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1 Introduction

Italian opera and German historiography

January 2001 saw Parma in full festival. The former ducal capital hosted Italy's official centennial commemorations of the death of Giuseppe Verdi, including the first part of a large international conference and a star-studded performance of his *Messa da Requiem*. Banners and posters bearing Verdi's likeness sprang up across town (the portrait chosen was Giovanni Boldini's 1886 colour pastel of the aged composer);[1] impressive piles of publications and composer-related merchandise decorated well nigh every shop window. It was in this exalting atmosphere that a local journalist cornered one of the few German participants in the conference. What, he asked her, did the Germans make of Verdi these days? When she objected that she was hardly qualified to speak on behalf of her nation's taste, the reporter shifted ground. Shouldn't the Germans care more about Wagner? Or did her presence in Parma indicate that she, personally, preferred Verdi? Her response – that both composers were popular in Germany, and that it was perfectly possible to like both – satisfied him no better. He persisted until he got what he wanted: the sensational news (proclaimed not without irony) that, nowadays at least, all Germans *loved* Verdi.

I start with this personal anecdote because, though well outside the time-frame of my book, it encapsulates several of its themes. On the most basic level, it demonstrates the extent to which music is able – and seen fit – to rouse feelings of collective identity. Although Parma has, in recent years, rehashed the Verdi festival to raise its regional profile (and, hence, its tourist appeal), the focus in 2001 was clearly on Verdi as national icon. This was driven home by all those Italian flags that framed the Verdi banners, not to mention the attendance of the Italian president and other state dignitaries. To be sure, on centenary day itself the centre-left national daily *La Repubblica* published a survey revealing that the average Italian's knowledge of operatic matters was rudimentary at best. But the survey also demonstrated that expertise in the life and works of Verdi was not required for counting him among the 'great' nineteenth-century Italians who 'glorify' their country: he still topped the list of national heroes, garnering twice as many votes as his closest contenders,

[1] The portrait is reproduced in Francesco Degrada (ed.), *Verdi e la Scala* (Milan, 2001), 45.

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Garibaldi and Manzoni.[2] Verdi, in short, is one of the most famous Italian citizens in history, and he is a figure of national pride precisely because of his *inter*national esteem. This explains why the journalist so badly wanted to interpret my presence in Parma as proof of German 'surrender'.

Significantly, though, the reporter was not interested in my French, English and American colleagues: it was the Germanic angle he needed. Beyond highlighting Verdi's iconic position in Italian culture, this attitude shows that such national identification is often fostered by defining an outsider, by marking out the boundaries of one's own group through comparison with an Other; and this Other, in the case of nineteenth-century Italian opera, is obviously German music – a relation still frequently epitomised in the opposition of Verdi and Wagner. There are good reasons, of course, for pitting these two against each other. Since the late nineteenth century, they have been thought the most eminent opera composers of their time. Both were born in 1813. Both started out in the late 1830s. For both, the 1870s were an important turning point in their careers (albeit for different reasons). And both continue to loom large in global operatic programmes. What is more, both were deeply affected by the parallel course of their native countries. During the nineteenth century, the Italian and the German lands each sought to unify their splintered ensembles of territories, and both achieved political unity through military victories within a decade of each other, Italy in 1860 (with later acquisitions), Germany in 1871. In the process of nation-building before and after unification, both relied on culture to summon feelings of national identity, especially after the failed 1848 revolutions; and for both countries, this meant above all a turn to music, the art form in which they – arguably more than any other European nation – could boast a long-standing and widely disseminated heritage. The elevation of Verdi and Wagner to the status of national emblems was thus intricately linked to Italy's and Germany's need for unifying symbols during the protracted phase of political state-building and, thereafter, for cementing culturally the achieved unity.

Yet precisely because both composers fulfilled such similar functions nationally while competing onstage internationally, they also came to signify each nation's respective enemy – the Other, the rival – that imperilled its ascent. This musical antagonism was partly grounded in foreign policy, resonating above all with the long territorial quarrels between Habsburg Austria and northern Italy; after 1945, such hostilities flared up again when Italians blamed German Nazism (as opposed to Italian fascism) for the devastation wrought by World War II.[3] Bearing this historical background in

[2] *Gli album de La Repubblica*. Special Verdi supplement (27 January 2001), 20–1.

[3] A good survey of Austro-Italian relations is Rupert Pichler, *Italiener in Österreich, Österreicher in Italien. Einführung in Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft und Verfassung 1800–1914* (Vienna, 2000); cultural

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mind, that Parma journalist's question suggests more than sensation-seeking curiosity about the Germans' positions towards their musical tradition or collective identity. Rather, it harkens back to a binary mode of thinking that was fundamental to nineteenth-century European art music. As such, it can point us to a more general, indeed vital, aspect of the nexus between music and national identity – one that previous scholarship has for the most part left under-articulated: the role of foreign culture in the development of a nation's self-image. In particular, it reveals the importance of Italian music in defining what it meant to be German. How did members of the German cultural community perceive Verdi during the various phases of national consolidation? When and how did they encounter his operas, and did their responses to Wagner really get in the way of appreciating Verdi? Moreover, can we generalise about musical tastes of German speakers in the first place, thus lumping together developments across different geographic spaces and political systems, across time, across social and gender divides?

Verdi and the Germans addresses these questions from a variety of historical perspectives. It seeks to provide answers by focusing not on composers and works hailed as national idols, but on a foreigner who – sometimes through his mere presence in the repertory, sometimes more subtly by way of musical style, plot structures or personal appearance – counteracted this one-way association between nationalism and a nation's own cultural products. In short, my book examines the function of music in the context of nation-building by crossing national boundaries. It looks at the position of a musical 'outsider' within a nation desperate to assert its cultural supremacy; and it confronts the construction of this Other with images of the German Self in both musical and wider political contexts. As I shall argue, Verdi is uniquely suited for these purposes. After all, Italian opera had been the most prominent and most institutionally backed foreign musical influence in German lands since at least the eighteenth century, routinely eclipsing the works of native composers. From the mid-1850s, its success was chiefly due to Verdi. That he continued the Italian grip on opera was particularly vexing at a time when German composers were preoccupied with finding their own operatic voice, not least because the Italian-born genre remained the most sumptuous, most representative and, hence, most politically prestigious among the 'serious' performing arts.

In the broadest terms, then, my book studies the presence and perception of Verdi (the man and his works) in German-speaking countries in light of

interactions are discussed in Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig and Marco Meriggi (eds.), *Österreichisches Italien, Italienisches Österreich? Interkulturelle Gemeinsamkeiten und nationale Differenzen vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Vienna, 1999).

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changing visions of nationhood. One of its central tenets is that the connection between musical reception and larger socio-political developments is never one-sided: the attitudes towards Verdi did not just reflect prevailing cultural belief-systems but also helped formulate them.[4] In order to bring these complex interdependencies to the fore, I zoom in on a politically and musically dense segment of German history: one during which national definitions were of prime concern. My chronological starting point symbolises this double perspective: the year in which German unification was achieved with the foundation of the *Kaiserreich* (1871) coincided with the premiere of *Aida*, the opera that marked the climax of Verdi's international fame. Moreover, the book's timeframe encompasses several historical periods that have usually been treated separately: the German Empire, the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. Although these relate to the political state of Germany, I will include developments across the German-language intellectual community, both within and outside Germany's respective borders: true to eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century understandings of the German 'cultural nation', it is this community to which 'the Germans' of my title refers. My book also spans seminal developments in music history, from the consolidation of late romantic musical styles through the waning of tonality and inherited genres to the rise and decline of high modernist ideals; and it bridges the reception of Verdi during the last decades of his life with that of the first half-century after his death.

Thus, *Verdi and the Germans* transcends not only national borders; it also crosses boundaries typical of historical and musical periodisation. What is more, it looks beyond the horizons of musical life into wider social, economic and political spheres, seeking to trace – in what cultural ethnologist Clifford Geertz has called 'thick description' – refractions of these cultural realms in specific musical discourses.[5] It aims to uncover important yet hitherto largely neglected aspects of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German musical world, ones that had significant (and often long-lasting) bearing also on the emerging discipline of musicology. Since the genesis of these aspects and of many prevalent music-historical modes of reception

[4] For a nuanced reflection on the ways in which music can mark and reinforce socio-cultural identities, see Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, 'On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music' in their edited volume *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley, 2000), 1–58, esp. 31–5.

[5] Though coined by Gilbert Ryle, the term 'thick description' was made known in cultural anthropology by Clifford Geertz, in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), 3–30. A summary of recent (increasingly broad) understandings of the term 'culture' is in Tony Bennett's eponymous entry in Bennett *et al.* (eds.), *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Oxford, 2005), 63–9.

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was so intricately entwined with the rise of nationalism, a lot can be gained from discussing both developments together. In order to clarify this dual methodological direction, I will briefly survey salient trends in the study of music and nationalism before outlining in more detail, and against this theoretical frame, some key historical backdrops to Verdi's appearance on the German map. What follows, in short, will be a double exposition of the methodological and historical considerations that form the backbone of this book.

Music and Germanness

To explore music's links with nationalism is, of course, not a new idea. On the contrary, the last two decades have witnessed a surge of interest in the interactions between everything national and what Pierre Bourdieu has called the 'field of cultural production'.[6] This interest has partly been advanced by rapid geopolitical changes. Since the 1989 revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe, for example, many smaller nations of the former Soviet Union have experienced a sharp rise of nationalism in conjunction with claims to political independence; and these claims typically go hand-in-hand with an emphasis on distinct cultures – just as had been the case in nineteenth-century Italy and Germany.[7] In the academic world since the 1980s, the examination of nationalism's socio-cultural implications has gained additional impetus from 'constructivist' approaches. At base, these share the premise that nations are not historically given objects but contingent constructs of human minds – in Benedict Anderson's influential formulation, they are 'imagined communities' whose appeal as prime common denominator of collective identities stems from their ideological suffusion of all strands of life.[8] Such an understanding directs interest away from pre-existing ethnic, linguistic, geographic or territorial factors and towards the multifarious processes by which nations are 'built' or 'formed'. The resulting paradigm shift has contributed to the increasing attention historians have recently paid to musical life; vice versa, it has encouraged

[6] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York, 1993), esp. 29–73.

[7] On this parallel, see also Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara, 2004), esp. 73–6.

[8] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London, 1991). Similarly influential was the notion of collective identity as fostered by 'invented traditions', suggested by Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions' in Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 1–14.

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musicologists to address the socio-political dimensions of Western art music.[9]

It is hardly coincidental that these latter investigations have centred on German lands. For one thing, as mentioned, culture played a particularly crucial role for German identity. Political unification came late (in a Western European context); and when it did come, the *Kaiserreich* excluded many German-language territories. This meant that cultural avenues were all the more important in fostering a sense of national integration: something the political scientist Friedrich Meinecke notoriously identified with his concept of a *Kulturnation*.[10] For another, Austro-German composers of the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries still reign supreme in the world of 'classical' music, dominating the instrumental and a considerable share of the operatic and vocal repertories. This elevated position has significant precedents. As early as the late eighteenth century, German critics fêted instrumental works of their compatriots as superior to those of other nations (particularly Italy and France), styling the whole tradition of instrumental music – above all the symphonic genre – as a German invention.[11] By the mid-nineteenth century, the quickly solidifying concert repertories contained an increasing portion of older music; and the large number of works associated with German culture prompted intellectuals to imagine Germany not just as the 'country of poets and thinkers' but as the 'land of music'.[12] Being devoid of linguistic

[9] On various such dimensions, see Bohlman, *The Music*; and Martin Stokes, 'Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music' in Stokes (ed.), *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford, 1994), 1–27. For recent examples of historians' engagement with music, see the special issue 'Demarcation and Exchange: "National" Music in 19th Century Europe', *Journal of Modern European History* 5/1 (2007), 22–159.

[10] Friedrich Meinecke, *Cosmopolitanism and the National State* (1908), trans. Robert B. Kimber (Princeton, 1970), 9–22. Recent scholars have underlined that the concept of 'Kulturnation' is, of course, as political as that of the 'Staatsnation'; see Brian E. Vick, *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2002). For a philosophical perspective on Germany's need for art to foster its identity, see Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe and Jean-Luc Nancy, 'The Nazi Myth', trans. Brian Holmes, *Critical Enquiry* 16 (1990), 299. A superb survey of the historiography of late nineteenth-century Germany, including the rise and fall of the *Sonderweg* idea, is in Matthew Jefferies, *Contesting the German Empire, 1871–1918* (Oxford, 2008), 7–46.

[11] John Deathridge, 'The Invention of German Music, *c.* 1800' in Tim Blanning and Hagen Schulze (eds.), *Unity and Diversity in European Culture c. 1800* (Oxford, 2006), 35–60; also Mark Evan Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton, 2006), esp. 88–9. This was notwithstanding the roots of the concept of 'absolute music' in predominantly French aesthetics; John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven, 1986).

[12] Fine surveys of how music gradually became linked with German nationalism include Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, 'Germans as the "People of Music": Genealogy of an Identity' in Applegate and Potter (eds.), *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago, 2002), 1–35; and Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the 'St. Matthew*

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associations, instrumental music was also deemed less nationally confined, or more 'universal', than vocal music, a quality handily signalled by the contemporary catchword 'absolute music'.[13] Partly because of a concurrent fundamental shift in aesthetics – one that accorded music a top rank among the arts – instrumental works were viewed as manifestations of the all-embracing human spirit and, hence, as more valuable than other genres (the domains of other nations).[14]

This post-Enlightenment conception of the universality-cum-superiority of German music, in turn, seminally affected the nascent musicological discipline, which emerged in part from German criticism and its concern with legitimising and interpreting instrumental works. As musicology gained ground in Austrian and German universities later in the nineteenth century, so did the notion of the centrality of German music; with the twentieth-century diaspora of German-language academics, it powerfully influenced even Anglo-American scholarship.[15] One result was that the 'impure' genre of opera did not fare well in the academy: after all, it mixed different media, involved several creators and, alas, depended more heavily than instrumental music on social conventions and financial patronage. Moreover, the compositional endeavours of smaller nations – ones that did not boast such well-established art music traditions as Germany, Italy and France, but were beginning to promote their own musical cultures – were stigmatised as 'national music'. As Richard Taruskin has noted, these musics were of

Passion' (Ithaca and London, 2005), 45–79. For the development of European concert repertories, see William Weber, *Music and the Middle Classes: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848*, 2nd edn (Aldershot, 2004), esp. 20–34, and *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge, 2008). On the idea of Germany as a 'country of poets and thinkers' (which did not become a linguistic stereotype before the 1870s), see Günther Blaicher, 'Die Deutschen als "das Volk der Dichter und Denker". Entstehung, Kontexte und Funktionen eines nationalen Stereotyps', *Historische Zeitschrift* 287 (2008), 319–40.

[13] On this concept, see Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago and London, 1989), 1–41; and Daniel K. L. Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge, 1999), esp. 224–7.

[14] An astute analysis of this development is provided by Bernd Sponheuer, 'Reconstructing Ideal Types of "German" in Music', in Applegate and Potter (eds.), *Music and German National Identity*, 36–58. For more on the aesthetic premises of early nineteenth-century music critics, see Sanna Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism, 1800–1850', PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania (1995).

[15] See Anselm Gerhard, 'Musikwissenschaft – eine verspätete Disziplin' in Gerhard (ed.), *Musikwissenschaft – eine verspätete Disziplin? Die akademische Musikforschung zwischen Fortschrittsglauben und Modernitätsverweigerung* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2000), 9–11; and David Josephson, 'The German Musical Exile and the Course of American Musicology', *Current Musicology* 79–80 (2005), 9–53; on the importance of the Beethoven paradigm for the development of music theory, see Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, 1995), 66–111.

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course no more 'national' than was that of Germanic provenance, the theory of the latter's supremacy being a product of nationalist ideology itself.[16] Small wonder that a growing number of scholars have recently set out to disentangle this problematic nexus between 'music and German national identity'.[17]

This effort is part of a major reorientation of musical scholarship – one that has been imperfectly described by the contested label 'new musicology'. At risk of joining the contention, I would suggest that Anglophone scholars of this 'new' generation were driven by a desire to release music from the enclosed metaphysical realm envisioned by German idealists. They began to treat works no longer as basically autonomous – as emanations of genius largely closed off from the contexts of their creation and timeless in value – but as part of a complex cultural practice which includes a web of agents related to composition, performance, dissemination and reception. To put this differently, Western art music has become subject to approaches familiar from ethnomusicology: it has been recontextualised in its anthropological, socio-economic and political milieux. And these approaches are important also for an understanding of how music has been, and can be, imbued with national meaning. For, as Carl Dahlhaus (one of the complicated godfathers of this changing attitude) has pointed out, the concept of a 'national style' is located less in the music than in its reception: it relates 'not so much to substance as to function'.[18] Music's construal as a site of collective identity – like the spread of national thought – is, in other words, contingent upon discourse.[19]

It comes as little surprise, then, that research on music and nationalism has been informed by an increasing emphasis on reception history, as articulated since the late 1960s by Hans Robert Jauss and other literary scholars. Treating the 'receiver' as equal in importance to both author and work, Jauss imagined literary history as a dialectical mediation, or 'fusion', of the horizons of author and audience by means of a new work: the latter's 'aesthetic

[16] Richard Taruskin, 'Nationalism [sections 4–7]' in *Grove Music Online* (accessed 15 May 2009).

[17] Thus the title of the important recent volume edited by Applegate and Potter, *Music and German National Identity*. See also Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler (eds.), *Deutsche Meister – böse Geister? Nationale Selbstfindung in der Musik* (Schliengen, 2001); and, for earlier complaints about the dearth of such studies, Applegate, '"How German is it?" Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century', *19th-Century Music* 21 (1998), 274–5.

[18] Carl Dahlhaus, 'Nationalism and Music' in his *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, trans. Mary Whittall (Berkeley, 1980), 91.

[19] See Applegate and Potter, 'Germans', 3. The importance of print culture is a central tenet in Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. A survey of the rise of music criticism is in Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 45–124.

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distance' from the existing 'space of experience' (*Erfahrungsraum*) would be absorbed, historically, by an adjustment of the receiver's 'horizon of expectation' (*Erwartungshorizont*).[20] Initially, at least, this formulation preserved the traditional focus on artistic 'progress' and 'masterworks'. However, when musicologists adopted it in the 1970s, reception theory gradually undermined their faith in music's self-sufficiency and in innovation as the keynote of historiography. It opened the possibility that the most characteristic compositions of an era were not necessarily the most aesthetically challenging, but perhaps the ones that addressed current cultural needs most directly, even if they were neither new nor original.[21]

In a related challenge to music-historical orthodoxy, Anglo-American scholars, likewise inspired by literary theory, began to question the concept of the 'canon' – the body of works, authors, topics or methods that have become the default object of aesthetic validation and cultural currency. Critique of the seemingly authoritarian 'canonic' status has been levelled since the 1970s, with post-colonial verve, against the dominance of Western art music in general and the German hegemony in particular, whether in academic syllabi, methodologies or critical writing. Loud calls for deconstruction followed. Yet, strangely, these calls seldom led to detailed investigations of how such academic canons were (and are) shaped, and how they relate to performing repertories and other manifestations of artistic selection. Instead, scholars tended to ascribe the activity of 'arbitrating tastes; performing evaluation *qua*

[20] Hans Robert Jauss, *Die Theorie der Rezeption – Rückschau auf ihre unerkannte Vorgeschichte* (Konstanz, 1987), 5. His most influential essay is still 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory' (1970) in *Toward an Aesthetics of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis, 1982), 3–45. For further developments of his concepts, see *Ästhetische Erfahrung und literarische Hermeneutik* (Frankfurt, 1982), 657–752. Jauss's colleague Wolfgang Iser proposed a related shift in his phenomenological theories of the reading process, above all in *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore and London, 1974). In the United States, similar ideas were discussed under the rubric of Reader-Response Criticism. The West German turn towards reception history in the late 1960s, of course, carried its own political subtext; for some background, see James Hepokoski, 'The Dahlhaus Project and its Extra-Musicological Sources', *19th-Century Music* 14 (1991), esp. 223–6.

[21] See Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Cambridge, 1983), 150–65; on his concept of a 'relative autonomy of music history', see *Foundations*, 108–29. For recent reassessments of reception studies within musicology (with further references), see esp. Klaus Kropfinger, 'Rezeptionsforschung' in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, *Sachteil*, 9 vols., VIII (Kassel, 1998), 200–24; Mark Everist, 'Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value' in Nicholas Cook and Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford, 1999), 378–402; and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, 'Musikwissenschaft und musikalisches Kunstwerk. Zum schwierigen Gegenstand der Musikgeschichtsschreibung' in Laurenz Lütteken (ed.), *Musikwissenschaft. Eine Positionsbestimmung* (Kassel, 2007), 67–87.

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valuation; specifying favorites – what's good and what isn't; excluding and evading the noncanonic' one-sidedly to the ruling classes, the intellectuals and, above all, the musicological discipline.[22] As today's globalised economy demonstrates, though, validating criteria are moulded only tangentially by political or academic elites in isolation. Many agents are involved in putting a musical work into circulation, whether through performance, in print or on record. Frank Kermode's blanket hypothesis that '[o]pinion is the great canon-maker' seems a more sensible starting point for our enquiry: it invites open-minded exploration of how, when, why and by whom such opinions were formed or altered.[23]

In this sense, *Verdi and the Germans* might be read as a case-study in canon-formation. After all, the emergence of historical repertories and their conceptualisation as 'imaginary museums' coincided roughly with the entrance of national thought into European musical discourse. (By the same token, musical revivals have, since the nineteenth century, often been driven by an impulse to 'invent' national traditions.) However, close consideration of the multitude of factors involved, as well as the rifts between them, will necessarily challenge the notion of any single canonising process. Nor can we assume that such processes come to a halt once a particular piece, or composer, has been placed on the canonic pedestal. Continual adjustments are needed to maintain this elevated position: just as works are incessantly reinterpreted in performance, so composers are subject to historically and culturally contingent rereadings. This is particularly apparent with regard to a composer who resided in so many ways outside the accepted parameters of the canonising culture: as I shall argue, in the face of persistent repression Verdi needed to be constantly re-energised in German discourse – something that enabled his continuous reinvention in light of current cultural desires.

[22] Philip V. Bohlman, 'Epilogue: Musics and Canons' in Bohlman and Katherine Bergeron (eds.), *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons* (Chicago and London, 1992), 199; in a similar vein is Robert von Hallberg, 'Introduction' in Hallberg (ed.), *Canons* (Chicago and London, 1984), 1. For overviews over etymology and modern definitions of the term, see John Guillory, 'Canon' in Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (eds.), *Critical Terms for Literary Study* (Chicago and London, 1990), 233–49; and Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992), 103–29. On the recent German state of the debate, see the special issue 'Kanon' of *Musiktheorie* 21/1 (2006).

[23] Frank Kermode, *Forms of Attention* (Chicago and London, 1985), 74. More recently, Mark Everist has advocated studying the interactions of reception history and canon formation in his 'Reception Theories', and William Weber has argued for the urgency of historical investigations into the rise of canonic repertories; 'The History of Musical Canon' in *Rethinking Music*, 336–55, esp. 337–8.

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