

Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony:
Program, Reception, and Evocations of the Popular

by

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To Grit

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ABSTRACT

GUSTAV MAHLER'S THIRD SYMPHONY: PROGRAM, RECEPTION, AND EVOCATIONS OF THE POPULAR

by

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This dissertation examines Mahler's evocations of popular styles in the Third Symphony. These vernacularisms, long recognized as a hallmark of the work, remain peculiarly understudied. Here they are considered from a number of perspectives: their critical and scholarly reception, their sources in the popular musical environment of Mahler's day, and their aesthetic function within the symphony.

The study begins with the composer's own words about his music. Chapter 1 argues that the public programs were a means to promote the symphony at a time when Mahler lacked a secure position in the concert hall repertory, and that these programs, though part of the creative process, did not motivate the work's specific allusions to popular styles. Chapter 2 shifts focus to reception, demonstrating how strongly the aesthetic and ideological frameworks of listeners condition which referents they attribute to Mahler's vernacularisms. Before World War II, for example, the intersection of Mahler's Jewish heritage with ideologies of race greatly influenced whether writers identified references to folksongs or to popular music. The next part of the dissertation uncovers allusions to popular styles based on musical and expressive

conventions no longer familiar today. Chapter 3 focuses on the third movement, identifying elements of posthorn stylizations unique to genres of entertainment music. Chapter 4 examines the variety of popular march types in the first movement, using as a basis of comparison sound profiles derived from military music and operetta, a genre that Mahler enjoyed and knew intimately.

This dissertation proposes that Mahler found folk and popular styles attractive in part for the manifold associations that lurked behind their deceptive immediacy. His vernacularisms are thus most typically instances of *multivalent evocation*: seemingly referential music that can be convincingly traced to multiple, even contradictory sources. Chapter 5 places these evocations in the context of an extended analysis of the formal processes and semantic content of the first movement. Specific allusions to popular styles do not contribute overtly to the symphony's meaning as articulated in its song texts. Instead, Mahler uses multivalent evocation of vernacular styles to trigger strong emotional reactions, positive and negative, in a maximally diverse audience.

INTRODUCTION

Mahler's symphonies teem with allusions to folk and popular styles. These vernacularisms still speak with an immediacy and clarity of expression to listeners today, conveying a powerful sense of the rich musical environment in which Mahler lived.¹ Mahler's allusions to popular styles, though long recognized as a hallmark of the Third Symphony, remain peculiarly understudied. In fact, they are far more complex and ambiguous than has been portrayed in the secondary literature. This dissertation considers the vernacularisms of the Third Symphony from a number of perspectives: their critical and scholarly reception, their sources in the popular musical environment of Mahler's day, and their aesthetic function within the symphony.

Allusions to folk and popular styles cannot be reduced to a purely musical substrate. Being inherently referential, they are constituted fully only in the act of listening. For this reason, vernacularisms are particularly susceptible to the vicissitudes of individual experiences and ideological agendas. As Carl Dahlhaus has claimed, "the categories that take a formative part in musical perception are just as aesthetically 'real' when they owe their impact less to a solid foothold in the musical material than to associations accumulated over the years."² In this dissertation, therefore, an important

¹ Consider, for example, the quotation by Robert Morgan below (pp. 98–99).

² Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 41.

part of the story of Mahler's evocations of the popular is the discourses that convey these categories and ideologies.

The lack of historical examination of Mahler's allusions to popular music in the Third Symphony is partially concealed by the prominent role given to this aspect in the literature. In many instances, ascriptions of folk and popular elements use these designations not as historical, but as critical categories not unlike claims of "triviality" and "banality." Adorno, for example, saw the music's supposed popular elements and trivialities as the wellspring of Mahler's special tone and an invitation to theorize about the social and philosophical implications of the composer's works.³ Treating this aspect as a conduit for broad aesthetic and social concepts, however, disregards two basic questions that animate this study: how do non-musical factors influence the sources adduced for Mahler's vernacularisms, and how do these allusions relate to the popular music of his day?

Such historical contextualization might seem unnecessary or even pedantic, given the simplicity of the musical idioms in question and the apparent proximity of Mahler's time. Even the youngest listeners today, after all, are but a couple generations removed from his milieu. As this study shows, however, many of Mahler's references to popular music are based on conventions whose details have faded over this short time span. Identifying such connections to the musical environment in which Mahler composed requires a mode of inquiry more historical than intuitive.

The richness of Mahler's music endows it with the ability to sustain sharply differentiated interpretations. Over the years, it has been held up as the culmination of

³ For example, Theodor W. Adorno, *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik* [1960], in *Theodor W. Adorno: Die musikalischen Monographien*, vol. 13, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003), ch. 2, "Ton"; *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), ch. 2, "Tone."

absolute music, as philosophically distended program music, and as revelations of the inner experiences of a composer obsessed with his childhood and matters of life and death. Examining how Mahler drew on the popular culture of his day casts the composer and his work in a less familiar light. In place of the Janus-faced artist, looking back to the music and formative moments of his childhood and forward to the day when posterity would finally embrace his works, the Mahler that comes to the fore in these pages is a self-conscious artist, engaged in his contemporary musical environment and sensitive to the effect of his music on listeners in his lifetime. Mahler, like many composers of the nineteenth century, may have subscribed to the cliché that “my time will come,”⁴ but his actions and compositional style betray his preoccupation with the present. His works deserve to be examined in this context.

The dissertation begins with Mahler’s own words about his music. He provided programmatic guides at early concerts, and more of his private commentaries on the Third Symphony survive than for any of his other works. Hence the question of program music is more fraught here than with the rest of his *oeuvre*. In recent decades, scholars have often turned to these images and ideas to explicate the symphony’s music and its vernacularisms. Because of the looming presence of these issues in the historiography of the Third Symphony, it is necessary to examine them closely at the outset, even though it will ultimately be argued that programmatic associations did not motivate the work’s specific allusions to popular styles.

⁴ Mahler made this oft-quoted statement in 1902 in a letter about the greater success currently enjoyed by Richard Strauss. Mahler believed that posterity would reverse their relative fortunes and deem his own works the superior. See Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Erinnerungen und Briefe* (Vienna: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1949), 280; trans. Basil Creighton as *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters*, rev. ed., ed. Donald Mitchell (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1971), 221; and Henry-Louis de La Grange and Günther Weiss, eds., *Gustav Mahler: Letters to his Wife*, trans. and rev. Antony Beaumont (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004), 100.

The goal of chapter 1 is to assess the functions that programs served for Mahler, from inception to performance of the Third Symphony. The chapter begins with a brief overview of the work's genesis and of Mahler's complex aesthetic outlook. At the root of these views is a belief in the distinction between music's external form, which is of the material world, and its intrinsic content, which is a conduit to metaphysical aspects of the universe. Mahler's programmatic statements consist largely of his favored metaphors—nature, mythology, feelings—for this ineffable content. Such programmatic associations played some role in the composition of the symphony, but documentary evidence does not generally illuminate whether a particular idea was a positive impetus to creation or a retroactive description of music already written. A comparison of manuscripts with Mahler's statements suggests that he gave musical ideas the higher priority, bending ideational associations to match the new directions taken by musical developments. Mahler published programmatic guides based on these associations not because he considered them necessary for a full appreciation of the music, but in order to promote the work's reception at a time when he lacked a secure position in the concert hall repertory. This constitutes yet another example of Mahler being attuned to the conditions and audiences of his contemporary audiences.

Chapter 2 shifts focus to the reception of Mahler's allusions to folk and popular styles. It is the first extensive overview of the ways that scholars have described this aspect of Mahler's works. The chapter argues that Mahler's vernacularisms act as a kind of *tabula rasa* in which writers inscribe their own aesthetic and ideological frameworks as if inhering in the music itself. When writers attribute sources to Mahler's vernacular references, they are usually responding to the expressive effect of the music, not

asserting an ethnographically or historically informed relationship between Mahler's works and the musical environment in which they were written.

One of the issues that has conditioned which sources scholars attribute to Mahler's vernacularisms is a specious hierarchy that emerged by the mid-nineteenth century between rural folk music, which was viewed as aesthetically superior, and urban entertainment music, which was thought to be aesthetically and morally inferior.⁵ Another, which strongly shaped the reception of Mahler's vernacularisms before World War II, was race. Three discourses on race identified in this chapter are anti-Jewish, pro-Jewish, and assimilationist. Anti-Jewish texts were the most prone to take Mahler's vernacularisms as allusions to popular music or inauthentic folk styles. Commentary written from the pro-Jewish perspective claimed that expressive and spiritual traits of Mahler's music, especially the vernacularisms, were specifically Jewish. The majority of Mahler's early proponents, however, wrote from an assimilationist perspective; that is, they presented Mahler's music as culturally German. These texts emphasized musical connections to folk music and largely side-stepped the issue of allusions to popular styles. The assimilationist perspective of the early monographs has had a lasting influence on later scholarship on Mahler's allusions to vernacular styles.

The closing section of chapter 2 demonstrates how much remains to be discovered about Mahler's allusions to popular music by considering the veritable *locus classicus* of writing on this trait—the third movement of the First Symphony—in the context of a popular genre that Mahler knew intimately, but which is largely neglected as a resource for his works: operetta. The many points of comparison suggest the promise of further comparative research into Mahler's allusions to popular styles, and

⁵ For more on these issues, see ch. 2, pp. 57–63.

they also give a taste of the multiplicity of references that are often entangled in his vernacularisms.

The rest of the dissertation focuses on prominent vernacularisms in the Third Symphony: the posthorn episodes of the third movement, and the marches of the first movement. Chapter 3 deals with the more concise of the two references. Scholars have long described the posthorn melodies as folk-like. After reviewing a number of potential allusions to folksongs cited in the literature, this chapter examines the solos in the context of three other repertoires: actual posthorn signals and melodies, representations of the posthorn in art and popular music, and the lyrical trumpet solos then common in entertainment music. The chapter identifies musical traits common to popular representations of the posthorn that the other repertoires did not share. Mahler's first posthorn solo is then analyzed alongside two of the most famous representatives of such pieces: Heinrich Schaffer's song "Die Post im Walde" and the Rhine Serenade from Viktor Nessler's *Trompeter von Säckingen*. Mahler almost certainly knew the first song, and he conducted Nessler's work over thirty times. The striking similarities to Mahler's posthorn solos strongly suggest that he deliberately imitated the instrument as it was commonly stylized in the popular sphere.

The chapter concludes by proposing a new way to understand Mahler's vernacularisms, here called *multivalent evocation*: seemingly referential music that can be convincingly traced to multiple, even contradictory sources. Mahler's posthorn solos are a radical instance of this technique. They contain compelling allusions to folksong, entertainment music, instrumental art music, and functional music. Mahler demonstrably knew all of these repertoires and pieces. What attracted him to vernacular

styles, then, was the ambiguity and richness of associations that lurked behind their deceptive immediacy.

The marches in the first movement of the Third Symphony are further examples of multivalent evocation. To demonstrate this requires that sound profiles of different kinds of marches in Mahler's musical environment first be established. This is the purpose of chapter 4, which develops sound profiles for military marches and for a kind of march, here called the *light march*, that was as typical for operetta as it was contrary to the sound of military bands. The chapter begins by outlining Mahler's experience with operetta, including his opinion of the genre. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Mahler did not consider folk music to be aesthetically superior to genres of popular entertainment. He could thus allude to operetta as freely as he did to folksong or military styles.

The chapter then focuses on the nexus of military music and operetta, which were closely related genres. The essential musical traits of military and light marches required Mahler to appropriate them in different ways. Mahler evoked military bands primarily through timbral effects that reflect the most common clichés about the ensembles in the popular imagination. He favored using particular percussion, prominent trumpet lines, consistently loud dynamics, and distance effects. Mahler's light marches can be identified by a combination of parameters: orchestration, dynamics, and expressive character. Distinguishing among these different kinds of popular marches yields a historically informed representation of Mahler's popular musical environment and draws on conventions that were second nature to Mahler and his audiences. Because the light march is a compositional type described for the first time in

this dissertation, the final section of chapter 4 assays its merits by considering examples from a number of Mahler's works other than the Third Symphony.

The marches in the first movement of the Third Symphony are among the most notorious elements in Mahler's entire *oeuvre*, making the movement an ideal case for study of his vernacularisms. Whereas the two preceding chapters concentrated on the origins and musical basis of allusions to vernacular styles, chapter 5 considers them in the context of a broader analysis of the first movement. The analysis unfolds in three stages. The first deals with the movement's immanent musical logic. Within the structural outlines of rotational form, Mahler gives an extraordinarily prominent role to idiom and sound as formal constituents. The second phase of the analysis turns to the referential qualities of the movement. Mahler created a network of melodic, tonal, and stylistic relationships that project the semantic content of the symphony's two song texts to the other, purely instrumental movements. In addition, large swaths of the first movement speak with the expressive dialect of operetta and programmatic military music. The multivalent evocation of popular styles, however, is little involved in the semantic content of the symphony. The third phase of the analysis concerns what Mahler stood to gain by having such provocative connections to entertainment music in his symphony. Questions of Mahler's intent cannot be known with certainty, but it is reasonable to surmise that he sought to elicit powerful emotional effects in his listeners. Vernacularisms and multivalent evocation were ideally suited toward this end, for they could engage the personal experiences, aesthetic convictions, and social and even racial ideologies of a broad and diverse public. Although the vividness of Mahler's allusions to folk and popular styles may have been extraneous to the work's meaning as articulated in its song texts, it was no less an integral part of his aesthetic strategy.

CHAPTER 1

MAHLER THE IDEALIST: THE PROGRAM AND PROMOTION OF THE THIRD SYMPHONY

The symphony is more comprehensible than one would guess from reading the profound, German commentary.

—Sibmacher Zijnen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche*, 1903¹

On 9 November 1896, days before Mahler completed the orchestral fair copy of his Third Symphony, Arthur Nikisch conducted the première of its second movement in Berlin. The movement carried the title “What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me / from the Symphony in F major (III) ‘A Summer-Morning’s Dream.’” The concert’s program booklet contained a thematic introduction, penned by Mahler himself, as well as programmatic titles for the entire symphony:

Introduction: “Pan Awakens”

No. 1. “Summer Marches In.” (Bacchic Procession.)

No. 2. “What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me.” (Menuett)

No. 3. “What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me.” (Rondeau)

¹ Sibmacher Zijnen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 18 October 1903; quoted in Rudolf Stephan, “Die Mahler-Rezeption in Holland 1903-1911,” in *Mahler-Interpretation: Aspekte zum Werk und Wirken von Gustav Mahler*, ed. Rudolf Stephan (Mainz: Schott, 1985), 83: “Die Symphonie ist faßlicher, als man beim Lesen der tiefsinnigen deutschen Kommentare vermuten könnte.” All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

- No. 4. “What Man Tells Me.” (Alto Solo)
 No. 5. “What the Angels Tell Me.” (Women’s chorus with alto solo.)
 No. 6 (Final movement). “What Love Tells Me.” (Adagio)²

A few months later, on 9 March 1897, Felix Weingartner led “What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me” along with the first performances of movements three and six. For this concert Mahler provided an even more extensive programmatic guide. In addition to movement titles, the booklet reproduced the finale’s epigraph and a narrative description of the third movement written by Mahler especially for the occasion.³

Over five years would pass before the first performance of the entire symphony and the publication of its score. In contrast to the increasingly extensive explanatory apparatus that framed the earlier performances, Mahler revoked all programmatic associations in these instances and in nearly all subsequent performances. Generic rubrics alone replaced thematic introductions, titles, epigraphs, and narratives. The work was advertised as follows:

Symphony no. 3
 in 2 parts
 for large orchestra, solo alto, women’s and children’s chorus.

Part I.

No. 1. Introduction and first movement.

Part II.

No. 2. Tempo di Menuetto

No. 3. Rondo.

No. 4. Alto solo.

attacca. No. 5. Women’s and children’s chorus with alto solo.

attacca. No. 6. Adagio⁴

² See appendix A.23 for a transcription of the entire program; Mahler’s handwritten draft is transcribed in appendix A.22.

³ See appendix A.24 for a reconstruction of the program.

⁴ A facsimile of the poster is reproduced in Herta Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler / Richard Strauss Briefwechsel: 1888–1911*, rev. ed. (Munich: Piper, 1988), 67:

Symphonie No. 3
 in 2 Abtheilungen
 für grosses Orchester, Alt-Solo, Frauen- und Knabenchor.

An intractable problem in Mahler scholarship is determining the relationship of the programmatic commentaries to his music.⁵ Over the past thirty-five years, scholars have tended to treat Mahler's Third as a program symphony.⁶ Indeed, the primary means of explaining the expressive character of the movements and their vernacularisms has been with reference to the programmatic titles and to Mahler's private commentaries about the symphony. Donald Mitchell has staked out the most extreme position, claiming that the "enormous importance of the dramatic programme

	I. Abtheilung.
No. 1.	Einleitung und I. Satz.
	II. Abtheilung.
No. 2.	Tempo di Menuetto
No. 3.	Rondo.
No. 4.	Altsolo
attacca.	No. 5. Frauen- und Knabenchor mit Alt-Solo.
attacca.	No. 6. Adagio

⁵ The literature on Mahler's use of programs is very extensive. Prominent contributions include: Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 1, *Die geistige Welt Gustav Mahlers in systematischer Darstellung* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1977): 15–35; Edward R. Reilly, "A Re-Examination of the Manuscripts of Mahler's Third Symphony," in *Colloque international Gustav Mahler: 25, 26, 27 Janvier 1985*, 62–72 (Paris: Association Gustav Mahler, 1986); Stephen E. Hefling, "Mahler's 'Todtenfeier' and the Problem of Program Music," *19th-Century Music* 12, no. 1 (summer 1988): 27–53; Friedhelm Krummacher, *Gustav Mahlers III. Symphonie* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 9–22; Stephen E. Hefling, "Miners Digging from Opposite Sides: Mahler, Strauss, and the Problem of Program Music," in *Richard Strauss: New Perspectives on the Composer and His Work*, ed. Bryan Gilliam, 41–53 (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992); and Vera Micznik, "Music and Aesthetics: The Programmatic Issue," in *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 35–48.

⁶ See Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 2, *The Wunderhorn Years* [1975], rev. Paul Banks and David Matthews (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 193; Susanne Vill, *Vermittlungsformen verbalisierter und musikalischer Inhalte in der Musik Gustav Mahlers*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. 6 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979), 281–314; Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 3, *Die Symphonien* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985), 75–101; Peter Franklin, *Mahler: Symphony no. 3*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Morten Solvik Olsen, "Culture and the Creative Imagination: The Genesis of Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992); Hefling, "Mahler: Symphonies 1–4," in *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. D. Kern Holoman (New York: Schirmer, 1997), 390–401; James Hepokoski, "Beethoven Reception: The Symphonic Tradition," in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 445–47. Notable exceptions to this trend include Krummacher, *Gustav Mahlers III. Symphonie*; Hermann Danuser, *Gustav Mahler und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991), 152–203; and Vera Micznik, "'Ways of Telling' in Mahler's Music: The Third Symphony as Narrative Text," in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 295–323. Danuser claims that the programs have been ignored in the reception of Mahler's music since 1960 (*Gustav Mahler und seine Zeit*, 134). He originally wrote this sentence in an article in 1975, when it could reasonably be said of German-language scholarship; the sentence, reprinted in 1991 without alteration or qualification in his monograph, is false.

for his early symphonies cannot be gainsaid: the symphonies *are* the programmes, embodied and transcended, it is true, but unthinkable without them.”⁷ Constantin Floros has even spoken of a conspiracy among early Mahler scholars to suppress the true programmatic nature of the symphonies.⁸ More recently, in the *Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Music* (2002), James Hepokoski articulated the view as follows: “Had he not suppressed their original programmes, Mahler’s First and Third Symphonies would qualify unequivocally” as program symphonies.⁹

Underpinning these views is the assumption that Mahler’s symphony contains musical features that would not have arisen but by dint of a program. But the interaction of ideas and music in the Third Symphony is more complex than a simple label like program music can possibly convey. The primary goal of this chapter is to determine what can be known about the role of programmatic ideas and commentaries in the composition of the Third Symphony. How far can facts and evidence take us, and where does interpretation begin? To address these questions properly requires an overview of the work’s genesis as well as of Mahler’s somewhat complicated aesthetic views. These are presented in the first two sections. The final section lays out Mahler’s thoughts on program music and uses biographical, documentary, and musical evidence to determine the relationship of program to music in Mahler’s creative process and finished symphony.

⁷ Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler*, 2:193. All emphases appearing within quotations are original.

⁸ Floros, *Gustav Mahler*, 1:15–17.

⁹ Hepokoski, “Beethoven Reception,” 446. In Hepokoski’s taxonomy of symphonic types, Mahler’s Third fits under “Tacit, implicit or suspected programmes throughout or of substantial sections” (p. 444).

Genesis of the Third Symphony

Several scholars have reconstructed the Third Symphony's genesis in considerable detail.¹⁰ Only the basic chronology and sources need to be outlined here. Mahler wrote the symphony over the course of one and a half years, from June 1895 to November 1896, adhering to his customary pattern of composing over summer vacation and then preparing fair copies of the scores as he shouldered directorial responsibilities of the opera season. The first summer yielded movements two through six as well as some sketches for the first movement. At this time, the symphony still had a projected seventh movement, the *Wunderhorn* song "Das himmlische Leben," which had been composed in 1892.¹¹ In the spring of 1896, Mahler prepared fair copies of movements two, three, and five. That summer he composed the first movement and jettisoned the song finale, leaving the six-movement symphony known today. He worked on the fair copies of the outer movements in the fall, completing the autograph score on 22 November 1896.¹²

Throughout composition and the initial performances of individual movements, Mahler elaborated on the Third Symphony's content. These remarks fall into two

¹⁰ The most thorough and reliable treatment is Solvik, "Culture and the Creative Imagination," 354–500. Though similar information can sometimes be found in more widely published works, I will cite Solvik for most codecological issues on account of its accuracy and comprehensiveness. See also Susan Filler, "Editorial Problems in the Symphonies of Gustav Mahler: A Study of the Sources of the Third and Tenth Symphonies" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1977), 20–224; Peter Franklin, "The Gestation of Mahler's Third Symphony," *Music & Letters* 58, no. 4 (October 1977): 439–46; John Williamson, "Mahler's Compositional Process: Reflections on an Early Sketch for the Third Symphony's First Movement," *Music & Letters* 61, no. 314 (July–October 1980): 338–45; Reilly, "A Re-Examination," 62–72; Krummacker, *Gustav Mahlers III. Symphonie*, 23–54; Franklin, *Mahler*, 41–51.

¹¹ The *Wunderhorn* song "Ablösung im Sommer," on which much of the third movement of the Third is based, was written by 1890. Sketches of marches for the first movement appear in a notebook alongside sketches for the second movement of the Second Symphony and were probably written in 1893; there is no indication that this material was originally written with later inclusion in the Third Symphony in mind.

¹² It is not known when the fair copy to movement four was completed. It was either in the summer or fall of 1896. See Solvik, "Culture and the Creative Imagination," 386–88.

groups: the formal program and informal commentaries.¹³ The symphony's formal program consists of those titles, mottos, and inscriptions that Mahler made (or intended to make) publicly available at performances and in the published score.¹⁴ Appendix A details all versions of the formal program, set out chronologically insofar as possible. The table includes versions of the titles and inscriptions from early stages of composition, and it draws on a range of sources: drafts of projected movement titles, musical manuscripts, letters, conversations, and concert program notes. With the exception of the narrative description that Mahler penned for the première of the third movement, the final program appears in full in the symphony's autograph fair copy (see appendix A.21).

Informal commentaries comprise Mahler's private remarks. These came to light largely after the composer's death, in volumes of recollections and letters published by his intimates and colleagues.¹⁵ Appendix B lists all of Mahler's informal commentaries for the first movement, which has more than any other movement. This is due both to its size, which approaches that of the other five combined, and to its gestation being a year longer and better documented than that of the others. The informal and formal

¹³ My distinction between formal program and informal commentaries is similar to Gérard Genette's distinction between the public and private epitext (see *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997], 344–403). Micznik has usefully applied Genette's terminology in her essay on Mahler's Third Symphony, "Ways of Telling."

¹⁴ The programmatic inscriptions within movements are the only formal associations that Mahler never made public. That he originally intended to is strongly suggested by their presence in the manuscript fair copy. By the time the score was published five years later, however, Mahler had renounced the symphony's programmatic guide.

¹⁵ Another possible source is the personal score of the conductor and early Mahler supporter Willem Mengelberg. It contains annotations pertaining to the expressive character and musical meaning, which Mengelberg claims were based directly on conversations with Mahler. See Rudolf Stephan, *Gustav Mahler. Werk und Interpretation. Autographe, Partituren, Dokumente* (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1979), 85; and Solvik, "Culture and the Creative Imagination," 198–99.

associations overlap to the extent that Mahler discussed in private his plans for the symphony's public program.

Mahler's intention to write a program can be traced back to his initial conceptions of the symphony. Among the earliest documents are drafts of movement titles recounted by Alma Mahler-Werfel and Paul Bekker (see appendix A.2, A.4, A.5–6). The drafts either preceded or coincided with the first days of composition in early June 1895. In addition, a number of the oldest extant musical manuscripts bear programmatic titles, too (see appendix A.1, A.3, A.7). Hence the symphony's earliest sources all point to Mahler's preoccupation with programmatic titles. His intention for these to constitute a formal program accompanying the work's performances and publication became explicit at the end of the summer of 1895. As his working vacation drew to a close, and with movements two through seven largely completed, Mahler sent many friends letters soliciting feedback about the titles' intelligibility: would they convey his intentions to an average listener?¹⁶ Through the composition's remaining stages and the initial performances of isolated movements, Mahler never called the titles into question. The Third Symphony, therefore, was created with the intention that it would have a publicly available set of formal, programmatic associations. To assess their significance for the work's composition and interpretation, we must first situate them within the context of Mahler's aesthetic views.

¹⁶ Herta Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 2d ed. (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 1996), 148–49; Knud Martner, ed., *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, trans. Eithne Wilkins, Ernst Kaiser, Bill Hopkins (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979), 162–63; Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Unbekannte Briefe* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 1983), 23–24.

Mahler's Aesthetic Views

Mahler's aesthetic views are not easily aligned with the partisan debates that marked Austro-German musical culture in the second half of the nineteenth century. Mahler's discussions with Richard Strauss in 1894, the year before Mahler set to work on the Third Symphony, revealed their differing outlooks and left Mahler feeling like an outsider to rival aesthetic camps. Afterward he wrote his sister: "More and more I see that I stand entirely alone amongst present-day musicians. Our goals diverge. From my point of view, I can only see everywhere either old-classical or New-German pedantry."¹⁷

Mahler's sense of alienation underscores the importance of creating an outline of his aesthetic views from his own statements. Like most nineteenth-century composers, he never codified his thoughts in a treatise or systematic summary. Comments are instead scattered throughout his correspondence and in conversations recounted by others. Two sources are particularly rich for the years of the Third Symphony's conception and early performances. Mahler's letters from 1893–1902 reveal that he gave considerable thought to such aesthetic issues as the nature of musical content, the relationship of words to music, and the role of programs. Natalie Bauer-Lechner's recollections are another central source for this period. Sensing the historic importance of her interlocutor, Bauer-Lechner chronicled numerous conversations in which Mahler expounded upon music and the compositional process.¹⁸

¹⁷ Translated by Stephen McClatchie in *The Mahler Family Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 257.

¹⁸ The revised German edition contains many important passages not found in the English translation. See Herbert Killian, ed., *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen von Natalie Bauer-Lechner* (Hamburg: Wagner, 1984); and Peter Franklin, *Recollections of Gustav Mahler by Natalie Bauer-Lechner*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber Music, 1980). Though a few scholars have questioned the reliability of her claims, the aesthetic views that she attributes to Mahler seem trustworthy because they accord so well with the views that Mahler expressed in his letters. For a skeptical take on her recollections, see

Mahler's was a philosophical aesthetics. Although he often spoke about music, he only seldom described technical features like harmonic language or formal structure. His primary interest was in music's meaning or essence, which he most commonly called "content" (*Inhalt*).¹⁹ This dichotomy between form and content was a central aesthetic question of the nineteenth century. Thomas Grey has summarized three basic approaches as "content and/or/as form."²⁰ Most Austro-German aesthetic commentary differentiated between form and content ("and"), often privileging one concept over the other ("or"). An alternative approach collapsed the dichotomy altogether, seeing content as form ("as"). Mahler clearly maintained the distinction, and his overwhelming attention to content betrays his belief in its priority.

The distinction between form and content, surface appearance and hidden essence, points to the idealist categories of thought that inform Mahler's worldview and underpin his aesthetics. Idealism has many different meanings and a complex history. The relevant sense here comes from German idealism of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²¹ It is based on the metaphysical thesis that the most fundamental constituents of the universe are mental or in some sense ideal. This ideal content was

Hans Ferdinand Redlich, review of *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik*, by Theodor W. Adorno, *Die Musikforschung* 19 (1966): 224. See also Leon Botstein, "Whose Gustav Mahler?" in *Mahler and his World*, ed. Karen Painter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 50.

¹⁹ Other terms that Mahler used in relation to music's essence are feeling (*Empfindung*) and inner program (*inneres Program*).

²⁰ Thomas Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 18–42.

²¹ This is not to be conflated with subjective idealism, associated most notably with the British philosopher George Berkeley, which denies the existence of material reality (or at least the possibility of knowing anything about it). Though Mahler talked much about philosophers and philosophical matters related to German idealism, he never spoke directly about idealism itself. In a letter to the Viennese critic Max Kalbeck, however, he did describe materialism as being incompatible with the "poetic soul of the musician" (Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 283; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 251–52). For accessible introductions to German idealism, see Karl Ameriks, "Introduction: Interpreting German Idealism," in *The Cambridge Companion to German Idealism*, ed. Karl Ameriks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1–17. For the application of German idealist thought to musical aesthetics, see Andrew Bowie, "Music and the Rise of Aesthetics," in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, 29–54.

immanent in the world as opposed to transcendent. The flavor of German idealism to which Mahler subscribed thus involves a metaphysically double-aspected view of reality, which consists of an empirical world infused with intrinsic features unavailable to normal modes of perception and cognition.²²

Mahler imbibed idealist aesthetics from multiple sources in a century-long stream of writing on music in German-speaking lands. The musical discourse of Mahler's day, being strongly influenced by idealist premises, was a contemporary source. Mahler also had a strong affinity with the Early Romantic writers, who were among the first to apply these views to music at the turn of the nineteenth century. He avidly read both Jean Paul Richter, whose literary aesthetics was an important forerunner of the philosophical aesthetics of music, and E. T. A. Hoffmann. But perhaps the single most important influence on Mahler's views was the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer. Mahler revered Schopenhauer's *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (1819, rev. 1844).²³ A product of the first half of the century, it became widely influential only in the second half, finding exponents in Richard Wagner and the young Friedrich Nietzsche. Mahler once claimed that Schopenhauer's treatise and Wagner's "Beethoven" (1870) were the only two texts with anything substantive to say about the nature of music; indeed, long stretches of Wagner's essay simply gloss passages from

²² Mark Evan Bonds, in his article "Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," relies on a definition that projects non-corporeal ideals into a spiritual world beyond the material one (*Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, no. 2/3 [summer – autumn 1997]: 387–420). For a lucid discussion of these concepts with regard to E. T. A. Hoffmann, see Keith Chapin, "Lost in Quotation: The Nuances behind E. T. A. Hoffmann's Programmatic Statements," *19th-Century Music* 30, no. 1 (2006): 47–52.

²³ Originally published in 1819, Schopenhauer published a revised version in two volumes in 1844. All references in this chapter are taken from Arthur Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, 2 vols., ed. Julius Frauenstädt (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1873).

Schopenhauer.²⁴ Echoes of all these sources resonate throughout Mahler's statements and commentaries on music.²⁵

For Mahler musical content was essentially metaphysical and spiritual. He believed that music penetrated the surface reality of the world, taking as its object deeper, hidden components of existence and rendering them in a way that could be directly experienced through everyday senses.²⁶ This capacity of music was unique among human activities and justified its privileged position among the arts. Bauer-Lechner recorded the following statement at the end of 1895:

"It is nonsense and drivel," Mahler said, "what people always say about the sister arts. They are not equal, but are infinitely various! By far the highest is music, the art of inner meaning. After it comes poetry and for a long while nothing. Only then follow painting and sculpture, which take the external world as their object. At the very end is architecture, which deals with masses and proportions."²⁷

Mahler wrote poems throughout his life and composed a number of songs and symphonic movements to his own verse; as a young man he even fancied a career as a

²⁴ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 455. See also Roger Hollinrake, *Nietzsche, Wagner, and the Philosophy of Pessimism* (London and Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1982).

²⁵ The list can be easily extended to include Kant, Goethe, Gustav Theodor Fechner, Siegfried Lipiner, and Dostoyevsky among others; their consideration, however, is not needed for an accurate account of Mahler's core aesthetic values. For more on Mahler's intellectual influences, including the importance of his membership in student organizations, see William J. McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974); Floros, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 1; Morten Solvik, "Mahler's Untimely Modernism," in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, 153–71; and idem, "The Literary and Philosophical Worlds of Gustav Mahler," in *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler*, 21–34.

²⁶ Various philosophical and aesthetic modes of thought have different ways of describing the nature of this noumenal realm. Whereas the Romantics tended to speak of the ineffable or infinite, Schopenhauer conceived of it as the Will. Mahler preferred to speak of Nature or feelings.

²⁷ Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 34: "Es ist Unsinn,' sagte Mahler, 'und Gefasel, was man immer von den Schwesterkünsten spricht. Sie sind einander nicht ebenbürtig, sind im Rang unendlich verschieden! Weitaus die erste ist die Musik, die Kunst des innern Sinnes; nach ihr kommt die Poesie, dann folgt lange nichts; nun erst Malerei und Skulptur, die ihren Gegenstand in der äußeren Welt haben. Und ganz zuletzt kommt die Architektur, welche es mit Maßen und Größenverhältnissen zu tun hat.'" For another clear articulation of this sentiment, see *ibid.*, 161.

poet.²⁸ This affinity for poetry, which shines through in his division of the arts, partly explains his proclivity to describe his music using poetic metaphors.

If metaphysical facts grasped in music are not amenable to the domain of human reason, then how does the composer ever come to encode them in tones? Mahler adopted his answer to this question largely from Schopenhauer, who contended that composers of genius possess an extraordinary capacity to channel the innermost essence of the universe. The process by which they do so, however, is largely passive and independent of their rational faculties. For Schopenhauer, the invention of melody

is the work of the genius, whose achievement here resides even more clearly beyond all contemplation and conscious intention; it could be called an inspiration . . . the composer reveals the inner being of the world and articulates the deepest wisdom in a language incomprehensible to his reason.²⁹

Mahler similarly shrouded the creative process in mystical, a-rational terms, telling Bauer-Lechner that

the creation and genesis of a work are mystical from beginning to end, for the composer loses awareness of the self and creates as if through external guidance. Afterward he hardly understands how the product came to be. I often seem to myself like the blind hen that found a diamond. . . . But even stranger than with an entire movement or work is the unconscious, mysterious force that comes to light at certain passages, especially the most difficult and meaningful ones.³⁰

²⁸ Richard Specht, *Gustav Mahler*, *Moderne Essays*, vol. 52 (Berlin: Gose und Tetzlaff, 1905), 17; Floros, *Gustav Mahler*, 1:39–41. A number of his poems can be found in Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Mahler: Volume One* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973), 824–37. Mahler used his own verse in *Das klagende Lied*, *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen*, and Symphony no. 2.

²⁹ Schopenhauer, *Die Welt*, 1:307: “ist das Werk des Genius, dessen Wirken hier augenscheinlicher, als irgendwo, fern von aller Reflexion und bewußter Absichtlichkeit liegt und eine Inspiration heißen könnte . . . der Komponist offenbart das innerste Wesen der Welt und spricht die tiefste Weisheit aus, in einer Sprache, die seine Vernunft nicht versteht.”

³⁰ Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 26; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 30–31: “Das Schaffen und die Entstehung eines Werkes sind mystisch vom Anfang bis zum Ende, da man, sich selbst unbewußt, wie durch fremde Eingebung etwas machen muß, von dem man nachher kaum begreift, wie es geworden ist. Ich komme mir dabei oft vor wie die blinde Henne, die ein Diamantkorn gefunden hat . . . Aber seltsamer als bei einem ganzen Satz oder Werk tritt diese unbewußte, geheimnisvolle Kraft bei einzelnen Stellen zutage, und gerade bei den allerschwierigsten und bedeutsamsten.”

Similar sentiments resound in other well-known descriptions by Mahler of what it was like to compose the Third Symphony: “one is himself only an instrument, as it were, on which the universe plays.”³¹

Music’s ideal content, residing beyond normal ken, could not be encapsulated in words or subjected to rational analysis. Mahler frequently emphasized this point in an important epistolary exchange, lasting from December 1895 to January 1897, with the critic and aspiring composer Max Marschalk. In the opening paragraph of his first letter, Mahler wrote that “nothing can be more welcome than your not making me utter a single word about my intentions, which I believe to have already articulated so clearly as a musician.”³² When Marschalk sought Mahler’s opinion shortly thereafter on an article that he was writing on the First Symphony, Mahler praised the article and then put Marschalk’s task into perspective:

This brings us to the significant question: *how*, perhaps even *why*, music should be interpreted with words at all. . . . My need to express myself musically—symphonically—begins where obscure feelings reign, at the threshold that leads to the “other world,” the world in which things are no longer differentiated by time and space.³³

Incidentally, Mahler’s quotation marks around “other world” call attention to his use of poetic license. The metaphysical essences that he understands music to embody do not

³¹ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 187; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 190: “man ist, sozusagen, selbst nur ein Instrument, auf dem das Universum spielt.”

³² Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 163; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 172: “so kann mir nichts willkommener sein, als wenn Sie mir erlauben, über meine Intentionen, die ich als Musiker so deutlich ausgedrückt zu haben glaube, — keine *Worte* zu machen.”

³³ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 171; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 179: “Mein Bedürfnis, mich musikalisch – symphonisch auszusprechen, beginnt erst da, wo die *dunkeln* Empfindungen walten, an der Pforte, die in die ‘andere Welt’ hineinführt; die Welt, in der die Dinge nicht mehr durch Zeit und Ort auseinanderfallen.” Mahler was of course not alone in this view, which predated even the Early Romantics, who did much to propagate it. Note the similarity of Mahler’s wording to Johann Nikolaus Forkel’s view that music “begins . . . where other languages can no longer reach” (*Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek* [Gotha, 1778], 66; quoted in Andrew Bowie, “Music and the Rise of Aesthetics,” 31) and to Wagner’s statement: “It is an eternal truth: music begins there, where human language ceases” (“Ein glücklicher Abend,” in *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*, vol. 1 [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911], 278: “Es bleibt ein für allemal wahr: da wo die menschliche Sprache aufhört, fängt die Musik an”).

reside in another realm but suffuse our existence in this one. Although idealist thought has often been associated with escapism and disillusionment with the human condition, Mahler's idealism offered a richer understanding of the world in which we live.³⁴

The contradiction between Mahler's speaking extensively about his works and believing that music communicates what ordinary language cannot is only apparent. In this respect, he was similar to the Early Romantics, who wrote voluminously about music and promulgated the idea of ineffability of musical content. As Mark Evan Bonds has pointed out, an idealist aesthetic actually provides greater leeway to description because it focuses attention on the essence of music as opposed to its causal effects on the listener: "One can, after all, be more readily forgiven for resorting to metaphorical excess in trying to describe the infinite."³⁵ Mahler, like the Romantics, understood these metaphorical renditions of music's essence as imperfect linguistic approximations. As such, they were often accompanied by open disclaimers. When he summarized the first movement of the Third Symphony, for example, he wrote:

Summer marches in, ringing and singing as you cannot even imagine! It springs up from all sides. Then in between it is again so endlessly secretive and painful—like *lifeless* Nature awaiting the approach of life in utter motionlessness. It just cannot be put into words!³⁶

An effective rhetorical device, the final exclamation also bespeaks the philosophical ambitions that, on one level, Mahler harbored for his symphony.

³⁴ Chapin argues persuasively that E. T. A. Hoffmann's description of other realms is largely attributable to poetic license ("Lost in Quotation," 47–52).

³⁵ Bonds, "Idealism," 392.

³⁶ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 192; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 189: "Der Sommer marschiert ein; da klingt es und singt es, wie Du Dir es nicht vorstellen kannst! Von allen Seiten spießt es auf. Und dazwischen wieder so unendlich geheimnisvoll und schmerzvoll – wie die *leblose* Natur, die in dumpfer Regungslosigkeit dem kommenden Leben entgegenharrt. – Es läßt sich das nicht in Worten ausdrücken!"

Like Schopenhauer, Mahler attributed a secondary status to all verbal adjuncts, including the text of vocal music and descriptions of music's emotional content.

Schopenhauer asserted that texts and human emotions were like random instances of the general concepts exemplified by music.³⁷ On this view, music expresses not the sorrow of a particular person or occasion, but the Platonic idea of sorrow. Mahler shared these sentiments. In praise of Marschall's article on the First Symphony, he wrote that

you characterized the third and fourth movements *masterfully*. [Your interpretation] is especially sympathetic to me because it points toward the realm of the categorical and general. . . . Of all possible interpretations, yours is the most appropriate because it is the *plainest* and coincides the most with the random, external cause of the inner experience.³⁸

Mahler saw in his emotional life a universal spiritual dimension that transcended the circumstances that apparently triggered his emotions. This inner truth is what became the content of his music.

Mahler favored three families of metaphors when describing musical content: nature, mythology, and emotion. Each of these modes of description pervades his commentaries on the Third Symphony and will be treated in turn.³⁹ As noted before,

³⁷ Arthur Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, vol. 1, ed. Julius Frauenstädt (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1873), 310. See also Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989), 130–32.

³⁸ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 171–72; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 179: “der 3. u. 4. Satz ist von Ihnen *meisterlich* charakterisiert, und mir darum besonders sympathisch, weil er ins Typische, Allgemeine deutet. . . . Unter allen Deutungen, die gegeben werden können, ist mir die Ihre die angemessenste, weil sie die *schlichteste* ist und mit der zufälligen, resp. äußeren Ursache des inneren Erlebens am meisten zusammenfällt.”

³⁹ The metaphors pervade the final version of the titles (see appendix A.21) and nearly every draft title that Mahler considered along the way (see appendix A.1–20). The only two possible exceptions are “What the child tells me” (*Was mir das Kind erzählt*) and “What the morning bells tell me” (*Was mir die Morgenglocken erzählen*), though each of these can be understood as Christian symbolism. Mahler's ultimate arrangement of these titles into an evolutionary progress, moreover, resonates with the interest of German idealists like Schopenhauer in the idea of the world as a great chain of being. For example, Schopenhauer made analogies between musical phenomena and the hierarchical objectifications of the will in the world. The natural objects that Schopenhauer chooses for comparison are remarkably similar to those used by Mahler in his programs and commentaries for the Third. See Stephen McClatchie,

Mahler's conception of *nature* was metaphysically double-aspected. Nature consists not just of the forest, plants, animals, and the like, but can also encompass the entire universe in both its phenomenal and noumenal aspects. A conversation with Bauer-Lechner about the first movement of the Third Symphony illustrates:

That almost ceases to be music; it is practically the sounds of nature. It is eerie how life gradually wrests itself free from the inanimate, rigid matter—I could have named the movement “What the Craggy Mountains Tell Me.” . . . Again, the atmosphere of a stifling heat on a summer midday hangs over the introduction to this movement. Not a breath stirs. All life is suspended. The sun-soaked air shimmers and flickers. I hear it in my mental ear, but how to find the physical tones?⁴⁰

In the first sentence, Mahler refers to music as a sounding object in the phenomenal world, which he juxtaposes with the metaphysical import of the “sounds of nature,” a term encountered frequently in his letters, conversations, and scores. Here he wishes to claim that the music channels inner being so purely that it nearly becomes identical with it. Mahler then reverts to more direct, pictorial analogies with nature—cliffs, the glowing heat of day, shimmering air currents. The significance of these natural phenomena, however, is not in their physical appearance, but in their symbolizing deeper forces. This metaphysical sense motivates the subsequent rhetorical question, which contrasts his inner “ear” with external “tones.”

Mahler, like many thinkers and artists of the nineteenth century, saw in mythological figures embodiments of grander metaphysical and philosophical concepts.

Analyzing Wagner's Operas: Alfred Lorenz and German Nationalist Ideology (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1998), 30.

⁴⁰ Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 56; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 59: “Das ist schon beinahe keine Musik mehr, das sind fast nur Naturlaute. Und schaurig ist, wie sich aus der unbeseelten, starren Materie heraus - ich hätte den Satz auch nennen können: ‘Was mir das Felsgebirge erzählt’ - allmählich das Leben losringt . . . Über der Einleitung zu diesem Satz liegt wieder jene Stimmung der brütenden Sommermittagsglut, in der kein Hauch sich regt, alles Leben angehalten ist, die sonngetränkten Lüfte zittern und flimmern. Ich hör’ es im geistigen Ohr tönen, aber wie die leiblichen Töne dafür finden?” For more from this passage in Bauer-Lechner’s diary, see appendix B.5.

The god Pan, for instance, symbolized of the entirety of the world.⁴¹ When Mahler gave the title “Pan awakes” (*Pan erwacht*) to the introduction of the Third Symphony’s first movement, he did not wish to signal a musical depiction of the mythical god coming to, but something much grander: “it is the world, the whole of nature, that is awakened from unfathomable stillness to tones and sounds.”⁴²

Mahler was all too aware that many people would fail to recognize his invocations of nature and myth as metaphors of something more profound. In a letter to the critic Richard Batka, written days after the première of “What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me,” he complained that

This little piece (more of an intermezzo within the whole) will surely provoke misunderstanding by being torn from the context of the large work, my most meaningful and all-encompassing. But this cannot prevent me from letting it be performed alone. I have no choice: if I want to be heard for a change, then I cannot be timid. This slight, modest piece will indeed often “bleed at the pedestal of Pompey” and introduce me to the public as the pensive, delicate “singer of nature.” —In fact, nature contains everything that is eerie, grand, and pleasing (and that is what I wanted to portray in a kind of evolutionary progression through the work). But no one will catch any of this. It always strikes me as strange that most people think only of flowers, little birds, the forest scent, etc., when they speak of “nature.” No one knows the god Dionysus, the great Pan. So, there you have a kind of program—that is, an illustration of how I make music. It is nothing but the sound of nature!⁴³

⁴¹ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 192–93; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 189–90.

⁴² Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 203; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 198: “es [ist] die Welt, die Natur als Ganzes, welche sozusagen aus unergründlichem Schweigen zum Tönen und Klingen erweckt ist.”

⁴³ Julius Caesar was murdered at the pedestal of Pompey’s statue. See Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 202–03; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 197–98: “Daß diese kleine Stück (mehr ein Intermezzo des Ganzen) aus dem Zusammenhange des großen Werkes, meines bedeutendsten und umfangreichsten, gerissen, Mißverständnisse erwecken muß, kann mich nicht daran verhindern, es einzeln frei zu geben. Es bleibt mir eben keine Wahl, wenn ich endlich einmal zu Worte kommen will, so darf ich nicht zimperlich sein und so wird nun wohl in dieser Saison dieses kleine bescheidene Stück noch oft ‘am Fußgestelle des Pompeius bluten’ und mich dem Publikum als ‘sinnigen’, duftigen ‘Sänger der Natur’ vorstellen. – Daß diese Natur alles in sich birgt, was an Schauerlichem, Großem und auch Lieblichem ist (eben das wollte ich in dem ganzen Werk in einer Art evolutionistischer Entwicklung zum Aussprechen bringen), davon erfährt natürlich niemand etwas. Mich berührt es ja immer seltsam, daß die meisten, wenn sie von ‘Natur’ sprechen, nur immer an Blumen, Vöglein, Waldesduft etc. denken. Den Gott Dionysos, den großen Pan kennt niemand. So: da haben Sie schon eine Art Programm – d.h. eine Probe, wie ich Musik mache. Sie ist immer und überall nur Naturlaut!” Mahler makes similar points in Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 95, 160; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 96–97, 149.

The third and most favored metaphor that Mahler used to describe the content of music was feeling. These statements betray the influence of expressive aesthetics or *Gefühlsästhetik*, a widely accepted view in the nineteenth century that music encodes feelings and awakens them in turn in the listener. Expressive aesthetics distinguishes itself from earlier doctrines of the affections in its rather unintuitive conception of feelings, shaped by idealist categories of thought. As sensations experienced by a subject, feelings belong to the empirical world. But because they also register in our souls, they bear a spiritual dimension, too.⁴⁴ Feelings are at once human emotions and ideal essences.

The language of feelings is fundamentally compatible with metaphors of nature because humans are constitutive parts of the universe. In his essay “Beethoven,” Wagner quotes Schopenhauer to make just this point: “Because each entity capable of knowledge is at the same time a corporeal individual, he is also a part of nature. He has open access to nature’s inner being from within his own self-consciousness, where nature’s essence as Will makes itself most immediately known.”⁴⁵ The contemplation of one’s inner being was thus tantamount to investigating the essence of the universe itself. Mahler elaborated on this principle in a letter to Marschalk:

⁴⁴ Edward Lippman, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 205. An alternate formulation of this idea can be found in Bowie, “Music and the Rise of Aesthetics,” 37–39.

⁴⁵ The Will was the term that Schopenhauer gave to the essence of reality not immediately available to our senses. Mahler’s views were influenced by Schopenhauer’s concept of the Will, but these issues are not immediately relevant to Mahler’s views of program music and need not be explicated here. Schopenhauer, *Die Welt*, 2:417; quoted in Wagner, “Beethoven,” in *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen* 9:4220: “Nur sofern jedes Erkennende zugleich Individuum, und dadurch Theil der Natur ist, steht ihm der Zugang zum Innern der Natur offen, in seinem eigenen Selbstbewußtsein, als wo dasselbe sich am unmittelbarsten und alsdann als Wille sich kundgiebt.” Schopenhauer, Wagner, and Nietzsche all believed that certain states of consciousness like dreaming promoted the perception of inner essences. Mahler subscribed to this view as well, and it is in this context that the text to the fourth movement of the Third Symphony should be understood, as well as in the titles that Mahler considered for the symphony as a whole: “Sommernachtstraum” (see appendix A.2, A.4, A.6), “Sommermorgentraum” (see appendix A.9–10, A.12, A.22–23), and “Sommermittagstraum” (A.14, A.20).

The life of a musician does not offer any interesting external events. He lives *inwardly*. It is very telling that musicians hardly take an interest in the plastic arts. His nature is to go through the external appearance to the essence of things.⁴⁶

Mahler, in keeping with expressive aesthetics, frequently equated the content of his symphonies with his own emotional experiences. To describe how he was feeling, he once wrote a friend: “For the moment I have arrived at the place where the beginning of the fourth movement of [my First] Symphony can also be found.”⁴⁷ The personal and revelatory structure of the Third Symphony’s movement titles (“What . . . tells me”) reflects Mahler’s belief that composition involved turning within and discovering therein truths about the essence of the universe. His clearest exposition of the underlying principle appears in an exceptional letter from 1893. A young girl named Gisela Tolnay-Witt wrote Mahler, then the extremely overworked first Kapellmeister of the Hamburg Opera, asking whether composers required a large orchestra to express big ideas. Charmed by the question and its writer, Mahler uncharacteristically felt impelled to reply. The letter is one of his longest and among the most important single documents of his aesthetic views. In it, he articulates an expressive aesthetic as the culmination of the historical development of music. Along with ever more detailed performance instructions in the eighteenth century came

the appropriation of new elements of feeling as objects to be imitated in tones. That is, the composer began to include in his creations ever deeper and more complicated sides of his emotional life, until Beethoven initiated the *new era*. From then on, the objects of musical emulation are no longer the basic moods—

⁴⁶ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 206; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 201: “Das Leben eines Musikanten bietet ja an äußeren Ereignissen nichts. – Er lebt *nach innen*. Es ist vielleicht ungemein bezeichnend, daß die Musiker für die bildende Kunst nur ein geringes Interesse aufzuweisen haben; er ist geartet, den Dingen auf den Grund zu gehen – durch die äußere Erscheinung hindurch.”

⁴⁷ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 95: “Zunächst bin ich dort angelangt – wo etwa der Anfang des vierten Satzes der in Frage stehenden Symphonie zu suchen ist.”

e.g., mere joyfulness or sorrow—but also the transition from one mood to another, conflicts, outer nature and its effect on us, humor, and poetic ideas.⁴⁸

Mahler located the historical progress of music in its growing capacity to represent ever more rarified aspects of the composer's emotional experiences. By describing music as "emulation," he once again calls attention to the metaphysically double-aspected nature of feelings. In an age quick to stigmatize stylistic imitation as evidence of a composer's deficient originality, the imitation of feelings, by virtue of their profound metaphysical status, was still seen by Mahler and others as music's highest charge.

The final view directly relevant to understanding Mahler's programs is his conviction that the purpose of music, like that of any language, is to communicate. Great musical works transmit to the listener exalted feelings or glimpses of the essence of reality accessible only to the creative genius.⁴⁹ However cathartic or fulfilling composing might have been for Mahler, these effects paled in comparison to his desire to reach out to others and be recognized for these efforts. By 1893 Mahler had yet to achieve his breakthrough as a composer, though he was already an established and successful conductor. He vented his frustration in a conversation with Bauer-Lechner.

If only I could hear [the Scherzo of the Second Symphony] for once and finally put it to the test. Then I could see whether I am on the right track, whether that which is deep and significant to me is the same for others, too. For if I cannot call forth in others—not even in those few listeners on whom the artist

⁴⁸ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 130; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 148: "Hand in Hand damit ging aber auch die *Aneignung neuer Gefühlselemente* als Gegenstände der Nachbildung in Tönen - d. h. der Komponist fing an, immer tiefere und kompliziertere Seiten seines Gefühlslebens in das Gebiet seines Schaffens einzubeziehen - bis mit Beethoven die *neue Ära* der Musik begann: Von nun an sind nicht mehr die *Grundtöne* der Stimmung - also z. B. bloße Freudigkeit oder Traurigkeit etc. - sondern auch der Übergang von einem zum anderen - Konflikte - die äußere Natur und ihre Wirkung auf uns - Humor und poetische Ideen die Gegenstände der musikalischen Nachbildung."

⁴⁹ The notion of the composer revealing deep truths unavailable to mere humans gave rise in the to Wagner's idea of the poet-priest. See William J. McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), 87–162.

can only ever depend—the same scene and the same content that I poured into the work, then I have created it for nothing.⁵⁰

Mahler's faith here in the precision of musical communication points to a tension that runs through his statements about music. He insists on the ineffability of musical content, yet he also attributes concrete and specific content to music. These tendencies can be reconciled, if not entirely convincingly, by claiming that Mahler made these concrete attributions largely in informal contexts and just did not feel the need to qualify that he was speaking metaphorically. A simpler explanation, however, is to acknowledge that Mahler's statements, made over the span of years and in various contexts, do not amount to a fully consistent aesthetic system. Rather, he had multiple ways of understanding music's mysteries. To articulate these, he drew on prominent aesthetic discourses inherited from his intellectual and cultural milieu—idealism, Romanticism, and expressive aesthetics. Metaphysical aesthetics gave him a way to acknowledge music's cosmic significance, while expressive aesthetics allowed him to articulate its powerful relevance to our emotional lives. The tension between these views was by no means unique to Mahler, but was typical of his time.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 29; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 34: "Könnte ich es selbst nur einmal hören, endlich die Probe auf die Rechnung machen, um zu sehen, ob ich mich nicht verrenne, ob das, was für mich tief und bedeutend ist, es auch für andere ist. Denn wenn ich nicht auf die anderen - wenn auch nur in einzelnen, auf die der Künstler immer nur zählen kann - denselben Vorgang erzeuge und denselben Inhalt wachrufe, der aus mir heraus mein Werk schuf, so habe ich es umsonst geschaffen."

⁵¹ Aesthetics in the second half of the nineteenth century tended toward eclectic views (Lippman, *Western Musical Aesthetics*, 320–21, 347). Recent scholarship has revealed a more differentiated and complex picture of the aesthetic views espoused by the period's leading figures than can be gleaned from blunt labels like romanticism, formalism, and expressive aesthetics. See Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose*; Chapin, "Lost in Quotation"; Mark Burford, "Hanslick's Idealist Materialism," *19th-Century Music* 30, no. 2 (2006): 166–81.

Mahler on Program Music and Programs

The issues contained in this brief sketch constitute the backdrop for Mahler's complicated relationship to programs. Mahler wrote and revised programs for his own works at the same time that he polemicized against program music more generally. The apparent incompatibility of these attitudes has often led writers to portray Mahler as conflicted or confused.⁵² This judgment is ungenerous. Mahler's statements and actions are coherent and lucid so long as they are considered with his idiosyncratic understanding of programs and program music in mind.

Not all music with a program was program music to Mahler. For him, any work dictated and defined by a program was program music. He excluded from this category works that could be described in terms of a program but need not be. Natalie Bauer-Lechner reported the following remarks:

[Mahler] considered the whole enterprise of writing music to a program the biggest aberration musically and artistically: "One who does that is no artist! . . . [It is a] superficial, erroneous undertaking in which the composer chooses a limited, clearly defined sequence and follows it programmatically, step-for-step."⁵³

Program music's greatest transgression in Mahler's eyes was its forfeiting music's metaphysical privilege. It did this by concretizing the objects or ideas that gave impetus

⁵² Richard Taruskin heads a section on Mahler "Is There or Isn't There? (Not Even the Composer Knows for Sure)" (*Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 4 *Music in the Early Twentieth Century* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010], 9); Lydia Goehr writes that Mahler, faced with the choice between absolute and program music, was "less sure and wavered constantly between the two concepts" and "wavered constantly and without resolution over his use of titles" (*The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992], 215, 228). Carl Dahlhaus uses Mahler as an example of the inevitable convolutions required of a program musician who also subscribed to Schopenhauerian aesthetics (*Idea of Absolute Music*, 138).

⁵³ Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 170: "er halte das Beginnen, Musik nach dem Programm zu schreiben, für die größte musikalische und künstlerische Verirrung: Einer, der das kann, ist kein Künstler! . . . [Es ist ein] plattes, irriges Beginnen, sich einen begrenzten, eng umrissenen Vorgang zu wählen und ihn programmatisch, Schritt für Schritt zu verfolgen." For more of Mahler's statements on program music, see Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 163, 171; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 172, 179.

to its creation, and then presenting these as an intrinsic part of the whole.⁵⁴ Program music did not have to be seen as opposed to idealist aesthetics. In fact, the idealist thought of which Mahler was a major exponent had become strongly associated with the New Germans and proponents of program music.⁵⁵ For whatever reason, the use of programs by other composers often triggered a host of assumptions in Mahler's mind about how the music came to be. The program constituted the work's starting point, the unyielding framework of its composition, and the content of the finished work. This caricature says little about how composers of program music actually conceived and created their works. It does, however, reveal much about his own programs.

Mahler was adamant that stimuli to a work's creation should be extraneous to its ultimate meaning. Musical content, after all, derived from its reflecting the inner essence of being. This was often a topic of letters written during the genesis of the Third Symphony. Conceding to Marschalk that the children's woodcut "The Hunter's Funeral" (*Des Jägers Leichenbegängnis*) had animated him to compose the First Symphony's third movement, Mahler insisted that the music did not portray the picture: "all that matters is the *mood* that is expressed."⁵⁶ Mahler similarly acknowledged that a love affair gave impetus to his creation of the First Symphony: "But the outer experience was the *occasion* for the work—not its content."⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Mahler was aware that programs could be written after the fact.

⁵⁵ In the last section of his article "Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music," Bonds traces the juncture at mid-century when idealism, which is fundamentally compatible to both absolute and program music, came to be associated with the latter.

⁵⁶ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler*, 170; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 177–78: "es kommt nur auf die *Stimmung* an, welche zum Ausdruck gebracht werden soll."

⁵⁷ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler*, 171; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 179: "Aber das äußere Erlebnis wurde zum *Anlaß* und nicht zum Inhalt des Werkes."

Mahler's position is consistent with his aesthetic views about the generality of musical expression. Entangled in particulars of the empirical world, external stimuli could not be the content of the music. They could, however, unleash in the composer powerful emotional experiences, whose universal aspect could be captured in tones. Perhaps the clearest articulation of this process was made by Richard Wagner. Mahler read Wagner's prose writings as avidly as he advocated the music dramas. Around the time of the Third Symphony's genesis, he gave the composer's collected prose writings as a gift with the following instruction: "An artist must own these works, read them over and over again, and internalize them."⁵⁸ Mahler was likely familiar with the following passage from "A Happy Evening":

A musician feels compelled to sketch even the slightest composition only when he is in the grip of a feeling whose animating force overpowers his entire being. This mood may be brought about by an external experience or arise from an inner, mysterious source . . . [Musicians] are human and our fate is ruled by external circumstances. But by the time that these moods compel the musician to compose, they have already been turned to music inside him. In the moment of creative ecstasy, the composer is guided not by those external events, but by the musical sensations they produced.⁵⁹

The difference between composing out the external events as opposed to the metaphysically significant musical sensations was, in Mahler's words, the difference

⁵⁸ The gift was to Anna von Mildenburg, his mistress and a soprano at the Hamburg Opera. See Bahr-Mildenburg, *Erinnerungen* (Vienna: Wiener Literarische Anhalt, 1921), 16: "Eine Künstlerin muß diese Werke besitzen und sie immer wieder aufs neue lesen und in sich aufnehmen."

⁵⁹ Wagner, "Ein glücklicher Abend," 289: "Wenn sich ein Musiker gedrängt fühlt, die kleinste Komposition zu entwerfen, so geschieht dieß nur durch die anregende Gewalt einer Empfindung, die in der Stunde der Konzeption sein ganzes Wesen überwältigt. Diese Stimmung möge nun durch ein äußeres Erlebnis herbeigeführt werden, oder einer inneren geheimnißvollen Quelle entsprungen sein . . . wir sind Menschen und unser Schicksal wird durch äußere Verhältnisse regiert; da aber, wo sie den Musiker zur Produktion hindrängen, sind auch diese großen Stimmungen in ihm bereits zu Musik geworden, so daß den Komponisten in den Momenten der schaffenden Begeisterung nicht mehr jenes äußere Ereigniß, sondern die durch dasselbe erzeugte musikalische Empfindung bestimmt."

between having a “program” and having an “inner program.” All great music since Beethoven, he claimed, possessed the latter; program music did not.⁶⁰

Mahler also believed that his symphonies combined music and word in a fundamentally different way than program music. Yet the arguments that he gave to support this view can actually be applied to a program just as readily. A year after completing the Third Symphony, he wrote that “Whenever I conceive a large, musical edifice, I always reach a point where I must turn to the ‘word’ as the carrier of my musical idea.”⁶¹ Liszt, by comparison, invoked nearly the same reasoning: “programs or titles are only justified when they are a poetic necessity, an indissoluble part of the whole, and indispensable to making oneself understandable.”⁶² Both composers harbored a certain sense that the expressive capacity of purely instrumental music had limits, and that the word, by virtue of its complementing the indeterminate musical expression with definite concepts, could create even more profound expressive effects.

To Mahler’s eyes, however, the sum of the parts was greater than the whole in his own works only. The reason was an implicit belief that words could legitimately be an intrinsic part of a musical work only if they were a vocal text.⁶³

⁶⁰ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 277; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 262: “es gibt, von Beethoven angefangen keine moderne Musik, die nicht ihr inneres Programm hat. – Aber keine Musik ist etwas wert, von der man dem Hörer zuerst berichten muß, was darin erlebt ist – respektive was er zu erleben hat. – Und so nochmals: per se – jedes Programm!”

⁶¹ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 222–23; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 212: “Wenn ich ein großes musikalisches Gebilde konzipiere, so komme ich immer an den Punkt, wo ich mir das ‘Wort’ als Träger meiner musikalischen Ideen heranziehen muss.” See also Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 202; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 198.

⁶² Franz Liszt, *Hector Berlioz und seine Harold-Symphonie*, ed. L. Ramann (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1881), 26: “Programm oder Titel [lassen] sich nur dann rechtfertigen, wenn sie eine poetische Nothwendigkeit, ein unablösbarer Theil des Ganzen und zu seinem Verständnis unentbehrlich sind!”

⁶³ The rare exceptions in the printed scores are occasional performing instructions like *Wie ein Naturlaut* at the beginning of the First Symphony.

Something altogether different [from program music] is when the content soars to such heights and assumes such forms that the composer no longer manages with just notes and struggles to attain that highest expression, which can only be achieved by union with the human voice and the articulated, poetic word, as in Beethoven's Ninth and also my C-minor symphony. . . . Above all, however, it should all be taken in as *music*, and only as such.⁶⁴

A written program's externality condemned it to be forever a verbal and conceptual construct. A vocal text, in contrast, was sublimated by its musical setting. As a sounding component of the musical structure, it transcended the limitations of mere words and left the musical integrity of the work intact.

Ultimately, Mahler's assertions reduce to little more than rhetorical strategy. No set of external factors can sift works that transcend their programs from those whose content is delimited by them. Nevertheless, Mahler's criticisms are important for what they imply about his own written programs: they were hapless attempts to capture in words meanings that were essentially musical.

Mahler did not create programs for his first three symphonies because he thought them necessary for understanding the work. Rather, he was motivated by continuing lack of recognition and performance opportunities. By the end of 1896, he had completed three symphonies yet averaged less than one performance of a full symphony per year since 1889. The meager opportunities not only deprived Mahler of an artistic outlet, they obstructed the fulfillment of his ultimate charge as a composer: to communicate through his own works. He told Bauer-Lechner in 1893: "Being denied all

⁶⁴ Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 171: "Etwas anderes ist es . . . wenn sein Inhalt sich zu solcher Höhe erhebt und solche Formen annimmt, daß der Komponist mit den Tönen allein nicht mehr auskommt und nach jenem höchsten Ausdruck ringt, den er nur in der Vereinigung mit der menschlichen Stimme und dem artikulierten, poetischen Worte gewinnt, wie es in der Neunten Beethovens und auch in meiner C-Moll-Symphonie der Fall ist. . . . Vor allem aber sollen sie es als *Musik*, und nur als solche, nehmen!"

interaction between the outer world and my inner world, between my creations and their finally having an effect—you wouldn't believe how that cripples me!"⁶⁵

The little interaction that he did have was largely negative. Yet Mahler put the polarized reception of the First Symphony in Weimar in 1894 in a most positive light: "Opinions clashed on the open streets and in salons in a delightful way. Well, when the dogs bark, then we know we are on our way!"⁶⁶ Similarly, he wrote consolingly to his sister in the wake of the largely negative reviews of three movements from the Third Symphony in 1897: "At it turns out, [the concert in] Berlin has really not harmed me, but has only stirred the emotions and focused attention on me."⁶⁷ Even negative attention was better than no attention at all.

Mahler actively sought wider recognition during these years, which he dubbed his personal "Way of the Cross" (*Leidensweg*).⁶⁸ Some of his efforts were trained on the critical establishment. He often wrote directly to authors of sympathetic reviews, thanking them for their rare understanding and hoping to garner their continuing support.⁶⁹ And whenever Mahler traveled to cities with important musical institutions, he made a point to visit critics and correspondents of the local periodicals. In Leipzig in December 1896, he paid no fewer than twenty-four calls in just a few days, doing

⁶⁵ Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 30; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 34: "Und daß mir so alle lebendige Wechselwirkung zwischen der Außenwelt und meiner Innenwelt fehlt, zwischen Arbeit und endlich auch einer Wirkung dieser Arbeit, – du glaubst es nicht, wie mich das lähmt!"

⁶⁶ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 135; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 154: "Die Meinungen platzten auf offenen Straßen und in Salons in ergötzlicher Weise aufeinander! – Na – wenn die Hunde bellen, sehen wir, daß wir reiten!"

⁶⁷ McClatchie, ed., *Mahler Family Letters*, 303.

⁶⁸ Blaukopf, ed., *Unbekannte Briefe*, 124.

⁶⁹ For examples, see Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 143–46; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 159–60; La Grange, *Mahler*, 1:355.

likewise again in Berlin in March 1897.⁷⁰ It is no exaggeration to say that Mahler cultivated a base of supporters as assiduously as he pursued the directorship of the Vienna Court Opera.

Another part of Mahler's strategy to promote his works was to write programmatic guides. Mahler appreciated the inherent difficulty of his symphonies. Their comprehension, he often insisted, requires an intimacy with the music that could only come from multiple hearings and score study.⁷¹ But Mahler was a pragmatist. He understood that the fate of his symphonies did not depend on the reasoned opinions of those with the time and initiative to engross themselves in his scores. To succeed, he had to make a compelling impression at the very first hearing. His letter declining to print a thematic introduction for the First Symphony's performance in Weimar articulates this point:

Of course I think it is vital for the motivic web to be clear to all listeners. But do you really think that, with a modern work, reproducing a few themes will suffice? Knowledge and appreciation of a musical work can only be procured through *exhaustive* study of it; the more profound the work, the more difficult and longer the process. At a first hearing, in contrast, the primary concern should be to give yourself over to the mercy of the work and to let its human-poetic expression wash over you. If you feel drawn to the work, then delve into it!⁷²

⁷⁰ La Grange, *Mahler*, 1:387, 398.

⁷¹ See Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 134, 164, 175, 277; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 151–52, 173, 182, 262; La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 2, *Vienna: The Years of Challenge, 1897–1904* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 523, 525; Blaukopf, ed., *Unbekannte Briefe*, 149.

⁷² Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 134; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 151–52: "Gewiß halte ich es für notwendig, daß das motivische Gewebe jedem Hörer klar ist. Aber glauben Sie wirklich, daß bei einem modernen Werke die Angabe einiger Themen dazu hinreicht? – Die Kenntnis und Erkenntnis eines Musikwerks muß man sich durch *eingehendes* Studium desselben verschaffen, und je tiefer ein Werk ist, desto schwieriger ist dies, und desto länger dauert es. – Bei einer ersten Aufführung hingegen ist es die Hauptsache, daß man sich dem Werke auf Gnade und Ungnade ergibt, das allgemeine Menschlich-Poetische daraus auf sich einwirken läßt; und wenn man sich dann angezogen fühlt, dann sich eingehend damit befaßt!"

The only practical way to promote the positive reception of his works was to assist the audience in grasping the human-poetic expression. For the concert in Weimar, then, Mahler opted to contribute a narrative program, which could more effectively hint at the “human-poetic expression” than a thematic guide.⁷³

Mahler shirked full responsibility for this decision by attributing it to the influence of friends.⁷⁴ One suspects, however, that he did not require much persuasion. He had an innate proclivity to describe music in allegorical terms, and he often used parables and allusions to myth or literature to illuminate complex ideas.⁷⁵ The coincident success of Richard Strauss’s tone poems—*Don Juan* premièred in November 1889, the same month as Mahler’s First Symphony—could not have gone wholly unnoticed by him, either.⁷⁶ In offering a guide to his listeners, Mahler was following in the footsteps of Richard Wagner, who justified his programs for Beethoven’s symphonies on the grounds that some listeners needed help in order to appreciate them.⁷⁷ And Mahler was also holding true to idealist aesthetics, which maintained that a

⁷³ Mahler did write a thematic introduction for the première of the Third Symphony’s second movement. This is not a mark of indecisions or waffling, but of Mahler’s willingness to compromise his views in order to gain recognition as a composer. Once he achieved that recognition, he never again used a thematic introduction.

⁷⁴ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 169; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 179.

⁷⁵ To choose but a couple instances: Mahler used the Biblical parable of Jacob wrestling with an angel to describe the difficulties of a creative artist (Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 76; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 79); he used a parable from the Norse Edda to characterize the unendingness of nature (Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 160; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 149).

⁷⁶ In a letter to Arthur Seidl in 1897, Mahler described Strauss as a “forerunner” who makes possible what Mahler does (Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahlers Briefe*, 224; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 212). He later regretted the comment after Seidl published the letter in a newspaper (Hefling, “Miners,” 41–42).

⁷⁷ Wagner’s attitudes toward programs changed considerably over time. In such early writings as the Beethoven programs, he acknowledged the practical function that programs could serve in promoting instrumental works among those in the audience who needed assistance to understand the work. By 1852, however, his views on programs had come more into alignment with Liszt’s. Wagner thus fashioned a program for the *Tannhäuser* overture in order to prevent misunderstanding and to promote his own, authentic reading of the piece. His views in the essay on Beethoven are more similar to his pre-

listener must mentally reconstruct a musical work before experiencing the brunt of its emotional expression.⁷⁸ This model of aesthetic perception requires the participatory imagination of the listener in order for music to have its effect. Hence Mahler's insistence that exhaustive score study was required to understand his works; the greater the listener's knowledge of the inner relationships of themes and movements, the more actively their imagination could participate. In a pinch, however, a program could serve a similar function, if less satisfactorily, by supporting the mental reconstruction with verbal description and images.

Mahler's efforts to gain wider recognition thus encompassed a strategy aimed at his broader audiences, too. Mahler wrote Marschall in early 1896: "It is a good idea for the time being, while my manner still alienates them, that the listener receive some signposts and mile markers for the journey. . . . A person must hold onto something *known*, or else he will get lost."⁷⁹ In reaction to the unfavorable premières of the First and Second Symphonies, both of which took place without descriptive aids, Mahler fitted both works with movement titles or narrative interpretations.⁸⁰ The changes to the First Symphony from one performance to the next attest to Mahler's search for the most advantageous way to present the work. The symphony premiered in Budapest in 1889 as a "symphonic poem" without program; the concert was largely a failure.⁸¹ In

reform writings in this regard. See Klaus Kropfinger, *Wagner and Beethoven: Wagner's Reception of Beethoven*, trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 121–23.

⁷⁸ Bonds, "Idealism," 394.

⁷⁹ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 172; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 179–80: "Gut ist es deshalb immerhin, wenn für die erste Zeit, als meine Art noch befremdet, der Zuhörer einige Wegtafeln und Meilenzeiger auf die Reise miterhält . . . Der Mensch muß eben an etwas *Bekanntes* anknüpfen, sonst verliert er sich."

⁸⁰ The third movement had at the première a characteristic title: "A la pompes funèbres."

⁸¹ A long discussion of the symphony with a programmatic description appeared in the newspaper a day before the concert. Its content almost certainly derived from a conversation with

Hamburg in 1893, Mahler presented the symphony as a “tone poem in symphony form,” this time with a program; the reception was largely negative, and the program attacked with particular vehemence. He then revised the program and dubbed the work a “symphony” for its performance at the Allgemeiner Deutscher Tonkünstlerverein in Weimar in 1894. Its reception there was ambivalent, the program again serving as a magnet for criticism.⁸² For the fourth performance, in Berlin in 1896, Mahler retained the generic designation “symphony” but jettisoned its program. This does not mark a complete rejection of guides, however. This same concert also included the *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen*, which, as the source of much thematic material for the First, could function as an implicit hermeneutic aid. In addition, the first movement of the Second Symphony was performed on this concert under its descriptive title “Todtenfeier.” Such continual alternation in generic designation and programmatic trappings is a sign not of confusion but of a composer willing to acknowledge practical realities in his attempt to secure a breakthrough for his hitherto unrecognized works.⁸³ Mahler similarly experimented with how to present the Second Symphony after its lackluster première in 1895.⁸⁴ The increasingly detailed programmatic apparatus for the early performances of

Mahler. Whether he was intentionally leaking the program ahead of time is not clear. The article is summarized in La Grange, *Mahler*, 1:203.

⁸² La Grange, *Mahler*, 1:299–301.

⁸³ At the same time that Mahler was searching for the best way to present the symphony, he was also continually improving the symphony’s structure and orchestration. In the terms of modern marketing, he was optimizing his product as he honed his sales strategy.

⁸⁴ The Second initially lacked a program. In 1896, Mahler performed the first movement under the title “Todtenfeier.” That same year he gave a programmatic account of the symphony to Bauer-Lechner and wrote another to Marschalk. In December, the first two movements were performed in Leipzig with interpretive program notes penned by Marschalk but no doubt based on Mahler’s account. It is not known to what extent the isolated performances of movements from the Second and Third Symphonies in 1897 and 1898 retained their programmatic associations. Even if Mahler had not authorized their use, they may very well have been printed in concert programs anyway.

movements from the Third Symphony, recounted at the beginning of this chapter, betray a similar impulse.

Mahler's experiments with programs were concentrated in a single period, from late 1893 to early 1897. With the exception of the finale to the Second Symphony, the Third Symphony was the only major work that he composed during this time. This explains why the Third is the only symphony for which Mahler planned to publish a program from the early stages. Mahler's letters reveal his didactic purpose. At the end of his first summer's work, for example, he wrote the physicist Arnold Berliner for his opinion: "For now I only want to know the impression that [the titles] give the listener, i.e., whether they successfully show him the path on which I wish to accompany him."⁸⁵

Mahler nearly always used cartographic metaphors when describing the function of his programmatic guides.⁸⁶ Such metaphors captured the mediating function that Mahler intended for them. The programs did not define the musical content or hand down the only authorially sanctioned interpretation. Like a map or signpost, they were verbal indications of the direction one might take to reach a goal, in this case an inner connection with the work's expression. In 1902, Mahler reiterated the purpose of the Third Symphony's titles, by then discarded: "At the time, those titles were my attempt to give non-musicians a handle and signpost for the intellectual and, more importantly, the emotional content of the individual movements and their relationship to one another and to the work as a whole."⁸⁷ Mahler was primarily concerned with emotional and

⁸⁵ *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 149: "Es kommt nur darauf an, zu erfahren, welchen Eindruck zunächst dieser Titel auf den Hörer hinterläßt, – resp., ob es mir gelungen, den Hörer durch den Titel auf den Weg zu bringen, den ich mit ihm dann schreiten will."

⁸⁶For example, see Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 149, 171, 196, 202, 297; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 163, 179–80, 192, 198, 266.

⁸⁷ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 297; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 266: "Jene Titel waren von mir seinerzeit ein Versuch, eben für Nichtmusiker einen Anhaltspunkt und Wegweiser für den

spiritual contents because, to his mind, these were the most likely to secure a sympathetic response upon first hearing; they were also the music's most profound aspect—its direct line to the inner being of existence.

In March 1896, Mahler began airing his doubts about programs in letters and conversations. Marschalk had attended the performance of the First Symphony in Berlin and inquired about the program that had been previously associated with it.

I thought up these titles and explanations [to the First Symphony] after the fact. I omitted them this time not only because I find them far from exhaustive (actually, not even all that fitting), but also because I have experienced how they can lead the public down the wrong path. So it is with every program!⁸⁸

That month, Mahler was working on the fair copies of the movements from the Third that he had composed the previous summer. Despite his experiences with the programs to the First, he retained the programmatic guide to the Third, likely because he thought it redressed problems with the earlier program: it was not grafted on after the fact, and it did not attempt to narrate a sequence. An additional incentive was the decision, probably made in June 1896, to drop the seventh movement. By this time Mahler had woven thematic anticipations of the finale into other movements. The finale was thus a factor of unity and comprehensibility in the cycle. To drop it was no doubt an unsettling move at such a late stage of composition, and Mahler may have come to see the programmatic guide as bestowing a modicum of compensatory coherence. A further motivation was the opportunity to perform the second movement in November. As Mahler opined to Batka after the première (see pp. 25–26), the “Flower” movement,

Gedanken- oder vielmehr Stimmungsgehalt der einzelnen Sätze und für das Verhältnis derselben zueinander und zum Ganzen zu geben.”

⁸⁸ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 169; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 177: “Ich hatte also nachträglich mir diese Titel und Erklärungen ausgesonnen. Daß ich sie diesmal wegließ, hat nicht nur darin seinen Grund, daß ich sie dadurch für durchaus nicht erschöpfend – ja nicht einmal zutreffend charakterisiert glaube, sondern, weil ich es erlebt habe, auf welch falsche Wege hiedurch das Publikum geriet. So ist es aber mit jedem Programm!”

isolated from the rest of the symphony, could all too easily be mistaken for a congenial, programmatic piece conveying a scene from nature. By printing the titles of the other movements in the concert program, Mahler could forestall this misinterpretation by suggesting something of the grander framework.

Unbeknownst to Mahler, these very concerts were laying the groundwork for his ultimate renunciation of programmatic guides. The première of the “Flower” movement by Nikisch in November 1896 was Mahler’s first triumph as a symphonist. Weingartner’s performance of the movement in Hamburg just a few weeks later was no less successful. And so, with this unassuming piece that Mahler feared would give the wrong impression of him, his ascendancy in the central-European symphonic repertory began. The success in 1897 of three movements from the Second prompted him to write to a friend: “With my Second Symphony in Dresden I had an undisputed success—even in *the press!* Can you imagine? Better winds seem to be blowing for me now!”⁸⁹ Indeed, they just kept blowing. A performance of the Second in Liège in 1898 marked the first public success of an entire symphony by Mahler. The First Symphony had its first overwhelmingly positive reception in Prague that same year, and he made his Viennese debut as a symphonist with a warmly reviewed performance of the *Andante* from the Second. In 1899 he led the Second Symphony in two further successful concerts, in Liège and Vienna.⁹⁰

Success obviated Mahler’s primary motivation for providing programmatic guides. When the scores to the First and Second Symphonies appeared in 1899 and 1897, respectively, Mahler withheld programmatic titles and narratives. In 1900, at a

⁸⁹ Blaukopf, ed., *Unbekannte Briefe*, 128.

⁹⁰ Accounts of the performances mentioned in this paragraph can be found in La Grange, *Mahler*, 1:365, 386–87, 391–92, 466, 476–77, 501–2, 505–8.

celebration following a performance of the Second Symphony in Munich, Mahler gave an impromptu speech forswearing programs. Almost without exception, he held true to this disavowal for the rest of his life.⁹¹ Although scholars sometimes interpret this speech as a turning point, it had already been three years since Mahler last published a program. If anything, the speech marked an arrival: Mahler had reached a point where the prospect of continued performances made programmatic guides unnecessary.

Aside from the flurry of performances of “What the Flowers Tell Me,” the Third Symphony played little role in Mahler’s ascendancy in the concert hall. The work had to wait until 1902, when Mahler was an established composer, for its first complete performance and printed score.⁹² In both cases, Mahler renounced the titles. But the programmatic guide was not forgotten. In late 1902, a concert organizer contacted Mahler about performing the symphony and to inquire about the programmatic titles previously associated with it. Mahler confirmed the titles but forbade their printing.

Please, articulate them in your own words without quoting the inscriptions, which are deficient in the extreme. Then you will have done as I wish. I am very thankful that you asked me about this. How my work and my *oeuvre* are introduced to the “public” is not unimportant for their future.⁹³

Despite the successes he had enjoyed in recent years, Mahler was still concerned about his place in the concert hall repertory. He continued to believe that programmatic

⁹¹ The two exceptions originated in requests made by others: once in 1902, as Mahler was asked to write a program for the Second Symphony at the request of King Albert I of Saxony; and once with the Third Symphony in 1907, when Paul Bekker requested permission for Mahler to include the titles in his essay for the program booklet. One can easily imagine that Mahler, by then an established composer no longer struggling for recognition, was willing to reconsider the titles that had been so closely intertwined with the work’s genesis.

⁹² The precise date cannot be determined, but Filler has argued most persuasively that the score appeared shortly before the concert in Krefeld. Danuser gives the date variously as 1898 and 1899, and Franklin states that it appeared after the concert.

⁹³ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 298; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 266–67: “Bitte, drücken Sie dies in Ihrer Sprache aus, ohne die höchst unzureichenden Überschriften zu zitieren und Sie haben dann in meinem Sinne gehandelt. Ich bin Ihnen sehr dankbar, daß Sie mich gefragt, es ist mir für die Zukunft meines Werkes wie meines Schaffens nicht unwichtig, wie dasselbe nun in die ‘Öffentlichkeit’ eingeführt wird.”

guides could aid the reception of his work, but he had learned that if *he* penned the guides, his works would be misconstrued as program music based on those texts. Mahler preferred to steer clear of “New German pedantry” and to contrast himself with Strauss as Arthur Seidl had once put it in a letter. Mahler replied: “You are right, that my ‘music arrives at a program as the final, ideal clarification, whereas for Strauss the program is an assigned task.’”⁹⁴

Influence of Programmatic Ideas on Composition

Although Mahler did not intend for the program to be a necessary part of the aesthetic experience of the Third Symphony, the ideas contained in the programs did play a role in the compositional process. The evolution of the titles in the manuscripts suggests that Mahler’s compositional process was not tethered to his initial programmatic ideas and often developed in directions contrary to them. Only one title from the initial draft of movement titles survived into the symphony’s final version (“What love tells me”; cf. appendix A.2, A.21). In June 1896, Mahler revoked the association of the first movement with Dionysus (cf. appendix A.13, B.5) and considered changing its longstanding title “Summer marches in,” under which many sketches for the movement had already been created (see appendix B.5). Even seemingly straightforward examples are more complicated than they first appear. According to Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Mahler claimed that the second movement was inspired by the

⁹⁴ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 222; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 212: “Sie haben recht, daß meine ‘Musik schließlich zum Programm als letzter ideeller Verdeutlichung gelangt, währenddem bei Strauss das Programm als gegebenes Pensum daliegt.’” Much to Mahler’s chagrin, Seidl later published extracts of Mahler’s letter in a newspaper. Its appearance was a proximate cause for Mahler’s public disavowal of programs in Munich. See Hefling, “Miners,” 41–42.

flowers near his composition hut.⁹⁵ Yet the earliest draft of the movement bears the title “What the child tells” (see appendix A.1). None of Mahler’s commentaries about the movement mentions a connection with children. Does their innocence count among the movement’s influential stimuli and as part of its supposed program?

Documentary evidence also makes clear that Mahler’s titles and commentaries were not just responses to the character of the music, but were also shaped by the need for the program itself to have an intelligible premise. Here Mahler seems to have drawn a lesson from his failed attempts to write prose descriptions of the First Symphony; unlike those, the programmatic guide to the Third is tightly constructed and internally coherent. Mahler’s favored formulation of the program to the Third was an evolutionary development from lifeless matter through the stages of life to transcendent love (see, for example, his published programs in appendix A.23–24). But he only developed this idea at the end of the summer of 1895, when movements two through seven were largely complete. Until then, the projected titles were split mostly between references to nature and to the times of day and year.⁹⁶ The orchestral scores drafted at the end of the summer reveal that the order of the movements was only established at this stage—before the advent of an evolutionary progression (see appendix A.8). A conversation with Bauer-Lechner, probably around 18–21 August (see appendix A.11), is the first documentation of “Man” and “Angel” in the titles to the fourth and fifth movements. Only with these two new titles did the program take the form of an evolutionary progression, yet it was not until 29 August, many days after Mahler’s

⁹⁵ Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 49; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 52–53. Mahler further claimed that anyone who did not know the charming area would be able to picture it simply by listening to his music.

⁹⁶ Natural imagery included the forest, cuckoo, and flowers. Temporal designations include twilight, night, morning, midday, and summer (see appendix A.1–7).

work had been completed and the vacation ended, that he expressly articulated the program's logical premise as such (see appendix A.12, B.2). Clearly, the core of Mahler's programmatic guide for the Third Symphony made no productive contribution to his compositional efforts that summer. It is more likely that the jettisoned titles played a greater role in shaping the music of their respective movements, a possibility that gains support from Mahler's continued use of the old titles informally for another year.

The compositional process that generated the Third Symphony was obviously not a matter of composing out a pre-existent program. That would have transgressed Mahler's aesthetic beliefs, and it is not supported by the manuscript evidence. Rather, composition, for Mahler, was a complex interaction of musical and nonmusical ideas—including ideas not enshrined in the symphony's final program. Some may have been contained in jettisoned titles, others in remarks that Mahler made only in private. It may even be that the majority of ideas—philosophical, experiential, natural, visual, aural, musical—populating Mahler's creative imagination as he composed the Third Symphony will never be known. To seek in the published programmatic guide an ideational blueprint for the symphony's construction is to misrepresent how it came to be.

The most detailed account of how word and idea interacted can be gleaned from the process by which the first movement came to be associated with the Greek god Pan. Throughout the entire summer of 1895, the movement's projected title was "Summer marches in." All of the surviving sketches from this period, being of lively and energetic march character, are in keeping with it.⁹⁷ When Mahler returned to his summer home a year later, on 11 June 1896, he discovered that he had left his musical sketches behind in

⁹⁷ These sketches are Stanford 630 and 631, described and transcribed in Franklin, *Mahler*, 100–04.

Hamburg. Loath to waste precious days reserved for composition, he set to work on an introduction for the first movement.⁹⁸ The expressive character of this new material, so unlike the buoyant march originally planned, took him by surprise. His first recorded attempt at description consisted of little more than expressions of disbelief and the single word “rigidity” (see appendix B.4). By 21 or 22 June, Mahler started to develop other interpretive metaphors, telling Bauer-Lechner that he could have named the new introduction “What the Craggy Mountains Tell Me” (see appendix B.5). In the same conversation, he invoked Pan for the first time in connection with the symphony.⁹⁹ The reference, however, was not to the new introduction, but a possible replacement for the main movement’s title: “Pan’s March” (*Pans Zug*). Only when Mahler completed the sketches for the entire movement on 28 June is there evidence of his projecting the idea of Pan back onto the introduction for the first time: “Now I have also found the title for the introduction: ‘Pan’s awakening,’ which is followed by ‘Summer marches in” (see appendix B.7).

The preponderance of evidence points to the following picture. Although the title of the first movement had been relatively stable since the symphony’s inception, Mahler did not anticipate the character of the music that he composed in June 1896. The music came out a certain way in spite of the program, not because of it. At first, he did not even know what allegorical description best suited its expression. In a sense, then, these initial sketches lacked both an identifiable stimulus and a verbal description.

When he finally started to formulate concrete ideas suitable to the music, it is clear that

⁹⁸ He also wrote the *Wunderhorn* song “Lob des hohen Verstandes” at this time. Mahler ultimately conflated the first movement’s introduction and its main section. This happened only very late in the composition of the movement, and Mahler never fully relinquished calling it an introduction and main movement, as seen in the autograph fair copy (see appendix A.21).

⁹⁹ This statement depends on my assertions regarding the dating of the manuscript Stanford 631. See the commentary to appendix A.17 for summary of these issues.

his intention was to find a description that could be incorporated into the existing programmatic scheme. One consideration, “What the craggy mountains tell me,” matched the titular format of the other movements and would have logically extended their evolutionary progression a step lower to lifeless matter. But Mahler instead chose a metaphor that could better stand for all of nature. With “Pan’s awakening,” he had not only an apt symbol for the symphony’s starting point (the beginning of life), but also a stronger harbinger of the metaphysical course that the final movements would take.

Following the association of “Pan” a bit further, one can also see that stimulus and description were not mutually exclusive. Since Mahler penned many of the programmatic descriptions in the midst of composition, *post facto* descriptions could in turn become stimuli to refining his sketches and scores. These instances are as elusive to document as they are likely to have occurred. One possible example involves a passage from the introduction marked “Pan sleeps” (*Pan schläft*) in the orchestral fair copy (m. 132; see appendix A.21). Its original sketch does not survive. There are, however, two other sketches, most likely from late June 1896, in which Mahler indicated for “Pan sleeps” to be inserted at specific points (see appendix A.16, A.17). When was “Pan sleeps” written? It seems unlikely that it originated much before 28 June. Not only does this day mark the first recorded instance of Mahler linking the idea of Pan with the introduction, but the music to “Pan sleeps” cannot be easily squared with any of Mahler’s descriptions of the first movement’s introduction before this date. Its pastoral and lyrical character is more in keeping with the Greek god of shepherds than with the stark and unbridled forces discussed by Mahler (see appendix B.4–7). These factors suggest that the idea for “Pan sleeps” resulted from a cascade of developments triggered by Mahler’s initial idea of “Pan’s March” from roughly a week

earlier. Of course this cannot be known for certain. But at the very least, the idea of Pan influenced the orchestration of “Pan Sleeps,” which was made later in July. The delicate woodwind scoring, led by the flutes and then oboe, evokes a pastoral atmosphere, while the dreamy backdrop of muted trills in the high strings seem tailored to the Greek god of the shepherds and forest, also known for his reed flute and midday slumbers.

Such concrete examples suggest that the music was influenced in part by concrete ideas in the titles and commentaries. Morten Solvik’s study of the Third has compiled the most instances of such affinities.¹⁰⁰ In addition to the orchestration of “Pan sleeps,” which is akin to local tone painting, Solvik proposes that aspects of the formal structure are also metaphors of the programmatic content.¹⁰¹ The “Pan sleeps” material appears twice in the exposition and once in the development, each time in an analogous position at the juncture between the movement’s two theme groups. Solvik reads the absence of this material in the recapitulation as the fulfillment of the movement’s title “Pan awakes” (*Pan erwacht*). After he has “slept” during the exposition and development, Pan’s “awakening” in the recapitulation unleashes a boisterous march that drives the movement to its close.¹⁰² Solvik’s study contains numerous further examples, both local

¹⁰⁰ Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination.” Solvik’s dissertation is unsurpassed in its systematic and sensitive evaluation of Mahler’s programmatic associations. In “Mahler’s ‘Todtenfeier,’” Stephen Hefling published similar work on the nexus between the first movement of Mahler’s Second Symphony and Adam Mickiewicz’s *Dziady*, a dramatic epic translated as *Todtenfeier* by Mahler’s friend Siegfried Lipiner.

¹⁰¹ Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination,” 165. Stephen Rodgers’s recent book on Berlioz centers on the idea of form as a metaphor for poetic content; see *Form, Program, and Metaphor in the Music of Berlioz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹⁰² Examples like “Pan sleeps” reveal relatively little about what Mahler believed the aesthetic effect would be for audiences unaware of the programmatic headings and commentaries associated with the work’s genesis. Whatever the role of extra-musical considerations, Mahler would have been fully aware of the purely musical consequences of deleting the “Pan sleeps” material. For example, its omission brings into direct juxtaposition the music that had preceded and followed it. “Pan sleeps” is not the only material to figure prominently in both the exposition and development only to disappear from the recapitulation; such is also the fate of the trumpet solo and subsequent grotesque glissandos at measures

and large-scale. He concludes, correctly, that “as musical inspiration evoked concrete images in Mahler’s mind, so, too, did the ideas that he articulated through verbal means affect the musical procedure.”¹⁰³

The tone painting in “Pan sleeps” is exceptional within the symphony. Most of the titles and commentaries trade in abstract objects or topics without any apparent depictive or pictorial element. The semantic imprecision of instrumental music sets a severe limit on such blatant links between music and program as “Pan sleeps.” At the same time, the imprecision all but guarantees that general musical parallels will be found to elements of the program, regardless of whether they played any role in the creative process or not.

The general absence of obvious programmatic or pictorial references in the symphony reflects Mahler’s idealist aesthetic views. As an idealist, Mahler saw the affinity of his music and titles as the result of their both reflecting a common ideal. To him, the titles were allegories; merely to musicalize them would be tantamount to writing program music. Mahler makes clear the distinction in his praise of a play by Siegfried Lipiner, among his most important friends and intellectual influences. Mahler invokes wine and Dionysus as metaphors to describe the powerful, metaphysical content of Lipiner’s work: “Your play does not merely write about wine and portray its effects—it *is* wine, it *is* Dionysus! It seems to me, by the way, that the figure of Dionysus was for the ancients just that *inner drive*, in this mystical, magnificent sense that you have

83–98. Excluding material from the recapitulation creates a telescoping effect at the structural level commonly exploited in sonata forms.

¹⁰³ Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination,” 120.

grasped!”¹⁰⁴ Such a metaphorical understanding of the titles, as opposed to a programmatic one, comports with Nietzsche’s *The Birth of Tragedy*, another philosophical tract in the tradition of Schopenhauer and Wagner that greatly conditioned Mahler’s thinking on music and metaphysics in the mid 1890s.

Even when the composer has spoken about a composition using images, as when he describes a symphony as pastoral or one movement as “Scene by the Brook” and another as “Merry Gathering of Country Folk,” these are only parabolical ideas derived from the music—not the objects imitated by the music. These ideas cannot enlighten us in any way about the *dionysian* content of the music and have no differential value over other possible images.¹⁰⁵

The proper way to frame the affinities between music and program in Mahler’s Third is that taken by Solvik: “The present study . . . concentrates not so much on the score itself but on Mahler’s interpretation of the score.”¹⁰⁶ Above all, the metaphors contained in the titles and commentaries delineate the topography of Mahler’s intellectual and creative fantasy. Using them as a prism for the symphony reveals not the intrinsic content of the symphony, but how the work resonated in Mahler’s fantasy. This perspective explains two additional aspects of Mahler’s programmatic descriptions. First, Mahler gravitated towards related extramusical associations to describe disparate passages in his oeuvre. Two years before he conceived of the Third Symphony and associated its first movement with ideas of awakening, summer, and winter, Mahler

¹⁰⁴ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 264; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 236: “Sie erzählt nicht vom Wein und schildert seine Wirkungen – sondern sie *ist* der Wein, sie *ist* Dionysos! Mir scheint es übrigens, daß die Gestalt des Dionysos bei den Alten eben der *Trieb* war, in diesem mystisch-grandiosen Sinn, wie Du ihn erfaßt!”

¹⁰⁵ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, in *Nietzsches Werke*, part I, vol. 1 (Leipzig: C. G. Naumann, 1902), 48: “Ja selbst wenn der Tondichter in Bildern über eine Composition geredet hat, etwa wenn er eine Symphonie als pastorale und einen Satz als “Scene am Bach,” einen anderen als “lustiges Zusammensein der Landleute” bezeichnet, so sind das ebenfalls nur gleichnissartige, aus der Musik geborne Vorstellungen—und nicht etwa die nachgeahmten Gegenstände der Musik—Vorstellungen, die über den *dionysischen* Inhalt der Musik uns nach keiner Seite hin belehren können, ja die keinen ausschliesslichen Werth neben anderen Bildern haben.”

¹⁰⁶ Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination,” 16.

wrote in the program to the First Symphony's performance in Hamburg: "The introduction [to the first movement] depicts nature awakening from the long sleep of winter."¹⁰⁷ The absurdity that would arise from exchanging the introductions of the two symphonies demonstrates the inadequacy of words to encapsulate musical content. Mahler's compositional brush was far finer than the broad strokes of his poetic metaphors. Another aspect is that Mahler delighted in developing new metaphorical descriptions. In the words of his Dutch acquaintance Alphons Diepenbrock: "He says something different about [his music] each time."¹⁰⁸ While preparing the fair copy of the Third Symphony, for instance, he likened the first movement to Zeus overthrowing Kronos.¹⁰⁹ At no previous point had Mahler brought these figures into connection with the movement. They simply reflect how the music excited his imagination at that point in time.

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* *

Stephen Hefling once wrote that, in order to understand Mahler's reference to a chrysalis state in discussing the finale of the Fourth Symphony, one "requires a review of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Goethe's published conversations, Fechner, and Lipiner, as well as a thorough grasp of what he had tried to achieve in Symphonies 1 through 3."¹¹⁰ Indeed, as this chapter has shown, one requires a similar breadth of knowledge to

¹⁰⁷ Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 1, *The Early Years* [1958], rev. Paul Banks and David Matthews (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 157. Mahler was referring in particular to the transition from the introduction to exposition in the first movement.

¹⁰⁸ Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 76; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 76; Eveline Nikkels, "Mahler and Holland," in *The Mahler Companion*, ed. Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 331.

¹⁰⁹ Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 76; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 76.

¹¹⁰ Hefling, "Miners," 47.

appreciate Mahler's programmatic commentaries for the Third Symphony. The meaning that a composer ascribes to his music is a laudable topic for scholarly inquiry, but it need not set the conditions for all interpretations and analyses.

However much Mahler fancied himself a metaphysician who communicated his ideas through music, he was first and foremost a composer—a master in the arrangement of tones in artful ways. Indeed, Mahler parades his sensitivity to the sounds of other repertoires in the Third Symphony. Many of Mahler's contemporaries responded to this trait. The Czech music critic Richard Batka, a staunch advocate of Mahler who nonetheless did not shrink from articulating the challenges posed by his music, wrote in an essay on the Seventh Symphony from 1909:

[Mahler's Seventh Symphony is a] musical reflection of impressions from the outside world. It hardly bears witness to the inner life of its creator. What arouses Mahler's fantasy the most are events from folklife: parades, dances, marches. Daily life attracts Mahler, and he does not flinch at its triviality. He wants to discover the poetry of the workday, and he makes music *en plein air* a specialty of his symphonies. It is a matter of taste whether a melody like the one played by the cello in the trio of the second movement is even appropriate for the concert hall, or if it should not rather be played by a military band at an outdoor pavilion.¹¹¹

Batka's overwhelming sense was that Mahler's expressive intensity did not lead to inner truths, but projected outward, the salient references to folk and popular music acting as so many reminders of quotidian existence beyond the insulating walls of the temple of high art.

¹¹¹ B. [Richard Batka], "Gustav Mahlers ‚Siebente“" *Kunstwart* 23, no. 6 (zweites Dezemberheft 1909): 427: "[ist] musikalischer Reflex auf Eindrücke von außen und [kündet] nur wenig von dem Innenleben seines Schöpfers. Was Mahlers Phantasie am meisten entzündet, sind Vorgänge des Volkslebens, Aufzüge, Tänze, Märsche. Der Alltag zieht ihn an, seine Trivialität hat keine Schrecken für ihn. Er will die Poesie des Wochentags entdecken, und die Pleinairmusik bildet geradezu eine Spezialität seiner Symphonien. Es ist Geschmacksache, ob eine Melodie wie das vom Cello geführte Trio des zweiten Satzes überhaupt noch als konzertfähig gelten soll und nicht lieber von der Banda als Gartenmusik zu spielen wäre." An abbreviated translation of Batka's nearly identical review of the Seventh Symphony's première in 1908 can be found in Painter, *Mahler and His World*, 322–24.

It is difficult to explain the vividness of these vernacularisms as consequences of the programmatic underpinnings. Nearly every commentator on the Third Symphony has mentioned stylistic likenesses to military marches in the first movement. Yet none of Mahler's programmatic symbols—Dionysus, Pan, Bacchus, summer—have martial connotations. One can claim that the energy and power conveyed by military idioms was a potent metaphor for the primordial forces that Mahler claimed to portray. But such a creative genius as he could easily have given voice to these forces without evoking genres of functional and popular music. Clearly, it is not sufficient to understand the Third Symphony as Mahler interpreted it in his public program and private commentaries. To do so is to miss all that he left unsaid.

CHAPTER 2

THE RECEPTION AND STUDY OF MAHLER'S ALLUSIONS TO VERNACULAR MUSIC

His melodies . . . convince those ready to believe in them.

—Guido Adler, *Gustav Mahler*, 1916¹

In 1899, not long after Mahler arrived in Vienna as conductor at the Court Opera, a new newspaper appeared in the city: *Die Fackel* (*The Torch*). For the nearly four decades to come, the paper pilloried Vienna's press, officials, nobility, and cultural figures. Karl Kraus, its founder and main author, only occasionally wrote about Mahler, but he did pen the following anecdote about the first Viennese performance of the First Symphony in 1900:

Mahler's friends and enemies fought a battle with one another last Sunday at the performance of Mahler's "Sinfonie ironica" in D major. A friend of mine told me how it began. In the third movement of the symphony, a funeral march is parodied in high spirits. Those who understand music comprehended the parody and started to laugh. This greatly annoyed the friends of Mr. Mahler, who were of the opinion that it is improper to laugh during a funeral march. Mahler's friends therefore tried to silence them by hissing. But Mahler's enemies could not tolerate that. They wanted to show that they could not consider Mahler's funeral march serious music. They also laughed, but in order

¹ Guido Adler, *Gustav Mahler* (Leipzig: Universal Edition, 1916), 73: "Seine Weisen zeugen immer von Charakter und wirken überzeugend für ihn, der da kommt, um zu glauben." All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

to mock Mr. Mahler. And so the mockers and the admirers of the composer valiantly battled forth. The friends of music, who had been the first to laugh, did not long remain the third party of laughers, for comical orchestral sounds were no longer to be heard above the din of the sectarian fighting.²

The funeral march under question actually included one of Mahler's most exceptional uses of vernacular music: a literal quotation of the folksong "Bruder Martin." Kraus's account of the audience's reaction vividly captures important features of the reception of Mahler's allusions to folk and popular styles. This trait of Mahler's compositions was polarizing; it elicited strong opinions from all sides. But more importantly, Kraus's anecdote reflects how these opinions often had less to do with the music than with factors external to it. According to Kraus, allegiance to factions either pro or contra Mahler and notions of what properly belongs in art music were the primary influences on the reactions for the majority of the audience. For all but those few who truly understood music, Mahler's symphony was little more than a trigger for opinions conditioned by outside circumstances.

This chapter, which surveys the reception of Mahler's allusions to folk and popular styles in the secondary literature, bears out this proposition. It shows how ideologies—particularly those regarding aesthetic hierarchies and matters of race—have influenced claims about the sources of Mahler's vernacularisms. To give some measure of how the conflation of music and ideology has left us with a very incomplete picture of the kinds of allusions that Mahler made to his musical environment, the

² Karl Krauss, *Die Fackel*, Heft 59 (November 1900): 26: "Die Mahlerfreunde und die Mahlerfeinde haben einander letzten Sonntag bei der Aufführung von Gustav Mahlers ‚Sinfonia ironica‘ (D-dur) eine heftige Schlacht geliefert. Ein Musikfreund meldet mir, wie sie begann. Im dritten Satze der Symphonie wird ein Trauermarsch übermüthig parodiert. Musikverständige begriffen die Parodie und begannen zu lachen. Darob heftiges Aergernis bei Herrn Mahlers Freunden, die der Ansicht waren, es sei unanständig, bei einem Trauermarsch zu lachen. Die Mahlerfreunde versuchten also, die Lacher zur Ruhe zu zischen. Das durften aber die Mahlerfeinde nicht dulden. Sie wollten zeigen, dass sie Herrn Mahlers Trauermarsch nicht für ernste Musik halten könnten, und lachten auch, um Herrn Mahler zu verhöhnen. Und so kämpften Spötter und Verehrer des Componisten wacker fort. Die Musikfreunde aber, die die ersten Lachenden gewesen, blieben nicht lang die lachenden Dritten. Denn im Lärm des Parteikampfes war von den komischen Orchesterklängen nichts mehr zu hören."

chapter closes with a short consideration of a passage from the third movement of the First Symphony. Despite being a *locus classicus* for Mahler's vernacularisms, scholars have hitherto overlooked important connections to operetta.

The Early Monographs: Justifying Allusions to Vernacular Styles

A number of monographs on Mahler and his music appeared in the final years of his life and the decade thereafter, when critics continued to debate vigorously the merits of his music. Mahler's staunchest supporters—Richard Specht, Paul Stefan, Guido Adler, Paul Bekker, and Bruno Walter—penned the earliest monographs on his music.³ Their texts strongly influenced later views of Mahler. Each author was personally acquainted with the composer, and their books offer a glimpse of him unmediated by the chronological and cultural removes that separate scholars from him now. The treatment of Mahler's vernacular allusions in the modern scholarly literature can often be traced back to the ideological assumptions of his earliest defenders.

All of Mahler's early proponents felt a strong need to justify his allusions to vernacular styles. This impulse was mainly a response to the prevailing conditions of Austro-German musical aesthetics and reception at the *fin de siècle*. The symphonic tradition, after all, is replete with examples of composers dipping into the wellsprings of folk and popular music. Both themes in the double-variation movement of Haydn's

³ These monographs exist in multiple editions and printings. Unless otherwise noted, the versions consulted in this dissertation are the following: Richard Specht, *Gustav Mahler*, 2d ed. (Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1925); Paul Stefan, *Gustav Mahler: Eine Studie über Persönlichkeit und Werk*, 3d ed. (Munich: Piper, 1920); Guido Adler, *Gustav Mahler* (Leipzig: Universal Edition, 1916); Paul Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien* (Berlin: Schuster and Loeffler, 1921). I will also consult Specht's first monograph, written eight years before his more extensive, second monograph: Specht, *Gustav Mahler*, *Moderne Essays*, no. 52 (Berlin: Gose und Tetzlaff, 1905). Bruno Walter's book *Gustav Mahler. Ein Porträt* appeared later, in 1936 (*Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 72 [Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, 2001]). He is also the only one of the figures who was not a professional writer on music. Nevertheless, his biography warrants inclusion here because of its affinities with the other monographs, and because of the scope of its later influence.

Symphony no. 103 are based on folksongs⁴; Beethoven inserted a character variation in janissary style into the finale of the Ninth; Brahms interrupted the finale of his First with an imitation of an alphorn; and Bruckner drew on *ländler* in a number of scherzos. By century's end, however, borrowing from vernacular sources became increasingly problematic for composers and commentators on the symphony, for reasons that went back a hundred years. The introduction of idealist categories of thought into Austro-German musical aesthetics proved to be a kind of devil's bargain. It secured music's standing as a fine art and autonomous philosophical pursuit in its own right, but at the cost of dividing musical culture into "serious" and "popular" tiers.⁵ The ultimate difference between the tiers was neither stylistic nor even material; serious art works distinguished themselves by the spiritual and essential content that philosophers, critics, and musicians perceived in them. This split was already apparent in the divergent reception of Beethoven, whose works constituted the quintessential example of the higher autonomous artwork, and Rossini, whose operas represented the lower class of music intended merely to entertain.

⁴ Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style* [1971] (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 331.

⁵ This following account of the division of musical culture relies on Bernd Sponheuer, *Musik als Kunst und Nicht-Kunst Untersuchungen zur Dichotomie von ‚hoher‘ und ‚niederer‘ Musik im musikästhetischen Denken zwischen Kant und Hanslick*, Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. 30 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987). For more on idealist aesthetics, see ch. 1, pp. 16–30.

Vernacular music was similarly divided.⁶ Most writers since the early nineteenth century distinguished between authentic folk songs and the *Gassenhauer* or popular song.⁷ During Mahler's lifetime, there was not even an all-inclusive concept like *vernacular* that could subsume both kinds. Folksong was putatively the aesthetic superior of the pair. Under the influence of Johann Gottfried Herder, folk music was a direct articulation of the spirit of the people, having its origins in the *Volk* at some point in the distant past. Popular songs, in contrast, were considered new, fleeting, and morally inferior. These were normative views impossible to sustain along stylistic grounds, but they nonetheless had currency through most of the nineteenth century.

Whatever stability the division of musical culture enjoyed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it had all but eroded away by the end. The rapid expansion of

⁶ To maintain clarity and consistency, this dissertation follows the *New Grove's* usage policy for European music (Carole Pegg, "Folk Music, §6: New Grove Usage" *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09933> [accessed 12 February 2010]). "Folk" is used to refer to traditional music disseminated primarily through oral transmission and generally associated with specific regions, and "popular" to convey newly composed music emanating from urban centers and written in part with the intention of making money. In many cases, distinguishing folk and popular is impossible or unnecessary. I have chosen "vernacular" as the umbrella term to subsume both. It has the advantage of being relatively free of the connotative baggage of "folk" and "popular," not to mention other alternatives. The most viable alternative is "colloquial," which Eggebrecht introduced to scholarship on Mahler (*Die Musik Gustav Mahlers* [Munich: Piper, 1982]). This term, however, too strongly connotes the absence of a written text. The German terms "Unterhaltungsmusik" and "Trivialmusik" do not adequately convey folk music apart from its place in mass culture, and the words are stylistically jarring in an English text. "Functional" shifts the focus too strongly to the sociological purpose of the music; moreover, it is unclear what music is without social function. The aesthetic judgments and derogatory connotations entailed in "trivial," "banal," and "vulgar," suit them to polemical literature and consign their use in this dissertation to reporting the views of others who use them.

⁷ The differentiation was articulated by Justus Thibaut already in 1825. Exactly one hundred years later, Hans Naumann was among the first to articulate clearly the distortion of reality required to maintain such distinctions. See Thibaut, *Über Reinheit der Tonkunst* (1825); quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson, California Studies in 19th-Century Music, vol. 5 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 107; Naumann, "Gassenhauer," in *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1, ed. Paul Merker and Wolfgang Stämmeler (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1925–26), 406; Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 108. *Gassenhauer* is difficult to render in English. The word originally described one who idly wanders the streets, especially at night. Beginning in the sixteenth century, it applied to the songs sung by such a person. Only in the nineteenth century did the term become the derogatory counterpart to the authentic folksong. An approximate English translation, though more neutral than the modern German usage, is "street song." When used in opposition to "authentic" folk song, I will translate the term "popular song."

the commercialized music industry and other effects of the industrial revolution put the representatives of music's upper tier on the defensive. They ratcheted up their rhetoric and became increasingly diligent in their patrols of aesthetic borders. Ultimately, the popular music industry became the antipode against which philosophers, critics, and musicians defined high art and folk traditions.

Many believed that rural folk music was being pushed to the brink of extinction by the ubiquity of supposedly inferior popular songs. Folksong collectors rushed to anthologize the music of folk traditions that they believed to be in danger of disappearing.⁸ Essays on the state of folk music appeared in prefaces to these collections and regularly in newspapers and music journals.⁹ The tone was often strident and polemical because the distinction between rural folk and urban popular was entangled with broader moral, social, and political dimensions.¹⁰ An excerpt from a 1903 article in a short-lived Viennese arts magazine gives a sense of the tone of this discourse:

It is precisely among the *Volk* that folksongs are least often sung today. . . . The old songs are increasingly forgotten and are hardly recognized by the new generation, who consider them old-fashioned. To suit the musical needs of large swaths of the population, a new species of music was created in recent years, which usurps the name *folksong* without deserving it. The melodies of these songs, not even to mention their texts, justify a famous musician's remark on an immensely popular march from a Viennese operetta of his time: "If music could be obscene, then such would be the case here." Street songs and couplets of remarkable triviality and without a trace of a true, warm folksong are sung and

⁸ For example, Andreas Kretzschmar and Anton Wilhelm von Zuccalmaglio, *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Original-Weisen* (Berlin: Vereins-Buchhandlung, 1840); Ludwig Erk and Franz M. Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort: Auswahl der vorzüglicheren Deutschen Volkslieder, nach Wort und Weise aus der Vorzeit und Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1893); Joseph Joachim, Carl Krebs, and Engelbert Humperdinck, eds., "Im Volkston: Moderne Volkslieder," *Die Woche*, Sonderhefte 3, 5, and 6 (1903–1904); and Hans Breuer, ed., *Zupfgeigenhansl: Das Liederbuch der Wandervögel* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1909).

⁹ Julie Hubbert examined some of these prefaces in "'Unfettering the Tongue of Kitsch,' Mahler and the Trivial as Folk," paper read at the annual meeting of the 71st American Musicological Society, Washington, D.C. (2005).

¹⁰ In the book *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* from 1887, the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies codified a widely influential theory based on a related dichotomy between rural folk communities and urban societies of industrial capitalism. See *Community and Society*, trans. and ed. Charles P. Loomis (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

hummed not only on the streets, but also out in the country, which should normally be the folksong's preserve. Whenever I happen to hear an old folksong, it nearly strikes me as a musical revelation.¹¹

Many folksong collectors then, like scholars today, understood the futility of using musical style alone to tell rural folk music from newly composed songs. In the essay "Was singt das Volk?" (1895), Franz Böhme distinguished between three kinds of songs in the oral folk repertory: authentic folksongs, newly composed folksong imitations (*volkstümliche Lieder*), and urban popular songs (*Gassenhauer*). Böhme defined the last by non-musical criteria. "These modern, urban hit songs have something in common with the folksong with regard to their origins [i.e., they had entered the oral tradition], but not in their value or longevity. Fortunately, they appear but a short while and, after a brief period of fashionability, disappear again."¹² For these reasons, Böhme deliberately excluded from his collection anything stemming from operetta, even if it had entered oral culture. Considering his otherwise positivist stance toward

¹¹ J. Forgách, "Das Lied im Volke und Volksmusik," *Wochenschrift für Kunst und Musik* 1, no. 9 (8 February 1903): 83: "Volkslieder werden gegenwärtig gerade im Volke am wenigsten gesungen . . . die alten Lieder gerathen daselbst immer mehr in Vergessenheit, von der neuen Generation beinahe nicht gekannt und als veraltet angesehen. Für das musikalische Bedürfnis der breiteren Volksschichten ist in den letzten Jahren eine Species Musik entstanden, welche diesen Namen nur mehr usurpirt, ganz gewiß aber nicht mehr verdient, Lieder, welche von den nicht näher zu bezeichnenden Texten abgesehen, Melodien ausweisen, welche den Ausspruch eines berühmten Musikers rechtfertigen, den dieser bezüglich eine seinerzeit immens populär gewordenen Marsches in einer Wiener Operette machte: 'Wenn Musik obscön sein könnte, wäre es in diesem Falle.' Was hören wir nicht nur in unseren Straßen, auch auf dem Lande, das doch die Heimat des Volksliedes sein soll, pfeifen, singen und summen: Gassenhauer, Tingltangl-Couplets von bemerkenswerther Trivialität, von einem echten warmen Volkslied kaum mehr eine Spur; wenn wir zufällig so ein altes Liedchen hören, klingt es uns fast wie eine musikalische Offenbarung." The second part of the article appears in the subsequent issue, no. 10 (15 February 1903): 92–93. All italics with quoted texts are as in original.

¹² Franz Magnus Böhme, *Volkstümliche Lieder der Deutschen in 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1895), "Was singt das Volk?": "Diese modernen Gassenhauer haben hinsichtlich des Ursprungs mit dem Volksliede etwas gemeinsam, nicht aber deren Wert und Lebensdauer, glücklicherweise treten sie nur vorübergehend auf, und nachdem sie eine kurze Zeit Mode gewesen, verschwinden sie wieder."

folksong collecting, we may take this omission as compelling evidence for how serious the distinction between folk and popular was to many of Mahler's contemporaries.¹³

Prominent figures in art music shared the generally hostile attitude of folksong collectors toward urban entertainment music. Brahms, to pick just one example, believed strongly in the superior aesthetic and moral value of folksong, going so far as to contemplate a treatise on the idea. He also published folksong arrangements and assimilated the style of folksongs in many of his lieder.¹⁴ His affinity did not extend to operetta. His friend and admirer, the composer Richard Heuberger, reportedly delayed publishing his operetta *Der Opernball* (1898) until after Brahms's death out of fear of losing the respect of his revered master.¹⁵

Nowhere were these pressures more strongly felt than in the symphony, and at no time more than at the fin de siècle. The symphony was the final bulwark against the encroachments of popular music.¹⁶ It was to be philosophical music and, especially for conservative critics, suffused with sublimity of expression and high-mindedness of style. Robert Hirschfeld, one of Mahler's most acute opponents in the Viennese press, put it this way: "What about the opinion that Mahler's symphonies are an articulation of their times? Are not trousers and a fashionable hat also expressions of the times? Each age has its strength, its weakness, its sublimity, its inanities, its honesty, its fabrications.

¹³ Jon Finson, "The Reception of Gustav Mahler's *Wunderhorn* Lieder," *Journal of Musicology* 5, no. 2 (winter 1987): 91–116.

¹⁴ See Gottfried Scholtz, "Das Volkslied und Johannes Brahms," in *Volksmusik: Wandel und Deutung; Festschrift Walter Deutsch zum 75. Geburtstag* (Vienna: Bohlau, 2000), 454–60. Scholtz makes the cogent point that Brahms's predilection for philology did not transfer to folksong, which he conceived in ideological terms in opposition to *Gassenhauer*.

¹⁵ Otto Keller, *Die Operette in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung: Musik, Libretto, Darstellung* (Leipzig: Stein Verlag, 1926), 239. Brahms did admire Johann Strauss Jr., the one composer of operetta and entertainment music who regularly managed to gain at least some respect in the circles of high art music. For more on Mahler's views on popular music, see ch. 3.

¹⁶ Karen Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations: German Music and Politics, 1900–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 6.

The great symphonists sense and reveal the grandeur, strength, sublimity, and honesty of their time, but not the negative qualities.”¹⁷ The price of an autonomous, philosophical art was the widespread conviction that the worldly domain (not to mention the commercial sphere) had no place in it.

Allusions to Folk and Military Styles

Since Mahler was widely seen as drawing from a diverse range of folk and popular sources, his early proponents required diverse strategies to account for them. These strategies varied according to the assumed origins of the allusions. In the early monographs, Mahler’s use of folk and military styles was thought to emanate from his musical experiences as a child. Mahler grew up in Iglau, a city of some 30,000, mostly German-speaking inhabitants nestled on the border between Bohemia and Moravia. It was also the home to a garrison of Austrian troops with its own military band.¹⁸ Mahler himself declared the importance of such formative musical experiences. Specht reported hearing Mahler say “that the only fruitful impressions decisive for artistic creation are those that precede puberty, between the ages of four and eleven. Hardly anything thereafter becomes a work of art.”¹⁹ In addition, Mahler told Natalie Bauer-Lechner that

¹⁷ Robert Hirschfeld, “Feuilleton. Zwei Mahler-Sinfonien,” *Wiener Abendpost*, no. 254, 5 November 1909: “Wie steht’s aber mit der Phrase, daß in den Mahlerschen Sinfonien ihre Zeit sich ausspricht? Ist denn nicht ein Beinkleid, ein Modehut auch Ausdruck der Zeit? Jede Zeit hat aber ihre Stärke, ihre Schwäche, ihre Erhabenheit, ihre Nichtigkeiten, ihre Ehrlichkeit, ihre Fälschungen, und die großen Sinfoniker empfinden und offenbaren die Größe, Stärke, Erhabenheit und Ehrlichkeit, nicht die negative Eigenschaften ihrer Zeit.”

¹⁸ For more on the city’s military band and other musical institutions, see Timothy Freeze, “The Public Concert Life of Mahler’s Youth: Iglau, 1866–75,” *Naturlaut* 7, no. 2 (2010): 2–7.

¹⁹ Specht, *Gustav Mahler* [1925], 170: “Mahler hat mir gegenüber einmal die Äußerung getan, daß im künstlerischen Schaffen fast ausschließlich jene Eindrücke endgültig fruchtbar werden und entscheidend sind, die in das Alter vom 4. bis zum 11. Jahr, also bis vor das Eintreten der Pubertät fallen; alles spätere werde nur selten zum Kunstwerk.” In Mahler’s life, this corresponds to the years 1864–71, during which he lived exclusively in Iglau. Bauer-Lechner records a similar statement by Mahler; see Herbert Killian, ed., *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen von Natalie Bauer-Lechner* (Hamburg: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984), 138; and Peter Franklin, ed., *Recollections of Gustav Mahler by Natalie Bauer-Lechner*, trans.

childhood experiences with Bohemian folk songs, the sounds from the nearby military barracks, and the flugelhorn (an instrument commonly heard in Austrian military bands) bore great relevance for his later works.²⁰ He likely discussed these views with many of his supporters.

It is difficult to overstate the fundamental importance ascribed to Mahler's childhood experiences in the early literature. As Stefan wrote, "youth prefigured everything that Mahler's character would have to offer."²¹ And Specht believed that

one cannot begin to understand his works, if one does not know that as a four-year old child he could sing hundreds of folksongs that he had learned from his maid . . . and that he spent much of the day during his childhood in the barracks, amidst the strangely medieval atmosphere of provincial military life, still redolent of the lansquenets. The entire environment . . . imprinted itself in the child's mind in the form of pictures and songs, which, after many years of fading away, then came back to him, perhaps only half consciously, and took artistic form in countless passages in the symphonies and the *Wunderhorn* songs.²²

The trope of childhood received an academic stamp of approval from Mahler's lifelong friend, the eminent musicologist Guido Adler. He began his description of Mahler's works by recounting the musical impressions of Mahler's youth.

In Iglau . . . [Mahler] found rich musical sustenance in the folksongs of both peoples [Germans and Czechs] among whom he spent his youth. His fantasy was stimulated by the wooded landscape steeped in legend, and in the lively

Dika Newlin (London: Faber Music, 1980), 131. For more on Mahler's expressive aesthetic, see ch. 1, "Mahler the Idealist," and Constantin Floros, "Kunst und Leben: Musik als Autobiographie," in *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 1, *Die geistige Welt Gustav Mahlers in systematischer Darstellung* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1977), 136–41.

²⁰ Killian, ed. *Gustav Mahler*, 58. See also Mahler, "The Influence of the Folk-Song on German Musical Art (An interview)," *The Etude* (1911): 301-302.

²¹ Stefan, *Gustav Mahler*, 33: "Die Jugendzeit hat alles vorgebildet, was Mahlers Charakter ergibt."

²² Specht, *Gustav Mahler* [1925], 19–20: "Man kann seine Werke gar nicht verstehen, wenn man nicht weiß, daß er als vierjähriges Kind hunderte von Volksliedern zu singen wußte, die er von der Magd erlernt hatte, und . . . daß er einen großen Teil des Tages zu jenen Kinderzeiten in der Kaserne verbrachte, mitten in der noch seltsam mittelalterlichen und landsknechtmäßigen Stimmung des Soldatenlebens in der Provinz. Die ganze Umgebung . . . hat sich in Bildern und Liedern dem Kindergemüt eingepreßt, und ist ihm, nach langen Jahren des Verlassens, dann wieder zu vielleicht nur halbem Bewußtsein gekommen und in zahllosen Stellen der Symphonien und der 'Wunderhorn'-Lieder zu künstlerischer Form gelangt."

activities of the garrison . . . That is also the explanation for Mahler's preference for march rhythms of all kinds . . . The impressions of his youth run through his works like a red thread. With touching affection he held fast to them.²³

The emphasis on Mahler's childhood as a source for his mature compositions constitutes a psychological parallel to the broader idea of folk music originating in culture's infancy.

The relevance of Mahler's boyhood experiences could even trump overtly programmatic explanations that stemmed from Mahler himself. Stefan was certainly aware that Mahler described "Der große Appell" in the Second Symphony as a representation of Judgment Day, yet he wrote: "It is almost touching, how even here Mahler recalls the barracks of his boyhood home and its evening trumpet signal."²⁴

Local variation of trumpet signals in the Austrian military make it difficult to verify this claim. The marked differences between Mahler's trumpets and the military's standard evening call, however, imply strongly that Stefan did not know the specific trumpet signals used in Iglau four decades earlier. For him, the trope of childhood was a higher truth than purely musical features.²⁵

Given the place of folk music in the upper tier of musical culture, Mahler's biographers took pains to forge links to the folk traditions of Mahler's boyhood. Adler maintained that "specifically Austrian elements are continually felt in the use of tunes

²³ Adler, *Gustav Mahler*, 9–10: "In Iglau . . . er fand reiche musikalische Nahrung in den Volksliedern der beiden Stämme, unter denen er seine Jugend verbrachte. Seine Phantasie wurde angeregt durch die sagenumwobene Waldlandschaft und das muntere Treiben der Garnison . . . Daraus erklärt sich auch Mahlers Vorliebe für Marschrhythmen aller Art . . . Wie ein roter Faden gehen die Eindrücke seiner Jugend durch sein Schaffen während des ganzen Lebens. Mit rührender Anhänglichkeit hielt er daran fest."

²⁴ Stefan, *Gustav Mahler*, 122: "es ist fast rührend, wie sich Mahler noch hier an die Kaserne der Jugendheimat, an ihr abendliches Retraite-Signal erinnert."

²⁵ For a list of standard trumpet signals, including "Retraite," which announced the time for return to barracks, see Emil Rameis, *Die österreichische Militärmusik—von ihren Anfängen bis 1918*, rev. and enl. Eugen Brixel in *Alta Musica* 2 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1976), 82–88.

from his Moravian-Bohemian homeland.”²⁶ Bruno Walter wrote similarly that “Mahler’s music gladly lapses into an Austrian dialect” and that he assimilated the folk music from the German-Bohemian homeland.²⁷ Every author claimed that the sounds of the Austrian military were especially important to the composer.²⁸

A difficulty with the assertions of national character is knowing which musical traits the early biographers were responding to. In cases like the *ländler* and *waltz*, national associations inhered in the idiom itself such that no further explanation was required. But in the case of folksongs and many other attributions, it is not self-evident what melodic or rhythmic traits are specifically German, Austrian, Bohemian, or Moravian. Bekker offers a typical example. He wrote in the introductory remarks to the Second Symphony: “What bestows Mahler’s *Andante-Idyll* with its special charm is the mixing-in of Austrian and particularly Viennese sounds. They give the old-fashioned dance tune of the minuet a whiff of touching homeliness and magic of the past.”²⁹ Bekker does not specify which musical elements give this minuet a Viennese cast.

Such open questions beset nearly all descriptive labels in the early monographs. The absence of comparative musical examples and analytical evidence casts doubt on the claims. If the labels are used as critical categories based on aesthetic intuitions, then one cannot disentangle what part stems from actual musical likenesses, and what part from

²⁶ Adler, *Gustav Mahler*, 52: “Spezifisch österreichische Einschläge machen sich dauernd geltend durch Verwendung von Weisen seiner mährisch-böhmischen Heimat.” In particular, Adler cited the third movement of the Second Symphony, the third movement of the Third, and the second movement of the Ninth.

²⁷ Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, 79, 73: “Überhaupt verfällt Mahlers Musik gern in den österreichischen Dialekt.”

²⁸ Adler, *Gustav Mahler*, 52; Specht, *Gustav Mahler* [1925], 170; Stefan, *Gustav Mahler*, 89–90; Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, 79.

²⁹ Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien*, 83: “Was Mahlers *Andante-Idyll* besonderen Reiz verleiht, ist die Beimischung österreichischer, spezifisch Wienerischer Lokaltöne. Sie geben der altväterlichen Tanzweise des Menuettes einen Zug rührender Heimischkeit und Vergangenheitszaubers.”

ideology. Are there musical traits in Mahler's works indebted to German, Austrian, Bohemian, or Moravian folk traditions, or are the passages an artistic creation of a folk tone whose ascription to specific traditions is guided by Mahler's biography? One can similarly ask whether Mahler's marches are particularly indebted to Austrian military bands. Is their musical character a product of their supposed national characteristics, or an inference from Mahler's biography? If the latter, then it is worth considering that Mahler spent most of the decade preceding composition of the Third Symphony in Kassel, Leipzig, and Hamburg, and that his earliest experiences with military music included Prussian military bands.³⁰ Perhaps the symphony's marches bear the traces of Prussian military traditions even more than Austrian.

One reason for the aesthetic superiority of folk music was its supposed origins in the distant past, in an idyll yet untouched by the social and economic turmoil of modernity. Mahler's early proponents capitalized on the ennobling effect of connections with times past in order to justify some vernacular styles that otherwise might have been linked with contemporary popular music. Stefan, for example, wrote of the second movement of the First Symphony and its graceful waltz trio: "a merry, dancing scherzo, an Austrian *ländler* of the sort that Schubert and Bruckner wrote, exquisitely harmonized and orchestrated. A horn leads to a Biedermeier Trio. The wayfarer has

³⁰ For most of the year that Mahler was five years old, Iglau lacked a garrison. Then came the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Prussian troops occupied Iglau for nearly two months that summer. As a means to improve relations with the public in the final weeks of occupation, the Prussians organized nearly daily military band concerts. The frequency of these performances, and their association with the turbulent events of war, could very well have been engrained in lasting memories. Mahler had just turned six years old. If one accepts Mahler's assertion that only the musical impressions before puberty are decisive, then potential influences of his musical experiences in Kassel, Leipzig, and Hamburg would be beside the point. Scholars need not accept Mahler's assertion as a premise for research. Mahler could have been mistaken or purposely misleading, and, in any event, it does not hold up to scrutiny. Mahler never heard Wagner's music dramas before puberty, but their influence on his compositional style is undeniable. He, like Freud and the culture at large, simply found it compelling to locate origins in infancy—either psychological or cultural.

discovered a hidden village, in which one is still cheerful as in bygone days.”³¹ Specht described the posthorn solos of the Third Symphony’s third movement as rapturous “Biedermeier romanticism.”³²

None of Mahler’s allusions to vernacular repertoires benefited more from the interpretative patina of pastness than military music. Aside from their functional duties, such bands were among the most important disseminators of urban popular music in central Europe.³³ The frequent association in the early literature between Mahler’s use of military idioms and bygone ages—often under the rubric of Romanticism—conferred upon the marches and signals an air of aesthetic respectability. Specht’s account of Mahler’s important childhood experiences, quoted above, invoked the “strangely medieval atmosphere” that the military styles create in Mahler’s works. Walter spoke of the “romanticism of the military elements,”³⁴ and Adler of Mahler’s attraction to “the figure of the old German lansquenets.”³⁵ Elsewhere, Specht argues that Mahler elevates contemporary musical styles, imbuing them with ancient and mythic allusion. Mahler “rips certain military fanfares out of triviality and injects them into the romanticism of the lansquenet or the ghostly reveilles of marching skeletons.”³⁶ Specht made the connection between folksongs and this antiquating impulse when he characterized the

³¹ Stefan, *Gustav Mahler*, 111: “ein lustiges, tanzfreudiges Scherzo, ein österreichischer ländler von der Art Schuberts und Bruckners, wunderhübsch harmonisiert und instrumentiert. Ein Horn leitet zum Biedermeier-Trio. Der fahrende Gesell hat ein recht verborgenes Dorf entdeckt, in dem man noch fröhlich ist wie einst.”

³² Specht, *Gustav Mahler* [1905], 40: “schwärmerische Biederzeitromantik.”

³³ For more on the role of military bands in popular music, see ch. 4, pp. 147–55.

³⁴ Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, 79.

³⁵ Adler, *Gustav Mahler*, 9.

³⁶ Specht’s final allusion is to Mahler’s song “Revelge.” See Specht, *Gustav Mahler* [1925], 201: “gewisse militärische Signalfanfaren, die er aus der Trivialität ins Landsknechtromantische oder in gespenstige Reveillen marschierender Gerippe hinüberreißt.”

first movement of the Third Symphony as the “romanticism of the soldier and folksong.”³⁷

By continually associating allusions to military music with Mahler’s childhood and with distant ages, critics implicitly granted the sounds of military bands an honorary place in the upper tier of musical culture alongside folksong. In part, the impetus for this strategy came from Mahler himself, who set a number of soldier songs from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, an early-nineteenth century collection folksong texts. The effect of these interpretations, nonetheless, was to justify “low” materials in Mahler’s works. In an age when many were nostalgic for the past and cherished the spirit of the people, Mahler’s supporters saw his use of the folk styles and military idioms as strong credentials of his connectedness with German and Austrian culture.

Allusions to Popular Music

Mahler’s proponents needed different strategies to justify allusions to popular music than those used for elements of supposedly folk origin. One strategy was to justify the material in terms of personal expression rather than the cultural authenticity of its origins, effectively sidestepping the problem of association with genres considered aesthetically inferior. Bruno Walter’s monograph exemplifies this approach. His description of the third movement of the First Symphony does not mention Mahler’s extraordinary use of vernacular materials: the quotation of the folksong “Bruder Martin,” rendered as a funeral march; a highly evocative passage that Mahler sometimes related to Bohemian street musicians; and an extended quotation of a folk-like melody from *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* accompanied by the instruction “Simple like a folk

³⁷ Specht, *Gustav Mahler* [1905], 38: “Soldaten- und Volksliedromantik.”

tune” (*Schlicht wie eine Volksweise*).³⁸ Rather, Walter glosses the movement, together with the finale, as “the psychological reaction to a tragic event transformed into music.”³⁹ He thereby retreats from the music’s vernacular allusions, taking refuge in the more easily defensible inner content of feelings. Specht takes a similar approach to this difficult passage, although he acknowledges its unusual musical materials.

A psychological experience certainly contributed to the portrayal of this half-insane condition . . . The piece would be merely the witty game of a ferocious ironist . . . if its substance consisted only of these reflexes of the everyday and not of purer emotions. . . Musically as well as psychologically, [the movement] juxtaposes purely instinctive feelings, devotedness, and immediacy, with the witty absurdities, eerie alarms, and distraught aspects of this Kapellmeister Kreisler music. Through the calm, blossoming sound of a deeply sorrowful, soft, and simple melody, it reveals the heart of the child who is hiding himself behind all of this grim, agonizing self-mockery.⁴⁰

In characteristically overripe prose, Specht justified the brash juxtaposition of vernacular elements as reflections of the composer’s psychological experience. Without the identification of the musical parody with self-mockery, and of the folk-like tone with Mahler’s child-like soul, the same vernacular allusions, he contended, would be a mere “game.”

³⁸ Example 1 below contains the second of these elements, the supposed Bohemian street band music.

³⁹ Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, 83: “die seelische Reaktion auf ein tragisches Geschehen.”

⁴⁰ Kapellmeister Kreisler was the alter ego of the great German Romantic writer E. T. A. Hoffmann and a recurrent character in his works. Hoffmann signed some of his musical criticism as Kreisler, and the character appeared in many stories (e.g., “Kreisleriana” from *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier* [1814–15]) and most notably in his novel *Die Lebensansichten des Katers Murr* (1819–21). Friend and foe alike have likened Mahler to Kreisler in his tendency towards emotional extremes, his sarcasm, and even in his appearance. See Specht, *Gustav Mahler* [1925], 188–90: “Gewiß hat zur Darstellung dieses halb irrsinnigen Zustandes . . . eine psychologische Erfahrung beigetragen . . . [D]as Stück wäre doch nur das geistreiche Spiel eines grimmigen Ironikers . . . bestünde seine Substanz nur aus diesen Reflexen des Alltags und nicht aus reineren Emotionen. . . rein musikalisch ebenso wie psychologisch, den Kontrast des rein Gefühlsmäßigen, Hingegebenen, Unmittelbaren all dem geistreich Absurden, gespenstig Erschreckenden und Verstörten dieser Kapellmeister Kreisler-Musik gegenüberzustellen und durch den überströmend innigen, gefaßten Laut einer tieftraurigen, ruhevollen, schlichten Weise das Kindergemüt zu enthüllen, das sich hinter all dieser verbissenen, quälerischen Selbstverhöhnung verbirgt.”

A related strategy was to view vernacular elements as a gateway to highly negative expressive content previously unexplored in the symphony.⁴¹ This negativity was the foil for the exaltation and transcendence that composers in the metaphysical aesthetic tradition took as their expressive goal. Mahler's supporters claimed that he departed from earlier composers by rendering not just the ideal but also the material world in his works. In the words of Guido Adler, Mahler's melodies "are not always refined" when "he wants to use the vulgar as an antithesis."⁴²

Mahler's defenders often understood his vernacularisms as representing the *everyday* (*Alltag*), a foil to the sublime. The everyday referred to the material world divorced from the ineffable, eternal truths that an idealist aesthetics took as a higher reality.⁴³ The expressive dichotomy between transcendence and the everyday was clearly mapped onto the musical dichotomy between high and low music. Apologists justified sounds that would normally have been aesthetically and morally unacceptable in a symphony (on account of their lowly origins) by virtue of the noble aesthetic project they supported. The third movement of the First Symphony again provides a good example. For Stefan, the "vulgar street-musician tune (*Musikantenweise*)" constituted the "discordant everyday that will not let go" and that requires redemption in the long, folk-

⁴¹ Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien*, 215.

⁴² Adler, *Gustav Mahler*, 73: "[Seine Weisen] sind nicht immer gewählt, dann will er das Vulgäre, das er als Antithese verwendet."

⁴³ Adorno borrowed Hegel's term *Weltlauf* to represent similar negative aspects of modern life represented in Mahler's music (see *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik* [1960], in *Theodor W. Adorno: Die musikalischen Monographien*, vol. 13, ed. Rolf Tiedemann [Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003], 154–66; *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott [Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993], 6–17). The negativity of modern everyday life also plays an integral role in Eggebrecht's "Mahler Principle" (*Die Musik Gustav Mahlers*, 11–38).

like melody later in the movement.⁴⁴ Specht wrote in similar terms about the marches in first movement of the Third, which (so he claimed) portray the parade of an artist through life: “all that is vulgar, savage, hideous in the everyday mobs [the artist] and threatens to drag him down.”⁴⁵ In discussing the middle movements of the Ninth Symphony, which contain copious vernacularisms, Specht describes the everyday in even more intense terms: it is “Inferno on Earth,” “the hell of the everyday in all its impure strength, its brutal commonness, its blaring emptiness, its mendacious bustle that hideously deforms everything fair and kind.”⁴⁶ Stefan summed by this view as follows:

Whoever interprets Mahler’s being, based on his own statements, as the continually renewed experience of the universe, will not be surprised to find the purest expression of this life in his music and especially in his symphonies. The experience of the universe begins on the streets and ends in the unending. Turns from the music of the everyday (somewhat similar to the Parisian “calls” by Charpentier, whom Mahler loved dearly), dances of farmers, marches of the soldiers, tunes of the rural streets in the gaudy dress of the “Bohemian musicians,” a motley mixture out of motley Austria—all of this is gathered, raised, and moved into the eternal. Those are Mahler’s “banalities,” of which our learned elite speak with such elegance, our “good musicians,” who are always so “interesting” and yet cannot help therein but to expose their own true banality. If one suppresses what the everyday passes on to Mahler, then he becomes untrue: this purification of the earthly, this dinner with tax collectors and sinners is his way.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Stefan, *Gustav Mahler*, 111: “gemeine Musikantenweise . . . Die [sic] mißtönige Alltag, der nicht locker läßt.”

⁴⁵ Specht, *Gustav Mahler* [1925], 227: “allem Gemeinen, Tierische, Fratzenhaften des Alltags dazu, das ihn umdrängt, ihn herabzuziehen droht.”

⁴⁶ Specht, *Gustav Mahler* [1925], 286: “das Inferno der Welt . . . die Hölle des Alltags in all seiner unreinen Kraft, seiner brutalen Gewöhnlichkeit, seiner lärmenden Leere, seiner verlogenen, alles Holde und Gütige zur Fratze verzerrenden Geschäftigkeit.”

⁴⁷ The last sentence refers to Jesus’s dinner with the tax collectors, a story appearing in each of the synoptic gospels (Matthew 9:9-13; Mark 2:13-17; Luke 5:27-32). Act 2 of Gustave Charpentier’s *Louise* opens with a scene titled “Paris awakes,” for which Charpentier includes street vendors’ calls and even cabaret tunes by Aristide Bruant. Stefan, *Gustav Mahler*, 89–90: “Wer Mahlers Wesen aus jeder seiner Äußerungen als das immer erneute Erleben des Universums gedeutet hat, wird nicht verwundert sein, in seiner Musik, vor allem in seinen Symphonien, den reinsten Ausdruck dieses Lebens zu finden. Das Erlebnis des Weltalls beginnt auf der Straße und endet im Unendlichen. Wendungen aus der Musik des Alltags (ähnlich wie etwa bei Charpentier, den Mahler sehr liebte, die ‘Rufe’ von Paris), Tänze von Bauern, Märsche der Soldaten, Weisen von der Landstraße im grellen Kleid der ‘böhmischen

On this view, Mahler could only realize his lofty aesthetic ambitions by drawing on “inferior” musical types from outside of art music. Their inclusion disrupted the high-mindedness of style that many conservative critics and writers espoused for the genre, yet this was necessary for Mahler’s symphonic project: to represent the entire world, in both its real and ideal aspects.

Influence of Race on the Reception of Mahler’s Vernacularisms

The foregoing summary may give the impression that Mahler’s Jewishness, which was in his day widely considered a racial category, was extraneous to how his supporters assessed his vernacular allusions. Yet race played a significant role in these accounts even when unacknowledged as such. There were many reasons that Mahler’s early proponents were reticent to address its influence on Mahler’s music and reception during the composer’s lifetime. To acknowledge openly Mahler’s Jewish identity would have been tantamount to admitting his lack of assimilation.⁴⁸ Moreover, the majority of Vienna’s cultural elite in Vienna found it bad taste to bring social, racial, and political matters explicitly into discussions of such high art as symphonies.⁴⁹ That Mahler’s acolytes addressed the topic of race more directly after his death also suggests that they previously avoided the topic out of deference to his opinion on the matter. Even after his death, however, they discussed race only tersely in biographical sections separate from

Musikanten’, buntes Gemisch aus dem bunten Österreich, das alles wird aufgelesen, emporgehoben, ins Ewige gerückt. Das sind die ‘Banalitäten’ Mahlers, von denen unsere Gebildeten mit so viel Vornehmheit sprechen, unsere ‘guten Musiker’, die immer so ‘interessant’ sind und sich doch gerade dann wider Willen, aber mit Naturnotwendigkeit in der eigenen wahren Banalität entlarven. Man denke sich unterdrückt, was Mahler der Alltag zuträgt, und er wird unwahr: diese Läuterung des Irdischen, dieses Speisen mit Zöllnern und Sündern ist seine Art.”

⁴⁸ Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 73–78.

⁴⁹ Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, 34–36.

those devoted to the music.⁵⁰ Stefan added to the second edition of his monograph, published not long after the composer's passing, a new section called "Work and Race." He declared that the many mischaracterizations of Mahler's music as Jewish, "naturally in a wicked sense of the word," could no longer go unanswered.⁵¹ The later editions of Specht's monographs also exhibit a similar trend toward openness. The first, in 1905, does not mention Mahler's Jewish identity at all. In 1913, he touched upon the topic only to quote Nietzsche: "The source of great cultures is where the races are mixed. Maxim: do not associate with anyone who takes part in the mendacious race swindle."⁵² In 1918, he expanded this section, briefly listing Jewish characteristics of Mahler's personality along with Christian and German ones.⁵³

Among the early monographs, Adler's acknowledged most directly the role of anti-Semitism as a subtext of the invective directed against Mahler's works. He did not address the phenomenon by name, but referred to "certain political parties" for whom the music was unimportant, and who were driven to attack Mahler out of personal,

⁵⁰ Specht, Adler, and Bekker each acknowledged the existence of such general racial characteristics as the penetrating Jewish intellect and the penchant for expressive extremes. Though they believed these traits could be perceived in Mahler's music on a general or abstract level, they did not cite any single passage of the songs or symphonies as manifestations of Jewish qualities.

⁵¹ Stefan, *Gustav Mahler*, 18–23: "natürlich in einem übeln Sinn des Wortes." Even in his polemic "Gustav Mahlers Erbe" (Munich, 1908), written three years before Mahler's death to defend his achievements as a conductor in Vienna, Stefan does not directly address the anti-Semitism that contributed to the difficulties that led Mahler to leave the city. Stefan's review of Mahler's Eighth Symphony was the only time he invoked race in a discussion of Mahler's music during the composer's lifetime. In this instance, he was responding to a flurry of articles that had appeared about the role of race in the symphony ("Zur Uraufführung der VIII. Symphonie von Gustav Mahler in München," *Neue Musik-Zeitung* 31 [1910], 489–91). For a contemporary overview and critique of these articles and their treatment of race, see Robert Holtzmann, "Mahlers Achte Symphonie und die Kritik. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Rassenfrage," *Neue Musik-Zeitung* 32, no. 8 (1911): 169–75.

⁵² Specht, *Gustav Mahler* (Berlin und Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1913), 38: "Wo Rassen gemischt sind, ist der Quell großer Kulturen. Maxime: mit keinem umgehen, der an dem verlogenen Rassenschwindel Anteil hat." The original quotation, which differs slightly from Specht's rendition, appears in §877–79 of *Nietzsche's Werke*, pt. 2, vol. 8, *Unveröffentlichtes aus der Umwerthungszeit: 1882/83–1888* (Leipzig: Naumann, 1903), 356.

⁵³ Specht, *Gustav Mahler* [1925], 53–4.

blind fanaticism. Adler strongly implied that the writers he had in mind were anti-Semites, calling them friends of Hans Richter and a driving force behind Mahler's conversion to Catholicism.⁵⁴ He also accused them of stealthily hiding among the ranks of pseudo-liberal newspaper reviewers, from which they tried to pass off their judgments as musical when in fact they were ideological.⁵⁵ In fact, racial ideologies shaped the entire discourse on Mahler's music, including the musical judgments of the early biographers themselves. Though they did not invoke race to explain vernacular elements in Mahler's music, the arguments they did use were influenced by the broader discursive context, which was shaped by ideologies of race. To appreciate fully their accounts of Mahler's folk and popular materials, then, requires an understanding of this context.

The topic of race in music and of the situation confronting Jews at the *fin de siècle* is fraught with difficulties requiring a delicate touch on the historian's part. As so often with complex and sensitive cultural phenomena, the nomenclature must be chosen with care and with an awareness that the terms themselves can direct one's perceptions. This applies all the more in this case, because the myriad opinions about the role of race in music cannot be neatly categorized. The variety of perspectives is divided here into three core views, each treated in turn: anti-Jewish, pro-Jewish, and assimilationist.⁵⁶ To

⁵⁴ Upon Mahler's arrival in Vienna as a conductor at the Court Opera in 1897, the anti-Semitic press in Vienna latched onto Hans Richter as a "Teutonic" conductor in contrast to the "Jewish" Mahler (Herta Blaukopf, "Mahler's First Season at the k.k. Hofopertheater: The Composer Waits in the Wings," in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham [Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005], 327–43).

⁵⁵ Adler, *Gustav Mahler*, 19–20.

⁵⁶ Many different nomenclatures have been advanced by authors writing about the role of anti-Semitism in the cultural life of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. Sigurd Paul Scheichel makes a widely used distinction, which I observe here, between anti-Semitic writings, which have blatant political objectives, and less benign anti-Jewish sentiments ("Contexts and Nuances of Anti-Jewish Language: Were all the 'Antisemites' Antisemites?" in *Jews, Anti-Semitism and Culture in Vienna*, ed. Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak, and Gerhard Botz [London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987], 89–110). Edward F.

avoid some potential pitfalls, the stage is given to the discourse about Mahler's music, and not to the personal views of the authors themselves. In certain circumstances, this results in the juxtaposition of relatively extended quotations, which are brought into dialogue with one another without hazarding crude guesses about personal beliefs and motivations.

Anti-Jewish Discourse

Anti-Jewish tropes in music criticism have their proximate roots in the division of Austro-German musical culture into hierarchical tiers. With his notorious article "Das Judentum in der Musik" (1850), Richard Wagner superimposed onto the aesthetic hierarchy of high and low a racially charged dichotomy between German and Jewish, thereby systematizing the application of anti-Jewish stereotypes to music. By the 1880s, these allegedly Jewish musical traits had become common themes in musical criticism, where they overlapped with anti-modern rhetoric more generally.⁵⁷ Many of the traits were as if tailor-made for any passage alluding to the vernacular.

Kravitt has recently appealed to Mahler scholars to portray anti-Semitism less monolithically and with greater attention to its regional and theoretical differences ("Mahler, Victim of the 'New' Anti-Semitism," *Journal of the Royal Music Association* 127 [2002]: 72–94). To complement the less politically charged "anti-Jewish," I have chosen to use "pro-Jewish," although the two texts that I cite below, by Heinrich Berl and Max Brod, could also be legitimately called "Zionist."

⁵⁷ First published under the pseudonym R. Freigedank in 1850 and republished under his real name in 1869, Wagner's tract was originally a response to an article by Theodor Uhlig in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, in which Uhlig discussed the "Hebrew taste for art" (Jens Malte Fischer, "Das Judentum in der Musik: Kontinuität einer Debatte," in *Conditio Judaica. Judentum, Antisemitismus und deutschsprachige Literatur vom ersten Weltkrieg bis 1933/28*, vol. 3, ed. Hans Otto Horch and Horst Denkler [Tübingen, 1993], 229). On the development of anti-Semitic tropes in music criticism, see Federico Celestini, "Der Trivialitätsvorwurf an Gustav Mahler: Eine diskursanalytische Betrachtung (1889–1911)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 62, no. 3 (2005): 165–76; Kravitt, "Mahler, Victim of the 'New' Anti-Semitism"; and Margaret Notley, "Brahms the Liberal: Genre, Style, and Politics in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna," *19th-Century Music* 18, no. 2 (autumn 1993): 115–18. Two studies on the overlap of anti-modern and anti-Semitic critique are K. M. Knittel, "'Ein Hypermoderner Dirigent': Mahler and Anti-Semitism in *Fin-de-siècle* Vienna," *19th -Century Nineteenth-Century Music* 18, no. 3 (spring 1995): 257–67; and Gerhard Scheit and Wilhelm Svoboda, *Feindbild Gustav Mahler: Zur antisemitischen Abwehr der Moderne in Österreich* (Vienna: Sonderzahl, 2002).

Anti-Jewish tropes were irreducible to concrete musical traits and hence insulated from empirical refutation. A typical example is the distinction between “authentic” and “inauthentic” imitation of folk styles. Adherents of the “race swindel” believed that only Germans were capable of writing in a true German folk style; all other attempts, especially those made by Jews, were branded “inauthentic.” Associations to popular music were Jewish on account of their supposed moral degeneracy and implicit association with monetary gain. These indefinite accusations could be leveled at nearly any piece of music, not to mention Mahler’s *oeuvre*, which harbored ample opportunities for any writer inclined to use them. In most cases apart from the virulent, openly anti-Semitic papers, the accusations resided below the surface at the level of innuendo, where they could just as easily be read as anti-modern as anti-Jewish.

In recent years, scholars have amply documented the presence of anti-Jewish tropes in Mahler reception. A single example can suffice to give a sense of the accusations and the terms and evidence used to support them.⁵⁸ Writing for the German nationalist paper *Deutsche Zeitung*, Theodor Helm’s review of the Viennese premiere of Mahler’s Fourth Symphony is a virtual anthology of anti-Jewish tropes.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ See Henning Böke, “Gustav Mahler und das Judentum,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 49, no. 1 (1992): 1–21; Fischer, “Das Judentum in der Musik”; Karen Painter, “Jewish Identity and Anti-Semitic Critique in the Austro-German Reception of Mahler, 1900–1945,” in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, 175–94; and Celestini, “Der Trivialitätsvorwurf an Gustav Mahler.”

⁵⁹ With the initial support of Hanslick, Helm (1843–1920) began his long career as music critic in 1867 at the *Neues Fremdenblatt*. He wrote at various times for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, *Neue Musikalische Presse*, *Der Merker*, and the *Deutsche Zeitung* among other outlets. Helm’s initial alliance with the musical conservatives in the city (Hanslick and Brahms) grew in the 1880s to include the New Germans (Bruckner and Wolf). He was one of Vienna’s most famous and respected voices in matters musical.

[Mahler] apparently set out this time to work with the most simple, folk-like⁶⁰ (or rather attempted folk-likeness), old-fashioned, even child-like—not to say childish—melodies, which he in turn sets in such involved combinations, that a higher unity is completely lost, and that one gets the impression of the most utter confusion, especially in the first movement . . . Moreover, this composition, like more or less everything that we have hitherto heard from Mahler, is lacking higher originality: it is teeming with reminiscences, in which the author does not shy away from occasional descent to the very lowest social classes, as he does when he lets the well-known street song “Das ist halt weanerisch – weanerisch” sound clearly enough in the Quasi-Scherzo.⁶¹

Many of Helm’s criticisms responded to allusions to vernacular styles: the unconvincing folk-tone, the lack of melodic originality, and the quotation of a popular song.⁶² In making these claims, Helm was responding to many of the same musical traits as Mahler’s apologists did; he merely evaluated them from an opposing perspective. Both heard imitations of German folksong, but Helm judged them a failed attempt collapsing into childishness, not a channeling of the German spirit. Both heard traces of popular music and themes lacking originality, but instead of seeing in them the means to introduce novel expressive affects, Helm deemed Mahler’s music derivative and tainted

⁶⁰ As Kravitt has pointed out, the word “volkstümlich” at the *fin-de-siècle* “signified mystic qualities inherent in the German soul, most apparent in the peasantry” (“Mahler, Victim of the ‘New’ Anti-Semitism,” 76). Given the anti-Jewish tenor of the review and the audience for which it was intended, true *Volksstümlichkeit* was not a trait that could be attributed to the work of a Jewish composer.

⁶¹ h—m [Theodor Helm], review of Mahler’s Fourth Symphony, *Deutsche Zeitung* (13 Jan 1902): “Anscheinend hat er es sich diesmal angelegen sein lassen, mit möglichst einfachen, volkstümlichen (oder doch volkstümlich gemeinten), altväterischen, selbst kindlichen, um nicht zu sagen: kindischen Melodien zu arbeiten, die er aber dann in so verzwickte Combinationen setzt, dass eine höhere Einheit völlig verloren geht, ja man mitunter — besonders im ersten Satz — den Eindruck des buntesten Durcheinander empfängt. . . . Ueberdies fehlt der Composition, wie mehr oder minder eigentlich allem, was man bisher von Mahler hier zu hören bekam, durchaus die höhere Originalität: es wimmelt von Reminiscenzen, wobei der Autor sich nicht scheut, zeitweise selbst zu den untersten Volksschichten herabzusteigen, so wenn er im Quasi-Scherzo deutlich genug den altbekannten Gassenhauer ‘Das ist halt weanerisch — weanerisch’ u. s. w. anklingen lässt.”

⁶² The review by Helm shows the complexities involved in projecting back onto the author attitudes and beliefs gleaned from the subtext of a review. Though the anti-Jewish tropes in this example seem to be too many and too close to Wagner’s own formulations to be coincidental, other factors call for caution in reflexively projecting anti-Jewish views to Helm himself. Helm made similar arguments against other, non-Jewish composers like Brahms. He was a supporter of Goldmark and other Jewish composers. Writing for both liberal and anti-Semitic, nationalist newspapers, he was also sensitive to his audiences, for whom he tailored his articles. His affiliation with the *Deutsche Zeitung* began when the paper represented a liberal political view; only during the 1880s did it become an organ of nationalist, anti-Semitic sentiment. And Helm had previously written glowing reviews of Mahler’s conducting, including his debut in Vienna with Wagner’s *Lohengrin*, and even of his orchestral *Retouchen* of Beethoven.

by the association with *hoi polloi*. Both sides accounted for vernacular allusions without appealing to analytical evidence in the music.

There is, however, one important exception to this generalization. Helm did refer to the popular song “Das ist halt weanerisch” to support his claim that Mahler makes use of musical sources associated with inappropriately low social classes.⁶³ For Helm or any other reviewer inclined to dismiss Mahler’s music on account of its alliance with popular music, connections to particular songs were extra arrows in the quiver, increasing the efficacy of disparagement. Such concrete connections to popular music were made almost exclusively by hostile critics invoking anti-Jewish tropes. Nevertheless, they contain valuable historical evidence about the possible origins of Mahler’s vernacularisms in popular genres hitherto underexplored as sources for his allusions.

Pro-Jewish Discourse

By the 1910s, persistent antagonism against Jews provoked a celebration of Jewish identity and cultural products among Jewish intellectuals. In many ways, the pro-Jewish view of Mahler’s music was a mirror image of its more common anti-Jewish counterpart, since both worked from the same assumption: that Mahler’s music contained specifically Jewish traits. The self-consciousness of this inversion is apparent in Heinrich Berl’s book exalting Jewish art music of the Diaspora, for which he

⁶³ The song was a hit couplet from Julius Stern’s *posse* (farce) *Die Hochzeit des Reservisten* (1888). Vienna’s Raimund-Theater put on a new production of the work in the 1900–1901 season. The Viennese première of Mahler’s Fourth Symphony took place not long thereafter, on 12 January 1902. Mahler had composed the work in the summers of 1899 and 1900.

appropriated the very title that Wagner gave to his seminal anti-Semitic tract: *Das Judentum in der Musik*.⁶⁴

Like the anti-Jewish texts, pro-Jewish texts gleaned much of their evidence from sections in Mahler's works rich in allusions to vernacular repertoires. Berl's main example from Mahler's oeuvre is the third movement of the First Symphony, which he called the "*purest Jewishness*. It is all here: march, melancholy, irony, folksong, canon, melodic unfolding, key, instrumentation—everything here is Jewishness; there could hardly be a more direct testimony."⁶⁵ Though he mentions musical idioms, Berl's contention is not so much that Mahler drew on uniquely Jewish marches, folksongs, or keys, but that the resulting collage of expressive characters is emphatically Jewish.⁶⁶

Such claims were not without controversy. In the pages of the Berlin periodical *Der Jude*, Arno Nadel took issue with the notion that Mahler's music could be classified as Jewish based on its expressive content, arguing that the description was meaningless without a basis in musical style. For Nadel, only synagogue music was Jewish music properly so called. Berl's response, clearly indebted to idealist aesthetics, cut to the core of the disagreement: Nadel was thinking in terms of the history of music, and he in terms of the psychology and even metaphysics.⁶⁷ In other words, Nadel was concerned

⁶⁴ Berl, *Das Judentum in der Musik* (Berlin and Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt Stuttgart, 1926).

⁶⁵ Berl, *Das Judentum in der Musik*, 155–56: "*reinstes Judentum*. Hier ist alles: Marsch, Trauer, Ironie, Volksgesang, Kanon, melodische Entfaltung, Tonart, Instrumentation: hier ist alles Judentum, es gibt kaum eine unmittelbarere Bezeugung."

⁶⁶ This argument seems to extend the view offered in the early monographs on Mahler. Specht, Adler, and Bekker acknowledged that Mahler's music conveyed a diffuse sense of Jewishness through abstract notions of a Jewish intellect or disposition that resisted identification with specific musical traits, but could be sensed in its expressive qualities. Berl went one step further, though, by articulating those specific traits that he considered Jewish. Stefan was an exception among the early scholars in his categorical denial of Jewish traits in Mahler's music, whether at the musical level of melodies or at the abstract level of intellect or expressive intensity.

⁶⁷ Berl, *Das Judentum in der Musik*, 153–54.

with matters of musical style, and Berl with its inner expression. Though this assessment may in hindsight seem obvious, it was a remarkable diagnosis at the time; until then, questions of expressive content and the sources of Mahler's allusions to vernacular styles were generally conflated and treated as one.

The pro-Jewish view was not always restricted to claims about expressive content. Max Brod, the most prominent representative of this perspective, thought that Mahler's marches sprang from the same creative wellsprings as Hasidic folksong.

There have been various interpretations of Mahler's special preference for marches, which he prominently piles high in nearly every symphony. An affectionate biographer (I believe it was Specht) traces this preference back to Mahler's growing up in Leitmeritz [sic] next to the garrison, where the horn signals and military rhythms anchored themselves unforgettably in his spirit. Less sympathetic judges have spoken simply of banality and lack of ideas. . . . Still others have found in the step-like 4/4 measures of Mahler the longing to write something like a German folksong, in other words a purposeful assimilation. – No! Ever since I heard Hasidic folksongs, I believe that Mahler had no choice but to make music simply out of the unconscious impetus of the same Jewish soul from which sprang the most beautiful Hassidic songs, which he indeed never heard. . . . [His] "marches" are nothing unholy, banal, military; they appear happily to me to symbolize the merry, resolute, and erect gait of a soul filled with God. . . . Perhaps one would do more justice to Gustav Mahler, if one observed him in the context of a Jewish psychological disposition, than if one let oneself be hypnotized by the ever-repeated fact that he set "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" to music.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Originally published in *Der Jude* (Berlin) 1, no. 5 (1916 or 1917); reprinted in Brod, *Gustav Mahler: Beispiel einer deutsch-jüdischen Symbiose*, Von Gestern zum Morgen, vol. 13 (Frankfurt am Main: Ner-Tamid-Verlag, 1961), 25–27: "Man hat die besondere Vorliebe des Komponisten für Märsche, die er nahezu in jeder Symphonie breitausladend auftürt . . . verschiedenartig gedeutet. Ein liebevoller Biograph (ich glaube: Specht) führt dies Vorliebe darauf zurück, daß der Knabe Mahler in Leitmeritz neben einer Kaserne aufwuchs, wo sich ihm die Hornsignale und Militärrhythmen unvergeßlich ins Gemüt eingesenkt hätten. Weniger freundliche Beurteiler sprachen einfach von Banalität und Ideenarmut. . . . Noch andere fanden gerade im schrittweisen Viervierteltakt Mahlers das Bemühen, volksliederartig deutsch zu schreiben, also gewollte Assimilation. – Nein! Seit ich chassidsche Volkslieder gehört habe, glaube ich, daß Mahler ganz einfach aus demselben unbewußten Urgrund seiner jüdischen Seele so und nicht anders musizieren musste, aus dem die schönsten chassidischen Lieder, die er wohl niemals gekannt hat, entsprossen sind. . . . Diese 'Märsche' sind also nichts Unheiliges, Banales, Militärisches, sie scheinen mir vielmehr sehr glücklich die feste entschlossene aufrechte Gangart einer gotterfüllten Seele zu symbolisieren. . . . Vielleicht wird man Gustav Mahler gerechter, wenn man ihn im Zusammenhang einer jüdischen Seelenstimmung betrachtet, als wenn man immer nur von der Tatsache, daß er 'Des Knaben Wunderhorn' vertont hat, sich hypnotisieren läßt."

Brod went on to list a few other traits of Hasidic folksong that he believed Mahler had absorbed into his musical style.⁶⁹ Yet, these concrete musical traits do not ultimately count as evidence of borrowing. By Brod's own admission, Mahler never heard the kind of Hasidic folksongs in question. To account for the similarities, Brod proposed a kind of collective unconscious which attuned Mahler's Jewish spirit to these sounds. Needless to say, this is hardly a convincing historical explanation. It does, however, reveal the capacity for ideological assumptions to steer the description of Mahler's vernacularisms. Brod's comments are also the first revisionist impulse against the trope of childhood in Mahler criticism, thereby providing an indirect measure of how dominant the view had become by 1916.⁷⁰

Assimilationist Discourse

The pro-Jewish view met stiff opposition in the early monographs on Mahler. In 1920, Stefan expanded the critique of anti-Semitism in the section on "Work and Race," to include a rebuttal of pro-Jewish writers, too. Max Brod was the unnamed target at the end of his remarks:

From early youth on, [Mahler] grew up in the succession of Beethoven and Wagner (and of the philosopher Wagner, who demands the regeneration and the rebirth of the Jew in particular, and of mankind in general). He is a student of Goethe, Schopenhauer, and German Romanticism, and he goes at once down the path of the German music that leads most certainly to the heart of Germanness. Bruckner stands at the exit. German folksong sustains [Mahler]. . . His works repeatedly break new ground in the Christian-pantheistic and in folk-like-German realms. . . . The last [opinion, that I need to address], is from a worthy but thoroughly Zionist-minded literary figure, who announces excitedly that he has succeeded in hearing from East-European Jewish refugees prayer songs that ambled to march rhythms. But according to Mahler's own testimony, the marches reside much farther to the west, in his Bohemian

⁶⁹ Brod, *Die Musik Israels*, 2d ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), 34–37, and idem, *Gustav Mahler*, 19–23.

⁷⁰ In the 1940s, Dika Newlin questioned the "trumped-up" significance accorded Mahler's childhood impressions. See *Bruckner, Mahler, Schoenberg*, rev. ed. (London: Marion Boyers, 1978).

childhood, and are imbued with the military and peasant music. . . . To me and others alike, Mahler has always been German in the deepest sense. In the sense of our romantics and, at the pinnacle, of a Goethe: a world including all its peoples, generous and German enough to encompass the old, faded, colorful, glorious homeland of music, which was once called Austria.⁷¹

Stefan was not alone in his criticism of Brod. Recalling the reception of his newspaper articles nearly half a century later, Brod remarked that

at the time, my article attracted the wrong sort of attention. The collective music criticism of Vienna, insofar as it was carried out by German-Jewish assimilationist reviewers, protested with annoyance. In his Mahler book, which appeared in 1920 with Piper, and which was entirely knowledgeable and competent with regard to other questions, Paul Stefan poured particular scorn on the 'worthy but entirely Zionist-minded literary figure.' – People regarded my statements as craziness, as a curiosity. This curiosity, however, has persevered in the meantime, and it has come to be taken for granted to see in Mahler the great Jewish artist.⁷²

This exchange between Stefan and Brod, carried out over the decades, helps to make explicit what in the early monographs was left largely implicit: that the trope of childhood experiences and the argument for the German, Austrian, and Czech character of Mahler's vernacular elements represented an assimilated Jewish perspective. Though it might seem that the early monographs were being objective or above the fray by *not*

⁷¹ Stefan, *Gustav Mahler*, 20–23: "Von früher Jugend an in der Nachfolge Beethovens und Wagners erwachsen (auch des Philosophen Wagner, der Regeneration, Wiedergeburt des Juden im besonderen, des Menschen im allgemeinen fordert), ein Schüler Goethes, Schopenhauers und der deutschen Romantik, geht er alsbald den Weg der deutschen Musik, der am gewissensten zum Herzen des Deutschtums führt. Bruckner steht am Ausgang, und das deutsche Volkslied trägt ihn. . . . Immer wieder begegnen sich seine Werke in christlich-allvergottenden – und in volkstümlich-deutschen Bahnen. . . . Die letzte [Stimme, die ich wiedergeben muss] endlich, die eines verdienten, aber durchaus zionistisch eingestellten Literaten, meldet erregt, es sei gelungen, Gebetsgesänge flüchtiger Ostjuden zu hören, die in Marschrhythmen hinschritten. Und da auch Mahler Märsche liebe, ja selbst den Heiligen Geist in Marschrhythmen rufe, seien die 'jüdischen Melodien' Mahlers gegeben. Aber die Märsche ruhen nach Mahlers eigenem Zeugnis viel weiter westlich, in seinen böhmischen Kinderjahren, durch die Militär und Bauermusik zieht. . . . Mahler ist mir und schließlich auch anderen, immer und in einem höchsten Sinn deutsch geblieben. Im Sinne unserer Romantiker und, zu höchst, eines Goethe, eine Welt mit ihren Völkern einschließend, weitherzig-deutsch genug, die alte, verklungene, bunte, glorreiche Heimat der Musik mit zu umfassen, die einst Österreich hieß."

⁷² Brod, *Gustav Mahler*, 27: "Mein Artikel erregte damals unliebsames Aufsehen. Die gesamte Wiener Musikkritik, soweit sie von deutsch-jüdischen assimilatorischen Rezensenten ausgeübt wurde, protestierte ärgerlich. Seinen besonderen Spott ergoß Paul Stefan in seinem 1920 bei Piper erschienenen, in andern Fragen durchaus kenntnisreichen und kompetenten Mahler-Buch über den 'verdienten, aber durchaus zionistisch eingestellten Literaten'. – Man betrachtete meine Äußerung als Verrücktheit, als Kuriosum. Dieses Kuriosum hat sich aber inzwischen durchgesetzt und es ist allmählich zur Selbstverständlichkeit geworden, in Mahler den großen jüdischen Künstler zu sehen."

invoking race in their discussions of Mahler's vernacular elements, their interpretations arose nonetheless within a discursive context in which "German" functioned as the antipode to "Jewish." Just as Helm's review represents an anti-Jewish perspective, and Brod's writings a pro-Jewish one, the early monographs offered an assimilationist Jewish perspective of Mahler's music.⁷³ The prevailing hermeneutic style of musical criticism did not require analytical evidence in the music but only subjective validation. Hence, the issues driving the given polemical discourse could exert considerable influence upon how allusions to vernacular styles in Mahler's music were described. Indeed, vernacularisms offered a kind of *tabula rasa* in which writers and critics could inscribe their own ideological frameworks as if inhering in the music itself.⁷⁴ In the 1910s, race was the dominant issue. In assimilated Jewish texts, the folksong and military styles were traces of his childhood and of his genuinely German identity. In texts reflecting an anti-Jewish bent, authors easily found Wagner's tropes confirmed in Mahler's "inauthentic imitations" of German folksong and his use of trivial, popular styles—all clear evidence of his Jewishness. And for celebratory, pro-Jewish texts, the animating force of a Jewish spirit was manifest in the marches, folksong-like elements, and irony. In every one of these cases, the vernacular elements of Mahler's music played

⁷³ Specht, Stefan, Adler, and Bekker were assimilated Jews, but no single mentality or worldview encapsulates the minds and attitudes of all assimilated Jews at the turn of the century. Among them, a significant group believed that the problems of race and becoming accepted in the dominant culture were best treated by immersion in German culture and personal achievements made possible by *Bildung* and a strong work ethic. An excellent resource for Jewish assimilation in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna is Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), especially 73–78, 99–105, 126–62, 178–87. The particular views of Mahler's early biographers regarding political and social issues that touched on race, and to what extent these views shaped their opinions of Mahler's music, are matters that fall outside of the bounds of this dissertation.

⁷⁴ Karen Painter has claimed that counterpoint at the turn of the century was particularly susceptible to appropriation by contradictory ideological functions and political viewpoints. This effect is even stronger with vernacular allusions, which engage issues of nation, race, and identity even more directly than polyphony. See Painter, "Contested Counterpoint: 'Jewish' Appropriation and Polyphonic Liberation," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 58, no. 3 (2001): 203.

a central role in the interpretation. As Adler put it, perhaps with unintended aptness: Mahler's melodies "convince those ready to believe in them."⁷⁵

Comparative Studies of Mahler's Vernacularisms

Studies that investigate Mahler's vernacular intonations with repertoires of vernacular music are surprisingly few. The authors of those few accept the trope of childhood and are devoted exclusively to identifying allusions to folk music. The earliest of these investigations followed closely on the heels of the early monographs. Fritz Egon Pamer was a doctoral student at the University of Vienna under the tutelage of Guido Adler. His dissertation, "Gustav Mahlers Lieder: eine stilkritische Studie" (1922), follows Adler's approach to music history that viewed music in relation to the historical procession of styles and idioms.⁷⁶ The main thrust of Pamer's research was to compare Mahler's lieder to German folksongs. He examined a range of musical parameters—melodic intervals, rhythms, meter, phrasing, harmony, and form—and made direct comparisons between Mahler's settings of poems from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and the folksongs commonly sung to them. Pamer concluded that Mahler had assimilated the German folksongs of his youth in his own style so thoroughly that he even unconsciously alluded to a few of them.⁷⁷

Less than a decade after Pamer's work, Ernst Klusen conducted doctoral research on Mahler's appropriation of folk music. The Nazis' *Machtergreifung* in 1933, however, made a dissertation on a Jewish composer untenable; the research was first

⁷⁵ Adler, *Gustav Mahler*, 73; see fn. 1.

⁷⁶ Adler excused himself from fully applying his stylistic analysis to Mahler on account of insufficient historical distance (Adler, *Gustav Mahler*, 7–8).

⁷⁷ Pamer, "Gustav Mahler's Lieder," 31.

published in a series of articles some thirty years later.⁷⁸ Unlike Pamer, Klusen held that Mahler's vernacular elements were a virtual melting pot of folk sources from various regions, German and Czech. He found little evidence of Mahler actually quoting folksongs, leading him to argue that the ostensible similarities to folk music are at times a matter of stylistic imitation and at other times a matter of isolated elements being used as subtle atmospheric effects.

Pamer's and Klusen's studies were anomalous in the Mahler literature before the Second World War. Another forty years would pass before similar research was undertaken. Vladimir Karbusicky's *Gustav Mahler und seine Umwelt* (1978) sought to document stylistic affinities with the Bohemian and Moravian folk traditions that Mahler assimilated from his childhood musical environment.⁷⁹ According to Karbusicky, Mahler drew on these sounds in richly associative and relatively self-contained episodes that he called memory-complexes (*Erinnerungskomplexe*). Karbusicky carefully selected sources reflecting the styles and songs likely present in Iglau during Mahler's childhood. Like Pamer, Karbusicky concluded that Mahler's appropriations of Czech folk music are a mixture of stylistic allusions and overt borrowings.

Although there have been no extensive studies of Mahler's possible allusions to Jewish music, such connections have been widely discussed.⁸⁰ The few detailed analyses

⁷⁸ Ernst Klusen, "Gustav Mahler und das böhmisch-mährische Volkslied," in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß* (Kassel, 1962); "Gustav Mahler und das Volkslied seiner Heimat," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 15 (1963): 29–37; and "Über den Volkston in der Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 17 (1972): 35–48.

⁷⁹ Other studies that claim to investigate Mahler's indebtedness to the folk music of Iglau, Karbusicky contends, used folksong anthologies from regions with which Mahler had little or no contact. He criticizes Klusen, for example, for using anthologies that covered south-eastern Moravia, whereas Iglau was in the south-western corner of the province (Karbusicky, *Gustav Mahler und seine Umwelt*, 31).

⁸⁰ The notion of Jewish music can be construed in many different ways. Here, it is used to refer broadly to Jewish liturgical music and non-liturgical folk and popular traditions. There are many passing remarks in the literature on melodic similarities to synagogue tunes or Hassidic folksongs. See, for

all concern a single passage from the third movement of the First Symphony at measures 36–60.⁸¹ Berl was among the first to impute a specifically Jewish character to this passage, which Mahler sometimes related to Bohemian street musicians. A more analytical account did not come along until 1986, when Leonard Bernstein expounded on the section's Yiddish tone and similarity to *klezmer* music.⁸² He supported this claim with references to a number of general musical parameters, spanning rhythm, mode, melodic gestures, and expressive character. The list has since been expanded by other scholars.⁸³ While the sum total of these traits might seem impressive at first glance, it suffers from two basic problems. It is not clear how Mahler would have heard *klezmer* music (unlike German and Czech folksongs, which he did hear), as there is no evidence of such ensembles in Iglau.⁸⁴ Prague offered the best opportunity, but despite Mahler's

example, Erik Werner, review of *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers* by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Notes*, ser. 2, vol. 40, no. 3 (March 1984): 551; Brod, *Die Musik Israels*, 24; Peter Gradenwitz suggests that the similarities between Mahler's melodies and Hassidic folksongs may be the result of a common influence from Slavic folksongs (*The Music of Israel from the Biblical Era to Modern Times*, 2d ed. [New York: Norton, 2010], 210).

⁸¹ The most detailed accounts, whose results are here combined, are Vladimir Karbusicky, "Gustav Mahlers musikalisches Judentum" in *50 Jahre Musikwissenschaftliches Institut in Hamburg: Bestandaufnahme - aktuelle Forschung - Ausblick*, ed. Peter Peterson and Helmut Rösing, *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 16 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999), 179–207; adapted and translated in "Gustav Mahler's Musical Jewishness," in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005), 195–216; and Francesca Draughon and Raymond Knapp, "Gustav Mahler and the Crisis of Jewish Identity," *Echo* 3, no. 2 (fall 2001), accessed 11 February 2010 <www.echo.ucla.edu>.

⁸² Leonard Bernstein, "Der kleine Trommler. Essay über die Musik und das Leben Gustav Mahlers," a production of ZDF, BBC, and Israeli Television Tel Aviv (8 May 1986); cited in Karbusicky, "Gustav Mahlers musikalisches Judentum," 205.

⁸³ Karbusicky also points to the augmented second and abrupt shift of character between plaintiveness and dancing gaiety ("Gustav Mahler's Musical Jewishness," 203–205). Draughon and Knapp call attention to the dotted march rhythms, the focus on reed instruments, the prominent E-flat clarinet and its "nasal" quality, and the alternation of bass and snare drum hits ("Gustav Mahler and the Crisis of Jewish Identity").

⁸⁴ La Grange and Jens Malte Fischer both conclude that there was no *klezmer* music in Iglau; see La Grange 4:475; and Fischer, 330. Karbusicky's work offers a telling indirect confirmation. His book *Gustav Mahler und seine Umwelt* is the most detailed reconstruction of the folk music of his childhood. Karbusicky's final article, "Gustav Mahler's Musical Jewishness," is the most strongly articulated case for

living there in 1885–86, no account of his hearing *klezmer* music survives. The other difficulty is that documentation of *klezmer* music only began in the early twentieth century, some two decades after the First Symphony was written. It is unclear to what extent these records offer an accurate picture of *klezmer* music in the 1880s—had Mahler even heard it.

Even the meager attention given Mahler’s possible allusions to *klezmer* music surpasses that given to his appropriation of urban popular styles.⁸⁵ Many potential likenesses circulate in the literature, but mostly as isolated observations. For example, more than one commentator has identified a possible quotation of Strauss’s waltz “Freut euch des Lebens” in the Ninth Symphony, but each has done so in passing and not as part of a wider study of Mahler and the waltz.⁸⁶ More frequently, the relationship to popular music is a matter of assertion; one resorts to such qualifiers as “urban,” “popular,” or “trivial” to describe a melodic construction or the disposition of a genre reference. There is very little comparative research that actually examines Mahler’s music in the context of the popular music of his time.

Jewish elements in Mahler’s music, going so far as to accuse Mahler scholarship of a conspiracy to suppress this aspect of Mahler’s life. Despite summarizing all of the evidence connecting Mahler to Judaism, he nowhere mentions Jewish folk music in Iglau.

⁸⁵ To some extent, this is a peculiarity of Mahler scholarship. The literature on Stravinsky and Shostakovich, for example, does not shy away from considering *Petrushka* in the context of popular music or from writing about the references to urban songs in Shostakovich’s operetta *Moscow Cheryomushki*. See Simon Karlinsky, “Stravinsky and Pre-Literate Russian Theater,” *19th-Century Music* 6, no. 3 (spring 1983): 232–40; Richard Taruskin, “Stravinsky’s *Petrushka*,” in *Petrushka: Sources and Contexts*, ed. Andrew Wachtel (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1998), 67–114; and Gerard McBurney, “Fried Chicken in the Bird-Cherry Trees,” in *Shostakovich and His World*, ed. Laurel Fay (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 227–74.

⁸⁶ See, among others, Stephen E. Hefling, “The Ninth Symphony,” in *The Mahler Companion*, ed. Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 476. Hefling treats the quotation as common knowledge, and gives Philip Barford credit for the discovery.

The most significant exception is “Johann Strauß und Gustav Mahler,” by Alexander Ringer.⁸⁷ Among Ringer’s most striking finds is that the archetypal example of Mahler writing in the style of a folksong—the “Lindenbaum” episode of the First Symphony—is also a pitch-specific quotation of the *Lagoon* waltz from Strauss’s operetta *Eine Nacht in Venedig*. The prospect that a passage so frequently associated with folksong could also bear such a resemblance to an operetta of its day should alert us to the inadequacy of an exclusive focus on the fund of German and Czech folksongs of Mahler’s youth.

In the end, Mahler’s only vernacularisms to receive careful study (book-length or otherwise) involve allusions to the one echelon of vernacular music already admitted to the upper tier of musical culture: folksong. This may be due in part to the hard-dying habit of thinking in terms of aesthetic hierarchies. As will become evident in the following overviews of more recent scholarship, many musicologists seem to harbor the suspicion that any similarity with popular music reflects poorly upon Mahler’s symphonies. Even as Mahler’s music gained acceptance in the standard orchestral repertoire, the stigma of triviality still prompted a defensive tone among many writers.

Scholarship since the Mahler Renaissance

Scholarly interest in Mahler’s music stagnated from the interwar period until the so-called Mahler Renaissance, a surge in popularity among both performers and academics beginning about 1960.⁸⁸ The most extensive treatment of Mahler’s

⁸⁷ Alexander L. Ringer, “Johann Strauss und Gustav Mahler,” in *Johann Strauss: Zwischen Kunstanspruch und Volksvergnügen*, ed. Ludwig Finscher and Albrecht Riethmüller (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 147–57.

⁸⁸ In the interwar period, eroding economic conditions and mounting social and political pressures aimed at Jews and Jewish culture reversed the fortunes that Mahler’s music had enjoyed since

vernacularisms in the English-language scholarship from this period came from biographical studies that advanced many of the same interpretations as found in the early monographs. Donald Mitchell wielded this broad explanatory brush in his pioneering study on Mahler.

It seems clear to me that the part popular, part folk, part military musical atmosphere in which Mahler grew up did, in fact, exert a considerable influence on the formation of his style, that his imagination was stimulated and even permanently coloured by local musical events in a manner which owes nothing to the feats of reconstruction by “over-imaginative biographers,” that the geographical context of his birth—his Bohemianism, let us call it—was more of an active force in his music (or in certain important works) than has hitherto been realized.⁸⁹

The popularity of Freudian theory made the trope of childhood experiences all the more attractive to British and American scholars. Having taken root in some intellectual circles as early as the 1920s, psychoanalysis grew ever more popular into the 1950s and 1960s.⁹⁰ Freud’s view of childhood traumas as powerful determinants of the emotional worlds of adults resonated powerfully with an anecdote about Mahler’s brief meeting with Sigmund Freud in 1910. Mahler recounted a childhood memory in which he escaped a fight between his parents by running out onto the street. There he

his death. A number of conductors kept the flame of Mahler’s music alive on concert stages in England, America, and the Netherlands, but canonization remained elusive until the Mahler Renaissance. The causes for the sudden rise in his popularity have spawned much research. An entrance into this expansive literature can be found in the following: Carl Dahlhaus “Die rätselhafte Popularität Gustav Mahlers,” *Musik und Bildung* 5, no. 11 (November 1973): 590–92; Christoph Metzger, *Mahler-Rezeption: Perspektiven der Rezeption Gustav Mahlers* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofenlath, 2000); Edward R. Reilly, “Mahler in America,” and Donald Mitchell, “The Mahler Renaissance in England,” in *The Mahler Companion*, ed. Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Leon Botstein, “Whose Gustav Mahler? Reception, Interpretation, and History,” in *Mahler and his World*, ed. Karen Painter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

⁸⁹ Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 1, *The Early Years*, rev. and ed. Paul Banks and David Matthews (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 19–20. Mitchell was responding to a criticism by Dika Newlin, who had argued that Mahler’s early biographers over-imaginatively emphasized the importance of his childhood environment for his mature compositional style; see Newlin, *Bruckner – Mahler – Schoenberg [1947]*, rev. ed. (London: Marion Boyers, 1978), 125.

⁹⁰ For an overview of Freudian theory in American Mahler scholarship, see Paul, “Converging Paths to the Canon,” 187–200.

happened upon a strongly contrasting scene: a hurdy-gurdy playing the popular song “Ach, du lieber Augustin.” Mahler maintained that this explained “the conjunction of high tragedy and light amusement . . . from then on inextricably fixed in [my] mind.”⁹¹ For Mitchell, this one anecdote provided the key to understanding all folk and popular elements in Mahler’s music.

The mundane, as we know, is often a prime component of Mahler’s symphonies. If we care to establish the ‘hurdy-gurdy’ as a symbol of the mundane, the striking incident outlined above enables us to place the origin, and account for the presence, of that whole area of musical experience, which formed so substantial a part of the background to his youth, in the music of his maturity.⁹²

The function Mitchell assigned the mundane in Mahler’s works was also much the same as that claimed in the early literature: a negative foil to the soaring expressive heights.

Perhaps the most significant musical consequence of Mahler’s childhood trauma was this, that his unhappy experience endowed the hurdy-gurdy—the symbol of the commonplace—with a quite new weight. Its music became as highly charged with emotional tension as the tragic incident to which it related. The conjunction of high tragedy and the commonplace meant that the commonplace itself, in the right context, could bear a new meaning. Its ironic comment could intensify a region of tragedy, or it could be used as a new means of expression.⁹³

Mahler’s vernacularisms were thus understood in largely the same terms in English-language life-and-works treatments during the Mahler Renaissance as it had been in the German-language monographs that had appeared in the wake of his death. To this day, Mahler’s childhood continues to be linked to this aspect of his works.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Ernest Jones, *Sigmund Freud: Life and Work. Volume Two: Years of Maturity, 1901-1919* (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), 88–89.

⁹² Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 1, *The Early Years*, 19–20.

⁹³ Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 2, *The Wunderhorn Years: Chronicles and Commentaries*, rev. and ed. Paul Banks and David Matthews (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 76.

⁹⁴ See, for example, Jiří Rychetský, “Der Junge Gustav Mahler und Iglau: Begleiter durch die Museumsexposition,” exhibition catalogue at the Museum Vysociny, Jihlava, 1994; Stuart Feder, “Gustav Mahler: A Composer’s Childhood. The Auditory Environment,” in *Neue Mahleriana: Essays in Honour of Henry-Louis de La Grange on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Günther Weiß (Berne: Peter Lang, 1997), 27–38.

Eggebrecht

Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht's *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers* (1982) treats Mahler's vernacular elements more extensively than any other work in the musicological literature. In many ways, he simply dresses up central tenets of the early monographs in new garb. His aim is to uncover a "Mahler principle"—a fundamental premise for the characteristic sound and expressive power of Mahler's music. He locates it in Mahler's attempt to represent the entire universe in tones. Eggebrecht argues that Mahler divided the universe into two separate worlds: the real world, full of suffering and pain, and beyond it an ideal world, accessible only in dreams through the beauties of nature. The "Mahler principle" is the musical expression of these two opposed worlds and of the human predicament of being consigned to one of them despite continual longing for the other. Just as the early biographers understood similarities with popular music as the basis for negative expression and the everyday, Eggebrecht claims that "The concrete means by which Mahler strives to illustrate the world—both the 'real' and the other—in symphonic terms, are to a great extent identical with the spectrum of musically colloquial references at his disposal."⁹⁵

Where Eggebrecht departs from earlier commentators is in his attempt to wash the vernacularisms clean of any connotations they may retain from their original contexts. This is a substantial departure from previous accounts of folk-like traits in Mahler's music. Instead of using origins to legitimate their presence in a symphony and assess their significance, Eggebrecht wants to understand Mahler's music only by reference to its scores and to Mahler's worldview as articulated in his letters. For him,

⁹⁵ Eggebrecht, *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers*, 64: "Die konkreten Mittel, mit denen Mahler die Welt, die 'eine' wie die 'andere', symphonisch abzubilden trachtet . . . sind weitgehend identisch mit dem Spektrum der sich ihm bietenden Möglichkeiten musikalisch umgangssprachlicher Anknüpfungspunkte."

Mahler's symphonies are the epitome of *Weltanschauungsmusik*, that is, musical creations intended to convey the composer's philosophical and metaphysical views of the world and existence.⁹⁶ Any apparent link to the real world would jeopardize their lofty status.

The problem that Eggebrecht faced, then, was how to divorce allusions to vernacular styles from their musico-historical context without forfeiting their semantic content altogether. He postulated a two-step process. The first was to recognize vernacularisms as signifying something foreign by virtue of the contrast to their artful musical context:

It is the artificial context that makes the vernacular tone of the themes and motives stand out as such. This is true not just for past listeners or those today, but once for all: The artful compositional context defines the vernacular as something foreign to it (as Other); the artfulness is ever present but never assimilates the points of reference and origins [of the vernacular] to itself, never 'artificializes' them away. It is a quality of Mahler's music that cannot be lost to time, which no given situation of reception can extinguish.⁹⁷

By appealing to internal contrasts, Eggebrecht could claim that these passages would be heard as Other regardless of when and where the piece was performed. More difficult, however, was accounting for their semantic power in a timeless perspective. His strategy was to assert that the semantic content stemmed from musical references to abstract types or idioms he called "vocables" (*Vokabeln*). Musical vocables are like items within a linguistic vocabulary: syntactical units with purportedly unmistakable semantic

⁹⁶ The term was coined by Rudolf Stephan. See "Außermusikalischer Inhalt; Musikalischer Gehalt: Gedanken zur Musik der Jahrhundertwende," in *Vom musikalischen Denken: Gesammelte Vorträge*, ed. Rainer Damm and Andreas Traub (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1985), 309–20.

⁹⁷ Eggebrecht, *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers*, 53: "ist es der artifizielle Kontext, der den umgangssprachlichen Ton der Themen und Motive als solchen erst eigentlich hervortreten lässt, und dies nicht etwa nur für den damaligen oder erst für den heutigen Hörer, sondern ein für allemal: Der kompositorisch kunstvolle Zusammenhang definiert das umgangssprachliche Moment als ein ihm gegenüber fremdes und anderes, indem die Kunst vollauf präsent ist und doch die Anknüpfungspunkte und Herkunftsbereiche ihrer substanziellen Gebilde nicht zu sich hin nivelliert, nicht 'wegartifizialisiert.' Es ist eine unverlierbare, durch keine Rezeptionssituation auszulöschende Eigenschaft der Musik Mahlers."

dimension.⁹⁸ Like Platonic forms, these vocables do not depend upon any single representation in the real world, but are the idealized essences of these representations. Any musical configuration readily recognized as familiar, regardless of its origin in the concert hall, on the streets, or at church, could be considered a vocable: chorale, march, falling melodic second, or birdsong. The communicative power of vocables derived not from their origins but from their status as archetypes. The trumpet signal that closes the posthorn solo of the Third Symphony, for example, belongs to a vocabulary of “signals,” whose semantic content is to announce. That Mahler’s signal in fact matches the Austrian military signal “fall out” (*Abblasen*) is irrelevant for Eggebrecht. In this context, the signal announces the end of the posthorn solo, which had represented a vision of the ideal world, and heralds the return to the real world of the animals. Ostensible allusions to folk or popular song, Eggebrecht contended, were only coincidental likenesses, arising from these references to general archetypes.

In the end, one wonders if the compositional premise expounded upon in this monograph would not be more aptly designated the “Eggebrecht Principle.” The account of aesthetic experience that it implicitly contains is far from intuitive, banning any social or historical connotations of Mahler’s richly associative materials. Music is instead heard in terms of pristine vocables capable of depicting the real world without being sullied by direct connections with it. Eggebrecht ultimately developed one possible way to account for the expressive power of Mahler’s allusions to folk and popular materials among later generations unfamiliar with the acoustical environment from which Mahler appropriated them. But his premises exact a steep cost from the music, turning music into an asocial, ahistorical entity.

⁹⁸ Eggebrecht, *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers*, 67. The German word *Vokabel* does not denote nonsense syllables as *vocable* does in English.

Adorno

Perhaps the most influential account of Mahler's vernacularisms is Adorno's *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik*, a slim yet seminal work from 1960 that has been widely read ever since.⁹⁹ Adorno claimed that one of Mahler's greatest achievements as a composer was to forge a "tone of brokenness."¹⁰⁰ The musical means of its articulation turned largely on the distinctive allusions to vernacular styles in works that otherwise aspired to high art. Adorno contended that Mahler's use of folk and popular styles was distinguished from the way that nationalist composers used them by virtue of the more progressive aesthetic project to which they contribute: "what in [nationalist composers] was involuntarily vulgar becomes in Mahler a provocative alliance with vulgar music"¹⁰¹ The true merit of this alliance was, for Adorno, its reflection of social conditions. Mahler's banalities "are at the same time allegories of the lower, the humbled, and the socially maimed. . . . [His music is a] critique of the culture in which it circulates and out of whose (already) worn-out elements it is composed."¹⁰² By appealing

⁹⁹ A philosopher, sociologist, and accomplished musician, Adorno had already left a trail of articles and books extending back into the 1920s. Within a Marxist framework he wove together a musical aesthetics with a sociology of music. At the core of these writings is the belief that music reflects and reciprocally influences society. Adorno thought society fractured, broken largely on the account of the detrimental effects of capitalism and the commodity system. Bad ("regressive") music supports the continuation of this state of affairs by offering a utopian view of the world at the same time that it conforms to the requirements of the reigning, unjust social conditions. Great ("progressive") music undermines unjust social structures by reflecting the true condition of society and by conveying a refusal to conform. The place of hermeneutics in the respective axes of the discipline helps to explain the chronological lag in Adorno's popularity. In Austro-German scholarship, Adorno's influence was immediate and sustained, waning only at the end of the century. His work gained a foothold in Anglo-American Mahler scholarship only in the later 1980s, coinciding roughly with the rise of the New Musicology, which acted on similar concerns.

¹⁰⁰ Adorno, ;*Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik*, 180–81; *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, 31–32. All translations from Adorno's book are Edmund Jephcott's from the published English edition.

¹⁰¹ Adorno, *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik*, 184; translated as in *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, 35.

to musical types and clichés normally heard in popular music, Adorno contended, Mahler could convey truths about the injustice of society that would have been impossible to convey within the language of art music. Adorno is significant for viewing a supposed weakness as an asset, as cause not for defensiveness but for admiration.

Adorno assumed that these vernacular materials had their origin in commercialized popular culture. His writings thereby resuscitated the interpretations of many of Mahler's contemporary critics, bringing these ideas into the academic discourse of the Mahler Renaissance.¹⁰³ In part, Adorno was motivated to save Mahler's music from those who psychologized its content with appeals to the composer's childhood experiences. "There is the constant prattle about Mahler's music as a mirror of his soul."¹⁰⁴ Unlike the early biographers, he did not hear the trivial and vulgar as aesthetic antipodes that throw the transcendence of other passages into relief, but, like many hostile newspaper critics, as an interference with the works' pretensions to a place in the temple of high art music. Though previously a reason to dismiss Mahler's music as aesthetically inferior (or as Jewish), these internal dislocations became, in Adorno's inverted evaluation, bearers of powerful social import.

In spite of his own valorization of Mahler's forging a "provocative alliance" with inferior music, Adorno nonetheless felt compelled to protect Mahler's music from

¹⁰² Adorno, "Wiener Rede," in *Gustav Mahler* (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag, 1966), 198, 200: "sind zugleich Allegorien des Unteren, Erniedrigten, gesellschaftlich Verstümmelten. . . Mahlers Musik ist . . . Kritik auch an der Kultur, in der sie sich bewegt und aus deren bereits vernutzten Elementen sie sich fügt."

¹⁰³ Leon Botstein discusses how negative reactions to Mahler's music in the critical press during his lifetime anticipated the views that Adorno would later espouse. See Botstein, "Whose Gustav Mahler?"

¹⁰⁴ Adorno, *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik*, 171; translated as in *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, 23. For Adorno's critique of the view that Mahler's marches represent childhood experiences, see Adorno, "Wiener Rede," 218–19.

popular music. He argued that Mahler's works were distinguished from *Trivialmusik* in that they were never banal on more than one textural level at a time.¹⁰⁵ That is, whenever one dimension of Mahler's musical texture—usually the melody—incorporated a stylistic simplicity deemed unbecoming in a symphony, then the complexity of other dimensions—usually rhythm or harmony—exceeded that of actual examples from the folk or popular spheres.¹⁰⁶ This explanation reconciles the seemingly contradictory claims that the music's effect is trivial but its technique sublime. But it also reflects an aesthetic condescension apparent in Eggebrecht's work, too.

Although Adorno sees the use of popular musical materials as a source of the music's social significance, his approach is fundamentally interpretative and ahistorical, revealing little about how Mahler's works related to popular music of his day. Befitting his aphoristic and deliberately anti-systematic prose style, Adorno was hardly precise about the scraps of popular music that he professed to hear. It is not clear to what extent they are quotations, coincidental likenesses resulting from generic references, or willful deformations of a popular original.¹⁰⁷ His widely-cited observation that a passage in the *Rondo-Burleske* of the Ninth Symphony bears similarities to "Ja, das Studium der Weiber ist schwer" from Franz Lehár's operetta *Die lustige Witwe* is a case in point. The theme "saunters to the rhythm of the 'Women' song in the *Merry Widow*, which at that

¹⁰⁵ Adorno, *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik*, 253f.; *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, 107f.

¹⁰⁶ To deflect the charge of triviality in the first theme of the Andante moderato of the Sixth Symphony, Adorno pointed to its rhythmic augmentations, which turn what "should" be a regular eight-bar melody into one with ten bars (Adorno, *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik*, 253; *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, 107). Schoenberg used this same example to make a similar point in his "Prager Rede" of 1912 (in *Gustav Mahler* [Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1966], 55–58).

¹⁰⁷ He even remarks on the likeness to a song not yet composed (Adorno, *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik*, 184; *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, 35).

time squeaked from the brass horns of phonographs.”¹⁰⁸ The musical similarities prompting this observation (widely repeated in the literature) clearly extend beyond rhythmic commonalities to include parallels in melodic shape, phrasing, instrumentation, and other particulars of accompaniment. Without this constellation of shared traits, and relying solely on rhythms, one would have little basis to invoke Lehár’s operetta; dactylic rhythms alone are hardly unique to operetta or to popular music more generally. Thus, Adorno’s remark correctly identifies a striking likeness between Mahler’s symphony and Lehár’s operetta, but his aphoristic characterization does not adequately summarize the underlying analytic dimensions.¹⁰⁹

Recent Trends in Anglo-American Scholarship

Many scholars in recent decades have taken seriously the historical context for Mahler’s vernacularisms, united by a belief in the clarity of Mahler’s borrowings. In his article “Ives and Mahler: Mutual Responses at the End of an Era” (1978), Robert Morgan made an influential comparison of the two composers’ reactions to the challenge posed by the demise of common practice tonality.¹¹⁰ Morgan contended that rather than adopting increasingly chromatic musical languages, they used defamiliarized, banal materials to reformulate notions of serious art music. Whereas Ives intended his borrowings to be heard as quotations, Mahler’s apparent use of folk and popular materials was

an artificial reconstruction of a specific compositional type—the march tunes in the first movement of the Third Symphony, the Alpine folk song in its third

¹⁰⁸ Adorno, *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik*, 305; translated as in *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, 162–63.

¹⁰⁹ For more on this potential allusion to Lehár, see ch. 4, pp. 181–84.

¹¹⁰ Robert P. Morgan, “Mahler and Ives: Mutual Responses at the End of an Era,” *19th-Century Music* 2, no. 1 (July 1978): 72–81.

movement, the Bohemian music in the third movement of the First Symphony, or the bugle calls in the Fifth. Yet in effect—and this is the essential point—all of these passages are as clearly representative of the real thing as are Ives's literal borrowings.¹¹¹

Vera Micznik, whose research on genre reference in Mahler's works is among the most important in recent decades, also believes in the fundamental reliability of modern intuitions in accounts of Mahler's vernacular allusions. Micznik's goal in "Mahler and 'The Power of Genre'" (1994) is to tease out meanings from Mahler's Ninth Symphony—meanings that do not rely on biography, whether the trope of childhood experiences or, as had been typical in the case of the Ninth, the trope of valediction.¹¹² Micznik's approach is almost diametrically opposed to that taken by Eggebrecht. She holds that the primary significance of generic references is bestowed by the extra-musical associations of the referent in its original context, including its "character, affect, class affiliation, social or ideological status." She argues for a more finely tuned and precise identification of generic references, because such broad categories as the *ländler* and *waltz* had multiple sub-genres, each of which conveyed different extra-musical associations. She differentiates, for example, between references to peasant and urban *ländler*, and contends that Mahler juxtaposed the two for comic effect.¹¹³ Finer differentiation of genres enables Micznik to conclude that the novelty of the movement comes from its constant affirmation and negation of genres: it clearly articulates genres only to distort them.

¹¹¹ Morgan, "Mahler and Ives," 75.

¹¹² Vera Micznik, "Mahler and 'The Power of Genre,'" *Journal of Musicology* 12, no. 2 (spring 1994): 117–51. Mahler's Ninth Symphony was the last work he completed before his death. Ever since its première in 1912, it has been widely interpreted as conveying his farewell to mortal life. See Micznik, "The Farewell Story of Mahler's Ninth Symphony," *19th-Century Music* vol. 20, no. 2, *Special Mahler Issue* (autumn 1996): 144–66.

¹¹³ Micznik, "Mahler and the 'Power of Genre,'" 142.

In much of Micznik's work, however, the generic labels are critical categories forged in her modern intuition and whose validity in Mahler's musical environment are questionable. Her article on the Ninth differentiates between "rustic ländler," "urbanized ländler," "street-band waltzes," "circus gallops," and "baroque ostinato bass dances," which she assures the reader was a recognizable type of the day. In another article, she writes of the opening theme of Mahler's Third: "But aside from the need for historical accuracy [in assessing potential melodic allusions], the exact source of the reference is not ultimately important, because even with slight variations the original tune would contain enough characteristic clichés for it to be associated both by Mahler's contemporaries and in our time with an 'urban march' musical type or topic."¹¹⁴ What did an "urban march" sound like, and how might it have differed from folksongs and the presumably rural marches? The distinction is not trivial; to parody folksongs, a locus of edifying tradition and national identity, was something altogether different than to parody urban popular songs, which many held to be a modern ill corrosive to those very traditions and identities. Ultimately, it is not clear that Mahler and his contemporaries heard music in terms of these genres. If they did, one would suspect to find at least some written references to them. Micznik offers no such historical evidence.

Apparently historical claims that Mahler appropriated elements from folk, popular, and military repertoires, are more common by far than comparative musical examples to support the assertion. It might be tempting to believe that such historical contextualization is unnecessary and even pedantic, given the simplicity of the musical idioms in question and the tantalizing closeness of Mahler's time and milieu. Even the youngest scholars today, after all, are but a few generations removed from his lifetime.

¹¹⁴ Vera Micznik, "'Ways of Telling' in Mahler's Music: The Third Symphony as Narrative Text," in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005), 312.

However tempting, the notion that modern sensibilities about folk and popular genres are roughly the same as in Mahler's day must be demonstrated or jettisoned. Mahler's vernacularisms are based on conventions whose details have become blurred over time. These elements may directly engage the imaginations of countless listeners today, but ascertaining their relationship to the broader musical environment in which Mahler composed requires a mode of inquiry more historical than intuitive.

The detrimental effects of assuming that modern intuitions have reliably historical validity can be seen in the inaccurate assessments of Mahler's marches. Donald Mitchell, in his pioneering study of 1975, called the Third "groundbreaking" in its incorporation of "authentic" military band scoring.¹¹⁵ Tibbe pinpointed the particularly military flavor of Mahler's marches in the use of tambourine and triangle, two "insignias" of military music.¹¹⁶ Bernd Sponheuer cited the triangle, tambourine, and two sets of timpani as characteristically military traits.¹¹⁷ Constantin Floros wrote that Mahler's *Allegro marziale* type makes use of all the percussion instruments of a military band: timpani, bass drum, triangle, snare drum, cymbals, and gong.¹¹⁸ In each of these cases, the authors invoked specific aspects of military band practice without recourse to comparative examples or to relevant secondary literature, as if the supposed simplicity of popular styles made them all the more amenable to generalization. As will become apparent in the following section and next two chapters, the musical features of popular idioms from the past are not always self-evident today. Many instruments cited by

¹¹⁵ Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 2: *The Wunderhorn Years*, 326.

¹¹⁶ Tibbe, *Lieder und Liedermente*, 107.

¹¹⁷ Bernd Sponheuer, *Logik des Zerfalls. Untersuchungen zum Finalproblem in den Symphonien Gustav Mahlers* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1978), 144.

¹¹⁸ Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 2: *Mahler und die Symphonik des 19. Jahrhunderts in neuer Deutung* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1977), 141.

Tibbe, Sponheuer, and Floros were anything but typical for Austrian military bands at the turn of the century, and *pace* La Grange and Mitchell, Mahler's instrumentation rarely even comes close to an authentic depiction of these ensembles.¹¹⁹ Despite the concrete references to specific aspects of Mahler's popular musical environment, scholarship that asserts characteristics of popular genres in this way runs the risk of telling us first and foremost how scholars today imagine these genres to have sounded. In the most extreme case, such a procedure distorts past musical realities.

Allusions to Operetta: A Case Study from Mahler's First Symphony

That much remains to be discovered about Mahler's allusions to popular music can be made apparent by considering the veritable *locus classicus* of writing on Mahler's vernacularisms—the third movement of Mahler's First Symphony—in the context of operetta.¹²⁰ Ringer's identification of a quotation from Strauss's *Der Zigeunerbaron* already suggests the potential for such affinities. This analysis will focus on the evocative, written-out binary that comes on the heels of the infamous ironic funeral march. As we have seen, this passage is widely seen to contain stylistic references. One common attribution, which originated in Mahler's program for a performance in Hamburg in 1893, is to the sound of Bohemian street musicians.¹²¹ Many other commentators also take these same passages as references to *klezmer* music, seeing in

¹¹⁹ See chapter 3, "Instrumentation of Military Marches." One possible explanation for the common error of describing the triangle as a quintessential military band instrument is that these authors are German. Triangles were a standard instrument of the Prussian (in contrast to Austrian) military marches. This only underscores the unreliability of our musical intuitions to conform accurately to realities of popular repertoires in Mahler's day.

¹²⁰ For more on Mahler's relationship to operetta, see ch. 4, pp. 140–47.

¹²¹ The program is reprinted in La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 1 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973), plates 46, 47. Note that Mahler did not invoke Bohemian musicians to describe his music directly, but the children's picture "Des Jägers Leichenbegängniss [sic]."

them an important document of Mahler's Jewish identity. To focus only on these potential sources, however, is to overlook palpable connections to its contemporary popular musical context.

The binary contains two distinct expressive characters.

Example 2.1 (appendix D). Mahler, Symphony no. 1, mvt. 3

The first, led by two oboes in parallel thirds, is laden with pathos. Their melody contains augmented melodic seconds and is inflected with modal mixture and chromatic alterations. The regular eighth-note pizzicatos in the string accompaniment conjure a plucked instrument. The second expressive character begins at the performance instruction *Mit Parodie* with a sudden drop to the dominant major. It is boisterous and dance-like, driven by an eighth-note alternation of the bass drum and attached Turkish cymbals. The E-flat clarinets, also largely in thirds, assume the melody, which features many leaps of a fourth, and the string accompaniment is mostly *col legno*. In both passages, two trumpets interject prominent countermelodic motives in thirds.

Taken together, these musical traits read like a laundry list of the *style hongrois*, the quintessential exotic idiom of the nineteenth century. The pizzicato string accompaniment, chromatic inflections of the harmonic minor scale, augmented melodic seconds, emphasis on middle-range winds, pervasive dotted rhythms, parallel thirds, and *Kuruc*-fourth figure were all stock features of stylized Hungarian-Gypsy music.¹²² Similarly to his sparing use of the most potent signifiers of military bands, Mahler avoids the most strongly identifiable traits of the *style hongrois*: virtuosic violin

¹²² Jonathan Bellman calls the *Kuruc*-fourth the "Hungarian equivalent of horn fifths": a fanfare-like figure alternating between the fifth and first scale degree above. The figure is a stylization of an instrument associated with seventeenth-century Hungarian *Kuruc* [Crusader] warriors (Bellman, *The "Style Hongrois" in the Music of Western Europe* [Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993], 48). See also Bellman, "Toward a Lexicon for the *Style hongrois*" *Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 2 (spring 1991): 220–36.

improvisations, cimbalom, and characteristic rhythms (spondee, choriambus, Lombard rhythm, *alla zoppa*). His binary alludes to the *style hongrois* without being reducible to it.

The *style hongrois* had by the 1880s lost its appeal to many composers and become a staple of popular entertainment music.¹²³ Operetta is therefore an apt context for studying how these musical traits functioned in Mahler's contemporary musical environment. Given its unusually broad audience base, operetta could efficiently disseminate—or undermine—musical conventions.¹²⁴ The texts of operettas enable precise identification of the Other implied by the exotic musical elements. Finally, Mahler had conducted numerous operettas in the years immediately preceding composition of the First Symphony (see appendix C).

Strauss's *Cagliostro in Wien* (1875) and Suppé's *Fatinitza* have a similar mélange of exoticisms as Mahler's written-out binary, but nowhere are the resemblances more striking than in Strauss's *Der Zigeunerbaron*.¹²⁵ Being set in Hungary and having Gypsy characters, the operetta is shot through with the *style hongrois*. A passage in the overture corresponds closely to the pathos of Mahler's oboes.

Example 2.2 (appendix D). Johann Strauss, Jr., *Der Zigeunerbaron*, overture

Overtop plodding, *pizzicato* strings, a solo oboe sings an increasingly plaintive melody.

Sobbing figures usher in the minor mode and prominent augmented seconds. After an

¹²³ Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, ch. 10, "Decline and Disappearance." Set in Hungary, Suppé's *Leichte Kavallerie* (1866) was the first major Viennese operetta suffused with the *style hongrois*.

¹²⁴ Christian Glanz, "Aspekte des Exotischen in der Wiener Operette," in *Musicologica Austriaca*, vol. 9, ed. Josef-Horst Lederer (Vienna: Österreichische Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, 1998), 75.

¹²⁵ See Strauss, Jr., *Cagliostro*, no. 5 and Suppé, *Fatinitza*, nos. 11 and 14 (see ex. 11 below). Mahler never conducted *Der Zigeunerbaron*. The anecdote recounted above, however, shows that he had a favorable opinion of the operetta some ten years after writing the First Symphony. It is possible that Mahler knew the operetta by the time that he composed the third movement. He could have heard it in Prague, where the original cast from the Theater an der Wien performed the work every day of a 9-day residence in May 1886. He may also have heard it in Leipzig in the 1886–87 season.

intensified repetition of the solo, an abrupt shift to a cheerful dance effects a juxtaposition not unlike that between Mahler's two characters (ex. 2.2b).

Later in act 1, Mirabella's Couplets display many of the distinctive features of Mahler's *Mit Parodie* passage, including its abrupt beginning.

Example 2.3 (appendix D). Johann Strauss, Jr., *Der Zigeunerbaron*, no. 4, Mirabella's couplets

Mirabella's verse begins in the minor mode, with a melody above pizzicato strings. The start of its second half is articulated by a sudden drop to the dominant major and the entrance of a rigid eighth-note alternation in the percussion. The chromatically inflected melody is accompanied by two trumpets in thirds (among other, less penetrating instruments). And the ends of their phrases are decorated with *Kuruc*-fourth figures in the clarinets, much like those played by Mahler's E-flat clarinets. The majority of these traits are justified by Mirabella's being a Hungarian governess, but some do not belong to the *style hongrois*. The driving "boom-chick" of the percussion and prominent trumpets are reminiscent of the Turkish style.¹²⁶ Indeed, in these couplets, Mirabella is recounting the defeat of the Turks at the Battle of Belgrade. The mixture of *style hongrois* and the Turkish style is entirely appropriate to the story that she tells.

These examples from operetta suggest that the constellation of musical traits in Mahler's movement were used in the popular musical culture of his time as codes for Gypsies, Hungarians, and Turks. The situation was actually more complicated. The specificity of the *style hongrois* and Turkish styles was becoming ever more diluted in the later nineteenth century, as composers used them to portray other ethnic or national groups. As early as 1876, Suppé drew on the *style hongrois* for music portraying Turks in

¹²⁶ Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 25–45.

Fatinitza, an operetta that Mahler conducted. The act 2 Melodrama features an oboe solo in the minor mode, prominent *Kuruc*-fourths, and a spondee (two longs) at the ends of phrases.

Example 2.4 (appendix D). Franz von Suppé, *Fatinitza*, no. 14, melodrama

The setting for this music is the Pasha's palace, yet the only musical connection to the Turkish style is the triangle accompaniment. Christian Glanz's study gives other examples of how exoticisms originally developed to portray Gypsies were often used in Viennese operetta for Slavic and Balkan musical cultures, too.¹²⁷

Mahler's First Symphony appeared at the cusp of this process of dilution.¹²⁸ The referential integrity of the *style hongrois* was beginning to weaken but remained sufficiently intact that the symphony's reviewers in the 1890s and early 1900s heard stylistic references to Hungarian or Gypsy music more than any other repertoire.¹²⁹ This was even true in Prague in 1898. Mahler had by this time jettisoned the program from Hamburg. Tellingly, the critics of this Bohemian city, proud of the success of their landsman, hardly remarked on the Bohemian character of his music. The critic for *Bohemia* did not mention it at all, and the reviewer for the *Prager Abendblatt* found the movement suffused with "the fieriest Hungarian weeping" and interpreted it as Mahler's reminiscence on his time in Budapest; only as an afterthought did he cite "Slavic"

¹²⁷ Glanz, "Aspekte des Exotischen," 86–88. It bears mentioning that Hungarian stereotypes were often conflated with Jewish ones in Viennese popular culture. In the original production of *Der Zigeunerbaron*, for instance, Girardi's creation of the role for the Gypsy Zsupán included many anti-Semitic clichés. See Camille Crittenden, *Johann Strauss: Operetta and the Politics of Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 182–86.

¹²⁸ Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 215–24.

¹²⁹ See August Beer, *Pester Lloyd*, 21 November 1889; anon., *Prager Abendblatt*, 3. March 1898; H. Geisler, "Gustav Mahler's erste Symphonie," *Neue musikalische Presse* 8, no. 1 (1 January 1899): 2–3; Max Kalbeck, "Feuilleton. Gustav Mahler's *Sinfonia ironica*," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 20 November 1900; Hans Münch, "Ein Vorwort zum 3. Abonnementskonzert: Gedenkfeier für Mahler. 1. Symphonie und 'Kindertotenlieder,'" *Badische Volkszeitung*, 16 December 1911.

influences.¹³⁰ No one would contend that reviewers are infallible interpreters. But it is reasonable to assume that their opinions were shaped by the conventions of their musical environment, an environment that they largely shared with Mahler. The frequency with which they heard echoes of Hungarian and Gypsy music—and the rarity with which they mentioned either *klezmer* or, in the absence of Mahler’s programmatic guide, Bohemian street musicians—betrays the alignment of his movement with musical codes widely disseminated in the popular music of his day.¹³¹

This is not to say that Mahler intended for these passages to be clearly evocative of Hungarian and Gypsy music. Rather, he left them referentially open-ended. He eschewed the most readily identifiable markers of the *style hongrois* and Turkish style, latching instead onto secondary traits that, on their own, were commonly but not exclusively associated with any one style. The dilution of exotic codes in popular music only further obscured their referential specificity. Mahler, it seems, was drawn to materials like these: at once highly evocative yet capable of suggesting multiple antecedents. In comparison to the vivid and precise recreation of a particular musical type, such materials possessed a richness of associations that could seemingly speak directly to listeners with diverse experiences and horizons of expectations.

General exoticisms are not the only features that Mahler’s movement has in common with operetta. Irony and stylistic discontinuity, however atypical of symphonic

¹³⁰ K., *Bohemia*, no. 64 (5 March 1898): 3; anon., *Prager Abendblatt*, 3 March 1898. The *Prager Abendblatt* reviewer may have been in part misled by faulty assumptions of Mahler’s biography. Although the First Symphony premièred in Budapest, Mahler had completed it before moving to the city.

¹³¹ I have not come across a review during Mahler’s lifetime that mentions a similarity to *klezmer* music. Not even anti-Semitic papers like the *Deutsche Zeitung*, which had every incentive to identify Jewish musical materials as a way to dismiss Mahler’s music, mentioned *klezmer* music in connection with the Viennese première of Mahler’s First Symphony. Just a couple months later, though, the same reviewer did claim to hear Jewish synagogue music in the “Spielmann” movement of *Das klagende Lied*. See Theodor Helm, “Zweites philharmonisches Concert,” *Deutsche Zeitung*, 20 November 1900; and Helm, “Außerordentliches Concert der Wiener Singakademie,” *Deutsche Zeitung*, 19 February 1901.

style in Vienna in the 1880s, were modes of expression found elsewhere in *fin-de-siècle* culture. Operettas routinely exploited pathos for ironic effect. A classic example is the “Legend of Bluebeard” from Offenbach’s *Barbe-bleue* (1866). Bluebeard recounts the deaths—attempted murders, actually—of his many wives and, in the next moment, rejoices in the prospect of choosing yet another. Offenbach’s music emphasizes the black comedy.

Example 2.5 (appendix D). Jacques Offenbach, *Barbe-bleue*, no. 8, Legend of Bluebeard

The vehicle for Bluebeard’s disingenuous mourning is an expressive recitative with exaggerated tragic clichés: descending melodic lines, wailing and sobbing figures, low wind accompaniment, muffled hits on the bass drum. Then, after a brief pause, the music suddenly flips to the parallel major and a jolly cancan. Bekker, one of Mahler’s earliest proponents, was enamored of this number, writing: “The way that the impossibly melancholic mood veers suddenly here into laughing frivolity, and the tragic seriousness forfeits its dignified gravity and does merry somersaults, that is reminiscent of examples from Heine’s poetry.”¹³²

Another famous example occurs in Johann Strauss Jr.’s operetta *Die Fledermaus* as Rosalinda publicly mourns Eisenstein’s impending imprisonment.

Example 2.6 (appendix D). Johann Strauss, Jr., *Die Fledermaus*, no. 4, trio

The procedures by which Mahler achieves such intensely ironic effects are analogous to those used by Strauss. The text of the Trio is comically banal—Rosalinde laments how coffee and dinner will be ruined in the absence of her husband—and set to a collage of

¹³² Paul Bekker, *Jacques Offenbach* (Berlin: von Marquardt, 1909), 87: “Wie hier mit plötzlichem Ruck die unwahrscheinlich schwermüttsvolle Stimmung in lachende Frivolität umschlägt, wie der tragische Ernst unvermittelt seine würdevolle Gravität aufgibt und lustige Purzelbäume schlägt, das erinnert an Beispiele aus Heines Poesien.”

musical clichés drawn from tragic opera. The ironic effect is heightened by the direct juxtaposition of an amusing polka as characters giddily look forward to their amorous pursuits once Eisenstein is out of the house. Similarly, Mahler creates a purely musical equivalent to Strauss’s banal text: a quotation of “Bruder Martin.” Because the children’s song would have been recognizable to nearly every European, Mahler ensured the disconnection between the comically banal substrate and its inappropriately mournful role as the theme of a funeral march. Furthermore, Mahler sharpens the irony with stylistic discontinuity. After the pathos of the oboes, as in Strauss’s Trio, a contrasting and boisterous dance suddenly emerges. Mahler even hinted at the humorous effect of the movement in terms reminiscent of Rosalinda’s own: “Now my hero has found a hair in his soup and his entire meal is ruined.”¹³³ And at least one review suggests that such correspondences were indeed heard by some of Mahler’s contemporaries. Max Kalbeck—prominent Viennese critic, biographer of Brahms, and librettist of Johann Strauss Jr.’s operetta *Jakuba* (1894)—typically used interpretative poetic ideas and literary allusions to convey a work’s expressive content. On the effect of the shift from ironic pathos to the section *Mit Parodie*, Kalbeck wrote that

As in Bruckner’s symphonies, so too here: the middle movements are the most understandable, delightful, and pleasing. . . . The gypsy trio of the funeral march is explicitly marked “with parody”; Turkish cymbals, bass drum, and the strings with the wood of their bows accompany the charming melody with which the flutes, clarinets, and bassoons sing their plaint in parallel thirds. Harlequin mourns his Columбина – “oh dear, oh dear, how that moves me!” [“o je, o je, wie rührt mich das!”] And yet, on account of the captivating appeal of the sound of this original piece, one forgets that it is not meant seriously.¹³⁴

¹³³ The quotation appeared in Bauer-Lechner’s letter to Ludwig Karpath, in which she conveyed to the critic Mahler’s views of his First Symphony (La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 1:749).

¹³⁴ Max Kalbeck, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 20 November 1900: “Wie in Bruckner’s Symphonien, sind die mittleren Sätze auch hier die verständlichsten, liebenswürdigsten und gefälligsten. . . . Bei dem zigeunerischen Trio des Todtenmarsches ist ‘Mit Parodie’ ausdrücklich vorgeschrieben, türkische Becken und große Trommel, dazu die Streicher mit dem Holz ihrer Geigenbogen, begleiten die reizende, in Terzen klagende Melodie der Flöten, Clarinetten und Fagotte. Bajazzo betrauert seine Colombine – ‘o je,

Kalbeck thus characterized the comic effect of the ironic pathos and discontinuity using two references to popular entertainment: to *commedia dell'arte* and, via a direct quotation of the refrain from the act 1 Trio of *Die Fledermaus*, to operetta. That Kalbeck felt no need to cite his source underscores the topicality of operetta among those who attended concerts and read reviews of Mahler's symphonies. It also shows that juxtaposing ironic pathos with amusement was an expressive device familiar from popular genres like operetta.

*
* *

In light of the reigning assumptions in scholarship on Mahler's vernacular allusions, the foregoing analysis would seem to argue that Mahler clearly drew from the stylistic clichés of operetta. A corollary would be that attributions to Bohemian street musicians or klezmer music are either misguided or false. Nothing could be further from the truth. Not only have scholars lost touch with how Mahler's works fit into the popular musical environment, but they have also missed the provocative ambiguity that characterizes his allusions to vernacular styles. It is fallacious to seek the one true referent. Mahler was arguably aware that the referent heard or chosen would depend on the perspective and ideologies of the listener, and that different ways of hearing might lead to radically different assessments of his music.¹³⁵ Mahler's attraction to vernacular styles resided in the richness of connotative potential that lurked behind their deceptive immediacy.

o je, wie rührt mich das! Und doch vergißt man über dem bestrickenden Klangreiz des originellen Stückes vollkommen, daß es nicht ernst gemeint ist." Kalbeck slightly misquotes the line from *Die Fledermaus*, which uses the demonstrative pronoun "dies," not the definite article "das."

¹³⁵ See, for example, his description of the march episodes in the Third (appendix B.9).

CHAPTER 3

MULTIVALENT EVOCATION IN THE POSTHORN SOLOS OF THE THIRD SYMPHONY

“The nature of our epoch is ambiguity and indeterminacy.”

—Hugo von Hofmannsthal, 1907¹

It is difficult to escape the impression that the posthorn solos in the third movement of the Third Symphony refer to music not normally heard in the concert hall. From the standpoint of form, they are little more than the episodes in a rondo, whose refrains are based on Mahler’s *Wunderhorn* song “Ablösung im Sommer.”² Yet the diatonicism, bewitching orchestration, and spatial remove of the soloist create such an extreme contrast to the wry refrains that they seem to emanate from a different world, both expressive and musical.

¹ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, “Der Dichter und diese Zeit,” *Die neue Rundschau* [Berlin] 18, no. 3 (March 1907): “Aber das Wesen unserer Epoche ist Vieldeutigkeit und Unbestimmtheit.”

² The classic study of Mahler’s symphonic treatment of his songs is Monika Tibbe, *Über die Verwendung von Liedern und Liedelementen in instrumentalen Symphoniesätzen Gustav Mahlers*, Berliner Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, vol. 1, ed. Carl Dahlhaus and Rudolf Stephan (Munich: Emil Katzwichler, 1977). The form is a modified five-part rondo in which the final statement of the refrain is reduced to a short coda. The sections are as follows: refrain 1 (mm. 1–255), episode 1 (mm. 256–346), refrain 2 (mm. 347–484), episode 2 (mm. 485–528), refrain 3/coda (mm. 529–90).

Scholars have long linked the posthorn episodes to folksong. Table 3.1 lists those songs most commonly mentioned, and example 3.1 reproduces the relevant portions of their tunes.

Table 3.1. Melodic similarities to folksongs

Example 3.1 (appendix E). Melodic similarities to folksongs

None qualifies as outright quotation.³ Two of the folksongs have both musical and textual likenesses to Mahler's movement. "Ich ging durch einen grasgrünen Wald" shares with the posthorn a short turn of phrase; central to its text, like that of "Ablösung im Sommer," is a nightingale singing beautifully in the forest. Similarly, "Es kann mich nichts Schöneres erfreuen" contains three melodic cells also found in Mahler's posthorn solo, albeit in a different order. The song's paean to the beginning of summer resonates with "Ablösung im Sommer" and with the erstwhile title to the symphony's first movement, "Summer marches in." The folksongs most closely related to Mahler's posthorn episodes are "Es zogen drei Burschen wohl über den Rhein" and, especially, "Freut euch des Lebens." In short, the musical parallels in all cases are exceedingly short, the longest extending but a single phrase. Moreover, they cluster at cadential phrases, where the pool of melodic possibilities is significantly restricted by the diatonic idiom. Such fragmentary and numerous likenesses would seem to indicate that Mahler did not intend allusion to a single folksong, but rather created a new melody within the folksong idiom. Indeed, scholars widely embrace this view.⁴

³ "Es ritten drei Reiter zum Thore hinaus" and "Wie lieblich schallt durch Busch und Wald" possess only vague similarities to the posthorn solos. "Alle Vögel sind schon da" is related only to the first orchestral interlude of the first episode. Vladimir Karbusicky claims that the Bohemian dance *Hulán* is a more convincing model for this passage (Karbusicky, *Gustav Mahler und seine Umwelt*, Impulse der Forschung, vol. 28 [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978], 47–48).

⁴ Carl Dahlhaus called the posthorn's melody "the archetypal example of Mahler's appropriation of the 'folk-like tone'" (*Realism in Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. Mary Whittall [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985], 114). Monika Tibbe has called them more songlike than a single song could ever

The referential quality of the posthorn solos is magnified by the presence of two actual melodic quotations. The most widely recognized of these, both in Mahler's day and in subsequent scholarship, is the trumpet fanfare that cuts off the first posthorn episode at measure 345. It is a literal quotation of the Austrian military signal for falling out (*Abblasen*).⁵

Example 3.2 (appendix E). Quotation of *Abblasen*

The other instance is the quotation of a Spanish folksong, "Jota aragonesa," in the final orchestral interlude of the second episode. At least two composers before Mahler borrowed the melody: Liszt, in his piano piece *Rhapsodie espagnole* (1863), and Glinka, in *Capriccio brillante* (1845). The mostly likely source for Mahler is Busoni's arrangement of *Rhapsodie espagnole* for orchestra and piano.

Example 3.3 (appendix E). Melodic similarities to Glinka and Liszt

Not only is the melodic quotation of Busoni's arrangement precise, but the harmony is nearly identical, too.⁶ Busoni himself was the first to remark on Mahler's use of "Jota aragonesa" in 1910.⁷ Since the source of the quotation is ultimately a folk song, the passage reinforces the folk-like idiom that Mahler emulated in the episodes.

be (*Verwendung von Liedern und Liedelementen*, 86). See also Robert Morgan, "Ives and Mahler: Mutual Responses at the End of an Era," *19th-Century Music* 2, no. 1 (July 1978): 75; Eggebrecht, *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers*, 182–84; Friedhelm Krummacher, *Gustav Mahlers III. Symphonie: Welt im Widerbild* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 111; Morten Solvik, "Biography and Musical Meaning in the Posthorn Solo of Mahler's Third Symphony," in *Neue Mahleriana: Essays in Honour of Henry-Louis de La Grange on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Günther Weiß (Berne: Peter Lang, 1997), 355.

⁵ The fanfare is also the final motive of the signal for prayer (*Gebet*) and is closely related to the closing motive of taps (*Zapfenstreich*). See Emil Rameis, *Die österreichische Militärmusik—von ihren Anfängen bis 1918*, rev. ed., ed. Eugen Brixel in *Alta Musica* 2 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1976), 183, 188; and Jason Stephen Heilman, "O du mein Österreich: Patriotic Music and Multinational Identity in the Austro-Hungarian Empire" (PhD diss., Duke University, 2009), 198.

⁶ The passages also have textural similarities. See Solvik, "Biography and Musical Meaning," 340–44, 356–59.

⁷ Ferruccio Busoni, *Von der Einheit der Musik: von Dritteltönen und junger Klassizität, von Bühnen und anschließenden Bezirken* (Berlin: Max Hesse, 1922), 152.

Actual posthorns have also been invoked as models for Mahler's solos. The posthorn was a potent symbol in Austro-German culture, where it was (and still is) the official emblem of the postal service. The sense of distance and longing that it conveyed grew only stronger by the end of the century. The supplanting of postal carriages by railroads intensified the power of the posthorn as a symbol of traditional ways of life snuffed out by the onslaught of modernity. Mahler made clear that he was drawing on the idea of a posthorn. He wrote "Die Postillon!" at the start of the first posthorn episode in the autograph fair copy. In the printed score he indicated for the solo to be "freely played (like the tune of a posthorn)" (see ex. 3.12, m. 255), and in the revised score he even called for an actual posthorn.⁸ But many scholars contend that he modeled his solos on the *sound* of the posthorn, too. This view is based on either of three considerations. One is the fact that Mahler would have heard postal signals in his youth.⁹ Another is the claim of an anonymous pamphlet entitled "Erinnerungen eines Prager Musikers" (*Recollections of a Prague Musician*, ?1935)¹⁰ that the solos were inspired by trips to Vlašim Park. Mahler had relatives in the area and, as a child, traveled there by postal carriage.¹¹ Finally, some commentators divine the likenesses to

⁸ At different stages of composition, Mahler called for the soloist to play a trumpet in F, a trumpet in B-flat, and a flügelhorn. The symphony premiered with a flügelhorn, which also appears in the first printed score. As he revised the score, Mahler considered switching the instrument to a cornet before finally settling on the posthorn. See Krummacker, *Gustav Mahlers III. Symphonie*, 35–36; and Morten Solvik, "Culture and the Creative Imagination: The Genesis of Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992), 476–77.

⁹ Karbusicky, *Gustav Mahler und seine Umwelt*, 49; Jiří Rychetský, et al., *Der Junge Gustav Mahler und Iglau: Begleiter durch die Museumexposition*, published in conjunction with the permanent exhibition at the Museum Vysociny, Jihlava (Jihlava: Jiprint, 1994), 26.

¹⁰ La Grange believes that it was written by Mahler's acquaintance Ernst Schultz. See La Grange, *Mahler: Volume 1* (Garden City, New York 1973), 141, 897.

¹¹ La Grange, *Mahler*, I:897; Rychetský, *Der Junge Gustav Mahler*, 26. It is also possible that he visited the park during his residence in Prague in 1885–86 and heard the stylized posthorn solos of outdoor entertainment music.

posthorn repertoire from the music itself, citing especially its timbre, folk-like melody, and improvisatory character. These claims are rarely documented or supported with musical evidence.¹²

In addition to these general compositional types,¹³ scholars often pin interpretative labels to Mahler's posthorn melodies that vaguely imply origins. Some of these reinforce the sense that the Mahler alludes to folksongs or actual posthorns. The term "old-fashioned," for instance, was already a common description in the early monographs on Mahler, where it connoted authentic folksong as opposed to newly composed urban entertainment music.¹⁴ The folk-like tone, the imitation of the actual instrument, and a sense of datedness provide mutually complementary accounts of the posthorn episodes.

Other interpretative labels, however, convey a very different impression. The posthorn episodes have probably attracted more accusations of banality and triviality than any other passage that Mahler wrote. Most commentators feel no need to explain precisely what they mean by such labels. These views often seem to be premised upon the hierarchical division of musical culture into higher and lower tiers, and that the posthorn solos are conduits to the lower. In other words, Mahler's posthorn solos are thought to resemble genres of entertainment music. Adorno used the "scandalously

¹² Eggebrecht, *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers*, 182, 186; Tibbe, *Verwendung von Liedern und Liedelementen*, 86. The most substantial documentation appears in Eggebrecht (*Die Musik Gustav Mahlers*, 182), who cites one sentence from a book on organology.

¹³ One other compositional type is not discussed here: the pastoral topic, treated by Thomas Peattie, "In Search of Lost Time: Memory and Mahler's Broken Pastoral," in *Mahler and His World*, ed. Karen Painter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 185–98.

¹⁴ Richard Specht, *Gustav Mahler, Moderne Essays*, vol. 52 (Berlin: Gose and Tetzlaff, 1905), 40; Paul Stefan, *Gustav Mahler: Eine Studie über Persönlichkeit und Werk*, 2d ed. (Munich: R. Piper, 1920), 123–24; Dieter Schnebel, "Über Mahlers Dritte," in *Mahler: Eine Herausforderung*, ed. Peter Ruzicka (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1977), 165; Krummacher, *Mahlers III. Symphonie*, 114; La Grange, "Music about Music in Mahler: Reminiscences, Allusions, or Quotations?" in *Mahler Studies*, ed. Stephen Hefling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 142.

audacious” episodes to illustrate his famous remark: “The unrisen lower is stirred as yeast into high music. . . . [t]he power of naming is often better protected in kitsch and vulgar music.”¹⁵ Dieter Schnebel has called them “poor man’s music . . . without shame or inhibition.”¹⁶ And Peter Franklin heard in the episodes a “deliberate vulgarization . . . [and] almost kitsch, sentimental melodies.”¹⁷ This view was not new to these authors, but had figured in reception of Mahler’s symphony since its earliest performances. What was new, however, was the approving tone of these scholarly accounts. In early newspaper reception, such epithets were always pejorative.¹⁸

The scholarly reception of the posthorn exemplifies the asymmetrical treatment of Mahler’s vernacularisms. When relationship to the upper tier of musical culture (in this case, folksong) is suspected, it is investigated in the interest of precision. When the music seems to point to the popular sphere, however, the relationship is simply asserted or left implicit.¹⁹ The polarity of reception is also typical. For some scholars, the posthorn episodes connote folksong, beauty, and the past. For others, they connote popular music, vulgarity, and the present. On the one hand, they are idylls; on the other, transgressions against symphonic norms.

¹⁵ Theodor W. Adorno, *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik* [1960], in *Theodor W. Adorno: Die musikalischen Monographien*, vol. 13, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003), 185; translated as in *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 36.

¹⁶ Schnebel, “Über Mahlers Dritte,” 153, 165: “Armeleutemusik . . . ohne Hemmung und Scham.”

¹⁷ Peter Franklin, “Mahler’s Third Symphony,” in *The Mahler Companion*, ed. Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 174.

¹⁸ See Juliane Wandel, “Die Rezeption der Symphonien Gustav Mahlers to Lebzeiten des Komponisten,” *Europäische Hochschulschriften, Series 36, Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 193 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), 67–83.

¹⁹ In contrast to later scholarship, early reviews frequently cited specific popular melodies that Mahler allegedly quoted. See ch. 5, p. 253.

To reconcile such disparate assessments requires a fuller contextualization of the posthorn episodes and the repertoires related to them. The next section deals with the history of the posthorn, its repertoire, and its stylization by composers before Mahler, both in art music and entertainment genres. On that basis, the final section offers a new framework for understanding Mahler's vernacularisms that accounts both for his intentions and for the polarized reception.

The Posthorn and its Imitations in Art Music before Mahler

The posthorn was initially a signaling instrument.²⁰ It announced the arrival, departure, and distress of postillions, whose horse-drawn carriages conveyed mail across the European continent before the advent of railroads. Already by the end of the seventeenth century, composers began imitating posthorn signals and writing parts for the instrument. Johann Beer's *Concerto* for posthorn, hunting horn, and two violins (late 17th century) is among the earliest extant examples. Its signals attest the simple design of the instrument, which could play only the first two harmonics of the overtone series. With no means for lowering pitch, posthorns could play only repeated tones and octave leaps.

Example 3.4 (appendix E). Johann Beer, *Concerto à 4*, mvt. 1, posthorn

Johann Sebastian Bach, Georg Philipp Telemann, Antonio Vivaldi, and Georg Friedrich Handel all imitated or wrote for the posthorn in a similar vein.²¹ This mixture of

²⁰ The most comprehensive history of the posthorn is Albert Hiller, *Das große Buch vom Posthorn* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofens Verlag, 1985). Hiller relies heavily on an earlier essay: Karl Thieme, "Abriß der Geschichte des Posthorns und Sammlung historische Posthornstücke," in: Friedrich Gumbert und Thieme, *Posthornschule und Posthorn-Taschenliederbuch* (Leipzig: Carl Merseburger, 1903). See also Eugen Brixel, "Das Signalwesen der Postillione in Österreich—Ungarn," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1990): 347–82.

²¹ See the "Aria di Postiglione" in Johann Sebastian Bach's *Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletto*, BWV 992 (before 1705?); "La Poste" in the fourteenth lection of Georg Philipp

repeated notes and octave leaps functioned as a kind of musical calling card of the posthorn into the nineteenth century.

Improvements in design and playing techniques in the second half of the eighteenth century expanded the posthorn's capabilities. How composers imitated its signals bespeaks these advances. Mozart's *Posthorn Serenade*, K. 320 (1779), for example, calls for a posthorn that can reach the eighth harmonic.

Example 3.5 (appendix E). Mozart, *Posthorn Serenade*, K. 320, mvt. 6, posthorn

Mozart preserved the traditional style of posthorn calls in the repeated notes and octave leaps of the opening measures. He then turned to signal-like figures that, rising in this excerpt to the sixth harmonic, took advantage of the instrument's increased range and reliability.

The posthorn, like all brass instruments, was transformed in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Whereas previous advancements in construction and technique had made simple melodies possible, albeit with some difficulties and inconsistencies in tone, the addition of finger holes and the invention of valves greatly increased the instrument's melodic potential. The enhanced melodic capacity led to a corresponding expansion in the instrument's uses and repertoire. Much like military bands of the same period, the functional posthorn assumed a prominent role as purveyor of entertainment music. In some regions, this dual function was even decreed in handbooks for postillions. In 1832, the postal authority of Hanover stipulated that "the main purpose of the posthorn is to announce the approach of postal carriages . . . In addition, the posthorn makes travel by postal carriage more pleasant by virtue of its

Telemann's *Der getreue Music-meister* (1728–29); the first and fifth movements of Antonio Vivaldi's *Concerto a 5*, "Il corneto da posta," RV 363 (ca. 1730?); and the Postillion Sinfonia in Georg Friedrich Handel's oratorio *Belshazzar* (1744).

ability to perform euphonious melodies.”²² The Swiss canton St. Gallen required its postillions to learn six entertaining melodies in addition to the postal signals.²³ Austria’s postal authority did not regulate the posthorn apart from its functional signals. Any other music was treated as extra-curricular.

An idea of what postillions chose to play can be gleaned from anthologies. Many were eclectic collections of waltzes, marches, ländler, polkas, mazurkas, folksongs, gallops, lieder, and opera and operetta arias. Others were little more than collections of folksongs transcribed for the posthorn.²⁴ In Bavaria, the connection with folk traditions was particularly strong, and the posthorn came to be considered a folk instrument. The Bavarian postal service’s *50 Songs Suitable for the Posthorn* (1909) cautioned: “In the interest of good taste, sentimental pieces . . . and melodies from operas and operettas should be avoided.”²⁵ From about the 1830s, then, the posthorn had two independent repertoires: the body of officially sanctioned signals and a largely unregulated and diverse repertoire of melodies played for entertainment. This polarity was captured in

²² *Anweisung zum Gebrauche des Posthorns für die Königlich Hannoverschen Postillons* (Hannover, 1832); cited in Hiller, *Das große Buch vom Posthorn*, 42: “Der Hauptzweck des Posthorns besteht darin, die Annäherung postmäßiger Transporte anzuzeigen . . . Außerdem aber dient das Posthorn dazu, die Annehmlichkeiten des Postverkehrs zu erhöhen, indem sich dasselbe zu dem Vortrage wohlklingender Melodien sehr wohl eignet.”

²³ Hiller, *Das große Buch vom Posthorn*, 37.

²⁴ Cf. anon., *Volkslieder für das Posthorn*, ed. Königlich Bayerische Oberpostdirektion (Munich, 1886); Herzog Maximilian in Bayern, *Posthorn-Klänge* (Munich: Braun & Schneider, 1869) [which comprises mostly folksongs]; Anton Scherlein, *Anleitung zum Blasen eines einfachen Posthornes nebst einem Anhang von Postrufen, Fanfaren, Ländler, Walzer, Lieder etc.* (Augsburg and Vienna: Böhm & Sohn, 1886); and Fr. von Pfistermeister, *Taschenliederbuch für Trompete, Cornet à Piston oder Posthorn: Eine Sammlung von über 100 Gebirgs- und Volksliedern, Opernarien, Ländlern, Märschen etc., leicht spielbar arrangirt von F. v. P.* (München, Josef Seiling, 1892).

²⁵ Anon., *50 für das Posthorn geeignete Lieder*, cited in Hiller, *Das große Buch vom Posthorn*, 50: “Im Interesse des guten Geschmacks sind sentimentale Musikstücke . . . zu vermeiden. Ferner sind auch Opern- und Operettenmelodien nicht passend.” That the admonition was necessary suggests that postillions in Bavaria did play melodies from opera and operetta.

the couplet: “Posthorn sounds, posthorn sounds! / Sometimes a blast, sometimes a song” (*Posthornklang, Posthornklang! / Bald Geschmetter, bald Gesang!*).²⁶

Whereas signals were strictly regulated, their prescribed playing even being enforced with fines, it is difficult to establish how often and with what ability postillions performed other melodies. Throughout the nineteenth century, the standard instrument issued to postillions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire lacked valves and had only a single finger hole.²⁷ Such instruments were not suited to any but the simplest diatonic tunes. Furthermore, the postillion was in control the horses.²⁸ With one hand on the reins and the carriage’s movements jarring the embouchure, he faced serious hurdles to creating “euphonious melodies.” These realities come to the fore in a maxim among postillions: “art comes after bread” (*Die Kunst geht nach Brot*).²⁹ Particularly gifted postillions were also more likely to drive carriages with passengers of higher social standing or to concertize at health resorts, making it all the more unlikely that they would have been heard in an average provincial town.³⁰ It thus seems likely that typical postillions played little more than the official signals and a limited repertoire of simple

²⁶ Thieme, “Abriß der Geschichte des Posthorns,” 16.

²⁷ Brixel, “Das Signalwesen,” 366–68.

²⁸ Rudolf Alexander Moißl, *Das Posthorn klingt*, Niederdonau, Ahnengau des Führers, Schriftenreihe für Heimat und Volk 13, ed. Gaupresseamt Niederdonau der NSDAP (St. Pölten: St. Pöltner Zeitungs-Verlag, 1940), 26. This book was published under the auspices of the Nazi Party. It is cited here because it complements Thieme’s essay in its unromanticized and detailed account of the everyday life of a postillion in the nineteenth century. It has no overtly political or anti-Semitic content.

²⁹ Thieme, “Abriß der Geschichte des Posthorns,” 12.

³⁰ Thieme, “Abriß der Geschichte des Posthorns,” 12–13; Hiller, *Der große Buch vom Posthorn*, 45. Moißl reports that famous posthorn virtuosos would switch to trumpet when performing more difficult works (*Das Posthorn klingt*, 25).

melodies, performed mostly during stops and at postal stations. It is no wonder that in some accounts of travel by postal carriage, posthorn serenades play no part.³¹

At about the same time that the posthorn underwent rapid technical advances, it started to take on new significance with composers. In the eighteenth century, composers had generally been drawn to the posthorn as part of a broader interest in folk and functional instruments, including the hunting horns, bagpipes, and Jew's harp. The posthorn was like a novelty item that appeared in concertos, symphonies, and dances, especially *ländler* and German dances, but also minuets.³² In the nineteenth century, the posthorn's connotations fit well to the aesthetic concerns of Biedermeier and Romantic writers. Already apparent in Goethe's poem "An Schwager Kronos" (1774), the posthorn became an efficient, symbolic carrier of romantic longing and aesthetic of nature in the hands of such poets as Joseph von Eichendorff, Wilhelm Müller, and Nikolaus Lenau.³³ Correspondingly, imitations of posthorns often took place in the genre most intimately bound to poetry: *lieder*. In Schubert's song "Die Post" from *Die Winterreise* (1827), the sound of a posthorn intensifies the wanderer's desire for his beloved.

Example 3.6 (appendix E). Schubert, *Die Winterreise*, "Die Post," piano

Here one can see the increasing stylization of the posthorn topic in the right hand of the piano. Schubert does not directly imitate posthorn signals, as was often done in the

³¹ Moißl recounts what it was like to ride in the postal carriage and does not even mention such posthorn serenades as one of the ways that the passengers were entertained. Rather, they talked, read, sang songs, enjoyed the scenery, the telegraph posts, etc.

³² See, for example, Beethoven, *Deutsche Tänze*, WoO 8, no. 12 (1795); Franz Lessel, *12 Ländler samt Coda* (1806); Mozart, Minuet from Serenade no. 9, K. 320 (1779); Johann Strauss, Sr., *Zweite-Kettenbrücke-Walzer*, op. 19 (1828). For a longer list, see Hiller, *Das große Buch vom Posthorn*, 292–94.

³³ See, for example, Eichendorff, "Sehnsucht" and "Kurze Fahrt"; Müller, "Die Post"; and Lenau, "Das Posthorn" and "Der Postillon."

eighteenth-century, but evokes the instrument through a combination of leaps and repeated notes.

Schubert's song is also indicative of a larger shift. Around 1830, composers ostensibly stopped invoking the posthorn in their works.³⁴ The long tradition that had included Vivaldi, Telemann, Bach, Handel, Michael Haydn, Leopold and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert, found its next prominent example some three quarters of a century later in Mahler's Third Symphony. The hiatus, however, is only half true. As German musicians and commentators increasingly and ever more rigidly divided musical space into a higher tier centered on the autonomous artwork and a lower tier of pieces that sought merely to entertain, depictions of the posthorn clustered in the lower tier, in genres of popular, pedagogical, and salon music. A host of popular pieces that contain or imitate the posthorn bridge the gap between Schubert and Mahler. Representative examples include waltzes and ländler by Josef Lanner and Johann Strauss, Sr.; marches and polkas by the two Austrian *Militärkapellmeister* Philipp Fahrbach Sr. and Jr.; *Charakterbilder* and *Possen* by Adolf Müller, Sr., and Anton Max Storch; pedagogical piano pieces by Robert Volkmann and Ludvig Schytte; and salon

³⁴ Hiller's list of works that call for the posthorn gives an idea of how precipitously the practice fell away (*Das große Buch vom Posthorn*, 292–94). Of thirty-six entries, thirty-two were written by composers born by 1780. Of the four romantic composers on the list, at least two are not normally included among the ranks of art music: Josef Lanner and Johann Strauss, Sr. The third composer, Edmund Kretschmer, whose "Wettinger Jubiläums-Marsch" (1883) contains a trio for four posthorns, is largely forgotten today. Mahler, born nearly sixty years after the fathers of Viennese waltz and entertainment music, is the fourth of these composers.

songs by Benedikt Randhartinger and Thomas Koschat.³⁵ Among these pieces, many celebrated the postillion as the conveyer of love letters, as the *Postillon d'amour*.³⁶

The posthorn topic became a fixture in the popular sphere beginning in about the 1820s. The posthorn was still fashionable in domestic and entertainment music at the end of the century. In 1885, the *Großer Liederkatalog* by Ernst Challier contained just over one hundred songs with texts pertaining to posthorns. The number swelled to over 150 in the edition from 1900.³⁷ Posthorn anthologies and tutorials continued to be published in the early years of the twentieth century, decades after the postal carriage had been replaced by trains, and posthorn signals were still heard in operettas.³⁸ By this time, the posthorn loomed large in the public imagination not for its ubiquity outdoors, but for its frequent evocation in popular music.

The posthorn topic did not depend upon the use of an actual posthorn. Other instruments—especially the flügelhorn, but also the cornet, trumpet, or even cello—were also able carriers of the topic.³⁹ Anthologies of posthorn music likewise targeted the family of treble brass instruments. Recognition of the posthorn topic, therefore,

³⁵ For example, Lanner, *Trennungs-Walzer* (1828); Strauss, Sr., *Rosa-Walzer* (1835); Fahrbach, Sr., *Der flotte Postillon* [Polka] (1854); Fahrbach, Jr., *Der kleine Postillon* [Marsch] (ca. 1867); Müller, Sr., *Eine neue Welt* [Characterbild] (1860); Storch, *Localsängerin und Postillon* [Posse mit Gesang] (1864); Volkmann, “Der Postillon” from *Musikalisches Bilderbuch* (1853–54); Schytte, *Aus Froher Kinderzeit*, op. 69 (ca. 1891); Randhartinger, *Der Postillon* (ca. 1840s); Koschat, *Der Villacher Postillon* (ca. 1879).

³⁶ For example, Franz Abt, *Postillon d'amour* [song] (1860s); Johann Strauss, Jr., *Postillon d'amour* [Polka français], op. 317 (1867).

³⁷ Hiller, *Das große Buch vom Posthorn*, 75.

³⁸ For example, Gumbert und Thieme, *Posthornschule und Posthorn-Taschenliederbuch* (1903); Friedrich Krekeler, *Anleitung zum Blasen des Signal-Posthorns (oder der sogenannte Posttrompete)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905). Representative operettas include Leo Fall, *Der fidele Bauer*, no. 4 Finaletto; Oscar Straus, *Der tapfere Kassian* (1909), Finale. Straus's *Didi* has a flügelhorn solo; see the discussion of the sentimental trumpet solo below.

³⁹ Of the examples of the posthorn topic treated below, Adolf Müller's song calls for a posthorn, flügelhorn, or cello; Franz Joseph Wagner's arrangement of “Die Post im Walde” calls for a flügelhorn; Nessler's *Trompeter von Säckingen* calls for a trumpet.

rested less on a particular tone color and more upon a collection of musical devices. In addition, most evocations of the posthorn in the popular sphere announced the instrument in a characteristic title.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the posthorn topic in instrumental music consisted of signals, often the same repeated notes and octave leaps as those used for nearly two centuries. To better fit the instrument's Romantic connotations, however, composers started drawing on the posthorn's newly expanded repertoire. They developed a new, predominantly lyrical stylization of the instrument. Such representations emerged strictly in popular music and were especially common in the salon, where characteristic pieces inviting associations to human emotions were particularly beloved. Adolf Müller, Sr.'s setting of Lenau's "Der Postillion" (1841), a poem that Mahler said inspired him while writing the posthorn episodes, hints at the association of the lyrical posthorn with romantic longing and nostalgia.⁴⁰ The salon song calls for voice, piano, and obbligato posthorn, flügelhorn, or cello. Throughout the piece, staccato signals alternate with legato, lyrical phrases (ex. 3.7a). Later in the poem, the postillion halts his carriage at a cemetery to play the favorite song of his lost comrade. The posthorn melody here begins solidly in the lyrical mode, marked *piano* and *dolce* (ex. 3.7b). It climaxes in the consequent phrase with a brief recall of a signal blasted *forte*. But the lyricism immediately returns as the high note lingers and quickly softens, both in dynamics and character, initiating a melodic descent and soft close.

Example 3.7 (appendix E). Adolf Müller, Sr., "Der Postillion," posthorn

⁴⁰ The source of this anecdote is Ernst Decsey, "Stunden mit Mahler," *Die Musik* 10 (1910–11): 356. See also Peter Franklin, *Mahler: Symphony no. 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 63–64; Solvik, "Biography and Musical Meaning," 344–47.

Although many representations of the posthorn invoked only signals, Müller, like many other composers, drew on both sides of the instrument's musical personality. The free mixture of characteristics distanced the representation from what postillions actually played and was part of a stylization closely linked with the salon and popular milieu.

The lyrical representation of the posthorn was one manifestation of a broader phenomenon: the sentimental trumpet solo. This genre originated with the invention of the flügelhorn in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.⁴¹ It was shorter and more conical than the trumpet, lending it increased facility. It soon became a favorite solo instrument in both the salon and at military band concerts, where it was the primary melody-carrying instrument. In fact, it was not unusual for military band directors to conduct from the obbligato flügelhorn part.⁴² Each band had its own star soloist, who was featured at least once on a typical concert. Austria's first great flügelhorn soloist, Josef Strebinger, drew large audiences in Vienna's Prater as early as the mid 1830s.⁴³ The prominence of the genre grew as military music took on an ever larger profile in nineteenth-century musical life. In 1871, the composer, critic, and pedagogue Ferdinand Hiller complained about the consequences of advances in brass instrument construction:

The in many respects highly problematical perfecting of brass instruments has its deafening as well as its burlesque consequences. The most prominent—one has already become entirely used to it—is the **sentimental trumpeter**. The sentimental trumpeter can perhaps be found at public assemblies, shooting

⁴¹ I have labeled the category “trumpet solos” because the specific instruments—flügelhorn, cornet, posthorn, trumpet—varied and were often substituted for one another. Moreover, many of the most prominent examples of the genre, like Nessler's *Trompeter von Säckingen*, are based on the trumpet. The flügelhorn flourished primarily in Austria. The corresponding instrument in Germany was the cornet, which was a direct descendent of the posthorn (Edward Tarr, *Die Trompete: Ihre Geschichte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* [Bern and Stuttgart: Hallwag Verlag, 1978], 123).

⁴² Heilman, “Patriotic Music and Multinational Identity,” 172.

⁴³ Rameis, *Die österreichische Militärmusik*, 35.

competitions, and in the upper and lower houses of parliament. But we are not concerned with these cases. We are only talking about the trumpeter who devotes himself to the cantilena with the full depth of his soul and the entire sweetness of his brass. . . . The trumpet languishes, cries plaintively, trembles upon his lips. He leaves nothing untried: the most melting ritardandos of the Italian diva, her expiration, her revival . . . He knows how to adopt every accent of feeling and passion. He trembles and rustles! He blaes coloratura! He trills yearning!⁴⁴

One of the most famous examples of this genre during Mahler's lifetime came from Viktor Nessler's *volkstümliche* opera *Der Trompeter von Säckingen* (1884). It was based on Josef Viktor von Scheffel's eponymous epic poem of 1853, a runaway hit in German-speaking countries. Nessler's opera enjoyed similar success, surpassing 6,000 performances in its first six years.⁴⁵ The Trumpeter's Song, "Behüt' Dich Gott," was the opera's most famous number. Although sung in the opera, it was wildly popular in instrumental arrangement and was often heard with a brass soloist at military band and beer garden concerts.

Example 3.8 (appendix E). Viktor Nessler, *Trompeter von Säckingen*, "Behüt Dich Gott"

Though not identical, the posthorn topic and sentimental trumpet solo were complementary. In a speech in 1899, a German congressman ended a lament on the vanishing tradition of the posthorn with the following flourish: "I believe that Viktor von Scheffel never would have written his *Trompeter von Säckingen* if he had not

⁴⁴ Ferdinand Hiller, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit: Gelegentliches von Ferdinand Hiller* (Leipzig: F. E. C. Leuckart, 1871), 12–13: "Die in mancher Beziehung sehr problematische Vervollkommnung der Blechinstrumente bringt betäubende, aber auch burleske Erscheinungen zu Tage. Die hervortretendste – man ist sie aber schon ganz gewohnt worden – ist die des **sentimentalen Trompeters**. Der sentimentale Trompeter ist vielleicht auch bei Volksversammlungen, Schützenfesten, in hohen und niederen Parlamenten zu finden – hier aber haben wir es mit diesem nicht zu thun. Von jenem nur ist die Rede, der sich mit der ganzen Tiefe seines Gemüthes und der ganzen Süßigkeit seines Bleches der Cantilene widmet. . . . Die Trompete schmachtet, klagt, zittert unter seinen Lippen. Die schmelzendsten Ritardandos der italienischen Sängerin, ihr Hinsterben und Aufraffen, nichts läßt er unversucht . . . Alle Accente der Empfindung und Leidenschaft weiß er sich anzueignen. Er bebt und säuselt! – er schmettert Coloratur! – er trillert Sehnsucht!"

⁴⁵ Luis C. Engelke, Review of *Suite aus der Oper "Der Trompeter von Säckingen,"* by Edward Tarr, *ITG Journal* (October 2000), 76.

occasionally heard the sound of the postillion's posthorn wafting from the Black Forest."⁴⁶

For many decades, sentimental trumpet solos resided where they originated: in entertainment music. In the 1870s, opera and operetta composers like Franz von Suppé began to write lyrical trumpet solos in their theatrical works.⁴⁷ Such solos appeared only later in the concert hall. Carl Goldmark's Second Symphony from 1887 is among the earliest examples, as is the initial, five-movement version of Mahler's First Symphony from 1889.⁴⁸ In fact, there is a direct connection between the lyrical trumpet solo in Mahler's symphony with Scheffel's *Trompeter von Säckingen*. When Mahler was second Kapellmeister in Kassel in 1884, the success of Nessler's opera became quickly apparent. Mahler was commissioned by his theater to write incidental music to a stage adaptation of the play. Mahler later destroyed the score, but a single melody survives as the main theme of *Blumine*, the First Symphony's original second movement.⁴⁹ It is a prime example of the sentimental trumpet solo type.

Example 3.9 (appendix E). Mahler, *Blumine*, main theme

⁴⁶ Thieme, *Abriß der Geschichte des Posthorns*, 22.

⁴⁷ For example, Franz von Suppé, *Fatinitza*, act 1 Finale (1876); Richard Wagner, *Parsifal*, prelude (1880); Johann Strauss, Jr., *Der lustige Krieg*, act 2 Finale (1881); and Emil Kaiser, *Der Trompeter von Säckingen*, overture (1882).

⁴⁸ A. Peter Brown, *The Second Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Brahms, Bruckner, Dvorak, Mahler, and Selected Contemporaries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 500.

⁴⁹ Max Steinitzer, a friend of Mahler's from his time in Leipzig, recalled in 1920 a trumpet melody from Mahler's incidental music to *Trompeter*. Mahler had shown him the score decades earlier. As *Blumine* was rediscovered in the 1960s, its main theme fit to Steinitzer's recollection almost perfectly. Donald Mitchell argues that Mahler reused not only the theme in *Blumine* but the entire movement. See Steinitzer, "Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2, no. 7–8 (1920): 297; Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler. The Early Years*, ed. Paul Banks and David Matthews (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 225–29; and Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler. The Wunderhorn Years*, ed. Paul Banks and David Matthews (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 217–24.

This “trivial” movement was roundly criticized in early reviews. Mahler later considered it insufficiently symphonic and too sentimental, and he removed it from the symphony.⁵⁰

When Mahler composed the third movement of his Third Symphony in 1895, then, he was drawing on a musical topic and genre that had for decades been as firmly entrenched in popular music as they were foreign to art music. Whereas Mahler’s incidental music to *Trompeter von Säckingen* can be seen in the tradition of the sentimental trumpet solo, the posthorn episodes of the Third Symphony exhibit more than just abstract affinities with this genre. As we will see in the next section, details of the melodic construction, accompaniment, and orchestration, and the use of distance effects, suggest how finely tuned Mahler’s solos are to two of the most famous representatives of the posthorn topic and sentimental trumpet genre.

Popular Models for Mahler’s Posthorn Episodes

Many German-language critics of Mahler’s day, friend and foe alike, mentioned either Nessler’s *Trompeter von Säckingen* or Heinrich Schäffer’s “Die Post im Walde” (Mail Coach in the Woods) in their reviews of the Third Symphony. To the very limited extent that the secondary literature on Mahler has considered likenesses to Nessler’s opera, it has used “Behüt Dich Gott” as a surrogate for the entire piece. Karl Michael Komma has written: “It is not without charm to confront Mahler’s episode with examples of the contemporary opera and entertainment music. . . . [But] ‘Behüt’ dich

⁵⁰ Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler. Die Symphonien* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985), 24; Bruno Walter, “Persönliche Erinnerung an Gustav Mahler,” *Der Tag* [Wien], 17 November 1935; Steinitzer, “Erinnerungen.”

Gott' does not compare in the slightest to Mahler's Posthorn episode"⁵¹ This short-cut has prevented the recognition of striking similarities in music and expression between Mahler's posthorn solo and the Rhine Serenade, in which the court trumpeter Werner serenades his beloved from across the river. In a book on organology from 1911, the authors called the Trumpeter's Song and Rhine Serenade "masterpieces of all trumpeters" and rued not being able to secure permission to reproduce musical examples.⁵² Mahler certainly knew both passages intimately, having conducted Nessler's opera no fewer than thirty-one times in Leipzig and Prague.⁵³

Heinrich Schäffer's "Die Post im Walde," was probably the most famous rendering of the posthorn in the popular German-language culture in the half century before World War I. The song was a staple in the repertory of men's choruses and, in instrumental form, at beer gardens and military band concerts. Like Nessler's opera, it is occasionally mentioned in the scholarly literature on Mahler's Third Symphony, but never with an assessment of its musical likenesses.⁵⁴ There is no direct evidence that Mahler knew the song, but its continuing ubiquity on popular and outdoor concerts for

⁵¹ Komma, "Vom Ursprung und Wesen des Trivialen im Werk Gustav Mahlers," *Musik und Bildung* 5, no. [64]/11 (Nov 1973): 576: "Es ist nicht ohne Reiz, Mahlers Episode mit Beispielen der zeitgenössischen Opern- und Unterhaltungsmusik zu konfrontieren. . . . 'Behüt' dich Gott, es wär' so schön gewesen' läßt sich aber mit Mahlers Posthorn-Episode nicht im geringsten vergleichen." Most scholars who mention Nessler's opera in connection with Mahler's posthorn episodes dismiss the connection altogether; see La Grange, *Mahler*, 1:903.

⁵² Emil Teuchert and E. W. Haupt, *Musik-Instrumentenkunde in Wort und Bild* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 63.

⁵³ Knud Martner, "Mahler im Opernhaus: Eine Bilanz seiner Bühnentätigkeit 1880–1910," in *Neue Mahleriana*, 169.

⁵⁴ For example, see Franklin, *Mahler*, 63; La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 3:64, 72.

the two decades before he composed the Third Symphony all but guarantees that he was familiar with it.⁵⁵

All three solos share aspects of melodic construction distinct from actual posthorn repertoire and from earlier imitations by classical composers.

Example 3.10 (appendix E). Heinrich Schäffer, “Die Post im Walde,” flügelhorn

Example 3.11 (appendix E). Viktor Nessler, *Trompeter von Säckingen*, no. 13, trumpet

Example 3.12 (appendix E). Mahler, *Symphony no. 3*, mvt. 3

The mingling of signals and lyrical phrases corresponds to the romanticized representations of the posthorn in entertainment music. In each case, signals interrupt whatever is happening onstage—in the case of Schäffer and Mahler, the ensemble, and in Nessler’s opera, the dramatic action. Following the initial signals is what can be called the *lyrical turn*: a single note on which the melody suddenly turns lyrical. A prototype of the lyrical turn is already evident in Müller’s salon setting of “Der Postillon,” when the climactic high note lingers, decrescendos, and reverts back to the lyrical mode that had preceded the signal (ex. 3.7, mm. 219–22). Schäffer’s lyrical turn is highlighted by a switch from minor to major (ex. 3.10, m. 13), while Nessler and Mahler use performance instructions—*dolce* and *portamento*—to make clear the change in character (ex. 3.11, m. 20; ex. 3.12, m. 264). The lyrical continuations that ensue could all be called folk-like in their diatonic simplicity.

Another shared melodic trait is the suggestion of improvisation. In “Die Post im Walde,” the improvisatory passage is couched much like the cadenza of a concerto,

⁵⁵ The song seems to have entered the repertory of the men’s chorus in Iglau during Mahler’s last summer there, in 1875. It was performed to great enthusiasm on two concerts (*Mährischer Grenzboten* [Iglau], 4 July 1875 and 15 August 1875).

complete with dominant pedal, unaccompanied solo culminating in a sustained tone (likely trilled in performance) and a *tutti* reprise of the main theme (ex. 3.10, mm. 23–30).⁵⁶ Nessler and Mahler rely mostly on melodic and rhythmic traits to suggest improvisation. The consequent phrase of Nessler’s melody has chromatic embellishments and flexibly alternates note lengths (ex. 3.11, mm. 23–30) and, later in the solo, an entire phrase is repeated but with pseudo-improvisational ornamentation (ex. 3.11, mm. 47–51). Mahler creates the effect of free declamation in part with chromatic embellishments, but mostly with *tenuto* articulations and such performance instructions as “freely played” (*frei vorgetragen*, ex. 3.9, m. 256) and “allow time!” (*Zeit lassen!*, ex. 3.12, m. 275–81). Shortly afterward, in a gesture reminiscent of “Post im Walde” (mm. 28–33) the posthorn recedes into the background and begins to trill as the main melody is stated by the ensemble (ex. 3.12, mm. 295–300).

The final characteristic melodic element of these pieces is the similar closing gesture. A series of signals ascend higher and higher, until the posthorn reaches and dwells on the highest note. In Schäffer’s piece, the solo ends on this high note, as is fitting for the end of a popular song. (In the military band arrangement that serves as the basis for example 10, it is followed by final tone an octave deeper.) In Nessler’s and Mahler’s cases, however, the onstage action that had been interrupted continues after the end of the posthorn episode. These solos do not end at their peaks, but briefly descend to a lower resting point.⁵⁷ At first, Mahler’s solo ends *just* below its highest

⁵⁶ Despite the impromptu character of the passage, it is actually a precise quotation of Prussian posthorn signal for the arrival and departure of the express mail carriage. See Hiller, *Das große Buch vom Posthorn*, 260.

⁵⁷ This is not the end of the first posthorn episode, but rather the beginning of an orchestral interlude (mm. 310–20). Although the posthorn ends only slightly lower than its peak pitch, the descent is more pronounced at the end of the episode (mm. 329–45)

pitch. But Mahler replays the closing gesture after a brief orchestral interlude. Here, at the end of the first episode, the posthorn solo descends to an even lower resting point, and, at the same time, the characteristic closing gesture is taken up by stopped horns (mm. 340–46). This dreamy echo of a brilliant posthorn close is shattered by the entrance of the muted trumpet fanfare (mm. 345–46).

In addition to these melodic similarities, all three evocations of the posthorn involve distance effects. The entire solo in Nessler's Rhine Serenade is played from behind the scenes. The entrance of the trumpet is accompanied by static chords in the muted strings. At the sound of the signals, the dynamics pull back to *pp* and decrescendo from there, as the melody reaches its lyrical turn. The hushed dynamic and covered timbres complement the placement of the trumpeter offstage. Mahler's posthorn episode conveys distance using these very same traits, only exaggerated. The full orchestral textures of the rondo refrains give way to an ethereal ensemble of muted strings. The dynamic range spans *p* down to *ppp*, the fragile sound slipping into inaudibility at the points marked *gänzlich verschwindend* (dying completely away) and *morendo*.⁵⁸

Other means were used in popular and salon music to convey distance in passages representing the posthorn. Echo effects were perhaps the most common. This was sometimes achieved through direct shifts in dynamics, as when a loud signal is immediately repeated softly. Another strategy was to use such performance instructions as "Echo" or "Like an echo during the repeat." Mahler mimics these effects with a number of performance instructions that intimate spatial separation: "As if from afar" (*Wie aus weiter Ferne*, ex. 3.12, m. 255), "As if from a distance" (*wie aus der Ferne*, ex. 3.12, m. 292) and "coming somewhat nearer" (*sich etwas nähernd*, ex. 3.12, m. 293).

⁵⁸ See also m. 282 (R15⁻³) and m. 343 (R17⁻⁴).

Even when composers did not expressly call for distance effects, trumpet or posthorn soloists were often placed offstage as a matter of performance practice. Schäffer did not call for an off-stage soloist, but the song was surely performed this way countless times. In his short story “The Trip to Tilsit (*Die Reise nach Tilsit*, 1917), Hermann Sudermann describes a concert of a Prussian military band at the end of the nineteenth century in which “Die Post im Walde” is played.

Then comes a third piece that is not very pretty and only makes you drowsy. A certain Beethoven thought that one up. But then comes something! It is hard to imagine, even in one’s dreams, that there could be something so beautiful on this earth. It is called “Die Post im Walde.” A trumpeter has left [the stage] ahead of time and plays the melody softly and wistfully from far, far away, while the others accompany him just as quietly. You hardly remain a human being, when you hear that!⁵⁹

Robert Hirschfeld’s review of the first performance of Mahler’s Third Symphony in Vienna likewise alludes to this performance practice.

Then [comes] the Rondo with the posthorn solo that swiftly became famous. It intones once from the distance, once from closer. At this point, one can gladly concede that the military band conductors do not have access to the masterful technique of Gustav Mahler when they use the same effects in their outdoor concerts. Finally, a brilliant artist has come across “Die Post im Walde.”⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Hermann Sudermann, *Lithauische Geschichten* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta’sche Buchhandlung, 1918), 49–50: “Dann kommt ein drittes Stück, das wenig hübsch ist und bloß den Kopf müde macht. Das hat sich ein gewisser Beethoven ausgedacht. Aber dann kommt etwas! Daß es so was Schönes auf Erden gibt, hat man selbst im Traum nicht für möglich gehalten. Es heißt: ‘Die Post im Walde’. Ein Trompeter ist vorher weggegangen und spielt die Melodie ganz leise und sehnsüchtig von weit, weit her, während die andern ihn ebenso leise begleiten. Man bleibt gar nicht Mensch, wenn man das hört!”

⁶⁰ Robert Hirschfeld, “Feuilleton. Konzerte,” *Wiener Abendpost*, no. 296, 28 December 1904: “Dann das Rondo mit dem rasch berühmt gewordenen Posthornsolo, das einmal ferner, einmal näher tönt. Da will man gern zugestehen, daß den Militär-Kapellmeistern für ihre Gartenmusiken, für den gleichen Effekt nicht die meisterliche Technik Gustav Mahlers zu Gebote steht. Es ist endlich einmal ein genialer Künstler über die ‚Post im Walde‘ gekommen. Möglich, daß diese wirklich reformbedürftig war.”

In fact, such liberties of performance practice routinely inform concerts of Mahler's symphony, too. Both posthorn episodes are generally played from offstage, yet only the second is clearly marked this way.⁶¹

Just how finely tuned Mahler's solos are to these prominent examples from the popular sphere can be gauged by turning once again to the *Blumine* movement. Its main theme was originally written for Mahler's incidental music to *Trompeter von Säckingen*. Moreover, it set the same scene that we have just examined from Nessler's opera: the Rhine Serenade. Despite this explicit connection with a sentimental trumpet solo, Mahler's theme has little in common with Nessler's and Schäffer's melodies except for a lyrical trumpet idiom. Mahler almost certainly did not know Nessler's opera at the time, but was likely familiar with "Die Post im Walde" and other examples of the posthorn topic from the popular sphere. In this context, the posthorn episodes of the Third Symphony seem all the more calculated to awaken associations with these typical elements of entertainment music. It is unlikely that this constellation of traits in melodic construction, details of accompaniment, and distance effects ever commingled except in posthorn imitations and trumpet solos as found in popular music and in Mahler's Third Symphony.

⁶¹ In the first episode, distance effects are only suggested through performance instructions: "Wie aus weiter Ferne" (m. 255) and "wie aus der Ferne" (m. 292). In the second episode, in contrast, the spatial separation is expressed more concretely: "in weiter Entfernung" (m. 482) and "in weiter Ferne" (m. 510). In a sketch of the movement (Cary Collection, Pierpont Morgan Library), the difference is made even clearer; Mahler indicates that the second episode should be played "hinter der Szene." See Thomas Allan Peattie, "The *Fin-de-siècle* Metropolis, Memory, Modernity and the Music of Gustav Mahler" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2002), 25–26.

Multivalent Evocation

At this point in a typical scholarly treatment of Mahler's vernacularisms one might expect a declaration that the musical connections described above are clear and correspond to Mahler's intentions. But this would be only partly true. The musical similarities to Nessler's Rhine Serenade and Schäffer's "Die Post im Walde" are compelling, but neither constitutes a quotation or even a univocal reference. They are allusions. Their presence does not detract from the myriad allusions summarized at the beginning of this chapter. The posthorn episodes are not, as Robert Morgan has claimed, "clearly representative of the real thing," because they are actually many things. Mahler's vernacularisms have the capacity to refer simultaneously to many different sources without being reducible to any one of them.

The allusions in the posthorn episodes draw on a wide spectrum of music-making in Mahler's environment: functional music, folk music, entertainment music, opera, and instrumental art music. Mahler was in a position to have intended them all. He heard functional posthorns playing signals and simple songs as a child and young adult living and traveling in the Austrian provinces.⁶² He had a deep connection with folk music, as evidenced by numerous settings of folksong texts from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. He almost certainly knew Schäffer's popular song as well as other representations of the posthorn in entertainment music. He conducted Nessler's opera dozens of times. And less than a year before composing the posthorn episodes, Mahler conducted the arrangement of Liszt's *Rhapsodie espagnole* with Busoni at the piano.⁶³ Not

⁶² La Grange, *Mahler*, 1:897; Karbusicky, *Gustav Mahler und seine Umwelt*, 49.

⁶³ Solvik, "Biography and Musical Meaning," 358.

only can each of the allusions be supported by appeals to the music, but Mahler demonstrably knew all of the relative repertoires and pieces.

Mahler's posthorn episodes are therefore a powerful example of what can be called *multivalent evocation*: seemingly referential music that can be convincingly traced to multiple, even contradictory sources. Arguably, Mahler did not intend reference to any single kind of music; he wrote in a way that could evoke many different kinds. Even the oft-repeated quotation of the Austrian military signal is not as straightforward as commonly accepted. The exact same signal, with the addition of a single pick-up, was also the closing formula for over half of Prussia's official posthorn signals.⁶⁴

Example 3.13 (appendix E). Selected posthorn signals of the Deutsche Reichpost

Mahler lived in Prussia for over nine of the twelve years that preceded his writing the Third Symphony. When he set pen to paper on the posthorn episodes, was it as a Viennese, recollecting the sounds of Austrian military bands? Or did he make reference to the closing formula of Prussian posthorn signals? Or did he simply want the effect of a fanfare without intending a similarity to either? Mahler's youth in the Austrian countryside and his self-identification with Vienna may suggest the first option. Mahler's residence in the years preceding composition, and the movement's earliest extant manuscript, in which the posthorn solos and signal were played by the same instrument and not divided between off-stage soloist and muted orchestral trumpeter, lend credence to the second option. Mahler's advice about learning his works through intensive score study, and the presence of similarly cheeky fanfare interruptions at the end of pastoral passages in the first movement, suggest the viability of the signals

⁶⁴ The posthorn signals in Saxony were the same as those in Prussia (Hiller, *Das große Buch vom Posthorn*, 83).

without acknowledging any reference in them.⁶⁵ The proper answer is that Mahler's music can sustain all three possibilities at the same time. There is no reason that a single option must be chosen as the one true explanation.

The multivalence of the posthorn episodes helps explain their polarized reception. Not only is it impossible to reconcile the collective associations and connotations of the possible referents with one another, but their very determination depends on each individual interpreter. The folk-like melody and lingering treatment of the solos clearly channel the instrument's associations with things distant and past. But many of the musical conventions by which Mahler creates this sense of nostalgia were also cultivated in entertainment music. For listeners attuned to these connections, Mahler's posthorn solos could just as easily point to the everyday and the present. Moreover, for aesthetic conservatives with strong convictions about what styles do not belong in a symphony, the primary import of the posthorn solos could very well be their transgressing against aesthetic norms of art music. The difference between these viewpoints is nowhere to be found in Mahler's score, which can support them all, but in differences between interpreters.

In the end, Mahler's vernacularisms are rarely as univocal as they are portrayed to be. Unless one is prone to agree with Paul Stefan that "Mahler the thinker, organizer, and leader, was, as a composer, naïve," one has to proceed from the position that he intended the diversity of associations and their contradictory connotations.⁶⁶ What attracted Mahler to vernacular materials on this view was the ambiguity and associative richness that hides behind their deceptive immediacy. And in this, he was a

⁶⁵ See mvt. 1, mm. 148–50 (R12) and mm. 237–39 (R19²).

⁶⁶ Stefan, *Gustav Mahler*, 95: "Mahler, der Wissende, Ordnende und Leitende, [ist] als Schaffender naïv."

representative of his time, as his contemporary Hugo von Hofmannsthal saw it: “The nature of our epoch is ambiguity and indeterminacy.”⁶⁷

⁶⁷ See fn. 1.

CHAPTER 4

ALLUSIONS TO OPERETTA AND MILITARY BANDS IN MAHLER'S MARCHES

Suddenly, march rhythms enter at *pppp*, and piercing whistles, like cries of war, are heard from time to time. The march music appears to come closer, the drum beat becomes louder. The fanfares from the beginning call forth cheery marching. Trumpet signals blare out from all sides. We are marching forward; pushed from all sides, we must go along. The toes begin to tap. When the symphonic military band concert begins, everyone is swept along.

—Max Graf on Mahler's Third Symphony, 1904¹

What should we make of the first movement's . . . second theme, which is borrowed from operetta and, to judge from the continuation, winds up being more important in the movement?

—Robert Hirschfeld on Mahler's Third Symphony, 1904²

For a quick measure of the potential for modern intuitions about popular genres to distort historical realities, one need only compare two claims in the secondary literature: that Mahler's symphonic universe draws on the sounds of military bands, and that it incorporates the sounds of operetta. The one is so often repeated as to be a cliché;

¹ Max Graf, "Die dritte Symphonie Gustav Mahlers," *Neues Wiener Journal* (20 December 1904), 5–6: "plötzlich erschallen zuerst in vierfachem Piano Marschrhythmen, gellende Piffe ertönen von Zeit zu Zeit, wie Kriegsrufe, die Marschmusik scheint näher zu kommen, der Trommelschlag wird lauter, die Fanfare des Anfangs ruft zu fröhlichem Marschieren auf, Trompetensignale schmettern auf allen Seiten, wir marschieren vorwärts, werden von allen Seiten geschoben und müssen mit, es zuckt in den Füßen, und wenn die symphonische Burgmusik beginnt, schließt sich alles an."

² Hirschfeld, "Feuilleton. Konzerte," *Wiener Abendpost*, no. 296, 28 December 1904: "Was sollen wir nun mit dem . . . mit dem zweiten, der Operette entlehnten Thema [des ersten Satzes] beginnen, das, nach der Fortführung zu schließen, das wichtigere im Satze ist?"

the other, so seldom as to be novel.³ Yet in Mahler's day, military music and operetta were so closely intertwined in musical style, repertoire, personnel, audience, and performance venues that it is difficult to know what in his scores might resemble one but not the other. The purpose of this chapter is to explore ways to distinguish allusions to military marches from allusions to operetta. Because scholars have given such scant attention to operetta as a stylistic source for Mahler's compositions, Mahler's experience with and attitude toward the genre will be considered at the outset. The next section describes the close relationship of military bands and operetta. Two sound profiles are then developed: one for military marches, and another for *light marches*, a type common in operetta. The chapter closes by considering a number of examples of stylized military and light marches in Mahler's *oeuvre*.

Mahler and Operetta

Mahler was intimately familiar with operetta from his conducting career. Appendix C lists all operettas that he is known to have directed in performance. The specific repertoire at his first post in Bad Hall is mostly unknown, but it certainly consisted of a mixture of farces and operettas, including Jacques Offenbach's *Le Mariage*

³ The only published article devoted to the claim that Mahler drew on operetta is Alexander L. Ringer, "Johann Strauß und Gustav Mahler," in *Johann Strauß: Zwischen Kunstanspruch und Volksvergnügen*, ed. Ludwig Finscher and Albrecht Riethmüller (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995): 152–53. With the exception of occasional assertions of melodic allusion—almost always to Franz Lehár's *Die lustige Witwe* (1905)—nearly all scholarly references to operetta in Mahler's works take the form of genre references assumed to be self-evident and not requiring musical examples (see "Light Marches in Mahler's *Oeuvre*" below, especially the discussions of the Seventh and Ninth Symphonies). For example, see Peter Ruzicka, "Befragung des Materials: Gustav Mahler aus der Sicht aktueller Kompositionsästhetik," in *Erfundene und Gefundene Musik. Analysen, Porträts und Reflexionen*, ed. Thomas Schäfer (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 1998), 33; and Bernd Sponheuer, "'O Alter Duft aus Märchenzeit': Prozeduren der Erinnerung in der ersten Nachtmusik der Siebten Symphonie Gustav Mahler," in *Das Gustav-Mahler-Fest Hamburg 1989: Bericht über den Internationalen Gustav-Mahler-Kongress*, ed. Matthias Theodor Vogt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 477. That such comparisons to operetta are concentrated in the German-language literature likely has little to do with historical considerations, reflecting instead the greater presence of operetta traditions in these regions today.

aux lanternes (1857). Half of Mahler's eighty-six performances in Laibach in 1881–82 were operettas, both Viennese and French. Though many are seldom performed today, they were among the most popular stage works in Europe in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. The success of Lecocq's *La fille de Madame Angot*, for example, was a major reason that the Carltheater, one of Vienna's most important suburban theaters, remained solvent during the financial crisis in 1873–74.⁴ As Mahler's conducting career advanced to more prestigious posts, he programmed and oversaw performances of many operettas. He included *Le Mariage aux lanternes* in the repertoire in Budapest, conducted dozens of performances of Johann Strauss Jr.'s *Fledermaus* (1874) and Carl Millöcker's *Bettelstudent* (1882) in Hamburg, and added *Fledermaus* to the Vienna Court Opera's evening repertory.⁵

Mahler almost certainly heard operettas as a child, too. Iglau's municipal theater mounted performances roughly six days a week from late September to Easter.⁶ Table 4.1 lists the musical stage works performed at the theater between 1866 and 1875, the year that Mahler entered the Vienna Conservatory.

Table 4.1 (appendix F). Repertoire of operettas and operas at Iglau's theater, 1866–75

The audiences had a considerable appetite for musical productions and especially operetta, the presence of which in the repertoire steadily grew during Mahler's youth.

Table 4.2 (appendix F). Musical productions at Iglau's theater, 1866–75

⁴ Camille Crittenden, *Johann Strauss: Operetta and the Politics of Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 66.

⁵ *Die Fledermaus* was performed nearly twice as many times during Mahler's tenure in Vienna as the second most frequently staged work, Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* (Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 3, *Vienna: Triumph and Disillusion, 1904–1907* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999], 941–44).

⁶ For more on the theater's activities, see Timothy Freeze, "The Public Concert Life of Mahler's Youth: Iglau, 1866–75," *Naturlaut* 7, no. 2 (2010): 2–7.

To the extent that Mahler attended the theater, he heard many of the works that he would later conduct, notably operettas by Offenbach and Franz von Suppé. How often this occurred, however, is unknown. His parents certainly had the means to take him to performances on occasion. Ticket prices in the upper gallery, being between 10 and 15 kreuzer in these years, were accessible to the working class, let alone to families like the Mahlers.⁷ It is also possible that Mahler's teachers, several of whom were involved with the theater, could procure him tickets or access to rehearsals. Yet the strongest evidence that Mahler attended the theater comes from his own compositional ambitions. It is difficult to imagine that he would have started writing an opera at age 14 without ever having seen a performance at the theater just a stone's throw away.⁸

The secondary literature paints Mahler's attitude toward operetta in shades of aloofness, ambivalence, and hostility.⁹ His only substantive connection to the genre is generally thought to be as a conductor, either assigned to perform them by his superiors or, later in his career, compelled to by the sure financial returns. In surviving letters and anecdotes, Mahler said little about operetta or popular music more generally. Judicious interpretation of these few remarks, though, casts his opinion of the genre in a sympathetic light. One indication comes from an incident at Vienna's Court Opera in

⁷ *Mährischer Grenzboten* [Iglau], 25 September 1873. At 100 kreuzer to a gulden, music lessons were markedly more expensive than tickets in the upper gallery. Wenzel M. Pressburg, with whom Mahler studied theory and harmony, charged 1.5 to 2 gulden for three hours a week (*Iglauer Sonntags-Blatt*, 31 October 1869). Johannes Brosch, a piano teacher, charged 2 to 4 gulden per month for the same amount of weekly lessons (*Iglauer Sonntags-Blatt*, 28 November 1869). By comparison, a mug of beer at a beer garden in 1872 cost just 5–7 kreuzer.

⁸ La Grange, *Mahler: Volume One* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973), 27.

⁹ La Grange and Kurt Blaukopf cast Alma Mahler's anecdote about attending *Die lustige Witwe* with her husband so as to emphasize Mahler's ambivalence (La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 3:473; Blaukopf, *Gustav Mahler oder der Zeitgenosse der Zukunft* [Vienna: Fritz Molden, 1969], 233). For Mahler's aloofness to popular music, see La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 3:477. An anecdote recounted by Hans Bruckmüller in 1932 (quoted in La Grange, *Mahler*, 1:107) suggests a more hostile posture.

1899. The tenor Fritz Schrödter refused to sing the part of Eisenstein in *Die Fledermaus* unless he were paid a bonus. Mahler reprimanded the singer in writing:

An operetta is simply a small and lighthearted opera and many classical works are given this title. The fact that recently compositions without musical value have been called operettas makes no difference. Johann Strauss's work surpasses them in every way, notably in its excellent musical diction, and that is why the administration has not hesitated to include it in the Opera repertoire. You yourself, dear Herr Schrödter, have often sung works that are far below the level of *Die Fledermaus*—*Am Wörther See*, for example.¹⁰

Mahler did not judge works by their genre; rather, he considered their merits case by case. The word “recently” is important in this connection. At the time of the reprimand, Viennese operetta was widely perceived to be in crisis. The genre's demise was routinely invoked in newspaper reviews and journal articles until Lehár's resounding success with *Die lustige Witwe* (1905) proved, albeit temporarily, how misguided such sentiments were.¹¹ The operettas that Mahler conducted all stemmed from earlier generations: the so-called Golden Age of Viennese operetta and French operetta of even earlier vintage (see appendix C). Like many of his contemporaries, Mahler probably held these earlier works in higher esteem than the latest additions to the genre.

There are hints that Mahler personally enjoyed operetta and even got to know some that he never conducted. In a letter to his wife in 1904, he dismissed Hans Pfitzner's *Die Rose vom Liebesgarten* by quoting a line from an Offenbachian: the opera “evolves only as far as the invertebrates; vertebrates cannot follow. Like Kalchas in *La*

¹⁰ Quoted in La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 2, *Vienna: The Years of Challenge, 1897–1904* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 182. *Am Wörther See* was a *Liederspiel* by the Austrian composer Thomas Koschat, who was famous for his works imitating the folk styles of Carinthia.

¹¹ See A. N., “Der Fremdenführer,” *Die Wage* 5, no. 43 (19 October 1902): 693; and “Der Niedergang der Operette. Aus einer Unterredung mit Charles Lecocq,” *Neues Wiener Journal*, 13 July 1904. The latter article opens with the line: “For many years it has been said that the operetta is in decline” (“Daß die Operette im Niedergange ist, darüber wird schon seit Jahr und Tag gesagt”). As Lehár's operettas became more sentimental and opera-like in their pretensions, the demise of the genre was again much discussed. See Georg Pauly, “Operettendämmerung,” *Signale für die Musikalische Welt* 70, no. 49 (4 December 1912): 1635–38; no. 50 (11 December 1912): 1675–77.

belle Hélène, one would like to call out, ‘Flowers, nothing but flowers.’”¹² Mahler had not conducted *La belle Hélène* (1864) in nearly a quarter century. Had he retained the line in his memory all these years, or had he heard the operetta since? Circumstantial evidence in support of the latter can be found in the unlikelyst of places—a review of Mahler’s Eighth Symphony (1910). The Berlin critic Oskar Bie whimsically interwove his impressions of Mahler’s symphony with his experiences visiting the Mahlers at their summer home just weeks before the concert.

We are in the realm of cheerfulness, the eternal feminine; an unending yearning that can never be fulfilled. This echoes constantly in Mahler’s head. Visions of angels in white dresses with instruments from Fiesole. A small mouth, a sweet voice, and everything bathed in golden light, the sounds of a mandolin, and carefree music making, just as he arranges it in many songs and symphonies. What is that, is it not *La belle Hélène*? We are approaching his farmer’s villa there on the edge of the green meadow of Toblach and hear Offenbach from the piano in the lonely white house. A third hand plays the melodious upper voice with such certain strength and precision—Mahler is playing with his wife, whose Venetian delicacy Palma Vecchio could hardly have painted.¹³

Another hint of Mahler’s private encounters with operetta comes from an exchange with Alexander Girardi, one of Vienna’s greatest comic actors, during a rehearsal of *Die Fledermaus* at the Court Opera. The cast included the tenor Andreas Dippel, who recounted the following in an interview:

¹² La Grange and Günther Weiss, eds., *Gustav Mahler: Letters to his Wife*, trans. and rev. Antony Beaumont (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004), 146–47. In Offenbach’s operetta, Calchas, chief auger to Jupiter, is complaining about the miserable collection of alms, which consist mostly of flowers—not the kinds of things from which priests can become rich. See also Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Erinnerungen und Briefe* (Vienna: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1949), 300; trans. Basil Creighton as *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters*, rev. ed., ed. Donald Mitchell (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1971), 232.

¹³ Oskar Bie, “Mahlers Achte,” *Die neue Rundschau* [Berlin] 21, no. 4 (1910); transcribed in the Vondenhoff Collection at the Musiksammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: “Das Heitere, das Ewigweibliche schwebt uns vor, die beständigste Sehnsucht, denn sie muss unerfüllbar sein. Mahler klingt sie dauernd im Kopfe. Engelsbilder, in weißen Kleidern, mit Instrumenten von Fiesole, ein kleiner Mund, eine süße Stimme, und alles Lichtvergoldete, Mandolinenklingende, unbesorgt Musizierende, wie er es in vielen Liedern und Symphonien gestaltet. Was ist das, ist das nicht die ‘Schöne Helena’? Wir nahen uns seiner Bauernvilla, da oben am Rande der grünen Wiese von Toblach, und hören aus dem einsamen weißen Hause Offenbach auf dem Klavier, und eine dritte Hand spielt die melodiose Oberstimme mit so bestimmter Kraft und Präzision – Mahler spielt mit seiner Frau, deren venezianische Delikatesse Palma Vecchio kaum hätte malen können.”

Johann Strauss sat on the conductor's podium. Girardi, who only had to take the stage in the last act, sat for a while next to Mahler in the dark parquet. Mahler was silent and Girardi was eager to "chit-chat." Girardi looked now and then at his neighbor's twinkling glasses and serious mien. Finally Mahler said: "I would rather have had *Der Zigeunerbaron* for the benefit." Relieved that he could finally speak, Girardi sputtered [in Viennese dialect]: "O c'mon! *Der Zigeunerbaron*!? If you'da just let me sing Lohengrin! Then you really woulda heard somethin'!"¹⁴

Since Mahler never conducted *Der Zigeunerbaron* (1885), his knowledge of it likely came from private study or attending a performance.¹⁵

In the end, however, the artistic merits of operetta would have been largely irrelevant to Mahler the composer. In a conversation about Johann Strauss, Jr., he told Natalie Bauer-Lechner:

I do not hold a low opinion of waltzes; I accept them for what they are in all their uniqueness and delightful inventiveness. But you cannot call them art. They have as little to do with art as has, say, the folksong "Ach, wie ist's möglich denn," no matter how moving it is. These short-breathed melodies of successive eight-bar phrases, from which nothing develops—in which, indeed, there is not the slightest trace of any development—cannot be considered "compositions" at all.¹⁶

Mahler's insistence that waltzes do not constitute art is remarkable for what he pairs with them: folksongs. In contrast to the prevailing discourse among musicians and

¹⁴ Martin Hürlimann, ed., *Die Walzer-Dynastie Strauss in Zeugnissen ihrer selbst und ihrer Zeitgenossen* (Zürich: Manesse Verlag, 1976), 264–67: "Am Dirigentenpult sass Johann Strauss. Girardi, der erst im letzten Akt zu tun hatte, sass einstweilen neben Mahler im dunkeln Parkett. Mahler war schweigsam, und Girardi wollte gern 'plauschen'. Er sah hin und wieder nach den funkelnden Augengläsern und in das ernste Gesicht seines Nachbars. Endlich sagte Mahler: 'Mir wäre "Der Zigeunerbaron" als Festvorstellung lieber gewesen.' Froh, endlich reden zu können, sprudelte Girardi hervor: 'Aber ich bitt' Sie! "Der Zigeunerbaron"! Hätten S' mi amal den Lohengrin singen lassen! Da hätt'n S' erst was erlebt!"

¹⁵ He could have heard the operetta in Prague, where the original cast from the Theater an der Wien performed the work every day of a nine-day residence in May 1886. He may also have heard it in Leipzig in the 1886–87 season. Alexander Ringer has posited that Mahler developed some compositional techniques by intensifying textural traits from this operetta ("Johann Strauß und Gustav Mahler," 153–54).

¹⁶ Peter Franklin, ed., *Recollections of Gustav Mahler by Natalie Bauer-Lechner*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber Music, 1980), 128 (translation amended). In the introduction to the book's first edition in 1923, Paul Stefan cites the less charitable continuation of the above quotation as an example of how certain details recounted by Bauer-Lechner are unreliable: "the negative comment on Johann Strauss are inconsistent with Mahler's often-expressed admiration for this composer" (ibid., 19). See also Herbert Killian, ed., *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen von Natalie Bauer-Lechner* (Hamburg: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984), 134.

critics, Mahler did not divide vernacular styles into an aesthetic hierarchy in which folksong was superior to urban popular music. He located aesthetic distinction in the organic development of musical ideas. There was nothing intrinsic to folksong or waltzes that precluded or guaranteed the admissibility of their styles to a symphony. All that mattered was how the composer treated such materials. Mahler asserted this view in an interview from near the end of his life:

I have often heard composers who claim to seek individuality above all things state that they purposely avoid hearing too much music of other composers, fearing that their own originality will be affected. They also avoid hearing the songs of the street or folk-songs for a similar reason. What arrant nonsense! If a man eats a beef-steak it is no sign that he will become a cow. He takes the nourishment from the food and that transforms itself by means of wonderful physiological processes into flesh, strength and bodily force, but he may eat beef-steaks for a lifetime and never be anything but a man.¹⁷

Operetta was thus fit for Mahler's symphonic universe, as much as folksong or aspects from the music of fellow composers.

Such anecdotes offer some counterevidence to the notion that Mahler never condescended to operetta of his own volition. Rather, it seems that he, like many other cultural elites of his time, found enjoyment in the genre.¹⁸ Just as Mahler's notions of art have not deterred scholars from studying his allusions to folk music, they should not deter a consideration of operetta in this light, either. In fact, operetta offers distinct methodological advantages. Whereas it is exceedingly difficult to document more than a few specific pieces of military or folk music that Mahler knew, he certainly knew intimately the operettas that he conducted. Furthermore, the performance figures in Appendix C, despite being an underestimate, suggest the considerable longevity of

¹⁷ Gustav Mahler, "The Influence of the Folk-Song on German Musical Art [An Interview]," *Etude* (1911): 301–302; quoted in Leon Botstein, "Music and Its Public: Habits of Listening and the Crisis of Musical Modernism in Vienna, 1870–1914" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1985): 126–27.

¹⁸ See "Relevanz der Operette im Fin de siècle" in Moritz Csáky, *Ideologie der Operette und Wiener Moderne: ein kulturhistorischer Essay zur österreichischen Identität* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1996), 157–61.

successful operettas, which was only magnified by arrangements for military bands, salon orchestras, and domestic consumption. As Mahler composed symphonies from the late 1880s to the early 1900s, then, he could reasonably anticipate that his audiences were familiar not only with operettas from those years, but also with many written decades earlier.

Military Music and Operetta: Two Intertwined Genres

Military bands provided functional music for their units and also participated directly in the musical lives of cities. Their prominence was directly proportional to the distance from a metropolitan center. In larger cities like Vienna, military bands were competitors of dance bands and salon orchestras.¹⁹ Iglau, on the other hand, was a provincial city of around 30,000 people with a theater and, only after 1869, a *Stadtkapelle*. Its musical culture was not wholly dependent on military musicians, but was nonetheless greatly enriched by their presence. Iglau was never without a military band for more than a few months during Mahler's youth. When the 5th Infantry Regiment arrived in November 1866 at the end of one of these periods, its musicians began reinforcing the theater orchestra within days. By the end of the month, it was hosting dances at local restaurants. The band initiated a series of free weekly concerts in a local restaurant in December, and it performed at numerous balls during the

¹⁹ Military musicians had subsidized training, a fixed income, and free lodging. They could therefore undercut the prices of private musicians, creating lasting friction between military and civilian musicians. Reporting on the civilian musicians' grievances was not limited to trade journals like the *Österreichische Musiker-Zeitung*, but could be found in the popular musical press, too. See, for example, "Civilmusiker und Militärkapellen," *Neue Musikalische Presse* 8, no. 8 (19 February 1899): 3; and "Zur Lage der Civilmusiker," *Neue Musikalische Presse* 8, no. 21 (21 May 1899): 2.

subsequent carnival season. The military bands were thus integral to the theater, balls, dances, and instrumental concerts of the city.²⁰

Austrian military musicians performed in a variety of ensembles befitting their diverse venues. Each band member was required to be proficient on one string instrument in addition to a primary wind instrument. The most common ensembles were wind band and full orchestra.²¹ The wind band was the stereotypical configuration in the popular imagination, a fact clearly reflected in etymology. The term *Militärmusik* could broadly apply to any ensemble or concert consisting of military musicians, but it was also used more narrowly to refer to wind band formations. The terms *Streichorchester* and *Streichmusik* denoted an orchestra of strings, winds, and percussion. The wind band was generally used in outdoor performances, while the orchestral formation and chamber ensembles were more typical for indoor balls and dances. Sometimes multiple formations were mixed within single concerts, as attested by the

²⁰ The city garrisoned three regiments in succession: the first battalion of the Infantry Regiment no. 5, King of Bavaria (1866–67), two battalions of the Infantry Regiment no. 69, Lieutenant-Field Marshall Count Jellacic (1867–74), and two battalions of the Infantry Regiment no. 49, Field Marshall Baron von Heß (1874–78).

²¹ Hanslick dates the incorporation of strings to the early 1830s (*Aus dem Concert-Saal: Kritiken und Schilderungen aus 20 Jahren des Wiener Musiklebens, 1848–68*, 2d ed. [Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1897], 56). Emil Rameis claims that the incorporation of strings occurred much earlier in Austrian military music than in other countries because of the prominent position of concert pieces in their repertoire and because of their close relationship to the theaters and civilian music life of provincial garrison towns (Rameis, *Die österreichische Militärmusik—von ihren Anfängen bis 1918*, rev. Eugen Brixel, *Alt Musica 2* [Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1976], 9). However, strings were likewise incorporated in Bavarian military ensembles in the 1830s, and their concerts included a similar array of marches, dances, and concert pieces (Andreas Masel, “Wechselwirkungen zwischen Militärmusik und ‘ziviler Musik’: Ein Überblick am Beispiel Bayerns im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Militärmusik und “zivile” Musik: Beziehungen und Einflüsse; Bericht über ein Symposium beim Tag der Musik am 14. Mai 1993 in Uffenheim*, ed. Armin Griebel and Horst Steinmetz [Uffenheim: Stadt Uffenheim, 1993], 35–36). The official incorporation of strings into the Prussian military music only occurred in the last decade of the nineteenth century (“Militärmusik,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 17 vols., ed. Friedrich Blume [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1986], 9:325). See also Ethel Matala de Mazza, “Mit vereinter Schwäche: Musikalische Militäreinsätze in der Wiener Moderne,” in *Zeichen der Kraft: Wissensformationen 1800–1900*, ed. Thomas Brandstetter and Christof Windgätter (Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2008), 259–60.

following announcement from Iglau (parenthetical remarks as in original; square brackets indicate editorial additions):

A concert of the regimental band in the theater on December 25th [1874] (55-man orchestra). . . . The *Militär-Musik* (wind instruments) will begin the concert with the overtures to the operas *Dinorah* by Meyerbeer and the *Marriage of Figaro* by Mozart. – The *Streichorchester* follows with the brilliant overture to *Tannhäuser* by Richard Wagner, a scherzo by Mendelssohn, and the wonderful *Andante* movement from the “Surprise” Symphony by Haydn. Bringing the concert to a close will be Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, the most magnificent symphonic creation of this master next to his Ninth.²²

A further indication of the primacy of the wind band formation is the official collection of historic Austrian marches *Historische Märsche und sonstige Kompositionen für das kaiserliche und königliche Heer* (1895), which contains no parts for strings.²³

Military bands, like civilian dance bands, had a financial incentive to tailor their programs to popular tastes. Concerts were vital to the financial well-being of the ensembles, which received only a symbolic sum from the regiment.²⁴ Their concerts generally included a mix of marches, polkas, waltzes, dances, character pieces, potpourris, and song transcriptions.²⁵ Opera potpourris, a staple of the repertoire from

²² *Mährischer Grenzbote* [Iglau], 20 December 1874. Such a concentration on the classical repertoire was not typical of military band concerts and was surely a response to the date of the performance: Christmas Day. For the years 1866–75, the city’s newspapers contain evidence of only three performances of complete symphonies (Freeze, “Public Concert Life,” 6).

²³ Emil Kaiser, ed., *Historische Märsche und sonstige Kompositionen für das kaiserliche und königliche Heer* (1895; repr., Vienna: Musikverlag Johann Kliment, 2002). The collection comprised official regimental marches and other marches commemorating Austria’s past military commanders and victories. Its heavy political symbolism contrasts strongly with the corresponding Prussian *Sammlung von Märschen für türkische Musik zu bestimmten Gebrauch in der Königlich Preussischen Armee*, which first appeared decades earlier in 1817 and was more pragmatically organized by tempo and military unit. See Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 123; and Mazza, “Mit vereinter Schwäche,” 257–58.

²⁴ Eva Slavičková, “Militärkapelle und ihre Stellung in dem Musikleben des 19. Jahrhunderts: Einfluss der Militärkapelle auf die Olomoucer Musikkultur bis zum Jahre 1918,” *Musicologica Olomucensia* 5 (2000): 144.

²⁵ Bernhard Habla’s analysis of the repertoire of a single military band confirms the important role that these ensembles had in the popularization and dissemination of entertainment music and operettas (“Das Repertoire von Militär-Blasorchestern vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg: Gezeigt am Notenbestand des ‘bosnisch-herzegowinischen’ Infanterie-Regiments Nr. 4,” in *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Wolfgang Suppan* [Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993], 349–76).

at least the 1840s, were by century's end largely supplanted by potpourris from operetta, which began appearing soon after the genre came to Vienna in 1858.²⁶ At Vienna's *Hoch- und Deutschmeister*, one fourth of the repertory comprised potpourris from stage works. Between 1897 and 1914, pieces from the most recent operettas by Leo Held, Carl Michael Ziehrer, Alfred Grünfeld, Joseph Hellmesberger, and Johann Strauss, Jr., were arranged within two to eighteen months of their Viennese premières, a distinction bestowed to only one opera.²⁷ Older operettas remained an important part of the repertory even decades later. Lecocq's *Giroflé-Girofla* (1874), which Mahler conducted early in his career, was especially popular. Operetta potpourris were also an important part of the military band repertoire in Iglau. On 17 April 1870, for example, the band held a concert titled "Offenbach Evening" that consisted of selections from many of the French composer's operettas. The public response was so enthusiastic and the hall so full that some concert-goers were turned away.²⁸

In addition to popular fare, an important part of military band repertoires was art music, played either in transcription or original versions. The *Strausskapelle* was the first to introduce some of Richard Wagner's works to Vienna, and Hanslick praised military bands as "musical missionaries preaching the Good News of art."²⁹ In many provincial towns, military bands provided the only access to art music requiring more

²⁶ Slavíčková, "Militärkapelle und ihre Stellung," 144; Bernhard Habla, "Opern-Bearbeitungen für Harmoniemusiken und größere Bläserbesetzungen: Gedrucktes Notenmaterial aus dem zweiten Viertel des 19. Jh.," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38 (1997): 64.

²⁷ The opera was Wilhelm Kienzl's *Kuhreigen* (1911) and included arrangements and imitations of folksongs and dances. Set during the French Revolution, the opera deals with the fate of a Swiss soldier; its most famous number was an arrangement of the folksong "Zu Straßburg auf der Schanz," whose text appeared in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and was also set to music by Mahler.

²⁸ *Der Vermittler* [Iglau], no. 30, 14 April 1870.

²⁹ Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*, 2:53: "Missionäre, [welche] das fröhliche Evangelium der Kunst predigen." Masel suggests that the popularity of Wagner's works in Bavaria owed more to military bands—who included pieces by Wagner in their repertoire already in the 1850s—than to performances in the Hoftheater ("Wechselwirkungen," 37).

than a chamber ensemble. The unconcerned mixture of art and vernacular music on these concerts stands in stark contrast to the rhetoric of most critics, composers, and philosophers of high art. This is particularly noticeable in the openness to popular music. By the end of the nineteenth century, military bands were one of the most important disseminators of both popular and art music in central Europe.³⁰

The typical program of a military band concert struck a balance of serious and light music. A program from a concert held in Olmütz on 24 February 1883, during Mahler's brief stint in the city as a conductor, exemplifies the range of works:

1. "Für's Vaterland," march from the operetta *Der Bettelstudent* by Carl Millöcker
2. Overture to the opera *Zampa* by Ferdinand Hérol
3. Laura's Waltz from the operetta *Der Bettelstudent* by Carl Millöcker
4. "Erlkönig," ballade by Franz Schubert
5. "Burschenwanderung," polka française by Johann Strauss, Jr.
6. Reminiscences from the opera *Il Trovatore* [arr.] by M. Zimmermann
7. Entr'act from the opera *Lohengrin* by Richard Wagner
8. "O schöner Mai," waltz from *Prinz Methusalem* by Johann Strauss, Jr.
9. Potpourri from "German Songs" by Eduard Horny
10. "Nord und Süd," polka mazurka by Johann Strauss, Jr.
11. *Legenden* no. 4, by Antonin Dvorák
12. "Wanderer" Potpourri by [?Willy] Schwenda³¹

The inclusion of two numbers from *Der Bettelstudent* reflects the sensitivity of military bands to the fashions and tastes of the public. By far the biggest musical event in Olmütz during Mahler's stay was *Der Bettelstudent*, which thereby received its debut on a provincial stage.³² Extra performances were added to capitalize on the consistently sold-out house, and the military band was no doubt trying to cash in on the operetta's success, too.

³⁰ Hofer, *Blasmusikforschung*, 185.

³¹ *Mährisches Tagblatt* [Olmütz], no. 45, 24 February 1883. The concert took place in the Hotel Pietsch and was performed by the 54th Infantry Regiment Band. All works were arranged for military band.

³² Mahler did not conduct the work. He was responsible only for the operas; Hugo Schenk conducted the operettas.

For all the eclecticism of military band concerts, not all genres were equally represented. Folksongs made up only a small part of the repertoire, appearing mostly within the context of potpourris.³³ Folk-like songs were also sometimes used for the lyrical flügelhorn or tenor horn solos so common to band concerts. The intimate connection between military bands and popular music thus contrasts with its relationship to folk traditions. By tailoring their repertoire to the tastes and needs of the public, military bands became a primary disseminator of urban popular music throughout the provinces, directly undermining the efforts of those who sought to protect and preserve local traditions.

Much as operettas featured prominently in the repertoire of Austria's military bands, the sounds of the military were a frequent topic in operetta. This symbiotic relationship is as old as the genre itself. Jacques Offenbach wrote both satirical (*La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*, 1867; *Madame l'Archiduc*, 1874) and patriotic representations of the military (*La Fille du Tambour-Major*, 1879). The most explicit examples are the many onstage imitations of military bands, most typically at high points of act finales.³⁴ In Offenbach's *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*, the greatest theatrical success in Iglau during Mahler's youth, a regimental band assembles onstage

³³ Habla, "Das Repertoire von Militär-Blasorchestern," 375; Hofer, *Blasmusikforschung*, 33–34; Wolfgang Suppan, "Die Entwicklung der Literatur für Amateur-Blasorchester in Mitteleuropa seit 1950," in *Festschrift Ernst Klusen*, ed. Günther Noll and Marianne Bröker (Bonn: Wegener, 1984), 28. The Viennese military band director Franz Josef Wagner wrote many *Großpotpourri*, in which dozens and sometimes as many as 80 melodies were stitched together, mostly without transitional material. A characteristic title bestowed a unifying idea upon the work. For audiences, such pieces amounted to a game of "guess that tune" with all manner of melodies taken from operettas, operas, salon music, marches, symphonies, and folk repertoires.

³⁴ Onstage representations of military bands were not limited to operetta but appeared in many operas beginning in the early nineteenth century. The first use of the *banda sul palco*—in Italian opera, an onstage wind band often performed by Austrian military band musicians stationed in northern Italy—is Simon Mayr's *Zamorr, ossia l'eroe dell'Indie* (1804). Better-known examples include in Spontini's *La Vestale* (1807), Rossini's *La donna del lago* (1819), Weber's *Oberon* (1826), Verdi's *Nabucco* (1842), and Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète* (1849). See Frank Heidlberger, "Betrachtungen zur Rolle der Militärmusik in der abendländischen Kunstmusik," in *Militärmusik und "zivile" Musik*, 17–19.

to send off the troops at the end of act 1. Instead of just a few onstage musicians, Iglau's actual military band appeared to spectacular effect. The newspaper reported that "The excellent performance of the onstage regimental music enhanced the impressive effect of the parade of uniformed troops even further."³⁵

It was in Viennese operetta, however, that military bands and their marches and signals became a fundamental musical element on par with popular dances like the waltz and polka. The frequency of onstage bands in Viennese operetta reflects local theater traditions as much as it does Offenbach's precedent. The Viennese *Volksstück mit Musik* often had relatively undramatic, static finales featuring social rituals like devotions, ceremonies, or parades.³⁶ As extensions of this tradition, onstage military bands in Viennese operettas seldom provide functional music for troops. They are more characteristically represented in their capacity as purveyors of entertainment music for large folk celebrations and choral scenes. Among Strauss's early operettas, *Karneval in Rom* (1875) has no fewer than five onstage marches accompanying the many outdoor scenes at the carnival.³⁷ More typical is his operetta *Der lustige Krieg* (1881). In the act 1 finale, a military band provides music for an impromptu marriage ceremony conducted in the absence of proper church instruments. The band reappears in the act 2 finale, just after an army storms the enemy's military camp. But instead of battle music, the band's

³⁵ *Iglauer Sonntags-Blatt*, 7 March 1869. The operetta came to Iglau in 1869, just two years after its première in Paris and first performance in Vienna. Together with *La belle Hélène*, also by Offenbach, it was the most frequently staged musical work at the theater in 1869–75. Among the traits that made it such a success was the particular appeal of its plot to a city that had for a century been home to a garrison. (A foot soldier is suddenly elevated to the rank of general and leads his troops to a bloodless victory.) Another ingredient was the lavish production, whose considerable cost was surpassed only by the theater's even more considerable profits. The staging in 1874, for example, cost between 600 and 800 gulden.

³⁶ Mathias Spohr, "Inwieweit haben Offenbachs Operetten die Wiener Operette aus der Taufe gehoben?" in *Offenbach und die Schauplätze seines Musiktheaters*, ed. Rainer Franke Thurnauer (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1999), 58.

³⁷ See nos. 1, 4, 12a, 15a, and 16.

main purpose is to provide the accompaniment for an extended victory dance pairing the troops with their vanquished, female enemy. The act comes to a rousing, merry close.³⁸

Marches, signals, and other influences from military music also pervaded Viennese operetta more generally. Suppé's *Boccaccio* (1879), which stands alongside *Die Fledermaus* and *Der Bettelstudent* at the pinnacle of Golden Era operettas, includes more measures in march idiom than any other dance, and this despite a setting in seventeenth-century Venice and a plot turning on the amorous intrigues of the famous writer of the Italian Renaissance. One of the operetta's most famous numbers was its eponymous march. This was also the case with Suppé's previous evening-long success, *Fatinitza* (1876). Its march sold over 350,000 copies of sheet music in just one and a half years and was broadly disseminated by military bands and as a *Gassenhauer* with various regional texts. Not surprisingly, Eduard Strauss ended each *Quadrille* of a Suppé operetta with a march.³⁹

Operetta acted as a kind of filter of popular musical culture, drawing on those fashions and trends most readily adaptable to the situations of the comic stage. The frequency of marches and military band elements in Viennese operetta can be seen as a measure of the idiom's currency in local traditions of popular music. Suppé himself had little direct contact with the military band culture of Vienna, a fact that sets him apart from a great many other operetta composers. Nonetheless, he achieved a reputation as the "Regiments-Kapellmeister der Wiener Operette" (Regimental Band Leader of

³⁸ What specific instruments were used for onstage ensembles varied according to the means and availability of instruments for each production. In other instances, like the onstage band scene in the act 1 finale of Millöcker's *Der Bettelstudent*, the ideal instrumentation is given in the score.

³⁹ Hans-Dieter Roser, *Franz von Suppé: Werk und Leben*, Neue Musikportraits vol. 3 (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2007), 152–53, 174.

Viennese Operetta), a distinction that underscores how fully military idioms had been assimilated into entertainment music more generally.⁴⁰

Examples such as these suggest ways that the operettas and operas at the theater may have influenced Mahler's emerging compositional instincts. Not only did he hear actual military bands in the outdoors as a child, but he could also have experienced how marches and the sounds of military were marshaled in other musical contexts. Indeed, composers of operetta and *opéra-comique* were much more receptive to the animated style of popular military marches than were symphonists, and they were also prone to treat the military in a burlesquing manner. It may be that exposure to such works—if not in Iglau, then as Mahler conducted them in Laibach and Kassel—helped to shape his interest in high-spirited and occasionally parodic marches.

Marches in Military Music and Operetta

By mid-century, military marches were a repertoire cultivated mostly by specialists comprising military band directors and composers of entertainment music.⁴¹ Typical for these marches are tempo, texture, and expressive character. The tempo is that of the quick march (*Geschwindmarsch*), centering around 108–120 beats per minute.⁴² The texture has three primary strata: (1) an accessible, diatonic melody, (2) a clear bass line that alternates tonic and dominant or repeats the same tone, and (3) inner

⁴⁰ Anonymous, *Wiener Zeitung*, 27 January 1898; quoted in Roser, *Franz von Suppé*, 132. Many operetta and entertainment music composers were either military band directors or the sons of directors: Franz Lehár, Carl Michael Ziehrer, Karl Komzák, Béla Kéler, Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek, and Julius Fucik. See Csáky, *Ideologie der Operette*, 267–68.

⁴¹ Monelle, *Musical Topic*, 130; Hofer, “Marsch,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, rev. ed., 26 vols., ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1986), Sachteil 6:1669–70. Examples include Wagner's *Huldigungs-Marsch* (1868).

⁴² Erich Schwandt and Andrew Lamb, “March,” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40080> (accessed February 17, 2010); and Hofer, “Marsch,” 6:1671.

accompanying voices that could include off-beats, long tones, or a simplified version of the melody. The expressive character is typically animated, lively, and spirited. The tandem development of military marches with other popular marches did not appeal to all. Already in 1853, Eduard Hanslick, criticized the reciprocal influence of the two spheres:

The transition from the former solemn dignity to dance-like, jaunty agility in our marches seems to have taken place almost without exception. . . . Indeed, the bouncing dance character, which both Strausses and their numerous imitators introduced into the marches, poses the danger that military music will be crowded entirely out of the sphere of forceful seriousness. One should never forget that it is warriors who are playing even the sprightliest march. When the soldier goes to dance, he takes off his sword: at all times, however, the march should remain *armed* music. The more ceremonial and dignified character of the *Prussian* marches, and especially those of its cavalry, occur to me in this connection.⁴³

Animated, popular marches of this type were relatively uncommon in art music. The marches cultivated in operas, symphonies, and other instrumental works tended toward ceremonial, processional, or triumphant types.⁴⁴ Notable exceptions, in which marches directly imitate the popular military style, were far more numerous in the first half of the nineteenth century. The relationship of these marches to military marches is in virtually all cases made explicit in the work's title, as in Schubert's *Marches militaires* (D. 733). Likewise, the imitation of military marches in stage works almost always

⁴³ Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*, 2:54: "Der Uebergang von der ehemaligen gravitätischen Würde zu tanzartiger kecker Beweglichkeit erscheint in unsern Märschen fast ausnahmslos vollzogen. . . . In der Tat liegt in dem hüpfenden Tanzcharakter, welchen die beiden Strauß und ihre zahlreichen Nachahmer in die Märsche gebracht haben, die Gefahr, daß diese militärische Musik ganz aus der Sphäre kräftigen Ernstes herausgedrängt werde. Bei dem frischesten Marsch sollte man nie vergessen, daß es Krieger sind, die sich ihn aufspielen. Wenn der Soldat zum Tanz geht, schnallt er den Säbel ab: der Marsch soll unter allen Umständen *bewaffnete* Musik bleiben. In dieser einen Beziehung ist mir der mehr feierliche und würdevolle Charakter der *preußischen* Märsche, namentlich in der Cavallerie, aufgefallen." More recently, Otto Schneiderei has remarked on the pronounced dance-like character of Austrian military marches in *Franz Lehár: Eine Biographie in Zitaten* (Berlin: Pinguin-Verlag, 1984), 10. See also Mazza, "Mit vereinter Schwäche," 259–60.

⁴⁴ Monelle, *Musical Topic*, 130; Schwandt and Lamb, "March." See, for example, the numerous funeral marches and other independent marches by Spontini, Meyerbeer, Saint-Saëns, Gounod, Tchaikovsky, Wagner, and Elgar, most of whom were writing for official state celebrations or coronations.

correlated with military topics or direct imitations of military bands, as in Auber's *Fra Diavolo* (1830) and Donizetti's *La Fille du régiment* (1840).⁴⁵ In operettas like *Boccaccio*, however, marches and military idioms were used not just for illustrating explicitly military characters and plots, but also for non-military settings, too.

The Instruments of Military Bands and Operetta Orchestras

Because of the common ancestry of military and entertainment music, any claim that Mahler stylistically alludes to military marches using melody, harmony, or rhythm can be taken as evidence of a popular march type equally attributable to operetta. It is possible, however, to make some distinction based on timbre.⁴⁶ Austrian military bands cultivated a sound distinct from that of a theater orchestra both in the instruments they used and in characteristic ways of scoring. Table 4.3 summarizes the instruments typical of military bands and operetta orchestras.

Table 4.3 (appendix F). Typical Instruments of Military Bands and Operetta Orchestras

The core of the Austrian military band at the end of the nineteenth century comprised the family of conical brass instruments, most of which were absent from the orchestra: cornet, flügelhorn, bass flügelhorn, French horn, euphonium, and tuba. These

⁴⁵ For Hugo von Hofmannsthal, these works exemplified the essence of operetta as a genre more than the operettas of his own day; see Hofmannsthal's letter to Richard Strauss, 26 July 1928; quoted in Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, "Operette," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Albrecht Riethmüller (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001), 10. Suppé's reverence for these composers suggests one pathway by which the music of *opéras comiques* from the 1830s and 1840s influenced the Golden Age of Viennese operetta.

⁴⁶ A few qualifying remarks are necessary at the outset. Operettas were serially produced artistic works in whose creation many participated. It is still possible to make reliable generalizations about the orchestration of operetta by accepting two assumptions: that widely shared practical realities, like vocal roles being filled by actors instead of trained operatic singers, imposed some limits on orchestration, and that surviving scores reflect an attempt by the orchestrator to conform to these realities. Generalizations about military marches likewise require some caveats. The instrumentation and style of military bands varied nationally and, to a lesser extent, by region. The following discussion is restricted to the Austrian military wind band, with which Mahler had the most contact.

instruments bestowed on military ensembles a singular mellowness of brass timbre extending from the treble to bass. Cylindrical brass instruments—trumpets, bass trumpet, tenor and bass trombones—filled out the array of brass timbres. Many of those instruments that the military band held in common with a theater orchestra were pitched in different keys. In their most typical formation, military bands used five to six trumpets in E-flat. Flutes and piccolos were pitched in D-flat, and the clarinet choir contained instruments in three keys: E-flat, A, and B-flat. Some instruments, like the oboes, were almost never heard in an Austrian military band.⁴⁷

Just as characteristic as the palette of wind colors was the percussion of the Austrian military band. In the late eighteenth century, many military bands used a trio of percussion instruments: bass drum, cymbals, and triangle. The combination was a stable signifier of janissary music for classical composers invoking the Turkish style. Austrian military bands adhered to the practice well into the nineteenth century. By the time that Andreas Leonhardt's *Zirkular-Verordnung* standardized the instruments for the monarchy's military bands in 1850, however, a different trio of percussion had been established: snare drum, bass drum, and cymbals.⁴⁸ Many indices suggest that the new combination was a similarly stable convention of the Austrian military bands throughout Mahler's lifetime. There was little or no regional variation in percussion among military bands throughout the monarchy.⁴⁹ The augmented ensemble that the Austrian military sent to the 1867 Parisian World Exposition was nearly double the

⁴⁷ Hofer, *Blasmusikforschung*, 176.

⁴⁸ Bernhard Habla, *Besetzung und Instrumentation des Blasorchesters seit der Erfindung der Ventile für Blechblasinstrumente bis zum zweiten Weltkrieg in Österreich und Deutschland*, 2 vols. (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1990), 1:27.

⁴⁹ The variations in regional military band instrumentation dealt with in Habla's *Besetzung und Instrumentation des Blasorchesters* (see 1:37–45) include only one change to percussion: the additional use of bell trees to accompany marching in the Italian provinces.

size of a standard band (seventy-six instead of forty-six players) and included atypical winds like six hunting horns and two *clarifons*.⁵⁰ Despite the performance of orchestral arrangements like the overture to Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, whose original version includes timpani, the Austrian military took only two each of the standard percussion.⁵¹ Furthermore, *Historische Märsche*, Austria's official collection of historical marches, has only two that do not use the standard snare drum, bass drum, and cymbals.⁵²

Other percussion instruments—the triangle, timpani, and tambourine among them—were indeed used by military bands. As a rule, they did not appear in support of functional music, which had more distinctive instrumentation and texture, but in concert performances, where they typically provided special effects in works with exotic or programmatic titles. Even in these cases, though, the priority of the signature trio as the core of a military band is evident in the scores, which gave independent staves to snare and bass drums only. As a matter of performance practice, cymbals were attached to the bass drum and struck in unison by a single player. A written indication was required if only one or the other was to be played. Similar indications were used to notate the non-standard percussion, which did not appear on the front page of the score, but were written *ad hoc* into the snare and bass drum parts.

The independent marches of Johann Strauss, Jr., provide one indication that composers of entertainment music—and presumably their audiences, too—were

⁵⁰ A *clarifon* was a metallic bass clarinet shaped as a bassoon and constructed by the Viennese instrument maker Anton Nechwalsky (Gunther Joppig, "Eigenständige Wege im österreichischen Blasinstrumentenbau im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Symposiumsbericht* of the Internationales wissenschaftliches Symposium "Der Marschkönig Josef Franz Wagner," ed. Elisabeth Anzenberger-Ramminger and Friedrich Anzenberger [Zeillern: Niederösterreichischer Blasmusikverband, 2007], 172).

⁵¹ Habla, *Besetzung und Instrumentation des Blasorchesters*, 1:35.

⁵² J. N. Fuchs's "Alt-Starhemberg-Marsch" uses triangle along with Turkish crescent, glockenspiel, and the normal percussion; Wilhelm Asboth's "Wallonen-Marsch" calls for triangle and tambourine.

sensitive to what may seem today like subtle conventions of instrumentation for military marches.⁵³ In contrast to his waltz scorings, Strauss tailored his marches to the sound of the military wind band, limiting the percussion to snare drum, bass drum, and cymbals except in marches with exotic titles.⁵⁴ His waltzes, on the other hand, have the same basic percussion section as his operettas: snare drum, bass drum with cymbals, timpani, and triangle, often augmented by harp and exotic percussion instruments. In contrast to the marches, this expanded percussion section was typical even in waltzes that lacked a programmatic or exotic title. Moreover, Strauss used the E-flat clarinet in virtually every march, yet in only a small minority of waltzes.⁵⁵ Because marches and waltzes were played alongside one another on the same concerts, these differences cannot be attributed to practical considerations based on availability of instruments. Rather, it was a deliberate attempt to approximate the sound of military bands. As a result, each concert that included marches and waltzes was an opportunity to reinforce these conventions of instrumentation among the public.

The percussion section of a typical operetta contained not just snare drum, bass drum, and cymbals, but also timpani and triangle. Other instruments were also used, often for diegetic sounds like the chiming of church bells. Unlike military bands, however, operetta had no trademark configuration of percussion. In practice, virtually all combinations of instruments were exploited. Operetta composers were sensitive to

⁵³ Most of Strauss Jr.'s manuscripts were destroyed by his brother Eduard in 1907. The following comments on orchestration are based on the *Johann Strauß Gesamtausgabe*, which relies on first editions of parts where autograph scores do not exist. Even if these parts do not conform precisely to the composer's wishes, they are nonetheless reliable documents of orchestrational practices in entertainment music during Mahler's lifetime.

⁵⁴ Examples include the Egyptian March op. 335 (glockenspiel, triangle, tambourine), Spanish March op. 433 (timpani, castanets), and the Russian march op. 353 (timpani, tambourine).

⁵⁵ When Strauss calls for E-flat trumpets in a waltz, this generally indicates that the piece premiered on a concert in which a military band also took part.

the percussion used in military marches, adopting snare drum, bass drum, and cymbals in most direct representations of military bands. But much writing for percussion, like the extensive use of triangle and timpani, would have been atypical for a military march.

Characteristics of Instrumentation in Military Marches and in Operetta

Military marches were also distinct from operetta marches in their characteristically heavy scoring. Military wind bands had a greater potential for timbral subtleties on account of the greater number of unique instruments at their disposal. Discounting percussion, a typical Austrian military band of the 1890s had twenty-eight wind parts divided among fourteen unique instruments; a typical Viennese operetta orchestra had twenty-two parts distributed among just eleven instruments (see table 4.3). In practice, however, the repertoire of military band marches did not exploit the ensemble's inherent potential for timbral differentiation.⁵⁶ Tutti ensembles were more a rule than an exception, and the instrumentation within formal sections tended toward homogeneity. In a march, the first shift in timbre would typically occur only at the beginning of the second strain or, in a shorter work, at the trio. Although the trios of military march were often lighter, the contrast to the "heavy" main section was achieved more through dynamics than a thinning of the instrumentation. Military bands strove for a sound that could project in the outdoors and be immediately recognizable through its uniformity.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ This generalization cannot be extended to all pieces that military bands played. The full range of timbral possibilities, from thinly scored passages to full ensemble, were exploited in the concert repertoire of military bands, including potpourris, arrangements, and military character pieces (*militärische Tonbilde* or *Tongemälde*).

⁵⁷ Achim Hofer has suggested that this homogeneity of sound might reflect the fact that military bands originally played many arrangements of orchestral music, and that their part-writing was modeled on that for strings (Hofer, *Blasmusikforschung*, 177). Whatever the reason, deficiency on the part of the composers themselves is certainly not the case. In fact, the stereotype of military band conductors at the

In contrast, operetta exploited the full range of possible combinations of instruments and instrument groups. On balance, though, operetta tended toward lighter textures, reserving *tutti* ensembles for climaxes in choral scenes. The transparency of the thinner textures was only magnified by the modest size of a pit orchestra. Whereas a full-sized military band in the 1890s consisted of forty-six winds and percussion, only an extravagantly large operetta orchestra would have had so many players, most of whom were playing string instruments.⁵⁸ This tendency had practical justifications that were not just financial. Vocal roles in operetta were sung by actors whose voices were not trained to project over a massive orchestral apparatus in large opera halls. Thinner textures and softer dynamics ensured that the actors and their nuanced declamation could be readily heard.

The difference in sound between marches played by military bands and operetta orchestras can be best assessed in operettas that call for onstage imitations of military bands. Here the two profiles are as closely aligned as possible; what differences remain, measure the unbridgeable gap between the two ensembles. Example 4.1 reproduces a section from the end of the first act of Millöcker's *Der Bettelstudent*, as a *Stadtkapelle* marches onstage for a short command performance.⁵⁹

Example 4.1 (appendix F). Carl Millöcker, *Der Bettelstudent*, act 1 finale

time was that they possessed great facility in orchestration. Strauss received help from military band conductors with orchestrations, some of which were praised by no less a critic than Hanslick.

⁵⁸ Habla, *Besetzung und Instrumentation des Blasorchesters*, 1:43; Roser, *Franz von Suppé*, 29, 93. In 1913, the pit orchestra at the Theater an der Wien, which mounted the most lavish operetta productions in Vienna, comprised around forty-three players (Stefan Frey, “*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg?*”: *Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik im 20. Jahrhundert* [Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1999], 114).

⁵⁹ The polka coloring of the march stems from the operetta's setting in Krakow. The fact that Millöcker's band is not a military band does not vitiate the comparison. *Stadtkapellen* and other civilian wind bands were directly modeled on military bands. Andreas Masel summarizes the interpenetration of Bavarian military and civilian wind bands in instrumentation, repertoire, personnel, audience, venue, and instructional institutions (Masel, “Wechselwirkungen,” 23–39). The primary difference consisted in the institutional affiliation and greater resources available to military bands. The situation was comparable in neighboring Austria.

Many features of the march betray Millöcker's attempt to imitate both the sight and sound of a military band. Table 4.4 summarizes the orchestration, which apes the texture, heavy doublings, and dynamics of a military march.

Table 4.4. Orchestration of Military Wind Band and its Direct Imitation in Operetta

In addition, Millöcker opted for standard military percussion in their most stereotypical configuration: bass drum and cymbals reinforcing the beats, the snare drum the off-beats. The triangle and timpani, available in the pit, remain silent. No other passage of the operetta approximates military bands so closely.

The essential characteristics of a military band's sound are also thematized in the text that accompanies the band's onstage performance. In this case, as so often in operetta, the libretto provides a running commentary on what makes the scene so effective:

Chorus

Bei solchem Feste
thun sie das Beste
mit Trommel und Trompetenschall,
das ist willkommen überall!
Nicht Dilettanten, nein Musikanten
sind sie und geben sich viel Müh'!

Chorus

At such a festival,
you can't do any better
than trumpets and drums—
they are always welcome!
These aren't dilettantes, they're musicians
who are doing their best!

Bogumil

Ich schlag' in die grosse Trommel fest hinein
Sonst würde aus Rand und Band gleich Alles sein!
Effectvoll ist dies Instrument
und macht Scandal potz Himmel saperment!

Bogumil

I hit the bass drum hard,
otherwise everything would fall apart!
This instrument is effective
and can raise a ruckus, oh my!

Chorus

Nur immer zu und fest hinein
das muss sein.
Auch in weiter Fern
muss man's deutlich hör'n!
Auf's Piane sind sie nicht einstudirt
es wird nur forte musizirt.

Chorus

Strike hard, again and again,
that's the only way.
Even from the distance,
one must be able to hear it!
They have not learned to play *piano*,
forte is all they know.

Each of the musical features cited corresponds to essential elements in the ensemble's acoustical profile: prominent trumpets, regular hits of the bass drum, heavy

orchestration, and fullness of dynamics. Such clichéd representations reinforced in the popular imagination the musical characteristics of military bands.

Vienna's "March King" Josef Franz Wagner prepared a potpourri for military band based on melodies from Millöcker's operetta. Among the tunes is the march from the onstage *Stadtkapelle*.⁶⁰ The similarities that the arrangement bears with the original confirm Millöcker's attempt to approximate the sound of an actual military band.

Example 4.2 (appendix F). J. F. Wagner's arrangement of stage music from Millöcker's *Bettelstudent*

Wagner arranged the *Stadtkapelle's* tune in the style and scoring quintessential for military marches. As is apparent in Table 4.4, this rendered Millöcker's already thick scoring even heavier, and moved the center of balance more fully to the brass timbres, many of which were unavailable to Millöcker.

The fidelity of Millöcker's imitation is all the more apparent in context of another march from the same operetta. Earlier in act 1, the opening of the spring fair is celebrated by a romping chorus in compound meter. An extended trumpet call from the pit orchestra introduces a brief divertissement of townspeople who assemble to the strains of an instrumental march indistinguishable from a military march in melody, harmony, and even form.⁶¹

Example 4.3 (appendix F). Carl Millöcker, *Der Bettelstudent*, act 1, spring fair march

The scoring, however, does not reach the same degree of fidelity as in the onstage imitation later in the *Stadtkapelle* episode. Here Millöcker makes copious use of strings, timpani, and triangle. Hardly four measures go by in the sixty-bar march without a shift

⁶⁰ *Potpourri aus der Operette Bettelstudent von Ch. Millöcker für Militärmusik von J. F. Wagner Kapellmeister*. Manuscript Score. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs.20730.

⁶¹ Form: Introduction (8), March (16), Trio (16), and March repeat (16), with the characteristic lyrical countermelody in the trio.

in texture. In the main march strain, for example, the thick orchestration, regular hits of the bass drum and cymbals, and *fortissimo* so reminiscent of military bands alternate with lighter textures, pizzicatos in the strings, *piano* dynamics, and the triangle. This playful alternation of textures clearly distances the march from a military band on parade while emphasizing the lighthearted, cheery disposition befitting its occasion. Whereas the *Stadtkapelle* in the act 1 finale is a direct imitation, the military band is invoked as a topic in the spring fair scene.

The softer passages of the spring fair march point to a kind of march as pervasive in operetta as it is atypical for military marches: the *light march*.⁶² The light march is distinguished from the military march primarily in orchestration, dynamics, and expressive character. Its hallmarks include a light orchestration led by woodwinds or strings. The most common percussion accompaniment is the least intrusive—triangle—although one also finds quiet snare drum taps or no percussion at all. The dynamics are soft and the expression delicate. Such characteristics do not appear in military marches, for the lightness in sound and expression would have been lost in transcription.

A light march nearly contemporaneous with Mahler's Third Symphony comes from Carl Michael Ziehrer's *Die Landstreicher* (1899). Ziehrer was one of Austria's most famous military band conductors and operetta composers. Mahler repeatedly tried in vain to commission him to write a ballet for the Court Opera.⁶³ The march duet of the

⁶² Operetta also contains ceremonial and processional marches, but these will be excluded from the present discussion because they are not distinctive to operetta as a genre, and because Mahler's Third Symphony does not contain such marches.

⁶³ In a letter to Ernest Pröll in 1903, Ziehrer wrote that "I have no desire to write a ballet because such a thing just doesn't sell. Mahler often pesters me to compose a ballet" (quoted in Max Schönherr, *Carl Michael Ziehrer: Sein Werk, Sein Leben, Seine Zeit; Dokumentation, Analysen und Kommentare* [Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1974], 472: "Ein Ballett zu schreiben, habe ich keine Lust, da ein solches Ding nichts einträgt. Mahler sekirt mich oft, ein Ballett zu componieren"). Mahler also failed to

first act of *Die Landstreicher* is a humorous number in which the two military officers, pants roles played by two sopranos, discuss the sexual attraction that naturally accrues with the donning of a military uniform.

Example 4.4 (appendix F). Carl Michael Ziehrer, *Die Landstreicher*, act 1, no. 8, march duet

The introduction consists of one complete strain of the march's refrain, "The magic of the uniform" (*Der Zauber der Montur*), one of the operetta's hit songs. Here the march directly imitates the sound of a military band. The military tone, however, rapidly evaporates in the introduction's final two measures. With the entrance of the voices, the dynamics pull back to the quietest reaches, from *p* to *ppp*. The orchestration is mildly reduced, and the woodwinds and first violins assume the primary role in the texture. In addition to *pp* flares in the snare drum, the triangle enters a few bars later. Two archetypal operetta marches—a direct imitation of military marches and a light march—thus stand side by side.

The mixture of military and sensual topics in "Der Zauber der Montur" points to another salient feature of light marches. As transformations of military marches, they were ideally suited to cheerful and buoyant expression and especially to topics like love and wit, which often involve metaphors of conquest and battle.⁶⁴ War and love are thoroughly entwined in such operettas as Suppé's *Fatinitza* and Strauss's *Der lustige Krieg*, both of which have military settings, women or cross-dressing soldiers, and light marches in amorous contexts.⁶⁵ Other operettas virtually lacking in martial topics used

commission a ballet from Franz Lehár, Vienna's other leading military band conductor and operetta composer (La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 3:476).

⁶⁴ Another such topic was humor: the march septet (no. 19) of Suppé's *Boccaccio* begins as a light march and likens the writer's wit to a sword.

⁶⁵ In *Der lustige Krieg* (act 2, no. 8), for example, a light march accompanies the princess Artemisia as she reviews and gives the following instructions to her troops, who are all female:

light marches, too. The climax of the final act of Lecocq's *La Fille de Madame Angot* constitutes the "Couplets de la dispute." First heard in the operetta's overture, the couplets appear here in a dramatic situation far removed from the battlefield.⁶⁶ In the first strophe, Clairette accuses the actress Mademoiselle Lange of stealing her lover. Lange retorts in the second strophe that Clairette is not the prim and innocent girl that everyone takes her to be.

Example 4.5 (appendix F). Charles Lecocq, *La Fille de Madame Angot*, "Couplets de la dispute"

The music is as far from military topics as the dramatic situation. The only brass are two horns on the off-beats. Otherwise, the transparent texture consists entirely of *piano* strings with accents in the triangle.

Another light march occurs in the march septet (no. 19) in act 3 of Suppé's *Boccaccio*.

Example 4.6 (appendix F). Franz von Suppé, *Boccaccio*, no. 20, act 3 finale

Distinguishing it from a military march is the transparent orchestration, delicate expression, and absence of heavy brass and military percussion. The military topic is a clear reaction to the underlying metaphor, that Boccaccio's wit is as sharp as a sword.

Stylizations of Military and Light Marches in Mahler's *Oeuvre*

Insofar as Mahler's marches bear similarities to military or light marches, it is almost always a matter of stylization. Hardly a measure would seem plausible in actual

"Attention, right dress / Chins up! Eyes left! Chests out!" (Habt Acht, richt' Euch / Kopf in die Höh! Augen links! Brust heraus!). See ch. 5 for an amorous light march from Suppé's *Fatinitza*.

⁶⁶ The only military element of the operetta comes in the finale of the second act. Soldiers surround a secret political meeting. Their arrival is first indicated by off-stage trumpet fanfares. When they storm the hall, the dissidents act as if they were preparing for a ball. The short Chorus of the Hussars is in triple meter and, formally speaking, constitutes the introduction to the final waltz. Lecocq's operetta is typical of its genre in that soldiers and the military are vehicles for cheerfulness or comedy.

military music or operetta. Rather than using “original dress” or “authentic” scoring,⁶⁷ Mahler alludes to these genres by drawing on a few characteristic elements of the original. The choice of elements depends on the genre. Military marches were most clearly delineated by characteristic instruments and ways of scoring. These could even be recognized apart from a march idiom. Timbral properties were less of a trademark for operetta. Light marches are identifiable by a combination of orchestration, dynamics, and popular tone.

Mahler based his allusions to military bands on their distinctive timbral properties. The clearest instances occur in those passages that call for stock military band instruments not commonly used in concert orchestras. *Das klagende Lied* (1878–80) calls for an off-stage wedding band in the third movement. Like most civilian wind bands, Mahler’s offstage ensemble is based on the sound of a military band, requiring flutes in D-flat, clarinets in E-flat, flügelhorns, and cornets.⁶⁸ Out of concern that that these instruments might not be available for all performances, Mahler struck a compromise when he revised the work two decades later. He rescored the passage for standard orchestral winds, but requested wind-band instruments if available.⁶⁹ Mahler had already made a similar compromise in the Third Symphony just a few years earlier.

⁶⁷ See Henry-Louis de La Grange, “Music about Music in Mahler: Reminiscences, Allusions, or Quotations?” in *Mahler Studies*, ed. Stephen Hefling (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 126; and Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler Volume II: The Wunderhorn Years*, rev. Paul Banks and David Matthews (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 326.

⁶⁸ The score refers more generally to a *Blasorchester*, and the dramatic context—a wedding—also suggests a civilian ensemble. Because civilian wind bands were so closely related to military bands in German-speaking lands, however, the comparison in scoring can be extended to military bands. See Masel, “Wechselwirkungen,” 23–39.

⁶⁹ Rudolf Stephan, Foreword to *Das klagende Lied*, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, vol. 12 (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1978). In a revision about five years earlier, Mahler had discarded the offstage music altogether. The reorchestration coincided with the reinstatement of the material in 1898 (Edward R. Reilly, “*Das klagende Lied* Reconsidered,” in *Mahler Studies*, ed. Stephen Hefling [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997], 42–46). Mahler mentioned the relationship of availability and practicality of the flügelhorn in a conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner (Killian, *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen*, 58).

He wrote above the trumpet signals at m. 489 of movement one: “On a small cornet when possible” (*Womöglich auf kleinem Piston*).⁷⁰ Such examples show that Mahler was certainly aware of the instrumentarium of military bands and occasionally drew on it in his own works.

Using military band instruments is not the same as emulating a military march. The only example in Mahler’s *oeuvre* that combines military band instruments with a stylization of a march occurs in the offstage band in the “Hochzeitsstück” from *Das klagende Lied* (mm. 79ff.). Nevertheless, the passage deviates in important ways from wind-band scoring. The oboe almost never appeared in wind bands, and two of the most characteristic instruments—snare and bass drums—are missing altogether. The active horn lines and manically alternating eighths in the timpani would never have appeared in the wind band repertoire, not to mention the sinister, chromatically inflected melodies and extended triadic harmonies. The march music it plays is heavily stylized, and these deviations from authenticity increase the effectiveness of the passage. The realistic details throw into relief the grotesque distortions. Because of their reliance on timbral properties, allusions to wind bands could remain audible even when little else in the musical texture resembled wind band music.

After *Das klagende Lied*, Mahler never again called for more than one specialized military band instrument at a time. When he emulated the sound of military bands and their marches, it was mostly with the instruments of a traditional orchestra. The

⁷⁰ In a revision notated into the first printed edition, Mahler later deleted the direction and gave the signal to a muted trumpet. Whereas the cornet was a fixture of French orchestras, it was rarely heard in German-speaking lands apart from military bands. A few other movements call for military brass instruments but without suggesting replacements in case they were unavailable. The autograph score and first edition of the Third Symphony call for a flügelhorn, which Mahler told Natalie Bauer-Lechner had been a favorite instrument since he first heard it in the military bands of his youth (Killian, ed., *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen*, 58; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 61). The Seventh Symphony contains a prominent solo for tenor horn and calls for a cornet in the last movement.

offstage music from the fifth movement of the Second Symphony, for example, clearly evokes a military band despite its significant deviations from an authentic representation.

Example 4.7 (appendix F). Mahler, Symphony no. 2, mvt. 5

Each characteristic element that Mahler adopts is among those stereotypes of military bands articulated by the chorus to the act 1 finale of Millöcker's *Bettelstudent* chorus. The offstage ensemble consists solely of trumpets and drums. The simultaneous use of trumpets in different keys (F and C) and Mahler's request for multiple players on a part together yield an approximation of the trumpet-heavy core of a military band. The illusion of a regular duple meter, and the foursquare rhythms of the bass drum and attached cymbals, convey the military sphere even if they are augmented by the triangle as opposed to the more typical snare drum. The lack of dynamic nuance and the signal-like character of the trumpet line reinforce the martial tone, though military bands would not have played signals with such chromatic inflections and tritone leaps (m. 350). Finally, the distance effect of the offstage band, "Placed in the farthest distance" (*In weitester Ferne aufgestellt*), supports the impression of military ensembles, which routinely played outdoors.⁷¹

Since the light march is a concept introduced in this dissertation to allow for some differentiation of the popular marches in Mahler's musical environment, it is appropriate to examine this concept more closely before turning to the Third Symphony in Chapter 5. Thumbnail sketches of a few light marches can provide corroborating

⁷¹ Mahler's note to the conductor: "[The off-stage band] must be barely audible, so that the singing character of the cellos and bassoons is in no way compromised. Roughly speaking, the author imagines here snatches of barely perceptible music carried by the wind from afar" ("Muss so schwach erklingen, dass es den Charakter der Gesangstelle Celli und Fag. in keinerlei Weise tangiert. Der Autor denkt sich hier, ungefähr, vom Wind vereinzelt herüber getragene Klänge einer kaum vernehmbaren Musik.")

evidence of its integrity as a compositional type and give a sense of the expressive purposes to which Mahler put it. The first two instances reside in texted works—“Der Spielmann” from *Das klagende Lied* and the *Wunderhorn* song “Revelge”—thus enabling more specific interpretations of expressive function than would be possible in purely instrumental contexts. The remaining examples come from the two of Mahler’s works most frequently brought into connection with operetta in recent secondary literature: the Seventh and the Ninth Symphonies. Examining their light marches provides an opportunity to scrutinize these claims at the same time that it offers comparative examples of light marches in untexted symphonic movements.

Der Spielmann

Das klagende Lied tells the tale of a knight who commits fratricide in order to win the hand of a proud queen.⁷² In the movement “Der Spielmann,” a minstrel stumbles across the slain knight’s bone and carves from it a flute whose song reveals the evil brother’s misdeed. The movement begins with a four-measure motive associated with the minstrel, and its first major transformation, toward the end of the extended orchestral introduction, is Mahler’s earliest extant light march.

Example 4.8 (appendix F). Mahler, *Das klagende Lied*, “Der Spielmann,” mm. 3–6, 92–100

Although the march appears before any text, the movement’s title and the motive’s strongly descriptive features make its referential content clear. Its clipped notes and sturdy, agogic accentuation convey the minstrel’s wandering. The lyrical transformation of the motive captures the other aspect integral to his profession: music-

⁷² In the work’s original version, these events take place in the first movement, “Waldmärchen,” which Mahler jettisoned at some point between 1891 and 1893 (Reilly, “*Das klagende Lied* Revisited,” 42). In the two-movement version, the cantata begins directly with “Der Spielmann.”

making.⁷³ It matches the light march type, marked by a popular march idiom, quiet dynamics, sparse orchestration, and delicate accents from the triangle.

Whereas the march depicts a minstrel in the indeterminate past of fairy tales, its constituent musical features draw on elements of contemporary Viennese entertainment music. This relationship was cited by many critics who reviewed the work's première in Vienna on 17 February 1901. Theodor Helm claimed that the melody would make the perfect Strauss waltz tune were it rendered in triple meter, and the reviewer for the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, the city's most widely circulated newspaper, remarked that "a march melody, the *Leitmotiv* of the minstrel, leaves no doubt that he was born in Vienna."⁷⁴ Given the light orchestral idiom in which the minstrel's march appears, one should expect some comparisons to operetta or other orchestral popular music. That is precisely what Josef Scheu offered in his review:

Among the details worth mentioning . . . is the march used to characterize the minstrel. Its schmaltziness [*Schmalzern*] or gleeful shouts [*Juchzern*], which seem so Viennese, remind us of the Schrammel brothers, of Eduard Strauss and [Carl Michael] Ziehrer – and of Mahler's D-major Symphony.⁷⁵

Johann and Josef Schrammel, Eduard Strauss, and Carl Michael Ziehrer were among Vienna's most famous popular musicians in the years spanning the genesis, revision, and

⁷³ This association is later confirmed by the texts that the motive accompanies, including: "Ein Spielmann zog einst des Weges daher" (Once a minstrel came that way) and "Der Spielmann ziehet in die Weite / lässt's überall erklingen" (The minstrel wanders out into the world / playing his song everywhere). All translations of the *Das klagende Lied* are Stanley Appelbaum's from the Dover edition.

⁷⁴ h—m [Theodor Helm], "Außerordentliches Konzert der Wiener Singakademie [review of *Das klagende Lied*]," *Deutsche Zeitung*, 19 February 1901; rbt, "Gustav Mahler's 'Klagendes Lied,'" *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 19 February 1901, 9: "Im Orchester erklingt nämlich mehrere Male eine Marschmelodie als Leitmotiv des 'Spielmannes', welche über des Letzteren Geburtsstätte Wien nicht im Zweifel läßt."

⁷⁵ Scheu's reference to the First Symphony, performed in Vienna just three months earlier, is certainly to the trio of the Scherzo, which also contains a sweet, sentimental melody led by the violins and animated by energetic, ascending leaps. Josef Scheu, "Konzerte [review of *Das klagende Lied*]" *Arbeiterzeitung*, 24 February 1901: "Von Einzelheiten wären . . . der zur Charakterisierung des Spielmanns dienende Marsch zu erwähnen, der uns mit seinen an die Brüder Schrammel, an Eduard Strauß und Ziehrer wie an — Mahlers D-dur-Symphonie erinnernden Schmalzern oder Juchzern recht wienerisch anheimelte."

première of *Das klagende Lied*. In 1901, Eduard Strauss was the only one of the three Strauss brothers still living. Until he dissolved the *Strausskapelle* a few days before the first performance of Mahler's cantata, he had been director of the ensemble for thirty years. Ziehrer was at the height of his fame as an operetta composer, buoyed still by *Die Landstreicher*. The Schrammel brothers, both of whom had passed away in the mid 1890s, epitomized the tradition of Viennese pseudo-folk chamber music extending back to the Biedermeier.

Sheu's reference to the Schrammel brothers hints at the potent role that scoring could play in steering associations to popular genres for Mahler's contemporaries. The ensemble that they founded in 1878—the year that Mahler began working on the text for *Das klagende Lied*—consisted of two violins and bass guitar.⁷⁶ The orchestration of the second statement of the minstrel's march alludes to this ensemble (mm. 183–91). In lieu of the entire violin section, Mahler calls for three soloists, whose “Viennese” melody rides atop staccato bassoons and pizzicato basses, reminiscent of the plucking accompaniment of a guitar. The melody furthermore begins with a *Schnalzer*, a gesture typical of Viennese pseudo-folk music traditions like *Schrammelmusik*: pick-ups into a downbeat clipped short to create a hiccup before the subsequent tone on the next beat (mm. 183–84). Equally important is what Scheu and other reviewers did *not* invoke to describe the minstrel's march: military bands. This omission does not stem merely from the lack of martial topics in the cantata's dramatic events. The reviewers, after all, described the popular tone in terms of the musical environment in which they lived. That none of these references was to military bands is most efficiently explained by the

⁷⁶ The ensemble later added a clarinet in G. Many equivalent ensembles of the time also contained an accordion. See Ernst Weber, “Schrammelmusik,” *Österreichisches Musiklexikon*, 4:2137–38.

fact that the minstrel's light march simply did not sound like the marches played by military bands.

The minstrel's march in *Das klagende Lied* sheds light on Mahler's attitude towards light marches and their expressive capacity. The minstrel is the dramatic vehicle by which the brother's death is avenged and the queen's pride punished. His light march emulates popular music without being the object of irony or parody. Its innocent simplicity serves as the basis of normalcy against which the bizarre events of the cantata unfold. This function can be clearly seen in both of the statements of the light march after the orchestral introduction. In the imitation of *Schrammelmusik*, no overtly musical cues indicate that the expressive effect should be anything other than light and carefree. It is only in the incongruity between the music and text that the grotesque effect takes hold: "And he saw a little bone gleam" (*Da sah er ein Knöchlein blitzen*). The light march returns later in the movement intensified by the addition of lyrical counterpoint in the horns (mm. 400–421). Its placement could not make its aesthetic function any clearer. An interlude between the bone-flute's chilling song and the minstrel's dramatic resolution to confront the fratricidal brother and his bride-queen, the light march is a haunting reminder of simpler and more innocent times. It is only by virtue of Mahler's sympathetic treatment of the light marches, utterly devoid of irony or grotesquery, that these darker sentiments can be so powerfully expressed.

Revelge

Mahler also turned to light marches in his penultimate *Wunderhorn* song, "Revelge" (1899). The lied incorporates more stereotypes of military music than are found in his other orchestral soldier songs. It makes widespread use of thickly doubled woodwinds and snare drum, bass drum, and cymbals, with the latter two attached and

played by a single player. Such clear allusions befit the song's text, which deals with marching soldiers and military music. It is the operetta-like light marches, however, that effect the most harrowing moments, as when a fleeing soldier declines to help his fallen comrade.

Example 4.9 (appendix F). Mahler, "Revelge"

Though the situation could hardly be more violent or the circumstances more dire, the strophe is set to a light march fit for an operetta. The key shifts to the major mode for the first time. The texture is radically reduced and the dynamic falls to *piano* and *pianissimo*. The vocal line is marked *Mit Ausdruck*, while the accompanying first violins are instructed to play *singend*. The melody is periodic, frequently enriched by parallel thirds, and even closes with an authentic cadence. As David Josef Bach wrote, most likely of this passage: it is "almost a *Gassenhauer*, but one that allows the dead to enjoy themselves."⁷⁷ The immense disparity between the text and musical setting exposes the disingenuousness of the fleeing soldier. As if to stress the point, a bass line alternating tonic and dominant enters just at the words "May God help you."⁷⁸

Heightening the mordant sarcasm is the way that the passage is introduced. Nowhere in the song is the evocation of a military band more pronounced than here (mm. 30–31). This feature actually complements the operetta-like quality of the subsequent measures, for many light marches begin with such imitations; heavy orchestration, loud dynamics, and military percussion grab the listener's attention and

⁷⁷ Bach, *Arbeiterzeitung*, 5 February 1905. The full sentence reads: "In einem der Soldatenlieder kehrt ein Thema, wie es ähnlich die Oboe im ersten Satz seiner dritten Symphonie bringt immer wieder: beinahe ein *Gassenhauer* aber einer, bei dem die Toten sich vergnügen." Bach must have had "Revelge" in mind, because the only other soldier song on the concert, "Lied des Verfolgten im Turm," does not portray the dead.

⁷⁸ Strophe 4 (mm. 57–72) is a slightly modified repetition of the previous strophe. Once again there is an expressive gap between the text (the fallen soldier realizes his comrades are running past him as if he were dead) and the blitheness of the light march, which is endowed with a popular bass throughout the entire strophe.

then dissipate into a light march for the entrance of the voice. Ziehrer's march duet from *Die Landstreicher* is one instance from a well-known Viennese operetta written in the same year as "Revelge" (see ex. 4.4). Another is the *Nechledil*-March from Lehár's *Wiener Frauen* (1902), which begins with a statement of the main theme in the heavy style of a military band. At the end of the introduction, a brass fanfare and bombastic cadential phrase prepare the entrance of the voice and a light march.

Example 4.10 (appendix F). Lehár, *Wiener Frauen*, no. 13, *Nechledil-Marsch*

The song also contains recurring nonsense syllables akin to the "Trallali" of Mahler's cantilena-like refrain. Although this piece could not have served as a model for Mahler, it exemplifies the topicality of the gesture in operettas contemporary with the composition and early performances of the song.⁷⁹

Mahler also contorted light marches to fit a grotesque setting. As the fallen soldier in "Revelge" surveys the carnage of the battlefield, the music returns to the most potent timbral signifiers of military bands: snare drum, bass drum with cymbals, and prominent trumpets and woodwinds (mm. 72f.). A fierce orchestral convulsion ushers in a supernatural turn of events, as the soldier rouses his fellow casualties from the dead with the beating of his drum. Mahler sets the gruesome scene with a thin texture that retains its connection to military music only in the repeated taps of the snare drum, imitated by the first violins, and the ghostly echo of the woodwind trills. Then, with the entrance of the "Trallali" refrain, the overt references to military bands cease. The musical idiom suddenly shifts to that of a light march. The texture thins to *pianissimo* strings and soft woodwinds draping the vocal line in parallel thirds. This time, however,

⁷⁹ Another, nearly contemporaneous example of a light march introduced by an imitation of a military band is "Die beiden Kameraden" from Lehár's *Der Rastelbinder* (1902).

the light march is also imbued with grotesque musical touches: the voice continues *Sehr laut* in utter disregard of the shift in demeanor of the accompanying voices, and the melody is compressed at the repeated word *Feind* into a chromatic sneer reinforced by the oboes. This grotesque turn of the light march leads back to the battlefield and the timbral allusions to the military music (mm. 106f.). The snare drum returns, winds again dominate the texture, and the strings resume their percussive imitations.

“Revelge” is Mahler’s only soldier song with light-march passages, and his use of the topic here suggests that he did not view it as a means to represent soldiers or military bands. In fact, the expressive function of light marches depends on their very opposition to the military and on their capacity to transport the listener mentally away from the battlefield. Such an effect does not ultimately depend on light marches emanating from operetta to the exclusion of other popular genres. But sensing in them the spirit of the operettas that populated Mahler’s musical environment is compelling. It is in operetta, after all, that marches are always merry, battles bloodless, and endings happy. Strauss Jr.’s military parody *Der lustige Krieg*, a work Mahler conducted eleven times, is paradigmatic in this regard. Genoa and Massa declare war over a ballerina booked to perform simultaneously in both principalities. Even though the officers of the Massa army are replaced by a group of war-hungry women, neither side is willing to escalate the hostilities; they prefer the song and drink at their camps. The outcome of the merry war is not bloodshed, but the marriage of the female commander of the Massa army with the leader of the Genoese troops.⁸⁰ Heard in this context, the light marches of “Revelge” are all the more monstrous, for a greater antithesis to its grim reality could hardly be imagined.

⁸⁰ The military is often a vehicle for eroticism in operetta, with soldiers and even entire armies made up of pants roles. See also Suppé’s *Fatinitza* and Richard Genée’s *Der Seekadett* (1876).

Symphony no. 7, movement II

Mahler's two symphonies most often connected to operetta are the Seventh and Ninth. In both cases, the supposed links are melodic quotations of Franz Lehár's *Die lustige Witwe*. The claims regarding the Seventh are confused and contradictory. Taking into account likely misstatements and misprints, it seems that two motives from Mahler's Rondo-Finale have been linked to two melodies from Lehár's operetta—the first to the waltz duet "Lippen schweigen, 's flüstern Geigen,"⁸¹ and the second is to the march septet's trio "Ja, das Studium der Weiber ist schwer."⁸²

Example 4.11 (appendix F). Melodic similarity between Mahler and Lehár I

Example 4.12 (appendix F). Melodic similarity between Mahler and Lehár II

As Henry-Louis de La Grange has pointed out, Mahler could not have borrowed from Lehár's operetta, which premièred in December 1905, months after Mahler completed his symphony. If connections between the two works do exist, then they must be shared stylistic features. Adopting this stance immediately exposes the vacuity of both alleged allusions. No parameter of Lehár's waltz coincides with Mahler's score except for the unremarkable melodic sequence of four ascending notes repeated.⁸³ And the "astonishing" connection to the march septet likewise fails to pass muster.⁸⁴ Lehár's melody is first introduced as a light march. Its quiet dynamics, spare orchestration, and

⁸¹ La Grange briefly summarizes these claims, at times confusing and ill-supported, regarding the Rondo-Finale and Lehár's *Die lustige Witwe* (*Gustav Mahler*, 3:878). Hans Ferdinand Redlich, for example, writes that Mahler's melody "comes dangerously close" to Lehár's waltz (*Bruckner and Mahler, The Master Musicians* [London: Dent, 1955], 204).

⁸² La Grange lists the alleged allusion in the appendix of his article "Music about Music in Mahler," 166. Instead of the same horn motive as in Example 4.17 above, however, he reproduces the violin melody from mm. 31–33. The connection of this motive to Lehár's trio is even more tenuous and likely results from a printing error.

⁸³ The same four-note sequence begins the famous Vilja Song at the beginning of act 2.

⁸⁴ Sponheuer reproduces mm. 23–27 but misstates that it bears an "astonishing" similarity to Lehár's waltz (*Logik des Zerfalls*, 368). He must have meant the march septet.

playful character are the inverse of the stately *Meistersinger*-tone of Mahler's phrase. Even the climax of Lehár's trio, which projects the melody *fortissimo* in full orchestra, is hardly more suitable for comparison on account of its effervescence and close imitation of a military march. The melodic similarities allegedly connecting Mahler's Seventh Symphony to *Die lustige Witwe* are unconvincing not just chronologically but also on the musical merits.

Indeed, single-minded scrutiny of melody has left by the wayside other passages in Mahler's Seventh Symphony more strongly reminiscent of operetta. Among the most salient of these are the light marches in the first *Nachtmusik* (mvt. 2). Given the strong association of the light march type with entertainment music, it comes as no surprise that the early press attacked this movement more than any other for supposedly failing to attain the aesthetic standards of a symphony. Julius Korngold remarked that,

Of the two other middle movements [second and third], we prefer the Scherzo to such an extent that we could do without the first *Nachtmusik* entirely. It marches in minor and major through the nocturnal darkness of the forest, but for too long, too far and wide, and with thoughts that one should rather not have in a symphony.⁸⁵

Richard Batka, another Viennese critic generally sympathetic to Mahler's works, pinpointed the passage that Korngold most likely had in mind:

Daily life attracts Mahler, and he does not flinch at its triviality. He wants to discover the poetry of the workday, and he makes music *en plein air* a specialty of his symphonies. It is a matter of taste whether a melody like the one played by the cello in the trio of the second movement is even appropriate for the concert hall, or if it should not rather be played by a band at an outdoor pavilion.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Julius Korngold, "Feuilleton. Mahlers Siebente Symphonie," *Neue Freie Presse*, 6 November 1909: "Von den weiteren zwei Mittelsätzen geben wir dem Scherzo in solchem Maße den Vorzug, daß wir den anderen, die erste Nachtmusik ganz missen könnten. Hier in Moll und Dur durch nächtliches Waldesdunkel marschiert, aber zu lang, in die Breite und in die Quere, und mit Gedanken, die man sich in der Symphonie lieber nicht machen soll."

⁸⁶ B. [Richard Batka], "Gustav Mahlers 'Siebente,'" *Kunstwart* 23, no. 6 (zweites Dezemberheft 1909): 427: "Der Alltag zieht ihn an, seine Trivialität hat keine Schrecken für ihn. Er will die Poesie des Wochentags entdecken, und die Pleinairmusik bildet geradezu eine Spezialität seiner Symphonien. Es ist

As a matter of fact, the trio begins with one of the most blatant light marches that Mahler ever wrote (mm. 83ff).⁸⁷ The simple, lyrical cello melody, the regular bass line, the alternation of tonic and dominant, and the off-beat pattern in the horn—these few measures are about the only passage in Mahler’s entire *oeuvre* that could plausibly appear unaltered in popular music.

In *Das klagende Lied* and “Revelge,” Mahler’s light marches conveyed both ironic and grotesque sentiments, but each time the effect depended on the discrepancy between the text and musical expression, which was generally neither ironic nor grotesque. The purely instrumental light marches in the *Nachtmusik* are likewise treated sympathetically. Here they serve as the base of normalcy against which the Romantic mystery of its surroundings is measured. The movement draws on many topics of German Romanticism: distance effects, a call and answer in the horns, bird calls, and other sounds of nature.⁸⁸ Frequent juxtaposition of major and minor modes, grotesque instrumental effects, and unusual timbral combinations cast ghostly shadows that harken back to the Romantic notion of the forest as a quintessential center of supernatural and mysterious powers. In this context, the cheerful light march of the trio is a remarkable contrast, like the emergence from the enchanted forest into the broad daylight of the here and now.

Geschmacksache, ob eine Melodie wie das vom Cello geführte Trio des zweiten Satzes überhaupt noch als konzertfähig gelten soll und nicht lieber von der Banda als Gartenmusik zu spielen wäre.”

⁸⁷ The ambivalence of melody as a marker for genre reference can again be seen in descriptions of this cello melody, which is variously described as folk or popular. Constantin Floros writes, for example, of the “folksong-like” (*völkliedmäßig*) melody, while Bernd Sponheuer remarks on its “operetta-like charm.” I would argue that its static melodic motion is not so typical of the operetta as are the constellation of features that qualify it as a light march. See Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 3, *Die Symphonien* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985), 195; and Sponheuer, “O Alter Duft aus Märchenzeit,” 477.

⁸⁸ La Grange summarizes the multiple connections between Mahler’s movement and the poetry of Eichendorff and provides references to further literature on the topic (*Gustav Mahler*, 3:875–86).

But these patches of sun are tenuous and continually slip away. The light march type does not persist unabated through the bar form of the trio, but articulates the beginning of each constituent phrase (mm. 83–95, 96–105, 106–21). Each time, the idiom loses its airy expression and popular tone midstream. At the end of the first two *Stollen*, the phrases right themselves as if in sudden recognition of having gone astray. A strong half-cadence reintroduces the operetta-like tone in time for the next phrase, in which the triangle, a strong timbral marker of the light-march idiom, appears. These conspicuously formulaic cadences stand out in a movement that otherwise avoids pronounced cadential arrivals. And they accentuate the contrasts with the more mysterious expressive regions of the movement. Essential to this effect is the sympathetic treatment of materials related to contemporary popular music.

Symphony no. 9, movement 3, Rondo-Burleske

The trio of the march septet in Lehár's *Die lustige Witwe* is also involved in the most widely accepted connection between operetta and a work by Mahler. Adorno was likely the first to point out that the melody of the first episode of the Ninth Symphony's *Rondo-Burleske* "saunters to the rhythm of the 'Women' song in the *Merry Widow*, which at that time squeaked from the brass horns of phonographs."⁸⁹ Most subsequent commentators on the Ninth have accepted this assertion.⁹⁰ In contrast to the alleged links between Mahler's Seventh and Lehár's operetta, the likenesses here are chronologically plausible and musically more robust. Alma Mahler's anecdote about attending a performance of *Die lustige Witwe* with her husband proves that he heard the

⁸⁹ Adorno, *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik*, 305; translated as in *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, 162–63.

⁹⁰ Stephen E. Hefling, "The Ninth Symphony," in *The Mahler Companion*, ed. Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 485.

work years before beginning the Ninth. The melodic parallels go beyond the rhythmic profile cited by Adorno to include stepwise motion and direct repetition of the initial four-bar phrase.

Example 4.13. (appendix F). Melodic similarity between Mahler and Lehár III

Affinities notwithstanding, their status as an allusion remains inconclusive on account of their brevity, lack of precision, and generic nature. The quotation of “Bruder Martin” in the First Symphony consists of similarly generic melodic components, but their length and precision dispel any doubt that they are a quotation. In the *Rondo-Burlesque*, however, one may as plausibly speak of conscious borrowing as of unconscious reminiscence or coincidental likeness.

The attention lavished upon melodic similarities has distracted from a more fundamental link: the traits that Mahler’s and Lehár’s passages have in common are succinctly encapsulated by the concept of the light march. Orchestration, expression, and tone are all equal participants in steering one’s associations towards operetta. The orchestration of the rondo’s refrain is heavy and bombastic but rapidly diminishes in preparation of the episode. In contrast to the preceding fugato, the texture here—a prominent melody and hints of a bass line in the cellos and basses—is hierarchical and popular in tone. The predominately string texture and melodic doubling in the oboe also contribute to the impression of an allusion to Lehár, whose trio begins similarly. Rounding off the sense that Mahler’s episode is an operetta-like light march is the use of the triangle, an instrument last heard in the symphony in conjunction with another reference to a popular genre: a waltz idiom in movement two (mm. 466). Appealing to the concept of the light march thus subsumes multiple parameters of the musical text into its purview and links the episode to a compositional type that Mahler routinely

used. It also makes the connection to entertainment music more substantial, for it relies not on one-to-one correlation to a specific melody, but on the stylistic similarity to a march type characteristic of operetta.

In contrast to the examples considered above, the light marches of the Ninth are riddled with overtly ironic musical devices that function independently of a text: dynamic jokes, unusual timbral effects, glissandos, and layers of flutter-tonguing, sneering sixteenth-note runs, and instrumental *Juchzer*. Indeed, such antics form a common denominator uniting all of the movement's sections. The refrain's *fugato* is treated to the same descending sixteenth-note sneers that accompany the light march (cf. mm. 79–88 and 146–53), and even the chorale-based second episode, which previews the elegiac tone of the fourth movement, is not spared the mocking E-flat clarinets and flutter-tonguing flutes (mm. 447–56). These features clearly motivate the movement's compound title *Rondo-Burleske*. The *Rondo* captures the movement's variety: an alternating series of formal units, each containing different generic references. *Burleske* captures the expressive posture that reappears in each of the contrasting sections.

A central expressive feature of Mahler's movement is the varying intensity of the burlesque, which changes in tandem with the generic references. In general, the intensity of the burlesque is directly proportional to the exaltedness of the genre reference with which it coincides. The most withering sarcasm occurs in the second episode, whose chorales, harp glissandos, and shimmering violin tremolos convey a heavenly realm untouched by the concerns of quotidian existence. Less intense is the burlesque that results from the *fugato* sections of the refrain. The high-mindedness and learnedness inherent in the fugal topic is exalted yet clearly situated in the earthly realm, and the precedent for romping fugues in the bass register of symphonic scherzos

softens its blow, too.⁹¹ The light-march idiom in Viennese operetta, however, is never far from similar high jinks as those in Mahler's Ninth. Hearing the first episodes as indebted to operetta gives rise to the impression that the burlesque is part of the genre reference itself, and that the light march is the only genre reference that Mahler treats sympathetically.

Lehár's trio can again serve as a comparison. The light march at the beginning is straightforward, but throughout the trio Lehár uses a number of antics to transform it into boisterous comedy. Short, loud interjections from the full orchestra punctuate the soft dynamics (mm. 67–70, 137–42). Layers of voices accumulate as the march proceeds, and five men shout "Ach die Weiber, diese Weiber!" out of rhythm overtop the march (mm. 57–63, 73–80). Chromatic trills and sixteenth-note ornaments in the high woodwinds playfully decorate the march (mm. 95f.). And finally, the men enter in a cascading *stretto* whose final entrance grotesquely imitates a woman's voice (mm. 129–35). In this way, Lehár treats his own march to buffooneries not entirely unlike those used by Mahler in his symphony: dynamic jokes, sixteenth-note decorations, and unusual timbral effects among them. Of course, the parallels in musical technique can only go so far. Mahler rarely surpassed the motivic, rhythmic, and tonal complexities that constitute this movement. But their purpose, to lampoon irreverently, was part and parcel not of fugues or chorales or even symphonies, but of operetta. It is no coincidence that *Burleske* was a common genre modifier for operettas in the German-speaking world.⁹²

⁹¹ See the Trio of the third movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.

⁹² Ehrmann-Herfort, "Operette," 9. Examples include Offenbach, *Toto: Burleske Operette*; Sullivan, *Der Mikado, oder, ein Tag in Titipu: Burleske-operette*; Strauss, *Die lustigen Nibelungen, burleske Operette*. When Hugo von Hofmannsthal, librettist of *Die Rosenkavalier*, suggested to Richard Strauss that they call it a burlesque, Strauss rejected the idea because he thought that it would make people think of "Offenbach,

Mahler's first episode and its repetition are thus the movement's only sections where the impulse to burlesque comes into alignment with the implications of its genre reference. A correlate can be seen in the burlesque's varying intensity to the standard structure of dance movements, whose trios are generally less active, vigorous, or intense. In Mahler's movement, the trio-like character is conveyed not just by the lighter orchestration and softer dynamics of the light march; here the sarcasm loses its edge, too, as the Rondo's at times devastating burlesque momentarily comes into alignment with the generic reference.

*
* *

Mahler's use of light marches conforms to what one would expect from a composer who placed folksongs and Strauss waltzes on the same aesthetic rung. The light marches in "Der Spielmann," "Revelge," and the Seventh Symphony are treated with a sympathy typically associated with folk materials. Mahler saw in the light march a potent and direct expression of gaiety and lightheartedness, and he did not hesitate to exploit its effectiveness himself. This distinguishes him from many of his contemporaries. As described in chapter 2, folksong collectors like Franz Böhme, composers like Johannes Brahms, and critics like Robert Hirschfeld all held folksong in an esteem that they did not extend to popular music. As one of the most significant genres of entertainment music, operetta often found itself in the crosshairs of cultural and musical commentary on the supposed decline of culture and disappearance of rural folk traditions.⁹³ Mahler's sympathetic treatment of operetta-like marches, however,

Mikado" (Walter Frisch, *German Modernism*, California Studies in 20th-Century Music, vol. 3 [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005], 216).

⁹³ The most prominent contemporary critique of operetta came from Karl Kraus. See, for example, "Grimassen über Kultur und Bühne," *Die Fackel* 10, nos. 270–71 (19 January 1909): 1–18.

suggests that he did not share these views. For him, the hallmark of music and the mark of a great composer resided in the development of musical materials. He had no need for an ideological discrimination between supposedly legitimate and illegitimate vernacular styles of music.

Finally, the connections drawn between Mahler's and Lehár's works reveal how the state of operetta today influences how scholars understand Mahler's allusions to popular styles. Lehár's work is not an ideal basis of comparison. It premiered relatively late in Mahler's compositional career, after he had completed all of his songs and first seven symphonies, and no evidence suggests that Mahler studied its score. There is of course Alma Mahler's colorful anecdote, which places the adult composer at the scene of the crime. But a more fundamental reason for the prominence of *Die lustige Witwe* in connection with Mahler's symphonies is that it is among the few operettas still known today. Alongside Strauss's *Die Fledermaus*, it has earned an honorary position in the repertoires of opera houses, where it has remained familiar among audiences, critics, and scholars of art music while eluding the fate of most other operettas. As exemplified in this chapter, the many operettas that Mahler conducted early in his career, and whose scores he studied long before composing the bulk of his works, constitute a body of popular music more pertinent to the allusions in Mahler's works.

CHAPTER 5

MAHLER THE SUBVERSIVE: THE FIRST MOVEMENT OF THE THIRD SYMPHONY

I concede wholeheartedly that the desire to grasp this movement—and only this movement—in purely musical terms can often be hampered by the impression of extramusical elements [and] phantasmagorical images, which are pertly mixed into the course of the music. Yet I feel that, this once, a wild and carefree ingenuity should compensate for the stylistic problems.

—Bruno Walter on the first movement of the Third Symphony (1936)¹

The first movement of the Third is among Mahler's most daring and challenging symphonic essays. Nowhere in his *oeuvre* are the time scales longer, the vernacularisms more brazen, or the stylistic discontinuities more severe. Even Bruno Walter, as steady a promoter of Mahler's legacy as there ever was, had to revert to special pleading when the topic came up in his monograph. Any analysis must come to terms with those prominent aspects that Walter felt unable to reconcile: the purely musical processes and the highly referential character, which resulted largely from the

¹ Bruno Walter, *Gustav Mahler: Ein Porträt* (Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel / Heinrichshofen-Bücher, 2001), 88: "Ich gebe aber rückhaltlos zu, daß bei diesem Satz – und nur bei diesem – der Wunsch, ihn rein musikalisch aufzufassen, häufig durch den Eindruck von außermusikalischen Elementen phantastischen Vorstellungen, die sich [sic] keck in den musikalischen Ablauf mischen—behindert werden kann. Und doch fühle ich, daß hier einmal eine wilde und unbekümmerte Genialität für die Problematik des Stils entschädigen sollte."

vivid allusions to vernacular styles. The goal of this chapter is to give an overview of the entire movement, including its formal processes and semantic content. In contrast to the preceding chapters, which focused on the sources of isolated vernacularisms, this chapter considers Mahler's allusions to popular styles in their natural habitat, as it were, as constituents of the symphony's larger musical and semantic processes. The analysis takes place in three stages. The first considers the music according to such immanent properties as form, motive, harmony, and, most importantly, idiom. The second widens in scope to take in the myriad allusions and quotations as well as their import for the work's meaning. The chapter closes by considering additional purposes for Mahler's allusions to popular styles.

Form as Manipulation of Idiom

Mahler felt a strong sense of propriety regarding the symphonic tradition. For all their innovative aspects, the formal structures of his symphonies are heavily indebted to conventional patterns. All opening movements (save that of the Fifth), for example, are based on sonata form. Mahler even stated that the massive first movement of the Third has "the same scaffolding and construction . . . as found in Mozart and, expanded and exalted, in Beethoven, but which were actually created by the venerable Haydn."² Indeed, nearly every published analysis parses it accordingly.³ But the movement's

² Herbert Killian, ed., *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen von Natalie Bauer-Lechner* (Hamburg: Wagner, 1984), 64: "dasselbe Gerüst, der gleiche Grundbau . . . wie sie bei Mozart und, nur erweitert und erhöht, bei Beethoven sich finden, vom alten Haydn aber eigentlich geschaffen worden sind"; see also Peter Franklin, *Recollections of Gustav Mahler by Natalie Bauer-Lechner*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber Music, 1980), 66.

³ See La Grange, *Mahler: Volume One* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973), 801–2; Dieter Schnebel, "Über Mahlers Dritte," in *Mahler: Eine Herausforderung*, ed. Peter Ruzicka (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1977), 160–61; Bernd Sponheuer, *Logik des Zerfalls: Untersuchungen zum Finalproblem in den Symphonien Gustav Mahlers* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1978), 147–48; Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 3, *Die Symphonien* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985): 86; Hermann Danuser, *Gustav*

relationship to sonata is ambiguous; hence no two analyses pinpoint its internal divisions in the same way. Mahler clearly intended to invoke sonata form, but the formal processes that hold the movement together and sustain interest over the course of its 875 measures do not derive from the tonal and thematic conventions of the structure.

A major compositional problem in a movement of such gigantic proportions is making its form apparent to the listener. Mahler's approach was to eliminate transitions between sections and replace them with striking musical gestures that highlight structural divisions. Two gestures in particular mark the most important formal seams. The first is the movement's opening motto, whose indelibility arises not from its melodic or rhythmic profile, but from its manner of declamation: eight unison horns, *fortissimo* and with accents on nearly every note.

Example 5.1 (appendix G). Major structural gestures

Although the constituent motives recur frequently throughout the movement, the motto reappears in this striking manner only once (mm. 643–55). The powerful sense of return that it creates is reflected in the secondary literature: the only internal division of the sonata agreed upon by all published analyses is this one, which is held to be the start of the recapitulation.

Mahler reserves the full power of his imposing orchestral apparatus almost exclusively for the movement's other major structural gesture (see ex. 5.1). It first

Mahler und seine Zeit (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991), 157–58; Peter Franklin, *Mahler: Symphony no. 3*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 84–89; Friedhelm Krummacher, *Gustav Mahlers III. Symphonie* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 59; Morten Solvik Olsen, "Culture and the Creative Imagination: The Genesis of Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992), 526–29; A. Peter Brown, *The Symphonic Repertoire*, vol. 4, *The Second Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Brahms, Bruckner, Dvorak, Mahler, and Selected Contemporaries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 596; Vera Micznik, "'Ways of Telling' in Mahler's Music: The Third Symphony as Narrative Text," in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 322–23.

appears roughly midway between the two statements of the motto (mm. 362–68) and again near the end of the movement (mm. 857–63). In both instances, the gesture follows on the heels of a strong cadence that caps an extended march episode. It can be called a *rupture* on account of its sudden appearance, disproportionate volume, harmonic lurch, and relative independence from the rest of the movement's motives. The motto and rupture together divide the movement into a tripartite structure.

Figure 5.1 (appendix G). Major structural sections

Mahler further subdivides each major formal section with *liquidations*.⁴ These gestures are typified by descending melodic lines, decreasing dynamics, and thinning textures. In effect, the formal unit dissolves away, leaving either a sustained tonic pitch or the non-tonal sounds of the percussion. Mahler distributes liquidations unevenly throughout the movement.

Figure 5.2 (appendix G). Minor structural sections

The first one occurs after the movement's motto and demarcates the end of the introduction (mm. 14–26). Most of the other liquidations occur in the first major structural unit. The remaining two precede and follow the return of the motto.

Mahler imbues these gestures with formal significance by coordinating them with the movement's motivic and tonal plan. The three liquidations in the first structural unit, for instance, occur at the interstices between the two theme groups, which are also distinguished by the keys that they inhabit. Figure 5.3 details the coordination of the movement's theme groups, major tonal areas, and structural gestures.

Figure 5.3 (appendix G). Theme group, structural gesture, tonal center

⁴ Mahler used similar gestures in the finale of the Second Symphony, written the year before he started the Third. See mvt. 5, mm. 36–42, 55–61, 94–96, 134–41.

Only twice does Mahler pass from one theme group to the other without the aid of a structural gesture. At measure 451, the first theme group melds seamlessly into the next. And at measure 736, Mahler directly juxtaposes the theme groups without any mediation.

This formal plan can be related to sonata form in multiple ways. One possibility acknowledges Mahler's consistent description of the movement as an introduction and main movement.⁵

Figure 5.4 (appendix G). Sonata form option 1

On this view, the first theme group is a massive introduction ("Pan awakens") to the second theme group, which corresponds to the main movement ("Summer marches in"). The three full statements of the second theme group constitute the exposition, development and recapitulation, each separated by extended interpolations of material from the introduction. An advantage of this interpretation is that it conserves the tonal polarity inherent in the sonata principle; the exposition, in F major, modulates to D major, while the recapitulation remains in F throughout.⁶

An alternative interpretation is to see sonata form as an all-encompassing structure. This is suggested by many features: the ternary structure, dual theme groups, tonal exploration in the middle section, exaggerated moment of recapitulation, and a truncated final section.

Figure 5.5 (appendix G). Sonata form option 2

⁵ Already apparent in early stages of the symphony's genesis (see appendix A.5–6), Mahler clearly indicated this division in the autograph fair copy (see appendix A.21) and in the program to the symphony's first full performance (see ch. 1, "Mahler the Idealist," 2).

⁶ The apparent tonal resolution in the recapitulation, however, does not take place by recapitulating the identical material in the proper key, but by deleting it almost entirely.

According to this view, the sonata has a double exposition, in which each of the theme groups is stated twice. It also has a progressive key scheme, from D minor to F major.⁷ Some scholars find a substitute for the lack of tonal polarity in a dramatic conflict between the theme groups.⁸ Nevertheless, this view is misleading; conflict implies interaction, yet Mahler's theme groups barely act on each other at all. As we have seen, they are separated in almost all instances by one or more structural gestures—the motto, rupture, and liquidation. The theme groups are like so many isolated blocks lined up in a row.

Relating the movement's structure to sonata form downplays its basic formal logic: the cyclical alternation of two highly contrasting and isolated groups of music. A more fitting account can be derived from the idea of "rotational form" developed in recent years by James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy.⁹ Rotational form is an organizational principle based on a repeating sequence of motives. The first statement of the motives comprises a cycle; each repetition of the cycle constitutes a rotation. Mahler's movement has four rotations, the first of which is aborted shortly after the start of the second theme group.

⁷ Mahler had a penchant for double-exposition sonata forms. See the first movements of the Second and Seventh Symphonies. Beethoven's Piano Sonata op. 57 furnishes a precedent. Mahler also had a proclivity for progressive tonality, as already apparent in his first major work, *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen*.

⁸ For example, see Franklin, *Mahler*, 12.

⁹ For more on rotational form, see James Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony no. 5* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 23–26, 58–84; James Hepokoski, "Back and Forth from Egmont: Beethoven, Mozart, and the Nonresolving Recapitulation," *19th-Century Music* 25, no. 2/3 (2001–2); idem, "Beyond the Sonata Principle," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55 (2002): 91–154; Warren Darcy, "Rotational Form, Teleological Genesis, and Fantasy-Projection in the Slow Movement of Mahler's Sixth Symphony," *19th-Century Music* 25 (2001): 49–74; and Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). Hepokoski and Darcy continually developed their theory, such that its codification *Elements of Sonata Theory* is far more elaborate and uses terminology not present in earlier studies. Since only the basic outlines of rotational form are necessary for understanding the first movement of Mahler's Third Symphony, the more basic versions of the theory as presented in earlier articles and chapters suffice here.

Figure 5.6 (appendix G). Rotational form

One aspect of Mahler's rotations is particularly unusual: the radical independence of the theme groups. They are so separated, in fact, that one could almost conceive of the movement as two interlocking rotational forms with alternating cycles. Such a formal anomaly is not argued for here, but its premise is reflected in the analysis below. Instead of treating each cycle in turn, the analysis considers each theme group separately, summarizing all four statements of the first before moving onto the second.

Although the basic sequence of motives remains stable throughout the cycles of a rotational form, the motives can undergo any manner of development. In some movements, the gradual progression of changes from one rotation to the next suggests a goal, or *telos*, that is only attained in the final statement. This idea, which Hepokoski and Darcy call *teleological genesis*, provides a flexible framework in which the movement's most distinctive features can assume structural significance. What makes the first movement of Mahler's Third Symphony special is not its key scheme or its motivic development. The time scales are so large and the relationship to traditional patterns so ambiguous that formal expectations play less of a role than usual in an aesthetic experience of the movement. In such a context, idiom and sound take on an increased importance. Indeed, Mahler gives them unprecedented structural significance: the primary structural marker is idiom.

The movement's *telos* is to achieve a yearning, singing idiom with melodic closure in the major mode. In a typical rotational form, the goal appears at or near the end of the movement. This *telos* is exceptional because it relates only to the first theme

group. The two theme groups unfold in isolation, each with its own inner logic.¹⁰ The first theme group reaches a *telos* at the end of its statement in the fourth rotation. The second theme group, in contrast, is not goal oriented. As will be argued below, it derives musical interest from the constant manipulations of its primary idiom, the march, which continually snaps into and out of focus throughout the three large march episodes of the second, third, and fourth rotations.

Introduction (mm. 1–27)

Prominent features of both theme groups are derived from elements in the introduction.

Example 5.2 (appendix G). Motives in the introduction

Whereas this might normally constitute a unifying device, here it accentuates the differences between the groups more than it binds them. Each of the motto's constituent motives is associated with one theme group but not the other. The opening phrase x_1 is a prominent march motive in the second theme group, and the tail-motive x_2 is an important melodic cell in the first theme group. Despite the brevity and indistinct shape of x_2 , its scoring makes it easily recognizable; every statement save one (mm. 443–46) is played *fortissimo* by multiple horns.¹¹

The symphony's first chords x_3 shape both theme groups, though in different ways. The descending second in half notes is a prominent melodic cell in the first theme group, and the chord progressions also reappear, in measures 178–81, albeit in a

¹⁰ The motto and first liquidation constitute an introduction to the expositional rotation, and their repetition before the final cycle can be understood as deriving from the form's dialogue with sonata principles. The rupture likewise stands apart from the rotational form.

¹¹ The motive is stated by English horn in mm. 443–46, but because the main theme is quoted here in full and unaltered from an earlier appearance (cf. 99–109), the motive is readily recognizable. All statements of the first theme group's main theme made by other instruments, including the lengthy trombone solos, lack the cell altogether.

modified version. The significance of x_3 is even more profound for the second group of themes, two of which plainly derive from the kernel of the descending melodic statement. Mahler actually composes out the derivations at the start of the second theme group, marked “Pan sleeps” (*Pan schläft*) in the manuscript score.¹²

Example 5.3 (appendix G). Derivation of march themes from x_3

The passage begins by recalling x_3 with a succession of melodic seconds ($b_{1.1}$) and mediant harmonies in the flutes. In the second four-measure phrase, a solo oboe ($b_{1.2}$) decorates the falling second with anapest pick-up notes. A solo violin ($b_{1.3}$) then elaborates the figure even further. The motivic evolution continues in the repetition of “Pan sleeps” in the second rotation. Following the chords in the flutes, the basses present yet another variant ($b_{1.4}$). Both $b_{1.3}$ and $b_{1.4}$ are among the most important motives in the subsequent march episodes.¹³

These motivic connections notwithstanding, Mahler’s aim was to create the effect of two separate, independent groups. Over the course of the movement, he systematically erases the motivic and harmonic ties to the introduction. Although x_2 is a prominent melodic cell in the initial rotations of the first theme group, it is stated only once in the entire fourth rotation.¹⁴ Similarly, after their genesis from x_3 , the march motives in the second theme group make no overt reference to their origins; in the fourth rotation, “Pan sleeps” is even omitted altogether. The gradual disappearance of

¹² Mahler’s programmatic titles are used in this analysis for identification purposes only. They are easier to follow than abstract labels, which can be difficult to follow, and consequently facilitate reference to specific sections of the music.

¹³ The motive $b_{1.3}$ becomes b_7 (see ex. 5.6), which is heard at the climax of the second and fourth rotations (mm. 351f., 846f.). The motive $b_{1.4}$ is heard throughout these rotations (see fig. 5.8).

¹⁴ Manuscripts reveal that, in one case, Mahler actively lessened the explicitness of the reprise of the chords from x_3 (mm. 178–81). In the *particell*, the chord progress was quoted literally and followed by similar undulations as follow x_3 in the introduction. In the final version of the score, however, Mahler scaled back the prominence of the quotation, omitting both the undulating figure and the descending melodic second from the chord progressions.

liquidations has a similar effect. This gesture first appears in the introduction (mm. 14–26), and it constitutes the backbone of all the liquidations of the first two rotations. The fourth rotation does not state it at all. Having forged multiple links between the introduction and theme groups, then, Mahler sharpens their differences as the movement progresses.

Rotation 1, First Theme Group (mm. 28–131)

The expressive distance that the first theme group must traverse to reach its goal of a singing idiom could hardly be greater. Its austere beginning, marked “heavy and dull” (*Schwer und dumpf*), has no theme, functional harmony, or phrasing. There are not even continuous musical lines: just a collection of sharply cut motives that pop into and out of existence at irregular intervals. Each outlines the D-minor triad and has a distinctive timbre.

Example 5.4 (appendix G). First theme group: motives

The only deviation from diatonicism comes from the muted trumpets (a_5), whose rising fanfare falls a half step short of the upper octave. Although the grating dissonance eventually resolves, its effect is not to tonicize D minor so much as disrupt the harmonic field. The motive is the primary means by which Mahler prevents melodic closure throughout the first three rotations.

In the absence of functional harmony and phrasing, an important organizing principle, as in all rotations of the theme group, is the two- and three-fold repetition of ideas. A musical event occurs either twice before moving on to a new event, or else three times, with the third statement varied in such a way as to give the sense of forward progress. Indeed, such moment-to-moment logic is the only means by which the beginning of the first rotation is ordered. The entrances of the individual motives

cluster in groups, their temporal relationship varying with each set, as elucidated by the vertical line in figure 5.7.

Figure 5.7 (appendix G). Moment-to-moment logic in first theme group

After two groups of entrances (mm. 30–33, 34–38), there is a new musical event: a dramatic scalar surge in the basses (a_7). The other motives now clump in the wake of its final tone, which is powerfully reinforced by the trombones and trumpets (a_8 ; mm. 41, 48, 56). The third time that a_7 occurs, its initial scalar surge is extended up to the tonic pitch (mm. 52–53), thereby creating a sense of progress.

The varied statement of a_7 signals an impending change: the appearance of the group's main theme A1.1 (mm. 57–78).¹⁵

Example 5.5 (appendix G). First theme group: themes

The emergence of a theme out of the chaotic beginning constitutes the first step toward the theme group's *telos*. Bombastic and angular, it alternates half notes and rests with fits of motion. The theme begins like an extension of the motto, replicating the distinctive mode of declamation and repeating the tail motive x_2 . The harmonic field of D minor is replaced by the $vii^{\circ 7}$ of the same key. Like the dissonant leading tone of a_5 , however, the chord does not function harmonically; it constitutes a new, dissonant harmonic field. When it resolves to tonic at the beginning of the horns' second phrase (m. 65), the continuity of the theme's declamation and the sudden reappearance of a_7 in the basses overwhelm any sense of harmonic resolution.

The second phrase of A1.1 introduces another aspect of the theme group's *telos*. The arrival of A1.1 on the tonic pitch (m. 69) is denied closure by the strong

¹⁵ Labels for motives have lower case letters and subscript numbers; themes have upper case letters and full-size numbers. Because of the nature of their melodic construction, each statement of the first theme is given its own label: A1.1, A1.2, A1.3, and so on. All statements of the theme are given in Example 5.5.

dissonances unleashed by a_7 in the low strings. The horn theme circles back and makes three runs at the cadence. With each attempt, the dissonance between the tonic pitch of the melody and the orchestral accompaniment is lessened. The expected closure on the third run, however, is disrupted by the appearance of yet another motive from the beginning of the rotation: a_5 . Its searing C-sharp is even more dissonant than the previous disruptions. The threefold repetition of a_5 thwarts any sense of closure not just here, but at the end of nearly every thematic statement in the first three rotations. Overcoming this disruptive figure is a necessary step in achieving the theme group's goal.

The next passage introduces a new theme, A2, in a solo trumpet (mm. 83–98). Distinct from the rest of the theme group in texture, motive, harmony, and phrasing, it is like the intrusion of a foreign body.¹⁶ It possesses more clearly functional harmonies and a recognizable sentence structure. The trumpet presents a four-measure phrase in C minor and then directly repeats it a minor third higher. The continuation of the sentence consists of an orchestral outburst based on the threefold repetition of a_5 , its arpeggio distended to an augmented triad. In addition, four horns declaim x_2 while low winds adorn a_7 with descending glissando sneers.

This remarkable passage pushes the tonal center to B-flat minor (via its Neapolitan in mm. 95–98), which ushers in a return of the main theme A1.2 and a reassertion of the stentorian tone of multiple horns. The differences between A1.1 and A1.2 reveal important aspects of melodic construction. The identity of the theme is not a particular melodic contour, but the aggregate of its component cells and its striking

¹⁶ The trumpet's head motive, a descending fourth on half notes, is related to m. 65, but the rest of the melody is new material. More will be said about the foreignness of A2 in the discussion of referentiality below.

sonority. Each restatement of the theme rearranges the component motives and intersperses new ones among them. Despite their different beginnings, A1.2 is immediately recognizable as a restatement of A1.1 on account of the eight unison horns.

The fate of A1.2 is the same as that of all other themes in the first rotation: the three-fold repetition of a_5 prevents melodic closure (mm. 109–15). This time, the descending basses cast each repetition of a_5 in a different light. In the final repetition, the C-sharp of the muted trumpets and then the E-flat of the basses resolve by half step to D, thereby initiating the section's liquidation.

Rotation 2, First Theme Group (mm. 164–224)

The statement of the first theme group in the second rotation is more succinct than in the first, covering just sixty instead of over one hundred measures. It represents a significant advance toward the thematic *telos* in terms of texture and thematic coherence. A solo trombone declaims the main theme A1.3 (mm. 166–209). Given the importance of sonority to the melody's identity, this represents a significant transformation. Mahler takes great care to make the connection evident, distilling the thirty-bar passage that gave birth to A1.1 into just a few bars here. Both rotations begin with alternating statements of a_2 and a_3 . Mahler then recycles the three thunderous A_s (a_8 ; mm. 41, 48, 56) in the opening phrase of the trombone solo. The solo then integrates motivic cells from both A1.1 and A1.2 (but not from the trumpet solo, A2), adding to them a new motive of its own.¹⁷

In addition to its texture, A1.3 represents an advance over the previous statements in terms of thematic coherence. The solo runs almost continuously through

¹⁷ The motive in mm. 168–70 is modeled on A1.2 (mm. 98–100); mm. 172–73 are based on A1.1 (mm. 66–69); the new motive is in mm. 175–81.

the entire theme group. Moreover, it is supported more frequently by functional harmonies than any previous statement. For instance, the melodic motive at measures 171–73 is clearly derived from measures 66–69, yet its harmonic progression ($i - V^7/V - V^7 - I - i$) is more clearly functional, integrating the theme into the key of D minor.

Like all previous thematic statements, this one fails to achieve cadential closure. After the promising harmonic functionality, the first half of the solo ends with a new cadential motive that comes to rest on open fifths (mm. 175–81).¹⁸ The second half of the solo reverts back to the bombastic mode of declamation, the solo trombone being reinforced intermittently by the full trombone section. Together they gain momentum, culminating in a brilliant fanfare that moves strongly to the tonic (mm. 203–9). But the harmonies turn shrill, and the cadential arrival is disrupted by the entrance of the familiar threefold repetition of a_5 . Its dissonance here is even more grating, for the leading tone does not resolve to the tonic, but is bent down to C. The bass line descends by tritones, and the passage morphs into another liquidation.

Rotation 3, First Theme Group (mm. 369–450)

The first and third rotations are more closely related to one another than to the other two, which also constitute a like pair. Hence nearly all of the material from the first rotation reappears here in the same order, offering the opportunity to retrace the development of the theme group. The next steps toward the *telos* are the weakening and then disappearance of the disruptive gesture based on a_5 , and the insertion of a lyrical transformation of the main theme near the end of the rotation.

¹⁸ This is the passage that recalls the chords of x_3 .

One of the few prominent deviations from the first rotation is the omission of the opening section with the isolated motives (mm. 26–56); the main theme A1.4 emerges directly from the preceding rupture with its original mode of declamation restored (mm. 369–97). Once again, the theme assimilates aspects of all previous statements.¹⁹ Its denial of melodic closure parallels that at the end of A1.1. The horns make three runs at the cadence, and the final attempt is nearly successful; their cadence on open fifths is not disrupted by a_5 . But Mahler tacks on the cadential motive from the first half of the trombone solo (mm. 175–81), delaying the disruption of the horn line until the end of the extension, where an extra repetition of a_a is given to the muted trombones (m. 392).

More signs of the waning potential for a_5 to disrupt follow. With the entrance of the trumpet solo A2 (mm. 398–404), the theme group resumes the course that it had taken in the first rotation. Only cosmetic changes are made to the orchestration of the trumpet's two presentation phrases, but the subsequent outburst lacks its original cataclysmic edge (mm. 405–10); x_2 does not appear in the mix, and the descending glissandos are relegated to fewer voices. What had been the most disruptive moment in the first rotation appears here in a weakened state. Indeed, it is immediately overshadowed by a return of the brilliant trombone fanfare from the end of A1.4 (cf. mm. 204–209 with mm. 410–15). Whereas the fanfare had been denied closure, it leads here, in the care of all eight horns, to the theme group's longest patch of major mode and to its first undisrupted cadence, albeit a plagal one that hurriedly dissolves in a

¹⁹ The repetitions of x_2 use the same pitches as in the motto and A1.2 (mm. 6–9, 100–102); the motivic content of the first phrase comes from A1.1 (mm. 57–62); the second phrase begins with a motive from A1.2 (mm. 107–8), and so on.

liquidation-like gesture.²⁰ For the first time, a theme has ended without a disruption from the threefold repetition of *a*₅. The motive will never thwart another close.

The surprising emergence of a powerfully affirmative tone is fitting preparation for the next clear advance towards the theme group's *telos*: the transformation of the main theme into a lyrical solo (A1.5). The motivic and expressive changes are initially so thorough that the trombone timbre is a central component in securing the theme's identity. The theme initially bears the most resemblance to A1.2 (cf. m. 99 with mm. 425–27). It also features the descending seconds that have pervaded all statements of the main theme, but they are turned into sighing figures that carry the performance instruction “sentimental.”²¹ The transformation becomes only more radical as the solo migrates to C minor (mm. 429f.) and the orchestral outburst, heard in a weakened version just bars earlier, is rendered as a tender figure distilled to its essential gesture: a pick-up, measure-long dissonance, and resolution. Any doubt of the connection between it and the grotesque outburst is dispelled as the trombone quotes the closing motive from the passage's first appearance (cf. mm. 95–98 with mm. 436–40).

The rapid descent and the melodic tritone to the final tone prevent the lyrical solo from achieving closure. The rotation instead ends with a ghostly reminder of the main theme in the English horn. It is a literal restatement of A1.2, the version of the theme that originally followed the grotesque outburst in the first rotation, and which was replaced in this rotation by the lyrical trombone A1.5. This is the only time that a version of the main theme is repeated verbatim. It is like a haunting memory of what the

²⁰ The fanfare and cadence is a radical extension of the chord underpinning the third iteration of *a*₅: B major. In the first rotation, the chord acted as the Neapolitan of B-flat minor (mm. 95–98). It has the same function here.

²¹ Mahler added the instruction only after the revised score was printed in 1906. It appears in the critical edition.

theme once was. The restatement is not complete, stalling on the descending seconds instead of proceeding to a disrupted close. The theme melds seamlessly into the beginning of the second theme group.

Rotation 4, First Theme Group (mm. 671–736)

The first theme group of the fourth rotation traces the evolution of the previous three statements. The isolated motives from the beginning of the first rotation return, their entrances still irregularly spaced (see fig. 5.7). As in the second rotation, the trombone solo soon enters with strong iterations of a_8 . The solo is again divided into two halves, the first of which very nearly recapitulates the first half of A1.3 (cf. mm. 166–87 with mm. 683–708). The second half, however, quickly assumes the lyrical tone and motivic content of A1.5 (cf. mm. 423–37 with mm. 706–31). Rumbblings in the low strings amplify the delicate dissonances of the sighing figures. At the point that the previous trombone solo collapsed, a more powerful tremor is felt in the Neapolitan chord and timpani roll (mm. 719–22). This time, the lyrical solo develops in a new direction, advancing toward closure in D major. An expressive turn figure and poignant transformation of a_7 initiate the move to the final cadence, which is taken over by the cellos. Suspensions add a saccharine touch. The first theme group's main theme finally comes to rest on the third scale degree as part of a complete major triad, a fitting compensation for the many open fifths that precede it. The *telos* has been finally fulfilled.

Second Theme Group

The first and second theme groups contrast in nearly every way. In the second theme group, the emphasis on two- and threefold repetition is obviated by the more consistently functional harmonic language and the attendant periodic phrases and

cadences. The march themes are readily identifiable by their head motives, which are altered only minimally.²² Ensemble textures predominate over the solo lines and unfilled rests, and the march idiom dominates rotations two, three, and four. The most profound difference, though, is in formal organization. The second theme group is not a goal-oriented structure. There are, of course, changes from rotation to rotation, and one can certainly point to unique aspects of the final rotation. But it is difficult to see any of these features as a teleological goal that gradually emerges over the course of four rotations. For instance, the end of the second rotation modulates to the submediant D major, a tonal digression resolved in the final rotation (see fig. 5.4). Nevertheless, it can hardly be maintained that the premise of the entire theme group and its three long march episodes is this relatively minor tonal feature. The modulation to D major occurs only very late in the rotation and is not dramatized. Moreover, its ultimate resolution is achieved more through deletion than by restating the material in tonic. Mahler organizes the form of the second rotation with more comprehensive and audible means.

Whereas the first theme group exhibits the gradual emergence of a song-like idiom that cadences in the major mode, the structure of the march episodes is rooted in the regular manipulation of the march idiom. Mahler alters the mode, motivic content, rhythms, orchestration, and expressive character. These alterations are coordinated such that many occur at once, thereby creating the sense that the march idiom tacks between various degrees of deformation and normativeness. The essential traits of a normative march idiom are a major mode, clear melody and bass line, functional harmony, and affirmative tone. A march deformation is any march-like idiom lacking

²² Their continuations, on the other hand, are often quite divergent. See Monika Tibbe, *Über die Verwendung von Liedern und Liedelementalen in instrumentalen Symphoniesätzen Gustav Mahlers*, Berliner Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, vol. 1, ed. Carl Dahlhaus and Rudolf Stephan (Munich: Emil Katzwichler, 1977), 109–11.

one or more of these features.²³ The more that are missing, the greater the deformation. In the second theme group, the march idiom regularly shifts between more normative and more deformed marches, remaining in one state briefly before switching quickly to another.

The march episodes are not goal-oriented structures. One might compare their pertinent aesthetic principle to that of the series paintings that occupied Claude Monet in the 1890s.²⁴ These works depict an object—stacks of hay, the Rouen Cathedral—in multiple versions, each from a different time of day and with different atmospheric and light conditions. Such series do not express any development toward a goal, but render a single object in manifold ways. Mahler treats the march idiom much as Monet did the stacks of hay, each march state is like a single painting within a series. The gradual crescendos underlying the second, third, and fourth rotations are akin to the intensifying brightness from daybreak to noontime. In place of changing atmospheric conditions, Mahler manipulates many elements of the idiom.

Rotation 1, Second Theme Group (mm. 132–63)

Rotation 1 is aborted soon after the second theme group begins. A mere thirty-two measures, the statement nonetheless presents the thematic and expressive germs from which the three subsequent rotations of the second theme group develop. Foreshadowing the juxtaposition of march idioms to come, the statement consists of two, sharply delineated parts: “Pan sleeps” and a short intimation of a march that

²³ Achim Hofer, a German scholar who has written extensively on military music and marches, discusses Mahler’s march deformations as composing “over” a march (“Marsch,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher [Kassel and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1996], Sachteil 5, cols. 1679–80).

²⁴ For an introduction to these series, see Grace Seiberling, *Monet’s Series* (New York: Garland, 1981).

quickly dissolves into a liquidation. We have already seen how Mahler derives two march themes from x_3 in the “Pan sleeps” section (see pp. 194–95). In the abbreviated march, two additional motives are introduced in the low strings ($b_{3.1}$, $b_{3.2}$), a timbre that initiates each of the movement’s march episodes (mm. 239f., 530f., 737f.).²⁵

Example 5.6 (appendix G). Second theme group: motives

This statement of the second theme group also introduces an expressive dialectic that runs through the subsequent statements. “Pan sleeps” introduces the *lyrical* inflection. Soft dynamics, sparse scoring led by woodwinds, and delicate solos—the violin solo is marked *zart* (tenderly)—confer a pastoral aspect that correlates with the genial marches based on $b_{1.4}$. The shrill tones of five clarinets (b_2 , mm. 148–50) cut off the rhapsodic violin and demarcate a change to the *martial* inflection. The rising arpeggio ($b_{3.2}$) and foursquare rhythms of the percussion convey a latent martial character that is most explicit at the end of the second and in the third rotations. (It is not necessary at this point to consider likenesses to actual military bands; the martial character is evident by the standards of symphonic composition.)

Rotation 2, Second Theme Group (mm. 225–361)

This statement of the second theme group begins with a varied repetition of the statement from the first rotation. The motive x_3 evolves still further in the “Pan sleeps” section, becoming the lyrical march theme $b_{1.4}$ (mm. 229–32). Once again, b_2 brings about an abrupt shift in character (m. 237), but this time the undulating line of the cellos

²⁵ This prominent timbral association betrays one of the earliest programmatic titles Mahler drafted for the movement: “Summer marches in (Fanfare – merry march, introduction with winds and concertizing basses only)”; Paul Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien* (Berlin: Schuster & Leffler, 1921), 106: “Der Sommer marschert ein (Fanfare – lustiger Marsch, Einleitung nur Bläser und konzertierende Kontrabässe).”

spawns additional voices in the upper strings and a march theme ($b_{3.3}$) that launches the first full-fledged march episode.

As shown in figure 5.8, the march episode is organized around the alternation of various degrees of deformed and normative marches.

Figure 5.8 (appendix G). Idiom, motive, key in the march episodes

In the first section (mm. 247–330), Mahler coordinates manipulations of the march idiom with a harmonic scheme derived from the opening two chords of the symphony. The more normative marches are in F major, and the deformations A minor (x_3 , mm. 11–12). Mahler also distinguishes the marches with opposing groups of motives. The second phase of the episode is similarly organized (mm. 331–47), but the underlying tonal opposition is shifted down a third, alternating between the new tonic D major and its mediant.

The first instance of the alternation between a deformed and normative march is also the most fleeting. The march episode begins with a march deformation (mm. 247–72). The basses have the only continuous line, and its predominantly stepwise motion and dotted rhythms are not normative for the idiom. Individual motives (b_2 , $b_{3.3}$, $b_{3.1}$) are projected above, their independence emphasized by the performance instruction for $b_{3.2}$: “without consideration of the tempo” (*ohne Rücksicht auf den Takt*; mm. 250f.). The beginning of $b_{4.1}$, however, sticks out for its more normative character (mm. 253–55). The harmony brightens to F major, and the homophonic motive in the clarinets and low strings moves clearly to the dominant. The deformation resumes as the motive is passed on to the strings. The mode darkens to minor, and independent march motives appear above the bass line, which opposes the other voices—harmonically in measures 258–59, and rhythmically in measures 262–65.

In the first phase of the episode, all the normative marches are of the lyrical inflection. The first instances are x_1 and $b_{1,4}$, both of which have periodic phrasing and clearly functional harmonies that center on the tonic, dominant, and subdominant (mm. 273–97). A march deformation then take over as the four b_4 motives appearing in a shuffled order and more menacing character (mm. 297–314). When the marches based on x_1 and $b_{1,4}$ return suddenly in F major (m. 315), they are treated to a lush texture and new, lyrical counterpoint b_6 . This spirited march has the most fully normative march idiom yet.

But the alternation continues. The march builds in intensity until its expression becomes shrill. Interlocking groups of horns take up x_2 , the tail motive of the motto (mm. 327–30). This is one of only two instances in which a prominent motive from the first theme group appears in the second theme group. Each time, the migration has significant consequences. Here, the motive pushes the tonal center to the submediant. As so often in this movement, idiom trumps all else. The powerful effect of the march idiom snapping into a strongly affirmative, heroic state completely overwhelms the drama of the key change (m. 331). The marches in the D-major section are of the martial inflection and have a vigorously heroic tone. The first march is based on x_1 , and as it intensifies, the idiom once again collapses into a highly deformed march based on F-sharp (the mode is closer to phrygian than to minor; mm. 341–46). The isolated march-like motives, muted timbres and chromatic trills lend it a sinister cast. The second rotation comes to a close with a final switch back to an affirmative tone (m. 347) and then the new theme b_7 (mm. 351f.), which is related to the violin rhapsody from the first rotation ($b_{1,3}$, mm. 140–47).

Rotation 3, Second Theme Group (mm. 451–642)

The third rotation can be understood formally in two different ways. The fantasy-like treatment of motives and exploration of foreign keys are reminiscent of the development section of a sonata form. In this case, the logical basis for comparison is the exposition, which corresponds to the second rotation (see fig. 5.4). Alternatively, the movement's binary implications, evident in the like pairs of the first theme group, invite us to hear this statement in dialogue with the truncated first rotation. Indeed, this statement of the second theme group consists of two varied restatements of the statement from rotation one.

The first restatement retains the scope of the thirty-two bar original and arises seamlessly from the ghostly repetition of A1.2 in the English horn (mm. 451–81). The sudden entrance of b_2 again delineates the switch from the lyrical to the martial inflection. But the motive is an apparition of its original version, played here on the fingerboard of the muted strings and with augmented triads in the harps (mm. 463–67). The short march passage that follows is highly deformed. String trills and muted timbres prolong the eerie pallor, and isolated march motives (b_5 , $b_{3.2}$, x_1) appear overtop dissonant pedals and augmented triads.

The second varied statement is a free fantasy of grand proportions (mm. 482–642). In it, the lyrical and martial inflections contained in the first statement of the theme group are greatly intensified in expression. The first section concentrates the lyricism into a rapturous episode based on b_7 . Initially stated by solo horn, *molto portamento* and “softly and full of expression” (*weich und ausdrucksvoll*), it enters into an intimately intertwining duet with a solo violin, reminiscent of $b_{1.3}$. The effusive expression continues, with a pastoral rendition of x_1 and $b_{1.4}$ (mm. 506–13) and a last,

sentimental airing of b_7 over rolling harp arpeggios followed by a high backdrop of flute and strings (mm. 514–29).²⁶ The march-cum-love song is the proverbial calm before the storm. The movement's longest march episode follows directly, giving center stage to the idiom's martial connotations and potential for raw power. Mahler divides the episode into three sections and, in the score's fair copy, gives them the following headings: "The Rabble" (*Das Gesindel*, m. 539), "The Battle Begins" (*Die Schlacht beginnt*, m. 583), and "The Southerly Storm" (*Der Süd Sturm*, m. 605). Each section has its own character: a grotesque deformation, followed by a more normative, heroic march, and then a turbulent deformation.

The raucous tone for "The Rabble" (mm. 539–82) is established at the outset by a grotesque version of b_2 . The section's main theme (mm. 541–44), based on x_2 , is a literal quotation of a horn motive from the first theme group.²⁷ Mahler retains the motive's sonority, giving it here to five horns. Their boisterous closing leaps animate the rowdiness of the grotesque march deformation that follows. Menacing chromatic ornaments adorn nearly every note of the upper woodwinds. The stereotypical downbeat-offbeat march accompaniment, which makes its only brief appearance here (mm. 545ff.), is so exaggerated as to dominate the texture. The section comes to a close by recalling the atmospheric march episode from the beginning of the rotation (cf. mm. 468–81 with mm. 574ff.), which began "*ppp!* As if from the farthest distance" (*ppp! Wie aus weitester Ferne*). Though without the performance instruction here, the hushed

²⁶ The interpolation of highly lyrical and intensely expressive material into the development is a technique that Mahler would return to throughout his symphonies. They are often called fantasy projections, and can be found in the first and third movements of the Sixth Symphony and in the first movement of the Seventh.

²⁷ The horn motive originally appears in combination with a_5 and a_7 in the orchestral outburst that follows the solo trumpet (mm. 90–97).

dynamics and radically thinned texture create a comparable effect. A collage of march motives, drum signals, and trills rapidly build up to the next section.

“The Battle Begins” stands out for its decidedly more normative march idiom (mm. 583–602). The key snaps into a diatonic C major as the trombones and piccolos declaim x_1 and $b_{1,3}$ in counterpoint. The heroic tone and trombone-led texture recall the end of the second rotation (mm. 315f.). But cracks in the façade soon appear. After yielding to a new march theme in the horns in D major (mm. 591–94), the trombones are unable to reestablish C major. The counterpoint in the winds, in E minor, creates a bitonal effect. The harmonic complexity only increases during the powerful crescendo into the next section.

“The Southerly Storm” bears the closest resemblance to the initial march intimations from the first rotation (cf. mm. 148–63 with mm. 603–42). The motive b_2 , restored to its original key D-flat major, articulates its beginning and is immediately followed by a torrent of strings based on $b_{3,1}$. The march idiom again reverts to a greater degree of deformation. Various and sundry march motives are interjected overtop the undulating strings. They culminate with a final gasp of x_1 . The motive’s final two tones and $b_{3,2}$ are the final march motives to be heard as the energy slowly ebbs away. The rotation comes to a close with a liquidation, its final utterance from multiple side drums placed offstage. They decrescendo as if into the distance and are superseded by the recapitulation of the motto.

Rotation 4, Second Theme Group (mm. 737–856)

The final statement of the second theme group has a strong recapitulatory impulse. It repeats the organizational scheme of the second rotation. The oscillation between deformed and normative marches is even more regular and extended (see fig.

5.8). Because F major remains the tonic throughout the entire theme group, the underlying harmonic scheme consists largely of the alternation between the keys from x_3 , A minor and F major.

The rotation also recapitulates many of the march motives from the second and third rotations. Only “Pan sleeps” and the march intimation from the first rotation are conspicuously absent. There are at least two musical rationales for this. By beginning directly with an atmospheric march, in B-flat major as opposed to A minor, Mahler maximized the juxtaposition with the poignant end of the first theme group, which had just attained its *telos*. (The chorale-like flutes of “Pan sleeps” would have blurred the contrast.) Moreover, the fourth rotation, like many sonata recapitulations since Haydn, is an abbreviated return of earlier material. Both theme groups in the rotation omit passages from earlier sections of the movement.

Mahler even derives musical jokes from the convention of recapitulation. The second theme group begins with an atmospheric march analogous to the one that begins the march episode in the second rotation (cf. mm. 247–72 with mm. 741–61). In both cases, x_1 emerges in F major. Whereas it is a straightforward march idiom in the second rotation (mm. 273–76), it is here deformed: muted, destabilized tonally, and accompanied by march motives in A minor (mm. 750–53).²⁸ Later on, after a particularly vigorous march deformation (mm. 787–99), a resounding horn quartet suddenly clears the air and “properly” recapitulates x_1 (mm. 800–807). The point can hardly be mistaken, for the horns belt the theme *fortissimo* above a sparse, quiet accompaniment. And, as in the second rotation, they pass the baton to a homophonic string texture.

²⁸ The march, presented in F major as in the second rotation, contrasts tonally with its A-minor surroundings.

The general expressive character of the fourth rotation differs from that of the second. Analogously to the different light conditions in a series by Monet, where the paintings in morning can be distinguished from those in the afternoon, the marches of the final rotation have an increased lyrical impulse and lushness of texture compared to those of the second rotation. Mahler achieves this by supplementing most of the marches in F major with lyrical counterpoint²⁹ and, inversely, by diminishing the martial elements. This is especially noticeable in the material restated from the third rotation. Mahler's performance instruction at the start of the march episode—"Everything again as if approaching from the farthest distance" (*Wieder Alles wie aus weitester Ferne sich nähernd*, m. 737)—relates the effect of the march to the analogous point in the second rotation (mm. 247f.). The motivic content, however, recapitulates a part of "The Southerly Storm" (cf. mm. 608–16 with mm. 742–53). The passage is but a hollow shell of its former self. What had been the most turbulent and martial passage of the second theme group is here safely relegated to the distance, as it were.³⁰

The fourth rotation's tendency toward increased lyricism and decreased martial character is also apparent in the short restatement of material from "The Battle Begins." The unbridled bombast of the original passage is here contained (cf. mm. 583–86 with mm. 816–19). Mahler omits the four piccolos from $b_{1,3}$ and switches x_2 from the trombones to the horns. In addition, he adds a new, lyrical counterpoint in the flutes and violins, whose contrary motion and harmonization lend the passage a touch of sentiment.

²⁹ He adds counterpoint to $b_{1,4}$ (cf. mm. 279–84, 762–67), to its varied repetition (cf. mm. 289–91, 777–79), and to x_1 and $b_{1,3}$ (cf. mm. 583–86, 816–19).

³⁰ It is tempting to see in this general diminishment of martial elements a rationale for the decrescendo of the offstage snare drums at the end of the third rotation (mm. 634–42). They are not just part of the ebbing march episode, but represent the retreat of the martial march type more generally.

Another significant change within the second theme group of the fourth rotation is the role played by $b_{1.4}$. Derived along with from “Pan sleeps” from x_3 and featured prominently in the F-major sections of the second rotation, it was largely absent from the raucous march episode of the third rotation. It appeared there only once, in a chromatically contorted version projected by two oboes above the din of the build-up to “The Battle Begins” (mm. 579–83). This chromatic variant comes to govern its evolution in the fourth rotation. Initially stated in its diatonic version (mm. 761f.), the motive is added to a number of passages that originally lacked it.³¹ In these extra statements, $b_{1.4}$ gradually loses its airy expression and becomes ever more chromatic. In the first two instances, it precipitates the collapse into a deformed march passage (see fig. 5.8; mm. 769–71, 783–86). Its third statement is fully chromatic and intensifies the grotesque expression of the march deformation to a point that could rival parts of “The Rabble” (mm. 791–96). Having thus descended from a cheerful march to a disruptive force, the motive is never heard from again.

The fourth rotation, being in a more lyrical vein, does not recapitulate the heroic, martial section that brought the second rotation to its rousing close (mm. 331–62). Most of that material, which constituted the D-major section, is simply eliminated.³² The climax of the fourth rotation is a lush, spirited march akin in character to that just before the modulation to D in the second rotation (cf. mm. 315–26 with mm. 832–45). In a goal-oriented structure, this would be a decisive moment in the formal logic. Yet the climax lacks the two primary march protagonists, x_1 and $b_{1.4}$, even though the motives formed the backbone of the passage in the second rotation. Instead, it is

³¹ Cf. mm. 286–89 and mm. 768–71; mm. 293–97 and mm. 782–86; mm. 301–307 and mm. 790–96.

³² Measures 347–50 are restated in an earlier passage of the fourth rotation (mm. 808–11).

based on b_7 and the unassuming counterpoint that had been added to the “domesticated” restatement of “The Battle Begins” (mm. 816–24). Why these themes at this moment? The question may be relevant if the theme group had a *telos*. But here, idiom trumps theme. What is important is simply the normativeness and lushness of the march, its immediate attractiveness and irresistible high-spirits. The march episode comes to an end with a final, valedictory statement of b_7 .

Close (mm. 863–75)

The return of the rupture after the final march episode is a stark reminder that the symphonic argument is not complete despite the powerful climax and intensely affirmative tone that had been achieved. To bring the movement to its end, Mahler packs a number of musical gags into a whirlwind close of just thirteen measures. The first joke occurs just out of the gates from the rupture; the music begins in the wrong key, remaining stuck in the rupture’s tonal center: G-flat major. After three bars, as if in recognition of the mistake, the orchestra lurches to G-major and finally down to F, without shying from parallel fifths and octaves. Not only does this create a wonderful harmonic hiccup, but it also reinforces the isolation of the rupture from the statements of the second theme group that surround it. The remaining few bars of the movement are a menagerie of martial march motives that were prominent in the third rotation but absent from the fourth: $b_{3.1}$, $b_{3.2}$, $b_{3.3}$, and a vamp figure that underpinned “The Rabble” (cf. 540ff. with mm. 871–72). Having given the fourth rotation a decidedly lyrical cast, Mahler lets the martial motives have the last, rowdy laugh.

Allusions, Quotations, and their Meaning

Vital aspects of this music go missing when it is considered in isolation and on the basis of intrinsic musical properties alone. The movement contains links to other parts of the symphony, also quotations of and stylistic allusions to other works. In fact, the nature of these references provides further distinguishing features of the two theme groups. Mahler exploits stylistic allusions to a much greater extent in the second theme group and reserves most quotations for the other. The motto portends this dichotomy. Whereas the tail motive x_2 is quoted in the fourth and sixth movements, the head motive x_1 never returns in any subsequent movement. Its simple melodic and rhythmic contour intimates the vernacularisms that permeate the second theme group. This is all the more apparent in later statements of x_1 that, atypically for the second theme group, also verge on melodic quotation (e.g., mm. 273–76). Carl Dahlhaus famously wrote of the motive that it was as if the song “Ich hab’ mich ergeben mit Herz und mit Hand” and the main theme of the finale to Brahms’s First Symphony were photographed on top of one another.³³

Example 5.7 (appendix G). Melodic allusion in x_1

Indeed, the motive is a potent example of the referential plurality of the vernacularisms in the theme group. “Ich hab’ mich ergeben” was known in many contexts: as a Thuringian folksong, a children’s song in German-speaking lands more generally, and a patriotic song closely associated with nationalist student organizations.³⁴ It was this

³³ Carl Dahlhaus, “Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen’: Zum fünfzigsten Todestag Gustav Mahlers,” *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 13 May 1961; quoted in Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers* (Munich: Piper, 1982), 47.

³⁴ The tune was originally a Thuringian folk melody, to which Hans Ferdinand Maßmann penned the text “Ich hab’ mich ergeben mit Herz und mit Hand” in 1819. This version was sung by German-nationalist student groups in Jena before they were disbanded by the Carlsbad Decrees. In 1820, August Daniel von Binzer provided a new text (“Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus”) in response to the crackdown. This was the version sung by students in Vienna in 1878, when Austrian authorities

latter version that Brahms quoted in *Academic Festival Overture*.³⁵ Considered along with Brahms's symphony and the stylistic similarities to military music and operettas discussed below, the motive is as powerful an example of multivalent evocation as the posthorn solos in the third movement.

Second Theme Group: Allusions to Military Music and Operetta

The prominence that Mahler gives to the manipulation of idiom in the second theme group throws into relief the references to vernacular styles. As the march fluctuates, so too does its evocative potential. Deformed marches are more conducive to military connotation, because this can be achieved with minimal orchestrational touches. The atmospheric march that begins the march episode of the second rotation, for example, has motives with martial connotations (mm. 247–72). Mahler colors these with timbres commonly associated with military bands: trumpets, cymbals, bass drum, piccolo, and snare drum. The more normative the march idiom, however, the more strongly that it can evoke other kinds of popular marches, too. As in the example of the posthorn solos, these more direct connections to the popular sphere are instances of multivalent evocation. A sense of the referential ambiguity can be gleaned by

dissolved the German-nationalist *Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens*, of which Mahler had been a member. For an interpretation of the significance of Mahler's allusion to this student song, see William J. McGrath, "Mahler and Freud: The Dream of the Stately House," in *Gustav Mahler Kolloquium 1979*, Beiträge der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Musik 7, ed. Rudolf Klein (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981), 40–51.

³⁵ Brahms took the songs that he quoted in the overture from the *Commers-Buck* (1861), a collection of student songs that he owned (Arnim Raab, "Die eine weint, die andre lacht": Akademische Festouvertüre c-Moll, op. 80 und Tragische Ouvertüre d-Moll, op. 81," in *Johannes Brahms: Das symphonische Werk. Entstehung, Deutung, Wirkung*, ed. Renate Ulm [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996], 87). It is curious that Mahler's theme is so frequently compared to both "Ich hab' mich mit Hand und mit Herz" and the finale of Brahms's First, yet Brahms's finale is rarely likened to the folksong or to his quotation of it in the *Academic Festival Overture*. Discussions of Brahms's symphony instead emphasize the theme's similarity to Beethoven's "Ode to Joy." This is a telling reminder of how strongly associative hearing is guided by preconceptions as opposed to actual musical connections.

considering a single passage (mm. 273–326) in terms of the sound profiles for military marches and light marches developed in chapter 4.

For those listeners inclined to hear the echoes of military bands, this passage approximates their sound with increasing fidelity.³⁶ With the switch to a normative march idiom (m. 273), many aspects become more like an actual military march. F major dispels the minor mode, the texture becomes more clearly hierarchical, and Mahler brings the winds to the fore. Bassoons and cellos resemble the alternation of tonic and dominant pitches of a typical bass line. With the appearance of $b_{1.4}$ (mm. 279–97), the connections become even stronger. The strings all but disappear, and the bass line becomes regular. Trumpet fanfares and flourishes on the snare drum convey the sounds of functional military music.

After reverting shortly to a deformed march (mm. 298–314), the military march style becomes a tick more realistic at the passage marked “Spirited” (*Schwungvoll*, mm. 315–30). Here, the military march appears in conjunction with a full dynamic and lush orchestration. The placement of the countermelody b_6 in the middle register of the trumpets and its emphasis on the sixth scale degree are not unlike the pseudo-counterpoint often heard in the tenor register of military marches. A strong bass line, reinforced as often in military bands by the bass trombone, alternates tonic and dominant pitches. The prominent snare drum part and the entrance of piccolos and E-flat clarinets constitute additional ties to military music. Only the characteristic off-beats are missing.

The overarching dynamic trajectory of the passage (and, indeed, the three march episodes more generally) furthers the impression of military bands. Ever since the

³⁶ Donald Mitchell’s writings are paradigmatic for this view. For him, the passage initiated by the motto theme is “groundbreaking” first and foremost because of its “authentic” military band sonority.

distance effects indicated at the beginning of the atmospheric march deformation (“As if from the far distance,” m. 247), the dynamics have continually increased and the orchestration thickened.³⁷ The impression of an approaching march thus coincides with increasing fidelity of genre reference to military music. The nearer the metaphorical ensemble, the more strongly the music depicts its object.

Listeners predisposed to hear operetta-like traits likewise find corroboration in the same passage. The appearance of a more normative march in measure 273 coincides with the disappearance of the signals and flourishes that had supported the martial connotations of the foregoing atmospheric march deformation. What emerges is a light march. The airiness of expression and orchestration (only half of the string section are playing) correlates more closely with operetta than with military bands.

If there is any question that this music is cut from the cloth of a light march, all doubt is dispelled with the statement of $b_{1,4}$ beginning at m. 279. The march here is as if tweaked to evoke the light marches of operetta. The orchestration consists almost exclusively of instruments uncommon to an Austrian military band: flutes in F, oboes, bassoons, cellos, basses, timpani, and triangle (the only exception is the clarinets in B-flat). Just as revealing are the instruments that Mahler does not use: snare drum, bass drum, and cymbals. These potent signifiers of military marches are heard often in the movement and in the measures leading up to the entrance of x_1 , making their absence all the more conspicuous. Finally, the performance instruction “With the most tender tone production” (*Mit zartester Tongebung*) calls expressly for a delicate touch at odds with the stereotypical heavy-handedness of military marches.

³⁷ Constantin Floros identifies this stretch of music as a prototype of march music approaching from the distance, a topic widespread in the symphonic literature and frequently used by Mahler (Floros, *Gustav Mahler*, 2:157).

The resemblance to operetta is readily apparent in a comparison with Franz von Suppé's *Zehn Mädchen und kein Mann* (1862).³⁸ In the first number, a father gives a signal for his ten daughters to assemble in the foyer. One of the girls strikes up a cadence on a military drum, while the father mimics its sound. Together, they create a kind of comically deformed march that, as the remaining daughters enter, yields to a light march with very similar orchestration and melodic content as b_{1.4} in Mahler's symphony.³⁹

Example 5.8 (appendix G). Franz von Suppé, *Zehn Mädchen und kein Mann*, no. 1, Entrance of the Girls

Even the trumpet signals and snare drum rolls that accompany the varied restatement of b_{1.4} (starting at m. 289) reinforce the operetta-like traits. In the Act 3 Trio of Suppé's *Fatinitza*, trumpet signals bridge the gaps between melodic motives much as they do in Mahler's score, growing longer with each entrance until they assume an almost obligato role in the melody's repetition.

Example 5.9 (appendix G). Franz von Suppé, *Fatinitza*, no. 23

The most purely military elements are mockingly exaggerated by the reporter Julian, who mimics the trumpet signals and drum rolls with a series of nonsense syllables "Ta-ta ra-ta-ta ta, rum." The lightly parodic and comic effect of the passage is typical of operetta's treatment of the military. The soldier Vladimir sings about the love's

³⁸ Suppé's operetta was well known in the Habsburg Monarchy during Mahler's lifetime. A staple at the theater in Iglau during Mahler's childhood (see appendix 2), it was performed both in Olmütz and Vienna while he resided there. In Kassel Mahler's romantic interest, Johanna Richter, performed in a version of the operetta re-titled *15 Mädchen und kein Mann*, but the concert's review does not identify the conductor (Hans Joachim Schaefer, *Gustav Mahler in Kassel* [Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1982], 59). The operetta was performed at least 251 times on German stages in the years 1897–1921 (Otto Keller, *Die Operette in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* [Leipzig: Stein-Verlag, 1926], 437).

³⁹ Both make use of the rising third and fourth as anapest pickups, repeated and then contrasted with stepwise motion. The first phrase of each melody descends from the initial downbeat, and the second begins with a leap up to the highest note, a third above the starting point.

inspiration to vanquish his enemy, yet Vladimir is a pants role sung by a woman. The song's effect is rooted more in homoerotic titillation than in stirring patriotic fervor. As so typical for operetta, military references are used as metaphors of love and sexual conquest, for levity and frivolity as opposed to the national and patriotic import that would ordinarily inhere in direct imitations of military marches.

Mahler's varied statement of $b_{1.4}$ is also a vehicle for musical comedy. The trumpet signals, likewise *piano*, balance the quiet march in the reduced string ensemble, a point that Mahler stresses by marking the highest—and most powerfully projecting—note of the signal *sempre piano*. In total disproportion, the snare drum rolls and, later, the four horns and timpani overpower the march and signals with *forte* interjections. Peppering a quiet passage with sudden, loud outbursts has belonged to the stock antics of musical comedy time out of mind. Precedents can even be found in symphonies like Haydn's no. 94, whose monikers in English (*Surprise*) and German (*mit dem Paukenschlag* [with the timpani stroke]) stem from a similar musical joke. In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, the device was hardly conceivable in the rarified atmosphere of the Austro-German symphony as *Weltanschauungsmusik*. It would have been more frequently encountered in newly written operettas.⁴⁰

Viennese operettas also contained lush marches similar to that of the spirited march in Mahler's episode. In the Act 3 finale of Suppé's *Boccaccio*, the climactic march, like Mahler's, appears in conjunction with a sudden shift to *fortissimo* out of a previously softer dynamic.

Example 5.10 (appendix G). Franz von Suppé, *Boccaccio*, act 3 finale

⁴⁰ Other examples include the Act 1 finale of Millöcker's *Der Bettelstudent*, which Mahler had conducted nearly a dozen times in the spring of 1896, just weeks before composing the first movement of the Third Symphony, and the Act 1 finale of the Offenbach's *Les Brigands*.

Suppé's swashbuckling melody, led by the flutes, clarinets, and violins, resembles the shape and register of b_6 . The orchestration of both marches contains pronounced basses, alternating tonic and dominant pitches, and regular percussion flourishes. And the scoring of both marches feature instruments common to the military band.⁴¹

The *topos* of military bands approaching from the distance was also common to the operetta stage. How much Mahler's march episode overlaps with these conventions can be gauged by the appearance of a *Stadtkapelle* in the first act finale of Carl Millöcker's *Der Bettelstudent* (see ex. 4.1). Millöcker's imitation of a band takes place outdoors amidst a large crowd assembled for a spring fair marking the end of winter. Mahler's erstwhile title for the movement was "Summer Marches In. Fanfare and cheerful march" (see appendix A5–6). In a conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner, he likewise invoked the imagery of a band playing outdoors.⁴² Underpinning these programmatic similarities are common features of musical construction. Both composers use distance effects and similar rhythmic and melodic clichés.⁴³ Operettas did not generally evoke an approaching band over as many measures as in Mahler's march episodes, but the similarity in procedure is nonetheless apparent and, for a symphony at the *fin de siècle*, jarring.

That the same passage can be heard as imitating either military bands or operetta illustrates how the vernacularisms in the Third Symphony can be referentially ambiguous. These divergent impressions result from describing the same musical

⁴¹ *Boccaccio* contains no military characters or events, but the texts often use military metaphors. Here, Boccaccio's wit and demeanor are likened to sharp weapons.

⁴² See appendix B.1.

⁴³ Millöcker creates a sense of distance by having the band play off-stage fanfares. The band's melody is similar to $b_{1,4}$, in that both are assembled from multiple anapests, grace notes, a sixteenth-note turn, and a rounding-off figure—three-shorts played on the beginning of the final beat of a phrase. The intervallic fund of both melodies contains many rising thirds and fourths, and each is cast in a strictly homophonic texture.

details from opposing points of view and from prioritizing features of the musical text in different ways. Like the posthorn solos, they are instances of Mahler's technique of multivalent evocation, written in such a way as to invite comparison to multiple domains of music making. Reducing the associative thickness of the marches to any particular origin is a strongly interpretational act, not a mere description.

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* *

Mahler intensified the lyrical and martial expressive registers in the third rotation of the symphony, creating a rapturous love song and an expansive set of *marches militaires*. Although the latter lose in referential ambiguity by exhibiting a more clearly military character, they nevertheless remain only evocations and never constitute wholesale imitations of military marches. In "The Rabble," for example, the woodwind trills and downbeat/off-beat alternation in the trombones, both characteristic elements of march textures, appear in grotesquely exaggerated form (mm. 539–53). Mahler also draws on timbres closely associated with military marches in "The Battle Begins." He introduces the section with a four-square rhythm on the bass drum and attached cymbals, then gives x_1 to soli trombones and $b_{1,3}$ to four piccolos, three clarinets in B-flat, and two clarinets in E-flat (mm. 582–86). Little else in the texture at this point is related to actual military marches, but the accumulation of these orchestrational details, together with the martial motives and affirmative tone, strongly evokes them.⁴⁴ "The Southerly Storm" (mm. 605ff.) is akin to the atmospheric marches of the second and fourth rotations, in that timbres and motives evocative of military bands are interjected as particulates above a continually surging bass line. The offstage

⁴⁴ Thereafter, the woodwind trills, foursquare rhythms in the percussion, and the trumpet flourishes reinforce the connection to military bands.

drum signal that closes the rotation (mm. 634–42) is a realistic effect that recalls the side drum cadences that introduced marches in functional music. The reference is all the more vivid because the drum strikes its own tempo.

Mahler's evocations of military bands, however, go beyond the sound profile developed in chapter 4. He also alludes to formal and topical conventions of programmatic military music.⁴⁵ The history of these descriptive pieces has important parallels with the history of the posthorn (see ch. 3). Composers started writing keyboard and vocal works depicting military conflicts as early as the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, they also marshaled the coloristic resources of the orchestra for battle music.⁴⁶ With the emerging dichotomy between art and popular spheres in the early nineteenth century, however, these genres, like imitations of the posthorn, fell squarely into the popular sphere.⁴⁷ The defeat of Napoleon inspired the creation of the last exemplars by composers of art music before the genre became the nearly exclusive domain of military band concerts and the salon.⁴⁸

Salient features of Mahler's march episode are related to conventions of military *Tongemälde* from the end of the century.⁴⁹ The evocation of military music and division

⁴⁵ The genre was known under various terms. The most common were *Schlachtenmusik*, *Tongemälde*, or *Tonbild*. Pieces often had characteristic titles related to the military.

⁴⁶ The article on battle music in *Grove Music Online* focuses almost exclusively on the genre as cultivated by composers from the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries (Alan Brown, "Battle Music," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02318> [accessed March 20, 2010]).

⁴⁷ E. T. A. Hoffmann's famous review of Beethoven's Fifth includes a wholesale condemnation of such pieces.

⁴⁸ These pieces include Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg, oder Die Schlacht bei Vittoria* (1813), Peter Winter's *Schlachtsymphonie* (1814), Johann Friedrich Reichardt's *Schlachtsymphonie* (1814), and Weber's *Kampf und Sieg* (1815). Later works related to battle music include Liszt's *Hunnenschlacht* (1856–57) and Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture* (1880).

⁴⁹ There is little secondary literature on the genre after it entered the popular sphere. The best overview is Eugen Brixel, "Tongemälde und Schlachtenmusiken: Ein militärmusikalisches Genre des 19.

into sharply delineated sections, for example, recall the potpourri-like structure of the popular genre. By around 1880, *Tongemälde* consisted of contrasting episodes stitched together with signals and fanfares in lieu of transitions.⁵⁰ Under the influence of the large potpourris so beloved at military concerts, many of these works consisted almost entirely of material borrowed from diverse sources: functional military music, entertainment music, folksongs, or operas. Both of these features are present in Mahler's march episode, though in attenuated form. Although there are no overt quotations, the vernacularisms do constitute stylistic borrowing. And even though Mahler does not do away with transitions entirely, he does delineate the breaks between the individual sections with fanfares and signals (mm. 579–82, 603–4, 634–42).

The topical similarities are even more compelling. The episodes of programmatic military music were highly characterized scenes drawn from a body of clichéd ideas.⁵¹ Most of these scenes had nothing to do with battle, but were familiar topics from salon and popular music subsumed under a loose narrative sequence. Except for “The Rabble,” all of the sections in the third rotation's second theme group correlate with these naïve clichés: the rapturous transformation of b_7 (mm. 492ff.) strongly recalls love music, “The Battle Begins” a triumphant march, and “The Southerly Storm” storm music. Moreover, the progression in Mahler's symphony from the rapturous episode, in the rich key of G-flat and with undulating harp arpeggios, to a march episode centering on E-flat minor, parallels the frequent juxtaposition of love and war in *Tongemälde*. The

Jahrhunderts,” in *Eugen Brixel zum 60. Geburtstag* (Graz: Internationale Gesellschaft zur Erforschung und Förderung der Blasmusik, 1999), 27–40.

⁵⁰ Brixel, “Tongemälde und Schlachtenmusiken,” 30.

⁵¹ In the potpourri-like exemplars of the genre, composers often borrowed the same material in order to depict the same clichéd scene. Hence Carl Michael Ziehrer and Heinrich Saro borrowed a melody from Otto Nicolai's *Die lustige Weiber von Windsor* (no. 12, “O süßer Mond, o holde Nacht”) for their characterizations of nighttime. See Brixel, “Tongemälde und Schlachtenmusiken,” 35.

greater part of Béla Kéler's *Soldatenleben* (A Soldier's Life), a modest keyboard work for salon, consists of a serenade followed by a march. The "Love Serenade of the Warrior" (*Des Kriegers Liebesständchen*) is in D-flat major and has a rolling Alberti bass; the march is in E-flat and, like Mahler's, divided into three sections. Moreover, programmatic military music often used dynamics to imitate the effect of an approaching band. In his *Österreichische Militärrevue*, Alfons Czubulka creates the impression through a large-scale crescendo—a procedure not unlike the dynamic trajectory of Mahler's march episodes in the second, third, and fourth rotations (see fig. 5.8).

The topical commonalities extend far beyond these limited examples. One of the most popular *Tongemälde* at the turn of the century was Carl Michael Ziehrer's *Traum eines österreichischen Reservisten* (Dream of an Austrian Reservist, 1890).⁵² As was typical for the genre, Ziehrer created a written commentary summarizing the programmatic sequence. The musical and poetic *topoi* it contains overlap widely with those in Mahler's Third Symphony and his descriptions of it.

Table 5.1 (appendix G). Program to Ziehrer's *Traum eines österreichischen Reservisten* and topically related works by Mahler

In Ziehrer's work, for example, the reservist goes to the tavern to drink and celebrate, a scenario that resonates with Mahler's description of the march episodes in the Third:

"That I can't do without trivialities is only too well known. This time, however, I exceed all permitted limits. One can sometimes believe that one is in a tavern or soldier's quarters."⁵³ The battle scenes in Ziehrer's *Tongemälde* take place under the

⁵² The version of the work used here is Hans Krenn's piano reduction (Vienna: Josef Weinberger, ?1897). Jason Stephen Heilmann gives a useful summary of the work and its shifting content in "O du mein Österreich: Patriotic Music and Multinational Identity in the Austro-Hungarian Empire" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 2009), 189–200.

⁵³ Herta Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahlers Briefe*, 2d ed. (Vienna: Zsolnay: 1996), 191: "Daß es bei mir nicht ohne Trivialitäten abgehen kann, ist zur Genüge bekannt. Diesmal übersteigt es allerdings alle

pretence of a dream. Not only was the Greek god Pan associated with dreams, but the eerie effects out of which the third rotation's rapturous and march episodes emerge create an effect akin to entering a dream state (mm. 463–81).⁵⁴ The storm episode of Ziehrer's work, like "The Southerly Storm," is underpinned by running sixteenth notes. Ziehrer uses the cadence of a solo bass drum to introduce the funeral march at the section "Corpses of fallen soldiers," an effect akin to Mahler's use of the instrument at the beginning of the first theme group (mm. 23f., 161f.).⁵⁵ Signals and marches suffuse many parts of Ziehrer's *Tongemälde* and include extended side drum cadences between sections in much the same way as Mahler brings the third rotation to a close (mm. 634–42). Two other examples concern passages treated in chapters 1 and 3. *Traum eines österreichischen Reservisten* includes travelling Gypsy musicians, which parallels Mahler's allusion to *style hongrois* in the First Symphony, as well as bird calls and a postal carriage, both of which are related to the third movement of the Third Symphony.⁵⁶

It must be emphasized, however, that the march episode in the third rotation cannot be reduced to its affinities with programmatic military music. As with

erlaubten Grenzen. Man glaubt manchmal, sich in einer Schänke oder in einem Stall zu befinden." The translation of *Stall* is extremely difficult. The word generally means a stall for animals, but it is not clear what Mahler would have meant by such a comparison. Perhaps he did mean stables at a military encampment. The translation here, however, is based on an entry in the historical *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, which indicates that word was also slang for a shed occupied by non-commissioned officers (Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, <http://germazope.uni-trier.de/Projects/WBB/woerterbuecher/dwb/WBB/dwb/wbgui> [accessed 21 March 2010]). See also Knud Martner, ed., *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, trans. Eithne Wilkins, Ernst Kaiser, Bill Hopkins (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979), 189.

⁵⁴ This passage ushers in the second varied statement of the material from the first rotation.

⁵⁵ Ziehrer borrows the funeral music from Donizetti's *Don Sebastian*, which Mahler quotes in the third movement of the First Symphony (Alexander Ringer, "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen": Allusion und Zitat in der musikalischen Erzählung Gustav Mahlers," in *Das musikalische Kunstwerk: Geschichte – Ästhetik – Theorie. Festschrift Carl Dahlhaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hermann Danuser, et al [Laaber: Laaber, 1988], 599–600).

⁵⁶ One of Ziehrer's birds is a cuckoo, whose call Mahler includes in the accompaniment to his song "Ablösung im Sommer," the basis of the third movement's refrains. Ziehrer represents the posthorn with a quotation of "Jede Dienstpost," an official signal of the Austrian postal service from at least 1844.

vernacularisms in general, the music retains some referential plurality. Operetta can again provide a counter example. The grotesque exaggerations that characterize “The Rabble” were not common in programmatic military music, but they were certainly at home in operetta. A tendency to parody the military was common to both Parisian and Viennese incarnations of the genre. We have already seen two examples of comic imitations of drum signals, in Suppé’s *Zehn Mädchen und kein Mann* and in *Fatinitza*. Offenbach also parodied the sounds of military bands in the Regimental Song (no. 4) and onstage military march (no. 6) of *La Grande-duchesse de Gérolstein*. Moreover, parody was but one element in a distinctive expressive balance. Operetta typically brought together parody with sentiment, kitsch with deep feelings. Mahler creates a similar aesthetic profile by juxtaposing the grotesquerie of “The Rabble” with the rapturous sentiment of the preceding episode. The Dutch conductor Willem Mengelberg, an early proponent of Mahler’s music, wrote *Liebeserklärung* [declaration of love] above the violin solo in his score, most likely as a result of his conversations with Mahler about the symphony.⁵⁷

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The final statement of the second theme group is marked by an increase in the lyrical march inflection at the expense of the martial character. Some of the resulting changes have analogues in the operetta literature. One of these is the addition of a lyrical cello line to the repetition of the light march (mm. 762–67).⁵⁸ The eponymous

⁵⁷ Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination,” 198. Incidentally, the sentiment in Mahler’s lyrical episode is not only operetta-like within the context of the expressive character that follows it, but also in its musical features. Compare measures 505–22 with the Trio (no. 8) at the beginning of act 2 of Strauss Jr.’s *Der Zigeunerbaron*.

⁵⁸ Indeed the phenomenon is not limited to marches, but occurs in dances, too. The addition of a lyrical counterpoint was a favorite technique of Strauss’s. He uses it again in the first act finale to enhance the repetition of a freely declamatory section for chorus.

march of Strauss's operetta *Der lustige Krieg* is a light march akin to Mahler's. When it is repeated in the Act 1 finale, Strauss adds a lyrical countermelody in the cello, doubled by the soprano.

Example 5.11 (appendix G). Johann Strauss, Jr., *Der lustige Krieg*, no. 14, Violetta's march with lyrical cello

Mahler's singing cello line extends no farther than the antecedent phrase and is enriched by an imitative entrance in the second violins just two bars later. The brevity and intimation of *fugato* clearly distinguish Mahler's implementation of this standard procedure of popular music, but not without conjuring the association in the first place.⁵⁹

The rousing march that closes the second theme group is a second analogue to operetta. Such march climaxes were a familiar formal practice in operetta, heard often at the ends of overtures and acts. To consider only the operettas that Mahler himself conducted, such marches appear in the finale to the Act 3 of Suppé's *Fatinitza*; in the overture and finales to Acts 1 and 3 of Suppé's *Boccaccio*; in the finales to Acts 1 and 3 of Suppé's *Donna Juanita*; in the overture and Act 1 finale of Strauss's *Der lustige Krieg*, and in the finales to Acts 1 and 3 of Millöcker's *Der Bettelstudent*.⁶⁰ They were far less common in other genres. Programmatic military pieces tended toward more pompous, hymnic closes.⁶¹ And animated marches with military inflections appeared only rarely at

⁵⁹ This is neither the first nor most straightforward time that Mahler had adopted the technique. On the repetition of the *Ländler* theme in the second movement of the Second Symphony, the texture is enriched with the addition of a lyrical cello countermelody in a manner even more analogous to the *Lustiger Krieg* march and other examples from Strauss's oeuvre. Strauss used the technique in purely instrumental compositions like the "Johannis-Käferln" waltz op. 82, in which the first waltz strain, "Im Ländlerstil," is adorned with a lyrical cello accompaniment upon its repetition.

⁶⁰ Other examples of spirited marches can be found in two of the most famous Viennese operettas, with which Mahler was almost certainly familiar: in the finale to Act 2 of Strauss's *Der Zigeunerbaron* and in the finales to Acts 1 and 3 of Zeller's *Der Vogelhändler*.

⁶¹ Brixel, "Tongemälde und Schlachtenmusiken," 279, 287.

the climaxes in the classical repertoire. It is telling that the clearest examples appeared decades before Mahler's Third Symphony in French comic opera, a repertoire that greatly influenced Suppé.⁶²

The marches that close Mahler's movement and the overture to Suppé's *Boccaccio* proceed through very similar stages. In both cases, the march climax begins lushly scored and with a melody more lyrical than martial (cf. mm. Suppé, 338–53; Mahler, mm. 832–35).

Example 5.12 (appendix G). Franz von Suppé, *Boccaccio*, overture, mm. 353–87

After fully stating the themes, Suppé and Mahler intensify their marches with the addition of rising chromatic lines (cf. Suppé, mm. 368–80; Mahler, mm. 836–45). They then reach a new high point in which another march theme (b_7 in Mahler's case) is stated in the lower voices under a blanket of trills or tremolos in the treble range (cf. Suppé, mm. 381–93; Mahler, mm. 846–57). The final stages of both consist of frenetic repetitions of march motives that quickly bring the pieces to their close (cf. Suppé, mm. 394–403; Mahler, mm. 863–75). The only major structural difference between Suppé and Mahler is that Mahler inserts the rupture between his last two stages (mm. 857–63). Being of such contrasting tonal and motivic content, it reminds of larger issues to be resolved in later movements.

First Theme Group: Quotations and their Consequences for Meaning

Mahler alludes to vernacular styles far less in the first theme group. To be sure, some motives can be heard in terms of non-symphonic repertoires. The bass drum

⁶² Examples of French comic opera with march finales are the overtures to *Fra Diavolo* (1830) and *La Fille du Régiment* (1840).

cadence of a_1 and the low, pulsing rhythms of a_2 hint at a funeral march, but without ever being integrated into a fuller rendition of the idiom. Their effect is not so much referential as expressive. As in other instances of stylized funeral music, Mahler uses a_1 and a_2 to create an oppressive atmosphere that intimates death.⁶³ Additionally, a_5 can be heard as a deformed quotation of the Austrian military signal “attention” (*Habt Acht*).

Example 5.13 (appendix G). Comparison of a_5 with “Habt Acht”

The similarities are undeniable, yet they could have arisen by chance. The motive’s distinctive traits can be accounted for by its context and function: a_5 appears in the midst of many motives with similarly elemental design, and its disruptive function in the first theme group requires a penetrating sonority and harsh dissonance.

Mahler connects the first theme group to other parts of the symphony primarily through quotation. He intended to unify the work in this way from very early on. In the summer of 1895, he incorporated material from the projected finale, “Das himmlische Leben,” into the second and fifth movements.⁶⁴ These links were lost when Mahler omitted the song in June 1896. He then reconstituted inter-movemental unity by drawing material from later parts of the symphony into the first movement—and more specifically, its introduction and first theme group.⁶⁵

⁶³ The slow movement of Beethoven’s *Eroica* Symphony is the most obvious precedent, but Mahler’s evocation comes closer to the final bars of the first movement of Beethoven’s Ninth. Because funeral music was an established topic in the symphonic (not to mention the operatic) tradition also diminishes the referential character of a_1 and a_2 . Lacking such precedents, the animated style of military and popular marches conveyed a stronger sense of stylistic allusion.

⁶⁴ Mahler jettisoned “Das himmlische Leben” so late in the compositional process that he had already included its material in sketches for the marches of the first movement (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek S.m. 22794; facsimile reproduction in Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination,” 410–18, 598–600; transcription in Franklin, *Mahler*, 100–104).

⁶⁵ Mahler almost certainly introduced some material from the first movement when he revised the sixth movement in late July 1896. It is difficult to know for sure what precise changes he made, however, because no draft score of the sixth movement survives. For Mahler’s remarks on the revisions, see Herbert Killian, ed., *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen von Natalie Bauer-Lechner* (Hamburg: Wagner, 1984), 66.

Mahler created a particularly strong connection between the first and fourth movements. The fourth movement is a song in two strophes. At the beginning of each, x_3 and x_4 appear together and at the same pitch level as in the introduction of movement one (cf. IV/12–17, 83–93 with I/11–23, 655–66). The descending second of x_3 is a prominent melodic cell throughout the fourth movement as it had been in the first theme group. The song also quotes x_2 at the same pitch level as it appears in the motto, A1.2, and A1.4. Finally, Mahler states A2 throughout the fourth movement in various forms, instrumental and vocal.⁶⁶

Re-using instrumental motives in a song setting has important consequences for the symphony's meaning. In a letter to the critic Max Marschalk, Mahler wrote of the Second Symphony that "The *conceptual* basis is clearly articulated in the words of the final chorus. The sudden entrance of the alto solo [in the fourth movement] casts an illuminating light on the initial movements."⁶⁷ Mahler used an analogous procedure in the Third Symphony, on which he was working at the time of the letter. The symphony begins with three instrumental movements followed by two songs and an instrumental finale. The patchwork of quotations and tonal relationships that link the symphony's songs to its instrumental movements are a musical correlate to the "illuminating light." As in the Second Symphony, the song texts contain a conceptual basis for interpreting the symphony as a whole.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ See mm. 24–27, 29–34 (hrns.); mm. 57–60, 63–66 (vlns.); mm. 101–3, 106–10, 115–22 (vln. solo); mm. 119–22 (alto).

⁶⁷ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 163: "Die *gedankliche* Basis des Werkes ist deutlich in den Worten des Schlußchores ausgesprochen, und auf die ersten Sätze wirft das plötzlich einfallende Altsolo ein erhellendes Licht." See also Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 172.

⁶⁸ Mahler understood that the manifold links could not be fully appreciated in a single hearing, which is why he advocated exhaustive score study in order to determine how the work's disparate parts relate to one another. See ch. 1, pp. 36–37; Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 134, 164, 175, 277; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 151–52, 173, 182, 262; La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 2, *Vienna: The Years of*

The text of the fourth movement is the “Drunken Song of Midnight” from Nietzsche’s *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (1883–85).⁶⁹

O Mensch! Gib Acht!	O man! Take heed!
Was spricht die tiefe Mitternacht?	What says the deep midnight?
Ich schlief!	I slept!
Aus tiefem Traum bin ich erwacht!	I have awoken from a deep dream!
Die Welt ist tief!	The world is deep,
und tiefer als der Tag gedacht!	and deeper than day surmised!
O Mensch! Tief!	O man! Deep!
Tief ist ihr Weh!	Deep is its woe!
Lust tiefer noch als Herzeleid!	Desire [is] deeper still than heart’s sorrow!
Weh spricht: Vergeh!	Woe says: perish!
Doch alle Lust will Ewigkeit,	Yet all desire wants eternity,
will tiefe, tiefe Ewigkeit!	wants deep, deep eternity!

The song raises the ultimate questions of existence and frames them in a way that resonates with Mahler’s idealist worldview. There is more to the universe than the everyday world illuminated by the Enlightenment and light of reason. The ultimate fate of humankind is determined by metaphysical truths that cannot be directly known. The suffering caused by awareness of this tragic condition is great, but not as strong as our instinctive desire to go on living, even in death.

Mahler uses a network of motivic and tonal relationships to indicate that the symphony’s overarching argument concerns the issues raised in Nietzsche’s text. Indeed, in the first movement, the motivic links with the song all reflect expressively the conceptual content of the text with which they will be eventually associated. The motives x_2 and x_3 are the first orchestral utterance of the symphony following the motto. In the fourth movement, these same motives set the words “O Mensch!” By transplanting the passage to the symphony’s beginning, Mahler suggests that, not just

Challenge (1897–1904) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 523, 525; Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Unbekannte Briefe* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 1983), 149.

⁶⁹ For a fuller discussion of the philosophical import of Nietzsche’s text as well as Mahler’s changes to it, see Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination,” 252–56, 267–80.

the song, but the entire symphony is an address to humankind.⁷⁰ The treatment of x_2 in the first movement likewise takes on greater significance in light of its text in the fourth movement: “Tief ist ihr Weh!” (mm. 100–101). Mahler bestows nearly every statement of x_2 the onerous sonority of *fortissimo*, unison horns. Moreover, in successive statements of the main theme in which the motive is embedded (A1.1, A1.2, A1.4), Mahler frequently combines open horns with the abrasive sound of stopped horns. The tumultuous character and timbral abrasions vividly convey the suffering articulated in the fourth movement. Mahler also hints that the main theme is an expression of suffering even when it does not contain x_2 or the horn sonority. By repeating the word “Tief!” as two whole notes before proceeding to “Tief ist ihr Weh!” (*Deep is its woe*, mm. 97–101), Mahler creates a reminiscence of opening gesture of the trombone solos in the second and fourth rotations (A1.3, A1.6).

Nietzsche’s text also helps to make sense of the remaining link between the first and fourth movements: A2. In the first movement, it was like a foreign body, never integrated fully into the first theme group’s proceedings. It appears throughout the fourth movement in various guises, first as an instrumental premonition (mm. 24–27), then as a full-blown instrumental statement (mm. 57–60), and then with an arabesque quality (mm. 101–3). Only at the end is it sung to the line: “Yet all desire wants

⁷⁰ Recall that Mahler composed the first movement the summer of 1896, having largely completed the other movements a year earlier (see ch. 1, pp. 13–16). This link between the first and fourth movements suggests a possible reason for Mahler to quote an actual military signal in a_6 . The second half of the address “Take heed” (*Gib Acht!*) is closely related semantically to the function of the trumpet signal “Attention” (*Habt Acht*). Moreover, such a connection would not have been overly cryptic in Mahler’s day. It is reasonable to assume that a good part of the public had at least a passing familiarity with specific signals. Military bands were a major presence in the musical lives of many cities, and programmatic military music, like Ziehrer’s *Traum eines österreichischen Reservisten*, routinely quoted military signals and named their function in the score or program.

eternity” (mm. 119–22).⁷¹ The insertions of A2 in the first theme group of movement one can thus be understood as brief expressions of the longing for eternal life in the midst of the strife and turbulence of the main theme. By turning A2 into the most prominent theme of the fourth movement, he gives greater emphasis to the resilience of human longing. As stated just a couple lines earlier: “Lust tiefer noch als Herzeleid!” (*Desire [is] deeper still than heart’s sorrow!*).

The *telos* of the first theme group reinforces this interpretation through an apparent allusion to the song “Urlicht” in the Second Symphony, specifically, a short cadential passage that appears between the song’s two stanzas.

Example 5.14. Allusion to Mahler, Symphony no. 2, mvt. 4

The song’s text, taken from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, deals with the same basic themes as the “Drunken Song of Midnight”: death and what lies beyond. Like Nietzsche’s poem, the first stanza of “Urlicht” focuses on man and his suffering in the face of mortality. The second stanza conveys the human spirit’s resolve for eternal life, even though an angel tries to block the way to heaven. The *telos* of the first theme group recalls the passage immediately following the last line of this stanza: “I would rather be in heaven!”⁷² Moreover, the D major and chorale-like texture of the *telos* forecast the key and texture of the sixth movement, thereby implicating the symphony’s finale in the solution to the human predicament.

⁷¹ This semantic dimension makes even more compelling the motive’s similarity to the secondary theme of the first movement of the Second Symphony (mm. 48–50), which has a strongly celestial quality.

⁷² There is even a subtle similarity between the line “O no! I won’t be turned away!” (mm. 51–53) and the theme A2 (mm. 83–90). Both begin with a descent of a fourth, A2 by leap and the song a diminished fourth by step, and then rise by step with a short downward turn at the end. In addition, but motives are directly restated at a higher pitch level. The allusion is an apt one, given the function of A2 as an oasis within the pain caused by our mortal condition.

Mahler turns the progression from suffering to comfort in the first theme group of the first movement into the premise of the finale. Broadly speaking, the finale is a grand chorale in D major with three tumultuous episodes based on material from movement one. The first episode begins with a melodic reminiscence of the rupture (cf. I/366–68, VI/71–75), which ushers in the $c\#^{\circ 7}$ harmonic field that had underpinned the beginnings of A1.1 and A1.4 (cf. I/56–64, 369–75 with VI/74–79).⁷³ At this point, Mahler introduces a new theme closely related to A1 in harmony, melodic shape, sonority, and expression.

Example 5.15 (appendix G). New theme in first episode

The second episode is based on x_2 with its characteristic horn sonority from movement one (mm. 180–92). It is a pitch-specific quotation not only of the motto and A1.4, but also of “Tief ist ihr Weh” from the fourth movement, as is increasingly apparent in the augmented statements of the motive.⁷⁴ Mahler thus connects the turbulent episodes of the finale explicitly with the suffering described in the Nietzschean text of movement four. The third episode, which appears at the moment that one expects a triumphal codetta affirming the cadence in D major, quotes the most disruptive gesture from the first movement: the rupture (mm. 219–24). There, the theme A1.4, blared by unison horns, grew directly out of the first rupture (mm. 369f.). Analogously, the new theme from the finale’s first episode emerges here, its woodwinds and violins reinforced canonically by eight horns by (mm. 224–33). Mahler whips the theme into a frenzy that culminates in a final reminiscence of the first movement: the threefold disruptions,

⁷³ The melody at the beginning of A1.2 outlines the same chord, but with a harmonic underpinning of B-flat minor.

⁷⁴ The augmented statement is also a pitch-specific quotation of the horns in mm. 111–15 in the first movement.

especially the version that followed the statements of A₂ (cf. VI/234–44 with I/91–98, 406–10). The phrasal gesture remains normative, but Mahler changes the harmonies and motives. Instead of a₅ or x₂, the horns declaim the theme from the finale's first episode, its disruptive power finally being stifled in a closing tag: E-flat, D, C. The three tones are an inversion of x₂ and a fitting symbol for the imminent end to the suffering that x₂ and its related themes had embodied. With this, the last tumultuous episode of the finale ebbs away. The chorale returns one more time and grows resolutely and inexorably to a resounding, D-major climax.

Mahler includes in the finale five prominent melodic quotations to figures in his pantheon of great composers: Beethoven, Wagner, Brahms, and Hans Rott.⁷⁵ These references are more than mere homage. They also strengthen the movement's semantic content, too. The main chorale theme of the finale, an example of multivalent evocation, simultaneously recalls both Beethoven's String Quartet op. 135 and Wagner's *Parsifal*.⁷⁶

Example 5.16 (appendix G). Melodic allusions in main theme of mvt. 6

Mahler did not just pick any two works from these composers whom he venerated above all others; he chose their last major works, the final musical testaments to their

⁷⁵ The last two names of this list may be somewhat unexpected. Despite criticizing Brahms's music on occasion with friends, Mahler clearly respected the elder composer. Mahler paid Brahms annual visits from 1893 until 1896, the summer before Brahms passed away. Shortly before taking a break from work on the first and sixth movements of the Third Symphony to visit Brahms in 1896, Mahler wrote to Anna von Mildenburg that Brahms is "a gnarled and sturdy tree, but with mature, sweet fruits. It is a joy to see the powerful trunk thick with foliage" (Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 184: "ist ein knorriger und stämmiger Baum, aber reife, süße Früchte, und eine Freude, den mächtigen, reichbelaubten Stamm anzusehen.") Hans Rott was a fellow composition student at the Vienna Conservatory. Mahler—and Bruckner—greatly admired Rott's abilities as a composer. Tragically, Rott died very young, just 21 years old. For more on Mahler and Rott's relationship, see Paul Banks, "Hans Rott and the New Symphony," *Musical Times* 130, no. 1763 (March 1989): 142–47; and Stephen McClatchie, "Hans Rott, Gustav Mahler, and 'The New Symphony': New Evidence for a Pressing Question," *Music & Letters* 81, no. 3 (August 2000): 392–401.

⁷⁶ The similarities to Beethoven's theme are especially compelling: a ten-note melodic quotation with altered rhythm and meter, similar voice leading and harmonies. Moreover, both appear at the beginning of the movement and have closely related performance instructions.

mortal lives before they were forced to confront that greatest of questions that animated Mahler's symphony. In fact, Beethoven's String Quartet expressly states the question, albeit whimsically, at the start of the finale: "Must it be? It must be!" The moment from *Parsifal* to which Mahler alludes is equally telling. It occurs at the beginning of the first act as Gurnemanz kneels with two squires and prays.

Later on in the finale, Mahler quotes Brahms's song "Feldeinsamkeit."⁷⁷

Example 5.17 (appendix G). Quotation of Brahms

Nominally a meditation on the pleasures of lying in the grass, Brahms emphasizes the more profound, metaphysical implications of Hermann Allmers's elegant poem. It is not just the vast sky that is contemplated, but the great beyond, too. The melody that Mahler quotes is the song's refrain, which sets the last line of each stanza. Both invoke metaphors for heaven; the second is particularly close to the semantic impetus of Mahler's symphony:

<p>Ich ruhe still im hohen grünen Gras Und sende lange meinen Blick nach oben, Von Grillen rings umschwirrt ohn Unterlaß, Von Himmelsbläue wundersam umwoben.</p>	<p>I am resting quietly in the tall, green grass, And gaze longingly above, With crickets chirping incessantly all around, Enshrouded in heaven's wonderful blue.</p>
<p>Die schönen weißen Wolken ziehn dahin Durchs tiefe Blau, wie schöne stille Träume, Mir ist, als ob ich längst gestorben bin Und ziehe selig mit durch ew'ge Räume.</p>	<p>The beautiful, white clouds are floating there, Through the deep blue, like beautiful, quiet dreams, I feel as if I had long passed away, And were floating blessedly through the eternal expanse.</p>

Mahler's greatest homage was to his departed friend, Hans Rott. Not only does the main theme allude to Rott's slow movement (see ex. 15.16), but so do the two critical elements of the movement's climax, too.⁷⁸ The finale's third, calamitous episode

⁷⁷ I am indebted to R. John Wiley for drawing my attention to this connection. The rising sixth figure at the beginning of these melodies also serves as the basis for the lyrical trombone solos of the first movement (see mm. 424–311, 710–14).

⁷⁸ These quotations were first identified by Paul Banks in his article "Hans Rott and the New Symphony," *Musical Times* 130, no. 1763 (March 1989): 142–47. The article contains discussions and facsimiles of all the quotations discussed here.

culminates in a quotation of the rupture from the first movement; after the rupture ebbs, the trumpets enter *ppp* with a transcendent rendition of the choral theme (mm. 251f.). The entire complex—rupture, ebb, trumpet chorale texture—appears in a strikingly similar form at the high point of Rott’s slow movement.⁷⁹ Mahler’s borrowings are here so extensive as to go beyond a simple semantic impulse. Nonetheless, their import is similar to that of the allusions to Beethoven and Wagner. This was Rott’s only symphony. Soon after its completion, he was committed to a mental hospital and died four years later. Mahler’s thoughts turned to life’s ultimate questions as he constructed the Third Symphony’s finale; it was fitting that he should think on Hans Rott, too.

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The premise of the Third Symphony is contained in the structural gestures and first theme group of the first movement. In the fourth movement, Mahler supplies a semantic dimension to these materials: they convey existential angst and the desire to transcend the human condition. In the sixth movement, the suffering is finally overcome in the glory of a D-major chorale. Since Mahler omits the second theme group of the first movement from the inter-movement network of motivic connections, its semantic role within the symphony is best gauged by what it is not. The second theme group is a foil to all that the first theme group represents; it gives expression to the joy of living unclouded by premonitions of our mortality. This interpretation gains plausibility from the vernacular allusions. Paul Bekker once wrote that, for Offenbach and Strauss, operetta was an expression of the “wish to raise spirits, be it through wit, through grace,

⁷⁹ Franklin, *Mahler*, 74–76.

or through a zest for life.”⁸⁰ The same could be said of military bands. These genres were the purest language of amusement and cheerfulness in the popular culture in Mahler’s day. Allusions to these genres provided the perfect relief from the oppressive mood and existential angst that pervaded the first theme group.

Understanding vernacularisms in this way helps make sense of the third movement, too. Its refrains are an instrumental version of Mahler’s song “Ablösung im Sommer.”⁸¹ The song’s text concerns death, albeit with an ironic twist: a cuckoo has died, and a replacement is needed to while away the time. Its episodes, in contrast, are the symphony’s other most striking vernacularism: the posthorn solos. Underpinning the movement, then, is the same semantic premise that pervades the first movement: the alternation of sections associated with death and life. In both cases, Mahler uses highly evocative vernacularisms to give voice to mortal life. Yet whereas the marches are brimming with energy, motion, and élan, the posthorn solos are lingering and nostalgic. This is not the joy of life held in blissful disregard of the certainty of death, but in full awareness of it. The posthorn was the perfect symbol for this task. Like the vernacular marches, its topicality could forge immediate connections with the musical life of the everyday. Yet it was also a nostalgic symbol for a something remote or lost to the past.

Hearing the marches and posthorn as hermeneutically related is not far fetched, given the way that Mahler connected them musically. After the second posthorn episode, Mahler eschews a final rondo refrain. He instead repeats a couple of the

⁸⁰ Paul Bekker, *Briefe an zeitgenössische Musiker* (Berlin: Hesse, 1932), 172; quoted in Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort “Operette,” *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 2001), 13: “Wunsch der Erheiterung, sei es durch Witz, sei es durch Grazie, sei es durch Lebenslust.”

⁸¹ For more on Mahler’s treatment of the song as the basis for this instrumental movement, see Monika Tibbe, *Über die Verwendung von Liedern und Liedelementalen in instrumentalen Symphoniesätzen Gustav Mahlers*, *Berliner Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten*, vol. 1, ed. Carl Dahlhaus and Rudolf Stephan (Munich: Emil Katzschler, 1977), 85–97.

refrain's motives incessantly, ever faster and in more voices, until they culminate in a gesture strongly reminiscent of the rupture that had superseded the first and third march episodes in the first movement (mm. 529–56). Out of the cataclysm, six unison horns (and three trombones) recall the sonority that, more than any other, Mahler links with the suffering of mortal existence.⁸²

The notion of vernacularisms as an expression of zest for life is strengthened again in the fifth movement, the second vocal movement of the symphony. Its text is based on another *Wunderhorn* poem: “Armer Kinder Bettlerlied” (Poor Children’s Begging Song). It describes a heavenly scene in which Jesus dines with his disciples. As the angels rejoice, an unnamed person cries, for she has broken the ten commandments. Jesus proclaims how one gains admittance to heaven nonetheless: “Only love God forever!” Mahler bases the song, like the first movement, on a march idiom. But these marches are different. They do not evoke popular music to the same extent as the marches of the first movement or as the posthorn solos. The song’s main theme is an accessible melody that would be at home in vernacular genres.⁸³ But Mahler has dialed down the referential character so as not to convey the sounds of military bands or operettas with such vividness. This is not love of mortal, everyday life, but love of heavenly life eternal.

Another vital aspect of multi-movement unity in the Third Symphony is its key scheme. These tonal relationships reinforce both the motivic and the expressive links

⁸² Though Mahler did not quote the first movement directly, he did say that the episode recalls the “uncrystallized, inorganic matter” of the first movement. See appendix 2E.

⁸³ The first phrase of the main theme (mm. 6–8), for example, closely resembles the folksong “Um die Kinder still und artig zu machen.” The song is reproduced in Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Mahler: Volume One* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973), 761. Mahler based a song on this text, but the melodic connection is much stronger to the fifth movement of the Third Symphony.

between the movements. Mahler reserves F major for those sections based on vernacular styles: the marches in the first movement, the posthorn solos in the third, and the marches in the fifth. He reserves D minor/major for those sections that, based on their motivic connections with the fourth movement, concern suffering and the overcoming of same. Hence the turbulent first theme group of the first movement is in D minor and its *telos* in D major. The minor inflection of D returns for the fourth movement, and D major for the resplendent chorale finale.

Local inflections of F and D major in the fourth and fifth movements reinforce these associations. When Mahler uses x_4 in the fourth movement, he abbreviates the motive and makes a very telling harmonic change: instead of ending on open fifths that imply the dominant of D minor, the motive implies F major. The only times that this harmony appears in the entire song are in the two statements of x_4 . Each time, it follows the same word, “Mensch,” acting as a subtle reminder of ultimate cause of man’s suffering: his love of life. Mahler thus concentrates the human predicament into this tonal nuance. The fifth movement is not so subtle. The F-major marches of the movement’s main sections are regularly interrupted by short insertions of contrasting music. Whereas the marches set mostly the text that deals with the joys of heavenly life, the contrasting material accompanies the lines that concern admission to heaven.

Table 5.2 (appendix G). Chorale insertions in mvt. 5

The key and idiom associated with these insertions are telling: D-major chorales.⁸⁴ Hence this unassuming song, only a fraction the length of the imposing first movement, is based on the same tonal premise of D alternating with F, of joyful marches with the chorale promises of an eternal life.

⁸⁴ The middle section of the movement, which returns to the expressive world of suffering, is tonally centered on D, too, but with modal inflections (mm. 65–81).

The Associative Power of Vernacular Styles

This chapter has so far considered the immanent musical processes of the Third Symphony as well as the way that Mahler uses multi-movement linking and referential elements to transfer the semantic content of the song texts to the rest of the work. The opening movement's vernacularisms were irrelevant to the first approach, which focused on such aspects as motive, harmony, and idiom. The second approach examined vernacularisms more closely, but their role in bearing the meaning of the song texts did not depend on specificity of reference. All that mattered was the vernacular tone more generally. The multivalent evocation of vernacular styles, therefore, is not constitutive of form and meaning in the movement. Certainly, Mahler could have composed in such a way as to shun connections to other pieces and repertoires. What did he stand to gain by having such palpable allusions to military *Tongemälde* and operetta?

Multivalent evocation is one facet of Mahler's general predilection for ambiguity. With its multiplicity of references, the motto of the first movement points, like the epigraph of a written text, to the ambiguities that pervade much of the work. These occur at many different levels, including structure. For instance, after signaling the recapitulatory function of the fourth rotation with a literal repetition of the introduction, Mahler goes on to conflate the recapitulation of disparate sections into a single passage. The appearance of x_1 at m. 750 recalls the motive's entrance in the second rotation (cf. mm. 273f); both instances come after a martially inflected atmospheric march and coincide with a switch to F major. At the same time, the passage also recalls $b_{4,1}$ from the second rotation (mm. 253f.), because the fleeting patch of F major folds quickly back into an atmospheric march in A minor. In addition, the passage simultaneously recapitulates the turbulent culmination of the third rotation and its final

melodic shreds.⁸⁵ Dahlhaus's description of the movement's motto applies here, too: at the first appearance of x_1 in the fourth rotation, it is as if three different points from the second and third rotations were photographed, one on top of the other.

Mahler delighted in referential and expressive ambiguity, too. This was part of the allure of vernacularisms. The rise of popular music in the nineteenth century made allusions to vernacular styles in art music ambiguous in a way that they had not previously been. For centuries, instrumental music had become increasingly self-sufficient from the genres of vocal, dance, and functional music out of which it grew.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, it continued to draw expressive devices from these generic origins. Chorales, for instance, retained their religious connotations and minuets their associations with court even when they appeared as stylistic references in works intended for the recital or concert hall. By Mahler's time, however, the connotations of many such materials in the context of art music had ceased to be univocal. The posthorn was no longer just a nostalgic symbol of departure, as it had been for Johann Sebastian Bach; having meanwhile been established as a topic of entertainment music, the posthorn also connoted the aesthetic and social milieu of that domain. Stylized marches could carry the impressions of operetta or *Tongemälde* as much as functional military music and romanticized images of lansquenets.

Despite the multivalent evocation that characterizes the marches and posthorn episodes, contemporary critics were generally convinced of the apparent referential and expressive clarity of Mahler's music. Robert Hirschfeld, for example, wrote that

⁸⁵ The entire first section of the fourth rotation's march episode is a transformed recapitulation of the climax of "The Southerly Storm" (cf. mm. 609–26, 741–53).

⁸⁶ Walter Wiora, "Zwischen absoluter und Programmmusik," in *Festschrift Friedrich Blume zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Anna Amalie Abert and Wilhelm Pfannkuch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 384–85.

With Mahler, everything is obvious—blindingly obvious—and lies with crystal clarity before us. There is no combination that weighs upon us; no darkness that must be illuminated. . . . march is march and operetta is operetta . . . What else remains?⁸⁷

Similarly, the Austrian composer and critic Joseph Marx argued that the expressive effect of Mahler's vernacularisms in the Third Symphony was all too clear:

The themes, which mostly have a folk-like character, are often set directly next to one another. This creates scenic effects that are more or less intended. . . . The more easily one grasps this kind of popular effects music, the more difficult it is to develop a sympathetic connection with it: there is nothing to miss, but also nothing to discover.⁸⁸

Such opinions are not simply the invective of crank critics. They also inform the secondary literature, in which scholars, believing that Mahler's vernacularisms are as clearly referential as actual quotations, discern the origins of these materials by dint of intuition.⁸⁹

Yet Mahler's allusions to folk and popular styles usually were *not* univocal. Rather, he left them open-ended, so that each listener could determine the reference according to her expectations, experiences, and ideological agenda. This presupposes a view of musical reception similar to that of earlier proponents of idealist aesthetics. In contrast to the mimetic aesthetic theorists of the eighteenth century, idealist thinkers understood listening to be an active process requiring participatory imagination.

Wackenroder wrote that listening to music “consists of the most attentive observations

⁸⁷ Robert Hirschfeld, “Feuilleton. Konzerte,” *Wiener Abendpost*, no. 296 (28 December 1904): “Bei Mahler liegt aber alles klar, zum Greifen klar, mit platter Deutlichkeit vor uns; da ist keine Kombination, die uns bedrückt, beklemmt, kein Dunkel, das erhellt werden müsste. . . . Marsch ist Marsch und Operette ist Operette . . . Was bleibt sonst übrig?”

⁸⁸ Joseph Marx, *Betrachtungen eines romantischen Realisten. Gesammelte Aufsätze, Vorträge und Reden über Musik*, ed. Oswald Ortner (Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1947), 166–67: “Die meist volkstümlich gehaltenen Themen werden häufig unvermittelt nebeneinander gestellt, wodurch sich gewissermaßen beabsichtigte szenische Wirkungen ergeben . . . Der Weg zu dieser Art populären Effektmusik ist um so schwerer zu finden, je leichter sie einem eingeht: da ist nichts zu überhören, aber auch nichts zu entdecken.”

⁸⁹ See ch. 2, pp. 98–99.

of the notes and their progression; in the complete surrender of the soul to this torrential stream of emotions.”⁹⁰ Similarly, Mahler wrote that “I think it is vital for the motivic web to be clear to all listeners. . . . At a first hearing . . . the primary concern should be to give yourself over to the mercy of the work and to let its human-poetic expression wash over you.”⁹¹ Both Wackenroder and Mahler believed in the important role of a listener’s imagination in shaping the musical experience. By using vernacularisms that could be interpreted in multiple ways, Mahler could exploit the manifold and even contradictory associations obtaining in them.

The idealist notion of participatory imagination was closely related to the associative mode of listening common in the reception of popular music.⁹² Characteristic titles, programmatic headings, a common vocabulary of musical topics, and sound effects derived their emotional efficacy in part from the joy of remembering, as the music triggered the release of emotions initially experienced in other contexts. The critic Max Graf captured this idea in his description of Mahler’s posthorn solos:

A posthorn plays a folk melody . . . one of those songs that you start to sing when you are between fifteen and twenty-five and have fallen head over heels in love . . . We start to be moved a bit—not by the melody, but by memories . . . sweetheart and springtime; forest reveries and sentimental country walks.⁹³

⁹⁰ Wackenroder, letter to Ludwig Tieck; quoted in Mark Evan Bonds, “Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, no. 2/3 (summer – autumn 1997): 394.

⁹¹ Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 134; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 151–52. See ch. 1, p. 36.

⁹² For descriptions of associative listening, see Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 311–20; and Ludwig Giesz, *Phänomenologie des Kitsches*, 2d ed. (Munich: W. Fink, 1971).

⁹³ Max Graf, “Die dritte Symphonie Gustav Mahlers,” *Neues Wiener Journal* (20 December 1904), 6: “Auf dem Posthorn wird eine Volksliedmelodie geblasen . . . eine jener Lieder, das man anstimmt, wenn man recht eselhaft verliebt ist, zwischen fünfzehn und zwanzig Jahren . . . Wir fangen an, gerade ein wenig gerührt zu werden—nicht durch die Melodie, sondern durch Erinnerungen . . . Jugendliebe und Frühlingzeit, Waldträumerei und sentimentale Feldwanderungen.”

Robert Hirschfeld perceptively saw this as a trait binding Mahler's works to popular music:

His technique of preparing a new dish from many old ones is masterly. . . . One can see in entertainment music, how the so-called hit songs always strike upon those turns of phrase to which we have already been made receptive by related melodies or even just the same intervals. Gustav Mahler's music lives by this method. He ingeniously mixes into his creations . . . folksongs, the flügelhorn in the rondo of the Third—in short, those things that are already stored in our hearts.⁹⁴

Hirschfeld polemically elevates the technique to *the* premise of Mahler's composition so as to make its affront to the imperative of originality all the stronger. As so often, however, his scathing remarks touch on an important aspect of Mahler's music left unarticulated by Mahler's supporters. The specific vernacularisms in Mahler's symphony may have contributed little to the work's meaning directly, but they contributed much to the emotional experience of the work by fostering associative listening.

The evocativeness of these vernacularisms increased by virtue of their being in a symphony. At the end of the nineteenth century, no genre had a stronger imperative to shun the mundane and to distinguish itself from lower forms of entertainment.⁹⁵ Such vernacularisms as popular marches and posthorns had little precedent. Ernst Krenek cogently articulated this effect:

The opening motive of the Third Symphony is literally identical with the first phrase of a marching song which all Austrian school children used to sing. Produced by eight French horns playing at full blast in unison and placed in an

⁹⁴ Hirschfeld, "Mahler und Strauß in Wien," *Österreichische Rundschau* 1 (November 1904 – January 1905): 536: "seine Technik, aus mehreren Gerichten ein neues zu bereiten, ist meisterlich. . . . Man wird in der trivialen Musik immer beobachten, daß sogenannte 'Schlager' jedesmal diejenigen Stellen treffen, die durch verwandte Melodie oder auch nur gleiche Intervalle bereits empfänglich geworden sind. Gustav Mahlers Musik lebt von dieser Methode. Sein raffiniertes Klangwesen läßt . . . Volkslieder, im Rondo der Dritten das bewährte Flügelhorn der Gartenmusik, kurz Dinge, die in unserem Gemüte schon lagern, angenehm mitschwingen."

⁹⁵ See ch. 2, pp. 57–63; Karen Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations: German Music and Politics, 1900–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 21–43.

empty space, without any accompaniment, at the beginning of a symphonic movement of unheard-of dimensions, this motive takes on a very special significance precisely because of its being associated with that innocent little tune; a significance, however, that it would be difficult to analyse.⁹⁶

Krenek, like most commentators, responded only to the association most immediate to him. Acknowledging the multivalent evocation of vernacular styles compounds the effect he described. After all, Krenek could just as well have considered why the symphony opens with a distortion of a theme that came from the finale of the First Symphony by Brahms (who in turn modeled it on Beethoven's Ninth). Or he could have asked why the theme later appears in forms that variously suggest operetta, battle music, and a love song. Krenek is right about the difficulty in analyzing the significance of such associations. Presumably, their purpose was not so much to contribute to any meaning one might put into words—at least as manifest in the texts of the fourth and fifth movements—as to initiate the associative chain in the listener.

The potential associations were not just personal and affective in character. They also involved strongly held views on musical taste and aesthetic hierarchies. August Spanuth, a native German who reviewed the American premiere of Mahler's Third Symphony in 1906, remarked:

If Mahler does not please you at least he stirs you. Sometimes, as in the first movement of the third symphony, when after a tremendously imposing and mysterious passage, a simple and gay march-melody, fit for an operetta, strikes the ear, one feels at the moment like striking the composer in return. But we must not forget that we needed many decades to get used to certain idiosyncrasies of Beethoven that originally produced a like effect.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Ernst Krenek, biographical essay in Bruno Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, trans. James Galston (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 193–94.

⁹⁷ August Spanuth, "Gustav Mahler: The Composer Whom Boston First Hears This Week," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 31 January 1906; quoted in Karen Painter, ed., *Mahler and his World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 246.

The symphony was at the *fin de siècle* the epitome of art as philosophy and ersatz religion. Aesthetic conservatives especially believed that it should be correspondingly suffused with sublimity of expression and loftiness of style. Hence, Mahler's sudden descent to an aesthetically inferior style was jarring for listeners like Spanuth. Nonetheless, he had the presence of mind to realize that many associations provoked by Mahler's vernacularisms were ephemeral, since tastes and aesthetics changed over time.

One way out for critics who balked at the connections to popular music but were otherwise sympathetic to Mahler's music was to assume that Mahler had ironic intentions. This was especially suited to the reception of the posthorn episodes, where the parodic intent was located in the military signal "fall out," which suddenly cuts off the sentimental solo (mm. 345–47).

The person apparently comes riding in the postal wagon, and the forest puts him in a romantic mood. A flügelhorn sounds from the distance with a sentimental melody cut in the shape of a folksong; Des Knaben Wunderflügelhorn. Mahler knows as well as we do that this flügelhorn solo will raise the suspicion that his passenger is related to Nessler's Trompeter. He has certainly also heard the expressive "Die Post im Walde" on a beautiful summer evening at a concert in a beer garden. He must be making fun of his sentimental traveler, which seems to be suggested by the brutal trumpet signal that parodically cuts off that outpouring of sentiment.⁹⁸

Korngold was a decided admirer of Mahler's music, yet was sometimes ambivalent about Mahler's more blatant allusions to popular styles.⁹⁹ In this instance, however,

⁹⁸ Julius Korngold, "Mahlers III. Symphonie. Feuilleton," *Neue Freie Presse*, 17 December 1904: "Er kommt offenbar mit dem Postwagen gefahren, und der Wald stimmt ihn romantisch. Ein Flügelhorn ertönt aus der Ferne mit einer sentimental, volkstümlich zugeschnittenen Melodie; Des Knabenwunderflügelhorn. Mahler weiß so gut wie wir, daß dieses Flügelhornsolo seinen Postpassagier der Verwandtschaft mit Neßlers Trompeter verdächtigt. Er hat auch gewiß schon an einem schönen Sommerabend bei einer Biergartenmusik die gefühlvolle 'Post im Walde' gehört. Er macht sich also wohl nur lustig über die sentimental Reisenden, und darauf scheint auch das brutale Trompetensignal hinzudeuten, das jenen Gefühlserguß parodistisch abschneidet."

⁹⁹ For example, Korngold wrote of the marches in the first movement of the Third and the second movement of the Seventh that Mahler uttered musical ideas that had no business being in a symphony. The passage to which he referred in the Seventh Symphony is the light march discussed in ch. 4, pp. 178–81.

such unsymphonic material was more palatable to Korngold because Mahler himself did not appear to take it seriously, but as a vehicle for irony.

A perspicacious account of the posthorn episodes was penned by David Josef Bach, critic for the socialist newspaper *Arbeiterzeitung*:

Naturally, the military bands in the Prater also play posthorn solos! If it's the Prater, then it is a metaphysical one. Besides, just three steps from the military band is deepest nature, whose magic inspires the entire symphony. But if it's a banality, then Mahler is still allowed to use it. It is as if he had foreseen that the public, ashamed of their susceptibility to the posthorn solos, would mistake the triviality of their own sensations for simple-mindedness on the part of the composer. Mahler then has his fun and lets it rip—"fall out!"¹⁰⁰

Bach's plausible account of the way that many in Mahler's audience likely reacted highlights a salient point about musical taste: its intimate connection with broader issues, not least of which was social status. Orchestral concerts were elite cultural events. The Vienna Philharmonic performed just eight concerts a year; the limited availability and high prices of tickets excluded all but the city's most privileged classes. The Prater, by contrast, was (and still is) an amusement park with a wide variety of entertainment, including popular offerings like military bands, café house ensembles, operettas. Bach suggests that some in Mahler's audiences bristled at the charms of the posthorn solos on account of their associations with aesthetically and socially inferior music.

In addition, Bach acknowledges, albeit briefly, the multivalence of the posthorn episodes and the great potential for vernacularisms to provoke highly contradictory reactions. Bach clearly heard the similarities of the posthorn solos with entertainment

¹⁰⁰ David Josef Bach, *Arbeiterzeitung*, 20 December 1904: "Natürlich, im Prater lassen die Militärkapellen auch ein Posthornsolo blasen! Wenn's der Prater ist, dann ist es ein metaphysischer. Ueberdies — drei Schritte weg von der Militärkapelle atmet wieder die tiefste Natur, deren Zauber die ganze Symphonie beseelt. Wenn es eine Banalität war, Mahler durfte auch damit spielen, und, wie wenn er es vorausgesehen hätte, daß das Publikum, als ob es sich seiner Eindrucksfähigkeit schämen wollte, die Einfachheit des Komponisten in die Trivialität des eigenen Empfindens verkehren würde, treibt er jetzt seinen Spaß und läßt — abblasen!"

music, yet this association did not color his response to the music. For him, the context and Mahler's treatment of the posthorn transfigured the episodes and imbued them with metaphysical significance. Bach shared Mahler's view that the ultimate distinction between high and low resided not in particular melodies or materials, but in the treatment of them. This position, however, was far from universally held. If reception history is any guide, then many, if not most, believed that vernacularisms tainted the work with indelible associations with their origins. Mahler did not subscribe to this view, but he wished to exploit it. He was keenly aware of the associative power of vernacularisms to shape the experience of his works. By transgressing aesthetic boundaries, Mahler knowingly crossed social ones, too.

Mahler enhanced the ambiguity already inherent in vernacularisms by making them allude to disparate musical styles and repertoires with contradictory implications. To assert that Mahler draws on this or that specific melody or musical type is to flatten the referential ambiguity of the music, however many commentators have been induced to do so by the deceptive immediacy of the reference. The process by which ambiguity is rendered as univocality is independent of the music; it emanates from the chain of associations set off in each listener—a complex calculus influenced in no small part by prior experiences, aesthetic viewpoints, and social outlook. Clarifying the referential ambiguity is thus tantamount to projecting one's own experiences and ideological agendas onto the music. The reception of Mahler's works was so fraught and polarized in part because the music was only a touchstone to other, deeply held views. That these views could cut both ways, either in Mahler's favor or against it, made it a risky strategy, but one that was almost certain to generate lively debate and commentary.

Of course, it is virtually impossible to prove the influence of specific ideas on the aesthetic reactions of particular individuals. Nevertheless, some supporting evidence for this account of their associative power can be gleaned from tendencies in the reception of Mahler's symphony. This dissertation has presented evidence for the multivalence of the marches and posthorn episodes in the Third Symphony. The vast majority of commentary about the vernacularisms, however, treats the referentiality and expression of these sections as all too clear. The basic trends identified in chapter 2 apply here. Mahler's prominent (often assimilationist) defenders generally emphasized the indebtedness of the march and posthorn episodes to folksong, the Austrian military bands of Mahler's youth, and German Romanticism. Paul Bekker's monograph of 1921 is exemplary. He shuns virtually all possible references to popular culture. For him, x_1 is "the mixture of a folk tone and a splendidly striding march."¹⁰¹ He likens $b_{1,2}$ to the call of a shawm, a quintessential shepherd instrument, and remarks that the briefly intact march idiom of $b_{4,1}$ has a "folk-like, cheerful melodic arch."¹⁰² And he likens the regular bass alternation that accompanies the varied repetition of $b_{1,4}$ (mm. 289ff.) to an infantry band. Bekker places the posthorn episode even more squarely in the domain of folk music:

The idea, to insert [a] folk tune abruptly and without artistic finish as the trio of a symphonic scherzo, was as strange as it was daring. But the risk succeeded. This posthorn episode has a romantic magic about it, whose authentic, captivating naïveté disarms all resistance. The posthorn awakens memories and fantasies and effusively develops them in a folk tone.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Paul Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien* (Berlin: Schuster and Loeffler, 1921), 113.

¹⁰² Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien*, 117.

¹⁰³ Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien*, 126: "eine ebenso absonderliche wie kühne Idee, diese Volkswaise unvermittelt und ohne kunstvolle Verarbeitung als Trio in ein sinfonisches Scherzo zu setzen. Aber das Wagnis ist gelungen. Gerade diese Posthornepisode trägt einen romantischen Zauber in sich, dessen echte Naivität widerstandslos gefangen nimmt. Erinnerungen, Fantasie werden geweckt, die die Posthornweise schwärmerisch im Volkston weiterspinnen."

Most critics who perceived likenesses to popular music were interested in wielding such connections as a club. Many a negative review alleged similarities to the sounds of operetta, especially in the march episodes of the second and fourth rotations.¹⁰⁴

Similarly, countless reviews derided the likenesses of the posthorn episodes to entertainment music, often expressly citing Nessler's *Trompeter von Säckingen* and "Post im Walde."¹⁰⁵ Hirschfeld, in particular, was relentless in drawing astute comparisons to popular music. He not only recognized the operetta-like character of the marches and the similarities to "Post im Walde," he even likened the expressive and topical content of the Third Symphony to programmatic military music.¹⁰⁶

Aesthetic conservatives who sought to police the borders separating art music from popular music naturally saw Mahler's appropriation of popular elements as an affront to the integrity of the classical tradition. Yet such discourse was not their exclusive domain. Anti-modern and anti-Semitic discourses overlapped in the decades

¹⁰⁴ Specific references to these march episodes, which reviewers generally referred to as the second theme, include: Hirschfeld, "Feuilleton. Konzerte"; Hans Liebstoekl, "Gustav Mahler's 'Dritte,'" *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, no. 347, 15 December 1904, 6; Maximilian Muntz, "Gustav Mahler's dritten Symphonie," *Deutsche Zeitung*, 16 December 1904; and August Spanuth, "Gustav Mahler." General comparisons to operetta were made in the following reviews: Hirschfeld, "Mahler und Strauß in Wien," 537; Theodor Kroyer, *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 62, no. 25 (30 March 1904): 409; review by Arthur Smolian, *Leipziger Zeitung* (1904), quoted in Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 3, *Vienna: Triumph and Disillusion (1904–1907)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 63; Hans Teßmer, "Der Fall Mahler," *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung*, 16 June 1921.

¹⁰⁵ Reviews that specifically cite these pieces include: Hirschfeld, "Feuilleton. Konzerte"; Korngold, "Mahlers III. Symphonie"; review by Smolian, quoted in La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 3:63; Max Vancsa, *Neue Musikalische Presse*, no. 23/24 (December 1904); review by Richard Batka, quoted in Franklin, *Mahler*, 29; Richard Batka, *Prager Tagblatt*, 27 February 1904, 6; Hirschfeld, "Feuilleton. Zwei Mahler-Sinfonien," *Wiener Abendpost*, no. 254, 5 November 1909; W. Pastor, *Tägliche Rundschau* [Berlin], 12 December 1911; Otto Besch, "Hermann Scherchen dirigiert Mahlers 'Dritte'. Fünftes Sinfoniekonzert der Folge A," *Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 19 January 1929. Reviews that more generally attack the triviality or banality of the passages include: Wilhelm Klatte, "Die 38. Tonkünstler-Versammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins zu Krefeld," *Die Musik* 1, no. 19 (1902): 1761–66; Max Hasse, *Die Musik* 2, no. 4 (1902): 314–16; Theodor Kroyer, *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 62, no. 25 (30 March 1904): 30, quoted in Mirjam Schadendorf, "Bürgerliche Rezeptionsmuster der *Dritten Symphonie* von Gustav Mahler," *Nachrichten zur Mahler-Forschung* 35 (April 1996): 5; Muntz, "Gustav Mahler's dritte Symphonie"; E. E. Taubert, *Die Musik* 6, no. 9 (1907): 188–89.

¹⁰⁶ Hirschfeld, "Mahler und Strauß in Wien," 540.

preceding World War I. Wagner's polemical essay "Modern" (1878), for example, hardly distinguishes between the ills of modernity and those of liberal Judaism, which he represented as an urban, middle-class phenomenon threatening the German folk.¹⁰⁷ Operetta was the musical incarnation of these traits: urban, middle-class, market-oriented, exploiting folk musical traditions; and it was closely tied to Jews in its production and consumption. Stigmatizing a work as "trivial" and comparing it to such popular music as operetta was a stock strategy of anti-Semitic music criticism.¹⁰⁸ So it occasions little surprise that links to popular music are most commonly asserted in the anti-Semitic reception of Mahler's works. Maximillian Muntz, for example, was an open anti-Semite at the expressly anti-Semitic paper *Deutsche Zeitung*. He wrote of the Viennese première of the Third Symphony that

what the listener now experiences, after he has been happily rescued from the floods of the first theme, could represent not only the entrance of Pan, but also a fair [*Jahrmarkt*] and perhaps even the Prater. Above the strolling march of the basses, the woodwinds start playing a march of downright scandalous triviality. Similarly coarse jokes are made by painting with deliberately bright instrumental colors and by the whirling sounds of the snare drum, cymbals, and tambourine. The listener forgets where he is; he mistakenly thinks that he is in the temple of the scantily clad muse of the operetta theater.¹⁰⁹

Such invective is all too easy to dismiss for its repugnant, racial motivation. Yet to discount it is to forgo so much of what made Mahler's Third special: not the least its actual allusions to operetta, and Mahler's intent that these allusions provoke. Besides,

¹⁰⁷ Walter Frisch, *German Modernism: Music and the Arts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 12. Wagner's essay can be found in *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*, 5th ed., ed. Richard Sternfeld and Hans von Wolzogen (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 8:54–60.

¹⁰⁸ See Federico Celestini, "Der Trivialitätsvorwurf an Gustav Mahler: Eine diskursanalytische Betrachtung (1889–1911)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 62, no. 3 (2005): 165–76.

¹⁰⁹ Maximillian Muntz, "Gustav Mahler's dritten Symphonie," *Deutsche Zeitung*, 16 December 1904: "was der Zuhörer nun erlebt, nachdem er aus den Fluten des ersten Themas glücklich gerettet, könnte nicht nur den Einzug des Pan darstellen, sondern auch einen Jahrmarkt und vielleicht sogar den Prater. Ueber einer schlendernden Marschbewegung der Bässe stimmen die Holzbläser einen Marsch an, dessen Melodie von geradezu unerhörter Trivialität ist und noch durch absichtliche instrumentale Buntmalerei, durch Wirbel der kleinen Trommel, Becken- und Tambourinklänge und ähnliche gemeine Spässe gemacht wird. Der Zuhörer vergißt den Ort, wo er sich befindet; er wähnt sich im Tempel der leichtgeschürzten Muse im Operettentheater."

Mahler himself would not likely have been so dismissive of Muntz's review. Not long after the Third Symphony had its first performance in Vienna, he told Alfred Roller, the theatrical producer at the Court Opera: "Funny how the anti-Semitic newspapers, or so it seems, are the only ones who still have any respect for me."¹¹⁰

In fact, it is precisely in the anti-Semitic reception of Mahler's Third Symphony that one finds the strongest apprehension of his Jewishness. Countless authors have attempted to articulate Jewish qualities in Mahler's music.¹¹¹ Claims that he used specifically Jewish folk or liturgical music have yet to turn up compelling evidence. Claims that there is something Jewish in the expressive disposition or spiritual content of his works make the dubious presupposition of an authentically Jewish spirit or mode of expression. The most concrete sense in which Mahler was a Jewish composer was by the standards of anti-Semitic musical discourse in his day. His vernacularisms were as if calculated to fulfill these Jewish stereotypes, at least for all those listeners with ears to hear them: stylistic eclecticism, influence of popular musical genres, inauthentic imitation of German folksongs, lack of originality. Mahler, the attentive reader of reviews and of Wagner's prose writings, was certainly aware of these tropes and the potency of his music to elicit their application.

The multivalent evocation of vernacular styles was therefore a subversive compositional strategy, allowing Mahler to transgress against deeply held convictions of his audiences even as he conformed to them. His works could be seen as taking nourishment, as symphonies had traditionally done, from folksong—because they in fact did so. His works could be seen as embodiments of anti-modern disregard for aesthetic

¹¹⁰ Alfred Roller, *Die Bildnisse von Gustav Mahler* (Leipzig and Vienna: E. P. Tal, 1922), 23.

¹¹¹ For some of these attempts, see ch. 2, pp. 79–82.

standards in their forging of alliances with ostensibly inferior entertainment music—because they in fact did so. And his works could be seen as exemplifying stereotypes of Jewish music—because they in fact did so. Just as each of these positions could be supported by appealing to actual properties of the music, each necessarily excluded other equally valid ways of interpreting Mahler’s allusions to vernacular styles.

Mahler calculated his music to elicit strong reactions in a culture where attitudes about the vernacular intersected broader ideologies central to how people saw themselves and came to terms with their world. This guaranteed that his music would be discussed, and discussed passionately. The vernacularisms and the strong reactions they triggered likely did more to promote his symphonies than the programmatic guides ever did. And here perhaps lay the reason for one of the most outstanding traits of the Third Symphony: its length. Mahler knew that he had a captive audience. By making the march and posthorn episodes so long, he exaggerated the most subversive qualities of his symphony, ensuring that his audience wallowed in their strong reactions, positive or negative, to his provocations. In the end, the multivalent evocation of vernacular styles made Mahler the quintessential composer of a fractious time: the Romantic, modern, German, Austrian, Jewish composer *par excellence*.

*
* *

The experiences and ideologies that guided the chain of associations to Mahler’s vernacularisms did not just differ between groups and individuals, but could also vary over time within the same listener. With his monograph on Mahler’s symphonies, Paul Bekker established himself as one of the composer’s strongest proponents. The monograph exemplifies assimilationist arguments of the strongest sort. But Bekker had not always represented this view.

In 1907, Mahler conducted the Third Symphony in Berlin. At the behest of Bekker, then the critic for the *Berliner Neuesten Nachrichten*, the erstwhile programs to the symphony were once again printed after a period of dormancy. Bekker later wrote, in an article for the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, that the

alliance of vulgarity and grace, superficiality of character and technical mastery, impertinent mockery . . . sets [him] outside of the entire guild of composers. He is Heinrich Heine's musical doppelgänger, equal in the power to rip the mask from venerable things, to dig up the roots of traditions, to satirize devastatingly the highest values of the cultural world.¹¹²

One might easily imagine that the “vulgarity” applied to the marches of the first movement. The refrains of the symphony's Schubertian minuet were the epitome of graceful expression. The posthorn episodes could very well be said to exhibit superficiality of character. “Technical mastery” was consistently attributed to all of Mahler's works by friend and foe alike, and “mockery” might be what Mahler intended by so many allusions to popular styles. Finally, Mahler was often likened to Heine, both in terms of the tone of their works and because both were Jews assimilated into German culture.¹¹³ Yet Bekker was not writing about Mahler at all; he was writing about the operetta composer Jacques Offenbach.

Less than four years later, Bekker had the melancholy task of writing Mahler's obituary. His somewhat ambivalent summary of Mahler's significance as a composer culminated in the following observation:

¹¹² Paul Bekker, “Die Lustige Witwe und ihre Familie,” *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* no. 38, 20 September 1907, 612: “Dieser einzige Bund von Gemeinheit und Grazie, Oberflächlichkeit des Charakters und technischer Meisterschaft, frechem Spott . . . stellt Offenbach außerhalb der ganzen Komponistenzunft. Er ist Heinrich Heines musikalischer Doppelgänger, ihm gleich in der Macht, ehrwürdigen Dinge die Maske herunterzureißen, Traditionen die Wurzeln abzugraben, höchste Werte der Kulturwelt vernichtend zu persiflieren.”

¹¹³ Prominent writers that invoked Heine in discussing Mahler included Julius Korngold, Max Graf, Max Vancsa, and Richard Batka. See Korngold, “Mahlers III. Symphonie”; idem, “Randbemerkungen zum Mahler-Zyklus,” 2 October 1920; Max Graf, “Gustav Mahlers vierte Symphonie,” *Neues Wiener Journal*, 13 January 1902; Vancsa, *Neue Musikalische Presse*, 23 December 1904; Richard Batka, “Das Jüdische bei Gustav Mahler,” *Kunstwart* 23 (1910): 97–98.

Another trait of Mahler as a composer reveals his perhaps most original side: his humor. It is a rustic and burlesque kind of humor; refined wit and irony recede into popular coarseness. Paradoxical though it sounds, it may not be wrong to say that in Mahler an operetta composer was lost.¹¹⁴

It need not sound paradoxical or wrong.

¹¹⁴ Paul Bekker, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, May 1911; quoted in Painter, *Mahler and his World*, 351.

APPENDIX A

Formal Programmatic Commentaries on the Third Symphony¹

A.1. Musical sketches for movements 1, 2.

Was das Kind erzählt:

What the child tells:

Date: [early June 1895]

Comments: The title appears at the top of this manuscript, just above sketches of the second movement. The leaf is dated “1895” in a hand other than Mahler’s. Natalie Bauer-Lechner reports that Mahler composed movement two at the start of his summer vacation, which began on 5 June 1895.² This is therefore among the earliest sources for the symphony’s programmatic movement titles. It is placed before A.2 because it is the only time that Mahler associated the “Kind” title with material from what would become movement two. Beginning with A.2, Mahler used this title only with the symphony’s projected finale, the song “Das himmlische Leben.”

Source: Stanford University Library (Stanford 631, p. 5); discussion and facsimile reproduction in Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992), 403–9, 591–97.

A.2. Draft list of movement titles (Alma Mahler I).

DAS GLÜCKLICHE LEBEN

Ein Sommernachtstraum.

(*Nicht* nach Shakespeare, Anmerkung für Rezensenten und Shakespearekenner)

1. Was mir der Wald erzählt.
2. Was mir die Dämmerung erzählt.
3. Was mir die Liebe erzählt.
4. (Was mir die Dämmerung erzählt.)

¹ The original German is given first, and the translation appears directly underneath in smaller italics. All translations are my own. The dates for many of the sketches and drafts are uncertain. The first six entries, for example, are given here the same tentative date “early June 1895?” The sequence in which they appear constitutes one possible, albeit tentative interpretation of their chronology. The rationale behind these decisions is given in the “Comment” for each entry of uncertain date. All references to movement and measure numbers refer to the final version of the symphony unless otherwise indicated. Mahler used a V-like marking as a symbol for insertion; it is represented here by the letter V.

² Herbert Killian, *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen von Natalie Bauer-Lechner*, rev. Knut Martner (Hamburg: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984), 49; Peter Franklin, ed., *Recollections of Gustav Mahler by Natalie Bauer-Lechner*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber Music, 1980), 52.

5. Was mir der Kuckuck erzählt.
6. Was mir das Kind erzählt.

THE HAPPY LIFE

A Summer Night's Dream.

(Not after Shakespeare, comment for reviewers and Shakespeare connoisseurs)

1. *What the Forest Tells Me.*
2. *What Twilight Tells Me.*
3. *What Love Tells Me.*
4. (*What Twilight Tells Me.*)
5. *What the Cuckoo Tells Me.*
6. *What the Child Tells Me.*

Date: [early June 1895?]

Comment: It is possible that this draft of movement titles precedes Mahler's vacation. The appearance of "Was mir das Kind erzählt" as the final movement here suggests that Mahler had by this time switched that title from the minuet (see A.1) to the song "Das himmlische Leben." In all other drafts and letters from the summer 1895, the movement appears as the finale under the "Kind" or the song's original title. Were the "Kind" title actually to refer to the minuet here, then this draft of titles would imply that was planning on the minuet as a finale. This is highly unlikely, since all of Mahler's symphonic finales are in duple time.

Source: Alma Mahler, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler* (Amsterdam: Bermann-Fischer, 1949), 53.

A.3. Musical draft of second movement.

Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen.

What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me.

Date: [early June 1895?]

Comment: This draft confirms that Mahler switched the title of the minuet at an early stage. The manuscript stems from about the same time as the lists of movement titles in A.4, A.5 and A.6, all of which contain this title in full.

Source: The manuscript is held in private hands and available only in photocopy; discussion and facsimile reproduction in Solvik, "Culture and the Creative Imagination," 419–22, 601–6.

A.4. Draft list of movement titles (Bekker I).

Das glückliche Leben, ein Sommernachtstraum (nicht nach Shakespeare, Anmerkungen eines ~~Kritikers~~ Rezensenten):

- I. Was mir der Wald erzählt,
- II. Was mir die Dämmerung erzählt,
- III. Was mir die Liebe erzählt,

- III. Was mir die Dämmerung erzählt,
- IV. Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen,
- V. Was mir der Kuckuck erzählt,
- VI. Was mir das Kind erzählt.

The Happy Life, A Summer Night's Dream (not after Shakespeare, comments of a critic reviewer):

- I. *What the Forest Tells Me,*
- II. *What Twilight Tells Me,*
- III. *What Love Tells Me,*
- III. *What Twilight Tells Me,*
- IV. *What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me,*
- V. *What the Cuckoo Tells Me,*
- VI. *What the Child Tells Me.*

Date: [early June 1895?]

Comment: This draft of movement titles probably postdates A.2 because the title “Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen” appears here in full. The considerable parallels with A.2, however, may indicate a common source.³

Source: Paul Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien* (Berlin: Schuster und Loeffler, 1921), 106.

A.5. Draft list of movement titles (Bekker II).

- I. Der Sommer marschirt ein (Fanfare – lustiger Marsch, Einleitung nur Bläser und konzertierende Kontrabässe),
- II. Was mir der Wald erzählt (1. Satz),
- III. Was mir die Liebe erzählt (Adagio),
- IV. Was mir die Dämmerung erzählt (Scherzo, nur Streicher),
- V. Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen,
- VI. Was mir der Kuckuck erzählt,
- VII. Was mir das Kind erzählt.

- I. *Summer Marches In (Fanfare – cheerful march, introduction winds and concertante double basses only),*
- II. *What the Forest Tells Me (Movement 1),*
- III. *What Love Tells Me (Adagio),*
- IV. *What Twilight Tells Me (Scherzo, strings only),*
- V. *What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me,*
- VI. *What the Cuckoo Tells Me,*
- VII. *What the Child Tells Me.*

Date: [early June 1895?]

³ For a discussion of the sources underlying the lists of titles reported by Alma Mahler and Paul Bekker (A.2, A.4–6), see Susan Melanie Filler, “Editorial Problems in Symphonies of Gustav Mahler: A Study of the Sources of the Third and Tenth Symphonies” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1977), 35–46.

Comment: No title given for the symphony. This draft seems to belong after the previous entries because of its greater detail and fidelity with the symphony's ultimate titles. Its *terminus ante quem* is 24 June 1895, the day that Mahler wrote the title "Was mir die Morgenglocken erzählen" on a draft of the fifth movement (A.7). The draft represents one of the first sources of the title "Der Sommer marschert ein." The parenthetical description of the first movement's character and instrumentation correlates well with the musical sketches in Stanford 631 (pp. 6, 11) that likely stemmed from 1895 (see Solvik, "Culture and the Creative Imagination," 403–9, 591–97; and the comment to A.17 below).

Source: Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien*, 106.

A.6. Draft list of movement titles (Alma Mahler II).

EIN SOMMERNACHTSTRAUM

1. Der Sommer marschert ein.
(Fanfare und lustiger Marsch) (Einleitung) (Nur Bläser mit konzertierenden Contrabässen).
2. Was mir der Wald erzählt. (1. Satz.)
3. Was mir die Liebe erzählt. (Adagio.)
4. Was mir die Dämmerung erzählt. (Scherzo) (nur Streicher.)
5. Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen. (Menuetto.)
6. Was mir der Kuckuck erzählt. (Scherzo.)
7. Was mir das Kind erzählt.

A SUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM

1. *Summer Marches In*
(Fanfare and cheerful march) (Introduction) (Winds only, with concertante double basses).
2. *What the Forest Tells Me. (Movement 1.)*
3. *What Love Tells Me. (Adagio.)*
4. *What Twilight Tells Me. (Scherzo) (Strings only)*
5. *What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me. (Minuet.)*
6. *What the Cuckoo Tells Me. (Scherzo.)*
7. *What the Child Tells Me.*

Date: [early June 1895?]

Comment: This draft is most likely based on the same source as that used for A.5. It is unlikely that Mahler would have created a new list simply to add a title and two parenthetical comments.

Source: Mahler, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler*, 65.

A.7. Piano draft of movement 5.

Was mir die Morgenglocken erzählten

What the Morning Bells Told Me

Date: 24 June 1895

Comment: The title appears at the top of a piano draft of movement 5. The past tense of the titular verb suggests that Mahler had not yet settled on the characteristic form of the titles, which are in the present tense in the final version. “Morgenglocken” remained the fifth movement’s title until August, when the first suggestion of “die Engel” appears in a conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner (see A.11).

Source: Lehmann Collection, Pierpont Morgan Library (Albrecht 1147D); discussion and facsimile reproduction in Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination,” 457–61, 625–28.

A.8. Draft orchestral scores of movements 2, 3, 4, 5.

[Mvt. 2] Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen

[Mvt. 3] Was mir die ~~Dämmerung~~ erzählt Thiere im Walde erzählen

[Mvt. 4] Was mir die Nacht erzählt!

[Mvt. 5] Was mir die Morgenglocken erzählen

[Mvt. 2] *What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me*

[Mvt. 3] *What ~~Twilight~~ Tells the Animals in the Forest Tell Me*

[Mvt. 4] *What Night Tells Me!*

[Mvt. 5] *What the Morning Bells Tell Me*

Date: [by 18] August 1895

Comment: The titles are printed on folios wrapped around each manuscript. The four surviving draft orchestral scores were completed in August 1895. Mahler must have changed the third movement’s title from “Dämmerung” to “Thiere” no later than 17 August, for every reference to the movement’s title thereafter reflects this change. Each of the title folios contains multiple movement numbers and crossings-out, betraying the fluctuation in Mahler’s thinking about movement order before articulating a stable version in a letter to Arnold Berliner (A.9).

Source: Mvt. 2: Rosé Manuscript (private collection); mvts. 3–5: Cary Collection, Pierpont Morgan Library (Albrecht 1147C); discussion and facsimile reproduction of title pages in Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination,” 462–70, 490–94, 629–38.

A.9. Letter to Arnold Berliner.

„Die fröhliche Wissenschaft“
Ein Sommermorgentraum.

- I. Der Sommer marschirt ein.
- II. Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen.
- III. Was mir die Tiere im Walde erzählen.
- IV. Was mir die Nacht erzählt.
- V. Was mir die Morgenglocken erzählen.
- VI. Was mir die Liebe erzählt.
- VII. Das himmlische Leben.

“*The Gay Science*”
A Summer Morning’s Dream.

- I. *Summer Marches In.*
- II. *What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me.*
- III. *What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me.*
- IV. *What Night Tells Me.*
- V. *What the Morning Bells Tell Me.*
- VI. *What Love Tells Me.*
- VII. *The Heavenly Life.*

Date: 17 August 1895

Comment: These titles match those on the title folios to the draft orchestral scores and those in the letter to Hermann Behn from the same day (A.8, A.10).

Source: Herta Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 2d ed. (Vienna: Zsolnay: 1996), 149; Knud Martner, ed., *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, trans. Eithne Wilkins, Ernst Kaiser, Bill Hopkins (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979), 163–64.

A.10. Letter to Hermann Behn.

Symphonie Nro III.
„Die fröhliche Wissenschaft“
Ein Sommermorgentraum.

- I. Der Sommer marschirt ein
- II. Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen
- III. Was mir die Thiere im Walde erzählen
- IV. Was mir die Nacht erzählt
- V. Was mir die Morgenglocken erzählen
- VI. Was mir die Liebe erzählt
(nicht die *irdische*, sondern die *ewige*)
- VII. Das himmlische Leben.

Symphony No. III.
“*The Gay Science*”
A Summer Morning’s Dream.

- I. *Summer Marches In*
- II. *What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me*
- III. *What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me*
- IV. *What Night Tells Me*
- V. *What the Morning Bells Tell Me*
- VI. *What Love Tells Me*
(not the worldly, but the eternal)
- VII. *The Heavenly Life.*

Date: 17 August 1895

Comment: These titles are identical to those on the title folios to the draft orchestral scores and to those sent on the same day to Berliner (A.8–9).

Source: Herta Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler: Unbekannte Briefe* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1983), 23–24.

A.11. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

Die Titel der Dritten werden der Reihe nach lauten:

1. Der Sommer marschiert ein.
2. Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen.
3. Was mir die Tiere im Walde erzählen.
4. Was mir die Nacht erzählt (Der Mensch).
5. Was mir die Morgenglocken erzählen (Die Engel).
6. Was mir die Liebe erzählt.
7. Was mir das Kind erzählt.

Und das Ganze werde ich „Meine fröhliche Wissenschaft“ nennen – die ist es auch!

The titles of the Third are called, in order:

1. *Summer Marches In.*
2. *What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me.*
3. *What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me.*
4. *What Night Tells Me (Man).*
5. *What the Morning Bells Tell Me (Angels).*
6. *What Love Tells Me.*
7. *What the Child Tells Me.*

And I will name the whole piece “My Gay Science”—and that’s what it is!

Date: [18–21?] August 1895

Comment: Bauer-Lechner gives “Summer 1895” for this conversation. The letter was most likely written after 17 August, because Bauer-Lechner gives parenthetical alternatives to the titles for the fourth and fifth movements that Mahler did not cite in the letters written on that day (A.9–10), but which he did include in the letter from 29 August (A.12). Since Bauer-Lechner did not accompany Mahler when he left Steinbach no later than 21 August, the conversation must have taken place by this time. Further commentary for this letter appears in appendix B.2.

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 35–36; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 41.

A.12. Letter to Friedrich Löhr.

Symphonie Nro. III.
„DIE FRÖHLICHE WISSENSCHAFT“
Ein Sommermorgentraum

- I. Der Sommer marschiert ein.
- II. Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen.
- III. Was mir die Tiere im Walde erzählen.
- IV. Was mir die Nacht erzählt. (Altsolo).
- V. Was mir die Morgenglocken erzählen. (Frauenchor mit Altsolo).
- VI. Was mir die Liebe erzählt.

- Motto: „Vater sieh an die Wunden mein!
Kein Wesen laß verloren sein“!
(Aus des Knaben Wunderhorn)
- VII. Das himmlische Leben. (Sopransolo, humoristisch).

Symphony No. III.
“THE GAY SCIENCE”
A Summer Morning’s Dream.

- I. *Summer Marches In.*
- II. *What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me.*
- III. *What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me.*
- IV. *What Night Tells Me. (Alto Solo).*
- V. *What the Morning Bells Tell Me. (Women’s Chorus with Alto Solo).*
- VI. *What Love Tells Me.*
Epigraph: “Father, look upon my wounds!
Let no being be lost!”
(From Des Knaben Wunderhorn)
- VII. *The Heavenly Life. (Soprano solo, humorous).*

Date: 29 August 1895

Comment: Mahler printed the titles on a separate sheet of paper. He also paraphrased them in the body of the letter (see appendix B.2), where he included parenthetical alternatives for the fourth and fifth movements, “(der Mensch)” and “(die Engel),” respectively, which reflect the ultimate titles that he settled on at some point before June 1896.

Source: Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 150–51; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 165.

A.13. Letter to Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

Die Titel sind folgende

- I. —? Zug zu Dionysos od. Sommer marschirt ein
- II. Was mir die Blumen auf d. Wiese erzählen.
- III. Was mir die Thiere im Walde erz.
- IV. Was mir die Nacht erzählt (der Mensch)
- V. Was mir die Morgenglocken erz. (die Engel)
- VI. Was mir die Liebe erzählt
Motto: Vater, sieh an die Wunden mein
kein Wesen lass verloren sein
- VII. Was mir das Kind erzählt.

The titles are the following:

- I. —? *Procession to Dionysus or Summer Marches In*
- II. *What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me.*
- III. *What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me.*
- IV. *What Night Tells Me (Man)*
- V. *What the Morning Bells Tell Me. (Angels)*
- VI. *What Love Tells Me*
Epigraph: *Father, look upon my wounds*

Let no being be lost
VII. *What the Child Tells Me.*

Date: 3 September 1895

Comment: This letter documents Mahler's reconsideration of the first movement's title after having completed the rest of the symphony just a few weeks earlier.

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 38.

A.14. Letter to Anna Mildenburg.

Eben bin ich daran fertig zu stellen:

I. Was mir das Felsgebirge erzählt

II. Der Sommer marschiert ein!

Merk Dir das – die Welt wird sich es auch noch merken müssen. Dies sind die beiden ersten Sätze meines Werkes. Hierauf folgen:

III. Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen

III. Was mir die Tiere im Walde erzählen

IV. Was mir der Mensch erzählt

V. Was mir die Engel erzählen

VI. Was mir die Liebe erzählt!

Das ganze heißt wahrscheinlich:

„*Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*

Ein Sommermittagstraum“.

I am just about ready to complete:

I. *What the Craggy Mountains Tell Me*

II. *Summer Marches In!*

Take note of that—the world will have to take note of it, too. These are the two opening movements of my work. After them follow:

III. *What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me*

III. *What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me*

IV. *What Man Tells Me*

V. *What the Angels Tell Me*

VI. *What Love Tells Me!*

The entire piece will probably be called

“The Gay Science

A Summer Midday's Dream.”

Date: [21?] June 1896

Comment: Herta Blaukopf gives this letter, written on a Sunday, the uncertain date of 28 June 1896 because Mahler, in his letter to Mildenburg on 1 July, responds to a question about the symphony's titles. The use of the title “Was mir die Felsgebirge erzählt,” however, suggests that the letter was perhaps written on the previous Sunday, around the time of a conversation with Bauer-Lechner in which he also mentioned the “Felsgebirge” title (A.15, uncertainly dated 22 June). Were the letter from 28 June, then Mahler would have given the introduction two different titles on the same day.

Source: Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 188.

A.15. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

[I]ch hätte den [ersten] Satz auch nennen können: „Was mir das Felsgebirge erzählt“ . . . Der Titel: „Der Sommer marschiert ein“, paßt nicht mehr nach dieser Gestaltung der Dinge im Vorspiel; eher vielleicht „Pans Zug“ – nicht Dionysos-zug!

I could also have called the [first] movement: “What the Craggy Mountains Tell Me” . . . The title “Summer Marches In,” is no longer appropriate after this arrangement of the things in the prelude; rather perhaps “Pan’s Procession”—not Dionysus’s Procession!

Date: 22[–27?] June 1896

Comment: The entry is dated 22 June, but because Bauer-Lechner refers to conversations that took place on different occasions, it is possible that the entry summarizes exchanges spread over many days. One day before the next dated entry, 28 June, is the *terminus ante quem*. A longer extract from this entry is quoted in appendix B.5.

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 56; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 59.

A.16. Musical sketch of movement 1.

~~Pan schläft! V~~

Pan schläft
V

~~Pan sleeps! V~~

Pan sleeps
V

Date: second half of June 1896

Comments: The first inscription and insertion mark appear at the end of a clean sketch of mvt. 1 (mm. 164–223); it was a reminder that the passage should continue with “Pan schläft.” Mahler crossed it out after continuing the sketch in this way on the next page (corresponding to mm. 225–37). The second inscription and insertion come after rough sketches to the same movement (mm. 150–63; 225–39). Solvik makes a persuasive case that the second entry of “Pan schläft,” being with other text at the bottom of the second page, is part of a series of short-hand notes that Mahler made to indicate the formal plan of the music to be inserted following the measures sketched on the page.

Source: Musiksammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB S.m. 22794); discussion and facsimile reproduction in Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination,” 410–18, 598–600.

A.17. Musical sketch of material from movements 1, 2, and 3.

~~Naturlaute~~

V Pan schläft

~~Sounds of nature~~

V Pan sleeps

Date: [second half of June 1896]

Comments: The first inscription is centered above a staff with a sketch of mvt. 1 (mm. 463–71). The insertion mark and second inscription are at the beginning of a sketch for mvt. 1 (mm. 463–71). This manuscript comes from Stanford 631, an earlier leaf of which is discussed in A.1. This leaf is dated “1895” in a hand other than Mahler’s. The leaf begins with sketches for movement two that must have been made in early June 1895. Although usually given the same tentative date of 1895, the rest of the leaf contains sketches and inscriptions for the first movement. These stem more likely from the second half of June 1896 for three reasons. First, the sketches of mm. 463–71 are more advanced than sketches for the same material in ÖNB 22794 (A.16), whose probable date is June 1896. Second, the insertion mark means that, had Mahler really sketched these measures in 1895, then he must have written “Pan sleeps” by that time, too. The first documented association of the Third Symphony with Pan, however, is from 28 June 1896 (appendix B.5). It seems unlikely, then, that Mahler sketched “Pan sleeps” but only began discussing it a year later. Third, when returning to a manuscript, Mahler generally used a different color ink or pencil hue. The sketches of movement two at the top of this leaf are in pencil, whereas the rest of the page, including the sketches of the first movement, is in brownish ink with sharp black emendations. That the sketches originated in the second half of June 1896 cannot be proven beyond all doubt. Yet such a scenario explains better the sequence of sketches for mm. 463–71 and fits better to the chronology for Mahler’s references to Pan.

Source: Stanford University Library (Stanford 631, p. 7); discussion and facsimile reproduction in Solvik, “Culture and the Creative Imagination,” 403–9, 591–97.

A.18. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

Nun habe ich auch den Titel für die Einleitung gefunden: „Pans Erwachen“, worauf folgt: „Der Sommer marschiert ein“.

Now I have also found the title for the introduction: “Pan’s Awakening,” after which comes: “Summer Marches In.”

Date: 28 June 1896

Comment: This is the first time that Mahler mentioned Pan in connection with the introduction to movement one.

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 57; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 60.

A.19. Letter to Bruno Walter.

Die Titel der ersten beiden Sätze, die allerdings eng verbunden sind, lauten I. Pan erwacht attacca 2. der Sommer marschiert ein!

The titles of both opening movements, which, by the way, are closely connected, are I. Pan Awakes attacca 2. Summer Marches In!

Date: 2 July 1896

Comment: This letter is the first documentation of the final version of the title “Pan erwacht.” The letter also indicates that Mahler was at this late date still considering a separate introduction and main movement. A longer extract from this letter appears in Mahler’s commentary from this letter can be found in appendix B.9.

Source: Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 191; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 188–89.

A.20. Letter to Max Marschalk.

Ein Sommermittagstraum.

I. *Abteilung.*

Einleitung: Pan erwacht.

Nr. I: Der Sommer marschiert ein (Bacchuszug).

II. *Abteilung.*

Nr. II: Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen.

Nr. III: Was mir die Tiere im Walde erzählen.

Nr. IV: Was mir der Mensch erzählt.

Nr. V: Was mir die Engel erzählen.

Nr. VI: Was mir die Liebe erzählt.

A Summer Midday’s Dream.

Part I.

Introduction: Pan Awakes.

No. I: Summer Marches In (Bacchic Procession).

Part II.

No. II: What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me.

No. III: What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me.

No. IV: What Man Tells Me.

No. V: What the Angels Tell Me.

No. VI: What Love Tells Me.

Date: 6 August 1896

Comment: This letter is the earliest source of the final version of the symphony’s programmatic titles.

Source: Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 196; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 192–93.

A.21. Autograph fair copy.

Symphonie Nro III in F-Dur

Einleitung: Pan erwacht

folgt sogleich

Nro I: Der Sommer Marschert ein

(„Bachuszug“)

[*Intra-movemental programmatic headings*]

Der Weckruf! [m. 1]

Pan schläft [m. 132]

Der Herold [m. 148]

Das Gesindel! [m. 539]

Die Schlacht beginnt! [m. 583]

Der Süd Sturm! [m. 605]

[*Inscription at end of movement*]

Dem, der da kommen wird!

Denen, die da sein werden!

Nro. 3 [*sic*] / Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen

Nro. 4 [*sic*] / Was mir die Thiere im Walde erzählen

[*Intra-movemental programmatic headings*]

Der Postillion [mm. 256, 482]

Nro. 5 [*sic*] / Was mir der Mensch erzählt

[*Intra-movemental programmatic headings*]

Der Vogel der Nacht! [mm. 32, 102, 132]

(Der Vogel der Nacht!) [m. 71]

Nro. 6 [*sic*] / Was mir die Engel erzählen

Nro. 6 / „Was mir die Liebe erzählt“

[*Inscription at beginning of movement*]

„Vater, sieh an die Wunden mein!

Kein Wesen lass verloren sein!“

Symphony No. III in F Major

Introduction: Pan Awakes

followed immediately by

No. I: Summer Marches In

(“Bacchic Procession”)

[*Intra-movemental programmatic headings*]

The Call to Awaken! [m. 1]

Pan sleeps [m. 132]

The Herald [m. 148]

The Rabble! [m. 539]

The Battle Begins! [m. 583]

The Southerly Storm! [m. 605]

[*Inscription at end of movement*]

To he who will get here!
To those, who will be there

No. 3 [sic] / *What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me.*

No. 4 [sic] / *What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me*

[Intra-movemental programmatic headings]
The Postillion [mm. 256, 482]

No. 5 [sic] / *What Man Tells Me*

[Intra-movemental programmatic headings]
The Bird of the Night! [mm. 32, 102, 132]
(*The Bird of the Night!*) [m. 71]

No. 6 [sic] / *What the Angels Tell Me*

No. 6 / "*What Love Tell Me*"

[Inscription at beginning of movement]
"Father, look upon my wounds!
Let no being be lost!"

Date: 22 November 1896

Comment: Mahler completed the manuscript to the sixth movement on this date.
All other movements were finished earlier in the year.

Source: Autograph fair copy, Pierpont Morgan Library (Albrecht 1147B);
transcription in Peter Franklin, *Mahler: Symphony no. 3* (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 1992), 92–99.

A.22. Draft of program note for première of movement 2.

Symphonie in F-Dur: „Ein Sommermorgentraum“

Einleitung: „Pan erwacht“

Nro 1: „Der Sommer marschiert ein“. (Bachuszug.)

Nro 2: „Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen“. (Menuett)

Hauptthema: mit immer sich reicher entfaltender Variation.

[*musical example: mm. 1–4*]

Im Verlaufe dieses Themas entwickelt sich

[*musical example: mm. 28–31*]

Hernach entwickelt sich ein 2. Thema

[*musical example: mm. 70–73*]

ein 3. Thema

[*musical example: mm. 50–57*]

ein 4. Thema

[*musical example: mm. 179–80*]

folgt

Nro 3: „Was mir die Thier im Walde erzählen“. (Rondeau)

Nro 4: „Was mir der Mensch erzählt“. (Altsolo)

Nro 5: „Was mir die Engel erzählen“. (Frauenchor mit Altsolo.)

Nro 6 (Schlusssatz): „Was mir die Liebe erzählt“. (Adagio)

Vater, sieh an die Wunden mein
Kein Wesen lass verloren sein!

Symphony in F Major: "A Summer Morning's Dream"

Introduction: "Pan awakes"

No. 1: *"Summer Marches In."* (Bacchic Procession.)

No. 2: *"What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me."* (Minuet)

Main theme: with ever more richly unfolding variation.

[musical example: mm. 1–4]

In the course of this theme develops

[musical example: mm. 28–31]

Whereafter develops a 2nd theme

[musical example: mm. 70–73]

a 3rd theme

[musical example: mm. 50–57]

a 4th theme

[musical example: mm. 179–80]

after which follows

No. 3: *"What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me."* (Rondo)

No. 4: *"What Man Tells Me."* (Alto Solo)

No. 5: *"What the Angels Tell Me."* (Women's Chorus with Alto Solo.)

No. 6 (Closing Movement): *"What Love Tells Me."* (Adagio)

Father, look upon my wounds,

Let no being be lost!

Date: [October/November?] 1896

Comment: This hand-written draft varies in minor details from the printed program note (A.23).

Source: Krummacher, *Gustav Mahlers III: Symphonie*, 182; facsimile in Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler: The Wunderhorn Years*, ed. Paul Banks and David Matthews (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 137, 318–20.

A.23. Program note for première of movement 2.

Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen
aus der Symphonie, in F Dur (III) 'Ein Sommermorgen-Traum'

Hauptthema: mit immer sich reicher entfaltender Variation.

[Musical example: mm. 1–4]

Hernach entwickelt sich:

[Musical example: mm. 28–31]

ein 2. Thema:

[Musical example: mm. 70–73]

ein 3. Thema:

[Musical example: mm. 50–57]

Coda:

[Musical example: mm. 179–80]

Die Symphonie besteht aus folgenden 6 Sätzen:

- Einleitung: „Pan erwacht“
 No. 1. „Der Sommer marschiert ein“. (Bachuszug.)
 No. 2. „Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen“. (Menuett.)
 No. 3. „Was mir die Thiere im Walde erzählen“. (Rondeau.)
 No. 4. „Was mir der Mensch erzählt“. (Altsolo.)
 No. 5. „Was mir die Engel erzählen“. (Frauenchor mit Altsolo.)
 No. 6. (Schlusssatz). „Was mir die Liebe erzählt“. (Adagio.)

What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me
from the Symphony in F Major (III) "A Summer Morning's Dream"

Main theme: with ever more richly unfolding variation.

[musical example: mm. 1–4]

After that develops

[musical example: mm. 28–31]

a 2nd theme:

[musical example: mm. 70–73]

a 3rd theme:

[musical example: mm. 50–57]

Coda:

[musical example: mm. 179–80]

The symphony consists of the following 6 movements:

Introduction: "Pan awakes"

No. 1: "Summer Marches In." (Bacchic Procession.)

No. 2: "What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me." (Minuet.)

No. 3: "What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me." (Rondo.)

No. 4: "What Man Tells Me." (Alto Solo.)

No. 5: "What the Angels Tell Me." (Women's Chorus with Alto Solo.)

No. 6 (Closing Movement): "What Love Tells Me." (Adagio.)

Date: 9 November 1896

Comment: The printed program note differs slightly from its hand-written draft copy (A.22).

Source: Franklin, *Mahler*, 24–25.

A.24. Program note for concert with movements 2, 3, 6 [reconstructed].

[*Die Symphonie besteht aus folgenden 6 Sätzen:*]

[*Einleitung: „Pan erwacht“*]

[*No. 1. „Der Sommer marschiert ein“. (Bachuszug.)*]

No. 2. „Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen“. (Menuett.)

No. 3. „Was mir die Thiere im Walde erzählen“. (Rondeau.)

[*No. 4. „Was mir der Mensch erzählt“. (Altsolo.)*]

[*No. 5. „Was mir die Engel erzählen“. (Frauenchor mit Altsolo.)*]

No. 6. (Schlusssatz). „Was mir die Liebe erzählt“. (Adagio.)

Vater, sieh an die Wunden mein

Kein Wesen lass verloren sein!

[*Note to mvmt. 3:*] [D]as ruhige, ungestörte Leben des Waldes vor dem Erscheinen des Menschen. Dann erblicken die Tiere den ersten Menschen und

ahnen, obwohl er ruhig an den Entsetzten vorüberschreitet, künftiges Unheil von seiner Seite.

[The symphony consists of the following six movements:]

[Introduction: "Pan awakes"]

[No. 1: "Summer Marches In." (Bacchic Procession.)]

No. 2: "*What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me.*" (Minuet.)

No. 3: "*What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me.*" (Rondo.)

[No. 4: "What Man Tells Me." (Alto Solo.)]

[No. 5: "What the Angels Tell Me." (Women's Chorus with Alto Solo.)]

No. 6 (Closing Movement): "*What Love Tells Me.*" (Adagio)

Father, look upon my wounds,

Let no being be lost!

[Note to mvt. 3] *The quiet, undisturbed life of the forest before the appearance of man. The animals then see the first man and sense future havoc from his kind, even though he quietly walks past the horrified animals.*

Date: 9 March 1897

Comment: A copy of the program for this concert, conducted by Felix Weingartner in Berlin, has never been published. Above is a reconstruction based on surviving references in the secondary literature. The program was quoted in print first by Ernst Otto Nognagel in 1902.⁴ Paul Moos's review, reprinted in La Grange's biography, reveals that Mahler included the motto to the last movement and the titles for at least those movements that were performed. It seems unlikely that Mahler would have omitted the titles to the unperformed movements; they thus appear here in brackets.

Source: Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler: Volume I* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973), 399–400; Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 3, *Die Symphonien* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985), 94.

⁴ Ernst Otto Nognagel, *Jenseits von Wagner und Liszt: Profile und Perspektiven* (Königsberg: Ostpreußischen Druckerei, 1902), 14.

APPENDIX B

Informal Commentaries on the First Movement of the Third⁵

B.1. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

„Der Sommer zieht ein“ soll das Vorspiel werden. Da brauch ich sogleich ein Regimentsorchester zur Erzielung der derben Wirkung von der Ankunft meines martialischen Gesellen. Es wird wahrhaftig sein, wie wenn die Burgmusik aufmarschierte. Ein Gesindel treibt sich da herum, wie man es sonst nicht zu sehen kriegt. Natürlich geht es nicht ohne Kampf mit dem Gegner, dem Winter, ab; doch er wird keck und leicht über den Haufen geworfen, und der Sommer in seiner Kraft und Übermacht reißt bald die unbestrittene Herrschaft an sich. Dieser Satz, als Einleitung, wird durchaus humoristisch, ja barock gehalten.

“Summer Arrives” should be the prelude. There I’ll need a regimental orchestra straight off to achieve the crude effect of the arrival of my martial wayfarer. It will really be just like the military band on parade. A rabble is hanging around such as one seldom sees otherwise. Of course, it does not come off without a battle against the enemy, winter, who is jauntily and easily overthrown. With its power and superior strength, summer seizes the undisputed power. This movement, as the introduction, will be humorous throughout, even eccentric.

Date: [18–21?] August 1895

Comment: This commentary accompanied a full list of the symphony’s programmatic titles (see appendix A.11).

Source: Herbert Killian, *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen von Natalie Bauer-Lechner*, rev. Knut Martner (Hamburg: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984), 35–36; Peter Franklin, ed., *Recollections of Gustav Mahler by Natalie Bauer-Lechner*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber Music, 1980), 40–41.

B.2. Letter to Friedrich Löhr.

Die Betonung meines *persönlichen* Empfindungslebens (als, was die Dinge *mir* erzählen) entspricht dem eigenartigen Gedankeninhalt. II-V *inkl.* soll die *Stufenreihe* der Wesen ausdrücken ... Nro. I D[er] Sommer marschiert ein, soll den humoristisch-subjektiven Inhalt andeuten. Der Sommer als Sieger gedacht, - - inmitten alles dessen, was da *wächst und blüht, kreucht und fleucht, wähnt und sehnt* und schließlich, *was wir ahnen.* (Engel – Glocken – transzendental). – Über alles hin webt in uns die *ewige Liebe* – wie die Strahlen in einem Brennpunkte zusammenfließen. Verstehst Du nun?

⁵ The original German is given first, and the translation appears directly underneath in smaller italics. All translations are my own.

The emphasis on my personal emotional life (as in, what the things tell me) corresponds to the peculiar conceptual content. II–V together should express the stepwise order of being ... No. 1, Summer Marches In, should convey the humoristic-subjective content. Summer [is] conceived as the victor—in the middle of all that grows and blossoms, crawls and soars, imagines and yearns and, finally, what we sense. (Angels—Bells—transcendental). Above all else, eternal love weaves in us—like rays of light flowing together to a focal point. Do you understand now?

Date: 29 August 1895

Comment: The letter contained a sheet of extra sheet of paper with the titles printed in full (see appendix A.12).

Source: Herta Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 2d ed. (Vienna: Zsolnay: 1996), 150; Knud Martner, ed., *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, trans. Eithne Wilkins, Ernst Kaiser, Bill Hopkins (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979), 164–65.

B.3. Conversation with Josef Bohuslav Foerster.

Ich sehe vor mir, wie [Mahler] mir den gewaltigen Plan seines symphonischen Bauwerks auseinandersetzt. „Sieghaftes Erscheinen des Helios, das Frühlingswunder vollzieht sich“ [im ersten Satz].

I can still see, how [Mahler] explained to me the imposing plan of his symphonic structure. “Victorious appearance of Helios, the wonder of spring takes place.”

Date: [September 1895 – May 1896?]

Comment: Foerster records no date. The conversation must have taken place after Mahler’s programmatic conception had crystallized in August 1895. Foerster reveals later in the passage that Mahler had not yet come upon the idea of “Pan erwacht” for the first movement, which means that the conversation must have taken place by June 1896. Since Foerster, a friend of Mahler’s in Hamburg, did not visit Mahler that summer, the conversation most likely occurred before Mahler left for his vacation.

Source: Josef Bohuslav Foerster, *Der Pilger: Erinnerung eines Musikers*, trans. Pavel Eisner (Prague: Artia, 1955), 456–57.

B.4. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

Aber wenn Mahler sich auch über den Mangel an geistigem Frei- und Frischsein beklagte, sagte er mir doch wieder: „Wer weiß, wozu es gut ist! Vielleicht ist das gerade die der Starrheit des ersten Satzes angemessene Stimmung. Wenn es nach mir gegangen wäre, hätte ich jetzt gleich einen ganzen blühenden und leben[s]strotzenden Sommer geschaffen, der hier offenbar gar nicht in der Intention des Werkes liegt und mir alle folgenden Sätze um ihre Wirkung gebracht und den Aufbau des Ganzen gestört hätte. So wollen wir die Widerwärtigkeiten schon ertragen und uns einer geheimnisvollen Schickung und Fügung überlassen, deren Macht mir immer deutlicher wird in meinem Leben, je weiter ich es überblicke“.

But when Mahler also complained about the absence of intellectual freedom and vitality, he said to me yet again: "Who knows, what it's good for! Perhaps that is precisely the mood appropriate to the rigidity of the first movement. If it had been up to me, I would have just created the entire summer, blooming and full of life, which apparently does not lie at all in the intention of the work; it would have robbed all subsequent movements of their effect and destroyed the structure of the whole. So let us put up with the intractable and surrender ourselves to a mysterious stroke of fate, whose power in my life becomes ever clearer to me, the longer I ponder it.

Date: [14–20?] June 1896

Comment: Contrary to her habit, Bauer-Lechner did not indicate the date of this conversation. The range given here is determined by her arrival in Steinbach (14 June) and the first dated entry of that summer (21 June).

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 54.

B.5. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

Auch die Einleitung zum ersten Satz der Dritten entwarf er und erzählte mir davon: „Das ist schon beinahe keine Musik mehr, das sind fast nur Naturlaute. Und schaurig ist, wie sich aus der unbeseelten, starren Materie heraus - ich hätte den Satz auch nennen können: ‚Was mir das Felsgebirge erzählt‘ - allmählich das Leben losringt . . . Über der Einleitung zu diesem Satz liegt wieder jene Stimmung der brütenden Sommermittagsglut, in der kein Hauch sich regt, alles Leben angehalten ist, die sonnetränkten Lüfte zittern und flimmern. Ich hör' es im geistigen Ohr tönen, aber wie die leiblichen Töne dafür finden? Dazwischen jammert, um Erlösung ringend, der Jüngling, das gefesselte Leben, aus dem Abgrund der noch leblos-starren Natur (wie in Hölderlins ‚Rhein‘), bis er zum Durchbruch und Siege kommt – im ersten Satz, der attacca auf die Einleitung folgt.

Der Titel: ‚Der Sommer marschiert ein‘, paßt nicht mehr nach dieser Gestaltung der Dinge im Vorspiel; eher vielleicht ‚Pans Zug‘ – nicht Dionysoszug! Es ist keine dionysische Stimmung, vielmehr treiben sich Satyren und derlei derbe Naturgesellen herum“.

Ein andermal sagte mir Mahler im Gespräch über die Symphonie: „Aus den großen Zusammenhängen zwischen den einzelnen Sätzen, von denen mir anfangs träumte, ist nichts geworden; jeder steht als ein abgeschlossenes und eigentümliches Ganzes für sich da: keine Wiederholungen und Reminiszenzen. Nur auf den Schluß der ‚Thiere‘ fällt noch einmal der schwere Schatten der leblosen Natur, der noch unkristallisierten, unorganischen Materie. Doch bedeutet er hier mehr einen Rückfall in die tieferen tierischen Formen der Wesenheit, ehe sie den gewaltigen Sprung zum Geiste in dem höchsten Erdenwesen, dem Menschen, tut. Ein anderer Zusammenhang, der aber von den Hörern kaum bemerkt werden wird, ist zwischen dem ersten und dem letzten Satze, was dort dumpf und starr, ist hier zum höchsten Bewußtsein [sic] gediehen, die unartikulierten Laute zur höchsten Artikulation geworden“.

He also sketched the introduction to the first movement of the Third and told me about it: "It almost ceases to be music, but only sounds of nature. It is eerie how life gradually wrests itself free from the inanimate, rigid matter—I could have named the movement 'What the Craggy Mountains Tell Me'—life gradually wrestles free . . . Again, the atmosphere of a stifling heat on

a summer midday hangs over the introduction to this movement. Not a breath stirs. All life is suspended. The sun-soaked air shimmers and flickers. I hear it in my mental ear, but how to find the physical tones? In between, the youth, life in chains, cries out, wrestles for redemption from the abyss of nature, still lifeless and rigid (as in Hölderlins "Rhein"), until he reaches a breakthrough and victory—in the first movement, which follows the introduction attacca.

The title 'Summer Marches In,' is no longer appropriate after this arrangement of things in the prelude; rather perhaps 'Pan's Procession'—not Dionysus's Procession! It is not a Dionysian mood; instead, satyrs and such coarse wayfarers of nature mill about."

On another occasion, Mahler said to me in a conversation about the symphony: "Nothing came of the prominent connections between the individual movements, of which I initially dreamt. Each stands there on its own, an enclosed and peculiar whole: no repetitions or reminiscences. Only lifeless nature—matter as yet uncrystallized, inorganic—casts its heavy shadow once more on the close of the 'Animals.' Yet here it means more a relapse to the lower, animal forms of life, before they make the huge leap to the intellect in the highest earthly being, man. Another connection, which can hardly be noticed by the listeners, is between the first and the last movements; what is dull and rigid in the former has progressed in the latter to the highest consciousness, turning unarticulated sounds into the highest articulation."

Date: 22[–27?] June 1896

Comment: The entry is dated 22 June, but because Bauer-Lechner refers to conversations that took place on different occasions, it is possible that the entry summarizes exchanges spread over many days. One day before the next dated entry, 28 June, is the *terminus ante quem*.

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 56; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 59.

B.6. Letter to Anna Mildenburg.

Eben bin ich daran fertig zu stellen:

- I. Was mir das Felsgebirge erzählt
- II. Der Sommer marschier ein!

Merk Dir das – die Welt wird sich es auch noch merken müssen. Dies sind die beiden ersten Sätze meines Werkes.

I am just about ready to complete:

- I. *What the Craggy Mountains Tell Me*
- II. *Summer Marches In!*

Take note of that—the world will have to take note of it, too. These are the two opening movements of my work.

Date: [21 or 28?] June 1896

Comment: See comment to appendix A.14.

Source: Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 188.

B.7. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

Nun habe ich auch den Titel für die Einleitung gefunden: „Pans Erwachen“, worauf folgt: ‚Der Sommer marschier ein‘. Nein, was daraus noch werden wird? Es ist das Tollste, was ich je geschrieben habe!

Now I have also found the title for the introduction: "Pan's Awakening," after which comes "Summer Marches In." Now, what will become of it? It is the wildest thing that I have ever written!

Date: 28 June 1896

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 57; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 60.

B.8. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

Über die Schwierigkeit, ohne den Inhalt von Worten zu komponieren, von der Richard Wagner spricht, wo es heißt, sich gewissermaßen ‚alles aus dem Finger saugen‘, sagte Mahler im Hinblick auf seine Dritte: „Ich kann mir alles das, was an dem Text fehlt, nur durch eine ungeheuer intensive, mit der ganzen Phantasie erfaßte innere Anschauung des Gegenstandes einigermaßen ersetzen. Beim ‚Sommer‘ erfüllte mich dermaßen lebendig sein Blühen und Duften, seine Laute und Farben und sein ganzes Leben, daß ich es wie persönlich empfand und sein Haupt und sein Antlitz zu sehen meinte“.

About the difficulty of composing without verbal content, which Richard Wagner likened to "sucking everything out of one's finger," Mahler said, with reference to his Third: "The only way that I can even partially compensate for the absence of a text is through a tremendously intense, inner contemplation of the object, which I seize with the entire imagination. With 'Summer,' its blossoming and fragrance, its sounds and colors and its entire life absorbed me so completely, that I experienced it as a person and thought I saw its head and visage."

Date: 1 July 1896

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 58.

B.9. Letter to Bruno Walter.

Ich glaube, die Herren Rezensenten engagierter und nicht engagierter Art werden wieder einige Anwendungen von Drehkrankheit bekommen, dagegen werden Freunde eines gesunden Späßes die Spaziergänge, die ich ihnen da bereite, sehr amüsanter finden. Das Ganze ist leider wieder von dem schon so übel beleumdeten Geiste meines Humors angekränkelt, und finden sich auch oft Gelegenheiten, meiner Neigung zu wüstem Lärm nachzugehen. Manchmal spielen die Musikanten auch, ohne einer auf den andern die geringste Rücksicht zu nehmen und zeigt sich da meine ganze wüste und brutale Natur in ihrer nackten Gestalt. Daß es bei mir nicht ohne Trivialitäten abgehen kann, ist zur Genüge bekannt. Diesmal übersteigt es allerdings alle erlaubten Grenzen. Man glaubt manchmal, sich in einer Schänke oder in einem Stall zu befinden. . . . Die Titel der ersten beiden Sätze, die allerdings eng verbunden sind, lauten I. Pan erwacht attacca 2. der Sommer marschiert ein!

I believe that the Messieurs Reviewers, the committed sort as well as the uncommitted, will again get a few fits of the staggers. On the other hand, friends of some good old fun will find the strolls that I prepare for them very amusing. The whole piece is unfortunately afflicted again by the spirit of my humor, which already has such a bad reputation, and opportunities often arise for me

to indulge my penchant for chaotic noise. Sometimes the street musicians play, too, without the one showing the slightest consideration for the others. My entirely chaotic and brutal nature appears in their unvarnished form. That I can't do without trivialities is only too well known. This time, however, it exceeds all permitted limits. One thinks sometimes that one is in a tavern or soldier's quarters. . . . The titles of the first two movements, which are, by the way, closely connected, are I. Pan Awakes attacca 2. Summer Marches In!

Date: 2 July 1896

Source: Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 191; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 189. For more on this passage, see ch. 5, pp. 229, fn. 53.

B.10. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

Es ist furchtbar, wie dieser Satz mir über alles, was ich je gemacht habe, hinauswächst, daß mir die Zweite als ein Kind dagegen erscheint. Das ist weit, weit über Lebensgröße, und alles Menschliche schrumpft wie ein Pygmäenreich dagegen zusammen. Wahres Entsetzen faßt mich an, wenn ich sehe, wohin das führt, welcher Weg der Musik vorbehalten ist, und daß mir das schreckliche Amt geworden, Träger dieses Riesenwerkes zu sein. . . . Denn wirklich, zu weit von allem Gewesenen entfernt sich dies, das kaum mehr Musik zu nennen, sondern nur ein mystischer, ungeheurer Naturlaut ist. . . . Ich werde den ersten Satz als erste Abteilung bringen und darnach eine lange Pause machen. Das ganze will ich aber nun doch „Pan, Symphonische Dichtungen“ nennen. . . . Rasend wälzt sich's im ersten Satz heran gleich dem Süd Sturm, der in diesen Tagen hier fegt und der – ich bin des sicher – alle Fruchtbarkeit in seinem Schoße trägt, da er aus fernen fruchtbar-heißen Ländern kommt – anders als der uns Menschen erwünschte Ostwind-Fächler. In einem forttreibenden Marschtempo braust es immer näher und näher, lauter und lauter, lawinengleich anschwellend, bis sich das ganze Getöse und der ganze Jubel über dich ergießt.

It is frightful, how this movement outgrows everything that I have ever made, such that the Second [Symphony] appears to me by comparison as a child. It is far, far beyond life-size and all things human are dwarfed like a pygmy realm in comparison. Genuine horror seizes me when I see where this is leading, which path is reserved for the music, and that the terrifying duty of bearing this gigantic work falls to me. . . . Truly, it distinguishes itself so much from all that has ever been created that it can hardly be called music, but is only a mystical, tremendous sound of nature. . . . I will make the first movement the first part and then have a long pause. Now I really do want to call the whole piece “Pan, Symphonic Poems.” . . . In the first movement it tosses about violently like the southerly storm that is currently sweeping through here and which—of this I am certain—carries all fertility in its lap, because it comes from the distant, fertile, warm lands—in contrast to the fanning, easterly wind that humans prefer. In a tumultuous march tempo it roars ever closer, ever louder, growing louder like an avalanche until the full din and all the jubilation pours over you.

Date: 4 July 1896

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 59–60; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 63–64.

B.11. Letter to Anna Mildenburg.

Der Sommer marschirt ein; da klingt es und singt es, wie Du Dir es nicht vorstellen kannst! Von allen Seiten sprießt es auf. Und dazwischen wieder so unendlich geheimnisvoll und schmerzvoll – wie die *leblose* Natur, die in dumpfer Regungslosigkeit dem kommenden Leben entgegenharret. – Es läßt sich das nicht in Worten ausdrücken!

Summer marches in, ringing and singing like you cannot even imagine! It springs up from all sides. Then in between it is again so endlessly secretive and painful—like lifeless Nature awaiting the approach of life in utter stillness. It just cannot be put into words!

Date: 6 July 1896

Source: Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 192; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 189.

B.12. Letter to Anna Mildenburg.

Als Dein Brief ankam, hatte ich einen seltsamen Spaß. Ich sah, wie gewöhnlich auf den Poststempel und bemerkte diesmal statt, wie sonst, Malborghet nur P.A.N. (dahinter stand noch 30, was ich aber nicht sah.[]) – Nun such ich schon seit Wochen nach einem Gesamttitel für mein Werk und bin endlich auf: „*Pan*“ verfallen, welcher wie Du ja wissen wirst eine altgriechische Gottheit, die später zum Inbegriff des „Alls“ geworden (Pan – griechisch alles). Nun kannst Du dir denken, welche Überraschung mir diese 3 zunächst unverständlichen Buchstaben bereitet, die ich nachträglich endlich als Post Amt Numero 30 entzifferte. – Ist das nicht eigen?

I had a strange delight when your letter arrived. I looked as always at the postmark and saw, instead of Malborghet as usual, only P.A.N. (after which came 30, which I did not see). For weeks now I have been searching for a title for my work and finally hit upon “Pan,” which, as you certainly know, was an ancient Greek divinity that later became the epitome of the “universe” (Pan = Greek for “everything”). You can imagine my surprise at these 3, initially incomprehensible letters, which I deciphered only later as Post Office [Amt] Number 30. Isn't that strange?

Date: 9 July 1896

Source: Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 192–93; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 189–90.

B.13. Letter to Hermann Behn.

Über den [ersten] Satz selbst unterlasse ich es, etwas zu sagen; Du kennst meine Abneigung, Musik zu beschreiben, und ich hoffe, daß Du ihn, und seine Geschwister [Dir] im nächsten Winter zu Gemüthe führen wirst. Er führt den Titel: *Der Sommer marschirt ein*, und dauert ungefähr 45 Minuten! Darnach kannst Du urtheilen, welchen Inhalt er hat und ist [sic] so ziemlich das Keckste, was ich bis jetzt concipirt.

I refrain from saying anything about the [first] movement itself; you know my aversion to describing music, and I hope that you will treat yourself to it and its siblings next winter. It has the title "Summer Marches In" and lasts about 45 minutes! After that, you can judge what it is about and [it] is pretty much the cheekiest, that I ever conceived.

Date: 11 July 1896

Source: Blaukopf, ed., *Unbekannte Briefe*, 28.

B.14. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

Mahler hatte nur noch 16 Takte, dann war er fertig!

Im Plaudern darüber sagte er: „Zu meiner Verwunderung und Freude zugleich sehe ich nun: es ist in diesem Satz, wie in dem Ganzen Werk, doch wieder dasselbe Gerüst, der gleiche Grundbau – ohne daß ich es gewollt oder daran gedacht hätte –, wie sie bei Mozart und, nur erweitert und erhöht, bei Beethoven sich finden, vom alten Haydn aber eigentlich geschaffen worden sind. Es müssen ihnen doch tiefe, ewige Gesetze innewohnen, an denen Beethoven festhielt und die ich bei mir als eine Art Bestätigung wiederfinde: Adagio, Rondo, Menuett, Allegro und innerhalb dessen der alte Bau, die bekannten Perioden. Nur daß in meinem Werk die Reihenfolge der Sätze eine andere, die Mannigfaltigkeit und Komplikation innerhalb der Sätze eine größere ist“.

Und Nachmittag erzählte er mir wieder über seinen ersten Satz: „Die Beweglichkeit und Wechselhaftigkeit der Motive darin ist dem spielenden Wasser einer Stromschnelle vergleichbar, wo in jedem Augenblick die Millionen Tropfen andere sind. Das rast in einem ununterbrochenen Wirbel dahin, kaum die Erde berührend, immer höher sich erhebend und zum Himmel aufschäumend, nur durch den Widerstand, den die starre Materie in Stein und Felsgeröll des Strombettes entgegensetzt, hie und da plötzlich auf- und angehalten. . . . Wenn mir nur heute nicht noch etwas zustößt“, sagte er: „denn die 16 Takte, den Riesentusch, den ich dem Pan in meinem Bacchuszug von dem ganzen wilden Gesindel ausbringen lasse, könnte kein Mensch statt meiner zu Ende führen“.

Mahler had only 16 measures left. Then he was done!

While chatting about it, Mahler said: "I now see, with a mixture of astonishment and joy, that this movement, like the entire symphony, has the same scaffolding and construction—without my intending or even thinking about it—as found in Mozart and, expanded and exalted, in Beethoven, but which were actually created by the venerable Haydn. Deep, eternal laws must abide in them, to which Beethoven held fast and which I discover in my work as a kind of confirmation: Adagio, Rondo, Minuet, Allegro and within these the long-standing structure, the familiar periods. But in my work the sequence of the movements is different, and the diversity and complexity within the movements greater."

That afternoon he told me again about his first movement: "The agility and mutability of its motives can be likened to the effortless motions of water in a brisk current: in each moment the millions of drops are replenished anew. It surges forward in a continuous whirl, hardly touching the earth, lifting itself ever higher, its foam reaching toward heaven. It is opposed only by the resistance of the rigid matter in the stones and rocks of the riverbed, which hold it up suddenly here and there. . . . Would that nothing further happens to me today," he said, "because

no one but I could complete the 16 bars, the giant fanfare that I let Pan bring forth in my bacchic procession of the rowdy rabble.”

Date: 27 July 1896

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 65; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 66.

B.15. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

Indessen war es Mahler gelungen, heute den Anfang des ersten Satzes so zu verändern, wie er ihn an der Spitze dieses monumentalen Eingangs brauchte. „Und zwar mußte ich da einfach wie ein Baumeister vorgehen, der die Formen seines Gebäudes in die richtigen Verhältnisse zueinander setzt. Indem ich nämlich die Zahl der Anfangstakte verdoppelte (das heißt durch ein Adagio-Tempo um die Hälfte verlangsamte), hat dieser Teil nun die Schwere und Länge, die unerlässlich war“.

Meanwhile, Mahler managed today to alter the beginning of the first movement to match what he needed at the head of this monumental opening. “Indeed, I had to proceed like a master builder who places the elements of his building in the proper relationships to one another. By doubling the number of opening measures (that is, using an adagio tempo to make it twice as slow), I conferred on this passage the gravity and length that it must absolutely have.”

Date: 30 July 1896

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 66; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 67.

B.16. Conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

Die Art, wie er seinen Schöpfungen nachträglich auf die Spur zu kommen suchte, gab ihm bald dieses, bald jenes Bild dafür ein. „Es ist Zeus, der den Kronos stürzt, die höhere Form, welche die niedrigere überwindet, was in diesem Satz zum Ausdruck kommt“, sagte er mir diesmal darüber. „Immer mehr sehe ich, wie sehr die ungeheure Naturauffassung der Griechen ihm zugrunde liegt“.

The way that he tried to understand his creations after the fact inspired different ideas at different times. “This movement gives expression to Zeus, who toppled Cronus, the higher form, which overcomes the lower,” he said about it this time. “I see ever more clearly to what extent the Greeks’ vast conception of nature underlies it.”

Date: September/October 1896

Source: Killian, ed., *Erinnerungen*, 76; Franklin, ed., *Recollections*, 76.

B.17. Conversation with Josef Bohuslav Foerster.

Nach dem zu ungewöhnlicher Breite ausgesponnenen [1.] Satz wollte der Komponist erzählen, wie alles Erschaffene auf ihn einwirkt. „Zuerst sprechen die Steine, dann die Blumen, die Tiere, der Mensch, die Engel und zuletzt Gott der Schöpfer“.

After the [first] movement, which developed to unusual breadth, the composer wanted to explain how all of creation has an effect on him. "The rocks speak at first, then the flowers, the animals, man, the angels, and finally god the creator."

Date: [September – November 1896?]

Comment: Foerster implies that this conversation took place before the summer vacation of 1895. His memory is certainly faulty. Apart from a few sketches, Mahler composed the first movement in the summer of 1896. Since the conversation took place in Hamburg, it was most likely during the fall of 1896, as Mahler was preparing the fair copies of mvts. 1 and 6.

Source: Foerster, *Pilger*, 457.

B.18. Letter to Ludwig Schieder mair

Sie haben da ziemlich fehlgegriffen, soweit ich aus Ihren kurzen Bemerkungen schließen kann. Die III. hat mit dem Ringen einer Individualität nichts zu tun. Eher könnte man sagen: es ist der Entwicklungsweg der Natur (von der starren Materie bis zur höchsten Artikulation!, aber vor allem Naturleben!).

Dionysos – die treibende, schaffende Kraft. – Bezeichnend sind die Titel, die ich ursprünglich dem Werke beigegeben habe, die aber so unzulänglich sind und so sehr mißverstanden worden sind, daß ich sie wieder weggelassen habe.

You pretty much missed the point, insofar as I can conclude from your short observations. The Third has nothing to do with the wrestling of an individuality. One could rather say: it is nature's course of development (from rigid matter to the highest articulation!, but above all the life of nature!).

Dionysus—the driving, creative force. The titles that I originally gave the work are characteristic but are so inadequate and were so misunderstood that I omitted them again.

Date: [1900 or early 1901?]

Source: Mathias Hansen, *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 2d ed. (Leipzig: Reclam, 1985), 246.

B.19. Letter to Josef Krug-Waldsee

Diese Titel, die Nodnagel angegeben hat (sie sind richtig bis auf den ersten der so lautet: Einleitung zum I. Satz: Pan erwacht, der Sommer marschiert ein [Bacchuszug]) werden Ihnen nach Kenntnis der Partitur gewiß manches zu sagen wissen. Sie werden auch aus ihnen eine Andeutung schöpfen, wie ich mir die stetig sich steigernde Artikulation der Empfindung vorgestellt habe, vom dumpfen starren, bloß elementaren Sein (der Naturgewalten) bis zum zarten Gebilde des menschlichen Herzens, welches wiederum über dieses hinaus (zu Gott) weist und reicht.

These titles, which Nodnagel passed along (they are correct except for the first one, which is: Introduction to Movement I: Pan Awakes, Summer Marches In [Bacchic Procession]), will certainly be revealing to you after studying the score. You [may] create from them an interpretation akin to my idea of the continually heightening articulation of feeling, from the dull,

rigid, merely elemental Being (of the forces of nature) to the tender objects of the human heart, which in turn points and extends beyond this (to god).

Date: summer 1902

Source: Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 297–98; Martner, ed., *Selected Letters*, 266–67.

APPENDIX C

Operettas conducted by Mahler⁶

I.	II.	III.	IV.
Brandl, Johann	<i>Des Löwen Erwachen</i> (1872)	Bad Hall 1	130 (#66)
Genée, Richard	<i>Der Seekadett</i> (1876)	Laibach 2	191 (#55)
Lecocq, Charles	<i>La Fille de Madame Angot</i> (1873)	Laibach 1	263 (#47)
Lecocq, Charles	<i>Giroflé-Girofla</i> (1874)	Laibach 2	411 (#34)
Millöcker, Carl	<i>Der Bettelstudent</i> (1882)	Hamburg 11	4,940 (#4)
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Barbe-bleue</i> (1866)	Laibach 1	148 (#64)
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>La Belle Hélène</i> (1864)	Laibach 1	1,474 (#15)
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Le Mariage aux lanternes</i> (1857)	Bad Hall 2; Kassel 2	524 (#28)
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>La Vie parisienne</i> (1866)	Laibach 2	252 (#49)
Planquette, Robert	<i>Les Cloches de Corneville</i> (1877)	Laibach 3	1,025 (#20)
Strauss, Jr., Johann	<i>Cagliostro in Wien</i> (1875)	Laibach 2	[no data]
Strauss, Jr., Johann	<i>Die Fledermaus</i> (1874)	Laibach 2, Hamburg 21, Vienna 1	11,962 (#1)
Strauss, Jr., Johann	<i>Der lustige Krieg</i> (1881)	Laibach 11	563 (#27)
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Boccaccio</i> (1879)	Laibach 5; Iglau 1	2,133 (#9)
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Donna Juanita</i> (1880)	Laibach 7	156 (#61)
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Fatinitza</i> (1876)	Laibach 2	1,215 (#18)
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Flotte Bursche</i> (1863)	Laibach 1	522 (#29)

- I. Composer
- II. Title (in original language) and year of premiere
- III. Location and number of performances Mahler conducted
- IV. Number of performances on German-language stages in 1896–1921 and ranking compared to other operettas with premieres between 1855 and 1900.

⁶ Excluded from the table is one operetta, Karl Kuntze's *Das Kaffeekränzchen* or *Der Kaffeeklatsch*, which Mahler rehearsed in Iglau (La Grange, *Mahler*, 1:107). Kuntze's "operetta" was written for small vocal ensemble and piano accompaniment and was intended for performance at *Liedertafel*. Hence, it does not fit into the tradition of staged works with orchestral accompaniment represented by the operettas listed above. Since no comprehensive account of the repertoire at Bad Hall survives, the only pieces that Mahler is known to have conducted there are those for which advertising posters survive (Katharina Ulbrich, Mathilde Kubizek, and Erich Wolfgang Partsch, "Mahler in Bad Hall: Eine Dokumentation," *Nachrichten zur Mahler-Forschung* 50 [spring 2004]: 48–49). Four operettas by Offenbach fell under Mahler's responsibility in Kassel, but no evidence confirms that he actually conducted them (Hans Joachim Schaeffer, ed., *Kassel trifft sich – Kassel erinnert sich: Gustav Mahler* [Kassel: Stadtparkasse Kassel, 1990], 38–39, 112–13). The remaining sources for columns 1–3 are: Primro□ Kuret, *Mahler in Laibach: Ljubljana, 1881–1882* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2001), 99; La Grange, *Mahler*, 1:87; Bernd Schabbing, *Gustav Mahler als Konzert- und Operndirigent in Hamburg* (Berlin: Verlag Ernst Kuhn, 2002), 309; La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 3:942. The data for column 4 is drawn from Otto Keller, *Die Operette in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung: Musik, Libretto, Darstellung* (Leipzig: Stein Verlag, 1926), 294, 420–22. The absolute number of performances was actually significantly higher; only relatively few theaters reported their repertoire to the *Deutsche Bühnen-Spielplan*, Keller's source for the figures. The relative ranking of the operettas, however, should be accurate. Keller's omission of *Cagliostro in Wien* seems to have been an oversight.

APPENDIX D

Musical Examples for Chapter 2

Example 2.1. Mahler, Symphony no. 1, mvt. 3

38 *Ziemlich langsam*
(rit.) *a tempo*
p subito

Oboes *pp* aber ausdrucksvoll

Horns 1, 2 in F *pp* ausdrucksvoll

Trumpets in F *pp*

Violin I *pizz.* *p*

Violin II *pizz.* *p*

Viola *pizz.* *p*

Violoncello *pizz.* *p*

Contrabass *pizz.* *p*

45 *Mit Parodie*
Nicht schleppen

Flutes *gut hervortretend* *mf*

Clarinets in E♭ *mf* *pp*

Bassoons *mf*

Trumpets in F *pp* *pp* *pp*

Turkish Cymbals *pp*

Bass Drum *pp*

Violin I *col legno* *p* *espr. arco* *gesth.* *p*

Violin II *col legno* *p*

Viola *col legno* *p*

Violoncello *col legno* *p*

Contrabass *immer pizz.* *p*

*) Die Becken sind an dieser Stelle an der grossen Trommel anzuhängen und Becken- und Trommelstimme sind von einem und demselben Musiker zu schlagen.

Example 2.2. Johann Strauss, Jr., *Der Zigeunerbaron*, overture

a. mm. 54–79

54 **Andantino**

54-60: *strgs. pizz.*, *ob.*, *cls.*

61-66: *strgs. arco*, *cl.* 3, *ob.*, *hms pp*, *poco rit.*, *a tempo*, *strgs. pizz.*, *bsn.*

67-72: *ob.*, *cl.*, *strgs. pizz.*

b. mm. 98–106

98 **[Andantino]** **Allegro moderato** *marcato*

98-100: *pp*, *più rit.*

101-102: *molto rit.*, *P*

103-106: *a tempo*

Example 2.3. Johann Strauss, Jr., *Der Zigeunerbaron*, no. 4, Mirabella's couplets

13 [Allegretto moderato]

man-se - to - le Lei che trug, Nach ei-nem Ritt von vier-zig Mei - len er-reich - ten

strgs. pizz. *Tutti* *trpts., fls. cls., vln.* *strgs. arco, hms., tbrns.* *f* *P* *pp*

snare drum
bass drum
with cymbals

20 *poco rit.* *molto rit.* *a tempo*

mir des Fein-des Land, ich war, Ge - fabr mit dir zu tei - len, ver - klei-det als dein Ad - ju - tant!

cl., vln. *poco rit.* *strgs., bsns.* *molto rit.* *a tempo*

Example 2.4. Franz von Suppé, *Fatinitza*, no. 14, melodrama

Moderato

ob. *pp strgs.*

8

Example 2.5. Jacques Offenbach, *Barbe-bleue*, no. 8, Legend of Bluebeard

6 [Très modéré.]

Ces fem - mes, qu'aus - si - tôt des morts ac - ci - den - tel - les Ar - rach - ent de mes

low winds

p + strings

10 *bras,* *(presque pleurant.)* *(très gai.)*
Ar rach - ent de mes bras? Ma pre-

14 **Allegro.**
miè - re femme est mor - te Et, que - le dia - ble m'em - por - te! Si j'ai ja - mais su com - ment.

vln. *p* *fl.*
strings

Example 2.6. Johann Strauss, Jr., *Die Fledermaus*, no. 4, trio

[Moderato espressivo]

17 *mf* *rit.* *rit.* *a tempo*

Wem soll ich mein Leid kla-gen? O Gott, wie rührt mich dies! Ich wer-de Dein ge-den-ken des Mor-gens beim Kaf-fee, wenn ich Dir

23 *cresc.* *mf*

ein will schen-ken, die lee-re Tas-se seh; kann kei-nen Gruss Dir win-ken, aus Jam-mer werd' ich g'wiss ihn schwarz und bit-ter

28 *fz* *(schluchzend)* *fz* *p*

trin-ken, ach! O Gott, wie rührt mich
O Gott, wie rührt mich
Gott, wie rührt mich dies! O Gott, wie rührt mich

32 **Allegro moderato** *pp*

dies! O je, o je, wie rührt mich dies, o je, o je, wie rührt mich dies, o
dies! O je, o je, wie rührt mich dies, o je, o je, wie rührt mich dies, o
dies! O je, o je, wie rührt mich dies, o je, o je, wie rührt mich dies, o

APPENDIX E

Tables and Musical Examples for Chapter 3

Table 3.1. Melodic similarities to folksongs⁷

Folksong	Measure numbers in Mahler's score and corresponding motive from folksong
Alle Vögel sind schon da	285–88
Es kann mich nichts Schöneres erfreuen	a: 259–61; b: 270–71, 285–88; c: 266–67
Es ritten drei Reiter zum Thore hinaus	269–71
Es zogen drei Burschen wohl über den Rhein	264–67, 292–94, 322–27, 487–93, 497–99
Freut euch des Lebens	a: 265–67, 292–96, 323–27, 487–93, 497–501; b: 270–71
Hulán [a Bohemian folk dance]	285–88
Ich ging durch einen grasgrünen Wald	257–59
Wie lieblich schallt durch Busch und Wald	269–71

Example 3.1. Melodic similarities to folksongs

“Alle Vögel sind schon da”⁸

5

Welch ein Sin-gen, Mu-si-zieren, Pfei-fen, Zwitsch-ern, Ti-ri-liern!

⁷ References to these folksongs can be found in Heinrich Schmidt, *Formprobleme und Entwicklungslinien in Gustav Mahlers Symphonien* (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1929), 151; Rudolf Stephan, “Betrachtungen zu Form und Thematik in Mahlers Vierter Symphonie,” *Neue Wege der musikalischen Analyse*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Neue Musik und Musikerziehung Darmstadt, vol. 6 (Berlin: Merseburger, 1967), 23; Tibbe, *Verwendung von Liedern und Liedelementen*, 89–92; Vladimir Karbusicky, *Gustav Mahler und seine Umwelt*. Impulse der Forschung, vol. 28 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978), 46–48; and Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers* (Munich: Piper, 1982), 182–87.

⁸ *Unsere Lieder*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Rauhes Haus, 1844), 60.

“Es kann mich nichts Schöneres erfreuen”⁹

Es kann mich nichts Schö-ner-es freu- en, als_ wenn es der Som-mer an- geht; da
blü-hen die Ro-sen in Wal- de, ju- ja_ im Wal- de, Sol- da-ten mar-schie-ren ins Feld.

“Es ritten drei Reiter zum Thore hinaus”¹⁰

Und_ wenn es denn soll_ ge- schie- den sein, so reich mir dein gol- de-nes Rin- ge-lein!

“Es zogen drei Burschen wohl über den Rhein”¹¹

Es zo- gen drei Bur- schein wohl ü- ber den Rhein, bei ei- ner Frau Wir- tin, da kehr- ten sie ein.

“Freut euch des Lebens”¹²

Man schafft so gern_ sich Sorg und Müh, sucht Dor- nen auf_ und fin- det sie, und
läßt das Veil- chen un- be-merkt, das uns_ am We- ge blüht_

*Hulán*¹³

⁹ Ludwig Erk, ed., *Deutsche Liederhort: Auswahl der vorzüglichern deutschen Volkslieder aus der Vorzeit und Gegenwart mit ihren eigenthümlichen Melodien* (Berlin: Enslin, 1856), 27. The version printed here is the first melody with optional ending, and has been transposed from D major.

¹⁰ Erk, ed., *Deutsche Liederhort*, 209.

¹¹ Max Friedlaender, *Volksliederbuch für die Jugend* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1930), no. 58; quoted in Tibbe, *Verwendung von Liedern und Liedelementen*, 98.

¹² Friedrich Silcher and Friedrich Erk, *Schauenburgs allgemeines deutsches Kommersbuch* (Lahr: Moritz Schauenburg, 1888), 351–52.

¹³ Karbusicky, *Gustav Mahlers musikalische Umgebung*, 45–48.

“Ich ging durch einen grasgrünen Wald”¹⁴



“Wie lieblich schallt durch Busch und Wald”¹⁵



Example 3.2. Quotation of *Abblasen*

“Abblasen”¹⁶



Mahler, Symphony no. 3, mvt. 3 (mm. 345–47)

schnell und schmetternd wie eine Fanfare*



Anmerkung für den Dirigenten: * ohne Rücksicht auf das Tempo

Example 3.3. Melodic Similarities to Glinka and Liszt

Glinka, *Capriccio Brillante*



¹⁴ Erk, ed., *Deutsche Liederhort*, 247.

¹⁵ Franz Magnus Böhme, *Volkstümliche Lieder der Deutschen* (Leipzig, 1895); quoted in Tibbe, *Verwendung von Liedern und Liedelementen*, 90.

¹⁶ Emil Rameis, *Die österreichische Militärmusik—von ihren Anfängen bis 1918*, rev. ed., ed. Eugen Brixel in *Alta Musica* 2 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1976), 183.

Liszt, *Rhapsodie espagnole*, mvt. 3, arr. Busoni

28 Allegretto piacevole
dolce grazioso.

Mahler, *Symphony no. 3*, mvt. 3

498 Langsam

Example 3.4. Johann Beer, *Concerto à 4*, mvt. 1, posthorn

5 18

26 2

Example 3.5. Mozart, *Posthorn Serenade*, K. 320, mvt. 6, posthorn

41

47

Example 3.6. Schubert, *Die Winterreise*, “Die Post,” piano

3 Etwas geschwind

Example 3.7. Adolf Müller, Sr., “Der Postillion,” posthorn

a. Mixture of signals and lyrical phrases

b. Tune at the Cemetery

Example 3.8. Viktor Nessler, *Trompeter von Säckingen*, “Behüt Dich Gott”

Example 3.9. Mahler, *Blumine*, main theme

Example 3.10. Heinrich Schaffer, “Die Post im Walde,” flügelhorn¹⁷

The musical score is written for flügelhorn in 6/8 time. It begins with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The score is divided into several sections:

- Measures 1-8: Ensemble introduction.
- Measures 9-15: Lyrical Turn section.
- Measures 16-22: Pseudo Impvisation section, marked *p*.
- Measures 23-29: Schnell section, marked *ad libitum*, with dynamics *p* and *f*.
- Measures 30-37: Section marked *p*.
- Measures 38-45: Section marked *p*, ending with a *Close* instruction.
- Measures 46-48: Final section.

¹⁷ This example is based on an arrangement by the Austrian military band conductor Franz Joseph Wagner (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus.Hs.20771). The arrangement was made in 1877 and represents a version of the song that Mahler could have plausibly heard. The lack of performance instructions is typical for such military band scores. The metrical deviations in the closing measures are transcribed directly from the manuscript. The repetition in m. 48 is ambiguous. It can be read as referring to either the first half of the measure, or only to the alternating sixteenths. In the following bar, the solo is notated as if in 7/8. All other voices remain in 6/8.

Example 3.11. Viktor Nessler, *Trompeter von Säckingen*, no. 13, trumpet¹⁸

Notturmo
(Trompeter hinter der Szene.)

14 *f* *mf* *pp dim.* **Lyrical Turn**

20 *dolce* **Pseudo Improvisation** [+harp]

27 [+woodwinds]

34 [+brass]

42 *f* **Pseudo Improvisation**

49 [muted strings, harp] **Close**

55 *rit.*

¹⁸ This example is based on the piano-vocal score (Leipzig 1884). Orchestration cues are based on the printed orchestral score (Leipzig 1884; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek OA.1295). The text has been omitted to conserve space.

Example 3.12. Mahler, Symphony no. 3. mvt. 3. posthorn

Sehr gemächlich.
 (etwas langsamer wie früher)
 frei vorgetragen. (wie die Weise eines Posthorns.)

255 **ppp** (Wie aus weiter Ferne) **sempre ppp** [muted strings] **sempre ppp**

262 **Lyrical Turn** *portamento*

270 **Pseudo** Zeit lassen!

277 **Improvisation** Zurückhaltend. verhallend gänzlich verschwindend

284 *a tempo (moderato)* *verklingend* **pp** [flutes] **pp**

291 wie aus der Ferne (sich etwas nähernd) **ppp** *espress.* Zeit lassen. *tr* **p** *espress.* [muted strings] ersterbend [horns] gesangsvoll.

300 Zurückhaltend. **tr** 4

Close

306 *rit.* *zurückhaltend* **ppp** *a tempo.* **pp** [flutes]

Example 3.13. Selected posthorn signals of the Deutsche Reichpost¹⁹

No. 1. Für Estaffeten



No. 2, Für Kuriere



No. 3, Für Extraposten



No. 5, Für Güterposten



¹⁹ Hiller, *Das große Buch vom Posthorn*, 80–81.

APPENDIX F

Tables and Musical Examples for Chapter 4

Table 4.1. Repertoire of operettas and operas at Iglau's theater, 1866–75²⁰

Composer	Work	# of Acts	1866–67	1867–68	1868–69	1869–70	1870–71	1871–72	1872–73	1873–74	1874–75	Total
Adam, Adolphe	<i>Le Postillon de Lonjumeau</i> (1836)	3							2			2
Auber, Daniel-François-Esprit	<i>Fra Diavolo</i> (1829)	3					3					3
Auber, Daniel-François-Esprit	<i>Le Muette de Portici</i> (1828)	5							2			2
Balfe, Michael William	<i>The Bohemian Girl</i> (1839)	3						2				2
Bellini, Vincenzo	<i>Norma</i> (1831)	2					3		1			4
Bellini, Vincenzo	<i>I Capuleti e i Montecchi</i> (1830)	2						2				2
Boïeldieu, François-Adrien	<i>Jean de Paris</i> (1812)	2							1			1
Boïeldieu, François-Adrien	<i>La dame blanche</i> (1825)	3					4		1			5
Brandl, Johann	<i>Des Löwen Erwachen</i> (1872)	1							1	1		2
Conradi, August	<i>Beckers Geschichte</i> (1861?)	1	2					2		1		5
Donizetti, Gaetano	<i>Belisario</i> (1836)	3					3	1				4
Donizetti, Gaetano	<i>Lucia di Lammermoor</i> (1835)	3					2					2
Donizetti, Gaetano	<i>Lucrezia Borgia</i> (1833)	2					3	2	1			6
Flotow, Friedrich von	<i>Alessandro Stradella</i> (1844)	3						2	2			4
Flotow, Friedrich von	<i>Martha</i> (1847)	4					5	3	1			9
Halévy, Fromental	<i>La Juive</i> (1835)	5						1				1
Hérold, Louis	<i>Zampa</i> (1831)	3					2					2
Hopp, Julius	<i>Morilla</i> (1868)	3						4			1	7
Jonas, Émile	<i>Javotte</i> (1871)	3								1	2	3
Klerr, Johann Baptist	<i>Die böse Nachbarin</i> (1861?)	1		1						1		2
Konradin, Karl	<i>Der Drachenstein</i> (1861?)	2				1						1
Kreutzer, Conradin	<i>Das Nachtlager von Granada</i> (1834)	2				3						3
Lecocq, Charles	<i>La Fille de Madame Angot</i> (1873)	3									5	5
Lortzing, Albert	<i>Zar und Zimmermann</i> (1837)	3					2					2
Méhul, Etienne-Nicolas	<i>Joseph</i> (1807)	3					1					1
Meyerbeer, Giacomo	<i>Robert le diable</i> (1831)	5					3					3
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	<i>Don Giovanni</i> (1787)	2					3					3
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	<i>Der Schauspieldirektor</i> (1786)	1							1			1
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i> (1791)	2						1				1

²⁰ These figures were culled from the German-language newspaper in Iglau. Although good estimates, the figures undoubtedly contain minor errors due to last-minute changes in the theater's repertoire and occasional lapses in newspaper coverage. All works were sung in German, but original titles are used here because of the inconsistency and occasional idiosyncrasy of the theater's translated titles. During Mahler's stay in Prague in 1871–72, the theater performed five operas that were not repeated after his return to Iglau: Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl*, Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*, Halévy's *La Juive*, Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, and Verdi's *Ernani*.

Composer	Work	# of Acts	1866-67	1867-68	1868-69	1869-70	1870-71	1871-72	1872-73	1873-74	1874-75	Total
Müller, Sr., Adolf	<i>Der Liebeszauber</i> (1856?)	1	2	1						1		4
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Le "66"</i> (1856)	1	1		1							2
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Barbe-bleue</i> (1866)	3				4		2	1	2	1	10
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Les Bavards</i> (1863)	2				2						2
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>La Belle Hélène</i> (1864)	3		3	3	4		3	2	1	1	17
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Coscoletto ou Le Lazzarone</i> (1865)	2								2		2
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>La Chanson de Fortunio</i> (1861)	1			1			2				3
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Daphnis et Chloé</i> (1860)	1	2		1	1				1		5
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Le Fiftre enchanté ou Le Soldat magicien</i> (1868)	1		2								2
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Les Géorgiennes</i> (1864)	3						2		4		6
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>La Grande-Duchesse de Gerolstein</i> (1867)	3			5	3		3	2	2	2	17
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>L'Île de Tulipatan</i> (1868)	1				2				1		3
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Jacqueline</i> (1862)	1								1		1
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Jeanne qui pleure et Jean qui rit</i> (1864)	1		2						1	1	4
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Un Mari à la porte</i> (1859)	1	1		1				1		1	4
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Le Mariage aux lanternes</i> (1857)	1	1		2	1	2			1		7
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>M. Choufleuri restera chez lui le...</i> (1861)	1			1	1				1		3
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Monsieur et Madame Denis</i> (1862)	1				1						1
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Orphée aux enfers</i> (1858)	2	1	1	1	2		1		2	1	9
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Pépito</i> (1853)	1			1							1
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>La Périchole</i> (1868)	2								3		3
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>La Princesse de Trébizonde</i> (1869)	2						4		2	1	7
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Vert-Vert</i> (1869)	3								2		2
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>La Vie parisienne</i> (1866)	5				2				2	1	5
Offenbach, Jacques	<i>Le Violoneux</i> (1855)	1		1	1	1				1	1	5
Rossini, Gioachino	<i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i> (1816)	2					3					3
Rossini, Gioachino	<i>La Cenerentola</i> (1817)	2					1					1
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Canngebas</i> (1872)	1								2		2
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Flotte Bursche</i> (1863)	1	1	2	1	1		2		1		8
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Franz Schubert</i> (1864)	1				2						2
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Die Frau Meisterin</i> (1868)	3								5	2	7
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Freigeister</i> (1866)	2								3		3
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Leichte Kavallerie</i> (1866)	2	1		1	1				1	1	5
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Das Pensionat</i> (1860)	1	1	3	2	1		1		1	1	10
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Die schöne Galathée</i> (1865)	1	2	2	1	3		1		1	2	12
Suppé, Franz von	<i>Zehn Mädchen und kein Mann</i> (1862)	1	4		2	1		2		1	1	11
Verdi, Giuseppe	<i>Ernani</i> (1844)	4						4				4
Verdi, Giuseppe	<i>Rigoletto</i> (1851)	3							2			2
Verdi, Giuseppe	<i>Il trovatore</i> (1853)	4					2		1			3
Weber, Carl Maria von	<i>Der Freischütz</i> (1821)	3					3	1	1			5
Zaytz, Giovanni von [Ivan Zajc]	<i>Die Kunstreiterin</i> (?)	?			1							1
Zaytz, Giovanni von [Ivan Zajc]	<i>Mannschaft an Bord</i> (1863)	1		1	2	2	1	1		1	2	10

Table 4.2. Musical productions at Iglau's theater, 1866–75²¹

	1866– 67	1867– 68	1868– 69	1869– 70	1870– 71	1871– 72	1872– 73*	1873– 74	1874– 75
Operettas	19	19	28	36	3	30	8	52	27
Opera	0	0	0	3	43	19	16	0	0
Total	19	19	28	39	46	49	24	52	27

* Figures for this season are artificially low on account of missing newspapers.

²¹ These figures were culled from the German-language newspaper in Iglau. Although good estimates, the figures undoubtedly contain minor errors due to last-minute changes in the theater's repertoire and occasional lapses in newspaper coverage. Furthermore, it is not always clear what should count as an opera or operetta; generic distinctions were highly variable in the late nineteenth century. Hence some works included here as operettas were sometimes called *Liederspiel* or *Posse mit Gesang*, and some works not included here were occasionally called operettas.

The only seasons that Iglau had an opera cast were 1870–1873. Why there were so few operettas in 1870–71 is not immediately clear. It was the first time that the city council had hired Gottfried Denemy and his theater troupe, which brought a cast of opera singers to Iglau. In Denemy's second season (1871–72), however, he presented a more balanced repertoire of operas and operettas. In 1872–73, the opera cast resided in Iglau only from October until December. All major musical works during these months were operas; all those thereafter were operettas. The drastic decline of musical stage works in 1874–75 was a result of the 1873 stock market crash.

Table 4.3. Typical Instruments of Military Bands and Operetta Orchestras²²

The number of parts for each instrument, when greater than one, is given in parentheses. Italics indicate instruments occasionally found in military bands.

Austrian Military Wind Band, ca. 1890s	Operetta Orchestra, ca. 1870–80s
Flute in D-flat (1–2) Piccolo in D-flat (1–2)	Flutes (2)
Clarinet in A-flat Clarinet in E-flat (1–2) Clarinet in B-flat (2–4) Bassoons (2)	Oboes (2) Clarinet in B-flat (2) Bassoons (2)
French horns (4) Cornet in E-flat	French horns in F (4)
Trumpet in B-flat Trumpets in E-flat (4–6) Bass trumpet Flügelhorns in B-flat (2) Bass flügelhorn Euphonium Trombones (3) Bass tubas (2) Helicon	Trumpets in F (2) Trombones (3)
.	Violins (2) Viola Cello Bass
Snare drum Bass drum + Cymbals	Triangle Timpani Snare drum Bass drum + Cymbals

²² Kaiser, *Historische Märsche*, viii; see also Habla, *Besetzung und Instrumentation*, 1:32–34. I extrapolated the instrumentation for operetta orchestras from the operettas that Mahler conducted. The instrumentation of these pieces can be found in Volker Klotz, *Operette: Porträt und Handbuch einer unerhörten Kunst* (Munich: Piper, 1991).

Table 4.4. Orchestration of Military Wind Band and its Direct Imitation in Operetta

	Millöcker, <i>Der Bettelstudent</i> , Finale I, <i>Stadtkapelle</i> stage music	“Potpourri aus der Operette Bettelstudent von Ch. Millöcker,” arr. for military band by J. F. Wagner; <i>Stadtkapelle</i> stage music
Melody	Flute, Piccolo, Oboes (2), Clarinets in B-flat (2), Trumpet in F	Flute, Piccolo, Clarinets in A, E-flat, and B-flat (3), Flügelhorn, Bass Flügelhorn, Euphonium, Cornet in E- flat, Trumpet in E-flat
Accompaniment	Horns (4), Trombones (2) play offbeats. Oboes (2), Clarinets in B-flat (2), Trumpet play a simplified version of the melody Trumpet 2 harmonizes the melody.	Horn (4), Tenor horn, Trumpets in E-flat (5), Bass trumpet, Trombones (2 in second phrase) play offbeats. Flügelhorn plays a simplified version of the melody. Trombones (2 in first phrase) play long tones.
Bass Line	Bassoons (2), Bass trombone	Bass Trombone, Tuba
Percussion	Snare, Bass Drum, Cymbals	Snare, Bass Drum, Cymbals

Example 4.1. Millöcker, *Der Bettelstudent*, act 1 finale²³

341 Moderato Jan
 Hört doch was soll das sein?
 Banda hinter der Scene
 [trpts., tbn.] [strings] [offstage trpts., tbn.]

347 Bogumil
 'S ist uns're neu-or-ga-ni-sir-te Stadt-ka-pel-le die ich-hie-her hab'com-man-dirt da-mit zur

352
 Me-ssc sie zum er-sten-Mal sich pr-du-cirt!
 [onstage wind band]

359

368 Tenors
 Basses
 Bei sol chem Fe-ste— thun sie das Be-ste—
 Bei sol chem Fe-ste— thun sie das Be-ste—
 [pit orch.]

The musical score is presented in a standard format with vocal staves and piano accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers 341, 347, 352, 359, and 368 clearly marked. The piano accompaniment includes various dynamics such as *f* (forte) and *p* (piano), and includes performance instructions like *[trpts., tbn.]*, *[strings]*, *[offstage trpts., tbn.]*, *[onstage wind band]*, and *[pit orch.]*. The vocal lines are written in a clear, legible font, with lyrics in German. The score is a transcription of the composer's autograph score.

²³ This example is based on the piano-vocal score (Leipzig: Aug. Cranz, 1935). The orchestral excerpt is transcribed from the composer's autograph score (Stadtarchiv Baden bei Wien MS 201 HS).

376

mit Trom - mel und Trom pe - ten - schall, das its will komm men ü - ber - all! Nicht Di - let - tan - ten

mit Trom - mel und Trom pe - ten - schall, das its will komm men ü - ber - all! Nicht Di - let - tan - ten

382

nein Mu - si - kan - ten sind sie und ge - ben sich viel Müh', ja ge - ben sich viel Müh!

nein Mu - si - kan - ten sind sie und ge - ben sich viel Müh', ja ge - ben sich viel Müh!

Full Score of Onstage Ensemble

Marschtempo

356

Flute in F

Piccolo in F

Oboes 1, 2

Clarinets 1, 2 in B \flat

Horns 1, 2 in F

Horns 3, 4 in F

Bassoons 1, 2

Trumpet in F

Trombones 1, 2

Bass Trombone

Percussion

ff

Example 4.2. J. F. Wagner's arrangement of stage music from Millöcker's *Bettelstudent*²⁴

Allegro marziale

Flute and Piccolo in D♭

Clarinet in A♭

Clarinet in E♭

Clarinet 1 in B♭

Clarinets 2, 3 in B♭

Horns 1, 2 in F

Horns 3, 4 in F

Basses in C

Flügelhorn 1 in B♭

Flügelhorn 2 in B♭

Bass Flügelhorn 1 in B♭

Bass Flügelhorn 2 in B♭

Euphonium

Soprano Cornet in E♭

Trumpet 1 in E♭

Trumpet 2 in E♭

Trumpets 3, 4 in E♭

Trumpets 5, 6 in E♭

Bass Trumpet in E♭

Trombones 1, 2

Bass Trombone

Snare Drum
Bass Drum/Cymbals

mf

²⁴ Transcribed from the manuscript score (*Potpourri aus der Operette Bettelstudent von Ch. Millöcker für Militärmusik von J. F. Wagner Kapellmeister, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs.20730*).

Example 4.3. Carl Millöcker, *Der Bettelstudent*, act 1, spring fair march

Marschtempo

55 *ff* [woodwinds, trp., vln.] [snare, bass drum, timp.] [woodwinds] *p* [brns., hrns., trps., pizz. strgs.] [triangle]

61 *mf* *sf* *ff* [woodwinds, trp., vln.] [snare, bass drum, timp.] [brns., hrns., tbn., strgs.]

66 [woodwinds] *p* [brns., hrns., trps., pizz. strgs.] [triangle] 55

Example 4.4. Carl Michael Ziehrer, *Die Landstreicher*, act 1, no. 8, march duet²⁵

Marsch-Tempo [trpts.]

[fl., picc., obs., cls., trpts., tbns., vln., vcl.]

ff [tutti] [tbns.] *ff*

[bsns., brns., tbn., vla., cb., snare, bass drum, cymbs.]

10

ff

18

Rudi *p*

Der Lieut' - nant Ru - de Mug - gen - hein und Lieut' - nant Mu - ki

Mucki *p*

Der Lieut' - nant Ru - de Mug - gen - hein und Lieut' - nant Mu - ki

[obs., cls., vln.] *p* [+bsn., trpt]

[bsns., brns., tbns., snare]

23

Ro - den - stein, wen die vor - bei - marschier'n, hört man die Fen - ster klirr'n!

Ro - den - stein, wen die vor - bei - marschier'n, hört man die Fen - ster klirr'n!

[+bsn., trpt]

[+trgl.]

²⁵ This example is based on the piano-vocal score (Vienna: Musikverlag Döblinger, n.d.). The orchestrational cues are taken from the full score at the Österreichisches Rundfunk Studio Wien (CMZ Bw. 11, Ouvertüre und 1. Akt, Partitur).

Example 4.5. Charles Lecocq, *La Fille de Madame Angot*, “Couplets de la dispute”

Allegro Clairette *f*

Ah! c'est donc toi, ma-dam' Bar-ras, T'oi qui fais tant tes em-bar-ras, T'a-vas dé-ja deux a-mou-reux; L'un pas très jeune et l'au-tre vieux, Mais comm t'a-vas pas as-sez d'choix, Pa-rait main t'nant qu'y t'eu faut trois;

9

Example 4.6. Franz von Suppé, *Boccaccio*, no. 20, act 3 finale

144 [Allegro con brio]

Clarinet in B♭ [p]

Bassoons [p]

Boccaccio
Der Witz, die Lau - ne, die Wabr - heit sind schneid' - ge Waf - fen!

Violin I [p]

Violin II [p]

Viola [p]

Violoncello [p]

Contrabass [p]

148

Cl. Solo

Bsn. p

Hn. Solo

S. p
Wo die man schwin - get ge - lin - get bald Sieg zu schaf - fen.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

Example 4.7. Mahler, Symphony no. 2, mvt. 5

343

Trpts in F

Trpts in C

Triangle

Bass Drum

Cymbals

350

Violin I

Violin II

Cymbals

Example 4.8. Mahler, *Das klagende Lied*, “Der Spielmann”

a. Spielmann’s motive



b. Transformation of the Spielmann’s motive as light march

An orchestral score starting at measure 22. The instruments listed are Bass Clarinet, Bassoon 1, Bassoon 2, Contrabassoon, Triangle, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass. The score is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. The Triangle part has a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes. The string parts (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, Double Bass) play a rhythmic accompaniment of quarter notes. The woodwinds (Bass Clarinet, Bassoon 1, Bassoon 2, Contrabassoon) play a melodic line that incorporates the Spielmann's motive. Dynamics include *pp* (pianissimo) and *pp sempre* (pianissimo sempre).

Example 4.9. Mahler, "Revelge"

[Marschierend. In einem fort]

29

Flutes *ff* *pp*

Oboes *ff* *pp*

Clarinets in B \flat *ff* *pp*

Bassoons *ff* *pp*

Contrabassoon *ff* *pp*

Horn in F *f* *pp*

Horn in F *f* *pp*

Bass Drum *mf*

Tenor *mit Ausdruck*
"Ach, Bau der, ach, Bau der, ich kann dich nicht tra gen, die"

Violin I *non div.* *ff* *p* *singend*

Violin II *non div.* *ff* *p* *div.*

Viola *ff* *p* *div.*

Violoncello *ff* *p* *div.*

Contrabass *ff* *p*

35

Fl. *pp* *p* *dim.*

Cl. *pp* *p* *dim.*

Bsn. *pp* *p* *dim.*

Hn. *pp* *p* *dim.*

T. *Fain de ha bon... ont ge rebte gent Hoff... dir der de be... Gott... hoff... dir der de be... Gott*

Vln. I *pp* *p* *dim.*

Vln. II *pp* *p* *dim.*

Vla. *pp* *p* *dim.*

Ve. *pp* *p* *dim.*

Cb. *pp* *p* *dim.*

Example 4.10. Franz Lehár, *Wiener Frauen*, no. 13, *Nechledil-Marsch*

25 [Marcia.]

Wenn ich mit mein-em Tam-bourstabbin

32

an der Tête mar schirt, Tsching-ling tra-ra, tsching-ling tra-ra, vi-di-bum, vi-di-bum, vi-di-bum

Example 4.11. Melodic similarity between Mahler and Lehár I

Lehár, *Die lustige Witwe*, no. 15, Duet

18

Lip - pen schwei - gen, 's flü - stern Gei - gen: Hab' mich lieb!

Mahler, Symphony no. 7, mvt. 5

53

[obs.]
f *p* *pp*
tr ten. tr ten. tr tr

Example 4.12. Melodic similarity between Mahler and Lehár II

Lehár, *Die lustige Witwe*, no. 9, Trio

55

Ja, das Stu - dium der Wei - ber ist schwer, — nimmt uns Män - ner ver - teu - felt auch her! —

Mahler, Symphony no. 7, mvt. 5

23

[horns.]
sempre ff *sf*
sempre ff *sf*

Example 4.13. Melodic similarity between Mahler and Lehár III

Lehár, *Die lustige Witwe*, no. 9, Trio

55



Ja, das Stu-dium der Wei-ber ist schwer, — nimmt uns Män-ner ver-teu-felt auch her! —

Mahler, *Symphony no. 9*, mvt. 3

109 *L'istesso tempo.*



ff *p leggiero*

Figure 5.3. Theme group, structural gesture, tonal center

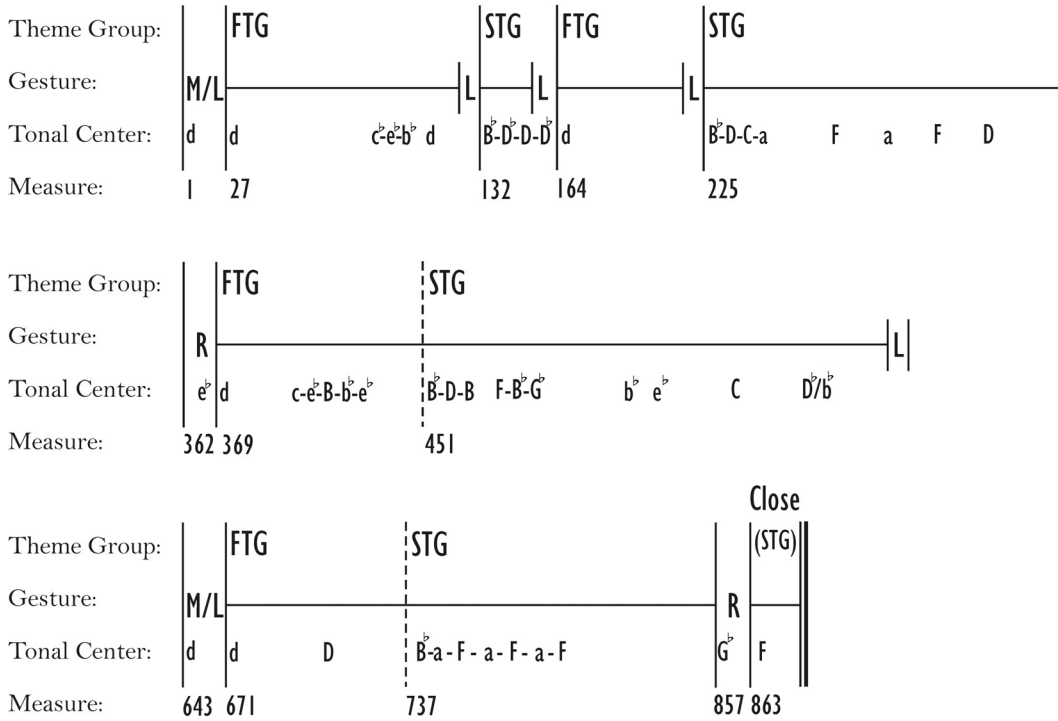
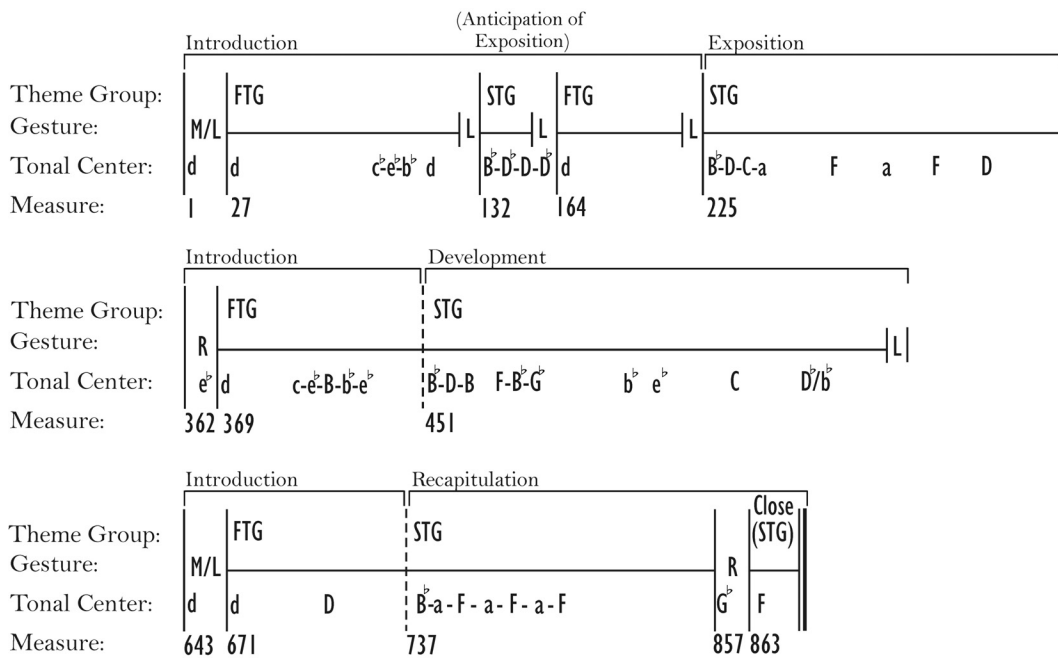


Figure 5.4. Sonata form option 1²⁶



²⁶ If one includes the “Pan sleeps” material as part of the first theme group, the exposition would begin at m. 247 and development at m. 530.

Figure 5.5. Sonata form option 2

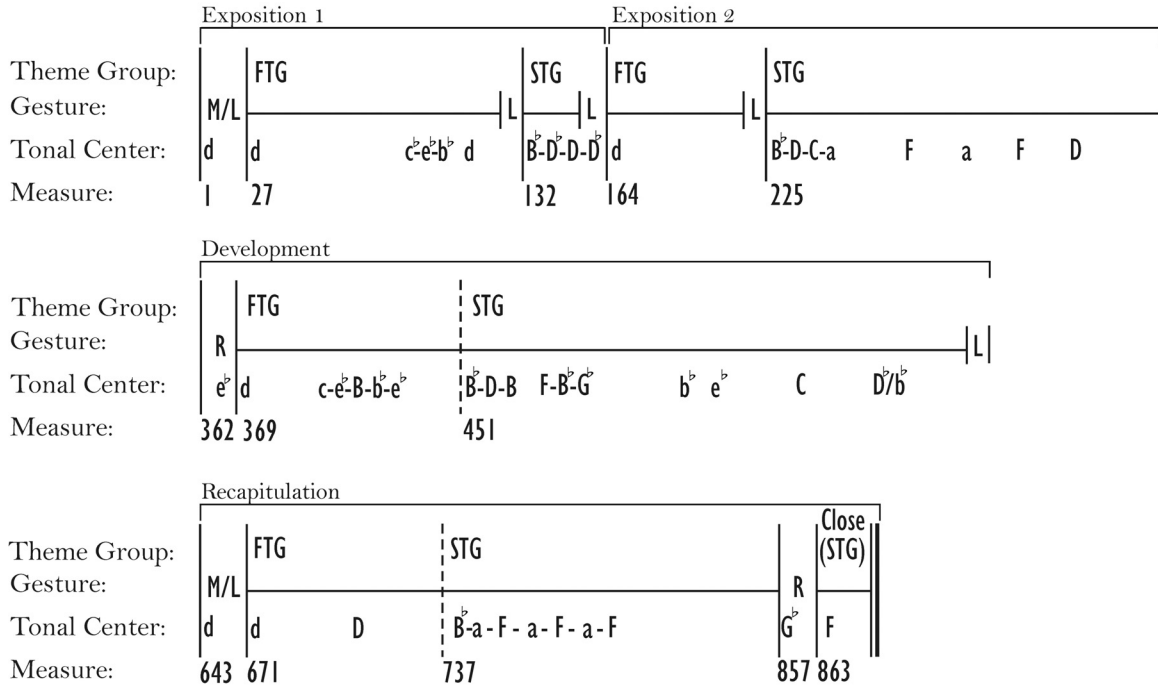


Figure 5.6. Rotational form

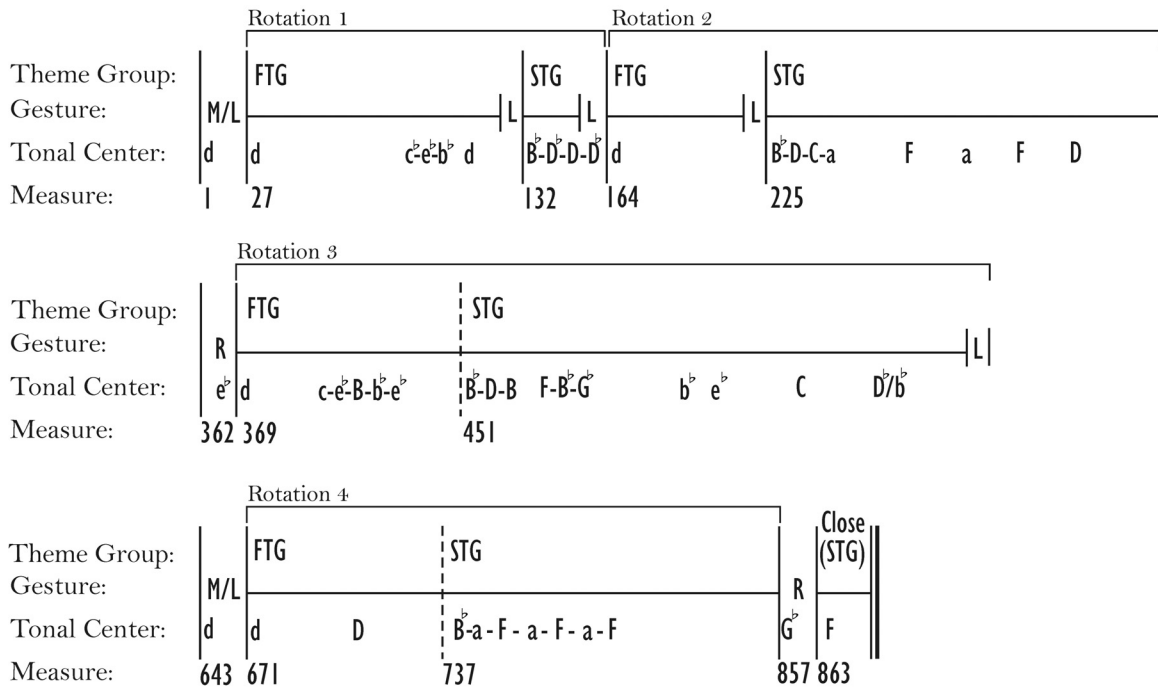
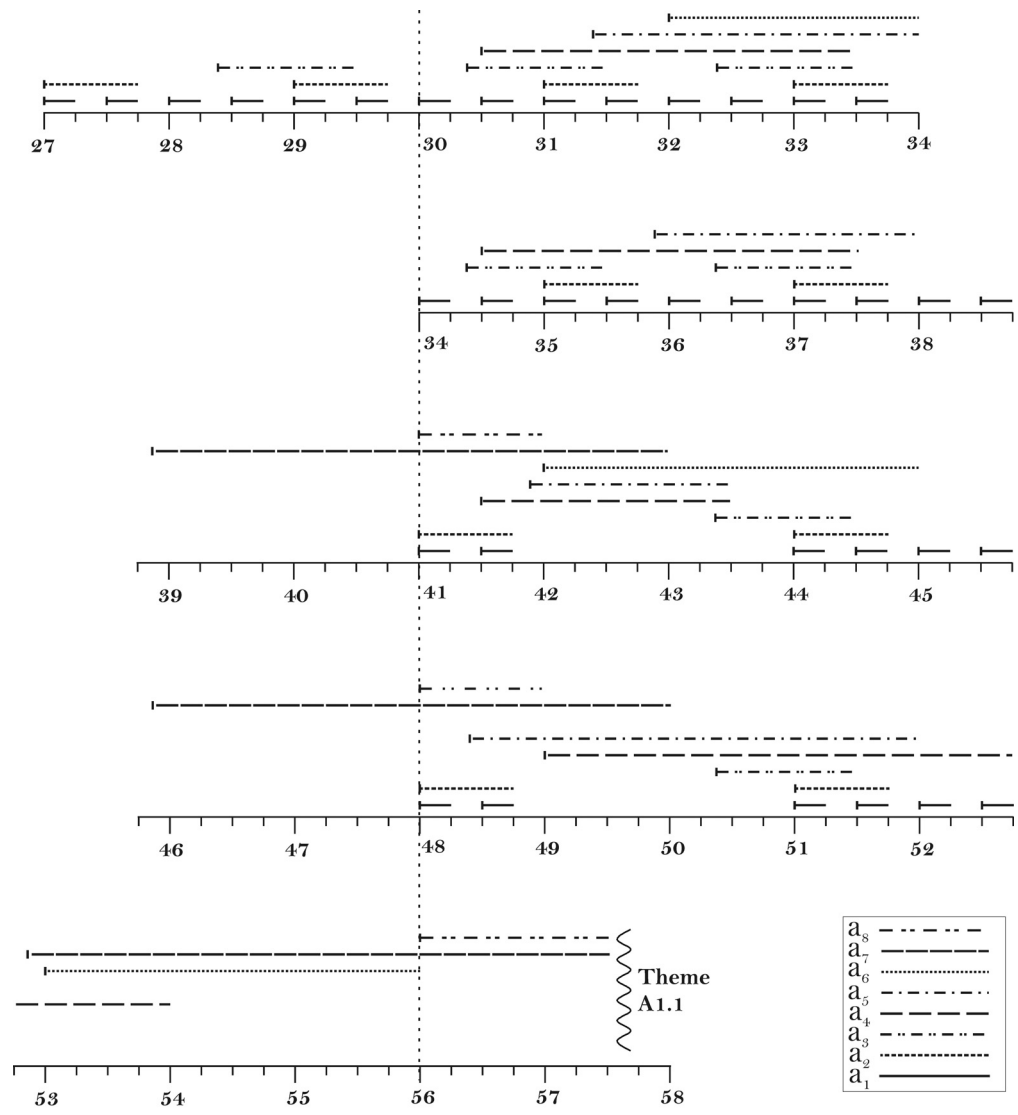


Figure 5.7. Moment-to-moment logic in first theme group

mm. 27–58



mm. 671–84

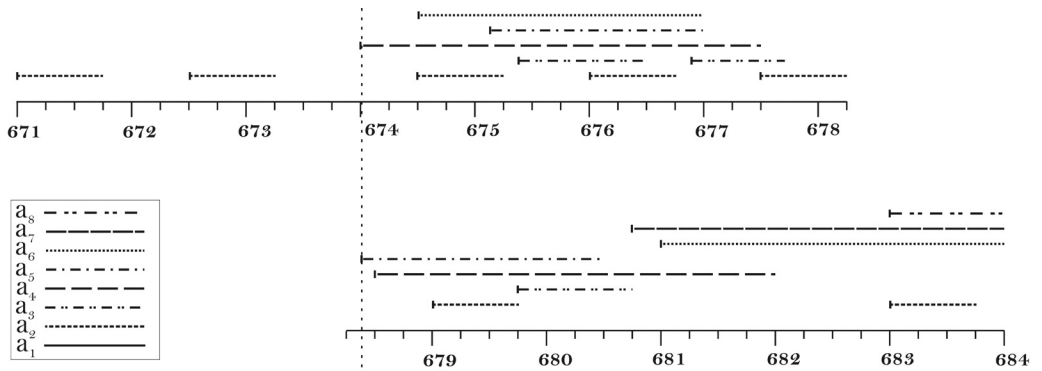


Figure 5.8. Idiom, motive, key in the march episodes

March Episode I (Rotation 2)	<i>Deformed</i>	<i>Normative</i>	<i>Deformed</i>	<i>Normative</i>	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Norm.</i>	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Norm.</i>
Motive:	b _{3,3} , b _{4,1} , b _{4,2} , b _{4,3} , b _{4,4}	x ₁ , b _{1,4} , b ₅	b _{4,3} , b _{4,4} , b _{4,1} , b _{4,2}	x ₁ , b ₆ , b _{1,4}	x ₂	x ₁		x ₁ , b ₇
Key:	a (F) a	F	a (F) a	F		D	f#	D
Measure:	247	273	298	315	325	331	341	347

March Episode II (Rotation 3)

<i>March State:</i>	<i>Deformed</i>	<i>Normative</i>	<i>Deformed</i>
Heading:	The Rabble	The Battle Begins	The Southerly Storm
Motive:	b ₂ , x ₂ , b _{3,3} , b ₅ , x ₁ , b _{1,4}	b _{3,3} , x ₁ , b _{4,1} , b ₂	b _{4,1} , b _{4,2} , x ₁ , b _{3,2}
Key:	e b	C	D _b /b _b
Measure:	539	583	605

March Episode III (Rotation 4)

<i>March State:</i>	<i>Deformed</i>	<i>Norm.</i>	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Norm.</i>	<i>Deformed</i>	<i>Norm.</i>	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Norm.</i>
Motive:	Storm, x ₁ , b _{4,1} , b _{4,2}	b _{1,4}	b _{4,2}	b _{1,4} , b ₆	b _{4,3} , b _{4,4} , b _{1,4}	x ₁	Battle	b ₇
Key:	Bb/a (F) a	F	a	F	a	F	d	F
Measure:	737	762	771	778	787	800	808	816
							824	828

Table 5.1. Program to Ziehrer's *Traum eines österreichischen Reservisten* and topically related works by Mahler¹

Original Program	Translation	Related Works
Es ist Abend.	It is evening.	M7/II, M7/IV
Man hört den Reservisten in der Schmiede arbeiten.	The reservist can be heard working in the smithy.	
Eine wandernde Zigeunermusik kommt vor die Schmiede und lässt ihre Weisen ertönen.	Travelling Gypsy musicians play their melodies in front of the smithy.	M1/III
Die Zigeuner werden durch eine heimkehrende Jagdgesellschaft unterbrochen.	The Gypsies are interrupted by a returning hunting party.	M1/I
Man hört das Geklapper der sich in der Nähe befindlichen Mühle.	The clattering of the nearby mill can be heard.	
Die Landpost fährt vorüber.	The postal carriage rides by.	M3/III
Kühe Kommen von der Weide zurück,	The cows return from the meadows.	M6/I, M6/IV,
von der Klosterkirche hört man Abendläuten.	The evening bells can be heard tolling from the church.	M7/II
Der Reservist macht Feierabend und schliesst sich einem vorüberziehenden Hochzeitszuge an, mit welchem er in die Schenke zieht.	The reservist calls it a day and joins a passing wedding procession and accompanies them to a tavern.	M3/V
In der Schenke wird lustig gezecht und getanzt.	They drink and dance merrily in the tavern. [waltz, ländler]	"Wenn mein Schatz Hochzeit macht M3/I"
Ein herausbrechender Gewittersturm unterbricht das fröhliche Fest, es regnet. Unter Donner und Blitz eilt Alles nach Hause.	They drink and dance merrily in the tavern. [waltz, ländler]	M1/II, M3/I
Im Hause des Reservisten wird das Abendgebet verrichtet. Alles begibt sich zur Ruhe. Der Reservist fängt zu träumen an.	A thunderstorm interrupts the festivities. It rains. All hurry home amidst the thunder and lightning.	M3/I
Es träumt ihm, dass er zu seinem Regimente einberufen ist und sich mittelst Bahn nach Wien begibt.	Evening prayer is said in the home of the reservist. All is quiet. The reservist begins to dream.	M3/I
Der Reservist langt in der Kaserne an.	He dreams, that he has been called up to his regiment and takes the train to Vienna.	
Kampf. Sturm. „Hurrah!“	The reservist arrives at the barracks. [military signals, marches, call and response in horns, one of which is placed in the distance]	M3/I [horns] M2/V, M7/II
Die Truppen rücken ein.	Battle. Charge. "Hurray!"	
Militär-Leiche.	The troops march home.	
Abmarsch.	Corpses of fallen soldiers. [muted bass drum signal]	M1/III, M3/I
Feldmesse und Parade. Beginn der Defilierung. Infanterie. Ein polnisches Regiment. Ein steirisches Regiment. Ein ungarisches Regiment. Ein böhmisches Regiment. Die	Forward march.	M3/I
	Military pageant and parade. [signal for falling out; extended snare drum signal] Beginning of the parade. Infantry. A Polish regiment. A Styrian regiment. A Hungarian regiment. A Bohemian	M3/I, M3/III

¹¹ Editorial comments on Ziehrer's music appear in square brackets in the translation. The abbreviations of Mahler's symphonies use Arabic numerals for the symphony and Roman numerals for the movement.

Deutschmeister. Reiterei u. Artillerie. Retraite.	regiment. The Deutschmeister. Cavalry and artillery. Fall out.	
Der Reservist wird plötzlich von seinem jüngsten Sprössling aus dem Schläfe geweckt. Der Morgen bricht an, Vogelgezitscher, etc.	The reservist is suddenly awakened by his youngest offspring. Dawn breaks. Bird calls, etc.	“Frühlingsmorgen,” M1/I, M3/III
Die Glocke schlägt fünf Uhr.	The bells toll five o'clock.	M3/V
Der Reservist begibt sich zur Arbeit in die Schmiede.	The reservist goes to work at the smithy.	
Er hämmert lustig drauf los, froh, dass Alles nur ein Traum war.	He hammers cheerily away, happy that it was all a dream.	

Table 5.2. Chorale insertions in mvt. 5²

Regular text = March in F major

Bold text = Chorale in D major/minor

[Bracketed text] = Neither march in F nor chorale in D. Most of this text sets material borrowed from “Das himmlische Leben,” which Mahler originally planned as the finale of the Third Symphony.

Knabenchor:

[Bimm bamm, bimm, bamm, . . .]

Frauenchor:

Es sungen drei Engel einen süßen Gesang,
Mit Freuden es selig in den Himmel klang.
Sie jauchzten fröhlich auch dabei,
Daß Petrus sei von Sünden frei.

Und als der Herr Jesus zu Tische saß,
Mit seinen zwölf Jüngern das Abendmahl aß,
Da sprach der Herr Jesus: „Was stehst du den
hier?
Wenn ich dich anseh’, so weinst du mir“.

Alt:

[Und sollt’ ich nicht weinen, du gütiger Gott.]

Frauenchor:

[Du sollst ja nicht weinen!]

Alt:

„**Ich habe übertreten** [die Zehn Gebot;
Ich gehe und weine ja bitterlich,]
Ach komm und erbarme [dich über mich]“.

Children’s Choir:

[Ding dong, ding dong, . . .]

Women’s Chorus:

Three angels were singing a sweet song;
With joy it resounded blissfully in heaven,
They rejoiced also
That Peter is free from sin,

And when the Lord Jesus sat at table,
With his twelve disciples ate the supper,
There spoke the Lord Jesus: “What are you
doing?
Whenever I look at you, I find you weeping!”

Alto:

[And should I not weep, you gracious God.]

Women’s Chorus:

[You should truly not weep!]

Alto:

“**I have broken** [the Ten Commandments.
I go and weep most bitterly,]
Ah, come and have mercy [on me].”

² Translation from the Dover edition of the symphony.

Frauenchor:

[Hast du denn übertreten die Zehen Gebot,
So fall auf die Knie und bete zu Gott!]

Liebe nur Gott in alle Zeit,

So wirst du erlangen die himmlische Freud!

Die himmlische Freud, die Selige Stadt;

Die himmlische Freud, die kein Ende mehr hat.

Die himmlische Freude war Petro bereit'

Durch Jesum und allen zur Seligkeit.

Women's Chorus:

[If you have broken the Ten Commandments,
Then fall on your knees and pray to God!]³

Only love God forever,

Thus will you attain heavenly Joy!

Heavenly joy, the holy city;

Heavenly joy, which no longer ends.

Heavenly joy was prepared for Peter

by Jesus and for all for their salvation.⁴

Example 5.1. Major structural gestures

Motto

[brns.]

5 *ff*

Rupture

362 *fff*

366 *ff* *cresc.* *fff*

8^{va}

³ The passage is a march in B-flat.

⁴ The last line is stated twice: once as an F-major march, and then as the movement's only F-major chorale.

Example 5.2. Motives in the introduction

X₁

1 *[brns.]*
ff

X₂

5 *[brns.]*
ff

X₃

11 *[tbns., tuba]*
 d: III v #iii V

X₄

14 *[brns.]*
pp

Example 5.3. Derivation of march themes from x_3

mm. 132–43

Musical score for measures 132–143. The score is in 4/4 time and consists of two systems. The first system (measures 132–138) features a treble clef staff with chords and a bass clef staff with a melodic line. Dynamics include *p* and *pp*. Performance markings include *[fls.]*, *[cls.]*, and *[ob. solo]*. The second system (measures 139–143) continues the melodic line in the bass clef staff, marked *p espress.* and *[vln. solo]*. The word *zart* is written above the melodic line.

mm. 225–32

Musical score for measures 225–32. The score is in 4/4 time and consists of two systems. The first system (measures 225–228) features a treble clef staff with chords and a bass clef staff with a melodic line. Dynamics include *p*. Performance markings include *[fls.]* and *[vcl., cb.]*. The second system (measures 229–32) continues the melodic line in the bass clef staff, marked *pp* and *espr.*. The word *natürlich* is written above the melodic line.

Example 5.4. First theme group: motives

a₁

26 [bass drum]

Musical notation for motive a₁: bass drum line in 4/4 time, measures 26-27. The notes are: D2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter).

a₂

27 [tbns., tuba, timp.] 3

Musical notation for motive a₂: tuba/bass tuba/timpani line in 4/4 time, measures 27-28. The notes are: D2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter).

a₃

28 [bns.] tr

Musical notation for motive a₃: bassoon line in 4/4 time, measures 28-29. The notes are: G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter).

a₄

30 [winds]

Musical notation for motive a₄: winds line in 4/4 time, measures 30-31. The notes are: G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter).

pp \longleftarrow *f* \longrightarrow *p*

a₅

31 [muted trpts.] 3

Musical notation for motive a₅: muted trumpets line in 4/4 time, measures 31-32. The notes are: G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter).

ff \longleftarrow *p*

a₆

32 [violas]

Musical notation for motive a₆: violas line in 4/4 time, measures 32-33. The notes are: G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter).

ff \longleftarrow *p*

a₇

38 Wild

Musical notation for motive a₇: violin and cello line in 4/4 time, measures 38-39. The notes are: G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter).

[Vcl., Cb.] *fff* [÷bns.]

a₈

41 [tbn., trpt.]

Musical notation for motive a₈: tuba and trumpet line in 4/4 time, measures 41-42. The notes are: G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter).

ff

Example 5.5. First theme group: themes

A1.1

57 *[brns.]* *Bewegt.* *ff* 3 3 3 *accel.* *Tempo* 3 3 3

64 *Rubato.* *fff* 3 *accel.* *tempo* 3 3 3 *sempre ff* 3

71 3 3 3 *ff* *f* *p*

Detailed description: This musical score for A1.1 consists of three staves of music in 4/4 time. The first staff (measures 57-63) features a brass section with a 'Bewegt.' (moving) tempo, starting with a fortissimo (ff) dynamic and including three triplet markings. The second staff (measures 64-70) is marked 'Rubato.' and begins with a fortississimo (fff) dynamic, followed by triplet markings and a 'sempre ff' instruction. The third staff (measures 71-76) continues with triplet markings and dynamic markings of ff, f, and p.

A1.2

99 *[brns.]* *ff* 3 3 3 3

105 3 *f* *p*

111 *[4 brns.]* *ff* *p* *ff* *p*

Detailed description: This musical score for A1.2 consists of three staves of music in 3/4 time. The first staff (measures 99-104) features a brass section with a fortissimo (ff) dynamic and four triplet markings. The second staff (measures 105-110) includes triplet markings and dynamic markings of f and p. The third staff (measures 111-116) is marked '[4 brns.]' and features alternating fortissimo (ff) and piano (p) dynamics with triplet markings.

A1.3

166 *[tbn.]*
ff *sempre ff* *ff*

172

179 *p* *ppp* *ff* *ff* *ff*

188 *ff* *ff* *ff*

195 Wild *fp*

201 Vorwärts. *ff*

205 Pesante.

A1.4

Mit höchster Kraft
[brms.] *fff* *nicht breit!*

369 *fff*

376 *rubato* *sempre ff*

384 *aufgehobene Schalltrichter* *accel.*

390 *tempo* *mf* *dim.* *p* *pp*

8^{ob}

A1.5

423 *[tbn.] espr. Sentimental*

431

436 *cresc. rit. fp*

A1.6

423 *[tbn.] espr. Sentimental*

431

436 *cresc. rit. fp*

A2

83 *aufgestellte Schalltrichter. Triolen nicht breit*

87

Example 5.6. Second theme group: motives

X₁

273 [brn.]
mf *f*

b_{1.3}

140 [vln. solo] zart
p *espress.*

b_{1.4}

279 [fls., cls.] Mit zartester Tongebung!
ppp

b₂

148 [cls.] aufgehobene Schalltrichter
fff *ff*

b_{3.1}

150 [vcl.]
ff *sempre ff*

b_{3.2}

155 [cb.]

b_{3.3}

245 [vcl.]

b_{4.1}

254 [cls.] [vln.]

b_{4.2}

258 [vln.]

b_{4.3}

262 [vln., vla.]

b_{4.4}

266 [vln.]

b₅

295 [brns.]

b₆

Schwungvoll.

315

b₇

[bss., brns., tuba, strgs.]

351

Example 5.7. Melodic allusion in x₁

X₁

273 [brn.]

mf *f*

“Ich hab’ mich ergeben mit Herz und mit Hand”

Ich hab' mich er - ge - ben mit Herz und mit Hand

Brahms, Symphony no. 1, mvt. 4, main theme (transposed)

61 Allegro non troppo, ma con brio

poco f

Example 5.8. Franz von Suppé, *Zehn Mädchen und kein Mann*, no. 1, Entrance of the Girls

Tempo di Marcia
 16 Schönhahn

Schritt: Her-bei auf_ mein Com-man-do-wort, die Trom-mel wir belt_fort und fort. Ra-ta plan plan plan Ra-ta plan plan

22 Girls *p*
 Wird die
 plan Ra-ta plan plan plan Ra-ta plan plan plan

28 Trom-mel im Takt ge-rührt, kom-men wir an-mar-schirt, wie ein Re-gi-ment an der Zahl al-le Zeh-ne_auf ein Mal!
 rm Links, rechts, links, rechts, links, rechts, links, rechts, links, rechts.

Example 5.9. Franz von Suppé, *Fatinitza*, no. 23

Wladimir
 Vor- wärts mit fri- schem Blut, Lieb' ist_ dein Pa- nier. Vor- wärts mit küh'-nem Muth, sü- sser_ Lohn wird

Julian
 rum, rum, rum, rum, rum, rum, rum, rum, ta- ta ra- ta- ta ta, rum, rum, rum, rum, rum, rum,

die! Vor- wärts hin aus zur Schlacht, auf_ der_ Fein- de Macht! Dein Lieb', dein Stern denkt
 rum, ta- ta ra- ta ta- ta rum, rum, rum, rum, rum, rum ra- ta- pum, ra- ta- pum, ra- ta- pum,

Lidia
 Vor- wärts mit fri schem Blut, Lieb' ist_ dein Pa- nier. Vor- wärts mit
 dei_ ner_ in der Fern'. Vor- wärts mit fri schem Blut, Lieb' ist_ dein Pa- nier. Vor- wärts mit
 ra ta- pum, pum, pum ra ta ta ta ta ta! a- van cirt, a- ta- quirt mit Hel- den muth, ta- ta ra ta ta ta ta!

küh' nem Muth, sü - sser_ Lohn wird dir! Vor - wärts hin aus zu Schlacht,
 küh' nem Muth, sü - sser_ Lohn wird dir! Vor - wärts hin aus zu Schlacht,
 Fü - si - lirt, ca - no - nirt mit kal - tern Blut, ta - ta - ra - ta ta - ta, ma - sa - kirt, stran - gu -

auf_ der_ Fein - de Macht, dein_ Leib', dein_ Stern denkt dei - ner_ in der Fern'.
 auf_ der_ Fein - de Macht, dein_ Leib', dein_ Stern denkt dei - ner_ in der Fern'.
 lirt mit Lö - wen - wuth, ra - ta - pum, ra - ta - pum, ra - ta - pum, ra - ta - pum, pum, pum!

Example 5.10. Franz von Suppé, *Boccaccio*, act 3 finale

152

Fiametta, Beatrice, Isabella, Peronella
 Der Witz die Lau-ne, die Wahr-heit sind sei-ne Waf-fen die uns den Sieg ver-schaf-fen zu je - der_ Zeit. Hoch der

Boccaccio
 Der Witz die Lau-ne, die Wahr-heit sind sei-ne Waf-fen die uns den Sieg ver-schaf-fen zu je - der_ Zeit. Hoch der

Lotteringhi, Lambertuccio
 Der Witz die Lau-ne, die Wahr-heit sind sei-ne Waf-fen die uns den Sieg ver-schaf-fen zu je - der_ Zeit.

Scalza, Pietro
 Witz und Lau - ne sind die Waf - fen die den Sieg ver - schaf - fen stets. Hoch der

Leonetto, tenors
 Witz und Lau - ne sind die Waf - fen die den Sieg ver - schaf - fen stets.

Maggiordomo, basses
 Witz und Lau - ne sind die Waf - fen die den Sieg ver - schaf - fen stets.

160

Ge- nius der Hu-mor, schall's em- por, wer nicht lacht der ist ein Thor, singt im

Ge- nius der Hu-mor, schall's em- por, wer nicht lacht der ist ein Thor, singt im

Hoch der Ge nius der Hu morsingt Al - les be geist- ert und ge-rührt, es kling nicht üb-el für das Ohr, doch wir sind da bei bla-

Ge- nius der Hu-mor, schal-let es em- por, wer nicht lacht der ist ein Thor, sin - get All' im

Hoch der Ge- nius der Hu - mor, schal-let es em- por, der der nicht lacht, der ist ein Thor, sin - get All' im

Hoch leb' der Hu - mor, schal-let es em- por, der nicht lacht ist ein Thor, sin - get All' im

ff

167

Chor: Folgt dem Wahl - spruch: Frei und froh... wie es uns lehrt Boc - cac - ci - o! Hoch der

Chor: Folgt dem Wahl - spruch: Frei und froh... wie es uns lehrt Boc - cac - ci - o! Hoch der

mirt, die Wei ber ha - ben leich - tes Spiel uns zu ver - lach - en ist ihr Ziel, drum ju - beln sie und sin - gen hoch Boc cac - ci - o! Hoch der

Chor: Folgt dem Wahl - spruch: Frei und froh... wie es uns lehrt Boc - cac - ci - o! Hoch der

Chor: Frisch frei und froh ja so leh - ret es Boc - cac - ci - o! Hoch der

Chor: Frisch frei und froh so lehrt Boc - cac - ci - o! Hoch der

175

Scherz, der Hu - mor, ruft mit ihm laut... im Chor!

Scherz, der Hu - mor, ruft mit ihm laut... im Chor!

Scherz, der Hu - mor, ruft mit ihm laut... im Chor!

Scherz, der Hu - mor, ruft mit ihm laut... im Chor!

Scherz, der Hu - mor, ruft mit ihm laut... im Chor!

Scherz, der Hu - mor, ruft mit ihm laut... im Chor!

180

Example 5.11. Johann Strauss, Jr., *Der lustige Krieg*, no. 14, Violetta's march with lyrical cello

232 Violetta [+cello]

Sie mir Gross-muth heut ge - spen - det, mein Dank - ge - fühl da - für nich

239
 schwie, für heu - te sei der Kampf be - en - det erst

244
poco rit. *a tempo* *tr*
 mor - gen, ja mor - gen folgt der lust' - - - ge Krieg.

poco rit. *a tempo*

Example 5.12. Franz von Suppé, *Boccaccio*, overture, mm. 353–403

This musical score is for the overture of Franz von Suppé's opera *Boccaccio*, specifically measures 353 through 403. The score is written for piano and is in 2/4 time. It consists of seven systems of music, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The first system (measures 353-359) begins with a forte (*ff*) dynamic and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with triplets in both hands. The second system (measures 360-366) continues this pattern with various articulations like accents and slurs. The third system (measures 367-373) introduces trills (*tr.*) in the treble hand. The fourth system (measures 374-380) is characterized by a series of trills in the treble hand. The fifth system (measures 381-392) is marked *marcato* and features a more rhythmic, accented bass line with triplets. The sixth system (measures 393-396) returns to a forte (*ff*) dynamic with a steady eighth-note bass line. The seventh system (measures 397-403) concludes with a final forte (*ff*) section, showing a rhythmic variation in the bass line.

Example 5.13. Comparison of a₅ with “Habt Acht”

a₅

“Habt Acht”¹

Im Marschtempo

Example 5.14. Allusion to Mahler, Symphony no. 2, mvt. 4

“Urlicht”

Telos

Example 5.15. New theme in first episode

Vorwärts gehen.
Leidenschaftlich.

74

¹ Emil Rameis, *Die österreichische Militärmusik—von ihren Anfängen bis 1918*, rev. ed., ed. Eugen Brixel in *Alta Musica* 2 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1976), 182.

Example 5.16. Melodic allusions in main theme of mvt. 6

Mahler, Symphony no. 3, mvt. 6

Langsam. Ruhevoll. Empfundnen.

Sehr gebunden, sehr ausdrucksvoll, gesungen.

[vln.]
pp

Beethoven, String Quartet op. 135, mvt. 3

Lento assai, cantante e tranquillo.

³
[vln.] *p*
solito voce

Wagner, *Parsifal*, Act I

128 (mit Dämpfern.)
[vln.] *p*

Rott, Symphony in E, mvt. 2

⁴ Sehr langsam
[vln.] *ppp*

Example 5.17. Quotation of Brahms

Mahler, Symphony no. 3, mvt. 6

100 Nicht eilen!
[vln.] *pp*

Brahms, "Feldeinsamkeit"

Und zie - he se - lig mit durch ew'-ge Räu - me,

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