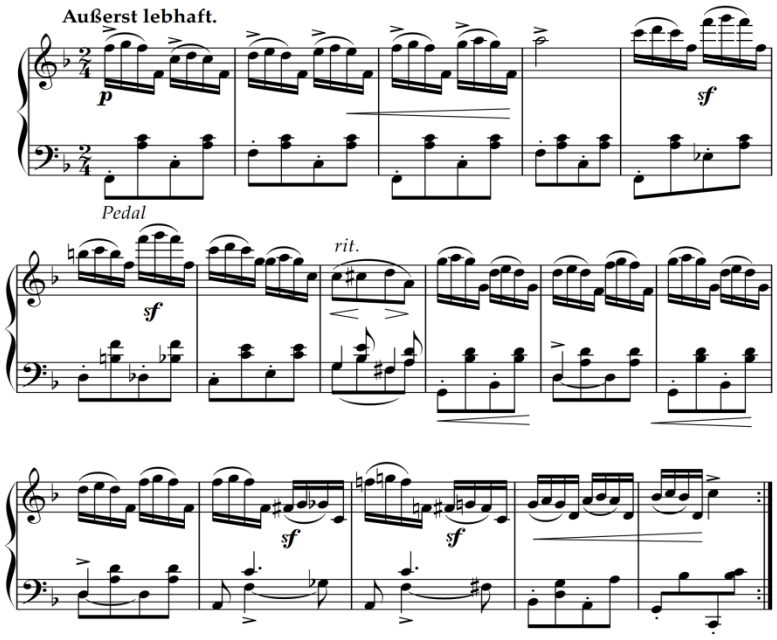
Example 3.1c. Carl Goldmark: ‘Traumgestalten’ [Dream Images] (*Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 no. 6), bars 28–40 (Section B starts at bar 4 of the example).



Section A returns following a highly modulatory transition of 6 bars, preparing the original F minor key of the A section. In this case, the full Section A returns without alteration and the piece closes with a virtuosic coda of 13 bars’ length.

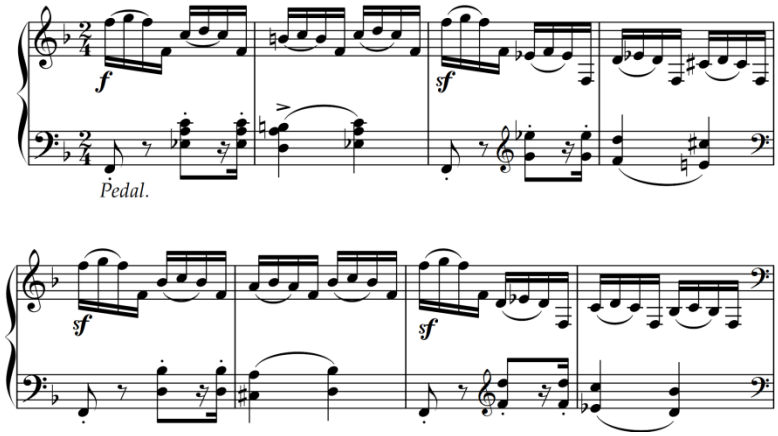
Schumann’s ‘Traumes Wirren’ [Confused Dreams] (*Fantasiestücke* Op. 12 no. 7) has a similar structure, albeit slightly more nuanced. It is also A-B-A-Coda with an exalted A of sweeping semiquavers, marked as *Äußerst lebhaft*, and its B is contrasting in terms of character, texture and key.

Example 3.2a. Robert Schumann: ‘Traumes Wirren’ [Dream Visions] (*Fantasiestücke* Op. 12 no. 7), bars 1–16: section A, part one.



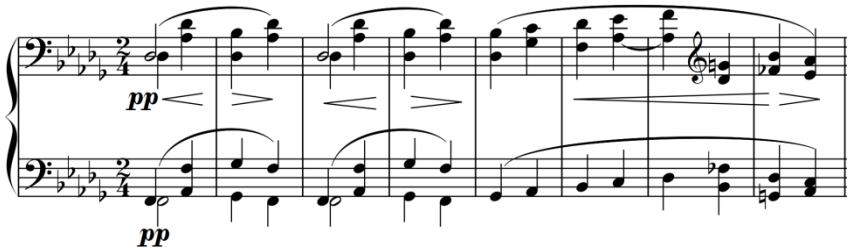
Its A section also consists of two thematic areas, whose character and texture are similar, but their actual musical material (melodic contour) is different. But in this case – unlike the Goldmark example – the first part of Section A returns (slightly expanded) after part two, following a transition which prepares its re-entry tonally.[100] The A section closes by a brief *codetta* thus making a 'small ternary' within Section A.

Example 3.2b. Robert Schumann: 'Traumes Wirren' [Dream Visions] (*Fantasiestücke* Op. 12 no. 7), bars 17–24: excerpt from section A, part two.



[100] This, i.e. the transition and preparation of the Dominant of F major, strengthens its perception as a subsection within A.

Example 3.2c. Robert Schumann: ‘Traumes Wirren’ [Dream Visions] (*Fantasiestücke* Op. 12 no. 7), bars 63–70: excerpt from Section B.

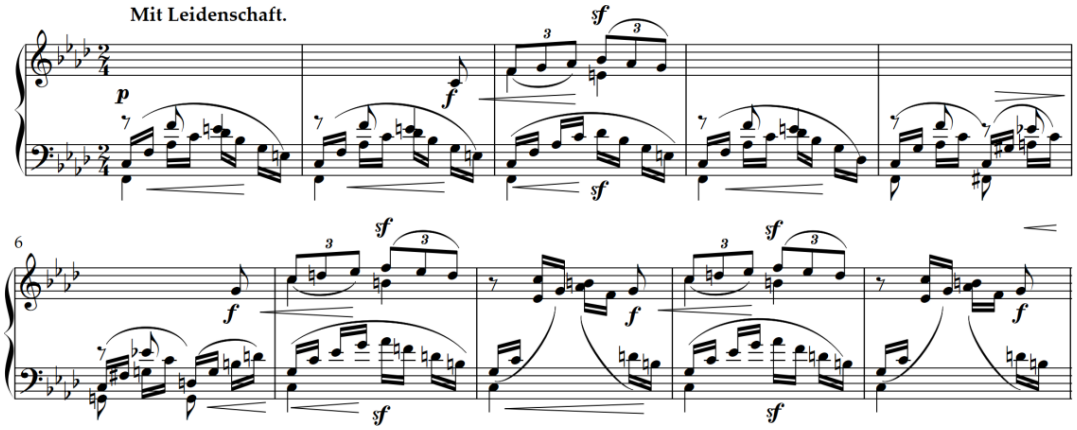


After the short, contrasting B section, A returns altered, and in the key of the flattened supertonic, G flat major. The thematic material of A’s two parts are used but only a fragment of the main theme appears. This might also be seen as a lengthy and modulatory transition after Section B, using the materials of the two parts of Section A, leading to a real re-entry of the A section’s third part. A full return of A’s main theme in the original F major is achieved only at the third part of the ‘small’ ternary form (within A), in bar 123. The work closes with a substantial coda (35 bars), elaborating on the materials of Section A and *codetta*.

Thus, unsurprisingly, both Goldmark and Schumann used the A-B-A-Coda structure, even if Schumann’s version is more nuanced. In comparison the following can be observed: In both cases, Section A is further divided into two or three subsections respectively. Section B contrasts with A in both cases in terms of texture, rhythm and key. Both works employ a modulatory transition between Section B and the re-entry of A. They close with a coda, and in Schumann’s case Section A even ends with a codetta.

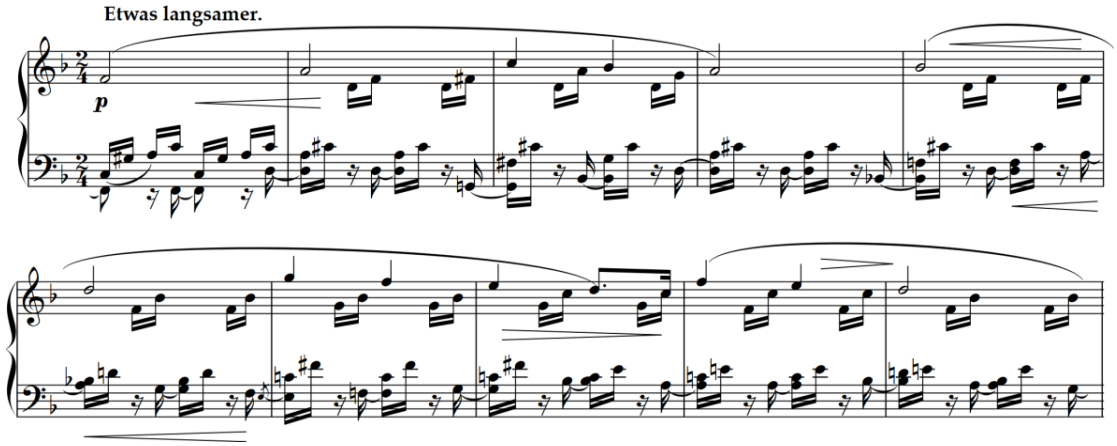
Another example for comparison to Goldmark’s ‘Traumgestalten’ which is more closely related in character is ‘In der Nacht’ from Schumann’s *Fantasiestücke*. This, too, has the structure of A-B-A-Coda.

Example 3.3a. Robert Schumann: ‘In der Nacht’ [In the Night] (*Fantasiestücke* Op. 12 no. 5), bars 1–10.



Section A's excitement is conveyed by uninterrupted swirling semiquavers. Section A (like 'Traumes Wirren') also consists of three subsections: the first introducing the thematic area, the second presenting different material but of similar texture. This is followed by the first theme's reappearance. Despite Section B's contrasting contemplative character, its texture is not entirely different to the A's, as it recalls the rolling motion, albeit in a slower tempo. The section largely stays around the parallel key of F major.

Example 3.3b. Robert Schumann: 'In der Nacht' [In the Night] (*Fantasiestücke* Op. 12 no. 5), bars 69–78. (Beginning of Section B)



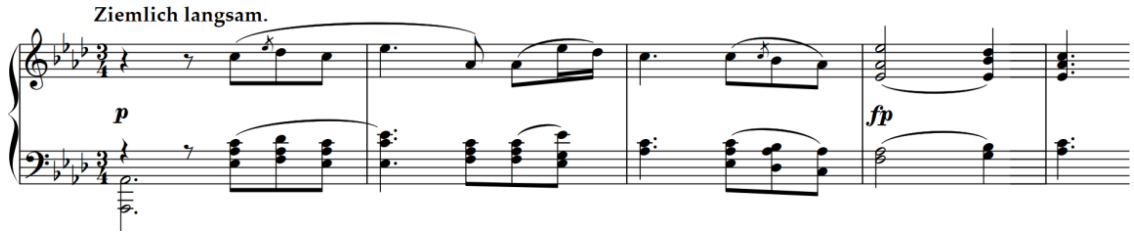
The relative calm of Section B is gradually overcome by the striving excitement of a substantial and tonally unstable transition, preparing the return of the original F minor key. Section A returns varied (in its middle part), then the piece is rounded up by a short coda.

Thus Schumann (similarly to Goldmark's 'Traumgestalten') used the A-B-A-Coda structure; Section A is comprised in both works by two or three subsections, respectively.

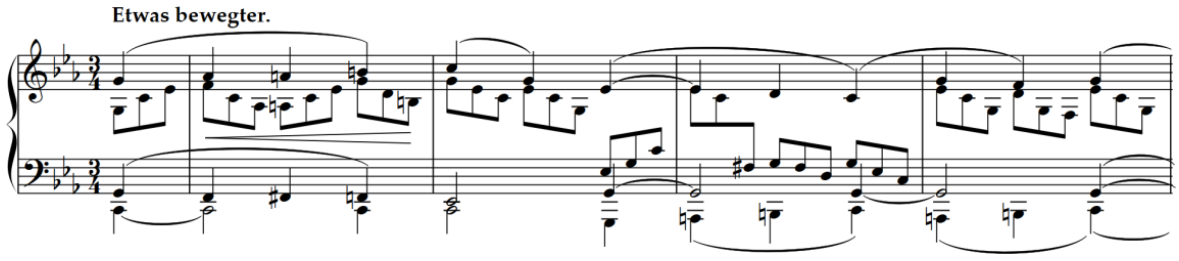
Section B is contrasting to the A in both cases in terms of character (albeit in 'In der Nacht' it does not modulate far from the original key). A modulatory transition prepares the return of Section A in the original key in both works, and they close with a coda. Furthermore, the pieces' character is similar.

Retaining my focus on structure, I now consider a few rare variants of the A-B-A-Coda. A slow Section A followed by a faster Section B is unusual, nevertheless there are some examples of this in the music of both Schumann and Goldmark. In no. 2 of Schumann's *Fantasiestücke* Op. 111, the peacefully contemplative A section (Example 3.4a.) is followed by a more passionate Section B. This change of character is indicated by a new tempo and shifting texture: stirring triplets appear in Section B's middle voice (Example 3.4b).

Example 3.4a. Robert Schumann: *Fantasiestücke* Op. 111 no. 2, bars 1–5.

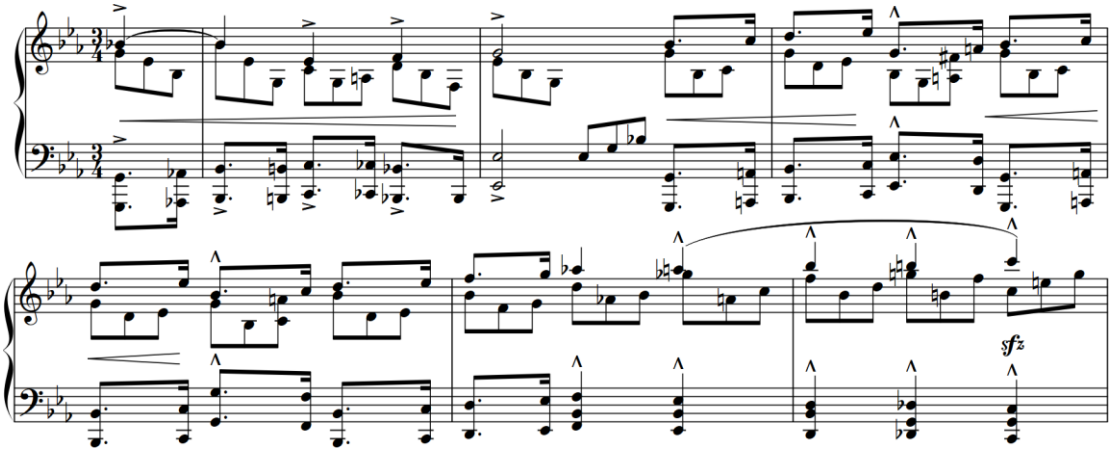


Example 3.4b. Robert Schumann: *Fantasiestücke* Op. 111 no. 2, bars 26–29 (start of Section B).



Section B's passionate character is further reinforced by a build-up, its texture becoming denser by the addition of continuous dotted rhythms in the outer voices as well as rising dynamic ranges and accents in the melodic line.

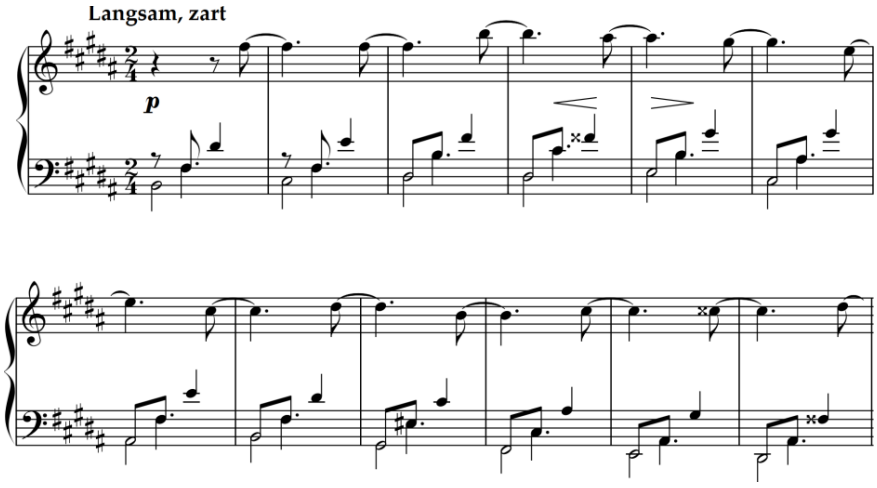
Example 3.4c. Robert Schumann: *Fantasiestücke* Op. 111 no. 2, bars 35–40.



After Section B, Section A returns unaltered and the piece closes with a 4-bar coda.

Goldmark's 'Traumgestalten' [Dream Images] from *Charakterstücke* shows structural affinities with Schumann's *Fantasiestücke* Op. 111 no. 2. 'Traumgestalten's dreamlike A section is marked *Langsam, zart*, in *piano*.

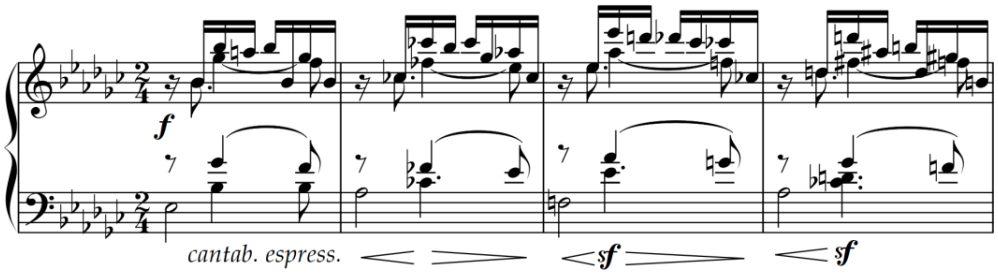
Example 3.5a. Carl Goldmark: 'Traumgestalten' [Dream Images] (*Charakterstücke* no. 7), bars 1–12.



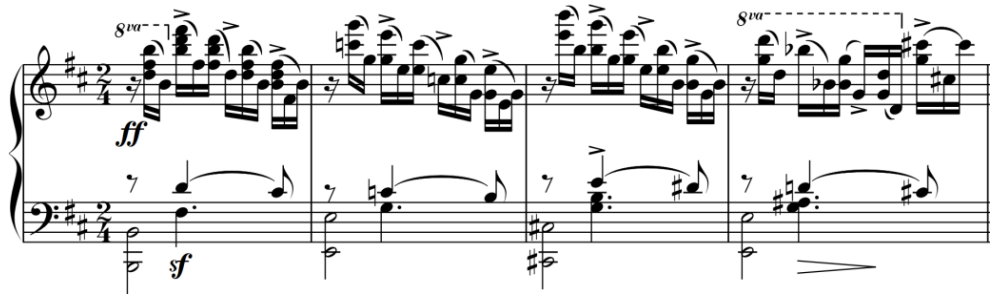
As in the Schumann example, Section B becomes increasingly agitated and virtuosic, indicated by more dense textures, diminution of note values from quavers to hemi-demisemiquavers, faster tempi, marked *etwas schneller*, and gradually rising dynamic levels to culminate at *fortissimo.* The section is also highly modulatory. Examples 3.5b, c and d are

taken from section B, to indicate the increasing textural density and dynamic levels, d presents the climax of the piece.

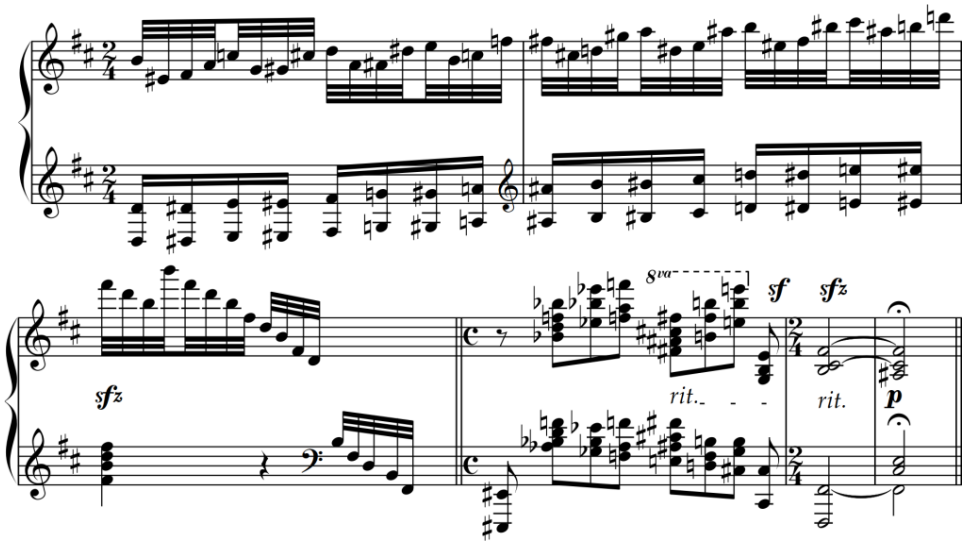
Example 3.5b. Carl Goldmark: ‘Traumgestalten’ [Dream Images] (*Charakterstücke* no. 7), bars 58–61.



Example 3.5c. Carl Goldmark: ‘Traumgestalten’ [Dream Images] (*Charakterstücke* no. 7), bars 74–77.



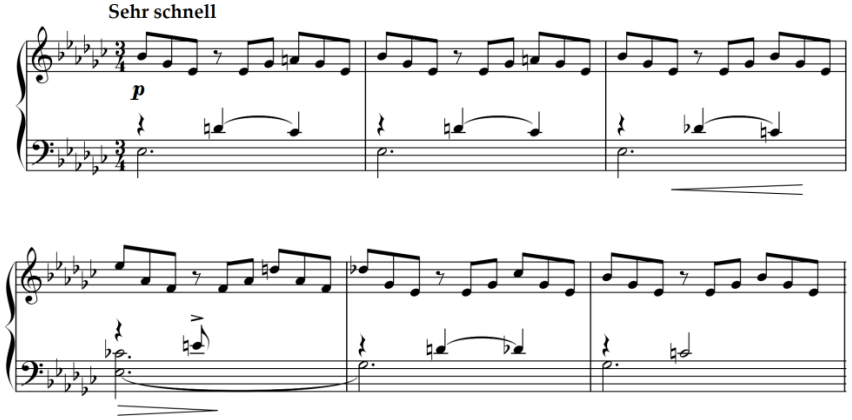
Example 3.5d. Carl Goldmark: ‘Traumgestalten’ [Dream Images] (*Charakterstücke* no. 7), bars 105–110.



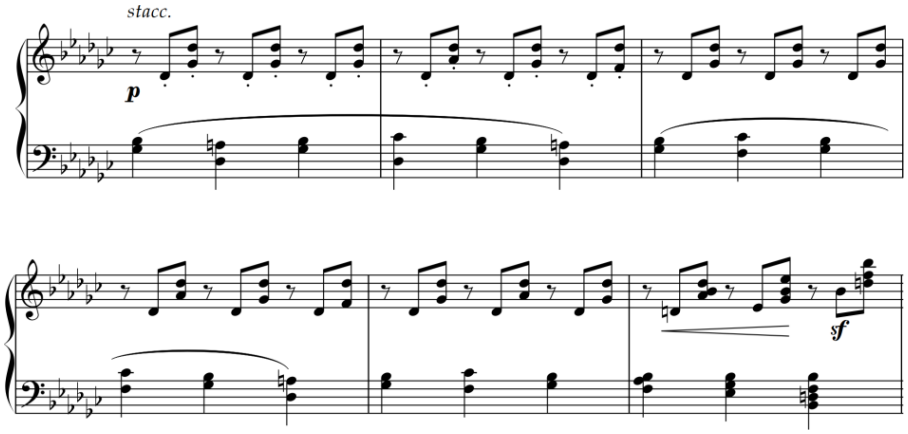
Then Section A returns, in ‘Traumgestalten’ shortened, and the piece closes with a lengthy coda.

The function of Section B might also be varied, that is, it may not contrast with A, or it may retain some of the texture from Section A. As noted above, the section may be shortened so significantly, that it does not function as a distinct part of the form. In Goldmark’s ‘Sturmnacht’ (*Charakterstücke* no. 6) there is no real B section, only a transitional passage of 6 bars between the A and its second appearance. This short section has no thematic material whatsoever, and the continuous triplet motion of its texture resembles that of the A. Its key is G flat major, the relative of E flat minor of the main section, and the tempo and character also remain unchanged (Example 3.6b).

Example 3.6a. Carl Goldmark: ‘Sturmnacht’ [Stormy night] (*Charakterstücke* no. 6), bars 1–6.

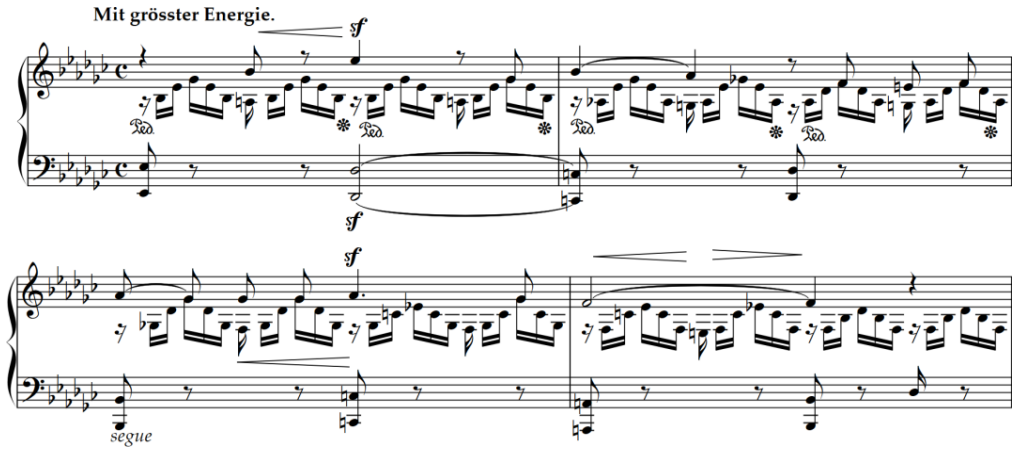


Example 3.6b. Carl Goldmark: ‘Sturmnacht’ [Stormy night] (*Charakterstücke* no. 6), bars 33–38.



‘Intermezzo’, no. 4 from Schumann’s *Faschingsschwank aus Wien* Op. 26 similarly lacks a B section; the same (A) section is repeated instead, in the same key. Both have a closing *coda*. ‘Sturmnacht’ shares common traits in terms of not just form, but musical character and texture with the ‘Intermezzo’. The key of E flat minor is also shared.

Example 3.7. Robert Schumann: ‘Intermezzo’ (*Faschingsschwank aus Wien* Op. 26 no. 4), bars 1–4.



So far, I have examined some aspects of the typical and atypical variants of the ternary form, showing how Goldmark’s works relate to the model of Schumann. In the following, textural

and harmonic elements will be explored independently from the form, to reveal whether they share common features with other Germanic composers' works.

3.4.3. Musical Textures

As Goldmark recalled in his memoirs, having pursued serious independent studies (in 1858–60), a 'new, sublime, hitherto unimagined world opened up' to him.[101] According to his own judgement, these studies resulted in a radical shift in his composition, which was previously heavily influenced by Mendelssohn's music and not independent enough.[102] Goldmark claimed in 1858 (at age 28) that 'I stood on my own feet, and conquered [my earlier] Mendelssohnianism'.[103]

Unfortunately, none of Goldmark's piano music before *Sturm und Drang* (1858) has survived to enable us to verify his claim.[104] However, in 'Scherzo' (*Sturm und Drang* no. 2), one of Goldmark's earliest piano works which he let stand as one of his more independent works, common features with Mendelssohn's music can still be traced. To demonstrate them, consider the Presto section from Mendelssohn's 'Rondo Capriccioso' Op. 14. The delicate, transparent and virtuosic texture, restlessly running semiquavers, voluble arpeggios in the right hand in fast tempo (*Allegro molto* and *Presto* respectively), as well as the sparkling character, a prevailing feature of many of Mendelssohn's piano works, are held in common with Goldmark's piece. The tonality of E (E minor and major alternating in 'Rondo Capriccioso') is also shared.[105] In both pieces the way the virtuosic major triad arpeggios (in bars 5 and 7 of Example 3.8.) occur is significant. They represent more than just a generic use of arpeggios displaying virtuosity, abundant in piano literature; their insertion into the

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[101] 'Welch eine neue, herrliche, ungeahnte Welt erschloß sich mir da!' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 59.

[102] Goldmark discussed his perceptions of the 'soft lyricism' in Mendelssohn's music, and argued for the existence of a distinct 'Mendelssohnian style' in 'Eine Ansicht über Fortschritt,' Autograph (1858), 4, 7. Hungarian State Opera, 78.12.12. The transcript of the autograph was provided to me by Dr Johann Hofer.

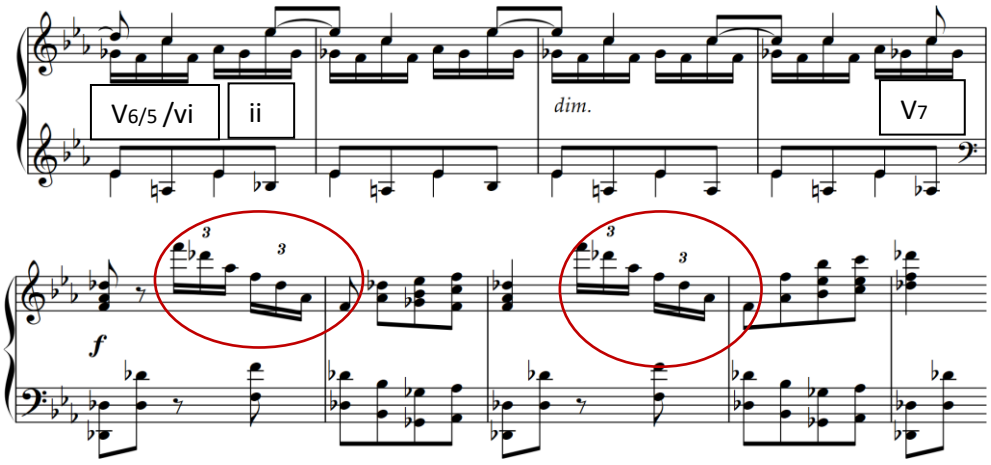
[103] 'Und so stand ich mit einem Male auf eigenen Füßen; der Mendelssohnismus war überwunden.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 59.

[104] According to the currently updated list of Goldmark's works, the earliest works (a choir, a couple of songs and a quartet) are from 1856. David Brodbeck, Tihamér Hlavacsek, and Balázs Mikusi, 'Goldmark, Carl,' *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 27 January 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000011384?rskey=8L3WIe&result=1

[105] Moreover, Mendelssohn's scherzi (e.g. Scherzo from *The Midsummer Night's Dream* or scherzi for the piano) represent a fairly distinct type amongst Romantic scherzi, different from Chopin's or Brahms's scherzi. Goldmark's 'Scherzo' (as well as his orchestral 'Scherzo' Op. 45) alludes unmistakably to those of Mendelssohn.

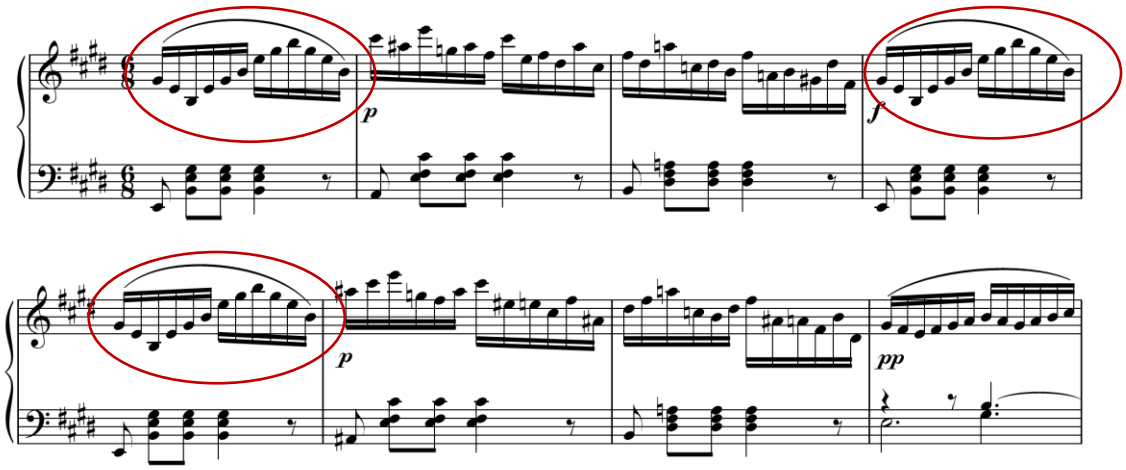
prevailing texture of the piece has a particular harmonic function, strengthening the temporary tonic after a sequence of tonally unstable harmonies.

Example 3.8. Carl Goldmark: 'Scherzo' (*Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 no. 2, 1858), bars 58–65.



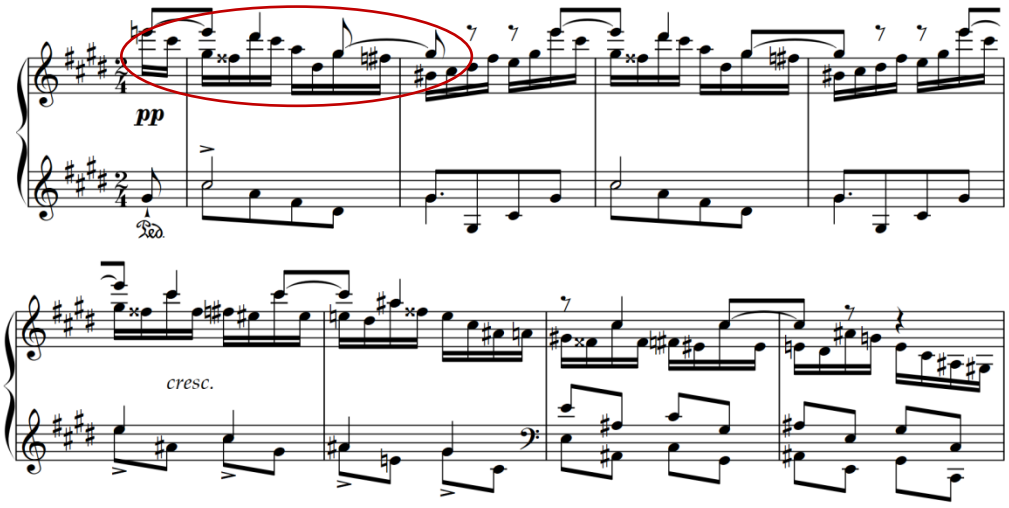
This feature, i.e. the texturally differing triad arpeggios, strengthening the tonic after a tonally unstable section (the alternating V6/5/vi – ii in Example 3.8. bars 1–3), is shared with Mendelssohn's *Rondo* (as indicated in Example 3.9. bars 1, 4 and 5), although in the Mendelssohn example the previous bar's dominant (bar 3 in Example 3.9.) prepares more strongly the arpeggio's tonic function.

Example 3.9. Felix Mendelssohn: 'Rondo Capriccioso' Op. 14, bars 156–63.



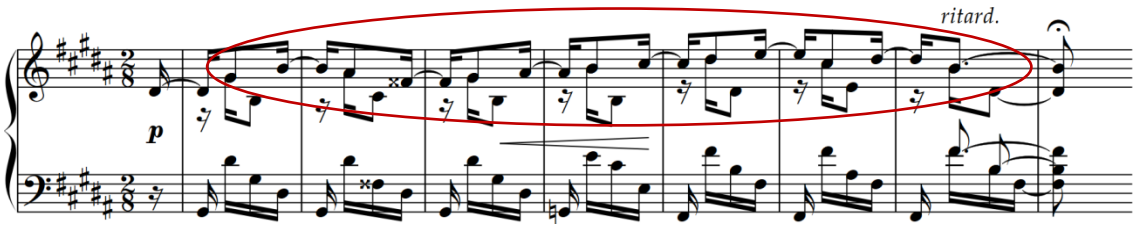
Textural and gestural similarities with Schumann can also be observed. The technique of metric displacement, that is, placing the melodic notes on off-beats of subsequent (or preceding) bars, is characteristic of Schumann's piano textures; Goldmark also employed it in some of his piano works, including 'Scherzo'.[106]

Example 3.10. Carl Goldmark: 'Scherzo' (*Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 no. 2, 1858), bars 80–88.



Not only the metric displacement but the joint underlying inner voices, comprising the arpeggiated harmonies make this texture affinitive to Schumann's piano textures. For instance, in 'Fast zu ernst' (*Kinderszenen* no. 10) the melody is laid out on off-beats, quasi syncopating, while the harmonies are comprised by the two middle and the bass voices.[107]

Example 3.11. Robert Schumann: 'Fast zu ernst' (*Kinderszenen* Op. 15 no. 10), bars 1–8.

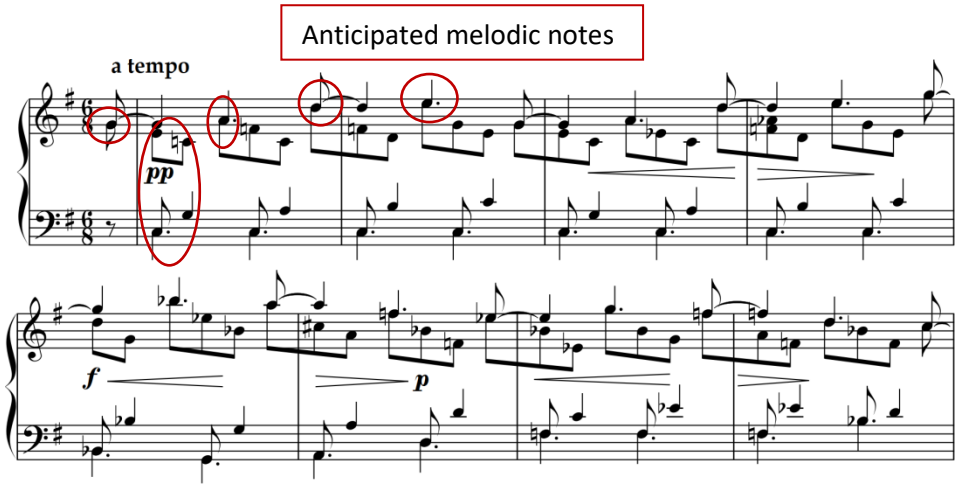


[106] Yonatan Malin, 'Theories of Musical Rhythm and Meter,' in *Songs in Motion: Rhythm and Meter in the German Lied* (Oxford Studies in Music Theory, 2010), 52–61.
[107] This technique may be used in pieces of different character. Although not typical at Brahms, he also used it in 'Intermezzo' Op. 117 no. 3.

As mentioned earlier, polyphonic textures were important to all these composers. Goldmark's (and Schumann's) textures are notated in four voices in the sections cited. It is worth noting that even in a light-hearted *scherzo*, Goldmark writes polyphonically. Polyphony, as we may see, is a prevailing, recurring feature in Goldmark's compositions.

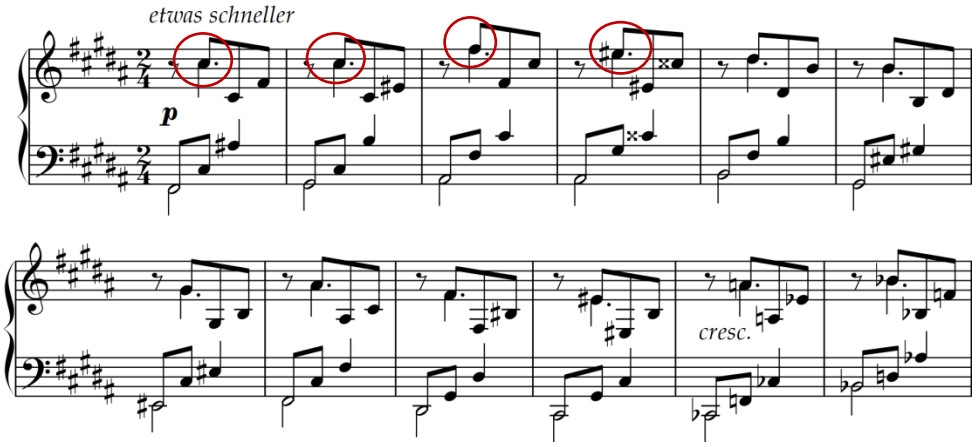
Goldmark's 'Kinder auf dem Rasen' in *Drei Stücke* (1858) recalls Schumann's *Kinderszenen* Op. 15, where imagery and moods associated with childhood are conveyed. However, not only the subject but the construction of Goldmark's piece show common features with Schumann: similar to 'Fast zu ernst', the melodic notes appear anticipated, on (weightless) off-beats, the harmonic content is comprised by the middle and the bass voices.

Example 3.12. Carl Goldmark: 'Kinder auf dem Rasen' (*Drei Stücke* no. 3), bars 54–62.



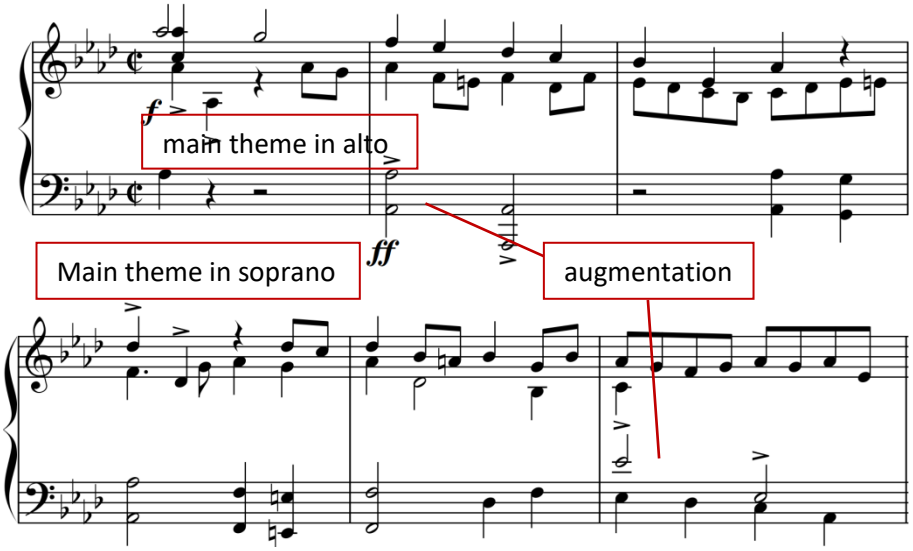
The texture of the middle section of Goldmark's 'Traumgestalten' (*Charakterstücke* no. 7) is in many ways similar. The ensuing build-up is indicated not only by the 'etwas schneller' marking, but the melodic notes of the main theme appearing always on off-beats, conveying an agitated character, while the harmonies are shared between the middle voices and the bass.

Example 3.13. Carl Goldmark's 'Traumgestalten' (*Charakterstücke* no. 7), bars 38–49.



As noted earlier, contrapuntal writing is frequent amongst Goldmark's piano works. He demonstrated his skills in counterpoint in Fugue in F minor Op. 29 no. 4 (among others), utilising a variety of techniques, including augmentation and *stretto* combined:

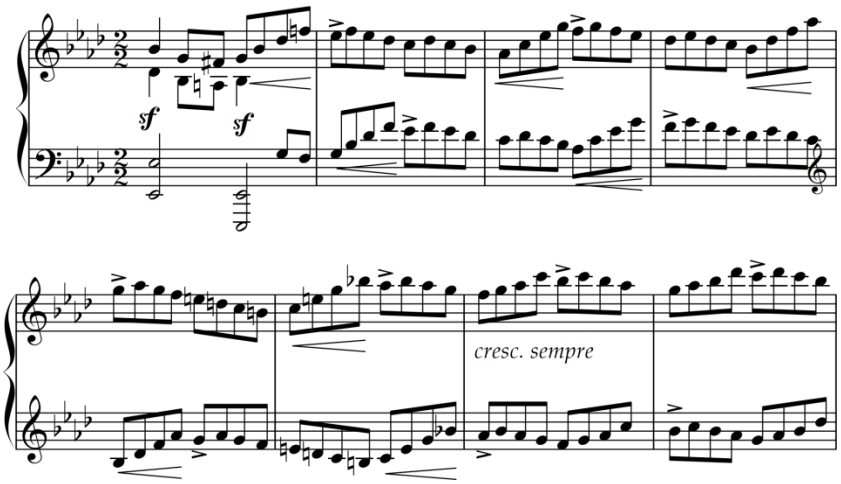
Example 3.14. Carl Goldmark: *Fuge* in F minor Op. 29 no. 4, bars 91–96.



The head of the fugue theme enters in the alto in bar 1, followed by an augmented version of the theme in the bass from bar 2. The theme also appears in the soprano in bar 4, an augmentation enters in bar 6. The work's conception alludes primarily to contrapuntal techniques Bach used; its rich texture and grandiose sounding might recall organ fugues. However, certain features position the work closer to Romantic reception of the *fugue.* The texture of the piece's long build-up becomes increasingly dense with frequent *stretto*s of thematic entries. Furthermore, when approaching the climax area, the texture becomes less

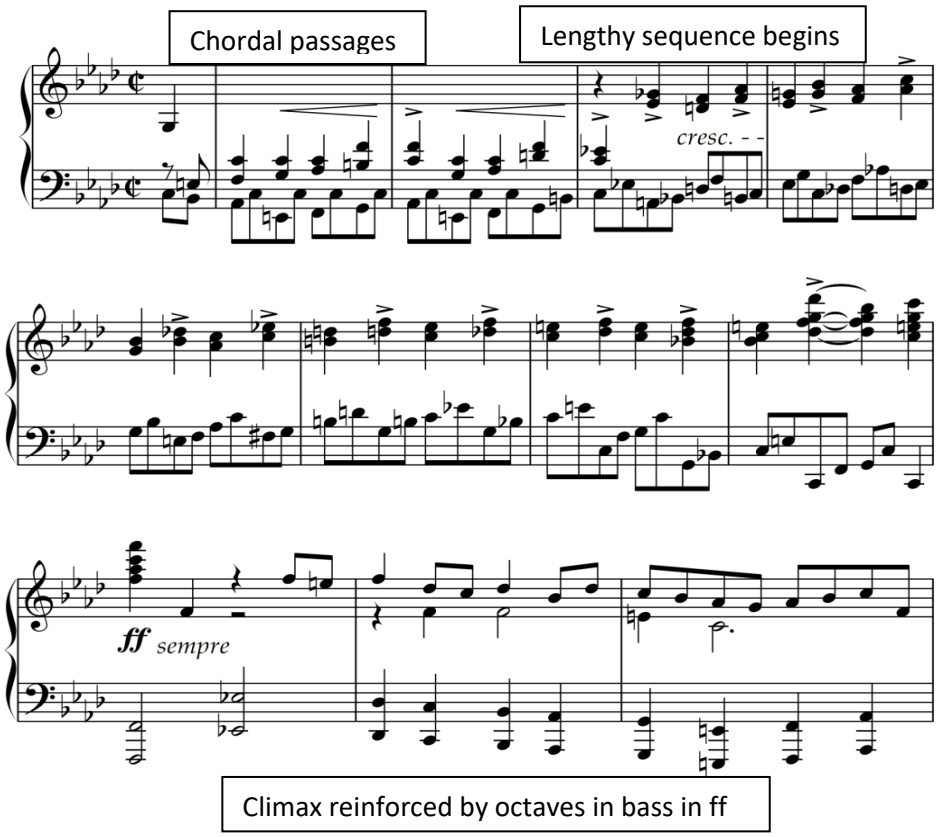
contrapuntal; virtuosic sequences and chordal textures alternate combined with the dynamic range rising to *fortissimo*, suggesting Goldmark's treatment of the fugue through a Romantic lens.[108]

Example 3.15 a and b.: sequential and chordal textures at the climax area in Carl Goldmark: *Fuge* in F minor Op. 29 no. 4, bars 174–181.



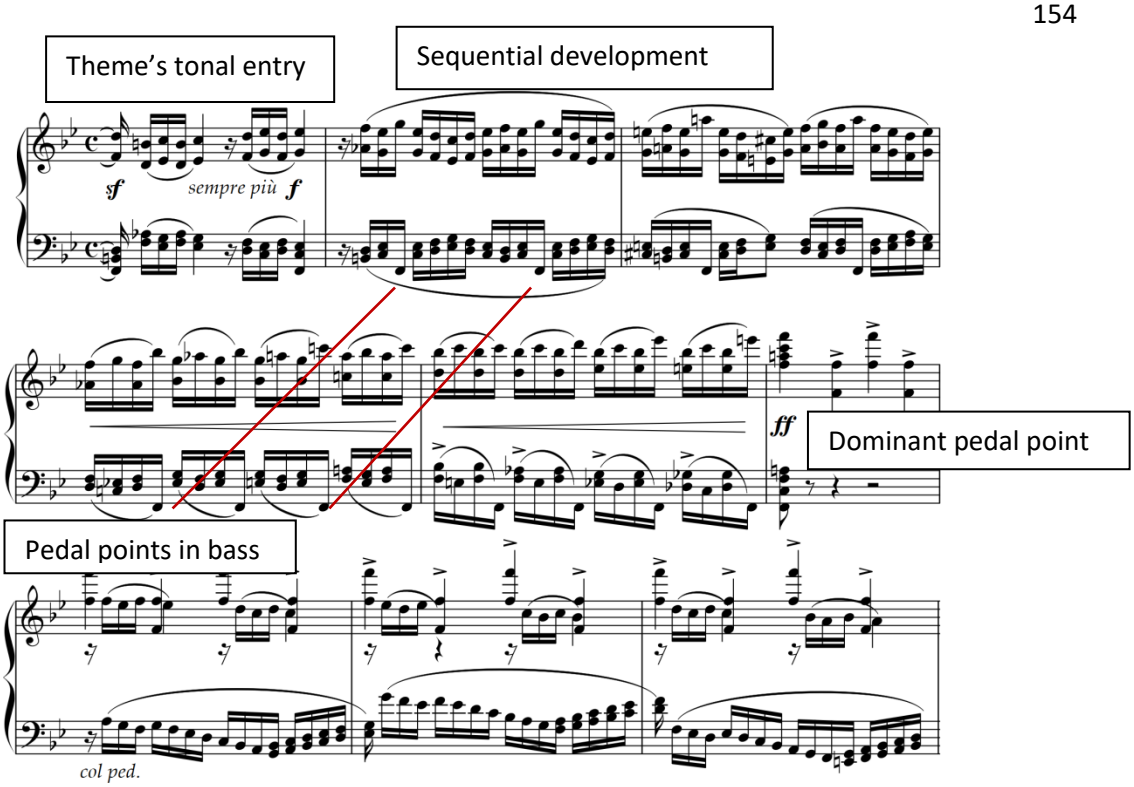
Example 3.15 b. Carl Goldmark: *Fuge* in F minor Op. 29 no. 4 climax area, bars 190–200.

[108] Leonard G. Ratner, *Romantic Music: Sound and Syntax*, 43.



These features, i.e. gradually less contrapuntal, more sequential, chordal textures building up towards the climax, after the strictly constructed thematic entries of fugal exposition, are common in the fugal sections of many of late Beethoven's and Romantic works. This is often reinforced by a rising dynamic range up to *ff*, as is the case in the fugue of Brahms's *Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Händel* Op. 24.

Example 3.16. Johannes Brahms: *Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Händel* Op. 24. Excerpt from the fugue's climax area, bars 77–85.

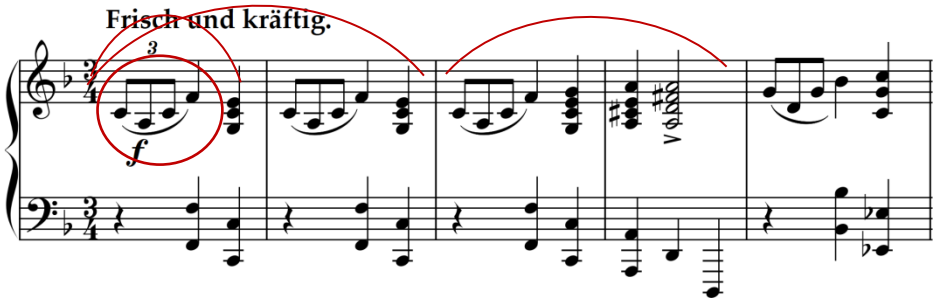


The theme, entering tonally in C minor, is further developed sequentially until reaching the dominant (F), which is reinforced by a *crescendo* to *ff*. The dominant is also prepared by recurring F pedal points in the bass. The pedal point is then shifted to alternating dominant octaves in the upper register, with inserted thematic fragments between them. In both Brahms's and Goldmark's cases, when approaching the fugue's climax area, less polyphonic, sequential passages with rising dynamics can be observed; the culmination is emphasized (in terms of sound) by using octaves.[109]

Further shared textural (and rhythmical) features can be observed in Goldmark's and Schumann's Novellettes. In 'Novellette' Op. 29 no. 2 by Goldmark, the triplet-to-crotchet pattern is prevalent and it has twofold function. On the one hand, when placed on the bar's first beat, it launches a 3-beat (or 6-beat) gesture, as in the main theme of the work:

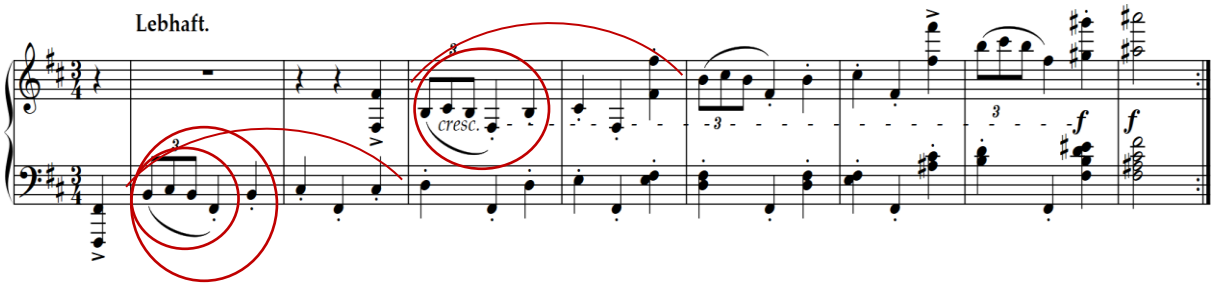
Example 3.17. Carl Goldmark: 'Novellette' Op. 29 no. 2, bars 1–5.

[109] Another example for a lengthy build-up within a Romantic fugue is no. 1 of Schumann's *Six Fugues on B.A.C.H.* for the organ, Op. 60: the start of the build-up is marked as 'nach und nach schneller und stärker' at bar 34, indicating an increasing tempo and dynamics till the end of the work, and notably, it is also characterised by increasingly chordal textures in the manuals and the use of octaves in the pedal. Also, in the *fugato* of Liszt's Sonata in B minor, after the strict thematic entries the texture becomes gradually less polyphonic, to reach a fully chordal *ff* section, transitioning to the recapitulation.



Similar function of the triplet-to-crotchet pattern can be observed in the theme of 'Novellette' in Schumann's *Bunte Blätter* Op. 99, where this pattern is also decisive throughout the piece (with the difference of having an accented upbeat before the triplet, creating metric uncertainty and excitement).[110] This pattern evokes a *scherzando* character in both cases.

Example 3.18. Robert Schumann: 'Novellette' *Bunte Blätter* Op. 99 no. 9, bars 1–13.

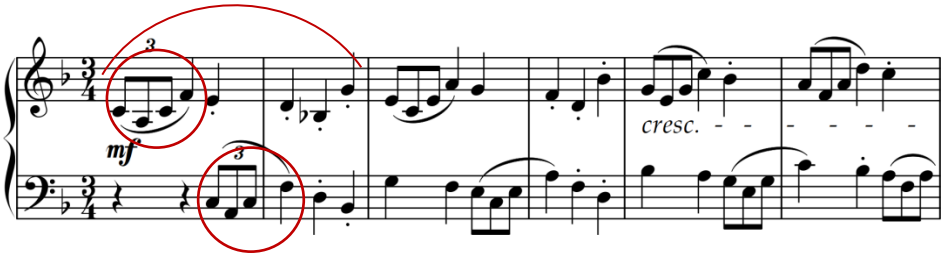


In Goldmark's 'Novellette' in F major Op. 29 no. 2 the accumulation of recurrent rapid triplets, shared between the two hands in an imitative setting (Example 3.19.) conveys an *agitato* character, typical of both Schumann's and Goldmark's Novellettes. (The latter are marked *Frisch und rhythmisch belebt* (Op. 29 no. 1 in C sharp minor) and *Frisch und kräftig* (Op. 29 no. 2 in F major)).

The lower voice of Example 3.19. demonstrates the second type of the triplet-to-crotchet pattern's function: when the triplet is placed on the upbeat, it carries a forward-moving function towards the downbeat of the next bar.

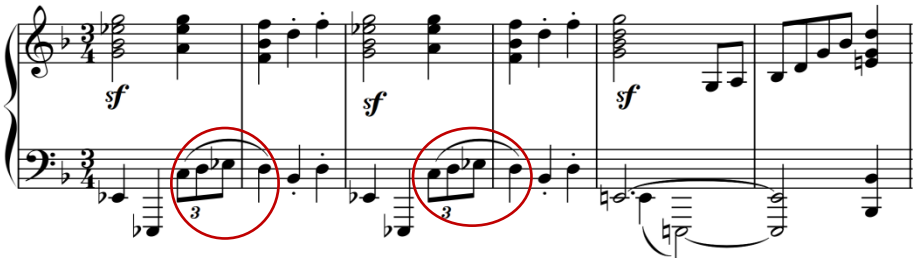
Example 3.19. Imitative use of the triplet-to-crochet pattern in Carl Goldmark: 'Novellette' Op. 29 no. 2, bars 36–41.

[110] The right-hand line of Example 3.19. has similar function of this pattern.



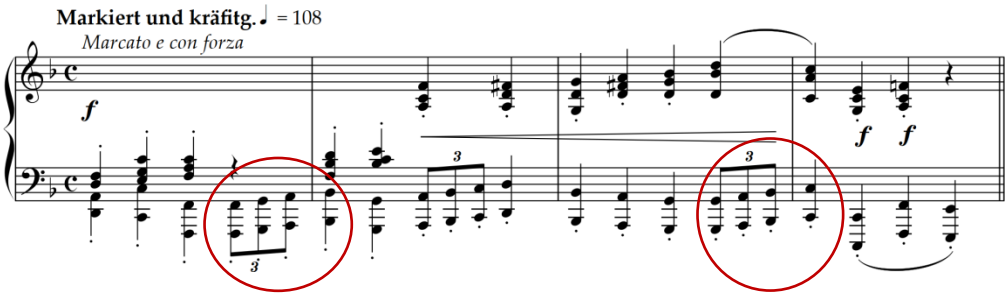
Similar use (to the lower voice of Example 3.19.) of that pattern can be seen in the lower voice of Example 3.20.; forward-moving impetus towards the downbeat of the next bar.

Example 3.20. Carl Goldmark: ‘Novellette’ Op. 29 no. 2, bars 12–17.



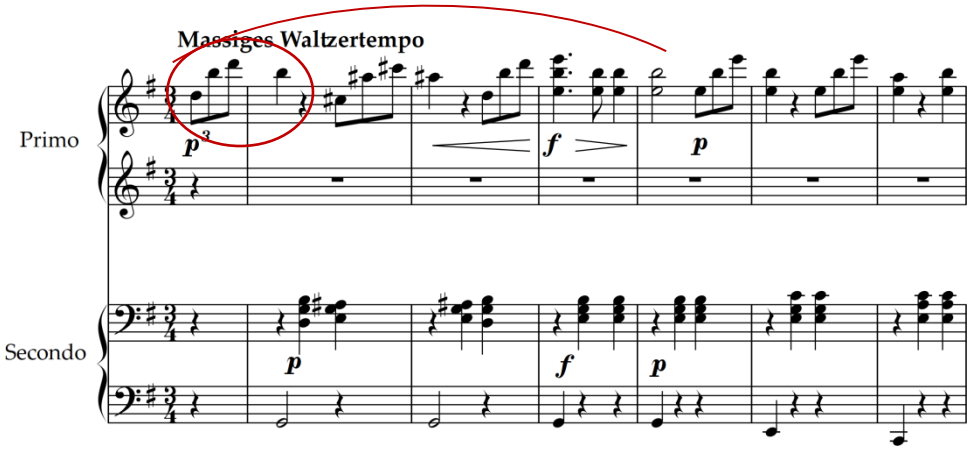
Here the recurring forward-striving triplet upbeats and the dynamically accented (*sf*) minim downbeats convey a ‘markiert’ character, emphasizing the heavy downbeats of the two-bar units. The pattern of forward-moving triplet upbeat followed by a heavy crotchet is a common feature in both Goldmark’s ‘Novellette’ Op. 29 no. 2 (Example 3.20.) and Schumann’s ‘Novellette’ Op. 21 no. 1 (‘Markirt und kräftig’, Example 3.21.). The key of F major is also shared.

Example 3.21. Robert Schumann: ‘Novellette’ in F major Op. 21 no. 1, bars 1–4.



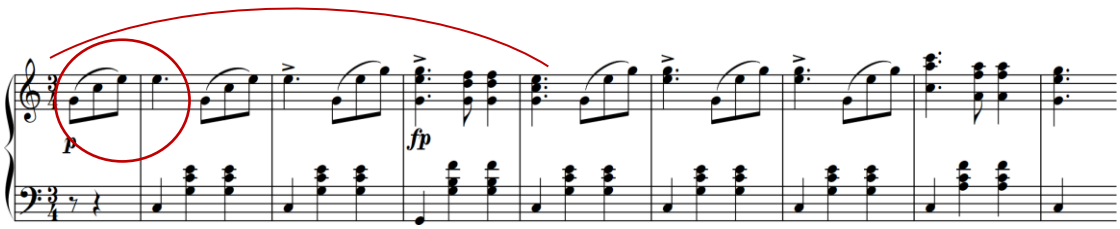
Textural affinities can also be observed between Goldmark's and Schubert's dances. The triplet-to-crotchet pattern appears in a different context in Goldmark's *Tänze* Op. 22, here it evokes the dancing pulse of the *waltz*.

Example 3.22. Carl Goldmark: *Tänze* Op. 22, bars 37–42.



This texture shares common features with that of Schubert's waltz in *Valses Sentimentales* Op. 50 (see Example 3.23.). The unaccented triplet (or three quavers in the Schubert) upbeat followed by the accented long on the heavy first beat conveys the pulse of the dance in both cases. (With the difference of the upbeat's triplets lending more impetus to the dance in the Goldmark example, than the relatively steady three quavers in the Schubert.) Having the culmination of the 4-bar phrases in the third bar, emphasized by a combination of rhythmical (dotted rhythm) and dynamic features is also common.

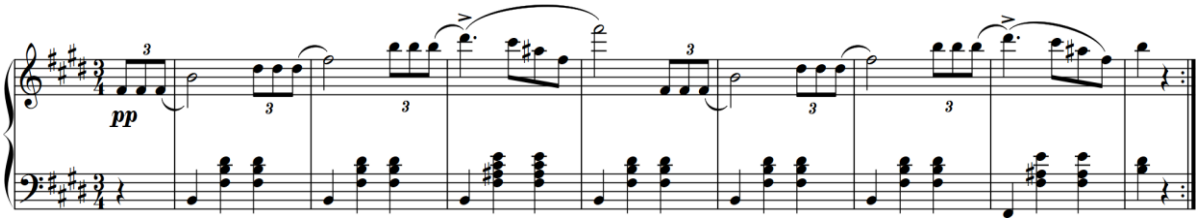
Example 3.23. Franz Schubert: *Valses Sentimentales* Op. 50 D. 779 no. 32, bars 1–8.



Textural resemblances can be observed in Goldmark's *Tänze* Op. 22 (Example 3.22.) and Schubert's 'Walz' no. 12 in *Walzer Ländler und Ecossaisen* D. 145. The homophonic texture

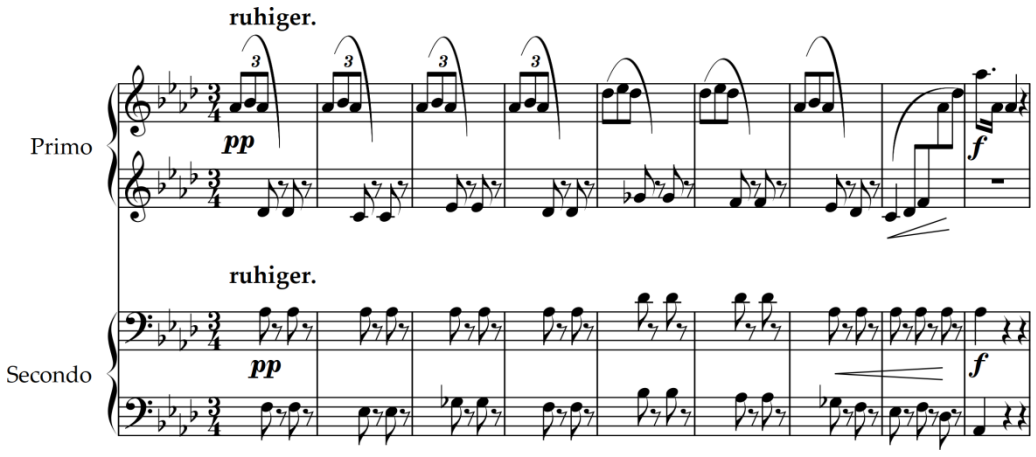
with chordal accompaniment and the triplet upbeat – long downbeat patterns are common. Here also, the 4-bar phrase's culmination in the third bar is emphasized by dotted rhythm and a pattern change.

Example 3.24. Franz Schubert: *Walzer Ländler und Ecossaisen* Op. 18 D. 145 'Walz' no. 12, bars 8–16.

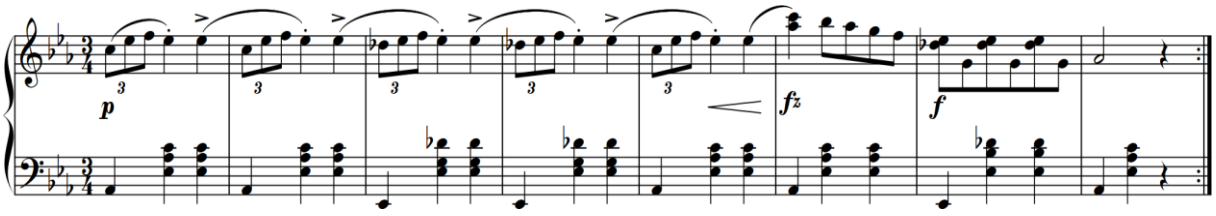


Affinities can be observed in terms of texture and rhythmic pulse in Goldmark's *Tänze* Op. 22 and Schubert's 'Ländler' no. 3 in *Walzer Ländler und Ecossaisen* D. 145. Not only the homophonic textures, consisting of triplet followed by repeated notes in the melody and chordal accompaniments are similar, but the culmination of the phrases is emphasized by rising dynamic range (from *p* or *pp* to *f*), and shifting textural pattern in both cases.

Example 3.25. Carl Goldmark: *Tänze* Op. 22, bars 231–39.



Example 3.26. Franz Schubert: *Walzer Ländler und Ecossaisen* Op. 18 D. 145, Ländler no 3, bars 1–8.



Having examined specific common textural features in works of Goldmark and other composers of the Germanic tradition, and significant patterns conveying specific musical characters, now I turn to exploring some important harmonic features in Goldmark's and other Germanic composers' works.

3.4.4. Features of Harmonic Language

Identifying common features in the harmonic language of Goldmark's and other composers' music helps to better position Goldmark's music in terms of stylistic identity. As noted earlier, the Germanic approach to harmony was evolving throughout the 19th century; moving from conventional tonal functions, relations and progressions towards increasing chromaticism and tertiary relations, expanding the boundaries of tonality.[111] Although instances for destabilising tonality and modulating chromatically can be recognised as early as in J. S. Bach and Beethoven (amongst others), these may be considered rather sporadic, not being decisive features of their harmonic language.[112] Schubert made more frequent use of pivot harmonies and chromatic modulation but chromatic harmony became truly prevalent in the music of Wagner, Mahler and Richard Strauss.[113] In somewhat simplified terms, Goldmark's harmonic language was for the most part based on conventional tonal functions and relations in his earlier piano works, up to Op. 29 (1877). Nevertheless, it became much more varied in his late years. He explored new harmonic progressions by chromatic voice-leading, resulting in unexpected modulations and unusual directions of harmonies instead of

[111] Ratner, *Romantic Music*, xiii-xix.; David Kopp, *Chromatic Transformations in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Richard Cohn et al., 'Harmony,' *Grove Music Online.*

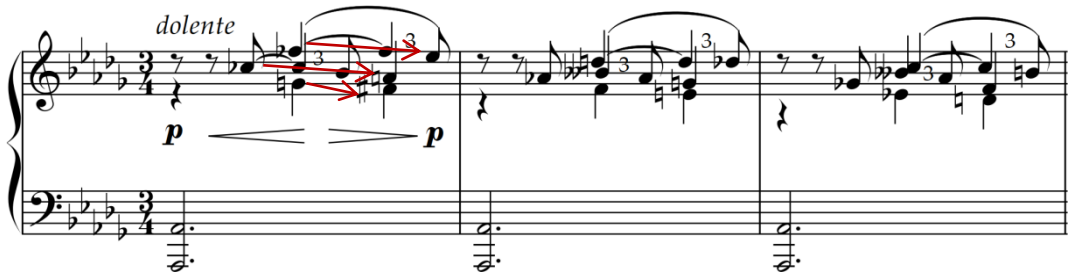
[112] A few examples include *Prelude* in D minor in Bach's WTC I, bar 8.; Tempo I in Beethoven's Piano Sonata 'Pathetique' 1st mvt, bar 137.; Schubert: *Impromptu* D. 935 no. 2, bars 25–28.

[113] Examples of enharmonic modulation in Schubert: Piano Sonata in B-flat major D. 960: movement 1, bars 145–46, 156–57. 'The culmination of alternating-tone chromaticism – the phase when voices are driven purely by chromatics, rather than functional logic – is, however, most closely associated with Wagner's *Tristan.*' Nóra Keresztes, 'A funkciós tonalitás felbomlásának folyamata' [The process of disintegration of functional tonality] (DLA diss., Liszt Ferenc University of Music Budapest, 2007), 128. Examples cited include Mahler's Symphony no. 5 1st mvt, bars 209–228.

resolving them, at once expanding the tonal framework. Therefore, it is important to examine a few aspects of the harmonic language of Goldmark's late pieces, composed between 1903 and 1909, which comprise a large portion of his piano output. This is not to suggest, however, that the harmonic language of all these late pieces would be uniform.

'Georgine', no. 1 of the late collection *Georginen* Op. 52 (1903–09) features highly unusual harmonies and progressions.

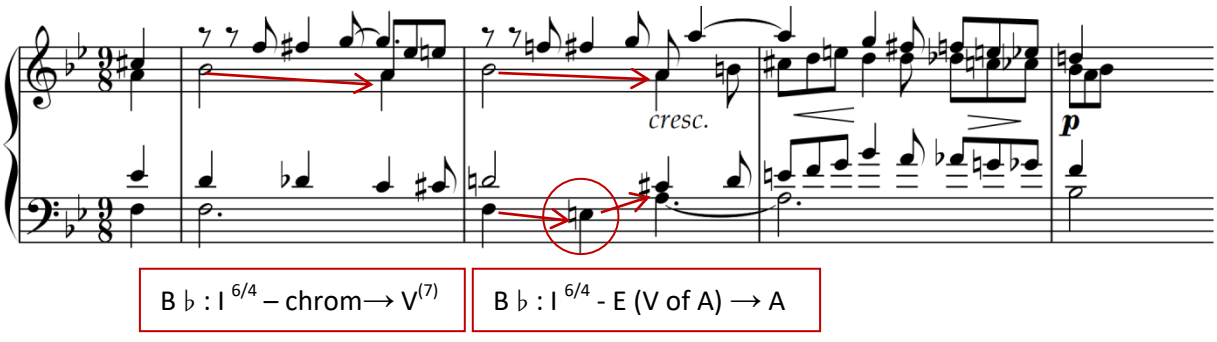
Example 3.27. Carl Goldmark: 'Georgine' (*Georginen* Op. 52 no. 1, 1903–09), bars 6–8.



In bars 1–3 of Example 3.27., all three voices in the right hand move downwards chromatically, in an alternating manner, so that new harmonies are being formed, resulting from the momentary co-sounding of the notes of the moving voices. The tonality is ambiguous, since all the chromatically moving voices are 'suspended' above the pedal point of A♭. This, and the key signature might suggest D flat major, but any clear tonality is far from perceptible.

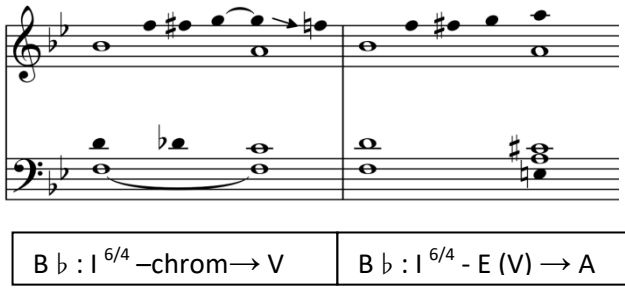
Bars 1 and 2 of Example 3.28. make a remarkable point in 'Georgine'.

Example 3.28. Carl Goldmark: 'Georgine' (*Georginen* Op. 52 no. 1, 1903–09), bars 22–25.



There is a recurring leap from b♭’ ($I^{6/4}$ in B flat major) towards a’ in both bars, but because of the chromatic voice leading, when the a’ is reached, it serves as part of entirely different harmonies. Note that the upper voice is led in exactly the same way (f’’-f#’’-g’’) in both bars, but at the moment when the a’ is reached in the alto in the right hand (in bar 1), an F major chord seems to be formulated (f-c’-a’ and the suspended g’’ in the soprano resolving to f’’ in the following bar), which would be a dominant of B flat major. However, in bar 2, which departs exactly from the same B flat $I^{6/4}$ chord as bar 1, and the soprano is also similar, the bass makes a leap chromatically down from f to e, and that changes the tonality entirely: at the same spot (the third beat of the bar), when the a’ is reached, an A major chord seems to direct the music towards new spheres. See Graph 3.1. for harmonic schema of the progress. (However, if we continue, after some more chromatic turns the music gravitates back to B flat major in bar 4.).

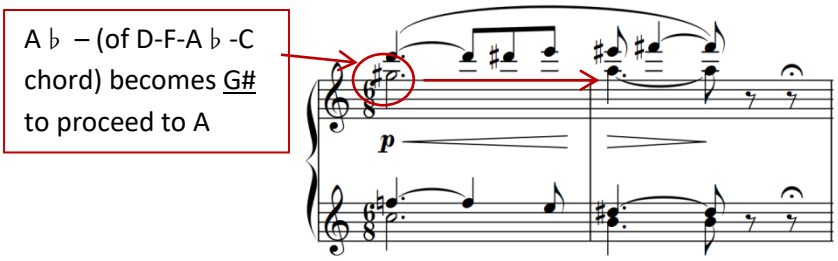
Graph 3.1. Schemes of chromatic voice-leading in Goldmark’s ‘Georgine’, bars 22–23. (bars 1–2 of Example 3.28.)



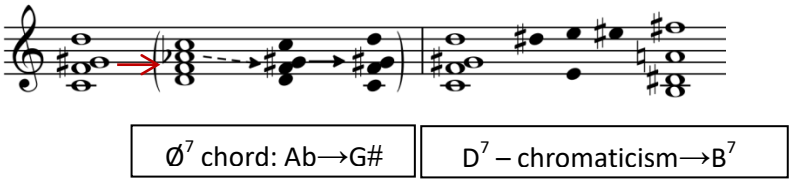
Both the tonal ambiguity, chromatic voice-leading of the four voices and the resulting unexpected sequence of harmonies stand close to techniques Richard Wagner and Liszt cultivated. As in Example 3.29., taken from the opening of *Tristan und Isolde* (1859) can be seen, through applying chromatic passing tones in the soprano and tenor, right after a D (quasi ø)^7 a B^7 secondary dominant is reached, resulting in a highly unexpected, unique progression. The D$ø^7$ stands by an enharmonic reinterpretation of a♭’’ as g#’’ in the d’’’-f’’-a♭’’-c’’ 7 chord, often referred to as the ‘Tristan-chord’.[114]

[114] Among the numerous interpretations of the so-called ‘Tristan-chord’ (e.g.: F-b-d#-g#, enharmonically E#-b-d#-g#) Dahlhaus offered an interesting approach, although he tried to describe chromatic harmonic progression by terms borrowed from tonal harmony, arguing that the chord was ‘… Wagner’s clever discovery that it [the ‘Tristan-chord’] could be interpreted as an inversion of a chord of the 7th on the dominant of the dominant (B), with a lowered 5th (F♮) and a suspended 6th (G♯) leading to the 7th.’ Richard Cohn et al., ‘Harmony,’ *Grove Music Online.*

Example 3.29. Richard Wagner: Einleitung, *Tristan und Isolde*, bars 12–13. (Transcribed for piano by Ernest Schelling)

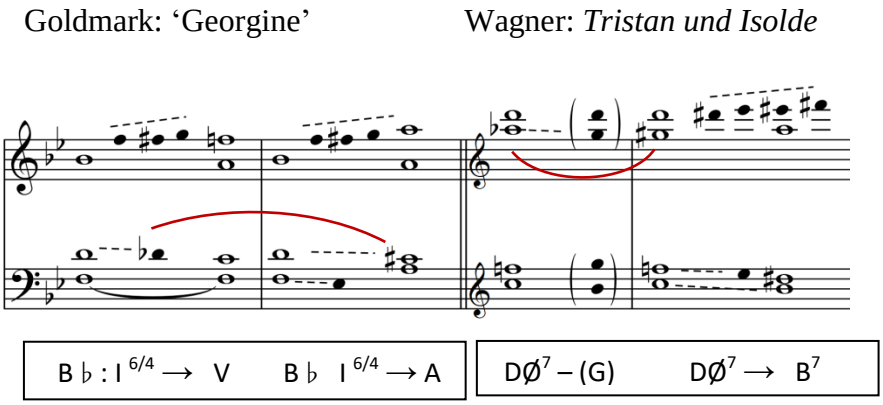


Graph 3.2. Enharmonic redefinition and harmonic progression in bars 12–13 of Wagner's Einleitung, *Tristan und Isolde*.



The following (Graph 3.3.) presents schematic graph of chromatic voice-leading in 'Georgine' by Goldmark and 'Einleitung', *Tristan und Isolde* by Wagner.

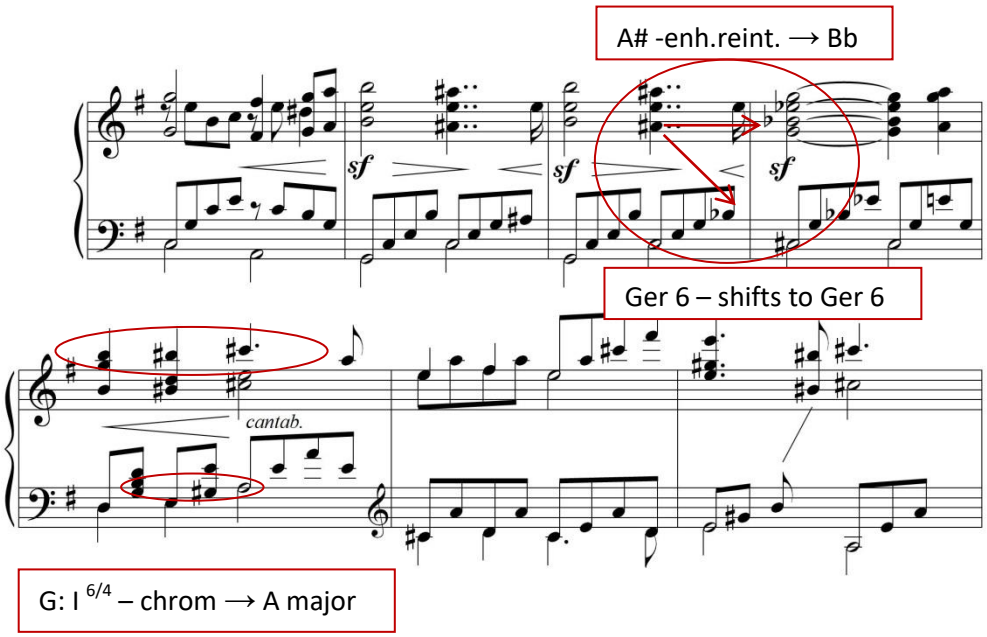
Graph 3.3.



The harmonic progression to unexpected directions is facilitated in both cases by enharmonic reinterpretation (marked with red lines in the Graph: d♭ as c# in 'Georgine' and a♭'' as g#'' in *Tristan und Isolde*), and by leading all voices chromatically. In 'Georgine', the first progression proceeds to the dominant of B flat major, but in the following bar, by reinterpreting d♭ as c# and leading the bass chromatically to e, and leading all other voices chromatically, an unexpected shift is prepared towards A, which becomes the temporary tonic. In the first bar of the Wagner example of Graph 3.3., a possible resolution of the half-diminished seventh chord is shown, according to conventional harmony. However, in the opening to *Tristan und Isolde* Wagner redefined a♭'' as g#'' so that it leads to a, and by leading the voices chromatically, he turns in an unexpected direction, moving to a B^7 chord.

'Morgens' is a late piano work, composed in the early 1900s (Example 3.30).[115] Where its harmonic language becomes chromatic, it employs enharmonic reinterpretation of individual notes of certain voices. This keeps the sequence of harmonies flowing, without having firm harmonic resolution, enabling swift modulation to unexpected or remote keys. The overall tonality of the work is G major, however, the tonality is suspended throughout various sections of the piece.

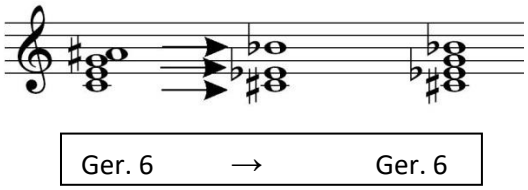
Example 3.30. Carl Goldmark: 'Morgens' (*Charakterstücke* no. 5), bars 13–19.



[115] The piece cannot be more closely dated than 1903–09.

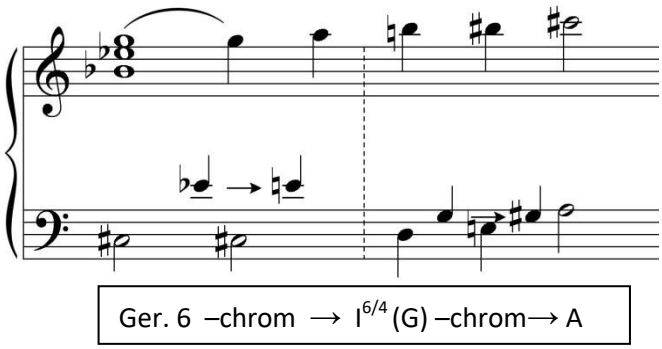
In bar 3 of Example 3.30., instead of the more conventional and expected resolution of the German augmented 6th chord (c-e-g-a#') to an E minor 6/4 (b-e-g-b'); by reinterpretation of a#' as b♭' and by altering e' to e flat' and in the bass c to c# (in bar 3–4), the progression shifts unexpectedly to c#-g-b♭-e♭', an inversion of a German augmented 6th chord (e♭-g-b♭-c#'). See a simplified schema of the harmonic shift in Graph 3.4. below.

Graph 3.4. Enharmonic reinterpretation and chromatic voice-leading in Goldmark's 'Morgens', bars 15–16. Scheme of bars 3–4 of Example 3.30.

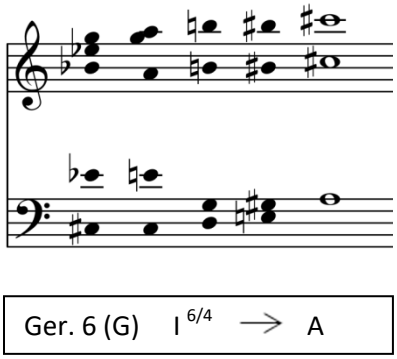


This is expanded further, instead of being resolved, by leading the soprano voice g''-a''-b''-b#''-c#''' (bar 4–5 in Example 3.30.) and the middle voices as e♭' →e' (bar 4) and g→g# (bar 5) to finally reach a temporary key of A major (Graph 3.5.), so that in bar 5, G major $I^{6/4}$ is tangentially reached but the progression moves immediately further to a new direction (→A) by chromatic (b''-b#'' and g-g#) alterations, instead of resolving the 6/4 chord diatonically (see Graphs 3.5. and 3.6.).

Graph 3.5. Simplified graph of bars 16–17 of Goldmark's 'Morgens', outlining chromatic voice-leading. (bars 4–5 of Example 3.30.)



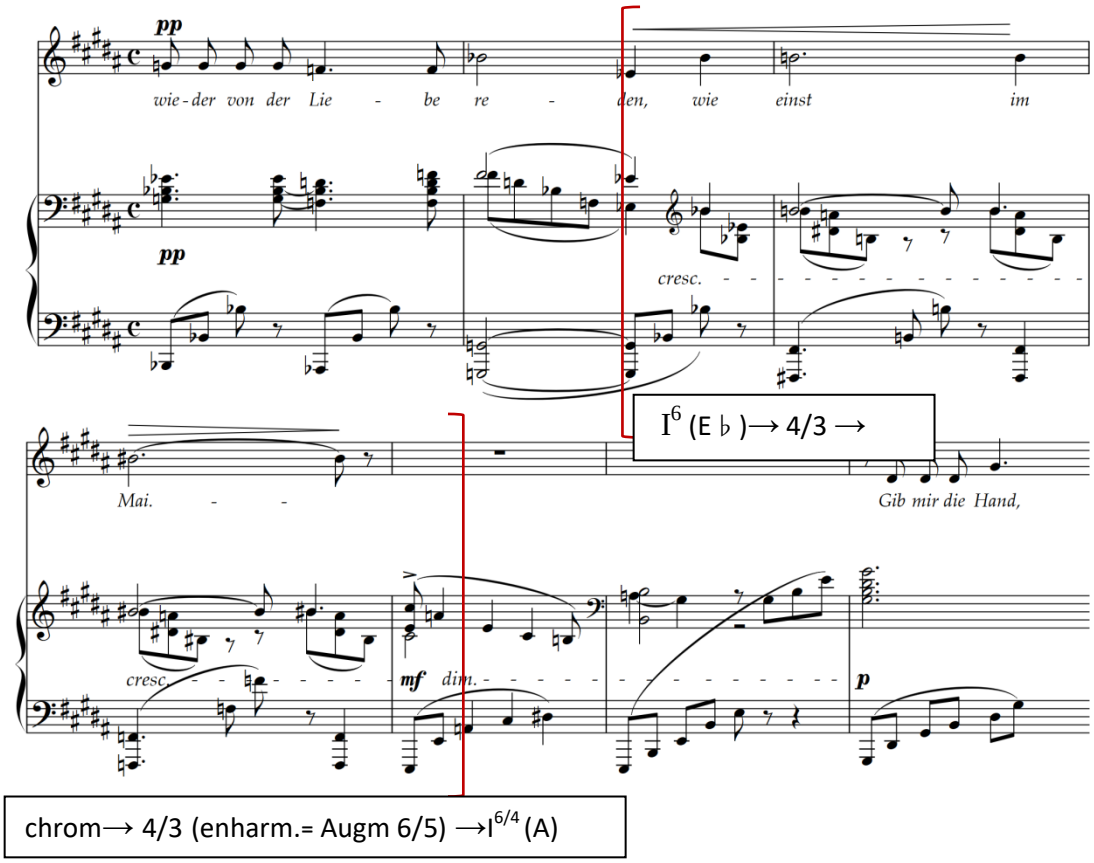
Graph 3.6. Harmonic scheme of bars 16–17 in Goldmark's 'Morgens'. (Bars 4–5 of Example 3.30.)



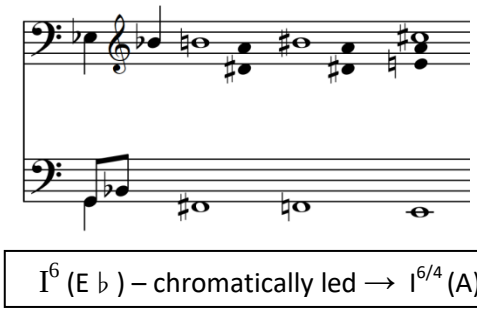
Similar voice leading can be observed in Richard Strauss's 'Allerseelen' Op. 10 no. 8 (1885) (Example 3.31). Goldmark might have been familiar with Strauss' music, including his songs.[116] In bar 2, proceeding from a 6th chord of G-B♭-e♭ (I^6 in E flat major), through chromatically leading the soprano (b♭'-b'-b#'-c#'') and the bass (G-F#-F-E), touching on the 4/3 chords F#-d#'-a'-b' and F-d#'-a'-b#' (which would enharmonically be an Augmented 6/5 F-a'-c'- d#') without resolving them, an A major $I^{6/4}$ is reached chromatically (see bars 2–5 of Example 3.31. and Graph 3.7. for a harmonic schema of the progression).

Example 3.31. Richard Strauss: 'Allerseelen' Op. 10 no. 8, bars 12–18.

[116] The title of Goldmark's piano work might recall Richard Strauss's exquisite *Morgen!* Op. 27 no. 4 (1894).



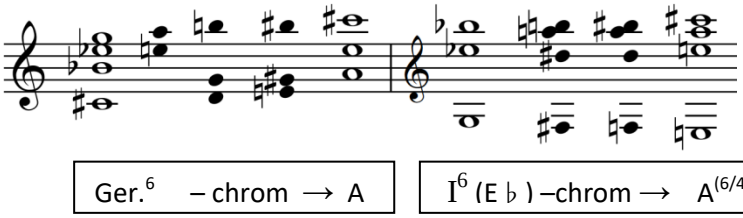
Graph 3.7. Harmonic scheme of bars 13–16 of ‘Allerseelen’ (bars 2–5 of Example 3.31.)



Graph 3.8. provides harmonic schemas, summarizing the previously discussed examples, demonstrating similarities of chromatic voice-leading and unexpected modulations in ‘Morgens’ by Goldmark and ‘Allerseelen’ by Richard Strauss. Note the modulation to remote keys, chromatic voice leading and unresolved tonal harmonies (6/4 and 4/3 respectively) in both cases.

Graph 3.8.

Goldmark: ‘Morgens’ R. Strauss: ‘Allerseelen’



The prevailing polyphonic writing alongside the chromaticism of both ‘Morgens’ and ‘Georgine’ has to be noted, as a recurring feature throughout Goldmark’s works.

3.5. Conclusion

As we have seen, Goldmark claimed himself as musically and culturally German. It was crucially important for him to seek affiliation with Germanic culture and values; on the one hand Goldmark considered German music as an ideal, on the other hand his choice of cultural identity stemmed from the socio-historical context he lived in, as discussed in Chapters 1 & 2. Nevertheless, affiliation with an emerging German canon also promised widespread and long-lasting recognition. Hence he cultivated typically Germanic genres, such as the symphony, concerto, traditional chamber music genres (string quartet, sonata, piano trio, piano quintet), and song. In terms of his piano music, this affiliation has also been identified in this chapter, through common features with the music by Bach, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Wagner and Richard Strauss. Such features include his choice of genres (for example the large-scale collections of Schumannesque *Charakterstücke* or the *Novellette*), structures (such as the ternary form), compositional techniques (for example counterpoint), musical textures and features of harmonic language. However, while these numerous features suggest affinities with Germanic music, he also incorporated elements of other styles into several of his works. Therefore, I would not label his piano music or individual piano pieces as purely ‘Germanic’; many of his works may be better interpreted as amalgamating several inspirations. *Style hongrois*, which surrounded Goldmark throughout his life, was arguably also an important source of inspiration; identifying its features in Goldmark’s piano music is my subsequent field of enquiry.

Chapter 4.

The *Style hongrois* in Goldmark's Piano Music

4.1. Rationale and Methodology

One aspect of stylistic identification of Goldmark's piano music is to examine how the music cultivated in the territory of Hungary in the 19th century, to which Goldmark was exposed in his youth in Hungary and later in Vienna, impacted upon his musical language. One might assume that there is a recognizable and marketable Hungarian musical identity evident in Goldmark's works, since he was Hungarian-born and later claimed by Hungarians as a national composer. However, a study of Goldmark's piano works reveals that only a small number of pieces contain incontrovertibly Hungarian features. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to explore how real this Hungarian trace in his music is. To answer that question, it is necessary to explore what was considered 'Hungarian' in terms of music when Goldmark's musical language was developing. Identifying characteristic features of 19th-century Hungarian music in works of prominent Hungarian composers and comparing them with relevant parts of Goldmark's piano works will enable the identification of such characteristic traits in Goldmark's piano music.

Some clarification of the terms I use throughout this chapter is necessary. 'Hungarian music' refers to music that was considered Hungarian in the 19th century in Hungarian territory within the Austrian Empire, including *verbunkos* and *nóta*. *Style hongrois*, as explained by Jonathan Bellman, '(literally, 'Hungarian style') refers to the specific musical language used by Western composers from the mid-eighteenth to the twentieth centuries to evoke the performance of Hungarian Gypsies' adding that 'since the musical materials of this style are almost exclusively Hungarian in origin, the term *Hungarian* has been associated with the style more than the term *Gypsy*.'[1] To further nuance its definition, *style hongrois* evolved into a distinct vernacular, using features of 19th-century Hungarian music in Western European art music (in works of Haydn, Schubert, Brahms and Liszt among others), becoming strongly associated with the performance style of its disseminators, the Gypsies.[2]

[1] Jonathan Bellman explored *style hongrois* and its characteristics in *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 11.
[2] Ibid, 12. More precisely, primarily in Austro-German within 'Western European' music.

This music that Gypsies performed during the 19th century in Hungary, Vienna and elsewhere was often mistakenly called as 'Gypsy music'; however, their repertoire was of Hungarian origin.[3] A few scholars use 'Hungarian-Gypsy tradition' as a synonym for *style hongrois*, referring to the musical origins and the interpreters of this music, however, I use the term *style hongrois* throughout this chapter.[4]

To better understand Goldmark's position within the context of the Austrian Empire (from 1867 Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), to which Hungary then belonged, a brief historical background will be offered. Contemporary Hungarians' shifting perceptions of Goldmark as well as his self-perception also need to be teased out to reveal his ties to Hungary.

I then examine what was understood as Hungarian music throughout the 19th century from different perspectives, using a range of theoretical and analytical approaches. Writings of some of the most significant 19th-century Hungarian musicians and music theorists, including Liszt's *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*, 1859; Kornél Ábrányi's *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai* [Characteristics of Hungarian Song and Music, 1877] and *A magyar zene a 19-ik században* [Hungarian Music in the 19th Century, 1900]; and Géza Molnár's *A magyar zene elmélete* [Theory of Hungarian Music, 1904] will be explored. However, an exhaustive examination of them would exceed the limits of this chapter; I focus on their discussion of 19th-century Hungarian music.[5] 20th-century scholars' works on the

[3] Bellman further elaborated on this: 'The Gypsies call themselves *Rom* … There are various kinds of Romani folk music, and songs in the Romani language, but they have never been a part of the *style hongrois*.' Ibid., 15–17. See also Irén Kertész Wilkinson, 'Gypsy [Roma-Sinti-Traveller] music,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 11 February 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000041427?rskey=opPLbE&result=1

[4] Including Lynn M. Hooker, 'Modernism Meets Nationalism: Béla Bartók and the Musical Life of Pre-World War I Hungary,' (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001); Shay Loya, *Liszt's Transcultural Modernism and the Hungarian-Gypsy Tradition* (University of Rochester Press, 2011).

[5] Franz Liszt, *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* [On Gypsies and their Music in Hungary] (Paris: A. Bourdilliat, 1859). The versions I consulted: *A czigányokról és a czigány zenéről Magyarországon* (Pest: Heckenast Gustav, 1861) facsimile edition ed. Gábor Bencsik (Budapest: Magyar Mercurius Kiadó, 2004). The latest edition: Ferenc Liszt, *A cigányokról és magyarországi zenéjükről,* ed. and trans. Klára Hamburger (Budapest: Balassi kiadó, 2020). According to prime contemporary and later Hungarian lexicons ((*Révai nagy lexikona* [Révai's Great Lexicon], ed. Mór János Révai (Budapest: Révai Testvérek Irodalmi Intézet Részvénytársaság, 1911–35) and *Zenei lexikon* [Music Lexicon] I–III., ed. Bence Szabolcsi and Aladár Tóth, (Budapest: Győző Andor, 1931)) Kornél Ábrányi (1822–1903) was a significant figure in the musical scene of 19th-century Hungary: founder of the periodical *Zenészeti Lapok*, secretary and professor of the Academy of Music in Budapest from its foundation to 1888, and a prolific composer. However, the most important of his works were his writings, including *A magyar zene a 19-ik században* [Hungarian Music in the 19th Century] (Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Társa, 1900); *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai nyelvi, zöngidomi, harmóniai és műformai szempontból* [Characteristics of Hungarian Song and Music from Linguistic, Rhythmic, Harmonic and Formal Perspectives] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1877); *Mosonyi Mihály élet- és jellemrajza. Arczképpel* [Life and Character of Mihály Mosonyi. With Portrait.] (Pest: Corvina, 1872); *Erkel Ferenc élete és működése* [The Life and Work of Ferenc Erkel] (Budapest: Schunda V. József Zeneműkereskedő és kiadó, 1895); *Zenészeti Aesthetica* [Musical Aesthetics] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1877). Géza Molnár (1870–1933) was a graduate of the University of Leipzig, Germany and professor of music theory at the Academy of Music in

subject will also be consulted for a historical perspective, especially Bence Szabolcsi's *A Magyar zenetörténet kézikönyve* [Handbook of Hungarian Music History, 1979] and László Dobszay's *Magyar zenetörténet* [Hungarian Music History, 1998].[6] Both are significant sources, offering a comprehensive view of relevant genres' evolution throughout the 19th century, characteristic features as well as historical and societal contexts. *Cigányzene…* [Gypsy Music…, 1971] and *A hangszeres magyar népzenei hagyomány* [The Instrumental Hungarian Folk Music Tradition, 2008] by Bálint Sárosi are also important, exploring links between Hungarian folk music tradition and *verbunkos*, and the role of Gypsy musicians.[7] Pál Richter is an expert on *style hongrois*; his works reflect the most recent research.[8]

For how *style hongrois* evolved and was perceived elsewhere, especially in Vienna, Bellman's *The* Style Hongrois *in the music of Western Europe* is essential.[9] Bellman's work deals comprehensively with the *style hongrois* as a concept and its musical features, and identifying features of 19th-century Hungarian music in compositions of Western art music: it examines the source music of the *style hongrois*, the typical genres of Hungarian music it drew from, characteristic rhythmic, melodic, intervallic and textural features, and their appearance in Western art music with particular reference to Haydn, Mozart, Weber, Schubert, Liszt and Brahms.[10] Moreover, the Hungarian Institute for Musicology's website

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Budapest until 1933 (at the time when Bartók studied there). His book *A magyar zene elmélete* [Theory of Hungarian Music] (Budapest: Rozsnyai, 1904), was intended as a textbook for students at the Academy.

[6] Bence Szabolcsi, *A Magyar zenetörténet kézikönyve* [Handbook of Hungarian Music History] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1979). Szabolcsi was a musicologist, author of several works on various topics of Hungarian and Universal Music History.; László Dobszay, *Magyar zenetörténet* [Hungarian Music History] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1998). Dobszay was a professor of the Liszt Academy of Music, Budapest. His works include *A magyar dal könyve* [Book of the Hungarian Song] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1984); *Magyar zenetörténet* (1984, 2nd ed. 1998); László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei, *A magyar népdaltipusok katalógusa* [Catalogue of Hungarian Folksong Types] (Budapest: MTA ZTI, 1988), among others.

[7] Bálint Sárosi, *Cigányzene…* [Gypsy Music…] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1971); *Gypsy Music* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1978); *A hangszeres magyar népzenei hagyomány* [The Instrumental Hungarian Folk Music Tradition] (Budapest: Balassi kiadó, 2008). Sárosi was a remarkable ethnomusicologist; his works focus on various topics around the Hungarian folk music tradition and Gypsy musicians.

[8] Pál Richter is head of the Institute for Musicology in Budapest. Richter, 'Between Folk and Urban Culture: The Dance Music Traditions of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Hungary,' in *The Element of Dance in Music of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Grzegorz Zieziula (Warsaw: Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina, 2023), 287–301.; '*Style hongrois* és magyar zenei hagyomány,' [*Style hongrois* and the Hungarian Music Tradition] in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2017–2018*, ed. Katalin Kim (Budapest: BTK Zenetudományi Intézet, 2019), 45–58.

[9] Jonathan Bellman, *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993). Shay Loya offers thorough examination of 19th-century Hungarian music, especially the *verbunkos* idiom and its appearance in Liszt's and Western works in *Liszt's Transcultural Modernism and the Hungarian-Gypsy Tradition* (University of Rochester Press, 2011), 36–45, 58–85; Shay Loya, 'Liszt's Transcultural Modernism and the Hungarian-Gypsy Tradition,' accessed 7 October 2017, http://www.lisztstransculturalmodernism.com/

[10] Pál Richter reviewed the interpretation of *style hongrois* in Bellman's work; including misinterpretations of instruments used by Gypsies and the terminology of *nóta* vs. peasant music in Richter, 'Egzotikum és depresszió – értelmezések és félreértelmezések a magyaros stílus kapcsán,' [Exoticism and Depression: Interpretations and Misinterpretations with Regard to the Hungarian Style] *Magyar Zene* 65 (February 2010): 33–47. Margit Prahács offered a broad survey of *style hongrois* in Western composers' works in *Magyar témák a külföldi zenében* –

offers thorough data on the context and origins of *style hongrois*, including source catalogues, published sources and the style's links to folk music, based on more recent research.[11]

However, apart from Mária Párkai-Eckhardt's discussion of influences of *verbunkos* and folk-like song on the themes of Goldmark's *Magyar ábránd*, no scholar, including Bellman has studied Goldmark's use of *style hongrois* in his piano pieces.[12] My investigation is comprehensive, as it considers not only *Magyar ábránd* in more detail, but Goldmark's whole piano music in terms of *style hongrois* features. To tease this out, I demonstrate the impact of the Hungarian style on his piano music by comparing relevant parts of 19th-century Hungarian composers' and Goldmark's music. I explore a range of typical features of Hungarian music and their appearance in contemporary Hungarian composers' (including Mihály Mosonyi, Ferenc Erkel, Franz Liszt), Gypsy performers' (for example János Bihari) and Vienna-based composers (for example Brahms) works, and investigate how Goldmark incorporated such features into his piano pieces. However, my study is not aimed as a comprehensive survey of *style hongrois* features (which was the subject of Bellman's work); rather, I concentrate on pointing out those idioms relevant in terms of Goldmark's piano music.

4.2. Perceptions of Goldmark as Hungarian

The unfolding of Goldmark's career coincided with the existence of the Habsburg (Austro-Hungarian) Monarchy.[13] In Goldmark's lifetime, territories of the *Magyar Királyság* (Hungarian Kingdom) belonged to the multi-ethnic Austrian Empire; a Hungarian (*Magyar*) state did not exist independently.[14] However, the idea of re-establishing an independent, unified state became increasingly urgent to Magyars by the first half of the 19th century,

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Éléments Hongrois dans la Musique Européenne: Essay Bibliographique (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Magyarságtudományi Intézete, 1943).

[11] Pál Richter, ed.,'Style hongrois,' accessed 22 October 2022, http://stylehongrois.zti.hu/index.php/en/

[12] Mária Párkai-Eckhardt, 'Einflüsse der ungarischen Musik bei Goldmark,' [Influences of Hungarian Music on Goldmark] in *Brahms Kongress Wien 1983*, ed. Otto Biba and Suzanne Antonicek (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988), 427–436.

[13] The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was established in 1867 by the *Ausgleich* (Compromise) and lasted until 1918, the end of WWI.

[14] The Hungarian Kingdom was invaded by the Ottoman Empire in 1526 and partially occupied in 1541 by it and the Habsburgs respectively, splitting the historic Hungarian territory into three parts for 150 years. Then the Turks were expelled in the 1680s, while the Habsburgs remained in control. After the failed uprisings against the Habsburgs in the 18th and 19th centuries, Hungary gained independence again only in 1918 after WWI, although it lost significant amount of its territories and inhabitants in 1920. For a thorough evaluation of the Hungarian Kingdom's status within the Empire (and the Monarchy) see András Gergely, ed., *Magyarország története a 19. században* [The History of Hungary in the 19th Century] (Budapest: Osiris, 2019), 20–22, 360–62.

culminating in the revolution against the Habsburgs in 1848.[15] After its defeat and a period of retaliation, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was established in 1867 by the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise (*Ausgleich*); it existed until 1918. This arrangement granted Hungarians a greater degree of autonomy in most matters within the Monarchy, apart from foreign policy, military policy and finance.

To examine Hungarian traces in Goldmark's musical language, it is necessary to tease out his ties to Hungary as well as how he was viewed by contemporary Hungarians. As detailed in the Introduction, Goldmark was born in 1830 in Keszthely and raised in the territory of Hungary within the Austrian Empire.[16] He grew up and matured as a composer in a historically sensitive region, Western-Hungary and Vienna, the milieus of which were certainly very diverse. It is highly likely that he was exposed to the performances of Gypsy bands and the music they disseminated while staying in Deutschkreutz (1834–44), studying violin in Sopron (1842–) and Vienna (1844–47), playing in theatres in Sopron and Győr (1848–49), staying in Pest (1850–51 and 1858–60); travelling bands also frequently performed in Vienna and beyond.[17] After his first self-produced concert in Vienna (1857), Goldmark returned to Pest, where he spent almost two years. According to Mária Kálmán, this was 'one of the most prolific periods of his artistic development' where he dedicated all his time to serious studies.[18] In one of his essays, dated from 1858, Goldmark referred to the 'Hungarian operas of Erkel' and tangentially to the 'Hungarian style'.[19] He also played in a bar at Óbuda (part of today's Budapest) and gave piano lessons.[20] Around the time of Goldmark's first concert in Pest in 1859, he became acquainted with prominent figures of the Hungarian musical scene, including Ferenc Erkel, Róbert Volkmann, Mihály Mosonyi and Kornél Ábrányi.[21] Ábrányi even suggested retrospectively that Goldmark's fame began with

[15] Ibid., 191–246.
[16] Mária Kálmán, *Goldmark Károly 1830–1930*: *Adalékok életéhez és műveihez Magyar vonatkozásban* [Károly Goldmark 1830–1930: Additions to his Life and Works in Hungarian Context] (Budapest: Sárkány Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1930), 6; 'Goldmark Károly meghalt,' [Károly Goldmark has Died] *Pesti Hirlap* (3 January 1915): 17.
[17] On the Gypsy bands' touring in Hungarian territory and performances for the nobility in cities including Pozsony (Pressburg), Vienna and in Western-European countries from mid-19th century, see Bálint Sárosi, *Cigányzene*, 70–71, 111, 122; *A hangszeres magyar népzenei hagyomány,* 52.; Bellman, *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe*, 12.
[18] 'Második itt léte volt művészi fejlődésének egyik legtermékenyebb időszaka … hogy egész idejét komoly tanulmányinak szentelhesse' Kálmán, *Goldmark Károly*, 14–15. This remark refers to Goldmark's self-directed studies of Germanic sources, discussed in detail in Chapter 3.
[19] Carl Goldmark, 'Eine Ansicht über Fortschritt,' Autograph (1858), 11. Hungarian State Opera, 78.12.12. The transcript of the autograph was provided to me by Dr Johann Hofer.
[20] Karl Goldmark, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* [Recollections from My Life] (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1922), 59.
[21] According to an article including a quote from Ábrányi's praising remark of Goldmark's first concert in Pest in 'Goldmark Károly 1830–1930,' *Magyar Hírlap* (16 May 1930): 2. See in detail in Chapter 2.

that concert.[22] However, he soon sensed the need to move to Vienna, a major musical centre in Europe that time, certainly offering a greater wealth of opportunities than Pest, for his development as a composer.

However, as David Brodbeck has argued, Goldmark did not seem to be appreciated as a Hungarian composer in the Hungarian press early in his life. He was regarded as 'not exactly Hungarian', probably because of his Jewish origins.[23] According to an entry in *Pesti Napló* from 1915, looking back on Goldmark's life, his talent was not always recognised by Hungarian officials; 'the official country [sic] always ignored the poet [Goldmark]'.[24] Real recognition came only when Goldmark gained international renown during the 1880s and 1890s, after the premiere of *Die Königin von Saba* in 1875: 'By the time his works earned the whole musical world's [sic] acclaim for him, we proudly declared him as ours'.[25] The rise of Goldmark's renown coincided with the time when notions of 'Magyar nemzet' (Hungarian nation) and national identity were of primary importance for Hungarians. These notions as well as the idea of re-establishing an independent Hungarian state emerged since the so-called 'Reform Era'.[26] That process involved the aim of assimilating and acculturating people as 'Magyars' regardless of their ethnic backgrounds, which served at once as a good opportunity for recognising figures like Goldmark, who, although born in Hungary, did not speak Hungarian and choose not to live there, as great Hungarians.[27]

From the late 1870s onwards, Goldmark made frequent visits to Budapest as a renowned composer to conduct performances of his works, including the premiere of *Ländliche Hochzeit* in 1876, *Im Frühling Ouverture* in 1888, the *Violin Concerto* and *Psalm* no. 113, *Scherzo* in A major, Op. 45 and *Sappho Ouverture* in 1895. Moreover, Goldmark received an invitation to submit a Hungarian work for the *Magyar Zeneköltők Kiállítási Albuma* [Exhibition Album of Hungarian Composers], a representative collection of selected

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[22] Ibid.

[23] David Brodbeck, '*Heimat* Is Where the Heart Is; or, How Hungarian was Goldmark?' in *Austrian History Yearbook* 48 (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 235–254, accessed 21 April 2017, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/austrian-history-yearbook/article/abs/heimat-is-where-the-heart-is-or-what-kind-of-hungarian-was-goldmark/2D7B5836D5511AB038591A5D5C921A77

[24] 'a hivatalos ország mindig mellőzésben részesítette a költőt.' 'Goldmark Károly 1830–1914,' *Pesti Napló* (3 January 1915): 16.

[25] 'Mire művei az egész zenei világ elismerését megszerezték számára, büszkén vallottuk őt a magunkénak' Ibid.

[26] Largely the two decades preceding 1848 has been termed as 'Reformkor' by historians. Reformists in that era sought to achieve radical social changes in Hungary through reforms passed by legislation, as opposed to revolution. Gergely, *Magyarország története a 19. században*, 191.

[27] Brodbeck, '*Heimat* Is Where the Heart Is,' 239. Artists including painters and composers changed their names for Hungarian ones that time, for instance Michael Brand became Mosonyi Mihály. Gerhard J. Winkler, 'Joseph Joachim und Carl Goldmark. Zwei parallele jüdische Musikerbiographien auf dem historischen Westungarn,' in *Musik der Juden im Burgenland*, ed. Gerhard J. Winkler (Eisenstadt: Amt der burgenländischen Landesregierung, 2006), 79–100.

Hungarian composers' works, including Liszt, Joachim, István Heller, Kornél Ábrányi and Goldmark.[28] His inclusion in this album suggests that he was regarded as one of the foremost composers of Hungary that time. He composed *Magyar ábránd* [Hungarian fantasy] for this occasion, however, the work's reception was rather mixed, views spanning a broad spectrum from accepting it as 'Hungarian work' all the way to rejecting as 'by no means Hungarian', suspecting an 'Oriental-Semitic' tone in it.[29]

Nevertheless, Goldmark's recognition in Hungary skyrocketed with the approach of the Millennium (the commemoration of Hungarians entering into the Carpathian basin in the year 895) in 1895. In that year, a three-day series of performances dedicated to Goldmark was organized by the Philharmonic Society in Budapest.[30] Goldmark was presented as a Hungarian hero and contemporary critics in Budapest claimed to hear Hungarian elements in many of his works, even those without any explicit Hungarian affiliation (e.g. *Die Königin von Saba*), as a review from *Pesti napló* indicates: 'sometimes the purest Hungarian rhythm rings out from the peculiar, orientally coloured music. The clarinet part accompanied by the harp has the effect of the Hungarian *tárogató*'s deep sadness, and in the middle of the March we hear sonorities of Rákóczi [music]'.[31] A later peak of enthusiasm was the 1910 Goldmark festival, in his birthplace Keszthely, celebrating his 80th birthday.[32] The Philharmonic orchestra travelled there from Budapest to perform his works.

A survey of concert programmes of the Budapest Philharmonic Society, performed between 1853 and 1920 suggests that alongside works of mostly Austro-German composers, Hungarian-style pieces were also frequently presented. Goldmark was one of the most frequently performed composers that time; in the top fifteen composers only three Hungarians – Liszt, Goldmark and Robert Volkmann – were included.[33]

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[28] The album was issued in conjunction with the nation-wide exhibition, organized in Budapest in 1885 with the aim of presenting the achievements of Hungarian economics, culture and arts.

[29] B. – o., 'Zenekiadók és Zeneszerzők az Iparcsarnokban,' [Publishers and Composers in the Industry Hall] *Fővárosi Lapok* (August 1885): 1180; 'A magyar zene elméletéről – Molnár Gézától,' [On the *Theory of Hungarian Music* by Géza Molnár] *Budapesti Szemle* 118, no. 329 (1904): 283. For more detail on the work's reception see Chapter 2., 88–90.

[30] For a detailed discussion of the event see Chapter 2.

[31] 'A sajátszerű, orientális színezetű zenéből némelykor a legtisztább magyar ritmus cseng ki, a hárfával kisért klarinét rész a magyar tárogató mély szomorúságával hat reánk és az induló közepén Rákóczi hangzatokat hallunk.' Quote from the review on the premiere of *Entrance March of the Queen* from *Die Königin von Saba* in Budapest, 8 December, 1875. *Pesti Napló* (9 December 1875), quoted in Kálmán, *Goldmark Károly*, 32. *Tárogató* was a typical Hungarian wind instrument cultivated in 18–19th centuries. Ferenc Rákóczi was an emblematic leader of Hungarian uprisings against the Habsburgs in the 1700s.

[32] Brodbeck, '*Heimat*,' 2017.

[33] However, Volkmann was born in Saxony, and moved to Hungary aged 24 to later become a renowned composer and professor of the Academy of Music in Budapest. Dobszay, *Magyar zenetörténet*, 303.

Table 4.1. Most frequently performed composers by the Budapest Philharmonic, 1853–1920.[34] Composers considered as Hungarian are marked bold type.

COMPOSER	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES
Beethoven	347
Wagner	203
Liszt	**124**
Mozart	121
Mendelssohn	94
Berlioz	81
Goldmark	**71**
Brahms	68
Schumann	64
Bach	52
Schubert	52
Volkmann	**50**
Erkel	**42**

In concert repertoires of late 19th and early 20th centuries in Budapest, Germanic composers (Beethoven, Mozart, Wagner) and works dominated. Liszt was also frequently represented. Amongst other composers regarded as Hungarian, Goldmark was by far the most performed while others like Erkel, who was a truly significant figure in his time, but spent all his career in Hungary, achieved much less presence. Thus, the majority of Hungarian composers struggled to be heard even in Budapest, not to mention Western European perspectives. In this context, Goldmark's international and domestic reputation in his time can be seen as remarkable.

However, it seems from reviews of the premiere and a further performance of *Zrínyi* (1903) in Budapest, conducted by the composer, that even some contemporary Hungarian critics had misgivings about how Hungarian Goldmark's music was.[35] They describe the musical material as 'folk-like flavoured Hungarian themes mixed with characteristic

[34] Source: Nóra Wellmann, *A Budapesti Filharmóniai Társaság hangversenyei 1853–2003* [Concerts of the Budapest Philharmonic Society 1853–2003] CD-ROM supplement to Ferenc Bónis, *A Budapesti Filharmóniai Társaság százötven esztendeje*, 1853–2003 [150 Seasons of the Budapest Philharmonic Society, 1853–2003] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2005) cited in Lynn M. Hooker, *Redefining Hungarian Music from Liszt to Bartók* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 162. Here redacted.
[35] Párkai-Eckhardt, 'Einflüsse der ungarischen Musik bei Goldmark,' 436.

Goldmarkian themes' declaring that 'Goldmark's Hungarianness is conscious [deliberate] in *Zrínyi* but it is not sufficiently convincing'.[36]

At the time of Goldmark's death, both Hungary and Austria praised him as their 'great son', as noted in Chapter Two.[37] Here I just briefly refer to a few Hungarian papers strongly claiming his 'Hungarianness': 'A great son of our country [Hungary] has passed away … the master, alongside Liszt [was] the greatest Hungarian musician … a piece of great past, a mighty one, a pillar in the construction of Hungary's artistic glory.' Or consider 'the death of the 82-year-old [sic] Károly Goldmark … is the most aching loss of Hungarian musical art' and 'Károly Goldmark, who was one of the most splendid talents of modern musical art … was a Hungarian'.[38] As this outline indicates, perceptions of Goldmark's 'Hungarianness' were not fixed, but rather shifting.

Nevertheless, Goldmark's statements in terms of his self-perception are also worth considering. He expressed his deep feelings and emotional link to his native land at a banquet following a concert at the aforementioned three-day Goldmark festival in Budapest in 1895, where he conducted a programme of his works.[39] The Hungarian minister of education, Albert Apponyi gave a welcome speech, praising Goldmark as 'a genius, a great master, a Hungarian composer who brings adornment to his fatherland'.[40] In his reply Goldmark said:

> My parents rest in the soil of this homeland, my cradle stayed here. I state proudly and from my heart to all: I am Hungarian![41]

It may be easily appreciated that under such circumstances Goldmark expressed his sincere feelings of attachment to his native land, declaring himself as Hungarian. Nevertheless, he offered a more nuanced picture of his feelings towards his native country later in his recollections (1910), teasing out facets of his identity:

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[36] 'népies ízű magyaros témák jellegzetes Goldmarkos témákkal elegyedve' *Pesti Napló* (5 May 1903); 'Goldmark magyarsága tudatos a Zrínyiben de nem elég meggyőző.' *A Zene* (5 May 1903), quoted in Ibid.

[37] Brodbeck, '*Heimat*,' 2017.; András Borgó, 'A zeneszerző, akit két nemzet vall magáénak,' [The Composer, Claimed by two Nations] *Muzsika* 58, no. 1 (January 2015): 14–16.

[38] 'Ein großer Sohn unseres Landes ist dahingegangen … neben Lißt der größte ungarischer Musiker … Wir durften stolz auf ihn sein, weil er uns auch inmitten der reichen Anerkennung, die ihm im Auslände wurde nie verleugnet hat.' 'Karl Goldmark,' *Pester Lloyd* (3 January 1915): 13–14.; 'A nyolcvankétéves Goldmark Károly halála … a magyar zeneművészet legérzékenyebb vesztesége.' N.N, 'Goldmark Károly halála,' *Az Est* 6, no. 4 (4 January 1915): 5; 'Goldmark Károly, aki a modern zeneművészet egyik legragyogóbb tehetsége volt … magyar ember volt.' 'Goldmark Károly 1830–1914,' *Pesti Napló* (3 January 1915): 16.

[39] August Beer, 'Goldmark-Banket,' *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895); Kálmán, *Goldmark Károly*, 46–47.

[40] August Beer, 'Goldmark-Banket,' *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895).

[41] Ibid.; 'E haza földjében nyugosznak szüleim, itt állott bölcsőm. Büszkén és szívemből mondom mindenkinek: magyar vagyok!' Hubay Jenőné Róza Cebrian, 'Visszaemlékezés Goldmark Károlyra,' [Remembrances of Károly Goldmark] *Zeneközlöny* 13, no. 1 (15 March 1915): 5–9.

> Hungarian papers often denied my right to the Hungarian homeland and even to having Hungarian sentiment because I can't speak Hungarian and I have lived outside the country for such a long time. Well, I have been living in Vienna for 67 years; I gained my knowledge and art from sources of German culture, so I consider myself German at that respect. Besides that, I love my second home country where I became a man, and developed, and to which I owe everything I achieved. But all that could not tear the strong and deep roots of my love towards my native country from my soul. It must be a withered, ossified heart that does not hold dear the soil on which its cradle stood … In this respect I have remained faithful to my native country.[42]

Goldmark's statements emphasising his heartfelt attachment to his native land were quoted in Hungarian papers in the early 1900s.[43] His remark that some Hungarian papers questioned his Hungarianness should be noted, because his complaint indicates that he had patriotic feelings for his native land. At the same time Goldmark confessed that, culturally, he perceived himself as German. In any case, his 'Hungarian feelings' might have regained some importance for him towards the end of his life when he composed *Aus Jugendtagen*, a symphonic poem with characteristic 'Hungarian' intonation, and begun writing an opera on a Hungarian subject.[44]

As can be seen, there are some ambiguities regarding Goldmark's identity and perception as Hungarian. Goldmark articulated his self-perception as a 'German' composer with the quite plausible intent of assimilating into Germanic culture. Nevertheless, he also confessed his strong ties to his native country, Hungary, where he received proper recognition in the last decades of his life. Identifying links between his and 19th-century Hungarian music

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[42] 'Ungarische Blätter haben mir oft nicht bloß Heimatsrechte, sondern auch Heimatsgefühle abgesprochen, weil ich nicht ungarisch spreche und so lange außer Landes lebe. Nun, ich lebe seit siebenundsechzig Jahren in Wien, habe mich aus deutschen Bildungsquellen in Wissenschaft und Kunst auferzogen und in diesem Sinne zähle ich mich auch zu den Deutschen. Auch liebe ich diese meine zweite Heimat des Wachsens und Werdens, der ich alles verdanke, was ich bin und bedeute. Aber all das hat die starken, tiefwurzelnden Heimatsgefühle nicht ausgelöscht. Es muß ein vertrocknetes, verknöchertes Herz sein, dem die Scholle, auf der seine Wiege stand, all die süßen Erinnerungen glücklicher Kindheit nicht teuer sind. In diesem Sinne habe ich meiner Geburtsheimat die Treue bewahrt.' Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 84.

[43] E.g.: an interview 'Beszélgetés Goldmarkkal,' *Budapesti Napló* (25 December 1909), where Goldmark also called Hungary his 'homeland' (magyar hazám): quoted in Károly Klempa, *Goldmark az ember* (Keszthely: Sujánszky Nyomda, 1930); Ede Sebestyén, 'Goldmark Károly,' *A Zene* 11, no. 13–14 (1930): 213.

[44] Kálmán, *Goldmark Károly*, 57. The opera's title was *Die Verschwörer.* David Brodbeck, Tihamér Hlavacsek, and Balázs Mikusi, 'Carl Goldmark,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 7 October 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000011384?rskey=xWITTi

will further illuminate these complex ties; for this, we first need to explore what was perceived as Hungarian music in the 19th century.

4.3. Perceptions of 'Hungarian music' in the 19th Century and Later

4.3.1. How Contemporary Hungarians Understood Hungarian Music

Before considering how and the degree to which Goldmark incorporated elements of *style hongrois* in his piano works, it will be useful to explore what self-consciously Hungarian musicians and theorists in the later 19th century, such as Franz Liszt, Kornél Ábrányi and Géza Molnár, understood as 'Hungarian music'.[45] Ábrányi and Molnár were decisive figures in Hungarian musical life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, highly trained musicians, music theorists and professors of the Academy of Music in Budapest.

Liszt wrote extensively about the Gypsies and their performance style, claiming that he spent time with them on his visits to Hungary to study their music. It has been doubted that the entire text of the book was written by Liszt himself, as he dictated the text to Princess Caroline zu Sayn-Wittgenstein who often expanded it with her own thoughts.[46] As indicated by Alan Walker, Caroline's daughter Marie stated that Liszt wrote the passages dealing with music and Caroline made the prose ones based on sketches by Liszt, although she acknowledged her mother's influence on the text. Nevertheless, she added that Liszt's permission was needed before the text could be printed. Klára Hamburger argued that only sections on particular musical features and his personal experiences reflect Liszt's views in the text.[47] As passages about music are attributed unquestionably to Liszt, authorship questions do not fundamentally affect our understanding of the (Hungarian) music described in his work.[48]

Liszt was highly impressed by both the Gypsy musicians' performances and the music they played. Leading Liszt scholars attempted to trace the possible roots of Liszt's attachment to the Gypsies. Walker suggested that Liszt felt the manifestation of 'God-given talent' in

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[45] Franz Liszt, *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* [On Gypsies and their Music in Hungary] (Paris: A. Bourdilliat, 1859); Ábrányi, *A magyar dal és zene sajátságai* [Characteristics of Hungarian Song and Music] (1877); *A magyar zene a 19-ik században* [Hungarian Music in the 19th Century] (1900); Géza Molnár, *A magyar zene elmélete* [Theory of Hungarian Music] (1904).

[46] Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt*, vol. 2, *The Weimar Years, 1848–1861* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1989), 376–79.

[47] Liszt, *A cigányokról,* trans. Hamburger, 14–16.

[48] According to Bellman, it is 'generally agreed' that the musical passages are by Liszt. Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 181.

Gypsy musicians (which paralleled his feelings about himself) as they had virtuoso knowledge of their instruments ostensibly without any training or practice.[49] According to Raabe, Liszt may also have heard the voice of his 'homelessness' in Gypsies' music – perceiving in some ways similarities between their and his unsettling lifestyle.[50] Liszt believed the Gypsies and Hungarians to be relatives, as both had migrated from Asia. According to him, Hungarians were more receptive towards the Gypsies than other nations, because the two had much in common in their souls and therefore their music flourished while they stayed in the country.[51]

Liszt considered the music the Gypsies performed – mistakenly – to be of Roma (i.e. Gypsy) origin (probably without having explored real Gypsy, that is, Romani music). He based his understanding on the one hand on his experience that Gypsies performed music with such passion, and identified with the spirit of the music so deeply in their performances that he could not think of anyone else as being the composer of that music. On the other hand, according to Liszt, there was no mention of Hungarian virtuosi in earlier sources.[52] Nevertheless, his book offers invaluable insight into a 19th-century view of music, musicians and talent. Some detailed description of actual music played in Hungary in the 19th century, its performers, and attributes of their unique performing style can be gleaned from the text.[53]

Fundamental characteristics of music the Gypsies performed in Liszt's definition included melancholy, pride with constantly changing moods, which, in his view, arose from their precarious circumstances and 'outcast' status. These attributes, according to Liszt, were embodied in the music they played as expression of bottomless grief contrasted by wild dances, which 'in their abandon hint at a total loss of emotional control.'[54]

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[49] Walker, *The Weimar Years, 1848–1861*, 388–91.

[50] See Raabe's summary in Bence Szabolcsi, *Liszt Ferenc estéje* [Twilight of Ferenc Liszt] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1956), 11–12. Raabe's view was debated by Hungarian musicologists.

[51] Liszt, *A czigányokról és a czigány zenéről Magyarországon*, 141.

[52] Liszt referred to the collected edition of the works of Tinódi Lantos Sebestyén, *Cronica* (Kolozsvár: 1554). According to Sárosi, contrary to the Romantic belief that all musicians in Hungary were Gypsies, in the 16th and 17th centuries Hungarian and German musicians were more typical than Gypsies whom were only occasionally mentioned. Gypsy bands prevailed from the second half of the 18th-century but even then, not every musician was a Gypsy. Sárosi, *Cigányzene*, 53–58.

[53] See also Sárosi's discussion of musicians (Hungarian, German, Gypsy, etc.) and their performance styles in Hungarian territory in 'A magyar zenei hagyomány és a cigányzenészek,' and 'Cigányzenészek a tizenkilencedik század derekán,' in *Cigányzene*, 40–59 and 109–126.

[54] as Hungarian *czardas* [sic] music, played by Gypsies is aptly characterized in Bellman, 21. Bellman points out that there may be a direct relation between peculiar treatment of harmonies in *style hongrois*, such as the abruptly shifting chords and characters without attempt for any transition between them, and frequent, sudden changes of the Gypsies' states of mood. Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 187.

Gábor Mátray (1797–1875), one of the first Hungarian music scholars, drew Liszt's attention to the fact that Hungarian music was only disseminated but not composed by the Gypsies. As Liszt noted in his book, Mátray,

> speaking of the Gypsies' talent … talks about the Hungarian nationality [sic] of their *nótas*, and indicates [them] simply only as performers of the Hungarian melodies.[55]

Despite this, Liszt maintained his own views on the authority of music played by Gypsies, although he later wrote that Hungarians accommodated Gypsies and it was hard to trace what element of music originated from one or the other: 'The Hungarians, it is true, participated with such enthusiasm in the development of this art, that it is already impossible to distinguish what might have originated from them.'[56]

Liszt's book caused real indignation amongst Hungarians, understandable considering that it appeared just a few years after the failed 1848–49 revolution and war of independence against the Habsburgs, within the era of promoting the ideas of Hungarian nation, culture and creating national art music.[57] Lynn Hooker, exploring Hungarian music and nationalism, argued that Hungarians could not accept Liszt's idea of Gypsies being the source of Hungarian music. This may have some truth in it, but the issue was less whether or not that would have been acceptable, but rather Liszt's attribution of music of Hungarian origin to the Gypsies.[58]

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[55] 'beszélvén a czigányok tehetségéről … nótáiknak magyar nemzetiségéről beszél, s [őket] egyszerűen csak mint a magyar dallamok előadóiként jelöli.' Liszt, *A czigányokról*, 264. Gábor Mátray (1797–1875) is known as the founder of Hungarian musicology, director of Nemzeti Zenede (National Conservatory of Music) in Budapest and a composer. His major works include *A Musikának Közönséges Története (Tudományos Gyűjtemény)* [The Common History of Music (Scientific Collection)] (1832); *Magyar Népdalok egyetemes gyűjteménye* [Complete Collection of Hungarian Folk Songs] (1852, 1854, 1858); *Bihari János magyar népzenész* [János Bihari, Hungarian Folk Musician] (1853); *A magyar zene és a magyar cigányok zenéje* [Hungarian Music and Music of Hungarian Gypsies] (1854). Source: *Zenei lexikon. A zenetörténet és zenetudomány enciklopédiája* [Music Lexicon. Encyclopedia of Music History and Musicology; Music Lexicon], ed. Bence Szabolcsi and Aladár Tóth (Budapest: Andor Győző, 1930).

[56] 'A magyarok, igaz, oly élénk részt vettek ezen művészet felnövesztésében, hogy már nem lehet megkülönböztetni, mi származhatott tőlük.' Liszt, *A czigányokról és a czigány zenéről Magyarországon*, 273.

[57] Walker discusses the polemics around Liszt's book in Alan Walker, *The Weimar Years, 1848–1861*, 368–396.

[58] Lynn M. Hooker, 'Modernism Meets Nationalism: Béla Bartók and the Musical Life of Pre-World War I Hungary' (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001), 55. Although it is to be noted that for example *verbunkos*, a typical source music of what the Gypsies played, drew on many (including Western) influences. Dobszay, *Magyar zenetörténet*, 268–69. Hooker also claims that 'the conflict over Liszt's book was about race' and about that 'Liszt shifted accent away from Hungarian toward Gypsy' (Ibid., 64). However, the issue was more about that despite Liszt's views, Gypsies were only performers and transcribers, not authors of music (of Hungarian origin) they played, as opposed to being purely about race itself. Nevertheless, certain parts of Liszt's book – those attributed to Caroline by Liszt scholars – are explicitly about race. Walker, *The Weimar Years, 1848–1861*, 375. Hooker also interpreted problems around 'Hungarian music' dealing with Liszt's, Ábrányi's and Molnár's books in *Redefining Hungarian Music*.

Liszt, as a touring virtuoso and cosmopolitan, formulated his impressions about music played in Hungary on his frequent visits to that country; however, he did not spend the majority of his life there. Like Liszt, Goldmark was born in Hungary, lived most of his life outside Hungary, but made frequent visits there later. Moreover, like Liszt, he was exposed to the performances of Gypsy bands not only in Hungary but also in Vienna.

Hungarian scholars attempted to trace what constituted a 'nation' and what made music 'national'.[59] Kornél Ábrányi undertook thorough studies of the history of Hungarian music in 19th-century manner, including *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai* [Characteristics of Hungarian Song and Music, 1877] and *A magyar zene a 19-ik században* [Hungarian Music in the 19th Century, 1900]. Not only was he an emblematic Hungarian music theorist and composer in that era, but he was in close proximity in time to the most renowned virtuosi, including János Bihari (1764–1827), Antal Csermák (ca. 1774–1822) and Márk Rózsavölgyi (ca. 1788–1848), knew leading Hungarian composers like Ferenc Erkel, and had a lengthy friendship with Liszt.[60] In spite of living in the same era, Liszt and Ábrányi perceived music in 19th-century Hungary quite differently.

Ábrányi attempted to provide a thorough assessment of music in 19th-century Hungary.[61] He saw Hungarian music as belonging to the Eastern 'family of music' relating to the Oláh (i.e. Romanian), Slavon or Tót, and more distantly to Turkish, as opposed to the Western.[62] In his view, composers of different nations use the same material (the notes) and evoke similar feelings but in quite different ways, according to their 'habits' and because they communicate in their own 'musical language'. Ábrányi emphasized the close relationship between a native language and music. In his view, characteristic rhythms of melodies derive

[59] Considering that Hungary had been under Turkish and then Habsburg occupation for more than two hundred years, and just after a failed revolution, it may not be surprising that *Magyars* [Hungarians] tried to redefine themselves in the possible fear of being completely assimilated.

[60] Furthermore, Ábrányi took piano lessons with Chopin. János Bihari was one of the most significant Gypsy violinists 'of great fame' in the first half of 19th century in Hungary and Vienna. His life turned into decline due to an accident in 1824. Antal Csermák, another celebrated violinist of Czech origin, played both Western and 'Hungarian' repertoire. He died, suffering from psychosis in 1822. Márk Rózsavölgyi (Rosenthal) was trained violinist, widely concertized and became popular in Hungary. Ferenc Erkel was a composer, pianist, conductor of the National Theatre, professor and director of Academy of Music in Budapest alongside Liszt from its foundation in 1875. See Dobszay, *Magyar Zenetörténet*, 278–79, 289.

[61] Ábrányi, *A magyar zene a 19-ik században*, 8–23, 35–41.

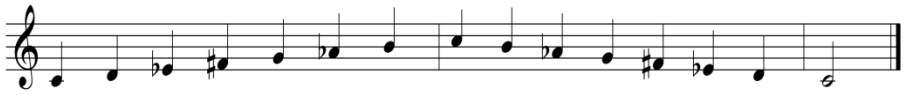
[62] Ábrányi, *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai*, 15. According to more current scholarship, due to the presence of the Turks in Hungarian territory in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the transmission by travelling musicians, among them Gypsies, what is considered as 'Eastern' influence in Hungarian music is of Turkish origin. Sárosi, *Cigányzene*…, 52–53. 'Szlavónia' from ca. the 1000s designated the area between rivers Drava and Szava. Its Croat inhabitants called themselves as 'szlavón', Hungarians referred to them as 'Tót'. *Arcanum Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* [Hungaria Ethnographic Lexicon], s.v. 'Szlavónia,' accessed 17 July 2023, https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-neprajzi-lexikon-71DCC/sz-73AFD/szlavonia-73CCE/

from a nation's folksongs, and particularly, from its dance music, so that there is direct link between language and folksong, and folksong and dance, and 'national' music: 'The main cultural condition for the cultivation of all national music remains the folksong and its relation to [spoken] language'.[63] However, in terms of 19th-century Hungarian music, according to the conventions of the time, by folksong Ábrányi might well have referred to *nótas* (folk-like art songs), rather than to songs of the peasantry, in which sense the term 'folksong' was later used.[64]

As Ábrányi pointed out, dance had always been important for Hungarians, so that rhythm was a crucial aspect. In his view, the 'kuruc' chronicler chants and songs of 16th–18th centuries provided the basis for the 'dance-music rhythms' of 19th-century Hungarian music.[65] There was certainly a melody which the dance followed, and this was formulated according to the Hungarian language: 'According to what metre the national language, speech and national expressive song moves and bends, the dance-rhythm also conforms. The Hungarian people were no exception to this,' as opposed to Liszt, claiming that Gypsy music was later attached to Hungarian texts.[66]

Ábrányi identified some typical characteristics of Hungarian music, including the accented first beat, no use of upbeat, the preference for duple metres and the specific scale containing two augmented 2nds, often termed as *Hungarian scale* or *Gypsy scale*.[67]

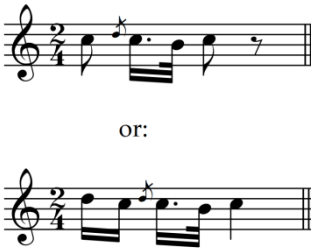
Example 4.1. Typical *zönglejtő* [scale] of Hungarian music, in Ábrányi's definition



[63] 'Minden nemzeti zene művelési főfeltétele marad a népdal, s annak viszonya a nyelvhez' Ibid., 13.
[64] Folksong, referring to songs of the peasantry, was termed by early 20th-century researchers, including Bartók and Kodály. However, *nóta* and folk music were not exclusive categories; they influenced each other to a certain extent. Moreover, according to recent research, Hungarian folk dance music tradition, alongside *verbunkos*, also contributed to the evolvement of the *style hongrois*. See http://stylehongrois.zti.hu/index.php/en/ accessed 25 March 2023.; Dobszay, *Magyar Zenetörténet*, 329.
[65] 'tánc-zenei ritmus' Ábrányi, *A magyar zene a 19-ik században*, 37. 'kuruc': those Hungarians who took part in the uprisings against Habsburgs (called 'labanc') between 1703–1711. Significant instrument of that era is the *tárogató* (originally an oboe-, later clarinet-like wind instrument) the sound of which is frequently imitated in *style hongrois*.
[66] 'Aminő métrum szerint mozog, hajlik a nemzeti nyelv, beszéd, a nemzeti érzelmi dallam, aszerint idomul a táncritmus is. Ez alul a magyar nép sem képezhetett kivételt.' Ibid.
[67] Ábrányi, *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai*, 19. However, Sárosi argued that the augmented 2 was not an original feature of Hungarian melodies. The use of augm. 2nds spread in the Carpathian basin after the Turkish invasion from the 17th century; the scale containing that interval derived from the performing style, i.e. was transmitted by the wandering (mainly) Gypsy musicians. *Cigányzene*, 52–53 and 89–90.

He traced back the origin of the 'first Hungarian genres', as he called them, including *verbunkos*, *hallgató nóta* and *cifra*, which appeared in the second half of the 18th– early 19th century, to the songs of Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos (ca. 1510–1556).[68] Characteristics of these songs were their short phrases and distinctive rhythms which he identified as *choriambus* (long-short-short-long) and *antispastus* (short-long-long-short) among others. These rhythmic elements characterised the *verbunkos* which, in Ábrányi's opinion, became a basic form of 19th-century Hungarian music. This genre, allegedly, embraced the main attributes of the 'Hungarian' soul: heroism, dignity, brashness, joviality, exuberant sarcasm and so forth.[69] Ábrányi defined the characteristic cadential formula appearing at the end of the cadential phrases, the so-called *bokázó*:[70]

Example 4.2. The *bokázó* cadential formula, defined by Ábrányi.



He also provided a summary and description of typical Hungarian genres, including *hallgató nóta*, *körmagyar* (a chain of short dances) and *csárdás*, with regard to their possible development into what he called as higher forms of art music.[71] In his view, the *hallgató nóta* should be performed in the freest *rubato* manner; the *verbunkos nóta*, evolving from earlier *nótás táncok* (dances accompanied by singing), was idiomatically Hungarian in its characters and rhythms, and could not be found anywhere else.[72] It always concluded with a fast 'cifra' (or 'figura'), section. Nevertheless, he argued that only the *csárdás*, which he considered of little value, was taken over and cultivated by 'foreign' i.e. Western musicians and composers:

[68] Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos was a significant figure of Hungarian epic poetry and the most outstanding singer of the 16th century. His major work is *Cronica* (1554). *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon* [Hungarian Biographical Lexicon], ed. Ágnes Kenyeres (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), s.v. 'Tinódi Lantos Sebestyén,' accessed 4 April 2023, https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/t-ty-780F8/tinodi-lantos-sebestyen-78278/

[69] 'a hősiesség, a méltóságos testhajlás, a hetykeség, az ugrós pajzánság, a kedélyderűség sőt még a túlcsapó gunyoros tréfálkodás is.' Ábrányi, *A magyar zene a 19-ik században*, 38.

[70] The word refers to a dance step, spur clicking. Ibid., 40.

[71] Ábrányi, *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai*, 120–131.

[72] Ábrányi, *A magyar zene a 19-ik században*, 40–41.

'[the *csárdás*] spread rapidly during the last three decades, not only in the whole Hungarian fatherland, but abroad as well, and in no case would foreigners adapt other Hungarian musical titles [sic] than this'.[73] When examining certain pieces, we will see that Goldmark was familiar with these and other features of Hungarian music, and used them in some of his Hungarian-style works.

We may see Ábrányi's diligence in establishing what makes music national and defining the nature and characteristics of Hungarian music, and also how fundamentally different his conclusions were from Liszt's. However, exploring Géza Molnár's *A magyar zene elmélete* (Theory of Hungarian Music, 1904) we face an altogether different approach.[74] Molnár persistently used the term 'racial music', while also creating his own definition of 'race'. According to him, 'race' was based on 'emotional' or 'spiritual community' and community of thinking (conscious or instinctive) rather than a community of origin, and was therefore not synonymous with 'nation' or 'nationality'.[75] Molnár constructed a complex method to justify what he considered the distinctive elements of Hungarian music. He attempted to search for the smallest unit in which 'national' character of music may be traced. Focussing primarily on rhythmic patterns and their accentuation, he identified the smallest possible unit of 'Hungarian rhythm', having its specific corresponding accentuation: the *iamb* (accented short-unaccented long). Molnár constructed a compound system of rhythms deriving from that pattern, which according to his views constituted 'Hungarian rhythms' that composers should use in 'national' compositions. His whole theoretical system, including his categorization of 'Hungarian' vs. 'non-Hungarian rhythms' and 'Hungarian effects' vs. 'not racially flavoured', seems to be contrived and speculative.[76] At times Molnár's statements

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[73] 'rohamosan terjedt el a legutolsó három évtized alatt nemcsak az egész magyar hazában, hanem még a külföldön is s nincsen is rá eset, hogy a külföld más magyar zenei címet átvett volna tőlünk, mint ezt.' *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai,* 128–29. However, his statement seems outdated as more recent scholarship suggests that *verbunkos* was also cultivated by a large number of foreign composers. See Margit Prahács, *Magyar témák a külföldi zenében – Éléments Hongrois dans la Musique Européenne: Essay Bibliographique* (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Magyarságtudományi Intézete, 1943).

[74] The significance of Molnár's views is in that he taught theory and history of Hungarian music at the Magyar Királyi Zeneakadémia (Hungarian Royal Academy of Music) in 1900–1933.

[75] Molnár argues that 'other' (meaning foreign in his terms) elements might melt into a race '… a mi népcsaládunkban ez nem szigorú föltétel, mert a 'faj'-ba beleolvadhat más elem is. Idegenek a maguk vérébe olthatják a faj szokásait.' … in our family of peoples this [commonality of origin] is not a strict requirement, because another element may also be assimilated into the 'race'. Foreigners can assimilate the customs of the race into their own blood. Molnár, *A magyar zene elmélete*, vi–vii.
Molnár, when discussing his views on 'race', refers to fashionable Western anthropologists and craniologists at that time including Darwin, Spencer, Topinard. Hooker, 'Modernism,' 73, 123.

[76] Molnár, *A magyar zene elmélete*, 84, 88–89. The validity of his methods seem to be questionable. One of them is to apply themes from Western art music (for example, from *Ecce Homo* by Palestrina or *Hymn to the Night* by Rameau) to rhythmic schemas he prescribed, called 'Hungarian rhythms' by him, to demonstrate that not all types of melodies can be applied to 'Hungarian-like rhythms'. But there is no justification of why those particular musical examples or rhythmic schemas were used. Ibid, 301.

also appear to be inconsistent. While aiming at defining elements of purely Hungarian 'racial' music, Molnár argued that the German Baroque decisively influenced Hungarian music, probably intending to associate it with the German tradition, while also distancing from Eastern, especially Gypsy associations.[77]

Molnár also reflected on the ongoing polemics about Hungarian vs. Gypsy music since Liszt's book, taking sides with Mátray:

> The original music of the Gypsies, that, which is genuinely theirs, [referring to Romani music] hardly resembles Hungarian music. But … they soon learn the music of every region [they inhabit].[78]

As we can see, Liszt, Ábrányi and Molnár followed different methods in their attempt to identify national characteristics. Ábrányi and Molnár emphasized the importance of rhythm and the significance of the relationship between a nation's language and music. Liszt perceived the whole concept of 'Hungarian music' from the viewpoint of a cosmopolitan, while the indigenous Hungarian scholars (Kornél Ábrányi, Gábor Mátray, Géza Molnár) traced the evolution of Hungarian music. Although they drew different conclusions, the musical characteristics they identified have much in common.

4.3.2. Characteristics of *Verbunkos* and *Nóta* and their Historical Context

Of the most significant genres of 19th-century Hungarian music, *verbunkos* became the 'language of Hungarian musical Romanticism', the national music of 19th-century Hungary.[79] According to Szabolcsi, amongst its roots the older Hungarian folk-like musical tradition can be recognised.[80] As Dobszay noted, its characteristics included the frequent use of 'majestic'

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[77] Ibid, 185.

[78] 'A czigányok eredeti zenéje, az, amely tényleg az övék alig hasonlít a magyarhoz. De … ők minden környezetnek a zenéjét hamar eltanulták.' Ibid, 234.

[79] Bence Szabolcsi, *A Magyar zenetörténet kézikönyve* [Handbook of the History of Hungarian Music] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1979), 60.; See also Dobszay, 'A verbunkos zene fénykora,' [The Heyday of Verbunkos Music] in *Magyar zenetörténet*, 276–283. According to current scholarship, *verbunkos* is defined as 'stylised Hungarian-style dance music repertoire of the second half of the eighteenth century.' Pál Richter, 'Between Folk and Urban Culture: The Dance Music Traditions of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Hungary,' 292. The term 'verbunkos' derived from the German word 'Werbung' and refers originally to music for recruitment of soldiers in 18th century.

[80] Szabolcsi pointed out that *verbunkos* drew on a number of other influences as well, including elements of Eastern, Slavic styles with Gypsy transmission, and Viennese and Italian music. Szabolcsi, *A Magyar zenetörténet kézikönyve*, 58.

dotted rhythms, ornamented semiquaver pairs, use of Phrygian mode, augmented 2nd intervals, grace-notes, triplet ornamentation, and a characteristic cadential formula, the so-called *bokázó* (see Example 4.2. above).[81] The *verbunkos* gained historical significance in the first half of the 19th century, when – as noted above – ideas of 'nation', a unified Hungarian state as well as the need for a 'national art music' became urgent issues for Hungarians. The *verbunkos* was regarded as having the potential basis for the creation of the national art music.[82] It was assimilated into the works of the most significant Hungarian composers at that time, including Ferenc Erkel and Mihály Mosonyi.[83]

Nóta meant 'vocal song' from early 19th century, but it was also used for instrumental melody, while the term *magyar nóta*, 'Hungarian song' referred more specifically to 19th- and 20th-century folk-like art songs, performed by (urban) Gypsy bands.[84] *Nóta*s were often sentimental, wistful in mood, having a declamatory, *rubato*-style rhythm deriving from the language of Hungarian texts. *Nóta* composers, usually members of the minor aristocracy, had little exposure to either Western art music or indeed Hungarian folk music. They were amateur musicians who viewed an understanding of music composition or harmony as a disadvantage in terms of composing *nóta*s, as they believed that would be 'rather an obstacle standing in the way of the Hungarian temperament.'[85]

According to Dobszay, *nóta*s evolved during the 19th century, from building on relatively simple 18th-century melodic material and *dance-nótas* to musically more complex ones with harmonic sense and longer lines. From these developed the main types of *nóta* by the mid-century: *hallgató* and *csárdás.* Around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, many *nóta* melodies were derived from arpeggiated harmonies, mostly in a minor key, with extended range, and were associated with a free, *rubato* rendering by Gypsy bands.[86] As Dobszay's work implies, 'Hungarian music' was never a fixed concept, but was continually evolving, even during Goldmark's lifetime.

Dobszay argued that the 'folk' preserved the ancient features of the nation; its songs conveyed the Hungarian cast of mind, temperament and taste. But most Hungarians at the 19th

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[81] Dobszay, *Magyar Zenetörténet*, 268–69. For more recent literature on verbunkos, see: Shay Loya, 'Beyond "Gypsy" Stereotypes: Harmony and Structure in the Verbunkos Idiom,' *Journal of Musicological Research* 27, no. 3 (2008): 254–280.
[82] Dobszay, *Magyar Zenetörténet*, 276.
[83] Ibid. 305. Dobszay refers to Ábrányi when discussing Erkel's figure, pointing out that other historians (as Dezső Legány) also dealt with Ábrányi's work: Ibid., 289.
[84] Richter, 'Between Folk and Urban Culture: The Dance Music Traditions of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Hungary,' 293.
[85] 'A zeneértés, kottaolvasás, harmóniaismeret … inkább akadály, mely útjába áll a Magyar temperamentumnak.' Dobszay, *Magyar zenetörténet*, 328.
[86] Ibid., 330–31.

century called folk-like art songs (i.e. *nóta*s) as 'folk songs'. The distinction in terminology came in the following century, primarily with the work of Béla Bartók (1881– 1945) and Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967): since then the term 'folk music' refers to the music of rural peasants, rather than to *nóta*. Composers of *nóta* were less familiar with the kind of music which Bartók and Kodály later collected, although some degree of influence can be detected between these types: as Dobszay noted, 'the majority of this [*magyar nóta*] repertoire has infiltrated to the folk-music-bearing peasantry … the impact of this folk-like song repertoire, the *magyar nóta*, has become engraved in our folk music'.[87] Bartók's views on the different types of Hungarian music in the 19th century are significant, as he was the first, and arguably the most important scholar, alongside Kodály, to systematically and critically collect and classify Hungarian, and other folksongs. He offered distinctive definitions of folk-like art music, folk music and the music Gypsies played, based on his research of characteristic features and sources of those repertoires, reflecting on the confusing application of terminology, especially the term 'Gypsy music' used even by Hungarians:

> … what people (including Hungarians) call Gypsy music is not Gypsy music but Hungarian music: a newer type of Hungarian folk-like art music, which exclusively Gypsies play for money … we know that most of the Hungarian folk-like songs are the compositions of Hungarians … What [Gypsy bands] play is the work of Hungarian composers and consequently Hungarian music.[88]

The *csárdás* became particularly popular by the 1850s and 60s, probably because of its tremendously thrilling rhythmic 'fire' which stirred listeners' emotions. This was what internationally renowned composers like Brahms, Liszt and Tausig transcribed.[89] In Ábrányi's view, the roots of *csárdás* traced back to the 'Tolnai lakodalmas' [Wedding Dance from Tolna] composed by József Riszner in the late 1840s, using folk melodies.[90] However, Szabolcsi noted that *csárdás* evolved in terms of form and rhythms directly from late

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[87] 'e repertoár nagy része lehatolt az eddigi népzenét hordozó paraszti rétegek körébe … Népzenénkbe kitörölhetetlenül belenyomódott e népies daltermés, a magyar nóta hatása' Ibid., 329.

[88] '… amit önök cigányzenének neveznek, az nem cigányzene. Nem cigányzene, hanem magyar zene: újabb magyar népies műzene, amit pénzért csakis cigányok játszanak … tudjuk, hogy a legtöbb magyar népies műdal magyar ember szerzeménye … amit [cigánybandák] játszanak, az magyar szerzők szerzeménye, tehát magyar zene.' Béla Bartók, 'Cigányzene? Magyar zene?' *Ethnographia* (journal of the Hungarian Ethnographic Society) XLII, no. 2 (1931): 49, 59. See also in Benjamin Suchoff, ed., *Béla Bartók Essays* (London: Faber&Faber, 1976), 206–223.

[89] While Brahms used *csárdás* melodies for his *Hungarian Dances*, Wagner, for example, had a special distaste for this music. Ábrányi, *A magyar zene a 19-ik században*, 270.

[90] Ibid., 268.

verbunkos.[91] The genre became less fashionable by the end of the 1880s, but was still very popular in Vienna and elsewhere. In Ábrányi's opinion, *csárdás* disadvantaged Hungarian music as it prevented the development of its higher art forms.[92]

These musical developments coincided with the establishment of institutions of higher musical education and performing arts in Hungary. As Hooker argued, the development of internationally successful composers and works was a preoccupation for Hungarians in the 19th century.[93] As noted, this has particular relevance in terms of considering Goldmark's career in the Hungarian context. The Pesti Magyar Színház, what became the National Theatre, was founded in 1837, the Philharmonic Society in 1853, the Academy of Music in 1875, and the Opera in 1884, through the work of Erkel and Liszt. Erkel and Mosonyi worked on establishing a 'Hungarian national music' of international standards, combining elements (melodic, rhythmic) of *verbunkos* with 'Western' harmonization and forms.[94]

By the end of the century a narrow layer of highly educated Hungarian music lovers emerged who familiarized themselves with European art music and attended concert and opera performances. However, a broader range of Hungarians were content with the folk-like art music, based largely on the *nóta* and *verbunkos*. Hooker indicated that 'the much-criticized Hungarian-Gypsy style [referring to the *style hongrois*] served as a foundation for the concert tradition' in Hungary around the turn of 19th and 20th centuries. She referred to Goldmark, alongside Erkel and Liszt, as a 'native son' of Hungary, writing 'Hungarian music': 'Not only native sons like Erkel, Goldmark and Liszt … but also 'Western' composers like Schubert, Weber and Brahms, all wrote flamboyantly 'Hungarian' music', adding that 'this was the version of Hungarian music that had succeeded in the West.'[95]

As the writings of Ábrányi, Molnár, Szabolcsi and Dobszay suggest, Hungarians sought to identify the distinctive traits that made their music 'Hungarian'. They aimed at creating a national art music and producing internationally successful musicians and works by combining Hungarian and Western-European music. However, the folk-like art music of the

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[91] Szabolcsi, *A Magyar zenetörténet kézikönyve*, 68.

[92] 'zenénk elkorcsosodása és ellaposodásához a legtöbb s legveszedelmesebb anyagot szolgáltatja … még az ihletteljes és nemes költészetű magyar dalirodalmat is elsatnyítással fenyegeti' '[the *csárdás*] provides the most dangerous material for the deterioration and trivialization of our music … and also threatens even the inspirational and nobly poetic Hungarian song literature with retrogression.' Ábrányi, *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai*, 129.

[93] Lynn M. Hooker, *Redefining*, 164. Hooker refers to Ábrányi's *A magyar dal*, discussing possible combination of Hungarian elements and 'weightiest genres in Western art music.'

[94] Dobszay noted that Erkel's opera, '*Hunyadi László* (1844), despite its Hungarian features, movements, motives and rhythm derived from the Hungarian language, is at once an application of the Italian-German operatic tradition to the Hungarian stage.' Dobszay, *Magyar zenetörténet*, 291.

[95] Hooker, 'Modernism,' 71.; Hooker here also refers to Ábrányi's *A magyar dal.* Ibid., 160.

time, based on the *nóta* and *verbunkos*, performed by Gypsy virtuosi was the one which could also be heard in Vienna and elsewhere. Its impact was such that composers outside Hungary incorporated some of its features in their music.

4.3.3. The *Style hongrois* in Vienna

The *style hongrois*, as defined by later scholars, is the term for the musical style evoking features of 19th-century Hungarian music in Western (primarily Austro-German) art music. The distinctive performance style of Gypsy musicians is also strongly associated with it. However, as described above, the music they disseminated was of Hungarian origin. Music featuring the *style hongrois* enjoyed tremendous popularity in Vienna, when Goldmark lived there, thus he most certainly experienced it not only in Hungary but also in Vienna.

As Bellman and Dobszay have pointed out, Hungarians would compose but not play music in 19th-century Hungary.[96] Performance was associated (broadly) with Gypsies who belonged to the 'caste' of performing musicians. However, Gypsy performers borrowed much music from Hungarians, therefore in many cases it was difficult to identify the real authors of the *nótas* they played.[97] Moreover, performers were often regarded as the actual composers of the music they played. Compositions appeared under their names although very few of them could notate or read music at all.[98] They performed in their unique virtuosic style, often adding improvised passages to the music. Hungarian nobles highly appreciated the skills of Gypsy musicians, treating the music they played as a source of national pride. Some Gypsy virtuosi (e.g. János Bihari) often appeared in Vienna as well, where they also caused a real sensation and enjoyed high esteem.[99]

Thus, this music became widely known and composers of Western art music who lived in the Habsburg Empire became acquainted with it. Moreover, as Winkler pointed out, many of the emblematic figures of Western art music of the 18th and 19th centuries were born and started their careers, or spent a considerable time in Western Hungary, a territory in Vienna's proximity, then part of the Empire.[100] Haydn and Liszt were both acquainted with the

[96] Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 15–17, 20–21.; Dobszay, *Magyar zenetörténet*, 278–79, 328–29.
[97] Dobszay, *Magyar zenetörténet*, 279, 329.
[98] Ibid., 278. Dobszay argued that Bihari had not notated any of his pieces. Those were issued in transcriptions of more-or-less educated musicians, therefore their authority is questionable.
[99] Bihari often appeared before not only the Hungarian but the Viennese nobility. Ibid., 278.
[100] Gerhard J Winkler, 'Joseph Joachim und Carl Goldmark. Zwei parallele jüdische Musikerbiographien auf dem historischen Westungarn,' 79–100.

Eszterházy family in Fertőd, Kismarton (today Eisenstadt) and Doborján (Raiding) respectively. Joseph Joachim, Mihály Mosonyi and Goldmark also lived there; Goldmark spent his youth in Deutschkreutz.

Ábrányi argued that Haydn, Beethoven and Schubert all encountered Hungarian music and their music occasionally shows its influence.[101] While Haydn's and Beethoven's music display Hungarian idioms sparingly, it was Schubert who drew Hungarian musical styles to wider attention. Liszt spread it further through his recitals by performing that music and by incorporating it into his own works.[102] The so-called *style hongrois* was adapted by these composers, at first only as a colour, an 'exotic' feature, but it later became a distinct musical vernacular. There was an increasing interest in the 'strange' and 'exotic' in 19th-century Vienna and *style hongrois* fitted this trend; it was perceived as 'exoticism'.[103] Collections of *verbunkos* arrangements appeared under various titles such as 'Ungarischer Tanz' or 'Hongraise'[sic] in Vienna, intended for amateur music-making.[104] As Bellman argued, '*style hongrois* began to accrue meanings and assume a significance inaccessible to the more common musical styles. As the dialect flowered, composers could use it to express the previously inexpressible'.[105] It became integral to the musical language of Schubert, Liszt, Joachim and Brahms among others.[106]

One of the foremost *style hongrois* cultivators was Brahms. His enthusiasm for Hungarian music, collection of it and selection of sources for his own works are important from our point of view, as he and Goldmark were colleagues in Vienna, often exchanging ideas about music.[107] Brahms worked thoroughly in this field, collecting scores of contemporary Hungarian music (see Table 4.2. below). According to Katalin Szerző, the first-

[101] Ábrányi, *A magyar zene*, 80–81.
[102] However, the Hungarian style underwent considerable changes; music experienced by Haydn or Liszt was not entirely the same. Szabolcsi argued that *verbunkos* evolved through its early, culminating and late periods. Szabolcsi, *A Magyar zenetörténet kézikönyve*, 68. See also Richter, 'Between Folk and Urban Culture: The Dance Music Traditions of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Hungary,' 295.
[103] Ábrányi, *A magyar zene*, 65. This interest in the 'exotic' served as a basis for not only the popularity of the *style hongrois* but the success of Goldmark's *Sakuntala* overture and *Die Königin von Saba* as well, which gained him appreciation in Vienna's musical circles, although both works are different in musical terms from the *style hongrois* (from a Hungarian point of view).
[104] Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 63. See also Géza Papp, ed., *Musicalia Danubiana*, vol. 7, *Hungarian Dances 1784–1810* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1986), 23–36.; Pál Péter Domonkos, *Hangszeres magyar tánczene a XVIII. században* [Instrumental Hungarian Dance Music in the 18th Century] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978).
[105] Bellman refers to that '*style hongrois* was capable of a wide range of emotion, from grief to abandon, utmost seriousness to frivolity [with, I would add, their sudden shifts], yet always with an accent and significance unattainable by more traditional musical language.' *The Style Hongrois*, 12, 68.
[106] Ábrányi, *A magyar zene*, 80–81.
[107] Goldmark, *Erinnerungen*, 84–97.; Peter Clive, *Brahms and His World: A Bibliographical Dictionary* (Scarecrow Press, 2006), 174–175.

rank of Hungarian art music in Brahms's score repertory was represented by works of Liszt, Goldmark and Volkmann.[108]

Table 4.2. A selection of scores by Hungarian composers in Brahms's library.[109]

COMPOSER	NUMBER OF SCORES	COMPOSER	NUMBER OF SCORES
Kornél Ábrányi	1	Mihály Mosonyi	2
Béni Egressy	2	Gábor Mátray	1
Károly Goldmark	5	József Riszner	2
József Joachim	3	Márk Rózsavölgyi	2
Ferenc Liszt	8	Robert Volkmann	2

Szerző, Major and Bereczky agree that Brahms gained his inspiration and enthusiasm for *style hongrois* through live experiences of it, but he used printed editions of Hungarian music as sources for his *Ungarische Tänze* (Hungarian dances, 1869 and 1880).[110] A rich repository of popular 19th-century *verbunkos* and folk-like melodies constituted the core of Brahms's Hungarian collection, including works by Márk Rózsavölgyi and Béni Egressy.[111] A work by Ábrányi was also present. Brahms also collected pieces by well-known disseminators of *verbunkos* including Bihari, János Lavotta, Antal Csermák and Ignác Ruzitska.[112]

[108] 'A magyar illetve magyarországi műzene európai élvonalát Liszt Ferenc, Goldmark Károly, Volkmann Róbert művei képviselik …' more accurately: The European first-rank of Hungarian art music, or, art music of Hungary is represented by works of Ferenc Liszt, Károly Goldmark, Robert Volkmann. Katalin Szerző, 'Magyar zeneműnyomtatványok Brahms könyvtárában,' [Hungarian Printed Scores in Brahms's Library] in *Zenetudományi dolgozatok 1995–1996* [Musicological Papers 1995–1996] (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézete, 1997), 157–166.

[109] Source: Ibid, 160. (Here redacted.)

[110] Ervin Major, 'Brahms és a magyar zene,' [Brahms and the Hungarian music] in *Fejezetek a magyar zene történetéből* [Chapters from the History of Hungarian Music], ed. Ferenc Bónis (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1967), 82–88. Major's study appeared first in 1933.; János Bereczky, 'Brahms hét magyar témájának forrása,' [Sources of Brahms's Seven Hungarian Themes] in *Zenetudományi dolgozatok 1990–1991* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézete, 1992), 75–88.

[111] Ibid., 159–160. Hungarian editions of the 1840s in Brahms's bequest included *verbunkos* transcriptions for the piano by Béni Egressy, János Kirch, Márk Rózsavölgyi, as well as the piano version of the popular *Tolnai lakodalmas* by József Riszner. He also held *Harminc eredeti magyar zenedarab* [Thirty original Hungarian music pieces] issued by Ede Bartay as well as 'all important collections of Hungarian folk and folk-like songs' by Gábor Mátray, István Bartalus, Elemér Szentirmay, Lajos Serly, Elek Erkel and Gyula Erkel among others. Szerző adds that about ninety percent of the repository was a result of his systematic collection or purchase, and ten percent, as can be reconstructed from the dedications, were complimentary copies or gifts. Ibid. 159–161.

[112] Alongside those he also collected pieces by other Gypsy virtuosi including Ferenc Sárközy, the Patikárus brothers and the Kecskeméty brothers. Szerző, 'Magyar zeneműnyomtatványok Brahms könyvtárában,'159.

Brahms used widely performed melodies for themes in his *Hungarian Dances*. His name appeared as the editor (not composer) on its first edition.[113] However, this was not unusual; Major points out that authors appearing in editions of that time were often transcribers of the pieces, not their actual composers. Those melodies were published earlier under other names, so that the question of authorship remains uncertain.[114]

Having briefly explored the concepts of 'Hungarian music' and *style hongrois*, I will now turn to some specific musical features, relating to Goldmark's piano music.

4.4. Characteristic Features of *Style hongrois* in Goldmark's Piano Music

To understand the impact of *style hongrois* in Goldmark's piano music, its characteristic musical features need to be examined. To explore this, I identify specific elements of the *style hongrois* within works by foremost early 19th-century Gypsy violinists, 19th-century Hungarian composers, including Erkel and Liszt, and Vienna-based composers (e.g. Schubert and Brahms). These include rhythmic and melodic features, ornamentation, imitational musical textures and the so-called *bokázó* cadential formula. I will then show examples of similar features in piano pieces by Goldmark. However, the point here is not to establish a direct connection between Goldmark and the examples cited, but to demonstrate typical aspects of style which he almost certainly encountered. Also, this is not intended as a comprehensive survey of *style hongrois* characteristics; I focus on those relevant in terms of Goldmark's piano music. Moreover, there is always a gap between a score and its performance, i.e. not everything can be notated, especially in terms of the highly idiomatic language of *style hongrois*. For this reason, I have included accounts of interpretative decisions I made while recording this music, offering an insight into the interpretation of *style hongrois* idioms in Goldmark's piano works, drawing on my knowledge of the performance tradition of *verbunkos*, *nóta* and on what I absorbed over my many years being a Hungarian pianist in Hungary.

A few works by Goldmark, namely *Aus Jugendtagen* (Overture), *Zrínyi* (Symphonisches Tonstück) and *Magyar ábránd* (Hungarian fantasy) were explicitly branded

[113] As on the first edition appeared '*Ungarische Tänze*, gesetzt von Johannes Brahms' (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1869). Moreover, he did not assign opus number to the sets. Major offered a detailed list on the provenance of the (mostly *csárdás*) dances Brahms used, noting that in many cases only the notator, not the composer was known. Ervin Major, 'Brahms és a magyar zene,' 82.
[114] János Bereczky, 'Brahms hét magyar témájának forrása,' 75–88.

as 'Hungarian', deliberately using elements of Hungarian music.[115] These were composed for specific occasions, such as commissions by the Philharmonic Society of Budapest, where Goldmark was expected to fulfil the perception of being a 'Hungarian composer'.[116] As noted earlier, the only piano piece of that sort by Goldmark is *Magyar ábránd* [Hungarian Fantasy], composed upon a request, for the album of renowned composers of Hungary, titled *Magyar Zeneköltők Kiállítási Albuma*. The work was published alongside Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody* no. 18, and others by foremost Hungarian composers at that time.

Mária Párkai-Eckhardt has discussed influences of *verbunkos* and folk-like popular songs in the thematic material Goldmark used in *Zrínyi*, *Aus Jugendtagen* and *Magyar ábránd.*[117] She placed Goldmark's use of style traits of 19th-century Hungarian music in the context of Liszt's practice. Liszt's first fifteen Hungarian rhapsodies, using direct *verbunkos, nóta* or *csárdás* citations, became exemplars of the genre, however, in his later rhapsodies Liszt took a different direction; he gave up using citations and the 'naturalistic imitation' of the Gypsy performance style, and based his motives on his own themes. There are still typical rhythms and figurations in those works, but they are more like symbolic recollections of Hungarian music. As Párkai-Eckhardt pointed out, Goldmark also used his own thematic material in his *Aus Jugendtagen* (1909, one of his last compositions), with characteristic Hungarian tone. In this case, it was not the *csárdás* music which inspired Goldmark but the earlier *verbunkos* and folk-like *nótas*. But instead of directly quoting *nóta* melodies, only the melodic contour of the theme recalls them. However, in the earlier *Magyar ábránd* (1885), Goldmark quoted a fragment of a *nóta* melody and used themes which recall folk-like songs. In Párkai-Eckhardt's judgement, while Hungarian idioms became an integral part of Liszt's musical language, the same is untrue for Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* is deliberately 'Hungarian' in its style. However, in the following I argue that idioms of *style hongrois* may also be detected in some of Goldmark's other piano pieces sporadically, that is, incorporated in works which are otherwise not considered as 'Hungarian'. My exploration reflects a comprehensive consideration of all of Goldmark's piano works in terms of the *style hongrois*.

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[115] Mária Párkai-Eckhardt, 'Einflüsse der ungarischen Musik bei Goldmark,' [Influences of Hungarian Music on Goldmark] in *Brahms Kongress Wien 1983*, ed. Otto Biba and Suzanne Antonicek (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988), 427–436. According to Eckhardt, 'Jedenfalls gibt es in Goldmarks Lebenswerk einige Kompositionen die schon der Themenauswahl nach von ungarischen Character sind, und in diesen Werken bediente er sich bewußt ungarischen Musikmaterials und ungarischer Stilelemente.' There are some compositions in Goldmark's oeuvre which are already Hungarian in their choice of themes, and in these works he consciously used Hungarian musical material and stylistic elements. Ibid., 429.

[116] Kálmán, *Goldmark Károly*, 41, 53.; István Kecskeméti, 'Goldmark Károly recepciói. Visszatekintés halálának 75. évfordulóján,' [Károly Goldmark's Receptions. Retrospection on the 75th Anniversary of his Death] *Muzsika* 32, no. 12 (December 1989): 37.

[117] Párkai-Eckhardt, 'Einflüsse der ungarischen Musik bei Goldmark,' 427–436.

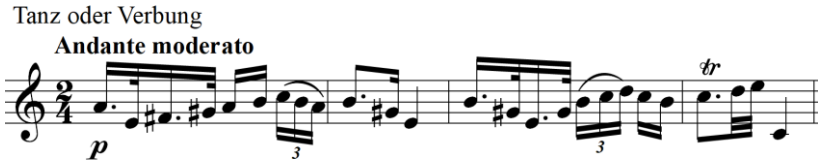
Most of the examples below are drawn from Géza Papp's landmark multi-volume 'Die Quellen der "Verbunkos-Musik": Ein Bibliographischer Versuch', the most comprehensive collection of 19th-century publications of *verbunkos* music, identifying the composers and sources of the melodies.[118]

4.4.1. Rhythmic Features

Frequent dotted rhythms

Characteristic rhythmic features of the *style hongrois* include frequent use of dotted rhythms. There is an abundance of examples for this, including in pieces by János Bihari (1764–1827), one of the best-known violinists and foremost propagators of *verbunkos*.[119] Bihari, a touring virtuoso, was known for the 'sensational' effect of his performances; many of the melodies he played circulated in various collections in Vienna and Hungary.

Example 4.3. János Bihari: *Tanz oder Verbung*, bars 1–4.[120]



Dotted rhythms characterise the melody of the following *Figura,* which appeared in one of the most significant *verbunkos* collections *Magyar Nóták Veszprém Vármegyéből* [Hungarian Songs from Veszprém County], containing pieces by foremost virtuosi, including Bihari,

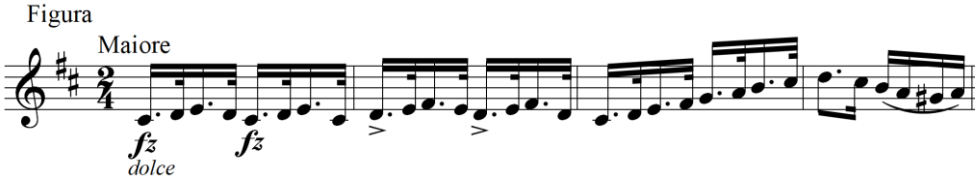
[118] Géza Papp, 'Die Quellen der "Verbunkos-Musik": Ein Bibliographischer Versuch,' A) Gedruckte Werke I. 1784–1823, *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21 (1979): 151–217; II. Sammlungen 1822–36, *Studia Musicologica* 24 (1982): 35–97; III. 1822–36, *Studia Musicologica* 26 (1984): 59–132; IV. 1837–48, *Studia Musicologica* 32 (1990): 55–224; B) Handschriften (–ca. 1850), *Studia Musicologica* 45 (2004): 33–406. See at 'Source catalogues' accessed 27 March 2023, http://stylehongrois.zti.hu/index.php/en/source-catalogues

[119] It is not my aim to explore the performance practice of the works cited as examples throughout this section, as I do not argue that Goldmark knew these pieces (although he might have known many of them, as these melodies widely circulated). I am looking for the use of similar features between those and Goldmark's pieces.

[120] From *2 Ungarische Tänze oder Werbung fürs* [sic] *forte-piano von Herrn Bihary* (Wien: Artaria and Comp., 1807). The same melody also appeared in other collections including *15 Ungarische Tänze für 2 Violinen von L.* [sic] *Bihary* (Wien: Artaria u. Comp., 1811); *Sieben Ungarische Tänze für eine Violine componiert von Bihari*. Zweite Aufl., (Wien: Artaria, 1829). Papp, 'Die Quellen der "Verbunkos Musik": Ein Bibliographischer Versuch,' I.: 177, 191, 198.

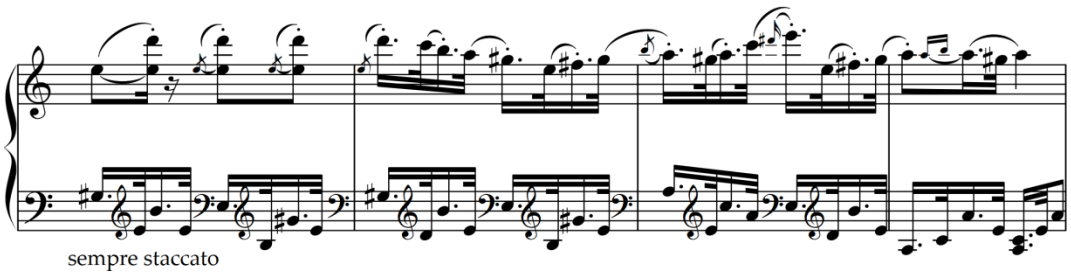
Antal Csermák (ca. 1774–1822), János Lavotta (1764–1820), Márk Rózsavölgyi (ca. 1788–1848).

Example 4.4. János Bihari: *Figura*, bars 1–4. [121]



Dotted rhythms are also prevalent in many of the melodies Liszt used as themes in his Hungarian Rhapsodies, including in Rhapsody no. 14. Liszt, as the remark *alla zingarese* suggests, was highly inspired by the Gypsy virtuosi's performance manner and the music they played.

Example 4.5. Franz Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody no. 14 *Allegretto alla zingarese* section, bars 125–128.



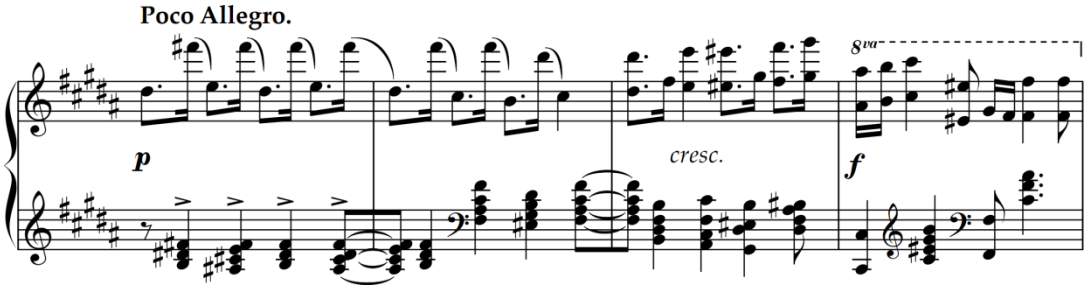
The beginning of the 'friss' [fast] section of Goldmark's *Magyar ábránd* is also characterised by dotted rhythms. (Syncopation, also typical in *style hongrois*, can be observed as well.)

Example 4.6. Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* (without Opus) 'friss' (fast) section, bars 104–107.

Audio example: Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* 'friss' (fast) section, bars 104–107.[122]

[121] From *Magyar Nóták … Veszprém Vármegyéből,* Fortepianora alkalmaztattak Ruzitska Ignác által. Első fogás [adapted for the fortepiano by Ignác Ruzitska. Volume one] (Wien, 1823). Papp, 'Die Quellen der Verbunkos Musik,' II.: 38. Fast sections of *verbunkos* were often titled as *Figura* or *Friss*. According to Dobszay, *Magyar Nóták Veszprém Vármegyéből* is 'the most extensive and most valuable collection of verbunkos', issued in fifteen volumes between 1823–1832, containing 136 pieces. Dobszay, *Magyar zenetörténet*, 279.

[122] All audio examples are my own recordings throughout the thesis.



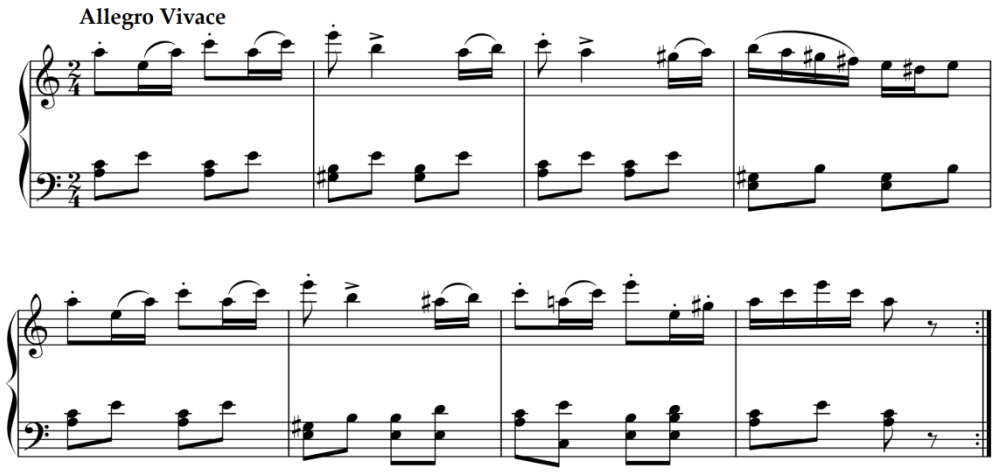
Considerations for interpretation: I perform the dotted rhythms here with slight exaggeration, that is, I stretch the duration of the dotted notes, and shorten the semiquavers slightly. I also carefully observe the placement of the accompanying accented syncopating chords in the left hand in terms of rhythm, so that they by no means come early. The resulting delicate rhythmic tension may evoke a certain 'virtue' associated with the Hungarian temperament, which is reflected in the *style hongrois*.

Syncopation

19th-century collections of Hungarian dances feature a large number of syncopated melodies, which is another typical feature of *style hongrois*. Bihari's dance appeared in *Nemzeti Magyar Tántzok* [National Hungarian Dances], one of the most important, multi-volume collections in Pest.[123] The theme of the dance is characterised by syncopation.

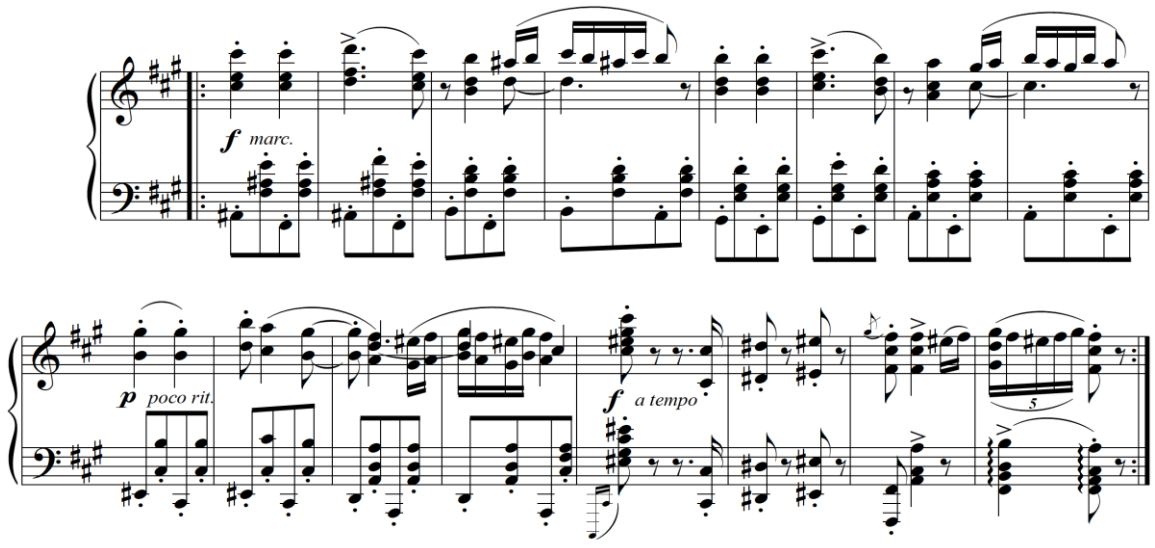
Example 4.7. János Bihari: [*Verbunkos*] (without Opus) opening theme, bars 1–8.

[123] *Nemzeti Magyar Tántzok,* mellyeket Csermák, Lavotta, Bihári és más kedvelt Mesterek szerzettek. Fortepiánóra … alkalmaztatta Mohaupt Ágoston [National Hungarian Dances, by Csermák, Lavotta, Bihari and other popular authors. Arranged for the fortepiano by Ágoston Mohaupt] vol. 1 (Pest: Lichtl Károly, 1822). Papp, 'Die Quellen der Verbunkos Musik,' II.: 70. The piece circulated in the 1820s in various other collections as well.



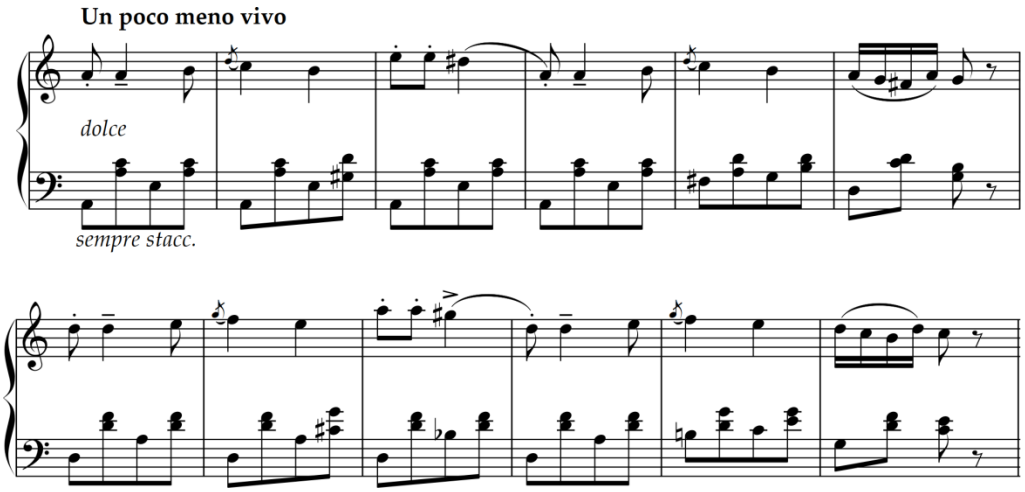
Syncopation is also assimilated in Brahms's two sets of *Ungarische Tänze* (1869 and 1880). A few examples for pronounced use of syncopation in the melodies include bars 3 and 6 in the theme of Dance no. 3 (1st set), in bars 51–54 of the melody of Dance no. 6 (1st set) and in Dance no. 5, as indicated in Example 4.8.:

Example 4.8. Johannes Brahms: *Ungarische Tänze* no. 5, 1st set, bars 33–48 (reduction for piano solo).



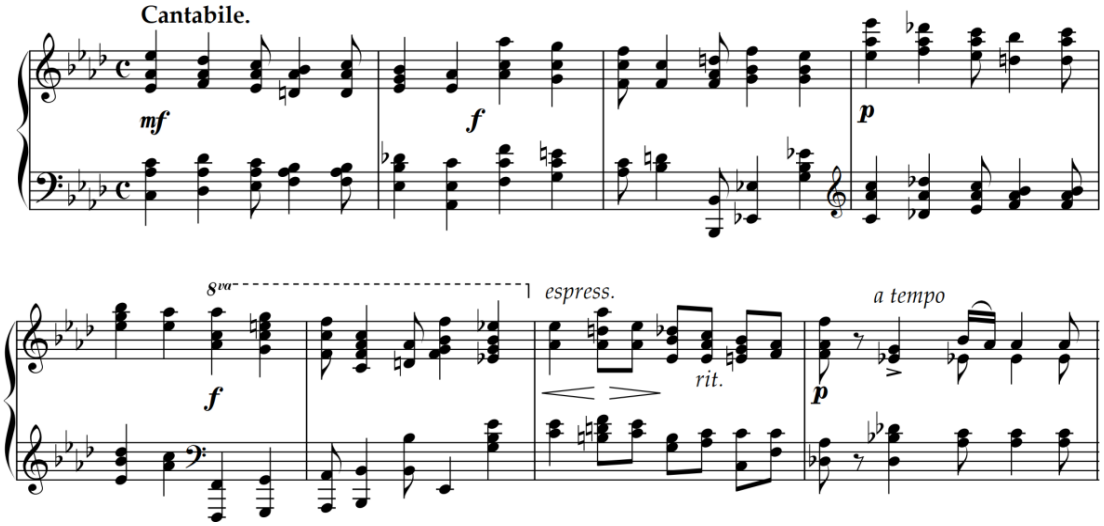
A further example for characteristic use of syncopation in thematic material is the 'friss' section of Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody no. 13, based on a Hungarian folksong (*Akkor szép az erdő, mikor zöld*) [The Forest is Lovely when it is Green]. The 3-bar phrase structure (unlike Brahms's 4-bar) is also notable.

Example 4.9. Franz Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody no. 13, beginning of 'friss' section, bars 124–135.



The following melody in Goldmark's *Magyar ábránd* recalls the style of Hungarian folk-like song.[124] Syncopation is a primary feature of its rhythm. Like the previous example, Goldmark uses a triple-beat hypermetre, with each phrase spanning a bar and a half.

Example 4.10. Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* (without Opus), bars 65–72.

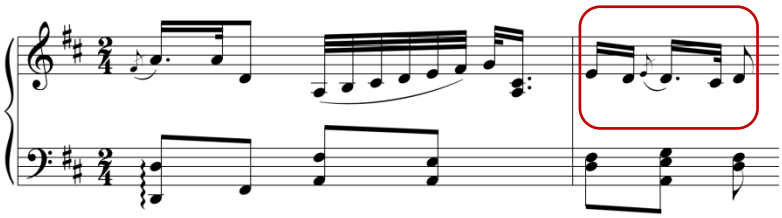


[124] Párkai-Eckhardt, 'Einflüsse der ungarischen Musik bei Goldmark,' 438.

Typical cadential rhythmic formula

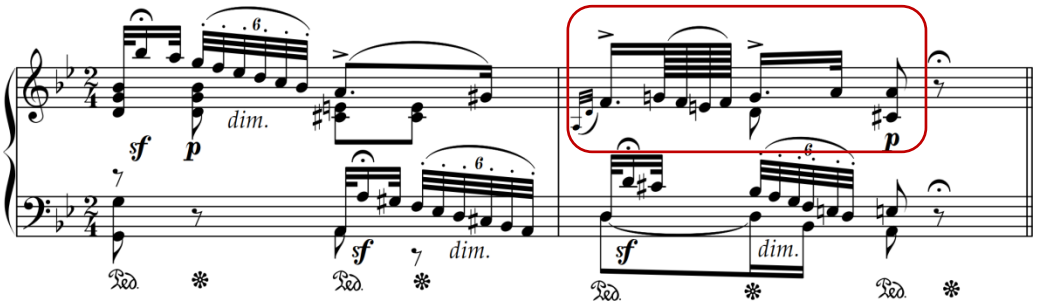
A distinctive cadential formula, as noted earlier, is the *bokázó*, usually associated with a specific melodic contour.[125] This appears frequently in *verbunkos*, for example in János Lavotta's *ábránd* [Hungarian Fantasy] titled *Szigetvár ostroma.*

Example 4.11. János Lavotta: *Szigetvár ostroma. Eredeti magyar ábránd. 1. sz. Tanácskozás* [Siege of Szigetvár. Original Hungarian Fantasy. Part 1: Consultation], bars 7–8.[126]



The *bokázó*'s characteristic rhythm can be observed in the top voice in Mosonyi's *Magyar zene költemény* [Hungarian Music-Poem], however, its harmonic trajectory and therefore melodic contour are not typical, as it closes on the Dominant:

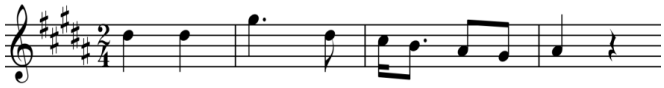
Example 4.12. Mihály Mosonyi: *Magyar zene költemény* [Hungarian Music-Poem] (without Opus, 1860), bars 11–12.[127]



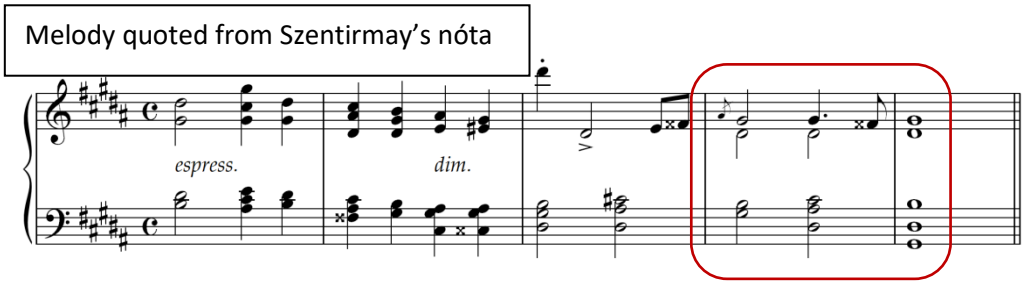
[125] Ábrányi defined this formula in his *A magyar zene a 19-ik században* [Hungarian Music in the 19th century] as shown in Example 4.2.
[126] From the collection *Magyar zenei ereklyék: a régi magyar zene kincseiből 1672–1838.* [Relics of Hungarian music: from the treasures of old Hungarian music 1672–1838] ed. and transcribed for piano Sándor Huber (Budapest: Rozsnyai Károly, undated). The work was intended as an incidental music for the stage. It appeared as a piano arrangement by János Kirch in 1843. János Dombóvári, 'Lavotta, a maga idejének Orfeusa,' [Lavotta, the Orpheus of his time] *Parlando* (17 November 2020), accessed 25 March 2023, https://www.parlando.hu/2020/2020-6/Dombovari_Janos-Lavotta.pdf
[127] Issued in Pest: Rózsavölgyi, 1860.

The *bokázó* also appears in *Magyar ábránd* by Goldmark. He quoted the melody of a well-known *nóta* by Elemér Szentirmay (Examples 4.13a. and 4.13b).[128] Goldmark's harmonization of it is very close to the version cultivated by *nóta* performers. However, Goldmark inserted a *bokázó* (preceded by a syncope) as the closing of the phrase (bars 3–5) which is not present in the original song.

Example 4.13a. Elemér Szentirmay: 'Csak egy szép lány van a világon …' [There is only one pretty girl in the world …], bars 1–4.



Example 4.13b. Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* (without Opus), bars 51–55.
Audio example: Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd*, bars 51–55.



Considerations for interpretation: Following performing practices of *nóta*, I perform the quote from Szentirmay's *nóta* in bars 1 and 2 *rubato*, emphasizing the top of the phrase's melodic line (second chord in bar 1) by allowing it slightly more time. I interpret the crotchet chords in bars 1–2 unevenly, and play the last two chords of bar 2 with a slight *ritardando*, thus preparing for the syncopation in bar 3, preceding the *bokázó*. I slightly stretch the time between the first and second notes of the syncopation in bar 3 to emphasize the 2-octave leap and the accented minim. I regard the interpretation of the *bokázó*'s rhythm as very important; as in the previous example, I slightly extend the dotted quarter note in bar 4 and shorten the

[128] While Goldmark in some cases incorporated idioms of Hungarian style in his piano works, he did not usually quote any particular piece, thus this suggests an exception. See also, Párkai-Eckhardt, 'Einflüsse der ungarischen Musik bei Goldmark,' 437.

last quaver. The concluding *bokázó* rounds up the whole *lassú* [slow] section of the piece; I indicate this boundary of large formal units by a slight *rallentando* within the cadence.

4.4.2. Melodic Features

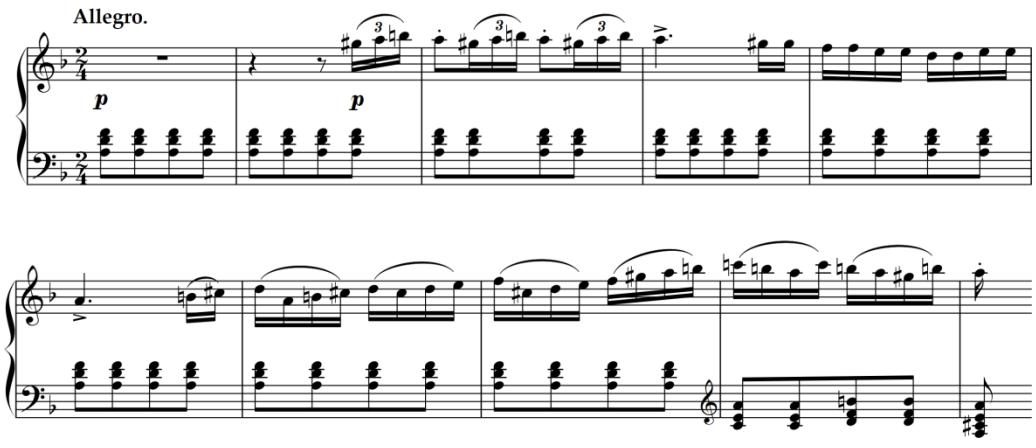
Augmented 2nd

One of the *style hongrois*'s most characteristic features is the augmented 2nd, appearing in the melody. Since *style hongrois* traits appear typically in clusters, I would not necessarily consider a piece as a representative of that style based on the appearance of one of its features; rather than taking separate examples for the augmented 2nd, I will point it out discussing examples featuring other characteristic elements as well.

Raised 4th

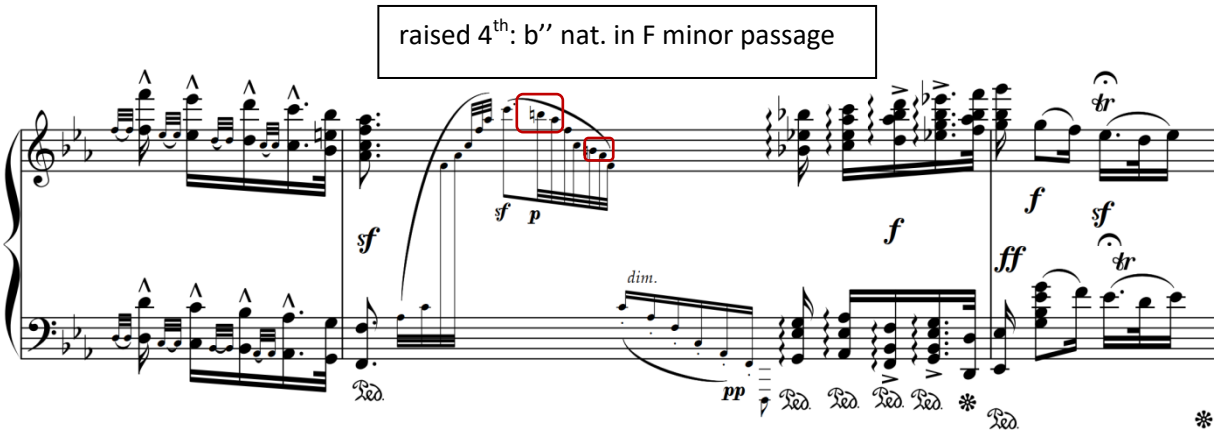
The raised 4th in the melody is a significant feature in one of the main themes of the Overture from Ferenc Erkel's opera *Hunyadi László*, as shown in the following example (g#'' in the key of D minor, lending importance to the 5th degree, a'')

Example 4.14. Ferenc Erkel: *Hunyadi László* (without Opus, 1844) Overture (piano reduction), bars 1–10.



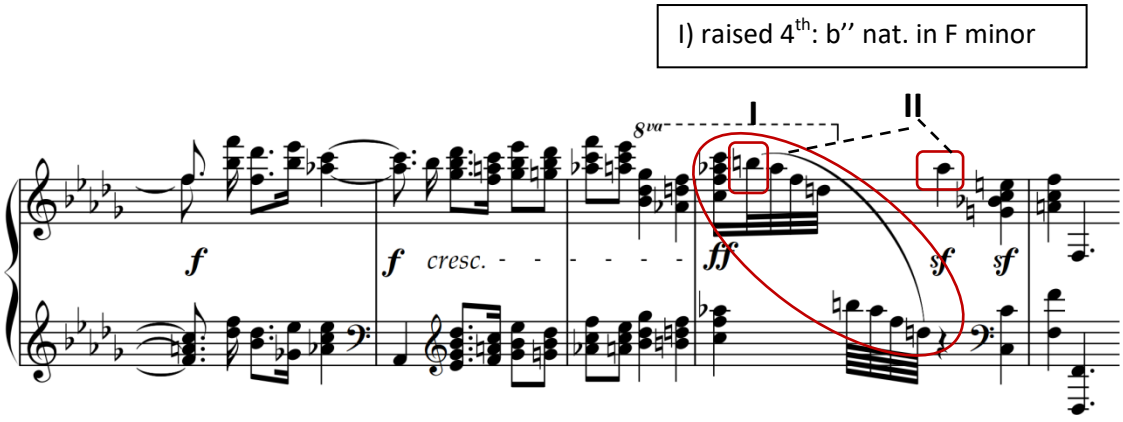
The raised 4th is also present in the virtuosic passage in the following excerpt from Mosonyi's *Magyar zene költemény* [Hungarian Music Poem]:

Example 4.15. Mihály Mosonyi: *Magyar zene költemény* [Hungarian Music Poem] (without Opus, 1860), bars 70–72.



A similar type of passage appears in the middle section of Goldmark's 'Bedrängnis' (*Charakterstücke* no. 4, 1903–09). Its title does not evoke the *style hongrois*, and the work does not prioritise Hungarian idioms. However, in the virtuosic, improvisation-like run at the climax of the section (Example 4.16.), the raised 4th degree (marked in the example as **I**) occurs: at a climactic cadence in F minor/major, b'' natural appears in the top voice, thus gaining special significance (more than just being one note of the diminished passage). This, and the melodic augmented 2nd interval of b'' – a ♭ '' (marked as **II**) recall the *style hongrois*:

Example 4.16. Carl Goldmark: 'Bedrängnis' (*Charakterstücke* no. 4, 1903–09), bars 75–78.
Audio example: Carl Goldmark: 'Bedrängnis' (*Charakterstücke* no. 4), bars 75–78.

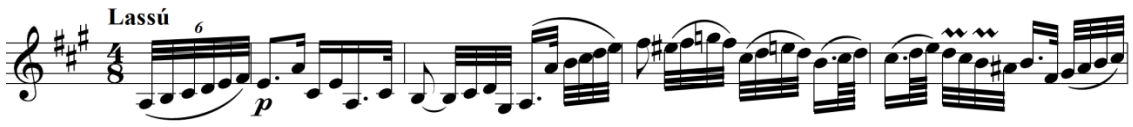


In addition, the sudden *sforzandi* lend a raw, dramatic character to this section, thus might also recall the *style hongrois*.[129] While I do not consider Goldmark's 'Bedrängnis' as a whole as a representative of *style hongrois*, these features might recall its flavour.

Ornamentation of melodic line

Richly ornamented melodies occur frequently in 19th-century collections of Hungarian music, including in *nótas* by Márk Rózsavölgyi, one of the best-known violinists of his time.

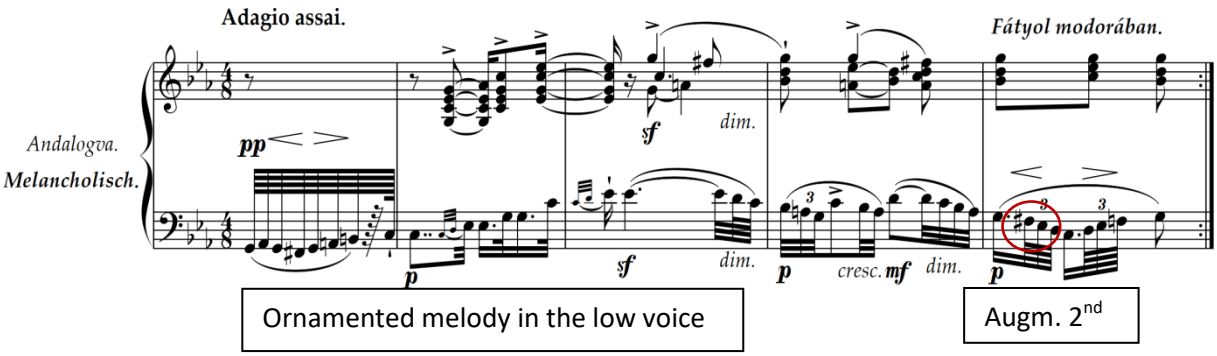
Example 4.17. Márk Rózsavölgyi: [*Nóta*] *Magyar Nóták* no. 1, bars 1–4. (1835)[130]



Rich, improvisatory ornamentation of the melodic line can also be observed in the following work by Mosonyi:

Example 4.18. Mihály Mosonyi: Study no. 13 from *Tanulmányok zongorára a magyar zene előadásának képzésére* [Studies for Piano for Development in the Performance of Hungarian Music] (without Opus, 1860), bars 1–4.[131]
Audio example: Mihály Mosonyi: Study no. 13. *Tanulmányok zongorára a magyar zene előadásának képzésére*, bars 1–4.

[129] Further *style hongrois* features in this section are indicated in Example 4.29.
[130] *Magyar Nóták* mellyeket Fortepianóra készitett Rózsavölgyi Márk [prepared for the fortepiano by Márk Rózsavölgyi] (Pest, 1835). Papp, 'Die Quellen der Verbunkos Musik,' III.: 119. Rózsavölgyi's son Gyula Rózsavölgyi founded Rózsavölgyi és Társa in 1850 in Pest, to become one of the most significant publishing firms in Central Europe, issuing works by Mosonyi, Ábrányi, Erkel, and Liszt among others. Its successor is still active today.
[131] The example exhibits a number of other *style hongrois* features as well, including frequent dotted rhythms, syncopation in both the melody and accompaniment, and augmented 2nd in the closing bar.



The tempo and character markings 'Adagio assai' and 'Melancholisch' as well as 'Fátyol modorában' (in the manner of Fátyol) are to be noted. The latter refers to the playing of Károly Fátyol, a well-known Gypsy musician of his time.[132] They perfectly evoke the melancholic character of the work prevailing in much of slow *verbunkos* music.

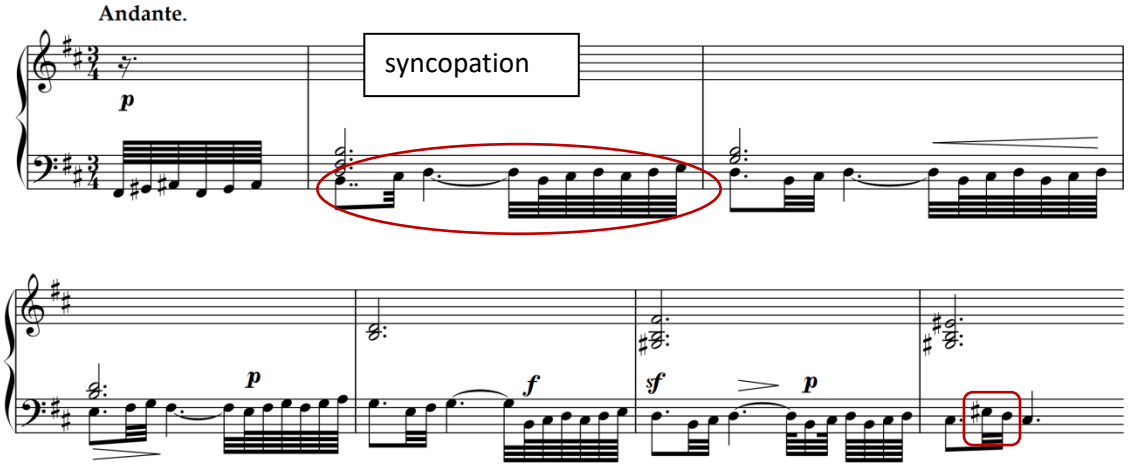
There are striking similarities in both texture and character between Goldmark's 'Trostlos' (*Sturm und Drang* no. 3) and Mosonyi's study. Not only the theme's appearance in the left hand, but the nature of it, being richly ornamented using dotted rhythms, coloured by chords in the right hand, the *lamentoso* melancholic character in minor key, and the use of augmented 2nd in the melody are shared. Goldmark's work was composed in 1858 and premiered in 1859 in Pest, Mosonyi's collection of studies for piano dates from 1860 which might suggest the influence of Goldmark's work on Mosonyi.[133]

The desperate, lamenting mood of Goldmark's 'Trostlos', expressed by its title, is a typical *style hongrois* attribute. Example 4.19. demonstrates the richly ornamented, improvisatory melodic line in the low voice in minor key. Frequent syncopation and the characteristic augmented 2nd interval are also incorporated in the melody (the latter in bar 6: e# – d):

Example 4.19. Carl Goldmark: 'Trostlos' (*Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 no. 3, 1858), bars 1–6.
Audio example: Carl Goldmark: 'Trostlos' (*Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 no. 3), bars 1–6.

[132] Károly Fátyol (1830–1888) cellist, toured across Hungary and played in the Hungarian National Theatre in 1857. Contemporary musicians, especially Mosonyi, highly esteemed him. *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon* [Hungarian Biographical Lexicon], ed. Ágnes Kenyeres (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), s.v. 'Fátyol Károly,' accessed 5 April 2023, https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/f-7547C/fatyol-karoly-7553E/

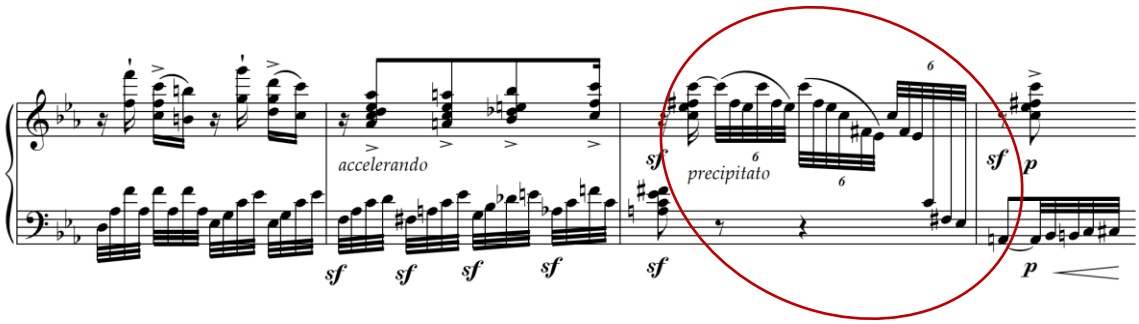
[133] On reviews of that concert on 13 April 1859 in Hotel Europa in Pest, see Chapter 2.



Considerations for interpretation: The fine detail of the score suggests that Goldmark was particularly keen on notating the rhythm of the left-hand melody precisely. It is certainly necessary to study and to adhere to the rhythm of that part, but in my view, it is not sufficient in itself. In this case, the notated minute detail aims to capture a freely improvised and ornamented melody. Therefore, while I aim at executing the precise rhythm, I also sought to evoke a sense of improvisation. Also, I emphasize the melodic augmented 2nd leap by allowing the E sharp slightly more time.

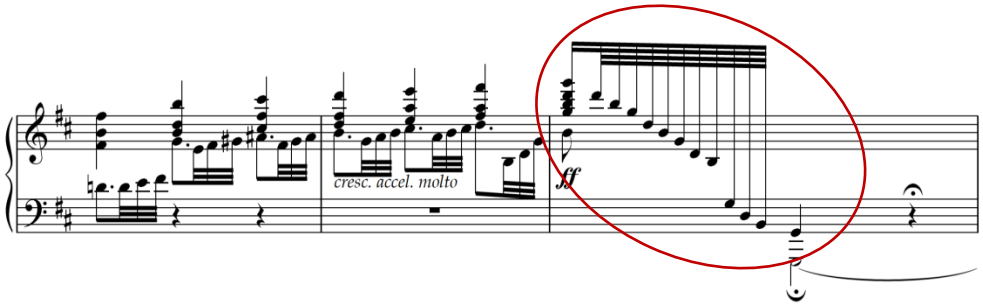
Ornamental, improvisation-like passages are also shared in both Mosonyi's and Goldmark's works. In Mosonyi's study, the run appears at the climax of the piece, following a long build-up:

Example 4.20. Mihály Mosonyi: Study no. 13 from *Tanulmányok zongorára a magyar zene előadásának képzésére* [Studies for Piano for Development in the Performance of Hungarian Music] (without Opus, 1860), bars 46–49.
Audio example: Mihály Mosonyi: Study no. 13. *Tanulmányok zongorára a magyar zene előadásának képzésére*, bars 46–49.



In Goldmark's 'Trostlos', the virtuosic run also appears as the climax of a long build-up, preceded by a sequence of dotted rhythms and improvisatory demisemiquaver ornaments:

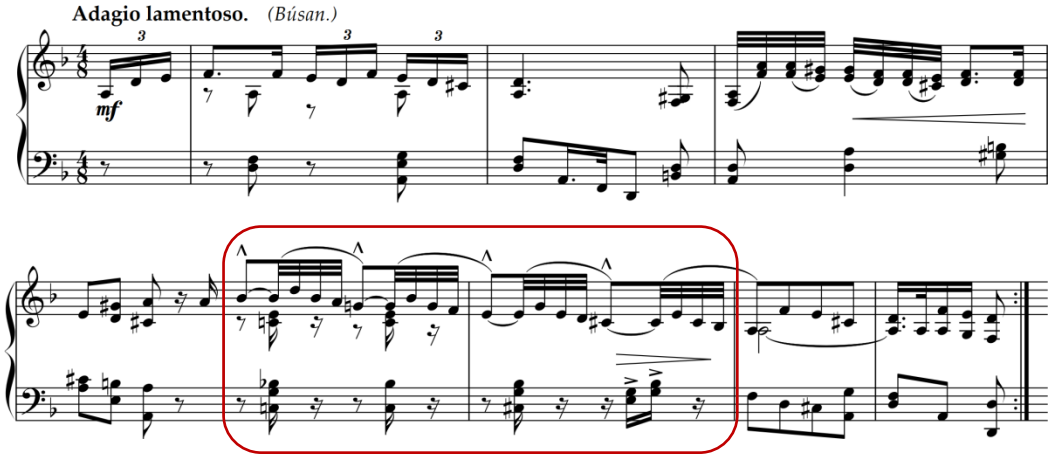
Example 4.21. Carl Goldmark: 'Trostlos' (*Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 no. 3, 1858), bars 30–32. Audio example: Carl Goldmark: 'Trostlos' (*Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 no. 3), bars 30–32.



Bihari's *Requiem* also serves as an example for richly ornamented melody. Note the demisemiquaver ornamentation of the melodic line of the *hallgató* type slow *verbunkos* in bars 5–6:

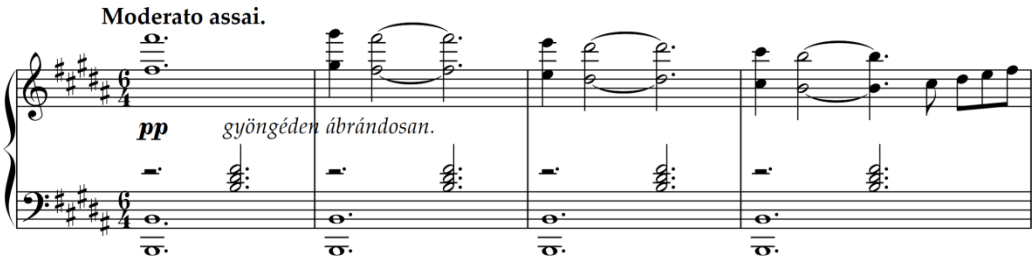
Example 4.22. János Bihari: *Requiem* (without Opus), bars 1–8.[134]

[134] Bihari's piece appeared with various titles: 'Lassú magyar' [Slow Hungarian] in *Magyar Nóták … Veszprém Vármegyéből* 1. (Wien, 1823), Papp, 'Die Quellen der Verbunkos Musik ,' II.: 38; untitled in *Nemzeti Magyar Tántzok* 2. (Pest, 1823), Papp, 'Die Quellen,' II.: 72; *Requiem* in *Magyar zenei ereklyék* (undated), 32.



The treatment of ornamentation in the melodic line shows resemblances with the opening section's theme in *Magyar ábránd* by Goldmark, which, according to Párkai-Eckhardt, is also a *verbunkos*-type melody:[135]

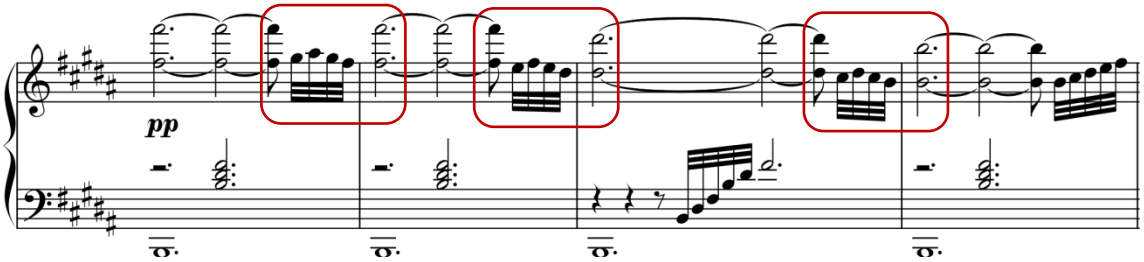
Example 4.23a. Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* (without Opus) opening theme, bars 1–4.



The same melody reappears, ornamented with inserted demisemiquavers:

Example 4.23b. Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* (without Opus) opening theme, second time, bars 28–31.

Audio example: Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* opening theme, second time, bars 28–31.

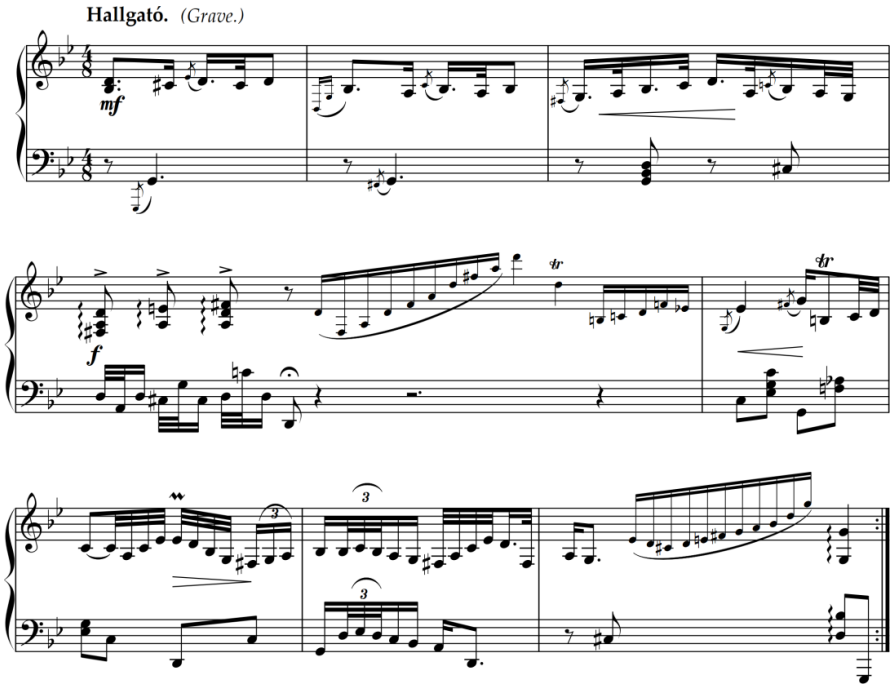


[135] Párkai-Eckhardt, 'Einflüsse der ungarischen Musik bei Goldmark,' 437.

In both Bihari's (Ex. 4.22.) and Goldmark's (Ex. 4.23b.) melodies, the nature of the ornamentation is similar: the groups of demisemiquaver ornamentation appear after a tied long melodic note, falling on an unstressed point of the bar, while the relative weight is placed on the accompanying chord. Moreover, in both cases the ornamentations function as passing-tones, linking the descending grades of the melody.

A further example of ornamented melody is *Boka kesergője* [Boka's Lament], an emblematic piece by Károly Boka (1808–1860), one of the most famous Gypsy violinists of the 1840s in East Hungary, which belongs to the type of *hallgató* (as is indicated in the score):[136]

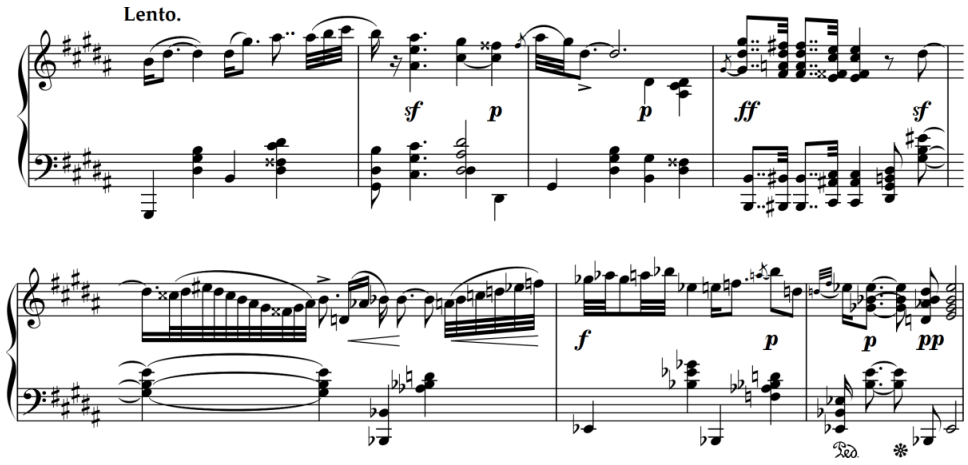
Example 4.24. Károly Boka: *Boka kesergője* [Boka's Lament] (without Opus and date), bars 1–8.



Goldmark's melody, shown in Example 4.25., is also a *hallgató* type of *verbunkos*. Like Boka's, the melody is richly ornamented by grace notes and virtuosic runs. Moreover, dotted rhythms are characteristic in both.

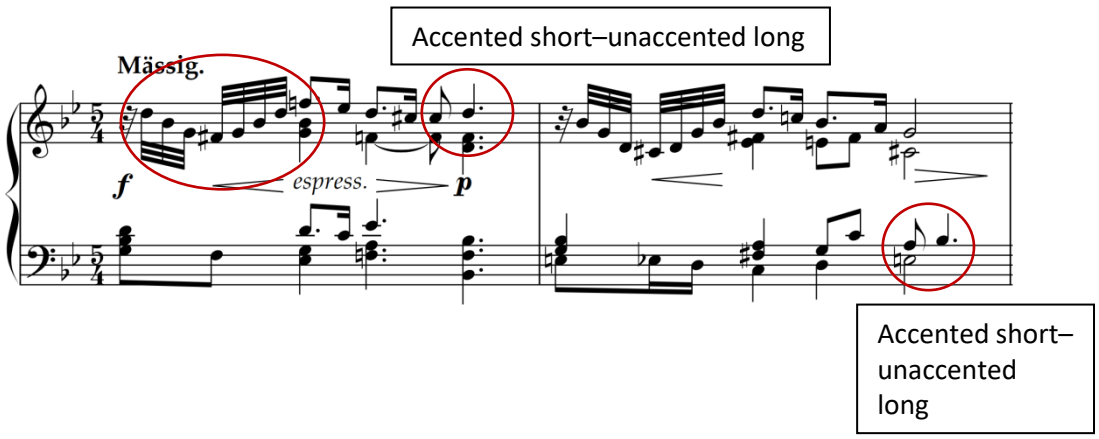
[136] Károly Boka (1808–1860) from the famous Boka family of Gypsy musicians, who lived in Debrecen (Hungary) was 'the most popular Gypsy *prímás* [band leader] of the 1840s and the War of Independence era', according to the *Új Idők Lexikona* [Lexicon of the New Times] (Budapest: Singer és Wolfner Irodalmi Intézet Rt., 1936–42). *Boka kesergője* was his emblematic, widely-known piece. The example is taken from the collection *Magyar zenei ereklyék*, 38. However, due to some confusion around the first names of the musician generations within the Boka dynasty, the piece appeared erroneously under András Boka's (Károly's father) name.

Example 4.25. Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* (without Opus), bars 87–93.
Audio example: Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* (without Opus), bars 87–93.



Rich, winding melodic lines evoke improvisatory ornamentation in Goldmark's 'Praeludium' from his collection *Charakterstücke* (1903–09). This appears combined with frequent dotted rhythms in the melody, including the typical Hungarian accented short – unaccented long pattern, and *lamentoso* melancholic character in minor key. (After long series of modulation in the B section of the work, the tonality of G returns and the piece ends with a Picardy third.) Although the *preludium* genre has associations with the Baroque, the 5/4 metre seems to distance this section from it. Notably, after bar 4, the metre changes to 2/4 and remains for the rest of the piece, which might indicate the different nature of the preceding bars (1–4) in 5/4. While I do not consider this piece as a whole as a representative of the *style hongrois*, its beginning might distantly recall its flavour, even in a genre atypical in terms of that style.

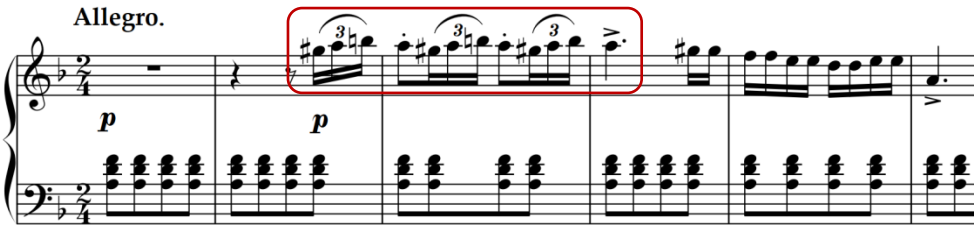
Example 4.26. Carl Goldmark: 'Praeludium' (*Charakterstücke* no. 1, 1903–09), bars 1–2.
Audio example: Carl Goldmark: 'Praeludium' (*Charakterstücke* no. 1), bars 1–2.



Triplet ornamentation

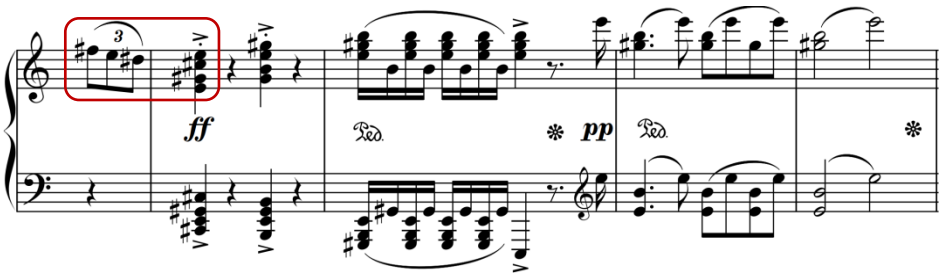
Triplet ornamentation is also a characteristic attribute of *style hongrois*. Erkel, among others, frequently used this feature in his opera *Hunyadi László* (1844) as shown in the Overture below (in bars 2–3):

Example 4.27. Ferenc Erkel: *Hunyadi László* (without Opus) Overture, bars 1–6.



This characteristic embellishment is also present in the *Rákóczy March* [sic], one of the most emblematic examples of Hungarian music, here in Erkel's version, adapted for the piano:

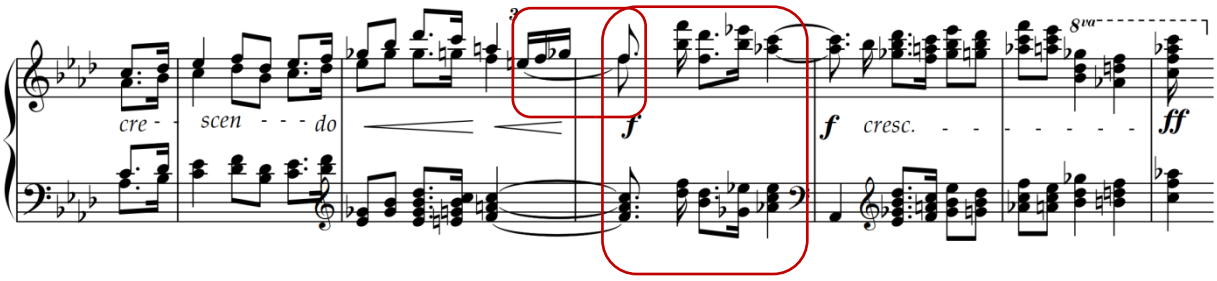
Example 4.28. Ferenc Erkel: *Rákóczy indulója* [Rákóczy March] (without Opus), bars 17–20.



Similar triplet ornamentation to Erkel's *Hunyadi* overture occurs in bar 2 of Goldmark's 'Bedrängnis', followed by march-like dotted rhythms, lending the section a 'majestic'

character, especially in bar 3. These features, indicated in Example 4.29., and further ones discussed in Example 4.16. recall the *style hongrois* in this work.

Example 4.29. Carl Goldmark: 'Bedrängnis' (*Charakterstücke* no. 4, 1903–09), bars 72–77.
Audio example: Carl Goldmark: 'Bedrängnis' (*Charakterstücke* no. 4), bars 72–77.

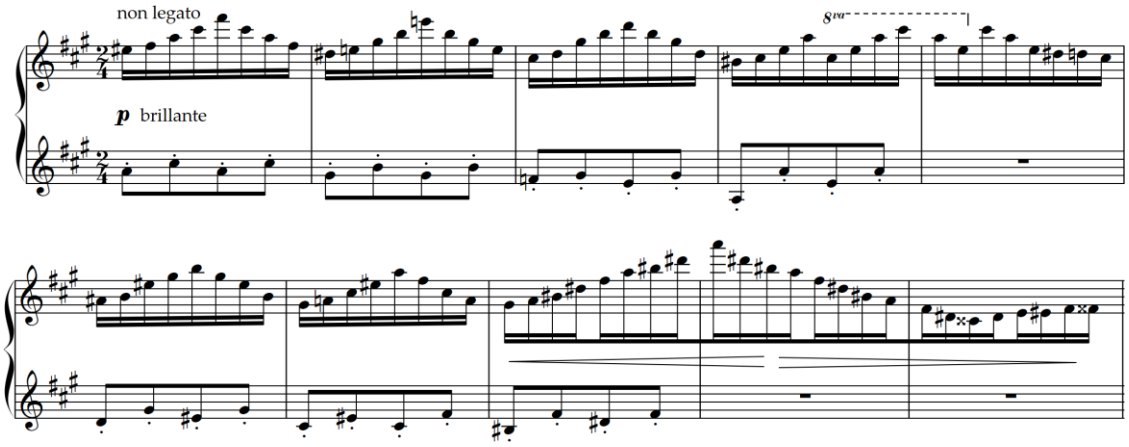


Considerations for interpretation: I perform the dotted rhythms in bar 2–3 slightly 'over-dotted' than notated, to convey a 'majestic', noble character, associated in many cases with 19th-century Hungarian music. I also make a clear sense of direction in the following chords (bars 4–5) towards the fortissimo 6/4 chord in bar 6, thus conveying the passionate character of the passage.

4.4.3. Imitational Musical Textures

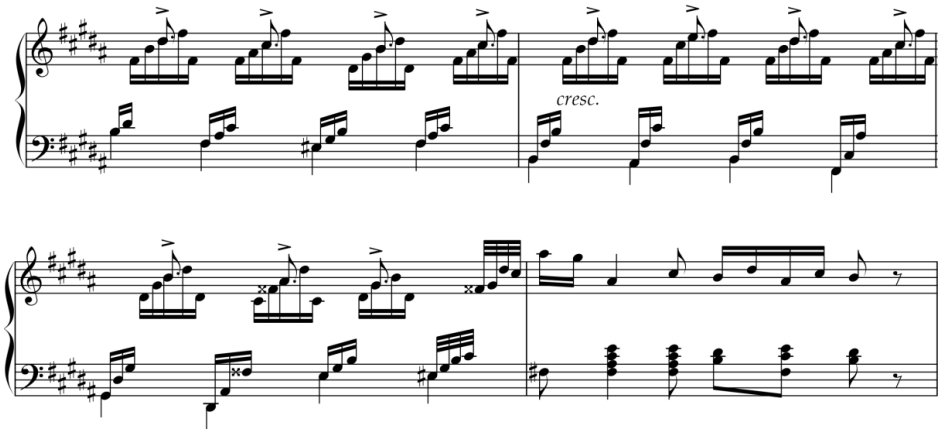
Musical textures imitating typical instruments played by the Gypsies and the way they played them are *style hongrois* attributes. Virtuosic passages from the *Vivace assai* of Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody no. 11 evoke the sound of the *cimbalom*, a stringed instrument, played by two beaters:

Example 4.30. Franz Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody no. 11, bars 70–79.



In Goldmark's *Magyar ábránd* virtuosic passages also recall the manner in which the *cimbalom* was played. This typically involved fast triad arpeggios, shared between the two hands in both improvised solos and when accompanying the band.[137] Similar to the Liszt example, rapid, arpeggiated harmonies can be observed in Goldmark's piece.

Example 4.31. Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* (without Opus, 1885), bars 109–112 .
Audio example: Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd*, bars 109–112.



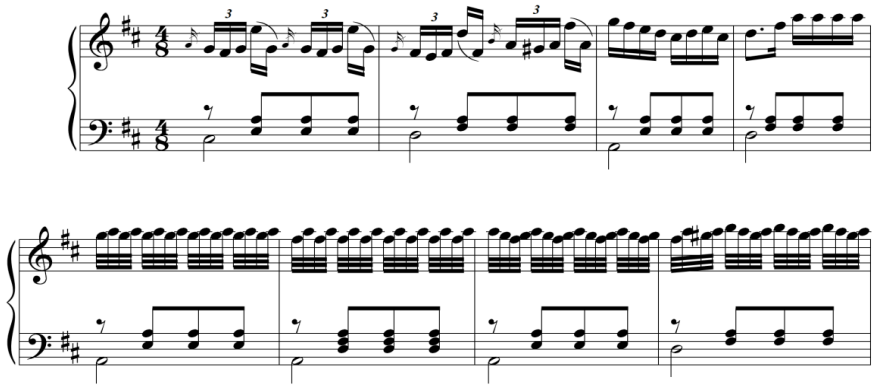
Notating bars 1–3 of the example in demisemiquavers would have been more accurate, given the 4/4 metre of the work's fast section, i.e. 7 or 8 notes should fall on one beat. This would also give a better sense of the virtuosic pace of the section.

[137] 'The cimbalom is used primarily as a harmonic instrument, although it also lends itself to playing the melody or a virtuoso variation of it.' Janka Szendrei et al., 'Hungary (Hung. Magyarország),' *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 28 April 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013562?rskey=kM5NOW&result=1

4.4.4. Highly Virtuosic Instrumental Technique

Highly virtuosic instrumental technique was characteristic of the Gypsies' performances, so that it became strongly associated with *style hongrois.* Performances by virtuosi, including János Bihari, were widely appreciated for their high level of instrumental skills.[138] Their playing made great impact on Liszt, among others.[139]

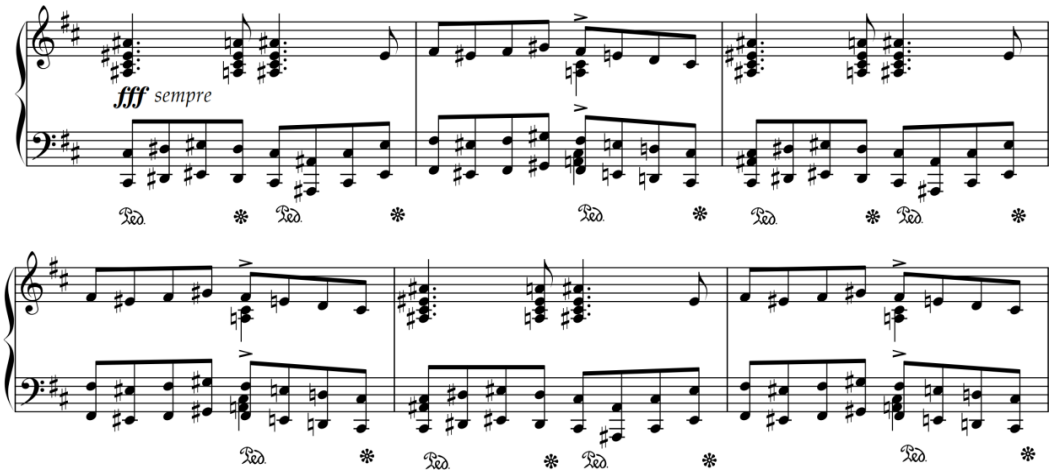
Example 4.32. János Bihari: *2 Ungarische Tänze oder Werbung* (1807) no. 1 (excerpt).[140]



The recollection of *csárdás*, the fast duple-meter dance in art music, using either pre-existing melodies or the composer's own themes, is also associated with virtuosic instrumental writing, evoking the dance's rhythmic fire. Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody no. 17 (among many others) offers good example for *csárdás* writing:

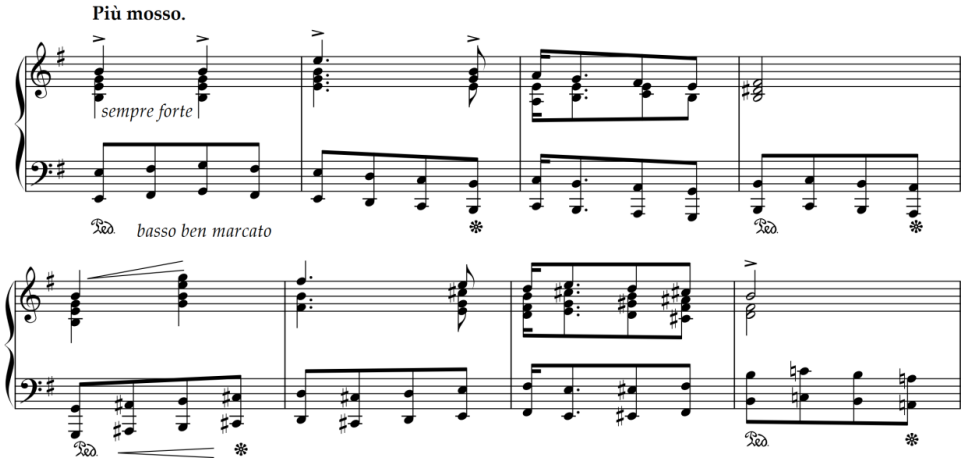
Example 4.33. Franz Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody no. 17, bars 59–64.
Audio example: Franz Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody no. 17, bars 59–64.

[138] Dobszay, *Magyar zenetörténet*, 276–78.
[139] 'Kora ifjúságomban kevés dolog fogott meg annyira mint a cigányok játéka.' In my early youth, few things captivated me as much as the Gypsies' playing.' Liszt, *A cigányokról*, trans. Hamburger, 99.
[140] *2 Ungarische Tänze oder Werbung von Herrn Bihary* (Wien: Artaria and Comp., 1807)



Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies served as model for many 19th-century composers (including Kornél Ábrányi) in terms of incorporating *verbunkos* and *csárdás* in their works.[141] A great many Hungarian composers in the 19th-century wrote their pieces under varying titles, such as *rhapsodies*, *fantasies* or *ábránds*, which were very similar in format and expressive content. The fast section of Kornél Ábrányi's *2nd Hungarian Fantasy* features csárdás-like virtuosic setting, as well. Interestingly, the section is built on the very theme of Elemér Szentirmay's *nóta* which Goldmark also cited (see Example 4.13a).

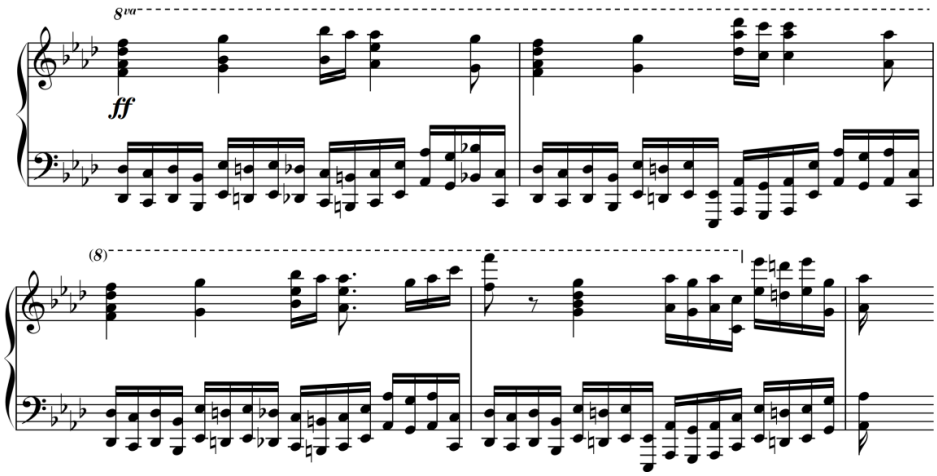
Example 4.34. Kornél Ábrányi: *2.ik Magyar ábránd* [2nd Hungarian Fantasy], bars 262–269.



[141] '… Liszt seine ersten 15 Rhapsodien, die Musterbeispiele dieser Gattung geworden sind, schon in der ersten Hälfte der fünfziger Jahre publiziert hatte …' Párkai-Eckhardt, 'Einflüsse der ungarischen Musik bei Goldmark,' 438.

It is extremely likely that Goldmark, who knew Liszt, absorbed his influence. Typical example of fast *csárdás* texture, featuring virtuosic instrumental writing of rapid octave passages concludes Goldmark's *Magyar ábránd.*

Example 4.35. Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd* (without opus), bars 125–129.
Audio example: Carl Goldmark: *Magyar ábránd,* bars 125–129.



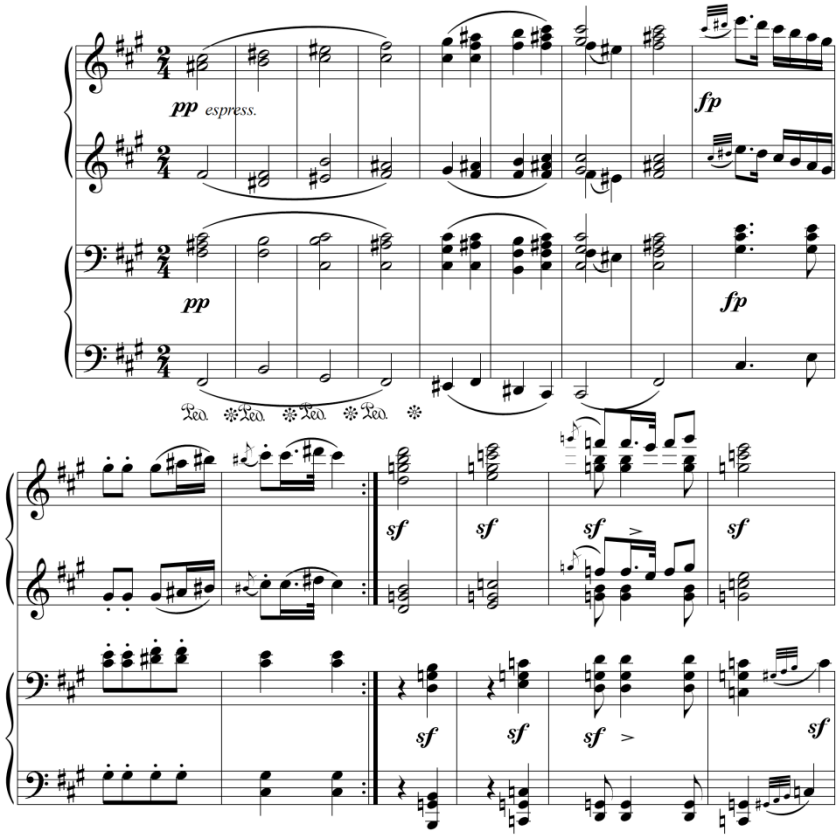
Considerations for interpretation: The performance of *csárdás* was associated with a gradual increase of tempo until very fast. Therefore, I aim for a build-up in terms of tempo in this section, planning the accelerando carefully, because it has to be maintained throughout, culminating in the closing run in the final bars of the piece.

4.4.5. Unexpected Harmonic Shifts

'Non-functional deployment of harmony' is a typical feature of *style hongrois*, as Bellman noted.[142] Non-functional, sudden shifts to remote keys characterised the Gypsies' performances, as well as wild changes between contrasting moods without any attempt for transition.[143] Schubert's *Divertissement à la hongroise* (1824) presents a good example of this.[144] The sublime, softly ascending *pp espressivo* chords in F# major, closing eventually in C# minor, are followed immediately by brusque *sfz* G major and C major chords, without any transition.

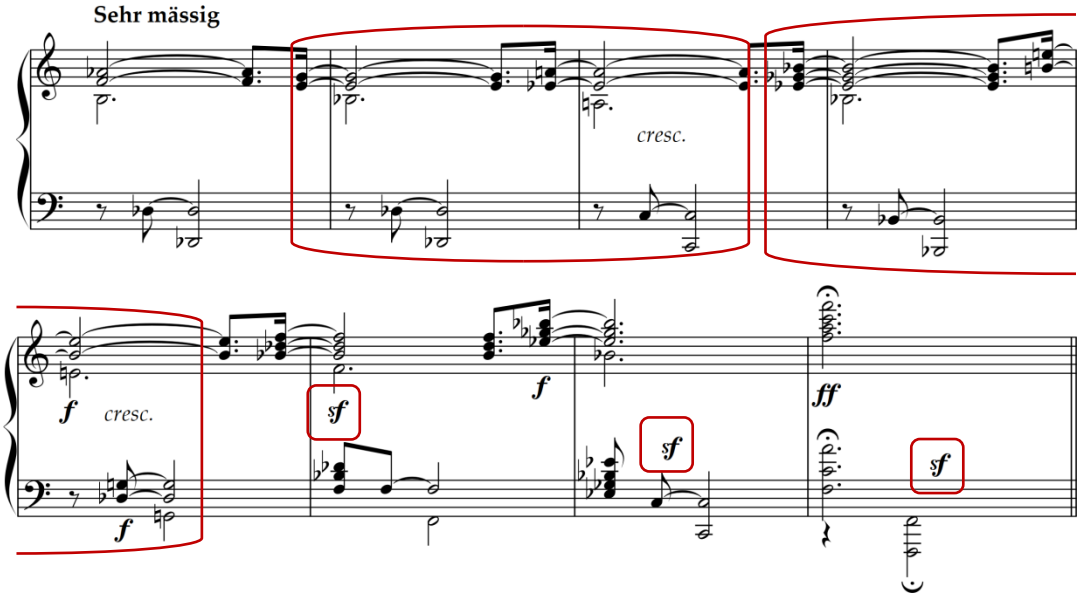
[142] Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 122.
[143] Ibid., 122–30.
[144] Schubert's work was first published in 1826 in Vienna.

Example 4.36. Franz Schubert: *Divertissement à la hongroise* (1824), bars 296–310.



Sudden shifts occur in both the harmonic progression and melodic contour in Goldmark's 'Impromptu' (as indicated in Example 4.37.). This, combined with a wide range of dynamics (from *pp* to *ff)* and sudden *sforzandi* lend a raw, dramatic character to the slow introduction of the work, thus might distantly allude to the *style hongrois*.

Example 4.37. Carl Goldmark: 'Impromptu' (*Charakterstücke* no. 7, 1903–09), bars 5–12. Sudden harmonic shifts are marked in the example (not harmonic progressions).
Audio example: Carl Goldmark: 'Impromptu' (*Charakterstücke* no. 7), bars 5–12.



Furthermore, the A (thematic) section Goldmark's 'Impromptu' also uses irregular and asymmetric, 3- and 7-bar phrases and changing metres, which also distances the piece from Western practices. While I do not consider Goldmark's 'Impromptu' as whole as a representative of *style hongrois*, these features might recall its flavour at certain spots.

4.5. Conclusion

It is important to explore the use of *style hongrois* in the case of a Hungarian-born composer, like Goldmark, because it has cultural and political relevance in terms of how he was received. As we have seen, Goldmark incorporated recognizable idioms of the *style hongrois* in some of his works. This was certainly deliberate in a few cases, as particularly later in his life he was claimed as a 'Hungarian composer' by the Hungarian musical establishment (even if these perceptions were not homogeneous and shifted throughout his life) and received commissions to produce 'Hungarian' works. He used a vocabulary of Hungarian idioms deliberately in *Magyar ábránd*, nevertheless, they do occur sporadically in a few other piano pieces within musically different contexts, including in ones with atypical titles in terms of *style hongrois* (e.g. 'Praeludium', 'Bedrängnis' or 'Impromptu'). This suggests the blending of Hungarian idioms into his creative voice. However, out of his 52 pieces for piano and piano duet, I have been able to identify unambiguously *style hongrois* features only in five. For a summary, see table below.

Table 4.3. Features of *style hongrois* in Goldmark's piano pieces

WORK	FEATURE
Magyar ábránd 1885 'poster' Hungarian work	Frequent dotted rhythms, Syncopation Augmented 2nd in melody Quote from a *nóta* by Szentirmay *Bokázó* cadence Cimbalom-imitating texture Richly ornamented *hallgató* section Slow *Hallgató* + *friss* + fast *csárdás* sections High virtuosity
'Trostlos' (*Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 no. 3) 1858	Richly ornamented melody Frequent syncopation and Dotted rhythms Melancholic *lamentoso* in minor key Augmented 2nd in melody Improvisatory virtuosic passage
'Bedrängnis' (*Charakterstücke* no. 4) 1903–09	Dotted rhythms (majestic, noble) Raised 4th Triplet ornamentation Improvisatory virtuosic passage
'Praeludium' (*Charakterstücke* no. 1) 1903–09	Frequent dotted rhythms, including the accented short-unaccented long Melancholic *lamentoso* in minor key Rich melodic flourishes Irregular (5/4) metre section
'Impromptu' (*Charakterstücke* no. 7) 1903–09	Sudden harmonic shifts Asymmetric 3- and 7-bar phrases, Changing metre

Having considered the proportion of their occurrence in the whole body of his piano (and other) works and his self-perception as a predominantly German composer, Hungarian elements are clearly not as decisive with regard to Goldmark's piano music as one might expect. They might well have been distant reminiscences of musical experiences he was exposed to in his youth in Hungary and later in Vienna. Arguably, if the *style hongrois* was fundamental to Goldmark's musical language, he would have used its idioms more consistently. Hungarian idioms remain only one facet of his complex style.

5. Thesis Conclusion

In the previous chapters I have examined Goldmark's piano music within his compositional career, by exploring his Viennese social and musical milieu, the piano works' visibility, contemporary and later reception and their most significant musical features. Exploring aspects of politics in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, Goldmark's construction of his self-identity, leading musical institutions and personalities in Goldmark's Vienna, his Viennese acquaintances, circumstances around his Viennese breakthrough and the politically-tainted attacks against him set the context for discussing contemporary reception of his music.

As the piano works comprised an integral part of Goldmark's oeuvre, I discussed the piano works' reception chronologically, integrating them into his compositional career, relating to its key turning points. The explorations of reception was gathered around main themes in early accounts on Goldmark, his gaining recognition by the third *Kompositionskonzert* (1861), being recognised by mainstream press (1862–), breakthrough and continuous presence in mainstream press (1875–), Goldmark's rising renown in Budapest from the 1880s, his full accreditation as a German (1886–), rejecting Goldmark and anti-Semitic attacks in Vienna (from late 1880s), Goldmark as a 'great Hungarian' around 1895, the Goldmark tribute around 1900 in Vienna and Budapest, and aspects of his posthumous identities and ownership (1915). The findings extrapolated from reviews provided the basis for stylistic identifications in the subsequent chapters.

A central aspect was Goldmark's self-defined affiliation to German culture. Its relevance in terms of his piano music was investigated by exploring 'German' music for Goldmark, his self-directed studies of German sources, and by examining different aspects of Goldmark's piano music that can be viewed Germanic, including musical genres, structure, musical textures, and features of harmonic language.

To what extent *style hongrois* impacted upon the musical language of Goldmark's piano works was detected by exploring perceptions of Goldmark as Hungarian, perceptions of 'Hungarian music' in the 19th century and later, characteristics of *verbunkos* and *nóta* and their historical context, the *style hongrois* in Vienna, and its characteristic features in Goldmark's piano music, including rhythmic, melodic features, imitational musical textures, highly virtuosic instrumental technique and unexpected harmonic shifts.

I have been able to identify very few Orientalist allusions in Goldmark's piano music, thus no separate chapter was devoted to them. Even though a 'Jewish-Oriental' aspect

was claimed as important in his general reception, it does not seem to be significant in terms of his piano works. However, as was pointed out, Goldmark's piano music sometimes resists easy labelling into neatly defined categories.

Music's potential to evoke and represent socio-cultural identities, due to its particular powers of connotation, has been emphasized by more recent scholarship, noting that this can also be a means for self-idealization.[1] As I have shown, Goldmark strongly claimed his cultural identity to be German; however, for some, this seemed problematic. Goldmark based this on his absorption of Germanic sources, studying German composers' music and living in German-speaking territory most of his life.[2] This indicates his desired assimilation into German culture, which he saw as an ideal; affiliation with the emerging German musical canon would have meant extensive and long-lasting recognition for his music.

The socio-political context in liberal Vienna, characterised by a devotion to the allegedly superior German culture and also encouraging assimilation, was initially favourable for Goldmark to foster a musical career. For this, he needed to be accepted as one embracing German cultural identity. Following his breakthrough, he became a respected member of the Viennese cultural elite, alongside figures like Johannes Brahms, Eduard Hanslick, Joseph Hellmesberger and Julius Epstein. His operas, symphonic and chamber works were frequently performed in such prominent Viennese venues as the Hofoper and the Musikvereinssaal by the finest performers, including the Vienna Philharmonic and the Hellmesberger Quartet. They often featured in other European as well as American cities. Goldmark's name circulated in mainstream musical press; major Viennese, German and Hungarian papers reviewed the premieres of his works, or featured extended articles about him. His prestigious professional roles also indicated his esteem, including the presidency (1886/87) and honorary presidency (1911–) of the Wiener Tonkünstler-Verein (with Brahms as its honorary chairman); and his honorary membership of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde from 1886.

However, with the rise of German racial nationalism and anti-Semitism, ideological trends shifted rapidly, resulting in vehement attacks against Goldmark and his works by the Wagnerian press from the 1880s. These interpreted his music reductively as 'Jewish-

[1] Georgina Born argues for 'music's extraordinary powers of imaginary evocation of identity … because music lacks denotative meaning … it has particular powers of connotation' adding that 'these qualities are also means for self-idealization and, through repetition of existing tropes and genres of identity-in-music … for the reinforcement of extant collective identities.' Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, 'Introduction: IV. Music and the Representation/Articulation of Sociocultural Identities,' in *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music* (University of California Press, 2000), 31–37.

[2] Goldmark, 'Gedanken über Form und Stil. Eine Abwehr,' [Thoughts on Form and Style. A Defence] *Neue Freie Presse* (4 June 1911): 53–54. See Chapters 1&3.

Oriental', and thus 'othered' it, denying any affiliation with German culture. Thus, his music was interpreted according to different ideological agendas, including 'peculiar but accepted' by the critic of *NZfM*, 'accredited German' by the Viennese liberal Speidel and even 'the enemy of German culture' by anti-Semites.[3] Nevertheless, Goldmark enjoyed high esteem till his old age.

Although Goldmark became acquainted with some leading figures of the musical scene of Pest as early as 1859, his renown in Hungary emerged only from the late 1870s, after gaining recognition in Vienna and later internationally. Nevertheless, it skyrocketed around the Millennium (1895), when he was celebrated as a Hungarian 'star' of international fame, representing the excellence of Hungarian culture, positioned alongside Joseph (József) Joachim and Hans (János) Richter; and as the most significant Hungarian composer after the death of Liszt and Erkel.[4] Upon his death he was claimed by both Austria and Hungary as a 'great son' and a 'pillar' of the respective nation's culture, and by the Jewish press in Budapest as one whose music manifested the so-called 'Jewish soul' (again, based primarily on *Sakuntala* and *Die Königin von Saba*).[5] However, due to shifting political circumstances in early 20th century, including banning his music from 1938 in Austria, his works were neglected during the Nazi period and remained under-represented well past that time.

As we have seen, Goldmark composed piano music throughout his life. A number of these works, including *Drei Stücke*, excerpts from *Sturm und Drang* Op. 5, *Magyar ábránd*, excerpts from *Charakterstücke* and *Georginen* Op. 52 as well as many of his piano chamber works, including Piano Quartet Op. 3, Piano Trio Op. 4, Suite for Violin and Piano Op. 11 and the Piano Quintets Opp. 30&54, appeared in concert programmes in Vienna and Pest in Goldmark's lifetime. Their performers included outstanding Viennese and internationally renowned pianists. Some of these works represented him in his early *Kompositionskonzerte* which earned him recognition in Pest and Vienna; thus this repertoire gained visibility and had a role in Goldmark's formulating career. In the early 1900s Goldmark's piano pieces also formed a part of some of the finest pianists' concert programmes in Vienna.

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[3] For contradictory interpretations of Goldmark's music, consider reveiws by Graf Laurencin of Goldmark's piano and piano chamber works, Speidel's of Symphony no. 2 Op. 35 and Püringer's of *Sappho*, discussed in Chapter 2, pages 77–80, 91 and 94.

[4] See István Kecskeméti's and Kornél Ábrányi's positioning of Goldmark in Chapter 2, pages 89–90, 100. Goldmark was awarded Honorary Doctorate by the University of Budapest. Thomas Aigner, 'Carl Goldmarks Werdegang und familiäres Umfeld,' in *Carl Goldmark: Leben – Werk – Rezeption,* ed. Peter Stachel (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2022), 21.

[5] Consider Gyula Fodor's evaluation of Goldmark's musical language, discussed in Chapter 2, pages 109–110.

Recurring perceptions of the piano works included the impact of his studying German sources and the music of Mendelssohn (particularly in early pieces), Bach and Schumann; an originality often linked with unusual harmony, and a so-called cosmopolitan voice, which might well suggest absorbing impulses from different stylistic sources. Notably, repertoires including his piano and piano chamber music were associated by critics (especially by the critic of *NZfM*) with the supposedly Germanic values of strength, seriousness and depth, while comments concerning Goldmark's Jewish background and its impact on his musical language were not typically related to his piano works.

Goldmark's affiliation with the Germanic tradition manifested through numerous features as identified in this thesis. These include his choices of genres, compositional techniques, formal structures and features of harmonic language. He used genres typically considered Germanic; the symphony, concerto and in terms of chamber music the *lied*, sonata, piano trio, string quartet and piano quintet. The vast majority of his piano works are collections of *Charakterstücke* and *Novelletten*, of which Robert Schumann was the most prominent exponent. As an outcome of Goldmark's compositional exercises which he pursued throughout his life, counterpoint (a Bachian ideal) is often used in his symphonic, chamber and piano works. Formal structures he cultivated (for example the ternary form, predominant in the piano works) also suggest a Germanic affiliation. The harmonic language of particularly some of his late piano pieces featuring chromatic voice-leading and modulation resemble to techniques cultivated by Wagner or Richard Strauss.

However, Goldmark also incorporated some idioms of *style hongrois*, to which he was exposed throughout his life, in some of his piano works. These include rhythmic, melodic, textural and harmonic features. *Magyar ábránd*, commissioned for an album of Hungarian composers, was his 'poster' Hungarian piece, featuring numerous characterisitcs of the style. However, as I have shown, he incorporated *style hongrois* features sporadically in a few other pieces of musically different contexts, with titles not typically associated with the *style hongrois.* Even if this suggests a blending of some idioms of that vernacular into his musical language, *style hongrois* can be viewed as only one colour within his stylistic palette.

Although features that might be considered as 'Oriental' occur sporadically in a few of Goldmark's piano pieces, these, too, cannot be considered as significant. Moreover, in a number of cases, individual piano pieces cannot be labelled clearly as 'Germanic' or 'Hungarian' or 'Oriental' and so forth, despite presenting aspects of these recognisable

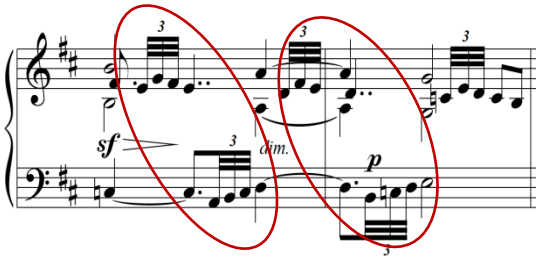
idioms.[6] Rather, my investigation revealed that Goldmark in many cases incorporated influences from and traces of different stylistic sources within the same work. In a *Charakterstück* of ternary form and tonal harmony, short sections featuring typical *style hongrois* idioms may occur, or, lengthy sections of predominant *style hongrois* idioms and French overture may alternate in the same work. The opening bars of a *Charakterstück* may feature a cluster of *style hongrois* elements. This implies an amalgamation of features typically affiliated with certain different stylistic sources, thus creating a unique, multifaceted musical language that reaches beyond specific, distinct musical sources; an aspect of language that might be viewed as 'Goldmarkian'.[7] As Philip V. Bohlman observed, 'music at the boundaries between repertoires, genres and practices … these are the sites of hybridity and contested identities.'[8] As noted earlier, the historically multicultural milieu of Burgenland (where Goldmark spent his youth in Deutschkreutz, then part of the *Sheva Kehillot* [Seven Communities]), in Goldmark's time within the Austrian Empire, today at the border region of Austria and Hungary, has been home for diverse ethnic and religious minorities, albeit with intense musical exchange, resulting in diverse repertoires. According to Bohlman, this is the milieu where 'preservation, revival and hybridization thrive.'[9]

Goldmark's 'Trostlos' (*Sturm und Drang* Op. 5 no. 3, 1858) is a good example for amalgamating impacts from at least three different sources. As is discussed in Chapter 4, traits of *style hongrois* can be detected in 'Trostlos'.[10] These include a prevailing melancholic mood, suggested by the title [Disconsolate], frequent dotted rhythms and syncopation, richly ornamented melodic line in the minor key, containing the augmented 2nd and virtuosic, improvisational passages. However, 'Trostlos' reveals a kind of synthesis that can be observed in terms of texture. Dotted rhythms are prevalent throughout, from their first presentation in the improvisational theme. However, their character and effect are fundamentally different preceding the climax, before the main theme's return; as they, and

[6] I do not mean to equate 'Oriental' and 'Jewish' music; I consider the latter as a dialect within the generic term 'Oriental', encompassing different Eastern styles. Here I refer to the broad term.
[7] Resembling to Bertagnolli's description of Goldmark's multifaceted musical language in Paul A. Bertagnolli, 'Conservativism Assimilates the Prometheus Myth: Concert Overtures by Bargiel and Goldmark,' in *Prometheus in Music. Representations of the Myth in the Romantic Era* (Burlington VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 316, 321.
[8] Philip V. Bohlman, 'Preface,' in *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC–CLIO, 2004), xxv.
[9] 'Europeans without Nations,' in Ibid., 210, 211. The concept of cultural hybridity is discussed in broad terms in Amar Acheraiou, 'The Ethos of Hybridity Discourse,' in *Questioning Hybridity, Postcolonialism and Globalization* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 87–104.
[10] See Examples 4.19. and 4.21. in Chapter 4.

their triplet embellishments appear in a complementing manner between the two hands (see Example 5.1).

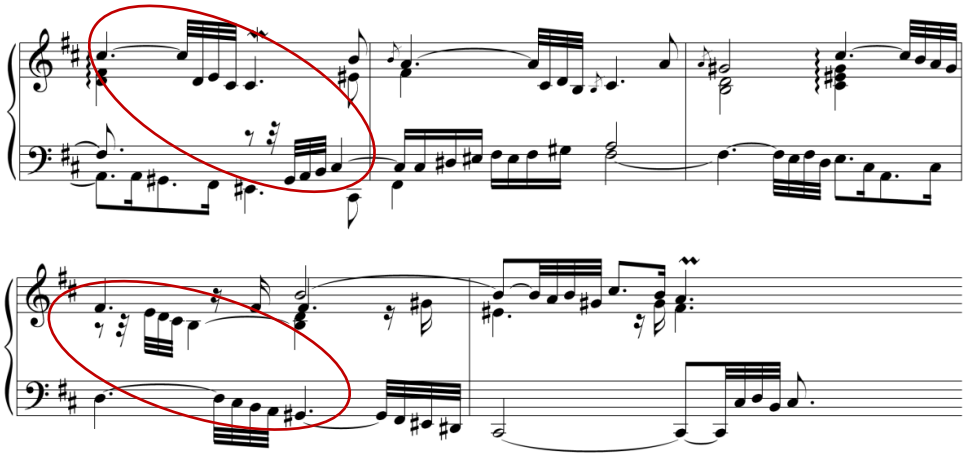
Example 5.1. Carl Goldmark: ‘Trostlos’ (*Strum und Drang* Op. 5 no. 3), bars 24–25.
Audio example: Carl Goldmark: ‘Trostlos’ (*Strum und Drang* Op. 5 no. 3), bars 24–25.



Complementing dotted rhythms, embellishments

This pattern lends a certain solemn, gracefully leaping character to the passage, which is further developed in bars 29–32. Its overall effect alludes more to the style of *French overture*, which is very subtly combined with *style hongrois* features in this work. The root of this pattern can be found in J. S. Bach’s music. In Bach’s *Partita* in B minor for keyboard BWV 831 (with the subtitle *French Overture*), the complementing use of dotted rhythms and demisemiquavers between the two hands can be observed (bars 1 and 4 of Example 5.2).

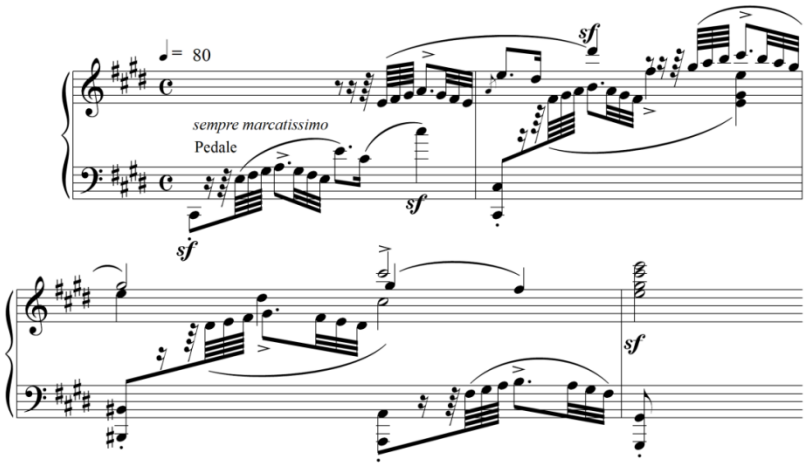
Example 5.2. Johann Sebastian Bach: *Partita* in B minor for keyboard, BWV 831. *Ouverture*, bars 12–17.



Complementing demisemiquaver textures

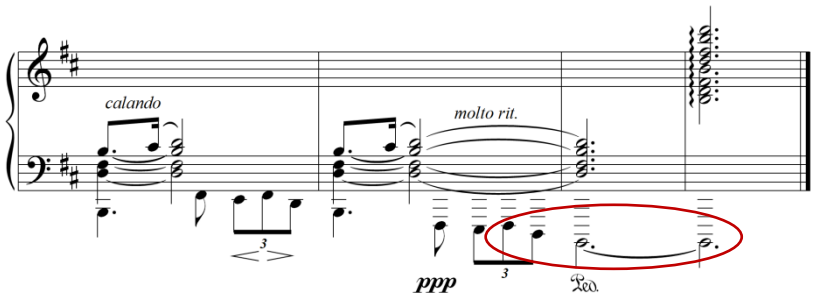
However, here Goldmark's use of that texture stands even closer to Schumann's treatment of the *French overture* in *Etudes symphoniques* in terms of its larger gesture, dynamic range and broader harmonic palette.

Example 5.3. Robert Schumann: *Etudes symphoniques* Op. 13, 1834. Etude no. 8, bars 1–4.



Nevertheless, not only inspirations of *style hongrois*, the *French overture* and its Schumannesque adaptation can be recognised in this work. The closing of the piece, a slow, descending arpeggio of the B minor triad in the melody (F#-D-B) reveals a feature of different source.

Example 5.4. Carl Goldmark: 'Trostlos' (*Strum und Drang* Op. 5 no. 3), bars 81–84.
Audio example: Carl Goldmark: 'Trostlos' (*Strum und Drang* Op. 5 no. 3), bars 81–84.



This kind of closing formula is termed as 'Mendelssohnian cadence'.[11] According to Jack Werner, it consists of 'an extension of the tonic minor chord', which is a 'characteristic feature of his [Mendelssohn's] music … so peculiar to this composer … [that] occurs … chiefly at the end of a composition or a movement.'[12] He further argues, through 'typical examples' from *Elias* (Op. 70, 1846), including the Duet and Choir 'Herr, höre unser Gebet!' (no. 2) which were based on an ancient Jewish chant, that this cadence originated in Jewish synagogue music.

Notably, Goldmark subtly amalgamates features of music of his great exemplars, Bach, Mendelssohn and Schumann, in 'Trostlos', moreover, seems to hint at his multiple – German, Hungarian and Jewish – identities within the same piece. In this light, although numerous piano pieces feature unmistakable characteristics of one or another source of inspiration, it would seem reductive to label most of them as belonging to one distinctive category. Viewing the musical language of Goldmark's piano works as a whole as multifaceted, converging different sources of inspiration seems a more appropriate interpretation.

This thesis aimed to stimulate the growing interest in this significant figure of his time who has been undeservedly neglected since then for unconscionable racial reasons. It is also hoped that this thesis, accompanied by my complete recordings of the piano works, will enhance a rediscovery of this repertoire, and pianists and pianist-scholars can effectively use this stylistic positioning, helping them to locate this oeuvre within Romantic piano literature. This also offers historically grounded data for them in approaching this dormant repertoire as well as clues for informed interpretational considerations. My research also enhances moving towards a more comprehensive understanding of 19th-century music, at once suggesting that there may well be other, underrepresented repertoires which worth discovering.

The findings of my research suggest that music needs to be understood in complex ways, taking into account a number of diverse factors, rather than assigning musical works to distinct, neatly fixed categories. Considering the implications of socio-cultural contexts, theoretical documents, personal documents and analysis combined may enhance a more nuanced understanding of a creative identity. My research also revealed how vulnerable a musical identity is to history: what in a certain historical context and place is regarded as

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[11] Jack Werner, 'The Mendelssohnian Cadence,' *The Musical Times* 97, no. 1355 (January 1956): 17–19. Accessed 14 September 2018, https://www.jstor.org/stable/938541?read-now=1&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

[12] Ibid.

mainstream, can, with the shifting of that context, fade into oblivion rapidly, falling victim to changing ideologies. Nevertheless, some may then be approached from different perspectives, may be revived and newly understood. Moreover, it also implies that, somewhat idealistically, no one, ever, should be excluded from culture on the basis of any ethnic chauvinisms or, the one's inherited identity – something the one cannot help.

Athough some new scholarship on Goldmark has emerged in recent years, research on his music is far from complete. There are other areas in his output almost entirely underrepresented – for example his choral works, chamber music, including *lieder* – valuable repertoires that can be explored in future research. Even in terms of his piano music, exploring further its contemporary and later reception history may reveal accounts of other works not discussed in detail in this thesis (including the collection Op. 29, other individual pieces and works for four hands). A broader performance history of the piano works in Hungary and beyond Vienna – including German-speaking territories and beyond – might also be further explored. Much work remains to be done, but hopefully all these will point towards that Goldmark, and others sharing his fate, will one day again receive the recognition they deserve.

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Appendix to Reception (Chapter Two)

Collation of Reviews, 1859–1900

‘g’, ‘Konzert des Komponisten Karl Goldmark,’ *Pester Lloyd* (15 April 1859). (Reference 56)

‘Wir haben über ein sehr beachtenswerthes Talent zu berichten … In den vorgetragenen Kompositionen Goldmarks bekundet sich zunächst eine reiche Erfindungskraft; die Gedanken strömen in großen Fülle ihm zu, und fast immer zeigt sich das Bestreben, ihnen eine möglichst noble, charakteristische Haltung zu geben; eine sogenannte vulgäre Phrase ist uns höchst selten vorgekommen … Wir erkennen ferner eine bedeutende harmonische Gewandtheit und auch hierbei als Hauptziel das Streben, durch frappante Akkorde und Akkorden folgen möglichst originell zu sein … In der Arbeit endlich sehen wir ein Ringen nach der seiner Phantasie entsprechenden neuen Form, und ein Bemühen auch die von unseren großen Meistern geschaffenen Formen sich anzueignen. So hätten wir den einen jungen Künstler, der drei Haupteigenschaften zum Komponieren besitzt: Erfindungskraft, harmonische Gewandtheit und Kenntniß der Form.’

We have occasion to report on a very remarkable talent … In Goldmark’s compositions there is presented, first of all, a wealth of inventiveness; thoughts flow to him in great abundance, and there is almost always an attempt to give them the noblest, most characteristic attitude; a so-called vulgar phrase has seldom occurred to us … We also recognise an important harmonic skill and the main goal here is to strive to be as original as possible through striking chords and chord progressions … In the work we finally see a struggle for the new form that corresponds to his imagination, and also an effort to adopt the forms created by our great masters. So we have a young artist with three main characteristics for composing: inventiveness, harmonic agility and knowledge of form.

Ibid. (Reference 57)

‘Schon das genaue Studium Schumann’s und Mendelssohn’s, die, wie wir aus Goldmark’s Komposition erkennen, großen Einfluß auf seine ganze Gefühlsweise gehabt haben, hätte auch ihn bewegen müssen, seiner Phantasie straffere Zügel anzulegen … Dieses Gefühl der Abspannung entsteht aber auch häufig durch die harmonischen Eigenthümlichkeiten des Komponisten. Das Studium neuerer Meister, ein ihm eigener vorherrschender Zug zur Melancholie verleiten ihn gewissermaßen zu einem völligen Schwelgen in Dissonanzen aller Art, und das vorhin erwähnte Streben nach Originalität bewirkt Akkordenfolgen die uns in ihrer Schroffheit nervös verstimmen müssen. Wir nennen z. B. die Harmoniefolge in dem Klavierstücke: “Trostlos”. Neu, im höchsten Grade neu ist sie freilich, aber warum noch nicht schön! … warum aber will er denn so selten uns das Gefühl der Schönen Konsonanzen und naturgemäßen Akkordfolgen empfinden lassen? – warum will er die verfehlten Versuche einiger Neuerer als mustergiltige Beispiele annehmen? Das er im großen Reiche der Harmonien gebieten könne, sehen wir aus der großen Mannigfaltigkeit seiner Harmonien, – nun aber lasse er auch Schönheit das erste Gesetz sein, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, daß die Originalität darunter leiden könne.’

Even the close study of Schumann and Mendelssohn, which, as we can see from Goldmark's compositions, had a great deal of influence on his entire way of feeling, should have persuaded him to tighten the reins on his imagination … [after this general comment the critic discusses the Trio and later turns back to more general comments and more specific ones relating to piano pieces] … However, this feeling of tension often arises from the harmonic peculiarities of the composer. The study of new masters and his own predominant tendency towards melancholy leads him to a complete indulgence in dissonances of all kinds, and the aforementioned striving for originality leads to chord progressions that unsettle us with their harshness. We mention for example the harmonic sequence in the piano piece 'Trostlos'. It is new, of course, to the highest degree, but why not yet beautiful! ... Why does he so rarely want us to experience the feeling of beautiful consonances and natural chord progression? Why does he want to accept the failed attempts of some innovators as exemplary models? We see from the great variety of his harmonies that he can command in the great range of harmonies – but now let beauty be the first, even at the risk that originality might suffer.

'Z,' 'Concert des Componisten Carl Goldmark,' *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst* (18 January 1861). (Reference 71)

'Goldmark's Musik prächis zu charakterisiren ist schwer, hauptsächlich aus dem Grunde, weil sie selbstständig ist. Ohne im Geringsten formlos oder auch nur unbestimmt, schwankend in der Form zu sein, handhabt sie die Formen, dennoch mit einem Freiheit, die einen Vergleich mit Bildungen anderer Componisten nicht oder nur selten zulässt. Man sieht sich somit gezwungen, bezeichnende Puncte aus der Sache selbst hervorzusuchen und festzustellen. Einer der augenfälligsten ist die Behandlung der Harmonie. Es genügt nicht, Hrn Goldmark als einen kühnen Harmoniker zu bezeichnen, man muss ihm geradezu das neue Prädicat eines Enharmonikers verleihen. Seine modulatorische Gewandtheit ist wahrhaft erstaunlich … ein unentwirrbares Netz von Trugharmonien gerathen werde … bezüglich ihrer vielfach geglückten Versuche, aus dem noch wenig befahrenen Gebiete der Enharmonik … Es sei daher hier im Allgemeinen nur noch gesagt, daβ aus Goldmark's Arbeiten ein feiner Sinn, eine groβe geistige Ueberlegenheit spricht. Die Haltung ist durchaus edel und vornehm, der Inhalt schwunghaft. Wir würden der Musik Goldmark's sie durchaus geistreich nennend, eine nur einseitige Anerkennung spenden; sie ist mehr als dieses, sie hat Charakter. Sie zeigt eine seltene Gestaltungskraft, aus scheinbar unbedeutenden Motiven, reiche Formen zu modelliren, ebenso wie einen ausgebildeten Sinn für prägnante, noble Klangwirkung.'

To precisely characterize Goldmark's music is difficult, mainly because it is autonomous. Without being at all formless or even vague, fluctuating in form, he nevertheless handles forms with a freedom that does not or rarely allow a comparison with other composers' works. One is thus forced to look for significant points from the matter itself to establish them. One of the most striking is the treatment of harmony. It is not enough to name Mr. Goldmark a bold harmonic; one has to assign him the new distinction of enharmonic. His modulatory dexterity is truly astonishing … an inextricable net of deceptive harmonies … [we shall return to] his in many ways successful experiments in the as yet little explored field of enharmonic … It should be said here in general that from Goldmark's work meaning and a great intellectual superiority speak. The attitude is quite noble and elegant, the content roaring. If we would call Goldmark's music witty, it would be a one-sided recognition; it is more than this, it has character. He shows a rare creative power to model rich forms from apparently insignificant motives, as well as a trained sense for concise, noble sound effects.

Ibid. (Reference 72)

‘Die zahlreiche Zuhörerschaft war sehr animiert. Herr Goldmark, wie auch seine talentvolle Schülerin, Frln. Bettelheim, haben allen Grund, mit den ihnen zu Theil gewordenen lebhaften Auszeichnungen zufrieden zu sein, die sie übrigens vollkommen verdienten … Auch über Frln Bettelheim, welches sechs reizende Clavierstücke Goldmarks vortrug, wird es uns hoffentlich nächstens vergönnt sein, ausführlicher zu sprechen. Über ihr Spiel für jetzt auch nur so viel, daß es den strengsten Anforderungen an Technik und Geschmack volles Genüge leistet. Es ist jenes Spiel, wie es zur charakteristischen Interpretierung Bach’s und Schumann’s gefordert, selten gefunden wird, jenes gedrungene, klare, compacte, anspruchslose, allen Schönthuereien serne, dafür aber auch durch und durch musikalische durchgeistigte Spiel das die glatte Wiener Schule in der Regel nicht cultivirt. Wir begrüßen in Frln Bettelheim ein seltenes musikalisches Talent und eine Pianistin von großer Zukunft.’

The large audience was very enthusiastic. Mr. Goldmark, and his talented student Ms. Bettelheim have every reason to be satisfied with the lively accolades they have received, which they deserved completely … We hope to also be able to speak in more detail about Ms. Bettelheim who performed six lovely piano pieces by Goldmark. About her playing for now only so much that it fully met the strictest requirements for technique and taste. It is the playing needed for the characteristic interpretation of Bach and Schumann, rarely found, tightly-knit, clear, compact, unpretentious, that is devoid of all fineries, but thoroughly musical playing that the smooth Viennese school generally not cultivated. We welcome in Ms. Bettelheim a rare musical talent and a pianist with a great future ahead.

‘Musik (Philharmonisches Konzert. – Konzert des Herrn Karl Goldmark.),’ *Wiener Zeitung* (16 January 1861): 183–84. (Reference 73)

‘An einen, Herrn Goldmark von der Natur verliehenen ursprünglichen Fond, dessen Vorhanden oder Nichtvorhandensein doch gewissermaβen immer die Hauptsache bleibt, können wir nach den uns mitgetheilten Proben freilich nicht glauben; dagegen läβt sich ihm eben so wenig ein gewisses sekundäres Talent, ein durch Bildung erworbenes, ohne Natürliche Anlage auch nicht erreichbares formelles Geschick nicht bestreiten … Das “kleine Klavierstück” aber und das Lied sind Gebiete, welche der Konzertgeber lieber ganz vermeiden sollte, weil in ihnen ohne eine entschiedene lyrisch-subjektive Begabung, die ihm durchaus zu fehlen scheint, nichts Erhebliches zu leisten ist. Die Klavierstücke sind sämmtlich sehr trockene Kompositionen, die in ihrer Haltung etwa an Moscheles erinnern, obgleich z. B. in den “charakteristischen Etüden” des letzteren immer noch mehr poetischer Gehalt steckt, als in jenen, wir müssen es offen aussprechen, völlig stimmungs- und reizlosen Gebilden. Wir möchten die “Kinder auf dem Rasen” – so ist eines dieser Stücke überschrieben – und ähnliche Erscheinungen am liebsten ganz verschwinden sehen, citirt man sie aber einmal, so muß man doch irgend einen Rapport zwischen dem musikalischen Gehalt und der empirischen Vorstellung, welcher jener entsprechen soll, wahrzunehmen vermögen, was uns jedoch bei diesem Stück so wenig gelungen ist, wie bei dem folgenden, mit “Trostlos” überschriebenen, in welchem der Verfasser mit den raffinirtesten Klavier-effekten spielt, die sich als künstlerischer Ausdruck einer gedrückten Seelenstimmung sehr verwunderlich ausnehmen.’

According to the samples that have been communicated to us, we cannot believe in an original fund given to Mr. Goldmark by nature, the existence or non-existence of which remains the main thing. On

the other hand, a certain secondary talent, a formal skill acquired through education and also not attainable without natural disposition, cannot be denied … The 'kleine Klavierstück' and the Lied, however, are areas the concert giver should rather avoid altogether, because without a decisive lyrical–subjective talent, which seems to be lacking, nothing significant can be achieved. The piano pieces are all very dry compositions that are reminiscent of Moscheles in their attitude, although there is still more poetic content in the latter's 'characteristic studies' for example, than in those we have to say openly, completely moodless and unattractive structures. We would like the 'Kinder auf dem Rasen' – as one of these studies is titled – and similar phenomena to disappear completely, but if one refers to it, one must find some kind of relation between the musical content and the fundamental idea to which it is supposed to correspond, which is as unsuccessful in this piece as in the following one, titled 'Trostlos', where the author plays with the most refined piano effects, which appear as baffling artistic expressions of a depressed soul.

Laurencin, 'Kammer und Hausmusik. Für Pianoforte zwei- und vierhändig,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (18 December 1868): 452–53. (Reference 83)

'Goldmark's bis jetz näher bekannt gewordene Werke: das in d. Bl. eingehend besprochene Streichquartett Op. 8 B dur, die an gleicher Stelle ausführlich gewürdigte Ouvertüre zu Sakuntala und die Suite für Clavier und Geige haben uns einen in seiner Sphäre reichbegabten und schon in hohem Grade geklärten Componisten bekundet. Das hier vorliegende Opus bezeichnet indeß, wie schon der Titel besagt, erst ein Ringen nach dem in den früher genannten Werken bereits festgestellten Ideale … Denn es bekundet im Ganzen wie in allem Einzelnen einen noch gänzlich unversöhnten Kampf. Uebrigens muß ich mich von vornherein gegen die Zumuthung verwahren, als sähe ich etwa in diesem Werke einen unfertigen Kampf zwischen schwankendem Wollen und halbem Können. Nein. Im Gegentheil. Goldmark beherrscht auch hier bereits seinen Stoff als Meister der Idee und der Technik. Er weiß genau, was er will. Er zeigt sich auch hier schon durchgreifend als Herr der thematischen Gestaltung und der harmonisch-rhythmischen Gliederung seiner stets klar und urwüchsig hingestellten und ebenso entwickelten Gedanken. Wenn ich dennoch von Maßlosigkeiten, ja von Krankhaftem in Fülle sprechen muß, die mir bei Durchsicht dieser neun Tonstücke entgegengetreten, so sage ich dies mit umso nachdrücklicherem Vorbehalte, als Wesen und Form einander hier vollständig decken und durchdringen.'

Goldmark's works that have become known by now, the String Quartet Op. 8 in B major, discussed in detail in this journal, the *Sakuntala* overture, which has also been extensively recognized, and the Suite for Piano and Violin have revealed a composer who is very much gifted in his sphere and already highly clarified. However, as the title [*Sturm und Drang*] suggests, this opus denotes a struggle for the ideals already established in the earlier works … For in its entirety, as [in] all individual pieces it reveals an entirely unreconciled struggle. Incidentally, I have to reject the imposition as if I saw in this work an unfinished fight between wavering will and half ability. No. On the contrary. Here too, Goldmark has already mastered his material as a master of ideas and technique. He knows exactly what he wants. He shows himself as the master of thematic design and the harmonic-rhythmic structure of his always clear, original and equally developed thoughts. If, however, I have to speak of lack of moderation, even of pernicious distortions I encountered when looking through these nine pieces, I say this with all the more emphatic reservations, as essence and form completely overlap and intertwine.

Laurencin, ‘Kammer und Hausmusik. Für Pianoforte zwei- und vierhändig,’ *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (18 December 1868): 452–53. (Reference 86)

Was hier zu Tage tritt, ist wirklich erlebter ‘Sturm und Drang.’ Dieser Wust von auf-, neben- und übereinander gestellten Vorzeichnungen, Tactarten, enharmonischen Weit- und Uebergriffen ergiebt sich hier als ein So- und Nichtanderskönnen des Autors. Mit diesem beinahe tactweisen Modulationswechsel und ebenso gearteten Rhythmenspiele geht hier gleichen Schrittes ein sozusagen immer kaleidoskopisches, rastloses Ringen der Themen nach Abschluß. Fast immer ist es hier ein Gewalt- oder Verzweiflungsruf melodisch-harmonischer oder rhythmischer Art, der den Anschluß der vereinzelt hingestellten Gedankenglieder vollbringt. Jede halb- oder gar vollkommene Cadenz, die in diesen Stücken vorkommt, klingt wie ein ertrotzter, schwer gefaßter Entschluß, wie ein widerwillig herausgeschleudertes ‘Es muß sein’ auf die immer als Quälgeist vorschwebende Frage: ‘Muß es sein?’

What emerges here is a real experience of ‘Sturm und Drang’. This jumble of sketches placed next to and on top of each other, [different] measure types, enharmonic expansions and transgressions result from the author’s ability to do so and not otherwise. Given the modulations and rhythmic play in practically every bar, a constantly kaleidoscopic, tireless struggle of the themes for fulfilment takes place. It is almost always a cry of violence or despair of a melodic-harmonic or rhythmic nature that connects the isolated thought elements. Every half or even complete cadence that occurs in these pieces sounds like a struggled, difficult decision, like a reluctantly thrown out ‘It must be’ to the always annoyingly floating question: ‘Must it be?’

Laurencin, ‘Kammer und Hausmusik. Für Pianoforte zwei- und vierhändig,’ *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (18 December 1868): 452–53. (Reference 89)

‘Und dennoch – wie seltsam sympathisch berührend und spannend, wie zum Immerwiederdurchsehen und Durchspielen regt dieses große Sturm- und Drang-Tonbild an! Jeder Tact ergiebt beinahe ein abgesondertes Bild. Und das Gesammtgebilde, hervorgegangen aus diesem überschwänglichen Detail, bleibt reizvolles Sphynxräthsel. Allein spielen und lesen mag man diese Tonbilder immerhin, und zwar recht oft … Bisher auf solche Art nur angeredet von seinen untrennbaren Freunden Chopin und Florestan-Euseb-Schumann wird es gewiß jeden noch lebenden Romantiker solcher Richtung freuen, durch einen unmittelbaren Zeitgenossen mit derartiger, schon für immer verklungen geglaubter Sprache musikalisch begrüßt zu werden.’

And yet – how strangely sympathetic and exciting to look through again and again these great ‘Sturm und Drang’ images! Almost each bar gives a separate picture. And the whole structure, which emerged from this exuberant detail, remains a delightful sphinx-like riddle. After all, one likes to play and read these tone pictures again, alone and quite often ... So far, only his inseparable friends Chopin and Florestan–Euseb–Schumann have composed in this way, any living Romantic of this kind will surely be pleased to be greeted musically by an immediate contemporary with such a language that had been believed to have faded away.

Ibid. (Reference 90)

‘Soviel aus der stets überaus mühsamen Durchsicht eines vierhändigen Stückes zu entnehmen ist, pulsiert in diesen drei Tonstücken eine kernige, frische, vorwiegend absolute Musik. Allerdings sind es auch Stimmungsbilder, die Einem hier entgegentreten. Allein sie sind dies in weitester Wortbedeutung. Der gute Kerngeist der Neuzeit spiegelt sich hier vornehmlich reinmusikalisch, nicht gehalten durch ein bestimmtes Programm, wieder. Die Themen haben Kraft, Farbe und Zug; die harmonisch-rhythmische Gestaltungsweise nicht minder. Es sind Salonstücke edelster Färbung und Fassung. Sie erfordern von beiden Spielern keinen großen Aufwand von Technik, sondern einfach nur richtiges und feines Musiker-Gefühl und ebenso gearteten Verstand. Dergestalt besaitete Naturen dürften an diesen Gaben nachhaltiges Vergnügen ernten. Ihnen sei daher dieses Werk mit aller Wärme empfohlen … Gut musikalischen Kreisen, die zwischen Kammermusikwerken auch bessere Claviermusik knapperer Form pflegen wollen, seien diese Tonstücke bestens empfohlen.’

So much can be gleaned from the always exceedingly laborious perusal of a four-hand piece, a robust, fresh, predominantly absolute music pulsates in these three pieces. However, they are also mood pictures that confront one here. They alone are this in the broadest meaning of the word. The good core spirit of modern times is mainly reflected here purely musically, rather than by a specific programme. The themes have strength, colour and tension; the harmonic–rhythmic design no less. These are salon pieces of the finest colouring and setting. They do not require from the players a great deal of technique, but just right and fine musical feeling and equally good mind. Such strung natures should reap lasting pleasure from these gifts. We warmly recommend this work ... [for] good musical circles who want to cultivate better piano music of more concise form amongst chamber music works.

Laurencin, ‘Tondichter der Genegenwart. Carl Goldmark,’ *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (11 October 1878): 429–32. (Reference 98)

‘Um Goldmark’s Tonschaffen und Tongestalten er schöpfend gerecht zu werden, gilt es vor Allem, zwei Gesichtspunkte festzuhalten. Der eine betrifft Goldmark’s künstlerischen Bildungsgang. Der zweite gipfelt in dem durch alle seine bisher veröffentlichten Schöpfungen sich schlingenden rothen Faden. Ich meine hiermit die fest begrenzte Eigenart und das aus innerlichster Nothwendigkeit hervorgegangene Schaffen Goldmark’s. Nach erstem Hinblicke ist Goldmark Autodidakt in dieses Wortes entschiedenstem Begriffssinne. Er hat, laut eigenem Bekenntniß, niemals einen streng gegliederten Lehrcurs, oder eine sogenannte Schule durchgemacht. Er war niemals Compositionszögling eines musikalischen Einzelnlehrers oder einer in diese Classe gehörigen Bildungsanstalt. Alles innerhalb dieser Sphären irgendwie Erlernbare verdankt Goldmark ausschließlich dem Selbststudium theoretischer Werke und dem ursprünglich scharf und stark besaiteten Forschungs- oder Beobachtungsgeiste; also: seinem eigenpersönlichen Selbst. Wer nun die massenhaft vielen und weitverzweigten Kreuz-, Quer- und Umwege kennen gelernt hat, die ein solcher Selbstlehrer im Fache der Tonkunst und ihrer Wissenschaft nothwendig durchpilgern muß, um selbst unter Voraussetzung der glanzvollsten Naturbegabung zu irgend einem greifbaren Ergebnisse und zu irgend einem ausgeprägten Erfolge als Tonbildner hindurchdringen zu können, der wird Goldmark’s Werke – die allerersten etwa ausgenommen – durchblickend, der in selben niedergelegten Gedankentiefe, Formenfreiheit, Gestaltenfülle und – zumeist wahrnehmbaren – strengen Abgeschlossenheit seine Würdigung unmöglich versagen können. Genau dasselbe gilt von dem in Goldmark’s bisher veröffentlichten Werken niedergelegten, überall klar ersichtlichen Sondern reicher Naturbegabung, wie an einer in den meisten Hauptpunkten zu höchster Potenz vergeistigten Bildnerroutine.’

To be just to Goldmark's compositions and musical forms, two main points should be observed. The first concerns Goldmark's artistic education. The second culminates in the red thread, permeating all of his previously published creations. By this I mean the firmly defined style and the creative activity, arisen from Goldmark's innermost needs. At first sight Goldmark is self-taught in this word's most definite sense. According to his own confession, [Goldmark] never attended a strictly structured course, or a so-called school. He was never a pupil of composition of a music teacher or an educational institution belonging to this field. Goldmark owes everything that can be learned within these spheres solely to his individual study of theoretical works and his inherently sharp and strong research and observational spirit; thus his own self. Anyone who is familiar with the vast number of widely ramified crossroads and detours that an autodidact has to pay pilgrimage to in the field of musical art and science, in order to achieve any tangible results and pronounced success as a tone poet, even given the most brilliant natural talent, will find it impossible not to appreciate the depth of thought, freedom of form, abundance of shapes and – mostly perceptible – strict individuality in Goldmark's works – with the exception of the very first. The same is true of the ubiquitous peculiarity of his innate rich talent, which is evident from the works Goldmark has published so far, as well as the essence of his best ability, the skill of the transcendental artistic creator.

Ibid. (Reference 99)

'Der zweite Punkt, aus dessen genaue Feststellung es zunächst ankommt, um über Goldmark's Tonschaffen ein klares Licht zu bekommen, beruht auf der in seinen Werken vollends ausgeprägten kosmopolitischen, in des Wortes besten Sinne durch die That erprobten eklektischen Bildungs- und Schaffensrichtung. Diese letztere findet sich hier überall gepaart und ist durchdrungen von einer ganz ursprünglich ihm angeborenen Eigenart. Solches durch und durch individuelle Gepräge erscheint ferner kraft desjenigen Volksstammes, oder kraft des ethisch-religiös-confessionellen Credo, dem Goldmark ursprünglich angehört und innerhalb dessen geistigseelischer Strömung er sich zum Allgemeinern wie zum specifischen Musikermenschen allmählig emporgearbeitet hat. Von diesem ganz speciell dem Goldmark'schen Tonschaffen gegenüber zu betonenden Elemente soll später die Rede sein.'

The second point, the exact determination of which is necessary in order to gain a clear understanding of Goldmark's tonal work, is based on the fully pronounced cosmopolitanism in his works, in the best sense of the word, through the eclectic direction of education and creation. This latter is found paired everywhere here and imbued with a truly innate individuality. Such a thoroughly individual character also appears by virtue of the ethnic group or ethical-religious-denominational creed to which Goldmark originally belonged, and within whose spiritual current he gradually worked his way up to become a general and specific musician. These elements, which are to be particularly emphasised in relation to Goldmark's tone creations, will be discussed later.

Laurencin, 'Tondichter der Gegenwart. Carl Goldmark,' *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (11 October 1878): 429–32. (Reference 101)

'Was nun zuvörderst jenes, dem Componisten eigene und in allem bisherigen Tondichterwalten desselben als springender Quellpunkt klar ersichtliche kosmopolitische Element betrifft, so ist selbes folgendermaßen zu deuten: Goldmark hat den gesammten, von Alters her bis in die jüngste Zeit

aufgespeicherten musikalischen Tonschatz dergestalt in sich aufgenommen, daß dieser als Ganzheit sowohl, wie auch nach Seite jeder irgend nennenswerthen Einzelerscheinung in fast allen bisher veröffentlichten Schöpfungen des eben genannten Tondichters selbstständige Blüthen treibt und ebenso geartete Früchte zeitigt. Goldmark ist eben nach keiner Richtung hin ein Parteigänger dieser oder jener bestimmten Tonsetzersekte oder sogenannten Schule. Er liefert daher, ausgenommen in seinen Erstlingswerken, auch den Reminiscenzenjägern nicht einmal den entferntesten Stoff. Allerdings wird jeder aufmerksame Einblick in Goldmark's Werke sogleich die sprechendsten Einflüsse gewahr, die ein ebenso geistvolles als gründliches Durchdringen aller irgendwie nennenswerthen oder mustergiltigen Richtungen des Tonbewußtseins aus seinen reichbeanlagten und mannichfach dehnbaren Geist wachgerufen. Eine Rückwirkung der soeben näher bezeichneten kunstgeschichtlich so weit wie nur irgend möglich in die sogenannt klassische wie in die klassisch-romantische Vergangenheit zurückgreifenden und mit ebenso starkem Arme die unmittelbare Gegenwart und deren tonschöpferische Ergebnisse umfassenden Art des Tonschaffens und Gestaltens in Tönen, äußert sich indeß in keinem der reiferen Werke Goldmark's etwa als Ergebniß eines sclavischen Nachbeterthums. Sie tritt vielmehr im Sinne organischer Durcharbeitung, ich möchte sagen: in der symbolischen Bedeutung der aus allen bisher emporgetauchten musikschöpferischen Existenzen den Honig oder Kernsaft aussaugenden und ihn zum vollkommenen Eigengebilde verarbeitenden Biene zu Tage. Diese, Goldmark vollkommen auf sein Musikschöpferselbst stellende, ihn daher von der unabsehbaren Legion aller sogenannten Epigonen sehr scharf trennende, daher ebenso specifisch ausgeprägte Eigenart des Tonschaffens und Tongestaltens, hat freilich auch wieder so manches vorwiegend Außermusikalische zu ihrer unleugbaren Voraussetzung, auf das hingewiesen werden muß, um einer so reichen Begabung, gleich derjenigen Goldmark's, die ihrem Bedeuten gebührende Würdigung zu sichern. Goldmark stellt sich nämlich jedem ihm entweder persönlich, oder aus seinen Schöpfungen, oder auf beide eben bezeichnete Arten Nähergekommenen als eine durch und durch ausgeprägte Charakter Gestalt, als ein ebenso harmonisch durchgebildeter oder durchgeklärter Verstandes- wie Gefühlsmensch, kurz: als ein Typus seiner bestimmten Art.'

The cosmopolitan element, characteristic of the composer and is clearly visible in all his musical works as a conspicuous source, can be explained as follows: Goldmark has absorbed the musical treasury that has accumulated from its beginnings to the present day in such a way that this as a whole, as well as in every individual phenomenon worth mentioning, has blossomed independently in almost all of the previously published creations of the aforementioned tone poet and bears fruit of the same kind. Goldmark is in no way a follower of a musical style or so-called school. Except his juvenile works, he does not transmit even the remotest material [trace of influence] to reminiscence-hunters. However, every attentive insight into Goldmark's works immediately recognizes the most telling influences that have awakened an equally witty and thorough penetration of all noteworthy or exemplary directions of musical consciousness from its richly predisposed and extensible mind. A repercussion of the art-historical way of creating and shaping sound, which has just been described in more detail, reaching way back into the so-called classic as well as classic-romantic past and embracing with just as strong an arm the immediate present and its creative results in sound creation and design, however, in none of Goldmark's more mature works appears as a result of slavish imitation. Rather, it occurs like an organic reworking, I would like to say: in the symbolic meaning of the bee sucking the honey or the core juice out of all the music-making existence that has appeared so far and turning it into a perfect unique work. This positions Goldmark as a completely independent composer, distinctly separate from the unpredictable number of epigones, and which is therefore just as specifically pronounced, has, of course, many predominantly non-musical aspects as its undeniable prerequisite, which must be pointed out in order to ensure such a talent, like Goldmark, receives the appreciation it deserves. Goldmark presents himself to everyone who comes close to him, either

personally, or from his creations, or in both ways I have just described, as a thoroughly distinctive character, as an equally harmoniously developed or thoroughly clarified intellectual as well as emotional person, in short: as a type of its particular kind.

Ibid. (Reference 102)

'… das ihm angestammte und anerzogene religiös-confessionelle und Volkstümliche Moment durchaus nicht stillschweigend umgangen werden … Goldmark seiner Landesabstammung zufolge Ungar, seinem ursprünglich überkommenen religiös-nationalen Credo nach aber Israelit ist. In den eben näher bezeichneten Volksstämmen wohnt aus bekannten inneren Gründen volksthümlicher Wesenseigenart ein Schwermuthszug, ein tragisches Pathos-Ethos ganz selbstständig ausgeprägter Färbung. Dieses Element spiegelt sich denn auch in allen von da- und dorther stammenden Gesangsweisen, wie in der diesen letzteren angepaßten oder vielmehr mit selbem eng verwachsenen Rhythmengestaltung und endlich auch in jener harmonischen Gewandung, die solchen aus unmittelbarstem Volksbewußtsein hervorgegangenen Gesängen verliehen ist, unwiderstehlich beredt ab.'

… the religious-confessional and folk moment that was inherited and instilled in him cannot be bypassed in silence …. Goldmark is Hungarian according to his national origin, but according to his religious-national creed, Israelite. In these ethnic groups mentioned, due to the known internal causes of the folk character, there is for well-known inner reasons a certain melancholy with a tragic pathos ethos of a distinctive colour. This element is irresistibly and eloquently reflected in all melodic styles, originated here and there, as well as in the adapted rhythm formation, or, closely related to it, and finally also in the harmonic attire that is characteristic of songs arising directly from the most direct popular consciousness.

Ibid. (Reference 104)

'Gut gemeint und ebenso gemacht in allem formell-musikalischen Anbetrachte, erschließt das in Rede stehende viersätzige Werk aus seinen 57 Partiturseiten auch nicht die leiseste Spur einer allfälligen Eigenart. Es ist offenbar ein Erstlingswerk, das indeß durch die ihm innewohnende Formenfestigkeit, Gedrungenheit und Knappheit allerdings ohne Frage achtunggebietend wirkt vor dem angeeigneten Geschicke eines Componistenjüngers … Es wandelt vielmehr - wenn auch mit unleugbarem Anstande und Geschick ausgestattet – doch nur die längst breitgetretenen Pfade Mendelssohn's in All und Jedem. Es vermehrt daher nur die Ziffer der dieser bestimmten Art von Tongebilden angehörenden bisherigen Schöpfungen um ein Glied. Gedankengehaltlich und selbst außengestaltlich ist aber dieses Claviertrio Goldmark's entschieden dem Trosse leichtwiegendster Waare anzureihen, die ja aus der Sphäre componistischen Handwerkerthums und insbesondere aus dem Bereiche der Epigonenschaft Mendelssohn's hervorgegangen ist.'

Well-intentioned and equally made in all formal musical respects, the four-movement work in question does not reveal the slightest trace of any peculiarity in its 57 score pages. It is obviously a first work, which, due to its inherent strength, compactness and scarcity, undoubtedly seems to have respectful skills of a young composer … He follows, albeit blessed with undeniable decency and dexterity, the path that Mendelssohn has long trodden in every way. It therefore only increases the number of previous creations belonging to this particular type of tonal structure. In terms of its content

and form, this Piano Trio of Goldmark can be attributed mainly to the company of the lightest goods that have emerged from the sphere of the composer's craft and especially to the field of Mendelssohn - imitation.

Ibid. (Reference 105)

'Goldmark's Op. 5 ist jene vor etwa 10–12 Jahren bei Kistner in Leipzig gedruckte Neunzahl "Charakteristischer Clavierstücke", deren allgemeine Ueberschrift "Sturm und Drang" lautet, und die wieder in neun abgesonderte verschiedenfärbige Stimmungsbilder zerfällt: also Programmusik jüngster Zeitströmung. Ich entsinne mich, jenem Opus seinerzeit in d. Bl. – etwa im November des Jahres 1868 – eine ziemlich ausführlich eingehende Detailbesprechung gewidmet zu haben. Auf diese möge denn hier berufend verwiesen werden. Humor ist die vornehmste Springquelle, aus der diese zumeist reizvollen, klangschönen und an technischem Spielreichthum gar manche ganz eigenthümliche Wirkungen dem Instrumente entlocken den Stimmungsgemälde hervorströmt. Ich möchte diese Tonstücke mit besonderem Nachdrucke als Füllnummern von Concertaufführungen knapperen, nicht eigentlich symphonisch orchestralen Charaktergepräges, mit aller Wärme an die Stelle gar manchen, an solchen Orten leider allzuheimischen leeren Klingklangs und Singsangs-empfohlen wissen.'

Goldmark's Op. 5, nine characteristic piano pieces, printed by Kistner in Leipzig about 10–12 years ago, titled 'Sturm und Drang', breaks down into nine separate, differently coloured mood pictures: programme music of the latest trends. I remember that around November 1868 I have devoted a fairly detailed discussion to this opus in the papers. May this be referenced here. Humour is the most excellent spring from which these mostly delightful, beautiful mood pictures flow, eliciting even some truly unique instrumental effects in their technical abundance. I would like to have these pieces with special emphasis as filler numbers in concert performances of rarer, not symphonic-orchestral character, with all the warmth, in place of some empty ringtones and sing-songs, that are unfortunately too familiar at such places.

Ibid. (Reference 106)

'Dagegen stoße ich auf ein nichtbeziffertes, mir ab er in diese eben angedeutete Stimmungsbilderreihe ziemlich genau passend bedünkendes, und auch aus eine gleiche Entstehungszeit mit dem zuvor angezeigten Op. 5 hindeutendes Clavierstückheft. Dasselbe ist bei Carl Haslinger in Wien gedruckt und führt die Hauptüberschrift: "Drei Stücke für das Pianoforte." Es ist einer der begabtesten Schülerinnen Goldmark's, der einstigen Wiener Hofopernsängerin Frl. Caroline Bettelheim gewidmet und zerfällt in nachstehende, Programmstelle vertretende Nebenmomente: 1. "Romanze" 2. Dem zweiten Stücke ist folgendes Motto Chamisso's vorangestellt: "Wie wohlgefällig hat auf mir, Des theu'ren Paters Aug'geruht! Wie sprach der stumme Blick doch schier: Bist meine Lust; ich bin Dir gut." 3. Das dritte Lied dieses Cyclus führt die einfache Ueberschrift: "Kinder auf dem Rasen."'

On the other hand, I have come across an unnumbered booklet of piano pieces which seems to me to fit quite exactly into the series of mood pictures just indicated and which also points to the same time of origin as Op. 5 shown above. These were printed by Carl Haslinger in Vienna and titled *Drei Stücke für das Pianoforte*. It is dedicated to one of Goldmark's most talented students, the former Viennese

court opera singer Miss Caroline Bettelheim and is divided into the following sub-moments which are represented in the programme: 1. ‘Romanze.’ 2. Chamisso’s motto is prepended at the second piece: ‘How kindly the eyes of my dear Father rested on me! How the almost silent look spoke: You are my delight; I am good to you.’ 3. The third song of this cycle has the simple heading ‘Children on the Lawn’.

Ibid. (Reference 107)

‘Die “Romanze” scheint wohl jener früheren Eigenflugversuchsperiode des Componisten entstammt, aus deren Quelle u. A. auch das oberwähnte Claviertrio Goldmark’s hervorgegangen ist. Damals hielten ihn noch Mendelssohn’sce Sirenenarme umschlungen und wollten der ohne Frage angestammten bedeutenden Eigenart Goldmark's noch nicht den rechten Durchbruch gestatten … Diese ist aber lediglich auf da und dort episodenhaft auftauchende harmonisch-modulatorische Grundlagen als da sind: Truggänge oder sogenannte Accordelipsen u. dgl. m. zurückzuführen … Das zweite dieser Tonstücke, dem das früher ange führte Motto Chamisso’s zu Grunde liegt, ermangelt allen melodischen Flusses. Es ist kaum ein Melisma, um wie viel minder ein Thema, das hier zum Durchbruche kommt … gleichvoll beirrt auch hier eine gewisse Entönigkeit und Gespreiztheit des Rhythmus … Von etlichen Härten abgesehen, denen selbst der duldsamste, freisinnigste Beurtheilungsstandpunkt den Fehdehandschuh hinzuschleudern sich gedrängt fühlt, da sie der nach Tonschönheitsgesetzen unumgänglichen harmonischen wie organischen Vermittlung gänzlich ermangeln …’

The ‘Romanze’ seems to have originated from the composer’s earlier searching period, from which source Goldmark’s above-mentioned Piano trio also emerged. Back then, Mendelssohnian siren arms hugged him and they didn’t yet want to let Goldmark’s undoubtedly innate and significant idiosyncrasy to make the right breakthrough … This, however, is merely due to episodic harmonic-modulatory fundamentals that appear here and there: the second piece, based on Chamisso’s motto, lacks any melodic flow. There is hardly a melisma much less a theme that breaks through here, a certain lack of tonality, a certain monotony and stiltedness of the rhythm is distracting here … Apart from a few hardships, which even the most tolerant, most liberal-minded viewpoint feels compelled to throw in the gauntlet, since they completely lack harmonic and organic mediation that is inevitable according to the laws of tonal beauty.

Ibid. (Reference 108)

‘… das dritte und zugleich Schlußstück dieses Opus, vom Geiste liebenswürdiger, naiver Grazie und ebenso gearteten Humors durchhaucht, leicht beflügelten Schrittes dahin. Ihm dürfte die Siegespalme zu reichen sein und die künstlerische Ehre dieses ganzen, eben nach seinen drei Einzelgliedern besprochenen Cyklus, durch dieses Schlußstück gerettet erscheinen. Gleichwohl möchte ich rathen, im Falle des einstigen Zusammenkommens einer Gesammtausgabe der Werke Goldmark’s, lediglich dieses Schlußstück der eben besprochenen dreigliedrigen Reihenfolge von Claviersolopièсen in ein so geartetes Sammelwerk aufzunehmen und selbst hier so manchen allzu grell hervorspringenden Ecken und Ranten eine gemildertere Form zu geben.’

… the third and final piece of this opus is breathed through with the spirit of lovable, naive grace and humour of the same kind, moves along with a light, winged step. The palm of victory should be handed to him and the artistic honour of this whole cycle which has just been discussed in its three individual parts may be regarded as saved by this final piece. However, I would advise that if there would ever be a complete edition of Goldmark's works, only this concluding piece of the three-part sequence of piano solo pieces just discussed should be included in a collective work of this kind, and even then, many of the more strikingly conspicuous corners and edges a lighter shape should be given.

(B. – o.), 'Zenekiadók és Zeneszerzők az Iparcsarnokban,' [Publishers and Composers in the Industry Hall] *Fővárosi Lapok* (August 1885). (Reference 112)

'Goldmark Károly "Magyar Ábránddal" kedveskedik az albumban. Ha nem írja oda, bizony senki se tudta volna, hogy magyar és hogy ábránd. Magyarnak ugyan nem magyaros. Goldmark annyira beleélte magát ismert keleties-semi stilusába, hogy abba bonyolódik minduntalan. Aztán formája sem kifogástalan. Nem mondom, hogy labyrinthus volna, mert azon keresztül kasul járhat, aki megleli a fonalat; hanem egyszerűen formátlanság. Ábránd, amint Goldmark nevezi, de azért, mert formátlan, még nem ábránd. Megmutatta már elég zeneköltő, mi az ábránd, nem forma-rongálás, hanem a fantázia pazarlása. Ami Goldmark képzelmét illeti, azt nem vonhatjuk kétségbe soha. Meleg fantázia hevíti át valamennyi művét; ezt is. A keleti színpompa barátai pedig örülhetnek is, mert azt megtalálják a műben szintén.'

Károly Goldmark kindly provided *Magyar Ábránd* for the album. If he had not described it thus, surely no one would have known that it was Hungarian and a fantasy. It is by no means Hungarian. Goldmark invested himself so much in his known Oriental-Semitic style, that he always gets tangled up in it. Neither is its form impeccable. I do not say that it would be a labyrinth, as the one who finds the thread can go through and through that; rather formlessness. Fantasy, as Goldmark names it, but just because formless, it is not a fantasy. What a fantasy looks like was demonstrated already by enough sound poet; [that is] not a destruction of form, but an abundance of imagination. Concerning Goldmark's imagination, that can't ever be questioned. All his works, including this one, are heated by warm imagination. Friends of Oriental splendour may be pleased, as they find that in this work.

August Beer, 'Karl Goldmark,' *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895). (Reference 144)

'Du bist ja bei uns, bist zu Hause, bist ein Sohn unseres Vaterlandes; Dein Heim ist in Wien, aber Deine Heimath ist das Ungarland und Deine Wiege stand auf einem Flecken Erde … Und zu Hause fühlt sich auch Meister Goldmark, wann immer er die ungarische Grenze passirt. Gleich einem Liszt, einem Munkácsy wurde auch Goldmark vom Schicksal schon in jungen Jahren in fremdes Land verschlagen: sind Jeder in seiner Art Weltbürger in künstlerischem Sinne geworden, aber sich haben ihr ungarisch Denken und Empfinden nicht verlernt, haben sich auch unter fremden Himmelstrich als Kinder ihrer magyarischen Heimath gefühlt.'

You are with us, at home, a son of our fatherland; your home (*Heim*) is in Vienna, but your homeland (*Heimath*) is the Hungarian land, your cradle was on a patch of earth [referring to his birthplace, Keszthely] … Master Goldmark feels at home whenever he crosses the Hungarian border. Like a Liszt, a Munkácsy, Goldmark was thrown into a foreign country by fate at an early age: each have

become citizens of the world in their own way in an artistic sense, but have not forgotten their Hungarian way of thinking and feeling, and have felt like children of their Magyar homeland even under foreign skies.

Ed. H. 'Karl Goldmark. (Zum 18. Mai 1900),' *Neue Freie Presse* (18 May 1900): 1–2. (Reference 154)

'Also auch schon Siebzig? Wie unabsehbar lang dünkt uns in jüngeren Jahren diese Strecke, und doch wie unheimlich schnell finden wir eines Tages uns dort angelangt! Die erste Hälfte der Wanderung verlief für Goldmark sorgen- und mühevoll. "Ich hatte viel Bekümmerniß", sang er mit Sebastian Bach. Wer aber durch einen Wald von Hindernissen sich muthig durchgekämpft zu künstlerischer Höhe und unbestrittener Geltung, den feiern wir glückwünschend mit verdoppelter Herzlichkeit. Die lange trübe Zeit der Entbehrungen hat unsern Jubilar nicht verbittert, der endlich erlangte Ruhm ihn weder geblendet, noch erkältet. Immer sehen wir ihn neidlos anerkennend bei fremden Erfolgen. Auf sein Wohlwollen, seine Gerechtigkeit kann man bauen. Darum hat seinerzeit Brahms sofort Goldmark vorgeschlagen, als in unserem dreiköpfigen Comité zur Vertheilung von Staatsstipendien an talentvolle Musiker eines dieser Ehrenämter zu besetzen kam. Nun half Goldmark selber junge Componisten betheilen, nachdem er zwanzig Jahre vorher, in unserer allerersten Sitzung, mit dem Staatsstipendium betheilt worden war als der einzige von fünfzehn Bewerbern. Hand in Hand mit der Hochschätzung für den Künstler Goldmark geht die allgemeine Sympathie für den Menschen. Wie laut und festlich kam Beides zum Ausdruck, als vor zehn Jahren Goldmark's sechzigster Geburtstag zugleich mit der hundertsten Aufführung seiner "Königin von Saba" gefeiert wurde!'

Well, so, seventy already? How unpredictably long this route seems to us in younger years and yet how incredibly fast we will find ourselves there one day! The first half of the journey was troublesome and difficult for Goldmark. 'Ich hatte viel Bekümmerniß' he sang with Sebastian Bach. But whoever courageously fought his way through a forest of obstacles to artistic heights and undisputed validity, we celebrate with congratulations and doubled cordiality. The long gloomy time of privation did not embitter our jubilee; the fame finally achieved neither blinded nor caught him cold. We always see him enviously acknowledging others' successes. One can build on his benevolence, his justice. That is why Brahms immediately suggested Goldmark, when one of these honorary posts came to be filled in our three-member committee for the distribution of state scholarships to talented musicians. Now Goldmark himself helped young composers participating, having been twenty years earlier the only one of fifteen applicants to receive the state scholarship at our very first meeting. Hand in hand with high esteem for Goldmark the artist goes the general sympathy for him, the man. How loud and festive both were expressed when Goldmark's sixtieth birthday was celebrated ten years ago with the one-hundredth performance of his 'Königin von Saba'!

Appendix II

Performances of Karl Goldmark's Symphonic Works by Leading American (US) Orchestras.

Source: *Twenty-seven Major American Symphony Orchestras: A history and analysis of their repertoire. Seasons 1842–43 through 1969–70.* Indiana University Press, Copyright 1973 by Kate Hevner Mueller.
(performances of other US orchestras, not included within the 27, are not listed)

Work	Orchestra	Years of performance
Sakuntala Op. 13	Boston	1882, 84, 86, 89, 91, 95, 96, 98, 1900, 03, 05, 06, 10, 14, 17, 19, 23
	Chicago	1891, 99(2), 1900, 04, 10, 13
	Cincinnati	1896, 11, 12, 18
	Cleveland	21, 23, 24, 27, 30
	Dallas	1936
	Denver	1959
	Detroit	1915, 23, 26
	Houston	1933, 41
	Indianapolis	1931, 47
	Kansas City	1939
	Los Angeles	1919, 31
	New York Philharmonic	1869, 70, 73, 77, 83, 94, 1902, 04, 05, 06, 07(2), 08(3), 09(2), 10(2), 11(2), 12(2), 15, 21, 33, 50
	New York Symphony	1878, 81, 87, 11
	Philadelphia	02, 04, 05, 06, 07(2), 08(3), 09(2), 10(2), 11(2), 12(2), 15, 21, 33
	St. Louis	1910, 11, 15, 17, 20, 26, 30
	San Francisco	1911, 14, 45
	Seattle	35
	Washington (National)	39

Scherzo in E minor Op. 19	Philadelphia	1902
Ländliche Hochzeit symphony Op. 26[1]	Atlanta	1955
	Baltimore	1939
	Boston	1887, 88, 1900
	Chicago	1891, 94, 95, 97, 1900, 01, 04, 06, 09, 10, 11, 14, 15, 21, 24, 36
	Cincinnati	1904, 15, 17, 19, 21
	Cleveland	1926
	Houston	1934, 41, 54
	Indianapolis	1931, 35, 43
	Kansas City	1934, 39
	Los Angeles	1928
	New York Philharmonic	1888, 01, 03, 05, 06, 08, 09, 10, 11, 14, 17, 30, 3 mvts 36
	New York Symphony	1892, 03, 10, 17
	Philadelphia	1901, 03, 05, 06, 08, 09, 10, 11, 14, 17, 30, 36
	St. Louis	1910, 14, 17, 22
	Seattle	1928
	Utah	1962
- *Wedding March* and variations	Chicago	1896, 05, 14
	New York Symphony	1891
- *Bridal song,*	Houston	1917
- *Serenade*	Houston	1917
Die Königin von Saba Op. 27 (performances of the full opera are not listed in this catalogue) - *Ballet music* - *Aria: Lift Thine Eyes*	Chicago	1892
	Huston	1939
	St. Louis	1940

[1] Symphony No. 2 in E-flat *Rustic Wedding* Op. 35 is indicated as work title in the document. However, *Ländliche Hochzeit* is the first symphony by Goldmark (Op. 26) and no. 2 is the Symphony in E flat major, without any title. It is likely that the performance data applies to *Ländliche Hochzeit* as one of the best-known works by Goldmark at that time, and as its title is indicated, however, based on the data, that could also refer to the 2. Symphony.

Violin Concerto Op. 28	Boston	1890, 94, 98, 1901, 05, 10
	Buffalo	1957
	Chicago	1901, 10, 14, 32, 44, 56
	Cincinnati	1910, 20, 27, 30, 43
	Cleveland	1921, 36, 51
	Detroit	1919, 41, 57
	Houston	1959
	Kansas City	1944, 59
	Los Angeles	1921, 58
	Minneapolis	1942, 68
	New York Philharmonic	1894, 1910, 44, 56
	New York Symphony	1910, 15, 23
	Philadelphia	1910, 15, 26, 35, 42
	Pittsburgh	1945
	Rochester	1944, 59
	St. Louis	1923, 32
	San Francisco	1926
	Washington, National	1957, 65
Penthesilea Op. 31	Boston	1885, 88, 1901
	Chicago	1893
	New York Symphony	1879 (2), 85
Merlin – - *Choir of Spirits* (performances of the full opera are not listed in this catalogue)	Boston	1902
	Chicago	1893
Im Frühling Op. 36	Boston	1888, 92, 98, 1901, 05, 07, 12, 14, 16, 21
	Chicago	1892, 95, 98, 1902, 06, 08, 09, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 25, 56
	Cincinnati	1915, 18, 32, 36, 41, 53
	Cleveland	1927, 39
		1934

	Dallas	1957
	Denver	1945
	Houston	1936
	Indianapolis	1936, 38, 41
	Kansas City	1930, 45
	Los Angeles	1930, 39
	Minneapolis	1900, 01, 02, 04, 07, 13, 15, 16, 20, 25,
	New York	30, 40
	Philharmonic	1889, 96, 1907
	New York	
	Symphony	1900, 01, 04, 07, 20, 25, 40
	Philadelphia	1940
	Pittsburgh	1930
	Rochester	1909, 15, 19, 21
	St Louis	1912
	San Francisco	1926
	Seattle	
Zum gefesselten	Boston	1890, 91, 99
Prometheus Op. 38	Chicago	1893, 96
	Cincinnati	1914
	New York	1890, 92, 96, 99, 1919
	Philharmonic	
	New York	1890, 93
	Symphony	
Sappho Op. 44	Boston	1894, 99, 1904, 15, 17
	Chicago	1894, 95, 97, 1900, 05, 07, 14, 21
	Los Angeles	1921
	Minneapolis	1922
	Philadelphia	1901, 08
	New York	1901, 08
	Philharmonic	
Scherzo in A major Op. 45	Boston	1900
	Chicago	1894, 95, 1911
	Los Angeles	1926
	New York	1909, 12 (2)
	Symphony	

	New York Philharmonic Philadelphia	1902 1902
Das Heimchen am Herd Prelude to Act III (performances of the full opera are not listed in this catalogue)	Boston Chicago Detroit Minneapolis	1896 1896 1932 1929
In Italien Op. 49	Boston Chicago New York Philharmonic Philadelphia	1904 1904, 07, 11 1904, 07, 11 1904, 07, 11
Aus Jugendtagen Op. 53	Los Angeles	1925