

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

OBJECTS OF VENERATION: MUSIC AND MATERIALITY  
IN THE COMPOSER-CULTS OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, 1870-1930

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

BY  
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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2017

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It seems like common practice to dismiss one's dissertation as juvenilia, a snapshot of our earlier selves that we've already outgrown by the time we defend. Many of us are daydreaming of the book well before crossing the finish line (or even crossing all the *ts*). But while this process involves its share of hand-wringing or motivation mantras, I had the great fortune to undertake my dissertation among a brilliant community. My mentors, colleagues, friends, and family made this a defining period of my life, and I can only hope that some aura of their insights and support radiates off the page.

I fear there may not be adequate words to thank Berthold Hoeckner, whose role as a teacher and mentor far exceeds the confines of this project. Berthold does not only advise dissertations; he shapes his advisees into scholars, and he does so at the sacrifice of numerous hours of his time and energy. I have lost count of how many careful close readings he has given my work, how much scrutiny and thought he has poured into every page. But above all, he shows a deep and ongoing investment in his advisees' growth, in our development as scholars and as people. This is the sign of an instructor who goes beyond instruction, a mentor who cares, with real intensity and selflessness, about the success and long-term wellbeing of his advisees, and whose efforts remain largely behind the scenes. Thank you.

My committee members have shown great generosity and engagement with my work, shaping my project from its infancy to the final stages. My thanks to Anne Walters Robertson for offering feedback at the largest scale of argument, helping me to step back and see my work at arm's length; to Robert Kendrick for his attention to historical nuance, encouraging me to uncover networks of individuals who might be lost in a broad brushstroke; and to Thomas Christensen for drawing my attention to diverse and colorful facets of nineteenth-century culture, enriching my case studies with broader significance. I am further indebted to my undergraduate mentors Jeffrey Kallberg and Emily Dolan for sparking my interest in materiality (and, frankly, in musicology).

During my time in Berlin, I was incredibly lucky to have Christian Thorau at the Universität Potsdam as my supervisor; my thanks for his warm welcome to the musicology community, his insightful help with my work, and the most fabulous Silvester party imaginable. Wolfgang Fuhrmann at the Universität Wien and Martin Eybl at the Universität der Musik und Darstellende Kunst provided thoughtful suggestions and support during my time in Vienna. Early in this project, I was grateful for conversations with Jutta Toelle, Christian Kaden, Sebastian Klotz, Christoph Hust, and Helmut Loos. My heartfelt thanks to these scholars for making my research abroad so productive and enjoyable. I am of course indebted to the organizations that made this work possible through their

generous support: the Deutscher akademischer Austauschdienst, the Social Science Research Council via the Mellon Foundation, and a gift from Charlotte Newcombe via the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

My work would be impossible without the help of archivists, librarians, and research staff. I offer my warmest thanks to Maria Rößner-Richarz, Dorothea Geffert, Michael Ladenburger, Silke Bettermann, and Stephanie Kuban at the Beethoven-Haus Bonn. I received invaluable help from Christoph Großpietsch and Gabriele Ramsauer at the Mozartstiftung in Salzburg—who are themselves conducting fascinating research on the history of their institution—and I appreciate the assistance of Evelyn Liepsch at the Goethe-Schiller Archiv in Weimar. Finally, I am grateful to Otto Biba at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde for his archival assistance and for an insightful conversation about my chapter on Vienna.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the hospitality of the Eick family during my stay in Bonn (and to Dorothea Geffert for making that arrangement possible), as well as Ulrike Wagner and Alisha Heinemann in Berlin and Vienna. The Eicks, Ulrike, and Alisha welcomed me warmly into their homes, helping me feel grounded during a nomadic time.

I fear I have been spoiled by the Music Department at the University of Chicago. For their help with seminar projects that built the foundation of my scholarship, along with their mentorship in teaching (and much else besides), my heartfelt thanks to Martha Feldman, Steven Rings, Philip V. Bohlman, Larry Zbikowski, and Seth Brodsky. For her guidance in the last stages of my career, my thanks to Ilanit Loewy-Schacham at the UChicago Grad office. Beyond Chicago, but in this same domain, my thanks to Marcy Schwartz for her encouragement and insights in the final stretch of my graduate career.

The list of friends and family who have supported me during this time could occupy several pages. It goes without saying that I am grateful to all the study buddies, potluck pals, and lakefront bonfire-builders for whom space here is limited. My gratitude on paper goes to those who were a frequent sounding-board for my dissertation work, such as Marcelle Pierson, Jessica Peritz, Mari Jo Velasco, Dan Wang, Sarah Iker, Ana Sánchez Rojo, Lindsay Wright, Martha Sprigge, and Dhananjay Jagannathan; my special thanks to Nancy Murphy for her help with notation software, and to John Lawrence, Andrew Cashner, and Ryan Dahn for their insights as workshop respondents. My thanks to Zoë Aqua for unending emotional support and for the constant reminder that fingers on an instrument keep music alive and beating. Friends and family who receive no explicit mention here are invited to claim unlimited hugs.

My work on Beethoven reception draws repeatedly upon the scholarship of Kristin M. Knittel. I was very sad to learn of her passing shortly before I began work on this project. I see her as a scholarly kindred spirit and wish I had had the opportunity to know her; my research continues with admiration along a path forged by her insights.

Finally, I dedicate this project to my parents, whose enthusiasm for my research taught me to regard a dissertation not as a simple prerequisite, but as a joyful pursuit, the first of many milestones in a life of curiosity.

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation shows how material practices of composer-veneration – such as the sanctification of composers’ bodily remains as relics and their houses as shrines – served as a powerful cultural force that shaped understandings of these composers’ music. In Germany and Austria, it was common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to cherish locks of hair or autograph manuscripts as relics, to visit birth- and death-sites on pilgrimage, and to idealize pathology as if artists were suffering saints. The same listeners who idealized music as transcendent found themselves fascinated by traces of the composer’s body, a form of secular object-fetishism that was expressed with the vocabulary of Catholicism. Art-religion (*Kunstreligion*) was not only a philosophy that made art spiritual in an age of secularism; it was also practiced by music-lovers who endowed objects and spaces with sacred meaning. My case studies on the relics and houses of Beethoven and Mozart reveal that transcendent sound and material bodies served essentially the same function: both were tickets into literate society for a German middle class that defined itself by *Bildung*, which promised upward mobility through self-cultivation. While musicologists have made casual references to saintly composers and hagiographic biographies, the discipline has tended to dismiss these popular practices as ephemera on the fringes of music history. I argue that the impulse to collect or consecrate material traces encouraged a biographical form of listening that sought the composer’s presence in the work.

## Introduction

In the storage basement of the Beethoven-Haus Museum in Bonn, there is a curio long retired from permanent display. This miniature landscape in an ornate frame – two young trees, an ivy-covered stone, and a quiet lake – was a tourist favorite in the museum at the turn of the twentieth century. It is fashioned from Beethoven’s hair.



*Fig. 0.1. Landscape made from Beethoven’s hair, Vienna, 1827. Catalogued in Ludwig Nohl, Inventarium des Beethoven'schen Nachlasses (Karlsbad: 1864), 15.<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> See the Beethoven-Haus digital archives for a higher resolution image sans watermark; call number R 4. Through its digital archives, the Beethoven-Haus has made its collections far more open and accessible than most, no longer hidden in the basement; yet it is interesting to note how

If this object were still on display, some might encounter it with mild repugnance. In the twenty-first century, we continue to crave a tangible connection with celebrities, like the sundry belongings in the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame or the locks of celebrity hair that are regularly auctioned at Sotheby's. But the way Beethoven's hair has been manipulated in this landscape, used as a medium for a formulaic scene, may strike the modern viewer as gruesome or perhaps even disrespectful to Beethoven's remains. Even as celebrity contact has kept its appeal, our material culture has changed over the last century. As looming figures such as Beethoven ossify into marble busts, their corporeal traces become an eerie reminder of a time when they still resided in living memory.

Scholars are just beginning to grasp the full richness of the material world in the nineteenth century – a period that saw the birth of museums, industrial manufacture, mass tourism, kitsch (and its critics), domestic vitrines, and cults of celebrity that took on a new vivacity. It was utterly commonplace in this period to create embroidered landscapes from the hair of the dead. Pictures like this were popular starting in the late eighteenth century, together with hair jewelry and “lockets” (named for the locks within) as memoria of beloved relatives.<sup>2</sup> For celebrity figures like Beethoven, these objects were not only intimate memoria – as if Beethoven were a loved one, known personally to the beholder – but they

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objects like this one lose some of their aura when viewed digitally, lacking the same tangible encounter.

<sup>2</sup> On the devotionalia, hair locks, and relics of mourning for Beethoven, see Silke Bettermann, et al. *Drei Begräbnisse und ein Todesfall. Beethovens Ende und Erinnerungskultur seiner Zeit* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2002). On hair jewelry and landscapes, see: Christiane Holm, “Sentimental Cuts: 18c Mourning Jewelry with Hair,” *18<sup>th</sup> Century Studies* 38:1 (2004), 139-43; Helen Sheumaker, “‘This lock you see’: 19<sup>th</sup>-century Hair Work as the Commodified Self,” *Fashion Theory: the Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 1:4 (1997), 421-45.

also doubled as devotionalia, as *relics*. This landscape of rich materiality had its roots in Catholic practice, with artists like Beethoven venerated as secular saints. These quasi-religious practices and objects, together with their impact on the reception of composers and their music, will be the focus of this dissertation.

Scholars have long associated the nineteenth century with aesthetic spirituality of a different kind. It is commonly held to be the Age of Idealism, with music borne to the heavens by philosophers and critics as well as middle-class music lovers. The well-worn expression “art-religion” (*Kunstreligion*) was coined around 1800 by Schleiermacher and Hegel to describe music’s spiritual elevation, its transcendence beyond the earthly plane, and the listening experience as a form of devotion.<sup>3</sup> The poster child for art-religious transcendence might be Joseph Berglinger, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder’s fictional musician who listens to church concerts “humbly on his knees” and “at certain passages of the music (...) an isolated ray of light fell on his soul; at this, it seemed to him as though he all at once grew wiser and was looking down (...) on all the busy world below.”<sup>4</sup> A similar language of the transcendent flooded the

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<sup>3</sup> Schleiermacher coined the term *Kunstreligion* in 1799, *Lectures on Religion*, and this term was then picked up by Tieck and Wackenroder (*Fantasies on Art*). See the comprehensive two-volume collection that traces the intellectual history of art-religion: Albert Meier, et al., *Kunstreligion* (Göttingen: De Gruyter, 2011). See also the theological history traced by Bernd Auerochs, *Die Entstehung der Kunstreligion* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006). On art-religion and music in the writings of the early Romantics, see: Chapters 5 and 6 of Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago and London: University of Chicago press, 1978) and Abigail Chantler, “Art-Religion,” in *E.T.A. Hoffmann’s Musical Aesthetics* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 1-31. On Hegel’s concept of art-religion, see Chapter 3 of William Desmond, *Art and the Absolute: A Study of Hegel’s Aesthetics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> See the excerpt of Wackenroder’s *Das merkwürdige musikalische Leben des Tonkünstlers Joseph Berglinger* (1797), in Oliver Strunk, ed., *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 1061-72. See also Mark Evan Bonds, “Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50 (1997), 387-



musical vernacular for over a century. As late as 1921, an anonymous visitor to Beethoven's birth-room in Bonn wrote an entry in the museum guestbook that echoes the (literally) high-flown rhetoric of the early Romantics: "Eternal Beethoven on high – born in a lowly room – struggled to achieve the highest heights of human achievement!"

But as recent scholarship has revealed, this Age of Idealism had a material dimension, whether it be in the domain of natural science, organology, embodied performance, or consumer culture. Over the last decade, musicology as a discipline has seen a growing interest in the material and tactile. To trace the impact of natural science on the sonic materials of music, David Trippett has shown how nineteenth-century studies of music cognition, human hearing, and sound as matter shaped Wagner's aesthetic conception of melody; Emily Dolan has turned from the materiality of sound itself to the instrument technologies that engineered new timbral possibilities; scholars such as Roger Moseley and Jonathan De Souza have explored how instruments interface with the body; and James Q. Davies has shown how performers excavated instruments from within their own anatomy. Scholars have enriched this picture with studies of musical commodities, sounding souvenirs, listening Baedekers, and the audiovisual and tactile technologies of the concert hall.<sup>5</sup> Scholars in other disciplines are likewise

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420 and his monograph *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Trippett continues this research in his current project with the European Research Council, "Sound and Materialism in the Nineteenth Century"; see also his monograph, *Wagner's Melodies: Aesthetics and Materialism in German Musical Identity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Emily Dolan, *The Orchestral Revolution: Haydn and the Technologies of Timbre*

casting their glance towards music: sociologist Lisa McCormick has shown how composer-relics and spaces, together with scores and anniversaries, allow the dead to exercise a powerful form of agency over classical music culture today.<sup>6</sup>

Many of these studies focus on the explicit materialists of the nineteenth century – that is, the natural scientists, instrument-makers, or publishers for whom music existed as matter. This dissertation shifts our focus to a different tendency. I suggest that music’s very ephemerality compelled its listeners to seek tangible traces elsewhere, in artifacts. Many of the same individuals who held idealist convictions about music also collected locks of hair, autograph manuscripts, and assorted devotionalia that made genius tangible.<sup>7</sup> While Beethoven’s works took on an afterlife of their own in the imaginary museum, his artifacts awaited visitors in *real* museums, historic rooms that were heard to echo with the ghostly strains of his music.

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(Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Roger Moseley, *Keys to Play: Music as Ludic Medium from Apollo to Nintendo* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016); Jonathan De Souza, *Music at Hand: Instruments, Bodies, and Cognition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); James Q. Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); see also Davies’s article that has shaped my own approach to materiality, nostalgia, and the gift economy, “Julia’s Gift: The Social Life of Scores, ca. 1830,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131:2 (2006), 287-309; Peter Mondelli, “Parisian Opera Between Commons and Commodity, ca. 1830,” in Emily H. Green and Catherine Mayes, eds., *Consuming Music* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2017), 222-40. On technologies of the concert hall, see Deirdre Loughridge, *Haydn’s Sunrise, Beethoven’s Shadow: Audiovisual Culture and the Emergence of Musical Romanticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016) and the forthcoming monograph by Laura Protano Biggs.

<sup>6</sup> While the topic of my project shares much in common with McCormick’s work on composer-cults, our methods differ: she examines how the saint-cult of composers shapes present-day classical music culture through this “agency” of dead musicians, whereas I employ historical methodology to examine case studies with an emphasis on music reception. Lisa McCormick, “The Agency of Dead Musicians,” *Contemporary Social Science* 10:3 (2015), 323-335.

<sup>7</sup> See Jeffrey Kallberg’s forthcoming book on Chopin’s material possessions. Much of my own interest in materiality, museum culture, and curiosity cabinets stems from our conversations, together with coursework and research projects under his supervision at the University of Pennsylvania.

## Theatrical Objects

What is most compelling about this clash of ideal and material is how comfortably these co-existed in actual practice. The reasons for this will become clear with a closer look at Beethoven's hair locks – or, rather, two closer looks, first at the unusual properties of hair (a material studies approach) and secondly at striking accounts by collectors of Beethoven's locks (a cultural-historical approach).

In many world cultures, hair is an exceptionally potent fetish, that is, an object with occult or animistic powers. There are several reasons why hair locks, and body relics more broadly, are felt to have this power. Unlike tools that become an extension of the body, we cannot assimilate relics into ourselves; as echoes of a foreign body, relics take on an aura of animism. This power is amplified in hair by a special property: like the relics of saints, hair is among the few body parts that remains incorruptible (immune to decay). Its special "liveness" strikes many today as eerie, but in the nineteenth century this quality made hair an even more poignant memento of loved ones both living and dead. I would argue that this very ambiguity, the Schrödinger's-cat-like uncertainty as to whether the remembered person still lives, gives hair a life of its own. Finally, hair offers a powerful example of why celebrity "relics" have such value: it functions almost as a synecdoche of the absent body, a part that stands in for the whole.<sup>8</sup> Like other signature accessories such as clothing, walking sticks, or

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<sup>8</sup> Joseph Roach offers rich insights into the roots of celebrity in eighteenth-century England. Useful for my project is not only his passing mention of accessories as synecdochal objects (an

glasses, a hair-lock asks us to imagine the head from which it was shorn. As our imaginations fill in the missing body, we feel the presence of the deceased. (Many describe goosebumps as they behold Schubert's token glasses in his birth-house in Vienna, the next closest thing to locking eyes with the composer.) This interactive quality made celebrity relics, and especially hair, into "theatrical objects," to borrow an expression from Susan Stewart, a trailblazer in material studies.<sup>9</sup> Hair was already theatrical in life, with celebrities whose hairstyle became an icon, such as Beethoven's so-called *Löwenkopf*, his lion's mane. In death, it became doubly theatrical when it was woven into jewelry, embroidered into landscapes, or made to conjure a ghost of the body from which it came. Even today, then, hair locks of famous individuals are met with an unrivaled fascination, as we see in Figure 0.2 below.



**Fig. 0.2.** *The Guevara lock of Beethoven's hair, first owned by Ferdinand Hiller and sold at Sotheby's auction, here opened for the first time in 1993. The event combined medical inquiry (carrying out tests to retrospectively diagnose Beethoven's illnesses) with a sense of ritual and fascination, as if unearthing a hidden treasure (as we see in the enraptured expression of this onlooker). Stills from BBC Documentary on Beethoven from the Great Composers series (1999).*

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opinion shared by many scholars of relics), but especially his argument that celebrities offer "public intimacy," or the illusion of closeness to an unreachable figure, and that the celebrity body leaves an immortal after-image. Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> On theatrical objects, see Chapter 5 of Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press, 1984).

The theatrical nature of hair is not only a scholarly conceit. It also manifests in nineteenth-century accounts from Beethoven's contemporaries who procured locks. While these accounts do not explicitly laud those objects for their fetish power, we may read between the lines to uncover their value as "relics" in more than name. Visitors to Beethoven's deathbed, such as alleged eyewitness Anselm Hüttenbrenner (whose account I discuss at length in Chapter 1), obtained a lock in the minutes following Beethoven's death; and Hüttenbrenner called this "a sacred memento [*heiliges Andenken*] of Beethoven's last hour." His memento was obtained after a poignant material farewell to Beethoven, kissing the composer like a disciple at the foot of his dying saint: "I shut the half-open eyes of the deceased, kissed them, and then his forehead, mouth, and hands." The following day, Franz von Hartmann, a member of Schubert's bohemian circle, visited Beethoven's corpse and admired the "celestial dignity" of the composer's face before soliciting a hair lock from the housekeeper. Beethoven himself had given out his locks as mementos during his life, which led some to circulate forgeries, just as relics were manufactured in the Middle Ages.<sup>10</sup>

These accounts beg the question: why was it so important not only to obtain a lock from Beethoven, but also to *write* about it? We have remarkably

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<sup>10</sup> On relics and forgeries, see Joseph Wheless, *Forgery in Christianity* (New York: Cosmo Classics, orig. 1868, repr. 2007). One example of a forged Beethoven hair-lock comes from composer Anton Halm, who explained how he solicited one of Beethoven's locks from a violinist during the first rehearsals of Op. 130 and received what turned out to be goat hair. Beethoven uncovered the prank and personally cut off a lock for Halm. Years later, Halm's wife, who held an ongoing grudge, encountered the violinist at the foot of Beethoven's grave and finally forgave him. Friedrich Kerst, *Die Erinnerungen an Beethoven*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: J. Hoffmann, 1913), 162-3; also cited in Alexander Wheelock Thayer's *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben* (1866-79). For the accounts by Hüttenbrenner and Hartmann, see H.C. Robbins Landon, *Beethoven: A Documentary Study* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1970), 392-3.

good documentation of these objects – so thorough, in fact, that one author managed to pen an entire biography of the Beethoven lock pictured in Fig. 2, tracing its path through the generations (what I am tempted to call the *Red Violin* approach to material studies).<sup>11</sup> This question helps us understand why relics were important at all, their value as a form of cultural capital, that is, Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of non-monetary cultural products that boost class status through symbolic value. I would argue that anecdotes about Beethoven’s locks follow in a tradition of pilgrimage-to-Beethoven narratives first studied by K.M. Knittel, a scholar whose insights have provided an important impetus for this dissertation. Knittel has shown that these pilgrimages – akin, I claim, to tales of obtaining a hair lock – assured the author’s initiation into literate society, with the pilgrim (rather than Beethoven) positioned as the hero.<sup>12</sup> This tendency explains not only the *content* of accounts like Hüttenbrenner’s, but also the very act of writing these memoirs. Hüttenbrenner made a point to recount kissing the composer’s face and hands in order to advertise his affection for and proximity with the great master (arguably a reverse *Weihekuss*, the famed “kiss of consecration” that Beethoven gave Liszt and that numerous literary pilgrims re-enacted in their accounts). This is why Hüttenbrenner made a point to disclose that he owned a hair lock, and widely published his (suspiciously melodramatic)

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<sup>11</sup> Russell Martin, *Beethoven’s Hair* (New York: Broadway Books, 2000); the film in question is François Girard’s *The Red Violin* (1998). On the biography of objects approach to material studies, see Anne Brower Stahl, “Material Histories,” in Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 150-72.

<sup>12</sup> K.M. Knittel, “Pilgrimages to Beethoven: Reminiscences by His Contemporaries,” *Music & Letters* 84: 1 (2003), 19-54.

tale of Beethoven's deathbed forty years after the actual event. Similarly, when Hartmann bribed the caretaker for his lock, he was made to wait, hidden, until "three fops had left, who had stood tapping their swagger-sticks on their pantaloons while looking at the dead man." Unlike these superficial fops, who sought only to fidget and stare, Hartmann desired a relic to instill him with "mournful joy."<sup>13</sup> What these accounts betray is a compulsion to *publicize* material practices, a hidden agenda to promote one's membership in an inner circle.

Social phenomena like this middle-class aspiration reveal a different facet of art-religion. While scholars have focused largely on spiritual art *in theory*, tracing its conceptual history from the early Romantics, this dissertation turns instead to art-religion *in practice*. This means expanding our purview beyond critical texts, looking to popular biographies and amateur poetry, albums, travelogues, and activities such as tourism and collecting. A cultural-historical approach offers new insights into the tensions between middle-class strata, the roots of celebrity culture in religious practice, and the role of music (not only tangible relics) in mediating between earthly listeners and divine genius.

### **Pilgrims and Devotees**

Throughout this dissertation, I will present a diverse body of archival documents – from museum guestbooks to bureaucratic memos – that reveal a

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<sup>13</sup> Landon, *Beethoven* (1970), 393.

subtle air of competition, an insider status emerging between the lines. This, I argue, explains how the material and the ideal could exist so peacefully: both served the same social function. Proximity to composers through relics or houses, together with lofty claims about music's autonomy, offered tickets of admission to literate society by a German middle class that hungered for upward social mobility through *Bildung* (self-cultivation). A growing rift between highbrow and lowbrow led cult practices like relics to take on a centrifugal role, straining out true from false devotees. As listeners became intensely self-conscious of this highbrow/lowbrow split, they adopted performative gestures to prove their status. Those who lacked insider connections (i.e., composers' friends, pupils, or the privileged descendants of their acquaintances) found ways to buy into the cult, making art-religion a commodity. The result was a newfound mania for preserving houses as museums, a booming trade in relics (both real and forged), and products that transported composers' bodies into the domestic sphere (such as the cast of Beethoven's face, a fashionable addition to the bourgeois parlor that I discuss in Chapter 1).

Commodification, however, led many to treat materiality with suspicion, a fine line between relics and kitsch — such as, for instance, a Viennese shopfront that was criticized for using Beethoven's mask to model a pair of glasses. Yet at the same time, artists and intellectuals professed their willing participation in the “superstition” of art-religion, a kind of guilty pleasure. Even Eduard Hanslick sought material encounters with composers, despite the fact that his treatise on



aesthetics has become a centerpiece of the history of “absolute” music. It was Hanslick who wrote that the facts of Beethoven’s biography had no bearing on the merits of his music, and who repeated this view decades later with a scathing criticism of Wagner’s cultish following.<sup>14</sup> Yet Hanslick also made his so-called “pilgrimage” to Schumann’s grave and Beethoven’s birth house in Bonn, where he confessed that

I am quite devout in all piously hallowed sites, self-consciously devout or even superstitious, when I want to be, and I bear no mistrust for the walking sticks and tobacco boxes that are shown to me as favorite articles of deceased celebrities.<sup>15</sup>

Even with its tongue-and-cheek tone, this passage by Hanslick has a kernel of truth, given that he visited composer-sites wherever he went and even detailed his bitter disappointment as he was duped into visiting the wrong birth house (Chapter 2). In the above passage, Hanslick appears to re-claim material practices from snobs who might see this as kitsch, a subtle form of self-assertion in which an artistic insider distances himself from the pompous dilettantism of the bourgeoisie. Hanslick here seems to say, “Well *I’m* not one of those snooty bourgeois who finds relics and birth-houses beneath them.” Nor was this limited to Hanslick’s temperament. Already in 1820, Washington Irving made a

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<sup>14</sup> “The aesthetic enquirer knows nothing (...) about the personal circumstances or the political surroundings of the composer – he hears and believes nothing, but what the music itself contains. (...) he could never glean from [Beethoven’s] works that he favored republicanism, that he was a bachelor and deaf, or any of the numerous circumstances on which the art-historian is wont to dilate; nor could such facts enhance the merit of the music.” Hanslick, *The Beautiful in Music*, trans. Gustav Cohen (London: Novello, 1891), 87-8. See also Hanslick, “Wagner-Kultus,” orig. publ. *Bayreuther Blätter* (1882), in *Aus dem Opernleben der Gegenwart* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 1889), pp. 338-49.

<sup>15</sup> Eduard Hanslick, *Musikalisches Skizzenbuch. Neue Kritiken und Schilderungen* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1888), 313-16. See also Mark Burford, “Hanslick’s Idealist Materialism,” *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 30:2 (2006), 166-81.

strikingly similar remark on his “poetical pilgrimage” to Shakespeare’s birth-house in Stratford. Joking about the prevalence of forged relics and especially Shakespeare’s chair, where visitors would be invited to sit and absorb an after-echo of genius, he wrote:

I am always of easy faith in such matters, and am ever willing to be deceived where the deceit is pleasant and costs nothing. I am therefore a ready believer in relics, legends, and local anecdotes of goblins and great men, and would advise all travelers who travel for their gratification to be the same.<sup>16</sup>

Like Hanslick, Irving appears to distance himself from snobs who eschew tourism as a superficial indulgence. While criticism of tourists was common already in the early nineteenth century, it became all the more scathing with the rise of mass tourism by steam train.<sup>17</sup> As tourism met with a penchant for preservation (one of many offshoots of German historical consciousness), German and Austrian cities scrambled to preserve their local artist-houses as sacred sites, establishing more museums than anywhere else in Europe. Small birth-cities, in particular, saw an opportunity to reinvigorate their local economies. Unlike the cosmopolitan centers where artists established their careers, rural birth-cities were off the beaten path and encouraged travelers to enact a sense of pilgrimage (as I discuss in Chapters 2 and 4). These cities branded themselves as tourist hubs, such as *Mozart-Stadt* Salzburg or *Beethoven-Stadt* Bonn. By establishing historic houses and music festivals, these cities

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<sup>16</sup> Washington Irving, “Stratford-on-Avon,” in *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (1819-1820). (New York: Putnam, 1848), 328.

<sup>17</sup> See Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000).

manufactured their own cultural gravity, borrowing Catholic practices to position their native composers as local saints. To encourage mass tourism, institutions advertised their attractions with art-religious marketing, blurring the line between real and false devotees and amplifying visitors' need to prove themselves insiders.

### **Relics and Commodities**

With this explosion of museums as cultural hubs, relics flowed from private ownership to public display, from the salon to the exhibit case. In Vienna, the Society for the Friends of Music became one such hub, offering a sanctuary that appealed to members of the minor nobility who no longer valued their composer-relics as heirlooms. In 1906, for instance, the Austrian diplomat and statesman Anton von Prokesch-Osten donated Beethoven's famous walking stick, together with the composer's spoon and yet another hair lock passed down in his family. His assortment of letters regarding the items' provenance reveals how, at midcentury, they were valued as sacred objects ("wie ein Heiligthum") in the salon. Citing his father's letter of 1832, he shared that "Beethoven's cane (...) is one of my greatest treasures. Musical ladies who have had a composerly upbringing were allowed to kiss it. Thus far I have only permitted this honor three times."<sup>18</sup> This is just one among many instances when private owners acted

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<sup>18</sup> "Beethovens Stock, mit Ihrem Zeugnisse und dem Zeugniß der Künstler-Vereins in Wien ist einer meines größten Schätze. Musikalische Mädchen, welche bei einer tonkünstlerischen Entwicklung gehen, dürfen ihn küssen. Bis jetzt habe ich diese Ehre nur dreien gestattet..." Letter from Prokesch's father to Baroness Gleichenstein on October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1832, cited in a handwritten

as gatekeepers, allowing access only to a circle of initiates. Mark Everist has shown how Pauline Viardot preserved the autograph manuscript of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in a velvet-lined reliquary in her home, placing it in a special location and inviting musical insiders like Tchaikovsky and Rossini to genuflect before it.<sup>19</sup>

With the founding of museums, relics shifted out of a gift economy that privileged insider connections and entered a market economy of public consumption. This shift had a precedent earlier in the century, when composers' effects (most notably those of Beethoven) were scattered to the winds with auctions after their deaths. It was only in the mid-nineteenth century that a newfound reverence for these objects – strengthened by an obligation to absolve the sins of earlier auctioneers – led these to be traded like the relics that circulated among medieval churches.

From midcentury until the birth of museums, composer-mementos were almost exclusively given as gifts, with hair-locks offering an alluring potential for dividing and sharing. (Perhaps the most colorful example of this gift economy was a scrap of Beethoven's shroud collected during his exhumation in 1863, given as a gift to a good friend alongside "some fine cigars!")<sup>20</sup> When relics were

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letter that accompanied the stick from Anton von Prokesch-Osten to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1906. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Archiv, letter accompanying ER7 and ER10. It is worth noting that Beethoven had multiple walking sticks, another one of which was owned first by Anton Schindler and later sold to the collector Carl Meinert of Dessau.

<sup>19</sup> Mark Everist, "Enshrining Mozart," in *Mozart's Ghosts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 157-90.

<sup>20</sup> Ironically, the shroud was snipped off by one of the members of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde who was supposed to guard Beethoven's exhumed body from grave-robbers. Collected by director of the Hoftheater M. Durst, given to a friend with the message: "Aus der

sold, onlookers often reacted with disdain, citing the original sin of Anton Schindler when he pawned off Beethoven's belongings in 1827. But by the later nineteenth century, museums offered a handsome price to reverse the diaspora of objects, and even couched these requests in an art-religious language of "piety."

Collectors responded to this shift in three ways: some resisted the museum's claims (preserving private ownership and gift relationships), some donated items to museums (merging the gift economy with the public arena), and some embraced the museal impulse and sold their relics (strengthening the market value of relics). In the first category, for instance, a woman in 1910 sought to keep her Beethoven hair-lock in the domain of the salon: she hired an intermediary to scout a family with children who would pass it down through the generations, rather than leaving it "in profane hands."<sup>21</sup> Others eagerly donated their heirlooms to museums in exchange for the publicity of a commemorative plaque, trading one form of cultural capital for another: in 1903, a widow donated a red wax seal with Beethoven's original insignia to the Beethoven-Haus museum, asking that it be displayed with an inscription in

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Vergangenheit übersende ich Dir ein kleines Stück von Beethoven's Leichenkleid. – Aus der Gegenwart einige feine Zigarren! – Mit herzlichen Gruss, Dein alter schadhafte Freund, Durst." Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archiv, ER Beethoven 11.

<sup>21</sup> The lock was owned by one Fräulein Schröder and sold to the music master Herr Rauh, with intermediary help from Hermann Breit of the company Gottfried Weyersberg Söhne and Zweigfirma Erhard Breit & Söhne. As Breit wrote in a letter to "Annchen" dated August 19, 1910: "(...) aber vielleicht bietet es ihr einigen Trost, wenn ich ihr versichere, daß das Heiligtum in noch berufenere würdigere Hände gelangt als die unseres guten alten Freundes Schmidt, welcher, sollte er dereinst sterben, keine Familie hinterläßt & könnte die Reliquie dann leicht in profane Hände geraten. (...) Jedenfalls aber macht Herr Rauh (senr.) kein Wort mehr, indem er sagte, daß diese Locke in seiner Familie stets hoch in Ehren gehalten & von Vater auf Sohn bis in die fernsten Generationen vererbt werden solle." Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Akten, Sig. 254 (Tresor).

memory of her late husband.<sup>22</sup> In this museum's first decade, it borrowed extensively from private collections, the highlight being a vast assortment of Beethoven's manuscripts and Beethoven's desk items purchased from Anton Schindler by Carl Meinert of Dessau. But by 1898, once the museum established itself as an authoritative center for Beethoveniana, Meinert sold off the majority of his collection to the Beethoven-Haus.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps the most powerful indicator of this shift from private to public is the cabinet owned by the Wegeler family, a variant of Pauline Viardot's reliquary for her *Don Giovanni* manuscript. This decorative "shrine," as it was often called, was commissioned around 1900 to house Beethoven's autographs in the family home, the epitome of private collecting. Nonetheless, the cabinet was eventually bequeathed in friendship to the museum in 1912, and today it finds a permanent home beside the copy room in the Beethoven-Haus library – a semi-private object enjoyed by staff, researchers, and invited guests.<sup>24</sup>

Another shift occurred in the early twentieth century: museums no longer sought relics solely for display, but took on a new role as sanctuary for forsaken memorabilia. This is why museums like the birth house in Bonn, or especially the

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<sup>22</sup> Earlier in the nineteenth century, Fanny Linzbauer gave this wax seal as a gift to William G. Cusins, and it was his widow Louise who sent the seal, together with Linzbauer's original letter, to Beethoven-Haus secretary Friedrich Knickenberg. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Sig. 307b (Tresor).

<sup>23</sup> A handwritten register prepared for the museum's opening in 1890 shows items on loan (and security deposits) from a variety of institutions, companies, and a long list of private collectors, with Meinert chief among them. Little is known about Carl Meinert, an industrialist and avid collector in Dessau and later Frankfurt. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Sig. 128.

<sup>24</sup> The Beethoven-Verein sent a letter of thanks to the Wegeler family for this "shrine with the Beethoven-relics" on July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1912. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Sig. 114. On the history of this object, see E. Trier, "Der Beethoven-Schrein in der Julius-Wegeler-Familienstiftung," in M. Staehelin, ed., *Divertimento für J. Abs* (Bonn: 1981), 229-70.

Society for the Friends of Music in Vienna, keep numerous hair-locks in storage rather than a single lock for display. In an early twentieth-century correspondence between the museum secretary and a hair-lock owner, the museum proclaimed itself the “rightful place” for relics with a tone that put this owner on the defensive (he replied, “I have always valued this lock as a truly precious Beethoven memento, even though many have made hefty offers for it”).<sup>25</sup> In a historical twist, the museum did truly act as a sanctuary in WWII: as legend has it, an Allied bomber avoided Beethoven’s birth-house as he dropped missiles onto Bonn, having been emotionally moved by an Allied-propaganda rendition of the Fifth Symphony; and still today, Beethoven’s manuscripts are sheltered in a fireproof bank vault beneath his birth house.<sup>26</sup>

### **Communing with the Composer**

With their relics and historic rooms, composer-houses transferred the intimacy of the home into a public space. They sought to give visitors the same tangible encounter with composers that had once been limited to musical initiates. We see this tangible encounter in the accounts cited in Everist’s study: Rossini made a point to touch the manuscript with his hands, and Tchaikovsky’s encounter “was

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<sup>25</sup> This response from W. Schmitz was sent two years after the museum asked to purchase the lock: “Die Locke ist von mir immer, als teures Beethovenandenken treu bewahrt worden, obschon mir manchmal hohe Angebote gemacht wurden.” Letter to Gerhard Schmidt in Bonn, Sept. 23, 1926. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Sig. 279 (Tresor).

<sup>26</sup> This story of the allied bomber was published in a variety of newspaper articles collected as clips in the Beethoven-Haus press archive, call numbers Z 6647, Z 7395, and Z 8039.

as if I had shaken the hand of Mozart himself and conversed with him."<sup>27</sup> This desire to communicate with the composer through his relics surfaced again in the memoirs of Gerhard von Breuning, Beethoven's childhood friend, who was entrusted with the composer's exhumed skull: "I kept it by my bedside overnight, and in general proudly watched over that head from whose mouth, in years gone by, I had so often heard the living word!"<sup>28</sup> It was this eagerness to hear relics talk that informed the mission statement of the Beethoven-Haus, which sought to "animate these rooms with Beethoven's genius" by filling them with objects that "speak of him with mute eloquence (...) along with everything that mediates sensory and emotional contact with him" (Chapter 2).<sup>29</sup>

While composer-veneration took place in a climate of self-assertion, this air of competition was inextricable from a more heartfelt mode of devotion. Objects like Beethoven's hair lock were valued not only within a Catholic framework, but also within the culture of mementos – at once a keepsake and a saint's relic that mediates between earthly and divine. Composers' belongings and old haunts betray a desire to keep these figures close, just as their music might whisper in the listener's ear; and perhaps it is no coincidence that this was the era of four-hand arrangements and amateur chamber players, who might

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<sup>27</sup> Everist, *Mozart's Ghosts* (2013), 172.

<sup>28</sup> Gerhard von Breuning, *Memories of Beethoven: From the House of the Black-Robed Spaniards*, ed. Maynard Solomon, trans. Henry Mins and Maynard Solomon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 117.

<sup>29</sup> Beethoven-Verein, "Aufruf," *Bonner Zeitung*, May 31, 1889.



first embody this music at home (another kind of musical ownership) and then imagine its echoes floating through Beethoven's own rooms (Fig. 3).<sup>30</sup>



*Fig. 0.3. In the guestbooks in Bonn in 1898, a visitor wrote the incipit to his "Spring" Sonata, a piece of moderate enough difficulty that it was often played by amateurs – and the author might well have played this piece, given the accuracy of the entry.*

This sense of closeness with composers might appear at odds with the ethos of monumentality that has been insightfully discussed by Alexander Rehding; but these, I argue, are two sides of the same coin. At the same time as monuments loomed in city squares and commemorative choruses echoed with the sublime, artifacts and houses offered a more intimate connection with divine genius. Some music-lovers would keep composers literally close to their hearts, with a variety of pocket-sized biographies and commemorative compilations released by publishers.<sup>31</sup> Their dimensions evoke the books of hours that medieval aristocrats carried with them, giving almost the impression that lives of the composers were a new genre of hagiography.<sup>32</sup> And relics, likewise, were

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<sup>30</sup> See Thomas Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52:2 (1999), 255-98.

<sup>31</sup> While one might associate these pocket-sized books with travel by public omnibuses and steam trains, a number of publishers printed small-format biographies even before steam travel was invented; see for instance a diminutive German edition of Alexander Oulibischeff's Mozart biography, *Mozarts Leben*, trans. Albert Schraishuon (Stuttgart: Ad. Becher's Verlag, 1847). This format could be found throughout the century: among many examples is a satin-bound album of poems, anecdotes, and illustrations of Beethoven's life, with dimensions of only 3 ½ by 4 ½ inches. *Die Damenspende erster Teil. Zur Weihe Beethovens* (Wien: Elbemühl Papierfabriken, ca. 1900). Likewise, Ludwig Nohl's annotation of Beethoven's "breviary," that is, the composer's book of hand-copied quotations, was published in pocket format like an actual breviary for prayer. Ludwig Nohl, *Beethovens Brevier*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. Paul Sakolowski (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1901; 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Leipzig: E.J. Günter, 1870).

<sup>32</sup> On the relationship between writing, miniature books, and the metaphor of the heart, see Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

often kept in pockets: the assorted hair-locks of Beethoven in Vienna's Society for the Friends of Music were stored not in large tabletop reliquaries, but in brooches or small velvet-lined boxes with an inlaid glass window, their outer surface rubbed raw as if carried or held.<sup>33</sup>

In this same vein, performers revived historic spaces with small, ritualistic performances of the music composed there. Houses differed from other museums in this respect: unlike the art museums and concert halls that were built like vast temples, these were domestic spaces, confined and private. In 1893, for instance, Joseph Joachim played Beethoven's heartfelt Cavatina from Op. 130 in his birth room on the composer's own instruments (Chapter 2); similarly, his last quartet was played as a swan-song for his death-room prior to its demolition, releasing Beethoven's spirit from his earthly walls (Chapter 3); and the priests' chorus from the *Magic Flute* was sung by local men's choirs at Mozart's composing-cottage, combining the brotherhood of masonry, the ritual of pilgrimage, and the muted bucolica of the woods (Chapter 4).

### **Historicity and Timelessness**

These performances reveal a critical impulse that characterized musical life in the long nineteenth century: an effort to pin down the timeless work to a single point of historical contingency, and to cast this contingency in material form, as if

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<sup>33</sup> Take for instance the lock cut shortly before Beethoven's burial by C.F. Kessler, gifted by J. Epstein to the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in 1878. The lock was kept in a brooch that was stored in a gold-leaf box, and much of the leaf had worn off from the sides, suggesting that the object was regularly handled and not only stored, pristine, in the vitrine. Vienna, *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archiv*, ER Beethoven 9.

trapping music in amber. Scholars have already observed this tendency in textual enterprises such as Urtext editions, sketch studies, and nineteenth-century psychobiographies that sought to elucidate the mystery of the creative process. This same impulse manifested materially, not only textually: in the preservation of buildings, the establishment of archives, and of course relic-collecting. Many scholars refer to this as “historicism,” a word that has come to represent a variety of antiquarian behaviors in the nineteenth century, including what might be better attributed to “historicity,” an interest in historical authenticity.<sup>34</sup> We have seen how the nineteenth century was a period of self-consciousness about class strata, and this same self-consciousness was felt towards one’s position in history (a sentiment best exemplified by the self-aware fugue, “when does the nineteenth century start?” discussed by Alexander Rehding).<sup>35</sup> Just as middle-class listeners made competitive claims to composers’ artifacts, cultural institutions (like municipal governments, music societies, and conservatories) showed a similar self-assertion. Not only did they assert high culture with monuments, museums, street names, or bust-lined concert halls; they also asserted *history* by preserving composers’ houses, collecting artifacts, or performing music in the so-called “birthplace” (*Geburtsstätte*) of the work.

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<sup>34</sup> The more focused definition of historicism (in German, *Historismus*) dictates that historical events are governed by laws and that the modern day is defined by a direct lineage from history. Historicism seeks teleological explanations that presume causality, a theory that has been dismantled by advocates of historical contingency. See Paul Hamilton, *Historicism* (London: Routledge, 2003). For an argument against historicism, see Slavoj Žižek, “Da Capo Senza Fine,” in *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left* (London: Verso, 2000), especially 230-5.

<sup>35</sup> Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); see the fugue on p. 44 and Rehding’s discussion of “taking stock” of the century, 43-6.

Paradoxically, though, this interest in the historical moment served to augment the timeless – and here is where historicity takes on a more nuanced meaning, a Janus face that underlies not just museum culture but German nationalism (that is, a nation founded upon utopian readings of myth and antiquity, as argued by George S. Williamson).<sup>36</sup> Peter Fritzsche has shown how this Janus face emerged after the French Revolution, a rupture that led to a fixation both on the foreign past and the uncertain future.<sup>37</sup> It is no coincidence that historic preservation, the restoration of buildings to an imaginary past, burgeoned in the aftermath of the Revolution’s destruction, as Katherine Bergeron has discussed.<sup>38</sup> The turn of the twentieth century offered a similar moment of historicist self-consciousness, with newly industrialized cities like Vienna that razed historic sites in favor of urban development. Mourning the loss of historic music halls, Stephan Zweig described the demolition of Beethoven’s death house in terms at once material and spiritual, as “a bit of our soul that was being torn out of our body.”<sup>39</sup> It was this sense of loss, an uneasy awareness of the forward march of time at the expense of history, that spurred a desire to recapture the material grain of the past.

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<sup>36</sup> George S. Williamson, *The Longing in Myth for Germany: Religion and Aesthetic Culture from Romanticism to Nietzsche* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

<sup>37</sup> Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004). See also Alon Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance: Promises and Limits of Writing History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

<sup>38</sup> Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).

<sup>39</sup> Stephan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), 17.

In short, I argue that we must refine our understanding of nineteenth-century historical consciousness to include its manifestation in material culture. Objects and spaces were a surface upon which the valuation of the past could be made visible to the future – a surface at times patinaed (relics), at times buffed to a shine (restorations).<sup>40</sup> Incorruptible objects like hair locks made the patina of history timeless; and this is why preservation projects sought to mummify historic houses, to render them as incorruptible as hair. As Chapters 2 and 3 will show, houses became fetish objects like relics or autograph manuscripts, with the spirit of the composer thought to reside in the walls. Thus the residue of composers' time on earth – the very reminders of their absence – became tokens of their eternal life.

### **Materiality and Musicology**

It may come as no surprise that *music* took on this same role. The composer's corporeal presence was imagined to live within the artwork; take for instance one listener at a festival in Bonn who reported that thunderclouds parted at a key passage in Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, as if the spirit of Beethoven were listening from above.<sup>41</sup> Throughout this dissertation, we will see an array of

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<sup>40</sup> To cite one telling example of how material objects serve as indicators of historicism: it was only in the nineteenth century that antique silver became valuable. Prior to this historicist period, silver was always melted down and re-shaped to suit the latest fashions (conveniently leaving a dearth of antique silver, a rarity that only amplified its value).

<sup>41</sup> Discussed at more length in Chapter 2; F. Max Anton, Generalmusikdirektor der Stadt Bonn, to unknown recipient ("sehr geehrte Meister"), 4. June 1927. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Sig. 116. One might be tempted to cite Theodor W. Adorno's "On the Fetish Character of Listening," but it is worth noting that he refers not to music treated as a fetish, but rather to Marxist commodity fetishism, the consumer's alienation from the means of production, which leads to blind

listeners (amateur poets, journalists, biographers) for whom music became another form of tangible closeness with composers. Some imagined illness to be divine, like the suffering of saints, and tuned into composers' ailing bodies through their last works. Others heard the voice of the composer singing through the work, or locked eyes with music as if peering into the composer's face (Chapter 1). Some performed music in historic spaces on composers' own instruments (Chapters 2-4); others adopted composers' spiritual works to create new rituals, venerating composers with their own invocations of the sacred (Chapter 4). In all these cases (and in spite of Hanslick's admonitions in *On the Beautiful in Music*), most nineteenth-century music-lovers indulged unabashedly in biographical playing and listening, hearing the life emanating from the works. Objects that composers owned took on the role of theater props, cementing certain strains of composer-lore into the public imagination: Beethoven's hearing instruments, for example, are still public favorites in his birth house museum, serving as a stark reminder of his suffering.<sup>42</sup> In a period when artists were treated with an increasingly hagiographic lens, music had a dual function: works of music could be read programmatically like a biography; but at times when they resisted reading, when they became absolute, musical works validated the composer-as-saint by serving as his miracles.

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consumption and the degradation of value. Adorno, "On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening" (1938), publ. Richard Leppert, ed., Susan Gillespie, trans., *Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 288-317.

<sup>42</sup> A lesser-known example might be Beethoven's washing bowl, owned by a man in London and eventually acquired by the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn, which affirmed tales of washing-water dripping onto the heads of his downstairs neighbors and cultivated public affection for bachelor-Beethoven's slovenly habits.

Just as the composer's body was thought to reside within his music, a ghostly glimmer of music was felt to be lodged in material traces. Take for instance the advertisement that a Berlin plasterworks company used to market Beethoven's life mask. Not only does the company detail the mask's creation in 1812, the same year as Beethoven composed his seventh symphony, but it also claims that the casting procedure took place at the same moment as this symphony's performance (false advertising, given that the work premiered one year after the mask was cast). The company invited potential buyers to imagine the symphony's *sound* ingrained in this snapshot of the living Beethoven. Perhaps more surprising is that material objects like the life mask left a residue in intellectual life: it is no coincidence that, in a period when Beethoven's life mask was almost universally mistaken for his death-mask and mounted on countless walls, Walter Benjamin coined this aphorism for the creative process: "The work is the death-mask of conception."<sup>43</sup>

This trace of materiality in intellectual discourse has important ramifications for musicologists, who are still unpacking how cultural context formed our discipline in its nascent stages. With this permeable boundary between the popular and intellectual, music criticism and the budding field of musicology absorbed a characteristically nineteenth-century preoccupation with the spiritual/material dichotomy. Today, scholars in musicology have made casual reference to saintly composers or hagiographic biographies, but have

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<sup>43</sup> "Das Werk ist die Totenmaske der Konzeption." I offer a more comprehensive context for this passage in chapter 1. Walter Benjamin, "The Writer's Technique in Thirteen Theses," in *Einbahnstraße* (1928).

tended to dismiss cult practices as marginal ephemera. It is worth considering that many of the critics and thinkers who influenced music discourse in its infancy were themselves collectors of autographs and composer-memorabilia, hobbies that occasionally emerged in their writings. In his criticism of early music concerts, which were felt to alienate secularized audiences, Hanslick chose a metaphor that recalls his own travels to composer-houses: "We may indeed be uplifted by artistic pilgrimages to the abandoned abodes of earlier centuries, but we are no longer able to settle there wholeheartedly." To cite another example, Wilhelm von Lenz criticized Mozart's piano music in terms that evoke objects in a (private) vitrine, rather than the metaphor of the (public) imaginary museum that has become second-nature today: "Mozart saw the piano as a poor object, a mediocre repository unfit to house his most precious treasures."<sup>44</sup>

Allegory is just one cosmetic way in which materiality manifests in musicological thought. Many of the discipline's twists and turns have pivoted around early musicologists who either embraced or pointedly eschewed materiality and art-religion (while at the same time keeping relics for their enjoyment at home). Take for instance the clash in approach between Alexander Oulibischeff, infamous for his over-dramatic speculation about the creative process, and his critic Otto Jahn, the biographer who set a new standard for

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<sup>44</sup> Hanslick's passage comes from his criticisms of Hirschfeld's *Renaissance Evenings*, translated and discussed by Kevin C. Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 69. Lenz's comment cites Mozart's symphonies and quartets as the repositories of choice for his treasures, that is, his pearls of creativity; see Lenz, "Beethoven's Three Styles," translated by Ian Bent, ed., *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 317.



impartiality and objectivity. Jahn lamented the popular fashion for displaying critical editions on one's bookshelf, an apparent skepticism towards collectors, but he kept a sizeable collection of autograph manuscripts that were both objects of intellectual study and cherished possessions.<sup>45</sup> Kevin C. Karnes has shown how Heinrich Schenker's interest in organicism emerged from his work on spontaneity and artifice in the composer's psyche, a line of thinking that resonates with the popular psychobiographies of the period. Karnes further argues that musicology's second great wave of positivism after 1945 emerged from a postwar aversion to speculative studies of creativity – an approach that smacked dangerously of Eugenic superiority lodged in composers' bones. Friedrich von Hausegger, for instance, was brushed under the rug after 1945 for writings that saw creativity as vibrations between the listener and the composer's body (he wrote that "we want to *feel* the unity and beauty of form. In the sympathetic vibrations of our body it becomes clear to us that the form has sprung from similar bodily vibrations" of the composer).<sup>46</sup> And today, materiality's most visible lineage lies in discourse on late style, which emerged from ideas about the "three styles" of Beethoven that folded his pathology into his works (as Chapter 1 will show). Musicologists' recent interest in materiality may appear as a swing of the pendulum that oscillates between metaphysical

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<sup>45</sup> For Jahn's autograph collection, see Joseph Baer, et al., *Otto Jahn's musikalische Bibliothek und Musikalien-Sammlung* (Bonn: 1869), 35-45. For Jahn's criticism of the public's taste for editions, see "Beethoven und die Ausgaben seiner Werke," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze über Musik* (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Breitkopf und Härtel, 1866), 271-337.

<sup>46</sup> See Karnes's epilogue, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History* (2008), 188-94, as well as Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

and material. But as this project demonstrates, relics and houses allowed these to coexist, a material surface that resonated with an aura of genius.

### **Canonizing the Composer**

This dissertation opens with a landscape of Beethoven's hair, and accordingly, Beethoven dominates the terrain of this study. But he is not the only character in this broader story. Although the nineteenth century saw a newfound status for music among the sister arts, elevating composers to the highest echelons of "great men," artists of all kinds were likewise venerated as saints (particularly writers like Goethe, Schiller, and Shakespeare).<sup>47</sup> These practices were not only limited to German-speaking regions, but were widespread throughout Europe, especially in Catholic countries with strong nationalist projects. Take for instance the parallel cases of André Grétry and Frédéric Chopin, whose preserved hearts were caught in a tug-of-war between their place of residence (Paris) and their respective homelands (Belgium, Poland). Many of the material practices that found such exuberant reception in Germany – monuments, museums, collecting, entombment in sacred spaces like Westminster Abbey – had their origins in England, revolving especially around Handel and Shakespeare. The English fascination with the German pantheon led many art-lovers to import relics from Germany, and many of these same individuals served on philanthropic committees and funded composer-museums which were visited by large

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<sup>47</sup> Both writers and composers are the focus of insightful collection of essays about houses made into museums: Constanze Breuer, et al, eds., *Häuser der Erinnerung. Zur Geschichte der Personengedenkstätte in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2015).

numbers of English tourists. Nor were these practices limited to the posthumous celebration of the dead. Living composers like Franz Liszt and Richard Wagner sought to establish their own celebrity in the footsteps of giants.

This arguably Christian tendency to follow in footsteps (called *imitatio*, in which saints emulate Jesus, followers emulate saints, and composers emulate Beethoven) justifies my focus on two canonical protagonists in this dissertation: Beethoven and Mozart. These figures set the template in Germany and Austria for practices that became widespread across Europe. Beethoven initiated a broader interest in the Christological suffering of the composer, material encounters with a sacred body, and a sense of empathy and closeness through pity (like the protagonists in novels by Victor Hugo). Mozart, on the other hand, was genius incarnate: his legendary death conditioned all other deathbeds, while his birthplace of Salzburg set the example for establishing museums, monuments, and other sites of memory. By the late nineteenth century, even Mozart had been duly Beethovenized. Biographers cast Mozart's deathbed and pathology under a Beethovenian stormcloud; his composing habits were imagined outdoors in nature; and even his sparkling oeuvre was distilled to somber moments that best aligned with German choral singing (Chapter 4). For all the myth-making that was first spun around Mozart, it was Beethoven who tied the knot—so tightly, in fact, that it was only relatively recently unraveled by

scholars of historiography such as Scott Burnham, Tia DeNora, K.M. Knittel, and Nicholas Mathew.<sup>48</sup>

Beethoven, in particular, brings a further problem into relief: the tug-of-war-between Germany and Austria, who competed for ownership of cultural figures amidst the tensions of the *Kulturkampf* (a systematic discrimination of Catholics by the Protestant majority from 1871-1878). From a religious studies perspective, this presents an apparent problem: among Protestants, one would expect some resistance to Catholic practices and vocabulary (saints, relics, pilgrimage); among Catholics, one expects an aversion to sacred borrowings in a secular context, particularly with the rise of the German Ultramontane movement that re-centered Catholic power in the hands of the Pope. But surprisingly, even as confessional divisions intensified on the political level, and even as secularism was organized into a confession of its own, Catholic-inflected art-religion was peacefully absorbed into the cultural mainstream.<sup>49</sup> It was common in both north and south Germany to apply Catholic vocabulary to composers, and words like “relics” were normalized into an aesthetic

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<sup>48</sup> Tia DeNora reconstructs the complex aristocratic and professional network that hoisted Beethoven to fame during his lifetime in *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Scott Burnham shows how the nineteenth-century reception of Beethoven’s “heroic” works shaped expectations for teleology and organicism in subsequent musicology: *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995). Nicholas Mathew compares Beethoven’s *Wellingtons Sieg*, a heroic occasional work for the Congress of Vienna, with the monumental heroism in the *Eroica*; despite Beethoven’s ambition to set the timeless *Eroica* apart from his occasional works (as evidenced by his title-page erasure), Mathew shows how the symphony remains tethered to its time and place. Mathew, “History Under Erasure: Wellingtons Sieg, the Congress of Vienna, and the Ruination of Beethoven’s Heroic Style,” *The Musical Quarterly* 89 (2007), 17-61. Regarding Mozart’s death and funeral cast under a Beethovenian stormcloud, see Nicolas Slominsky, “The Weather at Mozart’s Funeral,” 46:1 *The Musical Quarterly* (1960), 12-21.

<sup>49</sup> On organized secularism as a fourth confession, see Todd H. Weir, *Secularism and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

vernacular.<sup>50</sup> Even Bach, the pinnacle of Lutheranism, was pictured in stained glass and entombed beneath the high altar of the Thomaskirche in Leipzig (“Saint Bach,” as Craig Wright jokingly called him).<sup>51</sup> The size of a city determined its culture of “piety” far more than its confessional geography, with smaller cities more inclined to a patron saint than bustling cosmopolitan centers (Chapter 3).

Studies of art-religion have often revolved around a core question: in a period of widespread secularism, did artists fill a void left by waning religious practice?<sup>52</sup> The nineteenth century did see a significant drop in the number of saints beatified and canonized by the Catholic church, which may suggest a lacuna; and in the same decades when concert halls opened their doors to a swath of social classes, church attendance was on a steady decline.<sup>53</sup> Yet in recent decades, scholars have challenged theories of secularization derived from Max Weber (“the disenchantment of the world”), which held that the age of

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<sup>50</sup> Here is where my approach to art-religious *practices*, not only vocabulary, diverges from that of other scholars working in areas of art-religion. A recent monograph by theologian Martin Nicol has much in common with my topic, an analysis of the art-religious reception of Beethoven’s piano sonatas. But Nicol does not account for vocabulary that became a secular vernacular; instead, he holds up a theological microscope to music criticism, pulling out words like “heilig” (holy) and “religiös” (religious) without acknowledging that these were as commonplace as “wunderbar” or “herrlich.” His larger points about piano-playing as a form of private prayer offer useful insights into performance as daily devotion; nonetheless, Nicol uses his own personal experience (such as anecdotes about his grandfather) as a hermeneutic scaffolding, supporting what appear to be pre-existing opinions about Beethoven’s music with cherrypicked texts from a wide swath of time periods and contexts. Martin Nicol, *Gottesklang und Fingersatz: Beethovens Klaviersonaten als religiöses Erlebnis* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2015).

<sup>51</sup> Craig Wright, *Listening to Western Music*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boston: Schirmer, 2014), 134.

<sup>52</sup> Theodore Ziolkowski. *Modes of Faith: Secular Surrogates for Lost Religious Belief* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); see especially his Chapter 6 on the museum in the nineteenth century, which transitioned away from the Enlightenment’s ascetic designs meant to foster an educational experience, and became instead grand temples of art.

<sup>53</sup> For these canonization statistics, see Francesco Scorza Barcellona, ed., *Santi del Novecento: storia, agiografia, canonizzazioni* (Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1998).

rationality eroded the force of religion in all areas of life, not only in the separation of church and state.<sup>54</sup> Scholars of religion have since uncovered alternate modes of religiosity, what they call *re-enchantment*, that flourished just as secularization was thought to take its firmest hold. I suggest that relics, pilgrimage, and shrines for composers instill secular objects with a sense of wonder, a re-enchantment of the secular rather than a disenchantment with the sacred. I would further argue that the most critical shift in German religiosity was a newly personal definition of “piety”: starting in the Enlightenment, confession (administered by Church doctrine, or *Konfession*) was newly understood as separate from belief (personal faith, or *Bekanntnis*). This definition of piety as “inner religion” only increased in prominence through the nineteenth century, particularly among educated Protestants. By cherishing Beethoven’s hair locks, displaying Mozart’s autographs in reliquaries, or writing devotional poetry to composers in guestbooks and albums, I suggest that music-lovers incorporated composers into their inner religion.<sup>55</sup>

Art-religion was so ubiquitous in this period that many today have dismissed relics or museums as innocuous quirks. But in 1918, the Viennese sociologist Edgar Zilsel was profoundly alarmed by what he called the *Geniereligion*, the genius-religion. What disturbed Zilsel were not superficial tokens of religiosity (relics, pilgrimage, or the art-heroes who lined Walhalla) but

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<sup>54</sup> William H. Swatos, Jr. et al, eds, *The Secularization Debate* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

<sup>55</sup> On the shift towards personal piety, particularly in Protestant regions, see Lucian Hölscher, “The Religious Divide: Piety in Nineteenth-Century Germany,” in Helmut Walser Smith, ed. *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany, 1800-1914* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2001), 33-47.

rather the extremist dogma that underlay them. Together with a small group of Jewish intellectuals, Zisel warned of the racist ideologies and masculine Germanocentrism that fueled genius-religion. As Julia Köhne has argued, the ideology that Zisel criticized was itself a reaction to French and Italian conceptions of genius as effeminate pathology and degeneration (that is, virile Beethoven vs. sickly Chopin).<sup>56</sup> Zisel's genius-religion saw material practices of re-enchantment as the symptoms of a dangerous disease:

Outwardly already it appears that we treasure the relics, autographs, hair-locks, quills, and tobacco boxes of our great men just as the Catholic church treasures the bones, accessories, and clothing of saints (...) True, we build no chapels around the graves of our geniuses, nor do we offer burnt sacrifices on the altars of antique hero-temples; but we do bury some of them together in Westminster Abbey and in the Paris Pantheon, or erect their busts in Walhalla (...) With holy awe, as if on pilgrimage to Lourdes, we journey to these genius-graves, to Weimar, to Stratford on Avon, and above all to Bayreuth. But it is not only the external form, the rituals of genius-veneration, that make a religious cult (...) the genius-religion, like any other religion, has also developed its own dogma.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Edgar Zisel, *Die Geniereligion* (Vienna, Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918). See the insightful essay by Julia Barbara Köhne, "The Cult of Genius in Germany and Austria at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century," in Joyce E. Chaplin and Darrin M. McMahon, eds., *Genealogies of Genius* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 115-135. It is worth noting that the masculinization of genius – among countless other factors discussed by Marcia Citron in *Gender and the Musical Canon* (1993) – accounts for the exclusively *male* roster of composer-saints, in contrast with a more equal gender distribution among Catholic saints.

<sup>57</sup> "Schon äußerlich zeigt es sich, daß wir die Reliquien unserer großen Männer, ihren Autogrammen und Locken, ihre Federkielen und Tabakdosen eine ähnliche Schätzung widerfahren lassen, wie die katholische Kirche den Gebeinen, Geräten und Gewändern der Heiligen, wie die Hellenen den vermeintlichen Knochen des Theseus und anderer Kultheroen. Wir erbauen um die Gräber unserer Genies zwar keine Kapellen und opfern ihnen nicht schwarze Lämmer auf den Altären antiker Heroentempel, aber wir begraben jene gemeinsam in der Westminsterabtei und im Pariser Pantheon, oder wir errichten ihnen eine gemeinsame Walhalla, die zwar keine Gräber mehr, aber doch die Büsten der Verewigten, kurz, antike Kenotaphien enthält. Mit ähnlich heiliger Scheu wie nach Lourdes wallfahren wir zu diesen Geniegräbern, ziehen wir nach Weimar, nach Stratford on Avon und vor allem nach Bayreuth. Aber nicht nur die äußere Form, das Rituale der Genieverehrung gleicht dem religiösen Kultus (...) die Geniereligion [hat] wie jede andere Religion auch ihre eigene Dogmatik entwickelt (...)" Zisel, *Geniereligion* (1918), 3-4.

The pinnacle of this dogma is “timelessness”; and Zinsel shows that this concept itself is a social construction, a Beethoven-inflected vision of the misunderstood artist who strives for posterity. Zinsel was among the first to argue comprehensively that the criteria for posterity fluctuate with the latest fashions. He offers the example of Mozart, whose art had lately fallen out of favor under Beethoven’s shadow, its complexity reduced to a blithe caricature of simplicity. Already in 1918, Zinsel felt the burden of canon-formation that still weighs upon musicology today: “Posterity flattens entire cultural epochs into nothing other than a few singular great men.”<sup>58</sup> His theory of *Geniereligion* was powerfully astute: amidst the zeal for Germanic geniuses, he recognized how art-religion laid the groundwork for Nazi ideology. (It was not a world to which Zinsel wanted to belong. Like Stephan Zweig, he took his own life in exile shortly after he escaped Nazi Europe.) In Zinsel’s text, we see the darker side of art-religion. This specter of German superiority is why canonicity weighs upon musicology even now, thirty years after the heyday of canon-polemics in other disciplines. Whether scholars commit uneasily to studying canonic repertoire or revive obscure works, they must always navigate the peaks and valleys of Nietzsche’s monumental history, the natural terrain of a discipline that crystallized around Austro-Germanic *Geniereligion*.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> “Die Nachwelt transformiert eben ganze Kulturepochen nicht anders als die einzelnen jener großen Männer.” Ibid., 17. Zinsel’s comments reflect Nietzsche’s concept of monumental history in *On the Use and Abuse of History* (1874).

<sup>59</sup> Some might consider this a vintage concern, given that the field has come a long way since Daniel Hertz’s 1969 entreaty that caused a stir at an American Musicological Society meeting, and recent decades have seen new methods and repertoires that reflect a conscientious approach



It becomes an even more pressing project, then, to unearth the historical origins of the canon. Numerous scholars have undertaken this task in recent decades: William Weber set the standard for canon-studies, tracing the solidification of canonic repertory in a meticulous analysis of concert programs; and the recent handbook *Der Kanon der Musik* offers a wealth of case studies that range from medieval liturgy to jazz standards.<sup>60</sup> These studies tend to focus on institutions – concert halls, conservatories, publishing houses, award ceremonies – that leave a bureaucratic paper trail as a record of their agency in canon-building. My dissertation asks instead how canons were solidified on the ground by the individuals who populated those institutions, the devotees who left more subtle traces in ephemera. I suggest that canons crystallized from an interdependency between them; this symbiotic relationship meant that *both* institutions and individuals served as arbiters of taste, rather than a trickle-down influence from concert programs to a credulous public. As a point of comparison, consider how the Catholic church canonizes saints who have already amassed a large following; at the same time, this following emerges within the framework of Catholic belief. By pinpointing where listeners and institutions meet, this dissertation offers a more nuanced view of canonicity than a monumental

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to the shadow of the canon. Even if canonicity seems like an unsolvable problem that was already amply debated in the 1990s, I would argue that the polemical nature of most canon studies strengthens the case for understanding the *historic* roots of canonicity. Heartz, “Approaching a History of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Music,” *Current Musicology* 9 (1969), 92-5.

<sup>60</sup> Weber’s work on canon-formation spans several projects, all of which lay a substantial groundwork for this dissertation: *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge University Press, 2008); “Consequences of Canon: The Institutionalization of Enmity between Contemporary and Classical Music, c. 1910,” *Common Knowledge* 9 (2003), 78-99; *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

mountain range. Rather, the history of canons lies at the porous boundaries between monumentality and intimacy, public and private, cultural and monetary capital, and (above all) metaphysical and material.

## **Overview**

This dissertation revolves around two nodes where music and materiality converged: death (calling attention to the material body) and spaces (echoing with material presence). **Chapter 1** examines how the influential reception of Beethoven's last works – thought to be products of metaphysical transcendence and/or bodily decay – has shaped a critical category of lateness that remains today riddled with dichotomies. Critics of Beethoven's last compositions, most famously Theodor W. Adorno, responded not only to juxtapositions of the spiritual and the earthy in the music itself, but also to material emblems of the composer's legendary death in popular culture. The formative years of this discourse coincided with the vast appeal of Beethoven's face mask around 1900, which was marketed as a talismanic wall-ornament to bourgeois consumers and floated phantasmically in countless images. This mask initiated a Christ-like cult of the face that led some critics to hear Beethoven's works as musical physiognomies. I show that the rift in late-style discourse maps strikingly onto Beethoven's two masks: late works were either thought to be imprinted with suffering (like his sunken death mask) or heroically transcendent of death (like

the mask made during the composer's life, which was stubbornly, and perhaps wishfully, mistaken for his death-mask).

In **Chapter 2**, I turn to museums as sites of pilgrimage and devotion, with a two-part comparison of Beethoven's birth house in Bonn (preserved in 1889) with his Viennese death house (demolished in 1903). In Bonn, museum founders designed the birth chamber as a space of quasi-Christological nativity, leading visitors to treat the room as a shrine, prying splinters from the floorboards, depositing panegyric poems, or inscribing poignant messages and musical fragments in the guestbook. This book became a venue for visitors to (self-consciously) perform their devotion, competing for membership in an elite circle of Beethoven connoisseurship. I argue that this behavior is a real-life instance of the fictional pilgrims discussed by K.M. Knittel.<sup>61</sup>

Beyond a simple difference of small city vs. bustling metropolis, why did Beethoven's birth- and death-houses meet such a divergent fate? In 1903 Vienna, unlike in Bonn, Beethoven's death house was torn down and mourned with a funereal ceremony, with ritual performances of Beethoven's late works that were thought to release his spirit from his earthly remains. **Chapter 3** argues that the approaches to conservation in Vienna and Bonn reflect conceptions of the musical past as living or dead, continuous with the present or frozen in time. Against the backdrop of nationalist and imperial agendas, as well as a burgeoning discourse in historic preservation, these cities drew different modes

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<sup>61</sup> Knittel, "Pilgrimages," (2003).

of tourism that shaped their conceptions of heritage. On the one hand, the Rhineland's enduring landscapes led to the impulse to embalm Beethoven's house, what Pierre Nora termed a site of memory (*lieu de mémoire*); on the other hand, Vienna as progressive city of music became an environment of memory (*milieu de mémoire*) that kept Beethoven alive through performance, public ceremony, and the composer's appeal to the avant-garde.

**Chapter 4** revolves around a museum of a very different kind: a little-known Mozart shrine in Salzburg that demonstrates how music could enact the ritual of pilgrimage. In 1877, the cottage where Mozart wrote his *Magic Flute* was transplanted from Vienna to a Salzburg mountaintop and outfitted with a towering bust of Mozart, offering a mixture of monumental grandeur and wooded intimacy. In 1879, the Mozart Foundation raised funds to encase the cottage in an Egyptian temple inspired by *Magic Flute* stage sets – a design later modified to a glass reliquary that better suited the ethos of pilgrimage. These early ceremonies established a lasting ritual: for decades, men's choirs hiked annually to this site and emulated the freemasons of the *Magic Flute* by serenading the cottage with the priests' chorus from this opera, transforming Mozart's stage rituals into real art-religious practice.

Throughout this dissertation, composers appear as secular surrogates, updating the role of sainthood to suit nineteenth-century sensibilities. As Carl Dahlhaus has observed, numerous composer monuments sport period-appropriate garb that morphs into flowing Grecian robes, blending nineteenth-

century biography with ahistorical timelessness.<sup>62</sup> The case studies in this dissertation suggest that this explanation alone – the composer standing in where religion wanes – fails to account for the corporeal fascination with composers. If composers merely substituted for the divine, it would suffice to picture them as Olympian demigods, rejoining the heavens and leaving no traces on Earth. This untouchability, felt in the looming monuments and apotheosis-legends, made composers too aloof for the heartfelt closeness that many listeners felt to their music. Thus listeners were compelled to seek out the composers who lurked between the lines of the staff. Music itself could fuel the desire for tangible connection that led music-lovers to collect autographs and relics, visit houses as pilgrims, and imagine the composers' presence wafting through old haunts. This felt presence, in turn, allowed music to resound with the composer's being.

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<sup>62</sup> Carl Dahlhaus, trans. J. Bradford Robinson, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 79.

## Chapter 1

### Beethoven's Death and the Physiognomy of Late Style

To this day, accounts of Beethoven's death portray a legendary battle with the elements. Even recent biographies, as well as their counterparts in film, have shown Beethoven raging against an unexpected thunder-snowstorm (a springtime weather event that did indeed accompany his death in 1827).

Throughout the nineteenth century, this storm took on a mystical dimension, thought to herald the composer's apotheosis into the heavens;<sup>1</sup> and a trace of this mysticism has persisted well into the twentieth century, with biographies that base their deathbed scenes on the vivid eyewitness account by Anselm Hüttenbrenner. This dramatic tale was published in the wake of the Austro-Prussian War in 1868.<sup>2</sup> It is no coincidence that, in this climate of bristling nationalism with Beethoven as its figurehead, Hüttenbrenner chose to depict the

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<sup>1</sup> This perception of Beethoven's storm-apothesis, akin to King Lear's tempest, began immediately after the composer's death in 1827, but it gained particular dramatic traction in the later decades of the nineteenth century. Viennese obituaries of 1827 depicted Beethoven's death as a pious event, but did not always mention the storm, which weather records confirm; poetic tributes, on the other hand, often included this colorful detail as far back as 1827. Compare for instance the "Nekrolog" in the *Wiener Zeitung*, March 18, 1827 with the poem "Ludwig van Beethovens Tod" by Ludwig August Kanne (1827), which celebrates Beethoven's heavenly and heroic journey during the storm. On the early reception of Beethoven's death, particularly poetic and musical tributes, see Christopher H. Gibbs, "Performances of Grief: Vienna's Response to the Death of Beethoven," in *Beethoven and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 227-85. See also the poems in the insightful and comprehensive exhibit catalogue edited by Silke Bettermann, et al., *Drei Begräbnisse und ein Todesfall. Beethovens Ende und Erinnerungskultur seiner Zeit* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2002), 124-140.

<sup>2</sup> This account has seen such widespread acceptance that it is often reproduced, nearly verbatim, without citing Hüttenbrenner as its source. Even recent biographies describe Beethoven's raised fist as if it were established fact. Joseph Kerman, for instance, writes: "Snow lay outside as he died, his fist clenched and raised against a great violent spring thunderstorm. Truth can sometimes be more romantic than fiction." In Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York: Knopf, 1967), 350; see also the final chapter of Jan Swafford, *Beethoven: Anguish and Triumph* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014).

event as a military *Todeskampf* (death-battle) that further supports the heroic trope identified by Scott Burnham:<sup>3</sup>

(...) there was suddenly a loud clap of thunder accompanied by a bolt of lightning which illuminated the death-chamber with a harsh light (...) After this unexpected natural phenomenon, which had shaken me greatly, Beethoven opened his eyes, raised his right hand and, his fist clenched, looked upwards for several seconds with a grave, threatening countenance, as though to say, "I defy you, powers of evil! Away! God is with me." It also seemed as though he were calling like a valiant commander [*Feldherr*] to his faint-hearted troops: "Courage, men! Forward! Trust in me! The victory is ours!"

As he let his hand sink down onto the bed again, his eyes closed half-way. My right hand lay under his head, my left hand rested on his breast. There was no more breathing, no more heartbeat! The great composer's spirit fled from this world of deception into the kingdom of truth. I shut the half-open eyes of the deceased, kissed them, and then his forehead, mouth and hands. At my request Frau van Beethoven cut a lock of hair and gave it to me as a sacred relic of Beethoven's last hour.<sup>4</sup>

Even before Hüttenbrenner published his account, the heroic Beethoven was widely associated with storms, whose booming thunder was reminiscent of the sounds of war. In a folk-calendar ballad from 1861, for instance, Beethoven scribbles *Wellingtons Sieg* oblivious to the tempest around him, dictating cracks of

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<sup>3</sup> On the conflation of Beethoven's own heroism with that of his works, see Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> Anselm Hüttenbrenner, memoir published in Graz, *Tagespost*, October 23, 1868; first written as a letter to Alexander Wheelock Thayer, Hallerschloß zu Gratz, August 20, 1860. Original letter reprinted in Klaus Martin Kopitz and Rainer Cadenbach, eds., *Beethoven aus der Sicht seiner Zeitgenossen, in Tagebüchern, Briefen, Gedichten und Erinnerungen*, vol. 1 (München: G. Henle Verlag, 2009), 483-4. English translation by H.C. Robbins Landon, *Beethoven: A Documentary Study* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 392. Landon translates the phrase "heiliges Angedenken" as "sacred relic," but the phrase may be more literally translated as "sacred memento." On the distinction between relics and mementos, see my Introduction. Note also that Hüttenbrenner's mention of "Frau van Beethoven" seems to allude to Beethoven's sister-in-law; but given that Beethoven's relationship with Johanna van Beethoven was rocky, biographers have speculated that Hüttenbrenner confused Johanna with Sali, Beethoven's maid.

thunder as cannons; and poems in an 1872 album refer repeatedly to the “battle-thunder” (*Schlachtendonner*) of his symphonies.<sup>5</sup>

But Hüttenbrenner’s tale is only one of multiple deathbed narratives, not all of which saw the dying Beethoven as a military hero. Conceptions of Beethoven’s death, both by his contemporaries as well as later biographers, tend to fall on either side of a pronounced divide: battling the storm with heroic overcoming, or accepting fate with pious submission. This divide is emblematic of a much deeper paradox in Beethoven’s reception that will surface throughout this chapter: while his spirit was thought to transcend the earthly plane, the cult of his material remains became a central focus of his posthumous veneration.

Where Hüttenbrenner fell on the side of heroism, the image of Beethoven as suffering saint originated with his physician, Dr. Wawruch:

[Beethoven] performed his devotions with meek submission and turned to the friends standing about him with the words, ‘*Plaudite amici, finita est comoedia!*’ [Applaud, my friends, the comedy is over, the standard conclusion of the *commedia dell’arte*] (...) The 26<sup>th</sup> of March was stormy and dull; towards six in the afternoon a snowstorm began, accompanied by thunder and lightning. – Beethoven died – What would a Roman augur have concluded about his apotheosis from the fortuitous unrest of the elements?<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> For example, Dr. Joh. Nep. Vogl, “Beethoven im Ungewitter: Erzählendes Gedicht,” in *Dr. Joh. Nep. Vogl’s Volks-Kalender, 1861, Mit vielen Holzschnitten* (Vienna: Tendler & Comp., Print by Jacob und Holzhausen, 1861), 198-201. For poems that use the word “Schlachtendonner,” see Hermann Joseph Landau, ed., *Erstes poetisches Beethoven-Album: Zur Erinnerung an den grossen Tondichter und an dessen Säcularfeier begangen den 17. December 1870* (Prague: Self-Publication, 1872), 189 and 419.

<sup>6</sup> First published in the *Wiener Zeitung* 30 (1842). Trans. and repr. in Landon, *Beethoven* (1970), 391. Elizabeth Kramer also cites these excerpts as examples of Beethoven’s apotheosis in her dissertation work on *Kunstreligion*. My own work differs from Kramer’s approach in its concentration on the late nineteenth-century material practices and marketing of the composer-devotion. Kramer, *The Idea of Kunstreligion in German Musical Aesthetics of the Early Nineteenth Century*, Ph.D., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (2005).



Here Beethoven makes peace with his end in the Christian tradition of *ars moriendi* (the art of dying). Like countless saints who wasted away, this version of Beethoven is frail, resigned to his fate. The *Plaudite amici* quotation, widely believed to be Beethoven's last words (following Schindler's influential and likely spurious account), portrays a suffering figure who embraces death as an escape from the farce of his life.

Naturally, this difference of interpretation can be partly explained by historical circumstance. Not only were Hüttenbrenner and Wawruch writing in different time periods, but they also had quite different agendas. To counter charges of malpractice leveled by Schindler and later biographers, it was in the doctor's best interest to see his patient's demise as inevitable, a divinely ordained apotheosis. It was in Hüttenbrenner's best interest to portray the composer as a Napoleonic figure, wielding his own authority as sole witness to exploit a heroic trope that held widespread appeal. But regardless of their circumstances, these deathbed accounts have been adopted almost as fact, a common feature of Beethoven's historiography: throughout the nineteenth century, biographers tended to recapitulate the claims of a few eyewitnesses, with individual actors (notably Schindler, Hüttenbrenner, Wegeler and Ries) shaping generations of beliefs about the composer.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> On Schindler's powerful influence in Beethoven biography, and on his own falsifications and insertions into Beethoven's conversation books to legitimize his authority, see the comprehensive and detailed study by Daniel Brenner, *Anton Schindler und sein Einfluss auf die Beethoven-Biographik* (Stuttgart: Carus, Beethoven-Haus Verlag, 2013).

The issue, then, lies not in these colorful accounts themselves, but in the overtones of the mythical and miraculous that remain embedded in Beethoven's reception. Owing to his death legend, the composer's image has been imprinted with storminess, an association that remains even today: analyses for the lay-listener often use the word "stormy" for Beethoven's intense, busy passagework, as if the topos of *Sturm und Drang* were a feature of his musical personality more broadly.<sup>8</sup> In light of nineteenth-century popular culture, this comes as no surprise: virtually the entire corpus of Beethoven-themed literature and poetry, a vast sub-genre in this period, employs weather metaphors with traces of the supernatural. Authors both amateur and professional imagined Beethoven battling the storm, conducting lightning strikes atop a mountain, or communicating with God through the thunder like a prophet.<sup>9</sup> Even Nietzsche

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<sup>8</sup> Barry Cooper, Lewis Lockwood and other biographers use the word "stormy" to describe dozens of passages across Beethoven's oeuvre, not only his programmatic works like the Tempest Sonata and Sixth Symphony. See Barry Cooper, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) and Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003). In some analyses, Beethoven's storminess is treated as his compositional signature: see for instance Aaron Copland in his *What to Listen For in Music* (New York: Signet, 2002 [orig. 1939]), which places the "the Beethoven-like, stormy character" of the Scherzo of his Op. 27, No. 1 at odds with the "stately minuet that originated the form" (109).

<sup>9</sup> In a particularly colorful instance, a widely read bio-fic novel opens with the young Beethoven literally conducting a thunderstorm on a mountaintop, shouting tempo cues to the lightning. Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter and Franz Wegeler, *Furioso, or Passages in the Life of Ludwig van Beethoven* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co, 1865; orig. German), 3-7. An amateur poet named Johannes Goebels sent a handwritten journal of poems to the Beethoven-Haus in 1927; among these was a long poem that depicts Beethoven on a long walk in nature, caught in an unexpected storm, raging against the heavens, and finally conversing with God's voice through the thunderclouds as He comforts Beethoven in his despair. Untitled poem, pp. 3-14. Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, Z 2931, 22. See also the 1927 story by Hans Watzlik: "Jäh steht der Wanderer in die Gewitterstunde gerissen. (...) Flammenwetter zucken, Donner prasseln und rollen. An Beethovens wilder Braue zerrt die Luft. Er horcht, wie der verdüsterte Gottheit dichtet." Hans Watzlik, "Die zehnte Symphonie," in Gustav Bosse, ed., *Beethoven Almanac der Deutschen Musikbücherei auf das Jahr 1827* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1927), 548. Literature like this was complemented by stormy portraits, such as "Beethoven in stürmischer Landschaft" (1870) by

wrote an ode to the dying Beethoven that imagined the composer “thundering” as he rose into heaven.<sup>10</sup>

The connection of Beethoven with miraculous storms was further encouraged by his widespread reception as a Christ-like or saint-like figure. This interpretation, while strongly promoted by Wagner after the composer’s death, has its roots in Beethoven’s own Heiligenstadt Testament, which biographers fastidiously applied to all periods of his life. In the manner of Christ or the hermit saints that imitated him, the deaf Beethoven was believed to turn inwards, devoting his soul to the higher calling of Art/God. Nineteenth-century writings emphasized his chastity (bachelorhood), poverty (disheveled appearance), fasting (forgetting to eat while composing), persistent illness, and of course his deafness, regarded by Wagner and his successors as sacred suffering.<sup>11</sup> Thus it’s no coincidence that Hüttenbrenner and Wawruch described an apotheosis, drawing upon a longstanding trope in both antiquity and Christian scripture: Christ’s crucifixion was accompanied by darkness and earthquakes, and Romulus (to whom Wawruch was likely alluding) as well as the prophet

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Fritz Schwörer and “Beethoven in den Fluren” by Max Wolff (ca. 1900), both widely sold as prints.

<sup>10</sup> In Nietzsche’s poem “Beethovens Tod” (1863): “Du winkst – und deinem Wink entquillt / rings dämmernde Gewitterschwüle; / du winkst – und Lüfte forschend mild / umwehen mich in leichtem Spiele; / du donnerst – – und herniederschlägt / der Blitz, – ich starre unbewegt / und schaue dich mit lichten Scharen / in weißen Kleidern aufwärts fahren / und fühle, wie die Ewigkeiten / vor mir sich endlos, zeitlos breiten.”

<sup>11</sup> K.M. Knittel has shown how Wagner’s idealization of Beethoven’s “transcendent” deafness and late works in his 1870 essay left a lasting legacy that solidified Beethoven’s quasi-sacred reception well into the twentieth century. See Knittel, “Wagner, Deafness, and the Reception of Beethoven’s Late Style,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51:1 (1998), 49-82.

Elijah were drawn into heaven “by a windstorm.”<sup>12</sup> According to an edition of *Lives of the Saints* that circulated in the nineteenth century, one potential miracle was saints’ ability to “command the elements and reverse the ‘immutable laws of nature.’”<sup>13</sup>

These two deathbed accounts, which contributed to the mystical overtones of Beethoven’s reception, form part of a larger divide in discourse about the composer: a clash of the spiritual and material. On the one hand, admirers wished to exalt his triumphant apotheosis; on the other hand, it was equally appealing to seek a tangible connection with his dying body. Even Hüttenbrenner, who depicted Beethoven’s death-battle as transcendent heroism, still embraced the composer like a faithful devotee and procured a hair-lock as a deathbed relic. This tension between spiritual and material underlies broader conversations about music’s autonomy: although Beethoven was among the first to exemplify what Lydia Goehr has called the “separability principle” – the idea that a work transcends its creator and becomes autonomous – his reception is

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<sup>12</sup> On parallels between Beethoven and the prophet Elijah in reception, see Martin Nicol, *Gottesklang und Fingersatz. Beethovens Klaviersonaten als religiöses Erlebnis* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2015), 89. The apotheosis of the prophet Elijah is described in 2 Kings 2:1. On the crucifixion, see the Gospel of Matthew: “There was darkness all over the land” (xxvii, 45) and “The veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent; and the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose” (51, 52). From Mark and Luke: “There was darkness over the whole land” (Mark xv, 33). “And the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom” (38).

<sup>13</sup> F.X. Weniger, *The Lives of the Saints: Compiled from authentic sources; with a practical instruction on the life of each saint, for every day in the year* (New York: O’Shea, 1875), iv. Examples include St. Scholastica, sister of St. Benedict of Nursia, who prayed to keep her brother in town and summoned a violent thunderstorm just as Benedict stood up to leave. Many saints were also believed to offer protection against storms and their feast days mark a turning point in local weather patterns: St. Swithun in Britain; St. Medard, Urban of Langres and the duo Gervais and Protais in France; St. Godelieve in Flanders; and the “Ice Saints” of German and Austrian folklore.

nonetheless characterized by persistent attention to his physical body.<sup>14</sup> The popular fascination with Beethoven's death-legend had a marked impact on the reception of his late works – a kind of *inseparability* that conflicts with the alleged autonomy of this music.

A large body of scholarship on “late style” in musicology, art history, and literature regards lateness as a universal category, a life phase shared by all artists. But when we hold this category at arm's length as a cultural construct, we see how lateness emerged from nineteenth-century beliefs in the miraculous, a fascination with pathology, and a vision of artists' deaths as saintly apotheoses. Late style, as it turns out, does not float above history, but crystallized around critical responses to late works by *Beethoven* (particularly the influential essay by Theodor W. Adorno). It is because of Beethoven that scholars see late works as enigmas: paradox is built into the fabric of his reception as the composer of extremes (“from the cooing of the dove to the thunder's roll,” in the words of Grillparzer's funeral oration).<sup>15</sup> His deathbed legends gave paradox a bodily form. Two conflicting physiognomies – the stubborn military commander (Napoleon) and the suffering redeemer (Christ) – led to divided opinions about

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<sup>14</sup> See Chapter 8 of Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 205-242. Goehr argues that Beethoven set the standard for the autonomous, professional, middle-class composer liberated from institutional authority. The untouchable monumentality of Beethoven's works contributed to the rise of subscription concerts, copyright laws, the split between high-status autonomous works and low-status occasional works, and the concept of *Werktreue*, all of which helped to construct the imaginary museum of musical works.

<sup>15</sup> Grillparzer's original autograph is freely accessible through the digital archives of the Beethoven-Haus library, along with transcribed text. < [http://www.beethoven-haus-bonn.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=&template=dokseite\\_digitales\\_archiv\\_de&\\_dokid=1183&\\_seite=1](http://www.beethoven-haus-bonn.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=&template=dokseite_digitales_archiv_de&_dokid=1183&_seite=1) > Accessed Sept. 28, 2015.

Beethoven's late works, which in turn shaped a critical category of "late style" that is still today riddled with dichotomies.<sup>16</sup>

In this chapter, I argue that critical discourse on Beethoven's late works was underpinned by popular practices that sought a material connection with his body – specifically, the cult veneration of his dying face, commodified in the form of his mask. This interest in the corporeal led many to imagine Beethoven's final compositions as almost tangible traces of his person, hearing his last Lento as his own dying voice or "grave-song." Many scholars today use Adorno's writings on late Beethoven as a lens for analysis (as in Edward Said's monograph or, more recently, Daniel Chua's reading of Op. 130).<sup>17</sup> But Adorno's essays were historically contingent, a twentieth-century reaction to nineteenth-century criticism that wavered between transcendence and decay, produced at a cultural moment that imagined Beethoven's death as a miraculous event and hung his mask on every parlor wall.

This chapter unfolds in two parts to show how the material reception of Beethoven's death influenced the musical reception of his last works. In part one (material reception), I show how Beethoven's mask became a fashionable object around 1900, resulting in a cult of the face not unlike that of Jesus. I discuss the emergence of Beethoven's dual physiognomies in his two masks, the sunken

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<sup>16</sup> Gordon McMullan lists the dichotomies that serve as the backbone to debates over late style: personal/impersonal, individual/epochal, involuntary/knowing, serene/irascible, childlike/difficult, archaic/proleptic, old age/proximity to death, and completion/supplement. See McMullan, *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing: Authorship in the Proximity of Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 46-7.

<sup>17</sup> Edward Said, *On Late Style: Music and Literature Against the Grain* (New York: Pantheon, 2006); Daniel K. L. Chua, "Beethoven's Other Humanism," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62:3 (2009), 571-645.

death mask and the life mask that was stubbornly, and perhaps wishfully, mistaken for his death mask. In part two (musical reception), I discuss how late style discourse fits into a conceptual matrix of praise or disdain, transcendence or decay. I demonstrate how critics sought to hear the death-moment reenacted in Beethoven's late Adagios, especially the Lento from his last quartet (Op. 135) – to such an extent that one critic, Ludwig Nohl, arranged this slow movement as an art-song entitled *Beethovens Grabgesang* ("Beethoven's Grave-Song"). I speculate that the impulse to hear Op. 135 as a deathbed scene may have drawn inspiration from passages in Beethoven's own late works, when ethereal dissipation suddenly finds itself pulled back to earth. Late works thus become the nexus of broader tendencies in Beethoven reception: the tendency to envision Beethoven's face as a stand-in for his music, to hear music physiognomically (and vice versa, to read Beethoven's features musically), and to imagine Beethoven's first-person voice "singing" his own melodies.

## **Part I. Material Reception**

### **Beethoven's (Death) Mask**

In many world cultures, mourners treat the belongings of the dead as fetish objects, i.e. objects with occult or animistic powers. These "homeless" things, their human attachments now broken, become "frozen, grotesque gestures" of

their owner (in the words of Hartmut Böhme).<sup>18</sup> After Beethoven's death, the composer's sundry belongings were subject to this fetishizing impulse. His desk items, ear trumpets, salt pot and money case were bought and sold by collectors who valued them as contact relics that bore a trace of their owner. The most powerful of all were relics touched by death, such as Beethoven's last will and testament and the many hair-locks snipped by eager visitors to his corpse.<sup>19</sup> The morning after his death, two brothers – the Viennese painter and sculptor Joseph Danhauser along with his brother Carl – rushed to the scene and collected as many mementos of the event as possible: they cast a death-mask of his face, cut a lock of his hair, sketched his face and hands, and purchased death-memorabilia, such as the razor used to shave his face (as Carl put it, “the barber's apprentice said that he could never use the razor again after he had shaved a dead man with it. I bought it from him”).<sup>20</sup>

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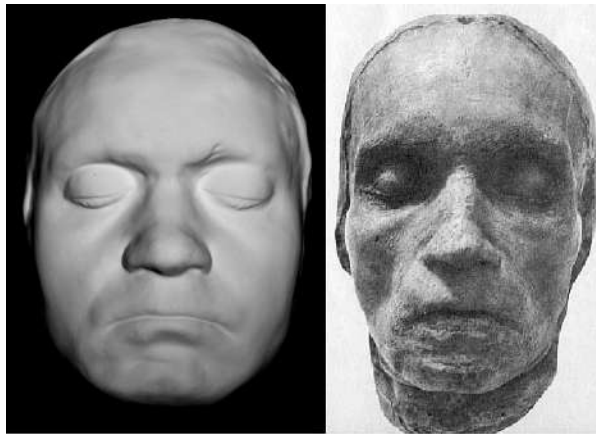
<sup>18</sup> Hartmut Böhme, “Letzte Dinge,” in *Fetischismus und Kultur. Eine andere Theorie der Moderne* (Reinbek: Rowohlt-Taschenbuchverlag, 2006), 121-4. Böhme appears to use the word “grotesque” in its vernacular sense, synonymous with “gruesome,” rather than its strict definition as a carnivalesque hybrid of opposites.

<sup>19</sup> In Catholicism, contact relics are “second-order” objects touched by the sacred individual, in contrast with “first-order” body parts. Beethoven's hair locks were the only first-order relics taken from his deathbed. This quest for death-relics continued even posthumously: when Beethoven was exhumed in 1863, a patch of his funeral shroud was snipped and framed by one of the very bureaucrats who was supposed to guard his body from relic-nabbing intruders. The shroud fragment was then given as a gift alongside a case of cigars; collection of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, ER Beethoven 11.

<sup>20</sup> Carl's account of this deathbed venture dates from several decades after Beethoven's death, contained in a letter to the unknown recipient to whom these relics – the hair-lock, original mask, and razor – were bequeathed. A color copy of the original letter, along with its transcription and annotations by Otto Biba, director of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in Vienna, can be found in many academic libraries. Carl Danhauser, “Nach Beethoven's Tod: Erinnerungen von Carl Danhauser,” annotated and edited by Otto Biba (Vienna: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 2001). Among Danhauser's death-sketches are *Ludwig van Beethoven, 1770-1827, on his deathbed, 28th March 1827* by Josef Eduard Telscher (1827), an engraving by J. Adé based on a drawing by Wilhelm von Lindenschmit, *Beethoven auf dem Sterbelager*.



In his account, Carl claimed that this mask was intended for Joseph's bust of Beethoven. But it remains unclear why Joseph would require a *death* mask for this project. Indeed, the bust he created some years later was clearly modeled on the *life* mask cast by Franz Klein in 1812, which had already been used for countless Beethoven likenesses. Perhaps unsurprisingly, no sculptor or portraitist in this period modeled their works on the gaunt face of Beethoven's autopsied corpse.



*Fig. 1.1. Beethoven's life mask (left), created by Franz Klein in 1812, and his death mask (right), created by Carl and Josef Danhauser the morning after Beethoven's death in 1827.*

It appears, then, that the Danhauser brothers made this postmortem visit not for the sake of a bust, but rather in an effort to capture and preserve a material trace of his legendary death. Like Hüttenbrenner's hair-lock, the death mask functioned (and was later marketed) as a sacred relic of Beethoven's last hour.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Joseph Danhauser was struck by Beethoven's face for the remainder of his career. In his famous painting *Franz Liszt Fantasizing at the Piano* (1840), an improvising Liszt gazes at an oversized rendition of Danhauser's own 1827 bust of Beethoven that appears to float preternaturally in the window. Many have interpreted this bust as Beethoven's looming influence on the Liszt circle, but I speculate that it doubled as self-advertisement for Danhauser's skill as mask-caster and

But death masks are not first-order relics in the traditional sense.<sup>22</sup> While mask-casting dates to antiquity, the nineteenth century was the first period when masks were valued as precious objects in their own right; in earlier centuries, they were typically discarded after they had exhausted their use as models for sculptures of kings and generals. As artists were increasingly elevated to the ranks of great men, and as their physiognomies were newly understood as signifiers of genius, masks for cultural figures became a new norm. It is telling that from the nineteenth century alone – as many as in all prior centuries combined – over two hundred death masks survive, common both to private vitrines and to public museums. The faces of composers, in particular, quickly came to outnumber those of emperors, generals and even poets: death masks were made for Handel, Haydn, Schubert, Mozart (albeit with dubious authenticity<sup>23</sup>), Chopin, Liszt, Mendelssohn, Wagner, Tchaikovsky, Bruckner, Mahler, Schoenberg and Berg, among others.

Of all these composer masks, Klein's 1812 cast of Beethoven held the widest appeal. In *fin-de-siècle* Germany and Austria, copies of this mask became a must-have item for the bourgeois music room. Like prints and photographs,

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bust-sculptor. The painting was first and foremost an advertisement: commissioned by the piano-maker Conrad Graf, it hung in his shop window in Vienna for many years.

<sup>22</sup> The practice of creating death masks, for all its fascinating insights into the culture of death and memory, has received surprisingly little scholarly attention. Much of my information on the history of this practice derives from museum catalogues. See for instance the introduction Ernst Benkard and Margaret Green, *Undying Faces: A Collection of Death Masks* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1927) as well as Ralf Beil, ed. *Masken: Metamorphosen des Gesichts von Rodin bis Picasso* (Ostfildern, 2009) and Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, ed., *Wir Sind Maske* (Milan, 2009).

<sup>23</sup> On the disputed authenticity of Mozart's death mask, as well as the several skulls attributed to him in the nineteenth century, see Hans Bankl and J. Szilvassy, *Die Reliquien Mozarts. Totenschädel und Totenmaske* (Vienna: Facultas, 1992).

Beethoven's mask was mass-produced as decor, complete with wire for wall-hanging, by a number of prominent plasterworks companies. Friedrich Goldschieder in Vienna, for instance, sold a re-sculpted imitation, and the original mask itself was cast by the largest plaster company in Europe, the Gebrüder Micheli in Berlin. Although the Micheli brothers' hottest-selling products were busts of German political and military figures like Bismarck and Frederick the Great, masks also occupied an important place in sales catalogues.<sup>24</sup> Unlike busts displayed in public spaces, masks were preferred in private rooms, with a certain intimate candidness evoking a funeral wake. And since this intimate candidness was also *reproducible*, masks became an ideal consumer product.

If Beethoven's life mask was not the best-selling in the catalogue, he came in close second to an anonymous woman pulled from the Seine, known as *l'inconnue de la Seine* or *la belle Italienne*, an eerie visage that became a fixation in contemporary literature.<sup>25</sup> Her mysterious appeal lay partly in her peaceful,

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<sup>24</sup> Those of Goethe, Wagner, Liszt and Shakespeare were particular favorites (second of course to Beethoven). The Gebrüder Micheli advertised the sale of these masks, as well as casts of the composers' hands: "Beethoven-, Wagner-, Liszt-Masken," *Neue Freie Presse* January 28, 1913. See also the catalogue of the Gebrüder Micheli: *Preis-Verzeichnis plastischer Bildwerke, Gebrüder Micheli Bildhauer-Werkstätten, gegründet 1824* (Berlin, ca. 1900). This catalogue shows that composers represented the majority of death-mask offerings, yet they comprised only around 5% of busts and figurines. Consumers appear to have preferred monumental military or political figures from German history, followed closely by German scientists and thinkers, poets, artists, and famous pedagogues (who were likely in demand for display in schools and universities).

<sup>25</sup> See Ödön von Horváth, *Eine Unbekannte aus der Seine und andere Stücke* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2001); D. Barton Johnson, "L'Inconnue de la Seine and Nabokov's Naiades," *Comparative Literature* 44:3 (Summer 1992), 225-248; David Phillips, "In Search of an Unknown Woman: L'Inconnue de la Seine," *Neophilologus* 66:3 (July 1982), 321-327; Hélène Pinet, "L'eau, la femme, la mort. Le mythe de L'Inconnue de la Seine," in: *Le Dernier Portrait. Exposition présentée au musée d'Orsay du 5 mars au 26 mai 2002* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002), 175-190.

almost smiling expression, as if she had not suffered at all. Similarly, the Beethoven mask that bore no signs of suffering – that is, Klein’s life mask rather than Danhauser’s death mask – was the one that became fashionable, hung above the piano like a talisman to watch over domestic musicking. Consumers saw this mask as a signifier of high culture, a *fin-de-siècle* variant to a long-standing practice of putting luminaries’ portraits on display.<sup>26</sup>

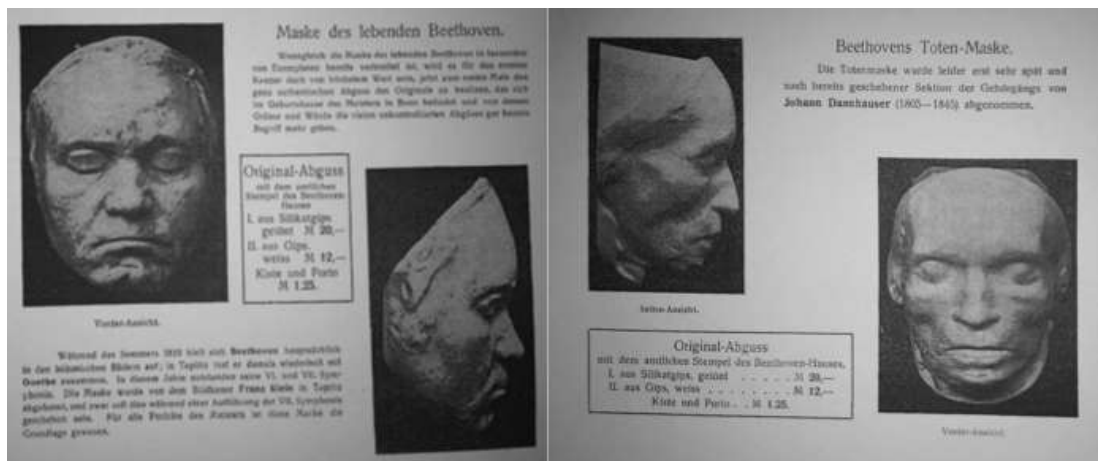


Fig. 1.2. The Micheli brothers advertise the sale of Beethoven’s masks, ca. 1900. Beethoven-Haus Archiv, Bonn.

<sup>26</sup> For more on this practice and its bearing on music historiography, see Annette Richards, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Portraits, and the Physiognomy of Music History,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66:2 (2013), 337-396.



*Fig. 1.3. Lionello Balestrieri, "Kreutzer Sonata" (1889). In this painting, which made a splash at the Paris World Exposition, Beethoven's life mask hangs above the piano as a kind of talisman of domestic musicking, a common sight around 1900. Museo Revoltella, Trieste, Inv. 139.*

An exchange of letters between the Gebrüder Micheli and the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn shows the sweeping extent of this fad.<sup>27</sup> While the Micheli company marketed masks independently, they also paired up with cultural institutions to lend gravity to an existing fashion. Several years earlier, the company had had a smashing success with Goethe's life mask at his museum in Weimar, with the stipulation that this mask would be sold exclusively at a fixed price in the museum shop, stamped with an official museum crest. This arrangement was mutually profitable. The company could charge more for their

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<sup>27</sup> Correspondence between the Gebrüder Micheli company in Berlin and Knickenberg, secretary of the Beethoven-Haus, between 1908-1914, Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 81-82.

masks with an official crest, while the museum could profit from items that it was already sitting on, retailing relics from its own collection.<sup>28</sup>

In 1908, the Micheli company doggedly pursued similar negotiations with the Beethoven-Haus secretary. Their correspondence reveals how broad the mask's appeal had become, and how institutions (in this case, the Beethoven museum) were used as leverage to boost the value of cultural goods.<sup>29</sup> The Micheli company tried to monopolize a market it had already tested, to repeat its success with the Goethe Museum and become the exclusive manufacturer of Beethoven masks that were hot on the market. In one letter, a Micheli representative reports that the masks were already *à la mode*, not only among music-lovers but among a diverse demographic: "The Beethoven-mask is already very widely disseminated; indeed it has become the fashion to use it as a item of decor, even in circles that neither have a relationship with nor a passion for it."<sup>30</sup> The company amplified an existing fad through the cultural gravity of the museum, outfitting each mask with a Beethoven-Haus label like a luxury brand. (But as with the present-day marketing of luxury goods, whose consumer demand can never be pulled out of thin air, the Beethoven-Haus label did little to boost demand for these masks. The more explicitly the museum branded their

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<sup>28</sup> The Micheli company sent along a recommendation letter from the Goethe Museum (November 13, 1908) as part of their courtship with the Beethoven-Haus. The letter touts this mutual profitability: "Ein kleiner Vorteil für das Museum ergibt sich doch auf alle Fälle." Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 81-82.

<sup>29</sup> Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 81-82.

<sup>30</sup> "Nun ist zwar die Beethoven-Maske in der Welt schon sehr verbreitet, ja es ist Mode geworden, sie als Decorationsstück zu verwenden auch in Kreisen, die weder Beziehungen noch Herz dafür haben." Excerpted from the Gebrüder Micheli's very first appeal to Knickenberg, Sept. 24, 1908. Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, Akten, VBH 81-2.

masks, the weaker their mysterious allure as fashion objects – much to the Micheli company’s dismay.)<sup>31</sup>

For all the popularity of this mask, there was widespread confusion about its true identity. While most consumers believed they were purchasing Beethoven’s *Totenmaske*, the mask on sale was in reality the *Lebenmaske* created by Klein fifteen years before Beethoven’s death (and in fact, the Klein mask was mistaken for a death mask as early as 1827, a deeply ingrained misunderstanding).<sup>32</sup> Though the Gebrüder Micheli proposed the sale of *both* masks in the Beethoven-Haus museum, and even took a mold of Liszt’s copy of the death mask in preparation for this project, their sales were almost exclusively comprised of life masks, which were touted for their precious residue of the Seventh Symphony (performed during the casting procedure in 1812).<sup>33</sup> The death mask, on the other hand, was dismissed by the company as “very deformed and only of scientific value.”<sup>34</sup> With the Klein mask as the official face

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<sup>31</sup> See for instance the letter from the Gebrüder Micheli to Knickenberg from March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1912, in which the company reacted with irritation to the relative failure of the product’s roll-out. Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 81-2.

<sup>32</sup> Theodor Frimmel reports that virtually every newspaper notice confused the life mask with a death mask. He cites a notice about a bust made based on Beethoven’s death-mask by Dietrich, owned by Frau Pauline Neumann; mention of this bust dates from June, 1827. See Frimmel, “Beethovens äußere Erscheinung,” in *Neue Beethoveniana* (Vienna: Carl Gerold’s Sohn, 1888), 273.

<sup>33</sup> Anticipating the potential sale of Beethoven’s death mask, along with his already-popular life mask, the Micheli brothers took a mold of Liszt’s copy while in Weimar for their Goethe-Museum project. Letter from the Gebrüder Micheli to Knickenberg, 22. Sept. 1911. Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 81-2.

<sup>34</sup> The Micheli advertisement flier (sent to the Beethoven-Haus as part of negotiations) cites the Seventh Symphony performance in an attempt to increase the mask’s value, as if traces of the music were embedded in Beethoven’s visage. This blurb is then followed by a parenthetical remark on the unsuitably deformed death mask: “Eine **Totenmaske** wurde ebenfalls abgenommen, leider aber sehr spät und erst nach stattgehabter Sektion (die Gehörgänge waren aufgemeißelt worden). Sie ist sehr entstellt und nur von wissenschaftlichem Wert.” Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 81-82.

of Beethoven, a universal model for portraits and busts, the gruesome distortion of the Danhauser mask was simply jarring.<sup>35</sup> This led consumers and sellers to ignore the existence of an actual death mask, preferring instead to call the life mask a *Totenmaske*.

For Richard Leppert, this mislabeling reveals a kind of corrective historiography. Whereas Danhauser's mask deflates the Promethean myth, the heroic visage of the Klein mask better aligns with the Beethovenian ideal, the Beethoven of the imagination.<sup>36</sup> The stubborn, firm-set mouth of the life mask came to characterize Beethoven's face for generations of portraitists and sculptors, and this feature was often exaggerated to align with his heroic reception: Alessandra Comini speculates that the iconic mouth is entirely mundane, a symptom of mask-casting discomfort that was only later (mis)interpreted as firm resolve.<sup>37</sup> Thus the mix-up might have been form of

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<sup>35</sup> Frimmel, for instance, found the actual death mask so disturbing that he entirely sidestepped it in his otherwise exhaustive chronicle of Beethoven's appearance. He writes: "I forsake the task of sketching Beethoven's appearance during his last illness within the scope of this project. It would be far too unpleasant to trace step-by-step the decay of such a rich life" (my translation). Frimmel's interest is in accuracy, an attempt to scientifically pinpoint Beethoven's exact living features—thus he views the death mask as scarcely salvageable. Frimmel, *Neue Beethoveniana* (1888), 310 and 313, fn. 3.

<sup>36</sup> Richard Leppert, "The Musician of the Imagination," in William Weber, ed., *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 25-58. On the conflation of life and death mask, see the final section of this article, 49-54.

<sup>37</sup> Comini mentions the mask mix-up, as well as the practice of hanging the mask on the wall, in her article; yet her goals are markedly different from mine. Whereas I aim to understand the mask as a material practice and cult object (cultural-historical goal), Comini uses the mask as a means to trace the lineage of the characteristic scowl in Beethoven portraiture (art-historical goal). Her argument is perhaps best summarized by the internet dictum: Beethoven wasn't angry, he just had angry resting face. Alessandra Comini, "The Visual Beethoven: Whence, Why, and Whither the Scowl?" in Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg, eds., *Beethoven and His World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 287-312.



wishful thinking in an era that idealized the stubborn Beethoven of Hüttenbrenner's account.

This is only one of many possible reasons why these masks were conflated. Perhaps another kind of wishful thinking was at play: biographers and public wanted to view Beethoven as woefully misunderstood by his contemporaries, a foundation of the "poor Beethoven" myth. The creation of both mask and busts during Beethoven's lifetime might have been an unwanted reminder of the composer's fame, rather than his imagined status as artistic outlier. Or perhaps consumers desired an authentic relic of Beethoven's death legend, but found the gruesome face ill-suited for a piece of decoration, a purely aesthetic concern.<sup>38</sup> The conflation may have been a matter of word usage: "death mask" was, and still is, a more familiar term than "life mask." One late nineteenth-century encyclopedia, for example, devoted a hefty paragraph to the *Totenmaske* under the entry for "mask," but made no mention of life-masks as a common practice.<sup>39</sup> The closed eyes of the life mask – and the fact that many death masks, like the famed woman of the Seine, do *not* look sunken and eerie – may have further encouraged this false attribution.

For all these important factors, the mislabeling of masks goes beyond semantic and aesthetic concerns. The Klein mask was not only *called* a death-

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<sup>38</sup> For instance, one of the very few individuals to own and display the actual death-mask was Liszt, who received one of the very first casts as a gift from Danhauser; and while Liszt cherished the mask as a relic, he did not display it openly in his music room. Note that Comini claims that the famous photograph of Liszt in his Weimar study shows Beethoven's death mask on the wall, but this is false; Beethoven's mask does not appear anywhere in this photograph. Comini (2000), 310, fn. 22.

<sup>39</sup> "Maske," *Meyers Konversationslexicon* (Leipzig and Vienna: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1885-1892). Accessed July 7, 2015.

mask, but was also *treated* as an object of mourning and remembrance, which elevated it from morbid curio to cult object. Walter Benjamin's influential 1936 essay on technological reproducibility can shed important light on why this mask was so powerful.<sup>40</sup> No matter how often they are reproduced, masks remain life-size copies, so uncannily similar to the original face that even a reproduction has the potency of a relic. In this sense, masks were the perfect commodity of the *Bildungsbürgertum*: they brought together a Biedermeier penchant for portraits, an appetite for deathbed drama, and a cheap and easy process of mechanical reproduction, spawning unlimited casts from a single photo-negative mold. Combine this with Beethoven's iconic face – and with the fact that masks of all kinds were a common motif in decorative arts around 1900 – and we can begin to understand why this item was all the rage.<sup>41</sup>

Benjamin's insights are particularly relevant to masks, given that he himself responded to the same technological innovations that allowed masks to thrive. While the technology to reproduce plaster casts existed for centuries, it was only in the era of photography that consumers wished to purchase and display masks. Benjamin's perspective was often shaped by commodities that

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<sup>40</sup> Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," second version, trans. Edmund Jephcott, et al., in Michael W. Jennings, et al., eds., *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media* (Cambridge, Mass.: Bellknapp Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 21-55.

<sup>41</sup> On masks in the visual and decorative arts around 1900, see Renate Ulmer, "Zwischen Geniekult und Existenzmaskerade. Die Maske in Deutschland," in *Masken. Metamorphosen des Gesichts von Rodin bis Picasso* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2009), 148-59. Ulmer advances a theory as to why masks were popular in this period: she links the anguished faces of masks, especially death masks, with Schopenhauer's pessimism, in which all life is essentially suffering. Yet this theory fails to explain Beethoven's mask: it was the strong-willed life mask, not his anguished death-mask, that fascinated artists and public; and the extent to which Schopenhauer's pessimism was widely circulated and accepted among the mask-buying public is also questionable.

circulated in this historical period. In *The Work of Art*, he cites portrait busts (like those marketed by the Gebrüder Micheli) as a real-world example, and one of his later aphorisms alludes specifically to death masks: “the work is the death mask of conception” – that is, artworks exist in a state of living mutability until congealed onto paper.<sup>42</sup> In a period fascinated by masks, Benjamin may have envisioned artworks as dead faces of a once living body, reproducible and transportable only after they have been frozen into a static physiognomy.

Benjamin argued that, in photography and other reproducible arts, “cult value” gives way to “exhibition value” – that is, the transportability of replicas emancipates them from the “here and now” that fetters cult objects to a single ritual location. But he conceded that the *human face* resists this process:

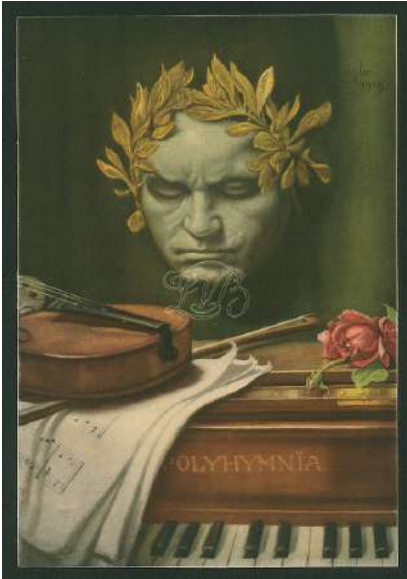
(...) cult value does not give way without resistance. It falls back to a last entrenchment: the human countenance. (...) In the cult of remembrance of dead or absent loved ones, the cult value of the image finds its last refuge. In the fleeting expression of a human face, the aura beckons from early photographs for the last time.

By treating Beethoven’s life mask as a death mask, consumers appear to have re-fashioned this face as a memento of mourning, akin to early photographs. Indeed, the Klein mask was often photographed enrobed in funereal black velvet, evoking the thoughtfully posed bodies in turn-of-

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<sup>42</sup> On portrait busts: “It is easier to exhibit a portrait bust that can be sent here and there than to exhibit the statue of a divinity that has a fixed place in the interior of a temple.” Benjamin, *The Work of Art* (2008), 25. On death masks: “Das Werk ist die Totenmaske der Konzeption.” This quotation from *Einbahnstraße* (1928) is the last of Benjamin’s thirteen tips for budding writers, “The Writer’s Technique in Thirteen Theses.” Though Benjamin here refers to written prose rather than music, his broader argument may apply equally to both: Richard Kramer uses this aphorism as a critical backbone for his study of contingency in unfinished works; see *Unfinished Music* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). The mask is a clever analogy for this process: Lavater himself maintained that faces can freeze ever-changing character traits into a single synchronic plane.

the-century death photography (the medium that eventually overtook death masks in the twentieth century).<sup>43</sup> As if to position the Klein mask as an object of remembrance, a number of artists around 1900 depicted it hanging like a cross above a music-themed shrine.



**Fig. 1.4.** Wilhelm Menzler, “Beethoven” or “Polyhymnia,” 1919, Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, B 1251. This music-themed still-life was widely sold as a lithograph.

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<sup>43</sup> See Silke Bettermann’s chapter on Beethoven’s mask, which serves to contextualize the important etching by Franz Stuck, a piece I will discuss shortly: “Die Beschäftigung mit Beethovens Lebendmaske,” in *Franz von Stuck und Beethoven. Musik in der Kunst des Münchner Jugendstils* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus Verlag, 2013), 35-78. This death-photography was especially popular in England: Victorians often displayed photographs of deceased loved ones surrounded by flowers. Exactly when photographs supplanted masks is unclear. We know that masks of deceased relatives were still being formed around 1900; see the advertisement for the “punctual and tactful” forming of masks by the Gebrüder Micheli, *Preis-Verzeichnis plastischer Bildwerke, Gebrüder Micheli Bildhauer-Werkstätten, gegründet 1824* (Berlin, ca. 1900), 40. And while the practice petered out significantly, death masks were still created for prominent individuals late into the twentieth century, such as the mask of Bruno Walter from 1962. For a number of masks dating well into the 1990s, see the museum catalogue by Ulrich Ott and Friedrich Pfäfflin, eds., *Archiv der Gesichter. Toten- und Lebendmasken aus dem Schiller-Nationalmuseum Marbach* (Weinsberg: Wilhelm Röck, 2000).

It is worth noting that certain points I make here, such as the mask as photo-negative, have been mentioned in passing by Michael Hertl, *Totenmasken. Was vom Leben und Sterben bleibt* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2002). Our work is not redundant; Hertl’s book makes many tenuous and unsubstantiated claims, and he reproduces passages without citation from articles in museum catalogs, walking a fine line between close paraphrase and plagiarism. Compare for instance p. 17 of Hertl with p. 127 of Karl-Heins Schreyel, “Geschichte und Brauchtum der Totenmaske,” in Fritz Eschen, ed., *Das letzte Porträt. Totenmasken berühmter Persönlichkeiten aus Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin: Haude & Spenersche Verlag, 1967).



*Fig. 1.5. A skull rests atop a music manuscript and Beethoven's life-mask hangs on the wall, with a caption that reads, "My songs will live on when I myself am gone." Walther Rath, ca. 1910 Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, B 552.*

With the miscellany of a vitrine or museum exhibit, these still-lives underscore the deadness of this mask, the absence of a body that lives on in music alone.

Endowed with this solemn pallor of mourning, the Klein mask became not only the official face of Beethoven, but also of Beethoven's death. When Beethoven's death-house was demolished in Vienna in 1903 (see Chapter 3), this same mask became symbolic of his forsaken death-site. A commemorative etching of the death house was decorated with the floating Klein mask and the incipit of the Eroica funeral march, a lament for the house that uses Beethoven's mask as a stand-in for his spirit. In one strikingly literal turn, a Beethoven fan salvaged stones from the wreckage and had Beethoven's life mask carved into the rock as a "relic for my family."<sup>44</sup> The Klein mask put a face to Beethoven's ghost, which was believed to rise from the shattered walls of his last house.

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<sup>44</sup> Ferdinand Eckardt, "Beethoven Sterbehaus in der Schwarzspanierstraße," *Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, B, 3306. Industrialist and arts patron Gustav Schütz cribbed two large slabs of stone from the site of demolition. On one, he mounted a bronze cast of Beethoven's life mask, and on the other he commissioned this same mask carved into the stone as "a relic for

Companies like the Micheli Brothers thus landed upon an ideal commodity. The human countenance of the Klein mask retained its cult value despite endless reproduction, an impervious “aura” like that of idols, whose replication only serves to amplify their divinity.<sup>45</sup> The layered meaning of aura in Benjamin’s writings can help us further understand the appeal of masks.<sup>46</sup> For Benjamin, aura is not only a variety of authenticity that vanishes with reproduction, but also takes on a distinctly animistic and *physiognomic* dimension, investing artworks with a gaze: “The person we look at, or who feels he is being looked at, looks at us in turn. To experience the aura of a phenomenon we look at means to invest it with the ability to look back at us.”<sup>47</sup> With closed eyes nested in an iconic face, the ghostly “gaze” of Beethoven’s mask became a problem.<sup>48</sup> The mask seemed both alive and dead, leading some sculptors to add Beethoven’s eyes back into his mask (such as the cameos by Franz Stuck). This uneasy alive-ness made the mask even more of an idol, a cult object for private devotion rather than a singular relic displayed in a public

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my family.” Handwritten photo-caption by Gustav Schütz, ca. 1906. Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, B, 3301.

<sup>45</sup> On idols as disseminators of divine power, see Böhme, *Fetishism* (2006), 127.

<sup>46</sup> Miriam Bratu Hansen has shown that Benjamin’s definition of “aura” in the *Artwork* essay was willfully limited, an evasive strategy that resisted the aura-as-fetishism that pervaded occultist writings. See Hansen, “Benjamin’s Aura,” *Critical Inquiry* 34 (Winter 2008), 336-75.

<sup>47</sup> Benjamin, “Little History of Photography,” (1931), cited in Hansen (2008), 343.

<sup>48</sup> In a 1913 letter to the Beethoven-Haus secretary, the sculptor Wilhelm Hüsgen described the unsettling effect of the mask’s closed eyes: “The mask by Klein, comparable in its beauty only to the death-mask of Napoleon, will excite many sculptors and may generate a large number of plastic portraits in its time. Admittedly some sculptors will agonize over the eyes. I remember, as I modeled the Beethoven mask in Munich 12 years ago, that the eyes gave me some sleepless nights” (my translation). It is possible that Hüsgen refers merely to the challenge of sculpting lifelike eyes from a sleeping mask, but his account could give the impression of deep-seated unease with the mask’s gaze. Wilhelm Hüsgen, letter to Prof. Knickenberg. Berlin, Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1913. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Tresor 292.

church or museum. While the mask has the auratic gaze of a ritual object (cult value), its many copies also transported this gaze into secular spaces (exhibition value).

We see this idol-like fetish power in literature of the period, which treated this mask as a talisman that could spur supernatural events. In one humorous story, a Klein mask mounted above the piano sets off a series of false fire alarms.<sup>49</sup> Another story reports the eerie display of this mask to model a pair of glasses in a Viennese shop window.<sup>50</sup> In another, a piano-playing lover hangs the mask over her instrument and finds herself mysteriously alienated from Beethoven's music, tormented by his "curse." She then attributes "Beethoven's revenge" to her scrimping purchase of the plaster mask rather than a bronze alternative that might better honor the composer, as if this music-themed commodity were a sacrifice to appease Beethoven's spirit. By satirizing how consumers used the mask to boost their class status – with expensive bronze preferable to cheap plaster, a mark of real rather than false devotees – this story draws attention to the mask's dual profile as both powerful talisman and reproducible commodity.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Georg Mühlen-Schulte, "Es brennt bei Beethoven," *Lustige Kölner Zeitung*, May, 10, 1933.

<sup>50</sup> H.H. "Die Brillenprobe: Beethovens Totenmaske als Modell," *Volkszeitung*, Vienna, August 2, 1926.

<sup>51</sup> "The plaster cast seller wanted me to buy a bronze-plated mask, but I chose the white mask that was cheaper. That's why Beethoven is now seeking revenge" (my translation). Massimo Bontempelli. "Beethovens Totenmaske," *Dichtung und Welt, Beilage zur Prager Presse*, August 15, 1926.

## The Cult of the Face

More than most any other composer, Beethoven's face has become utterly iconic. Even today, rough sketches of his portrait appear on nearly every page of the museum guestbooks in Bonn. But how did the face of Beethoven, more so than any other composer, come to be so universally recognized? I would argue that the Klein mask itself stamped these iconic features into the public consciousness: the prevalence of this mask not only on bourgeois walls, but also in popular artworks such as ex libris plates and postcards, linked Beethoven's face with his Christological reception (suffering in life, dying in a storm, redeeming mankind). At the turn of the twentieth century, Beethoven's face itself became an object of veneration, a secular appropriation of the cult of the face of Jesus.

Beethoven's masks, particularly the death mask created by Josef Danhauser, are similar in nature to Christ's face relics. An imprint of the dead face, the mask resembles the Shroud of Turin, Veronica's Cloth, or the mandylion, relics that saw a surge of popularity in the nineteenth century.<sup>52</sup> Both Christ's imprints and Beethoven's mask have an eerie life-sizeness that renders them more than mere images, and this trait has a precursor in medieval relic veneration: in early Christianity, the actual measure of a sacred person was often

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<sup>52</sup> The Feast of the Holy Face of Jesus, for instance, was established starting in the nineteenth century. See Solange Corbin, "Les Offices de la Sainte Face," *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'Institut français au Portugal*, new series, 11 (1947): 22–25. Cited in Anne Walters Robertson, "The Man with the Pale Face, the Shroud, and Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*," *Journal of Musicology* 27:4 (2010), 424, fn. 108.



considered a contact relic in its own right.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, the authentic measure of Beethoven's mask was integral to its allure. Masks were always copied in their original dimensions, never miniaturized like a desktop bust.<sup>54</sup> For Beethoven's face as well as Christ's shroud, real dimensions made flesh long-gone seem almost palpable.

The reproducibility of aura, too, follows in medieval footsteps. In the middle ages, Veronicas were often manufactured four or eight to a page and then pasted into manuscript margins for osculatory devotion (i.e. kissed in prayer), displayed in altars, or worn as pilgrimage badges. These copies, perhaps counter-intuitively, were treated as objects of devotion rather than forgeries.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, the mandylion was used as a signet in thirteenth-century Byzantium, spawning copies that were themselves imprints of the original touch-relic and therefore retained their power.<sup>56</sup> Like these imprints, the original mold of Beethoven's face generated replicas that became akin to contact-relics.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum discusses fourteenth-century images of Christ's wound that proclaim their exact dimensions, imprints of the feet or height of Christ and the Virgin. These images echo, in Bynum's words, "a fairly common medieval idea that a measure of the person is in some literal sense the person; to measure is to absorb something of the power of the measured self by contact with it." See Bynum, *Christian Materiality* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 98.

<sup>54</sup> On the powerful appeal of miniatures in nineteenth-century culture, see the classic theoretical text by Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press, 1984).

<sup>55</sup> Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Ch. 7, "Vision and the Veronica," *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and female spirituality in late medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 317-82, especially pp. 325-36.

<sup>56</sup> Herbert L. Kessler, "Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face," in Kessler, et al, eds., *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (Bologna: Villa Spelman Colloquia vol. 6, Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1998), 129-51.

<sup>57</sup> On the iconographical paradox inherent in imprints of the Holy Face—at once relic and image—see Hans Belting, "In Search of Christ's Body: Image or Imprint?" in *ibid.*, pp. 1-11. Hamburger's chapter (cited above) draws attention to a further paradox in these imprints: these face relics draw attention both to the presence and absence of Christ, a dialectic explored by C.

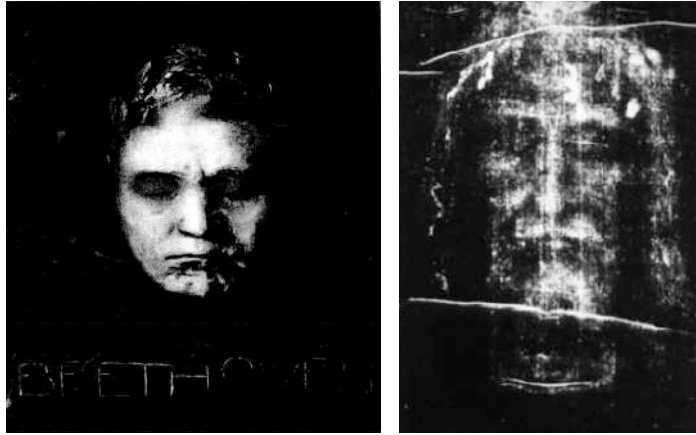
These striking parallels between Beethoven's mask and Christ's face relics did not go unnoticed. Visual artists were drawn to the Klein mask in ways that often manifested in Christological imagery, which pervaded drawings, prints, and especially ex libris plates of the composer. Unlike the inanimate vitrines shown in figures 4 and 5, many images endowed the Klein mask with a living, phantasmal presence. Among the best-known examples is the painting of the life mask by Franz Stuck, created in Munich in 1896 and widely disseminated as a print around 1900. Stuck himself hung the Klein mask on his studio wall, and as if haunted by its blind gaze, he depicts the mask emerging from darkness with photo-negative brushstrokes.<sup>58</sup> Stuck's painting was a patent nod to Christ's face on the Shroud of Turin, with laurel wreath substituting for crown of thorns.<sup>59</sup>

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Hahn, "Absent No Longer: The Saint and the Sign in Late Medieval Pictorial Hagiography," in Gottfried Kerscher, ed. *Hagiographie und Kunst. Der Heiligenkult in Schrift, Bild und Architektur* (Berlin: Reimer, 1993), 152-75, cited in Hamburger, Ch. 7, fn. 14.

<sup>58</sup> Note that many of the Beethoven life masks in this period were sold with laurel leaves attached, often painted in gold. On this painting and Stuck's other Beethoven-inspired works, see Bettermann, *Franz von Stuck und Beethoven* (2013), 35-78. The observation that active brushstrokes make the face look almost alive is also Bettermann's; see p. 37.

<sup>59</sup> The dualism of *Lorbeerkrantz* and *Dornenkrantz* was a common poetic trope in late-nineteenth-century reception of Beethoven, symbolic of how Beethoven's suffering and eternal fame were two sides of the same coin. I pursue this connection at more length in my Chapter 2.



**Fig. 1.6.** (Left) Franz Stuck, "Beethovenmaske mit Lorbeerkranz," *Reproduction by the Franz Hanfstaengl Verlag (1900) from painting (1896), Beethoven-Haus Bonn, B 1389.* (Right) Christ's face from the Shroud of Turin. Given that Stuck was Catholic and worked in Munich, he was almost certainly aware of the Shroud of Turin, which had seen a revived interest among pilgrims since its exhibition in 1862. The first photo-positive image of the shroud became available for the first time shortly before Stuck's lithographic reproduction came out.

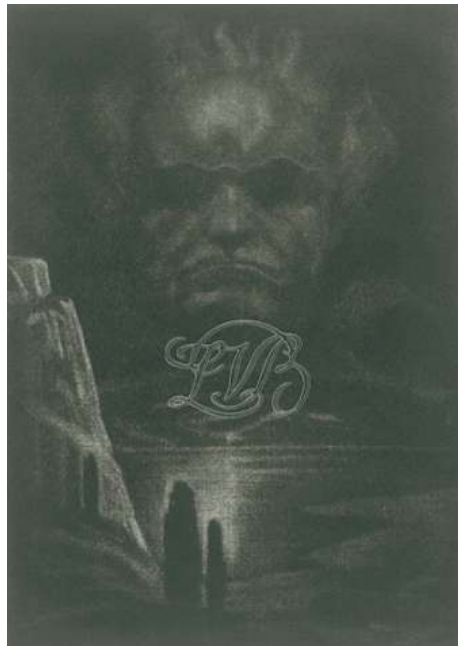
Stuck's painting is just one example of a massive subgenre of Beethoven-mask images around 1900. While Stuck's is perhaps the most explicitly Christological, numerous artists depicted Beethoven's disembodied mask emerging from the void like an eerie apparition, rising into the heavens in an apotheosis, or hovering in stormy skies above windblown landscapes. It was equally common to portray the mask floating over the shoulder of a performer, as if Beethoven's music summoned his presence.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Many examples can be found in the Carrino collection, which features dozens of images (particularly ex libris plates) with floating masks. The collection is privately owned by the Carrino family. See Sergio and Giuliana Carrino, *Eine Beethoven-Wunderkammer in Italien. Die Sammlung Carrino. Katalog zur Sonderausstellung im Beethoven-Haus Bonn* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2012).



**Fig. 1.7.** C.W. Bergmüller, "Beethoven-Sonate," oil painting (n.d.)  
Reprinted in *Illustrierte Zeitung* (March 24, 1927), 407.



**Fig. 1.8.** Georg Wimmer (1892-1975), "Beethovenkopf über  
nächtlichem Gewässer," Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, B 2439.

In some images, Beethoven's mask not only floats but also *looms* behind the performer. A turn-of-the-century caricature shows Beethoven's face as a visual metonym for his music, hovering larger-than-life behind Joseph Joachim (famed interpreter of Beethoven's string quartets and founder of the Beethoven-Verein in Bonn). This image shows not the mask but rather the portrait, complete with iconic mane and glowering eyes; and while these staring portraits differ markedly from showing the mask-as-object, they share a common impulse to visually represent Beethoven's music with his disembodied face looking squarely at the listener. In this caricature, Beethoven's stare dwarfs the receding outline of Joachim, as if the performance were conjuring the composer in a kind of musical séance.<sup>61</sup>



**Fig. 1.9.** Caricature of Joseph Joachim by Franz Stassen, ca. 1900. Joachim's posture in this image suggests that he is performing together with his quartet.

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<sup>61</sup> Caricature reproduced in a reprinted edition of Karl Storck, *Musik und Musiker in Karikatur und Satire. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Musik aus dem Zerrspiegel von Dr. Karl Storck* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1998, orig. publ. Oldenburg, 1910), 69.

By the final decades of the century, images of Beethoven's face were so common – printed on postcards, commemorative coins, stamps, chocolate cards, and virtually every consumer product imaginable – that certain visual tropes dominated his representation.<sup>62</sup> Allegorical scenes symbolized facets of his oeuvre: the “*appassionata*” showed Beethoven's head with lovers entwined in his hair, the “*pastoral*” composer strolled by a brook or stood illuminated by a “*tempest*,” and the overcomer-of-fate scribbled at his desk while embraced by a robed muse, the feminine embodiment of the Art that saved him from suicidal despair. In German and Austrian visual culture, Beethoven's face became a kind of logo, a ubiquitous stamp on consumer products.

It is no surprise, then, that turn-of-the-century music writers fixated on this famous face. Romain Rolland, for instance, began his 1903 biography with a long description of the composer's visage, rather than more common opening gambits like family lineage.<sup>63</sup> And when Ludwig Nohl enumerated reasons why Beethoven's name instills deference, he produced a vivid description of the face just after touting Beethoven as ethical teacher and redeemer of spiritual life:

And when we look into his darkly earnest eyes and encounter his demonic gaze almost fearfully, so the quiet tremor around the mouth nevertheless reveals that inexhaustible goodness of heart that knows and has experienced humanity and its inexhaustible hardship. We gladly believe the report that, when a smile

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<sup>62</sup> My assessment of these tropes stems from more than one hundred images culled from three main sources: the extensive collections at the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn, the images and objects in the Carrino collection (on touring exhibition), and Silke Bettermann, *Beethoven im Bild. Die Darstellung des Komponisten in der bildenden Kunst vom 18. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2012).

<sup>63</sup> As pointed out by Betterman, *Stuck* (2013), 20. See Romain Rolland, *Vie de Beethoven* (Paris: Hachette, 1903).

spread over his face, one had the impression of a bright sunbeam against a dark-clouded sky.<sup>64</sup>

Nohl's description reveals the same fundamental tension found in accounts of Beethoven's deathbed. The face was thought to bear marks of suffering ("inexhaustible hardship"), but at the same time to transcend the gloom ("a bright sunbeam against a dark-clouded sky"). The conflict between Hüttenbrenner's heroism and Wawruch's suffering was thought to play out in Beethoven's very features.

These conflicting personae were often described in terms of Napoleon and Christ. The Napoleonic Beethoven was said to triumph over suffering, his deathbed *Kampf* often compared with the narrative of the Fifth Symphony.<sup>65</sup> It is no coincidence that triumphant finales like these were often called "apotheoses," a distinctly Beethoven-Hero form of transcendence through battle. The Christological Beethoven, by contrast, was thought to make peace with his suffering and redeem mankind. Indeed, the word *Versöhnung* – reconciliation with deafness or misery, an *ars moriendi* process of acceptance – was utterly pervasive in discourse on Beethoven's death. While the word had a widespread secular usage, it derives from a soteriological context. Through *Versöhnung*,

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<sup>64</sup> "Und wenn wir ihm in das finster ernste Auge schauen und seinem dämonischen Blick fast mit Scheu begegnen, so verräth doch das stille Zucken um den Mund jene unerschöpfliche Herzensgüte, die allen denen eigen ist, welche die Menschheit und ihre unerschöpfliche Bedürftigkeit kennen und an sich selbst erfahren haben. Wir glauben gern, was uns berichtet wird, dass wenn ein Lächeln über sein Gesicht gegangen sei, man den Eindruck des lichten Sonnenscheins am dunkeln wölkten Himmel gehabt habe." Ludwig Nohl, *Die Beethoven-Feier und die Kunst der Gegenwart. Eine Erinnerungsgabe* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1871), 18.

<sup>65</sup> Recall the sculptor Hüsgen's comment, cited earlier, that the Klein mask is "comparable in its beauty only to the death-mask of Napoleon (...)" Wilhelm Hüsgen, letter to Prof. Knickenberg. Berlin, Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1913. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Tresor 292.

Christ is believed to heal the rift between God and man. In so doing, he redeems mankind; and it is no coincidence, then, that the word *Erlöser* (redeemer) also pervaded literature on Beethoven's death.<sup>66</sup>

These two faces were not always opposed. An early twentieth-century biography argued that Beethoven evolved from heroic Napoleonic to suffering Christ, with his mythic tenth symphony as a kind of prophecy: "Beethoven's development went from world-dominator to world-transcender, from Napoleon to Christ, and towards every unity of antiquity and Christianity that the tenth symphony would have brought."<sup>67</sup> Here the figures of Christ and Napoleon are not at odds, but complementary redeemers. Beethoven simply fought his battle in two arenas, first on earth and later in heaven.

This battle was believed to be sublimated into his art, with music that alternated between a Napoleonic and Christ-like bearing. The widely influential 1927 monograph by J.W.N. Sullivan held that Beethoven's music navigates two essential drives, the "capacity for suffering" and the "power of self-assertion" that led him to overcome that suffering. Sullivan heard Beethoven's last works as

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<sup>66</sup> Note that even Beethoven uses the word *versöhnt* in his Heiligenstadt Testament, in the context of making peace with his deafness in service of art. Examples of *Versöhnung* and *Erlöser* in Beethoven reception are so numerous that these terms were part of a standard language. See for example the album by Hermann Joseph Landau, ed., *Erstes poetisches Beethoven-Album. Zur Erinnerung an den grossen Tondichter und an dessen Säcularfeier begangen den 17. December 1870* (Prague: Self-Publication, 1872), xii, 83, 109, 154, 302, 348, 383, among many other examples. See also the usage by Hugo Klein, "Allerlei von Beethoven," *Neue Musik-Zeitung* 25:5, December 17, 1904, pp. 104-6.

<sup>67</sup> "Vom Weltüberwinder zum Weltüberwinder, von Napoleon zu Christus, und zu jener Vereinigung von Antike und Christentum, die das Finale der Zehnten Symphonie bringen sollte, ging Beethovens Entwicklung." This passage comes from a biography for the lay reader, part of a larger series on great Germans in history; written during the first world war, the author naturally positions Beethoven as a military hero. A. Moeller van den Bruck, *Beethoven der Deutsche* (Minden: J.C.C. Bruns' Verlag, 1917), 16.



the ultimate arena, the final synthesis of his two drives.<sup>68</sup> Beethoven's dual faces – the Klein mask as heroic ideal and the Danhauser mask as relic of suffering – became the visual equivalent of Napoleon and Christ, hero and suffering saint, that were also heard as dialectical forces in his music.

## Part II. Musical Reception

### Musical Physiognomies

Around 1900, newspapers published blow-by-blow descriptions of artists' features and masks – spotlighting, of course, the iconic Klein mask of Beethoven. These articles rested on the conviction that an artist's face reveals his greatness; and this conviction is the axiom of *physiognomy*, the pseudo-science in which face and body reveal the soul with empirical precision.<sup>69</sup> Even in his own lifetime, Beethoven's face was subject to physiognomic scrutiny. First-hand accounts located humor in his flashing eyes, strength in his powerful forehead, stubborn determination in his broad jaw, and unbridled creativity in his mane, or lion's-

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<sup>68</sup> J.W.N. Sullivan, *Beethoven: His Spiritual Development* (New York: Knopf, 1944; orig. 1927). See also Kevin Korsyn, "J.W.N. Sullivan and the *Heiliger Dankgesang*: Questions of Meaning in Late Beethoven," in Christopher Reynolds, ed., *Beethoven Forum 2* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 140-1.

<sup>69</sup> One journalist, for instance, concluded his detailed analysis with wonderment at how Beethoven-the-man is frozen in the mask: "(...) in the solemn contours, the volcanically craggy and yet frozen landscape of this mask, the forlorn greatness and demonic mythos of this ordinary man [Beethoven] become, with shocking impact, face and likeness." ["...in den feierlichen Konturen, der vulkanisch zerklüfteten und zugleich gletscherhaft erstarrten Landschaft dieser Maske wird mit unerhörter Eindrücklichkeit die einsame Größe und der dämonische Mythos des schöpferischen Menschen Gesicht und Gleichnis."] Kurt Pfister (München), "Wie sah Beethoven aus?: Beethovens Bildnis und Maske," *Neues Wiener Journal*, March, 24, 1927. Pfister also mentions in passing that Klein's 1812 life-mask could be seen in every music salon.

head (*Löwenkopf*).<sup>70</sup> The less attractive his features, the more pathbreaking his alleged creativity. As portraits of Mozart became more angelic, cherubic and nondescript throughout the nineteenth century, depictions of Beethoven increased in ferocity and homeliness.<sup>71</sup>

While physiognomy was influential throughout Europe, its impact on German thought was far more profound than in any other nation, starting with Lavater in the late eighteenth century and continuing through the racist ideology of the Nazis. Lavater was the first to formalize this activity, notably with his own analysis of composers' features in his *Physiognomische Fragmente*; nonetheless, the belief that faces reveal inner traits was already burgeoning in Enlightenment thought. It is no coincidence that, in this same century when artists' deaths first became the focus of historical paintings, portrait collections and anecdotes took on a new role as shapers of historiography.<sup>72</sup> Rooted in this Enlightenment cult of

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<sup>70</sup> These same interpretations of Beethoven's features persisted, virtually unchanged, from his own lifetime until well into the twentieth century. An author in 1921 describes the same fiery gaze, iron will of the mouth, and proud forehead as in early-nineteenth-century accounts; see Fritz Grüninger, *Beethoven. Kurze Einführung in den Geist seiner Persönlichkeit und Werke* (Haslach: 1927), 16.

<sup>71</sup> See Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven: A Study in Mythmaking* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987). On physiognomy more generally in this period, see Lucy Hartley, *Physiognomy and the Meaning of Expression in Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001). On Mozart portraiture, see Dieter Demuth, *Das idealistische Mozart-Bild* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1997).

It is worth noting that, starting with Haydn, contemporaries of famous individuals often expressed surprise when artists looked different from the impression given by their music; see for instance Ludwig Rellstab's 1825 review of Beethoven's "Moonlight" sonata. A number of Schubert's contemporaries were taken aback by his plump, bumbling appearance, expecting him to look airy and graceful: see Suzannah Clark, "Rossini and Beethoven in the Reception of Schubert," in Nicholas Mathew and Benjamin Walton, eds., *The Invention of Beethoven and Rossini: Historiography, Analysis, Criticism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 101.

<sup>72</sup> Annette Richards attributes important re-evaluations of the artistic canon in this period to a "portraitist" approach, in which history becomes a sequence of anecdotes and faces that locate "character and feeling as engines of political and social change." See Richards, "Carl Philipp

personality, Lavater's writings took powerful hold of German intellectuals in the nineteenth century, who saw physiognomy as a medium to reveal the soul, a coveted link between individual interiority (*Innerlichkeit*) and the outside world. This concept held particular sway in German "civil society" – namely, a society that valued individual agency, action, and identity within larger political and social structures. As Richard T. Gray has noted, physiognomic theory not only exposed the hidden self, but also helped to construct the very idea of the private self in the midst of a growing divide between private and public spheres.<sup>73</sup>

Given that Beethoven was seen as the paradigmatic composer of civil society – that is, the self-supporting artist who strolled the streets of Vienna like any other citizen – it may be no coincidence that physiognomy was integral to his reception. The widespread fascination with his personality, deafness, habits of dress and daily life stems from the same impulse as the reproduction of his face. Both reveal a desire to *know* Beethoven personally, to unveil the inner genius that lay masked behind a public façade; and this desire was further strengthened by the deaf Beethoven's social isolation, which made him a more mysterious figure than, say, Mozart. Many nineteenth-century listeners mapped recurring biographical clichés (storminess, gruffness, intensity, and monumental looming)

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Emanuel Bach, Portraits, and the Physiognomy of Music History," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66:2 (2013), 371.

<sup>73</sup> Richard T. Gray, *About Face: German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), xxxvii. In this intellectual history of physiognomy in the German states, Gray argues that physiognomy suffered an ironic and catastrophic turn (an "about face"): Lavater's Enlightenment-era science was intended to foster understanding, love and brotherhood, but nonetheless served as the foundation for racism and genocide in Hitler's regime, which was culturally justified by its lineage from (Lavater-influenced) luminaries such as Goethe.

onto both his features and his music. By furnishing Beethoven's music with an unwritten program derived from his biography (what cultural critics call the biographical fallacy), listeners demonstrated the same trust in transparency, the same one-to-one bijection of inner onto surface, that was the central project of physiognomy.

In his study of Haydn, Wolfgang Fuhrmann has recently drawn an important distinction between Lavater's physiognomic project and music reception. Whereas Lavater worked from the inner self towards the outer appearance, in which God-given qualities *dictate* facial features, reception has worked backwards from appearance inwards, pinning ideal characteristics to pre-existing physical traits.<sup>74</sup> In this way, acknowledged qualities of Haydn's or Beethoven's music were mapped onto their faces with the claim, of course, that those qualities had always already been there. By the late nineteenth century, passages like this one (from an 1872 album) were utterly commonplace:

It was especially through [Beethoven's] face, deeply marked with the sharpest features – in the majestic forehead, the securely and energetically closed mouth, the powerful masculine chin, and the eyes moist with melancholy and sentiment in the deepest night – these features revealed that great, masculine spirit, who was accustomed to call forth his creations from the deepest core of his soul. In short: *in Beethoven's facial features lay the entire genius of his music.*<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "Haydn und sein Publikum. Die Veröffentlichung eines Komponisten, ca. 1750-1815," Habilitation, Bern (2010), 514; monograph forthcoming (Göttingen: V&R Unipress).

<sup>75</sup> Emphasis added. "Besonders sein durch die schärfsten Züge tiefmarkiertes Gesicht, welches in der majestätischen Stirn, dem fest und energisch geschlossenen Munde, dem männlich kräftigen Kinn, und dem in die tiefste Nacht der Melancholie und Schwärmerei getränkten Auge, den grossen, mannhaften Geist verrieth, der seine Schöpfungen aus dem tiefsten Schacht der Seele hervorzurufen gewohnt war. Mit einem Wort: in Beethovens Gesichtszügen lag der ganze Genius seiner Musik." Hermann Joseph Landau in his introduction to the *Beethoven-Album* (1872), 7-8.

The claim that Beethoven's face displays his "entire genius" rested upon a core tenet of physiognomy, a simple concept with deadly consequences for later racist ideologies: Lavaterian physiognomy leaves no room for ambiguity. The face and body are believed to function as one-to-one mirrors, accurate projections of the soul. Starting in the 1920s, physiognomists found it increasingly difficult to reconcile Beethoven's non-Aryan features (using his Klein mask as scientifically accurate proof) with his paradigmatic "Germanness."<sup>76</sup> In a disturbing analysis of the life mask from 1934, pseudo-psychologist Walter Rauschenberger concluded that Beethoven's racial mixture (two parts eastern, one part "fälisch," i.e. Westphalian, and a dash of southern) was the root cause of his legendary *Kampf*, an inner war of his nordic blood against non-nordic contaminants.<sup>77</sup> Yet even this extreme racist application operated just the same as Lavaterian analyses, working backwards from assumed musical traits – or in this case, from nationalist propaganda – to retrospectively explain facial features that were then claimed to *reveal* those traits in the first place.

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<sup>76</sup> Already in 1927, Fritz Grüninger defended Beethoven against accusations that his face is not sufficiently Nordic: "(...) vor Beethoven liegen Tausende auf den Knien, das Göttliche verehrend, das aus seinen Werken spricht (...) Die Beethoven-Verehrung steigerte sich im Laufe des Jahrhunderts zum enthusiastischen Beethoven-Kultus. Hinter diesem Bilde aber lauern da und dort Gefahren, die in die Lichtfülle, die sich um den Namen des Meisters breitet, Schatten zu werfen drohen. Man beginnt, an Beethovens Größe zu rütteln (...) er gilt in den Augen mancher Kunstjünger für überwunden, die Rassenkunde stellt fest, daß er nicht nordisch, nicht blond, sondern 'ostisch' war, und daher könne seine Kunst die geistige Höhe nordischer Menschen nicht erreicht haben." Fritz Grüninger, *Beethoven. Kurze Einführung in den Geist seiner Persönlichkeit und Werke* (Haslach: 1927).

<sup>77</sup> Walther Rauschenberger, "Rassenmerkmale Beethovens und seiner nächsten Verwandten," *Volk und Rasse* 7 (1934), 194-203. See also Fritz Paudler, "Die Rasse Beethovens," *Der Auftakt* 7:3 (Prague, 1927), 57-61. Note that David Yearsley has shown how posthumous portraits of Bach increasingly Aryan-ized his features, with counterpoint praised by the Nazis as a Teutonic victory of polyphony over homophony. David Yearsley, "Physiognomies of Bach's Counterpoint," in *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 209-38.

Just as reception pinned musical characteristics onto Beethoven's face, his face also came to visually represent his music, a stand-in for his oeuvre. Unless endowed with an imaginary program, "absolute" music like Beethoven's symphonies had no visual representation other than the composer himself. Fuhrmann provides one striking example of a composer's face treated as a metonym for his music: at performances of Haydn's works shortly after his death, his portrait was displayed behind a lit candle, a kind of eulogy in which the face became a placeholder for the composer *in absentia*.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, turn-of-the-century images often showed a brooding Beethoven rising larger-than-life from a concert of his works – as in, for instance, the 1899 caricature shown here.



**Fig. 1.10.** Reinhold Max Eichler, "Des Herrn Kapellmeister's Auffassung," reproduction of a caricature from 1898 in *Jugend* 4:1 (1899), 4. Note that Beethoven's face here appears modeled on the Klein mask. Cited also in Bettermann, Franz von Stuck (2013).

<sup>78</sup> Fuhrmann, *Haydn* (2010), 510.

For some, the link between music and physiognomy was more complex than a mere stand-in. Beethoven's music became a critical surface, or physiognomy, upon which his *Innerlichkeit* was believed to reveal itself. At first glance, interpreting music physiognomically seems fraught with circular logic: if physiognomy is the hermeneutic reading of faces, then a physiognomic reading of music would be no different from hermeneutic analysis. But unlike traditional exegesis that strives to uncover truths hidden beneath the surface, physiognomy is transparent and bijective. The surface does not conceal but rather *reveals* the truth. The concept of physiognomy thus stands at odds with the metaphor of depth that, as Holly Watkins has insightfully shown, pervaded early Romantic discourse and became an axiom for music analysis. The fact that, despite their obvious contradictions, depth and physiognomy crossed paths in this period, reflects how these concepts were poised on the cusp of Enlightenment ideals and Romantic imagination: where E.T.A. Hoffmann's depth presumed mystery, darkness, and individualism, Lavater's physiognomy presumed clarity, understanding and brotherhood.

For all these differences, physiognomy and depth responded to the same need for "container" metaphors, parsing object into inner, outer, and intermediary planes.<sup>79</sup> And containers of this kind were especially appealing for Beethoven, who (in the wake of Wagner's 1870 essay) was said to inhabit a hermetic inner world. Wagner himself resorted to phrenology, sister pseudo-

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<sup>79</sup> Holly Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought: from E.T.A. Hoffmann to Arnold Schoenberg* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); see pp. 8-10 on depth as a container metaphor.

science of physiognomy, in order to parse Beethoven's inner from his outer: he explained that Beethoven's exceptionally thick skull was nature's way of shielding a delicate brain from the perils of the outside world.<sup>80</sup>

Even as critics embraced container metaphors for understanding Beethoven's music, they refrained from interpreting his music physiognomically in a literal sense. The words *physiognomisch* or *Physiognomie* do surface in music criticism of this period, but their usage nearly always flattens out Lavaterian associations, denoting nothing more than musical character (when used by August Wilhelm Ambros, Hans Mersmann, and Ludwig Nohl, among others).<sup>81</sup> Critics did, however, employ physiognomic metaphors that envisioned the composer's face as a *Gesamt* entity, a kind of visual cipher for his music's character as a whole. Otto Gumprecht, for one, drew upon physiognomy to explain Beethoven's timeless appeal: nothing can truly eclipse Beethoven because

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<sup>80</sup> Wagner was of course drawing upon the various studies of Beethoven's skull that emerged after his exhumation two years prior: "In keeping with an exceptional strength of the whole bony skeleton, the skull was of quite unusual density and thickness. Thus Nature shielded a brain of exceeding tenderness, that [Nature] might solely look within, and chronicle the visions of a lofty heart in quiet undisturbed." Wagner, *Beethoven* (Leipzig: Fritzsche, 1870); trans. by William Ashton Ellis in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, 8 vols. (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1896; reprint, New York: Broude Brothers, 1966), 5: 89. Cited in Knittel, "Wagner, Deafness" (1998), 66-7.

<sup>81</sup> Nohl for instance writes: "(...) also zeigen doch seine kleineren Compositionen, die Sonaten, die Quartetten überall jene ernst sinnende Physiognomie, die an die Stelle der kühn ausgreifenden Kraft und Leidenschaft der früheren Jahre getreten ist (...)" Nohl, *Beethoven-Feier* (1871), 16. Further examples of this usage can be found throughout Nohl's writings. See also Ambros: "(...) irgend ein Thema von bestimmter Gestalt, von ausgeprägter Physiognomie herauszufischen (...)" Ambros, August Wilhelm. *Culturhistorische Bilder aus dem Musikleben der Gegenwart* (Leipzig: H. Matthes, 1860), 18; Mersmann uses the phrase "cosmic physiognomy" to cast a mythic (but otherwise relatively meaningless) aura around Beethoven's late works, referring repeatedly to the "outward physiognomy" of works in a usage entirely synonymous with "outward appearance." Hans Mersmann, *Beethoven. Die Synthese der Stile* (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1921).



the “complexion of his symphonies” perfectly suits the “face of humanity.”<sup>82</sup>

(And given the nationalist ambitions of the 1872 volume in which this passage appeared, this complexion was a distinctly Germanic one.)

We see this line of thinking re-emerge in Adorno’s monograph on Mahler, which he characterizes as a “musical physiognomy.” Two of his chapter titles – “Affirmation and Decay” and “The Long Gaze” – map features of Beethovenian late-style reception onto Mahler’s music. Though Adorno never quite defines what he means by physiognomy, he envisions Mahler’s music as having two facets, one transcendent and the other disfigured: where Mahler’s Eighth Symphony ends with affirmative redemption, the fragmented Ninth Symphony decays into fragmentation. Adorno found it distasteful to savor both Beethoven’s and Mahler’s late works as objects for mere delectation. Rather, he was fascinated by their decay, by convention fraying at the edges, and this fascination might explain his “long gaze” metaphor, as if locking eyes with cryptic late works.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> “Die moderne... Kunst hat den instrumentalen Farbenkasten um eine Menge wirkungsvoller Kombinationen bereichert, aber das blühende, dem frischen Inkarnat des menschlichen Antlitzes vergleichbare Kolorit der Beethoven’schen Sinfonien spottet jedes Versuchs nachschaffender Berechnung.” Otto Gumprecht, “Beethoven,” published in Landau’s *Album* (1872), 298.

<sup>83</sup> Adorno’s use of the German *Physiognomik* (a hermeneutic method) rather than *Physiognomie* (an individual face, used in music discourse to mean character) suggests that he saw himself adopting the broader enterprise of physiognomy to reveal inner traits through a close reading of music’s outer surface. Adorno may also have believed that physiognomy-as-mediator could address the growing rift between inner and outer, a broken relationship that Mahler’s music reflects: “The emerging antagonism between music and its language reveals a rift within society. The irreconcilability of the inward and the outward can no longer be harmonized spiritually, as in the classical age. This induces in Mahler’s music the unhappy consciousness that that age believed overcome.” *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 16. Note that Adorno also uses the word “physiognomy” as a surface that mediated between base and superstructure. See Axel Honneth,

Composer biographies are often subtitled “the man *and* the music,” as if these histories were separate. But the cult of Beethoven’s face, with musical traits mapped onto his features (and vice versa, to some extent) reveals how porous this boundary could be. The material reception of Beethoven’s death – his mask coveted as relic and ornament in popular culture – conditioned how critics imagined his music. Nowhere was this connection so clear as in criticism of Beethoven’s late style, which problematized how (or whether) the death-moment could be heard to lodge itself in his final creations. In discourse on the late style of Beethoven, Hüttenbrenner’s hero and Wawruch’s pious sufferer emerged as an essential tension between transcendence and decay.

### **Lateness: Transcendence and Decay**

The impressions of one visitor to Beethoven’s body – Franz Hartmann, a member of Schubert’s close circle – illustrate the grotesque paradox of the deathbed:

Thus I saw [Beethoven’s] magnificent face, which unfortunately I had never had the chance to see in life. There was such a celestial dignity about him, despite the transfiguration he is said to have suffered, that I could not look at him long enough. I went away deeply moved. (...) The old man showed him to us again, uncovering the breast too, which was already completely blue, as was the badly swollen stomach. There was already a very strong cadaverous smell.<sup>84</sup>

It might seem puzzling that Hartmann simultaneously observed Beethoven’s putrid corpse while also calling his face celestial – a face that, as we know from Danhauser’s cast, was sunken and disfigured by autopsy. Hartmann’s

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“A Physiognomy of the Capitalist Form of Life: A Sketch of Adorno’s Social Theory,” *Constellations* 12:1 (2005), 50-64.

<sup>84</sup> Franz Hartmann’s account from 1827 was translated by H.C. Robbins Landon, *Beethoven: A Documentary Study* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 393.

idealization of this face is consistent with funeral practices of the period: it was common to position the dead as if sleeping, to encircle their faces with flowers and embalm them to resemble a healthy, living glow, essentially to counteract the face's decay. But the "celestial dignity" in this account also reflects a physiognomic problem that came to a head in nineteenth-century debates about Christ's visage. Do faces reveal an inner nature (inside to outside), or absorb traces of lived experience (outside to inside)? Did the inner divinity of Christ and/or Beethoven reveal itself in perfect features, or were these faces marred by suffering?<sup>85</sup>

Like the many physiognomists who debated this issue, late-style critics have disagreed about how or whether the agony of death imprints a musical surface. Hartmann's mention of the bloated corpse reflects the skepticism of Beethoven's early critics, for whom his late works decayed alongside his body. But the celestial dignity Hartmann saw in Beethoven's death-face, like the transfigured features of Christ, also foreshadows a shift from disdain to praise in Beethoven reception, in which critics increasingly glorified late works as transfigured – and this reversal, not coincidentally, occurred in the same period that wishfully mistook the stoic Klein mask for a "death" mask.

Contradictions like these have led critics to regard late works as fascinating enigmas, torn between earthly death and heavenly reward, physical

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<sup>85</sup> On this important debate in Lavater and others, see Gerhard Wolf, " '...sed ne taceatur.' Lavaters 'Grille mit den Christusköpfen' und die Traditionen der authentischen Bilder," in Claudia Schmölders, ed., *Der exzentrische Blick. Gespräch über Physiognomik* (Zürich: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 43-76.

decay and the eternal artists' Walhalla, the meeting of great composers in the afterlife.<sup>86</sup> If music can indeed be marked with impending death, as many maintain, that music can be heard in various ways: as solace, enigma, senility, madness or divine transfiguration. When these hearings collide in critical discourse, "late style" becomes an intellectual problem that continues to occupy scholars today.

Two essays by Theodor Adorno, "Late style in Beethoven" and "Alienated Masterpiece: The Missa Solemnis," have become classic texts in late-style criticism. These essays are so firmly lodged in the critical canon that many musicologists take them at face value, without acknowledging Adorno's lineage from the late-style tropes and material practices of his time.<sup>87</sup> This is not to say that scholarship of this kind – developing rigorous close-readings of Beethoven's late works through Adorno's lens – is necessarily misguided. I argue simply that our understanding of both Beethoven and Adorno can be enriched by a historically contingent view of this discourse.

When we historicize Adorno's writings, holding them up a long prehistory of late-style criticism, we see how his project responded to Beethoven's dual deathbeds (raging vs. piety). From 1870 onwards, biographers and critics increasingly favored the valiant apotheosis detailed by Hüttenbrenner

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<sup>86</sup> It was common throughout the nineteenth century to imagine great artistic minds meeting in the afterlife, a spin-off of Walhalla, the nordic drinking hall for fallen heroes.

<sup>87</sup> Michael Spitzer's monograph, for instance, systematically analyzes each of Beethoven's late works through the lens of Adorno's writings: *Music as Philosophy: Adorno and Beethoven's Late Style* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006). See also Rose Rosengard Subotnik, "Adorno's Diagnosis of Beethoven's Late Style: Early Symptom of a Fatal Condition" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29:2 (1976), 242-75.

over the quiet acceptance in Wawruch's account, which correlates with the widespread preference for the heroic Klein mask as the official face of Beethoven's death. Adorno pushed back against this trend, returning a dimension of organic decay to a discourse dominated by metaphysical apotheosis. By shaking up this ossified criticism, Adorno sought a path out of intellectual deadlock (or "cultural neutralization," as he called it).

It is no coincidence that Adorno and other late-style critics have focused on Beethoven in particular. The very concept of late style crystallized around Beethoven – or more importantly, around the "Beethoven paradigm" (in Goehr's words) of the artist as suffering hermit. There are several reasons why Beethoven became the archetype of lateness. For one, his oeuvre is generally heard to fall into three stylistic periods of early, middle and late.<sup>88</sup> Secondly, many biographers worked within ingrained traditions, reinforcing the division between these three styles with anecdotes about Beethoven's life and psyche. Thirdly, Beethoven's chosen path fit with the trope of the Bohemian artist (like the ragged poet in Spitzweg's famed painting), which idealizes poverty as sacrificial devotion to art.<sup>89</sup> Finally, and most importantly for the concerns of this chapter, Beethoven's reception as a transcendent figure was counterbalanced by

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<sup>88</sup> This periodization began with François-Joseph Fétis and entered the German-speaking world with Wilhelm von Lenz, *Beethoven et ses trois styles* (Bruxelles: G. Stapleaux, 1854). The concept of three styles remains a relatively unquestioned feature of Beethoven historiography to this day.

<sup>89</sup> Carl Spitzweg, *Der Arme Poet* (1839). There is considerable literature on the starving artist trope: Julian North, *The Domestication of Genius: Biography and the Romantic Poet* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Celeste Langan, *Romantic Vagrancy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995); see also the literature cited in Erika Schneider, *The Representation of the Struggling Artist in America, 1800-1865* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015).

a fascination with his material body – a tension between metaphysical and organic that underlies the problem of late style.

As Anthony Barone has shown, this central tension has fueled late-style criticism for centuries. On the one hand, late works manifest bodily decay; on the other hand, they are heard to transcend suffering, art as refuge.<sup>90</sup> I would further argue, however, that the majority of writings about late style begin from a position of either praise or disdain, and then work backwards to their metaphysical or organicist claims. Authors inclined to praise late works applaud the artist's *ripening* wisdom when approaching death (organicism) or the quasi-religious *transcendence* of the earthly plane (metaphysics). Conversely, authors inclined to denigrate lateness see these works as crumbling *decay* (organicism) or as baffling *abstraction*, too cryptic to speak to mere mortals (metaphysics).

These four categories – pro- and contra-lateness, organicist and metaphysical – form a conceptual matrix that helps to disentangle this discourse. Organic and transcendent metaphors leap directly off the page: many critics refer to the ripe (*reif*) old age of the artists, commending the composer's old-age style

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<sup>90</sup> In his informative dissertation, Barone argues that late-style problem emerged in the late eighteenth century from a confluence of historical approaches: the *teleological* or *periodic* history of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Hegel and Nietzsche; the *organicist* views advocated by Hermann Weiße and Friedrich Theodor Vischer; and the *metaphysical* view that originated with Goethe and was later adopted by Georg Simmel. Teleological and periodic models see historical events as cyclical, in which civilizations build to an apex and then decline (as in the pessimistic claims of Winckelmann, Vico, and Hartmann). Organicist models couch this same teleology in life-cycle metaphors, with a shift in the nineteenth century from organicist pessimism (senescence as a period of deterioration) to organicist optimism (senescence as a period of fruition). Anthony Barone, "Richard Wagner's *Parsifal* and the Theory of Late Style," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7:1 (1995), 37-54 and "Richard Wagner's *Parsifal* and the Hermeneutics of Late Style," PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1996. See also the recent volume edited by Karen Painter and Thomas Crow, *Late Thoughts: Reflections on Artists and Composers at Work* (Los Angeles: Getty Institute, 2006).

(*Alterstil*).<sup>91</sup> One might argue that the word *reif* in German simply means “mature,” without the botanical connotation of “ripe” – yet German critics, Adorno among them, often interpreted maturity in its most organic sense, as ripeness crossing over into decay. Adorno’s famed essay begins with a backlash against the idealization of ripe-old-age (*Alterstil*): “The maturity of the late works of significant artists does not resemble the kind one finds in fruit. They are, for the most part, not round, but furrowed, even ravaged. Devoid of sweetness, bitter and spiny, they do not surrender themselves to mere delectation.”<sup>92</sup> Adorno begins from a point of skepticism towards lateness, then proceeds to a metaphysical claim about enigmatic abstraction under the guise of a return to convention, spiced with organic metaphors of corruption and decay.

Unlike the richly textured criticism in Adorno’s writings, some have wielded metaphysical arguments to considerably less intellectual ends. The composer’s senility has often served as an excuse for a listener’s bafflement, leading some to describe late works as aloof or unapproachably cerebral. This mistrust of the senile, incompetent artist reflects a broader societal aversion to old age and pathology.<sup>93</sup> Conversely, critics who idealized the turn to abstraction

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<sup>91</sup> For instance, Giuseppe Baini’s 1828 biography of Palestrina sees the composer’s late style as one of maturity, wisdom, and perpetual ripening, modeling his own stance on Vasari’s praise of late works by classic Renaissance painters. On the concept of *Alterstil*, see the monograph by Gordon McMullan, which I will discuss shortly: *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing: Authorship in the Proximity of Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 259-84. See also Kenneth Clark, “The Artist Grows Old,” *Daedalus* 135:1 (2006), 77-90.

<sup>92</sup> Adorno, Theodor, “Late Style in Beethoven,” in Richard Leppert, ed., and Susan H. Gillespie, trans., *Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 564.

<sup>93</sup> On societal attitudes towards death and their impact on late-style concepts, see Karen Painter’s introduction to *Late Thoughts: Reflections on Artists and Composers at Work* (Los Angeles: Getty Institute, 2006).

saw late works as transcendent of death, a form of solace and escape from earthly suffering (such as the literature that saw Mozart's Requiem as transfigured).<sup>94</sup> In this view, music that functions *as* solace was also thought to *sound* serene or resigned.

These four positions (transcendence, ripening, decay and abstraction) account for the majority of this discourse. The reason is simple: until recently, most critics were privately motivated by praise or skepticism towards late works. But evaluating lateness in this manner can be problematic. Divorced from the origins of this discourse, and operating from the tacit assumption that lateness is a fixed universal, scholars may find themselves analyzing works within a hermeneutic loop. Much recent scholarship on this topic, particularly in the discipline of musicology, extracts traits of lateness from works that have been deemed paradigmatic by earlier generations of critics, then uses this stylistic yardstick to reappraise those same works.<sup>95</sup>

Scholarship that focuses on the historical roots of late style reveals a very different picture. Recently, contributors to a special issue of *New German Critique*

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<sup>94</sup> Elizabeth Kramer, "The Idea of Transfiguration in the Early German Reception of Mozart's Requiem," *Current Musicology* 81 (2006), 73-107.

<sup>95</sup> See Said (2006); Scott Burnham, "Late Styles," in Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge, eds., *Rethinking Schumann* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 411-430; Joseph N. Straus, "Disability and Late Style in Music," *Journal of Musicology* 25:1 (2008), 3-45 as well as his subsequent book, *Extraordinary Measures: Disability in Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Straus walks a fine line between acknowledging that lateness is a critical construct, and nevertheless adopting this construct unproblematically to analyze late works: "Although this kind of criticism might be dismissed as pathologizing a style... and thus practicing criticism as a form of diagnosis, I would prefer to see a deeper truth in these metaphors: *late style works are those that represent nonnormative mental and bodily states*. The disabilities of their composers are refracted into a general sense of nonnormative bodily or mental function and inscribed in their music. That inscription then gives rise to the aesthetic category of late style." Straus (2011), 85.



have sought a more historically sensitive approach to late style, addressing late works on the artist's own terms rather than measuring them by a universal yardstick. The inaugural article by Karen Leeder surveys the Germanic roots of "late style" as a concept, following an illuminating study by literary historian Gordon McMullan, who has probed this discourse through the lens of Shakespeare's historiography and spearheaded a recent collected volume that questions lateness as a critical construct rather than an aesthetic universal.<sup>96</sup> Among McMullan's most vital contributions is his insight that lateness is a construct both of critics and artists: if death comes too soon, lateness becomes the posthumous creation of critics; if death creeps in at a ripe old age, lateness becomes the self-conscious creation of the artist. Nevertheless, critics and biographers often fail to acknowledge this construct, assuming that lateness is a universal feature of the human condition rather than a specific product of nineteenth-century German beliefs about psychology, pathology, and organicist telos. Even the axiom that underlies late style – the assumption that works are

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<sup>96</sup> Karen Leeder, "Figuring Lateness in Modern German Culture," *New German Critique* 125:42 (August, 2015), 1-29; in this same issue, see also the carefully theorized interpretation of Arnold Schoenberg's late works by Joy H. Calico, "Old Age Style: The Case of Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951)," 65-80. Gordon McMullan, *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing: Authorship in the Proximity of Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). McMullan's recent editorial project brings together scholars in literature, music, and art history to question "lateness" as a critical category: see McMullan and Sam Smiles, eds., *Late Style and its Discontents: Essays in Art, Literature, and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). Further examples of reception-oriented late-style studies include: Manuel Gervink, et al., ed., *Dmitri Schostakowitsch. Das Spätwerk und sein zeitgeschichtlicher Kontext* (Dresden: Sandstein, 2006); Joachim Landkammer, "A portrait of the artists as old (wo)men. Spätstile: der alternde Künstler und die alternde Gesellschaft," in Stephan A. Jansen, et al., ed., *Demographie. Bewegungen einer Gesellschaft in Ruhestand* (Wiesbaden: VS-Verl. für Sozialwissenschaften, 2005).

imbued with the biographical or psychological events of their creator – has its origins in nineteenth century German thought.

One of the most distinctive traits of late-style discourse is a brand of temporal jumble that was especially common in the German states: artists are said to push “against the grain” of conventions established in a stylistic period (a bird’s eye view of historical time) while they approach their life’s end (on-the-ground biography). This collapse of historical time into a single life cycle, phylogeny into ontogeny, was a defining feature of German intellectual life.<sup>97</sup> The pseudo-scientist who authored the theory that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny, Ernst Haeckel, was a contemporary of the late nineteenth-century biographers who conflated artist psychology with historical telos. Though biographers were not necessarily in direct dialogue with Haeckel, one could argue that they were mutually influenced by a shared intellectual culture. A variety of German projects collapse history into a moment, body, or object. Take for instance the idealization of timelessness that underpins German historicism and monumentality; the ahistorical meet-and-greet of Walhalla; and of course the collapse of an entire lifetime *and* racialist folk-development into a single face, the central tenet of Lavater’s physiognomy.<sup>98</sup> This conflation of historical- and life-

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<sup>97</sup> While many authors unthinkingly engaged in this conflation, some critics were sharply attuned to the issue. In his 1925 essay on late style in the visual arts, A.E. Brinckmann argues for a separation of art-historical from (Freudian) biographical-psychological methods of interpretation. For Brinckmann, artists turn inwards late in life, so absorbed in their own psyche and communion with God that their work remains divorced from art-historical conventions. A.E. Brinckmann, *Spätwerke großer Meister* (Frankfurt, 1925).

<sup>98</sup> In her insightful monograph on lateness and Brahms, Margaret Notley shows how this discourse can shape not only the reception but also the self-imposed creation of a late style: Notley argues that historical lateness (the twilight of Liberalism) and lifestyle lateness (Brahms’s

time is a defining feature of Beethoven's reception. The composer's inner struggle was seen to unfold not only in musical time, but his lifetime was also considered a microcosm of the epic German struggle throughout history (a position voiced especially in 1870, when the Beethoven's 100<sup>th</sup> birthday coincided with the Franco-Prussian War).<sup>99</sup> And like so many facets of the composer's reception, this paradigm was later anachronistically backshadowed onto literary and artistic figures, like Shakespeare, who long predate Beethoven.<sup>100</sup>

Thus the essential tenets of late-style discourse – the collapse of phylogeny into ontogeny, the tension between organic and metaphysical, between praise and disdain – have unfolded in conversations about Beethoven. The mid-nineteenth century saw a dramatic shift in the reception of Beethoven's late works, from organicist disdain (decay) to metaphysical praise (transcendence). This shift emerged from the growing idealization of artists' suffering, with lateness described in terms of triumphant overcoming rather than atrophied failure. From his death to around 1860, Beethoven's critics dismissed his late

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late works) converged, leading Brahms himself to compose with a self-conscious awareness of his own "autumnal" status, the last gasp of the nineteenth century in a changing political and aesthetic landscape. Margaret Notley, *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); see especially Chapter 2, "Brahms and the Problem of Late Style," 36-71.

<sup>99</sup> This view of Beethoven's struggle as echoing beyond his own lifetime was special to his reception, not necessarily reiterated for other composers. Brahms, for instance, was criticized for channeling his struggle into his music; whereas Beethoven's woes became the "suffering of all mankind," Brahms's pain was simply his own. See the 1895 review of Brahms's first symphony by Ludwig Speidel, cited in Margaret Notley, "'Volksconcerte' in Vienna and Late-Nineteenth Century Ideology of the Symphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50:2/3 (Summer, Autumn 1997), 434.

<sup>100</sup> Even the earliest advocate of Beethoven's three styles, Wilhelm von Lenz, mapped this periodization directly onto Shakespeare's oeuvre, with Shakespeare's last style, like Beethoven's, characterized by "the most personal expression." Lenz, *Beethoven. Eine Biographie* (Cassel: Ernst Balde, 1856), vol. 2, footnote on pp. 111-12.

works as the products of decline, their creator rendered incompetent by illness, senility, madness, and deafness. K.M. Knittel has traced this shift from disability as impediment to disability as asset. Her article shows how early critics saw Beethoven's late works as unwieldy or even deranged. The grouchy Ulibischeff, for instance, heard the infamous scherzo of Beethoven's last quartet – in which a rustic country fiddle bounces over a weirdly prolonged ostinato – as “buzzing” in Beethoven's ears, bizarre experiments by a composer long detached from musical sound.<sup>101</sup> Knittel argues that Wagner's 1870 essay *Beethoven* transformed critical attitudes towards Beethoven's disability and late works, with deafness and isolation now seen as beneficial (rather than deleterious) to his art. Merging the rhetoric of *Kunstreligion* with Schopenhauer's concept of the artist's intrinsic vision, Wagner claimed that Beethoven turned inward at the end of his life and produced transcendent works from his inner ear.<sup>102</sup>

Yet the lonely, scribbling Beethoven was a standard trope many decades prior to Wagner's 1870 essay. I would argue that Wagner publicized a view of Beethoven that arose from an ongoing process of reading the composer's life, persona, and music through the lens of his Heiligenstadt Testament. This process began with a fixation on Beethoven's loneliness and isolation in early biographies, and culminated in the Testament itself as a focal point (such as, for instance, a forty-three-page chapter devoted to this document in one 1913

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<sup>101</sup> K.M. Knittel, “‘Late’, Last, and Least: On Being Beethoven's Quartet in F Major, op. 135,” *Music and Letters* 87:1 (2006), 16-51.

<sup>102</sup> Knittel, “Wagner, Deafness, and the Reception of Beethoven's Late Style,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51:1 (1998), 49-82.

biography).<sup>103</sup> Authors well before Wagner fixated on Beethoven's productive solitude: copious poems and anecdotes depicted him hunched over his desk, hammering at his broken piano, or failing to notice a downpour while immersed in music.<sup>104</sup> Even Beethoven's messy sketches were seen as evidence of his absorption in an inner world.<sup>105</sup>

But Wagner did put a new art-religious spin on old ideas, and the decades following his text saw an explosion of writings that emulated his praise of Beethoven's inner ear. The idealization of Beethoven's deafness was so widespread by 1900 that his ear-trumpets became the most prized "relics" in the Beethoven-Haus collection at Bonn, marked with special emphasis in the

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<sup>103</sup> The testament comprises nearly 10% of the biography as a whole. W.A. Thomas-San-Galli, *Ludwig van Beethoven* (München: R. Piper & Co., 1913), 120-63.

<sup>104</sup> As early as 1859, Lenz wrote that "in his later years, Beethoven attacked the piano so violently that many strings snapped, because he only heard *inner* music. So soon before his death, he wanted only to play his tenth symphony in his mind" (my translation). Lenz also writes that Beethoven's deafness enabled him to express his individual subjectivity in his late works: "Such disposition of the tested soul – whose most precious sense, hearing, was clouded – was the concrete, subjective origin of the third period, which takes on a personality that can never be emulated" (my translation). Lenz, *Beethoven* (1856), vol. 1, 295 and vol. 2, 187, respectively. In the same Beethoven-centennial year that prompted Wagner's essay, Ludwig Foglar published a collection of poems, one of which describes the lonely Beethoven on Christmas day, peering with longing into warm family windows and then returning to read a book of poetry in his messy apartment. Foglar, "Beethovens Weihnachten," in *Beethoven. Legenden* (Wien: C. Dittmarsch, 1870), n.p.

<sup>105</sup> Karen Painter has shown how ideas about musical creativity were split between the north-German Protestant work ethic (as articulated by Max Weber) and south-German/Austrian ease; and in this climate, Beethoven's messy sketches were thought to reveal his hard-working grit, whereas Mozart was said to dictate directly from God, with note-perfect first drafts that left him ample time for billiards. Note, however, that this Mozart-Beethoven dualism was not always clear-cut: Painter shows that Mozart's biographers were themselves torn between these two models of genius and they sought creative solutions for attributing both north-German grit and Austrian ease to Mozart's compositional process. Beethoven's historiography shows a similar struggle, with brow-furrowed composing punctuated by divine dictation. See Karen Painter, "Mozart at Work: Biography and a Musical Aesthetic for the Emerging German Bourgeoisie," *The Musical Quarterly* 86:1 (2002), 186-235.

museum guide.<sup>106</sup> Wagner's ideas were disseminated to a lay-readership by the influential writings of Ludwig Nohl, who maintained that Beethoven's compositional prowess improved when his deafness forced him to turn inwards. Furthermore, it was Beethoven's *suffering*, Nohl claimed, that deepened and enriched this inner world. Beethoven's deafness was thought to reap two distinct benefits: the isolation cut him off from mundane distractions, while the suffering gave him richer stuff to compose about.<sup>107</sup>

This shift from criticism to praise, from denigration to idealization of suffering, marks a pivotal moment in Beethoven's ascent to canonic untouchability. During and shortly after his lifetime, his celebrity made him a punching bag for critics; but as the century wore on, critics found themselves speechless before a looming monument. With Beethoven positioned as the figurehead of the German national spirit (*Volksgeist*), many boasted of their enlightened appreciation of late works that had been lamentably misunderstood by previous generations. In an intellectual discourse newly anchored by a canon of masterworks, the rift between *pro* and *contra* positions became a foil for universal praise. Rather than denigrating abstraction or decay, critics like Lenz and Nohl (as well as Said a century later) celebrated these features as poignant or profound.

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<sup>106</sup> In the various museum guides printed from 1890-1918, hallmarks of the collection were designated with stars in the margin; the ear-horns were some of the only "relics" to have this emphasis. The ear-trumpets were also touted in a lavish report on the museum's success, distributed to its sponsors: *Bericht über die ersten fünfzehn Jahre seines Bestehens, 1889-1904* (Bonn: Verlag des Beethoven Vereins, 1904), n.p.

<sup>107</sup> Nohl's many books on Beethoven are littered with examples of this claim; see in particular *Beethoven-Feier* (1871), 12-13.

Adorno was alarmed by this blithe praise. In his 1959 essay on Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, he tried to inject fresh critical adrenaline into a discourse that had since ossified into an untouchable canon. He described this process as a "neutralization of culture" in which the "wax museum of great men," along with the creations of these men, "become cultural goods, exhibited in a secular pantheon in which contradictions... find a deceptively peaceful realm of co-existence"<sup>108</sup> – in other words, that ascent into a canon erased the intellectual clashes among great thinkers, along with *pro* and *contra* contradictions within an individual oeuvre.

When we read Adorno's essays as pushback against earlier late-style writings, we see his subtle traces of disdain for middle-class material culture. Adorno reacted against the bourgeois understanding of late works as "touching relics" that contain traces of Beethoven's heroic overcoming.<sup>109</sup> He maintained that the late work should not serve as a fetish object of death-psychology, but rather an allegorical screen upon which an artist projects the refracted image of

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<sup>108</sup> Theodor Adorno, "Alienated Masterpiece: the *Missa Solemnis*," in Richard Leppert, ed., *Essays on Music* (2002), 569. For Adorno, the *Missa* presents a disjointed jumble of archaic counterpoint and "human" themes, a failed attempt by Beethoven to seek truth in heteronomy rather than in (bourgeois) unity. This broad socio-philosophical claim – that the late Beethoven pushed fruitlessly against bourgeois constraints – bridges a bird's-eye-view with individual biography. Adorno re-humanized Beethoven by underscoring his failures, yet also saw these failures as a symptom of the anxieties that characterized Beethoven's historical moment.

<sup>109</sup> Of course, this reaction also characterizes Adorno's much broader project of re-instating aesthetic autonomy in a critical discourse that, he feels, has drifted away from art-as-art towards art-as-document. He writes: "For it is the formal law of the work that must be discovered, at least if one disdains to cross the line that separates art from document – in which case every notebook of Beethoven's would possess greater significance than the Quartet in C-sharp Minor." Thus, he concludes, late works should be taken "to signify more than touching relics." Adorno, "Late Style in Beethoven," 564 and 565.

death.<sup>110</sup> Adorno saw Beethoven's late works as music of decay coated with the veneer of convention (like the Klein mask, or Hartmann's face of "celestial dignity," stubbornly superimposed onto a corpse). This return to convention "sets the mere phrase as a monument to what has been, marking a subjectivity turned to stone"<sup>111</sup> – that is, the alienating mask of convention in these works petrifies Beethoven's subjectivity, a work frozen into a static physiognomy like Benjamin's "death mask of conception."

### **Voice and Gaze in Beethoven's Late Adagios**

We have seen how materiality left its mark on the critical reception of Beethoven's late works. Critics read both *into* and *out of* the musical surface, often informed by Beethoven's own musical dialogue (or for J.W.N. Sullivan, his dialectic) between apotheosis and material rootedness. Beethoven's interplay of ethereal and earthy encouraged critics to create a deathbed program for late works, particularly the last quartet, Op. 135. By imagining this piece as a deathbed-narrative, critics found a way to bypass the core tension between transcendence and decay, apotheosis and materiality. The quartet was heard as a kind of *ars moriendi*, with Beethoven's own voice negotiating the terms of his death.

Beethoven's late works are littered with moments of dissipation into the ethereal that are interrupted by a brusque return to earth. In the *Heiliger*

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<sup>110</sup> "Death is imposed only on created beings, not on works of art, and thus it has appeared in art only in a refracted mode, as allegory." Ibid., 566.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 567.



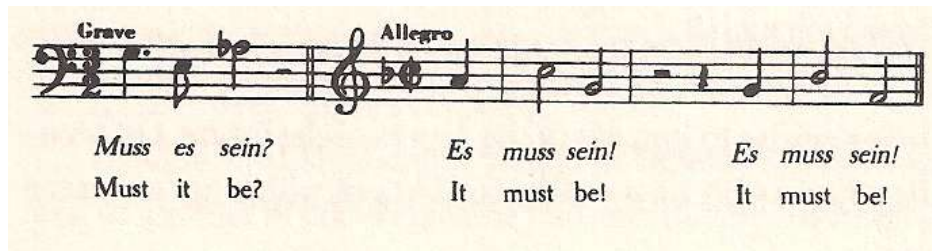
*Dankgesang* of Op. 132, for instance, each successive return of the spiritual *Molto adagio* section dissolves into an ever-airier texture, punctuated by the earthiness of the recurring *Andante*. Beethoven often enlivens formal boundaries with this juxtaposition of spiritual and material, such as the transition from one variation to the next in the Adagio of Op. 127:



*Ex. 1.1. Ethereal dissipation followed by earthy grounding in the Adagio of Beethoven's String Quartet, Op. 127, mm. 37-40.*

This technique of dramatic re-grounding is especially striking in the last quartet, Op. 135. The quartet's spiritual status is thrown into question from the start, with a first movement that is neither as fully earthy as the Scherzo nor as ethereal as the Lento. Rather, this movement has a kind of cerebral aloofness that arises from the constant suppression of impetuous gestures: Beethoven punctuates a flat surface of Haydnesque counterpoint with occasional outbursts of intensity, only to answer these with blithe repetitions that chug along as if nothing happened (as in mm. 63-80). It is against this aloof backdrop that the Scherzo enters, with its folksy syncopations and its grinding motive—a motive which then erupts into the village-fiddle “buzzing” that has made this movement (in)famous. It is not until the Lento that apotheosis-minded listeners find the

transcendence they seek. But their respite is violently grounded again by Beethoven's *schwer gefasste Entschluß* ("difficult resolution"), with its introductory, recitative-like desperation ("must it be?") giving way to joyous resolution in a playful sonata form ("it must be!").<sup>112</sup>



*Ex. 1.2. Beethoven's key for the "Muss es sein?" and "Es muss sein" motives that permeate the final movement. Many biographers of the late nineteenth century interpreted these words as prophetic of Beethoven's death.*

Knittel has shown how critical reception of this piece shifted at midcentury from confusion about the wild scherzo to dewy-eyed praise of the slow movement. The Lento became a popular emblem of Beethoven's "last work" in the late nineteenth century, with many publishers marketing transcriptions of the movement as a nocturne-like piano miniature.<sup>113</sup> This spotlight on the Lento reflects a heightened awareness of the quartet's *lastness*, heightened even further by the programmatic drama of the movement that follows. Since Beethoven himself captioned his last movement *Der schwer gefasste*

<sup>112</sup> Joseph Kerman alludes to the interplay of ethereality and earthiness that culminates in this last movement: the Allegro is "too unbuttoned and elusive and natural to count as a classic evocation like the first movement of the quartet. That quality has been modulated – after the tumult of the *Scherzo* has given way to the serenity of the *Lento assai* – into something more earthy and more ethereal, both qualities at the same time and both in the very highest degree." Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York: Knopf, 1967), 366-7.

<sup>113</sup> Such as the transcription by Mortier de Fontaine (Munich: Jos. Aibl, ca. 1870).

*Entschluß*, critics were eager to follow in his footsteps and retrospectively caption the Lento with a deathbed narrative.

Even though biographers have shown that Beethoven's *Entschluß* was likely tongue-in-cheek, inspired by a tense interaction with one of his creditors, most critics couldn't help but hear this theme as an outcry in the face of death.<sup>114</sup> Beethoven's "es muss sein!" was taken as stoic resignation, an adamant *Versöhnung* (reconciliation) with his fate. This movement was thought to manifest the so-called *Eisenwille* (iron will) embodied by the firm-pressed mouth of his life mask, the central character trait of Hüttenbrenner's fist-shaking Beethoven, crying "muss es sein?" to the elements. The Lento of Op. 135 represents the softer side of this *Versöhnung*, as Beethoven accepts his fate ("es muss sein"). This slow movement was heard as music of solace and submittal on the deathbed, Wawruch's sufferer accepting his last rites.

More importantly, Beethoven's own captions led some to hear the Lento as a literal outpouring of the composer's voice (further encouraged by Beethoven's sketchbook description of the Lento as "süßer Ruhegesang oder Friedensgesang," sweet song of peace or freedom). Critics later in the nineteenth century could not resist hearing this movement within the narrative of Beethoven's dying moments, like Mozart's Requiem before it.<sup>115</sup> Thus

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<sup>114</sup> See Knittel (2006), 47-51 and Kerman (1967), 362-3.

<sup>115</sup> See for instance A.B. Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven. Leben und Schaffen* (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1859), 312-13; this programmatic frame later became the norm, such that most early twentieth-century biographies read the work through the lens of its lastness. See for example Fritz Reitz, *Wanderungen durch Beethovens Streichquartette* (Zürich and Leipzig: Gebrüder Hug. & Co., 1927), 14-16. Further examples are discussed by Knittel, "'Late', Last and Least..." (2006).

Beethoven's last Adagios, and especially the Lento from Op. 135, were interpreted not only figuratively as swan-songs but literally as Beethoven's "grave song."

In his 1875 monograph on Beethoven's love life (a chronicle of jiltings), Ludwig Nohl affixed his own art-song arrangement of the Op. 135 Lento entitled *Beethovens Grabgesang* (Beethoven's Grave-Song), the poetic text for which he himself composed. The corresponding passage of Nohl's book explains that the dying Beethoven sublimated his unrequited love for women into a love for *humanity*. Nohl claims that this humanitarian love was likewise unrequited, drawing upon the common belief that Beethoven was woefully misunderstood and underappreciated (a "poor Beethoven" trope that was bolstered by Nohl's own influential writings).<sup>116</sup>

By setting the Lento melody with a "poor Beethoven"-themed poetic text, Nohl produced a kind of fantasy on the death-hour with Beethoven's last quartet as soundtrack, claiming to coax Beethoven's hidden intentions from the musical

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<sup>116</sup> In the 1901 essay "Beethoven as Martyr," Hermann Kretzschmar chastised Nohl and other second-tier musicologists for constructing the myth of poor, underappreciated Beethoven. Kretzschmar held that this myth-making was compelled by sentiment rather than science, and would no doubt peter out: "It would be impossible for Nohl's intellectual successors to forever pathetically disclose this bogus view of Beethoven to the gullible masses" (my translation). Despite Kretzschmar's warning, Nohl's biographical legacy, particularly his poor-Beethoven myth, has persisted well into the twentieth century. Hermann Kretzschmar, "Beethoven als Märtyrer (1901)," in Kretzschmar, *Gesammelte Aufsätze über Musik und Anderes aus den Grenzboten* (Leipzig: Fr. Wilh. Grunow, 1910), 421-32: 425. Note that the term "martyr" was often used colloquially in reference to sacred suffering; yet technically, this word is only appropriate for those who died for their faith (starting with the first Christian martyr, St. Stephen). When nineteenth-century authors refer to Beethoven as "martyr," they are thinking of what might be more formally termed "suffering servant," one whose suffering became the cause for which later saints and martyrs died.

surface.<sup>117</sup> Nohl's appendix was not only a poignant finish to his book, but was also advertised as singable *Hausmusik* (Nohl boasts of its availability as sheet music from Breitkopf & Härtel).

This *Grabgesang* was not the only piece of its kind. Texted parlor-arrangements of instrumental works were quite common in the nineteenth century. Helmut Loos has traced the practice of texting Beethoven's works, which began in the composer's own time (with his enthusiastic consent) and continued throughout the century.<sup>118</sup> Nohl's *Grabgesang* appears to have drawn upon a tradition of funereal Beethoven-textings: shortly after the composer's death, a number of arrangements created eulogies from his own music, with titles such as *Trauer-Gesang* (mourning song) and *Nachruf* (obituary). One of these funereal pieces offers the closest comparison with Nohl's, an arrangement of the Adagio of the Op. 127 quartet into a song for soprano entitled *Beethovens Heimkehr* (Beethoven's homecoming).<sup>119</sup>

Yet the majority of these arrangements are either *about* Beethoven, or about the music's unwritten program (war, God, love, nature). Nohl's *Grabgesang* is the only texted Beethoven arrangement from a first-person perspective,

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<sup>117</sup> Nohl writes: "In conclusion, we would like to share the tune of this Adagio, and we have tried to give it words that resound with its inner meaning. Perhaps in living song, the living content of Beethoven's nature came forth, which cannot be entirely represented by word and image alone, – his sorrow-borne joy in the happiness and existence of our race, his 'unrequited love' of humanity!" (my translation). Ludwig Nohl, *Eine stille Liebe zu Beethoven. Nach dem Tagebuche einer jungen Dame* (Leipzig: Ernst Julius Günter, 1875), 262.

<sup>118</sup> Helmut Loos, "Die Textierung Beethovenscher Instrumentalwerke. Ein Kapitel der Beethoven-Deutung," in Helmut Loos, ed., *Beethoven und die Nachwelt. Materialien zur Wirkungsgeschichte Beethovens* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1986), 117-37. Note that Loos does not discuss Nohl's *Grabgesang*.

<sup>119</sup> Cited in *ibid.*, 123-4.

Beethoven's own voice speaking through his music. In strophic verses, the dying

Beethoven proclaims his love for humanity:

I am tired, I soon shall rest,  
I have lived and suffered enough.  
Wound in my heart, sore from the pain,  
That life has given to me.  
(...)  
Nothing is left of all my loves  
Except my song.

For even 'till my dire death,  
I will sing the song of love.  
(...)

Remedy to all earthly affliction,  
All-embracing, merciful to all!  
Love is truth, copious light,  
Joyous life, eternal being!<sup>120</sup>

This first-person text is unusual for a *Grabgesang*, a sub-genre for solo or choral voice that was commonly used as occasional music for funerals.<sup>121</sup> The texts of these works either address the dying (with lullaby-like words of consolation such as “let him rest, let him sleep”) or they invite the community to join in mourning, a kind of non-liturgical prayer (“we cry and wail”). Performed in church spaces, grave-songs often begin with a homophonic dirge – minor mode and long-held

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<sup>120</sup> See Appendix 2.1 for the complete text in original German and my English translation, as well as Nohl's arrangement.

<sup>121</sup> In the 1840s, the Viennese Kapellmeister Adolf Müller recycled texts and musical snippets to create *Grabgesang* compositions for the funerals of prominent individuals; similarly, the text for “Grabgesang: Geendet ist sein Lauf” by C.H. Graun was published with a he/she variant, allowing it to be sung for either a male or female deceased. Müller's handwritten scores are kept in a binder of his occasional works: “Grabgesang für Thekla Kneisel” (1832); “Trauergesang für Carl Fröhlich” (1844); “Grabgesang für Marie Pokorny” (1849). Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, MH-1496. See also C.H. Graun, *Deutscher Liederwald. Beliebte Gesänge für Männerchor. Grabgesang. Geendet ist sein Lauf* (Vienna: Hugo Bernhard Winkelmann, n.d.).

open fifths in the bass – that derives from settings of the “Kyrie” in many Requiem masses.<sup>122</sup>

These generic conventions raise important questions about Nohl’s version. Why did he choose the first person, unlike most texted arrangements and the *Grabgesang* genre? And why did he choose this intimate and secular quartet, rather than Beethoven’s *Missa solemnis* or some other liturgical work, to serve as a grave-song? I would argue that Nohl’s arrangement reflects a deep-seated inclination to hear Beethoven’s *own voice* in his most poignant melodies, a tendency that has since become ingrained in Beethoven historiography. Nicholas Mathew argues that this inclination is essentially political, rooted in an underlying modernist belief in the superiority of resistance: Beethoven was thought to pour his own authorial voice into his art, to compose from inner necessity rather than external reward, a masculine and heroic reactionary rather than an effeminate sell-out (i.e., Rossini). Mathew notes that many thinkers who have shaped our understanding of aesthetics have favored “one-voicedness” or *monoglossia* over collaborative “many-voicedness” or *heteroglossia*. With Beethoven’s historiography fueled by an esteem for monoglossia, his occasional

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<sup>122</sup> There are dozens of *Grabgesang* pieces spanning from the late eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth, too many to cite exhaustively here. Brahms wrote a *Grabgesang* for choir and brass, Op. 13. His original title in the handwritten manuscript read “Gesang zum Begräbniss,” which was crossed out and replaced with “Begräbniss-Gesang” and later “Grabgesang” by the copyist; this suggests the name *Grabgesang* had become an established title for this genre. One interesting parallel with Nohl’s piece is the texted adaptation of Schubert’s “Death and the Maiden” quartet for men’s choir and orchestra, written in 1910 for Karl Lueger’s funeral in St. Stephan’s Cathedral (music by Viktor Keldorfer, text by Gustav Meyer). The manuscript may be found in the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, MH-2119.

works (with all their heteroglossic borrowings from other musical sources) have dropped out of the canon.<sup>123</sup>

In a strikingly *physiognomic* spin on this concept, Daniel Chua has shown how Adorno's criticism of Beethoven was shaped by the monoglossic voice. Chua's argument revolves around a compelling passage in Adorno's book on Beethoven: "his music has the gift of sight. The human is its gaze." Adorno and a number of Continental philosophers (Benjamin among them, with his remark that aura endows art with "the ability to look back at us") perceived music as having a kind of "gaze."<sup>124</sup> For Chua, Beethoven's gaze and voice form two sides of the same monoglossia that underlies his alleged humanism. Chua argues that Beethoven's gasping, choked-up Cavatina, among the most explicitly vocal of his instrumental works, evokes the same physiological suffering as the Crucifixus movement of his *Missa solemnis*, thereby "gazing" with the face of Jesus on the cross.<sup>125</sup> Of course, this interpretation represents Chua's own Adorno-inspired vision, envoicing the Cavatina with a suffering face in much the same way that Nohl envoices the Lento of Op. 135. Through Adorno, Chua picks up on the influence of the Klein mask, so often portrayed as a Christ-like phantasm in Adorno's own time. Just as Benjamin had death masks on his mind, Adorno may

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<sup>123</sup> Nicholas Mathew, *Political Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1-16.

<sup>124</sup> Even dating back to Lavater, the "fiery gaze" or *Feuerblick* was an established physiognomic signifier of genius. Daniel K. L. Chua, "Beethoven's Other Humanism," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62:3 (2009), 571-645. On the "gaze," see pp. 589-603. The quotation by Adorno comes from *Beethoven: The Philosophy of Music*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 164. Benjamin's remark hails from his essay "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire" (1940), cited in Miriam Bratu Hansen (2008), 339.

<sup>125</sup> Chua (2009), 613-628. Note that Chua's Christological interpretation does have its roots in earlier reception of Beethoven as a Christ-figure, such as those influential book by J.W.N. Sullivan, *Beethoven: His Spiritual Development* (New York: Knopf, 1944 [orig. 1927]).



have imagined Beethoven's gaze as a reaction to the (gazeless) mask in parlors everywhere, in which the bourgeois proudly adopted Beethoven's face as their logo while nonetheless avoiding eye contact.<sup>126</sup>

Nohl's *Grabgesang*, then, is just one manifestation of a much broader tendency to imagine Beethoven's corporeal self, his face and voice, in his music. Naturally, his death—arguably the most corporeal moment in Beethoven's life—became the nexus of this tendency. A number of critics in addition to Nohl imagined Beethoven's voice in his late Adagios. Theodor Helm, for instance, wrote about the slow movement of Op. 135 as if it were Beethoven's own song: "Never before had Beethoven, in his extended wanderings through the labyrinths and chasms of the human soul, *sung* something so noble and profound" as this movement.<sup>127</sup>

But the Lento of Op. 135 does not feature the same ornate vocal sensibility (*Empfindsamkeit*) as the Cavatina of Op. 130. Its melody is song-like only by default, thrown into relief by a homophonic chorale. In isolation, this melody has an almost childlike simplicity, wandering in steady eighth notes along a diatonic scale with no voice-like sobs or sighs. The impulse to hear Beethoven's voice appears not to have been conditioned by the inherent vocality of the notes, but rather by the *lastness* of this piece, the perception of this work as a musical

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<sup>126</sup> Adorno sees Beethoven's subjectivity as "expressionless," like a flat, unseeing death mask: "[Subjectivity in late works] breaks their [late works'] bonds, not in order to express itself, but in order, expressionless, to cast off the appearance of art." Adorno, "Late Style," 566.

<sup>127</sup> Emphasis added. "Nie hat Beethoven auf seiner weiten Wanderung durch die Labyrinth und Abgründe der Menschenseele etwas Edleres und Innigeres gesungen, als das formell so kleine, nur 54 Takte fassende, innerlich so tief bedeutende Adagio seines letzten Quatuors." Theodor Helm, *Beethoven's Streichquartette. Versuch einer technischen Analyse dieser Werke im Zusammenhange mit ihrem geistigen Gehalt* (Leipzig: E.W. Fritsch, 1885), 295-8.

deathbed. That lastness then triggered the widespread habit, crystallized by Hüttenbrenner, to favor narratives of transcendence over decay – in this case, to favor the Lento (with its peaceful solace) over the Scherzo (with its tortured buzzing). The fact that Beethoven’s final slow movement has a melody of serene gentleness, rather than impassioned sobs, was read in the context of his *Versöhnung*, his stoic reconciliation with fate.

For Nohl, among other critics who heard this quartet as a deathbed narrative, we see Beethoven Hero and Beethoven Saint forming two sides of a single story. Where late-style criticism so often falls along the fault lines of transcendence and decay, Beethoven’s last work was heard to embody both. Through an acceptance of his own decline – first with Napoleonic raging, and finally with Christ-like submission – Beethoven was believed to transcend. But his apotheosis could only begin once his *ars moriendi* was complete, a process that was heard to play out in this last work. By interpreting this quartet as an art of dying, critics like Nohl bypassed the conceptual problems of the dying art. The tensions that fueled late style discourse – metaphysical vs. organic, transcendence vs. decay, ethereal dissipation vs. material grounding – found their peaceful solution in the *Versöhnung* Nohl depicts, as Beethoven Hero lowers his fist to become the redeemer of humankind.

## Chapter 2

### Beethoven's Nativity: Performing Devotions at the Birth-House Museum in Bonn

Today, most cultural luminaries have at least one museum to their name. Houses where celebrity figures were born, died, lived or worked have become hubs of research and fandom, sanctuaries for autographs, portraits, and the various odds-and-ends of famous lives. Now a standard feature of the tourist landscape, museums of this kind originated with a wave of enthusiasm for preservation in late nineteenth-century Germany and Austria, countries that boast more artist-houses than anywhere else in Europe.<sup>1</sup> Starting with the restoration of Shakespeare's birthplace in Stratford (1847), Goethe's birth house in Frankfurt (1849), Mozart's in Salzburg (1880), and Beethoven's in Bonn (1890), *birth* houses in particular became essential sites of memory (to borrow Pierre Nora's term) and emblems of national pride amidst the competing claims for cultural heritage that followed the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest artist-museums were almost exclusively the domain of the *Kleinstadt*, a feature of small-town culture rather than the metropolis. While large

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<sup>1</sup> For a historical overview of composer museums, as well as a comprehensive directory of houses organized by composer (perhaps a residue of the composer-themed pilgrimage), see Sadie and Sadie, *Calling on the Composer: A Guide to European Composer Houses and Museums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). A series of maps (pp. 71-88) show Germany and Austria in the lead, with 41 and 47 composer houses, respectively. Italy, in comparison, has 32 (mostly from the twentieth century) and France only 11. The Czech Republic boasts an impressive 34 composer museums, following the example set by museums in Austria for its own Czech-nationalist agenda.

<sup>2</sup> On sites of memory, see Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring, 1989), 7-24 and the companion project on German sites edited by Etienne Francois and Hagen Schulze, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2001).

cities eventually caught on in the twentieth century,<sup>3</sup> the earliest artist-houses served to brand small cities as tourist attractions: *Mozart-Stadt* Salzburg, *Goethe-Stadt* Weimar, *Beethoven-Stadt* Bonn (or *Wagner-Stadt* Bayreuth, by conscious design).<sup>4</sup> Large cosmopolitan centers, with their confluence of famous individuals and histories, had no need for a single unifying brand. Long before small cities outfitted their famous houses as museums, these sites already attracted pilgrims in droves: tourism to literary birth-sites and graves began as early as the 1820s, with composer-tourism following close on its heels.<sup>5</sup>

The joint travelogue of Vincent and Mary Novello in 1829, published as a “Pilgrimage to Mozart,” offers a compelling window into sacred tourism – most notably the fact that this brand of “pilgrimage” was more sacred in name than in practice. Rather than a sober, life-altering journey, these diaries chronicle a standard Baedeker itinerary, including visits to ruined castles, architectural sight-seeing, and interactions with fellow travellers in the village inn. What’s

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<sup>3</sup> Vienna is among the only large cities to boast composer museums at all (fourteen of them), virtually all of them founded during the preservation craze that followed WWI. Nearly every composer museum in Germany is located in a small city, with none in Berlin and only one in Munich; the sole exception is mid-sized Leipzig, with its museums for Bach, Mendelssohn, and Schumann.

<sup>4</sup> Constanze herself, along with her second husband and Mozart biographer Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, played a vital role in branding Salzburg the *Mozart-Stadt*. See Anja Morgenstern, “Constanze Nissen in Salzburg, 1824-1842. Neue Aspekte der Entstehung des Mozartkults,” in Dominik Šedivý, ed., *Salzburgs Musikgeschichte im Zeichen des Provinzialismus?* (Vienna: Holitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2014), 304-45. Wagner was savvy to this branding strategy, establishing Bayreuth as his own pilgrimage hub, or Wagner HQ, and made sure his remains were interred there rather than his actual death-city of Venice. On Wagner’s marketing strategies and Bayreuth as hub, see Nicholas Vazsonyi, *Richard Wagner: Self-Promotion and the Making of a Brand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 169-204.

<sup>5</sup> See the insightful study of literary tourism/pilgrimage by Paul Westover, *Necromanticism: Traveling to Meet the Dead, 1750-1860* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). This practice has continued well into the twentieth century; see for instance the composer-themed tourist itinerary, a quasi-guidebook labeled “pilgrimage,” compiled by musicologist Nick Rossi, *A Musical Pilgrimage* (Boston: Branden Press, 1971); see also the recent guide to Mozart-sites by Harrison James Wignall, *In Mozart’s Footsteps* (New York: Paragon House, 1991).

more, the Novellos complained of the trip's discomforts rather than embracing hardship as austere or transformative in the manner of pilgrims. But what made this voyage a pilgrimage in more than just name was the Novellos' thirst for "relics," for traces of Mozart's physical presence on earth. While in Salzburg, the couple paid a visit to Constanze, who was treated as a living relic: Mary Novello referred to both widow and sister as "relics of the divine man" and proclaimed that

(...) next to seeing [Mozart] himself [the visit to Constanze] was the nearest approach to his earthly remains, and I felt during the whole interview as if his spirit were with us; how could it be otherwise as I held his portrait in my hand which breathes of life and of him. When I first entered I was so overcome with various emotions that I could do nothing but weep and embrace her.<sup>6</sup>

For Vincent Novello, the living widow was not enough. He had the nerve to request Mozart memorabilia from Constanze, who had apparently been sucked dry by past visitors: "She said she had given away nearly everything to the numerous persons who had applied to her at different times for a memorial of him. Relics she gave me – a small portion of the little Hairbrush with which he arranged his Hair every Morning, a part of a Letter addressed by him to his Father. I wished to have had a lock of his Hair but she said it had all crumbled away."<sup>7</sup> This last claim was of course false: Constanze did have a hair lock in her possession, later placed on display in his birth house museum in Salzburg. But to accommodate the frequent requests for relics, Constanze not only denied relics to visitors like the Novellos, but also stretched her supply of Mozartiana by cutting

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<sup>6</sup> Vincent Novello, *A Mozart Pilgrimage: Being the Travel Diaries of Vincent & Mary Novello in the year 1829*, ed. Rosemary Hughes (London: Novello and Company Ltd., 1955), 73-4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 83

the composer's letters, autographs, and apparently even his hairbrush into travel-sized pieces.<sup>8</sup>

This thirst for relics, highly prized souvenirs in the parlor vitrine, was a standard feature of nineteenth-century tourism. Shards of Mozart's cradle were sold at midcentury by directors of the Mozart museum (much to the chagrin of their twentieth-century successors).<sup>9</sup> The same fate befell Beethoven's cradle, which was dismantled one piece at a time by passing tourists. Visitors also pocketed splinters of the Beethoven-Haus birth room and staircase, a practice that would continue to this day were the room not cordoned off from the (literally) prying public. While the house discouraged this behavior after its inception as a museum in 1889, curators later recognized the potential for profit and, after a series of renovations in 1937, sold shards of the dismantled staircase in the museum shop.<sup>10</sup> Many visitors left the museum not only with postcards and memorabilia from the gift shop, but with foliage from the surrounding

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<sup>8</sup> For more on the fragments of Mozart's autographs that were cut up and given as gifts, by his sons among others, see the *Bärenreiter Neue Ausgabe saemtlicher Werke* (Kassel, New York: Bärenreiter, 1955-), Serie X: Supplement. Werkgruppe 30, Band 4: Fragmente. For some examples of these fragments, see especially p. 59.

<sup>9</sup> Later, a number of individuals, such as Franz Xavier Jelinek and especially Tobia Nicotra, made a healthy profit on forgeries of Mozart's autographs, akin to the many forged relics of the Middle Ages. See the two-part series "Gefälschte Mozart-Autographe" by Wolfgang Plath, *Acta Mozartiana* 26 (1979), 2-10 and 72-80. The archive director Franz Xavier Jelinek was lambasted by Rudolf Lewicki, "W.A. Mozarts erste Geige," *Mozarteums-Mitteilungen* 3:2-3 (February – May 1921), 65. Jelinek's reputation was later defended by Wolfgang Plath, who questioned how much of a hand the director had in the dismantling of Mozart's cradle. See Wolfgang Plath, "Gefälschte Mozart-Autographen: der Fall Jelinek," *Acta Mozartiana* 26 (1979), 72-80.

<sup>10</sup> A Bonn resident who grew up in the Beethoven-Haus in the decades before it became a museum – and when the building also contained an Inn – reminisced in a 1932 article about the frequent visitors who gradually destroyed the birth-bed and damaged the floor in their search for "a priceless relic, a piece of wood from the bed of the immortal master" [eine kostbare Reliquie, ein Stückchen Holz von dem Bette des unsterblichen Meisters]. These wood splinters were both taken by visitors as well as sold for a tip by the Hotelier. Heinrich Baum, "Das Bett Beethovens," *General-Anzeiger, Bonn*, July 2, 1932.

garden to tuck into their commemorative albums at home. An American tourist to the house in 1890, its opening year, reported in her travel diary that the groundskeeper kindly escorted her to the garden in search of flowers and leaves that would press well.<sup>11</sup>

Salzburg and Bonn appealed to relic-seeking pilgrims in part due to their status as *birth* sites. If pilgrimage involved a special journey to the backcountry, then rural birth-towns were preferable to large death-cities (given that many luminaries were born in small towns and migrated to cosmopolitan centers as they established their careers).<sup>12</sup> But even beyond this coincidence of biography, birth sites were widely associated with nationalism, city pride or “home soil.” As Chopin was lowered into his grave at Père Lachaise in Paris, for instance, his casket was sprinkled with Polish dirt, while his heart was transported back to Poland, just as the Belgian composer Grétry’s heart became the object of a nationalist tug-of-war between newly independent Belgium and France in the 1820s. Not only the home country, but the birth site itself held special significance. Prints of famous birth houses circulated widely, sold as souvenirs in

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<sup>11</sup> In 1890, Philadelphian tourist named Elsbeth Pushee visited the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn with her travel companion Mary. Her travelogue describes her visit in detail and reports the quest for souvenir flowers to press in an album: “The house is kept in very nice order, neat little white dotted muslin curtains at the window, flowerpots filled with blooming plants. How I did want to pick that half withered red carnation! As we were going out several leaves fell from the vine which ran up the house near to the window of the room where B. was born. These we picked up as souvenirs. The man in charge seeing it said perhaps we would like a little rose from the garden. So he took us out to the little garden in the back (most exquisitely kept) and went to pick us each one but in seeing the ivy, thought we would like that better as it press better.” Elsbeth Pushee *Travel Diary* (1890), Allison-Shelley Manuscript Collection (3862), Rare Books and Manuscripts, Special Collections Library, Pennsylvania State University.

<sup>12</sup> In addition to the examples of Mozart and Beethoven, consider Handel (born Halle, died London), Haydn (born Rohrau, died Vienna), Mahler (born Kalischt, died Vienna), and Chopin (born Żelazowa Wola, died Paris).

local shops. On his deathbed, Beethoven himself cherished such a print of Haydn's birth house in Rohrau, a parting gift from Diabelli. According to Gerhard von Breuning, Beethoven marveled at how such a great man could hail from a quaint cottage – a striking predecessor to the remarks made by pilgrims to Beethoven's own birthplace 70 years later.<sup>13</sup>

As we saw in Chapter 1, the deathbeds of composers – and in turn, their late music and “last thoughts” – served as sites of encounter with sacred bodies. But when it came to physical spaces, *birth* houses rather than *death* houses were more likely to become the nexus of corporeal connection. Nowhere is this contrast between birth- and death-sites more profound than the case of Beethoven. In Bonn, the Beethoven-Haus museum inspired uncommonly fervent devotional practices in its visitors, who treated the birth chamber as a sacred space of quasi-Christological nativity. The museum's design encouraged visitors to interpret this room as a nativity site, and tourists responded with accounts of their piety. Meanwhile, in the bustling metropolis of 1903 Vienna, Beethoven's death house was torn down, viewed by city officials as a dilapidated nuisance rather than a *Kunstdenkmal* (artist-monument). A funereal event for the house portrayed the demolition as a necessary sacrifice for the city's architectural upgrade. After the destruction of WWI, many came to regret Vienna's ruthless demolition projects and compensated with an explosion of museums and

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<sup>13</sup> See the memoirs of Gerhard von Breuning, *Memories of Beethoven from the House of the Black-Robed Spaniards*, ed. Maynard Solomon, trans. Henry Mins and Maynard Solomon (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 98.



assertive preservation laws in 1918 – so assertive, in fact, that Vienna remains to this day trapped in amber, more so even than Bonn in 1890.

This chapter, together with the companion chapter that follows, uncovers the circumstances that led to the dramatically different treatment of these two houses. In Bonn, the creation of the museum was couched as a sacred duty – following in the footsteps of a landscape heritage movement that sought to protect the Rhineland – and the site quickly became a space for pilgrims to showcase their reverence. In Vienna, the situation was entirely different, as Chapter 3 will show. The demolition stemmed from more than a simple contrast between *Kleinstadt* and *Großstadt* culture: rather, these cities took different approaches to historic preservation as a result of divergent conceptions of the musical past as living or dead, continuous with the present or frozen in time. Naturally, both cities took part in both tendencies (Bonn had its chamber festivals, and Vienna its museums) but on the whole, these cities became hubs for different forms of reception. For many Viennese intellectuals, the past existed in continuity with the present, leading houses to be dismissed as “dead” once they no longer thrived in living memory. In the mythic Rhineland, on the other hand, visitors sought an untouched past. Beethoven’s house and especially his birth chamber gave pilgrims what they sought: Beethoven’s material remains frozen in time.

### *Ehrenpflicht: The Duty to Preserve*

In a fascinating accident of history, Beethoven's 100<sup>th</sup> birth-year coincided with turbulent political events: the Franco-Prussian War (1870), which followed on the heels of the Austro-Prussian War (1866). Thus the famed denizen of both Bonn and Vienna became, on his 100<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1870, a powerful emblem of German-Austrian relations. In December of 1870, cities across Europe, and especially in the German states and Austrian Empire, held celebrations that competed for cultural ownership of Beethoven. An assortment of programs, festival prologues and concert reviews published in an 1872 album provide a compelling glimpse into the eventful year.<sup>14</sup> The album reveals that Beethoven was simultaneously subject to a tug-of-war – with competing claims volleying from Bonn and Vienna – while also praised as the balm that would heal North and South, uniting all Germans as brothers to the strains of the Ode to Joy.

It is no coincidence that one of the words used most often in these festival prologues and tableaux vivants was *Versöhnung*, reconciliation – a word whose theological implications, with Christ as healer of humankind, were often appropriated for Beethoven's pious acceptance of his deafness (see Chapter 1). Numerous German cities proclaimed that Beethoven would reconcile (*versöhnen*) warring nations.<sup>15</sup> The theatrical prologue in Wiesbaden, for instance, called for peace and brotherhood during Christmastime, a holiday that follows less than a

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<sup>14</sup> Hermann Joseph Landau, ed., *Erstes poetisches Beethoven-Album. Zur Erinnerung an den grossen Tondichter und an dessen Säcularfeier begangen den 17. December 1870* (Prague: Self-Publication, 1872).

<sup>15</sup> The prologues or allegorical presentations presented in Stuttgart, Prague, and Vienna all made reference to *Versöhnung*.

week after Beethoven's birthday. The city staged an allegory in which the flowing figure of Germania ritually de-militarizes two soldiers, one Prussian and the other Bavarian, at the foot of Beethoven's statue. As Germania replaces the soldiers' helmets with laurel wreaths, symbolizing art's power to repair wartime divides, she proclaims that this Christmas shall be "no festival of weapons" but rather a celebration for "him, who heals with conciliation [*versöhnend heilt*] that which weapons injuriously cleave."<sup>16</sup> After a long panegyric for Beethoven and his "united sons," the play culminates in a choral performance of Ode to Joy bathed in artificial sunbeams. This kind of triumphant reconciliation (a contemporary spin-off, perhaps, of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*) reached even more dramatic heights in Prague's festival play. As the Ninth Symphony blared during an exultant finale, Beethoven's statue rose from beneath the stage, crowned with laurel wreaths by an assortment of muses and finally lit up with pyrotechnics.<sup>17</sup>

It is no coincidence that the Ninth Symphony was the music of choice for this allegory. Ruth Solie has shown how this symphony was considered universal-religious (or "secular humanist") in the late nineteenth century, a

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<sup>16</sup> The genre of this play was a *Vorfeier*, a theatrical prelude to the celebration entitled "Germanias Weihnachtzeit" by Karl Kösting. The festival is "kein Waffenfest," but rather a festival for "ihm, der, was Waffenzwang / Verwundend trennt, versöhnend wieder heilt." Landau, *Album* (1872), 435; for the entire script, see 425-437.

<sup>17</sup> Also known as *bengalisches Feuer*, in which fuel was burned at the base of a building or statue to illuminate the structure. For a detailed account of Prague's festival play, which spun out allegorical fantasies accompanied by Beethoven's canonic works, see Landau, *Album* (1872), 368-73. For more on the role of the Ninth Symphony in these celebrations, see Chapter 8 of Esteban Buch, trans. Richard Miller, *Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

source of ethical lessons that bridged Catholic and Protestant divides.<sup>18</sup> Yet the symphony's ethical lessons, along with the exultation of Yuletide peace in 1870, scarcely masked an undercurrent of confessional tensions between North and South. In Berlin's opening lecture, music critic Otto Gumprecht attributed Beethoven's success to the studious, hardworking Protestant environment of Bonn, a gesture of discomfort with Beethoven's Catholic faith.<sup>19</sup> This perspective was not uncommon in the years leading up to Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, the systematic discrimination against south-German Catholics from 1871 to 1876, when scholars and critics sought to reframe and neutralize Beethoven's Catholicism in terms of universal humanism. In an annotated (and appropriately pocket-sized) "breviary" of Beethoven's favorite quotations, Ludwig Nohl characterized Beethoven's interest in Pietist theology as a rejection of strict Catholicism, embracing universals of divine nature rather than dogmatic particulars.<sup>20</sup> North-German music writers thus tried to explain away Beethoven's confessional identity, an impulse that put political pressure on the 1870 festivities to heal the rift with an ode to brotherhood.

Competitive tensions were, not surprisingly, most visible in Vienna and Bonn, the two cities with the strongest biographical stake in Beethoven. Bonn claimed ownership over the composer's memory, declaring his birth house a

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<sup>18</sup> Ruth Solie, "Beethoven as Secular Humanist," in *Music in Other Words* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 5-45.

<sup>19</sup> "Am Rhein durfte der Protestantismus, der eigentliche Erhalter und Mehrer unserer nationalen Vorzüge und Tugenden, seine Stirn frei erheben (...) Nur eine geistige Atmosphäre wie die, in welcher Beethoven aufwuchs, konnte ihn zu seinem spätem Beruf erziehen." Landau, *Album* (1872), 295.

<sup>20</sup> See especially pp. 13-24 of Ludwig Nohl, *Beethovens Brevier*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. Paul Sakolowski (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1901; 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Leipzig: E.J. Günter, 1870).

historic site in May of 1870 and erecting a concert hall (the *Beethovenhalle*) to be unveiled on his birthday.<sup>21</sup> The poetic prologue that inaugurated the *Beethovenhalle* overflowed with city pride, enumerating the Rhineland locations that shaped the composer's character. Like the festival proceedings elsewhere in Germany, this poem (as well as a later review of the festival by music biographer Franz Gehring) cited Beethoven's birthplace as the epicenter of pan-German veneration, with the composer's ghost healing the North-South rift from his spiritual headquarters in Bonn.<sup>22</sup>

The Viennese festival scripts, in contrast, assumed a markedly different tone from those in Bonn. While Vienna claimed the honor of fostering Beethoven's career, the city's opening speech struck a defensive note, declaring its own festival the finest in Europe while also anticipating German accusations of over-the-top decadence.<sup>23</sup> After declaring Vienna "the spiritual homeland, the artistic fatherland of Beethoven," the speech held that "Vienna is not so frivolous as those chattering from certain sides maintain." The speaker then launches into an emphatic refrain: it would be frivolous if Vienna only cherished Beethoven in

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<sup>21</sup> Philanthropists requested permission from the mayor to declare the birth house a historic site and install a plaque; see the formal request from May 21, 1870, in *Beethoven-Haus Akten, Tresor* 254.

<sup>22</sup> The inaugural poem was by Karl Simrock, a prominent poet best known for translating the *Nibelungenlied* into modern German. See Landau, *Album* (1872), 303-9.

<sup>23</sup> The "Invitation to the Festival" by one Dr. Beck proclaims: "Indeed, we experience a kind of proud satisfaction that the 'city of Phaeacians' [i.e. Vienna] creates with its own flesh and blood, nourishes with its hearts-blood, the most glittering of all festivals in German lands that celebrate the spirit of the immortal." [Ja wir empfinden eine Art stolzer Genugthuung darüber, dass die 'Stadt der Phäaken' das glänzendste all der Feste welche in deutschen Landen den Manen des Unsterblichen gefeiert werden, aus ihrem eigenen Fleisch und Blut erschaffen, mit ihrem eigenen Herzblug nähren wird.] Landau, *Album* (1872), 388. On the historical origins and meaning of the phrase 'city of Phaeacians,' see Nicholas Parsons, *Vienna: A Cultural History* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 79-88.

1870 rather than as a part of the city's everyday fabric, or if Vienna lost its musical finesse amidst the din of war "at a time when a strong fist is preferred over a keen mind," and so on.<sup>24</sup> Vienna's festivities kicked off with a defensive justification of their own pomp; this insecurity reflects the event's scarce attendance by musical luminaries, with organizers having mistakenly invited Joseph Joachim and Clara Schumann at the same time as Liszt and Wagner, exacerbating existing tensions between these factions (as Scott Messing has shown).<sup>25</sup>

Beyond the problems with this particular event, Vienna's insecurity stemmed from a broader climate of tension that characterized German-Austrian relations in this period. With its Empire in decline, Austrians were torn between pride in their noble (and distinctly non-German) heritage and embittered dependence upon the German economy as a primary trade partner.<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, starting in the early nineteenth century, cultural critics sought to unify the German states by differentiating them from their Austrian neighbors, touting the seriousness of the German *Volksgeist* in contrast with Austrian ease, entertainment, and folk simplicity. This German-nationalist stance, which was

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<sup>24</sup> "Wien ist aber nicht so frivol, wie ihm von mancher Seite wohl eingeredet werden möchte, und so hat es sich auch in diesen bangen, trüben Tagen kräftig zusammengefasst zu einer würdigen Säkularfeier des grossen Todten." Landau, *Album* (1872), 388-9.

<sup>25</sup> Scott Messing, "The Vienna Beethoven Centennial Festival of 1870," *The Beethoven Newsletter* 6:3 (1991), 57-63.

<sup>26</sup> On the shifting political-economic relationship between Germany and Austria, and in particular Austria's dependence upon Germany in this period, see Peter J. Katzenstein, *Disjoined Partners: Austria and Germany since 1815* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 97-131. See also David S. Luft, "Austria as a Region of German Culture (1900-1938)," *Austrian History Yearbook* 1:23 (1992), 135-48 and a response to Luft's essay by Frank Trommler, "Berlin and Vienna: Reassessing their Relationship in German Culture," *German Politics and Society* 74:23 (Spring, 2005), 8-23.

especially active in music discourse, led to accusations that Vienna was skimping on its veneration of Beethoven and left cities like Bonn to pick up the slack.<sup>27</sup>

Even Viennese intellectuals chimed in, grumbling about their own city's reluctance to erect a monument. Take, for instance, the critical verse by Ludwig August Frankl:

In his birth city, where the Rhine flows,  
The master's bronze visage has long loomed;  
The German *Volk*, beholden to genius,  
Erected a pillar of glory for him. (...)

In luxurious Vienna, so musically rich  
No monument for him shimmers aloft. (...)

That lively city full of sound and dance—  
Has it merely gravestones for the Genius?<sup>28</sup>

But while Frankl's poem rued that Vienna had fallen behind Bonn, his essay written in this same year blamed the influence of German culture, which placed undue pressure to commemorate through marble rather than music. Frankl explained that Vienna was once satisfied to remember Beethoven through

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<sup>27</sup> For the roots of this tension in the first half of the century, see Celia Applegate, "How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century," *19th-Century Music* 21:3 (1998), 274-96. See also the collection of essays edited by Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, *Music & German National Identity* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), especially the contribution on German superiority by Albert Riethmüller, 288-308; as well as the essay by Helmut Loos, "Religiöse Aspekte der Beethoven-Rezeption zwischen Nord und Süd," in Mieczysław Tomaszewski, et al, eds., *Beethoven 3* (Kraków: Akademia Muzyczna, 2006), 299-308.

<sup>28</sup> Frankl's frustration with Vienna's neglect appears to have run deep. He wrote another similar poem regarding Mozart in 1835 (cited below). Vienna was indeed slower than other cities in Europe to erect artist-monuments; its first monument to a composer, Schubert, was not unveiled until 1872. "In der Geburtsstadt, wo der Rheinstrom wallt, / Schon lange ragt des Meisters Erzgestalt; / Das deutsche Volk, dem Genius verpflichtet, / Hat ihm des Ruhmes Säule aufgerichtet. (...) / In üpp'gen Wien, dem musikalisch reichen / Kein Denkmal schimmert noch für ihn empor. (...) / Die heit're Stadt voll Klang und Tanz, hat sie / Grabsteine nur für das Genie?" L.A. Frankl, "Heiligenstadt und Bonn," in Landau, *Album* (1872), 227. For a stanza from Frankl's Mozart poem, see the first page of Ludwig Mielichhofer's festschrift, *Das Mozart-Denkmal zu Salzburg* (Salzburg: Mayr'sche Buchhandlung, 1843).

performance, but had since succumbed to what some called the “German blight,” i.e., the pressure emanating from Germany to form music societies that elevated dead composers in a manner both ritualistic and covertly political. It was these societies, Frankl argued, that introduced in Vienna the desire to erect composer-monuments in the city itself (as opposed to sites of more symbolic importance, such as Heiligenstadt, where a statue had already been unveiled in 1863).<sup>29</sup>

And Frankl was right: after the competitive festivities of 1870, it was the Society for the Friends of Music that spearheaded the mission to erect a Beethoven monument even grander than the one in Bonn.<sup>30</sup> Where Bonn’s bronzen composer looks straight ahead with an air of heroic resolve, Vienna’s Beethoven – finally unveiled in a festive ceremony in 1880 – locks brooding eyes with the viewer below, looming from a platform several tiers higher than in Bonn. Even the stone itself was the object of competitive tension. The commission originally planned to mount the figure on a platform of stone quarried from the Rhineland, a proposal that met with too little support in Bonn and led the

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<sup>29</sup> Frankl goes on to poke fun at a ritual by the artist society “Concordia”: at midnight on Beethoven’s birthday, the society dispatched three men to transport the laurel wreath that crowned Beethoven’s bust in their society headquarters to Beethoven’s grave. At the moment the three men laid the wreath on the grave, the moon tore through the clouds, as if Beethoven himself were watching, at which point the men were mistaken for grave-robbers and apprehended. Such rituals, Frankl argues, planted the seed for composer-monuments in Vienna. Ludwig August Frankl, “Das erste Beethoven-Monument in Oesterreich,” *Neue Freie Presse*, December 15, 1870, pp. 1-3.

<sup>30</sup> Note also that this tone of competition with German cities continued into the twentieth century. The impetus for a new concert hall in Vienna, built from 1911-1913, was in part a means to keep up with Germany: “The ardent, longstanding wishes of many Viennese friends of music would be fulfilled by this plan: to create a new cradle [*Heimstätte*] of music here where it is more deeply rooted than elsewhere and blossoms gloriously, to that we may look without envy at the artistic centers of our neighbor countries. For there, especially in the German lands, magnificent concert halls have been erected everywhere in recent years (...)” *Das neue Konzerthaus in Wien. Die Errichtung eines Gebäudes für musikalische und gesellschaftliche Veranstaltungen im Zusammenhange mit der k.k. Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst* (Vienna, 1911), 5.



commission to turn instead to a native Austrian source (black marble from Tyrol).<sup>31</sup> Responses to the monument – such as Eduard Hanslick’s pamphlet for its unveiling – were at once enthusiastic and competitive, re-claiming Vienna as Beethoven’s true artistic home:

Beethoven – who made his pilgrimage to Vienna while young and unknown, never to leave it – belongs to Vienna in his entire art and almost his entire life, but to the city of Bonn only in his cradle and childhood. Great men are indeed born also in small places, but only large cities can raise and perfect them. If tied lifelong to the municipality of Salzburg, the electorate of Bonn, Mozart would not have become Mozart, Beethoven not Beethoven. Gluck, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, all born outside Vienna and yet unthinkable without Vienna, made Austria’s capital into the capital of music.<sup>32</sup>

By the time Vienna’s monument was in place, Bonn’s had already become old news. Visitors now complained about the derelict state of Beethoven’s birth house, which served as a residence, inn, tavern and venue for low-class entertainment. The composer’s birth chamber itself functioned as a changing room for a bawdy ensemble of singing ladies. What’s more, passing pilgrims were uncertain about which house to visit: two separate buildings, one of which was a childhood residence of the Beethoven family, were labeled as the official birth house. The confusion came to a head with Eduard Hanslick’s review of the Bonn music festival in 1885, in which he bemoaned his disillusionment after

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<sup>31</sup> As reported by Herbert Oakeley, “A Monument to Beethoven,” *Musical Times*, June 1, 1880, p. 282.

<sup>32</sup> “Beethoven, der jung und unbekannt nach Wien pilgerte, um es nie wieder zu verlassen, gehört Wien an mit seiner ganzen Kunst und fast mit seinem ganzen Leben; der Stadt Bonn nur mit seiner Wiege und seiner Kindheit. Grosse Männer werden zwar auch in kleinen Orten geboren, aber nur grosse Städte können sie erziehen und vollenden. Zeitlebens an das Weichbild Salzburgs, an den churfürstlichen Hof von Bonn gefesselt, wäre Mozart nicht Mozart, Beethoven nicht Beethoven geworden. Gluck, Haydn, Mozart und Beethoven, sämtlich nicht in Wien geboren und doch ohne Wien nicht denkbar, haben Oesterreichs Hauptstadt zur musikalischen Hauptstadt von Europa gemacht.” Eduard Hanslick, “Zur Enthüllung des Beethoven-Denkmal in Wien am 1. Mai, 1880,” in *Beethoven in Wien* (Vienna, 1880).

being duped by the false sign, squandering his pious emotional energy on the wrong site (see Appendix 2.1 for my translation of his entertaining account).

While Hanslick's anecdote was a mere aside among otherwise favorable impressions of Bonn, his complaint drew the attention of city officials and even prompted the mayor to gripe (albeit jokingly) that "so crazy a fellow [as Beethoven] continues in the afterlife to badly damage our city's reputation."<sup>33</sup>

It was in this context of municipal embarrassment that Joseph Joachim, violinist and famed interpreter of Beethoven's string quartets, assembled a team of philanthropists to purchase the birth house, evict its sixty inhabitants, and restore it to some semblance of its original condition. The logistical and financial particulars of this endeavor have been extensively documented by the Beethoven-Haus archivists.<sup>34</sup> What is most striking about Joachim's project for my study is the rhetoric of grave and pious integrity that the founders dictated to local newspapers, an effort to bolster the media image of the Beethoven-Verein (the governing body of the museum, library, and eventual archive).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> "(...) so ein verrückter Kerl bringt es im Nachhinein noch fertig, das Ansehen der Stadt schwer zu beschädigen." Comment made by mayor Hermann Jakob Doetsch. See the catalogue for the museum's exhibit in 2014, a history of the Verein for the 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its founding; see also the companion website, which explores this history and relevant documents in even more detail. Nicole Kämpken and Michael Ladenburger, *Bewegte und bewegende Geschichte. 125 Jahre Beethoven-Haus* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus Verein, 2014). <<http://www.beethoven-haus-bonn.de/sixcms/detail.php/87907>> Accessed August 3, 2016.

<sup>34</sup> See the sources cited above.

<sup>35</sup> Museum co-founder Wilhelm Kuppe (1834-1905) appears to have been most often charged with the task of dictating reports to the media. His handwritten notes sketching reports to submit to the local papers are scattered throughout the administrative files of the museum. See for instance his notes for the *Bonner Zeitung* in Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 136. Note that while the Verein itself was established in 1889, the archive was not founded until Beethoven's death centennial in 1927.

This air of pious integrity was not unique to Joachim's project—in fact, I speculate that Joachim's efforts to preserve the Beethoven-Haus may have arisen from his contact with fellow composer Ernst Rudorff. This little-studied *Kleinmeister* lived a double life: not only was he active in music circles, lifelong friends with Joachim, Clara Schumann, and Johannes Brahms, but he also spearheaded the landscape preservation movement in Germany (called *Heimatschutz* or later *Naturdenkmalschutz*, the preservation of nature's "monuments").<sup>36</sup> It is no coincidence that Rudorff, who valued monuments of all stripes, also served as an editor for the Monuments of German Art Music project (*Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*), a multi-volume edition that sought to identify and preserve capstones of German art music.<sup>37</sup> But Rudorff is today far better known as the founder of the German Association for Homeland Protection (*Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz*), a bureau that grew out of his published essays from the 1880s in which he lamented the deterioration of the Rhineland. With its medieval castles and low-lying hills, the Rhine valley had become the paradigm of German Romanticism; and by the late nineteenth century, the region was not

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<sup>36</sup> In the 1880s and 1890s, Rudorff published a variety of essays that demanded landscape preservation efforts, and participated in initiatives to protect the Rhineland from tourist railways and industrial scarring. His efforts materialized officially in 1904 with the establishment of the *Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz* in Dresden, an association that garnered state support and attracted a large roster of famous members. See Thomas M. Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2004), especially 58-63; see also William H. Rollins, *A Greener Vision of Home* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997). On the so-called *Rheinromantik* and its relationship to music, see Cecelia Hopkins Porter, *The Rhine as Musical Metaphor: Cultural Identity in German Romantic Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996).

<sup>37</sup> See Alexander Rehding's study of the *Denkmäler* edition project. While Rehding does not mention Rudorff, I suspect that, owing to Rudorff's double life, these two movements might have been related, with musical monuments spurring the interest in nature-monuments or vice versa. Rehding, "Collective Historia," in *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 141-67.

only flooded with tourists, but also scarred by the mining industry that supported local economies. For Rudorff, the “physiognomy” of the German landscape was under dire threat, disfigured by mining and cheapened by the triviality of tourists. What visitors needed, he argued, was “genuine, living piety for nature”; and nature itself served as the fundamental tone [*Grundton*] that underlay German music, the truest manifestation of the German spirit.<sup>38</sup> While there is little evidence of Rudorff’s direct influence on Joachim (their correspondence pertains largely to music rather than landscape),<sup>39</sup> his efforts to preserve the Rhineland set the tone for heritage projects to come. Rudorff’s scathing disdain for “trivial” tourists may have encouraged Beethoven-museum founders to establish a space of piety along the Rhine, and this pervasive attitude of disdain led tourists to re-label themselves “pilgrims.” Whether it protected musical, natural, or historic monuments, German heritage was a deeply moral matter in this period, framed in terms of piety, honor, and sacred duty.

It comes as no surprise, then, that the Beethoven-Verein’s project to preserve the birth house borrowed from this language of nature preservation: the rescue (*Rettung*) of the house from mundane residential use, the consecration or hallowing (*Weihung*) of the house to transform it into a place of piety (*Pietät*), and

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<sup>38</sup> “Was unsere Urväter in Wodans heilige Eichenhaine bannte (...) endlich in der eigenartigsten Offenbarung des deutschen Genius, in unserer herrlichen Musik wieder hervorzubrechen: immer ist es derselbe Grundton, derselbe tiefe Zug der Seele zu den wundervollen und unergründlichen Geheimnissen der Natur, der aus diesen Aeußerungen des Volksgemüths spricht.” Ernst Rudorff, “Über das Verhältnis des modernen Lebens zur Natur,” [On the Relationship of Nature to Modern Life] *Preussische Jahrbücher* 45 (1880), 261-76; here 276.

<sup>39</sup> For a sample of Rudorff’s correspondence with Joachim, see his comprehensive collection of letters, diaries, and autobiographical fragments: Ernst Rudorff, *Aus den Tagen der Romantik. Bildnis einer deutschen Familie* (Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag, 2008); vol. 3, 10-55.

the honorable duty (*Ehrenpflicht* or *Ehrenschild*) of the undertaking. This sacralized language was already in vernacular use. The word “piety” was common vocabulary for any space or action undertaken in service of art without material reward, and the word “consecration” was used to ritually inaugurate spaces throughout the nineteenth century (even by Beethoven himself in his 1822 occasional work, *Die Weihe des Hauses*). Hanslick couched his own visit in such terms. Recall this confession in his 1885 review discussed in the introduction to this dissertation:

I am quite devout in all piously hallowed sites, self-consciously devout or even superstitious, when I want to be, and I bear no mistrust for the walking sticks and tobacco boxes that are shown to me as favorite articles of deceased celebrities. Thus, with bare head and touched heart, I beheld the hallowed and rather filthy room in which Beethoven let out his first cry.<sup>40</sup>

*Ehrenpflicht* was likewise a common word, designating not the duty (*Pflicht*) to honor (*Ehren*) an event or individual, but rather an obligation fulfilled by honor alone, without promise of material reward. While *Ehrenpflicht* refers to a duty, *Ehrenschild* goes a step further: the refusal of such an obligation would be disgraceful or even scandalous. One newspaper announced the rescue of the birth house almost with relief, celebrating that the heavy *Ehrenschild* “so long weighing upon the shoulders of our city has been lifted.”<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Eduard Hanslick, *Musikalisches Skizzenbuch. Neue Kritiken und Schilderungen* (Berlin: Allgemeines Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1888), 313. See Appendix 2.1 for original German and translation.

<sup>41</sup> “Eine Ehrenschild wird abgetragen, welche so lange Zeit auf unserer Stadt lastete.” *Bonner Zeitung* 60, March 1, 1889, front page. Another example of *Ehrenpflicht* reads: “indeed it would have been a duty of honor [*Ehrenpflicht*], above all, to divest this site of its profane use.” “(...) doch wäre es vor allem Ehrenpflicht gewesen, gerade diese Stätte profaner Bestimmung zu entziehen.” Clipping from unknown newspaper, 1889, from a

While these concepts were common to tourist-pilgrims, they took on special meaning in the Beethoven-Verein's public image campaign. The combination of piety and honor-duty formed a marketing strategy, common in private (rather than state-funded) preservation projects: associations would make an enthusiastic proclamation of monetary disinterest with the underlying aim to drum up philanthropists, who then saw themselves not as ordinary donors but as sages of a sacred order. This strategy was employed most famously by Wagner, who delighted in portraying himself as a martyr-figure and disinterested artist, a trope that characterized anti-Semitic ideals of "Germanness."<sup>42</sup> His headquarters at Bayreuth – a venue tucked into the countryside, accessible by strenuous climb, with seating as uncomfortable as church pews – turned listeners into pilgrims. The earliest call for donors to the Beethoven-Haus piggybacked on Bayreuth's cult success, using guilty obligation (the darker side of *Ehrenschild*) to drum up sponsors: "if one can pay 200 marks for a seat in Bayreuth, then it is one's duty also not to forget the great composer [Beethoven]."<sup>43</sup> Wagner's success was also a model for the Beethoven-Verein's chamber festival series, organized first to fund the museum and later to put Bonn

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collection of announcements assembled by Beethoven-Haus founders. Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 136.

<sup>42</sup> See the insightful study of Wagner's self-promotion and branding by Nicholas Vazsonyi cited earlier in this chapter, particularly the sections "Disinterestedness and being German" and "Marketing martyrdom," in *Richard Wagner* (2010), 16-21 and 26-7.

<sup>43</sup> "Somit wollen wir uns der freudigen Hoffnung hingeben, daß das Geburtshaus des großen Meisters recht bald in eine würdige Stätte umgewandelt wird; dazu bedarf es allerdings bedeutender Mittel. Aber wir dürfen die Erwartung aussprechen, daß jeder Kunstfreund, namentlich die Landsleute des Schöpfers ihren Tribut beisteuern. Kann man 200 M. für einen Platz in Bayreuth zahlen, dann wahrlich gebührt es sich auch des großen Tonschöpfers nicht zu vergessen." *Godesburger Zeitung*, October 26, 1889. Clipping in Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 136.

on the map as a Bayreuth-like cultural hub.<sup>44</sup> Museum co-founder Wilhelm Kuppe noted that the same visitors who “make pilgrimage to Bayreuth in great flocks” would also flock to Bonn as a hub of chamber music performance.<sup>45</sup>

In its ongoing quest for member-donors, the museum combined the strategy of *Ehrenschild* with the star-power of celebrities. Shortly after its inception, the Verein granted numerous honorary memberships to celebrities and royals, along with ornately embellished diplomas, then boasted of these memberships to attract new donors. Celebrity members included Brahms, Verdi, Clara Schumann, Max Reger, and even Bismarck himself, who was namedropped in newspaper announcements to solicit support from “every German, even if he has never touched a piano key.”<sup>46</sup> Memberships of this kind were also granted in exchange for donations of Beethoveniana. One donor of medallions, for instance, sent a melodramatic letter of thanks for his membership (along with a bizarre patriotic song of his own composition), proclaiming that his

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<sup>44</sup> Joachim’s efforts to this end were, to some degree, successful. In an obituary, Hermann Kretzschmar proclaimed that Joachim had made Bonn the “mecca of chamber music.” “Joseph Joachim,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 2:3 (July, 1920; obituary written 1907), 415.

<sup>45</sup> “Auser [sic] den direkten und Bediensten Matherielen Ergebniß, welchen ich Ziehmlich Hoch Veranschlage werden wir den beweiß liefern, daß man (...) nach Beireuth im großen Scharen pilgert (...)” Note from Wilhelm Kuppe with suggestions for first chamber music festival, Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 116.

<sup>46</sup> Brahms, for one, expressed his gratitude for the tremendous honor in a letter to the Verein. It is noteworthy perhaps that he refers to the museum as a *Denkmal*, akin to his own musical *Denkmäler* project; he hopes to soon visit “the creation (...) through which you erect a new and worthy monument to the great son of your beautiful city” (my translation). Johannes Brahms, handwritten letter to the Verein, 12. May, 1889. Beethoven-Haus digital archive: <<http://www.beethoven-haus-bonn.de/sixcms/detail.php/87907>> Accessed December 30, 2015. For an example of Bismarck name-dropping: “Wie mein britischer Kollege bei dem schönen Lob, dass er jüngst unserer Musik gewidmet hat, gewiß nicht zuletzt auf die Werke des Mannes hindeuten wollte, in dessen hehrer Kunst Bismarck und Moltke Erhebung gefunden haben, so wird jeder Deutsche, auch wenn er nie eine Taste angerührt, im Tempel unseres nationalen Ruhmes Beethoven mit williger Verehrung begrüßen.” Graf von Bülow, *Deutsche Reichzeitung* 286, June 4, 1905.

“assignment to preserve and cherish the site where the cradle of this great master once stood” was an “honorable duty [*ehrenvolle Pflicht*] that I shall undertake with the most heartfelt inner joy.”<sup>47</sup>

The gravity of *Ehrenpflicht* pervaded the earliest announcements of the Beethoven-Haus project, as well as the official appeal for donors (Appendix 2.1).

An 1889 flyer began with a powerful statement:

The preservation and consecration [*Weihung*] of the birth houses of great geniuses and art-heroes as monuments of piety and active veneration is a duty [*Ehrenschild*] of all nations. The ‘Verein Beethoven-Haus’ founded in Bonn aims to pay this grateful tribute to the greatest composer of all time. *Beethoven’s birth house* has been purchased and shall not only serve as a Beethoven Museum after its stylistically accurate restoration, but also as a center of collection and support for the *care of art music* [*Pflege der Tonkunst*].<sup>48</sup>

The language of this announcement reflects four central aims of the museum founders: distinguishing the German nation through cultural heritage, creating a pious space, protecting both the house and its associated relics, and fostering music performance. Given that birth-house preservation projects were still somewhat rare in 1889, the opening statement reads as a subtle jab at the many (non-German) nations that did *not* sufficiently cherish their art-heroes. The announcement further suggests that these houses should be consecrated, with

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<sup>47</sup> “Durch den Eintritt in Ihren Kreis fällt mir nun die Aufgabe zu, die Stätte, wo einst die Wiege dieses Großen stand, miterhalten und würdig auszugestalten haben. Diese ehrenvolle Pflicht übernehme ich mit innerlich herzlichster Freude und Wille bemüht sein (...)” Letter from Sanitätsrat Dr. Herschel to the Geheimrat P.A. Schmidt, April, 27, 1922. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Tresor 292.

<sup>48</sup> “Die Erhaltung und Weihung der Geburtshäuser grosser Genien und Heroen der Kunst als Denkmale der Pietät und thätiger Verehrung ist eine Ehrenschild alle Länder. / Der in Bonn gegründete ‘Verein Beethoven-Haus’ bezweckt, dem grössten Tondichter aller Zeiten diesen Tribut dankbaren Gedächtnisses zu zollen. / Das *Geburtshaus Beethoven’s* ist erworben und soll nach stilgemässer Wiederherstellung nicht allein ein *Beethoven-Museum* bilden, sondern auch Sammel- und Stützpunkt für die *Pflege der Tonkunst*. (...)” Opening lines of an 1889 flyer announcing the Verein and requesting donations for the museum. Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 179.



the word *Weihung* commonly used for quasi-sacred spaces, together with *Einweihung*, inauguration, when those spaces first opened their doors.<sup>49</sup> Finally, the flyer's claim that the museum not only served Beethoven's memory, but also the "care of art music," intimated that art was under threat, in need of nurturing and cultivation.

While the word "care" (*Pflege*) alone may seem ordinary, its appearance in this context signifies a broader mission of protection that fueled the Beethoven-Verein. The museum saw itself as a shelter for relics and autographs that might suffer damage or neglect in private ownership, a growing mistrust that motivated the foundation of many museums in this period. This mistrust took part in broader educational reforms, in which proponents of *Bildung* treated the middle class as children in need of institutional guidance, less qualified to care for their family heirlooms than museums. The "care of art music" went beyond the preservation of material objects, referring here to Joachim's chamber series: like the festivals sponsored by the Mozart-Stiftung in Salzburg, the Bonn chamber festival established the Verein's reputation as a forward-looking, in addition to past-preserving, institution.

Museum founders (with local newspapers as their mouthpiece) believed that fostering music performance would bring the house to life. One

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<sup>49</sup> The word *Weihung* (consecration) was common for the musical blessing of spaces, a topic that deserves a study in its own right. Two famous examples are of course Beethoven's *Die Weihe des Hauses*, commissioned for the Josefstadt Theater in 1822 and performed regularly thereafter for inaugural ceremonies throughout Europe; and Wagner's newfound genre of the *Bühnenweihfestspiel* ("Festival Play for the Consecration of the Stage") for his Bayreuth premiere of *Parsifal* in 1882.

announcement explained that the project might have failed had the house been merely “a second monument, a dead museum.”<sup>50</sup> But because the Verein had a greater mission – the care of art music, i.e. Joachim’s chamber festivals – both the museum and its relics could resurrect Beethoven’s presence, a living rather than a dead space: “That great life [of Beethoven’s] can stream outwards from here, blossoming and life-giving ever forth, and it is not only in the relics of the undying master, but also in the fresh exertion of those who enshrine them, that one may thereby ‘sense a breath from his spirit.’”<sup>51</sup> A report disseminated to members in 1904 re-articulated this same distinction between dead museum and living space, with rhetoric derived in part from museum’s original mission. The house was “beloved by the thousands who, in ever growing numbers, make pilgrimage to these hallowed rooms in the Bonngasse,” but “we don’t want the hallowed place of Beethoven’s birth to be seen only as a second monument for Bonn’s greatest son, as a dead museum – the great life that was first brought forth in this modest house shall continue to have an ever blossoming, newly living impact.”<sup>52</sup> It is striking that these passages treat Beethoven’s monument as

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<sup>50</sup> “Und nichts weiter wäre erreicht, wenn wir das Beethovenhaus nur *als zweites Denkmal, als ein todes Museum* zu betrachten hätten (...) Aber (...) nicht ein todes Museum soll es werden, sondern ein Rühfhaus musikalischer Vereinigungen und Bestrebungen, bestimmt, der von Alters her mit Recht berühmten Pflege der Tonkunst in unserer Musenstadt neue, mächtige Impulse zu geben.” Flyer from 1889, Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 179.

<sup>51</sup> “Das große Leben (...) vermag von hier aus fort und fort befruchtend und belebend auszuströmen, und nicht blos in den Reliquien des unsterblichen Meisters, sondern auch in der frischen Bethätigung Derer, die sie bewahren, wird man alsdann ‘seines Geistes einen Hauch verspüren’.” Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> “(...) geliebt von den Tausenden, die in jährlich wachsender Zahl zu jenen weihevollen Räumen in der Bonngasse pilgern (...) Aber nicht nur als ein zweites Denkmal für Bonns grössten Sohn, als ein totes Museum wollen wir die geweihte Stätte der Geburt Beethovens betrachtet wissen: Das grosse Leben, das einst diesem schlichten Hause entsprang, soll vielmehr auch fürderhin von hier

dead, an outdated medium of veneration. It appears that Bonn sought to stay ahead of the curve, with the Beethoven-Verein lauding museums as “living” and dismissing monuments as passé just when Vienna began to erect its own monuments to Beethoven.

In order to revive Beethoven’s spirit in the house, museum founders first had to cleanse the space of its off-color associations. The earliest newspaper announcements never failed to mention Joachim’s rescue of the house from profane misuse. An article in the *Bonner Zeitung* praised Joachim’s “smoothly executed act of piety” as he consecrated the site that was home to blasphemy:

No longer shall the glory connected to this hallowed site be exploited by the market cries of the industry that once occupied it; no longer shall the visitor to Bonn, who enters that antiquated house with an exalted bearing, be repulsed by raucous mongering or the offensive sounds of sketchy music and dance performances. (...) Just as the Goethe house in Frankfurt, the Mozarteum in Salzburg, the Shakespeare house in Stratford, so too shall our Beethoven house in Bonn become a pilgrimage site for educated humanity.<sup>53</sup>

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aus fort und fort befruchtend, neu belebend wirken.” *Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Bericht über die ersten fünfzehn Jahre seines Bestehens (1889-1904)* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus Verein, 1904), 91.

<sup>53</sup> “Nicht länger mehr soll der Ruhm, der sich an diese geweihte Stätte knüpft, zur Marktschreierei mißbraucht werden für die Gewerbe, welche dort betrieben wurden; nicht länger mehr soll der Besucher Bonns, der in gehobener Stimmung jenes alterthümliche Haus betritt, durch lärmenden Handel oder gar die widerwärtigen Töne zweifelhafter Musik- und Tanzvorstellungen zurückgestoßen werden. (...) Was in Frankfurt das Göthehaus, in Salzburg das Mozarteum, in Stratford das Shakespearehaus geworden sind, das soll nunmehr auch unser Beethovenhaus in Bonn werden: eine Pilgerstätte der gebildeten Menschheit.” *Bonner Zeitung* (1889); newspaper clipping from unknown date, collection of Kuppe, Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 136.

A similar complaint about the market cries was expressed in the prologue for the Bonn chamber festival program of 1890: “Noch vor wenigen Monaten herrschte geschäftige mercantile Thätigkeit in den Räumen, die als stilles Heiligthum eines großen Geistes schon längst jedem Gebildeten hätten zugänglich sein müssen.” *Beethoven-Feier, Kammermusik-Fest* (Bonn: Peter Neusser, 1890), 2. Note also that the museum founders intentionally modeled the project on other birth houses: a handwritten note about the renovations by a Verein member cited the Goethe-Haus in Frankfurt and the Mozart-Geburtshaus in Salzburg as models: “(...) es sollen Reliquien und Handschriften des Meisters, die gesammte ihn betreffende Literatur gesammelt, kurz ein ‘Beethovenhaus’ nach dem Vorgange des Göthehauses in Frankfurt, des Mozarthauses in Salzburg geschaffen werden.” Note from February 28, 1889, Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 136.

Here Joachim's project appears an ethical one, saving the house not only from ruin but from the commercial profanity and "market cries" of the nearby Marktplatz. Instead of a cheap inn for tourists, the house would attract refined pilgrims, a pious undertaking.

Particularly striking here is the sonic dimension of this ethical project. The repulsive "sounds of sketchy music performances" that apparently took place were washed clean by an *Einweihung* (inauguration) in 1893, an event held inside the house for an audience of sponsors. This ritual was largely musical: after a series of speeches, Joachim's string quartet performed the Cavatina of Op. 130 on Beethoven's own string quartet instruments. The piece itself was known to be among Beethoven's favorite compositions, chosen perhaps for the sighing and sobbing that led many to hear it as Beethoven's voice, singing through Joachim via the composer's own violin. Indeed, this 1893 performance may have served as the inspiration for Franz Stassen's caricature of Joachim raising Beethoven's spirit (discussed in Chapter 1).



**Fig. 2.1.** Caricature of Joseph Joachim by Franz Stassen, ca. 1900. Repr. in Karl Storck, *Musik und Musiker in Karikatur und Satire: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Musik aus dem Zerrspiegel von Dr. Karl Storck* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1998, orig. publ. Oldenburg, 1910), 69.

It was not only the house but also Beethoven's instruments, acquired shortly before the event and considered among the jewels of the museum collection, that were said to be consecrated by this ritual event. The program booklet for a later festival performance of Op. 130 described this concert as a touchstone in the museum's history, an "act of consecration" that made an "unforgettably deep impression on all participants."<sup>54</sup> Shortly after Joachim's death, the performance came to symbolize his achievement as Beethoven-Haus founder. A 1908 flier seeking donations for a monumental Joachim bust (successfully installed in the museum entrance a few years later) described the Cavatina performance as so transfigurative that audience members might have mistaken it for Joachim's own swan-song, so utterly did he embody the late Beethoven.<sup>55</sup> And for the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of the Verein, the Gürzenich quartet re-enacted the famed *Einweihung* with another rendition of the Cavatina on those same instruments.<sup>56</sup>

Music performance, then, was thought to animate these objects, giving them new life as something more than curios in dead rooms. Nor was Joachim's

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<sup>54</sup> "Die Cavatine aus diesem Quartett wurde am 10. Mai 1893 bei dem Weiheakt im Geburtshaus Beethovens von den Mitgliedern des Joachimschen Quartetts auf den im Beethoven-Museum befindlichen Instrumenten Beethovens mit unvergeßlich tiefem Eindruck auf alle Beteiligten vorgetragen." Program book, *Beethoven-Feier Kammermusik-Fest, 27 April-1 May, 1913* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus Verlag, 1913), 35. The festival prologue by Wildenbruch, recited for the occasion, was similarly referred to as a "Weiheakt," Beethoven-Haus Bonn, *Bericht* (1904), 24.

<sup>55</sup> "As (...) the deeply melancholy sounds of the Cavatina Op. 130 were coiled around us with a kind of transfiguration that could only be conjured by Joachim and his ensemble, many listeners must have asked themselves if [Joachim] himself (...) were not relaying the genius of Beethoven to his community for the last time (...)" (my translation). Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 292.

<sup>56</sup> The event is described in the protocols from Beethoven-Verein meetings held in 1914-1915. Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 114.

ensemble the first to play Beethoven's instruments: prior to their acquisition by the museum, a fund was established to support Berlin performances on the instruments every year for Beethoven's birthday.<sup>57</sup> The quartet was restored to a playable condition around 1890, regarded by museum founders not only as relics but as usable instruments.<sup>58</sup> Three years after Joachim's concert, for instance, museum co-founder and cellist Wilhelm Kuppe performed a duet on these instruments together with a royal visitor, Prince Joachim Albrecht of Prussia.<sup>59</sup> Yet the quartet quickly fell into disuse and disrepair, tourist favorites on silent display. A battle for custody of these objects in 1923 reveals a critical clash between the Verein's growing conservatism – perhaps succumbing to the “dead museum” that its founders wished to avoid – and the desire to keep Beethoven's instruments “alive” through performance.<sup>60</sup>

The dispute stemmed from a confusion of ownership. Originally on temporary loan from the Akademie der Künste, the instruments' display in Bonn was prolonged several times, and by 1923 the museum considered them part of

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<sup>57</sup> The fund was entitled the *Jokits-Stiftung*; clipping from the *W. Fr. Presse*, June 27, 1888. Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 136.

<sup>58</sup> A letter from Dr. Fleischer at the Akademie der Künste reported the condition of the instruments during negotiations to loan them to the Beethoven-Haus: “Sämtliche Gegenstände befinden sich in tadellosem Zustande, insbesondere sind die Streichinstrumente selbst erst kürzlich völlig spielbar wiederhergestellt worden.” Letter of April 14, 1890. Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 54.

<sup>59</sup> Article in the *Kölner Zeitung*, July 15, 1896.

<sup>60</sup> Even a century later, the instruments were still occasionally played by famous visitors to keep them “alive”: as Nick Rossi wrote in 1977, “I asked the Curator if these instruments were ever removed from the showcase and played so that the famous wood and varnish would stay alive. He replied, ‘Oh, yes! Why, only last week Casals stopped by and played the cello for a few hours.’” Pablo Casals was, not coincidentally, an honorary member of the Beethoven-Verein. Rossi, *Musical Pilgrimage* (1977), 33.

its permanent collection.<sup>61</sup> It may be no surprise that the Beethoven-Verein reacted with dismay when it received a curt order from a Prussian bureaucrat to return the quartet to Berlin “so that the instruments may be brought to a condition such that seasoned musicians may have the opportunity to play upon them.”<sup>62</sup> Although the minister was kind enough to praise the museum’s achievement in “protecting these instruments from decay,” the Verein panicked and sent a lengthy manifesto on the instruments’ unsuitability for performance and their immeasurable value to the museum. While several ensembles played them during chamber festivals in Bonn, the instruments’ condition was so poor that performances always took place in the museum rather than the concert hall—a venue advocated by Joachim himself, who found the experience more ritualistic than professionally satisfying.<sup>63</sup> This impression was apparently shared by Kulturminister Dr. Bosse, who found Joachim’s Cavatina so moving

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<sup>61</sup> The flurry of letters cited in this paragraph are contained in the Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 54. The loan from Berlin was extended indefinitely in 1893; see the letter from one Delacroix on February 5, 1893.

<sup>62</sup> “Aus beteiligten Kreisen ist mir der Wunsch unterbreitet worden, daß diese Instrumente wieder instandgesetzt werden sollen, damit bewährten Künstlern Gelegenheit gegeben werden könne, auf diesen Instrumenten zu spielen. Ich gebe dieser Anregung gern Folge, weil Ihre Ausführung auch dazu beitragen würde, die wertvollen Instrumente vor dem Verfall zu bewahren. Prof. Gustav Havemann von der Hochschule für Musik in Charlottenburg hat sich in liebenswürdiger Weise bereit erklärt, die Instrumente mit den Mitgliedern seines Quartetts dort abzuholen und nach Berlin zu überbringen. Ich bitte die Instrumente ihm und deinen Begleitern auszuhändigen.” Letter from the Prussian Minister for Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, Berlin, Dec. 7, 1923.

<sup>63</sup> Quartets and artists who played on the instruments included Arnold Rosé, Karl Klingler, Ad. Busch., the Gewandhaus Quartet from Leipzig, and the Gürzenich Quartet from Cologne; they all, but especially Joachim, found the instruments unsuitable: “Alle Künstler, vorab Prof. Jos. Joachim, haben übereinstimmend reklärt, dass die Instrumente—besonders die 2 Geigen—wegen der geringen Tragfähigkeit ihres Tones nicht geeignet seien, als Konzertinstrumente im grossen Konzertsaal benutzt zu werden.” The letter further supports this argument by noting that, even in Beethoven’s own day, the instruments were more of a sentimental gift from Lichnowsky than concert instruments upon which Beethoven publicly performed; thus he etched his initials into the instruments, rather than leaving them in pristine condition. Beethoven-Verein letter from December 22, 1923.

that he ordered the instruments to remain in those rooms, a position later shared by the next Kulturminister Dr. von Gossler in 1923: "Beethoven's string instruments belong in the birth house of the master, where his piano also stands. Do not give them back to Berlin!"<sup>64</sup>

Thus these objects, the Verein maintained, were not concert instruments but "valuable relics," and "as relics they are of particular, even immeasurable worth. The members of the board see themselves as priests of a holy sanctum, which they serve with joyful devotion."<sup>65</sup> This powerful statement reveals that, by 1923, the museum saw itself as the official sanctuary for sacred objects (as well as a pilgrimage site, as proclaimed in this same manifesto).<sup>66</sup> In the face of these heavy claims, the Prussian minister backed down, recognizing the museum's authority and praising the "care with which this precious treasure has been sheltered and protected in the Beethoven-Haus. I too see this house as a national sanctuary [*ein nationales Heiligtum*]."<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> The letter cites the Kulturminister Gossler as having written: "Die Streichinstrumente Beethovens gehören in das Geburtshaus des Meisters wo auch sein Flügel steht. Geben Sie sie nicht nach Berlin zurück!"

<sup>65</sup> The letter argues "dass die Instrumente lediglich als wertvolle Reliquien, nicht aber als Konzertinstrumente zu betrachtet seien. (...) Als Reliquien sind sie für unser Haus von ganz besonderem, gradezu unschätzbarem Wert. Die Mitglieder des Vorstandes betrachten sich als Priester eines Heiligthums, dessen Dienst sie sich in freudiger Hingabe widmen."

<sup>66</sup> "(...) Es handelt sich aber nicht um den Vorstand des Beethovenhauses allein. Als am 17. Dezember 1920 zur Erinnerung an die 150. Wiederkehr des Geburtstages Beethoven's im engeren Kreise eine weihevollte Feier im Beethovenhause selbst stattfand, sprach der inzwischen verstorbene Oberbürgermeister von Bonn, Herr Bottler, u.a. folgende Worte: 'Dem Verein Beethovenhaus verdanken wir es, dass hier ein Wallfahrtsort geschaffen worden ist, zu dem alljährlich Unzählige pilgern, um andachtsvoll zu weilen an der Stätte, wo der unsterbliche Meister das Licht der Welt erblickt hat (...)'"

<sup>67</sup> The Prussian Minister Boelitz from the Ministry for Science, Art, and Education wrote: "Mit umso größerer Genugtuung habe ich aus den Ausführungen des Vorstandes entnommen, mit welcher Sorgfalt dieser kostbare Schatz im Beethoven-Haus gehütet und gepflegt wird. Auch ich betrachte dieses Haus als ein nationales Heiligtum (...)" Letter from Berlin, February 15, 1924.



At its core, the kerfuffle was not about these instruments' value as relics, nor about their use in performance: indeed, only a few years after this incident, the instruments were again under high demand for string-quartet celebrations of Beethoven's 100<sup>th</sup> death-year.<sup>68</sup> Rather, this dispute was one of many power struggles for cultural authority, the growing-pains of a grassroots operation as it matured into a fully fledged institution. What began as the rescue of a house by private donors, when bolstered with the rhetoric of *Ehrenpflicht*, culminated in a holy sanctuary with board-members as priests – a degree of cultural gravity that no bureaucrat could contest.<sup>69</sup>

In the most comprehensive local announcement of 1889, we see every facet of the Beethoven-Haus rhetoric merge into a single message. This article mentions the duty to preserve, the pious rescue, the consecration of the space, the separation of the house from neighboring market cries, the care of art-music as a grand mission – and most importantly, the invocation of Beethoven's own ghostly presence in the house.<sup>70</sup> The article explains that it was not only the

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Shortly after this reappropriation scare, a handwritten letter from the previous owner and donator of Beethoven's viola (Franz Ries, grandson of Ferdinand Ries) thanked the Beethoven-Haus for preserving and caring for this instrument for many years, reinforcing the museum's role as protector of wayward relics. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Tresor 278.

<sup>68</sup> A letter from the mayor to the Beethoven-Haus secretary Prof. Knickenberg discusses several requests from quartet ensembles to play the instruments during the music festival in Bonn in 1927. Letter from December 11, 1926, Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 173.

<sup>69</sup> The Beethoven-Haus sees itself fulfilling a similar role even today. While the archive is remarkably generous and open with its materials through its digital library, the original autographs remain under strict control, kept in a bunker-like vault deep beneath the birth house; and an archivist remarked to me that this vault is known among Beethoven-Haus staff as the "heilige Sanctum."

<sup>70</sup> On the obligation to preserve: "eine Ehrenschild ist abgetragen (...)" On the pious rescue: the effort is "das Werk der Pietät." On the consecration of the space and its separation from the market cries: "Das Haus, in welchem die Wiege Beethoven's stand, wird fortan in Wahrheit eine geweihte Stätte sein, von welcher sorgende Verehrung den Lärm des Marktes und der Gassen auf

house, but the entire city of Bonn, that resonated with the young Beethoven. Like an advertisement for future pilgrims, the article then embarks on a virtual tour of Bonn that traces the composer's spirit around every bend, exalted at the foot of his 1845 monument and re-instated to the rooms of his birth house.<sup>71</sup>

Within only a few years of its rescue, the birth house quickly came to overshadow Bonn's monument as commemorative site of choice, a nexus of material contact with Beethoven. The official call for donors in 1889 describes the Verein's effort to "animate these rooms with Beethoven's genius – rooms that saw this genius unfold for the first time" by filling them up with autographs, literature, documents and especially "letters and relics that speak of him with mute eloquence (...) along with everything that mediates sensory and emotional contact with him."<sup>72</sup> Once these objects were returned to his authentic rooms, they were thought to spring to life – and it is especially striking that these eloquent objects (like the *Things that Talk* discussed by Lorraine Daston and others)<sup>73</sup> were meant to mediate contact with Beethoven, both emotional and

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immer bannt." On the care of art music: "Aber... nicht ein todes Museum soll es werden, sondern ein Rüsthaus musikalischer Vereinigungen und Bestrebungen, bestimmt, der von Alters her mit Recht berühmten Pflege der Tonkunst in unserer Musenstadt neue, mächtige Impulse zu geben." *Bonner Zeitung* 60, March 1, 1889, front page.

<sup>71</sup> "Und von dieser Stätte aus werden wir dann um so freudiger den Gastfreund durch die Straßen führen, in welchen der Knabe Beethoven spielte; unter den Wipfeln der Alleen hin, welche dem jungen Componisten ihre urgewaltigen Weisen in die Seele rauschten... zu dem Platz am Münster, wo der früh geprüfte Jüngling im Breuning'schen Hause Schutz und Trost, Anregung und Anerkennung für sein erstes Aufstreben fand, und wo jetzt sein Standbild von Erz sich erhebt." Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> See the original German *Aufruf* and my translation in Appendix 2.1.

<sup>73</sup> This collection of essays edited by Lorraine Daston does not imbue objects with agency, but addresses practices and discourses that revolve around objects – in other words, things that get us talking, more so than things that talk. Nonetheless, this compelling passage from the Beethoven-Verein seems more literal even than Daston's project, as if the museum objects seemed

*sensory*. It was the task of museums not only to shelter artifacts from profanity, but also to provide the public with a material channel to famous individuals. In the decades that followed, Beethoven's birth room became a devotional space that both curators and visitors compared with Christ's manger.

### **Beethoven's Nativity**

In the opening minutes of a 1993 documentary about Beethoven, tourists peer into a rough-hewn attic chamber with a sloped ceiling, pitted walls, and a lone bust of Beethoven at the center. As the camera enacts the shaky climb up a winding staircase to the threshold of the tiny room, a voice-over informs us that "a hundred thousand people climb these stairs every year, drawn by love of [Beethoven's] music. They particularly want to see the room where this extraordinary spirit came into the world (...) It's a shrine to a composer whose music has inspired pilgrimage and passion across time and now across different cultures."<sup>74</sup>

It is no coincidence that this televised documentary on the life of Beethoven begins with a glimpse into his birth room. The earliest curators designed this room to resemble a sacred space, and it quickly became a site of devotion that draws Beethoven-lovers to this day. But no one is certain that Beethoven was actually born in this room. Instead, the chamber was associated

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to come alive and "tell" of Beethoven ("stumm-beredt von ihm erzählen"). Daston, ed. *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York: Zone Books, 2004).

<sup>74</sup> BBC, "Great Composers: Beethoven" (1999).

< <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aNoZw6Im86k> > Accessed January 29, 2016.

with Beethoven's birth because it resembled Christ's manger, fashioned into a shrine by museum administrators to suit popular demand. When the museum opened its doors in 1890, Beethoven was already widely received as a Christ-like figure in biographies, popular literature, and images; and while this Christological reception stemmed primarily from the sacred suffering that readers perceived in the Heiligenstadt Testament, the newfound admiration for his humble birth-house added a dimension of nativity to his reception.

The Christ-like poverty of the attic room was, in some ways, the museum's biggest attraction. Descriptions of the house nearly always made mention of the sober modesty of the garret (often called the *schlichte Dachstube*). The association's 1889 call for donors announced that "much remains in its original condition, particularly the birth room with its deeply moving simplicity."<sup>75</sup> In its announcement in 1890, the *Musical Times* likewise speculated that "many will surely shed tears on beholding the wretched garret—a small lean-to attic in the roof—in which Beethoven is said to have been born."<sup>76</sup> And visitors did appear to come away moved. Writing in the museum guestbooks, many cited an emotional connection with the space as a "holy site" [*heilige Stätte*], marveling at the modest dimensions of a room in which such a great man was

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<sup>75</sup> "(...) in jedem Besucher weihevoll Stimmungen, edle Gefühle erwecken." Prologue to *Beethoven-Feier, Kammermusik-Fest* (Bonn: Peter Neusser, 1890), 2. This same intention for the museum was repeated in the program booklet for the Beethoven celebration and chamber festival that took place in May of 1890: the museum is now a place that will "awaken hallowed sentiments and tender feelings in every visitor."

<sup>76</sup> *The Musical Times*, October 1, 1890, pp. 591-2.

born.<sup>77</sup> A couple from Cologne touring around Germany contributed a brief verse: “Earthly greatness may arise from any little hovel; we learn this anew from the place where we now stand.”<sup>78</sup> Another visitor wrote that “Eternal Beethoven on high – born in a lowly room – struggled to achieve the highest heights of human achievement through genius and – industry! –”<sup>79</sup> Perhaps most poignant of all, a visitor confessed that “no church has made such a deeply moving impression on me as this birth room.”<sup>80</sup>

The museum’s design framed the room as a sacred space. Today, most curators strive for an educational experience, leading visitors through a chronological narrative of biography and reception. Early museums, in contrast, were intended to shelter objects and mediate contact with famous individuals. With a duty to preserve rather than to educate, the Beethoven-Haus displays

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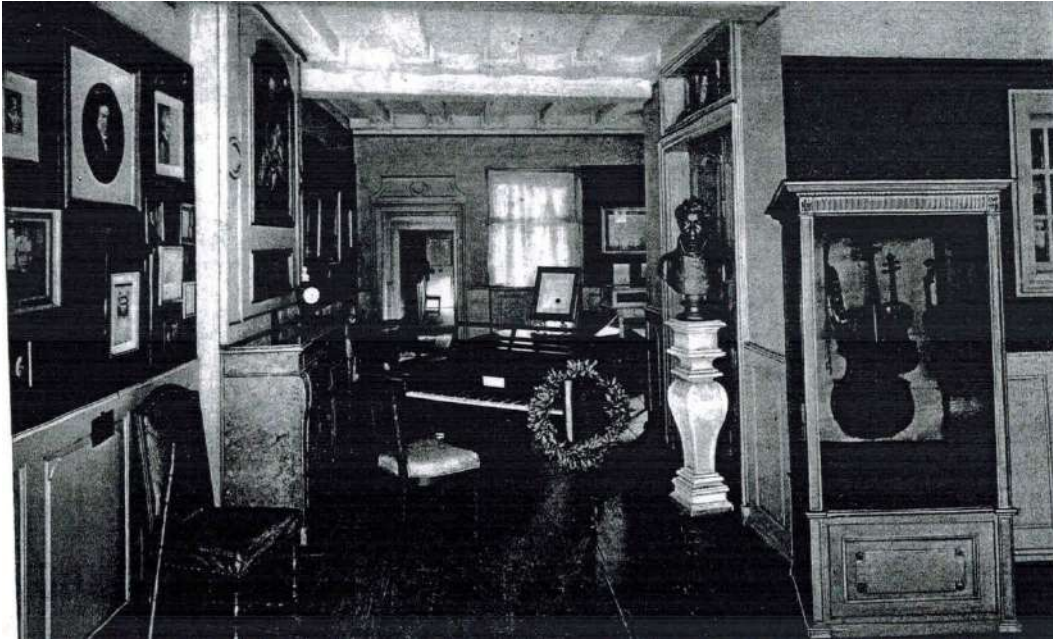
<sup>77</sup> Such as the entry by a visitor from Geneva, June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1899, which recalled “with emotion” [*avec émotion*] the visit to such a “tiny house” [*picuse maison*]. Similarly, a Belgian visitor on September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1902, marvels that “Such a great man was born in such a tiny room!” [*Un ti Grand Homme / Porti d’une ti petite chambre!*] On September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1910: “Behold this modest and awe-inspiring little room and tell me if the Great Men come out of Great Places!” [*Regardez cette modeste & impressionnante petite chambre & dits moi si les Grands Hommes sortent des Grandes parties!*] One Richard Loewenthal, on April 20, 1927, wrote that “The greatest spirits are not always born in palaces” [*Die größten Geister werden nicht immer in Schlössern geboren.*] Beethoven-Haus Archive, Museum Guestbooks.

<sup>78</sup> “Aus jeder kleinen Hütte / Kann irdsche Gröss entstehen / Dies zeigt uns hier aufs neue / Die Stätte wo wir stehen. / Auf Ihrer Rollreise, Köln Mainz München Berlin Köln. Fred Morian, Kunstmaler Köln. Natalie Krabbe Rheine.” Beethoven-Haus Archive, Museum Guestbooks, March 14, 1926.

<sup>79</sup> Guestbook entry from July 10<sup>th</sup>, 1921: “Ewig Beethoven hoch – im niederen Raum geboren – empor gerungen zu höchster Höhe menschlichen Könnens durch Genien & – Fleiß! –” It is interesting that this author (J.K. from Nuremberg) sought to re-instate the value of hard work, not only genius, a typically North-German perspective linked with Weber’s Protestant work ethic. See Karen Painter, “Mozart at Work: Biography and a Musical Aesthetic for the Emerging German Bourgeoisie,” *The Musical Quarterly* 86:1 (2002), 186-235.

<sup>80</sup> Carl Schmidt, a professed portrait painter, wrote on October 30<sup>th</sup>, 1926: “Keine Kirche hat mir innen so tiefen Eindruck gemacht wie dies Geburtszimmer.”

were a jumble of autographs, medallions, busts, objects, and portraits hung in the style of *Petersburger Hängung*, covering every inch of wallspace.



*Fig. 2.2. A view inside the Beethoven-Haus museum, ca. 1900. Reproduced in the Verein Beethoven-Haus in Bonn: Bericht über die ersten fünfzehn Jahre seines Bestehens, 1889-1904 (Bonn: Verlag des Beethoven Vereins, 1904), a lavish report on the success of the museum that was distributed to its sponsors. Note Beethoven's famed string quartet instruments in the glass case and his piano, decorated with a wreath, in the neighboring room.*

In contrast with this *mélange*, the birth room was left virtually bare, a lone bust standing in for Beethoven's cradle. Rather than use the room for display, the museum encouraged the impression of the space as a shrine, with laurel wreaths strewn across the floor. It was not only the emptiness of this room, but also the house's layout, that encouraged its perception as a sacred space. Most museum exhibits encourage the circulation of foot traffic, leading visitors through the exhibition (as was the case in the other rooms of the Beethoven-Haus). The birth

chamber, in contrast, juts from a neighboring passageway like a small cul-de-sac. Its isolation from the other rooms gives the impression of a space where time stops, inviting quiet speculation from visitors who peer inside as if admiring a diorama. Without the option to set foot *inside* the room, visitors beheld this chamber as the jewel of the museum's collection.

Materials published by the Verein sought ways to visually convey the hushed stillness and sacredness of the room. In the same 1904 report that gives a glimpse into the museum's exhibits (Fig. 2.2), an image of the birth chamber was photographically manipulated to include sunbeams streaming onto the wreaths. These superimposed light rays became a standard feature of postcards sold in the museum's shop, and were interpreted as a kind of celestial blessing, a symbol of the room's immortality. One visitor wrote in the guestbook: "Just as the sun, from millennium to millennium, sends its rays into the small darkness of your birth-site, so your sounds ring forth exuberantly to the whole world, you god-like King of eternal generations."<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Hubert Binhold from Sauerland on May 28, 1928: "Wie von Jahrtausend zu Jahrtausend immer wieder die Sonne ihre Strahlen sendet hinein in des kl. Dunkel deiner Geburtenstätte, so durchklingen und durchjauchzen deine Töne der Welten All, Götter verwandter König der ewigen Generationen. H.B." The postcards in Figure 4 were part of an online exhibit curated by Jutta Assel and Georg Jäger, < <http://www.goethezeitportal.de/wissen/musik/beethoven-auf-alten-postkarten.html> >, Accessed May 12, 2017.



*Fig. 2.3. "Beethovens Geburtszimmer," Bericht (1904), n.p.*



*Fig. 2.4. Two postcards sold in the museum shop, one a photograph with light manipulation (left, ca. 1900), the other a lithograph by Hugo Hagen (right, 1908). Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, B 653b and B 2514, respectively.*

By setting apart this ascetic space from the cluttered exhibits downstairs, the museum's design invited visitors to imagine Beethoven's birth, which held a similar appeal to the deathbed scenes so popular in this period (Chapter 1). Literary re-imaginings of scenes from famed biographies fueled the public's interest in artist-houses, lending further support to preservation projects. Early museums like the Beethoven-Haus prided themselves on being authentic sites where history happened, not only repositories of sundry objects. Tourists



relished standing on the very spot “where Beethoven first glimpsed the light of the world” (a common German expression); and we see this desire to re-imagine Beethoven’s birth in a lengthy local news article of 1889, which not only details a history of the house, but also justifies the founding of the museum with a dramatic narrative of the birth event. The article envisions Beethoven’s mother lying pale and exhausted with child in her arms while the father carouses at the local inn, declaring his plan to fashion baby Ludwig into the next Mozart; and the author bookends this flight of fancy with a statement of gratitude about the authenticity and pristine state of the room, thanking the museum for rescuing this “hallowed site.”<sup>82</sup>

In December of 1898, the museum acquired an object that made its connection with nativity explicit. Inspired by a visit to the house in 1895, painter Friedrich Geselschap planned a large-format canvas that would depict Beethoven’s birth as a historic event. While Geselschap tragically committed suicide before the painting was complete, his watercolor sketch was bequeathed to the museum in his will.<sup>83</sup> From 1900 onwards, the sketch was displayed at the

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<sup>82</sup> “Theils Pietät früherer Eigenthümer dieses Hauses, theils glücklicher Zufall haben uns nun diese Dachkammer wunderbarerweise fast ganz in dem Zustande von 1770 erhalten. – In diesem Dachkämmerlein saß die schlanke, blasse Frau van Beethoven und säugte ihr Söhnlein, dessen süßer Trost und Hort in seinen meist freudlosen Knaben- und Jünglingsjahren sie wurde und dem sie Gegenstand zärtlicher Erinnerung für sein ganzes Dasein verblieb. Und während hier die gute Frau den kleinen Ludwig pflegte, saß ihr Gatte wohl oft bis tief in die Nacht mit seinen Zechbrüdern in der Weinschenke des Hoflakaien Häuser in der Stockenstraße und renommirte von seinem Louis, aus dem er gerade so ein Wunderkind machen werde, wie es der junge Mozart aus Salzburg sei. (...) So sind denn dies Haus, dieses Kämmerlein geweihte Stätte. Spät hat man sie als solche in pietätvoller Weise erkennen und pflegen gelernt. (...)” *Bonner Tagebuch*, November 1, 1889, n.p. Clipping collected by Wilhelm Kuppe, Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 136.

<sup>83</sup> Geselschap, a well-known artist in his day, became an honored guest in Bonn after he professed his interest in the Beethoven-Haus. The year prior to his death, as he worked on this watercolor

threshold of the birth chamber, as if labeling the room a Christological manger. When the executor of Geselschap's estate sent the painting and accompanying sketches to the Beethoven-Haus, he expressed his personal wish for the watercolor to occupy "a place of honor in the birth room of that great man, and thus an honor for both Beethoven and Geselschap that will surely arouse hallowed excitement in every observer of this sanctified site."<sup>84</sup>

Geselschap's allegory, entitled "Beethoven's Birth," depicts the infant Beethoven suspended above his cradle by his mother, Maria Magdalena van Beethoven, clad in Marian blue. With Ludwig's father as St. Joseph watching the scene, four choirboys serenade the infant Beethoven, a musical consecration of the space not unlike Joachim's Cavatina performance. Most striking are the two allegorical figures positioned behind the cradle, the embodiment of Beethoven's artistic glory and Christological suffering. While a heavenly muse crowns the baby Beethoven with a laurel wreath, the foreboding, ascetic figure of fate looms in the shadows, a crown of thorns in her hand. With angels sealing Beethoven's fate at birth, Geselschap's allegory goes beyond a simple nativity. The two figures allude not only to Christ's birth, but specifically to the famed icon of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, in which the Madonna and child are adorned with

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study, he apologized personally to the Verein for missing the 1897 chamber music festival in Bonn. Handwritten letter from Ravenna, May 13, 1897, Beethoven-Haus Akten, VBH 179.

<sup>84</sup> "... einem Ehrenplatz im Geburtszimmer des großen Mannes, und so wirken sie zugleich nun zur Ehrung Beethovens wie Geselschap's und sicher jedem Beobacher der geheiligten Stätte eine weihevollere Anregung wirken." Letter from papermaker Alexander Flinsch accompanying the sending of Geselschap's two watercolor sketches of Beethoven's birth, Berlin, December 14, 1900. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Tresor 307b.

symbolic angels hovering over each shoulder, bearing instruments of the Passion and crucifixion (lance, reeds, gall, cross and nails).<sup>85</sup>



*Fig. 2.5. Friedrich Geselschap, "Beethovens Geburt," watercolor study for an allegorical painting. Dresden, ca. 1895-8. Beethoven-Haus Archiv, Bonn, B 109/a. Note that Geselschap invites the viewer inside the room, allowing visitors to take part in the nativity celebration instead of peering into the space from the hallway as they would in the museum itself (pictured to the right).*

The dual crowns in Geselschap's image (the *Lorbeerkranz* and *Dornenkranz*) became a common poetic trope in Beethoven literature of the late nineteenth century, symbolizing his afterlife of renown in exchange for a lifetime of suffering.<sup>86</sup> Geselschap (who was Catholic) was likely influenced not only by the

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<sup>85</sup> The lance and reeds were used to pierce the body of Christ, while gall and vinegar were given to him to drink. See the gospel of Matthew, 27:34.

<sup>86</sup> The crown of thorns appears to have been a symbol of suffering and martyrdom more broadly, but was especially applicable to Beethoven given his widespread reception as a Christ-like figure. For instance, a quarter century before Geselschap's painting, amateur poet Friedrich Mosengeil mentioned the crown of thorns as a symbol of Beethoven's suffering, tempered by his optimistic striving for roses amidst the thorns. "Wem in des Schicksals nimmertreuem Wechsel / Das höchste Glück, ein treuer Freund, beharrt, — / Ihm reicht das Leben keinen Dornenkranz, / Eh

Lady of Perpetual Help, but also by a similar image from artist Johann Peter Lyser, whose commemorative poster for the 1845 monument showed Beethoven sandwiched between two muses, one crowning him with laurel and the other offering him thorns.<sup>87</sup>



*Fig. 2.6. Detail from Johann Peter Lyser, "Denkblatt zur Beethovenfestes zur Bonn, 1845," Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, B 534.*

Once Geselschap's nativity hung from the museum wall, the trope of the twin muses became widely associated with Beethoven's *birth*, not only the mature composer portrayed by Lyser. The muses were thought to seal the infant Beethoven's fate in his cradle, and this Geselschap-inspired narrative became increasingly common in literary tributes for Beethoven's birthday. In December of 1912, a little-known writer published a "musical fairytale" that colorfully re-

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es mit zarten Rosen ihn durchflochten!" Friedrich Mosengeil, "Poetische Erläuterung der Musik von Ludwig van Beethoven zu Goethe's Egmont," in Landau, *Album* (1872), 46.

<sup>87</sup> For more on Geselschap's image and his influence from Lyser, see the description in two contemporary texts: Gustav Lange, *Musikgeschichtliches* (Berlin: R. Gaertners, 1900), 14-15 and Max Jordan, *Gesellschaft* (Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen & Klafing, 1906), 40.

enacted Gesellschaft's painting. In a dialogue between Beethoven's mother and the two "fairies," the evil muse taunts the mother with a cackling premonition of his unhappy future, with only a crown of thorns and a lonely death.<sup>88</sup> The good-natured fairy, on the other hand, shows Ludwig's mother a dazzling vision of the monument in Bonn, and later comforts the adult Beethoven in his hour of need. The story concludes with Beethoven's turn to austerity and martyrdom as he relinquishes earthly love, composes his Ninth Symphony by divine dictation, renounces "earthly music" on his deathbed, and finally walks off into the lush valley of the afterlife with a violin under his arm.

It is striking that Gesellschaft's allegory allows for both a celebration of nativity and admiration for Beethoven's *suffering*, his crown of thorns presented at birth. The museum's exhibit further amplified this connection by supplementing Gesellschaft's image with Beethoven's death mask, his last will and testament in jagged script, and the invitation to his funeral. By pairing together birth and death, suffering and nativity, the display outside Beethoven's birth-room appealed to visitors whose admiration for Beethoven was fueled by pity. We see the appeal of the composer's suffering in handwritten traces left by museum visitors. A number of museum guestbook entries employ the crown-of-thorns metaphor, as in this short verse:

Triumph through art!

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<sup>88</sup> The evil fairy cackles: "He shall wear a crown of thorns (...) He shall become a great mighty king, but in the kingdom of pain! He will give us countless treasures, but they will be dipped in the blood of his heart!" And resurrecting a vision of Beethoven's death room in his mother's eyes: "So your son will die – alone, miserable, abandoned!" Margarete Stadler, "Ein musikalisches Märchen: zum Geburtstage Beethovens," *Beilage zur Neuen Musik-Zeitung* 5 (1912), 115.

The thorns must burrow deep  
For the roses to bloom in jubilant victory,  
No doubt you have suffered much, master –  
And through that crown, you achieved immortality!<sup>89</sup>

By far the most striking spin-off of *Geselschap's* nativity is a lengthy poem by 61-year-old piano teacher Hermine Bovet, who hailed from a town only ten miles from Bonn and who gifted her handwritten poem to the Beethoven-Haus for its 1903 chamber music festival. Bovet's fantasy on *Geselschap's* image shows how this painting could dramatically shape visitors' experience of the birth room and the museum more broadly.

In her poem, Bovet traces the theme fate and suffering, laurel and thorns, through Beethoven's lifetime (see full poem and translation in Appendix 2.1). Once Beethoven's fate is sealed, she writes, the good muse summons an array of art-nouveau-style sprites, nymphs, and fairies to help the composer carry out his sacred work, first as a child prodigy and later as a heroic composer-commander. But just as Beethoven begins to gain recognition, the crown of thorns "buried themselves deep in his brow / Marred with the creases of affliction." While Bovet added her own imaginative flair (envisioning the child Beethoven encircled in sprites and goblins), she nonetheless adheres to a central trope in *Geselschap's* image and countless other allegorical depictions of Beethoven: the melding of Christianity with antiquity, Jesus on the cross mourned by Grecian

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<sup>89</sup> "Durch Kunst zum Sieg! / Die Dornen müssen spornen / Die Rosen jubelnd zu erringen, / Wohl hast du, Meister, viel gelitten – / Und durch den Kranz Unsterblichkeit erstritten!" Wilifried Edler from Weimar, Beethoven-Haus Guestbooks, May 15, 1917.

muses.<sup>90</sup> Beethoven's suffering, like Christ's fate, was thought to be an inevitable sacrifice for a greater good; and like his life, his compositions were thought to combine earthly with divine, a product both of hard work and the assistance of the muses. In her poem, Bovet walks this fine line between work (i.e., the Germanic pride in Beethoven's Protestant work ethic, as discussed by Karen Painter)<sup>91</sup> and divine help: rather than give mythical beings too much credit for Beethoven's music, she writes that the sprite merely sharpened the composer's quill, rather than dictating this music in full. This poem reflects the strange amalgam that characterized so much of Beethoven's reception around 1900: a mixture of bourgeois hardworking values, Christological fate, elegant symbols of antiquity, and the colorful creatures that populated art-nouveau designs.

In her final stanza, Bovet pulls her flight of fancy back to earth. Standing in the museum, she imagines Beethoven's spirit looking proudly down at his birth room:

Now he gazes, transfigured, into the chamber  
Upon the wonder of his former cradle,  
And gravely at the laurels, the rows of wreaths,  
Trophies of his triumph over the battle of sound.

It might seem from this stanza that Bovet had a kind of ecstatic experience in Beethoven's birth house, envisioning his spirit gazing upon her. Indeed, this kind

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<sup>90</sup> It was exceedingly common around 1900 to merge Christological with ancient Greek and Roman allegory in Beethoven images. Among the best-known examples is Max Klinger's Beethoven-statue, created for the Beethoven display by the Viennese Secessionists in 1902, in which Beethoven is depicted as a bare-chested Olympian deity while also decorated with Christological redemption images on the back of his throne. Helmut Loos argues that this merging of Christ with antiquity reflects an ideal of the composer as a kind of modern-day redeemer; see his essay, "Max Klinger und das Bild des Komponisten," *Imago Musicae* 13 (1996), 165-88.

<sup>91</sup> Painter, "Mozart at Work" (2002).

of quasi-religious experience was knowingly cultivated by curators who chose to mount Gesellschaft's nativity scene at the threshold. But for all its ecstatic overtones, Boveť' s poem has its pragmatic side as well. Written laboriously in formal cursive, the work concludes with a short dedication that suggests more earthly intentions:

In order to contribute something in eager anticipation of Beethovens Chamber Music Festival, 17<sup>th</sup> - 21<sup>st</sup> of May, allow me to dedicate this impression of the picture "Beethovens Birth" to the Verein Beethoven-Haus (\* to publish, if you so choose.

Boveť' sent her poem to the Beethoven-Haus three weeks prior to the upcoming chamber festival, and here nudges its recipients to publish the poem, perhaps desiring its inclusion in one of the many program books and fliers that circulated during Bonn's festivals. It is interesting that Boveť' signs her name as "music writer" (*Musikschriřtstellerin*), despite that she was known primarily as a piano teacher; her music writings, if they existed, have since vanished from record. Boveť' s note then, appears as a form of self-promotion, advertising her writing skills in an effort to see her own work in print.

This kind of self-promotion was common among the German middle class, a population that defined itself by self-conscious striving through *Bildung* (education). Beethoven enthusiasts often trumpeted their superiority to a petty bourgeois underclass that failed to appreciate great art. And composer museums like the Beethoven-Haus became the perfect platform for this kind of identity-building. Just as Boveť' emphasized herself as a music-writer rather than a local piano teacher, many other museum visitors also boasted of their musical or



scholarly affiliations in the museum's guestbooks. Although visitors rarely denoted their professions in these books, the few who *did* were almost exclusively music writers or scholars, musicians and chapelmasters – in other words, those who wished to spotlight their status as musical insiders. The museum, then, was not only a site of heartfelt reactions to the birth room. It was also a space of cultural competition, where music-lovers could stake out, publish, and *perform* their identity as true Beethoven followers, as devout pilgrims rather than idle tourists.

### **Performing Devotions**

In an insightful study, K.M. Knittel found that the surprisingly large body of “pilgrimage to Beethoven” stories – the most famous of which was by Wagner himself – revolves around a shared core of narrative elements.<sup>92</sup> In this sub-genre of fan fiction, a pilgrim overcomes obstacles on a quest to visit the near-inaccessible Beethoven, culminating in a precious encounter with the composer who stamps the pilgrim's musical offering with approval. Knittel observes that, in these stories, it is the *author* rather than Beethoven who becomes the hero: these imaginary visits to Beethoven, elusive to all but the privileged few, functioned as a rite of initiation to prove the author's cultural worth. For Knittel, these stories were a symptom of the growing rift between experts and

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<sup>92</sup> K.M. Knittel. “Pilgrimages to Beethoven: Reminiscences by His Contemporaries,” *Music & Letters* 84: 1 (2003), 19-54. See in particular p. 22 for a table of shared story elements and pp. 35-42 on Wagner's semi-autobiographical novella, “A Pilgrimage to Beethoven” (1850).

public that Jürgen Habermas discussed in his essay on modernity, with musical expertise serving as a ticket to membership in literate society.<sup>93</sup>

The handwritten poems and messages tucked into the guestbooks of the Beethoven-Haus museum further exemplify Knittel's argument, with tourist-pilgrims proving themselves as cultural insiders in the same manner as fictional pilgrims. While the museum set out to "mediate sensory and emotional contact" with Beethoven, it became a space where visitors could not only perform devotions, but also out-perform each other. Although pilgrimage in many traditions represents a communal act, pilgrims to Beethoven sought to boost their own cultural status, claiming to understand the composer in a way no one else could.

Lest this observation seem cynical, it is important to note that more intimate encounters with this museum remain silent in history. Visitors who were quietly moved by Beethoven's rooms, with no thoughts of self-promotion, left no trace behind. (To cite the axiom of archaeology, the absence of evidence left by these visitors is not evidence of their absence.) Until recent years, messages in early guestbooks were few and far between: in this period, guestbooks were not intended as Western Walls filled with messages, but were simply records used to calculate tourism statistics, a long roster of signatures,

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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 39. Knittel argues that Wagner, of course, took this initiation one step further, adding a nationalist and racialist dimension: his novella depicts the competing quests of a true, austere German pilgrim and a materialistic, superficial Englishman, who symbolized the Jewish editor Maurice Schlesinger in particular and capitalist, corrupt Jews more broadly.

date, and city of origin.<sup>94</sup> Thus the few visitors who *did* write messages went out of their way to preserve their devotion on paper, often with a tone of self-consciousness as if expecting their contributions to be read – a characteristic of middle-class culture that Habermas called “privateness oriented towards an audience.”<sup>95</sup> Broadly speaking, textual evidence of practices is by nature more performative than truly private. Devotees who *recorded* their devotional practices were, to some extent, showing off their own fandom.

Yet not all messages in the guestbook made a bid for attention. Some were openly self-aggrandizing, some put a personal spin on the conventions of album-writing, and others were so cryptic or intimate that they give the impression of a spontaneous outpouring. These guestbooks are multi-faceted historical documents, serving sometimes as a *source* (self-consciously crafted for posterity) and sometimes as a *trace* (not intended to be read). With their variety of tone and purpose, the entries in these books offer unusually fertile ground for understanding Beethoven’s reception by his own fans, along with the museum’s role as a platform for visitors to perform (so to speak) their devotions.

In many cases, visitors were not especially subtle in their displays of musical insider-knowledge. Take for instance a petulant entry from 1918:

Dear Master: today I came up here to visit you – but I’m hopping mad that I had to first flip through this pompous book [i.e., the guestbook]. – What would you say about this voluminous rabble of monkeyish names and titles? (...) That I

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<sup>94</sup> Such as the statistics presented in the Beethoven-Verein report from 1911-1912, which shows visitors up from 4,100 in 1911 to 4,955 in 1912. While this averages only thirteen per day, a seemingly small number, it should be noted that visitors were concentrated in the summer months. See the report in *Beethoven-Haus Akten*, VBH 115.

<sup>95</sup> See Chapter 6 of Jürgen Habermas, trans. Thomas Burger, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989).

nonetheless discovered you yourself and intercede on your behalf! Eternal thanks! For the time being, a heartfelt farewell. I must now tour around for a bit. (...) Your friend, [Signature illegible.]<sup>96</sup>

With open hostility towards other museum guests (the “rabble”), this visitor touted his/her position in an inner circle of Beethoven devotees. And this snarky elitism did not go unnoticed: in the margins, a fellow visitor protested, “Dear friend, whoever you are, on this holy site you ought to show some humility!”<sup>97</sup>

Not all bids for cultural status were this frank. Many visitors simply mentioned that they were on pilgrimage, praised the house for its holiness, or most common of all, produced a short ode to Beethoven’s greatness.<sup>98</sup> These miniature poems partook in nineteenth-century conventions of the commemorative album, in which loved ones would contribute rhymed verses, epigrams, or literary quotations. Like Hallmark cards today, albums were paradoxically both clichéd and personal, with short entries that exhibited a special brand of pensive intimacy. Since albums occupied such a prominent place in domestic life, nearly everyone was an amateur poet in this period; indeed, this

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<sup>96</sup> “Lieber Meister: heute kam ich herauf, dich zu besuchen – da ritt mich der Teufel, daß ich zuerst hier dieses breitspurige Buch durchstöbern mußte. – Was du wohl zu diesem umfangreichen Bagagi von Namen- und Titellaffen sagen würdest? Ob dir die Neunte leid täte? (...) Daß ich zuguterletzt dich selbst noch entdeckt und mit dir zwischen gehalten hab! Ewigen Dank dafür! Einstweilen ein herzlich lebewohl. Ich muß jetzt noch ein Weilchen [durch] führen. (...)” Signature illegible. Beethoven-Haus guestbooks, June 30, 1918.

<sup>97</sup> “Guter Freund, wer du auch seist, an heiliger Stätte ziert auch dir Bescheidenheit! K. Sch.” Beethoven-Haus guestbooks, June 30, 1918.

<sup>98</sup> Among the very first visitors to the museum was Englishman Frank Ernest Williams, who signed his name with the words “on pilgrimage”; Beethoven-Haus Guestbooks, August 11, 1890. Similarly, on September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1920, a French-speaking guest wrote: “lu pèlerinage / à la Maison de Beethoven Bonn.” A typical example of simply mentioning the sacred rooms comes from one Schroder Hansmann: “diese geweihten Räume in ehrfürchtiges [sic] Verehrung am 14. Oktober 1911.” Visitor H. Schmitz (July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1922) wrote a message that was so common as to be formulaic, a standard trope of guestbook and album writing: “Der Besuch im Beethoven’s Geburtshaus wird mir in steter Erinnerung bleiben.”

practice helps to explain not only the guestbooks, but also the vast literary sub-genre of poems about Beethoven, many of which were by amateur writers who saw their work published in local newspapers.

Take for instance this guestbook entry from 1897, which typifies the short album-style ode. The author offers a prayer for the museum, wishing Beethoven's house the same immortality granted to its master (note that nearly all the poetic examples I present in this chapter employ rhyme and poetic meter in the original German):

Beethoven-house, the site of German greatness,  
You cradle of that man who created a world,  
Stand unharmed in the most distant future,  
Just as he does, he who expects the kiss of divinity.<sup>99</sup>

With poetry as the official language of albums, and guestbooks by default, many visitors to the Beethoven-Haus formulated even the most mundane messages in verse:

Beethoven, you are  
My favorite composer  
Thus I'm rhyming this little verse for you  
You are greeted with utmost reverence  
But I must go now  
For I still need to behold your house.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Entry from October 10<sup>th</sup>, 1897 by Emil Büchner (1872-?), a watercolor painter and craftsman who studied in Munich and made his career in Leipzig, not to be confused with Adolf Emil Büchner (1826-1908), who was active in the Wagner circle and conducted performances at Bayreuth. "Beethovenhaus, die Stätte deutscher Größe, / Du Wiege der, der eine Welt erschuf. / Steh unversehrt noch in den fernsten Zeiten / Gleich ihm, den hier der Gottheit Kuß erwartet. / Nach zehntägiger Gastfreundschaft / der Abschiedsgruß von Deinem Hofmaler."

<sup>100</sup> Entry from June 26, 1902: "Beethoven, du bist / Mein liebster Componist / Drum reim ich dir das Verslein nach / Alles bei Verehren ist dir Brach / Doch muß ich aber wieder gehn / Da ich noch müsst' dein Haus besehn. / Herr Baumgarten aus Freiburg."

Yet the occasional visitor broke from these album conventions into a (seemingly) spontaneous utterance. One message in 1922 seems self-aware, drawing attention to the contrived ritual of guestbook writing by interrupting him/herself mid-platitude:

How can one do anything but quiver with devotion through -- ugh. Beethoven and I writeit poetry? Take off your hat, you pass through holy rooms.<sup>101</sup>

Remarks about the holiness or church-like austerity of the museum, like the “hats off” command above, were common in guestbook entries.<sup>102</sup> But this message goes beyond praise for the sacred space, revealing a dissatisfaction with album conventions as an outlet for genuine devotion. On rare occasion, visitors used the guestbook not to perform veneration for imagined readers, but also to share messages seemingly written for Beethoven’s eyes only. A deaf admirer, for instance, scribbled a poignant outpouring of admiration for Beethoven that, given its near-inscrutable handwriting, was unlikely to be read by other visitors:

I was told  
That I resemble you  
Master of tones  
My face is not like yours,  
but my hearing.  
I always wanted even once  
to hear your Ninth,  
like you, I am deaf.

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<sup>101</sup> Message by one Schotta, March 29, 1922: “Wie kann man anders, als mit Andachtsschauern durch – – bäh. Beethoven und ich dichten? Hut ab, du gehst durch heilige Räume.”

<sup>102</sup> For instance, a message from November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1911 alludes to the house as church; visiting on a Sunday after church, the guest Regina Ulißen wrote: “From the house of God to the house of Beethoven! I bow with prayer and awe / A memento for the composer for whom fame and immortality through all time are certain!” [Aus dem Gotteshause in das Beethovenhaus! Ich beuge mich in Andacht u. Ehrfurcht ein Andenken an den Tonmeister dem der Ruhm der Unsterblichkeit für alle Zeiten sicher ist!] Another visitor describes being moved to prayer by the holy site: “Voll scheuen Zagens bin ich eingetreten / Und stehe nur, der scheuen Ehrfurchtvoll, / Es tragt der Blick, wohin er wenden soll, / Und meine Seele rüstet still zum Beten.” Message from M. Mittelschull of Cologne, June 6, 1927.

(...) You indeed could create it,  
if not hear it,  
And that is a great deal more.<sup>103</sup>

This touching message – with its yearning to hear the Ninth Symphony “even once” – suggests that its author may have been a bigger fan of Beethoven’s biography than his music. And less than one year later, another visitor expressed a similar personal connection with Beethoven due to shared disability:

As someone who is hard of hearing, I stand with the deepest emotion on the holy floor of the birth house of my greatest comrade-in-suffering!<sup>104</sup>

While both messages ring as genuine – unlike the showy boasts of the petulant visitor from 1918 – they share the compulsion to claim a position in Beethoven’s intimate circle.

Not all claims of this kind were rooted in parallels with Beethoven’s life. An English soldier in 1925 wrote a single, powerful word in morse code: *mizpah*.<sup>105</sup> This Old-Testament term signifies an emotional bond between two people separated by physical distance or death, a common epitaph on tombstones. So-called *mizpah* jewelry was common in this period, with half-pendants worn by long-distance partners, family members or widows. Unless this English soldier intended his message for a loved one back home, his *mizpah*

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<sup>103</sup> Message from September 5, 1926, with illegible signature: “Man sagte mir, / ich hätte Ähnlichkeit mit dir / Meister der Töne / Mein Gesicht ist nicht das deiner, / doch mein Gehör. / Ich wollte immer zum einmal / deine IX hören, / auch ich bin taub wie du. / (...) Du konntest sie, wenn auch nicht hören, / So doch schaffen, / Und das ist eine ganze Menge mehr.”

<sup>104</sup> Message by Rudolf Mänz of Saxony, May 22, 1927: “Als Schwerhöriger stand ich in tiefsten Ergriffenheit auf dem heiligen Boden des Geburtshauses meines größten Leidensgefährten!”

<sup>105</sup> This morse-code message was written on August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1925 by J. Baruda of the R.A.S.C. (Royal Army Service Corps), from Manchester, England. The word “*mizpah*,” which means “watchtower” in Hebrew, stems from the story of Jacob: “It was also called *Mizpah*, for Laban said, ‘May the Lord keep watch over you and me when we are away from each other’” (Genesis 31:49).

suggests an aching emotional bond with Beethoven. And by cloaking the message in code, the author draws a curtain of privacy over his confession (though, of course, one could also interpret this as a performative gesture, with cryptic code begging to be de-coded).

While all three of these messages break the conventions of albums, their essential topic was the single most common trope in the guestbooks: a revitalized connection with Beethoven within the walls of his house. Visitors often imagined Beethoven's spirit floating through the air. One visitor wrote that "the soul of Beethoven fills the entire house"; another observed the "ghostly, bewitching (...) presence in these rooms"; another confessed that "here I feel the greatness of your spirit" and a "wave of emotion fills my soul"; and a jubilant visitor celebrated that Beethoven's joy resounds eternally through the birth-house, now that the composer's pain (i.e., deafness and illness) has been silenced.<sup>106</sup> One poet took the metaphor a step further, writing a lengthy panegyric to Beethoven's *face* as a metonym for his presence (the same fixation on physiognomy that I discuss in Chapter 1). In this entry, the lyrical subject gazes upon Beethoven's visage with awe while ritualistically offering up a bouquet, a possible allusion to the bust in Beethoven's birth room where many deposited flowers or wreaths. The subject ultimately finds sacred solace in Beethoven's glance, which will "watch

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<sup>106</sup> Signature illegible, entry from March 31, 1907: "Die Seele des Beethovens füllt [sic] das ganze Haus." See a similar message from a visitor on September 24, 1924. Signature illegible, message from Sept. 24, 1924: "geisterhaft, bezaubernd (...) macht die Anwesenheit in diesen Räumen tiefen Ehrfurcht (...)" Guestbook odes from July 22, 1925 and August 28, 1927. See also an ode by Erasmus from Erlangen (August 5, 1910), which describes being deeply touched by the spirit of beauty: "In fröhlicher Fahrt / nach Sucherart / bin ich auch deinem Hause genaht, / begrüßt von dem Geist, / der die Schönheit preist, / fühl ich mich wohl auf des Ewigen Pfad."



over me as I sleep,” and proclaims “My great dead one, do not leave me!”<sup>107</sup> For a later visitor, this presence was not only symbolic but distinctly *tactile*, permeating the very air of a house that was frozen in time: “In this house time seems to have no power. Here eternal creations live on in an entirely different sense. It is not the building itself, nor any other symbol, that manifests them – no, one feels the eternal in these rooms so close and naturally as the air that one breathes.”<sup>108</sup>

For most any other composer, the silent hush of a museum might seem at odds with the craft of music. But given Beethoven’s iconic deafness, this quiet space was interactive rather than unsettling: the museum invited visitors to imagine its rooms echoing with sound, allowing fans to emulate the composer’s inner ear. Beethoven’s deafness itself was on display in this museum: his ear trumpets were counted among the collection’s most coveted treasures. These were a stark reminder that the composer *wanted* to hear, dramatizing the tension between suffering and overcoming that visitors would already have known from biographical tropes.

Thus it may be no surprise that Beethoven’s *music*, not only the spirit of his person, was imagined to waft through the house. Many heard ghostly strains

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<sup>107</sup> Signature illegible, poem from September 7, 1902. See Appendix 2.1 for the poem in its entirety.

<sup>108</sup> Wilhelm Kircher from Frankfurt am Main wrote on September 14, 1924: “In diesem Hause scheint die Zeit keine Macht zu haben. Hier leben ewige Schöpfungen in einem ganz eigenen Sinne. Nicht ist es die Baulichkeit, noch irgend ein Symbol, die sie zum Ausdruck bringen, nein, man fühlt in diesen Räumen das Ewige so nah und selbstverständlich wie die Luft, die man atmet. Beethoven ist eine der tiefsten Offenbarungen des Weltwesens; dessen wird man mit Nachdruck da inne, wo sein Genius sich erstmalig den Gesetzen der Erscheinungen dieser Welt gab.”

floating from room to room: a local bookseller, for instance, gifted a poem to the Beethoven-Verein entitled “Reverie in Beethoven’s Birth-House,” in which the echoes of Beethoven’s melodies float through the museum, the composer himself “playing” in praise of the Creator (see Hans Maria Taget, Appendix 2.1). One female visitor commented that faint echoes are the most poignant kind of sound: “You sense the deepest soul of the song only when it fades away / And when the echo still rings gently in your ear.”<sup>109</sup>

The guestbooks, too, echo with fragments of Beethoven’s music. Many of these were more symbolic than evocative: the three most frequently quoted excerpts – the “da-da-da-dum” of the Fifth Symphony, the opening motive of the Eroica, and the Ode to Joy melody – functioned more as symbols of Beethoven’s name than attempts to conjure his music. But many visitors were more creative with their choice of excerpts. Some appear to denote a favorite piece by Beethoven, such as the opening measures of his “Spring” Sonata for violin, a staple of amateur chamber-players.<sup>110</sup> Others seem to affirm the sacredness of the birth house with passages from Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis*, such as this unearthly, hushed excerpt from the Credo in an entry from 1898:

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<sup>109</sup> Poem by Carmencita-Gertrude Thielscher of Berlin, “with a gentle disposition and tour of the birth-house of the great master,” from August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1921: “You sense the deepest soul of the song only when it fades away / And when the echo still rings gently in your ear. / So it is with that which you experienced, / You sense the deepest meaning first in your memories.” [“Des Liedes tiefste Seele fühlst du erst wenn es verklungen / Und dir der Nachhall leise noch im Ohre schwebt. / So ist es auch mit dem was du erlebt, / Den tiefsten Sinn fühlst du erst in den Erinnerungen.”]

<sup>110</sup> The first two measures of the “Spring” Sonata No. 5, Op. 24 can be found in the guestbook on September 20, 1896.

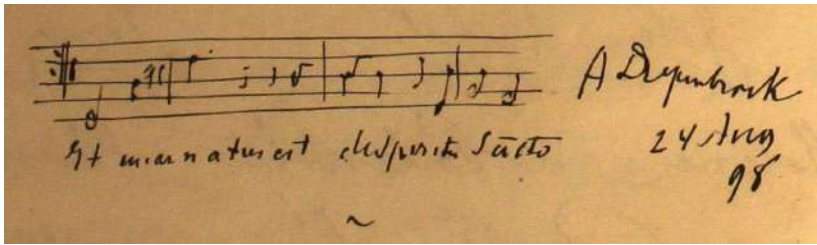


Fig. 2.7. Beethoven-Haus guestbook entry from August 24<sup>th</sup>, 1898. Passage from the Credo of Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis*: *et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto* (“and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost”).

While many visitors wrote recognizable melodies from Beethoven’s best-known works, some instead offered cryptic, near-illegible excerpts that give the impression of an *Ohrwurm*, samples of the visitor’s internal soundtrack while touring the museum.

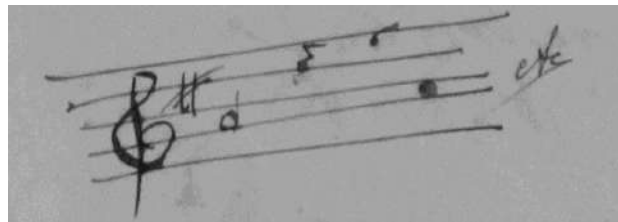
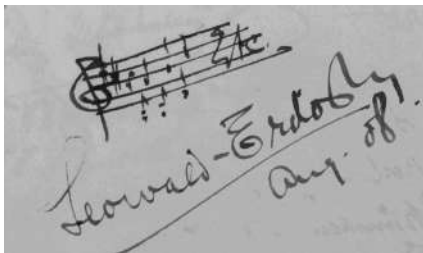
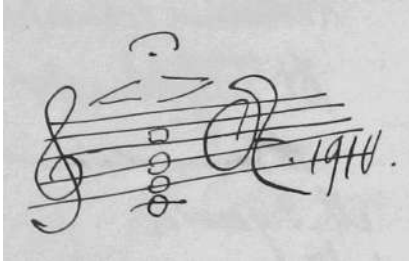


Fig. 2.8. Two cryptic Beethoven-Haus guestbook entries on the same page, from August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1908.

Perhaps the most compelling of these snippets is not apparently from Beethoven’s oeuvre at all. Instead, the visitor captured the effect of ghostly echoes with a hairpin and fermata over a C-major chord. The author of this fragment seems to have imagined a dramatic final cadence of a choir, symphony or quartet that fades away to nothing (Fig. 2.9).



**Fig. 2.9.** *Beethoven-Haus guestbook entry from August 12<sup>th</sup>, 1910. Note the author's signature wrapped up within the musical fragment.*

One could interpret these fragments as yet another bid for a position in the cultural elite, a means of touting musical expertise. Yet their intention is not always clear-cut. Not all guestbook entries, musical or otherwise, were lone messages that boasted of insider status; instead, many responded to each others' messages in a manner that suggests a community of devotees. Nor were these responses always censure, like the margin comment cited earlier ("show some humility!"). Many tourists traveled to Bonn in the footsteps of their friends, and one traveler wrote in her diary that she sought her friend Edna's name in the guestbook.<sup>111</sup> In one striking case, a poem written by an English visitor was almost immediately translated into German by a fellow visitor, a gesture of good will rather than competition.<sup>112</sup> Musical fragments, particularly Fifth-Symphony motives, crop up in waves, as if visitors were inspired by each others' entries. In some cases, visitors repeated the same motives on opposite pages, with several

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<sup>111</sup> "Here we registered our names. Did want so much to look back and find Edna's name but could not keep the man waiting. Wanted something to remind me of the spot so bought a picture of B. taken in his youth. I have never seen one like it before. Wonder if it is like the one Edna got and liked so much." Elsbeth Pushee Travel Diary (1890), Allison-Shelley Manuscript Collection (3862), Rare Books and Manuscripts, Special Collections Library, Pennsylvania State University.

<sup>112</sup> Poem by Hubert Reuter of London translated below by Dr. Helsenstock, August 3, 1922. See also the correction made by a visitor on September 20<sup>th</sup>, 1910, in which the German-nationalist comment "O Deutschland, du bist reich an – Großen!" is corrected in pencil by a nameless visitor, who draws attention to Beethoven's allegedly Dutch heritage: "Er stammte von Nederlanden durch seiner Vater und von Deutschland durch seiner Mutter." This correction does give the impression of a bid for cultural insider status, showing off knowledge of Beethoven's biography.

*da-da-da-dums* appearing within a span of a few days.<sup>113</sup> In one clear instance of musical dialogue, a visitor responded to a Fifth Symphony motive by inscribing the incipit of the *second* movement immediately below – and given that these authors shared the same last name, their entries give the impression of a playful conversation between husband and wife.



**Fig. 2.10.** *Beethoven-Haus* guestbook entries from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928. Two visitors with the same last name – perhaps husband and wife – enact a musical dialogue. Note that it is not always clear-cut whether such conversations are playful or involve a kind of one-upping; here the husband, judging from his masculine handwriting, may have been asserting his superior musical knowledge, a gendered power-dynamic (despite, of course, the incorrect rhythm in the husband’s upbeat); or the musical conversation might have been entirely good-natured.

Nonetheless, these communal moments remain relatively scarce. The majority of entries tout their insider status; and one in particular stands out as a striking case of self-promotion. The obscure composer Carl Berg from nearby Bad-Neuenahr visited the Bonn house in 1900, 1918, and again in 1920. Each time, he inscribed leitmotives from *his own* Wagnerian-flavored operas. His first two entries reproduce a so-called “Alboin motive,” suggesting that Berg composed a leitmotiv-rich opera or tone-poem based on the story of the medieval King Alboin of the Lombards (perhaps inspired by the same libretto that Hugo Wolf

<sup>113</sup> Such as the Fifth Symphony motive on September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1907; see also May 1, 1910, in which several musical examples appear one after another, a clear case of visitors prompting each others’ musical entries.

took up and quickly abandoned in 1876).<sup>114</sup> While the first two musical entries are quite minimalistic, comprised of a single motive, Berg's final entry in 1920 showcased two different motives in full harmony, along with two passages of the libretto (Appendix 2.1).

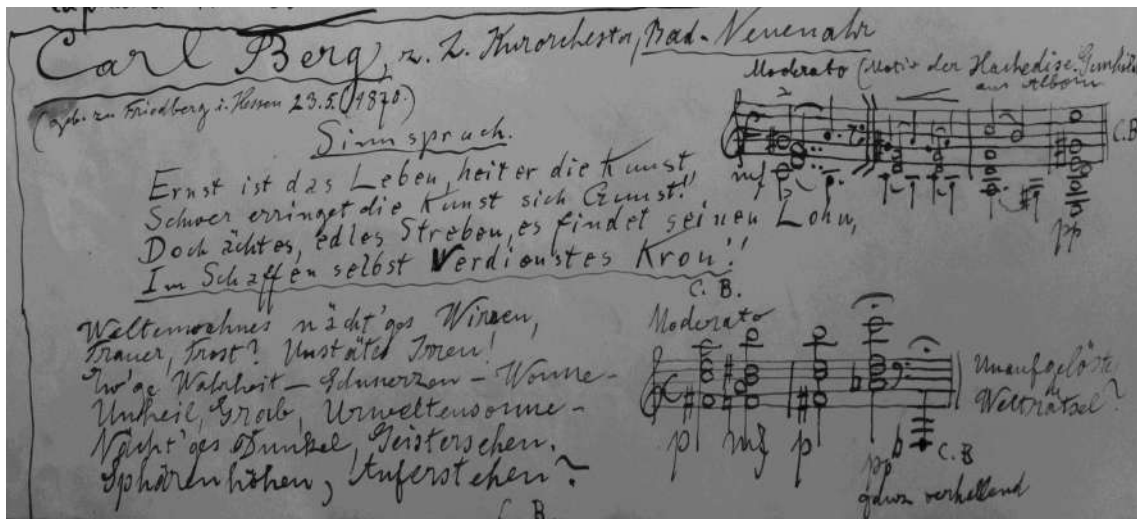


Fig. 2.11. Guestbook entry by Carl Berg, December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1900. Berg wrote an expanded version of this same “Alboin motivo,” this time fleshing out the melody with full harmonies, in his entry on July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1918. He also included the “Ernst ist das Leben” verse that he then re-iterated in 1920 (see below).

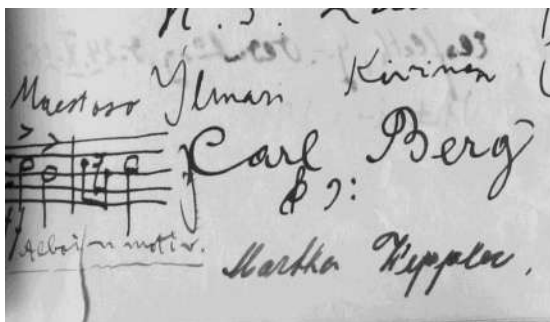


Fig. 2.12. Entry by Carl Berg on September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1920.

At first glance, it might seem curious for a composer to excerpt his own music and libretto rather than Beethoven's. In light of Knittel's study, however,

<sup>114</sup> On Wolf's abandoned *Alboin* opera, see Susan Youens, “Hugo Wolf and the Operatic Grail: The Search for a Libretto,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1:2 (1989), 280-1.

this behavior makes perfect sense. The culmination of every pilgrimage to Beethoven was a compositional offering to the great master, which was then accepted with approval, a blessing from saint to devotee. Berg appears to offer up his own compositions to the master—or to the ghostly traces of the master in his former house—in a manner that draws attention to himself as the hero. He compulsively labels every motive and stanza with his initials, C.B., and his repeat visits indicate a habitual pilgrimage to Bonn.

During its earliest decades, the Beethoven-Haus saw one other pilgrim who left her mark in the guestbook. Margarete Koelman was the wife of a city official in Hannover and later Berlin, a published translator and poet under the pseudonym Irene Wild, and member of the Beethoven-Verein who traveled to Bonn regularly for the chamber music festivals. Over the course of a decade, Koelman wrote four lengthy panegyric poems to Beethoven in the guestbook (see Appendix 2.2 for texts and translations). Starting with her very first poem in 1903, Koelman regarded the Beethoven-Haus as a holy site:

O man, in this sanctum,  
How small you are, how meager your renown!  
Hallow, those who enter, with heart and hand  
This site is truly holy land.  
Remove your everyday shoes  
And take this sacredness home with you.<sup>115</sup>

Koelman not only described, but also *treated* this site as a holy “sanctum.” In her most devotional act, she deposited a literary offering on the birth-room floor on the occasion of Beethoven’s 90<sup>th</sup> death-day, a poem that colorfully re-imagined Beethoven’s deathbed scene and his mythic tenth symphony. However heartfelt

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<sup>115</sup> Poem from May 23, 1903; see Appendix 2.2.

her admiration for Beethoven, many of Koelman's poems smack of the same self-promotion we saw with Carl Berg's operatic offering. In a poem from 1911, Koelman claimed an intimate connection with Beethoven that others lacked:

Recently I held your Ninth Symphony,  
You great lonely one, in my hands  
And I quietly turned the pages  
Upon which my master's hand once rested.  
I pressed my lips to the notes  
Which contain my holiest reflections,  
A treasure that cannot be outdone for centuries.

Indeed I was not alone with this treasure  
– the others, though, took little care,  
They buried in erudition  
That which my lips did silently, worshipfully.<sup>116</sup>

By expressing her veneration with a kiss, Koelman alludes to the osculatory (kissing) devotion of relics in the Catholic tradition. Perhaps more importantly, Koelman here distinguishes her own worshipful (*anbetend*) love of Beethoven from those who pick apart his music. This anti-analytical attitude was a common reaction to the concert guides of the late nineteenth century, the newfound genre that made scholarly analyses available to the concertgoing public.<sup>117</sup> Like the author-heroes in pilgrimage narratives, Koelman places *herself*, rather than Beethoven, at the center of this poem.

Yet when we look beyond their competitive edge, these poems also reveal the profound yearning of a devotee who struggled to find a connection with the elusive Beethoven. In her lengthiest rhapsody – carefully copied, bound, and

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<sup>116</sup> Poem from July 21, 1911; Appendix 2.2.

<sup>117</sup> See Christian Thorau, "Werk, Wissen, und touristisches Hören: Popularisierende Kanonbildung in Programmheften und Konzertführern," in Klaus Pietschmann and Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann, eds., *Der Kanon der Musik* (München: Edition Text & Kritik, 2013), 540-66.



tucked into the guestbook in 1911 – Koelman underscored a central problem for Beethoven devotees. Followers sought an intimate connection with Beethoven as a Christological figure; yet the very cause of Beethoven’s martyrdom, his deafness, resulted in the brusque aloofness that became a signature of his character. In this period, Beethoven’s mask was a popular wall-ornament (sold, of all places, in the museum gift shop). This iconic mask amplified the perception of an aloof Beethoven lost in musical thought, an object of admiration that could not gaze back. Countless images suggest this aloof remove, such as a postcard titled “Ninth Symphony” that was roughly contemporary with Wild’s poetry:<sup>118</sup>



*Fig. 2.13. Postcard entitled “Ninth Symphony” by Egger-Lienz. (Vienna, Brüder Kohn, ca. 1900).*

As if gazing upon his stony-faced mask, Wild’s poem articulates her struggle to “feel her way” to Beethoven. But the composer, caught up in otherworldly concerns, remains indifferent to her:

He no longer hears the voice of daily life,  
His eye

<sup>118</sup> This postcard was accessed online:  
<<http://www.goethezeitportal.de/wissen/musik/beethoven-auf-alten-postkarten.html>>  
Accessed Feb. 15, 2016.

Loses itself far off in the unknown.  
The air grows still around him. I stand magnetized  
At his threshold,  
And with closed eyes, softly probing  
I feel my way to him.  
And again I drop to my knees before him  
And I call out: Precious Master,  
Let me kiss the dust on your shoes!  
But he does not hear me. (...) <sup>119</sup>

Koelman's confessions are self-consciously intimate, assuming a similar tone to the love poems she published just after her husband's death in 1903.<sup>120</sup> Koelman became a member-donor of the Beethoven-Verein in the same year when her husband died; it was common in this period for widows to dedicate their time, and some portion of their inheritance, to philanthropic projects. Perhaps Koelman's love of Beethoven was re-awakened or amplified by her husband's death, with Beethoven as a newfound object of intense, and occasionally somewhat erotic, devotion.

More importantly, Koelman's desire for a connection with Beethoven seems a direct reaction to his untouchability in the concert hall. Her poem depicts an immersive experience during a concert of his music, with Koelman searching for Beethoven between the lines of the staff. With his looming monumentality, and with his music so often described as transcendent of the earthly plane, it may be no wonder that listeners like Koelman sought "sensory and emotional contact" with Beethoven through his tiny birth-room. The messages left by visitors served not only as proof of their pilgrimage, but also reveal a sense of

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<sup>119</sup> Poem from July 15, 1911; see Appendix 2.2.

<sup>120</sup> Irene Wild, *Ein Liebesschicksal in Liedern* (Dresden: E. Pierson, 1904).

*mizpah*, of poignant closeness across distance, that seems to have fostered a more intimate form of listening.

It is no coincidence that Koelman's contributions correspond with the chamber music festivals organized by the Beethoven-Verein. The intimate listening she depicts in her poems might well have been inspired by the rhetoric of piety and sacredness that surrounded these festivals. In 1893, for instance, Anton Rubinstein chose Bonn's newly erected Beethoven-Halle for his farewell concert. The Beethoven-Verein described his visit as a "pilgrimage" and a "swan-song," and even Rubinstein himself referred to his final concert as an act of devotion: "They have erected a temple to the godhead here in Bonn, and I hurried forth to present my sacred offering."<sup>121</sup> A newspaper review confirmed the concert's status as a "consecration-offering to the Manes of Beethoven"<sup>122</sup> and a later report from the Beethoven-Verein elevated Rubinstein from human pilgrim to half-god, a creature of myth:

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<sup>121</sup> A handwritten note by Wilhelm Kuppe describes this concert as Rubinstein's swan-song at the cradle of Beethoven: "Es ist das Concert A. R. in welchen der großer Beethoven Spieler Abschied vom öffentlichen Auftreten nimmt. Nach einigen Zögern hatte er sich bereit erklärt, dort wo Beeth. Wiege gestanden den Schwan Gesang zu Singen." Beethoven-Haus Akten, Sig. 136. Rubinstein's concert was described as "pilgrimage" in a report on the goings-on at the Beethoven-Haus, which also cited his own words: "Sie haben hier in Bonn einer Gottheit einen Tempel errichtet, und ich bin hergeeilt, um ihr mein Opfer darzubringen. Mit gehobenem, stolzem Herzen kam ich her – und mit gedrücktem gehe ich davon. Denn nirgend wird der Künstler seiner Kleinheit so inne, wie hier in der Nähe der Gottheit. Trotzdem werde ich, wenn Sie mich brauchen können, Ihrem Rufe – wenns sein kann, nicht mehr zum Spielen – gern folgen und gern wieder in Ihrem Tempel opfern. Denn ich kenne kein Opfer, das mir je eine grössere Wonne bereitet hätte." Beethoven-Haus Bonn: Bericht über die ersten fünfzehn Jahre seines Bestehens (1889-1904) (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus Verein, 1904), 45-6.

<sup>122</sup> "Die Bedeutung des Tages war aber auch eine doppelt große dadurch, daß der erste Meister des Klavierspieles unserer Zeit mit diesem Weiheopfer den Manen Beethovens, für immer von der öffentlichen Thätigkeit als Pianist Abschied nehmen will." "Rubinstein-Konzert," *Bonner Zeitung*, Feb. 20, 1893.

Mythology knows not only godheads but also half-gods and heroes—those of mixed divine and human blood, far outshining their surroundings and reaching for godliness. If Beethoven sits enthroned as a God in art-heaven, then Rubinstein must move among us as a half-god, and thus the 18<sup>th</sup> of February, 1893, when he proclaimed his godly message in tones, was inscribed in the golden book of the city of Bonn and in the hearts of his listeners.<sup>123</sup>

Even a quarter century later, Bonn's performance scene was still associated with a sacred listening experience. In a letter to his colleague, Bonn's chief music director F. Max Anton described the massive music festival for Beethoven's death centennial in 1927. He reported that, as 15,000 people listened to an outdoor performance of the *Egmont* overture in the Marktplatz (down the street from the birth house), a thunderstorm gathered above their heads. Just as *Egmont* ended and the first theme of the Fifth Symphony resounded across the square, the clouds parted "as if touched by a magic hand" and revealed a pristine starry sky, at which point "a palpable, otherworldly shiver went through the spectral crowd of devotees, and even the poorest among us felt that God was very near..."<sup>124</sup> Music performances in Bonn were described as miraculous events beyond the realm of earthly experience, with musical listening itself serving as a special form of devotion.

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<sup>123</sup> "Die Mythologie kannte außer den Gottheiten bekanntlich auch Halbgötter, Heroen, die, aus göttlichem und menschlichem Blute gemischt, ihre Umgebung weit überragten und zur Göttlichkeit emporrichteten. Wenn Beethoven am Kunsthimmel sicher als eine Gottheit thront, so ist Rubinstein ebenso sich ein unter uns weilender Halbgott, und darum ist der 18. Februar 1893, an dem er seine göttliche Botschaft in Tönen verkündigte, mit unauslöschlicher Schrift in das goldene Buch der Stadt Bonn und die Herzen seiner Zuhörer eingetragen." Ibid., 46.

<sup>124</sup> "Der ging fühlbar ein jenseitiger Schauer durch die ungeheure Menge der Andächtigen, und auch der Ärmste fühlte, daß Gott uns Allen gleich nahe ist..." F. Max Anton, Generalmusikdirector der Stadt Bonn, to unknown recipient ("sehr geehrte Meister"), June 4, 1927. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Sig. 116.

This culture of devotion in Bonn was not entirely unique; but nor was it universal. Not all Beethoven's houses became sites of pilgrimage. In 1903, Beethoven's death-house in Vienna was demolished, an event that was met with little protest by the city's inhabitants. Instead, a crowd gathered in the courtyard to mourn the house. The divergent treatment of these two houses spotlights two means of remembering Beethoven: through material traces of his body (experienced individually) or through ritual ceremony (experienced collectively).

Of course, both cities fostered both modes of reception: following in Bonn's footsteps, Vienna established monuments and preserved select houses as museums (albeit less shrine-like than the birth house in Bonn), and Joachim's chamber music festivals imitated the musical vivacity of major cities. But Bonn and Vienna took fundamentally different approaches to heritage, both material and musical. As the next chapter shows, the culture of "living history" in Vienna sought to keep Beethoven alive in the air, with little need to cling to his every material trace. Rather than visiting Beethoven's shrine with the hushed piety of pilgrims, visitors and residents in Vienna preferred to walk in Beethoven's footsteps along the stream, snip leaves from his gravesite, admire his alleged composing spots, or listen for ghostly strains in the houses where he lived and worked.

## Chapter 3

### **“Ganz Wien ist ein Beethovenhaus!”: Mourning the Death-House in Vienna, 1903**

When Beethoven died in Vienna in 1827, his funeral procession was a city-wide event. Ten thousand mourners thronged the streets to watch his casket pass by, and in the weeks that followed, Beethoven’s music, along with Mozart’s Requiem, could be heard in every major church and concert hall. Local newspapers were flooded with panegyric poems and stories that imagined his soul rising to heaven, greeted by a pantheon of deceased composers. As Christopher Gibbs has shown, the event inspired so many commemorative concerts, memorial compositions, elegies and speeches that it was compared to festivities at the Congress of Vienna.<sup>1</sup>

Seventy-five years later, in 1903, a few hundred admirers gathered in the pouring rain in front of Beethoven’s death house for a second funeral. The *Schwarzspanierhaus*, originally a sixteenth-century monastery that had since become a derelict clothing factory, was scheduled to be demolished in a matter of weeks – a fate that was bemoaned by critics outside Vienna, with Europe “yet

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher H. Gibbs, “Performances of Grief: Vienna’s Response to the Death of Beethoven,” in *Beethoven and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 227-85.

again one true artist-monument poorer!"<sup>2</sup> Earlier that year, the owners of the building, the centuries-old Stift Heiligenkreuz led by the Abbot Gregor Pöck, had reached the controversial decision to replace the historic house with a new apartment complex, culling more revenue in rent than Beethoven's death-rooms could draw from visitors. Pöck's decision, announced to the press in 1902, incited the fury of passionate Beethoven-lovers throughout Europe. But in Vienna itself, the demolition was largely regarded with a sense of inevitability, detritus in the wake of urban progress. In stark contrast with the city-wide commemorations of 1827, the destruction of Beethoven's death house went largely unnoticed.

Why, in a period of growing interest in historic houses – in Bonn, Salzburg, Weimar, Frankfurt, and to some extent in Vienna itself – was Beethoven's death house demolished with little backlash from the Viennese public? A 1970 monograph by Peter Pötschner maps out the events of this demolition: the financial struggle of the Stift Heiligenkreuz, the Abbot's deliberations, angry petitions from Beethoven's admirers, an unsuccessful attempt to rescue Beethoven's rooms, and finally the house's destruction in December of 1903.<sup>3</sup> From Pötschner's chronicle alone, the divergent fates of Beethoven's houses might seem nothing more than a clash of small-town attractions vs. the hustle and bustle of the metropolis: where Bonn labored to brand itself the *Beethoven-Stadt*, Vienna already attracted tourists without

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<sup>2</sup> In the words of a disgruntled reporter writing in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, November 25, 1903: "So ist denn Europa wieder um ein echtes Künstlerdenkmal ärmer!"

<sup>3</sup> Peter Pötschner, *Das Schwarzschanerhaus. Beethovens Letzte Wohnstätte* (Wien, Hamburg: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1970).

preserving its every historic site. An article in the liberal newspaper *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* bemoaned that the recent demolition of the *Schwarzspanierhaus* “repeats anew the fate of great men who live in large cities: the octopus of the big city clasps and crushes sites of memory, whereas in small cities piety has free rein.”<sup>4</sup>

This remark in the *Tagblatt*, I would argue, provides an important insight into Beethoven’s ascent to canonic monumentality. His posterity has so long been presumed, starting already in the decades following his death, that one might imagine his legacy to be monolithic across Germany and Austria, both nations deeply invested in heritage and the past.<sup>5</sup> But individual communities took diverse approaches to heritage. We have already seen how small cities like Bonn, where “piety has free rein,” established themselves as sites of pilgrimage. In large cities like Vienna, the value of heritage was less clear-cut. Beethoven’s music was not as much a part of the city’s musical fabric as some might assume. In some corners, like the Society for the Friends of Music, Beethoven loomed large; but Vienna’s musical life was vastly diverse, with popular venues such as aria concerts in wine-bars, military bands at the Prater, waltzes at the dance hall and operetta at the theater – all venues where Beethoven was seldom heard. The

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<sup>4</sup> When one hears Swoboda’s declaration “daß Beethovens Sterbezimmer nicht erhalten bleiben konnte, sondern den Anforderungen der neuen Zeit weichen mußte, gewinnt man die Ueberzeugung, daß die Erhaltung schlechterdings unmöglich war und daß sich hier eben neuerdings das Schicksal großer Männer wiederholte, wenn sie in großen Städten leben: der Großstadtpolyp umklammert die Stätten der Erinnerung und vernichtet sie, während in kleinen Städten die Pietät leichtes Spiel hat.” “Schwarzspanierhaus und Beethoven-Zimmer,” *Neues Wiener Tagblatt (Tages-Ausgabe)*, December 31, 1903, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> On German historicism and cultural memory in this period, see for instance George S. Williamson, *The Longing in Myth for Germany: Religion and Aesthetic Culture from Romanticism to Nietzsche* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) and Alon Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance: Promises and Limits of Writing History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).



decision to demolish Beethoven's house was not only a question of urban development; it also provides a window into the Viennese relationship with history and memory, which informed the preservation of both houses and musical repertoire. We can learn much about Beethoven's reception, I argue, through the changing treatment of his houses and remains.

A study of Vienna's cultural fabric around 1900 reveals an ambivalent relationship with heritage and the past, torn between piety and pageantry. Vienna was the hub of discourse on historic preservation; but since its policies prioritized elaborate churches over famous houses, local history was celebrated less through sites and more through public festivity. During the Lueger era, with a mayor who sought to revitalize the city's infrastructure and public life, Vienna teemed with commemorative festivals, including birth- and death-anniversaries of composers to boost Austrian cultural prestige.<sup>6</sup> Ever since the Franco-Prussian war, Austrian bureaucrats had felt competitive pressure to claim (or re-claim) celebrities as Austrian, branding Vienna the "city of music." Yet even on this front, Vienna was divided: its music venues catered variously to the upper-crust bourgeoisie, the workers, and the many shades of the middle class, with new generations of avant-garde composers tucked (often invisibly) in the margins. While Beethoven's symphonies were heard in pricey venues, working-class citizens knew him better through local lore than repertory, with abundant

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<sup>6</sup> Karl Lueger, mayor of Vienna from 1897-1910, is today known for his anti-Semitic policies of exclusion. His problematic politics aside, Lueger was invested in supporting the city's cultural life and infrastructure, building new green spaces and gardens and establishing the historic preservation bureau. See Richard S. Geehr, *Karl Lueger: Mayor of Fin de siècle Vienna* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990).

anecdotes about his life published in the press. What all class strata shared was a fast-paced urban culture that emphasized the here-and-now, where invoking the past often took the form of “living history” (that is, history within the realm of living memory) rather than restoration in cities, like Bonn, that capitalized upon their own imagined past.

Thus, while the big-city/small-city dichotomy helps to explain *why* Beethoven’s death house fell victim, it fails to account for *how* these divergent approaches to heritage shaped Beethoven’s reception. This chapter argues that Bonn and Vienna represent a broader tension between different conceptions of history, between the musical past as living or dead, continuous with the present or frozen in time. On the one hand, the Rhineland’s enduring landscapes encouraged Bonn to embalm Beethoven’s house, what Pierre Nora termed a site of memory (*lieu de mémoire*); on the other hand, Vienna became a complex environment of memory (*milieu de mémoire*), a progressive city of music that kept Beethoven’s symphonies alive for the upper classes, chuckled over his eccentricity in the feuilletons, and (in keeping with the Viennese fascination with death) mourned his death-house with a second funeral.<sup>7</sup>

### **The *Abschiedsfeier*: Farewell to a Dead House**

Vienna in 1900 was an industrial city in transition. Its population surge in the late nineteenth century, combined with the needs of a growing middle class, led to

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<sup>7</sup> Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* 26 (Spring, 1989), 7-24.

dramatic developments that ranged from the imperial grandeur of the Ringstrasse to upgraded neighborhoods with more sanitary housing.<sup>8</sup> For the most part, the Viennese public understood these changes as a peaceful coexistence of old and new, the life cycle of a growing city.<sup>9</sup> When an entire block of historic buildings was demolished in 1902, for instance, a newspaper did not mourn the loss of this “disappearing” neighborhood, but matter-of-factly presented “the last standing landmarks of old Altlerchenfeld” in pictures.<sup>10</sup> Viennese landlords found it cheaper to raze and rebuild than to renovate. This financial pragmatism, combined with the city’s embrace of cutting-edge architectural experiments (such as the famed Postsparkasse by Otto Wagner) and its proud reputation for pleasant and picturesque living, led old neighborhoods to vanish.<sup>11</sup> Rather than preserve celebrities’ houses, Viennese city-planners at

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<sup>8</sup> On this population surge and subsequent developments, see Nicholas Parsons, *Vienna: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 219.

<sup>9</sup> For example, the columnist Daniel Spitzer responded to the Ringstrasse developments in 1879 both by embracing the new and remembering the old: “When one walks out on the new Ringstrasse, one thinks of the future; but walking in the old city, for anyone who has always lived there, brings back memories of days gone by.” Cited in Parsons (2009), 203.

<sup>10</sup> “Alle diese Häuser, die wohl als die letzten noch bestehenden Wahrzeichen von Altlerchenfeld angesehen werden können, bringing wir, bevor sie fallen, in vorstehenden Bildern.” “Das schwindende Altlerschenfeld,” *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, June, 9, 1902, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> This large-scale redesign of Vienna was inspired by the efforts of the “urban engineers” movement, which sought to heal urban poverty in the wake of the industrial revolution by making housing more sanitary. Nowhere was this urban make-over more extensive than in Paris, where the Baron Haussmann—Napoleon III’s city planner from 1850-1870—rebuilt entire swaths of the city rather than renovating individual buildings. Haussmann’s approach was hugely influential in Vienna and spurred the construction of the Ringstrasse, among other developments. On Vienna’s transition to an industrial city, see Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Vienna: Bridge Between Cultures* (London, New York: Belhaven Press, 1993), 50-3.

the turn of the century preferred to commemorate with street names, weaving the city's history into its re-design.<sup>12</sup>

On the occasion that the Viennese did take measures to preserve artist-sites, these were typically birthplaces rather than deathplaces, celebrating indigenous artists. Shortly after the demolition of Beethoven's death house, the city of Vienna purchased Schubert's birth house (1905) and converted it into a museum (1912) outfitted with a modest exhibit of a few autographs and his iconic glasses. By protecting his house, Vienna claimed Schubert as its own in the same vein as *Mozart-Stadt* Salzburg and *Beethoven-Stadt* Bonn, a claim made openly by the press as it announced the museum's grand opening: "To no one, however, did Schubert sing with such deep understanding as to the Viennese. Indeed, he himself was of Viennese origin, body and soul, and breathed true Viennese air into his songs. Only Viennese soil could bring forth music of such depth, such warmth, only the lively lifestyle of the Viennese could give Schubert's songs that sound that appeals so tenderly to our hearts."<sup>13</sup>

Mozart was perhaps a greater source of Austrian pride than Schubert; but his death-house, like Beethoven's, was demolished. The house was razed just in time for his birth centennial in 1856, so that the dilapidated structure could be

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<sup>12</sup> On the naming of Viennese streets after composers around the turn of the century, see Martina Nußbaumer, *Musikstadt Wien. Die Konstruktion eines Images* (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2007), 157-61.

<sup>13</sup> "Schuberts Reliquien bewahrt die Stadt Wien (...) Niemand anderem aber hat Schubert verständnisvoller gesungen als dem Wiener. War er doch selbst Wiener Herkunft und mit Leib und Seele und atmeten seine Lieder echte Wiener Luft. Nur der Wiener Boden konnte Musik von solcher Innigkeit, von solcher Wärme hervorbringen, nur die heitere Lebensauffassung, wie sie dem Wiener eigen ist, konnte den Liedern den Klang geben, der uns so zu Herzen dringt." See "Die Eröffnung des Schubert-Hauses," *Deutsches Volksblatt*, June 19, 1912, p. 7.

replaced with a new shopping mall called the *Mozarthof*, which might better honor Mozart's memory. In this period before historic preservation was formalized in Vienna, a demolition of this kind met with no protest: the structure was praised for its commemorative name, its integration of original gate fragments, its looming bust of Mozart, and its quirky celebration of musical heritage through window displays of composer-mannequins in period dress (Gluck, Haydn, Beethoven, Cherubini, Rossini, and Weber). The *Mozarthof* was a business venture that piggybacked on Mozart's centennial year, a perfect example of the "impiety" of which the Viennese were often accused in later decades.<sup>14</sup>

Given Vienna's sweeping developments and its relative apathy towards death houses,<sup>15</sup> it may come as no surprise that the decrepit *Schwarzspanierhaus* was condemned. Once the Stift Heiligenkreuz tallied up their projected gains – with an anticipated 7% profit during twelve years of tax exemption, in comparison with the paltry 2.1% they were currently earning – the demolition

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<sup>14</sup> Even today, the *Mozarthof* remains a shopping mall that has integrated a small museum exhibit about Mozart's life and the former death-house. On the occasion of Mozart's birth centennial in 1856, a pamphlet on the history of the house made the rounds; the author of this text did not rue the demolition, but rather approved of the owner's commemorative efforts, and simply calls for a more active recognition of the site itself (if not the structure) as a national Mozart monument (*Denkmal*). Josef Bermann, *Mozarts Sterbehaus. Zur Feier des Hundertjährigen Geburtstages herausgegeben* (Vienna: Zamarski, 1856).

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that Haydn's death house was preserved by private initiative, a project similar to Joachim's in Bonn. The Haydn Orchestra Club owned the house starting at midcentury and converted it into a museum in 1899. Five years later, the ownership of the house was transferred to the city of Vienna, making it the first composer-museum under Viennese jurisdiction. But apart from this early exception, the city of Vienna placed less value on historic houses than did private societies until well into the twentieth century. Gravesites were considered an adequate means to celebrate a figure's death, leading most death-houses in Vienna to fall into disrepair or simply drop off the tourist map.

itself was never in question.<sup>16</sup> When the city council tackled the issue, nobody fretted about historical value. Rather, the debate focused exclusively on urban planning and the aesthetics (or “pleasantness”) of city living.<sup>17</sup>

Even the few music-lovers who protested the decision did not target the demolition itself, but advanced a proposal to extract Beethoven’s rooms and transplant them elsewhere. While this rescue attempt ultimately failed, the concept inspired the successful transplant of the poet Franz Grillparzer’s apartment inside the Wien Museum (which remains on display to this day, a Biedermeier time-warp inside a glossy exhibit space). By way of compromise, the Stift Heiligenkreuz assured protesters that select slices of Beethoven’s rooms – the door frames, windowsills and parquetry – would be delivered to the Wien Museum, where they would be embedded in a new Beethoven archive. This interesting plan to graft historic wood into a new space never came to fruition, for reasons unknown; one journalist speculated that the plan was an empty promise meant to appease the dissenters.<sup>18</sup> But the pieces of Beethoven’s apartment, termed “relics,” “remains,” or “sarcophagal fragments” were

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<sup>16</sup> According to the minutes of the Stift Heiligenkreuz, November 3, 1903. Stift Heiligenkreuz Archiv, Rubr. 16, Fasc. XVI, no. 33: “Protokoll über das Kapitel einberufen wegen Umbau des Schwarzspanierhofes.” For further details on the financial backdrop to this decision, including a comparison of rent revenues, projected renovation costs, and taxes, see Pötschner (1977), 42-8.

<sup>17</sup> The council was concerned that the planned façade would disrupt an existing thoroughfare, but opted for the single façade both because it offered the possibility of more ornate building decorations, as well as the reduced cost of construction. Councilmen also raised aesthetic concerns about a lack of greenery proving oppressive to residents, and proposed a tree-filled courtyard behind the façade as a compromise for disrupting the thoroughfare. The council meeting prioritized, above all, “pleasantness” for the city’s inhabitants. Stift Heiligenkreuz Archiv, R. 16, F. XXVI, No. 29a. Gemeinderats-Sitzung vom 20. Februar, 1903. This focus on the thoroughfare stems in part from the many building codes that regulated new streets and façades in Vienna; see Lichtenberger, *Vienna* (1993), 41.

<sup>18</sup> “Schwarzspanierhaus und Beethoven-Zimmer,” *Neues Wiener Tagblatt (Tages-Ausgabe)*, December 31, 1903, p. 5.

nonetheless dismantled and purveyed to the Wien Museum, where archivists labeled and stacked them “beneath the vaulted ceiling” like bones in an ossuary.<sup>19</sup>

This ritualistic treatment reveals an underlying agenda of the Stift Heiligenkreuz’s public image, which sought to anthropomorphize the building as a human corpse. If the Cistercians portrayed the demolition as an inevitable “death,” they could divert attention away from the controversy of the decision. With this in mind, the Abbot Gregor Pöck organized a farewell celebration (*Abschiedsfeier*) that bore striking resemblance to a funeral, encouraging the Viennese public to mourn Beethoven’s house rather than disdain its executioners.

A quasi-funeral of this kind was especially appealing in Vienna, with its notorious zeal for lavish death ceremonies. The city was infamous for its macabre obsessions, where poets and playwrights took pleasure in imagining their own funerals, welcomed death as a friend, and applauded the suicides of their peers.<sup>20</sup> Stefan Zweig explained that “even funerals found enthusiastic audiences and it

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<sup>19</sup> As described by the mayor in a letter to Abbot Gregor Pöck, regarding speeches made at the farewell celebration for the house (discussed shortly): “As a point of the program a speech by your grace will be read, with which your grace will bequeath to the Gemeinde Wien, in fulfillment of your request in this matter, the remaining relics of Beethoven’s apartment (doorframes and floorboards).” See also Pötschner (1977), 63-77. The phrase “sarcophagal fragments” (särglichen Fragmente) stems from the aforementioned article on the empty promise of a Beethoven-room.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, the most popular cabaret song at the turn of the century, “Das Wiener Fiakerlied” or “The Viennese Coachman’s Song,” by Gustav Pick (1884), concludes with the subject wistfully imagining his own death and funeral procession. This mindset was so common that historian William M. Johnston devotes an entire section to this phenomenon in his classic cultural history of Austria: see “Fascination with Death” in *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848-1938* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1972), 165-80. See also Parsons, *Vienna* (2009), 69-78.

was the ambition of every true Viennese to have a ‘lovely corpse,’ [in dialect, *a schöne Leich*], welcomed with a majestic procession and many followers; even his death converted the genuine Viennese into a spectacle for others.”<sup>21</sup> Given this predilection, it may be no surprise that the *Abschiedsfeier* (which took place on November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1903, a week prior to demolition) was described in the press as a “death-ceremony [*Sterbezeremonie*] for the old, condemned house.”<sup>22</sup> A poetic prologue kicked off the event, followed by formal speeches from the Abbot Gregor Pöck and a city official who filled in for the absent Karl Lueger, famed mayor of Vienna. The highlight of the event, following a series of musical performances, was a tour through Beethoven’s doomed apartment, which had been decked in laurels and outfitted with expensive electric lighting. A bust of the composer emerged from dense foliage in the corner where he allegedly died (Fig. 3.1).

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<sup>21</sup> Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), 18.

<sup>22</sup> “Durch dreierlei wurde die Feier, die zugleich die Sterbezeremonie für das alte, zum Abbruch bestimmte Haus war, beeinträchtigt (...)” “Die Beethovengedächtnisfeier im Schwarzspanierhause,” *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* November 16, 1903, p. 4.



**Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt.**

Nr. 316.      Wien, Dienstag, 17. November 1903.      32. Jahrgang.

**Die Beethoven-Feier im Schwarzspanierhause.**

Der in unserem heutigen Blatt enthaltene ausführliche Bericht über die dem Abschiedsfeier von Beethoven's geweihte Feier, die Sonntag Nachmittag im Schwarzspanierhause stattgefunden hat, wird in nächster Woche auch das Bild auf der ersten Seite unseres heutigen Blattes ergänzt. Der Zeichner des „Extrablatt“ hat der Feier beigewohnt und mit seinem Stifte die hiermit angelegten Augenblicke festgehalten. Das obere der beiden Bilder zeigt unter genauer Wiedergabe der Gerichte die Gedenkfeier im schwarzspanierhause, die der rechten, linksseitigen Ecke, wo der Mann des Jahres Beethoven auf seinen Lager mit dem Tode rang, ruht die Gabe des „Extrablatt“ aus Wien Platzgenommen emporen. Die Veranstaltungen, welche bei der Beethoven-Feier im Schwarzspanierhause stattfanden, sind in unserem Berichte bestimmten Compositionen Beethoven's durch das „Extrablatt“ das auf der auch für die Beethoven's bestimmten Gabe Platzgenommen hat. Das untere Bild veranschaulicht die Szene im Hofe des Schwarzspanierhause, wo der „Abschiedsfeier“ unter Leitung eines Musikers der Hof Kapelle gleichzeitig Beethoven's Com-

**Die heutige Nummer ist 18 Seiten stark und enthält mehrere Bilder.**

**Fig. 3.1.** This drawing of the Abschiedsfeier on the front page of the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* shows the dual venues for the event: speeches were made publicly in the courtyard, followed by a performance of Beethoven's works inside his death-room for an elite audience by special invitation.

Each stage of the celebration was imbued with a rhetoric of mourning and inevitability. The opening prologue by Hermann Hango offered richly allegorical musings on the necessity of forging ahead: “Between these walls, a genius fought to his bitter end, (...) / Thus, like the tundra-wanderer’s glimpse into the gray, / The cloud seeks a way out of the light, / Not to rest, but to build a new path!” As if to further sanction this “new path,” Hango concluded his prologue with a hopeful image of Beethoven’s ghost unleashed from his earthly walls, just as the soul escapes its bodily housing at death: “Here eternity sinks down upon this house, / The walls yield, a spirit finds its way homewards.”<sup>23</sup> These words, delivered publicly to the crowd below, were followed by a musical emblem of Beethoven’s escaping spirit: an intimate performance in Beethoven’s death-chamber of his last string quartet, Op. 135 (the “swan song” that, as newspapers were sure to mention, “originated in this house”).<sup>24</sup> The ritual rendition of Op. 135 in these historic rooms resembles Joachim’s consecration event in Bonn one decade earlier.<sup>25</sup> Just as the Cavatina and Op. 135 were widely heard as Beethoven’s dying voice (as I show in Chapter 1), the *Abschiedsfeier* performance was heard as Beethoven himself delivering his farewell speech.

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<sup>23</sup> “Ein Genius rang in diesen Mauern aus, (...) So wie des Firnenwand’rers Blick im Graus / Der Wolke sucht den Weg aus Licht hinaus, / Zu ruhen nicht, auf neue Bahn zu bauen!” and the final lines, “Hier sinkt auf dieses Haus die Ewigkeit, / Die Mauer weicht, ein Geist will heimwärts schreiten.” Read aloud by royal actor Reimers. Hermann Hango, “Beethoven (anlässlich der Demolierung seines Sterbehauses” (Wien: Druck von Paul Gerin, 1903), Beethoven-Haus Bonn Bibliothek, Z 6382.

<sup>24</sup> “Beethoven-Feier.” *Reichspost*, November 17, 1903, p. 5.

<sup>25</sup> Note that the death-room itself was merged with the neighboring apartment to make room for an audience. The performance itself took place in the nook where the deathbed had lay. *Neues Wiener Tagblatt (Tages-Ausgabe)*, November 16, 1903, p. 5.

We see this same tone of resignation in an editorial by Max Kalbeck, who imagined Beethoven's spirit hovering above the scene with gentle acceptance. Rather than protest the demolition, Kalbeck discouraged readers from mourning because Beethoven was an itinerant misanthrope, never truly at home among men. Thus the performance of Beethoven's last work in his last house would placate the spirits, offering Beethoven the same reconciliation (or *Versöhnung*) that was so often attributed to his deathbed scene. Kalbeck wrote: "Beethoven belongs to the guardian spirits of the *Schwarzspanierhaus*. Today, when the sublime tones of his music, which he himself could not hear, sound for the first and last time on the site of their conception, they will invite the spirit of their creator to reconcile himself [*versöhnen*] with the looming destruction of his last home."<sup>26</sup>

Where Kalbeck accepted the demolition as inevitable, a German correspondent reacted with dismay – yet he, too, heard the performance of Op. 135 as Beethoven's acceptance of his house's fate. His rebuke mapped the standard interpretation of "es muss sein!" (Beethoven's acceptance of fate/death) onto the death of his *house*:

Then *Beethoven himself* spoke once again, and for the *last time*, in these nearly demolished rooms, whose preservation and restoration [in the Vienna museum] would after all be valuable; for here the ideal art of the martyr – hallowed by

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<sup>26</sup> On the meaning of the word *Versöhnung* in reception of Beethoven's late works and especially Op. 135, see Chapter 1. "Beethoven gehört zu den Laren und Penaten des Schwarzspanierhauses. Wenn die erhabenen Klänge seiner Musik, welche das verschlossene Ohr des Tondichters nicht mehr zu hören bekam, heute zum ersten und zum letzten Mal an der Stätte ihrer Geburt ertönen, werden sie den Geist des Schöpfers herbeilocken, daß er sich mit der hervorstehenden Zerstörung seines letzten Heims versöhne. So will es ein frommer, schöner, und zuversichtlicher Glaube." Max Kalbeck, "Zur Beethoven-Feier," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt (Tages-Aufgabe)*, November 15, 1903, pp. 2-3.

divine rays—first echoed. He spoke to us, who were listening in melancholy devotion, from his *last* string quartet, composed with presentiment of his approaching death. (...) Particularly the meaningful movements—the soulful question: Must it be? (The farewell) and the triumphant response, with its confident and joyous self-transcendence: It must be! —deeply moved the impressible listener. All those who were still capable could, shall I say *must* perceive it: With these sounds, the artistic spirit of the great master said his last farewell to these rooms!<sup>27</sup>

This same correspondent heard the next musical offering as a more sentimental brand of farewell. After the quartet had finished, members from the Viennese Men's Choir Association sang an arrangement of Beethoven's "Kennst du das Land," his hit setting of Goethe's poem "Mignon's Longing" in which a spritely child yearns for a utopian world of antiquity and myth.<sup>28</sup> With its evocation of nostalgia for a lost world, this song was thought to hint at a safe haven where Beethoven's house could be left in peace: Mignon's yearning amidst the foggy gloom had the effect of a "last parting greeting to the house itself on the eve of its demise" that "filled the attendees with true art-devotion and memory,

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<sup>27</sup> "Dann sprach *Beethoven selbst* noch einmal, zum *letztenmale*, in diesen der nahen Zerstörung verfallenen Räumen, die des Erhaltens und Einbauens doch wert gewesen waren, denn hier hat ein von göttlichem Strahle Geheiliger und ein Märtyrer seiner idealen Kunst einst gewirkt! Er sprach zu uns in wehmutsvoller Andacht Lauschenden aus seinem *letzten* Streichquartette, das er in der Vorahnung seines nahen Todes geschaffen hatte. (...) Besonders die bedeutsamen Sätze, das schwermütig fragende: Muß es sein? (Das Abschiednehmen) und das zur sicheren frohen Selbstüberwindung sieghaft vorgedrungen: Es muß sein! wirkten tief auf den empfänglichen Hörer. Jeder noch hiezuh Fähige konnte, mußte es empfinden: Mit diesen Klängen nahm der Kunstgeist des Großmeisters den letzten Abschied von diesen Räumen!" Ant. Aug. Raaf, "Die Beethoven-Feier im Schwarzspanierhause zu Wien," *Die Lyra: Allgem. deutsche Kunstzeitschrift für Musik und Dichtung*, December 1, 1903, pp. 3-4.

<sup>28</sup> Goethe's poem was presented as a song text in his 1794 novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship). The poem was set by dozens of composers in the nineteenth century, such as Schubert, Schumann, Reichert, Wolf, and Liszt, among many others, and became a literary symbol of the quintessentially German longing for antiquity.

transcending the dirt, strife, and greed of the everyday.”<sup>29</sup> Where Op. 135 was a historical trace that originated in the house itself, Mignon served as a nostalgic ode to distant lands beyond the reach of the modern city.

These two symbolic farewells were capped off with a fanfare-hymn that linked the ceremony with official pomp, making this occasion double as funeral and festive celebration in Beethoven’s honor. Last on the program was a men’s choir arrangement of Beethoven’s art song “Die Himmel rühmen des ewigen Ehre,” among Beethoven’s most performed (if today seldom-discussed) works. As a choral arrangement, this song was a staple of the amateur *Gesangverein* and official ceremonies, especially inaugural festivities, that ranged from the grand opening of public schools and churches to the swearing-in of officials to the first launch of naval vessels – and not surprisingly, the grand unveiling of Beethoven’s monument in Vienna in 1880.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> “Es klang herrlich und herhebend, dieses Sehnsuchtslied nach dem Lande der Blüten und des ewigen Frühlings an alle Herzen und hoch über die ragenden Mauern empor. Beethovens sehnsuchtsvoller Auszugsgesang aus dem Nebelgrau dieser Erdentage war der letzte Scheidegruß an das dem Untergange geweihte Sterbehaus selbst, und mit ihm schwang sich wohl mancher mitgefühlende Geist aus den Niederungen des schmutzigen, streit- und neiderfüllten Alltags in die reinen Höhen wahrer Kunstandacht und Kunst-Erinnerung.” Raaf (1903), 4.

<sup>30</sup> Text by Christian Fürchegott Geller, composed 1803 as Op. 48, No. 4. Also known as “Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur,” often shorted to “Die Ehre Gottes.” Some of many examples of its performance include numerous Beethoven centennial festivals across Europe in 1870; the harborside celebration for the first launch of a ship in Bregenz (April 29, 1885); the grand opening or centennial celebration for public schools in Cologne (October 19, 1884), Vienna (September 15, 1893), and Dornbirn (September 30, 1894); and assorted festivals for the Pope, political anniversaries and opening ceremonies for music festivals (June 22, 1890 in Magdeburg, February 22, 1893 in Feldkirche, August 1, 1896 in Stuttgart, and countless others). Note that the song continued to be a heavily politicized German anthem well into the twentieth century, sung during the uprising of East German workers at the foot of the Hermannsberger Monument on June 17, 1953.

Given its usual context of inauguration rather than farewell, it may seem curious that “Die Himmel rühmen” was chosen for the *Abschiedsfeier*. Yet the song was so often linked with official festivities that it became a musical stamp of state support, the sonic equivalent of streaming banners and decked-out militiamen (pictured in Fig. 3.1). Adopting the mantle of a state-funded ceremony was no coincidence, but a matter of conscious design. The *Abschiedsfeier* was funded by the private enterprise of the Stift Heiligenkreuz, not by the state; in borrowing features of an official ceremony, the Stift legitimized its decision to demolish.

This range of musical selections, from intimate quartet to choral fanfare, was symptomatic of a larger conflict in the ceremony’s aims. The event was split between mourning and festivity, historic rooms and public square, elite and folk. Music was used to ritualistically send the house into the afterlife; if Joachim’s Cavatina performance in the Bonn birth-house was an *Einweihung* (inauguration), this rendition of Op. 135 was the reverse, a kind of *Ausweihung* that needed music to resonate in those very walls. Yet the cramped quarters meant that only a select audience could hear the performances, as if the invitees were the family of the deceased. The public assembly in the courtyard was made to wait on the sidelines, overhearing whatever strains wafted from Beethoven’s death-room window. The festival felt especially disjointed during the performance of “Die Himmel rühmen,” which offered the potential for a rousing

sing-along (*Singbarkeit*):<sup>31</sup> one critic griped that this song ought to have been performed out in the courtyard where it could speak directly to the hearts of the Viennese people.<sup>32</sup> But while this separation of spaces might seem to underscore a class divide, even the small gathering in Beethoven's rooms lacked the intimacy of a true salon. The apartment was so exorbitantly festooned that it was infused with the same pomp and circumstance as the square below, with a raised dais for music performances in lieu of a speakers' podium. What seems a clumsy mixture of intimate and ostentatious – which could have been easily bypassed by presenting the entire program in the courtyard – resulted from the value placed on a *material* farewell within the death-room itself, rather than a *symbolic* farewell next door.

These musical performances offered a more subtle form of farewell than the speeches that followed, which explicitly proclaimed the event as Beethoven's second funeral. The Stift's own Abbot Pöck explained that, in 1827, twenty thousand people

gathered to say farewell forever to a great man, one of the greatest music geniuses. Today after more than 76 years we have another exquisite gathering, a mass of many hundred heads in the courtyard below, to honor one of the greatest musical geniuses (...) and at the same time to say farewell to this house and the death-room that will soon fall victim to demolition. The inevitable necessity that the old disappears to make room for the new has resulted in the sacrifice of this revered house, so rich with historical reminiscences. (...) As painful as it may be, piety may not and cannot obstruct the development of things when it merely protects the pious remembrance of great men.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> On *Singbarkeit*, see Nicholas Mathew, *Political Beethoven* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 140-1.

<sup>32</sup> Raaf (1903), 4.

<sup>33</sup> 20,000 people were "versammelt, um einen großen Mann, einen der größten Musikgenies (...) zu ehren und für immer Abschied zu nehmen. Heute nach mehr als 76 Jahren hat sich wieder eine auserlesene Versammlung und unten im Hofe eine vielhundertköpfige Menge

Pöck's twofold mention of "piety" here is not coincidental. The word was used with pride for every historic preservation project of the period, notably Beethoven's birth-house in Bonn; but more importantly, Vienna was frequently accused of "impiety" by North-German critics and Viennese literati. The famed coffeeshop intellectual Hermann Bahr was one of many who accused the city of pomp without circumstance, disparaging Beethoven's contemporaries for neglecting the composer during his lifetime and lavishly overcompensating for this sin at his funeral.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* complained that, after a flamboyant celebration of its demise, Beethoven's death house would fall victim to "the impious pickaxe." A later article griped: "Piety, artistic regard – these stand no chance against the work of hoes and shovels in the Austrian Kaiserstadt."<sup>35</sup>

This mention of the Kaiserstadt suggests that the Kaiser himself – Franz Joseph I, who was notoriously indifferent to the arts – amplified the perception of

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hineingefunden, denselben Mann zu ehren (...) und zugleich Abschied zu nehmen von diesem Hause und von dem Sterbezimmer, das in kurzer Zeit der Demolierung anheimfällt. Der unabwendbaren Notwendigkeit, daß das Alte verschwinden und dem Neuen Platz machen muß, fällt auch dieses ehrwürdige, an geschichtlichen Reminiszenzen reiche Haus zum Opfer. (...) da es der Zug der Zeit mit sich bringe, daß das Alte dem Neuen zu weichen habe. So schmerzlich es sei, die Pietät dürfe und könne der Entwicklung der Dinge nicht hinderlich sein, was aber nur Schonung des pietätvollen Erinnerns an große Männer geschehen." Pöck's speech was reproduced in "Beethoven-Feier." *Reichspost*, November 17, 1903, p. 5.

<sup>34</sup> At the end of a lengthy passage about Beethoven's neglect by the Viennese, Bahr wrote scathingly: "Where were they when he suffered? Those fine minds? Twenty thousand followed his corpse. Where were they when he lived? (...) That is Vienna." [Wo waren sie, als er litt? Die Gemüter? Zwanzigtausend folgten seiner Leiche. Wo waren sie, als er lebte? (...) Das ist Wien.] Hermann Bahr, *Wien* (Stuttgart: Karl Krabbe Verlag, 1906), 79-86.

<sup>35</sup> "Am 15. Oktober fand in Wien im sogenannten Schwarzspanierhaus, Ludwig van Beethovens letzter Wohnstätte, das demnächst der pietätlosen Spitzhacke verfällt, eine Feier statt, zu der sich eine kleine Gemeinde zusammengefunden hatte, um noch einmal den Erinnerungen des dort entschlafenen Tonmeisters nachzuhängen (...)" *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, November 25, 1903. Hugo Klein authored the second quotation in "Die Beethoven-Häuser in Wien," *Neue Musik-Zeitung* 24 (1903), 273-4.



Viennese impiety, with no steady aristocratic hand to guide its commemoration of past artists.<sup>36</sup> What more likely, however, is that “impiety” was an unspoken expression of anti-Semitism, an objection to progressive Jewish property-owners and entrepreneurs who modernized the city. With anti-Semitic policies under Lueger’s leadership, Viennese Jews took the blame for failing to commemorate cultural heroes.

In the face of these accusations, Pöck felt pressure to recast the concept of “piety” as conservative and backwards-looking, “merely protecting the memory of great men,” whereas the new construction forged onward with urban optimism. To further re-claim this word, the vice-mayor, speaking just after Pöck, assured his listeners that the very act of saying farewell was a special form of “piety,” a civic duty to attend a luminary’s funeral.<sup>37</sup>

To cap off the event, the crowd was invited to stream through Beethoven’s rooms as if viewing the body at a wake. A small exhibit on the house’s history occupied a neighboring room; yet this exhibit was far from the main attraction, scarcely mentioned in press reports. The primary attraction, it seems, was viewing the historic death-room and taking home a souvenir. Just as the Viennese public flocked to Beethoven’s corpse in 1827 and snipped locks of his hair, spectators in 1903 chipped away at the wallpaper, rugs, doorframes, and

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<sup>36</sup> On Franz Joseph’s indifference to the arts, and particularly his utter lack of a musical ear, see “Kunst” in Christoph Schmetterer, *Kaiser Franz Joseph I.* (Vienna, Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2016), 119-23.

<sup>37</sup> “Gegenstände, mit denen uns teure Tote in Berührung gestanden, sind durch sie gleichsam geweiht und nehmen etwas persönliches an. Es ist daher die Idee, von ihnen, wenn auch sie versinken müssen, Abschied zu nehmen, gewiß eine sinnige, der Pietät wohlthuende.” Speech by Vizebürgermeister Neumayr, reproduced in “Der Abschied vom Sterbehause Beethovens,” *Deutsche Zeitung*, November 16, 1903, p. 2.

even the plaster walls of the death-room, along with the festive banners that decorated the space.<sup>38</sup> Photographs taken shortly before demolition show pitted walls, peeling paper and splintered floorboards, a room ravaged by the public.

A striking passage from Stefan Zweig's autobiography reveals how these practices were integral to Viennese culture. From the stage of the old Burgtheater torn down in 1888, to the much-loved Bösendorfer concert hall demolished in 1913, and finally to the *Schwarzspanierhaus* itself, art-lovers not only sought relics of doomed sites, but also gathered to *mourn* these spaces with great emotion. For Zweig, this practice manifested the city's passion for the arts, which led the destruction of performance spaces – with all the musical memory they held – to be as painful as the loss of a loved one. Like the elite listeners in Beethoven's doomed death-house, Zweig depicts a select audience of bourgeois music-lovers pitted against the forces of Viennese impiety. His account is worth quoting at length:

Every loss, for instance the departure of a beloved singer or artist, was immediately transformed into national mourning. When the 'old' Burgtheater, in which Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro* was first given, was torn down, all of Vienna's society was formally and sorrowfully assembled there; the curtain had hardly fallen when everybody leapt upon the stage, to bring home at least a splinter as a relic of the boards which the beloved artists had trod; and for decades later, in dozens of bourgeois homes, these insignificant splinters could be seen preserved in costly caskets, as fragments of the Holy Cross are kept in churches. We ourselves did not act much more sensibly when the so-called Bösendorfer Saal was torn down. (...) it was a sanctuary for lovers of music, because Chopin and Brahms, Liszt and Rubinstein had given concerts there, and because many of the famous quartets had made their first appearance there; and now it was to make way for a functional building. It was incomprehensible to us who had

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<sup>38</sup> As one newspaper reported: "In erster Linie wurden die Mitglieder des Schubertbundes in die Räume geführt. Von den das Sterbezimmer zierenden Riesigfestons, ja selbst *von der Tapete* wurden Stücke als Andenken mitgenommen." "Beethoven Feier," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, November 16, 1903, p. 5.

experienced such unforgettable hours there. When the last measure of Beethoven, played more beautifully than ever by the Rosé Quartet, had died away, no one left his seat. We called and applauded, several women sobbed with emotion, no one wished to believe that this was a farewell. The lights were put out in the hall in order to make us leave. A half hour, a full hour, we remained as if by our presence we could save the old hallowed place. And when we were students, how we fought with petitions, with demonstrations, and with essays to keep the house where Beethoven died from being demolished! Every one of these historic buildings in Vienna was a bit of our soul that was being torn out of our body.<sup>39</sup>

For Zweig, performance spaces could absorb the music that happened between their walls. Halls made music material and tangible. Or at least, this materiality surfaced when halls were under threat: just as death makes one aware of the body's fragility, demolition drew attention to the building as hollow structure rather than a living space that breathed musical sound. It was this conviction that led fans to seek mementos of these houses even after their poignant farewells, visiting the site to harvest stones, just as Zweig's listeners collected shards of the Burgtheater to display in domestic shrines. An unknown mourner for the Bösendorfer hall, for instance, nestled an orange stone from the stage wall in a decorative box and labeled it with the epitaph: "In memory of the Bösendorfer-Saal, 1872-1913."<sup>40</sup> Three stones from Beethoven's *Schwarzspanierhaus* received similar treatment. A chunk of plaster covered in wallpaper from the death-room itself was mounted onto a wood backing, intended for wall-hanging, alongside a photograph of the house and a golden plaque reading "From Beethoven's Death-

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<sup>39</sup> Zweig, *World of Yesterday* (1964), 16-17.

<sup>40</sup> The object remains in the collection of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archiv, no call number.

Room.”<sup>41</sup> Even more striking is a large stone that was painted metallic copper, outfitted with a cord for wall-hanging, and decorated with the incipit of Op. 135—a memory not only of the house, but also the *Abschiedsfeier* with its ritual performance of the last quartet, music made material.<sup>42</sup>

Most unusual of all, a cornice from the wall behind Beethoven’s deathbed was carved with a three-dimensional rendition of Beethoven’s life mask, his face emerging phantasmically from a halo of etched light-rays. The stone’s owner was one of many visitors who returned to pick the bones clean: “In 1904, when the death-house of Beethoven was demolished, I took with me as souvenirs this stone from the wall of the death-room, along with a second stone from the parquet floor. The heavens peered into the death-chamber; the ceiling had caved in. A few strangers hovered about on this site that should have been preserved for the world. I had the first stone carved with Beethoven’s visage as a relic for my family.”<sup>43</sup> Where Hermann Hango’s festival prologue proclaimed that Beethoven’s spirit fled the walls of his house, these curious face-carvings seem to return the composer’s presence to his house. The gazeless life-mask was again

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<sup>41</sup> “Aus Beethovens Sterbezimmer.” Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archiv, ER Beethoven 5.

<sup>42</sup> Beneath the incipit, the stone reads “Beethoven-Hof / Wien, Jänner 1904.” The musical motive itself is the first nine measures of the first movement and first violin part, the very same incipit that would be found in catalogues of Beethoven’s works. This suggests that the motive itself was chosen merely to represent Op. 135, rather than a theme from elsewhere in the piece carefully selected for aesthetic reasons. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archiv, ER Beethoven 15.

<sup>43</sup> The collector of the stones was Gustav Schütz, who collected two stones, one which he mounted with a bronze mask of Beethoven and gifted to Pablo Casals. Regarding the other stone with Beethoven’s face carving, he wrote: “(...) im Jahre 1904, als das Sterbehaus Beethovens demoliert wurde, aus der Mauer d. Sterbezimmers selbst mit einem zweiten Steine aus einer Parkette u. Fussboden als Andenken an mich genommen. Ins Sterbezimmer blickte der Himmel; die Decke war abgetragen. Einige wenige einander unbekante [*sic*] Herren standen wir damals an dieser Stätte, welche immerhin der Welt hätte erhalten werden sollen. Aus dem einen Stein schuf ich mit einen daraus herausgemeisselten Beethoven Antlitze eine Reliquie für m. Familie.” Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archiv, B, 3301.

invoked in an explicit nod to the funereal *Abschiedsfeier*: a commemorative etching showed the house captioned with Beethoven's floating life mask and the funeral theme from his *Eroica*.<sup>44</sup> In the wake of demolition, this mask became an effigy for the dead house, like the faces and bodies mounted on medieval tombs.

It is striking that Pöck announced his decision to demolish in the same year that Beethoven was strongly in the air. This year, 1902, saw the famous Beethoven-themed exhibit by the Vienna Secession group, most notably Max Klinger's controversial monument of the composer as a half-naked, enthroned deity. Klinger's interest in Beethoven had a similar religious bent to that of Friedrich Geselschap (Chapter 2): like Geselschap's painting of Beethoven's birth as a Christological nativity, Klinger depicted Beethoven allegorically as the figure of John the Baptist in *Pietà* and *The Crucifixion of Christ*. It has been argued by Carl Schorske, Anna Harwell Celenza, and others that this diverse group of artists strategically adulated Beethoven to create the illusion of a unified front, meant to carve a niche for visual arts and usurp the dominant place of music in Viennese culture.<sup>45</sup> But even if Klinger piggybacked on Beethoven to promote his own movement, his sculpture has since become the paradigm of Beethoven-the-

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<sup>44</sup> Note that the mask and music fragment are both rendered with a ghostly, grainy resin technique invented by Goya, whereas the house itself is drawn with heavy acid-bitten lines. The cloudy shading beneath the incipit disappears into nothing, as if the house were a fading dream. Etching by Ferdinand Eckhardt, "Beethoven Sterbehaus in der Schwarzspanierstraße," *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archiv*, B. 3306, Nr. 294. Note that in 1903-4, a number of other images of the Schwarzspanierhaus – albeit less symbolic than this etching – were sold as lithographs to fill in for the house's absence. See the images in *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archiv*, B, 3301.

<sup>45</sup> Anna Harwell Celenza, "Darwinian Visions: Beethoven Reception in Mahler's Vienna," *Musical Quarterly* 93 (2010), 514-59; see also her article, "Music and the Vienna Secession, 1897-1902," *Music in Art* 29/2 (2004), 203-12 and the article by Helmut Loos, "Max Klinger und das Bild des Komponisten," *Imago Musicae* 13 (1996), 165-88.

demigod, unveiled at the same moment as Vienna held a second funeral for Beethoven-the-man.

### **Protest and Acceptance**

In his classic 1903 essay on the psychology of metropolitan life, the sociologist Georg Simmel attributed a characteristic “blasé attitude” to big-city inhabitants. Amidst a barrage of unpredictable sensory stimuli, metropolitans developed a protective dullness that rendered them both flatly anonymous in the crowd, yet also fiercely independent in their private affairs.<sup>46</sup> While Simmel’s essay emerged from the fabric of his hometown Berlin, the city that set the bar for apathetic crowd behavior, his concept of metropolitan blasé reflects long-standing criticisms of Viennese indifference and “impiety” in the exact year that Beethoven’s house was demolished.<sup>47</sup> Vienna had a reputation throughout the nineteenth century for neglecting its artists in life, with Beethoven as its most famous victim.<sup>48</sup> Even as early as 1836, artist Johann Peter Lyser accused the Viennese of having already forgotten Beethoven: “the fashionable Viennese

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<sup>46</sup> Georg Simmel, “The Metropolis and Mental Life,” in David Frisby and Mike Featherstone, eds., *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1997), 174-85.

<sup>47</sup> On the urban apathy of Berlin at the turn of the century, see the introduction by Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 1996). I discuss this monograph at more length later in this chapter.

<sup>48</sup> Arnold Schoenberg spoke cynically of this Viennese tendency in his essay on Mahler: “In Vienna, where the worst evils are always possible in the press, someone even found it necessary to cite it [the description of Mahler’s symphonies as “gigantic symphonic potpourris”] in Mahler’s obituary. I find that quite fair. For the great artist must somehow be punished in his lifetime for the honor which he will enjoy later. And the esteemed music critic must somehow be compensated in his lifetime for the contempt with which later times will treat him.” Arnold Schoenberg, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black, *Style and Idea* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 462.

scarcely know that there was another great composer apart from the Strausses and Lannerl.”<sup>49</sup> Even as Simmel’s essay was not directly linked with the demolition that same year, both expose mounting anxieties about the pressures of urban life and indifference to cultural heritage.

Amidst this anxiety, the demolition of the *Schwarzspanierhaus* was not met with quiet acceptance from everyone: in intellectual circles, like Zweig’s community of students, the decision was hotly contested. A number of journalists, both within and outside Vienna, raised objections to the funereal tone of the *Abschiedsfeier*. One Viennese journalist scoffed at the hypocrisy of a religious institution that was unwilling to preserve the old. Given that an Abbot ought to respect tradition, Pöck’s hopeful speech rang hollow (“a melodic counterpoint to the ugly *cantus firmus* of demolition”). This shallow festivity, the author maintained, was typical of a broader Viennese hypocrisy that claims fame without nurturing it—as evidenced not only by the neglect of Beethoven and Schubert by their contemporaries, but also the posthumous wholesale of their belongings. The *Abschiedsfeier* itself, punctuated with celebratory applause, ought to have been *more* funereal to make up for these sins (“like a quiet church service” instead of a “concert production”). Most striking of all, the author imagined Beethoven’s disapproval lining his plaster face, as if the bust were

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<sup>49</sup> Lyser wrote even more scathingly of Viennese indifference in a letter to Robert Schumann in 1839: “Was Du mir über Wien schreibst, ist mir nicht neu. (...) Nennen die Wiener einmal jemanden den Ihrigen, so hegen sie ihn und sind stolz auf ihn. Freilich, Mozart und Beethoven zeugen nicht dafür, aber wer hieß den Mozart auch, sich alles gefallen lassen, und den Beethoven, so menschen-scheu sein? Grob, sackgrob muß man den Wiener zuzeiten kommen.” Both letters cited in “Der taube Maler,” *Neues Wiener Tagblatt (Tages-Ausgabe)*, October 3, 1903, p. 2.

alive. With “(...) the play of dark November light, which gave his face the appearance almost of living expression” the “bust seemed almost to ask, bewildered: what did I do to deserve the honor of this mass visit, when I was left to live and die alone?”<sup>50</sup> These criticisms from within Vienna echoed the frustrations of foreign journalists, for whom the *Abschiedsfeier* was associated with a long lineage of tasteless spectacle in Vienna – not only the hypocrisy of Beethoven’s huge funeral after a decade of neglect, but also his two separate re-burials to more and more ostentatious tombs, “and now, adding insult to injury, his death-chamber is turned to ruins!”<sup>51</sup> This kind of pompous desecration of the sacred, the “impiety” for which the Viennese were infamous, was seen as a symptom of modern ills, a fast-paced world that had “neither the space nor the peace left for the living and the dead! (...) Everything must give way; onwards!”<sup>52</sup>

At the core of these tensions lay a central question – a question that was, in fact, intimately tied with the compulsion to collect relics or carve Beethoven’s face into the stone. Critics seemed to ask: is Beethoven in there somewhere? Does his presence live in the material of his house, or has his spirit fled, leaving an empty shell? For those who felt Beethoven’s presence in his rooms, the demolition was a desecration of his remains, as gruesome and self-indulgent as

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<sup>50</sup> “Da war’s einem wirklich, als ob die in dem Sterbegemach unter herrlichen Blattpflanzen aufgestellte Büste Beethovens im Dämmerlicht des düsteren Novembernachmittags Leben und Mienenspiel gewänne, und als müßte der große Meister mitten unter die Anwesenden treten und erstaunt fragen, was ihm – den man ja so einsam leben und sterben ließ – die Ehre eines so massenhaften Besuches verschaffe?” Author unknown, “Beethoven-Gedächtnisfeier,” *Die Zeit* (Wien), November 16, 1903, pp. 407-8.

<sup>51</sup> Raaf (1903), 3.

<sup>52</sup> “Unsere unrastige Verkehrs- und Geschäftszeit hat nicht Raum und nicht Ruhe mehr für die Lebendigen und die Todten! (...) Alles muß weichen; nur weiter!” *Ibid.*, 4.



the exhumations of his body in 1863 and 1888.<sup>53</sup> For those who saw the house as a shell, this lament seemed foolishly sentimental, an obstacle in the path of modernity.

In response to the uproar that volleyed from foreign presses, the prolific feuilletonist Eduard Pötzl published a rebuttal on the front page of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, among the city's most widely read papers.<sup>54</sup> Pötzl questioned whether the house truly had historical value – that is, to what extent Beethoven's ghost still lingered in the walls. For Pötzl, the house was a precious space immediately after Beethoven's death, but his presence had since been watered down by new tenants: "Not even a single speck of dust remains from [Beethoven's] time; only the essential layout of the rooms is clearly recognizable. The last sigh of that titan no longer trembles in the death chamber, which has since seen many other souls freed from their earthly chains."<sup>55</sup> In this light, Pötzl maintained, the Stift Heiligenkreuz did no wrong; those to blame are the denizens of the past who let the house fall to ruin.

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<sup>53</sup> The same journalist who heard Beethoven's voice in Op. 135 drew this parallel with Beethoven's gruesome exhumations, of which he heartily disapproved: "Vor rund drei Jahrfünfteln mußten auch die Gebeine Beethovens aus dem schlichen Grabe vom Währinger Alt-Friedhofe wandern. Ich stand damals danachdenklich an der offenen Erdgrube, welche die letzten Stoffteile des großen Tonmeisters nach einem halben Jahrhundert wieder herausgeben mußte, sah den erdbraunen Schädel und die letzten armen Spuren menschlicher Aeüßerlichkeiten im Rahmen irdischer Allvergänglichkeit und dann hart daneben den Gegensatz: die großartige Macht- und Pracht-Entfaltung der mehr als fürstlichen dritten Beerdigungsfahrt zu Ehren Beethovens nach dem Massenfriedhofe bei Schwechat." Anton August Raaf (1903), 3-4.

<sup>54</sup> His proclaimed intentions were to defend Vienna against foreign presses, which had taken the city to task for being "thankless and impious" (*undankbar und pietätlos*). E. Pötzl, "Beethoven und das Schwarzspanierhaus," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, September 27, 1903, pp. 1-2.

<sup>55</sup> "Aber es ist kein Stäubchen mehr aus jener Zeit vorhanden, kaum die Einteilung der Wohnräume noch klar erkennbar. Der letzte Seufzer des Titanen zittert nicht mehr allein durch das Sterbegemach, in dem seither noch manche andere Menschenseele sich von ihrem irdischen Bande befreit hat." *Ibid.*, 1.

Beneath Pötzl's argument lurks a vital clash that underpinned historical revivals across Europe in this period. As discussed by Katherine Bergeron in her insightful study of the monastery at Solesmes, nineteenth-century revivals were torn between authenticity and restoration, between organic ruins and glossy reconstructions that idealized the past.<sup>56</sup> In Bonn, the Beethoven-Verein saw no problem with restoration, evicting dozens of living tenants from the birth-house to restore it to its Biedermeier state. Pötzl, on the other hand, valued realism over idealism. He maintained that restoration appeals only to the most superficial tourists (and if the *Schwarzspanierhaus* were thus restored, it would become a "musical Weimar," i.e. the Beethoven version of the Goethe Nationalmuseum).<sup>57</sup> Pötzl reserved special venom for Anglophone visitors who partook in English tours that shepherded hundreds along German and Austrian itineraries. The Viennese were already suspicious of the English zeal for relics, with demands that Viennese archives ought to re-claim Beethoven relics from greedy English owners.<sup>58</sup> (Note that the German and Austrian disdain for English tourists

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<sup>56</sup> See Katherine Bergeron's insightful discussion of restoration, ruin, decay and debris in *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 1-24.

<sup>57</sup> On the tourist appeal of Weimar as small-town bubble of high culture, see Frank Eckardt, "Urban Myth: The Symbolic Sizing of Weimar, Germany," in David Bell and Mark Jayne, eds., *Small Cities: Urban experience beyond the metropolis* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 121-31; see also Constanze Breuer and Paul Kahl, "Nationalmuseen als personalisierte Erinnerungsorte: zu einem Phänomen des 19. Jahrhunderts am Sonderfall des Goethe-Nationalmuseums in Weimar," in Breuer and Paul Kahl, eds., *Häuser der Erinnerung. Zur Geschichte der Personengedenkstätte in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2015), 197-209.

<sup>58</sup> As in, for instance, Hugo Klein's wish to bring Beethoven relics back to Vienna if the Schwarzspanierhaus rooms were turned into an archive: "Bis nach Enland waren die Reliquien verschleppt worden. Ein Engländer ließ den Kopf des entseelten Löwen in der Nacht nach dem eingetretenen Tode sogar kahl scheren und entführte die grauen Locken als Beute nach seinem Insellande. Wievieles von diesen entführten teuren Angedenken ließe sich wiedererobern,

carried an anti-Semitic undertone, with materialistic Englishmen substituting for Jews in literature and journalism. Take for instance the English tourist in Wagner's *Pilgrimage to Beethoven* novella, a character modeled on the Jewish publisher Maurice Schlesinger.<sup>59</sup>) Thus for Pötzl, the authenticity of the *Schwarzspanierhaus* had already been desecrated by past generations; real Beethoven-lovers were *too* pious to venerate this house. Rather than turn it into a caricature of its former self, or a tacky site like the imaginary grave of Juliet in Verona, it was better to put the house out of its misery:

It speaks for the sophistication of Beethoven's admirers that they have so rarely sought out the apartment in the *Schwarzspanierhaus*. Its only visitors were a few foreigners, mostly English and American, who would just as gladly furnish with their calling cards the alleged gravesite of Shakespeare's Juliet in Verona. One ought to dread entering those rooms from which Beethoven's memory has been so fundamentally billeted out. Not a single atom of Beethoven himself, no invisible breath from his lips – thanks to the barren sensibilities and thoughtlessness of his heirs. Thus it is perhaps even better if the last traces of these sins, the walls, shall fall.<sup>60</sup>

Judging from this editorial, some Beethoven-lovers in Vienna were relatively indifferent to his death house. This apathy is confirmed by the majority of press reactions to the demolition, which consisted of dry reports on the *Abschiedsfeier*. Given that the house had a funeral of sorts, these reports often resembled an

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zurückzulaufen!" Klein, "Allerlei von Beethoven," *Neue Musik-Zeitung* December 17, 1904, pp. 104-6.

<sup>59</sup> K.M. Knittel, "Pilgrimages to Beethoven: Reminiscences by His Contemporaries," *Music & Letters* 84:1 (Feb., 2003), 38.

<sup>60</sup> "Es spricht für den feinen Sinn der Verehrer Beethovens, daß so selten jemand verlangte, die Wohnung im Schwarzspanierhaus zu sehen. Es kamen nur wenige Fremde, meist Engländer und Amerikaner, die ja auch gern das angebliche Grab Julias in Verona mit ihren Visitenkarten ausstatten. Man fürchtete es förmlich, die Räume zu betreten, aus denen das Andenken Beethovens so gründlich ausquartiert worden ist. Kein Atom mehr von ihm selbst, kein unsichtbarer Hauch seines Mundes dank der Gemütsöde und Gedankenlosigkeit seiner Erben. So ist es vielleicht sogar besser, wenn auch die letzten Zeugen dieser Sünden, die Mauern, fallen." Pötzl (1903), 2.

obituary: not only did they voice quiet acceptance, but they also presented biographies of the building that chronicled its entire history both before and after Beethoven's tenure there.<sup>61</sup> In the end, the destruction of this house appears as a blip on the radar of a bustling city.

Indeed, large swaths of the Viennese public had little access to Beethoven, leaving protest to academic circles. Margaret Notley has shown how Beethoven's symphonies – although lauded by Viennese critics as populist, accessible, the music of the *Volk* – remained inaccessible to most Viennese listeners.<sup>62</sup> Until the establishment of the *Volksconcerte* in 1905, the only place to hear Beethoven's symphonies was at the Vienna Philharmonic and the Society for the Friends of Music; and while these are today seen as a quintessentially middle-class institutions, they were regarded until well into the twentieth century as elitist, stuffy, and overpriced.<sup>63</sup> Even for those who could afford a ticket, Beethoven's symphonies were performed relatively rarely: in the last third of the century, for instance, the Ninth Symphony was played only a dozen times in Vienna.<sup>64</sup> Instead, most Viennese listeners knew Beethoven through anecdotes and repertoire that today lies on the margins of his canonic oeuvre. Stories of his gruff persona offered amusement in the feuilletons and almanachs. His

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<sup>61</sup> Such as, for instance, this article that reports on the demolition, chronicles the history of the house, and concludes that Beethoven will be adequately commemorated with a street name and a plaque: "Das Schwarzspanierhaus," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, January, 23, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>62</sup> Margaret Notley, "'Volksconcerte' in Vienna and Late-Nineteenth Century Ideology of the Symphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50:2/3 (Summer, Autumn 1997), 421-53.

<sup>63</sup> See William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 255-8.

<sup>64</sup> A statistic cited by Leon Botstein, "Time and Memory: Concert Life, Science, and Music in Brahms's Vienna," in Walter Frisch, ed., *Brahms and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 7.

overtures, arias, and Lieder were performed at times in public venues (park concerts, military bands, Lieder in the wine bars), and many were acquainted with arrangements of his music for men's choir, his hit song *Adelaide*, and four-hand transcriptions of his symphonies and chamber works to be played in the home.<sup>65</sup> Vienna might be better described as the city of *musics*; and here lies the primary reason for the demolition of Beethoven's death-house. Vienna's musical life was too fragmented to present a united front of protest, with various degrees of access to Beethoven's music that averaged out to apathy.

But even Beethoven's admirers were less vocal about the death-house than about many of Beethoven's residences. Despite Vienna's infamous death-cults, its status as Beethoven's deathplace was not an especial point of pride – but Vienna *did* take great pride in being the composer's "artistic hometown," the cradle of his creativity.<sup>66</sup> It comes as no surprise, then, that many Viennese residents preferred to visit Beethoven's workplaces, paired with the specific works composed within (or even named after these works, in the case of his "Eroicahaus" in Döbling). Like the beloved Burgtheater or Bösendorfer Saal,

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<sup>65</sup> Beethoven's works were among the most often transcribed for four hands; see Thomas Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52:2 (1999), 4. On *Adelaide* and particularly the appeal of its generic hybridity, see the recent history of the song's genre and publication by Jennifer Ronyak, "Beethoven Within Grasp: The Nineteenth Century Reception of *Adelaide*," *Music & Letters* 97:2 (2016), 249-76.

<sup>66</sup> See for instance Landau's introduction to his 1872 album (published in Vienna), in which he claims Vienna as Beethoven's "real homeland" [*wirkliche Heimath*] and his "artistic hometown" [*künstlerische Vaterstadt*]. Landau (1872), xiii. In Landau's summary of Vienna's Beethoven centennial festival in 1870, he explains how Vienna is the city "in which the serious spirit of the North joins with the lively nature of the South" [*in den der ernste Geist des Nordens sich paart mit der heiteren Natur des Südens*], thus providing a fertile environment for Beethoven's creative endeavors. Hermann Joseph Landau, ed., *Erstes poetisches Beethoven-Album. Zur Erinnerung an den grossen Tondichter und an dessen Säcularfeier begangen den 17. December 1870* (Prague: Self-Publication, 1872), 409.

these houses were thought to contain a trace of the *music* that happened there, if not the man himself. For this reason, museums were made of Beethoven's apartments at the Pasqualatihaus, Döbling and Heiligenstadt (which boasted two houses, one real, the other spurious but nonetheless a major attraction).<sup>67</sup>

Prompted by the death-house demolition, a number of citizens petitioned the city to purchase Beethoven's residence in the neighboring town of Mödling and convert it into a memory-site. But even this vocal concern about demolition was minimally invested in Beethoven's memory. Petitioners focused instead on aesthetic concerns: located in a small town rather than the heart of Vienna, the petition maintains, the Mödling house's appearance would continue to blend with its historic surroundings and prove a valuable asset to historians of architecture. Above all, the proposal was fueled by anti-Semitism, an effort to wrest the house from its allegedly money-grubbing Jewish owner, who would presumably sell the house for demolition just to make a buck – another instantiation of the “impiety” disdained by anti-Semitic critics.<sup>68</sup> When the

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<sup>67</sup> Note that the museum established in Heiligenstadt, founded by Joseph Böck in 1885, was directly inspired by the endeavors of the Beethoven-Verein in Bonn. The new museum was at first an empty house with no collections; thus the founder requested to borrow photographs and objects from Bonn, which had since become the magnet for Beethoveniana. See the handwritten letters in *Beethoven-Haus Akten*, Sig. 304b (Tresor).

<sup>68</sup> Note that these anxieties about Jewish ownership – and the ever more frequent attempts by the city to seize Jewish property – represent an important and relatively understudied facet of the history of Vienna's historic preservation movement. An article on the Mödling petition reads: “Der Eigentümer ist ein Jude namens Rosenberg. (...) Insbesondere sollte eine feste Bürgerschaft dafür geschaffen werden, da es nicht als Beute jüdischer Spekulation verkauft und niedergerissen wird. Das Sterbehaus Beethovens in der Schwarzspanierstraße verschwindet von der Bildfläche. Möchte dies doch der Anlaß sein, das Beethovenhaus in Mödling, welcher Ort wohl unmittelbar von den Toren Wiens liegt, wo aber doch die kleinstädtischen Verhältnisse die Erhaltung des altertümlichen Bauwerkes ermöglichen, vor dem nämlichen Schicksale zu bewahren. Nicht nur das Andenken des großen Tondichters würde dies erheischen, sondern auch in baukünstlerischer Hinsicht wäre es empfehlenswert, dieses alte Gebäude als Beispiel der Bauart vergangener

Viennese took an interest in preservation of historic Beethoven sites, their motivations were often more pragmatic than sentimental.

But by the time Beethoven's death-centennial rolled around in 1927, some began to regret having demolished his death-site. A commemorative postcard subtly redirected attention to the houses that *were* preserved – that is, the various residences that harbored Beethoven's most famous works, rather than his deathplace itself. Framed by images of Beethoven-houses in Vienna and its environs, the postcard declared that buildings graced with Beethoven's *musical* presence shall never be razed: "Some old houses still stand, honored as the site of his creations; no new ones shall be built that have not resounded with his song."<sup>69</sup>



**Fig. 3.2.** Postcard, 1927. Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, S 36/F08177.

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Jahrhunderte in Niederösterreich zu erhalten. Es wäre niemand berufener, das durch den Aufenthalt und das Wirken des Meisters geweihte Haus in Besitz und Verwahrung zu nehmen, als die Stadt Wien." "Die Beethovengedächtnisfeier im Schwarzspanierhause," *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*, November 16, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>69</sup> <<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/manskopf/content/titleinfo/5500047>> Accessed May 24, 2016.

Unlike the house in which Beethoven's song was silenced, these assorted residences were understood to be musically alive. This living history was characteristic of Viennese culture, in which Beethoven's music was part of an ongoing tradition. In Vienna, music was said to hover "in the air" – indeed, the "Viennese air" (*Wiener Luft*) was a common expression for the city's lively cultural atmosphere, freer and more inherently musical than the stern smog of German cities (as one journalist put it in 1906, "music is the breath whose breeze the Viennese breathe most freely").<sup>70</sup> Whereas air, like the newspapers that flowed through Viennese coffeehouses, circulated through city life, the *Schwarzspanierhaus* offered a static memory of Beethoven-long-gone. This clash between static heritage and ongoing tradition was the subject of conscious debate among the Viennese. Around 1900, Vienna became the hub of discourse on preservation of "monuments," in which city officials and academics wrestled with the question of historical value.

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<sup>70</sup> In a justification of the 1906 Mozart-Gedenkfeier, one journalist explained that "(...) die Musik [ist] heute noch der Odem, unter dessen Wehen der Wiener am freisten atmet (...)" in "Die Mozart-Gedenkfeier," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, January 27, 1906, p. 4. For the prevalence of the air metaphor more generally, consider the famed Ziehrer waltz by the same name, as well as the street-life anecdotes and conversational snippets in the humorous *Wiener Luft*, a supplemental to the Viennese periodical *Figaro*. Likewise, Friedrich Schlögel's cultural portrait of Vienna was dubbed "*Wiener Luft*." *Kleine Kulturbilder aus dem Volksleben der alten Kaiserstadt an der Donau* (Vienna: L. Rosner, 1876). Numerous historical sources cited by Martina Nußbaumer describe the Viennese air as freer, lighter than the German air, and map this directly onto the overflowing musical life of the city: *Musikstadt Wien* (2007). See also Roman Horak and Siegfried Mattl, "'Musik liegt in der Luft...': Die 'Weltkulturhauptstadt Wien.' Eine Konstruktion," in Roman Horak, et al., eds., *Stadt. Messe. Raum. Wiener Studien zur Archäologie des Popularen* (Vienna: Turia & Kant, 2001), 164-239.



## Alois Riegl and the Life of Monuments

In Chapter 2, we saw how the local press in Bonn worried that, without music performance to enliven it, Beethoven's birth house might become a "dead museum."<sup>71</sup> In light of the funereal *Abschiedsfeier* in Vienna, where the house was treated as a corpse, this comment from the Bonn newspapers strikes an even deeper chord. In a century obsessed with ruins, restoration and decay, buildings were treated as alive or dead. Judging from accounts by Zweig and others, music-historical buildings had life when they actively fostered performance, animated by sound. The same bond listeners felt with the Bösendorfer hall in Vienna was the central motivation behind Joachim's chamber festivals, his "care of art music" (*Pflege der Tonkunst*, a common expression for performances and festivals). These performances were not just a means to finance the Verein, but also an effort to infuse an otherwise dead building with musical life, emulating the vivacity of cosmopolitan centers like Vienna.

Determining whether buildings were alive or dead was a central occupation of the historic preservation movement. The devastation of the French Revolution drew attention not only to the fragility of life, but also the fragility of institutions and the buildings that housed them.<sup>72</sup> It is no coincidence, then, that nineteenth-century conversations about preservation were often framed in organic terms. Restoration to an imaginary state of newness was widely

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<sup>71</sup> In the words of a Beethoven-Haus announcement flyer from 1889, *Beethoven-Haus Akten*, VBH 179. See Chapter 2.

<sup>72</sup> As discussed insightfully by Katherine Bergeron in her introduction to *Decadent Enchantments* (1998), 1-24. Note that the first state-funded preservation was administered through the Commission des Monuments Historiques in 1837.

disdained as an unnatural reversal of age, raising the ghost of a century long gone: in his 1877 manifesto on preservation, for instance, William Morris questioned whether it was possible to restore buildings of a bygone era whose “living spirit (...) was an inseparable part of that religion and thought, and those past manners.”<sup>73</sup> By the late nineteenth century, urban engineers cast the net of preservation over entire neighborhoods, not only individual buildings, developing a new concept of the “heritage city.”<sup>74</sup> This approach, too, was often framed with biological metaphors: in Germany, city planner Werner Hegemann took a holistic view of the city as an “organism” in constant evolution, borrowing language from ecology.

Hegemann’s concept of the city-organism reflects a growing rift among urban planners, whose priorities were increasingly divided between individual structures and the city as entity. It might appear that Bonn fell on the side of preserving select buildings, whereas Vienna saw itself as a larger ecosystem, reconstructing large swaths to improve urban life. But when it came to preservation, both Bonn and Vienna were invested in individual structures. The main difference was simply that Vienna’s efforts were more systematically top-down than in Bonn, where preservation projects like the Beethoven-Haus were

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<sup>73</sup> Emphasis added. The manifesto is available for download on the website of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, [www.spab.org.uk](http://www.spab.org.uk). For an overview of the historic preservation movement from its inception to the twentieth century, see the first chapter of Francesco Bandarin and Ron van Oers, *The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing Heritage in an Urban Century* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 1-36. On Morris’s impact in Britain and beyond, see Andrea Elizabeth Donovan, *William Morris and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>74</sup> The most prominent city planners to defend the “heritage city” were John Ruskin in *The Stones of Venice* (1850) and Camillo Sitte in *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (1889).

grassroots endeavors.<sup>75</sup> It was not until later in the twentieth century, starting in tourist bubbles like Venice and spreading with the devastation of WWI, that the idea of the “heritage city” took a firmer hold across Europe. And up until this turning point, the most influential ideas about preservation emerged from turn-of-the-century Vienna, which became the epicenter of discourse on so-called *Denkmalschutz* (protection of monuments).

By 1900, Austrian bureaucrats realized that they were falling behind other nations when it came to state-funded conservation. In 1902, the city appointed Alois Riegl, a prominent art historian at the University of Vienna, to head up the state bureau for historic preservation. Over the course of his tenure there, Riegl published seminal essays on the philosophy of restoration, ruins and decay. Today, he is best known for *The Modern Cult of Monuments*, a groundbreaking essay that was published in 1903, the very same year when the *Schwarzspanierhaus* was torn down.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Note that Vienna’s state-funded preservation bureau (*Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst- und historischen Denkmale*) often clashed with private organizations, especially in its earliest years. Among the first challenges that Alois Riegl faced as head of the bureau was an angry petition from a competing organization run by philanthropists who dedicated themselves to restoring and protecting historical buildings (*Verein zum Schutze und zur Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler Wiens und Niederösterreichs*). The bureau’s reaction was belittling: the philanthropists overlooked how monuments are of national concern, not only regional; too many cooks will spoil the broth; and the entire spat is moot, given that the private Verein would be hard-pressed to raise enough funds. See the complaint letter from the Verein from March 17, 1902, along with the bureau’s response on March 20, Bundesdenkmalamt-Archiv-Ausfuhrmaterialien.

<sup>76</sup> Alois Riegl, “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin,” orig. Vienna, 1903, repr. in Price, Nicholas Stanley, et al, eds. *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage* (Los Angeles: Getty, 1996), 69-83. For a brief summary of Riegl’s essay (notably the shift from newness-value to age-value) and its impact on the preservation of musical “monuments” in the form of critical editions, see Rehding (2009), 155-6.

It may seem paradoxical that, just when the state began to finance preservation, houses like the *Schwarzspanierhaus* were destroyed. But in its earliest years, historic preservation was relatively apathetic towards historic buildings like the residences of artists. Rather, preservation bureaus molded their criteria around architecture and art history – and this was for the simple reason that, particularly in Germany and Austria, these bureaus were spearheaded by art historians like Riegl. Another instrumental figure in preservation was Georg Dehio, who produced a comprehensive handbook series that charted the architectural geography of Germany and Austria, spurred by his participation in a Dresden conference on preservation in 1900. Dehio’s monuments – a term used broadly to refer to artifacts, artworks or structures with timeless, patriotic value [*Denkmäler*] rather than literal marble monuments [*Monumente*] – were primarily historic churches, palaces, and the occasional town hall. While Dehio did make brief mention of Mozart’s historic residences in his handbook on Salzburg, he took a page from the city’s own book, with Salzburg having already made itself the *Mozart-Stadt* (Chapter 4). In his handbooks on both Bonn and Vienna, there is no mention of Beethoven or his houses; these buildings were mere curios, lacking the architectural significance that would qualify them as monuments.<sup>77</sup>

Likewise, Riegl’s influential writings reveal that not all historic buildings were monuments. With his concern that preservation would devolve into a mere matter of feeling, placing unlimited demands on the state’s budget, Riegl

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<sup>77</sup> For a concise history of Dehio’s handbooks and his connection with the historic preservation movement, see *Georg Dehio (1850-1932). 100 Jahre Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler* (Berlin, Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2000).

developed a rigorous set of criteria for value. Like Dehio, Riegl's criteria stemmed from his art-historical background, measuring whether buildings were archetypes of design and taking little interest in the famous individuals who resided there.<sup>78</sup>

For Riegl, value fell into two basic camps: memory of the past and relevance to the present. Structures valued in the present were still in active use, or they bore an innovative design that distinguished them in artistic circles. Memory value, on the other hand, could come with age (the patina of decay that made ruins so alluring), history (an important link in an art-historical chain), and what he termed "desired memory" (a culturally constructed value, such as aesthetics or nostalgia).<sup>79</sup> By Riegl's rubric, one could say that a medieval castle has age-value, an exemplar of late Renaissance architecture has (art-)historical value, and a beloved landmark like the Café Griensteidl – the hangout of Viennese literati, demolished in 1897 to the dismay of its patrons<sup>80</sup> – was culturally prized if not architecturally significant. Unlike nineteenth-century renovators, who cultivated "newness-value" by erasing signs of age, planners of

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<sup>78</sup> He expressed concern about the "danger that the modern cult of monuments might lose itself in a boundless sentimentalism" and thus he tries to lay out "modest limits." ["(...) Gefahr, dass der moderne Denkmalkultus sich gelegentlich in einer uferlose Gefühlsduselei verlieren konnte (...) massvolle Grenzen."] "Das Denkmalschutzgesetz," *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), February 27, 1905, pp. 6-8.

<sup>79</sup> For a comprehensive summary of Riegl's writings, followed by the original essays, see Ernst Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal? Alois Riegl's Streitschriften zur Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995). This summary of Riegl's perspective was adapted from Bacher's introduction, p. 22. On Riegl's writings and their relationship with his appointment to the bureau, see Diana Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna, 1875-1905* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014).

<sup>80</sup> See for instance the essay by Karl Kraus, which not only bemoaned the demolition of the Café itself, but saw this event as representative of the old guard of Viennese intellectuals giving way to the new: "The Demolished Literature," in Howard B. Segel, ed. and transl., *The Vienna Coffeehouse Wits (1890-1938)* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1993), 64-85.

the twentieth century, Riegl argued, ought to prevent further decay without polishing away the patina of “age-value.” Riegl felt that this approach would appeal to a modern public that was invested in the authentic atmosphere (*Stimmung*) of historic cities.<sup>81</sup> His framework offered a concrete method for the central problem of preservation: maintaining the past for the benefit of the present, while also imagining the value systems of the future.<sup>82</sup> This challenge, while shared by preservationists across Europe, was exceptionally characteristic of German and Austrian nationalist projects, which revived history in an intensely self-conscious effort to appease the judgment of posterity.

By Riegl’s definition, Beethoven’s death house had “desired memory value” – the same brand of value that was bestowed upon his works. But during Riegl’s tenure at the bureau, there was no official metric to determine this kind of cultural value, as opposed to age or relevance to architectural history. If only a smattering of tourists and residents prized a building, then it was not quite “desired” enough to earn state protection (albeit a perfect candidate for philanthropic rescue, like Joachim’s project in Bonn). The bureau was further inclined to protect public buildings, given that it faced accusations of socialism

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<sup>81</sup> Riegl’s concept of mood and age-value seems, to my mind, a kind of antiquarian predecessor to Benjamin’s concept of aura. Riegl wrote disparagingly of reproductions, which water down the original age-value: “For such an effect of mood to emanate from an old work of art it is an unavoidable precondition that the art object truly is old and has not been copied by modern hands.” [Damit nun eine solche Stimmungswirkung von den alten Kunstwerken ausgehen könne, ist es eine unumgängliche Voraussetzung, daß diese Kunstwerke eben wirklich alte und nicht von modernen Händen nachgeahmt seien.] Riegl, “Das Riesenthor,” repr. in Bacher (1995), 51. See also Riegl’s essay on mood: “Die Stimmung als Inhalt der modernen Kunst,” *Graphische Künste* 22 (1889), 47.

<sup>82</sup> This challenge of preservation is mentioned by Cordileone, *Riegl* (2014), 264.

from owners who feared state seizures of private property (as might have been the case with the Stift Heiligenkreuz).

What Riegl's paradigm reveals is how cities like Vienna could prioritize and categorize their own history. In its earliest years, Austrian preservation was less invested in historical events, less taken by "this happened here" (a contemporary approach to preservation); instead, Riegl sought to define his heritage city by its architecture. Nor were Riegl's aims limited to the city of Vienna. Records of the bureau's activities show art-historical priorities across Austria: proceedings from 1902-1903, when the *Schwarzspanierhaus* was condemned and demolished, revolve around the renovation of churches in Tirol that were fine examples of Italian design.<sup>83</sup> In each issue of the bureau's annual journal, a special section lamented recent victims of demolition; but these were nearly always castles or villas that exemplified an architectural period, never homes and haunts. On the rare occasion that residences were mourned by the bureau, they were Biedermeier mansions admired for their beauty rather than their backstory.<sup>84</sup>

The organicist rhetoric in Riegl's writings gives further insight into why Beethoven's house was demolished and mourned. In several of his essays, Riegl expressed concern about the deep-seated tendency to anthropomorphize

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<sup>83</sup> Documents in the boxes marked 1902 and 1903 in Vienna's Bundesdenkmal-Archiv pertain largely to churches in Tirol.

<sup>84</sup> See the "Monumenta deperdita" sections in each issue of the *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst- und historischen Denkmale* (Vienna: Anton Schroll), published from 1907-1910. On the project to save Viennese Biedermeier mansions, see Hans Tietze, "Der Kampf um Alt-Wien," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst- und historischen Denkmale* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1908), 46-56 and 114-122.

buildings and landscapes as organic bodies. If this tendency were left unchecked, he maintained, historic preservation might be driven by irrational feelings – that is, by the instinctive aversion to desecrating bodies – rather than by careful choice. As Riegl put it: “When, for example, one wishes to prohibit the creation of a quarry in a rock face, this is not so much because of the lost aesthetic effect of the vertical line in relation to the horizontal ground, but rather because it appears to *deform the living body of the earth with wounds*.”<sup>85</sup> If buildings have life, then empathetic citizens might want to protect all buildings indiscriminately, merely to avoid the displeasure of “wounding” a façade.

But for Riegl, this tendency to anthropomorphize could also be productive. Ever since the Romantic fascination with ruins, the modern eye has preferred buildings that age gracefully: “Just as decay is a steady and implacable element of the circle of life, it is the perception of this transitoriness that is so satisfying to the modern viewer – it is not the *unnatural mummification* of preservation, but the evidence of inevitable change that touches the heart of modern man. Therefore, as long as its decay is slow and steady, the monument might best be left to the slow processes of nature.”<sup>86</sup> While Riegl never openly commented on historic artist-houses, I speculate that he might have disapproved if the *Schwarzspanierhaus* had been “unnaturally mummified,” converted into a

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<sup>85</sup> Emphasis added. “Wenn zum Beispiel verlangt wird, daß in einer Felswand kein Steinbruch angelegt werden dürfe, so geschieht es nicht so sehr darum, weil dadurch die ästhetische Wirkung ihrer senkrechten Linie im Verhältnisse zur waagrechten des Bodens verloren ginge, sondern weil es dem lebendigen Leib der Erde aufgerissen und durch Wunden entstellt sieht.” Riegl, “Das Denkmalschutzgesetz” *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), February 27, 1905, p. 7. Reprinted in Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?* (1995), 204.

<sup>86</sup> Emphasis added. Riegl, *Denkmalkultus* (1903), translated by Cordileone, *Alois Riegl* (2014), 272.



fake attraction for English tourists rather than a living structure that bore traces of its own history.

I suggest that this organic discourse on preservation laid the groundwork for Pierre Nora, whose classic text on “sites of memory” surfaces frequently in histories of museums, archives, monuments, and other repositories of memory.<sup>87</sup> Casual allusions to Nora often separate the term “sites of memory” from its original context in his scathing criticism of French historicity, in which archives preserve all cultural products equally in a manner that renders tradition artificial and prosthetic. Nora laments the decline of natural, living memory that manifests in continuous traditions (such as pilgrimage), which remain part of a cultural fabric without self-consciously mummifying themselves. This distinction between sites and environments of memory, then, appears to be a postwar return to turn-of-the-century discourse on preservation, with sites that may be artificially restored or allowed to decay as natural ruins. Nora’s appreciation for living environments of memory – that is, environments in which the past lives in ritual, rather than being deposited in static sites – reveals a preference for cities like Vienna. Rather than preserving historic buildings, many Viennese preferred to enact their history in ritual, such as the funeral for Beethoven’s house that enacted the original event of 1827.

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<sup>87</sup> Pierre Nora, “Les Lieux de Mémoire” (1989).

## Living History

Riegl's approach to preservation—cultivating a patina of age, preventing further decay, and encouraging the continued life of buildings through active use—encapsulates a quintessential feature of Viennese attitudes towards history and the past. Many Viennese writers engaged with the past as continuous with the present, rather than frozen in time. The city thrived in the here-and-now, its coffeeshops flooded with newspapers and gossip on current events. The feuilletonist Anton Kuh held that Vienna without newspapers is “Vienna without Vienna. Since the newspaper is Vienna, Vienna a newspaper. The city lives only when it reads itself in print (...) Without newspapers [*Zeitungen*], Vienna is time-less [*zeitlos*] (...) for it is well known that Vienna's clocks are set according to the appearance of the morning, midday, evening, and late-evening papers.”<sup>88</sup> Quite unlike our present-day view of Vienna as a city rich with history, Kuh's satire instead depicts a total immersion in the present, “timeless” not for its ancient buildings and Roman ruins but for its dependence upon newspapers to set the clocks.

Kuh's remark that “the city lives only when it sees itself in print” bears striking resemblance to the central argument of Peter Fritzsche's well-known monograph, *Reading Berlin 1900*. Fritzsche argues that newspapers not only reflected the sprawling diversity of Berlin in refracted form, but also actively shaped the city, guiding newcomers through urban chaos. Fritzsche suggests that

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<sup>88</sup> Anton Kuh continues with a humorous portrait of the Viennese love-affair with newspapers: “Wien ohne Zeitung,” *Zeitgeist im Literatur-Café* (1918), 26-9. Transl. and repr. in Segel, *Coffeeshouse Wits* (1993), 306.

numerous fast-growing cities in this period, Vienna and Berlin alike, made use of newspaper technology to constitute themselves, to “read [themselves] in print” (in Kuh’s words). But not all big cities were created alike: whereas Vienna was the center of an empire, Berlin had no ruling aristocracy until 1830, leading to a restless patchwork of neighborhoods with no unified center.<sup>89</sup> Thus while Vienna was fueled by newspapers just as much as Berlin, its imperial history and grand Ringstrasse gave it a central axis. This made Vienna into a city of tensions between old-world royalty and middle-class modernity, between the central first district and surrounding neighborhoods, that we see even today in the city’s odd architectural juxtapositions.<sup>90</sup> Where aristocratic patrons sponsored revivals of Baroque ostentation, modernist architects responded to the “painful uncertainty” of the metropolis (in the words of Otto Wagner) with simple lines and flat exteriors that sought to temper the chaos of bourgeois life.<sup>91</sup>

Given Vienna’s love affair with the news, daily happenings tended to overshadow past events, fostering a climate of indifference to city history that led the death-house to fall. A surprising episode in the *Schwarzspanierhaus* serves as a perfect example. In October of 1903, one month before the *Abschiedsfeier*, the

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<sup>89</sup> Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (1996). See his Chapter 1 and especially pp. 30-1 for a comparison of big-city newspaper culture.

<sup>90</sup> These juxtapositions arose in part from this tension, and in part from the lack of a single unified city planner (as was the case with Frederick the Great in Berlin, or Georges-Eugène Haussmann in Paris, cities engineered by a single hand). See Lichtenberger, *Vienna* (1993), 86-8.

<sup>91</sup> See for instance the classic monograph by Carl Schorske: “How different was the face in [Otto] Wagner’s mirror of modernity: an active, efficient, rational, modish bourgeois – an urban man with little time, lots of money, and a taste for the monumental. Wagner’s metropolitan man suffered from only one pathological lack: the need for direction. In his fast-moving world of time and motion, what Wagner called ‘painful uncertainty’ was all too easily felt. The architect must help to overcome it by providing defined lines of movement.” Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Random House, 1981), 85.

young philosopher Otto Weininger rented a room in the *Schwarzspanierhaus* (albeit a different room from Beethoven's) and there committed suicide. At the time, Weininger was relatively unknown, fresh out of his doctorate with a misogynistic and anti-Semitic thesis that garnered less critical attention than he had hoped. As is so often the case in celebrity culture, Weininger's death propelled him to cult status. His thesis, upgraded from juvenilia to swan song, became an overnight best-seller in intellectual circles.<sup>92</sup> Weininger was an admirer of Beethoven and an aspiring musician<sup>93</sup> – thus he was perfectly aware that his chosen death-place was also that of Beethoven and (given its announcement in all the papers) that this house was scheduled to fall in only a month's time. Weininger's place of demise was chosen as a poignant symbol of ephemerality.

One would think, then, that this ritualistic location might have been snapped up by the press. Yet historical reminiscence held so little appeal that reports of Weininger's death almost universally failed to mention Beethoven.<sup>94</sup> In private, Weininger's close friend alluded to the symbolic import of Beethoven in

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<sup>92</sup> In his classic history of Vienna, William M. Johnston suggests that the cult value of suicide in this period might stem from an underlying attraction to evanescence in literature, citing over two dozen suicides of Viennese intellectuals with Weininger as their figurehead. See Johnston, *Austrian Mind* (1972), 179-80.

<sup>93</sup> A year before his death, Weininger wrote to his friend Arthur Gerber that "I am now convinced that I was born to be a musician." [(...) ich habe jetzt die Überzeugung, daß ich doch zum Musiker geboren bin.] Letter from August 12, 1902. Cited in Jacques le Rider, *Der Fall Otto Weininger. Wurzeln des Antifeminismus und Antisemitismus* (Vienna, Munich: Löcker Verlag, 1985), 39.

<sup>94</sup> I arrived at this conclusion after reviewing over a dozen Viennese newspapers. The report in *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* is characteristic of countless other reports, all of which provide juicy details of the suicide and especially the discovery of the body, but omit any mention of Beethoven: "Selbstmord eines Schriftstellers," October 5, 1903, p. 5. On the public's fascination with suicide notices in newspapers, see Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (1996), 121-2.

a grieving letter to a mutual friend;<sup>95</sup> likewise, Weininger's own father integrated this symbolic resting place into the epitaph, which read in part: "He sought out the deathplace of a great man, the Viennese *Schwarzspanierhaus*, and there destroyed his bodily self."<sup>96</sup> But even in the years following his death, when he was firmly established as a cult figure, Weininger's symbolic choice of location was scarcely mentioned. One author penned an entire book that speculated on Weininger's suicide psychology (appropriately entitled *Weininger's Death*), citing reasons like Weininger's self-hatred as an anti-Semitic Jew and his desire to render himself a martyred saint. This treatise on the subject never once mentions Beethoven's house.<sup>97</sup> The juicy details of the suicide overshadowed the significance of the *site* itself. In Vienna, dynamic happenings were valued over static spaces.

In this culture of the here-and-now, Viennese writers took an unusual approach to history. Rather than reflect on the past as distant and forever lost, the Viennese preferred a kind of living history, a continuity of past and present that still resided in memory. It was this sense of the living city that led

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<sup>95</sup> Swedish playwright August Strindberg, likewise a close friend of Weininger, wrote to Arthur Gerber: "I also, like Weininger, became religious out of fear of becoming inhuman. I too adored Beethoven, even established a Beethoven club where only Beethoven was played. But I have noticed that so-called good people cannot stand Beethoven. He is unhappy, restless, and cannot be called heavenly; unearthly certainly. Weininger's fate? Did he indeed betray the secret of the gods? Steal the fire? The air was too thick for him here below, so he suffocated? This cynical life was too cynical for him? That he is gone, means to me that he had the very highest permission to do so. Otherwise, such things do not happen. So was it written." Letter from Strindberg to Gerber, Stockholm, December 8, 1903. In Martin Dudaniec & Kevin Solway, transl., *Otto Weininger: Collected Aphorisms, Notebook and Letters to a Friend*, publ. online: <<http://www.huzheng.org/geniusreligion/aphlett.pdf>> Accessed May 30, 2016.

<sup>96</sup> "Er suchte den Todesbezirk eines Allergrössten im Wiener Schwarzspanierhause und vernichtete dort seine Leiblichkeit."

<sup>97</sup> Dr. Hermann Swoboda, *Otto Weiningers Tod*, (Vienna, Leipzig: Hugo Heller & Cie., 1st ed. 1911, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1923).

coffeeshop intellectuals to write reams of *Kleinkunst* (short, whimsical essays) on every facet of Viennese life, ranging from catfights at the Burgtheater to loving portraits of a favorite tea blend.<sup>98</sup> More popular still were the volumes of anecdotes on the everyday, read widely both within and outside the city.<sup>99</sup> Even Stefan Zweig's *The World of Yesterday* was conceived not as a traditional autobiography, but a biography of his entire generation, retrieving a lost world through the memory-archive of a single individual.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, Eduard Hanslick spent most of his career engaged in what Kevin Karnes has characterized as "living history" – that is, Hanslick archived Vienna's musical life using his own concert reviews as primary source material, history crystallized from memory.<sup>101</sup>

This same attitude towards history could, of course, be seen to characterize any metropolis with bustling streets and a busy print culture. But I would argue that this vivid relationship with the past was exceptionally robust in Vienna, in part *because* of its musical life. With its longstanding brand as "city of music," Vienna took pride in a heritage that was felt to resound through the streets, as shown in great detail by Martina Nußbaumer.<sup>102</sup> David Wyn Jones, too, has devoted his recent monograph to the complex variety of institutions

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<sup>98</sup> See Segel, *Coffeehouse Wits* (1993).

<sup>99</sup> See for instance the series by Friedrich Schögl: *Wiener Blut*, followed by *Wiener Luft*, both subtitled *Kleine Kulturbilder aus dem Volksleben der alten Kaiserstadt an der Donau* (Vienna: L. Rosner, 1873 and 1876, respectively).

<sup>100</sup> Just as Hanslick refers to his concert reviews as "primary sources," Zweig, too, describes his memories as archival documents in his history. See his preface in *World of Yesterday* (1964), xvii-xxiii.

<sup>101</sup> Eduard Hanslick, *Geschichte des Konzertwesens in Wien* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1869-70). See the compelling argument about Hanslick's "living history" by Kevin C. Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History: Shaping Modern Musical Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); see especially 58-9.

<sup>102</sup> Nußbaumer, *Musikstadt Wien* (2007).

supported by bourgeois music-lovers. He culls his snapshot of Vienna's musical fabric from the comprehensive calendar-guides that detailed every concert, new edition, and festival in the city; and these guides were in active, everyday use (pocket-sized and outfitted with pencil sheath and blank staff paper for note-taking).<sup>103</sup>

In the wake of destruction after Europe's world wars, Viennese critics became increasingly vocal about their musical heritage. During the Nazi occupation in 1940 and again in 1945, musicologist Max Graf mourned the "death of a musical city" that still echoed with ghosts: "Through these same dim alleys went Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, and at night when all is still, one imagines he can still hear their echoing steps. Thus *the past is vividly alive in Vienna. Its musical history is bound to the present and does not lie dead in books.*" After guiding the reader on a virtual tour of musical Vienna, Graf concludes that music in this city "was not an isolated province where only musicologists and historians went to dig for treasure. It was *no dead memory*, but an ever active power, belonging to the intellect, to the way of life and the atmosphere of the city. And if one should destroy every building in Vienna, the earth would still be there over which so many great musicians passed; and the air of which they

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<sup>103</sup> These calendars were *Fromme's musikalische Welt*, edited by Theodor Helm and later re-named the *Musikbuch aus Österreich. Ein Jahrbuch der Musikpflege in Österreich und den bedeutensten Musikstädten des Auslandes*. In his monograph, Jones traces a shift in Vienna's musical identity from imperial Habsburg (1700) to aristocratic Austria (1800) and finally to bourgeois Vienna (1900); and while he does not draw upon Nußbaumer's work, Jones similarly details the complex institutional history that led to the branding of *Musikstadt Wien* in the later decades of the nineteenth century. David Wyn Jones, *Music in Vienna, 1700, 1800, 1900* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016).

breathed.”<sup>104</sup> In a city where heritage was thought to linger in the air, there was no need to make every historic house into a shrine; as Graf lamented in 1940, “what remains [of musical Vienna] is nothing but old buildings in which great music once was written, and the graves of great musicians” that served as “melancholy reminders” of the lost *Musikstadt* rather than precious memory sites.

The attention given to Beethoven by the Viennese presses supports Graf’s sentiment that music in Vienna was an active power rather than a dead memory. Journalists often re-imagined scenes from Beethoven’s tenure in Vienna, presenting these as serial novellas with fictional dialogue; one such novella reproduced floorplans and drawings of Beethoven’s residence at the time, linking the material site with the history that happened there.<sup>105</sup> Above all, the Viennese presses (like the pocket calendar-guides) were bursting with reports of performances and festivals. In 1889, the same year as the Bonn newspapers trumpeted the rescue of the birth-house, Beethoven-talk in Vienna revolved around the controversial premiere of a previously unknown, unfinished piano concerto (attributed to Beethoven but widely suspected to be a forgery).<sup>106</sup> One year later, when the Beethoven-Haus first opened its doors, the city of Vienna

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<sup>104</sup> Emphasis added. Max Graf, *Legend of a Musical City* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), 10 and 24, respectively. See also Graf’s article in which he mourns the death in 1938 of his city as he knew it: “Vienna, the music city, is dead – dead as Venice, the city of painting. The monumental history of this unique home of music is ended.” Max Graf, trans. Arthur Mendel, “The Death of a Music City: Vienna, 1600-1938,” *The Musical Quarterly* 28:1 (1940), 8-18.

<sup>105</sup> This serial story recounted Beethoven’s summer spent composing *Christus am Oelberge*. “Beethoven in Wien’s Sommerfrische,” *Die Lyra: Wiener allgemeine Zeitschrift für die literarische und musikalische Welt*, nrs. 13; 18; 20 from April 1; June 15; July 15, 1893.

<sup>106</sup> “Musik,” *Wiener Sonn- und Montagszeitung*, April 15, 1889, p. 1; “Concerte,” *Das Vaterland*, April 20, 1889, p. 1.



teemed with concerts, parades and festivities for the German Singers' League Festival, an event which served to brand Vienna the *Lieder-Stadt* just as Bonn branded itself the city of Beethoven.<sup>107</sup> Festivals of this kind were entirely commonplace: only two weeks after the *Abscheidsfeier* in 1903, for instance, another musical Beethoven-Fest took place at a nearby conservatory.<sup>108</sup>

### **Tourists and Pilgrims**

We have seen in Chapter 2 how visitors to the Beethoven-Haus ardently distanced themselves from the tourist rabble, behaving like pilgrims to assert their status as cultural insiders. In Vienna, a city that thronged with public festivals and international tourists, one might expect less mention of pilgrimage; but in fact, the city's thriving tourist industry led Beethoven-lovers to proclaim themselves pilgrims even more vocally than in Bonn.

It may come as no surprise that the value placed on preservation is tied with its tourist history, given that sites, neighborhoods, and city centers are often preserved for benefit of visitors. Yet the exact relationship between tourism and preservation can be difficult to pin down. Recent literature in tourist studies often neglects a critical chicken-and-egg question: did the presence of tourists shape cities' approach to heritage, or did a preexisting landscape of heritage

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<sup>107</sup> For a detailed chronicle of this festival, the *Vierte deutsche Sängerbundfesfest*, see Nußbaumer, *Musikstadt* (2007), 251-84.

<sup>108</sup> Announced in *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, December 2, 1903, p. 11.

draw tourists with specific needs and aims?<sup>109</sup> The answer seems to be a feedback loop: tourists shape cities and vice versa. Around 1800, the first tourists began to explore famed attractions and iconic landscapes. By word of mouth, these earliest tourists spurred a growing demand that led those attractions to market themselves in caricature, a region with a brand. To take the example of Vienna and Bonn: Vienna's coffeehouses made it a destination for culinary delights that "pilgrims" dismissed as middlebrow leisure; in the Rhineland, on the other hand, tourism to the *Siebengebirge* mountain range, and especially the ruined fort of Drachenfels, solidified the area's existing reputation for Romantic ethos and lofty moralism.

The contrast between these two brands, culinary Vienna vs. romantic Rhineland, resulted from divergent relationships with the past. A travel hub dating to antiquity, the Rhineland marketed itself as a landscape arrested in time, its ruined castles holding special appeal for English readers of Gothic literature. By the 1890s, when the Beethoven-Haus was established, the state caught on to the Rhineland's timeless appeal: Kaiser Wilhelm II made it a political agenda to protect the Rhine region, restoring medieval churches to position Germany as continuous with the Holy Roman Empire (and to deem himself Charlemagne's successor). These state-funded preservation measures were spearheaded by composer Ernst Rudorff, a friend of Joseph Joachim, for whom music and nature

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<sup>109</sup> In a detailed study of German tourism and Baedekers by Rudy Koshar, for instance, it is never quite clear whether Baedekers shaped tourism or vice versa; Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000).

were dual manifestations of the German spirit (see Chapter 2).<sup>110</sup> Thus the Rhineland was seen as timeless, quintessentially German, and resounding with ancient music; and accordingly, each Rhineland Baedeker was prefaced by a poetic ode in which the German song of the Rhine echoes over the hills, one of countless poetic examples of so-called *Rheinromantik*, the Romantic fantasy of the untouched valley as quintessential *Heimat* (homeland).<sup>111</sup>

In response, one nineteenth-century visitor reported that, in the Rhineland, “one feels everywhere the spirit of the past” – and in keeping with this reputation, Baedekers for the region were rife with ancient landscapes, printed on fold-out inserts that showed the maximally picturesque view of each castle and lake.<sup>112</sup> I speculate that these inserts reveal a much broader facet of tourism’s appeal in this period: the black-and-white etchings of the Baedeker resemble the same decorative landscapes one might see in a Victorian home. But unlike snapshots on a parlor wall, Baedeker inserts served as pale previews of sights that visitors would experience in real color. Tourists might well have sought out these exact lines of vision, these picturesque views, in part for the thrill of seeing familiar lithographs spring to life. What was central for visitors to

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<sup>110</sup> On preservation efforts in the Rhineland, see the insightful monograph by Thomas M. Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2004); on English tourism to the Rhineland, see especially pp. 24-30.

<sup>111</sup> Max von Schenkendorf, “Das Lied vom Rhein” (1814). The Rhine served as a poetic inspiration for so many early Romantics that it became emblematic of German nationalism.

<sup>112</sup> A quotation by the American Bayard Taylor, cited by Rudy Koshar in his history of German Baedekers and how these guidebooks shaped (and to some extent were shaped by) the culture of German leisure and tourist practices: *German Travel Cultures* (2000), 1.

the Rhineland, then, was the aesthetic of the *tableau* – not the dynamism of a bustling city, but panoramas frozen in time.<sup>113</sup>

Naturally, the Rhineland's self-image conditioned the tourist culture of its cities. In his study of German small towns, Mack Walker argues that, starting in the Biedermeier period, the cult of Nature was "extended socially to include the small town," with small communities idealized as "more nearly of natural and divine origin than of human construction."<sup>114</sup> This tendency shaped how historic cities marketed themselves. Early Baedekers portray Rhineside cities like Bonn, Cologne, and Koblenz as perfectly preserved, scenic bubbles. Up until the revival of interest in Beethoven in 1870, it was this fantasy of natural purity, rather than the celebrity association with Beethoven, that drew tourists to cities along the Rhine. It was only relatively late in the century that Bonn became linked with Beethoven in the tourist imagination: the Baedeker from 1860 briefly mentioned his monument in the Münsterplatz; in 1876, after the birth centennial, Beethoven's birth house earned a spot on the map; and by 1902, the museum itself had become the main Beethoven attraction, with an entire paragraph detailing its history and collections. Following the lead of Weimar with its Goethe-Nationalmuseum, Bonn made itself into a celebrity hub, not only a picturesque town.

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<sup>113</sup> See the Baedekers from 1860, 1876, 1883, 1902 and 1905: Karl Baedeker, *Die Rheinlande. Von der Schweizer bis zur Holländischen Grenze* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker).

<sup>114</sup> Mack Walker, *German Home Towns: Community, State and General Estate, 1648-1871* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971), 323.

But even Beethoven's relatively concise mention in these Baedekers far outshines the composer's presence in Viennese guidebooks. Rather than the historic walking routes that filled the pages of Bonn guides, Vienna's tourists were directed to culinary and theatrical entertainments, organized categorically by food, architectural grandeur, theater events and musical genres. While monuments of various kinds always earned a blurb, most historic sites in Vienna took a backseat to coffeehouses and pastry shops like the Café Central and Demel (still overflowing with tourists to this day). Even when guidebooks touched on the city's musical heritage, they preferred to couch Vienna as the city of waltzes, military bands, and "every imaginable musical pleasure" rather than the center of eighteenth-century classicism.<sup>115</sup> This contrast between pious Bonn and lighthearted Vienna stems from conflicting modes of tourism: slow vs. fast. Where Bonn was a leisurely stop along a scenic trip through the countryside (with Beethoven-sites, likewise, serving as leisurely stops along a walking route), Vienna was a lively hub of entertainment. Advances in steam train technology shortened itineraries from weeks to days; thus tourists increasingly made quick stopovers in Vienna to catch a show and sip a *kleiner Brauner*, a modern form of travel that guidebooks sought to accommodate.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> One guidebook explained that Vienna offers "jeden nur dankbaren Genuß musikalischer Art": Paul Busson, *Wien: seine Sehenswürdigkeiten und Vergnügen* (Vienna, 1913), 15. On this passage, along with an overview of guidebooks depicting Vienna city of musical light entertainment around 1900, see Martina Nußbaumer, *Musikstadt Wien. Die Konstruktion eines Images* (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2007), 53-64.

<sup>116</sup> The preface to one Vienna guide, for instance, explains that shortened itineraries have led its design to orbit around food and theater categories: "Dieser Führer durch Wien ist nach einem neuen, der jetztigen Art des Reisens anbequemten Plante bearbeitet. Je mehr die Entfernungen schwinden, desto ruheloser wird der Tourist, welcher den Aufenthalt an einem Orte nach

Not all visitors were satisfied with this mode of tourism. Those who traveled to Beethoven-sites in Vienna – such as his grave, the hall where the *Eroica* premiered, the *Schwarzspanierhaus* and his various residences around the city – dubbed themselves “pilgrims” and vocally disdained the cheap delights of Baedekers. This holier-than-thou attitude echoes the self-endorsements of fans in the Beethoven-Haus guestbooks, who likewise saw their visits as devotion rather than recreation. It is possible that these pilgrims took inspiration from reading biographies, retracing composers’ footsteps.

One figure in particular supports this link between biography and pilgrimage: Beethoven’s biographer Alexander Wheelock Thayer, who published detailed accounts of his “pilgrimage” to Beethoven that circulated among English music-lovers. In 1854, Thayer detailed a trip to Vienna that was intended “not merely to seek pleasure” but to “search for memorials of *Beethoven*.”<sup>117</sup> Every stop on his itinerary was endowed with ritual significance, devout practices and mementos. When he visited the stunning palace at Schönbrunn, for instance, he touted his noble reasons over the usual tourist attractions: rather than admire the grounds, Thayer scouted the tree where Beethoven wrote his Heiligenstadt Testament, an effort “to find the spot where, half a century ago, a

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demselben Masstabe reducirt, wie die Fahrzeiten durch die Anwendung des Dampfes verkürzt worden sind, und der heute für eine grosse Stadt kaum so viel Tage übrig hat, als Wochen vor zwei Jahrzehnten.” B. Bucher and K. Weiss, *Wiener Baedeker. Wanderungen durch Wien und Umgebungen*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Vienna: Faesy & Frick, 1873).

<sup>117</sup> Alexander Wheelock Thayer, “A pilgrimage to Vienna and the tomb of Beethoven,” *Dwight’s Journal of Music* 1:12 (June 26, 1852), 89. Like Thayer’s pilgrimage, a number of composers made musical pilgrimages by writing commemorative works about the graveside; take for instance Meyerbeer’s 1845 work for women’s chorus, “Der Wanderer und die Geister an Beethovens Grabe,” set to a poem by F. Braun.

young man afflicted with disease and incurable deafness, loved to come (...) and sitting in the thickest of the wood (...) gave utterance in immortal tones, to the mighty emotions which oppressed his great heart.”<sup>118</sup> Thayer was not the only traveler to visit Heiligenstadt on a quest for Beethoven’s favorite composing spot. Starting at midcentury, fans would stroll along the so-called “Beethoven Walk,” the streamside path between Nußdorf and Heiligenstadt where Beethoven supposedly wrote his Pastoral symphony. The stroll was so popular, in fact, that a bust of Beethoven was installed beside the brook in 1862. By walking along the composer’s route, visitors tried to embody his living self, a history in motion that contrasts markedly with the hushed stillness of the birth-room shrine in Bonn.

Thayer’s penchant for historical re-imagining continued in Beethoven’s death house, where he received a personal tour from Gerhard von Breuning.<sup>119</sup> For Thayer, his own footsteps brought the building to life, summoning flashbacks of Beethoven’s last days: “The empty rooms, sounding to our steps, became again the abode of the sick man. We saw him lying there patient and composed, heard him reply to the written questions of doctor, brother, or friend

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<sup>118</sup> The list of usual tourist attractions Thayer provides includes seeing Maria Theresa’s residence, visiting the palace Napoleon occupied while in Vienna, and strolling in the gardens, and taking in views of Vienna from afar. Thayer and his guide tried to find the exact oak tree that might have offered a comfortable seat for composing: “(...) Here afterwards when he had become somewhat reconciled to his calamity, he used to sit in a natural seat, formed by the triple stem of an oak, and work upon his immortal *Fidelio* (...) trees and shrubs and flowers, and fountains, cool allies and shady walks, all these had little of interest compared with an oak, which we found (...) that might have made an excellent seat. *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>119</sup> Here Thayer again distinguishes his solemn visit from the elaborate architecture that most tourists sought in Vienna: “There is nothing picturesque or peculiar in the Schwartzspanier house; and yet how much more interesting than the noblest of palaces, which rise proudly from the city opposite!” Thayer (1852), 90.

(...) in short lived over again with Breuning these last months."<sup>120</sup> For all of Thayer's interest in re-imagining the past, the history he sought out in Vienna still lived in Breuning's memory. Thayer preferred the *Schwarzspanierhaus* to come alive with reminiscence rather than standing mute.<sup>121</sup>

But it was primarily Beethoven's *grave*, not his death house, that became a ritual space, a platform for devotions like the guestbooks in Bonn. In Thayer's account, we see the many of the same practices as we witnessed in these guestbooks: the self-promotion as a cultural insider, the elevation of everyday sentiments through verse, and the gathering of mementos to tuck into an album. As he rode the omnibus to Beethoven's grave, Thayer tried to impress his Viennese neighbors with relics (a hair lock and autographs) that proved his status as a Beethoven-insider. He relished their amazement that an American from the "barbarous land" devoid of "art or science" could embark on such a devout mission. Once there, Thayer collected foliage from the sacred site, and "felt almost as if guilty of sacrilege" when he pinched a few leaves from the wreath laid atop the tomb.<sup>122</sup> On a repeat visit some years later, Thayer enacted a

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<sup>120</sup> Thayer, "The diarist in Vienna," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 17:7 (December 5, 1860), 49.

<sup>121</sup> We know of one other visitor to the Schwarzspanierhaus through an interesting sketch of its interior: the famous painter Adolph von Menzel visited the rooms in 1874 and produced sketches of Beethoven's death chamber with a bust in the corner and a large piano. Menzel was an avid concertgoer and in addition to illustrated biographies of both Beethoven and Mozart, he produced a number of sketches of artist-houses and sites: the stairs of the Schwarzspanierhaus, Beethoven's grave, Mozart's birth house from the street, Mozart's birth-house stairs, a gateway at Mozart's birth house, Schubert's grave, Schumann's grave, and the Bach monument at Eisenach. See Gisold Lammel, *Adolph Menzel und seine Kreise*, vol. 2 (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1993), 88. For the sketches themselves, see: *Kat. Ausstellung von Werken Adolph von Menzels*, Königliche National-Galerie (Berlin, 1905), Nr. 5250 and *Kat. Adolph Menzel, Ausstellung zum 120. Geburtstag und 30. Todestag des Künstlers, veranstaltet von der Akademie der Künste und der Nationalgalerie* (Berlin, 1935), 17.

<sup>122</sup> Thayer (1860), 90.



makeshift ceremony at Beethoven's grave together with Breuning. The men gathered around the grave to "[exchange] thoughts, feelings, and recollections upon the great soul," attached a laurel wreath to a tree, and listened solemnly to a Latin prayer and a German poem recited by their compatriot.<sup>123</sup> It is no coincidence that, in Vienna, graves became the sites of choice for these rituals. Viennese citizens were accustomed to lavish public ceremonies, a feature of Habsburg propaganda.<sup>124</sup> Vienna's gravesites, then, functioned as public spaces that offered the potential to enact new ceremonies.

Thus when Vienna chose to celebrate Beethoven's death, it was not through the rescue and restoration of his *Schwarzspanierhaus*, but through public festivities and lavish updates to his gravesite. In 1887, the 40-year anniversary of the composer's death, a festival raised funds for a monumental obelisk to mark his tomb. The new capstone was supported by a concert at the Society for the Friends of Music, where a poetic prologue exemplified the Viennese penchant for collective celebration. It proclaimed that Beethoven's "monuments" are to be found everywhere in the sounds of his music—every living room, concert hall, and mythic echo over the Rhine. But in order to make these ephemeral sounds *material*, Beethoven's remains must be adorned with a physical monument: "O, we could pluck the blossoms of sound, / Those immortal sounds that he gave us,

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>124</sup> See for instance Daniel L. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2005).

/ Only when we we would be worthy to decorate / The site that encloses his earthly remains.”<sup>125</sup>

It might seem striking that prologues of this sort use the collective “we,” in contrast with the self-promoting “I” of the guestbooks in Bonn, where pilgrims asserted their kinship with Beethoven in a competitive first-person.<sup>126</sup> But this prologue is distinctly less populist, less open to the *Volk*, than the museum in Bonn, read to an elite group of donors at a private event. Given that the Society for the Friends of Music affected the air of a middle-class institution that was nonetheless funded by royals, this prologue smacks of a private event that sought to *perform* a kind of populism that the Society did not actually foster. Where Thayer and others used Beethoven’s gravesite as a site of devotional ritual, this project to erect a finer gravestone reclaims this public site as a space of private interest, the domain of high-society initiates.

### **Petrifying Vienna**

In the first decades of the twentieth century, Vienna’s living history saw a dramatic turn. Already by 1910, Riegl’s successor at the preservation bureau cracked down on demolition. While the new head of the bureau, Max Dvořák, was likewise an art-historian interested in architectural exempla, he expressed

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<sup>125</sup> “O könnten wir die Klangesblüthen pflücken, / Die unvergänglichen, die er uns gab, / Dann erst vermachten würdig wir zu schmücken / Die Stätte, die sein irdisch Theil umschließt (...)” Wilhelm du Nord, “Prolog zu dem von Frau Caroline de Serres um 4. Februar 1887 im großen Saale des Musikvereins zu Wien veranstalteten Concerte zum Zwecke der Errichtung eines Grabdenkmals für Beethoven, Gesprochen von Baronin Lola Alemann.” Handwritten poem, Beethoven-Haus Bibliothek, Z 2931,16.

<sup>126</sup> See especially my discussion of visitors Carl Berg and Margarete Koelman in Chapter 2.

more vehement frustrations than Riegl at the “lack of piety” that caused old Vienna to fall victim to “the duties and obligations of modern city building at the expense of the past.”<sup>127</sup> With his tenure extending until 1921, Dvořák witnessed firsthand the devastation of war and declared historic preservation a matter of high national priority, signing the first measures into Austrian law in 1918. For Dvořák, war broke the city’s ties with living history, a stark before-and-after that led the preservation bureau to keep *fin-de-siècle* Vienna in a state of suspended animation.<sup>128</sup> Yet the city’s socialist government, responding to a severe housing shortage after the war, devoted their resources to public housing instead of maintaining ornate churches. Dvořák’s lofty petitions to rescue art in an age of catastrophe came head-to-head with the realities of a postwar economy, erupting into public debate in the press (as Jonathan Blower has shown).<sup>129</sup>

The desire to petrify Vienna was shared only by the elite few; after the fall of the monarchy, liberal Vienna was regarded with derision by conservative populations in rural Austria. Writing in Germany in 1918, Oswald Spengler

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<sup>127</sup> Dvořák expressed these frustrations in the 1910 issue of the bureau’s yearly newsletter: “Man pflegt es der natürlichen Weiterentwicklung zuzuschreiben, wogegen einmal mit aller Klarheit festzustellen wäre, daß an dieser Verwüstung an mangelnder Pietät, über die man schwer disputieren und die durch keine noch so insbrütigen Klagen hervorgerufen werden kann, vor allem eine krasse Unkenntnis der Forderungen des modernen Städtebaues schuld ist. Das wüste Zerstören gehört heute in den führenden Anschauungen von den Pflichten und Aufgaben des heutigen Städtebaues längst der Vergangenheit an.” Dvořák, “Monumenta deperdita,” *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst- und historischen Denkmale* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1910), 176-8.

<sup>128</sup> It is interesting that this approach to preservation manifests even today, such as the display of excavated Roman ruins that lay beneath the Michaelerplatz. In the early 1990s, these ancient walls were inlaid into a literal bubble of history cordoned off at the center of the square. See the Wien Museum’s informative page on this excavation: < <http://www.wienmuseum.at/de/standorte/ausgrabungen-michaelerplatz.html> > Accessed August 31, 2016.

<sup>129</sup> Jonathan Blower. “Max Dvořák and Austrian Denkmalpflege at War,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 1 (Dec. 2009), 1-19.

described cities like Vienna as ushering in the decline of the West, when the metropolis reaches architectural perfection and becomes soulless, “petrified.” Spengler lamented that cities of this kind vampirically drain the life-blood from the countryside until they ossify into beautiful, empty shells, populated by leisure-addicted residents who remain indifferent to the source of their own prosperity.<sup>130</sup> While Spengler never mentions Vienna by name, his concerns strongly evoke the modernist aversion to the Ringstrasse as fake in its ostentation, like a cardboard cutout; in the words of Hermann Bahr, the Ring gives “the impression of being in the midst of a real carnival. Everything masked, everything disguised (...)”<sup>131</sup> This dissatisfaction with the city’s soulless ostentation only increased in the postwar period when Spengler was writing. Without the Habsburgs to justify its ostentation, Vienna’s art-monuments became the ornate shell of a city in crisis.

Just as individuals like Max Dvořák sought to petrify the city architecturally, Vienna’s music culture was also frozen in a conservative time-warp. After the first world war, the city saw a growing rift between canonic classics and modernist experimentation. In 1918, Schoenberg founded his private

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<sup>130</sup> Spengler wrote: “(...) the Civilized style (if we may use the word at all) arises as the *expression of the state of completeness*. It attains – in Egypt and China especially – to a splendid perfection, and imparts this perfection to all the utterances of a life that is now inwardly unalterable, to its ceremonial and mien as to the superfine and studied forms of its art-practice. (...) the history of these Civilizations is merely apparent, like their great cities, which constantly change in face, but never become other than what they are. In these cities there is no Soul. They are land in petrified form.” Oswald Spengler, “The Soul of the City,” excerpt from *Decline of the West* (1918), in Richard Sennett, ed., *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities* (New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1969), 87-8.

<sup>131</sup> Cited in Nicholas Cook, *The Schenker Project: Culture, Race and Music Theory in Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 98; repr. in Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna, 1898-1918: Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and Their Contemporaries* (London: Phaidon Press, 1975), 90.

performance society to put Vienna's modernism in a state of self-imposed quarantine. Meanwhile, ornate venues like the Kursalon – the ballroom where waltzes by Strauss and Lanner were performed in the late nineteenth century – did not introduce new repertoire, but continued to play the same music for which they were famous. Even to this day, tourists consume the same musical products (the waltzes, Mozart hits, and Ländler) that became Vienna's brand after 1918. Every summer, the Kursalon packs the house for a variety show that includes the *Blue Danube*, Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*, a Lied arrangement of Strauss's *Wiener Blut*, and a pair of ballroom dancers waltzing across the stage in Viennese country garb.

In Lydia Goehr's classic text, the canon is represented by an imaginary museum that elevates musical pieces to the abstract status of "works." I would argue that the treatment of Beethoven's houses in Bonn and Vienna reveals that *real* museums, not only imaginary ones, were shapers of canonic culture – that is, the manner in which cities treat their houses reflects how they treat their music. As Vienna solidified into a bubble after 1918 (particularly its Ring district, a literal bubble from the bird's eye), the city's music culture split between modernism and static heritage. Outwardly, the city appeared to be trapped in a glorious past, wearing its heritage on its sleeve. The avant-garde, in turn, was made to retreat into the hidden interiors of the city. As Holly Watkins has shown, this retreat was both architectural (in the case of the superficially flat designs by Adolf Loos) and musical (in the case of Schoenberg's inward turn

from expressionism to serialism).<sup>132</sup> Even to this day, most historic cities proudly boast their heritage: grand concert halls resemble Grecian temples, while artistic experiments take place in living rooms behind closed doors. As Vienna petrified itself through historic preservation, Beethoven also became a figure of the past, leaving modernists to salvage the remains.

**“Ganz Wien ist ein Beethovenhaus!”**

At the turn of the century, before Vienna was preserved in this postwar bubble of perfection, some appear to have felt Beethoven’s presence in the streets. In a poem published shortly after the *Abschiedsfeier* – a common practice among newspapers to print local poets commenting lyrically on current events – Viennese writer Heinrich Penn invoked living history to vindicate the demolition of the death-house:

(...) In all the battles of my life,  
Of furious struggling, laboring, striving,  
Your song resounds, it brings peace –  
Adelaide – Adelaide! – – –  
And if this house must disappear,  
There is easy solace to be found:  
*All of Vienna is a Beethoven house!*  
There your spirit comes and goes,  
There your song rings in all circles,  
There is no festival without your melodies,  
Amidst all our thoughts, our doings,  
You live on, Beethoven, among us!<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Holly Watkins, “Schoenberg’s Interior Designs,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61:1 (2008), 123-206.

<sup>133</sup> Emphasis in original. See Appendix 3 for full German text and translation.

With Beethoven's continued life among the Viennese, this poet found himself at peace with the demolition of the death-house. And for Penn, this presence was not only biographical, a ghost walking the streets of Vienna, but also distinctly *musical*. Penn imagined the poignant refrain of Beethoven's *Adelaide*, the cantata-like song that was among his best-known and most often performed works in the nineteenth century. Today, this song has become marginal to Beethoven's oeuvre; but in this period, it formed a major pillar of the composer's reception, appearing alongside his most canonic works on the faces of monuments and in allegorical images.<sup>134</sup> With its youthful yearning for unrequited love, I would argue that this song was linked with Beethoven-the-bachelor in popular literature, a prominent facet of his reception that spawned countless fictional narratives of his love life.<sup>135</sup>

By embedding the refrain of *Adelaide* in his poem, Penn not only *tells* but *shows* his reader how Beethoven lives on among the Viennese. The punctuation and structure of this final stanza brings this song vividly to ear – and Penn did

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<sup>134</sup> In a commemorative poster for the 1845 monument unveiling in Bonn (by Franz Michelis), allegorical scenes are interwoven with cherubs who hold banners that trumpet Beethoven's most famed works: *Eroica*, *Fidelio*, *Missa Solemnis*, *Egmont*, *Pastoral*, *C-minor Symphony*, and of course *Adelaide*. Similarly, the title-page of an 1842 album meant to raise funds for the monument shows Beethoven seated in a chair, surrounded by allegorical figures and titles of his most famed works, *Adelaide* among them (artist: Peter Johann Nepomuk Geiger). In the wake of Beethoven's death, the piece was performed across Vienna and Grillparzer's funeral oration mentioned it among a list of the composer's masterworks. Note that *Adelaide's* fame continued into the twentieth century, such that Schoenberg published an arrangement of the song in 1912.

<sup>135</sup> Tales of Beethoven's earliest loves were extremely common throughout the century, a prehistory to the *Immortal Beloved*. *Adelaide* was associated with the youthful, lovestricken Beethoven. In one story from 1870, an aging Abbess tears up as she hears a performance of the song, only to confess that *she* was in fact the original *Adelaide*, Beethoven's first love: J.M., "Mosigkau und Adelaide," *Die Gartenlaube* 1(Berlin, 1870), 12-15.

not seek to evoke Beethoven’s symphonies, quartets, or sonatas, but instead chose the hit song that was familiar to every Viennese regardless of social standing, allowing the poem to literally resonate with his reader. His punctuation (“Adelaide – Adelaide! – –”) maps onto the song’s climactic high point, with two feverish outbursts that land finally on an fermata, calling out to the beloved across a distance.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for Beethoven's 'Adelaide'. The first system features a vocal line in G major with lyrics 'A - - de - - la - i - de!' and 'A - - de - - la - i - de!' over a piano accompaniment. The second system is marked 'Allegro molto.' and contains the lyrics 'Einst, o Wunder! o Wunder! ent - blüht, auf mei - nem Gra - be,' with dynamic markings *p* and *f*.

Ex. 3.1 Beethoven, *Adelaide*, mm. 66-78.

This pining fermata transitions into the song’s final section (*Allegro molto*), a stanza of consolation. The lyric speaker reassures his listener that, even if his love is unrequited in life, he will pine on peacefully in death, when the blue flower of longing will grow from his grave and shine forth Adelaide’s name.

While this poem does not quote extensively from *Adelaide*, its structure mirrors the lyrical stanzas of Beethoven’s original. Penn’s last stanza maps onto the original Lied: it builds in dramatic fervor, bursts out with “Adelaide,” and



then shifts to a final section of consolation. For Penn, the memory of Beethoven alone is solace enough for the destruction of his house. And with this allusion to the final stanza of *Adelaide*, Penn revisits a trope in Viennese popular literature that linked this song with Beethoven's own grave. For instance, a late nineteenth-century poem by Viennese author M.G. Saphir depicts an angel who lays flowers on Beethoven's grave while the nightingales call "Adelaide."<sup>136</sup> On the eve of demolition, this poem reflects a common sentiment among Beethoven's admirers: the composer himself may be gone, but the blue flower of longing lingers, at peace, on his Viennese grave.

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<sup>136</sup> M.G. Saphir, "Beethovens Grab," in Landau, ed., *Beethoven-Album* (1872), 199-205; see also 203-4.

## Chapter 4

### **Mozart on the Mountaintop: Secular Ritual at the Magic Flute Cottage in Salzburg**

In the previous chapter, we saw how the demolition of Beethoven's death house in Vienna was mourned with a funereal ceremony. Commemorative events were so commonplace during this period of German and Austrian history that it might be termed the Age of Festivity. Every anniversary of a composer's birthday or death-day met with celebrations in the streets, and the same was true for the inauguration of music schools, concert halls, and museums; exhumations, reburials, and upgrades to famous tombstones; and especially the unveiling of monuments in public squares. The program for these ceremonies was standardized into a kind of secular liturgy. They typically began with a procession to the site, which had been festooned with laurel wreaths and flag-waving officials. Once gathered, visitors would hear poetic prologues, speeches, and choral performances, with selections either tailored to the occasion or generically festive. As the ceremony came to a close, visitors collected paraphernalia for their album or vitrine, such as postcards, ribbons, leaves snipped from wreaths, or broadsides published for the event.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Scholars have studied this public festival culture for political figures and military victories, but far less exists on how this festive culture overflowed into the celebration of all luminaries, political and artistic alike. Daniel L. Unowsky examines the jubilee celebrations for Franz Joseph, including a variety of kitsch: *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2005). On German festival culture, see Dieter Düdling, et al, eds., *Öffentliche Festkultur* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1988); Fritz Schellack, *Nationalfeiertage in Deutschland von 1871 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter

During its first music festival in 1877, Salzburg hosted a ceremony that typified this tradition: visitors hiked to a ritual site to hear speeches and a men's choir singing a festival ode (*Festchor*) written for the occasion. The main object of this panegyric was Mozart. But the material site celebrated in his memory might today seem comically immaterial: the tiny, rustic cottage in which he wrote his *Magic Flute*, dubbed the *Zauberflötenhäuschen*.

As the story goes, librettist Emanuel Schikaneder had locked a procrastinating Mozart inside the cottage to ensure the work's completion before its premiere in 1791. Almost a century later in 1877, musicologist Carl von Sterneck and reigning president of the International Mozart Foundation (*Internationale Mozart-Stiftung*) purchased this hut from its owner in Vienna and transplanted it to the Kapuzinerberg, a small mountain overlooking Mozart's native Salzburg. Here it was hoisted onto a slope fringed with woods, a belated imitation of the shack in which Goethe inscribed his famous "Wanderers Nachtlied," which had attracted literary pilgrims as early as 1839.

But unlike Goethe's shack tucked into the forest, Mozart's was visibly raised on a pedestal. It was outfitted with a small exhibit, decorated with a monument that loomed higher than the hut itself, and advertised as a site of "pilgrimage" (*Wallfahrt*, or tourism with sacred packaging). Two years after this inaugural ceremony, the president of the Mozart Foundation raised funds to encase the shack in a giant reliquary of glass and gold. While the project was

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Lang, 1990); [Anonymous], *Das politische Zeremoniell im deutschen Kaiserreich, 1871-1918* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2008).

unsuccessful (for a variety of reasons that will become clear in this chapter), it shows how this single structure functioned as museum, pilgrimage site, and relic.

This confluence of material practices made the cottage an unusual site. It was a place where history happened, but also transportable to a new location. It was small enough to be a relic, but large enough to be a museum. It was a tourist attraction that profited from entrance fees, postcards, and knickknacks, while also evoking an aura of solemn pilgrimage. It functioned as a kind of reliquary for the Mozart Album displayed within, a collection of leaves contributed by celebrities. It became a stand-in for Mozart's absent remains, visited like a gravesite. Above all, the cottage became a site of secular ritual. Festival-goers and especially men's choirs journeyed regularly to the Kapuzinerberg to pay their respects, laying wreaths on the cottage doorstep and emulating the freemasons of the *Magic Flute* by serenading the site with choral renditions of "O Isis und Osiris, welche Wonne."

**Fig. 4.1.** The Zauberflötenhäuschen on the Kapuzinerberg in Salzburg, from a photograph taken in 1877.<sup>2</sup> © Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum (ISM).



<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in Hans Schurich, *Kleine Chronik des Zauberflöten-Häuschen (Salzburg: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1950), 19.*

In some ways, the treatment of this cottage was consistent with the practice of the times. Workspaces, not only birth- and death-houses, became sites of devotion. Composers' studios, in particular, were regarded as alternative nativity sites that gave birth to famous artworks; and accordingly, this hut was widely dubbed the "birthplace" of the *Magic Flute*, offering a glimpse of the composer at work. Karen Painter has shown how bourgeois readers were captivated by Mozart's composing habits, felt to synthesize two modes of composition: with Austrian ease and grace, Mozart was thought to have dictated directly from the heavens; yet with north-German, Protestant hard work, he was also imagined to have labored over his scores.<sup>3</sup> Fascinated by the mystery of this process, music-lovers came to cherish the debris left behind by artistic creation: sketchbooks (the messier the better), writing desks, quills, pencils, and of course the houses in which composers worked.

Even as the Mozart Cottage was just one among many shrines to creativity, it was caught between conflicting approaches to preservation. In an apparent paradox, the cottage was festooned in pomp and circumstance while also prized for its rustic modesty – an appreciation of humble origins that has its roots in Christian asceticism (like the reception of Beethoven's birth room as a manger in Chapter 2). We see this striking dischord in the image of the hut (Fig. 4.1), a simple structure cloaked in ornate decoration: outside, the gardens and

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<sup>3</sup> Karen Painter, "Mozart at Work: Biography and a Musical Aesthetic for the Emerging German Bourgeoisie," *The Musical Quarterly* 86:1 (2002), 186-235.

monument; inside, a floor-to-ceiling jumble of pictures, display cases of sundry memorabilia, ribbons and wreaths. What's more, this cottage was far removed from the spot where the *Magic Flute* was conceived, an artificial site of memory hoisted to the mountaintop by careful design.

Some contemporaries were equally puzzled by this overblown commemoration. During the 1880 fundraising drive for the glass reliquary, an anonymous satirist imagined a notice from 100 years in the future:

It is well known that, around 100 years ago, a cover was installed over the immensely valuable wooden cottage in which the immortal Mozart supposedly spent his entire life (— what coarse manners must have prevailed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century! —); but as this cover, as well as five others installed gradually on top of each other, has once again fallen into ruin, the International Mozart Foundation has decided to allocate 1/10<sup>th</sup> of its income (17,000 fl.) to encase the Mozart-house along with its various covers in the middle of an airtight and watertight cement mound, which will then provide the extraordinarily practical opportunity to host, in another hundred years, an exhumation-festival, whose rare and incomparable celebration will see the compilation of a festschrift with fitting biographies.<sup>4</sup>

This comic take on the reliquary fund points to a broader impetus of historic preservation in this period. As the previous chapter has shown, buildings could be regarded as organic beings that could be alive, dead, or mummified; and just

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<sup>4</sup> "Bekanntlich wurde vor etwa 100 Jahren eine Umhüllung um das höchst werthvolle hölzerne Häuschen hergestellt, in welchem der unsterbliche Mozart sein ganzes Leben zugebracht haben soll (— welch' rohe Sitten müssen im 18. Jahrhundert geherrscht haben! —); da aber diese Umhüllung sowie 5 andere, welche nach und nach über einander hergestellt wurden, wieder total verfallen sind, so hat die internationale Mozartstiftung beschlossen, 1/10 Prozent ihrer Einkünfte mit 17.500 fl. daran zu wenden, um das Mozarthaus sammt seinen Umhüllungen mittels eines Cementübergusses luft- und wasserdicht zu verschliessen, was dann die ausserordentlich günstige Gelegenheit gibt, in einigen hundert Jahren eine Ausgrabungsfeier zu veranstalten, für welches seltene und unvergleichliche Fest bereits jetzt eine Festschrift mit passenden Biographien vorbereitet wird." Anonymous, "Lokalnotiz von 1880," *Der Lugenschippel*, January 31, 1880. Newspaper clipping from assorted documents displayed in a 1950 *Zauberflötenhäuschen* exhibit at the Salzburg Geburtshausmuseum, archival boxes A IV 3 and A IV 4.

as Beethoven's death-house was treated as a surrogate corpse, the "exhumation" in this account implies that the Mozart cottage doubled as a kind of body, finally laid to rest in a peaceful shrine. Here we see a jab at the lavish Viennese exhumation-festival for Beethoven and Schubert in 1863, which met with accusations of disrespect and desecration.<sup>5</sup> Given that Mozart, unlike many other composers, had no verified remains, his houses and relics were cherished as a substitute for real corporeal traces.

Above all, this satire mocks the sense of grandeur that fueled preservation projects, with the Foundation jumping at any opportunity for festivity, however mundane. The author's sarcasm (a space where Mozart "supposedly spent his entire life") pokes fun at the unimportance of the hut, where Mozart was (perhaps spuriously) rumored to have composed a single piece. Thus we see already in 1880 the same derision that unfolded at a very different cultural moment with Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*.<sup>6</sup> Both Nora's classic introduction and this satirical blurb point to the central problem of historic preservation: how we decide what is and isn't worthy to survive into posterity. For Nora, the problem lay in a refusal to decide, with archives that mummify living tradition in layers of arbitrary data, just as the Mozart Foundation in this satire encases

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<sup>5</sup> Hermann Bahr, *Wien* (Stuttgart: Karl Krabbe Verlag, 1906), 79-86. At the American Musicological Society meeting in Vancouver in 2016, Reuben Phillips offered an insightful paper that delves into the Viennese artist-graves (*Ehrengräber*) and Beethoven's exhumation-procession: "Burying Brahms: Vienna's Ehrengräber for Composers and the Fashioning of a City's Self-Image."

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter 3, which discusses how organicist discourse on preservation around 1900 laid the groundwork for Pierre Nora's classic text on "sites of memory" – a term that surfaces frequently in scholarship on memory and reception, yet often appears divorced from its original context as a scathing criticism of French historicism. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring, 1989), 7-24.

memory-sites in cement. But even as they resort to Pompeiian extremes, sealing all evidence of the past into a tomb, the Foundation has consciously chosen which site to preserve at all costs. Conservationists are known to lavish their attention on some sites at the expense of others (there are no shrines for Schikaneder, nor shacks for Spohr); and when they guess posterity wrong, their judgments are the brunt of satire.

In this chapter, I argue that the Magic Flute Cottage brought together two approaches to veneration that characterized German and Austrian composer-cults: on the one hand, public festivity with an ethos of the monumental; on the other hand, a sense of quiet domesticity and interiority. While the cottage was collectively celebrated by men's choirs on pilgrimage, its humble interior offered a glimpse inside Mozart's genius. Throughout this dissertation, we have seen how material sites and objects offered a means to *know* the composer (or to perform insider knowledge, in the case of the competitive pilgrims in Chapter 2). The Mozart Cottage was a site where visitors could know Mozart, a window into his compositional process. But it also offered a platform for another impulse: to publicly *laud* the composer, raising both Mozart and his cottage onto a pedestal.

I suggest that this blend of the monumental and the domestic, of lauding and knowing, explains why many examples of artist-veneration seem uncomfortably overblown to us today. By the mid-twentieth century, these two approaches had split into different cultural products: biographies and museums are for knowing; monuments and festivals are for lauding. In the nineteenth



century, these bled into one another, with biographies that trumpeted their subjects, festival-goers who professed themselves pilgrims, and sites like the Magic Flute Cottage. Today, scholars may wish to distance themselves from the secular rituals that combined these two modes. Musicologists leave the laudatory to the popular sphere, seeking instead to know, to uncover the composer's craft or reception with critical caution and sobriety. But it is important, I would argue, to identify the root of our discomfort with these practices of the past – they share our desire to preserve, but distort this historicity through the lens of monumentality.

Musicologists have focused largely on the monumental rather than the domestic in public celebrations: Alexander Rehding and Ryan Minor have shown how the collectivity of the chorus, participatory singing, towering statues, and critical editions all served to construct (or perform) a German national identity.<sup>7</sup> With its archdiocese and aristocrats, Salzburg too had its share of choral festivity. But rather than construct a nation, Salzburg used its festivals to brand itself the “city of Mozart,” a cultural hub. This project of small-city branding encouraged the Foundation to fashion new tourist attractions, using the topos of monumentality for instant prestige. If monumentality seems to clash with the humility of Mozart's cottage, I suggest that Founders may have responded to a tension in the reception of the *Magic Flute*: with its *Singspiel* genre, it was

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<sup>7</sup> Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Ryan Minor, *Choral Fantasies: Music, Festivity, and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

considered among Mozart's most "German" operas, but its frivolity was incompatible with Germanic *Ernst*. With the cottage's transformation from backyard curio to mountaintop shrine, its ostentatious decor, and its masonic ceremonies, this site of memory manifests a more nuanced facet of monumentality that has yet to be explored: the monumental was not only grandiose, a larger-than-life apotheosis; it could also be diminutive, celebrating art's humble origins and painting over cracks in a composer's problematic reception.

This story begins with Salzburg's change in status from scenic town to *Mozart-Stadt*, a hub of cultural heritage that gave the city the gravitas to re-claim artifacts (such as the cottage) from major cities like Vienna. I argue that, by making this shack into a shrine, the Mozart Foundation perfected a strategy that fueled numerous cultural projects: a feedback loop where pragmatic concerns were enlivened with romanticized visions of a sacred site, turning tourism into pilgrimage, fundraising into offerings, and souvenirs into relics. These sacred borrowings were cemented by the plot of Mozart's *Magic Flute* itself, with its priests and inner sanctum. Throughout the nineteenth century, the *Priesterchor* from this opera became the characteristic sound of secular ritual, a staple of men's choral societies. The chapter moves on to the ideal of the secluded artists' cabin, which encouraged the relocation of Mozart's cottage and the perception of his composing process as a sacred miracle. Finally, I argue that this convergence of sacred with profane, nature with ostentation, the collective and the private,

were harbingers of a much broader ideological project that undergirded the Salzburg Festival, founded just after WWI: the impulse to position Salzburg, with Mozart at the center, as a utopian idyll that offered the balm for a divided Europe. Today, Salzburg remains a hub for listeners and scholars alike; and this status was in fact consciously crafted, a *Kulturstadt* with its lineage in secular rituals, shrines, and pilgrimages to the mountaintop.

### **Making the Mozart-Stadt**

We have seen already in Chapter 2 how small-town birthplaces branded themselves as sites of pilgrimage and nativity. The commemorative activities in Bonn – dubbing itself the *Beethoven-Stadt*, unveiling its monument in the town square, and establishing its museum as a magnet for tourist-devotees – followed in Salzburg’s footsteps. As Christoph Großpietsch has shown in an insightful essay, Salzburg was among the first cities in Europe to erect a composer-monument, restore a birth house as a museum, and sell products branded with an artist’s name, all with the intention of fostering “pilgrimage” to the city.<sup>8</sup> By positioning the Magic Flute hut as a special site for this pilgrimage, with Salzburg rather than Vienna as its legitimate location, the Foundation created a new attraction to imbue the city of Mozart with a sacred (and specifically Catholic) dimension.

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<sup>8</sup> My thanks to Christoph Großpietsch for his insights during my visit to the Geburtshausarchiv in Salzburg; see his insightful article, “Pilgerreisen zu Mozart und ein Salzburger Bürgerhaus,” in Constanze Breuer, et al, eds., *Häuser der Erinnerung. Zur Geschichte der Personengedenkstätte in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2015), 153-86.

Tourism was built into Salzburg's city fabric decades before it made itself the *Mozart-Stadt*. With its luminous river and baroque spires nestled into a narrow valley, the picturesque city drew numerous visitors as early as 1800. Given its reputation among the early Romantics as the "beautiful city" (*schöne Stadt Salzburg*), German and Austrian artists were especially drawn to its culture of the arts: its architecture, frescoes, and sacred music supported by the archbishopric, its folk-performances and processions (such as the annual rendition of *Jedermann* before the chapel, a tradition dating to the seventeenth century), and its chamber and choral societies funded by the citizen-run "Museum," the forerunner of today's Mozarteum.

In these earliest decades of Salzburg's tourist industry, few visitors traveled there exclusively in the name of Mozart. With the exception of the Novellos, who published their joint travelogue as a "pilgrimage to Mozart" in 1829, most visitors focused on the city's present instead of its past.<sup>9</sup> Those who did honor Salzburg's musical forebears were more likely to admire the tombs of Heinrich Biber and Michael Haydn (brother of Franz Joseph), who made a profounder impact on Salzburg's musical life than did Mozart. Even Franz Schubert, in an account of his visit to Salzburg in 1825, made no mention of Mozart but stopped to murmur a prayer and shed a tear before Michael Haydn's tomb.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Vincent Novello, *A Mozart Pilgrimage: Being the Travel Diaries of Vincent & Mary Novello in the year 1829*, ed. Rosemary Hughes (London: Novello and Company Ltd., 1955).

<sup>10</sup> Letter from Franz Schubert to his brother from 1825, in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Franz Schubert's Letters and Other Writings* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1928), 105.

It was not until the 1840s that Mozart became a regular object of travelers' devotion. In 1841, the Mozarteum was established with funds raised by Mozart's widow Constanze, replacing the so-called Museum as center of Salzburg's musical life and furthering the careers of young musicians.<sup>11</sup> The monument's unveiling in 1842 was accompanied by a massive festival – which saw the performance of a *Festchor* written by Mozart's own son Franz Xaver, among other performances – that set the bar for Bonn's Beethoven monument and festival in 1845.<sup>12</sup> Salzburg's festival marked the start of the *Mozart-Stadt* as we know it today, complete with branded products: the journalist Ludwig Meilichhofer, whose festschrift for the event was published in 1843, remarked in the *Salzburger Zeitung* that “everything was christened with the name Mozart,” including “Mozart festival programs, Mozart biographies, Mozart portraits, Mozart festival concerts, etc. In the stores one saw Mozart busts, Mozart models, Mozart pipes, Mozart figurines (...) In the inns one could even find Mozart rooms, Mozart-bread, Mozart-wine (...)”<sup>13</sup> This branding strategy laid the foundation for the

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<sup>11</sup> For a detailed history of the Mozarteum, see Karl Wagner, *Das Mozarteum: Geschichte und Entwicklung einer kulturellen Institution* (Innsbruck: Helbling, 1993).

<sup>12</sup> See Rehding (2009), 47-72 and Minor (2012), 68-109.

<sup>13</sup> “Mozartfestprogramme, Mozartbiographien, Mozartportraite, Mozartfestconcert ec. Auf den Kaufläden sah man Mozartbüsten, Mozartsmodeln, Mozartspfeifen, Mozartsstatuetten ec. in Mengen zum Verkaufe ausgestellt. In den Gasthäusern fand man sogar Mozartszimmer, Mozartsbrot, Mozartsweine – alles wurde auf den Namen Mozart getauft, den man täglich unzählige Male und allüberall ertönen hörte, der das Losungswort dieser Tage war.” Ludwig Meilichhofer writing in the *Salzburger Zeitung*, cited by Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann, “Mozartkugel und Maria-von-Trapp-Törtchen: Auf den Spuren musikalischer Devotionalien ‘made in Salzburg,’” in Jürg Stenzl, et al, eds., *Salzburger Musikgeschichte. Vom Mittelalter bis ins 21. Jahrhundert* (Salzburg, Munich: Verlag Anton Pustet, 2005), 520. See also Ludwig Meilichhofer's festschrift that details the monument unveiling: *Das Mozart-Denkmal zu Salzburg und dessen Enthüllungs-Feier im September 1842* (Salzburg: 1843). Festschrifts of this kind were a common means to monumentalize an event, a volume that chronicled the earliest conception and

*Mozart-Kugeln* that visitors still seek to this day, invented by a local confectionary Fürst just in time for the music festival in 1884. In the same year that saw the birth of this marketing, Mozart's house was likewise branded: in 1842, his birth-house in the Getreidegasse was labeled with gleaming golden letters (a first step towards its eventual acquisition, restoration, and transformation into a museum in 1880). The city teemed with visitors again in 1856 for Mozart's 100<sup>th</sup>-birthday festival, with four days of festival choruses, prologues, speeches, and of course performances of music by Mozart and others.<sup>14</sup> The year 1842, then, was a turning-point for Salzburg. From midcentury onwards, the city found a new mission in Mozart, laying the groundwork for the Salzburg Festivals that continue to attract music-lovers to this day.<sup>15</sup>

The Salzburg Festival was itself established after the First World War, described by its founders (particularly the novelist Hugo von Hofmannsthal) as a utopian project to heal a broken Europe and restore Austria's cultural legitimacy after the political collapse of the Habsburg Empire. But decades before the official festival was founded, the city of Salzburg hosted a number of *Mozart-Feste* that took part in a similar utopian project, positioning Salzburg as the cultural crossroads of Europe. These earliest festivals were only possible with the establishment of the International Mozart Foundation (*Internationale Mozart*

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execution of the festival, reprinted the event's poetic prologues and speeches, and collected assorted poems or tributes that made this genre akin to an album.

<sup>14</sup> A full program can be found in the *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 4:34, August 23, 1856, pp. 274.

<sup>15</sup> For more on Mozart in the marketplace, see the insightful essays in Tilman Hickl, ed. *Mozart: Mythos, Markt und Medien. Ein Komponist zwischen Kunst und Kommerz, 1791-1991* (Salzburg: U. Müller-Speiser, 1995).

*Stiftung*) in the wake of the Franco-Prussian war in 1866.<sup>16</sup> In addition to organizing festivals, the Foundation had a range of responsibilities and missions: to manage the Mozarteum, construct a concert hall and Mozart archive, instigate the first complete edition of Mozart's works, acquire Mozart's birth house, and to gather up the sundry Mozartiana that had been strewn across Europe since his death – in short, to formally establish Salzburg as a major cultural center. The Mozart Festival in 1877, when the Magic Flute cottage was ceremonially unveiled, was just the first among seven festivals that set the stage for the Salzburg Festival proper.

The primary (if unspoken) impetus for the 1877 festival was the smashing success of Wagner's first festival at Bayreuth the previous summer. At first, the connection was drawn quietly, emerging between the lines in Mozart-Foundation correspondence and festschrifts in 1877. In his chronicle of the event, Rudolf von Freisauff (journalist and editor of the liberal newspaper *Salzburger Volksblatt*) introduced the concept of the 1877 festival with a comparison of Germany and Austria, with German cities hosting grand music festivals while Austrian cities have largely neglected their heritage.<sup>17</sup> By the second and third Salzburg festivals in 1879 and 1887, this link with Bayreuth was explicit and

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<sup>16</sup> On the establishment of the Foundation, see Joh. Ev. Engl, *Genesis der Internat. Mozart Stiftung* (Salzburg: 1873); see also Rudolph Angermüller, "Die Bedeutung der ISM Salzburg für das Salzburger Kulturleben bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," in Angermüller, ed., *Bürgerliche Musikkultur im 19 Jahrhundert in Salzburg* (Salzburg: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1981), 58-92.

<sup>17</sup> Rudolf von Freisauff, *Das erste Salzburger Musikfest* (Salzburg: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, Internationale Mozartstiftung, 1877), 23.

increased with each successive festival.<sup>18</sup> The Foundation imported Hans Richter – who had directed Wagner’s Ring Cycle premiere in 1876 – as music director and conductor of the festivals in Salzburg. Richter proposed to erect a Mozart-Festspielhaus in time for the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of *Don Giovanni* (a more upbeat reason to celebrate the year 1891 than Mozart’s concurrent death-anniversary). In response to his proposal, Austrian architect Karl Demel spearheaded a committee in 1887 that would make this “temple of art” a reality: a 1,500-seat hall dedicated exclusively to the performance of Mozart’s operas, poised atop the Mönchsberg overlooking Salzburg. Demel’s sketches are a blatant imitation of Bayreuth, with the same large-scale structural design and tree-lined path to the summit (albeit with the addition of neo-Renaissance pillars and arches that evoke the state opera house in Vienna).

The plans for this building resembled Bayreuth in more ways than architecture. Just as Wagner set his hall aloft on a hilltop, above the fray of the town below, the Salzburg hall was likewise designed to loom like a temple on the mountain. Members of the committee advocated this location on the Mönchsberg for its scenic view, its epic grandeur, and its insulation from the “raucous goings-

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<sup>18</sup> In the twentieth century, the parallel became even more pervasive: a co-founder proposed in 1913 that Salzburg become the “Austrian Bayreuth” and in 1935, the director of the festival and Vienna’s state opera Erwin Kerber claimed that Salzburg had been a strong contender for Wagner’s Festspielhaus before he settled on Bayreuth. Erwin Kerber, ed., *Ewiges Theater. Salzburg und seine Festspiele* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1935), 37. The figure who proposed the “Austrian Bayreuth” was Friedrich Gehmacher, a lawyer and insurance director who co-founded the *Salzburger Festspielgemeinde*. “Antrag an das Kuratorium der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum” (October, 1913), cited in Oskar Holl, “Dokumente zur Entstehung der Salzburger Festspiele” in *Maske und Kothurn* 13 (1967), 152. See also Robert Hoffmann’s discussion of parallels between the two festivals in “Vom Mozartdenkmal zur Festspielgründung: Musik- und Vereinskultur im 19. Jahrhundert,” in Stenzl, *Salzburger Musikgeschichte* (2005), 413-19.



on of the everyday” in Salzburg’s city center, where “the clattering wagon or the shrill whistle of the train make a disturbing intrusion into the theater.”<sup>19</sup>

Although the committee itself was dissolved in 1891 for lack of funds, the question was revisited in 1920; and this time the design would not only have a view of nature, but would blend seamlessly into the landscape. Located at Hellbrunn, the seventeenth-century grounds with their famous *Lustpark* made of water-powered automata and stony grottos, the festival hall would emerge from the hillside with organic arches and turrets.<sup>20</sup> This impulse to build performance halls (or shrines like the Mozart-cottage) on the mountaintop reflects the public image of the festivals at both Salzburg and Bayreuth: rural sanctuaries to shelter art from urban chaos.

This concept of the small-town sanctuary meant that Salzburg’s stunning natural environs were a central attraction for its festival-goers. Unlike the Mozart celebrations of 1842 and 1856, which offered a packed program of concerts and speeches, the 1877 event was structured more like a Baedeker than a music festival. A glance at the program shows how little actual concertizing took place, with the majority of the festival devoted to excursions: there were only two evening concerts featuring a musical potpourri, along with a comic operetta and

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<sup>19</sup> “Man mußte davon absehen, das Festspielhaus in die Mitte der Stadt zu placieren, wo das lärmende Treiben der Alltagswelt, das Wagengerassel oder der schrille Pfiff der Lokomotive ins Innere des Theaters dringen und störend wirken müßten.” Cited in exhibit catalog, *Die Salzburger Festspiele (1842-1960). Ihre Vorgeschichte und Entwicklung* (Salzburg: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1960), 14.

<sup>20</sup> It is worth noting that, after the hall-on-a-hill was abandoned, the committee instead converted the old equestrian hall into the festival hall, as if establishing a kind of bourgeois court at Salzburg using the blueprint left over from its aristocratic history. On the sketches for these concert halls, see the aforementioned Mozarteum exhibit catalog *Die Salzburger Festspiele* (1960).

open-air performances by military bands and choral groups. The remainder of the event was comprised of tours through Salzburg and Hellbrunn, boat rides along the river Salzach, and group excursions to nearby waterfalls, mountain peaks, and an echoing choral sing-along at an Alpine gorge. The same was true of the second festival in 1879, which became the pinnacle of Thomas Cook's mass tour through the region. A London advertisement for this tour gave equal weight to the festival's concerts and its other attractions, like the "festive reception," "grand assembly," and "illumination of the park"; and chief among these amusements was the "procession of artistes in the morning to the Mozart house."<sup>21</sup>

The festive procession to the Magic Flute hut was no mere afterthought, but a headlining attraction at each Salzburg festival in the nineteenth century, advertised weeks in advance. Austrian newspapers published regular features on the hut's inaugural "ovation" and chronicled its journey from the Viennese Freihaus to the peak of the Kapuzinerberg. The modest shack made press headlines long after the event, as well as occupied an entire chapter of the official Festschrift by Freisauff. In short: this was no ordinary tourist attraction, but a shrine that asserted Salzburg's status as *Mozart-Stadt*. In press reports, poetic tributes, and firsthand accounts of this 1877 ceremony, we see a new atmosphere of boastfulness about Salzburg's primacy over Vienna (and, implicitly, Bayreuth) as a sanctuary of art.

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<sup>21</sup> Single-page flier, *Cook's Personally Conducted Tour / to Belgium, the Rhine Nürnberg, Munich, / Salzburg, for the Grand Mozart Festival, / Lake Constance, the Bernese Oberland, / The Lake of Geneva, and Paris / Leaving London, Monday, July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1879* (London: 1879), Mozart Geburtshaus-Archiv.

When crafting its public image to the press, the Foundation couched the “rescue” of this hut from Vienna as a moral duty, the same claim that characterized Joachim’s Beethoven-Haus project in Bonn one decade later.<sup>22</sup> Not only was Salzburg considered the perfect home for the hut; it was virtually the only city that valued this shack as anything more than a curio. Yet this is the same circular logic that we saw in Chapter 2 with the establishment of Bonn as the *Beethoven-Stadt*. Salzburg’s identity as hub rested on a tautology, a self-supporting cycle of value: it legitimized its status through its collections, while also legitimizing the collections through its status. By declaring this hut fit for Salzburg and nowhere else, the Foundation bolstered its own cultural authority *and* transformed the hut into a sacred object.

There were three central reasons for the claim that Salzburg was the most legitimate heir to the cottage: its rural setting, its symbolic status as birthplace, and its pragmatic existence as tourist hub. Salzburg in general, and this mountaintop in particular, offered picturesque seclusion above the fray of urban life. Given that Mozart’s hut was treated as a substitute for his material remains, this peaceful spot was akin to a “final resting place,” as it was often called, with the Foundation said to return Mozart’s quasi-corpse to his place of birth. In fact, the birth-city seemed to complement the hut’s status as “cradle” of Mozart’s masterwork; and with the existing flow of Mozart-lovers to Salzburg in the wake

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<sup>22</sup> We see this language in press statements disseminated by Foundation secretary Johann Evangelist Engl; and likewise, the Beethoven-Verein’s language of *Ehrenpflicht* emerged most clearly through its announcements to the press, an effort to shape public perception of the organization.

of 1842, the Foundation felt this shrine would finally find the devotees it deserved.

Salzburg's claim to cultural authority was especially vociferous in light of its poor reputation for having ignored Mozart prior to 1842, and especially for Mozart's own dislike of his birth-city during his lifetime. It fell to his late nineteenth-century venerated, then, to make peace between the city of Salzburg and Mozart's spirit. Poised atop the mountain, both the hut and Mozart's bust were treated to a scenic view of the *schöne Stadt*. Among the postcards sold for the inauguration in 1877 is a photograph taken from behind the bust, in which Mozart's profile appears to gaze over the domes and rooftops.<sup>23</sup> In his festschrift chapter on the cottage, Freisauff's concluding words reveal this same impulse to imagine Mozart's spirit admiring his native city, finally at peace:

The Mozart-hut will henceforth stand under the protection of all those who honor Mozart's memory and the cozy darkness of the woods will hold its little spot safe until he and his work crumble with the ravages of time. The genius of the great master will hover over this site and will look down upon Salzburg with blessings, the city that he loved so little during his lifetime (...) Mozart's earthly shell has decayed; his name and works alone live in Salzburg and they shall live on everywhere forever.<sup>24</sup>

With the ghost of Mozart wafting past, the cottage was upheld as a place for pilgrimage. This word was used so often in descriptions of the hut, both before

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<sup>23</sup> Postcard labeled "Zur Erinnerung an das Erste Salzburger Musikfest," 1877, fotografische Anstalt A. Czurda, Salzburg. Mozart Geburtshaus Archive (hereafter abbreviated as MGA), Salzburg.

<sup>24</sup> "Das Mozarthäuschen wird fürderhin unter dem Schutze Aller, die das Andenken Mozarts ehren, stehen, und im trauten Waldesdunkel sein Plätzchen behaupten, bis der Zahn der Zeit auch an ihm das Werk der Vernichtung übt. Der Genius des großen Meisters wird über dieser Stätte schweben und segnend auf das Salzburg herabschauen, das er im Leben so wenig lieben konnte, dem er, der längst Dahingegangene, aber nunmehr gewiss vergeben hat, was es an dem Lebenden gefehlt. Mozarts irdische Hülle ist vermodert, allein sein Name, seine Werke leben in Salzburg und allüberall fort und ewig leben." Freisauff (1877), 52-3.

and after its inauguration, that it became akin to a brand name; official reports, announcements in the press, festschriften, and posters all called this “the site where Mozart-admirers flocked to make their pilgrimage,” or some variation on this phrase.<sup>25</sup> Tour guides followed suit, emphasizing the labor required to reach the scenic perch by detailing the five-hundred steps along a narrow, winding staircase (although a Foundation-funded poster, perhaps fearing a dearth of visitors, assured readers that the stairs only amount to a “short distance”).<sup>26</sup>

For the Mozart Foundation, invoking pilgrimage was at once expressive and strategic. The hut did stir quasi-religious feelings in many of its visitors, as evidenced by poignant messages left in its guestbook. But this word was also a marketing tool to target *English* visitors in particular. While “pilgrimage” (*Wallfahrt* or *Pilgerfahrt*) had been widely adopted by German-speaking devotees in the late nineteenth century, it was the English who first applied this Catholic concept to artist-tourism. Already in the early nineteenth century, English tourists visited historic literary and musical sites—especially the birth-house of Shakespeare in Stratford—and the Novellos were among the first to visit Salzburg as self-proclaimed pilgrims in 1827 (as detailed in Chapter 2).<sup>27</sup> Given

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<sup>25</sup> To name just a few instances among many, this phrasing was used in the introduction to the museum guide for the cottage, Horner’s bid for donations for the glass reliquary, and notices circulated in the newspapers regarding the reliquary fund.

<sup>26</sup> Baedekers from the period nearly always cited the number of steps to reach the top; see for instance Karl Baedeker, *Österreich* (Leipzig: Verlag von Karl Baedeker, 1895). Poster for the Mozart-Geburtshaus and Zauberflötenhäuschen printed by the Internationale Mozart-Stiftung, MGA, Salzburg, Box A IV 4.

<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of the Novellos, see the introduction to Chapter 2. On literary pilgrimage in English culture, see Paul Westover, *Necromanticism: Traveling to Meet the Dead, 1750-1860* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

that a large contingent of the 1877 festival-goers traveled on the English grand tours, it behooved the Foundation to invoke the language of pilgrimage.

As many visitors were English, the Foundation emphasized that this was *international* (not only local) pilgrimage, a token of its larger project to become the global hub of Mozart devotion. When the hut was unveiled in 1877, a sign written in four different languages encouraged visitors to log their names and provenance into the guestbook. Using this book as a source of statistics, the archivist of the birth-house museum J. Horner released a detailed report in 1880 to Foundation members: *The International Pilgrimage to the Mozart-Hut on the Kapuzinerberg in Salzburg*. Its detailed table of visitor statistics reveals that the vast majority of visitors were Austrian or German; nonetheless, Horner emphasized the hut's international and trans-denominational appeal in his rhapsodic introduction: "High and low, young and old, male and female, the artistic as well as lay-people of all countries, nationalities and confessions make pilgrimage to this inconspicuous hut, already made frail by the ravages of time—which has made itself a temple of art for all who step into this narrow room where the great master realized his widely inspiring creations."<sup>28</sup>

Pilgrimage was not only a branding strategy from the top-down; visitors, too, were active participants in constructing the *Mozart-Stadt*. In a period when

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<sup>28</sup> "Hoch und Nieder, Alt und Jung, Männlich und Weiblich, die Kunst-, wie die Laienwelt aller Staaten, Nationalitäten und Confessionen wallfahrt zu dem unscheinbaren, durch den Zahn der Zeit bereits gebrechlich gewordenen Häuschen, das sich für Jeden, der diese Stätte betritt und in dessen beschränktem Raum das weit begeisternde Schaffen des grössten Meisters sich vergegenwärtigt, zum Kunsttempel wölbt." J. Horner, *Die internationale Wallfahrt zum Mozart-Häuschen am Kapuzinerberge in Salzburg. Zur 124. Geburts-Feier W.A. Mozart's, 1880*. (Salzburg: Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1880), n.p.

public ceremonies were regular affairs, festival-goers often produced handwritten festschrifts, usually sent a token of thanks to festival organizers or museum curators in the form of amateur lyric.<sup>29</sup> One poetic example, sent to the Foundation after the ovation in 1877, reveals how a little-known attendee (one Louisa Lergtporer from Vienna) could participate in fashioning the *Mozart-Stadt*. In her poem, Lergtporer narrates Mozart's nativity-like birth in Salzburg, his upbringing and career, the discovery of the Magic Flute cottage, his dramatic death, the 1877 festival, and finally the cottage's ovation as the capstone of this entire sequence of events (Appendix 4.1). Lergtporer highlights Salzburg's awakening as the *Mozart-Stadt* in 1842 with its monument and *Stiftung*. The 1877 festival series, for Lergtporer, served to crown this achievement, with guests flocking from near and far to the cottage on the Kapuzinerberg ("now it stands there, so proud and free"). In a divine omen, the clouds part and a ray of sunshine kisses Mozart's bust; and with this, the poem concludes with a lyrical re-imagining of ceremony's closing speech that lauds Carl von Sterneck ("hail him who so nobly conceived this, the Baron Sterneck, may thou receive our honor!").<sup>30</sup> By opening this lengthy ode with Mozart's nativity scene, then closing it with praise for Sterneck and his organization (rather than for Mozart), the author places as much weight on Salzburg's activities than on the actual

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<sup>29</sup> The Beethoven-Haus archive in Bonn, for instance, contains an array of poems dedicated to the museum, in which grateful visitors re-imagined poignant scenes from Beethoven's life and praised both composer and institution. One example among many is the bound volume of handwritten poems gifted by Johannes Goebels to the Beethoven-Haus Museum in 1930, written in 1927 for Beethoven's death centennial. Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, Z 2931.

<sup>30</sup> "Dort eben steht es nun, so stolz und frei"; "Hail ihm, der dieß so edel ausgedacht, / Dem Freiherrn Sterneck, sei ein Hoch gebracht." Louisa Lergtporer, "Erinnerungen an das Mozartfest, 1877," handwritten pamphlet in the MGA. See Appendix 4.1 for a complete transcription.

object of commemoration. Even this Viennese visitor, whose own city was Mozart's chosen home, joined in the celebration of Salzburg as the true city of Mozart.

### **From Shack to Shrine**

Recall for a moment Horner's 1880 report on the "international pilgrimage" to this cottage, a "temple of art." As was so typical of this period, the lofty language in this pamphlet could not mask its financial agenda. Horner's mention of the "inconspicuous hut, already made frail by the ravages of time" reveals the flier's main purpose, to drum up support for a protective cover. The pamphlet seems almost self-conscious about its material aims, distracting the reader from its purpose in fine print with a flashy subtitle that cites an entirely different occasion.<sup>31</sup> Horner was aware, it seems, that a rhetoric of piety and pilgrimage was more likely to sway readers than a blatant request for donations.<sup>32</sup>

Horner's pamphlet reflects a strategy that became ubiquitous in artistic enterprises across Europe. Music societies used art-religious language as a marketing tool to solicit financial support for projects that had cultural capital, such as new concert halls, monuments, or the glass reliquary that would shelter Mozart's cottage. Real capital was needed to fund cultural projects. In turn, this

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<sup>31</sup> In the fine print, Horner writes: "all proceeds of this pamphlet go to the manufacture of a protective cover for the Mozart-cottage." But a much bigger font declares its publication for Mozart's 124<sup>th</sup> birthday, an occasion that seems quite arbitrary.

<sup>32</sup> Businesses and charitable organizations still do this today. See Adré Habisch, "Spiritual capital," in Luigino Bruno, et al, eds., *Handbook on the Economics of Reciprocity and Social Enterprise* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2013), 336-43.



cultural capital promised to attract tourists who bolstered the economy of the city, and a booming economy could support institutions that would finance cultural capital of another kind: music performance. In his sociological investigation of taste, Pierre Bourdieu famously described the “transubstantiation” of symbolic capital (such as art) into material capital (money) and vice versa. Aesthetic projects of the nineteenth century were fueled by this looping transubstantiation, an endless back-and-forth of symbolic and material capital with *Kunstreligion* as its currency.

We see this process at work in the transformation of the cottage from shack to shrine. The site not only served aims of “piety,” but also attracted festival-goers who supported the city of Salzburg. With the value of cultural capital, visitors took pride in their role as pilgrims; and this meant that the cottage was not only called a “temple of art” in name, but it was also *treated* as a sacred site. By positioning this hut on a pedestal and hosting ritual ovations, the Foundation encouraged visitors to experience this as a place of wonder.

Louisa Lergetporer, for one, experienced a miracle there. During the ovation, as she recounts in her poem, the clouds parted and illuminated Mozart’s bust with a sunbeam at the very moment when visitors shouted “hoch!” (“exalted,” a ritual expression of praise). This divine ray of sunshine, parting the sky at a key moment, was a common feature in accounts of festivity. In a newspaper report on the 1885 ceremony before the Mozart-hut, which followed the template of 1877 (including another rendition of “O Isis und Osiris, welche

Wonne"), a journalist described this same miracle: during the performance of Mozart's chorus, a beam of sunlight touched upon the composer's bust.<sup>33</sup> I suggest that Mozart's music encouraged this particular kind of miracle, with its melodic burst upwards on the line "dark night is banished by the sunlight" (*die düstre Nacht verscheucht der Glanz der Sonne*). This journalist does appear to have interpreted the ceremony through the lens of Mozart's opera: "Had the holy spirit itself taken the form of a dove to perch on the roof of the hut, it would have made no greater impression than this serene greeting of the ancient Egyptian god of light Osiris, who seemed to wait backstage behind the clouds for his sacred password."<sup>34</sup>

Of course, it is entirely plausible that both ovations in 1877 and 1885 were accompanied by shifting clouds, a common meteorological occurrence in the Alps. But one unusual detail may shed light (literally) on why these accounts share an overtone of the miraculous, and why sunbeams alight on Mozart's *bust* rather than his *house*. As I have shown in Chapter 1, the central tenets of physiognomy that were introduced by Lavater in the late eighteenth century remained firmly entrenched in German and Austrian discourse a century later; and in music culture, composers were often ascribed the two main features that

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<sup>33</sup> Similarly, in an account of the Bonn music festival in 1927, the city's music director described a moment when the clouds suddenly parted, timed to the opening of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. See my discussion of this passage in Chapter 2. F. Max Anton, Generalmusikdirektor der Stadt Bonn, to unknown recipient ("sehr geehrter Meister"), June 4, 1927. Beethoven-Haus Akten, Sig. 116.

<sup>34</sup> "Wenn der heilige Geist in Gestalt einer weißen Taube herabgeschwebt wäre, um sich auf dem Dache des Mozart-Häuschens niederzulassen, hätte er keinen größeren Eindruck hervorbringen können, als dieser heitere Gruß des altegyptischen Lichtgottes Osiris, der hinter der Wolkenkulisse nur auf sein Stichwort gewartet zu haben schien." D. "Salzburger Mozartiana," *Salzburger Volksblatt*, September 17, 1885, 2-4.

Lavater linked with genius: a “fiery gaze” (*Feuerblick*) and wide, high forehead, the etymological origin of “highbrow.”<sup>35</sup> In both accounts of the Mozart-miracle, sunbeams are said to illuminate Mozart’s *brow*. Lergetporer even foreshadowed the sunlit forehead earlier in her poem, when the young Mozart discovers his compositional muse and “genius reveals itself in his eyes, radiates upon his brow, pure and clear.”<sup>36</sup> Equally influential was the pseudo-science of phrenology, which led the skulls of assorted composers to be carefully measured, compared, and linked with characteristic traits of their music. This is why Mozart’s (alleged) skull was a prized object on display in his birth-house museum.<sup>37</sup> At a time when physiognomy and phrenology continued to appeal to music-lovers, the bust of Mozart that stood before the shack was not merely decorative. It was the visual embodiment of Mozart’s genius.

But not everyone appreciated this compulsion to display Mozart’s face before his cottage. Many complained that the monument was unsightly, crowding the modest hut as if guarding its threshold from intruders (what one critic called an “unpainterly” effect).<sup>38</sup> The layout may indeed strike the modern

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<sup>35</sup> On the brow and “Feuerblick” as signifiers of genius, see especially Wolfgang Fuhrmann, “Haydn und Sein Publikum,” Habilitation (Bern, 2010), 513. Cited with permission.

<sup>36</sup> “Der Genius sich in seinen Augenpaar, / Er strahlt auf seine Stirne, rein und klar.” Lergetporer (1877).

<sup>37</sup> The poster lists the skull first among its assorted objects, suggesting that it was a major attraction. Poster from MGA, Salzburg, Box A IV 4. A well-known example of phrenological interest in composers is the comparison of the skulls of Haydn, Schubert, and Beethoven conducted by Dr. J. Landler in Vienna; see the photographic comparison from the late nineteenth century, Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Bibliothek, B 470. On the cultural practice of grave-robbing to analyze skulls them for traces of genius, see Colin Dickey, *Cranioklepty: Grave Robbing and the Search for Genius* (Denver: Unbridled Books, 2009).

<sup>38</sup> This journalist complains that, while the natural setting is perfect for the hut, its crowded layout is jarring to the eye. H.M. Schuster, “Die Internationale Stiftung ‘Mozarteum’ in Salzburg,” *Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik*, November 4, 1882, pp. 4-6.

viewer as odd; and the hut's interior was equally jumbled, filled with framed portraits and playbills; an odd assortment of historic memorabilia of the *Magic Flute*, the hut's own history, and the pious activities of the Foundation; a reconstruction of Mozart's workspace with table, chair, and quill; the much-coveted Mozart Album of leaves dedicated by celebrities; a forest of wreaths; and golden decoration along the floorboards.



*Fig. 4.2. Photograph of the hut's interior from 1932. Earlier documentation suggests that the floorboards were decorated in 1877, but the paint was removed in later decades to preserve a more natural appearance; the original display was also considerably more crowded with vitrines, wall hangings, and a quill and inkwell on Mozart's desk. Austrian National Library, Bildarchiv, L 32072b-C; L 36072b-C.*

This cottage, then, had a motley material identity as workspace, relic, monument, museum, and shrine. Its hybridity is apparent in the exhibit catalog sold by the on-site groundskeeper (specially hired to maintain the cottage, guard it from thieves, and to sell admission tickets and postcards): like most museum catalogs, this booklet traced the provenance of each item, but it also suggests that visitors remove their hats and maintain respectful silence in the house, an air of

solemnity that befits a shrine.<sup>39</sup> The eclectic character of this house may indeed have augmented its perception as a shrine-like repository for precious objects.

The cottage's location in Salzburg may have amplified this status, a city filled with medieval churches and relics that had miraculous powers (such as a crucifix with a live, growing beard; the head of St. Erentrudis in a bust reliquary; and icons in Salzburg churches that heal assorted maladies).<sup>40</sup> With the cloister directly across the way, the path up the mountain to the Mozart-hut was dotted with centuries-old religious dioramas (wooden figurines depicting stations of the cross) that served as resting points for passing pilgrims. Given its dual identity as archdiocese and *Musik-Stadt*, Salzburg offered an unusually fluid boundary between Catholicism and art-religion; and this boundary was fluid in part by design, placing Mozart's hut directly across from the cloister to prime visitors for the hut's spiritual atmosphere (its *weihevoll*e Stimmung, as the Foundation and press reports called it).<sup>41</sup> The Mozart-cottage became one among many ritual stops along the Kapuzinerberg, encouraging Lergetporer and others to be struck with wonder.

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<sup>39</sup> Johann Evangelist Engl, ed., *Katalog des Mozart-Häuschens auf dem Kapuzinerberge zu Salzburg. Zweite Auflage* (Salzburg: Internationale Mozart Stiftung, 1898).

<sup>40</sup> For a comprehensive list of pilgrimage sites, relics, and their miracles and powers in Salzburg and its environs, see Gustav Gugitz, *Österreichs Gnadenstätten in Kult und Brauch*, vol. 5 (Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1958), 189-98. Even today, it is common for tourist-pilgrims to mix sacred and secular along their journey; see for instance Alex Norman, *Spiritual Tourism: Travel and religious practice in Western society* (London, New York: Continuum, 2011).

<sup>41</sup> One visitor, for instance, reported in the guestbook that she was turned away from the cloister and enjoyed a pensive visit to the hut instead. In September of 1882, Emma Marleni from Philadelphia wrote: "After being refused to enter the Kapuziner-Kloster, I enjoyed the recollection [sic] and memorie of dear, beloved Mozart, thinking of many happy hours his great spirit has given me." All the hut's guestbook volumes except one (spanning 1880-1883) were destroyed in the war. MGA, Salzburg, no catalogue number.

The cottage was not always valued as a shrine. When Foundation president Carl von Sterneck sought to purchase it in 1873, his plea met little resistance from its owner, the Viennese nobleman Camillo von Starhemberg. Although the cottage had been outfitted with a modest commemorative plaque, it was largely ignored in the courtyard of the Freihaus in Vienna – a city-within-a-city that had fallen into disrepair, akin to today’s housing projects. Even decades before the Freihaus was threatened with demolition, the Mozart-hut existed as no more than a dilapidated curiosity. Although its ties to Mozart were well-known, it was rented out as a craft studio, flower shop, and animal pen (and was even rumored to house the occasional lovers’ tryst). A childhood memoir, sent to the Mozart Foundation in honor of the hut’s rescue, described this clash of the sacred and profane. The author recalled her childhood games within the cottage, standing atop Mozart’s stool and conducting his arias as they tinkled from a music box; but she reacted with shock and dismay when, one fateful day, she discovered the hut teeming with live rabbits after it was rented to an animal breeder: “Although I couldn’t fully appreciate Mozart’s greatness back then, it was unfathomable even to my child’s consciousness how one could perpetrate such an impiety, to degrade with a rabbit hutch this site where the genius had once sat (...)”<sup>42</sup>

For Sterneck, the hut was no rabbit hutch but a “relic” and a “treasure” (*Reliquie* and *Kleinod*). When it was announced in 1873 that the Freihaus would be

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<sup>42</sup> Childhood memoir by Frau Alfred Heidl, sent to the Stiftung president on October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1909. MGA, Salzburg, no catalog number.

razed, the Starhemberg family planned to relocate the hut to its estate in the countryside. But Sterneck intervened with the argument that the “birthplace” of the *Magic Flute* belongs in Salzburg, invoking the commemorative authority of the *Mozart-Stadt*. With his proposal that the hut would summon flocks of pilgrims, Starhemberg consented, and the hut was “rescued” with the same discourse of piety that characterized dozens of heritage projects in Germany and Austria, including the Beethoven-Haus a decade later. As the story regularly went, a group of enlightened venerators would save a neglected building from the perils of everyday use and restore it to a state of (a-historical) timelessness.

But the Mozart-hut is a rare case. Unlike most preservation projects, this building was small enough to be transported. With the *Freihaus* in danger of demolition, the cottage lost its ties to the “very spot” where history happened. Instead, it became a relic; and this status reflected art-religious fantasy instead of pragmatism (given that transporting the cottage proved to be a logistical headache).<sup>43</sup> While most composer-museums would be impossible to reproduce as miniatures, this cottage was miniaturized as a souvenir sold in Foundation shops, a relic in visitors’ vitrines.

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<sup>43</sup> The cottage needed to be entirely dismantled and re-built on the new site, and it was in poor shape for transit. When the Foundation requested extreme caution from the Viennese architect who oversaw the hut’s disassembly and transport, the architect replied that the hut’s underside was almost entirely rotten, requiring substantial repairs to even make the journey. Letter from the Mozart-Stiftung to the akad. Baurat u. Archit. Rud. Payer, July 23, 1873. Response from Rudolf Payer, Vienna, August of 1873. MGA, Salzburg, Box A IV 4.

**Fig. 4.3.** *Wooden souvenir of the Magic Flute Cottage. Hallein, 1908. Salzburg Museum.*



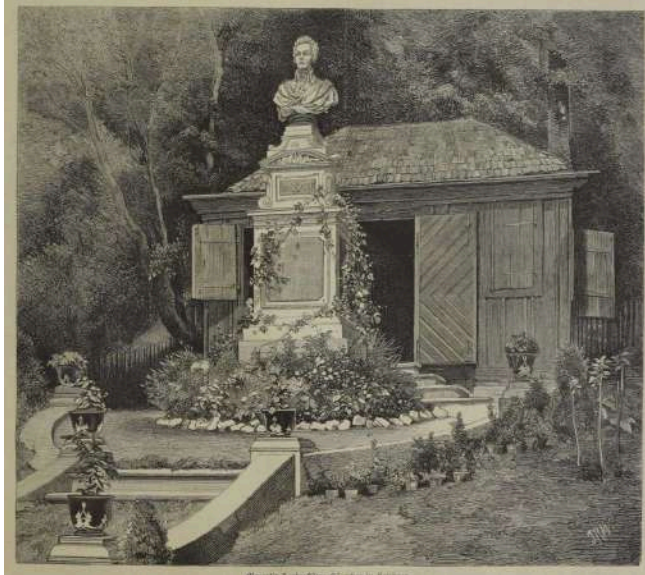
With its material structure relocated, the *historical* event of the *Magic Flute's* genesis had to be preserved by other means: in festive performances in honor of the work's conception, and in newspapers that captured the historic site before its relocation. It is striking that, in Salzburg, Mozart's death-centennial of 1891 was celebrated not with death-themed festivities but was instead declared the "100<sup>th</sup> birthday of the *Magic Flute*." The festival that year saw celebratory performances of the opera and Mozart's *Requiem*.<sup>44</sup> In addition to these performances, some sought to preserve the site in illustrated newspapers. The conductor Alfred Walter published an article on the "birthplace of the *Magic Flute*" in 1873, and in a handwritten note he explained how he pushed the magazine to prepare an illustration of the hut's original surroundings, still

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<sup>44</sup> For a detailed chronicle of every work performed in Salzburg, from its earliest festivals to its official Salzburg Festival series after 1918, see Josef Kaut, *Festspiele in Salzburg* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1969).



pristine “as in Mozart’s time” when he had last visited them, in order “to at least make the attempt to preserve their likeness for posterity.”<sup>45</sup>



*Fig. 4.4. (Left) The cottage’s original location in Vienna, as shown in an etching from the magazine Die Gartenlaube 3 (1874). Note the view from slightly above the house, in contrast with the view gazing upwards at its lofty station on the Kapuzinerberg. (Right) In this image from the Illustrierte Zeitung (August 19, 1877), we see the cottage looming high above, a monumentalized view from below. In contrast, other composing-houses such as Goethe’s cottage were typically shown at eye level, nestled in the woods, as if to more accurately capture the historical circumstances of artistic creation. For all the formality of this grand staircase, the Mozart Foundation emphasized that the top stair, where Mozart himself had trodden, belonged to the original house.*

Not only the hut itself, but also its various accoutrements, were relocated to the mountain. In the above image from the *Gartenlaube*, we see the original table and chair, shown not only for scale but also for their value as artifacts of the compositional process. While Starhemberg agreed to sell the hut to the Mozart Foundation, he would not part with the furniture, which was transferred to the

<sup>45</sup> “Das Häuschen selbst wie dessen ganze Umgebung war noch so erhalten, wie zu Mozart’s Zeiten und ich wollte wenigstens den Versuch machen, ob es nicht ins Conterfei für die Nachwelt erhalten bleiben könne.” Letter from Alfred Walter to Baron Schwarz, Vienna, December 15, 1873. MGA, Salzburg, Box A IV 4.

family museum in Eferding. For the duration of the 1877 festival, Starhemberg loaned out the authentic table and chair (a major draw for the hut, judging from the emphasis on the “original” furniture in festival flier). After the festival, Starhemberg reclaimed the furniture for his private collection, and even its *likeness* was regarded as the family’s exclusive property: when the Foundation requested Starhemberg’s permission to create imitation furniture for permanent display in the Mozart-hut, he agreed with the stipulation that the pieces must be clearly marked “Imitation.”<sup>46</sup> The Starhembergs never again parted with these artifacts. They declined a request in 1891 to reunite desk with cottage in honor of the *Magic Flute*’s 100<sup>th</sup> birthday (explaining that the table and chair “have a lasting place of high honor, and thus giving them away would be a severe loss for my family museum”).<sup>47</sup> Another request in 1928, desiring to reinstate the furniture to draw more tourists to the now-neglected shrine, met with this same refusal.<sup>48</sup> As the *Magic Flute* became a fixture in canonic repertory, the furniture that witnessed its creation became increasingly precious to its aristocratic

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<sup>46</sup> “Indem ich für die Mittheilung, daß die Mozartmöbeln nachgemacht und dieselben im Mozarthäuschen aufgestellt werden sollen, bestens danke, erkläre ich, in der Voraussetzung, daß dieselben eben als Imitation bezeichnet werden (...)” Letter from Fürst Starhemberg to E.M. on November 1, 1877.

<sup>47</sup> “[...] wo sie hoch in Ehren gehalten werden und eine bleibende Stätte erhalten haben, und daran Weggebe für mein Familien-Museum ein empfindlicher Verlust wäre.” Letter from the Schloss Hubertendorf from Fürst Starhemberg to the chair of the Stiftung Mozarteum (August 4, 1890). MGA, Salzburg, Box A IV 3, no catalogue number.

<sup>48</sup> A 1928 letter from the Stiftung secretary to the manager of the Starhemberg estate explains that the furniture has more value when inside the hut: “so sicher ist aber auch, daß die Originalmöbel im Häuschen selbst ganz anders zur Geltung kommen, schon in Ansehung des Umstandes, daß das Zauberflötenhäuschen jährlich von Tausenden Mozartverehrern besucht wird.” Letter from general secretary of Stiftung to Oberst August Schad, Salzburg (June 8, 1928). MGA, Zauberflötenhäuschen box, no catalog number.

owners, who resisted the common practice to donate their collections to museums as an act of magnanimity.

The value of this furniture, like that of the cottage itself, was augmented by its rough-hewn simplicity.<sup>49</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century, collectors have been fascinated with the tools of the artistic trade; and the more mundane and simple these implements were, the more astounding their role in fostering works of genius. Museums across Europe have preserved or carefully reconstructed composers' workspaces, complete with original desks, quills, and inkwells (such as Schumann's study in Zwickau, Scriabin's in Moscow, Tchaikovsky's in St. Petersburg, and Britten's in Aldeburgh, among many others). Beethoven's writing objects and desk, including his miniature bust of Brutus, remain on display in the museum in Bonn; and Jeffrey Kallberg has studied how Chopin's pencil took on special value, gesturing towards a free, outdoor sketching practice instead of Chopin's usual pen-and-ink scribbles at the piano.<sup>50</sup> Just as Beethoven's birth-room had the poignant simplicity of a manger, Mozart's rustic workspace encouraged the impression that the *Magic Flute* had a kind of nativity. This sacred event was carefully re-created for visitors with a nativity scene of sorts: displaying Mozart's original furniture together with a quill and ink pot, as if he had only just stepped out.

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<sup>49</sup> An inventory from the 1860s (by the anonymous author P.B.R.) described these as a rustic table and two large working stools, all painted the same shade of dark red-brown. Hans Schurich, *Kleine Chronik* (1950), 6.

<sup>50</sup> See Jeffrey Kallberg's forthcoming article "Chopin's Pencil," *Proceedings of the Third International Chopin Congress* (Warsaw: in press); see also Kallberg's forthcoming monograph that uses Chopin's sundry belongings as a window into broader questions of reception.

This cottage, then, followed a broader trend of workspaces treated as miraculous sites – a form of art-religion that could be harnessed for profit. Sterneck was well aware of sacred tourism when he facilitated the hut's purchase, and he emphasized the lucrative potential of this "relic" as he pitched his plan to Salzburg city officials. In 1874, he drafted a letter to the municipal government of Salzburg that clarified the Mozart Foundation's rationale to find a scenic spot for the cottage, or at the very least to situate it in the Mirabellgarten (the palace gardens that most closely resembled its original location in the Freihaus). His letter explains that the "apartments and workspaces of great German figures were never valued for their grand architecture, their splendor, or their style, for indeed these spaces are often tiny garrets (...)" that in recent years have drawn international visitors and have thus been "preserved from the ravages of time with no expense spared."<sup>51</sup> Sterneck explained that these visitors would bolster the city's finances, not only its prestige; he compared the cottage with Goethe's newly restored house in Frankfurt, which yielded a three-Groschen entrance fee from each visitor in exchange for a mere plaque on the wall: "It is an indisputable fact that this is a lucrative operation."<sup>52</sup> Like Goethe's birth house, then, the Mozart-hut would make a profit and its setup could be "accomplished in a cost-effective manner" with the solicitation of support (both

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<sup>51</sup> "Die Wohnungen u. Studienraum unserer geehrten Deutschen waren nie werthvoll durch die ihnen anheftende Architektur, durch den Prunk, durch den Styl, denn oft waren es ja nur kleine Dachstübchen (...) Überall finden wir dergleichen Schöpfungsstätten oft mit grossen Opfern an Geld sorgsamst erhalten (...)" Letter from Sterneck on behalf of the Mozart-Stiftung to Stadtgemeinde Salzburg, requesting to display the Häuschen in Mirabellgarten (Jan. 19, 1874). MGA, Salzburg, Box A IV 3, #17.079, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> "(...) dass dieser Vorgang einträglich wurde, ist eine unbestrittene Thatsache." Ibid., p. 2.

donations and charity concerts) from “Vienna’s artistic circles” and “local musical associations such as the Liedertafel or Sängerbund.” Sterneck’s letter reveals how financial incentives fit hand-in-hand with the rhetoric of sacred duty discussed in Chapter 2: the cottage, he argues, will “bring further sacredness to Salzburg’s Mozart-devotion” – that is, the city’s *Mozartkultus*, a word that became common currency once the city cemented its status as city of Mozart.

The cottage did require one substantial cost: a protective cover to shield it from the elements, cited as a necessity already in this letter of 1874.<sup>53</sup> A (failed) effort to design, finance, and construct this cover exemplify the feedback loop of symbolic and material capital. Even as the fundraising drive used the language of art-religion to lure donors, their money went towards a protective cover that, owing to its design as a glass reliquary, had more symbolic than practical value. This reliquary exposed a glitch in the feedback loop, with symbolic designs that clashed with the real logistics of preservation.

Almost immediately after the unveiling in 1877, Foundation secretary Johann Horner (Sterneck’s right hand man) worried that the cottage would not weather the icy winter: “the relic-like quality of the Mozart-cottage (...) now demands careful roofing during the winter if not year-round.”<sup>54</sup> Naturally, the cottage was too sacred for a simple roof; instead, the design needed to cloak pragmatic function in art-religion, a temple rather than a cover. Thus the first

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<sup>53</sup> Sterneck wrote that, if the hut were not displayed in the Mirabellgarten but somewhere in the natural environs of Salzburg, it would require a protective cover (“[eine] Schützhülle zur Erhaltung”). *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Minutes of the Mozartstiftung meeting from October 29, 1877, by J. Horner, MGA, Zauberflötenhäuschen box, #22.

watercolor design for the structure was contributed by Vienna secessionist architect (and ardent music-lover) Josef Hoffmann, who proposed an ancient Egyptian temple with the hut concealed inside, an allusion to the pseudo-Egyptian setting of Sarastro's temple in the *Magic Flute*. Hoffmann's temple was a boxy, coral-colored structure rimmed with Egyptian details; and its lack of windows would hide the cottage inside like an ancient tomb, illuminated by an eerie glow of natural light through an inset glass-top ceiling.<sup>55</sup> This whimsical design did not come out of the blue. Firstly, Hoffmann had a Catholic precedent: sacred structures are often housed inside Cathedrals, with entire houses enshrined within a temple like relics.<sup>56</sup> But more importantly, Hoffmann drew upon his own stage sets. A decade earlier, in 1869, Hoffmann had created the sets and costumes for the premiere of the *Magic Flute* at the new Hofoper in Vienna. Following the lead of Karl Friedrich Schinkel in 1816, with his famously lavish Egyptian sets for the *Magic Flute* at the Royal Opera in Berlin, Hoffmann created grand halls and atmospheric chambers with ornate Egyptian motifs. His design for the Mozart-cottage employs the same winged god Horus that was used in his Hofoper sets. Visitors to the cottage would imagine that they are entering

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<sup>55</sup> Hoffmann's watercolor sketch remains in the archive at Mozart's Geburtshaus in Salzburg, no catalogue number. Hoffmann wrote a note on the back that suggests decorative plantings of Egyptian-style flora (like the exotic-looking castor oil plant) that would suit the Alpine climate; he adds that the glass roof would be inlaid so that one cannot see it from the front of the structure.

<sup>56</sup> The most famous example is the Porziuncola, a tiny brick church where St. Francis founded his movement in Assisi. It was enclosed in a vast basilica in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and even today, an array of U.S. churches have built miniature Porziuncolas to display at their altars.

Sarastro's temple, enacting the plot of the *Magic Flute* as they beheld the site of its creation.<sup>57</sup>

Hoffmann's proposal was short-lived. Rather than re-create the opera, Horner opted for a more Catholic design that would better complement the environs of Salzburg, inviting piety instead of theatricality. Horner proposed a reliquary-like glass structure (which he referred to as a pavilion, protective cover, or shell) that would be lavishly decorated with golden emblems depicting scenes from the *Magic Flute*. To fund this costly project, Horner used the same rhetoric of *Ehrenpflicht* (the duty to preserve and venerate) that characterized the founding mission of Beethoven's birth-house in Bonn. Given that the pavilion would incur enormous cost, Horner had to solicit donations by appealing to Mozart-lovers; rather than pay artists for the golden emblems, for instance, Horner suggested that the Foundation entice Viennese artists to participate in a competitive lottery for the honor of contributing an emblem, "building upon the artists' piety for the spirit of Mozart."<sup>58</sup> It was entirely common for cultural

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<sup>57</sup> Note that Hoffmann famously designed the sets for the premiere of Wagner's Ring cycle at Bayreuth in 1876; see Oswald Georg Bauer, *Josef Hoffmann: der Bühnenbildner der ersten Bayreuther Festspiele* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2008). His career as a set-designer was instigated by his teacher Karl von Hasenauer, who designed the new Burgtheater on the Ring. Hoffmann's designs for the *Magic Flute* can be found in the image collections of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, cited in the exhibit catalog *100 Jahre Wiener Oper am Ring* (Wien: Aktionskomitee 100-Jahr-Feier der Wiener Staatsoper, 1969), 46. As for Hoffmann the music-lover, in his autobiography, he professed his love of music starting at an early age: Josef Hoffmann, *Selbstbiographie*, ed. Peter Noever and Marek Pokorny (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2009). On Schinkel's famous 1816 designs for the *Magic Flute*, see Martin Steffens, *K.F. Schinkel (1781-1841): An architect in the service of beauty* (Cologne: Taschen, 2003), 29-31.

<sup>58</sup> "Wir wollen eine schützende Hülle über demselben errichten – einen Glaspavillon mit decorativen Emblemen aus der Zauberflöte. Hiezu gehört aber viel Geld und das soll durch eine Lotterie von Gemälden (...) beschafft werden. Wir bauen sie auf die Pietät der Künstler für den Manen Mozart (...)" Handwritten draft of letter, no recipient. July 13, 1878. Mozart Cottage Exhibit box, Nr. 137.

institutions to solicit donations with the language of *Ehrenpflicht*, transforming donations (or what we today call “gifts”) into “offerings.”

In recent years, the politics and sociology of philanthropy has become a burgeoning area of study. This literature may help us understand the motivations of those who shaped composer-veneration through their donations to music societies, festivals, and concert associations. Even today, philanthropy remains tied with religious practice: studies have shown that elite donors are more likely to understand giving as *obligatory* when they are members of a religious congregation. Despite this sense of sacred duty, donors also take pleasure in their freedom to *choose* causes they find meaningful.<sup>59</sup> It is this subtle mixture of obligation and choice that compels donations to causes that are highly specific, with funds earmarked for a concrete purpose; and these insights explain why, in the case of this pavilion, donors from near and far chose to contribute to a relatively obscure cause.

At first, Horner was too idealistic. He envisioned a single, exorbitantly wealthy donor who would finance the entire project in time for Salzburg’s music festival in 1879. He proposed that the Foundation solicit a donation from the “Millionaire Quartet” – that is, the Bonanza Kings, a group of four Irishmen who became sudden celebrities when they struck it rich in the Nevada silver mines

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<sup>59</sup> See the sociological study by Francie Ostrower, *Why the Wealthy Give: The Culture of Elite Philanthropy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); see also the recent volume edited by Bob Reich, et al., *Philanthropy in Democratic Societies: History, Institutions, Values* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2016).



in 1873.<sup>60</sup> In his formal proposal to the Foundation in 1879, he suggested that the men be invited to the music festival and asked to contribute the pavilion, “for them, the money is obviously a mere chimera, given their affluence of 600 million dollars, and perhaps one or another of them is an art patron or a yet-undiscovered admirer of Mozart.”<sup>61</sup> Here Horner confesses that these millionaires may or may not be invested in art; indeed, while all four men donated generously to hospitals, orphanages, and schools, they showed no apparent interest in music. It was their rise to fame alone, a new breed of the elite amidst the 1870s silver rush, that put the Bonanza Kings on the radar. Regardless of its outcome, Horner’s letter manifests the changing terrain of philanthropy in the wake of the Industrial Revolution, with a new demographic of self-made billionaires who could found entire institutions with the stroke of a pen.

Without a millionaire donor on hand, Horner turned instead to a fundraising drive. For all his advertisements in the presses, along with personalized letters from Baron Sterneck to wealthy art patrons, donations trickled in at a modest pace. After three years of fundraising, Horner had raised 850 florins (the equivalent of around \$9,000 today) for a project that would cost

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<sup>60</sup> On the Silver Kings, see Oscar Lewis, *Silver Kings* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1947) and Michael J. Makley, *John Mackay: Silver King in the Gilded Age* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2009).

<sup>61</sup> Horner explained this in a formal proposal to the Stiftung, accompanied by a draft of a potential letter to the Silver Kings that opened with a lengthy explanation of international pilgrimage to the hut; as the men did not reply, it is unknown whether Horner’s proposal was set in motion, and somewhat comical to imagine the nonchalance of the Bonanza Kings to what was undoubtedly a regular bid for their wealth. “(...) bei ihrem Reichthume von 600 Millionen Dollar das Geld für sie offenbar nur Chimäre ist u. möglicherweise unter ihnen sogar ein oder der andere ein Kunstmäcen oder noch unentdeckter Mozartverehrer ist.” MGA, Salzburg, box from Zauberflötenhäuschen exhibit in 1950, document #138.

1400 (around \$15,500).<sup>62</sup> The contributions petered out from there, leaving the Foundation to ultimately abandon the plan and re-allocate funds for ongoing repairs and upkeep.

The list of those who *did* contribute, however, shows an important shift in philanthropic culture of the nineteenth century: a dramatic increase in the participation of middle-class art-lovers, not only aristocrats, in charitable causes.<sup>63</sup> These middle-class donors were motivated more strongly by choice than obligation; and as a result, individual donors often gave similar amounts, regardless of stature. On a roster in 1881, contributors fell into three categories: landed gentry who frequently patronized the arts, bourgeois music-lovers, and institutions (the most significant being the publisher Breitkopf and Härtel, a local tourist club that had a personal stake in encouraging pilgrimage to the cottage, and singing clubs like the Wiener Männergesangverein that donated the proceeds of their charity concert). Not surprisingly, these institutions gave the largest sums. In second place were famous art patrons such as Nikolaus Dumba, the industrialist whose generosity could be found in every corner of Viennese

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<sup>62</sup> The Stiftung kept lists of donors and donations from 1879-1881. Where there were only a handful of donors in the first two years of the drive, the project had gained some steam by 1881; see the list published in Johann Evangelist Engl, *Erster Jahresbericht der Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum* (Salzburg: Stiftung Mozarteum, 1881), 18-19. The cost estimate for the steel and glass structure was prepared in a memo to the Stiftung by the construction company Berg- & Hüttenverwaltung Achthal on October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1882, with suggested assembly during the summer of 1883. MGA, Salzburg, box from Zauberflötenhäuschen exhibit in 1950, document #390.

<sup>63</sup> Far more scholarship has been devoted to the history of philanthropy in England than in Germany; and the Victorian era saw a pronounced increase in middle-class giving that I speculate was likewise the case in Germany, which took even greater pride in its music societies. See for instance Martin Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth-Century Bristol* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999).

musical life.<sup>64</sup> What is most striking are the smaller donations: despite their enormous wealth, aristocrats gave roughly the same modest amounts as members of the music-loving public, ranging from 1-10 florins. For the landed gentry in this period, donations were often more symbolic than generous, a small gesture of magnanimity made out of obligation. Even Baron Sterneck, who spearheaded the hut's rescue in the first place, contributed 4 florins out of obligation (in comparison with Dumba's 50). It comes as no surprise that among the lay-donors, nearly half were women. Starting already in the nineteenth century, philanthropy was an occupation unto itself for wealthy wives and especially widows, a gendered practice that remains steadfast among the wealthy today.<sup>65</sup>

For the music-loving public, donations were fueled by personal attachment, the impact of choice (not only obligation) on philanthropic decisions. Many donors, past and present, prefer to bestow their generosity selectively, earmarking gifts for causes that have personal significance in order to see their contributions in action. Donors to the pavilion were often pilgrims at the cottage's unveiling in 1877, and looked forward to returning to Salzburg to admire their handiwork. Viennese music critic Albert Weltner, for one, paired his

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<sup>64</sup> Such as his founding role in the Society for the Friends of Music, his funding of numerous artist-monuments in Vienna, his support for the Wiener Männergesangverein, and his donation of over two hundred Schubert autographs to the city of Vienna upon his death.

<sup>65</sup> On the perception of philanthropy as women's work among wealthy donors in New York City, see Ostrower (1995), 69-85. A significant body of literature addresses women and philanthropy in the Anglophone nineteenth century: Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991); F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

contribution with an effusive letter to Sterneck that detailed his sacred experience at the cottage.<sup>66</sup> Sterneck and Horner recognized how this connection with Salzburg could fuel interest in the cause: to capitalize upon the English penchant for pilgrimage, Sterneck contacted Sabilla Novello – daughter of Vincent and Mary, who published their *Pilgrimage to Mozart* diaries fifty years earlier – and she helped to drum up English donors by spreading the word within London’s art circle, as well as posting an advertisement in the *Musical Times*.<sup>67</sup> The result of Sabilla’s efforts was the single largest donation on the 1881 roster, totaling over 200 florins. It appears that by the late nineteenth century, the English had already established a reputation as tourists, pilgrims, and art patrons with a Germanophilic bent, and administrators like Sterneck and Horner took strategic advantage of this demographic.

But for all these donations, the project failed for a simple reason: it’s difficult to finance preventative medicine. Even Mozart-lovers were less invested

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<sup>66</sup> Sterneck sent out the same generic letter to prominent members of Vienna’s artistic circle, including Hans Richter, who had recently premiered the Ring cycle at Bayreuth in 1876 and was commissioned to conduct the Salzburg festival in 1879. Albert Weltner’s letter further offers to spread the word about this important cause to others in the Viennese circle; sure enough, a number of donors from Vienna’s music world appear on the 1881 roster, including conservatory cellist Josef Gänsbacher and one of his students, both likely drawn to the cause through word of mouth. Albert Weltner, letter to Baron v. Sterneck; Vienna, September 29, 1879. MGA, Zauberflötenhäuschen exhibit box, document #343. This connection with the festival not purely sentimental, but could also be lucrative. The composer and pianist Louise Adolpha Le Beau, for example, held a charity concert of Mozart’s music and contributed her proceeds together with a gentle request for a spot on the program at Salzburg. Le Beau wrote in a letter to Stiftung: “Die Vaterstadt unseres unsterblichen Meisters ist mir nicht fremd; im vorigen Jahre verlebte ich den ganzen August-Monat in dem Herrlichen Salzburg und sah sowohl das Mozarteum wie das Häuschen am Kapuzinerberg. Es würde mir indessen eine ganz besondere Freude und Ehre sein, die vielen Schätze noch einmal genauer in Ihrer Begleitung sehen zu dürfen, wie ich auch mit Freuden bereit wäre, einmal in Salzburg zu spielen, wenn sich Gelegenheit dazu findet.” Letter from Munich, November 20, 1880. MGA, Zauberflötenhäuschen exhibit box, no catalog number.

<sup>67</sup> After Sterneck explained why he felt the London art-world would be interested in the cause, Sabilla Novello replied with a promise to insert the advertisement in the *Musical Times* free of charge. MGA, Zauberflötenhäuschen box, #s 327 and 302.

in protecting a cottage from the gentle ruin of nature than in rescuing a house from misuse. It was for this reason that the Foundation tried even harder to make the cause sound urgent, using vivid language in the advertisements sent to major newspapers.<sup>68</sup> The protective cover became a “commandment of piety” given that, “exposed to all manner of weather and particularly the blazing sun, this precious relic, which has become a true temple of Mozart-devotion for thousands upon thousands of art-loving pilgrims, will soon crumble to the ground if it is not outfitted with a protective shell with worthy decor.”<sup>69</sup>

Constructing the pavilion was another matter, and a logistical report in 1883 on the utter impracticality of this reliquary brought the feedback loop to a halt.<sup>70</sup> The report pinpointed three fundamental flaws that underlie the premise of hermetically encasing the hut in glass: 1) it blocks a direct view of the cottage, making it impossible for visitors to appreciate the rustic site as Mozart himself might have beheld it; 2) its glittering glass would clash visually with the forested

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<sup>68</sup> This urgency increased as donations waned, with advertisements in the Salzburg papers that exaggerated the goal, citing a cost estimate that was over twenty times the actual estimate. An 1896 advertisement in the *Salzburger Zeitung* cited the end cost as 20,000 to 30,000 florins, the equivalent of roughly \$220,000-\$330,000 today. The actual cost, as we know from construction company proposals, would have been closer to 1,400 florins, or roughly \$15,500. “Das Mozarthäuschen in Salzburg,” *Salzburger Zeitung*, August 5, 1896.

<sup>69</sup> “Aller Witterung und vornehmlich den sengenden Sonnenstrahlen ausgesetzt, würde die kostbare Reliquie, welche für Tausende und aber Tausende kunstbegeisterter Pilger ein wahrer Tempel des Mozartcultus geworden, gar bald zu Grunde gehen, wenn dieselbe nicht mit einer schützenden Hülle in würdiger Ausstattung umgeben wird.” Notice sent to the Salzburg local newspapers, Salzburg, January 8, 1880. MGA, Zauberflötenhäuschen box, #i.6. To the *Neue Freie Presse*, the Stiftung sent an advertisement that included a similarly dramatic passage: “Das bescheidene Häuschen ist seit Jahren der Zielpunkt von Pilgerfahrten, welche zur Ehre und zum Gedächtnisse des Meisters, von Künstlern und Musikfreunden dahin unternommen werden. Dieser Motivbau, allen Unbilden des Wetters preisgegeben, ist vom Verfall bedroht, und ist ein Gebot der Pietät, dass er noch rechtzeitig gerettet werde.” *Ibid.*, #145/1880.

<sup>70</sup> Gutachten des “Technischen Club” über eingereichte Pläne für eine Umhüllung des Mozart-Häuschens, verfaßt von dem hiezu bestellten ‘Comite’, bestehend aus den Herren Prof. V. Berger, Arch. C. Demel und Baumeister J. Christof, gezeichnet vom Städt. Oberbaurat Dauscher und von Ing. Hans Müller (1883). MGA, Zauberflötenhäuschen box, document #390.

surroundings; and 3) the pavilion would not offer the desired protection, but would function as a stifling greenhouse that amplifies sun and heat damage. The authors suggested instead that the Foundation build a simple wooden arbor over the hut, decorated with ivy, that could unfold into a larger roof in winter.

What this report shows is a clash of two conflicting ideas about “piety.” For the Foundation and its donors, a lavish reliquary would endow the cottage with the sacredness it deserved. For the Technical Club, pious contemplation would arise not from a literal interpretation of Catholic practice, but from the natural *simplicity* of the cottage and its environs. A direct encounter, free from a glassy glare, would make this cottage a piece of history rather than a treasure sealed away:

If it is a matter of treating *relics* in an acceptably relic-like manner, such that they concealed from view by a costly structure or container, and thus believers are moved to devotion through their holy proximity alone, then this approach is quite different for *objects*, which, as precious memoria of great men, have become valuable to posterity. Here [regarding the cottage], it is not enough to simply have the knowledge of the object’s existence; rather, there is the desire to behold the original appearance of the *relic* as free as possible from foreign ingredients, to observe it unhindered and with *pious* contemplation.<sup>71</sup>

Whereas the Foundation was most interested in the *symbolic status* of the cottage as relic, the Technical Club considered the viewer’s *lived encounter* with this site.

The report thus railed against the awkward proximity of Mozart’s bust, which

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<sup>71</sup> “Wenn es bei *Reliquien* reliquärer Art zulässig sein mag, daß dieselben durch eine kostbaren Fassung oder Einhüllung den Blicken entzogen sind, und der Gläubige nur durch ihre heilige Nähe zur Andacht gestimmt wird, so verhält es sich mit *Objekten*, die durch großen Menschen als theueres *Erinnerungszeichen* der Nachwelt werthvoll geworden sind, ganz anders. Da genügt es nicht, das Bewußtsein ihres gesicherten Vorhandenseins überhaupt zu besitzen, sondern es ist das Verlangen maßgaben die *Reliquie* in ihrer Erscheinung womöglich frei von allen fremden Zutaten, ungehindert zu erblicken und einer *pietätvollen* Betrachtung unterziehen zu können.” Ibid.

the authors saw as a “tasteless” competition of jarring objects.<sup>72</sup> Even the very location of the cottage, crowded by the cloister wall, was not secluded enough for proper piety: “Is this a worthy setting for a site hallowed by the memory of Mozart?”<sup>73</sup>

In the wake of this bracing report, the Foundation scrapped the plan entirely, re-allocating its donations for repairs à la carte. This decision reflects a final transformation in the long journey of this object. It went from artisan workshop (and/or rabbit hutch) to shrine, pilgrimage site, relic, and finally returned to its original condition as a historic structure. Although the question of a protective cover was twice revisited in the twentieth century, the cottage’s grand location atop the Kapuzinerberg became a vestige of outdated pomp and circumstance.<sup>74</sup> In 1950, it came full circle: where it started as a curio in the garden of the Freihaus, it found its final resting place in the backyard of the Mozarteum, where chamber ensembles performed occasional tributes at its doors. Gradually, these died away, and today the cottage remains utterly forgotten, overshadowed by the Salzburg Festival that emerged in its wake. In a

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<sup>72</sup> The report uses the word “geschmackslos” several times, both in reference to the monument and to the projected reliquary. Regarding the clash of these two fundamentally different objects: “Mag das Mozarthäuschen als *Reliquie* einen noch so großen Wert haben, als Hintergrund eines künstlerisch wertvollen *Monuments* ist es nicht geeignet.” Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> “Ist dieß eine würdige Umgebung für eine der Erinnerung an *Mozart* geweihten Stätte?” Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> The twentieth-century attempts to build a protective cover solicited funds not from private donors, but from the city of Salzburg, which newly supported historic preservation through the Austrian laws that were created after WWI (see Chapter 3). In 1923 and 1924, the Stiftung requested funds from the municipal government for a protective roof (albeit a modest wooden structure rather than a glass reliquary). The city agreed to furnish workers to repair the hut, but denied the request for a roof, which it deemed inessential. See the letters to Salzburg mayor Josef Preis from the various heads of the Stiftung Mozarteum, December 28, 1923; April 24, 1924; and June 2, 1924. MGA, Zauberflötenhäuschen box, no catalogue numbers.

climate of postwar disillusionment, first in 1914 and amplified after 1945, this secular shrine became a false idol.

### **Secular Ritual: Masons and Men's Choirs**

The concerts held before this cottage in 1950 followed an established tradition of musical offerings. From the inauguration in 1877 until well into the 1930s, men's choral societies from cities across Germany and Austria journeyed regularly to the peak of the Kapuzinerberg to laud the cottage with the priests' chorus from Act II of the *Magic Flute*: "O Isis und Osiris, welche Wonne."<sup>75</sup> Even in the context of the opera, this chorale seems to stop time, with a luminous hush that creates a space of ritual. It was this sacred sensibility – stronger in this opera than in Mozart's others, with a didactic brotherhood that comes to dominate the second act – that allowed this cottage to bring its pilgrims to life.

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<sup>75</sup> The men's choirs who journeyed to perform at the cottage were: the Wiener Männergesangverein and Halleiner Liedertafel (1879), Regensburger Liederkranz (1884), Teschener Männergesangverein (1894), Männergesangverein "Harmonie" Salzburg (1896), Heidelberger Liederkranz (1897), Liederkranz Schwäbisch Gemeinde (1898), Kölner Männergesangverein and Passauer Liedertafel (1901), Schwäbischer Sängerbund Stuttgart and Männergesangverein Hannover (1902), Wiener Akademischer Gesangverein (1903), Lehrer-Gesangverein Mannheim-Ludwigshafen (1904), Dresdner Liedertafel (1905), Radkersburger Gesang und Musikverein (1906), Mainzer Sängerbund (1907), annheimer Liedertafel (1908), Männergesangverein Hannover returned, along with Ravensburger Liederkranz and Strasburger Männergesangverein (1909), Wiener Männergesangverein returned (1910), Regensburger Liederkranz returned along with the Neeb'geher Männerchor Frankfurt a/M (1911), and four choirs in 1912: Jenaer Liedertafel, Bränner Männergesangverein, the Liedertafel "Augustus" Hannover, and the Sängerbund Brooklyn from the United States.





**Fig. 4.5.** A later rendition in 1925 of the ovation in 1877. Published in *Das Interessante Blatt* (June 25, 1925), 5.

Typical of the commemorative tradition, this ovation followed a set program punctuated by choral singing (see Table 4.1 below). In addition to Mozart’s chorus, the inauguration featured a specially commissioned *Festchor* for mixed choir and wind ensemble, entitled *Des Künstlers Genius* (To the Artist’s Genius).<sup>76</sup> Like Mozart’s own chorus, this occasional work sought a mixture of festivity and interiority. Modest spaces like Mozart’s cottage shared the lyric turn towards a sense of intimacy as epistolary novels or early Romantic German poetry: a shift from heroic deeds to the inward-looking musings of ordinary people.<sup>77</sup> In music, the aesthetic of interiority that became the standard language of *Lieder* imbued the sounds of festivity with a similar inward gaze – a departure from earlier nineteenth-century generic conventions of the *Festchor* as jubilant

<sup>76</sup> Herzogliche Schlossbibliothek, Coburg, Ms Mus 944. See text and transcribed score in Appendix 4.4.

<sup>77</sup> Edgar Landgraf discusses this lyric intimacy in the poetry of Goethe; he cites as well an important article by Niklas Luhmann that defines intimacy as fostering the “incommunicable” or the inexpressible in ordinary life, a means to render the mediocrity of everyday life less banal. See Edgar Landgraf, “Intimacy, Morality, and the Inner Problematic of the Lyric,” *Goethe Yearbook* 20 (2013), 5-23; see also the article by Niklas Luhmann in *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy*, trans. Jeremy Gaines (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 121-8.

celebration. The works performed before Mozart’s cottage, like the album housed within, strove not only to celebrate but to *consecrate*.

**Table 4.1. Mozart-Cottage Ovation: Program (July 18, 1877)**<sup>78</sup>

Ritual	A communal hike up the narrow stairs to the site. Laying of laurel wreaths and ribbons at the foot of the monument, a means to honor the many music societies and singing clubs who donated wreaths as sponsors of the Mozart Festival.
Poetry	An opening greeting ( <i>Sängergruß</i> ) from the Salzburger Liedertafel, the local men’s choir. The “Festgruss” portion of the program typically referred to a poetic prologue that would be dramatically declaimed by a member of the society.
Speech	A speech delivered by Johann Evangelist Engl, secretary of the <i>Internationale Mozart-Stiftung</i> , which thanked the organizers and participants and promised to protect the hut from sacrilege and decay for all time.
Choral	The performance of a festival chorus for mixed choir (the Salzburger Liedertafel joined by members of a local women’s choir) and accompanied by brass ensemble. The piece, entitled <i>Des Künstlers Genius</i> (To the Artist’s Genius) was a triumphant ode written exclusively for the occasion, with poetic text by Viennese-Jewish writer and press editor Märzroth (pseudonym for Moritz Barach) and music by Viennese composer, chapelmaster, and men’s choir director Max von Weinzierl.
Speech	A speech delivered by Salzburg mayor Rudolf Biebl, who lauded the Mozart Foundation, suggested (to great applause) that all music associations work together to honor Mozart’s name, and invited the artists to return to this spot at the next festival – initiating a tradition of ovations before the shack that continued well into the twentieth century.
Choral	A performance of “O Isis und Osiris, welche Wonne” from Mozart’s <i>Magic Flute</i> , the so-called priest’s choir ( <i>Priesterchor</i> ) in which the freemason-like priests of Sarastro’s Egyptian temple prepare Tamino for his initiation. The Salzburger Liedertafel performed this chorus accompanied by solemn brass.
Ritual	An invitation for the artists to inscribe their names in the Mozart-Album, and for the public to page through the album and admire the displays in the hut’s interior.

<sup>78</sup> This information was gathered from three sources. For an outline of the program: Freisauff, *Musikfest* (1877), 30-4. On wreaths with festive inscriptions: “Zum Salzburger Mozartfest,” *Die Presse*, July 16, 1877, p. 2. On the contents of the two speeches: “Vom Salzburger Musikfest,” *Die Presse* (Vienna), July 20, 1877, 1-2.

Both the text and music of *Des Künstlers Genius* combined festivity with sacred hush. The text by the Viennese poet Märzroth begins with a generic ode to art, then zooms in on the cottage in its final stanzas. This panegyric to “the Genius” (with ambiguous language that suggests both Genius incarnate and Mozart himself) imagines an artistic presence that floats majestically through Salzburg’s Alpine landscape, finally alighting upon the little house:

Who is it that enters this hut With a gently loping pilgrim’s tread? Who transforms even the poorest room Into a king’s throne with golden trim?	Wer ist’s, der in die Hütte tritt Mit leichtbeschwingtem Pilgerschritt? Wer wandelt selbst den ärmsten Raum, Zum Königsthron mit güld’nem Saum?
That is the hand of the Genius, Before which prince and servant bow, For, smiling, He embraces us all! Thus, Genius, let us greet you! <sup>79</sup>	Das ist die Hand des Genius, Dem Fürst und Knecht sich beugen muss, Weil Alle lächelnd Er umschliesst! D’rum sei uns, Genius, gegrüsst!

Märzroth strove for a tone of folksy simplicity, inviting the sense of collectivity that characterizes the *Festchor* genre.<sup>80</sup> The text alone conveys both gravity and ease, with short four-line stanzas that invite hymn-like periodic phrasing and an iambic meter that was ideal for solemn dotted rhythms. The poet expressed this aesthetic aim in his pithy contribution to the Mozart Album, with a comment that seems to praise his own ode alongside Mozart’s music: “Only that which moves the hearts of the people has the right sound!”<sup>81</sup> In response, Weinzierl’s text setting emphasizes the venerators rather than the venerated: in the final

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<sup>79</sup> Note that the capitalized pronoun “Er” suggests that this is an ode to Mozart, or the Genius, rather than to genius as a broader concept, which would likely spell “er” in lower case unless elevating genius to the level of a deity. Text by Märzroth repr. in Freisauff (1877), 53.

<sup>80</sup> Over the course of his monograph, Ryan Minor explores a broader shift away from the collective *Volk* in choral music and towards the solo prophet leading the people, a reflection of nation-building from the bottom-up versus the top down. See Minor, *Choral Fantasies* (2012).

<sup>81</sup> “Das nur hat den rechten Klang, / Was dem Volk zu Herzen drang!” Contribution dated July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1877. MGA, Mozart-Album.

refrain, “thus, Genius, let us greet you!” Weinzierl uses both long note values and escalating pitch to emphasize the word “us” rather than “Genius.” Like Lergetporer, whose poem praised festivity more so than Mozart, the object of that festivity, this chorus draws attention to the collective “us,” the people (see full score and text in Appendix 4.4).

This ethos of collectivity characterized festival choruses throughout the century, with texts that drew attention to their own festivity and homophonic settings that invited the listener to join in song. In some cases participation was quite literal: in Wagner’s *Volksgesang* (“song of the people”) from his 1871 *Kaisermarsch*, for instance, the chorus was situated among the audience to elicit public singing.<sup>82</sup> For composers who made their living from occasional works, a common strategy was to produce generic choruses that could be recycled, readily adaptable for any ceremony with versatile phrases like “all hail art!” or “celebrate this glorious day!” Works that reference the occasion in their texts—like the “Hail Beethoven!” in Franz Liszt’s cantata of 1842—were published as musical festschrifts for major events that warranted remembrance. With countless smaller occasions that flew by the radar, German and Austrian archives remain stacked high with handwritten festival choruses, a genre that became almost as common as church music in this century.

By 1877, the genre had become less codified and more open to musical experimentation. Earlier choruses, such as those from the 1840s, tended to adopt

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<sup>82</sup> As discussed by Ryan Minor in the fourth chapter of *Choral Fantasies* (2012), 110-162.

military march rhythms and festive hymns in homophonic texture, evoking the effect of the Handelian sublime discussed by Nicholas Mathew.<sup>83</sup> These were often composed for men's choirs with accompaniment by chamber orchestra or wind band. Shorter choruses were called *Festchor*, while the lengthier multi-movement *Fest-Cantate* adopted the solo arias and multi-movement structure of the church cantata and oratorio. Short choruses were dominated by two musical styles: a Lutheran chorale for more pensive or erudite occasions (such as Felix Mendelssohn's ode to Gutenberg for the 1840 book-printing festival in Leipzig, as discussed by Ryan Minor) and a military fanfare style for triumphant occasions (such as Joseph Rheinberger's 1855 *Festchor*, recyclable for many occasions, which sets the text "rufet Heil," sing praise, with bugling arpeggios in double-dotted rhythms).<sup>84</sup>

Against this backdrop of *Festchor* conventions, which continued well into the early twentieth century, composers experimented with contemporary musical language in their festive works. Anton Bruckner, for instance, wrote several occasional choruses imbued with late nineteenth-century harmonies, no longer emulating the Handelian finale.<sup>85</sup> In the wake of German unification,

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<sup>83</sup> Nicholas Mathew, *Political Beethoven* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>84</sup> Felix Mendelssohn, *Festgesang* for men's choir and orchestra, for the occasion of the first day of the fourth festival for the invention of book printing at the city square in Leipzig (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1855); Joseph Gabriel Rheinberger, *Festchor*, JWV 49 (1855). A further example of the festive texture is the *Festchor* by Friedrich Silcher for the annual festival of a choral society in Tübingen (1842), published by Stuttgart's Carus-Verlag in 1989; a softer, more pensive chorale interspersed with aria movements was composed for the inauguration of a new school building in Hildesheim in 1870: Philip Tietz, *Fest-Cantate*, Op. 48 (Hildesheim: Gerstenbergsche Buch- und Musikalienhandlung, 1870).

<sup>85</sup> Such as Bruckner's *Fest-Cantate* for wind/brass ensemble and men's choir for the occasion of the ground-breaking ceremony of the Maria-Empfängnis-Dom in Linz in 1862, WAB 16; see also

many choruses used programmatic storytelling to narrate the triumph of war, both textually as well as musically (following the same tradition of military tone-painting that sired Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg*). Take for example the festival chorus *Germania*, one among many choruses commissioned in 1871 (in this case by Ludwig III, Grand Duke of Hessen). Setting a poetic text that narrates Germania's triumph in battle, composer Friedrich Gernsheim painted every line with abrupt changes of mood and tempo – a far cry from the generic “rufet Heil” in bugle rhythms.<sup>86</sup> War-choruses of this kind helped to drum up excitement in the decade leading up to unification: in 1863, Joachim Raff composed a richly evocative multi-movement *Festkantate* for the 50-year anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig, drawing upon his full compositional arsenal to evoke the frigid winter landscape, the German people readying for battle, and the siege itself with Victory leading the way.<sup>87</sup>

*Des Künstlers Genius* absorbed these shifting conventions, combining typical *Festchor* features with tailor-made tone-painting (an apt setting for its text, which begins in generic encomium and culminates in a reference to the cottage). The composer, Max von Weinzierl, was well known in Austrian music circles: he directed the *Wiener Männergesangsverein* (Austria's first and largest men's choral

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his WAB 15, the *Festgesang* for the naming ceremony of pastor Jodock Stülz, which emulates a church cantata in form and texture, albeit with Brucknerian harmonies.

<sup>86</sup> As *Germania* surveys the dead littered on the battlefield, for instance, her eyes fill with tears; at this moment, the music shifts from roaring drums and cries of “zum Kampf!” on an ascending fifth to a sudden *tranquillo* tempo, *pianissimo*, *dolce*, and chromatic tenderness. Friedrich Gernsheim, *Germania: Ein deutsches Siegesgesang*, Op. 24, text by Emil Ritterhaus (Mainz: Schotts Söhne, 1871).

<sup>87</sup> Joachim Raff, *Deutschlands Auferstehung: Festcantate*, Op. 100, text by Friedrich Konrad Müller (Leipzig: Kahnt, 1864).

society), served as chapelmaster of the Ring-Theater in Vienna, and directed the Vienna Singing Academy. It was not only his prominence but also his ties to the Schwarzenberg family that made him a natural choice for the Mozart-cottage commission, and judging from Sterneck's correspondence, Weinzierl appears to have been considered a strong composer of occasional works.<sup>88</sup> With his employment in theater and choral societies, his output was comprised of comic operettas and works for men's choir; and it is these choral works, in particular, that set the somber tone for *Des Künstlers Genius*.<sup>89</sup>

From its first notes, this chorus expresses both festivity and intimate hush. While many *Festchor* works begin with a triumphant fanfare, brass blazing and timpani rolling, Weinzierl chose to complement the hut's pastoral simplicity rather than overshadow it with noise. Rather than opening with a grand gesture, then, Weinzierl begins with a gentle, arpeggiated melody played monophonically by bassoon and horn, joined by a homophonic chorale of winds with the dotted rhythms that were a token of festivity. This solo reed melody in a distant *piano* dynamic resembles the shepherd's pipe, evoking open space while

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<sup>88</sup> As early as 1873 Sterneck envisioned a festival chorus, and solicited this work from his friend Joseph Ferdinand Kloss in Vienna. But Kloss refused the request with self-deprecation (either in honesty, or a humble excuse for his refusal): "(...) given the existence of so many famous composers who esteem Mozart highly as I do, it would be an arrogant presumption of mine to write such a *Festchor* for the Mozart festival – if I'm not quite a humble dilettant, then at least I am a mere violet among the flowering meadows of the compositional present day." Weinzierl, it seems, counted among these flowering meadows, having composed a great deal of occasional music for events in Vienna. Response on August 8, 1873 from F. Kloss to the Baron Sterneck's request from August 1. MGA, Zauberflötenhäuschen box, no catalog number.

<sup>89</sup> Included among Weinzierl's works for men's choir are his "Mondnacht," Op. 69/3, "Heute ist heut'," Op. 43/2, and "Herbststurm," Op. 87/2, all with texts by Rudolf Baumbach. His works include *Ja so was ist bö*s and *Die Försterstöchter* for solos and men's choir and *Don Quizote* for the Vienna Comic opera, co-written with Louis Roth.

also inviting its listener to lean into a hushed atmosphere. By the late nineteenth century, this tone of muted bucolica had become a common trope in forest-themed symphonies, such as the gentle murmurings in Joachim Raff's Symphony "Im Walde" (1869) and especially the pastoral horn call of Bruckner's Fourth Symphony (1874), which critic Hermann Kretzschmar heard as a "yearning for the forest," a space of ancient ritual, secrecy, and tranquility.<sup>90</sup>

Weinzierl knew, of course, that his chorus would be performed in the open air at the cusp of the forest. Thus rather than quoting snippets from Mozart's music, as was common in festival hommages in this period, Weinzierl preferred more shaded hues that would instill a sense of ritual.<sup>91</sup> His chorus borrows from the compositional language of its time, darker and more dissonant than the major-chord bugles that so often signified festivity. At times the chorus seems to dip into the harmonic universe of Bruckner or Wagner (such as slithery chromaticism atop a pedal point or Wagnerian half-diminished suspensions in lieu of the expected dominant-seventh).

*Des Künstlers Genius* shares an aesthetic sensibility with an earlier (and today much better known) instance of musical pilgrimage: Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. Wagner's chorus of male pilgrims, foreshadowed by the opening chords of his

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<sup>90</sup> Anton Kretzschmar, writing on Bruckner's Fourth Symphony in his *Guide to the Concert Hall* of 1898, in Ian Bent, ed., *Music Analysis of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 109-117.

<sup>91</sup> In this period, it was not uncommon for festival hommages to embed themes and snippets from the composer's oeuvre, a kind of panegyric pastiche that tucked quotations into late nineteenth-century lushness. This technique was especially common in festival pieces for Beethoven's centennial in 1870. Take for instance Eduard Lassen's "Beethoven-Overtüre" performed in Leipzig and Berlin in June of 1870; Lassen interwove motives from *Fidelio* and "Die Himmel rühmen," to much acclaim from reviewers in the press. *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 49 (Leipzig), November 1, 1870, p. 794. Weinzierl, in contrast, chose not to quote Mozart directly.



overture, feature the same blend of sacred chorale and pastoral simplicity. With its hymn of reeds and brass, the overture features the instruments most often performed in the open air, a semiotic marker of the outdoor ceremony. This reedy timbre complements the pilgrims themselves, whose first *a capella* hymn is sung by a men's chorus that processes across the stage, not unlike the solemn march of Mozart's priests. Wagner's interest in this men's choral texture was no coincidence: he wrote *Tannhäuser* in the exact period when he directed the men's singing society in Dresden, when he composed several men's choral works with a sacred sensibility.<sup>92</sup> This is not to say that Weinzierl's chorus, with its mixed-choir orchestration, drew directly upon Wagner's pilgrims. It is more likely that these two pieces stemmed from a shared cultural trope: the hushed chorus and woodwind-hymns that evoked solemnity, landscape, and the sacred. This important aesthetic was filtered through the main musical attraction of the 1877 ovation: the priests' chorus from the *Magic Flute*. Just like Josef Hoffmann's sketch of an Egyptian pavilion, the ovation ceremony shared the impulse to reenact *Magic Flute* stage rituals in real life, transforming the cottage into Sarastro's temple.

Throughout this chapter, we have seen how public festivity could be tempered by an aura of the private and solemn. While this aesthetic was shared by other festivals – not least the funeral for Beethoven's death-house in Vienna (Chapter 3) – I would argue that the priests of the *Magic Flute* offer a key to this

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<sup>92</sup> Among Wagner's works composed for the Dresden men's choir are the *Liebesmahl der Apostel* (1843), *Der Tag Erscheint* (1843), and occasional works to greet Friedrich August II of Saxony and an elegy for Weber's funeral (1844).

mixture of interior and public, humble and monumental. Sarastro's temple, like the masonic lodge that it caricatured, combined the privateness of an inner sanctum with a communal brotherhood. Mozart culled his sense of ritual and hushed secrecy from the freemasons; the freemasons spurred the formation of men's choirs; and men's choirs shaped the landscape of festivity across Germany and Austria. The performance of "O Isis und Osiris" in 1877 was a relatively minor event, to be sure, but it reflects the very roots of German and Austrian choral culture.

Scholars have long understood the *Magic Flute* as an allegory for Mozart and Schikaneder's masonic affiliations. Several years before its conception, both men were initiated into a Viennese lodge for which Mozart composed an assortment of men's choral cantatas.<sup>93</sup> While Mozart's affiliation remained behind closed doors for the first year of his membership, he came out of the woodwork after an official crackdown on freemasonry by Emperor Joseph in 1785.<sup>94</sup> These restrictions on masonic activities prompted Mozart and Schikaneder to advocate for the cause through the *Magic Flute*; and with over six hundred performances in Vienna alone during the nineteenth century, the opera

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<sup>93</sup> Mozart was initiated in 1784 to the lodge "Zur Wohltätigkeit" in Vienna. His involvement with freemasonry and his compositions for the lodge are detailed in Peter Branscombe, *Die Zauberflöte*, Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). The majority of these compositions are jubilant oratorios with a spotlight on soloists, rather than a brotherhood of choral singers that might have informed "O Isis und Osiris"; but one among these masonic works was a solemn chorale that invited participatory singing: Mozart's *Maurergesang*, today known as the national anthem of Austria. The melody for Mozart's *Maurergesang* K. 623a (1791) is attributed to Johann Baptist Holzer, from whom Mozart borrowed while writing the choral finale to a larger masonic work.

<sup>94</sup> Under pressure from church and aristocracy, Joseph sought to curb the behind-the-scenes favoritism and Enlightened populism that were seen as dangerous byproducts of secret societies. See Jasper Ridley, *The Freemasons* (New York: Arcade, 2001).

spread their message far and wide.<sup>95</sup> Its didactic tone modeled how public opinion could be swayed in the masons' favor, as the protagonist Tamino gradually sheds his superstitions about Sarastro's order and embraces the secret society as a sanctuary of truth and wisdom.

Mozart's masonry is well-known among musicologists; less well-charted are the connections between masonry and men's choirs. The earliest *Männerchöre* were established by active freemasons, first Friedrich Zelter in Berlin in 1809, followed by Hans Georg Nägeli in Zurich in 1826.<sup>96</sup> It is especially telling that Nägeli published a variety of "freemason songs" early in his career, then switched to collections of "men's choir songs" shortly after he established his singing society.<sup>97</sup> His instructional treatise on the formation, training, and spiritual benefit of men's choirs spread this practice to every German city.

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<sup>95</sup> To give a sense of how deeply this opera was enmeshed in Mozart's membership, take for instance Schikaneder and Mozart's interest in ancient Egypt as a topic. Their attention was drawn to Egypt not only by the popular novel *Sethos*, but by a contemporaneous essay in a masonic journal by scientist and anti-clerical essayist Ignaz von Born. Born drew parallels between the Viennese illuminati and the orders of ancient Egypt (see Ignaz von Born, *Meister vom Stuhl, "Über die Mysterien der Aegyptier," Journal für Freymaurer* (1784)). Only a year after this essay came out, Mozart lauded Born's ennoblement with a masonic festival cantata, *Die Maurerfreude*, K. 471.

<sup>96</sup> The masonic allegiance of these early choirmasters is explained most comprehensively in a chapter by Helmuth Thierfelder, "Der Gesang in den Freimaurerlogen," in *Vorgeschichte und Entwicklung des deutschen Männergesangs* (Hildburghausen: F.W. Gadow & Sohn, 1923), 49-57. See also Benedikt Widmann, *Die kunsthistorische Entwicklung des Männerchors* (Leipzig: C. Merseburger, 1884), 73. Another source also cites freemasonry (together with student singing associations, workers' choruses, soldiers' choruses, and the Greek chorus in early opera) as influential in the early history of men's choirs: Richard Kötzschke, *Geschichte des deutschen Männergesanges* (Dresden: Wilhelm Limpert Verlag, 1927), 42-3.

<sup>97</sup> Nägeli published a collection called *Auswahl von Maurer Gesängen* (Berlin: vol. I in 1798, vol. II in 1818); later in his career, he published an assortment of anthologies and instructional treatises for men's choirs, including the most widely disseminated, *Gesangsbildungslehre für Männerchor* (Zürich: 1821). On collections of masonic music, see Paul Nettl, *Musik und Freimaurerei* (Esslingen: Bechtle Verlag, 1956). On Nägeli's relationship to Pestalozzi in his educational treatises for children's singing, see David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 93-124.

Nägeli's pedagogical philosophy was drawn from the writings of influential educator and freemason Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, whose pedagogy of self-cultivation – a seminal method that informed bourgeois *Bildung* throughout the century – was influenced by the Enlightened brotherhood of the masons. As freemasonry faded into the backdrop of nineteenth-century life, men's choirs filled this same cultural need. They became the social headquarters for gentlemen of letters, whose repertoire consisted of simple, singable choruses that set erudite texts by Goethe, Schiller, and Klopstock. These societies supported cultivation beyond their own walls by financing local music societies: the Mozart Foundation itself was supported largely by donations from men's choirs.<sup>98</sup>

Given the shared origin of masonry and men's singing, Mozart's priests' chorus became a staple of men's choral repertory, particularly for the massive annual festivals that brought together dozens of choirs.<sup>99</sup> These events were neither explicitly political nor religious; they were festivals for festivity's sake. With its non-denominational message of Enlightened brotherhood, "O Isis und Osiris" was an ideal work to impart these secular events with a sense of gravity that crossed the boundaries of Catholic and Protestant, German and Austrian.

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<sup>98</sup> The men's choirs that funded the Internationale Mozart-Stiftung were: Liedertafel Steyr, Wiener Männergesangverein, Liedertafel "Frohsinn" Linz, Gesangsverein in Undenheim, Männergesangverein Wels, Gesangsverein Brux, Deutscher Männergesangverein in Prag, Liedertafel Innsbruck, Liedertafel Salzburg, Gesangsverein "Melpomene" in Saarbrücken, Liedertafel Schweinfurt, and the Männer-Gesangsverein Holleschau. See Freisauff, *Musikfest* (1877).

<sup>99</sup> Examples include the performance of this priests' chorus in Mainz in 1835 for the unveiling of the Gutenberg monument (an arrangement with over 400 singers); in 1857 in Grefeld for the Niederrheinische Sängerkongress; in 1874 in Munich for the Deutsche Sängerbundeskongress; and at this same festival held in Vienna in 1890. It also became a staple of the German men's choirs who emigrated to the United States: see Heike Bungert, "The Singing Festivals of German Americans," *American Music* 34:2 (Summer, 2016), 147.

With the priest's chorus in the public ear, this sense of gravity came to characterize the German reception of the *Magic Flute* opera. In the late nineteenth century, many critics flattened the opera's ambiguities and whimsy into a pure expression of Germanic *Ernst* (seriousness). Sources ranging from newspapers to critical analyses dubbed the work the "birth of German opera" (neglecting, of course, the extensive eighteenth-century precedent of *Singspiel*); and the influential musicologist Ludwig Nohl went so far as to proclaim the *Magic Flute* the predecessor to Wagner's Ring cycle, said to be the two fullest blossoms of German opera. In particular, Nohl praised Mozart's *Magic Flute* choruses as the origins of art-religion itself, a "purer way" to depict the eternal, free from the church walls that confined Bach and Palestrina.<sup>100</sup> Even Wagner sought to extricate the opera's timelessness from Viennese vaudeville.<sup>101</sup> Like the ovation that raised Mozart's cottage on a pedestal, Nohl and Wagner sought to collapse

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<sup>100</sup> Ludwig Nohl, "Die Entstehung der Zauberflöte und ihre innere Verbindung mit dem Ring des Nibelungen," in *Mosaik. Für Musikalisch-Gebildete* (Leipzig: Gebrüder Senf, 1882), 200-21; Nohl, *Der Geist der Tonkunst* (Frankfurt a.M.: J. D. Sauerländer's Verlag, 1861), 197. Nohl's effort to paint the *Magic Flute* with a brow-furrowing Germanic brush, both by Nohl and the Mozart Foundation, might have been a response to the opera's numerous re-workings on the French stage in the 1860s. In this period, the *Magic Flute* was better known to French audiences through its whimsically revised versions that claimed to rescue Mozart's original intentions from the corrupting influence of a villified Schikaneder. On these re-workings, see William James Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum: Eighteenth-Century Opera in Fin-de-siècle Paris* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 47-59; see also Mark Everist, "Mozart and *L'impresario*," in *Mozart's Ghosts: Haunting the Halls of Musical Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 54-74.

<sup>101</sup> Wagner wrote: "Here that which is eternal, valid for all times and all humanity (...) is so irretrievably bound to the veritably trivial tendency of the play, intended by the poet simply to please a suburban Viennese public, that we need the intervention of an explanatory historical critique in order to be able to understand and endorse the whole work in its accidentally shaped uniqueness." In "Das Publikum in Zeit und Raum," transl. Peter Branscombe, orig. publ. *Bayreuther Blätter* (1878).

this multifaceted *Singspiel* into its solemn moments alone, venerating the work's sobriety rather than delighting in its quirks.<sup>102</sup>

But "O Isis und Osiris" was much more than a solemn chorus. If Mozart had wished to more closely emulate the music of the masons, he might have written a simple homophonic chorale. Instead, Mozart's fine-grained text setting creates a brotherhood that alternates between monumental grandeur and introspective hush. Line-by-line, and even word-by-word, Mozart's text-setting switches from fanfares of exuberant collectivity to flashes of human subjectivity, as if the chorus were unified in feeling. The first words, "O Isis und Osiris," resemble a church hymn with a harmonic pun on the plagal cadence, with the tonic D major masquerading as the IV of the dominant (as if to say "amen" for each of the Egyptian gods). But at the exclamation "welche Wonne!" (what delight!), the chorus bursts into an individual gesture, a unified sigh with an upward leap that falls along parallel-chords. Similarly, the chorus shares a cloud of uncertainty at the phrase about "darkness," losing its way as it sinks into a minor iv harmony; but in true Enlightenment fashion, the brothers' uncertainty is purged as tonic-dominant light rays pour in at "verscheucht der Glanz der Sonne" (banished by the sunlight). The chorus shows its unified feeling once again as they sing "bald, bald, bald" (soon, soon, soon) with mounting impatience: a heartbeat emerges in the basses while the tenors build excitement with a rising melodic arpeggio. The effect goes beyond a simple ritual; it is a

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<sup>102</sup> On the mysterious quirks of this opera, and those who have sought to solve them, see Jan Assmann, *Die Zauberflöte. Oper und Mysterium* (Munich: Hanser, 2005).

brotherhood brought together in interiority, sharing heartbeats and sighs – an ideal anthem for the men’s choral societies that became sanctuaries for bourgeois self-cultivation.<sup>103</sup>

At the cottage in 1877, Mozart’s priests sang with the hushed tones of the masons; and their performance encouraged *listeners* to see themselves as initiates in a sacred order of Mozart-lovers. Pilgrimage might appear to clash with the pagan priests of ancient Egypt, and especially the anti-clerical freemasons of Mozart’s time. But by positioning this cottage as a kind of temple, these categories could be merged into one secular ritual: in Catholic Salzburg, this ensemble of men became a hybrid of cultivated bourgeois gentlemen, Enlightened brotherhood, and pilgrims.

In the final event of the 1877 program, visitors admired another site of intersection between monumentality and interiority: the Mozart-Album, an assortment of celebrity contributions assembled for display inside the cottage. In the late nineteenth century, the album as object had shifted away from a personal keepsake-book to a museum of famous autographs, a kind of celebrity guestbook. This Mozart-Album, then, was quite unlike the pre-packaged nostalgia of early nineteenth-century albums (as discussed by James Davies);<sup>104</sup> rather, its format and function were closer to the Hollywood Walk of Fame, with detachable leaves that were frequently re-ordered according to the notoriety of

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<sup>103</sup> See Appendix 4.3 for the score to “O Isis und Osiris, Welche Wonne” from Act II of Mozart’s *Zauberflöte* (1791).

<sup>104</sup> James Davies, “Julia’s Gift: The Social Life of Scores, ca. 1830,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131:2 (2006), 287-309.

its contributors. Some of the authors were truly Mozart-lovers, while others contributed autographed portraits that linked them with the Mozart Foundation. In the case of little-known performers and composers, this act of Mozart-devotion doubled as self-promotion in the public eye.

A comprehensive analysis of this document lies beyond the scope of this project; here, we may observe that the Mozart Album offered both interiority and publicity.<sup>105</sup> It presented a jumble of offerings, some turned outward (signed portraits; exuberant poems), others turned inward in introspection (tender memories of Mozart's music; handwritten salon miniatures). The album offered a platform for celebrities to become pilgrims *in absentia* – and encouraged visitors to leave their own offerings in the guestbook that lay beside it.<sup>106</sup> Take, for instance, a boastful entry by music critic August Schmidt in 1878. Not only does he “express the depths of my admiration for Mozart in the holy room in which the muse graced his masterwork” – the usual encomium for a composer's workspace – but he also claims a position in Mozart's inner circle due to his acquaintance with Mozart's contemporaries, and fondly recalls a time when the *Mozart-Cultus* was confined to true believers (*Musikgläubigen*). Nor was Schmidt a new devotee, but one of the originary fans: “The trip to Salzburg for the 100<sup>th</sup>-birthday celebration that I undertook in 1856 was for me, among many others, a

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<sup>105</sup> See Appendix 4.2 for a summary of the album's contents and significance.

<sup>106</sup> Unfortunately, only one Mozart-cottage guestbook survives in the MGA in Salzburg; the other volumes were destroyed in the war.



Mecca-journey to the birthplace of the great music-prophet.”<sup>107</sup> Like the museum guestbooks in Bonn, this entry is not about Mozart; it is about August Schmidt as pilgrim. Where the men’s choirs transformed monumental festivity into the hush of an inner sanctum, the Mozart-Album transformed a domestic genre into a platform for publicizing devotion.

### **Mozart in the Woods**

The 1877 performance of “O Isis und Osiris” was significant in another way: it was one among many occasions when men’s choirs sang in the open air, a practice that took on special significance in Austria. Whereas German choral societies were a means for citizens to participate in nation-building through collective song, the political situation in Austria did not allow for this same unifying cause.<sup>108</sup> Dismissed by Metternich as a “German poison,” men’s choral societies did not enter the mainstream until the establishment of Vienna’s *Männergesangverein* in 1843, with a preference for strophic Lieder (the pride and joy of Austrian music) rather than nationalist cantatas about the *Vaterland*.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> “Die Reise zur Feyer des 100jährigen Geburtstages, welche ich im Jahre 1856 nach Salzburg unternahm, war für mich mehr als für viele Andere eine Mekka-Fahrt zur Geburtsstätte des Großen Musik-Propheten.” Dr. August Schmidt, Unt. St. Veit, September 8, 1878. Sent along with a letter to the Foundation on September 24, 1878.

<sup>108</sup> Over the course of his book, Ryan Minor argues that German choral works themselves reflect this shifting relationship between authoritarian state-building and the collective *Volk*, with a gradual shift away from the collective and towards the solitary artist-prophet; see *Choral Fantasies* (2012).

<sup>109</sup> It follows that Austrian choirs had a more strongly local than national orientation: without the *Vaterland* to supply communal purpose, Austrian singing societies banded together into a-political associations (*Sängerbund*). German scholars were keen to point out Austria’s shiftless imitation of German choral practice. In his 1887 history of men’s choirs, Otto Elben argued that Austria borrowed choral societies from Germany, but lacked the political apparatus to make the

With fewer political occasions for a singing *Volk*, then, Austrian men's choirs performed at the Alpine festivals that were a longstanding tradition. Salzburg, in particular, established itself as a center for choral singing in the open air. Eduard Hanslick, for one, was charmed by an 1862 event on the Mönchsberg overlooking Salzburg in 1862, praised as "a true folk festival, in which art and nature come together in harmony."<sup>110</sup> The *Mozartstadt* set the example for these events with its Mozart Centennial celebration in 1856, which gave newly minted Austrian choirs their chance to shine (the *Wiener Männergesangverein*, for instance, was only a decade old when it made a splash at this event).<sup>111</sup>

If Austria, and Salzburg in particular, specialized in harmonizing art with nature, then this helps to explain a substantial facet of Mozart's reception in the late nineteenth century. Karen Painter has shown how Mozart was often Beethoven-ized in biographies, with anecdotes about him composing in the garden or communing with the landscape during long carriage rides. Some biographers imagined the composer stifled by urban Vienna and yearning for the fresh air of Salzburg – a pervasive tendency to map the nineteenth-century

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activity meaningful beyond mere leisure and "drinking songs." Otto Elben, *Der volksthümliche deutsche Männergesang* (Tübingen: H. Laupp, 1887), see especially p. 117.

<sup>110</sup> The Volksfest was one part of a multi-day event, the German Artist's Conference in Salzburg in 1862. Hanslick found much of the conference tedious, but was charmed by the mountaintop festival, where men's choirs performed alongside an equestrian event, a display of *tableaux vivants*, and various dances to traditional Austrian folk music. Hanslick wrote: "Das war ein gelungenes Fest, ein wahres Volksfest, an dem Kunst und Natur in bester Laune zusammengewirkt." Hanslick, "Das deutsche Künstlerfest in Salzburg, 10.9.1862," in Dietmar Strauß, ed., *Hanslick: Sämtliche Schriften* v.1 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), 132-7.

<sup>111</sup> Long before the formal associations founded by Nägeli and Zelter, Salzburg was already a center for men's choirs, with numerous compositions for this ensemble by Michael Haydn and others in the late 1780s. On Salzburg's early cultivation of men's choral singing, see Kötzschke (1927), 52-5.

romance with Salzburg onto Mozart, despite ample evidence that he disliked his hometown.<sup>112</sup> Amidst this tendency to paint the composer as a Beethovenian nature-buff, it made sense to perform his chorus in the fresh air atop the Kapuzinerberg. In the public imagination, Mozart became a bucolic composer who honed his craft alone in the woods, a myth that the Magic Flute Cottage made tangible.

In Chapter 1, I discussed a study by Kristin M. Knittel that illuminates how, through the influence of Wagner and Schopenhauer, Beethoven's deafness came to be idealized as hermetic seclusion, a composer cut off from mundane distractions.<sup>113</sup> Already at the turn of the nineteenth century, biographers ascribed this trait of total absorption to Mozart as well. Karen Painter has shown how Franz Xaver Niemetschek, in his Mozart biography of 1798, portrayed Mozart "forgetting" himself while composing; later biographers followed suit, with anecdotes about Mozart's immersion that, Painter argues, tempered the ease of divine dictation with (Protestant) hard work.<sup>114</sup>

With this inclination to imagine Mozart composing in nature, it made sense to find wooded seclusion for his most transportable workspace. When Foundation secretary Engl announced the cottage to the papers in 1877, he wrote that "this little sanctuary" would be sheltered "in the middle of God's exquisite

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<sup>112</sup> Karen Painter, "W.A. Mozart's Beethovenian Afterlife: Biography and musical interpretation in the twilight of idealism," in Karen Painter and Thomas Crow, eds., *Late Thoughts: Reflections on Artists and Composers at Work* (Los Angeles: Getty Institute, 2006); see especially 125-32.

<sup>113</sup> See Chapter 3 and K.M. Knittel, "Wagner, Deafness, and the Reception of Beethoven's Late Style," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51:1 (1998), 49-82.

<sup>114</sup> See especially pp. 198-208 of Painter's insightful article, "Mozart at Work," *MQ* (2002). See also William Stafford, "The Evolution of Mozartian Biography," in Simon Keefe, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 200-11.

nature, to whom Mozart was always an intimate friend."<sup>115</sup> In his festschrift published shortly after the inauguration, Rudolf von Freisauff applied Engl's language of "God's exquisite nature" to the *Magic Flute* itself. For Freisauff, Mozart infused his work with the beauty of nature, drawing inspiration from the gardens surrounding the cottage at the Viennese Freihaus: from this cottage, "Mozart had a charming view upon the delicate garden, bursting with the richest display of flowers; and he, who venerated God's glorious nature above all else, created from this immediacy, from this gaze upon eternal beauty, the richest and most beautiful pearls of his immortal sound-muse."<sup>116</sup> Likewise, an explanatory blurb affixed to the back of a souvenir-photograph explained how Schikaneder chose the hut as the perfect composing spot for Mozart, who was "a warm friend of nature": "Here, with the blossom-sown fields and flowering trees before his eyes, the master could listen to the inspiration of his abundant imagination, and in the insightful gaze of nature, it was revealed to him what his works expressed with the means of the highest art: the Beautiful."<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> "In Mitten Gottes herrlicher Natur, deren inniger Freund ja Mozart stets gewesen, wird dieses kleine Heiligthum nunmehr seinen dauernden Platz finden und gewiß eine der interessantesten Sehenswürdigkeiten Salzburgs bilden." Announcement sent to the press by the Internationale Mozart-Stiftung, May 28, 1877. MGA, Salzburg, no catalog number.

<sup>116</sup> "Von diesem aus hatte Mozart ein reizenden Ausblick auf die im reichsten Blumenflor prangenden zierlichen Gartenanlagen und er, der Gottes herrliche Natur über alles verehrte (...) schöpfte aus dieser Unmittelbarkeit, aus diesem Anschauen des ewig Schönen, die schönsten und reichsten Perlen seiner unvergänglichen Tonmuse." Freisauff, *Musikfest* (1877), 47.

<sup>117</sup> Hier, die blumenbesäeten Wiesen und blühenden Bäume vor seinen Augen, konnte der Meister den Eingebungen seiner überreichen Phantasie lauschen, und im verständnisvollen Anschauen der Natur enthüllte sich ihm das, was in seinen Werken mit den Mitteln höchster Kunst zum Ausdrucke kam – das Schöne." Historical blurb by Alfred Walter, a member of the IMS board, affixed to the back of a photograph of the cottage that would have been sold in the gift shop. Dated April 20, 1877.

This cottage on the mountaintop, then, became the embodiment of Mozart's "pearls of nature," perceived as such by passing visitors. In the cottage guestbook in 1881, a visitor jotted a short poem:

Life is free (...) where Mozart's tones sound!  
Nature unified the free and the carefree,  
Thus one day beauty and the rose came to be,  
their symbol: to be found  
on the "Kapuzinerberg"<sup>118</sup>

With the use of past tense ("unified"), the author may refer specifically to the birth of the *Magic Flute*, perhaps suggesting that nature unified the carefree whimsy of the opera's comedy with its masonic message of Enlightenment (the "free," or *freyte*). Whether the author indeed refers to the genesis of this work, or to Mozart's music more broadly, it is clear that the cottage came to represent a composer at one with nature. This reception seems to have conditioned how festival-goers in 1877 beheld the cottage. In Lergetporer's poem, for instance, Mozart was said to pine for the green mountains of his hometown while cooped up in urban Salzburg; but when his "dear friend" (i.e., Schikaneder) found a "garden cottage" for him, Mozart could finally compose in peace, much like the Beethovenian stereotype of a secluded genius:

Here he was happy, undisturbed, alone;	Hier war er glücklich, ungestört, allein;
How many nights he scarcely closed his eyes,	Wie viele Nächte schloß er kaum die Lider,
At the piano, ah! he forgot his own existence!	Am Flügel ach! vergaß er selbst das Sein!
(...)	(...)
O how it seemed to him in that narrow room,	O wie erscheint es ihm im engen Raume,

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<sup>118</sup> "Freyt ist das Leben (...) wo Mozarts Töne klingen! / Natur vereinte das Freyte und Heitere, / So entsteht die Schönheit und die Rose einst, / ihr Symbol: zu finden / auf dem "Kapuzinerberg." Entry by U.U. Berbaut, July 3, 1881. MGA, Zauberflötenhäuschen Guestbook, no catalog number.

So wide and light in that moment,  
 The muse filled him up in a joyous dream,  
 Braided around his forehead like a laurel  
 wreath. (...)  
 And all earthly woes must escape, (...)  
 The tones order themselves into melodies  
 That appeal so wonderfully to the soul.  
 Here 'twas, where he created his *Magic Flute*.  
 (...)

In solchen Augenblick so weit und licht, –  
 Die Muse füllt er ja im sel'gen Traume  
 Wie Lorbeer sie um seiner Stirne flicht. –  
 (...)  
 Ach alles Erdenweh, es muß entfliehen,  
 (...)  
 Die Töne reihen sich zu Melodien,  
 Daß wunderbar es in die Seele dringt.  
 Hier war's, wo er die "Zauberflöte" schuf  
 (...)

This fantasy of Mozart composing in the Freihaus garden reveals why the cottage was so coveted: like a sketchbook, this workspace made divine inspiration palpable. We see the import of this hut as a space of creation, a nativity site for the work, in its ubiquitous nickname as the "birthplace" or "cradle" of the *Magic Flute*.<sup>119</sup> The genesis of this particular work already held appeal as theatrical re-creations. Just as Mozart's Requiem spurred a sub-genre of deathbed theater (such as Alexander Pushkin's *Mozart and Salieri* of 1832), the origin story of the *Magic Flute* was rewritten as an operetta in 1845, a smash hit that had many performances in Salzburg. The operetta was an adaptation of Mozart's own *Schauspieldirektor* of 1786 – his humorous, meta-musical *Singspiel* in which an impresario seeks to appease two divas competing for *prima donna*. For the Berlin stage in 1845, Mozart's original was rewritten by Wilhelm Taubert as *Mozart und Schikaneder*, with a comic plot set during composition and rehearsals of the *Magic*

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<sup>119</sup> Take for instance the blurb by Walter, cited above, entitled "Birthplace of the *Magic Flute*." Similarly, a newspaper notice for the reliquary fundraising also referenced the "cradle [Wiege] of the *Magic Flute*" in order to solicit the "piety" of potential donors. Notice from IMS circulated to local papers: MGA, *Zauberflötenhäuschen* Exhibit, i.6. Salzburg, January 8, 1880.

*Flute*.<sup>120</sup> Taubert's version portrays Mozart as a serious composer (albeit a womanizer) whose efforts to create high art are consistently foiled by a villainized Schikaneder. Here we see a distinctly Germanic approach to the perceived frivolity of the *Magic Flute*: its crowdpleasing moments are blamed on the money-grubbing Schikaneder, who threatens to withhold payment from Mozart unless he dumbs down his sketches; and Schikaneder strategically hides behind Mozart's artistry, confessing in the final scene that if he comes under fire, at least his reputation will "stand under Mozart's protection."<sup>121</sup> The success of this play primed audiences to appreciate the genesis of the *Magic Flute*, giving the birthplace of the opera an even greater appeal.

Inside the cottage, this genesis was depicted with more gravity than Taubert's comic re-enactment. Just as Gesellschaft's nativity of Beethoven was hung at the threshold of his birth room (see Chapter 2), the Magic Flute cottage acquired a painting that put Mozart's divine dictation on display. Starting in 1878, the Foundation sought out a new work by Anton Romako, the Viennese

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<sup>120</sup> The libretto and expanded musical numbers (with re-texted arias and orchestrated Lieder by Mozart interspersed throughout the original) were created by Louis Schneider and Wilhelm Taubert. The work was performed in Salzburg in 1845, not long after its premiere in Berlin: see Karl Wagner, *Mozarteum* (1993), 24. Mark Everist has studied the fascinating afterlife of this arrangement in the French-speaking world, with Offenbach providing a new libretto to Taubert's arrangement and calling it *L'impresario* – a project to lend his theater more cultural gravity and promote his company during the birth of operetta as a genre. See Everist, *Mozart's Ghosts* (2012), 54-74.

<sup>121</sup> In Mozart's original finale, the buffo character Puf interjects humorously insipid asides in his buffo patter: "my name is Puf." In Taubert's finale, this same interjection becomes Schikaneder's villainous aside, mumbling "I'll get the money from Herr Mozart's efforts." In one of his final stanzas, Schikaneder explains how he'll be protected by Mozart's reputation: "Schauspieldirektor, hör ich fragen, / Tatst du auch recht? / Bist du was nutz? / Darauf kann freilich ich nur sagen: / ich stehe unter Mozarts Schutz." *Der Schauspieldirektor / Komische Oper in einem Aufzug von W.A. Mozart / text von Louis Schneider. / Vollständiger Klavier-Auszug mit Text und Dialog* (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam Verlag, n.d., Nr. 4739). While this edition is not dated, its place in the publisher's catalog suggests publication around 1900.

portraiture known for a mixture of Biedermeier realism and atmospheric expressionism. While the painting was titled “Mozart at the Spinett,” it is telling that the Foundation called this “Mozart’s Apotheosis.”<sup>122</sup> Romako depicts Mozart seated at his spinett, lost in compositional thought, while musicking cherubs tumble from the lid. Across from the composer, a robed muse appears to dictate notes from a score, a stack of bound manuscripts at her feet. Here the act of creation is at once Classicized and Romanticized, combining a Grecian muse and Renaissance cherubs with the moody sepia tones often associated with Delacroix.



*Fig. 4.6. Anton Romako, “Mozart am Spinett,” 1877. This painting was displayed inside the cottage starting in 1878. © Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum (ISM).*

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<sup>122</sup> Letter from the IMS to Fürst Starhemberg, February 14, 1878. Salzburg, MGA, Box A IV 3.



Romako's painting appears to have been commissioned by Sterneck specially for the cottage. In October of 1877, just as Romako began work on this painting, he contributed a leaf to the Mozart-Album with a poignant memoir and poem in which he expressed his deep childhood love of the *Magic Flute* and his amazement that Mozart, despite being so poor (as reflected by the humble cottage), was nonetheless rich in ingenuity.<sup>123</sup> In winter of 1877, Romako reported to Sterneck that his painting was finally complete: "only now is it grand, simple, and tasteful enough to be worthy of Mozart's little house." The artist was eager to share his vision with fellow devotees, expressing the wish that "my efforts may give some small joy to the poets and noble-minded people." To further disseminate this vision, Romako encouraged the Foundation's plan to photograph and sell prints of his painting.<sup>124</sup>

Postcards and decorative prints of this work proved to be the most successful of all the hut's souvenirs. (And to further make Mozart's genius tangible, it is noteworthy that one postcard featured a comparison of Mozart's exceptionally musical ear with a normal ear, taken from Nissen's biography.)<sup>125</sup> It

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<sup>123</sup> "Wien ist eine elegante Gross-Stadt geworden, aber das kleine h lzerne H uschen worin die Zauberfl te componiert wurde hat man vom Freihaue nach Salzburg gebracht man behauptet Mozart war arm ich sage Er war reich sehr reich trotzdem & nichts besass und auch gl cklich (...)" Excerpt from Anton Romako's contribution to the Mozart-Album, October 26, 1877.

<sup>124</sup> He specified in his letter that the canvas should not be varnished right away, so that the photographs will capture his colors just right. "(...) erst jetzt ist er prachtvoll einfach und geschmackvoll dem *H uschen Mozart's* w rdig." Letter from Romako to Carl Sterneck, Munich, December 22, 1877. Romako's letter can be accessed freely in the digital archives of the Mozarteum. <<http://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=302&cat=>> Accessed March 4, 2017.

<sup>125</sup> A financial record of postcards sold at the cottage reveals the kinds of images that visitors sought as souvenirs: assorted portraits of Mozart and his family, many of which were on display in the birth-house and Wohnhaus museums in Salzburg, small and large images of the cottage, and a "small album" in "Leporello format" (presumably an accordion-style photo book that

is a token of the painting's value that the Foundation took out two insurance claims for Romako's canvas in 1878 and again in 1903. Each successive groundskeeper was advised that it was a special duty not only to maintain the grounds and charge admissions, but also to watch over the painting and protect it from thieves.<sup>126</sup>

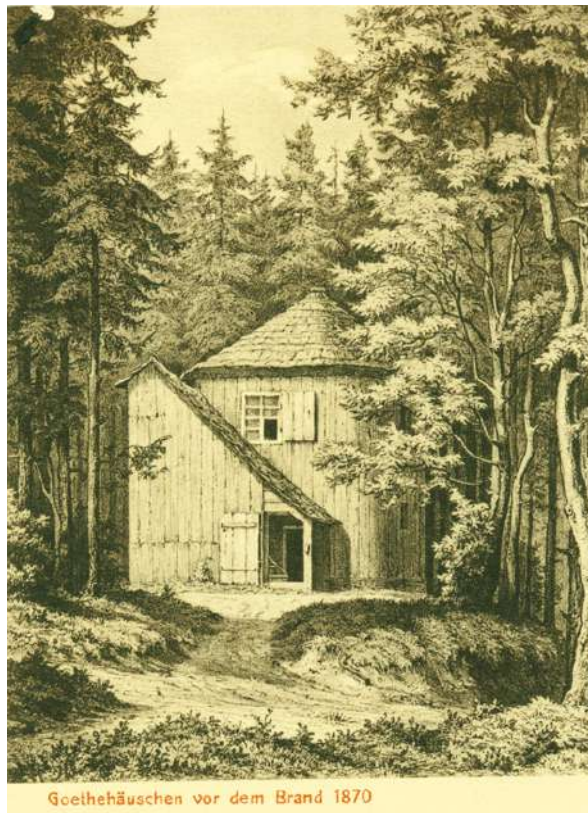
This painting made the miracle of composition visual and tangible, housed in a shrine to artistic creation. Unlike Mozart's various apartments, this cottage functioned solely as a composing space, and it saw the birth of just a single work, like Goethe's wooded cottage on the Kickelhahn (which appears to have served as the template for Mozart's cottage). Goethe's shack was likewise a secluded workspace associated with the genesis of his "Wanderers Nachtlied," today among his most famous works. In Goethe's case, the cottage was not only a site of inspiration, but its walls were literally inscribed with the poem, a fascinating combination of workspace and autograph manuscript. When the nearby town of Ilmenau became a spa destination in 1839, his cottage offered a literary attraction that found a wide audience as a lithograph. The impulse to preserve this cottage meant rebuilding it in every detail, including re-carving the poem in Goethe's hand, after it was destroyed by fire in 1870.

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emulated Don Juan's catalog of conquests). The Romako painting was a top seller, second only to the Mozart portrait by Tischbein, a reproduction of which was also on display in the cottage. For the picture of Mozart's ear that was sold as a postcard, see the image plates in Georg Niklaus von Nissen, *Biographie W.A. Mozarts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1828). MGA, Box A IV 4.

<sup>126</sup> The MGA, Box A IV 4, contains insurance forms from the Österreichische Versicherungsgesellschaft in Vienna, dated 1878 and 1903. This same box contains a handwritten set of instructions to the new groundskeeper, dated April 18, 1882. We can see the priorities of the Foundation from these instructions: 1) watch over the property year-round, 2) tend to the property, 3) sell photos and souvenirs, 4) control the entry of visitors, and 3) protect and care for the items in the cottage, particularly the valuable painting by Romako.

*Fig. 4.7. Postcard of Goethe's original cottage on the Kickelhahn, near Ilmenau. Verlag von Karl Thomass, Gehren i. Thur.*



It is possible that the careful reconstruction of Goethe's cottage in 1874 sparked the idea to rescue Mozart's cottage from the Viennese Freihaus later that same year; indeed, Goethe was already associated with Mozart's *Magic Flute*, having attempted a sequel to the opera in 1795.<sup>127</sup> While the Mozart Foundation did not cite Goethe's hut as an exemplar, it was likewise a site branded with a single work (as opposed to a range of pieces) that seemed to permeate the walls. Where visitors might recite the famous "Wanderers Nachtlied" at Goethe's cabin, so too might pilgrims to the Mozart-cottage hear their favorite strains from the

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<sup>127</sup> The fragments of Goethe's unfinished sequel were first published in 1802 in *Wilmans Taschenbuch*. Goethe's cottage was used as a hunting lodge for Duke Carl August in 1783, and this same year, Goethe adopted it as a peaceful writing spot and etched his "Wanderers Nachtlied" in to the wall above the window. For an account of historical interest in this cottage one year before it burned, see: Robert Springer, *Die klassische Stätten von Jena und Ilmenau. Ein Beitrag zur Goethe-Literatur* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1869), 27-32. See the online article by Jutta Assel and Georg Jäger, "Orte und Zeiten in Goethes Leben: Eine Dokumentation," on the website *Goethezeitportal*. <<http://www.goethezeitportal.de/wissen/topographische-ansichten/orte-und-zeiten-in-goethes-leben-kickelhahn.html>> Accessed March 9, 2017.

*Magic Flute*, like the museum *Ohrwürmer* that we saw inscribed in the guestbooks in Bonn.

But unlike Mozart's cottage, Goethe's cabin was never hoisted on a pedestal. Even when the opportunity arose to reconstruct it in whatever form, the new cabin emulated the original – tucked in the woods, a hike away from civilization. Goethe's cabin offered interiority alone, without the monumental flair. And so too did his poem: it seems almost to whisper in its reader's ear, not only posing reflections on mortality but also evoking the stillness of nature (with, for instance, its onomatopoeic exhalation on the word "Hauch" that, like a dying breath, silences itself in the final "auch").<sup>128</sup> These two composing-huts reveal how the artwork itself conditions the cult practices that follow in its honor. Goethe's cottage followed his poem, an introspective musing on nature and mortality; Mozart's cottage followed his opera, a vibrant showpiece tempered by solemn ritual.

### **Utopian Salzburg**

We have seen throughout this chapter how Salzburg made itself a *Kulturstadt* both through its festivals and its *Kunsttempel* on a hill. One of these won out: the cottage has fallen into obscurity, while the Salzburg Festival continues to draw massive international crowds. But from its earliest inception, the Salzburg Festival was cut from the same cloth as Mozart's Cottage: it was one among

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<sup>128</sup> See David Wellbery, *The Specular Moment: Goethe's Early Lyric and the Beginnings of Romanticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Wulf Segebrecht, *Goethes Gedicht 'Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh,' und seine Folgen* (Munich: Hanser, 1978).

many efforts to establish Salzburg as the city where art and nature blended in perfect harmony.

The city already had this reputation in the early nineteenth century: like the *Rheinromantik* of this same period, when poems and Lieder depicted melodious strains echoing across the Rhine valley, Salzburg's landscapes were imagined to reverberate with song (foreshadowing *The Sound of Music* already in nineteenth-century poetry).<sup>129</sup> At the cottage in 1879, for instance, a member of the Viennese men's choral society recited a poetic prologue that depicted men's voices echoing across a scenic landscape. In an accompanying speech, the Foundation secretary praised "you Salzburger" for "opening before you the sublime book of Nature like a prayerbook."<sup>130</sup>

It was this early Romantic image of a landscape infused with music that shaped the rhetoric of the Salzburg Festival, founded in 1920 in the wake of World War I. Already in the late nineteenth century, writer and festival co-founder Hugo von Hofmannsthal wrote that "the whole city [of Salzburg] is filled with softly vibrating, unceasing music (...) that we no longer experience in the metropolis."<sup>131</sup> The city of music took a political turn after the war, a small

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<sup>129</sup> On *Rheinromantik*, see Chapter 2 and Cecelia Hopkins Porter, *The Rhine as Musical Metaphor: Cultural Identity in German Romantic Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996).

<sup>130</sup> The "Festgruss an Salzburg!" was written by Franz Kraemer and recited at the cottage on August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1879. The speech was given by Dr. Olschbauer, secretary of the Foundation, and it included the passage: "Euch Salzbergern gebührt der höchste Dank für das was ihr hier gethan, haltet treu daran fest. Ihr habt das erhabene Buch der Natur wie ein Gebetbuch vor euch liegen und aufgeschlagen." See "Das Zauberflötenhäuschen," *Erster Jahresbericht der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum in Salzburg* (Salzburg: Selbstverlag der Stiftung, 1881), 74.

<sup>131</sup> In response to the festival in 1891, Hofmannsthal wrote that "die ganze Stadt mit leise vibrierender, unaufhörlicher Musik erfüllt, ein enges Theater mit der drückenden, aufregenden Menschenfülle, die wir Großstädter nicht mehr kennen." Hofmannsthal, "Die Mozart-

town that offered an escape from Europe's trauma, and we see this agenda in the earliest plans for the festival: in 1918, Gerhart Hauptmann (writer, Nobel laureate, and co-founder) wrote that the festival would be "the most natural and happiest thought that I can imagine (...) Who, before his death, would not wish to make a pilgrimage there to celebrate peace with his fellow man, and escape this dark and ravaged world?"<sup>132</sup>

From the start, the festival's aims were patently political. Not only would it offer an escape from the devastation of war, but also unity to an Austrian Empire that had collapsed after the war. With these lofty goals, the festival's founders positioned Salzburg as a utopian synthesis of cosmopolitan and provincial, Latinate and Germanic, art and the open air. In a first call for support in 1918, Hofmannsthal described the city as Europe's "heart of hearts," a midpoint between Slavic and Nordic, Germanic and Italian, mountain and plain, age-old and modern, aristocratic and pastoral.<sup>133</sup> Just as Beethoven was imagined to synthesize North German hard work with Austrian grace (see Chapter 2), Mozart was likewise described as both universal and cosmopolitan, a kind of

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Zentnarfeier in Salzburg, 1891," in *Gesammelte Werke: Reden und Aufsätze*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), 515.

<sup>132</sup> "Mozart-Festspiele, ein Mozart-Festspielhaus in Salzburg, das ist der natürlichste und glücklichste Gedanke, den es geben kann. Wer möchte nicht vor seinem Ende, aus den Düsternissen dieser verwüsteten Zeit hinaus, noch einmal, mit Menschen des Friedens, dorthin pilgern." Gerhard Hauptmann, Salzburger Festspielhaus Gemeinde, *Kundgebungen zur Errichtung des deutschösterreichischen Festspielhauses* (Vienna, April 21, 1918).

<sup>133</sup> "Das Land Salzburg ist das Herz vom Herzen Europas. Es liegt in der Mitte zwischen Süd und Nord, zwischen Berg und Ebene, es liegt als Bauwerk zwischen dem Ländlichen und dem Städtischen, dem Uralten und dem Neuzeitlichen, dem barocken Fürstlichen und dem lieblich ewig Bäuerlichen: Mozart ist der genaue Ausdruck von alledem. Das mittlere Europa hat keinen schöneren Raum und hier mußte Mozart geboren werden." In "Der erste Aufruf zum Salzburger Festspielplan," cited in Robert Hoffmann, *Mythos Salzburg: Bilder einer Stadt* (Salzburg: Verlag Anton Pustet, 2002), 32.

*musical* crossroads who balanced German and Italian impulses. In this same year when Hofmannsthal published his rallying cry for the festival, conductor and Mozarteum director Bernhard Paumgartner agreed that Mozart's music synthesizes Southern and Northern, folk-like inwardness and artistic virtuosity, Baroque fantasy and clearheaded objective irony.<sup>134</sup> Nor was this concept limited to elite circles. Even local newspapers championed their city in similar terms; as one Salzburg journalist wrote in 1902:

The name Salzburg is itself a platform where the German forests, the boldness and harshness of the Alpine lands, the bright sun and beautiful lines of Italy, all permeate and meld together. Mozart, the *genius loci*, combined German depth and intimacy with Roman grace into a higher unity. This spirit lives visibly in the city, which bears the imprint of all architectural style periods, from Gothic severity to the playful charm of the Rokoko (...)<sup>135</sup>

Among the most influential proponents of Salzburg's synthesis was Viennese coffeeshop intellectual Hermann Bahr, the same figure who voiced disdain for the big-city neglect of Beethoven (Chapter 3). Even before the war, Bahr idealized the city as a small-town utopia for artists and heard Mozart's music as a sounding synthesis of German and Italian.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Erwin Kerber, ed., *Ewiges Theater. Salzburg und seine Festspiele* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1935), 20.

<sup>135</sup> "Der Name Salzburg ist an sich ein Programm, in dem sich deutsche Waldlandschaft, Kühnheit und Trutzigkeit des Alpenlands, Sonnigkeit und Linienschönheit Italiens durchdringen und verschwistern. Mozart, der *genius loci*, hat deutsche Tiefe und Innigkeit mit romanischer Grazie zu einer höheren Einheit verbunden. Dieser Geist lebt sichtbarlich in der Stadt, die durch die gotische Strenge wie durch die spielerische Anmut des Rokoko mit allen dazwischenliegenden Stilperioden ihr Gepräge erhält (...)" In *Salzburger Volksblatt*, June 16, 1902; cited in Oliver Saylor, *Max Reinhardt and his Theater* (New York: Brentano's, 1923), 200.

<sup>136</sup> In a humorous short story, Bahr follows two travelers who wish to purchase Salzburg and establish a utopian artists' colony there—a witty but not altogether satirical foreshadowing of the Salzburg Festival seven years later. Hermann Bahr, "Die Hauptstadt von Europa: Eine Phantasie in Salzburg," in *Essays* (Leipzig, 1911), 235-41. An essay a few years later describes Mozart's music as the perfect balance, mirroring the "Mozartstadt": Hermann Bahr, "Die Mozartstadt,"

Bahr's writings reveal a common response to a much broader problem in Mozart's reception. Although he was universally beloved and praised, Mozart was uncomfortably Italian for the nationalist German sensibilities of the 1860s and 1870s. In Austria, his status was more secure; but his reception in his homeland was nonetheless marked by some degree of Germanic unease. The cultural ties between Germany and Austria following the Austro-Prussian War were not clear-cut: although the Habsburg territories saw themselves at odds with the German states, and encompassed Slavic, Hungarian, and Italian identities along with their German-speaking population, Austrians nonetheless claimed a stake in German *music* culture. Beethoven, for instance, was often claimed by Viennese writers as German in spirit but Austrian in artistic development; and many cited Mozart and Schubert as examples of a kind of transnational German (or perhaps Ur-German) *Volksgeist*. Thus even in Austria, the adjective "German" was often used to refer to a deeper cultural substrate shared by both regions, and this tendency was even more pronounced in Salzburg, a city with a strongly Bavarian identity (leading even Hofmannsthal to pronounce it the epitome of artistic achievement on "south German soil").<sup>137</sup>

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*Musica Divina* 2:8/9 (1914), 303-6. Bahr expanded upon the balance of Latinate and Germanic in his lengthy essay *Salzburg* (Vienna: Agathonverlag, 1947).

<sup>137</sup> On Salzburg's Bavarian identity, see Ewald Hiebl, "German, Austrian, or 'Salzburger'?" National identities in Salzburg, c. 1830-70," in Laurence Cole, ed., *Different Paths to the Nation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2007), 100-120. Hoffmann wrote: "(...) the Festival Hall on the very border between Austria and Bavaria is the symbolic expression of deeply rooted tendencies, which are half a thousand years old (...) The powerful underlying basis of these is medieval. Gluck was their forerunner, Mozart their peak and center (...) The real dramatic element in Goethe, as the Salzburg Festivals will show, [is] a unified structure of all the forms of theatrical expression which spring from the South German soil." Cited and translated in Stephen Gallup, *A History of the Salzburg Festival* (Topsfield, Mass.: Salem House Publishers, 1987), 11.



With his Italianate music, cosmopolitan career, Austrian provenance, and undisputed position in the Germanic canon, Mozart was problematic; synthesis was a convenient solution. This is why critics instilled Mozart's biography and oeuvre with a sense of Beethovenian gravity, while also accentuating his childlike naïveté and cherubic balance of proportion. And it was synthesis, too, that allowed critics to get a handle on the *Magic Flute*. The opera offers a motley mixture of its own: Germanic folklore, Enlightenment brotherhood, Egyptian mythos, Viennese romp, a comedy that turns somber and didactic. For all its alleged Germanness as a folk-mythical *Singspiel* in Mozart's mother tongue, many critics found the opera elusive. To avoid facing these oddities head-on, listeners were left with two options: either to acknowledge its pastiche by making it a synthesis, or to ignore its mixture by placing it on a pedestal of praise like the cottage in which it was composed.

This opera in particular, then, took on special significance in Salzburg, the professed crossroads of difference. Erwin Kerber, an early director of the Salzburg Festival, described the *Magic Flute* as the embodiment of Salzburg itself, with its blend not only of German and Italian more broadly, but specifically of the Viennese theater tradition, the Alpine variant of the Harlequin tradition, and Italian commedia dell'arte.<sup>138</sup> Mozart's music, not only his birthplace, came to fill this utopian role in the aftermath of war.

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<sup>138</sup> Kerber, *Ewiges Theater* (1935), 40.

It was a quaint sort of utopia. The Salzburg Festival hearkens back to a much older ideal: the provincial “idyll” of late eighteenth-century German literature – that is, the insular small town where bourgeois arts and culture exist in perfect harmony. By reviving this trope, the festival founders sought refuge in the past, while also building up an eighteenth-century ethos to complement the music of Mozart. In this same period when Mozart’s music was accused of being old-fashioned, out of touch with contemporary ideals, the time was ripe for historicist revival.<sup>139</sup> By preserving his cottage in 1877, the Foundation laid the groundwork for an idyllic fantasy. Advertised as a crossroads for international pilgrims, the cottage and its ovations re-enacted Mozart’s compositional genius in the open air, art at peace beneath the trees.

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<sup>139</sup> On criticism of Mozart and his revival around 1900, see Leon Botstein, “Aesthetics and Ideology in the Fin-de-siècle Mozart Revival,” *Current Musicology* 51 (1993): 5-25.

## Epilogue

Imagine what Beethoven and Mozart might have thought if, like Tom Sawyer at his own funeral, they had seen their posthumous reception – their houses made into shrines, letters behind glass, busts crowned with laurels, tobacco boxes on display. Mauricio Kagel, for one, did imagine it. In his film *Ludwig van*, released on the occasion of Beethoven's bicentennial in 1970, we see through Beethoven's own eyes as he explores a surreal spin-off of his museum in Bonn. Kagel's critique of posterity is at once whimsical and scathing, a mockery of museums both real and imaginary: we see record-store customers, isolated, contemplating music through headphones; decaying busts of Beethoven lovingly excavated from a tub of lye while, in the alley below, men rush to decapitate a pile of desktop mini-busts; and by the end of the film, Beethoven's lofty music has been reduced to a goofy, pulsating chord that accompanies a carnival of zoo animals. Kagel does not only theatricalize Beethoven's canonicity and its undoing, but also the *self-consciousness* of posterity, a sense of embarrassment in the face of overblown veneration that wallpapers every inch of music culture, just as Kagel coated Beethoven's fictional writing room with scores.

Among music-lovers today, art-religious practices have continued uninterrupted, without the caustic edge of Kagel's commentary; if anything, celebrity culture has embraced the overblown in the form of camp. In this climate of celebrity, fans continue to be fascinated by the bodies and ailments of

musicians: John Lennon's hair was purchased at auction, fans eagerly await news of illnesses and addictions, and Elvis was known to disseminate relics of himself at his concerts, wiping his brow with ladies' scarves and tossing them into the crowd. Every trace of Elvis's body, from his clothes in the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame to his tomb at Graceland, has become an object of fetishization, as Greil Marcus has shown.<sup>1</sup> Just as thousands gather each year for a candlelight vigil at Graceland on Elvis's death-day, devotion to musical celebrities tends to converge at material focal points, like gravestones, houses, the Beatles' crosswalk at Abbey Road, or most recently, Prince's estate in Minnesota (which, by no coincidence, is administered by the same company as Graceland). This connection with the material is especially strong among Catholic communities that value ritual sites: in September of 2016, for instance, the sudden death of Mexican superstar Juan Gabriel led Latino fans to gather and weep at his inlaid star along the Hollywood Walk of Fame. In some cases, the bodies of deceased celebrities become national treasures: after a custody battle in 1993, the remains of salsa singer Héctor Lavoe were transported from the Bronx back to his native Puerto Rico, just like Chopin's heart was taken back to Poland. And like Liszt, Wagner, Bruckner, and Bunge, musicians today often fashion themselves as suffering saints, in some cases modeled directly on Beethoven: in 2014, Japanese composer Mamoru Samuragochi, dubbed the "digital-age Beethoven," was discovered to have fabricated his own deafness.

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<sup>1</sup> Greil Marcus, *Dead Elvis: Chronicle of a Cultural Obsession* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

While many today associate the fervor of art-religion with German-Romantic excess, fans of classical music perpetuate the practices that I have outlined in this dissertation. We see the ubiquity of Beethoven’s physiognomy not only in his piano-top busts that have become a comic trope,<sup>2</sup> but also in amateur sketches that pepper the Beethoven-Haus guestbooks.



*Fig. 5.1. Four examples of countless portraits drawn by visitors to Beethoven’s birth-house in Bonn, Beethoven-Haus guestbook, 2014.*

Just as nineteenth-century listeners inscribed loving messages about Beethoven—his life, his import, his deafness—many today have found digital forums for devotion: the YouTube comments on Beethoven’s major works and bio-documentaries. With a strikingly similar tone to the Bonn guestbook entries, one commentator on the Ninth Symphony offered a message that reads almost like a prayer: “There is no greater human work that expresses a pure loving spirit than this symphony. May it live on forever in the souls of humanity and remind us

<sup>2</sup> Two among many examples include Beethoven’s bust in Charles Schulz’s *Peanuts* and Jim Henson’s *The Muppet Show*.

that we are all family in some way.”<sup>3</sup> A Beethoven documentary elicited several poignant, lengthy comments from viewers who were deeply touched by the composer’s deafness; one, in particular, expressed sentiments about last works that are rooted in nineteenth-century discourse on lateness:

At the end of one’s live, being deth, full of pain, short breathed in supine position; no human being I ever knew, would be able to wright down a symphony, would be able to be as creative in emotion, soul and composition. Sometimes B’oven said he has to live some more month, because he had to dedicate the Ninth to US human brothers. Sometimes I think he was the medium to bring down that divine piece of art to us.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps most compelling are the entries written by a teenaged generation that adopts the same tone of competition and self-assertion as pilgrims to Bonn.

Recall the 1918 visitor who griped about his superiority to his peers: “What would you say about this voluminous rabble of monkeyish names and titles? (...)

That I nonetheless discovered you (...)!” Compare this with a response to the

Ninth Symphony by one Elise Palus in 2016:

I literally can’t understand why some people aren’t into classical music these days. Is it simply too beautiful for their ears (...)? I have always loved this wonderful creation since day one and will continue to love it till the day I die (...) My generation continues to shock me with their lack of taste in music all of this auto tune and computers to make music instead of instruments. wow and this is coming from a 14 year old.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Comment on a YouTube recording of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony by Althaea Ratliff, October, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Comment from EJStormful, accessed April 21, 2017.  
< <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uHo7-PMXf9Q> >

<sup>5</sup> Elise Palus, comment on the Ninth Symphony, 2016.  
< <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t3217H8JppI> > Note a similar comment on this same video from A Portuguese History Nerd: “This man and his music are incredible. He did this deaf, troubled, and scared. This man is, and will be, a legend, known and praised for centuries to come! If only today’s teenage music didn’t exist...”

Like so many before her, this listener foregrounds the superiority of her own taste over that of her peers (exactly as Bourdieu describes in his *Distinction*). Given that music culture has split along generational lines, not only social class, Beethoven-loving teens like this one draw attention to their maturity with the same tone visitors to the Beethoven-Haus.

With tourists filming their adventures on iPhones, it comes as no surprise that YouTube also serves as a platform for debates about historic preservation, a means for the public to expose and endorse composer-sites that have been neglected. Recall the preservation of Mozart's Magic Flute Cottage, a secluded workspace that was in danger of decay. A recent YouTube debate about Gustav Mahler's composing shack bears a striking resemblance to nineteenth-century conversations about material objecthood, historic house vs. transportable relic, shack vs. shrine.

In recent years, there has been some controversy over the divergent treatment of Mahler's composing-huts on either side of the Italian-Austrian border. While his Austrian cottages have been carefully restored and converted into small museums, following the example of the Mozart-cottage in 1877, his cottage in the now-Italian town of Toblach has fallen into ruin. Whereas his Austrian cottages are managed by the government, this hut where Mahler composed his Ninth Symphony and "Das Lied von der Erde" has been handed down through the same Tyrolean family that rented it to the composer from 1908-1910; and rather than hoist this cottage onto a pedestal, it remains sidelined

by the family's main attraction, their "wild animal park" populated by llamas, pigs, and ponies. In 2011, percussionist and composer Nebojša Jovan Živković posted a YouTube tour of the premises that bitterly complains of the Toblach cottage's deterioration and its profane setting amidst the cries of farm animals—a striking parallel to the dismayed recollections in 1877 of Mozart's cottage teeming with live rabbits. As Živković writes in his description: "it looks like the today's owner of the property could not care less about this 'crazy' composer Mahler and all those stupid people that come from all over the world to visit this musical SHRINE."<sup>6</sup>

In comments from alarmed viewers, we see an echo of nineteenth-century attitudes towards historic preservation. Just as Vienna was deemed unfit for commemoration, here the Italian side of the border is accused of impiety, where the strict preservation laws of Austria no longer hold sway: "if this area was still a part of Austria," one viewer writes, "I am sure the house would be cared for much better!"; an Italian reader replies despondently, "I am Italian and now I consider this as a fault. I no longer feel part of this nation, I feel shame (...) I can not hold back the tears seeing that crap we have become." Other viewers comment on how Mahler's Austrian houses have been better protected, calling the owners of the Toblach hut "criminal, absolutely criminal!" and proclaiming, "If I hated Mahler, this is how I would show my hatred."

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<sup>6</sup> Nebojša Jovan Živković, "Gustav Mahler 'Komponierhäuschen' in Toblach, Situation in 2011." < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ar-KkCKuy4w> > Accessed December 25, 2016.



Above all, commentators agree that the hut is a precious site: “it is an especial hut,” writes one viewer, “in a tradition of huts and hermitages where poets and philosophers and mystics and musicians have sought solitude among forests and wildernesses”; for this reason, another disdains how the owners “treat it as a ‘thing’” rather than assuming their duty as “custodians of a musical landmark, a cultural heritage site (...)” But as if to confirm the thing-ness of this hut – its modest size and transportability, just like Mozart’s cottage before it – a Californian senior proposes a fundraising drive to relocate the hut to safer premises: “I would be willing to help raise the money needed to transport it to the Museum, where it could be properly cared for.” Even today, we see the same veneration of workspaces as quasi-objects that led the Magic Flute Cottage to be uprooted in 1877 – and the same desire among the music-loving public to rescue these sites from desecration.

The resiliency of cult practices shows how deeply materiality lies ingrained in celebrity culture. Why do we still care about Beethoven’s face, Mozart’s perfect autographs, or Mahler’s composing hut? Why are we so eager to imagine composers on their deathbeds, to hear a glimpse of the divine in their last works? Even today, the celebrity body has proven its allure, imagined to leave a residue of genius within everything it touches.

## Appendix 1

### *Beethovens Grabgesang*

Ludwig Nohl, *Eine stille Liebe zu Beethoven: Nach der Tagebuch einer jungen Dame* (Leipzig: Ernst Julius Günter, 1875), 263-6.

Müde bin ich, geh' zur Ruh, Hab' genug gelebt, gelitten. Wund im Herzen, wund in Schmerzen, Die das Leben mir gebracht.	I am tired, I soon shall rest, I have lived and suffered enough. Wounded in my heart, sore from pain, That life has given to me.
Hoch und kühn der Jugendmuth, Ernst und treu des Mannes Streben: Wollt' die ganze Welt umfassen, Liebend bringen ihr das Glück.	Youthful vigor, great and bold Manly ambition, serious and true: Wished to encompass the entire world, Lovingly bring it happiness.
Doch wer mag dem Leben nah'n? Stürmend warf's mich aus dem Gleise. Und von alle meinem Lieben Blieb mir nichts als mein Gesang.	For who likes to approach life? Stormily it drove me from the tracks And nothing was left of all my loves Except my song.
Doch ob auch zum Tode wund, Will der Liebe Lied ich singen. Denn die Liebe ist das Leben, Liebe einzig Menschenglück.	For even moribund, I will sing the song of love. For love is life, Love, the only human joy.
Lösung aller Erdennoth, Allumschlingen, Allerbarmen! Lieb' ist Wahrheit, Lichtes Fülle, Sel'ges Leben, ew'ges Sein!	Remedy to all earthly affliction, All-embracing, merciful to all! Love is truth, copious light, Joyous life, eternal being!

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### Beethoven's Grabgesang.

Sehr langsam und ruhig.

Näh - be bin ich.

nes' zur Welt, hab' ge - mag ge - lebt, ge - lit - ten.

264

*sotto voce.*

Wund im Her - zen, wund in Schmerzen, die das Le - ben  
mir gebracht.

265

Hoch und löhn der Augenmuth,  
Ernst und freu des Mannes Streben:  
Welt' die ganze Welt umfassen.  
Liebend bringen ihr das Glück.

Doch wer mag dem Leben naß'n?  
Stürmend wack's mich aus dem Gleiße.  
Und von alle meinem Lieben  
Lieb mir nichts als mein Gesang.

Doch ob auch zum Tode wund,  
Will der Liebe Lieb ich singen.  
Denn die Liebe ist das Leben,  
Liebe einzig Menschenglück.

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Abjüng aller Erdennuth,  
Königschlingen, Allerbarmen!  
Lieb' ist Wahrheit, Lichtes Güte.  
Selges Leben, ewiges Sein!

\* Wir geben den näheren Freunden Beethoven's zum Schlaf  
noch die Noth, daß obiges Lied zugleich für Alt oder Sopran bei  
Weitkopf & Härtel erschienen ist, das ganze Lento aber für  
Violine und Clavier ebenfalls, für Clavier allein bei J. Neßl und  
vierhändig in dem Arrangement der gesammten Quartette Beetho-  
wens in der Edition Peters.

## Appendix 2.1

**Eduard Hanslick, *Musikalisches Skizzenbuch: Neue Kritiken und Schilderungen* (Berlin: Allgemeines Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1888), 313-16.**

<p>Mein erster Weg früh morgens war eine Wallfahrt zum Grabe Schumanns (...) Von Schumanns Grab heimkehrend, stand ich bald vor einem unscheinbaren Hause in der Rheingasse mit der folgenden Inschrift: "Beethovens Geburtshaus." Pochenden Herzens betrat ich den feuchten Flur, erkletterte eine lebensgefährlich schmale, finstere Holzterasse und ließ mich oben von dem Besitzer oder Miether des Hauses in ein kahles, verwahrlostes Zimmer führen, dessen stark beschädigte Wände und kleines Butzenscheiben-Fenster ein ansehnliches Alter verriethen. "In dieser Stube ist Beethoven geboren," sagte mein Führer mit einer Entschiedenheit, als ob er dabei gewesen wäre. Ich bin an allen pietätgeheiligten Stätten sehr gläubig, mit Bewußtsein gläubig, sogar abergläubig, wenn es mich glücklich macht, und hege nicht einmal Mißtrauen gegen die Spazierstöcke und Tabaksdosen, die mir als Lieblingsgegenstände eines verstorbenen großen Mannes vorgezeigt werden. So betrachtete ich denn entblößten Hauptes und bewegten Herzens den geweihten, sehr unsauberen Raum, in dem Beethoven seinen ersten Schrei ausgestoßen. Mit Lebensgefahr tastete ich mich wieder die todfinstere Hühnersteige herab ins Freie und war nicht wenig überrascht, bald darauf auf einem Hause in der Bonngasse abermals eine Aufschrift zu</p>	<p>My first order of business early in the morning was a pilgrimage to the grave of Schumann (...) Returning from Schumann's grave, I soon stood before a inconspicuous house in the Rheingasse with the following inscription: "Beethoven's Birth House." With a beating heart I entered the damp hall, climbed a life-threateningly narrow and dark wooden staircase and was led by the owner or renter of the house into a bare, neglected room, whose badly damaged walls and small crown-glass window betrayed considerable age. "In this parlor Beethoven was born," said my guide, as resolutely as if he had been there. I am quite devout in all piously hallowed sites, self-consciously devout or even superstitious, when I want to be, and I bear no mistrust for the walking sticks and tobacco boxes that are shown to me as favorite articles of deceased celebrities. Thus, with bare head and touched heart, I beheld the hallowed and rather filthy room in which Beethoven let out his first cry. Endangering my life I groped again through the pitch black hen-house stairs into the open air and, shortly thereafter, I was not a little surprised to read another inscription on a house in the Bonngasse: "Here Ludwig van Beethoven was born." Appalling. In my initial excitement I had forgotten the quarrel two years ago, in which two different houses in Bonn had claimed the honor of being Beethoven's</p>
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<p>lesen: „Hier ward Ludwig van Beethoven geboren.“ Entsetzlich. Ich hatte in der ersten Erregung mich des Streites nicht mehr erinnert, welchen vor zwei Jahren zwei verschiedene Häuser in Bonn um die Ehre, Beethovens Geburtshaus zu sein, geführt (...) Also darum war ich mit Herzklopfen die wackelnde Wendeltreppe in der Rheingasse hinaufgeklettert, darum vor der Geburtsstätte Beethovens innerlich in die Knie gesunken, um fünf Minuten später zu erfahren, daß ich in meinen heiligen Empfindungen geäfft worden! In der Entfernung nimmt sich das recht komisch aus. An Ort und Stelle hat aber, allen Ernstes, ein solches kaltes Sturzbad über unser hochgradig erwärmtes Gemüth etwas sehr Peinliches. (...) Wahrlich, der Stadtmagistrat von Bonn sollte endlich einem der beiden Häuser die Gedenktafel confiszieren (...) möge dort nie mehr ein Beethovenverehrer auf der mir unvergeßlichen Wendeltreppe seinen pietätvollen Hals riskieren.</p>	<p>birth house (...) Thus I had climbed the shaky, winding staircase in the Rheingasse, inwardly sunk onto my knees before the birth site of Beethoven, only to discover five minutes later that I, with all my holy experiences, had been duped! With hindsight it seems downright funny. But at the time, truly, the bucket of cold water that drowned my flushed excitement was rather embarrassing. (...) Truly, the municipal authorities of Bonn ought to confiscate one of the two birth house signs. (...) and may a Beethoven devotee never again risk his pious neck on that unforgettable spiral staircase.</p>
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**“Aufruf,” Beethoven-Verein, publ. in *Bonner Zeitung*, May 31, 1889 and in the program book for the chamber music festival held in 1890 (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus Verein, 1890), Beethoven-Haus Library, HCB P / 1878 Klav.**

<p>Mehr als hundert Jahre sind seit der Geburt Ludwig van Beethoven’s verstrichen. Tausendfältig wurde inzwischen der Ruhm des gewaltigen deutschen Tondichters verkündet; ehernen Standbilder wahren der Nachwelt sein Andenken; die hundertjährige Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages vereinte allerorts die Freunde der Kunst zu festlichen</p>	<p>More than a century has passed since the birth of Ludwig van Beethoven. Since then, his fame has been emblazoned in a thousand ways; iron statues preserve his memory for posterity; the centenary of his birthday united friends of art everywhere in festive performances and just recently the earthly remains of the immortal man were interred in an honorary</p>
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Aufführungen und noch jüngst wurden die irdischen Ueberreste des Unsterblichen in der Ehrengruft zu Wien beigesetzt.

Unbeachtet blieb nur die schlichte Stätte seiner Geburt. Und doch wäre es vor Allem Ehrenpflicht gewesen, gerade diese Stätte profaner Bestimmung zu entziehen und nur der Erinnerung an den Meister zu widmen.

Um diese Schuld einzulösen, hat der zu Bonn in's Leben getretene Verein das Geburtshaus erworben in der Absicht, dasselbe so wiederherzustellen, wie es zur Jugendzeit Beethoven's gewesen. Vieles ist darin noch im ursprünglichen Zustande erhalten, insbesondere das Geburtszimmer in seiner tief ergreifenden Einfachheit.

Auf dass Beethoven's Genius von Neuem die Räume belebe, die seine erste Entfaltung gesehen, sollen in ihnen gesammelt werden: die verschiedenen Ausgaben seiner Werke, die Literatur, die über ihn handelt, Handschriften, Briefe und Reliquien, die stumm-beredt von ihm erzählen, die bildlichen Darstellungen seiner äusseren Erscheinung, sowie Alles, was die sinnliche und seelische Berührung mit ihm vermittelt.

Beethoven hat in seinen gewaltigen Schöpfungen den tiefsten und mächtigsten Empfinden des menschlichen Herzens, dem Ringen und der Versöhnung mit den Mächten des Schicksals eine Sprache verliehen, welche heute von den Gebildeten aller Völker gleicher Weise verstanden wird. Wer jemals diese ergreifende und tröstende Sprache vernehmen durfte, wird sich gerne mit uns vereinigen, um dem grossen Meister eine Stätte

tomb in Vienna.

Only the modest site of his birth remained unappreciated. And yet it was above all a duty of honor to immediately withdraw this site from its profane use and dedicate it solely to the memory of the master.

In order to fulfill this obligation, the association founded in Bonn acquired the birth house with the intention to restore it to its condition during Beethoven's youth. Much remains in its original condition, particularly the birth room with its deeply moving simplicity.

In order to animate these rooms with Beethoven's genius – rooms that saw this genius unfold for the first time – they shall be outfitted with collections of the various editions of his works, literature related to him, autograph manuscripts, letters and relics that speak of him with mute eloquence, visual depictions of his outward appearance, along with everything that mediates sensory and emotional contact with him.

In his powerful creations, Beethoven touched the deepest and mightiest sensation of the human heart, giving language to the struggle and reconciliation with the might of fate – a language that is today commonly understood by the educated of all nations. Whoever may hear this moving and consolatory language will gladly unite with us, in order to sanctify a site of thankful memory of the great master in his birth house, in the Beethoven-House in Bonn on the Rhine.

Thus we turn with great hope to all admirers of Beethoven and call on them to contribute, through

<p>dankbarer Erinnerung zu weihen in seinem Geburtshause, im Beethoven-Hause zu Bonn am Rhein.</p> <p>So wenden wir uns denn voll Zuversicht an alle Verehrer Beethoven's und rufen sie auf, durch Eintritt in den Verein, durch Schenkungen für unser Beethoven-Museum oder durch Gewährung sonstiger Mittel zur Ausführung und Vollendung unseres Werkes beizusteuern.</p>	<p>membership in the association, through gifts for our Beethoven-Museum or through the granting of sundry media for the implementation and completion of our work.</p>
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**Hermine Bovet, Handwritten Poem, Beethoven-Haus Library, Z586817.**

<p><b>Zu dem Bild: Beethovens Geburt (im Beethoven-Museum zu Bonn) dem Beethoven-Verein gewidmet</b></p> <p>Zu Bonn, in dem niedrigsten Kämmerlein  Van Beethoven wurde geboren;  der Genien zwein dort fanden sich ein,  Zu Pathen sie waren erkoren.</p> <p>In schmucklose Wiege die Mutter ihn legt,  Das Antlitz voll bangester Sorgen,  Ihr Kerl' schaut umher, und befand er sich  regt  Im Arme der Mutter geborgen.</p> <p>Die eine der Genien im luften Gewand,  Hält sinnend das Zweig voller Blüten,  Die Andre, der Dornenkranz ernst in der  Hand;  " Mög Gott ihn vor Dornen behüten!"</p> <p>Die Geister der Musen noch legten hierzu:  Den Lorbeerkranz dicht vor die [sic] Wiege,  "Nun schlafe, mein Knäblein, in süßester  Ruh</p>	<p><b>On the Picture: Beethoven's Birth (in the Beethoven Museum in Bonn) Dedicated to the Beethoven-Verein</b></p> <p>In Bonn, in the humblest of chambers  Van Beethoven was born;  The two guardian angels arrived there,  His chosen godparents.</p> <p>The mother laid him in his unadorned  cradle,  Her face filled with tender concern,  Her boy looked about, and found himself  stirring  In the snug embrace of his mother.</p> <p>The first of the angels in heavenly garb,  Meditatively holds a spray of flowers,  The other, gravely clutching a crown of  thorns:  "May God protect him from thorns!"</p> <p>The spirits of the muses then laid  Laurel wreaths thick before the cradle,  "Sleep now, my child, in sweet peace  " Lie in the protection of the angels.</p>
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<p>“Im Schutze der Genien liege.”</p> <p>“Nach etlichen Jahren im kleinen Gemach  “Sich Blüten der Genie entfalten,  “Dann rütteln die Geister der Musen dich  wach;  “Mög Gott dich den Musen erhalten.” –</p> <p>Kind Beethovens Händchen am kleinen  Spinett  Entrollen die lieblichsten Weisen,  Die Geister vom ärmlichen Wiegenbett  Jetzt Beethovens Sinne umkreisen.</p> <p>Die Noten in richtige Rhhythmen er setzt  Genau, wie’s die Geister dictieren  Das Meßer zur Feder ein Kobold ihm  wetzt,  Er durfte die Zeit nicht verlieren.</p> <p>So wuchs aus dem Knaben ein mächtiger  Bauer,  den Spielen der Kinder verloren,  Er hatte bis tief in den nächtlichen Traum  Sich Geistern der Töne verschworen.</p> <p>Die führten ihn alle zur schwindelnden  Höh  Und bald in die Schachten der Tiefen,  Dann wieder zur stillen, zur wogenden See  Wo Meerjungfern lachend ihn riefen.</p> <p>Dann rißen von Schlachten zu Schlachten  mit fort,  Den Jüngling die Genien und Geister;  Durch tausende Städte rollt donnerndes  Wort:  Das “Hoch!” dem vollendetem Meister.</p> <p>Der Herald der Töne er wurde genannt  Bis weit über Vaterlands Grenzen,  Gigantische Kraft in dem Schaffen sich  fand</p>	<p>“After many years,  “The Genius in this little chamber will  blossom,  “Then the spirits of the muses will shake  you awake,  “May God keep these muses about you.”</p> <p>Young Beethoven’s hands on a little  spinett  Uncoil the most precious tunes,  The spirits from the meager cradle  Now circle around Beethoven’s mind.</p> <p>He sets the notes in proper rhythms,  Exactly as the spirits dictate  His quill sharpened by a sprite,  For he may not lose any time.</p> <p>So grew a powerful builder from this  child,  Oblivious to children’s games,  Until late in his nightly dreams  He conspired with the spirits of sounds.</p> <p>They propelled him to dizzying heights  And to the abysses of the deep,  Then again to the quiet, churning sea  Where laughing mermaids called to him.</p> <p>Then the angels and spirits tugged him  away  Pulling him from battle to battle;  Through a thousand cities the thundering  word rolls;  “Hurrah!” to the consummate master.</p> <p>The herald of sound he was named  Far beyond the boundaries of the  fatherland,  Gigantic power lay in his creations</p>
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<p>Draus sah eine Krone er glänzen.</p> <p>Doch brachte das Leben von Dornen den Kranz, Dem Meister, statt goldener Krone, Beraubt des Gehört's, sah gestürzt er sich ganz Durch Leid von der Glücklichen Throne.</p> <p>Und gruben die Dornen sich tief in die Stirn Von Falten des Kummers durchzogen, Erklomm er doch weiter die eisigste Firn, Und sank denn in schäumende Wogen.</p> <p>Dort hat er getrunken vom salzigen Meer, Vergebend gelauscht auf die Lieder, Die reich von der Höh' er gestreut um sich her Wie lauter Juwelen hernieder.</p> <p>Die Geister sie brachten der Schöpfungen Sang Ins Leben für ewige Zeiten, Und halten nach Beethovens Todesgesang Die Perlen der Tonkunst verbreiten.</p> <p>Die Menschheit der weitesten welt es jetzt weiß, Daß einstens zu Bonn ward' geboren: Der größte Meister vom Erdenkreis, Zum Löwen der Tonkunst erkoren.</p> <p>Nun schaut er verklärt in dem Kämmerlein Aufs Wunder der einstigen Wiege, Doch ernst auf die Lorbeern, der Kränze Reih'n, Trophäen, des Tonschlachten Siege.</p>	<p>Yonder he saw a glittering crown.</p> <p>Yet life brought instead a wreath of thorns To the master, instead of a golden crown, Robbed of his hearing, he saw himself crumble With suffering before the happy throne.</p> <p>And the thorns buried themselves deep in his brow Marred with the creases of affliction, Yet he crested the iciest névé, And then sank into the foaming waves.</p> <p>There he drank from the salty sea, With acceptance, he heard the songs, That were strewn richly about him from on High Like copious jewels.</p> <p>The spirits, they brought their song to his creations Into life, for all time, And they continue to spread these musical pearls Long after Beethoven's death-song.</p> <p>All of humanity around the world now knows, That once was born in Bonn: The greatest master of the earthly sphere, Elected the lion of the art of music.</p> <p>Now he gazes, transfigured, into the chamber Upon the wonder of his former cradle, And gravely at the laurels, the rows of wreaths, Trophies of his triumph in the battles of sound.</p>
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<p>Hermine Bovet Honnef/Rhein dem 1/5 1903</p> <p>An den hochlöblichen Beethoven-Verein zu Bonn.</p> <p>Um zur Anregung Beethovens Kammermusik-Fest, 17 bis 21 Mai, etwas beizutragen, erlaube ich mir die Auffassung das Bilder, Beethovens Geburt, dem Verein Beethoven-Haus zu widmen, (*nach Belieben zu veröffentlichen.</p> <p>In Hochachtung,</p> <p>Hermine Bovet Musik Schriftstellerin Honnef Rhein. 1/5. 1903.</p>	<p>Hermine Bovet Honnef/Rhein dem 1/5 1903</p> <p>To the honorable Beethoven-Verein in Bonn.</p> <p>In order to contribute something in eager anticipation of Beethovens Chamber Music Festival, 17<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> of May, allow me to dedicate this impression of the picture “Beethovens Birth” to the Verein Beethoven-Haus (* to publish, if you so choose.</p> <p>Respectfully yours,</p> <p>Hermine Bovet Music Writer Honnef Rhein. 1/5. 1903.</p>
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**Handwritten poem from the Beethoven-Haus Guestbooks**

September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1902. [Author unknown.]

<p>Suche ich schaffend Mir vom Druck die Seele zu lösen, Richt ich das Auge zu dir empor.</p> <p>Und dein Antlitz bleibt ernst u. traurig, Schwarzgefurcht von der Menschheit Wehe, Nieder auf mein armseliges Tun.</p> <p>Sieh, heut stell ich Dich unter Blüten, dem Winter entschlossen,</p>	<p>Creating, I seek To free my soul from oppression, I lift my gaze aloft to you.</p> <p>And your visage remains serious and sad, Furrowed dark from the woes of mankind, Down upon my paltry actions.</p> <p>Look, today I place Flowers beneath you, closed by the winter, I grant a flower offering to you.</p>
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<p>Weihe ein Blumenopfer dir.</p> <p>Liebend trag ich dich denn zurücke,      Daß deine Nähe den Schlaf mir hüte,      Schwiege mein Haupt an dein hehres      Antlitz:      Mein großer Toter, verlasst mich nicht!</p>	<p>Lovingly I then carry you back,      So that your closeness may watch over my      sleep,      I lower my head to your noble visage:      My great dead one, do not leave me!</p>
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**Hans Maria Saget, "Träumerei in Beethoven's Geburtshaus" (Reverie in Beethoven's Birth-House), Beethoven-Haus Bonn, B 1501/40.**

The author was a bookseller in Bonn; and while this poem remains undated, various clues (such as archival folder location) indicate that it was written between 1930 and 1950.

<p><b>Hans Maria Saget,          "Träumerei in Beethoven's          Geburtshaus."</b></p> <p>Wanderer,          führet den Weg dich          zum Rheine,          verweile zu kurzem Gedenken          in Beethoven's Haus!</p> <p>So du durchschreitest          historische Räume,          umfassen          dich Träume –          beglückt dich melodischer Strauss.</p> <p>Lausche!          In festlich          beschwingten Akkorden,          erschliessen sich Knospen          erblüh'n Melodie'n – Symphonie'n.</p> <p>Quellklare Wasser          hinrauschen          im Strom der Musik,</p>	<p><b>Hans Maria Saget,          "Reverie in Beethoven's Birth-          House."</b></p> <p>You, wanderer,          if you find your way          to the Rhine,          linger for brief remembrance          at Beethoven's House!</p> <p>As you stride through          these historic rooms,          dreams          surround you –          delighting you with a melodic          bouquet.</p> <p>Hark!          In festively          elated chords          buds open,          melodies – symphonies – blossom.</p> <p>Fount-clear waters          rush forth          from the river of music,</p>
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preisend den Schöpfer des Alls – Beethoven spielt...	praising the Creator of the universe – Beethoven plays...
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**Poems/libretto excerpts by Carl Berg**, visitor to Beethoven-Haus  
Guestbook entry, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1920.

The first poem appears to be Berg's own spin-off of a quotation by Schiller (*Ernst ist das Leben, heiter die Kunst*), the final line of the prologue to *Wallenstein* (1798). While this first stanza seems to comment on Beethoven, the second resembles more of a phantasmagoric scene akin to the Wolf's Glen in Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz*, possibly a snippet of the libretto from this Alboin opera.

Ernst ist das Leben, heiter die Kunst, Schwer erringet die Kunst sich Gunst, Doch ächtes, edles Streben, es findet seinen Lohn, Im Schaffen selbst Verdienstes Kron'!	Life is serious, art cheerful, Art wins favor only with difficulty But with true, noble striving, it finds its reward, In the self-earned crown of creation!
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Weltunortenes nächt'ges Wissen, Trauer, Trost? Unstäte Irren! Ew'ge Wahrheit – Schmerzen – Wonne – Unheil, Grab, Urweltensonne – Nächt'ges Dunkel, Geistersehen, Sphärenhören, Auferstehen?	Dark, otherworldly knowledge, Mourning? Solace? Erratic wanderings! Eternal truth – pain – bliss – Doom, grave, primeval sun – Jet-black darkness, ghostly visions, Music of the spheres, resurrection?
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[Notes written beside music excerpts]	
[Excerpt 1] Moderato: Motiv der Hochedise- Geschild aus Alboin	Moderato: Motive from the Hochedise- Shield from Alboin
[Excerpt 2] Moderato Unaufgelöstes Welträtsel? ganz verhellend	Moderato Unsolved world-riddle? quite shadowy

## Appendix 2.2

### Poems by Margarete Koelman, pen name Irene Wild

Margarete Koelman, sometimes spelled Koelmann, was the wife of a civil servant (*Regierungsrat*) in Hannover and later Berlin. In the year of her husband's death in 1903, she published a volume of poetry from the perspective of a male poet who has lost his female lover to a younger man: *Ein Liebesschicksal in Liedern* (Dresden: E. Pierson, 1904). In addition to this volume, Koelman published short stories, poems, and music journalism, and was a successful translator of English poetry. As a widowed philanthropist, she became an enthusiastic member of the Beethoven-Verein and made the trip to Bonn numerous times for the chamber music festivals.

Koelman wrote five Beethoven-themed poems in total: two written directly into the Beethoven-Haus guestbooks, two on separate sheets that were tucked between the pages of these books, and a final poem that she laid on the floor of Beethoven's birth-room on the occasion of his 90<sup>th</sup> death-day.

<p><b>Beethoven-Haus Guestbook</b> <b>May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1903</b></p> <p>O Mensch, in diesem Heiligtum, Wie bist du klein, wie arm dein Ruhm! Weih, eh du eintrittst, Herz u. Hand – Hier ist in Wahrheit heiliges Land. Zieh deines Alltags Schuhe aus Und trag ein Heiligstes nach Haus!</p> <hr/> <p>Beethoven's Büste</p> <p>Du, mein Beethoven, Nun lebendiges Glück mir entrichten, Dich, meiner Toten, dich liebe ich.</p> <p>Freundschaft u. Liebe, sie gingen in Trümmer, Fröhliche fliehen der Einsamen Nähe – Du nur, mein Toter, du bleibst nur treu.</p>	<p>O man, in this sanctum, How small you are, how meager your renown! Hallow, before you enter, with heart and hand This spot is truly holy land. Remove your everyday shoes And take this sacredness home with you.</p> <hr/> <p>Beethoven's Bust</p> <p>You, my Beethoven, Now you offer me living happiness, You, my dead one, you I love.</p> <p>Friendship and love, they go to ruin, The cheerful flee the lonely – Only you, my dead one, only you remain faithful.</p>
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<p><b>Beethoven-Haus Guestbook</b>  <b>May 21, 1906</b></p> <p>(Beethoven)  Hier lebt vor  meiner Seele  das Bild des Herrlichen,  der alle Höhen  Seufzender Schöpfeskraft erstiegen,  der alle Tiefen  Qualvollen Erdenleids durchmessen,  er lebte, bitt und starb.  Und doch nicht starb –  der weiterlebt in Millionen,  die seines Geistes urgewaltgen Quell,  Andächt'gen staunensvoll,  Immer von neuem trinken  Und nie erschöpften.  Laßt seine Melodien  In Euch erklingen,  Wenn hohe Tage Euch bewegen –  Zu seinem Antlitz schaut hinauf,  Wenn dunkle Stunden  das Herz bedrungen.  Schöpft Kraft und Trost  Erhöhtes Leben  Aus seines Geistes erhabenem Flug!</p>	<p>(Beethoven)  Here lives before  my soul  the image of the glorious one,  who has climbed all heights,  of the sighing powers of creation  that strode through all depths  of agonizing earthly woe,  he lived, prayed and died.  And yet did not die –  he lives on in the millions  who drink anew  from his spirit's all-powerful spring,  with devotion and awe,  and who never fatigued.  Let his melodies  Resound in you,  When holy days move you –  Look up to his face,  When dark hours  plagued the heart,  Draw power and solace  Heightened life  From his spirit's sublime flight!</p>
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<p><b>Insert in Guestbook</b>  <b>July 15, 1911</b></p> <p><u>Beethoven</u>  (Vision beim Anhören eines seiner  letzten Werke.)</p> <p>Es war in jenen Tagen,  Da du noch lebstest, Beethoven,  Als deine große Seele  Einsam verblutete  Und deinem Ohr kein Ton vernehmbar  war,  Als nur der Klang aus deinem Innern.  Du saßest am Klavier</p>	<p><u>Beethoven</u>  (Vision upon hearing one of his last  works.)</p> <p>It was in those days,  When you still lived, Beethoven,  When your great soul  Bled, lonely, to death  And when no tone was audible to  your ear,  Except the sounds from within.  You sat at the piano</p>
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Und spieltest deine letzten Fantasieen,  
Groß, wild und stark:  
Die Sehnsucht eines Gottes,  
Der durch Äonen eine Seele sucht,  
Die sein gewaltger Odem nicht  
erschreckt,  
Die ihn aus seiner Einsamkeit erlöst  
Und ihn nur liebt und sein ist.

Ich lebte damals und ich hörte dich.  
Mich hatte dein unsterblich Werk  
geguckt  
Und ganz zu dir gezogen.  
Dich selber hatt' ich nie von Angesicht  
gesehen,  
Doch füllt ich, wie dein Antlitz war.  
Du saßest einsam  
Und spieltest, ganz in dich gekehrt,  
Und lauschest mit dem innern Ohr  
Den eignen, tief ergreifenden Gesängen,  
Indes die Menge festlich um dich her  
Versammelt war  
Und halb verwundert, halb erschüttert  
Dein Werk vernahm.  
– Du aber sahest keinen.

Ich schlich mich still herein  
Und blieb gebannt an deiner Schwelle  
stehen.  
Die Augen schloß ich  
Und ließ die Wogen deiner Töne  
Über mich hingehn wie ein ewig Meer  
Von Wellen, die sich nie verströmen  
können,  
Unendlich, unerschöpflich, immer neu  
sich schaffend  
Aus Tiefen, die kein sterblich Auge sah.  
Da stand ich,  
Die Welt ging unter mir zugrunde,  
Doch rührte ich mich nicht. Mag sie  
vergehn  
Und mir das Meer urew'ger  
Weltenklänge

And played your last fantasies,  
Great, wild and strong:  
The yearning of a god,  
Who searches for a soul through the  
ages,  
Who does not fear his powerful  
breath,  
Who frees him from his loneliness  
Who just loves him and is his.

I lived in those days and I heard you.  
Your immortal work looked at me  
And drew me wholly to you.  
I had never seen you face-to-face,  
But I felt what your face was like.  
You sat alone  
And played, utterly turned inside  
yourself,  
And listened with the inner ear,  
To your own deeply moving songs,  
Meanwhile the crowd gathered  
Solemnly around you  
And heard your work  
Half amazed, half distressed.  
– But you saw no one.

I crept into that world  
And stood magnetized at your  
threshold.  
I closed my eyes  
And let the surge of your tones  
Wash over me like an eternal ocean  
Of waves that will never dissipate,  
Eternal, inexhaustible, always  
creating themselves anew  
From depths that no mortal eye has  
seen.  
There I stood,  
The world collapsed beneath me,  
But I did not stir. May it perish  
And the ocean of ever-eternal earthly  
sounds  
Carry me out of the muddled dream

<p>Mich tragen aus dem wirren Traum des Seins.</p> <p>Still wird es gesetzt. Der Meister hat geendet, Die Menge jubelt Beifall. Ich erschrecke.     Wie gellt der Ton In eines Göttersturmes Schlußakkord!     Nun weicht die Schar. Der Meister     sitzt allein, Er hört die Stimmen ihres Alltags nicht,     Sein Auge Verliert sich weit in unbekannte Fernen. Still ist's um ihn. Ich stehe noch verloren An seiner Schwelle, Und mit geschlossnen Augen, leise tastend Such ich mir meinen Weg zu ihm. Und in die Kniee gleit ich vor ihm wieder Und rufe: Teurer Meister, Laß mich den Staub von deinen Schuhen küssen! Er aber hört mich nicht. Doch hebt er jetzt Das Auge Und siehe: licht wird sein verlornen Blick, Ein Götterstrahl blitzt auf, Da ein Unsterblicher die Menschenseele fand, Die sein gewalt'ger Odem nicht erschreckt, Die liebend ihn aus seiner Einsamkeit erlöst Und in ihm lebt und sein ist.</p>	<p>of being.</p> <p>It settles into stillness. The master has finished, The crowd rejoices with applause. I startle.     How the sound clangs In a final chord of a tempest of gods!     Now the herd yields. The master     sits alone, He no longer hears the voice of daily life,     His eye Loses itself in unknown distances. The air grows still around him. I stand lost At his threshold, And with closed eyes, softly probing I feel my way to him. And again I drop to my knees before him And I call out: Precious Master, Let me kiss the dust off your shoes! But he does not hear me. But now he raises His eyes And behold: his lost gaze lights up, A divine sunbeam flashes, For an immortal found a human soul That does not fear his powerful breath, That lovingly frees him from his loneliness And lives in him and is his.</p>
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<p><b>Guestbook</b> <b>July 21, 1911</b></p> <p>Jüngst hielt ich deine Neunte Sinfonie, Du großer Einsamer, in Händen Und wandte leise Blatt um Blatt, Auf dem einst meines Meisters Hand geruht. Ich drückte meine Lippen auf die Zeichen, In denen sich das Heiligste mir birgt, Ein Schatz, den nicht Jahrtausende ersetzen.</p> <hr/> <p>Wohl war ich nicht allein mit diesem Kleinod – die Andern aber hatten wenig Acht, Vergraben in Gelehrsamkeit, Was meine Lippen stumm, anbetend taten.</p> <p>Laß mir das Licht, das aus den Zeichen strahlt Und in mir leuchtet wie verklärend Feuer! Laß mir die Hoffnung, Daß meine Lippen nicht das Heiligste befleckt, Daß sie zu schlecht nicht, dir zu dienen, Zu preisen, zu verkünden dich: Beethoven!</p>	<p>Recently I held your Ninth Symphony, You great lonely one, in my hands And I quietly turned the pages Upon which my master's hand once rested. I pressed my lips to the notes Which contain for me the holiest reflections, A treasure that cannot be replaced by centuries.</p> <hr/> <p>Indeed I was not alone with this treasure – the others, though, took little care, Buried in erudition That which my lips did silently, worshipfully.</p> <p>Give me the light that streams out of your notes And glows within me will glow a fire like transfiguration! Give me the hope That my lips will not tarnish the holiest, That they never refuse to serve you, To praise, to proclaim you: Beethoven!</p>
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<p><b>Poem laid on birth-room floor</b> <b>March 26, 1912</b></p> <p><u>Beethovens Tod</u> zu seinem 90. Todestags von Frau Wild, Hannover</p>	<p><u>Beethoven's Death</u> on the occasion of his 90<sup>th</sup> death-day by Ms. Wild, Hannover</p>
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<p>Ludwig van Beethoven, geb. zu Bonn 17. Dez. 1770 in der Bongasse gest. zu Wien in einem Wintergewitter am 26. März 1827 im Schwarzspanierhaus.</p> <p>Tief schweigend ruhn die Gassen – Im Haus ein sterbender Titan Ringt einsam und verlassen Nach sturmgewaltiger Lebensbahn.</p> <p>Er irren sein Hände Wie suchend vorwärts und zurück – Auf öde, kahle Wände Fällt seines Auges Flammenblick.</p> <p>So ungepflegt das Bette – Ach, keine weiche Frauenhand, Die ihm das Lager glätte, Darauf sein siecher Leib gebannt.</p> <p>Nicht Stimmen und nicht Töne Vernimmt sein schönheitstaubes Ohr – Er <u>schuf</u> nur Klang und Töne, Die längst auf immer er verlor.</p> <p>Sein Schüler treu beflissen, Hilft ihm, so gut er eben kann. Wie arm dein Sterbekissen, Du großer, guter Mann!</p> <p>Als endlich Hilfe kommen, Da rief er klagend aus: "zu spät!" Er hat den Ruf vernommen, Der Grabesdunkel ihn umweht.</p> <p>Als hätt'er "nichts geschrieben," So wenig bückt ihm, was er tat Ob Welten auch geblieben, Die er aus Klang erschaffen hat.</p> <p>Doch mit ihm trauert grollend</p>	<p>Ludwig van Beethoven, b. in Bonn 17<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1770 on the Bonngasse d. in Vienna in a winter storm on the 26<sup>th</sup> of March 1827 in the Schwarzspanierhaus.</p> <p>The streets rest in a deep silence – In the house a dying titan Struggles alone and abandoned After a violent, stormy lifetime.</p> <p>His hands wander Back and forth as if searching – The flaming gaze of his eyes falls Onto bleak, empty walls.</p> <p>His bed so unkempt – Alas, no soft woman's hand To smooth the deathbed To which his ailing body has been banished.</p> <p>No voices, no sounds Penetrate his ear, deaf to beauty – He <u>created</u> sound and tones That were long lost to him.</p> <p>His student, faithfully solicitous, Helps him as best as he can, How meager your death-pillow, You great, good man!</p> <p>When help finally comes He cries out with woe, "too late!" He heard the call, The darkness of the grave engrosses him.</p> <p>As if he had "written nothing," So little bows him down, what he did Even though he left behind worlds That he created from sound.</p> <p>But the elemental force</p>
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<p>Der Elemente Urgewalt – Der wilde Donner rollend Laut übers Sterbelager hallt.</p> <p>Es zucken jähe Blitze – Der Kranke hält die Faust geballt Er sieht sich in Gewitter Wie einst in grüner Wiener Wald.</p> <p>Und in ihm sang und tönte – Ein irdisch Ohr vernahm es nie – Die er so heiß ersehete, Die <u>zehnte</u> Symphonie.</p> <p>Mit angehaltenem Atem Lauscht die Natur dem Sterbelied. Ein letzter Blitz – ein Donner: Das helden Geist entflieht.</p> <p>Das Ringen ist zu Ende, Das große Trauerspiel war aus – Man trug einen stillen Toten Aus dem Schwarzspanierhaus.</p>	<p>Mourns thunderously with him – The wild, rolling thunder Echoes loud over his deathbed.</p> <p>Lightning flashes suddenly – The sick one raises his balled fist He sees himself in the storm As before in the green woods of Vienna.</p> <p>And within him sang, resounded – No earthly ear has ever heard it – That one he so ardently longed for, The <u>tenth</u> symphony.</p> <p>With bated breath Nature overheard his death-song. One last lightning flash – one thunderclap: The heroic spirit had gone.</p> <p>The suffering has ended, The great tragedy was over – A lifeless body Was carried from the Schwarzspanierhaus.</p>
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### Appendix 3

#### Heinrich Penn, "Beethoven. (Zur Demolierung seines Sterbehauses.)" Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Bibliothek, Z 2931,14

Heinrich Penn (born 1838 in Carinola or Krain, a region in the Duchy of Austria, now Slovenia; died 1918 in Vienna) was an author and poet who spent much of his career in Vienna. Among a series of historical novels, such as *Der slawische Bauernkönig* (Jena: Constenoble, 1874), he authored a comprehensive history of the city of Vienna (Vienna: Karasiat, 1880) and a well-known poetic tribute to Kaiser Franz Joseph, "Das Lied vom Kaiser." His poetic lament of Beethoven's death-house appeared in an unidentified newspaper, later preserved as a clipping by the Beethoven-Haus Bonn library. Note that the original poem had no separation between stanzas, a continuous flow; breaks have been added to align the two translations.

<p><b>Beethoven. (Zur Demolierung seines Sterbehauses.)</b> <b>(Mit einer photographischen Aufnahme auf Seite 8.)</b></p> <p>Es tönt in ernster Weihestunde Zum letztenmal in treuer Runde Ein teurer Name durch das Haus. Ein Abschiedsgruß! – Dann ist es aus, Dann fällt die Stätte, wo gelebt Ein großer Geist, rastlos gestrebt, Geschaffen, um den Ruhm geworben, Einsam gelitten und gestorben.</p> <p>Ein Hymnus, brausend, hochbeschwingt, Der tief in alle Herzen dringt, Wie Glockenhall und Orgelklang, Gewaltig wie Dein eigener Sang, Ist würdig nur zu Deinem Gruß, Beethoven, großer Musikus! So urteilt streng' nicht, wenn zum Preise Des Meisters klingt die schlichte Weise, Wenn es ein Jünger durfte wagen Vom Herrn zu singen und zu sagen, Doch was gebricht am hohen Schwung Ersetzt wohl die Begeisterung.</p>	<p><b>Beethoven. (For the demolition of his death-house.)</b> <b>(With a photographic image on page 8.)</b></p> <p>In this grave hour of sanctity, A precious name resounds earnestly For the last time through the house. A farewell! – Then it is gone, Then falls the site where a great spirit Once lived, once strove without rest, Once created, fought for recognition, Suffered and died alone.</p> <p>A hymn, booming with great elation, Entering deeply into all our hearts, Like the clang of bells and organ tones, Powerful as your own song, This hymn is worthy only to greet you, Beethoven, great <i>musicus</i>! So do not judge his chaste melody When not sounding for the master's praise. When a disciple may dare To sing and speak of the Lord But that which lacks in high spirits May be replaced by ecstasy.</p>
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Du wunderselig großer Mann,  
Der unser Herz im Sturm gewann,  
Ein gottgebor'ner Herr der Klänge,  
Schufst Du unsterbliche Gesänge.  
Und da Du kamst als ein Titane,  
Als ein Bahnbrecher der Musik,  
Da wich der Haufe scheu zurück,  
Verstand Dich nicht in seinem Wahne.

Die Zwerge, schämend sich der  
Kleinheit,  
Verhöhn'ten Dich mit gift'igem Blick,  
Den Haß, den Neid und die  
Gemeinheit,  
Das gaben sie für Kunstkritik.  
Wie schmäh'ten winzig nicht'ge Toren  
Dein rührend Lied von 'Leonoren,'  
Erst als 'Fidelio' d'raus erstand,  
In neuer Form mit neuen Namen,  
Flog er im Siegeslauf durch's Land,  
Und alle Geister sprachen: Amen,  
Und fort durch alle Zeiten blüht  
Der Gattenliebe hohes Lied.

Da beugte sich die Neiderbrut,  
Du sahst es nicht in Deiner Glut,  
Du bliebst Dir gleich und ließest ziehen  
Unsterblich Deine Symphonien,  
Das Höchste, was ein Sangesmeister  
Gezeugt im Bund der Sangesgeister.  
Und als Musik, die ewig schöne,  
Als selbst der eig'ne Quell der Töne  
Unhörbar Deinem Ohr geworden,  
Dein Genius ließ sich doch nicht  
morden,  
Und überdauernd Raum und Zeiten  
Als ein Gebet für die Geweihten,  
Zieh'n Deine gotterzeugten Lieder  
In warme Menschenherzen nieder.

You miraculous, great man,  
Who won our hearts in a storm,  
A god-born master of tones,  
You create eternal melodies.  
And just as you arrived as a titan,  
As a pioneer of music,  
The masses shrank shyly away,  
In their ignorance they did not  
understand you.

These dwarves, embarrassing  
themselves in their smallness,  
Taunted you with an evil glance,  
Their hatred, jealousy and meanness  
That they took for art criticism.  
How insignificant, petty fools,  
Taunted your poignant song of  
'Leonore'  
Only when it became 'Fidelio,'  
in a new form with a new name,  
He flew victoriously across the land,  
And all spirits spoke: Amen,  
And onward through all time  
The purest song of conjugal love  
blossoms.

Thus the spawn of envy did yield,  
In all your blaze, you did not see it,  
You remain true to yourself  
And undyingly let your symphonies  
proceed,  
The utmost that a master of song  
Can sire in league with the musical  
spirits.  
And as music, the eternally beautiful,  
As even as the very source of sound  
Became inaudible to your ear,  
Your genius did not let itself fall victim  
And outliving space and time  
Like a prayer for holy ones,  
Your divinely generated songs intered  
into warm human hearts.

Drum singe ich mein schlichtes Lied  
Dem Meister, der zu früh verschied,  
Drum flammt Dir zu mein bester Gruß,  
Beethoven, großer Musikus.

Wenn mich der Neider Spott umsaust,  
Da füllt mit heiliger Harmonie  
Mich Deine neunte Symphonie,  
Dein Weltlied, sieghaft, unermessen,  
Niemand verklungen, nie vergessen!

In all den Kämpfen meines Lebens,  
Des heißen Ringens, Mühens, Strebens,  
Dein Lied ertönt, da kommt der Friede –  
Adelaide – Adelaide! – – –  
Und muß auch dieses Haus  
verschwinden,  
Ein guter Trost ist leicht zu finden:  
Ganz Wien ist ein Beethovenhaus!  
Da geht Dein Genius ein und aus,  
Da klingt Dein Sang in allen Kreisen,  
Kein Fest gibts ohne Deine Weisen,  
Inmitten unsres Denkens, Tuns,  
Lebst Du, Beethoven, unter uns!

Therefore I sing my simple song  
To the master who left us too soon,  
Therefore blazes my best greeting to  
you,  
Beethoven, great *musicus*.

When the taunts of envy roar around  
me,  
Your Ninth Symphony fills me  
With holy harmony,  
Your world-song, victorious,  
incommensurable,  
Never fading, never forgotten!

In all the battles of my life,  
Of furious struggling, laboring, striving,  
Your song resounds, it brings peace –  
Adelaide – Adelaide! – – –  
And if this house must disappear,  
There is easy solace to be found:  
All of Vienna is a Beethoven house!  
There your spirit comes and goes,  
There your song rings in all circles,  
There is no festival without your  
melodies,  
Amidst all our thoughts, our doings,  
You live on, Beethoven, among us!

## Appendix 4.1

After the festival in September of 1877, Louisa Lergetporer – an attendee from Vienna who may have been a descendent of the midcentury Salzburg mayor Alois Lergetporer – sent this commemorative poem as a hand-stitched booklet in thanks to the Mozart Foundation for their music festival and ovation to the cottage. It can be found today in the archive of Mozart's Geburtshausmuseum.

### Erinnerungen an das Mozartfest 1877

Der Winter war, der rauhe Gast gekommen,  
Und Tiefen Schnee, bedeckt nun Berg und Thal,  
Die Fluthen hält das starre Eis beklommen,  
Es schimmert, blitzt, im Mondlicht wie Kristall.  
In Nacht und Ruh das schöne Salzburg liegt  
Und alles Leben sich im Schlummer wiegt.

Ein Stübchen nur, sieht man noch licht erscheinen,  
Dort brant es helle, heut' die ganze Nacht  
Und in der Wiege, das so theu'ren kleinen,  
Hält unermüdet Vater, Mutter wacht. –  
Der Erste mal, mit Lieb und Kummer blickt,  
Denn ach! Der Zukunft Sorge ihn bedrückt. –

Doch anders wegt es sich im Mutterherzen,  
In Freude, Stolz und Liebe strahlt ihr Blick;  
Vergessen hat sie Armuth, Noth, und Schmerzen,  
Da sie nun schwelgt im reinsten höchsten Glück!  
Und wie sie liebend, auf die Wiege sieht,  
Ein Traubungsbild an ihr vorüber zieht. –

Sie sieht die Muse sanft zum Kinde schweben,  
So wunderschön, so herrlich und so mild,  
Auf seiner Stirn' den Kuß der Weihe geben  
Und um das lieblich hohe Frauenbild,  
Wie Geistenmelodien leis und lind  
Es flüstert: "*Wolfgang Mozart sei mein Kind.*"

Und wie die Muse damals ihn verheissen,  
Wie treu und herrlich, hat es sich erfüllt!  
Der zarte Knabe schon will sich befleißern,  
Nur mit Musik und mehr und mehr enthüllt,  
Der Genius sich in seinem Augenpaar,  
Er strahlt auf seine Stirne, rein und klar.

Und wieder ist so manches Jahr vergangen,  
Der Knabe war zum jungen Mann gereift,  
Als ein so namenloses, heiß Verlangen,  
Allmächtig ihn, in tiefster Seel ergreift;  
Nach *Nord* und *Süd*, treibt ihn die Sehnsucht hin,  
Bis hohen Ruf er folgend, zieht nach *Wien*. –

Hier war er ganz der hohen Kunst ergeben.  
Für die begeistert, glüht sein edler Sinn;  
Doch in dem immerwährend regen Leben,  
Sehnt er sich oft, nach feiner Berge Grün,  
Dem stillen Heim, der trauten Einsamkeit,  
Der gerne sich der große Meister weicht. –

Und dieser Wunsch, den er gehegt im Stillen,  
Erreicht ein liebevoller, treuer Freund,  
Und um sein leises Sehnen zu erfüllen  
Er eine Gabe sinnig ihm vermeint.  
Ein Gartenhäuschen, das nach seinem Sinn  
Ganz einfach nur, umrankt von frischen Grün. –

Nun fand er Einsamkeit, die traute wieder,  
Hier war er glücklich, ungestört, allein;  
Wie viele Nächte schloß er kaum die Lider,  
Am Flügel ach! vergaß er selbst das Sein!  
Und was er schuf, as seiner Fantasie, –  
Reicht sich zu wundervoller Melodie. –

O wie erscheint es ihm im engen Raume,  
In solchen Augenblick so weit und licht, –  
Die Muse füllt er ja im sel'gen Traume  
Wie Lorbeer sie um seiner Stirne flicht. –  
Und was in solcher Stunde er geahnt,  
Uns nur an höh're, künft'ge Welten mahnt.

Ach alles Erdenweh, es muß entfliehen,  
Wo es so herrlich durch die Saiten klingt  
Die Töne reihen sich zu Melodien,  
Daß wunderbar es in die Seele dringt.  
Hier war's, wo er die "Zauberflöte" schuf,  
Die hoch verherrlicht ihres Schöpfens Ruf. –



Der große Mann! Wie muß' er dennoch ringen,  
So oft mit herzvollen, schwerer Zeit;  
Hilft lähmen, kennt' es wol des Geistes schwingen,  
Doch war es Krankheit, die sich oft erneurt. —  
Da reicht ihm die Geliebte Herz und Hand  
Und es umschlang die Leiden *Hymen's* Land.

Und was er nun an Glück und Ruhm empfunden,  
Die treute Gattin, stolz mit ihm es theilt —  
Und sie auch war es, die in bangen Stunden,  
Als Trostesengel, liebend bei ihm weilt. —  
Doch unerbittlich greift ins Erdenglück  
Daß nicht zu lang es währt, das streng Geschick.

Daß er hienieden, nur wehe kurz verbleiben, —  
Der große Meister, ahnt schon lange dieß,  
Und als ein Requiem, man ihn bat zu schreiben, —  
Die letzte Lebenshoffnung ihn verließ. —  
Er fühlt es in der kranken Brust so bang,  
Dieß Requiem, wird sein letzter Schwanensang.

Oft schaut er nun mit wehmutvollen Blicken,  
Auf die geliebte, treue Gattin hin, —  
Wie schwer mög' ihn, wol den Gedanke drücken,  
Daß dürftig Loos, nur künft'ig ihr Gewinn!  
Doch ruhelos er noch im Fieber schafft,  
Er weiß, wie bald zu Ende seine Kraft!

Nun ist dies letzte große Werk vollendet  
Ermattet sinkt er, in die Kissen hin, —  
Er fühlt es bange, wie sein Leben endet,  
Er muß den Geist zu seinen Urquell zieh'n.  
Und tiefes Weh ergreift sein liebend Herz,  
Er sieht der Gattin Thränen, ihren Schmerz.

Schon freier lösen sich des Geistes schwingen,  
Und alles Erdenweh — es bleibt zurück.  
Wie Zaubertöne hört er's schwellend klingen  
Und Huldgestalten schaut sein trüber Blick.  
Sie nah'n und reichen sich um ihn im Kreis  
Und seine Melodien klingen leis.

Und wieder schwebt die Muse sanft hernieder,  
Die strahlend einst, bei seiner Wiege stand,  
Er lächelt wie verklärt und schließt die Lider, –  
Sein hoher Geist, sich aus der Hülle wand.  
Der Tod zu früh, nur eine Laufbahn schloß,  
Die segensreich, für Mit- und Nachwelt floß.

Seit jenem Tage, war im Lauf der Zeiten,  
So manch Jahrzehnt im raschen Flug enteilt,  
Dem Einen schnell, dem Andern träge gleiten  
Die Jahre hin, – in Freud und Leid getheilt.  
Doch was auch schönes bringt, die neue Zeit  
Denkt man doch gerne der Vergangenheit.

Und wieder kann sich Salzburg glücklich greifen,  
Daß es den Mann in seiner Mitte bringt,  
Dess' edler Sinn, für *Mozart's* Weihen  
In dem sich mächtig der Gedanke regt,  
Dem Meister ein Gedächtnismal zu weih'n,  
Ein Monument, – doch nicht aus bloßem Stein.

So will er denn, die edle Stiftung gründen,  
Daß nimmer ein Talent durch Noth verkommt,  
Drin Kummer, Sorge, jeden Tag zu finden,  
Dem jungen Kunstnothigen, wenig; frommt.  
Und im Verein es bald beschlossen wird,  
Daß Mozart-Stiftung, sie als Name führt.

Ein solches Wert, wol viele Müh' verbindet, –  
Der Edle scheut', von keinem Kampf zurück,  
Und endlich auch den schönsten Sohn er findet,  
Als es vollendet steht, vor seinem Blick. –  
Sein Name wird im nah und fernen Land,  
Mit reichen, doch, verdienten Tat genannt.

Ein großes Tonfest soll die Feier krönen,  
Es eilten Gäste her, von nah und fern,  
Und Blumen, Fahnen *Salzburg* nun verschönen,  
Wie schmückt man doch, die Vaterstadt so gern. –  
Ein jeder Gast, dort froh Willkommen fand,  
Ein herzlich Wort und eines Freundes Hand.

Und in den Strassen herrschet reges Leben,  
Und alles gerne, aus den Fenstern blickt;

Auf Söllern sieht man Huldgestalten schweben,  
Die manches Männerauge hoch entzückt. —  
Wer wird es auch, dem jungen Künstler wehr'n,  
Er sieht ja überall, nur Schönes gern. —

Und wohl geordnet dann, in frohen Schaaren  
Zum "Kapuzinerberg," zieh'n sie hin;  
Dort steht das Häuschen jetzt, in dem vor Jahren,  
Der große Meister einst gewohnt zu Wien.  
Dort eben steht es nun, so stolz und frei  
Und winkt die Gäste, all' zu sich herbei.

Die Berge ringsum hoch zum Himmel ragen,  
Wie oft umkreist sie wol, der stolze Aar!  
Dort winkt der "Untersberg" mit seinem Segen,  
Die "Hohensalzach" stellt sich prächtig dar.  
O wie wonnig, ist es auf den Höhen,  
Wo Blumendüfte, reine Lüfte weh'n.

Doch dunkle Wolken zieh'n im raschen Fluge,  
Nach Sonnenstrahl man sich vergebend sehnt;  
Es nah'n die Gäste, nun im langen Zuge,  
Und weih'n sich schweigend, um das Monument.  
Die Hülle noch, sich um das Denkmal wand,  
Das eine Gabe, zarter Frauenhand. —

Und rings im Kreise, herrscht erhab'ne Stille,  
Ja fast vernehmlich, schlägt das eig'ne Herz, —  
Ein Augenblick, — nun endlich fällt die Hülle,  
Des großen Meisters Bild, ersteht in Erz; —  
Und wie begeistert, aus des Herzens Grund,  
Entschallt ein dreifach "Hoch!" aus jedem Mund.

Es nieß das Wolkenzelt, die Züge glänzen  
Nun wie verklärt, im hellen Sonnenlicht,  
Und Alles drängt, das Denkmal zu bekränzen,  
Der Lorbeer sich um Mozart's Stirne flicht.  
Wie Geistergruß, es durch die menge geht,  
Und selbst im Mannesaug' die Thräne steht. —

Nun löst sich auch, des Schweigens Bann, es ringen  
Sich schwungvoll Worte aus des Redners Mund,  
Die bleibend tief, in jede Seele dringen,  
Und Jubel gibt sich rings im Kreise kund;  
Als er das Gründers nun auch nicht vergießt,  
Und in Begeisterung mit den Worten schließt:

“Seht Ihr die Bergesspitze wol dort oben?  
“Wolke oft an ihr vorüber zieht,  
“Gewitter strömen, donnernd sie umtoben,  
“Doch herrlich auch im Abendroth sie glüht,  
“Dieß Denkmal nun aus grauen Felsgestein,  
“Das *Sterneck*, soll fortan ihr Name sein!”

“Es soll den Namen jenes Mannes tragen,  
“Der dieses Werk, gegründet – immerdar,  
“Damit es zeige, noch in späten Tagen,  
“Wie er geehrt von uns, geachtet war. –  
“Heil ihm, der dieß so edel ausgedacht,  
“Dem Freiherrn *Sterneck*, sei ein Hoch gebracht.” –

Louisa Lergetporer m/p

Wien im September 1877

## Appendix 4.2

The Mozart-Album, examined here for the first time, offers a valuable cross-section of musical celebrity in the decade from 1874-1884. It contains an assortment of over two hundred contributions that fall into four main categories, ranging from simple autographs to musical compositions.

1) The first category includes leaves for individuals who are so famous that *anything* they wrote, however mundane, was thought worthy of display. This includes signatures, photographs, or even ordinary letters sent to the Foundation that were preserved for their handwriting rather than their content. One example is a note from Franz Liszt (July 24, 1871) that declines membership in the Foundation due his involvement with the Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein; and despite its mundane contents, this letter was framed and given prominent place in the album. Likewise, the collection contained signatures, photographs, and curt notes of support from a roster of world leaders such as Ludwig I of Bavaria, Oscar II, King of Sweden, and Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, along with musical luminaries like Eduard Hanslick and Theodor Helm.

By including these odds-and-ends of famed individuals, the organizers of the album betray a growing interest in graphology during this decade. Graphology, which gained traction in German-speaking circles where Lavater already held sway, encouraged the transition of album-writing from sentimental keepsakes to celebrity handwriting samples.<sup>1</sup>

2) A second category of leaves follows in the earlier nineteenth-century tradition of amateur lyric. The album contains a wealth of poems by notable persons in the art world. These poems tended to take one of four approaches. Some offered encomium to genius or specifically to Mozart. Some simultaneously praised genius while also adding a memento of the author (such as Sabilla Novello's Mozart-themed acrostic using the letters of her own name). Numerous other poems linked Mozart's music with the spirit of Salzburg, particularly its natural landscapes. Finally, poems often detailed scenes from Mozart's biography,

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<sup>1</sup> A forthcoming article by Halina Goldberg draws connections between graphology and album-writing. On autograph collecting, which has been more thoroughly studied in American culture than European, see Josh Lauer, "Traces of the Real: Autographomania and the Cult of the Signers in Nineteenth-Century America," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 27:2 (2007), 143-63; Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Handwriting in America: A Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996). In the German-speaking world, graphology began with Lavater but gained particular traction when psychology lifted off as a science with William Wundt's work in the late 1870s. Examples of German-language graphology texts include: Hans Busse, *Die Graphologie: Eine werdende Wissenschaft. Ihre Entwicklung und Ihr Stand* (Munich: K. Schöler, 1895); Cesare Lombroso, *Handbuch der Graphologie* (Leipzig: P. Reklam, 1896); Georg Meyer, *Die wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Graphologie* (Jena: G. Fischer, 1901); L. Meyer (Laura von Albertini), *Lehrbuch der Graphologie* (Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1913).

particularly his nativity-like birth in Salzburg and his dramatic death while composing the Requiem (and one colorful addition lauded Mozart from the perspective of his much-loved childhood violin). Among these poets, the most famous contributor was Ludwig August Frankl, who sent a variety of tributes to the album on themes that will resurface throughout this chapter: on Mozart's love of nature, his untimely death, and his spirit floating through the streets of Salzburg.

3) Categories three and four pertain not only to Mozart's person, but specifically to his music. In the third category of album contributions, performers and conductors shared their recollections of performing works by Mozart, particularly operas.

4) The fourth category saw musical incipits, either of Mozart's music or compositional offerings by the contributors; Jules Massenet, for instance, submitted a 10-measure fragment of one of his compositions (a fragment from his overture to *Roi de Lahore*, signed January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1878). Finally, this musical category includes entire compositions, such as Lieder or piano miniatures, that were hand-copied and submitted by composers as a form of tribute. These, too, followed the conventions of earlier nineteenth-century albums, which typically included short works of *Hausmusik* to complement the albums' domestic role.

Appendix 4.3

"O Isis und Osiris, welche Wonne!" from Act III of Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (1791).

**Nº 18. Chor der Priester.** 147

*Adagio.*

Flauti.  
Oboi.  
Fagotti.  
Corni in D.  
Trombe in D.  
Tromboni Alto e Tenore.  
Trombone Basso.  
Violino I.  
Violino II.  
Viola.  
Tenore I. II.  
Basso.  
Violoncello e Basso.

Chor. O Isis und O-si-ris, welche Wonne! Die dü-stre Nacht verschenkt der Glanz der

Sarastro (Basso).  
Vcl. Bass!

*Adagio.*

Sou-ne. Bald führt der ed-le Jüngling neues Le-ben; bald ist er unserm Dienste ganz er-ge-ben.

W. A. M. 620.

Sein Geist ist kühn, sein Herz ist rein, sein Geist ist kühn, sein Herz ist rein, bald, bald, bald wird er  
 sein Geist ist kühn, sein Herz ist rein,

un-ser wür-dig sein, bald, bald, bald wird er un-ser wür-dig sein, würdig sein, würdig sein.

W. A. M. 620.



#### Appendix 4.4

*Des Künstlers Genius: Festchor for the inauguration of the Mozart Cottage on the Kapuzinerberg, 1877. Music by Max von Weinzierl, text by Märzroth.*

Herzogliche Schlossbibliothek, Coburg, Ms Mus 944.

*Note that the text below hails from a flier handed out at the event. The copyist miswrote certain textual details in the score; I have preserved the copyist's variant as written.*

*Note also that the first section repeats thrice, each time with a new strophe. Strophe 1 underlies the soprano, strophe 2 alto, and strophe 3 tenor; bass is left blank, as shown by the copyist. In performance, all four parts would sing the same text in a given strophe.*

Was schreitet leise durch den Hain  
In duft'gen Waldes Dämmerchein?  
Was knistert in dem Blätterschoss  
Auf stillem Pfad, auf grünem Moss?  
    Es ist der keuschen Muse Fuss,  
    Es ist des Künstlers *Genius*,  
    Der *Eden* schafft, wo Alles wüsst, —  
    Drum sei uns, *Genius*, gegrüsst!

Was haucht so würzig durch die Luft?  
Was füllt den Raum mit Blüthenduft?  
Was zeugt ein solches Lichtersprüh'n?  
Was macht die Rosen all' erglüh'n?  
    Das ist der heisse Liebeskuss  
    Des gottgeweihten *Genius*!  
    Sein Hauch in uns're Seele fliesst!  
    D'rum sei uns, *Genius*, gegrüsst!

Wer ist's, der in die Hütte tritt?  
Mit leichtbeschwingtem Pilgerschritt?  
Wer wandelt selbst den ärmsten Raum,  
Zum Königsthron mit güld'nem Saum?  
    Das ist die Hand des *Genius*,  
    Dem Fürst und Knecht sich beugen muss,  
    Weil Alle lächelnd Er umschliesst!  
    D'rum sei uns, *Genius*, gegrüsst!

# Des Künstlers Genius

Märzroth

Max von Weinzierl

*Gemäßigt*

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Oboe *Gemäßigt* *Ob. primo* *p*

Bassoon *p* *p*

Horn in F *p*

Trumpet in F

Trombones 1 & 2 *p*

Trombone 3 *p*

Bass Tuba

Timpani

4

S.

A.

T.

B.

Ob.

Bsn.

Hn.

Tpt.

Tbn.

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp.

9

S. *pp*  
1. Was

A. *pp*  
2. Was

T. *pp*  
3. Wer

B. *pp*

Ob. *pp*

Bsn. *pp*

Hn. *pp*

Tpt.

Tbn. *pp*

Tbn. *pp*

Tba.

Timp.

12 *Im Zeitmaße.*

S. schrei - tet lei - se durch den Hain \_\_\_\_\_ im

A. haucht \_\_\_\_\_ so wür - zig durch die Luft, was

T. ist's, \_\_\_\_\_ der in die Hü - tte tritt \_\_\_\_\_ mit

B. \_\_\_\_\_

*Im Zeitmaße.*

Ob. *p* \_\_\_\_\_

Bsn. *p* \_\_\_\_\_

Hn. *p* \_\_\_\_\_

Tpt. \_\_\_\_\_

Tbn. \_\_\_\_\_

Tbn. \_\_\_\_\_

Tba. \_\_\_\_\_

Timp. \_\_\_\_\_

14 5

*Etwas zögernd.* **pp**

S. duft' - gen Waldes Dä - mmer - schein ? Was

A. füllt den Raum mit Blü - then - duft ? Was **pp**

T. leicht be - schwing tem Pilg - er - schritt ? wer **pp**

B. **pp**

*Etwas zögernd.* **pp**

Ob. **pp**

Bsn. **pp**

Hn. **pp**

Tpt.

Tbn.

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp.

*Im Zeitmaaße.*

16

S. kni stert in dem Blätt - er - schoss\_ auf\_ sti - llem Pfad im\_

A. zeugt\_ ein solch - es Licht - er - sprüh'n, was macht die Ro - sen

T. wa - ndelt selbst den ärm - sten Raum\_ zum Kö - nigs - thron mit\_

B.

*Im Zeitmaaße.*

Ob.

Bsn.

Hn.

Tpt.

Tbn.

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp.

19 *mf*

S. grü - nen Moos? Was kni stert\_ in dem\_

A. all' er - glüh'n? Was zeugt\_ ein so - - lches

T. güld' nem Saum? wer wan - - delt selbst\_ den

B.

Ob. *mf*

Bsn. *mf*

Hn. *mf*

Tpt. *mf*

Tbn. *mf*

Tbn. *mf*

Tba.

Timp.



NB. 1te Strofe *pp*  
 2te Strofe *ff*  
 3te Strofe *f*

22 *mf* *p*

S. Blä tter schoss auf still - em Pfad im

A. *ff* *p*  
 Li - - - chter sprüh'n, was macht die Ro - sen

T. *ff* *p*  
 ärm - - - sten Raum zum Kō - nigs-thron mit

B. *ff* *p*

NB. 1te Strofe *pp*  
 2te Strofe *ff*  
 3te Strofe *f*

Ob.

Bsn. *p* *mf*

Hn. *p* *mf*

Tpt. *f*

Tbn. *p* *pp* *mf*

Tbn. *p* *mf*

Tba.

Timp.

25

S. *pp*  
grü — nem — Moos? 1. Was schrei-tet durch den Hain?

A. *pp*  
all' er - glüh'n? 2. Was haucht so durch die Luft?  
3. Was ist's, der hier ein - tritt?

T. *pp*  
güld' - nem Saum?

B.

Ob. *p* *pp*

Bsn. *p* *pp*

Hn. *p* *pp*

Tpt.

Tbn. *p*

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp.

28

S.  1.was in dem Blä - tter-schoß

A.  2.was zeugt ein Licht - er-sprüh'n?  
3.wer wan - delt ärm - sten Raum

T.  *pp*  
1.im Wald - es Dä - mmer-schein  
2.was füllt mit Blü - men - duft

B.  *pp*  
3.mit leicht-em Pil - ger - schritt

Ob.  *ff*

Bsn.  *ff*

Hn.  *ff* *f* *mf*

Tpt.  *ff* *f*

Tbn.  *f*

Tbn.  *ff*

Tba. 

Timp. 

30

S. *pp*  
was knis - tert in dem

A. *pp*  
was zeugt ein solch - es

T. *pp*  
1.am Pfad im grü - nem Moos?  
2.was macht die Ros'n er - blühn?  
wer wan - delt selbst den

B. *pp*  
3.zum Thron mit güld' - nem Saum?

Ob. *f* *fp*

Bsn. *f* *fp*

Hn. *fp* *pp*

Tpt.

Tbn.

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp.

32

S. *mf*  
Blä - tter - schoss auf still - em Pfad auf grü - nem Moos, auf

A. *mf*  
Licht - er - sprüh'n, was macht die Ro - sen all' er - glühn, was

T. *mf*  
ärm - sten Raum zum Kö - nigs - thron mit gold' nem Saum, zum

B. *mf*

Ob.

Bsn.

Hn. *p* *mf*

Tpt. *mf*

Tbn. *p* *mf*

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp.

35

S. still - em Pfad auf grü - nem Moos? Es

A. macht die Ro - sen all' er - glühn? Das

T. Kö - nigs - thron mit güld' - nem Saum? Das

B.

Ob. *fz*

Bsn. *fz*

Hn. *f* *fz*

Tpt. *f* *fz*

Tbn. *f* *fz*

Tbn. *f* *fz*

Tba. *f* *fz*

Timp. *trwm*

37 *Sehr marcirt und leidenschaftlich bewegt.*

S. ist der keu - schen Mu - se Fuß, es ist des Künst - lers Ge - ni -

A. ist der hei - ße Lie - bes - kuß des gott - ge - weih - ten Ge - ni -

T. ist die Hand des Ge - ni - us, dem Fürst und Knecht sich beu - gen

B. *Sehr marcirt und leidenschaftlich bewegt.*

Ob.

Bsn.

Hn.

Tpt.

Tbn.

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp.

37 *Sehr marcirt und leidenschaftlich bewegt.*

S. ist der keu - schen Mu - se Fuß, es ist des Künst - lers Ge - ni -

A. ist der hei - ße Lie - bes - kuß des gott - ge - weih - ten Ge - ni -

T. ist die Hand des Ge - ni - us, dem Fürst und Knecht sich beu - gen

B. *Sehr marcirt und leidenschaftlich bewegt.*

Ob.

Bsn.

Hn.

Tpt.

Tbn.

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp.



40

S. us, der E - den - schaft, wo All - es wüßt, der

A. us, sein Hauch in uns' - re See - le fließt, sein

T. muß, weil A - lle lä - chelnd er um schließt, weil

B.

Ob. *p* *f*

Bsn. *p* *f*

Hn. *p* *f*

Tpt. *p* *f*

Tbn. *p* *f*

Tbn. *f*

Tba. *f*

Timp. *tr*

43

S. Ed - en - schaft, wo All - es wüst. Drum sei uns o

A. Hauch in uns' - re See - le fließt. Drum sei uns o

T. A - lle lä - cheind er um - schließt. Drum sei uns o

B.

Ob. *p* *f* *ff*

Bsn. *p* *f* *ff*

Hn. *p* *f* *ff*

Tpt. *p* *f* *ff*

Tbn. *p* *f* *ff*

Tbn. *p* *f* *ff*

Tba. *f* *ff*

Timp. *tr*

46 *Immer steigend*

S. Ge - ni - us ge - grüßt, drum sei uns, drum sei

A. Ge - ni - us ge - grüßt, drum sei uns, drum sei

T. Ge - ni - us ge - grüßt, drum sei uns, drum sei

B.

*Immer steigend*

Ob.

Bsn.

Hn.

Tpt. 3

Tbn. 3

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp. *trm* *trm*

*Zurückhaltend*

49

S. *f* uns o Ge - - ni - us ge -

A. *f* uns o Ge - - ni - us ge -

T. *f* uns o Ge - - ni - us ge -

B. *f* uns o Ge - - ni - us ge -

*Zurückhaltend*

Ob. *ff*

Bsn. *ff*

Hn. *ff*

Tpt. *ff*

Tbn. *ff*

Tbn. *ff*

Tba. *ff*

Timp. *tr*

52 1.2.

S. grüßt!

A. grüßt!

T. grüßt!

B.

Ob.

Bsn.

Hn.

Tpt.

Tbn.

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp.

*Etwas schneller.*

56 *pp* 3.

S. Was grüßt, drum sei

A. drum sei

T. drum sei

B. drum sei

*p*

*Etwas schneller.*

Hn. *p* *pp*

Tpt. *pp*

Tbn. 3

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp. *tr*

60

S. uns o Ge - ni - us ge - grüßt, drum sei uns o Ge - ni - us ge -

A. uns o Ge - ni - us ge - grüßt, drum sei uns o Ge - ni - us ge -

T. uns o Ge - ni - us ge - grüßt, drum sei uns o Ge - ni - us ge -

B. uns o Ge - ni - us ge - grüßt, drum sei uns o Ge - ni - us ge -

Ob.

Bsn.

Hn.

Tpt.

Tbn. 3

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp. *tr* *tr*

63

S. grüßt, drum sei uns o Ge - ni - us ge -

A. grüßt, drum sei uns o Ge - ni - us ge -

T. grüßt, drum sei uns o Ge - ni - us ge -

B. grüßt, drum sei uns o Ge - ni - us ge -

Ob.

Bsn.

Hn.

Tpt.

Tbn. 3

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp. *tr*



65

S. grüßt!

A. grüßt!

T. grüßt!

B. grüßt!

Ob.

Bsn.

Hn.

Tpt.

Tbn.

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp. *tr* 3 *tr* 3 *tr*

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