

1 | Brahms in the home: An introduction

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And thus, in a small circle of friends, he played most beautifully and with an intimacy that completely overwhelmed us.¹

Any exploration of domestic music-making is confronted with heavy overlaps between areas which, if they are considered at all, are usually considered quite separately. This sort of music-making is necessarily muddled by considerations of venue, performer, performing ensemble and audience, as well as by the actual music performed and the existence of multiple instantiations. The biggest challenge is the ubiquity – yet impermanence – of both the activity and its materials. The details of private music-making within Brahms's circle can be partially reconstructed, but it is much harder to trace the extent of this activity beyond the orbit of a known musical personality or a canonical work. Locating such traces involves drawing a different kind of information from sources which are not necessarily event-specific, and often concern themselves with broader categories and practices. Thus, for example, publishers' catalogues, private recollections and correspondence by figures within Brahms's wider circle of friends become central to reconstructing these musical practices.

The making of *Hausmusik* sits on the cusp of a significant socio-economic change, namely the emergence of a moneyed middle class, which triggered a shift in trade practices including piano manufacture, music publishing and the growth in musical literacy. As is well known, music publishing burgeoned during the nineteenth century.² By the 1830s, the Leipzig-based music publisher Carl August Klemm already had over 14,000 items in his catalogue; by 1858 this had increased to 57,000, the vast majority of which was music specifically aimed at the amateur market, namely *Hausmusik*.³ In

¹ Letter of 1883 from Laura von Beckerath to Agathe Broadwood. K. Stephenson (ed.), *Johannes Brahms und die Familie Beckerath* (Hamburg: Christians Verlag, 1979), p. 22. All translations in this chapter are the authors' own.

² See, for example, K. van Orden (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000) and I. Lawford-Hinrichsen, *Music Publishing and Patronage. C. F. Peters: 1800 to the Holocaust* (Kenton: Edition Press, 2000).

³ These figures are drawn from W. Salmen, *Haus- und Kammermusik: Privates Musizieren im gesellschaftlichen Wandel zwischen 1600 und 1900* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik Leipzig, 1982), p. 35.

1833 Gottfried Wilhelm Fink made the essential point that the production of ‘high’ music depended upon the sales of ‘low’ music:

If it were not for the players of dances and polonaises, they could certainly not print many a concerto, oratorio and the like. Who, then, buys the most? The musician or the amateur? And thus they promote Art, which is only itself available because of the twiddlings of amateurs. We must not be too grand, faithful friends! I believe that we need one another.⁴

The catalogue of Brahms’s compositions and their arrangements produced by the publisher Rieter-Biedermann in 1898 lists copious arrangements by the composer Theodor Kirchner and others, testifying to the enduring market for such material for private performance.⁵ Thus a key aspect of *Hausmusik* was the flexibility of its repertoire, with multiple instantiations of the same piece ensuring that it would be playable in the broadest possible range of social and musical contexts.⁶ Some of these instances are downright staggering; according to the composer Robert von Hornstein, the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer – who was a passionate Rossini fan – owned the entire operas of Rossini arranged for solo flute!⁷

Descriptions of works, performers and the social nature of such private performances can be found in the recollections of Richard Fellingner, Bernhard Scholz, Ottilie Ebner and many others.⁸ These recollections attest to the extensive musical activities that took place in the homes of Brahms’s friends. Among the better documented are his friendships with notable families in Vienna, Leipzig and other cities where he worked, including the Schumanns, Herzogenbergs, Billroths, Dietrichs, Fabers and Wittgensteins, who often combined generous patronage with musical proficiency. These activities embraced both professionals and amateur musicians, and, correspondingly, repertoire ranging from the simplest to the most technically complex.

Whilst memoirs provide extensive evidence of musical performance, the challenge of interpreting such sources lies partly in defining what constitutes private music-making. The language surrounding such events is often

⁴ G. W. Fink, ‘Ueber Dilettantismus der Deutschen in der Musik,’ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 35 (January 1833), col. 10. With thanks to Uri Liebrecht for his assistance with this translation.

⁵ [n.a.], *Verzeichnis der Kompositionen von Johannes Brahms und ihrer Bearbeitungen aus dem Verlage von J. Rieter-Biedermann in Leipzig* (Leipzig: Rieter-Biedermann, 1898).

⁶ For a brief discussion of this, see T. Kneif, ‘Das triviale Bewußtsein in der Musik’ in C. Dahlhaus (ed.), *Studien zur Trivialmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1967), p. 30.

⁷ See R. von Hornstein, *Memoiren* (Munich: Süddeutsche Monatshefte, 1908), p. 110.

⁸ See R. Fellingner, *Klänge um Brahms: Erinnerungen von Richard Fellingner. Neuauflage mit Momentaufnahmen von Maria Fellingner*, ed. I. Fellingner (Mürzzuschlag: Österreichische Johannes Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1997); B. Scholz, *Verklungene Weisen* (Mainz: J. Scholz, 1911); and O. von Balassa, *Die Brahmsfreundin Ottilie Ebner und ihr Kreis* (Vienna: Franz Bondy, 1933).

ambiguous, drawing on terms now more usually associated with public or professional music-making. In a description of a Schubertiad, arguably the most important model for subsequent private music-making later in the century, it is noticeable that the language used by Josef von Spaun is the vocabulary of public performance (specifically referencing a ‘concert’ taking place within an ‘auditorium’):

A small receptive group was invited, and then the soulful songs began, which moved everyone so much, that after the rendition of a few heartrending songs, the entire feminine part of the auditorium, led by my mother and sister, dissolved into tears, and the concert ended prematurely amidst loud sobbing.⁹

Furthermore, the differentiation between ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’ was seldom clear-cut – an ambiguity which pertained even to large ensembles like the orchestral society of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna:

The orchestral society (*Orchesterverein*) of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde was founded in 1859. It was composed exclusively of non-professional musicians, whilst the orchestra for the Society concerts (*Gesellschaftskonzerte*) was made up partially of such non-professionals, professors from the conservatory, and other professional musicians.¹⁰

Despite the difficulties in tracing its details, the importance of encountering and making music in the home can hardly be overestimated; after all, it is in the home that all musicians are first exposed to music. The alto Amalie Schneeweiss, later Joachim (1839–99), came from a music-loving family; her father was a government official who played the violin in a string quartet; her mother sang, her sister played piano, her brother cello.¹¹ Although her future husband Joseph Joachim (1831–1907) came from a relatively unmusical household, according to his biographer and colleague Andreas Moser it was the singing of his second-oldest sister Regina at home that inspired him to play the violin.¹² Brahms’s own father played a range of instruments, principally the double-bass; Clara Schumann’s father was the renowned piano pedagogue Friedrich Wieck. Even when such figures had gained professional renown, they often continued to place great value on private music-making. Thus, Joachim wrote to Amalie Joachim in 1867: ‘I

⁹ Salmen, *Haus- und Kammermusik*, p. 33.

¹⁰ O. Biba, *Johannes Brahms in Wien*, *Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*, 19 April–30 June 1983 (Vienna: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1983), p. 38.

¹¹ B. Borchard, *Stimme und Geige: Amalie und Joseph Joachim: Biographie und Interpretationsgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), p. 148.

¹² See A. Moser, *Joseph Joachim: Ein Lebensbild*, revised edn, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1908–10), p. 5.

unwillingly relinquish the time with you and the children, and the quartets and Scottish songs [by Beethoven] at home.’¹³ Clara Schumann wrote to her cousin Elisabeth Werner on 10 April 1861 from Düsseldorf that she had met the Kufferath family in Brussels, and that the hours of music-making that she had made with Ferdinand Kufferath ‘were the most beautiful hours of her entire trip’.¹⁴

Bernhard Scholz also suggested that the home provided a venue for performances of works which might not be successful in the concert hall:

[Joachim] often spent the evenings with us... He preferred most of all to play pieces with me which he could not perform in concerts, such as the Bach and Mozart sonatas for violin and piano, and the smaller of the Beethoven and Haydn Trios, in which the pianist can replace the cello part for domestic use.¹⁵

Clara Schumann implied the same when she described Brahms’s Variations on a Theme of Paganini Op. 35 as unsuitable for the concert hall because of their complexity.¹⁶ In addition, professional concert artists could bring chamber repertoire back into the private sphere through high-quality performances. Willy von Beckerath recalled:

The musical artistry of the master had a profound effect beyond his concerts. Recommended by Brahms, and already known in the area as the soloist of the Brahms Violin Concerto, Richard Barth (b.1850), following his appointment as concertmaster in Krefeld (1882), could call into being a chamber music group particularly dedicated to Brahms, in which Barth’s brother Alwin von Beckerath took part as violist and Rudolf von der Leyen as pianist... [As von der Leyen remarked:] ‘In the first place we must thank Barth’s spirited playing for the fact that Brahms felt so well and comfortable during our private music-making... we studied the entire chamber music literature zealously.’¹⁷

Domestic performances were mutually rewarding for composers as well as for audiences. In various memoirs, a recurring theme is the highly valued

¹³ Letter to Amalie Joachim, London, late March 1867. Quoted in Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, p. 275.

¹⁴ B. Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben. Nach Tagebüchern und Briefen*, 3rd edn, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908), vol. III, p. 100.

¹⁵ Scholz, *Verklungene Weisen*, p. 139. Joachim’s semi-public concerts at the Berlin Singakademie are discussed in this respect in Chapter 2 (‘The Joachim Quartet concerts at the Berlin Singakademie’).

¹⁶ ‘They seem to me to be unsuitable for concert performance, since if not even the musician can follow all their original branchings and piquant twists, then how much more will the public stand before them as before hieroglyphs.’ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. III, p. 157.

¹⁷ Stephenson, *Johannes Brahms und die Familie von Beckerath*, p. 18. See also R. von der Leyen, *Johannes Brahms als Mensch und Freund: Nach persönlichen Erinnerungen* (Düsseldorf: Langewiesche, 1905), p. 23.

intimacy with the composer, and the exclusiveness of the event. Thus, Maria Fellerger declared: ‘we experienced precious days with Brahms, and they were most precious when no stranger was present!’¹⁸ In the circle around Franz Schubert, Ignaz von Sonnleithner recalled how ‘the precious dual gift of song was received with delight by the amateurs of art and at small intimate gatherings it was pleasant to forget in what tasteless monstrosities the great public rejoiced’.¹⁹ Theodor Billroth, in a letter to Clara Schumann of 24 October 1882 concerning a Brahms *Hauskonzert* in his Vienna home, stipulated that ‘to such evenings, I invite only artists and friends of the genuine, high art’.²⁰

Music-making outside professional contexts also engendered important social networks. Beatrix Borchard has interpreted this as a web of private and professional figures who were united by – and supported each other through – music-making:

[The] friends Johannes Brahms, Joseph Joachim, Albert Dietrich and Julius Otto Grimm supported Clara Schumann in the months after Schumann’s suicide attempt. As often as possible, they made music with her.²¹

It is clear from various accounts that musical partnerships were an important unspoken enactment and reinforcer of personal relationships, particularly in times of trouble.

Domestic music-making embraced a broad spectrum of venues, from the musician alone in a small living room, to a gathering of two or three friends in a music room, to a performance for an audience of a hundred people or more in a large space which was nevertheless private. The terminology associated with this range does not always make a clear differentiation; thus *Hausmusik*, which might imply a smaller venue, is often used interchangeably with *Salonmusik*.²² The first exploration of the notion of *Hausmusik* in

¹⁸ Letter of 17 August 1885 to Robert Hausmann. Fellerger, *Klänge*, p. 40.

¹⁹ O. E. Deutsch (ed.), *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, trans. R. Ley and J. Nowell (London: A. & C. Black, 1958), p. 226.

²⁰ At this concert, Brahms and the Hellmesberger Quartet played his new trio and string quartet. See Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. III, p. 435. For some, however, domestic music-making could be burdensome, as in the cases of Josefina Lang and Otilie Ebner, who were expected to teach all day and entertain the company all evening. On Lang, see for example F. Mendelssohn’s *Reisebriefen aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832*, ed. P. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Leipzig: H. Mendelssohn, 1869), pp. 292ff. On Ebner, see Balassa, *Die Brahmsfreundin Otilie Ebner*, p. 11.

²¹ Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, p. 89.

²² Like *Hausmusik*, the term ‘salon music’ carries a whole range of social, financial and aesthetic implications which could be used either positively or pejoratively – as discussed briefly in Chapter 13. The term is used more often to refer to larger venues, and sometimes has associations with a particular kind of virtuosic repertoire. For a discussion of this, see

the nineteenth century was probably carried out by C. F. Becker in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, who noted that although one might find no mention of *Hausmusik* in the literature of music history, it was all the more deserving of attention, given how much repertoire it involved.²³

Venues for private performances also presented a spectrum of relationships between the hosts and the participants. At one extreme, the performer was effectively a servant, although money might not actually change hands. Thus, Schubert taught piano to the Esterházy daughters, composed for their circle and performed together with the whole family. In the case of the vocal quartet *Gebet* D815, Schubert set this text for four voices at the request of the family, tailoring the vocal parts to the differing abilities of the ensemble members. It is worth pointing out that, because of the circumstances of composition, the Esterházy considered it to be their property and the work remained unpublished until 1840.²⁴ This kind of relationship endured well into the century: we can compare Brahms's employment by the court of Lippe-Detmold in the autumns of 1857–9, during which he also taught piano to the daughters of the household, composed, and conducted works for the resident choir. Similarly, Joseph Joachim provided musical entertainment for King Georg of Hanover as concertmaster and *Kammervirtuose* of the Hanoverian court between 1853 and 1866.²⁵ Scholz's memoirs shed light on the nature of these events:

The King preferred to listen to music in his family circle; Joachim and I were frequently called to the ruler's home of an evening . . . The King could cope with unbelievable quantities of music; he liked appealing and charming music, and also good music, provided it also had these qualities; and thus he found a way to connect with Joachim's art. Certain pleasing pieces, for example a Barcarolle and Gavotte by Spohr, he requested repeatedly. How often we played these for him! Apart from

H. C. Worbs, 'Salonmusik' and I. Fellingner, 'Die Begriffe *Salon* und *Salonmusik* in der Musikanschauung des 19. Jahrhunderts' in Dahlhaus (ed.), *Trivialmusik*. Longer studies include P. Wilhelmy-Dollinger, *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert: 1780–1914* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989); and A. Ballstaedt and T. Widmaier, *Salonmusik: Zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989). An account of Viennese salons in Brahms's day can be found in the playwright Adolf Wilbrandt's memoirs. See A. Wilbrandt, *Erinnerungen* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1905), pp. 162ff.

²³ See C. F. Becker, 'Zur Geschichte der Hausmusik in früheren Jahrhunderten' in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 7/7, 7/8 and 7/9 (25 July, 28 July and 1 August 1837), pp. 25–6, 29–30, 33–4.

²⁴ See G. Johnson, *Franz Schubert: The Complete Songs*, vol. I (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 641–4.

²⁵ Scholz, *Verklungene Weisen*, pp. 139–40. The king, who was blind, was an unusually musical man; he played the piano and composed over 200 works. See also Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, p. 97.

that, he enjoyed one of the Mozart sonatas and simpler Beethoven sonatas, or the variations from the Kreutzer Sonata. A programme was not decided in advance; the King selected from the works which we brought with us; Joachim knew well what he liked.²⁶

Professional musicians also organised high-profile private performances themselves, in which they might participate, for example Pauline Viardot-Garcia, whose home was described in 1878 by Edward Krüger as a ‘temple of house music’.²⁷

Within the homes of the Feller and Wittgenstein families, performers enjoyed enormously high status and programmed what they wanted, and the sponsors generally did not participate as active musicians.²⁸ The gatherings were also notably convivial, often including food and conversation. Brahms’s friend, the distinguished surgeon Theodor Billroth, hosted regular concerts at his Vienna home, in which the trappings of professional and amateur musical events were freely mixed.²⁹ For example, on 14 March 1881, he hosted a private concert for which a substantial programme, including the texts of the vocal quartets Opp. 31, 52, 64 and 65, was professionally printed. Despite this formal approach, the evening was described as a ‘cosy evening of Brahms’ [*gemüthlicher Brahms-Abend*]; and the programme also stated, in large print, ‘the selection and order of the programme numbers will be determined by the composer’ [*Die Auswahl und Reihenfolge der Programm-Nummern wird vom Componisten bestimmt*].³⁰ The repertoire on offer included the Violin Sonata in G major Op. 78 (‘Regenlied’), solo piano works and the vocal quartet sets listed above.

The synergy between public performance and music sales was recognised and exploited by the publishing industry, as well as by individual

²⁶ Scholz, *Verklungene Weisen*, pp. 145–6. Chapter 7 discusses in more depth the four-hand piano arrangements of Joachim’s orchestral work, and their existence within a private circle.

²⁷ Feller, ‘Die Begriffe *Salon* und *Salonmusik* in der Musikanschauung des 19. Jahrhunderts’, p. 137.

²⁸ See also Chapter 9 (‘Brahms in the Wittgenstein homes’) for a discussion of music-making in the Wittgenstein circle.

²⁹ Otto Gottlieb-Billroth also mentioned another small-scale type of private performance in the Billroth home, for example the Hellmesberger or Joachim Quartet playing just for Brahms, the critic Eduard Hanslick and Max Kalbeck. See O. Gottlieb-Billroth (ed.), *Billroth und Brahms im Briefwechsel* (Berlin: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1935), pp. 115–16.

³⁰ Original programme, D-LÜbi. See also Chapter 4, p. 99 for reference to this concert. In a letter to Billroth prior to this performance, Brahms remarked that there was far too much vocal repertoire on offer, and that the booklet could be reused at a later date for a subsequent performance of those pieces not included on 14 March. Letter of [11 March 1881] in Gottlieb-Billroth, *Billroth und Brahms*, pp. 306–7.

performers such as Amalie Joachim, and composers including Brahms himself.³¹ But private performances at the homes of notable music publishers also served the purpose of ‘advertising’ new publications to music-lovers, thus exemplifying the commercial relationship between public and private experiences of repertoire. As is discussed in more detail in Chapters 11 (‘Music inside the home and outside the box’) and 12 (‘The limits of the lied’), concert audiences who attended performances might then become performers of the same repertoire in arrangements at home. In countries like Switzerland, state-sponsored music was still in its infancy in the 1860s, and the role of this kind of private music-making was even more crucial for the publishers to disseminate their composers’ new works. Thus Melchior Rieter-Biedermann’s house concerts at his home ‘Zum Schanzengarten’ in Winterthur provided an opportunity to hear works by Brahms which simply could not be heard publicly elsewhere.³² Similarly, Brahms’s publisher Fritz Simrock, together with his wife Clara, hosted salons at their home ‘Am Carlsbad 3’ for Berlin musicians and artists, which were ‘more sought after than the concerts’ and furthermore ‘available to anyone’.³³

As discussed in greater depth in Chapters 4 (‘Where was the home of Brahms’s piano works?’) and 12, the technical ability of the performers naturally conditioned what could be performed and how. Even Brahms’s circle, which was hardly typical, embraced everyone from professionals to exceptionally gifted amateurs like Elisabeth von Herzogenberg, and moderately able amateurs like Billroth, Doris Groth and the Fellingiers. Since Clara Schumann, in particular, was active as a piano teacher, many of her students were also involved in informal musical gatherings and would have performed alongside both amateurs and experienced professionals. Friedrich Wagner, as a student of both Brahms and Clara Schumann, recalled playing four-hand piano with Brahms, and works such as

³¹ B. Borchard, ‘Amalie Joachim und die gesungene Geschichte des deutschen Liedes’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 58/4 (2001), pp. 265–99.

³² See S. Ehrismann, ‘Die Schweizer Inspirationen von Johannes Brahms’, in Schweizerischer Bankverein, Seeparkzentrum Thun (ed.), *‘Hoch aufm Berg, Tief im Thal...’: Die Schweizer Inspiration von Johannes Brahms* (Zurich: Musik Hug, 1997), p. 21. Brahms was evidently deeply impressed with the circumstances surrounding one of his earliest Swiss performances, on 3 December 1865, when he played the Schumann Piano Concerto with an orchestra led by Friedrich Hegar and conducted by Kirchner. The whole event was privately organised and funded. Ehrismann argues that Swiss audiences particularly associated Brahms with *Hausmusik* genres.

³³ R. Lienau, *Ich erzähle: Erinnerungen eines alten Musikverlegers* [unpublished], quoted in Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, p. 289.

three-piano concerti by Bach with the composer's brother Fritz and Clara Schumann.³⁴

Various aspects of private music-making in Brahms's circle, such as the free mixing of amateurs and professionals, show continuity with practices from Schubert's day. Within Schubert's musical circle, singers ranged from the composer himself to Therese Grob, who sang in the local parish church, Johann Michael Vogl, a retired opera singer, and Anna Milder-Hauptmann, an outstanding professional who was perhaps best known for her performances of the role of Leonore in Beethoven's *Fidelio*. In other situations, performers and hosts also overlapped. Eduard von Bauernfeld recalled that in February 1825, Moritz von Schwind brought Schubert to meet him, and upon that occasion they 'went to the piano, where Schubert sang and we also played duets, and later to an inn till far into the night'.³⁵ Salmen also mentions the 'Lese- und Tischgesellschaft' at the home of Weber's son-in-law Friedrich Alberti, which included performances of songs with refrains in which all could participate.³⁶ Similarly, many competent amateurs who hosted performances within their own homes were to be found within the Brahms circle. For example, Billroth was a sufficiently accomplished pianist for Brahms to request, in 1870: 'Most honoured Herr Doctor! Would you perhaps want, and have time, to test the playability of a four-hand arrangement of my G minor Quartet with me? I would like to ask about this in advance for tomorrow (Monday) afternoon.'³⁷

Finally, amateur or professional musicians might perform privately for pleasure with no audience present at all. For example, Florence May's biography describes how, in Zurich in 1866: 'After an early dinner . . . [Brahms] would drop in at a friend's house, generally Kirchner's, pass an hour or two in informal sociability, and often make music with some of the resident

³⁴ S. Drinker, *Brahms and His Women's Choruses* (Merion, PA: Musurgia Publishers, 1952), p. 10. These performances took place at Heins's piano store, since Friedchen's piano was being repaired – hence the availability of the three instruments.

³⁵ Deutsch, *Memoirs*, p. 227.

³⁶ The term 'Lese- und Tischgesellschaft' describes a gathering in which people might read literature and sing, gathered around a table or a piano. 'Many "songs at the piano" [*Lieder beim Claviere*] ended in a choral refrain [*Chorrefrain*], because one usually sat in a semi-circle around the instrument, or around a table, and thus was encouraged to join in the singing': Salmen, *Haus- und Kammermusik*, p. 31. See also J. F. Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe: geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Österreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, ed. G. Gugitz, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Kunst- und Industrie-Comtoir, 1810), vol. II, p. 13.

³⁷ Gottlieb-Billroth, *Billroth und Brahms*, p. 189. He is referring to the Piano Quartet in G minor Op. 25.

musicians.³⁸ Berthold Litzmann's biography of Clara Schumann also mentions several such occasions, such as one in March 1841, when Mendelssohn visited to play through his newly composed Duo with her. He then followed this spontaneously with a 'just beautiful' rendition of some of his Songs without Words.³⁹

Repertoire for the home

Carl Dahlhaus has argued that a differentiation between serious music and music for entertainment was largely a question of perception:

In the second half of the century a division in programmes gradually prevailed, through which the codes *U(nterhaltungsmusik)* and *E(rnste musik)* in broadcasting language were invented; but in the first [half of the century], it was not seldom that the same pieces which were played in the opera and symphonic concerts were also played in the annual market and the beer garden.⁴⁰

He further argues that all music shares elements of functionality and autonomy, although the polarisation between these two 'types' has affected the way in which these repertoires have been treated within musicological discourse.⁴¹ Thus, while it is tempting to imagine that most music which was performed in private by amateurs was 'trivial', evidence suggests that the boundaries between the different aesthetic categories of music were much more porous within the home. Any work, including symphonies and oratorios, bore the potential to be realised in a domestic setting through the existence of arrangements. Conversely, numerous works which seemed to be obviously intended for the home crossed into the concert hall; and different people might perceive the suitability of a work for the home or the concert hall differently. For instance, Walter Hübbe considered the *Liebeslieder-Walzer* Op. 52 to be primarily domestic, despite the fact that they received many highly acclaimed public performances.⁴² Thus it was perfectly acceptable for Brahms to programme a concert at the Kleiner Wörmerscher

³⁸ F. May, *The Life of Johannes Brahms*, 2 vols. (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), vol. II, p. 46.

³⁹ Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, vol. II, p. 86.

⁴⁰ Dahlhaus, 'Vorwort', in *Trivialmusik*, p. 11. Dahlhaus discusses the various differentiations between musical types, including Schumann's division of Classicists (*Reaktionären* or *Klassikern*), the Romantics, who looked to the future, and the Moderns (*Modernen*). He also discusses the division between folk music and 'trivial' music, because the former is associated with longevity and the latter is 'linked to the present'.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴² 'The so-called "Liebeswalzer", which appeared shortly after, found general approval in private circles, without really succeeding in being effective in public.' See W. Hübbe, *Brahms in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Lütcke & Wulff, 1902), p. 53. See also Chapter 11 of this volume.