Joachim's Youth—Joachim's Jewishness

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For Richard M. Schwartz

But time and change shall naught avail…

The centenary of Joseph Joachim's death has brought a welcome new focus on this important artist and has led to a substantial body of new scholarship about his life and work. This development is long overdue. The first (1898) edition of Andreas Moser's landmark biography, *Joseph Joachim: Ein Lebensbild*, was written in anticipation of the violinist's "Sixty Years' Jubilee": the anniversary celebration of his performing debut, which took place in Berlin on 17 March 1899. An updated English edition of the book, *Joseph Joachim: A Biography (1831–1899)*, translated by Lilla Durham, was published in London in 1901, while Joachim was still alive. A later expanded German edition, published by Verlag der Deutschen Brahms-Gesellschaft in 1908, the year after Joachim's death, adjoins the final chapter to the story of Joachim's remarkable career. Until recently, Moser's authorized biography has remained the only comprehensive account of Joachim's life. Others, such as Karl Storck's *Joseph Joachim: Eine Studie* (1902) and J. A. Fuller-Maitland's *Joseph Joachim* (1905), are shorter appreciations of Joachim's career and influence, which rely heavily upon Moser's work. The first modern biography, Beatrix Borchard's *Stimme und Geige: Amalie und Joseph Joachim. Biographie und Interpretationsgeschichte* (2005), is a dual biography of Joachim and his wife that brings a significant amount of new information and an original perspective to our understanding of this influential artistic couple. The recent spate of interest in Joachim, coupled with the extensive nature of Borchard's research, has given Borchard's viewpoint an unrivaled degree of authority in modern Joachim scholarship. Borchard's entries on Joachim in *Grove's Dictionary of Music* and *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* will be definitive for years to come. For these reasons, we should be especially attentive to the nuances of her work. Borchard's recent article, "'Als Geiger bin ich

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Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar'—Joseph Joachim: Identitätsfindung über Abspaltung"[1] as well as her most recent volume, *Musikwelten—Lebenswelten: Jüdische Identitätssuche in der deutschen Musikkultur*,[2] offers me an opportunity to discuss certain important aspects of Joachim's life and career as she portrays them, particularly in light of her most recent project: the exploration of "*Musik als Akkulturationsmedium*" (music as a medium of acculturation).

In a contextualizing article for her *Musikwelten—Lebenswelten* book, which commemorates the centenary of Joachim's death, Borchard writes: "The history of jazz or of rock music in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries demonstrates that music, like sport, still offers an opportunity for social advancement, specifically to people from underprivileged population groups."[3] In her Joachim biography and subsequent articles, Borchard tells the story of Joachim's early life as one of "*Entfremdung von seiner Herkunft und zugleich enormen Aufstieg*" (estrangement from his heritage, and at the same time enormous ascent).[4] Most recently, Borchard has attempted to link Joachim's identity as an acculturated Jew to certain of his aesthetic viewpoints, most notably his advocacy of "absolute" instrumental music—that is, universally comprehensible "*Musik ohne Worte*"—music without words.

At first glance, the fact that a Hungarian Jew, born in a tiny backwater town on the Austrian border could rise to the very peak of the Prussian musical establishment seems an extraordinary feat of acculturation. It is certainly a story of successful assimilation, and of a highly successful musical career. But was Joachim in any commonly accepted sense culturally or economically "underprivileged"? To what extent did he consciously use music as a "medium of acculturation"—as a tool for social advancement, or for what he himself once contemptuously referred to as "*Carrière-Sucht*" (career-addiction)? Most important, what was Joachim's Jewish identity, and what consequences, if any, did that identity have for his artistic outlook and his musical career? Given Joachim's prominence as a principal arbiter of nineteenth-century German cultural norms, these are important questions to understand. Since Joachim is here held up as a prototype for an emerging area of study—"music as a medium of acculturation"—we should examine his background with particular care.

Joachim's Youth

To tell a story of "enormous ascent," it is necessary to postulate humble beginnings. In the cited article, and in her biography, Borchard gives the

following description of Joachim's birth house (today at No. 7 Joseph Joachim Platz, Kittsee, Austria; see figure 1):

> Today, a German-language plaque hangs on the house. It was put up in 1931, on the occasion of Joseph Joachim's 100th birthday.[5] The house displays modest middle-class prosperity in the midst of rural surroundings. In reality, Joachim is said to have been born not here but in a tiny, unremarkable house diagonally across the way. After the Second World War, residents of the village allegedly hung the fallen-down plaque on the locality's most representative house, because it seemed more fitting as the birth-house of an important artist.[6]

We cannot be certain that the house at No. 7 was Joachim's birthplace. At the time of his birth, Jews were forbidden to own real property; therefore, deeds and other documentary proofs apparently do not exist.[7] Nevertheless, a photograph survives, showing the dedication of the Hungarian-language plaque that graced the house's entryway before it was replaced by the German plaque in 1931—proof that, at the very least, the house at No. 7 Joseph Joachim Platz has been recognized as Joachim's birthplace since 1911, four years after his death (figure 2).

There is nothing in Joachim's story that suggests humble origins. The Kittsee *Kehilla* (Jewish community) of Joachim's birth was one of the culturally prominent *Sheva Kehillot*, the "Seven Communities" of Deutschkreutz, Eisenstadt, Frauenkirchen, Kittsee, Kobersdorf, Lackenbach, and Mattersburg,[8] that arose in the late seventeenth century and stood under the protectorate of the powerful Esterházy family. Though small Jewish communities have existed in Austria's

Figure 1. 7 Joseph Joachim Platz, Kittsee.

Figure 2. Kittsee *Bürgermeister* Johann Werner unveiling the Hungarian plaque, July 1911. Photo courtesy Dr. Felix Schneeweis, Ethnographisches Museum Schloss Kittsee.

Burgenland region since early times,[9] the modern settlers of the *Sheva Kehillot* were refugees, driven out of Vienna by Emperor Leopold I in the early 1670s.[10] Prince Paul (Pál) Esterházy (1635–1713) accepted the outcasts into his lands and granted them his protection.[11] Though he undoubtedly did so for economic reasons, or perhaps to curry favor with the emperor, the prince was nevertheless known for his exceptionally indulgent treatment of the Jews in his lands, many of whom accepted his offer of refuge in hopes of eventual repatriation to Vienna.

The *Sheva Kehillot* were among the wealthiest of the Hungarian Jewish communities, and their members were among the best educated of Hungary's Jews.[12] In Joachim's youth, many of their residents traveled freely throughout the region, maintaining close contact with Vienna's resurgent Jewish population, as well as with the large numbers of their co-religionists in Pressburg and Pest. In the early 1820s, Joachim's maternal grandparents, Isaac and Anna Figdor, left Kittsee and settled in the Viennese *Vorstadt* of Leopoldstadt, the district along the Danube canal that was home to most of Vienna's Jewish population (figure 3).[13] That the Figdors, as Jews, were permitted to live in Vienna at that time (that is, before the loosening of residential restrictions in 1848) is an indication of special status, and suggests affluence.[14]

What we assume to be the Joachims' home was one of the largest, most attractive houses in Kittsee. By local standards, the Joachims were evidently well-to-do. According to the Hungarian census of 1821, Julius Joachim's household of five employed a servant.[15] Joseph was the seventh of eight children, the eldest of whom, Friedrich, was already

Figure 3. Vienna: Leopoldstadt from the Friedrichsbrücke, ca. 1842. In 1841, Isaac Figdor & Söhne was headquartered in the neoclassical building on the right, An der Donau No. 579.

nineteen when his little brother was born.[16] Joachim's mother, Fanny (Franziska) Figdor Joachim, was the daughter of one of the region's most successful and prominent wool merchants.[17] Joseph's father, Julius Friedrich Joachim, also a wool merchant, was born in the town of Frauenkirchen (Boldogasszony), twenty miles to the south, on the eastern edge of the Neusiedlersee.[18] The Figdors undoubtedly knew him through business relations. It seems unlikely that, as prominent members of the community, they would have allowed their daughter to marry an impoverished, incompetent, or uneducated man, or that they would have allowed their grandchildren to grow up in straitened circumstances.

Everything we know of Julius Joachim reveals a hardworking, serious character. His few surviving letters show him to be thoughtful and literate, a practical man concerned with his business and his family's welfare. Julius was involved in the family wool trade at a time when wool was a profitable and expanding business.[19] Wool was one of Hungary's principal articles of commerce and a major source of capital for the Hungarian economy, primarily because it was one of the few export commodities that the Austrian government did not tax.[20] Due to improved farming methods and the introduction of Spanish merino sheep to the region, Hungarian wool was of exceptional quality and highly prized by English woolen manufacturers.[21] Each year, nearly nine

million pounds of wool were offered for sale at the spring trade fair in Pest, most of it bought by German merchants for resale in England. This trade in wool was largely carried on by strategically networked Jewish families, many of whom, like the Figdors, had relatives placed in each of the wool-trading capitals of Europe. The Figdor family connections extended from Pest and Vienna to Leipzig, London, and Leeds. This network of family and business connections was critical to the establishment, guidance, and promotion of Joachim's musical career, which in its early years, not coincidentally, was centered in those same cities.

The Joachims were an amicable, intelligent, highly cultured family. Despite the distances that would come to separate them, they remained on intimate terms for life. In later years, Joseph grew particularly close to his older brother Heinrich, who entered the family wool trade and, as "Henry" Joachim, settled in London. There, in 1863, Henry married the "kind and amiable" Ellen Margaret Smart, a member of one of Britain's most prominent musical families. On their wedding certificate, Henry listed his father's profession as "gentleman." Henry and Ellen's son, Harold Henry Joachim (1868–1938), was Wykeham Professor of Logic at Oxford University until his retirement in 1935. Harold eventually married his own first cousin, Joseph's youngest daughter Elizabeth (1881–1968).[22] Henry and Ellen's daughter, Gertrude, married Francis Albert Rollo Russell, the son of British prime minister John Russell and the uncle of philosopher Bertrand Russell.

Another of Joseph's siblings, Johanna, married Lajos György Arányi (1812–1877), a prominent physician and university professor in Pest who, in 1844, founded one of the world's first institutes of pathology. Their son Taksony Arányi (1858–1930), Budapest's chief of police, was the father of the distinguished violinists Adila (Arányi) Fachiri (1886–1962) and Jelly d'Arányi (1893–1966).

Family wealth, culture, and connections played a critical role in the furtherance of Joseph Joachim's education and musical career. From the age of eight, he was raised by his mother's niece Fanny (Figdor) Wittgenstein and her husband Hermann. Fanny and Hermann's descendants eventually counted among the leading industrialists, merchants, musicians, philosophers, architects, collectors, and patrons of art in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe.[23]

Joachim lived at a time when being a professional musician was not necessarily viewed as a high social distinction. In a letter to his parents, for example, his uncle Wilhelm Figdor expressed himself quite strongly on the subject of his thirteen-year-old nephew's compositional studies, saying that he must persevere—because "*wenn er älter als bloßer Violinspieler dasteht, so ist er nichts*" (when he is older, if he stands there

merely as a violin player, then he is nothing).[24] For Joseph, a musical career was therefore a dubious "opportunity for social advancement."[25] On the contrary, over the course of his career, Joachim's intelligence and extraordinary personal dignity did much to elevate the common perception of the musician's status in society.[26]

> When Joachim was two years old, the family resettled in the Hungarian capital—so Moser tells us—as if a move were a natural part of life. However, Jews were tied to their place of birth. Only there did they have—if at all—the right to settle and reside. In Pest, the Joachim family initially belonged to the "neither tolerated nor *commorirten*[27] Israelites." However, since his father-in-law Isac Victor was a "*comorirte Jude*," Julius Joachim and his family were allowed to settle as "Productenhändler" [retailers] at the edge of Pest's Jewish quarter, Theresienstadt. This toleration could nevertheless be revoked at any time.[28]

The picture that Borchard paints of domestic insecurity within an alien cultural environment deserves to be questioned as well, or at least subjected to thick description. There is nothing we know of Julius Joachim's character that suggests he would take an extraordinary gamble in leaving the comfortable circumstances and relative freedom of the Kittsee *Kehilla*, taking his wife and eight children to pursue, as Borchard claims, a modest, highly insecure living on the edge of Pest's Jewish quarter. On the contrary, all evidence suggests that the move was made with a sober assessment of risk, in order to take advantage of the great financial and cultural opportunities that Jewish life in Pest provided.

The legality of the Joachims' residential status in Pest is a complicated matter. It had been fifty years since Joseph II's *Toleranzpatent* (tolerance decree) opened the door for the first Jews to settle in Pest and the other royal free cities. That door nearly slammed shut again a mere seven years later, with the emperor's deathbed renunciation of his own decrees. However, legislation passed by the Hungarian Diet prevented the royal free cities from carrying out their intended expulsion of Jews. That statute (Law 38 of 1791) nevertheless allowed the eviction any Jew who had not been a lawful resident before 1 January 1790. Though unenforced, the act was technically still in effect when the Joachims settled in Pest's Theresienstadt district. It remained on the books until 1840, when the National Assembly passed Law 29, permitting all indigenous and naturalized Hungarian Jews to settle in the royal free cities.[29]

Despite this legal ban on immigration, the Jewish population of Pest swelled dramatically, from 114 in 1787 to approximately 8,000 in 1840—the most rapid rate of growth in Europe.[30] When the Joachims

arrived in 1833, there were 1,356 Jewish families in Pest, and a total Jewish population of 6,983.[31] Of these, only 530 families enjoyed tolerated status or were *Commoranten* (sojourners)—Jews who had the right of temporary residence. Put another way, nearly two-thirds of these residents were illegal aliens whose status the government found it expedient to ignore, partly because they were engaged in beneficial or vital activities, and partly because the local authorities lacked the resources to enforce the law.[32]

During their first years in Pest, "*Productenhändler*" Joachim and his family were apparently among the city's illicit inhabitants. As a practical matter, however, their risk of expulsion was probably nonexistent. Julius may have derived some benefit from the fact that his father-in-law, Isaac Figdor—who enjoyed a rare and coveted "tolerated" status in Vienna—also had temporary residential privileges in Pest.[33] Julius may also have had family of his own in Pest: Isac Joachim, born in Frauenkirchen (Boldogasszony), and almost certainly a relative—possibly Julius's father or brother—had been living there since 1817.[34] In any case, by 1833, the days of expelling Jews from Pest were over.

Pest's well-established Jewish life centered on the Orczy House, a massive structure with three large courtyards, occupying an entire block beside the Jewish Market (*Zsidók piarca*).[35] Constructed and reconstructed over the course of the eighteenth century by the philo-Semitic Orczy family, it functioned as a kind of "metropolitan shtetl," a welcoming point and refuge within the larger city. Among the buildings in old Pest, this "Jewish caravansary" was second in size only to the Károly Barracks, encompassing 142 rooms with kitchens and 37 vaulted storerooms for the adjacent market place. Orczy House was said to offer everything that a traditional Jew may ever require in life: two synagogues (one Orthodox and one Neolog), ritual baths, a ritual slaughterer, several restaurants, numerous shops, a Jewish bookstore, and a bank.[36]

To the northeast of Orczy House lay the rapidly expanding and poorly regulated Theresienstadt district, consisting almost entirely of three- and four-story buildings, with apartments above and shops on the ground floor. With very few exceptions, the residents of Theresienstadt were the families of Jewish merchants, among whom there were, roughly speaking, three classes. At the top of the pyramid were the *Großhändler* (wholesalers), a number of whom amassed considerable fortunes, and whose appearance and lifestyle did not differ noticeably from that of the city's Christian population.[37] (Joachim's grandfather, Isaac Figdor, was a *k. k. Großhändler* in Vienna.)[38] At the bottom were the *Trödelvolk*, the "rag dealers from the tribe of David," whom a writer for the *Hungarian Miscellany* described as crowding the area near Orczy House, swarming

together like bees, trafficking among themselves, or fixing themselves upon any passerby who appeared likely to trade with them.[39]

A third class of traders were the *Händler* and *Sensale* (retailers and brokers), who, lacking the means of the *Großhändler*, were nevertheless able to carve out a substantial living for themselves as middlemen. Available sources suggest that Julius Joachim was occupied at the upper end of this middle level, and that he was able to provide his family with a comfortable middle-class living. In 1845, Julius was enrolled as a retailer with an annual income of 160 forints: toward the lower end of what a wholesaler might expect to earn, but well above the typical income for a Jewish retailer, which was between 30 and 90 forints per year.[40]

If Pest in the mid-1830s was a thriving center of commerce, it was not yet a music capital. There was as yet no indigenous Hungarian classical music culture from which a young boy, Jew or Gentile, might emerge, or to which he might acculturate. All Western musical activity had ceased under the rule of the Turks (1541–1686), and it was only in the late eighteenth century that Budapest began to establish a modest reputation as a provincial musical outpost on the southeastern edge of the German *Kulturbereich*. During the Classical era, the most important performances took place in Buda: stagings of French operas by Grétry, Monsigny, and Dalayrac, and early performances of Mozart's *Abduction from the Seraglio*, *Magic Flute*, *Marriage of Figaro*, and *Don Giovanni.* The first instrumental soloist of stature to appear there was Joseph Haydn's concertmaster Luigi Tomasini, who made the journey from Eisenstadt in 1789. Both Haydn and Beethoven visited Buda in 1800—Haydn for a performance at the royal castle of *The Creation*; Beethoven to accompany a horn player called Giovanni Punto, whose real name was Johann Wenzel Stich. "Who is this Bethover?" asked the critic for the *Ofener und Pester Theatertaschenbuch*. "The history of German music is not acquainted with such a name. Punto of course is very well known."[41]

Regular concert seasons did not begin in Pest until 1834—the year after the Joachims' arrival—when Szechényi's National Casino began hosting a series of chamber concerts. Early orchestral and concerto performances date from this period as well. Most concerts in Pest were given by local musicians: the difficulty and danger of travel, as well as restrictions by the Austrian government, conspired to keep Pest off the tour for traveling virtuosi. It was only in the late thirties that a trickle of foreign artists, including the seventeen-year-old Henri Vieuxtemps in 1837 and Ole Bull in 1839, began to take advantage of steamboat travel to debut in Pest.

It is all the more remarkable, then, that the otherwise unmusical Julius Joachim should have taken an interest in the musical education of his young son. Borchard tells us: "*Der Geigenunterricht war von vornherein berufsorientiert.*" (From the beginning, the violin studies were professionally oriented.)[42] There is no evidence of this in the first years, however. Rather, it seems that the impetus for learning violin came from the simple delight that Joseph took in hearing and making music. Joseph's sister studied voice. Young "Pepi" was fascinated by the guitar she used to accompany her songs, and is said to have spent untold hours exploring its many possibilities.[43] Joachim later told Britain's Lord Redesdale that when he was about four years old, his father went to town one day to attend a fair and brought home a "little sixpenny toy fiddle" as a "fairing" for his son. "Little Joseph seized upon it eagerly," writes Redesdale. "It became his constant companion, he contrived to coax a tune out of it, and his destiny was fixed."[44]

A memorial article in the *Pester Lloyd*, ostensibly by one of Joachim's former students, asserts a "little-known" fact that Joseph received his first formal violin lessons from Gustav Ellinger (1811–98), a first violinist and later concertmaster with Pest's German Theater.[45] Reportedly, young Joseph took his lessons together with another student, "Karl M.," who subsequently became a noted writer. When Ellinger repeatedly criticized Joseph, comparing him unfavorably to his companion, the Joachims took their son to another teacher: the concertmaster and conductor of the opera in Pest, Stanisław Serwaczyński.

After several years of study, Joseph's success in repertoire by de Bériot, Cremont, and Mayseder was such that Serwaczyński arranged for him to make his debut appearance, on 17 March 1839, at the Nemzeti Casino, nicknamed the Casino of the Nobility (*Adelskasino*), in Pest. Several portraits exist of the young debutant, showing him holding his violin, and fingering a G-major chord. Borchard says of this debut: "*Der Ort des Debüts ist bezeichnend: Das Pester Adelskasino.*" (The venue of the debut is significant: Pest's Casino of the Nobility.) Of one of the portraits, she writes: "A Jewish child from modest circumstances is here portrayed as a member of the nobility. A little prince with blond curls in a sky-blue coat adorned with mother-of-pearl buttons, of which Joachim was very proud."[46] Here, Borchard hints at unseemly pride and ambition on the part of parents and child alike. One is born a prince; to aspire to be one is pretension. On the other hand, to aspire to be a professional and, at the age of seven, to have successfully appeared in public as the protégé of a celebrated master is already an attainment worthy of praise—and pride.

The nickname *Adelskasino* is not significant.[47] The National Casino was the obvious choice of locale for Joachim's debut. Other than the *bel étage* of the coffeehouse Zu den sieben Kurfürsten, it was the only concert room then in use in the city. The concert was clearly intended to pave the way to a professional career, presenting the child in a place where he could gain the interest of influential patrons. Whether the portraits were intended to present an inflated image of wealth or status is questionable, however. It is at least as likely that they simply present a true picture of a Jewish boy from a well-to-do family, sitting for a portrait at a significant event in his life. A recently discovered portrait, thought to be of the thirteen-year-old Joachim, confirms this impression of Biedermeier wellbeing.[48] In any case, one of the portraits, done at the time of the *Adelskasino* debut can easily be read, not as the image of an ersatz prince, but as an homage to—and imitation of—a respected teacher, and an indication of legitimate aspiration (figure 4).

Joseph's successful debut brought him to the attention of an important benefactor: Count Franz (Ferenc) von Brunsvik, a liberal aristocrat and a pillar of Pest's musical community.[49] At the same time, it won him the enthusiasm of the count's sister Therese (Teréz), and of Brunsvik's old school friend, Adalbert Rosti. Brunsvik was an ardent and expert amateur cellist, and his generation-younger wife, Sidonie, a gifted pianist of professional-level attainments.[50] The couple employed the eminent violinist Leopold Jansa as a chamber music partner for their daily music making.[51]

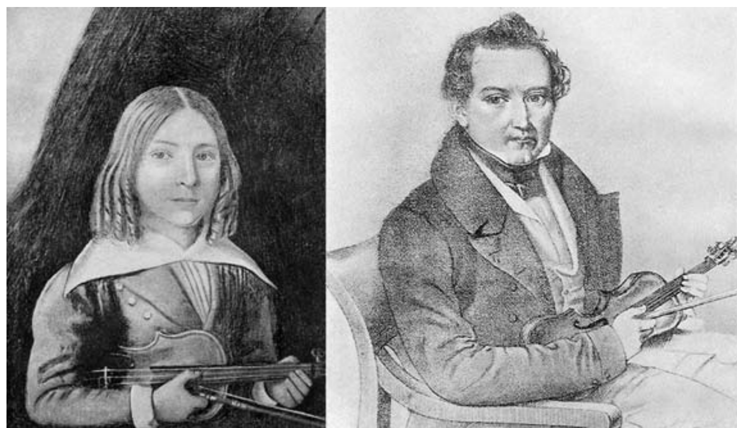

Figure 4. (A and B) Joseph Joachim at the time of his debut at the *Adelskasino* in Pest; on right, Stanisław Serwaczyński. From Andreas Moser, *Joseph Joachim: Ein Lebensbild*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1908), 1:5–8.

In Pest during the winter months, the Brunsviks hosted chamber music *soirées* several times a week, in which the best professional musicians took part—including, later in 1839, Franz Liszt, and in 1842, the twelve-year-old Anton Rubinstein.[52] After his debut, Joseph became a regular guest at these evenings. There, the seven-year-old was introduced to the great chamber music tradition of the Danube region, hearing for the first time the string quartets of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Onslow, played by professionals and amateurs who had been personally acquainted with the works' creators.[53] On several occasions "Pepi" was asked to sit in on the music making.[54] The brief time he spent in these surroundings was the beginning of his devotion to the art of string quartet playing, of which he would later become the greatest exponent. It also kindled his lifelong reverence and affinity for the works of Beethoven, whose name the child heard spoken with "holy awe."[55]

Gradually, Joachim was being drawn into what remained of Beethoven's professional milieu. Yet, just as he celebrated his first great success, he was about to lose his mentor: Serwaczyński had decided to leave his post and depart from Pest. Serwaczyński may have been among the first to suggest to the Joachims that they send their son to Vienna to continue his professional training.

Why did the Joachims want their son to become a violinist, and why send him to Vienna to study? Borchard explains:

> In Andreas Moser's Joachim biography, a sort of disguised autobiography of the violinist, the extended family makes an appearance without further comment after the first concert, in the form of his cousin Fanny Figdor. After the successful debut, she persuaded his parents to send their child to Vienna to continue his training. According to the surviving records Joachim's parents were not well-to-do, though his maternal relatives belonged to the wealthiest families in Pest [*sic*]. Given a talent worthy of promotion, it was therefore only natural that this branch of the family should undertake to pay for his training, and at the same time take control of Joachim's future. Wool merchant or virtuoso: this was the professional alternative that characterized young Joachim's initial situation. Fanny Figdor took him with her to Vienna, where, at first, he lived in his grandfather's house.[56]

Like so much in Moser's carefully managed biography, this explanation obscures as much as it reveals. By accepting it at face value, Borchard is forced to give an incomplete explanation for this momentous family decision. It is true that at this point in his life the extended family assumed a leading role in Joachim's upbringing and support. However, any suggestion that the Joachims coolly ceded their parental authority to

the wealthier, more "respectable" branch of the family is demonstrably false.[57] Recent events had made the prospect of entering the family wool business untenable, at least in the short term, and Joseph's extraordinary talent offered him an alternative career path. To understand this series of events, it is necessary to return to the previous year.

In January 1838, winter hit hard. Snow fell relentlessly in southern Europe and the ice froze three feet thick on the Danube. In Pest, even the main streets were impassable, and the work of digging out was never quite completed before the snows fell again. Twelve-foot drifts lay against the rammed-earth and timber walls of Theresienstadt's cob houses. The city was cut off from the outside world. In the midst of such ominous and crystalline silence, the river began to rise—twenty feet by 6 January—filling cellars and undermining foundations in low-lying Pest's sandy soil. A six-foot-high manure and sand embankment was built along the riverfront, and residents operated pumps day and night in a vain attempt to control the water level.

After ten days, the flood receded somewhat, but fourteen-foot levels persisted through February. In March, an upstream snowmelt swelled the waters; the thaw created large floes and ice dams as far north as Vienna, and inundated the *puszta* from Esztergom to the mouth of the Dráva River. By the morning of 13 March the Danube at Pest stood at twenty-three feet, three inches above normal. North of the city, a large ice barrier had formed at Margaret Island, creating an obstruction of gigantic proportions. That evening, the ice dam began to give way, releasing a foaming torrent of water. The embankments were breached, and the rapidly rising Danube engulfed the city with up to seven feet of icy, yellow-brown water. The flood entered the sewers with such force that they blew apart, eroding the surrounding sandy soil, and causing tremors that toppled buildings throughout the city.[58]

Wednesday, 14 March dawned dreary and raw, exposing the disaster. Eyewitness Anton Benkert wrote:

> Horror was painted on every face. . . . People stole silently through the parts of the city that were still dry, to view the inexpressible.—The most beautiful streets, where the happy crowds would promenade, where it behooved the industrious merchants and tradesmen to have their shops, resembled a muddy lake. . . . It pierced one's heart to see how the honest merchant regarded the grave of his property. All the warehouses on the Danube, all the vaults in the Waitzner-, Schlangen-, Bruck- und Dorotheer- streets, held enormous treasures in wares, which were now awash and destroyed by the flood.—No one knew how great was his loss,

> for all thought of resistance against the waves—every attempt to enter a warehouse or vault—was in vain.[59]

Things were even worse in the crescent of outlying districts. Theresienstadt, Leopoldstadt, and Franzstadt were swallowed up. Soaked and cold, the residents sought higher ground, or found refuge on rooftops. While profiteers charged as much as a hundred forints to ferry individuals across the river to Buda's high ground, exhausted rescuers searched the city in boats, rafts, washtubs, vats, and odd, makeshift craft cobbled together from loose boards—whatever could be made to float—bringing food and succor to victims. Across the Danube in Buda, the nobility struggled to provide food and shelter for the victims, and the Palatine opened his palace. All available public buildings were opened to the needy, and as many as twenty thousand found refuge in the Invalid Hospital and the Ludovicia. The latter institution, originally intended for a military academy, was reportedly filled with "filth, squalor and misery" by "the half-naked, half-famished crowd mingled together in its vast chambers and corridors."[60] Thousands remained there until May.

By 18 March nearly the entire city lay muddied and exposed, free of water. In the days that followed, the toll in lives and goods would gradually be revealed. The entire commercial sector of the city was wiped out. The shops replete with fabrics, flowers, carpets, silks and satins, bronzes and books; the warehouses full of fruit, tobacco, oil, soda, and wool were all destroyed. Benkert lamented, "In short, everything that industry and diligence of art had stored up in the flourishing commercial city of Pest, as the main storage place for all of Hungary and the Orient, was immersed in muck and mire, and most of it was completely destroyed; one had to have been in the warehouses when they were opened to be able to comprehend how incredible this unparalleled destruction was."[61] The disaster could not have hit at a worse time. The nineteenth, St. Joseph's Day, was to have been the start of the spring fair, and all the storerooms were filled to capacity.

Residences were equally hard hit. In the outlying districts, Franzstadt, Josefstadt, and Theresienstadt, entire rows of houses had been carried away, and a chaotic mess of debris hindered rescuers. Whole neighborhoods were unrecognizable. In Theresienstadt, where the Joachims lived, 811 buildings had fallen down—another 404 were gravely damaged. Only 166 stood fast. In the entire city, only a quarter of the nearly 4,600 buildings escaped unscathed. About 150–200 people perished in the flood. Fifty thousand were made homeless.

The flood is nowhere mentioned in the Joachim literature. This must be an intentional omission, as the flood's consequences—for

Julius's business at the very least—must have been severe. We know from the violinist Edmund Singer's memoirs, however, that the Joachim family lived through the event, and escaped across the river to Buda:

> My father left his house in a large dough-trough together with his family. We were lucky enough to reach the higher-situated marketplace, where we had to spend the night in the open. . . . After the exceedingly unpleasant night spent in the marketplace, a big barge was rented and the journey across the Danube to Buda undertaken, which was not unperilous, due to the numerous ice drifts; so that we breathed a sigh of relief when we were finally able to land, half frozen, in Buda. There a happy accident led to the two befriended *Joachim* and *Singer* families finding lodging in the same building, and the two boys, *Joseph* and *Edmund*, who were almost the same age, could be taught the difficult art of reading, writing and arithmetic by the same tutor.[62]

It seems probable that the heavy losses associated with the flood encouraged Julius and Fanny to consider an alternative career for their young son, and predisposed them to consider for him the life of a musician. The violin is nothing if not portable, and a musician does not need to lay up goods in trade. It is in this context that the significance of Joseph's *Adelskasino* recital becomes clear. The recital took place the following year on 17 March—one year to the day after the flood's end—suggesting that the date was deliberately chosen, and that Joseph's triumph that day was a compelling symbol of the family's revived hopes for the future. It was in this context, too, that the sudden appearance of Joseph's musical cousin Fanny Figdor should be seen.[63]

According to Edmund Singer, Joachim "had several uncles, who were filthy rich (*steinreich*), and supported their brilliant nephew in the most liberal way."[64] One of these uncles was Fanny's father, Wilhelm Figdor (1793–1873) (figure 5).[65] Wilhelm can be seen as a prime mover in this next phase Joseph's career. Wilhelm's brother Nathan also played a role in supporting their sister's talented son. According to Fanny's granddaughter Hermine Wittgenstein, "Wilhelm Figdor and his son Gustav . . . lived in Vienna as respected, resident wholesalers (a letter of recommendation for Wilhelm F., signed by Prince Metternich, testifies to his respectability). . . . They were Jews, but they felt themselves to be Austrians—as one could in those days—and they were also regarded as such by others."[66] Wilhelm was a partner in the wool-trading firm of Isaac Figdor & Söhne, a shareholder and director of the Austrian National Bank, and a man of considerable property.[67] One measure of his wealth is the estate in Koryčany (currently in the Czech Republic) that he acquired from Salomon Mayer Rothschild in 1851. An aerial view of the imposing

Figure 5. Wilhelm Figdor. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wittgenstein Archive, Cambridge.

Baroque *Schloss* and *Hof* can be seen on Google maps (keyword: Koryčany).

Wilhelm's daughter Fanny, who acted as a go-between, would ultimately become a surrogate mother to Joseph. She was a particularly sympathetic figure, a good pianist, and her letters reveal her to be intelligent, respectful, and caring—though her granddaughter also referred to her as "an outspoken, and indeed an edgy (*kantige*) personality."[68] As painful as the decision to send Joseph away may have been, both for the boy and his family, the Joachims must have derived some sense of consolation knowing that she was the family member who would best understand and care for him. On 18 April 1839, she wrote to Julius and Fanny, thanking them "for the friendly reception that you and your family showed me in such a high degree," and telling them that in their family life they were, in her eyes, "richer than Rothschild himself." She continues with a postscript to Joseph:

> My dear, good Joseph,
>
> In order to show you how much our correspondence means to me, I will begin it, contrary to all formality, and say to you that I thought of you very often during our very pleasant return trip. May you fulfill all the beautiful expectations that our all too short acquaintance has permitted me to have for you. I hope that your determination will not fail you;

> good determination is already half the battle. Write to me very soon, but not as a little boy who first composes a letter and then laboriously copies it, but rather like when you play the violin on Saturday, as though you were 18 years old. Tell me freely and openly what seems pleasant or unpleasant to you—and very convincingly, so that I find it interesting and appealing. That way you will find your style and give order to your thoughts, and immensely please your Fanny who loves you dearly.
>
> Give my best wishes to your esteemed music master.[69]

Sometime after this letter was written, just shy of his eighth birthday, Joseph traveled to Vienna to further his formal studies, supported by his "filthy-rich uncles." This was indeed the beginning of his "enormous ascent," which took place largely within the bosom of his extended family, and was supported by influential members of Vienna's Jewish community.[70] From this time forward, Joachim lived a life of privilege and success, virtually unparalleled among nineteenth-century musicians.

Joachim's Jewishness

A letter to Hannover's *Polizeipräsident* Habben, dated 22 May 1935, seeks to have Hannover's Joachimstraße renamed:[71]

> Until now, the street connecting Bahnhof-Thielenplatz has borne the name of the Jew *Joachim*, former concertmaster in the local theater.
>
> It would be very desirable to give this street another name. Reason
>
> 1. Jew

Read it how you will: with that one word, the writer simultaneously states both a profound truth and an insidious lie. What is in a name? Never was there a word more laden with history; never a word more in need of contextualization to be understood.

Every identity is reification: it is what we understand it to be. What was Joachim's Jewish identity? What effect did that identity have on his life as an artist? As important as these questions are to ask, they are also exceedingly complex and problematic to answer. Each answer provokes a new question. We may ask: identity for whom? At which period in his life? In what company? Relating to which activity? Was this identity ethnic, religious, political? The list proliferates. And yet if we engage this knotty problem it is important to attempt a dénouement.

Given the complexity of the issue, Borchard is understandably reluctant to define her terms:

> In the following, we shall not discuss whether there is such a thing as one identity, let alone a Jewish identity, or whether we must proceed from volatile, temporally contingent identities, and those that vary according to social context. In the present context the concept of identity serves heuristic purposes.[72]

Granted. Yet the meaning of "identity" lies precisely in its derivation from *idem*: sameness, as distinguished from *similitas* (likeness), or *unitas* (oneness). Borchard's explicit acknowledgment of individual and cultural complexity undermines the usefulness of her paradigm, and by default leaves the field open to negative stereotype.

In the absence of a clear concept of identity, how are we to understand what Borchard means by "*Identitätsfindung über Abspaltung*" (bridging division to find identity) or "*jüdische Identitätssuche in der deutschen Musikkultur*" (the Jewish search for identity in the German musical culture)? How are we to understand the process of "*Entfremdung von Herkunft und zugleich enormen Aufstieg*" (estrangement from heritage, and at the same time enormous ascent) implied in the word *Akkulturation*, that ostensibly characterized Joachim's entry into the world of professional music? The lack of overarching definitions—or perhaps even the ability to make such definitions—makes it all the more essential that the facts of Joachim's life be fully and accurately presented. In such a context, as Borchard herself acknowledges, the word *identity* must refer first to the characteristics of an individual. In the words of Joseph Butler, frequently quoted by Isaiah Berlin, "Everything is what it is, and not some other thing." We must seek to understand the man before we engage the paradigm.

Joachim acquired his culture the way most people acquire culture: through family and friends, teachers and colleagues, and through active participation in society. In that sense, his life was less a journey of acculturation than of *enculturation*—the original process of cultural acquisition. From the beginning, this *Bildung* journey took place in a remarkably diverse ethnic and cultural landscape. The Hungary of Joachim's birth, under Habsburg rule since the defeat of the Turks, was poor, virtually without infrastructure, industry, banking, or trade—a puzzle of secluded villages and feudal demesnes. From earliest times, the plains of Hungary had been swept by successive waves of invasion and immigration, and the resident population bore the impress of many cultures, from ancient Celts and Romans to modern Magyars, Slovaks, Germans, Roma, Turks, and Jews. "The mixture of languages in Hungary itself is so great, that scarcely one-third of the inhabitants speak the Hungarian," wrote the English visitor Dr. Richard Bright in

1818; "and thus, every one who hopes to travel beyond the village in which he was born, is compelled to learn some other language or dialect. Hence probably it is that Latin has been retained as a common medium of communication."[73] The Joachims spoke German; Joseph never had more than a nodding acquaintance with the Hungarian language.[74]

From this unique and complex social environment (one cannot speak of a monoculture much less of a "nation") emerged a host of violinists, among them Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, Miska Hauser, Edmund Singer, Ludwig Straus, Adolph Pollitzer, Eduard Reményi, Jakob Grün, Karl Goldmark—and Joseph Joachim. Of these, all were Jewish, and all studied in Vienna with Joseph Böhm. The difficulty of constructing a similar list of Gentile violinists from the region might lead one to the plausible conclusion that, far from being an estrangement, the initial stage of Joachim's education and career was a *characteristic* expression of Hungarian Jewish culture—as well as Jewish aspiration—at the time. This career path was largely unavailable to previous generations of Jews. One might therefore assume that though the profession was new to them what sparked this remarkable efflorescence was not some sudden change in the underlying nature of Jewish values, but a change in the freedoms accorded to Jews.

As a musician, Joachim was to the manor born. Even before settling in Vienna, he entered the elite circle of Beethoven's friends. In Vienna, he studied violin with Beethoven's colleague Joseph Böhm (and lived with Böhm in Vienna's Alser Vorstadt, two blocks from the Schwarzspanierhaus, where Beethoven died). He learned music theory from the *regens chori* of St. Stephen's Cathedral, Gottfried Preyer, himself a pupil of the eminent Simon Sechter. By the age of twelve, he had become the protégé of the leading German musician of the time, Felix Mendelssohn, and was studying composition with Leipzig Thomaskantor Moritz Hauptmann—in Bach's former apartment. As a violinist, he learned from the example of Ferdinand David, Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, and Louis Spohr. While in Leipzig, he performed regularly in the Thomaskirche and as a member of the Gewandhaus Orchestra. He taught at the Leipzig Conservatory. After Mendelssohn's death, he grew close to Robert and Clara Schumann. While still in his teens, he became a professional colleague and protégé of Franz Liszt in the seat of German Classical culture, Weimar. There he came under the irresistible influence of the famous friend and worshipper of Goethe and Beethoven, Bettina von Arnim, and became romantically linked with Bettina's daughter, Gisela. As a member of the Arnim circle, he developed a close friendship with the writer and art historian (and the first

German translator of Ralph Waldo Emerson) Herman Grimm, the son of the renowned philologist Wilhelm Grimm. In his early twenties, he studied logic, history, and architecture at Göttingen University, becoming the first important violinist to receive a university education. In short, no nineteenth-century European musician came by his culture earlier or more authentically than Joseph Joachim, and no musician of his generation could boast a closer personal connection to the canonic works of Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Wagner, and Liszt, or the writings of Goethe, Schiller, Arnim, Brentano, Grimm, and Emerson.

In his youth, Joachim was in the vanguard of new cultural ideas and trends, and we celebrate him today, not for how he was able to assimilate into the prevailing culture, but for the ways in which he transformed it. He achieved his position of authority as a cultural gatekeeper in early midlife. In that unassailable position, he was a leader, not a follower—an authority, sponsor, and role model, even to such iconic German musicians as Johannes Brahms. In later years, he maintained his position despite powerful onslaughts from the "New German" school of Wagner and Liszt. In the end, Joachim stood apart as virtually the sole defender of a particular vision of culture whose historical moment had passed. His is the story of a transformative figure in the history of German music who emerged from a rich Jewish culture that—despite his adult conversion to Christianity—deeply informed his life's work.[75]

In Joachim, the acculturation process, if we wish to call it that, was fulfilled in early childhood. As an adult, he possessed a dual identity as a German and a Jew (figure 6).[76] He spoke the language of German-Christian culture—no less than that of Jewish culture—authentically, and with perfect fluency. In Eduard Hanslick's words, he was "German through and through, from the core outward, to the smallest external details."[77] Joachim's colleague Heinrich Ehrlich, like Hanslick an assimilated Jew, went further: "In my much-traveled life, I have never met a man of Jewish descent who in bearing, manners and speech, in artistic and moral character, appeared so Christian, in the best sense of the word; I would almost say that even Joachim's faults and weaknesses are Christian, not Jewish, in nature."[78] Joachim's appearance was not a pose. This is not to say, however, that he no longer identified as a Jew, or that he was immune from the inner conflicts and struggles that a dual identity imposes—particularly in his younger years.

In the nineteenth century, there were multiple ways of being German. (How else could Berlioz and Liszt be counted among the leaders of the New German School?) For many, Germany was seen as a universal, embracing nation. In an article about Jewish identity, Marjorie

Figure 6. Joseph Joachim in Hungarian dress.

Perloff cites a seminal study by Paul Mendes-Flohr, who "begins by reminding us that Germany was a 'belated nation,' becoming a nation-state only after 1870 under Bismarck."[79] Perloff continues:

> Before 1870, proponents of a unified German identity were obliged to appeal either to ethnic or to cultural criteria. The former gave us what was called the *Volksnation*—the concept of "a given people, which, ontologically prior to the state, is bound less by an original accord than by a common relation of its members to some combination of historical memory, geography, kinship, tradition, mores, religion, and language." To be *German*, in this scheme of things, was a question of shared myth, ethnicity, and history. The alternative to this construction of nationality was the *Kulturnation* of German Enlightenment culture—the liberal cosmopolitan ethos of Bildung that had its roots in the classical Greek notion of paideia. *Bildung* was more than "civilization," since, as Wilhelm von Humboldt pointed out . . . it was conceived as having a distinct spiritual dimension. Thus the cult of *Kultur* was gradually transformed into a kind of religion.
>
> The German (and Austrian) Jews obviously chose the second alternative. Even if they had wanted to, they could hardly have been assimilated into the *Volksnation*, whose ethnicity, history, and foundational myths they did not share.[80]

This was certainly Joachim's understanding of German culture, and of his place in it. He believed, as the Mendelssohn family believed, that to belong to the German *Kulturnation* implied no essential contradiction to his heritage as a Jew. In a letter to his nephew, the Spinoza scholar Harold Joachim, he writes (in English) of another musician from his birth-region: "I cannot call Haydn slavonic like lesser people, (Dvorak, Smetana, Tschaikowsky) no more than I call Mozart italian (in spite of the great italian influence he does show). He lifts the material into a higher sphere, and has the german gift to assimilate, so that it becomes a universal ideal thought, intelligible to all nations. Göthe is essentially German in that sense."[81]

"Like lesser people"—here, Joachim asserts a belief that would be useful for us to share: artists should use but not be defined by their ethnicity.

It is telling that Joachim suffered very little direct discrimination during his lifetime.[82] Such anti-Semites as Hans von Bülow held him in awe, and even Wagner paid him grudging respect. The anti-Semitic acts that Borchard enumerates in her work occurred either postmortem or to others in Joachim's circle, such as Joachim's protégé Jakob Grün.[83] Joachim's occasional, very real emotional suffering as a Jew resulted mostly from his undiminished identification with what he called his "*Stammesgenossen*" (those who shared his lineage), and from his reaction to the stereotypical thinking, double-standard, and hypocrisy that always attend anti-Semitic acts. The complexity of this issue is demonstrated by a joint letter that Joachim and Bülow wrote to Liszt (while Bülow was enjoying Joachim's hospitality in Hannover), in which Bülow decried the "*bâtards de mercantilisme et de judaisme musical*"—by which he meant Ferdinand David and Joachim's other Leipzig friends.[84]

Joachim's pain and struggle with his Jewish identity came mostly from expressions such as these: the constant denigration by the "New Germans" of his musical father, Mendelssohn; the anti-Semitic opinions expressed by Wagner and Liszt in notorious publications, and shared in informal colloquy by their disciples and friends.[85] Joachim struggled to come to terms with these opinions, stemming as they did from authority figures otherwise worthy of high regard. His pain was heightened by his own sense that as an artist he belonged heart and soul to the tradition of German Classical culture—in many ways more so than the anti-Semites. This understanding drove a wedge between him and those who would naturally have been his closest friends and comrades. It doubtless had much to do with his leaving the fold of the *neudeutsche Schule*. That he was sensitive to these issues, even in his late thirties, may be seen from his reaction to his onetime friend Peter Cornelius, the translator of

the deplorable, and in places venomous, German edition of Liszt's book, *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*:

> In 1870 . . . when Cornelius saw Joachim on the street in Munich, he wished to show his erstwhile comrade-in-art, with whom he had never had the slightest dispute, that party wrangling had not diminished his esteem, and approached him with cordial gestures. . . . But Joachim coldly turned his back on him and left him standing there.—In his old age he is said to have spoken warmly about Cornelius.[86]

At age twenty-one, Joachim wrote a long midnight missive to his girlfriend Gisela von Arnim, in which he claimed that his frequent depressions were deep-rooted, and that it "perhaps came from the Orient" that he so easily fell into bad moods. Later in the same letter, he wrote: "A proper composer [*Tondichter*, tone poet] must, like every other poet, find a connection to the personal, inner tone of his soul; his music must also sound in the eternal Becoming of everything around him—Oh, I know full well how it is supposed to be, but my tones still show the exact opposite of that—they are not free enough to loose their fetters, with which they are bound to the morbid in me."[87]

Citing this letter, Borchard writes: "Joachim knew the 1850 essay *Das Judenthum in der Musik,* in which Wagner—at that time still anonymously—denied all Jews the capacity of autonomous creative work. . . . By linking his compositional inability with his oriental ancestry, he adopted Wagner's reasoning, and turned it against himself."[88] Borchard later strongly suggests that "Joachim's largely falling silent as a composer"[89] was a way of resolving the emotional dissonance he felt due to his Jewish heritage.

A single nocturnal letter from a moody twenty-one-year-old is a slim reed upon which to found such a comprehensive theory. Certainly, this letter has nothing to say about Wagner. It does have a great deal to say about the insecurities of a sensitive, introverted young Jewish musician, obsessively in love with the willful, pampered, glib, and mildly anti-Semitic daughter of a famous German baron and literary lion (and lioness).[90] Gisela well knew that the source of Joachim's depressions did not come from any belief in a biological predisposition.[91] In a letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson, she explained that Joachim's *herrlich(e)* (magnificent) compositions were "still young, still austere,—too somber (for a sad youth has weighed heavily upon him)."[92] We may speculate about what this "*Jugendschicksal*" may have been, but, in any case, it is clear that the opinions expressed in Wagner's "Judenthum" article had nothing to do with the matter.

The source of Joachim's musings is a comparison of his life's circumstances with hers: "You do not know about that, everything is always much too bright for you, you know heavenly solace, you know the inner transfiguration of pain."[93] Far from being discouraged from composition, he is determined to persist: "You see from all this that I am not made for satisfaction. I am prepared, if need be, to fight a lifelong battle with myself and with others. Strife is life!"[94] Elsewhere in the letter he writes enthusiastically of his newly composed *Demetrius Overture*, and of the "*Seeligkeit*" (bliss) of composing, concluding: "That will be magnificent, if someday I will have nothing else to do but to compose, and I hope that such a time will come."

Nevertheless, Joseph complains:

> It also happens that I always vacillate between longing to be a virtuoso, conductor, and composer; and therefore, in making preparations and coming to decisions, I often do not get down to real work, like a housewife who, out of a mania for cleaning never arrives at a tidy, comfortable family life—but a spoiled child "unter den Zelten" would know nothing of such hardworking, diligent artisan souls—or at best from the "Fruit and Thorn Pieces." You fortunate people, who have but to follow your inclinations.[95]

From this, Borchard concludes that Joseph similarly ascribed this inability to focus his artistic energies to his "oriental descent"—something she calls "*Zerrissenheit als 'jüdisches Erbe*'" (inner conflict as a "Jewish legacy").[96] "In this feeling of inner conflict, Joachim believed he had found the reason why he was incapable of composing a music that, in his own phrase, 'spoke warmly to its hearers.'"[97]

It was not Joachim who made this connection between his *Zerrissenheit* and his Jewish heritage, however. It was Gisela who first raised this argument with him, and it became her constant refrain. As late as 1868, she writes to him:

> Whenever I consider all the beautiful power that heaven has given you,—I admit that it often makes me feel sorry,—that it is not used for that which would so often have given you joy—for creating your own works. Anyone who sees what great abilities you have—he would feel sorry. This summer, old Professor von Sagg, a comical archenemy of the Jewish nation, said to me—I will tell you I have observed the Jews my whole life, and they have a failing,—they can't work—how so—well, they fragment themselves, they take something up, but they

> almost never come to individual works. I do not know exactly what he meant, I need to think about it. But when I think that so much has been lost to you in actual immersion in real work—for which heaven has at the same time given you the power—yes, it makes me sorry.[98]

Joseph had a name for this argument: "Have a little patience for my poor self!" he writes to her in March 1854, presumably in response to similar complaints. "The copyist is still not finished with the overture, though he has had it for about 3 weeks now. I need to hear it first; if it pleases me, I will send it to you and Herman [Grimm], and then if you want to Jew-bait me, go ahead. Neither I nor the work will be the worse for it. I long indescribably for my sounds—I think they would drown out my inner disquiet."[99]

> What follows is an attempt to make visible, at least in its main features, a central line of tradition for the history of culture and music in Germany that stretches from Moses Mendelssohn to Joseph Joachim. It is concerned with the influential concept of instrumental music as an "all-comprehending and all-comprehensible" world language without words.[100]

Borchard's method proceeds by questions. In her *Musikwelten* essay, she sets up a dichotomy: would the late nineteenth-century German *Bildungsprojekt* be pursued through vocal music, or instrumental music—that is, music with words, or music without words? The answer, which she traces through Felix Mendelssohn back to Moses Mendelssohn, was "*eindeutig: Musik ohne Worte*" (unambiguous: music without words). This answer, ostensibly promoted by Joachim, is seen to have had particular resonance for Jewish musicians, "*denn Sprechen trennt, gemeinsames Musizieren und Hören verbinden*" (for speaking divides; shared music making and hearing unites).[101]

This is a characteristic example of both the strengths and weaknesses of Dr. Borchard's heuristic method: she is onto something important here, but to my mind does not quite frame the question properly. There can be no doubt that, as I have pointed out elsewhere, Joachim "breathed Mendelssohnian air," that he believed implicitly in the universalist message of the Mendelssohnian project, and that he was in his time the foremost representative of German instrumental music. Since the Enlightenment's universalist premise was the great prelude to emancipation, it would have been unusual indeed for an enlightened Jew like Joachim to reject this premise, or to refuse to acknowledge its (and his) connection to the Mendelssohn family—the indispensable contributors

to the *Haskalah*, to whom he felt so akin and to whom he owed so much. However, though "instrumental music as an 'all-comprehending and all-comprehensible' world language" may have resonated with enlightened Jews, it was not, in the main, a Jewish idea. The "absolute music" train left the station about the time of Felix Mendelssohn's birth, and was already considered old-fashioned by the middle of the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding Moses Mendelssohn's views on the subject, this idea was associated primarily with the music of Beethoven. Joachim was brought up with this aesthetic, which he received as much from Böhm, Hauptmann, Schumann, and Bettina von Arnim as he did from Mendelssohn.

The absolute music aesthetic had little to do with words per se, or their combination with music. It had everything to do with the strong concept of music as an independent language that could stand alone, or on an equal footing with a text. From the time Joachim left the fold of the *neudeutsche Schule* until his death, he fought to preserve this idea in the face of the progressives who rejected it. Why? Borchard claims Mendelssohn's influence. However, notwithstanding Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte* and the sentiments expressed in his famous letter to Souchay, Mendelssohn had no quarrel with the association of words with music. It seems implausible to claim that the performer who grew up in the bosom of Zelter's *Singakademie*, and whose great early achievement was the historic revival of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, would in some way be a paragon exponent of music "ohne Worte"—that the composer of *St. Paul* and *Elijah*, of the *Lobgesang* Symphony, of the *Erste Walpurgisnacht*, and of numerous songs, psalms, motets, cantatas, and anthems, who in his last months was discussing with Chorley his plans to write operas, might in some way take issue with the combination of music and words, or indeed that the composer of the *Hebrides* Overture, the *Reformation*, and *Italian* symphonies should be too closely associated with the Hanslickian ideal of "absolute" music.

Likewise, Joachim was too great an artist to be governed by such a reductionist *lex parsimoniæ* as words/no words. If that had been his goal, he could easily have followed the well-trodden virtuoso route—virtuoso music is also universally intelligible and lacks words—but this is something he steadfastly refused to do. Like Mendelssohn, Joachim was a great lover of words, and was well traveled in classical and contemporary literature. He numbered many writers among his friends, including the Arnims, Grimms, Tennyson, Browning, Thackeray, Dickens, and Eliot. It was not the presence or absence of words that concerned him, but rather the timeless quality of the composition at hand. What mattered

was not that great instrumental music lacked a text—what mattered was that it *was* a text.

Throughout his adult career, Joachim was engaged in the creation and interpretation of a musical canon—an activity utterly congenial to someone with a Jewish upbringing and education. The first criterion for a canonic work is that it must be universal and timeless in its appeal. It must "lift the material into a higher sphere, . . . so that it becomes a universal ideal thought," and it must pass this test of quality when viewed, in Spinoza's term, *sub specie æternitatis*, from the aspect of eternity (Joachim, like his nephew, read Spinoza).[102] This is, in the end, the difference between a canonic work and a mere repertory item.

It was the works of Beethoven that formed the core of the emerging canon. As Carl Dahlhaus wrote:

> Beethoven, virtually in one fell swoop, claimed for music the strong concept of art, without which music would be unable to stand on a par with literature and the visual arts; . . . Beethoven's symphonies represent inviolable musical "texts" whose meaning is to be deciphered with "exegetical" interpretations; a Rossini score, on the other hand, is a mere recipe for a performance, and it is the performance which forms the crucial aesthetic arbiter as the realization of a draft rather than an exegesis of a text. . . . That a composer who did not care a whit about Ignaz Schuppanzigh's "wretched fiddle," as Beethoven called it, could successfully demand that performances be a function of the text, rather than vice versa, can only have astonished early nineteenth-century contemporaries; and even though this view is now taken for granted among the artistically well educated, historians ought to receive it in its original spirit. The new insight that Beethoven thrust upon the aesthetic consciousness of his age was that a musical text, like a literary or philosophical text, harbors a meaning which is made manifest but not entirely subsumed in its acoustic presentation—that a musical creation can exist as an "art work of ideas" transcending its various interpretations.[103]

Joachim—in Gisela von Arnim's words "*ein feuriger Musiker ganz durch drungen von Bethoven* [*sic*]" (a fiery musician thoroughly steeped in Bethoven)[104]—learned this principle early, at Böhm's knee; it was later reinforced by others: Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Bettina.

If one wishes, then, to tease out a single, "central line of tradition" that reaches from Joachim back through Felix Mendelssohn to Moses Mendelssohn, it might be this: the idea of a canon, grounded in timeless, inviolable texts whose meaning is to be deciphered through exegetical interpretations. This quintessentially Jewish *modus* met with the Romantic Beethoven tradition as water with water, and provided

Joachim with a way to reconcile the conflicting demands of his cultural, intellectual, and moral life.

We may perhaps begin to seek Joachim's "falling silent as a composer" in his feeling that he was unable to compose to a canonic standard. As a violinist, however, he had no self-doubts. The rigorous selection and exceedingly limited nature of his concert repertoire suggests that, for him, there was no distinction between canon and repertoire. In this, he followed Mendelssohn, whose axiom it was that "a true artist should play only the best." "As a violinist, I am a German," wrote Joachim, and he may well have added "as a violinist, I am a Jew." In Joseph Joachim the violinist, Torah and Talmud met Bach and Beethoven to give life to the idea of the interpretive performer. In this, I believe Beatrix Borchard and I can agree: it was as a violinist—through the interpretation of timeless, canonic, *German* works—Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms—that Joachim was able to reconcile his Jewish and German identities, his religious and artistic sensibilities, "bridging division to find identity"—and in the process radically transform our understanding of the role of the performing musician.

Joachim's life story is an astonishing journey through religious and cultural diversity. His ability to integrate diverse influences in his personality and life's work was not achieved without difficulty, and in fact represents an immense accomplishment. One has only to think of Liszt, whose career in many ways closely parallels Joachim's, and who in the end gave up all pretense of reconciling the cultural contradictions of his existence, living out his life in a celebrated "*vie trifurquée*," dividing his time between Rome, Weimar, and Budapest. Joachim and Liszt both had family roots in sheep farming in Kittsee, Joachim's father as a wool merchant, and Liszt's as the intendant of the Esterházy sheepfolds. Of the two families Joachim's was decidedly the more cosmopolitan. As an adult, Liszt was the consort of a princess. Yet no one suggests that Liszt used his music as a "*soziale Aufstiegsmöglichkeit*" (opportunity for social advancement).[105] No one writes Liszt's biography as a story of acculturation. Liszt is simply seen for what he was: a musical genius—a man of energy, ambition, and deep *Bildung*—a man of the world, who changed the prevailing culture as much as it changed him. This begs the question as to whether the acculturation paradigm is appropriate for Joseph Joachim—whether applying it contributes to our understanding, or leads us ineluctably down false paths.

Successfully assimilated minorities bring important gifts to society's table. Joachim's story has much to tell us about the assimilation process—about the ways in which individuals can absorb, integrate, and embody diverse cultural influences within their own persons,

transcending social contexts that are invested in maintaining the illusion of ethnic or cultural purity. In today's multicultural world, this is an increasingly important process to understand.

Notes

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1. "Joseph Joachim (1831–1907): Europäischer Bürger, Komponist, Virtuose," in *Anklänge 2008, Wiener Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, ed. Michele Calella and Christian Glanz (Vienna: Mille Tre Verlag, 2008).

2. Beatrix Borchard and Heidy Zimmermann, eds., *Musikwelten–Lebenswelten: Jüdische Identitätssuche in der deutschen Musikkultur* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2009). This volume arose out of Borchard's conference, "Lebenswelten/Musikwelten: Die Rolle der Musik im jüdischen Akkulturationsprozess," at the Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg, on the occasion of the centenary of Joachim's death, 8–11 November 2007.

3. "Die Geschichte des Jazz oder die der Rockmusik im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert zeigen, daß Musik wie der Sport nach wie vor gerade Menschen aus unterprivilegierten Bevölkerungsgruppen eine soziale Aufstiegsmöglichkeit bietet." Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 31. If not otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.

4. Beatrix Borchard, *Stimme und Geige: Amalie und Joseph Joachim. Biographie und Interpretationsgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), 79.

5. No one has yet produced birth records to verify Joachim's birth date. Though "28. Juni 1831" is engraved on Joachim's birth house and tombstone, it is not clear where that date comes from. Borchard notes: "Nach Joachims eigener Angabe erfuhr er erst 1854, dass er am 28. Juni 1831 geboren war. Bis dahin feierte er am 15. Juli sein Geburtstag. Auch 24. Juli stand zur Debatte." (According to Joachim's own statement, he first learned in 1854 that he had been born on 28 June 1831. Until then, he had celebrated his birthday on 15 July; 24 July was also a date in question.) Beatrix Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," in *Anklänge 2008,* 17. This is confirmed in official documents: On 9 November 1850, for example, Liszt's new concertmaster was inscribed in Weimar's residential record as "the son of a merchant in Pest," born in July 1830. Joachim's boyhood friend Edmund (Ödön) Singer (b. 14 October 1831, Totis, Hungary, d. 1912), also calls Joachim's birth year into question: "Alle Nachschlagwerke gaben das Jahr 1831 als das Geburtsjahr sowohl Joachims wie meiner Wenigkeit an. . . . Joachim selbst fragte mich eines Tages: 'Wie kommt es, daß wir überall als im gleichen Jahre geboren angeführt werden? Ich bin doch mindestens ein Jahr älter als du!'—Ich selbst habe nach vielen Jahren endlich mein glorreiches

Geburtsjahr festgestellt, während Joachim das falsche Datum ruhig weiter gehen ließ." (All reference works gave the year 1831 as the birth year of Joachim and my humble self. . . . Joachim himself asked me one day: "How does it happen that we are always mentioned as having been born in the same year? I am at least a year older than you!"—I, myself, finally established my glorious birth year after many years, while Joachim tacitly allowed the wrong date to persist.) Edmund Singer, "Aus meiner Künstlerlaufbahn," *Neue Musik-Zeitung* (Stuttgart) 32, no. 1 (1911): 8.

6. "Heute hängt am Haus eine deutschsprachige Tafel. Sie war 1931 anlässlich des 100. Geburtstages von Joseph Joachim angebracht worden. Das Haus zeigt bescheidenen bürgerlichen Wohlstand inmitten einer bäuerlichen Umgebung. Tatsächlich soll Joachim jedoch nicht hier geboren worden sein, sondern in einem winzigen, unauffälligen Gebäude schräg gegenüber. Dorfbewohner haben angeblich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg die heruntergestürzte Tafel an das repräsentativste Haus des Orts gehängt, weil es als Geburtshaus eines bedeutenden Künstlers passender erschien." Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," 18.

7. Prior to 1867, Hungarian Jews were forbidden to own real property or to claim the rights of Hungarian citizenship. In the eyes of the law, they remained a *corpus separatum*; ethnically, religiously, politically, and culturally they existed largely as a people apart—a nation without a country—tenants without permanent status, their presence tolerated in proportion to their ability to make themselves useful. Like most European Jews, they were subject to comprehensive and meticulous restrictions on their numbers, practice of profession, and other aspects of their daily lives. The rights and restrictions under which they lived were spelled out in *Schutzbriefe*, which had to be renewed at regular intervals, or upon the death of the ruler or a change of regime. Despite such restrictions, the members of the *Kehilla* (Jewish community) were granted an exceptional degree of religious and civil autonomy in exchange for upholding the terms of their contract with the sovereign. As a community of faith, the *Kehilla* had control over religious observance and education. As a civil authority, it was responsible for the collection of taxes and protection fees as well as the maintenance of law and order. Many functions of the *Kehilla*, such as care for the sick, relief of the poor, and burial of the dead, were both religious and civil in nature. In the *Sheva Kehillot,* community members were subject to the judgments of their own rabbinical courts, which settled cases according to *halakah*, the traditional Jewish law.

8. Hungarian: Német-Keresztur, Kis-Marton, Boldogasszony, Köpcsény, Kábold, Lakompak, and Nagy Marton, respectively. Before 1924, Mattersburg was called Mattersdorf.

9. Jewish populations were first mentioned in Eisenstadt in 1373, Mattersdorf (Mattersburg) in 1453, Lackenbach in 1496, Kobersdorf in 1526, Deutschkreutz in 1560, and Kittsee in 1659, shortly before Leopold's 24 April 1671 expulsion order. Milka Zalmon, *Der Weg der vertriebenen Juden,* http://www.misrachi.at/judentum/geschichte_kehillot_17.php.

10. Johannes Reiss, ed., *Aus den Sieben Gemeinden: Ein Lesebuch über Juden im Burgenland* (Eisenstadt: Österreichisches Jüdisches Museum, 1997), 11.

11. The Kittsee community received its privilege on 1 January 1692. Zalmon, *Der Weg der vertriebenen Juden.*

12. A contemporary account claims that Kittsee was "*wo die reichsten Juden nebst einigen Großhändlern sich befinden*" (where one finds the richest Jews together with a few wholesalers). Johann v. Csaplovics, ed., *Topographisch-statistisches Archiv des Königreichs Ungern*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Anton Doll, 1821), 201. The Hungarian Jewish Lexicon (1929) describes the Kittsee Kehilla as "prestigious" (*tekintélyes*). In her "Familienerinnerungen," Hermine Wittgenstein writes: "Von den Vorfahren der Familie Figdor, die in Kittsee in Ungarn lebten, weiß ich auch, daß einige von ihnen als Subskribenten für ein geschichtliches Werk in hebräischer Sprache aufscheinen, daß also geistige Interessen überhaupt in der Familie heimisch waren." (Of the ancestors of the Figdor family, who lived in Kittsee in Hungary, I also know that several of them appear as subscribers to a historical work in the Hebrew language; in other words, that intellectual interests were indeed indigenous to the family.) Hermine Wittgenstein, "Familienerinnerungen," unpublished typescript, 1944, 4; quoted with kind permission from the Wittgenstein Archive, Cambridge, UK.

13. Joseph's maternal grandparents were Isaac (Israel, Isak, Isac) Figdor (Vigdor, Victor) (1768–9 October 1850), *k.k. priv. Großhändler*, and Anna Jafé–Schlesinger Figdor (d. 12 April 1833). Isaac and Anna had eight children. Patricia Hollington, "Julius and Fanny Joachim and Their Remarkable Family," unpubl. typescript (Elizabeth Vale, 2006), 24. Records of the Währinger Friedhof, Vienna. Burial registries can be accessed via www.ancestry.com. In the 1801 census, Israel (Isaac), David, and Nattan Vigdor were enrolled in Kittsee as the sons of Jakob Vigdor. Hungarian census records from 1808 show Isaak Victor living in Kittsee with his wife, four sons, three daughters, and a servant. In 1817, Isak Victor was living in Kittsee with his wife and four sons. In the same census, he is listed as "a merchant together with Nathan Victor, David Victor and Mendl Strasser." JewishGen Hungary Database, http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/ sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV=0&msT=1&gss=angs-g&gsfn=mendl&gsln=strasser&uidh=fj6&pcat=ROOT_CATEGORY&h=27854 &recoff =8+9&db=JG_HungaryOtherCen&indiv=1. Isak Figdor appears for the first time on the list of Vienna's Jewish families in 1823. This list was not published every year. A. F. Pribam, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien, Erste Abteilung, Allgemeiner Teil 1526–1847 (1849)*, 2 vols. (Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918), 2:419.

14. Isaac Figdor's father, Jakob, a magistrate in the Kittsee community, resided in Vienna as early as 1793. Isaac's mother, Regine Sinzheimer, was the granddaughter of Isaac Sinzheim (ca. 1692–1734), who in turn was the brother of the famous Löb (Loew) Sinzheim, the principal Court Jew in Vienna and, in 1730, the chief creditor of the Habsburgs. Between 1703 and 1739, Sinzheim lent the Austrian government more than ten million florins. Löb Sinzheim died without issue, and bequeathed his estate to his brother Abraham. E-mail to author from E. Randol Schoenberg; *Hungarian Jewish Lexicon* (1929) entry: *Figdor-Kittsee*, http://mek.oszk.hu/04000/04093/pdf/f.pdf; and Max Grunwald, *Samuel Oppenheimer und sein Kreis* (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1913), 168, 211. In 1830, Isaac Figdor & Söhne, Großhändler, donated the large sum of 150 florins to aid the victims of the flood in Vienna. Franz Sartori, *Wiens Tage der Gefahr und die Retter aus der Noth: Eine authentische Beschreibung der unerhörten Ueberschwemmung Wiens* (Wien: C. Gerold, 1830), 98.

15. 1821 census, p. 201, JewishGen records, reference MOL, DJ(C55)-1821-F1-No. 281. http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/ cgi-bin/sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV=0&ms

T=1&gss=angs-g&gsfn=julius&gsln=joachim&uidh=fj6&pcat =ROOT_CATEGORY&h=27787&recoff=7+8&db=JG_HungaryOtherCen&indiv=1.

16. The siblings were Friedrich (1812–28 November 1882, m. Regina Just, d. 27 December 1883), Josephine (1816–83, m. Thali Ronay), Julie (b. 1821, m. Joseph Singer), Heinrich (1825–97, m. Ellen Margaret Smart, 1844–1925), Regina (ca. 1827–62, m. William Österreicher, m. 2. Wilhelm Joachim), Johanna (1829–83, m. Lajos György Arányi, 1812–77), and Joseph (1831–1907, m. Amalie Marie Schneeweiss). An 1898 interview with Joachim (*Musical Times*, 1 April 1898, 225) claims that Joachim was "the youngest of seven children." In his authorized biography, however, Moser claims that Joseph was "the seventh of Julius and Fanny Joachim's eight children." The name and fate of the eighth and last sibling is unknown. Hungarian census records for 1830/31 (Köpcseny, p. 249, record 73) list Julius Joachim (household 73) as having a wife, three sons (18 years or younger) and four daughters (18 years or younger). In the 1848 census, household 73, presumably the house currently at 7 Joseph Joachim Platz, was occupied by Henrik Figdor, 54, and his wife Juli, 50. http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin /sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV=0&msT=1&gss=angs-g&gsfn=henrik+&gsln=figdor&uidh= fj6&pcat=ROOT_CATEGORY&h=28535&recoff=6+7&db=JG_C1848L&indiv=1.

17. Figdor wool was given the Prize Medal (first place) at the 1851 British Exhibition as "the finest and most legitimate specimen in the whole Exhibition . . . whilst opinions were unanimous as to the superior character of the wools, generally, from Austrian Silesia and Hungary." *Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851. Reports by the Juries . . . etc.* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1851), 158. In 1839, "Philipp Strasser, und Adolph Heksch, Kaufleute in Pesth, through their representatives I. Figdor und Söhne, wholesalers in Vienna (Leopoldstadt, No. 537)" were granted a patent "for the invention of a benign method of washing all kinds of wool, such that the wool not only acquires a clean, bright white appearance, but also a softness and suppleness, by which the value of the wool is considerably increased." *Jahrbücher des kaiserlichen königlichen polytechnischen Institutes in Wien*, ed. Johann Joseph Prechtl (Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1839), 416.

18. Julius Friedrich Joachim was born in 1790 and died in 1865. His wife, Fanny Franziska Figdor, was born in Kittsee in 1790 and died in Vienna 27 June 1867.

19. The Esterházy family maintained substantial flocks in Kittsee. Adam Liszt, the pianist's father, was from the area, and had lived as a child in Kittsee (several of Adam Liszt's siblings were born there, including a brother named Franz). At the time of Franz Liszt's birth, Adam was employed as intendant of the Esterházy sheepfolds (Ovium Rationista Principis Esterházy) in the nearby town of Raiding.

20. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, England had been importing wool from Spain to feed the insatiable maw of its ever-expanding mills. Austrian and Hungarian merchants were quick to set up an effective competition with their Spanish rivals, however, and by the second quarter of the nineteenth century they were providing fully two-thirds of England's wool imports. Austrian taxes on most Hungarian exports were punitive, arising out of a conflict between the government in Vienna and the Hungarian nobles, who refused to give up their personal tax-exempt status.

21. The original breed of Hungarian sheep was the *Zackelschaf* (*Ovis strepsiceros*), with long, upright spiral horns and shaggy, coarse wool. In the early nineteenth century, the

improvement of breeding stock was a major concern of the Hungarian nobility on their feudal demesnes. The Esterházy flocks alone numbered more than fifty thousand head. Until the early eighteenth century, the export of merino sheep from Spain had been a crime punishable by death. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Spanish sheep were sought for breeding stock throughout Europe, particularly in the German lands, because of the fine quality and great quantity of their wool.

22. A leading Spinoza scholar, Harold Henry Joachim, is remembered today for *A Study of the Ethics of Spinoza* (1901), *The Nature of Truth* (1906), and for his translations of Aristotle's *De lineis insecabilibus* and *De generatione et corruptione*. Harold Joachim was a talented amateur violinist and an eminent intellectual, educated at Harrow School and Balliol College, Oxford.

23. Joachim grew up in the same household as the industrialist Karl Wittgenstein, the Austrian Carnegie, father of the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein and the pianist Paul Wittgenstein.

24. Vienna, 2 December 1844. Quoted by kind permission of British Library, Joachim Correspondence, bequest of Agnes Keep, Add. MS 42718.

25. Though Joseph's violin career did not necessarily represent a means of social or economic advancement for the family, they had a natural pride in his achievements. This pride extended to the German Jewish community generally, so that by 1840 one could read (in a Leipzig Jewish periodical) in an article about "Accomplishments of the Israelites" in Pest: "Allgemeine Bewunderung erregt der junge, achtjährige Joachim in Pesth, welcher bedeutend auf der Violine zu werden verspricht." (General admiration was aroused by the eight-year-old Joachim in Pest, who promises to become an important violinist.) In *Der Orient: Berichte, Studien und Kritiken für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* 1 (4 January 1840; Leipzig): 8.

26. This was especially true in England. On a long walk through Hyde Park, Joachim asked Thomas Carlyle if he knew Sterndale Bennett. "'No,' replied Carlyle—*(pause)*—'I don't care generally for musicians. They are an empty, *windbaggy* sort of people.' 'This was not very complimentary to me,' Dr. Joachim laughingly said." *Musical Times* 48, no. 775 (1 September 1907): 577. Donald Francis Tovey relates: "My father was for a long time convinced that no musician but a Church organist could have any social status at all. He was enlightened by a visit to Eton of Joachim, whose ambassadorial presence, perfect command of English and obviously profound general culture completely changed his ideas of what a musician might be. He never forgot how when Joachim was told of my progress in Latin and Euclid he asked, 'And does he know it *gründlich* [thoroughly]?'" Mary Grierson, *Donald Francis Tovey: A Biography Based on Letters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), 4–5.

27. That is, having right of temporary residence.

28. "Als Joachim zwei Jahre alt war, zog die Familie in die ungarische Hauptstadt, so berichtet Moser, als sei ein Umzug selbstverständlicher Teil des Lebens. Juden waren jedoch an ihren Geburtsort gebunden. Nur dort hatten sie—wenn überhaupt—Niederlassungs- und Wohnrecht. Die Familie Joachim gehörte in Pest zunächst zu den 'weder tolerirt noch commorirten Israeliten.' Da der Schwiegervater Isac Victor aber 'comorirte Jude' war, durfte sich Julius Joachim mit seiner Familie als 'Productenhändler' am Rande des Pester Judenviertels Theresienstadt niederlassen.

Diese Duldung konnte jedoch jederzeit widerrufen werden." Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," 18.

29. Howard Lupovitch, *Beyond the Walls: The Beginnings of Pest Jewry*, Austrian History Yearbook 36 (New York: Berghahn, 2005), 41.

30. In the same period, the total population of Pest increased from just under thirty thousand to more than seventy thousand. The Jewish population of Budapest continued to grow apace. By 1920, Budapest was home to more than two hundred thousand Jews—nearly a quarter of the population of the city that Vienna's mayor Karl Lueger famously called "Judapest."

31. Data from Peter I. Hidas, http://www3.sympatico.ca/thidas/Hungarian-history/Jews.html. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* gives the number of Jewish families as 1,346.

32. For a complete discussion of this immigration, see Lupovitch, *Beyond the Walls*. Counting the *Commoranten* who stayed in Budapest permanently, Lupovitch claims that in 1830 "nearly 80 percent resided illegally."

33. Upon moving to Budapest, he was listed in the "Deduction der Fremden, weder tolirirt noch commorirten Israeliten, welche aber Schwiegersöhne derselben sind" (list of aliens, who are neither tolerated nor *commorirt*, but who are the sons-in-law of those who are). Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, 51.

34. Hidas, http://www3.sympatico.ca/thidas/Hungarian-history/Jews.html.

35. The building was on the corner of the Landstrasse (today Károly körút) and the König-von-Engellandgasse (Angliai Király utca).

36. Spiritus asper and Spiritus lenis (pseud. Friedrich Korn), *Panorama von Ofen und Pesth, oder Charakter- und Sittengemälde der beiden Hauptstädte Ungarns* (Leipzig: Hartmann, 1833), n198; Kinga Frojimovics, Géza Komoróczy, Viktória Pusztai, and Andrea Strbik, *Jewish Budapest: Monuments, Rites, History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 71ff.

37. Spiritus asper, *Panorama von Ofen und Pesth*, 145 ff.

38. To obtain a license as a *Großhändler* in Pest, one needed property worth thirty thousand forints. As a *Productenhändler*, Julius Joachim would have needed property worth at least ten thousand forints. Since there were few banks in Hungary at the time, the *Großhändler* also took on the role of banker. A contemporary account by Baron Frigyes Podmaniczky (1824–1907) mentions a Figdor, possibly Isaac, in this regard: "Figdor war der Großhändler, als mein Vater noch lebte, der regelmäßig von uns die Schaffwolle kaufte und die Rolle des Hausbankiers auf sich nahm. Ich hatte in den letzten Zeiten die Gelegenheit gehabt, ihn näher kennenzulernen und eins kann ich doch sagen: er war der ehrlichste und anständigste Mensch, den ich je kannte." (While my father was still alive, Figdor was the wholesaler who regularly bought wool from us, and took upon himself the role of the house banker. In later times, I had the opportunity to come to know him better, and I can say this: he was the most honorable and decent man that I have ever known.) Frigyes Podmaniczky, *Memoiren eines alten Kavaliers: Eine Auswahl aus den Tagebuchfragmenten 1824–1844*, ed. Ferenc Tibor Tóth. Manuscript available at http://mek.niif.hu/00900/00957/index.phtml, 133.

39. Richard Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary; With Some Remarks on the State of Vienna during the Congress, in the Year 1814* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1818), 223.

40. Data from Hidas, http://www3.sympatico.ca/thidas/Hungarian-history/Jews.html. Hidas's speculation that Kadisch Joachim was Julius Joachim's son is not correct and reverses the order of Joachim Kadisch's name.

41. Elliot Forbes, ed., *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 256. Beethoven returned in February 1812 for the opening of the Municipal Theatre (Városi Színház) in Pest, having written incidental music for Kotzebue's dramatic prologue and epilogue on subjects from Hungarian history—*King Stephen* and *The Ruins of Athens*—with which the new house was to be inaugurated. The Pest Opera, with its excellent orchestra (mostly Bohemian musicians), fine soloists, and mediocre chorus continued to present a series of contemporary opera productions, including works by Weber, Rossini, Auber, Bellini, Donizetti, Meyerbeer, and Marschner, until the Municipal Theatre burned in 1847.

42. Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, 77.

43. Otto Gumprecht, *Musikalische Charakterbilder* (Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1876), 261; "Joseph Joachim," *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 39, no. 662 (1 April 1898): 225.

44. Lord Redesdale, G.C.V.O., K.C.B., *Memories*, 2 vols. (New York: E. Dutton & Co., n.d.), 659. This story, also found in Moser, is related by Lord Redesdale, in a somewhat inaccurate way as regards place: Kittsee. By then the family had moved to Pesth. The story of the toy fiddle is also found in Gumprecht, *Musikalische Charakterbilder*, 261. In each source, the story probably stems from Joachim himself, though the similarity of this account to that of any number of other nineteenth-century musician biographies must lead us to take it *cum grano salis*.

45. "Minder bekannt ist, daß er im alten Pest zwei Lehrer hatte, den alten Ellinger, der vor wenigen Jahren starb, und einen der besten Geiger jener Zeit, Szervaszinsky. Bei Ellinger erging es dem kleinen Joachim ungefähr so, wie später in Wien bei Hellmesberger sen., der den halbwüchsigen Jungen wegen Unbrauchbarkeit der rechten Hand aus der Schule entließ. Wie Ellinger über seinen Schüler dachte, erhellt am besten aus einer Anekdote, die in unseren Musikerkreisen noch heute fortlebt. Zwei Knaben genossen in einer und derselben Stunde Ellinger's Unterricht: Josef Joachim und Karl M., nachmals ein sehr geschätzter volkswirthschaftlicher Schriftsteller. Der Professor wurde nicht müde, Joachim immerfort auf das Talent seines Unterrichtsgenossen zu verweisen, diesen als nachahmenswerthes Muster zu preisen, dem kleinen Josef aber jede Zukunft abzusprechen. Welche Prophetengabe in dem sonst ausgezeichneten Lehrer steckte, wurde schon ein Jahr später offenbar, als Joachim, der inzwischen bei Szervaszinsky überraschende Fortschritte gemacht hatte, im März 1839 öffentlich auftrat und in Gemeinschaft mit seinem Lehrer ein Konzert von Eck unter beispiellosem Jubel spielte." (It is less well known that he had two teachers in old Pest: the old Ellinger, who died a few years ago, and one of the best violinists of that time, Szervaszinsky. With Ellinger he fared approximately the same as later in Vienna with Hellmesberger senior, who dismissed the adolescent boy from his school, on account of his unserviceable right hand. What Ellinger thought of his pupil can best be learned from an anecdote that lives on in our musical circles. Two boys had their lessons with

Ellinger in one and the same hour: Josef Joachim, and Karl M., later a highly esteemed writer on political economy. The professor never tired of admonishing Joachim, pointing to his fellow student as a model to be emulated, while at the same time denying that young Josef had any future. What powers of prediction the otherwise excellent teacher possessed became apparent already one year later, when Joachim, who in the meantime had made surprising progress with Szervaszinsky, appeared in public in March 1839, playing a concerto by Eck, together with his teacher, to unparalleled jubilation.) *Pester Lloyd*, 16 August 1907, 3. This is a unique account, and cannot therefore be asserted with certainty; nevertheless, as a little-known—or unknown—fact, it rings true. Ellinger was the first teacher of two other distinguished violinists, both of them Joachim's friends and contemporaries: Edmund (Ödön) Singer (1831–1912) and Jakob Grün (1837–1916). The Singers and Joachims were acquainted, and "Pepi" Joachim and "Mundi" Singer were boyhood friends. The account erroneously describes Joachim's father as "a poor Kittsee schoolteacher," which undermines its authority. Nevertheless, Joachim's fellow student is named, if not identified, and the article purports to be by one of Joachim's former students. Stanisław Serwaczyński is generally credited with being Joachim's first formal teacher, though a family friend named Stieglitz, or Stiegnitz, introduced him to the instrument.

46. "Ein jüdisches Kind aus einfachen Verhältnissen wird hier als Adeliger porträtiert. Ein kleiner Prinz mit blonden Locken in einem himmelblauen, mit Permutterknöpfen besetzten Rock, auf den Joachim sehr stolz war." Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," 20.

47. A nineteenth-century German or Hungarian "casino" was the equivalent of a London club. Széchenyi's National Casino had been inaugurated on St. Stephen's Day, 1827, as a venue for social gathering, entertainment, and the discussion of public issues among the leaders of Hungarian society. Its building, occupying an entire block along the quay, was the Lloyd Palace, originally built as the "Merchants' House" by the Bourgeois Trade Corporation of Pest, and still housing the mercantile exchange on the third floor. As such, Joseph's father would have been a regular visitor to the building, though not to the club. Although the Nemzeti Casino was also called the Adelskasino, the club was in principle also open to a limited class of non-nobles who could afford to pay the rather steep dues.

48. See also "Geigen-Spiel-Kunst; Joseph Joachim und der 'Wahre' Fortschritt," *Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 69, no. 2 (2007): 66ff.

49. Brunsvik, the dedicatee of Beethoven's *Appassionata* Sonata, op. 57, had been among the earliest performers of Beethoven's string quartets. Beethoven was also particularly close to the count's sister, Therese, to whom he dedicated his op. 78 sonata, and who has been proposed at various times as a candidate for the composer's mysterious "Immortal Beloved."

50. (Szidónia) Justh Brunszvik (1800–66). According to Anton Schindler, Sidonie was the best female Beethoven interpreter of her time after Dorothea von Ertmann.

51. After Ignaz Schuppanzig's death, Jansa went to Vienna to take over the first violin chair in Schuppanzigh's quartet and another professional violinist, János Mihály Taborszky, was retained to fill out the Brunsvik family trio. Mária Hornyák, "Ferenc Brunszvik, ein Freund von Beethoven," Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 32, no. 1 (1990): 230.

52. Among the regular auditors was the respected composer Robert Volkmann. "I . . . experienced beautiful musical pleasures at Count Brunsvik's, where string quartets, quintets, duos and piano trios were played very artistically," he wrote in 1841. "The count . . . plays cello very well, and his wife is an outstanding pianist, who plays with great brilliance, power and spirit. Her interpretation of various composers, Beethoven, Hummel, Chopin is exceptional." Quoted in Hornyák, *Ferenc Brunszvik*, 231.

53. According to Mária Hornyák, the Brunsviks played "above all works of the Viennese classic composers: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Carl Czerny, Hummel and Spohr. But they also liked to play works by Cherubini, Onslow, Bernard and Andreas Romberg, and, among the Romantics they liked primarily Chopin and Mendelssohn." The Brunsviks' music library, consisting of 560 pieces—solo, chamber music, orchestral and operatic works—was taken over by the Musikhochschule Franz Liszt in 1937–38. See Hornyák, *Ferenc Brunszvik*; and also Moser, *Joseph Joachim*, 1:10.

54. Andreas Moser, *Geschichte des Violinspiels: Zweite verbesserte und ergänzte Auflage von Hans-Joachim Nösselt*, 2 vols. (Tutzing: Schneider, 1967), 245.

55. Moser, *Joseph Joachim*, 1:10.

56. "In der Joachim-Biographie von Andreas Moser, eine Art verkappte Autobiographie des Geigers, tritt ohne weiteren Kommentar nach dem ersten Konzert die Großfamilie in Gestalt der Cousine Fanny Figdor in Erscheinung. Sie überredete die Eltern, nach dem erfolgreichen Debüt das Kind zur weiteren Ausbildung nach Wien zu schicken. Den erhaltenen Akten zufolge waren Joachims Eltern nicht wohlhabend, während die mütterlichen Verwandten zu den reichsten Familien in Pest [*sic*] gehörten. Es lag also nahe, dass angesichts eines förderungs-würdigen Talentes dieser Teil der Familie die Finanzierung der Ausbildung übernahm und damit über Joachims weitere Zukunft entschied. Wollhändler oder Virtuose, das war die berufliche Alternative, die die Ausgangssituation des jungen Joachim kennzeichnete. Fanny Figdor nahm ihn mit nach Wien, wo er zunächst im Hause des Großvaters wohnte." Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," 20–21.

57. It was Julius Joachim, after all, who decided to send his son to Leipzig, against the wishes of Joseph's Figdor uncles.

58. Friedrich Witthauer, ed., *Album, unter Mitwirkung vaterländischer Schriftsteller zum Besten der Verunglückten in Pesth und Ofen* (Vienna: Anton Strauß's sel. Witwe, 1838), viii–ix.

59. "In allen Gesichtern malte sich das Entsetzen. . . . Stumm schlichen die Menschen in den noch trockenen Theilen der Stadt umher, das Nahmenlose zu schauen.—Die schönsten Straßen, wo sonst die frohe Menge lustwandelte, wo der betriebsame Kauf- und Gewerbsmann seinen Geschäften oblag, glichen einem trüben See. . . . Herzdurchbohrend war es zu sehen, welche Blicke der brave rechtliche Kaufmann auf das Grab seines Eigenthums richtete. Alle Magazine an der Donau, alle Gewölbe in der Waitzner-, Schlangen-, Bruck- und Dorotheer-Straße, bargen enorme Schätze an Waaren, die nun alle von der Fluth umspielt und vernichtet waren.—Niemand wußte wie groß sein Verlust sey, denn alles Denken auf Widerstand gegen die Wogen, jeder Versuch in irgend ein Magazin oder Gewölb zu gelangen war vergebens." Anton Benkert, ed., *Wuth des Elements und Milde des Menschenherzens: Erinnerungsbuch an die verheerende Ueberschwemmung der Städte Pesth und Ofen im Monate März des Jahres 1838* (Pesth: Ludwig Landerer Edlen von Füskút, 1838), 13.

60. Miss [Julia] Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar, or Hungary and Her Institutions in 1839–40* (London: George Virtue, 1840), 2:24.

61. "Kurz alles was Industrie und Kunstfleiß in der blühenden Handelsstadt Pesth, als dem Hauptstappelplatz für ganz Ungarn und den Orient aufgelagert hatte, war von Schlamm und Koth umgeben, und das Meiste ganz zerstört worden; man muß selbst in den Magazinen beim Eröffnen derselben gewesen sein, um das Unglaubliche einer so beispiellosen Zerstörung zu begreifen" Benkert, *Wuth des Elements und Milde des Menschenherzens*, 28–29.

62. "Mein Vater verließ mit seiner Familie das von ihm bewohnte Haus in einem großen Backtroge. Und war denn auch so glücklich, in ihm den höher gelegenen Marktplatz zu erreichen, wo die Nacht im Freien verbracht werden mußte. . . . Nach der höchst ungemütlich auf dem Marktplatz verbrachten Nacht wurde ein großer Kahn gemietet und die Fahrt über die Donau nach Ofen [Buda] angetreten, eine Fahrt, die wegen des starken Eisgangs nicht ungefährlich war, so daß man erleichtert aufatmete, als man endlich halb erstarrt in Ofen landen konnte. Hier fügte ein glücklicher Zufall es, daß die befreundeten Familien *Joachim* und *Singer* in einem und demselben Hause Unterkunft fanden und die beiden fast gleichalterigen Knaben *Joseph* und *Edmund* von demselben Hauslehrer in der schweren Kunst des Lesens, Schreibens und Rechnens unterwiesen werden konnten." Edmund Singer, "Aus meiner Künstlerlaufbahn," *Neue Musik-Zeitung* (Stuttgart) 32, no. 1 (1911): 8.

63. Fanny Christiane Figdor (b. 7 April 1814 in Kittsee–d. 21 October 1890 in Hietzing/Vienna) the daughter of Fanny Joachim's brother, Wilhem Figdor. Like his father, Wilhelm Figdor was a successful wool merchant whose network of business interests and family connections encompassed many of the capitals of Europe. Poet and playwright Franz Grillparzer was a family friend, as were Bauernfeld and Castelli. After enjoying good port wine with Wilhelm's family in Islington, England, on 2 June 1836, Grillparzer noted in his diary that Fanny was "Scheinbar ein höchst liebenswürdiges Frauenzimmer" (appeared to be a most amiable young woman). In *Grillparzer's Sämmtliche Werke* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1872), 10:393. In 1839, Fanny married Hermann Christian Wittgenstein (b. 12 September 1802 in Korbach–d. 19 May 1878 in Vienna). Together they had eleven children, among them the prominent Austrian industrialist Karl Wittgenstein (1847–1913), father of pianist Paul Wittgenstein (1887–1961) and philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951).

64. Singer, "Aus meiner Künstlerlaufbahn," 8. This would seem to contradict Borchard's claim: "Den teuren Privatunterricht bezahlte vermutlich die Familie Wittgenstein." (The expensive private tuition was presumably paid for by the Wittgenstein family.) Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," 24. This support included providing Joseph with fine instruments, among them a Guarneri del Gesú and a Stradivari.

65. Fanny's mother was Amalie Veith Figdor (1789–1863). Pribam, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden*, 542; Hollington, *Julius and Fanny Joachim and Their Remarkable Family*, 26.

66. "Wilhelm Figdor und sein Sohn Gustav . . . lebten in Wien als angesehene, ansässige Großhändler (ein vom Fürsten Metternich eigenhändig unterzeichnetes Empfehlungsschreiben für Wilhelm F. spricht für dessen Angesehenheit). . . . Sie waren

Juden, fühlten sich aber, wie man das damals konnte, als Österreicher und wurden auch von Anderen als solche betrachtet." Wittgenstein, "Familienerinnerungen," 3.

67. "Laut Kundmachung vom 11. December 1841 für das Jahr 1842." *Hof- und Staats-schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthumes* (Vienna: k. k. Hof- und Staats-Aerarial-Druckerey, 1842), 639. In her "Familienerinnerungen," Hermine Wittgenstein writes: "Wilhelm Figdor, der das Bürgerrecht der Stadt Wien erhielt, war durch viele Jahre Finanzberater der Gemeinde Wien." (Wilhelm Figdor, who received the right of citizenship in the city of Vienna, was for many years the financial advisor of the Viennese community.) She quotes his obituary: "In den Wiener Gemeinderat wurde Wilhelm Figdor 1861 gewählt und er gehörte demselben bis 1876 ununterbrochen an. Die großen Geschäfte, welche er als Chef seines Hauses durchführte, gaben ihm insbesonders in finanziellen Angelegenheiten eine solche Fülle von großen Gesichtspunkten, daß er dieselben auch in Beziehung auf die finanziellen Fragen der Kommune durch lange Jahre in trefflicher Weise verwertete. Sein Votum in Finanzfragen war daher in den meisten Fällen von entscheidender Bedeutung und er hat sich in dieser Beziehung sehr große Verdienste um die Kommune erworben." (Wilhelm Figdor was elected in 1861 to the Vienna city council, and he served continuously until 1876. The large commercial transactions he carried out as head of his company gave him, especially in financial matters, such an abundance of great viewpoints, that for many years he was also able to make excellent use of them regarding the financial concerns of the municipality. Therefore his vote in matters of finance was in most cases of decisive impact, and in this connection he was accorded high regard around the town.) Wittgenstein, "Familienerinnerungen," 4.

68. Wittgenstein, "Familienerinnerungen," 3.

69. "Mein lieber guter Joseph! Um dir zu zeigen wie sehr mir um unserer Correspondenz gelegen ist, mache ich gegen alle Kleiderordnung den Anfang, u. sage dir, daß ich während unserer sehr angenehmen Rückreise sehr oft an dich gedacht habe. Mögest du nur all die schönen Erwartungen erfüllen, zu denen mich die allzu kurze Bekanntschaft mit dir berechtiget hat! An deinem Willen hoffe ich wird es nicht fehlen, u. der gute Wille ist schon die halbe Kraft. Schreibe mir ja recht bald, aber nicht als kleiner Knabe der sich erst einen Aufsatz macht u. ihn dann mühsam aufschreibt, sondern denke dabei wie wenn du Samstag Violine spielst, du seist 18 Jahre alt. Was angenehmer oder unangenehmer auf dich einwirkt das theile mir ungezwungen u. offen mit. u. se[h]r überzeugt, daß es mich intereßiert u. in mir Anklang findet. Du wirst dadurch deinen Styl u. deine Gedanken ordnen u. damit ungemein erfreuen deine dich herzlich liebende Fanny. Empfehle mich bestens deinem Musikmeister." Quoted by permission of British Library, Joachim Correspondence, bequest of Agnes Keep, Add. MS 42718, 193.

70. Borchard's biography implies that by living with the Böhms in Vienna, Joachim made a more or less clean break with his Jewish life. This is almost certainly not the case, as Joachim continued to have frequent contact with his family, and to live with them during various months of the year. Borchard's account also fails to mention the important contributions of influential Jewish tastemakers such as Ludwig August Frankl and Moritz Gottlieb Saphir (who were also family friends) to this early Viennese phase of Joachim's career. Frankl's *Sonntagsblätter* followed young Joseph's artistic growth with interest and sympathy, and Saphir not only wrote favorable reviews in his journal *Der Humorist* but engaged Joseph to play in his benefit entertainments alongside the most

eminent talents from the Imperial Opera and Burgtheater. For example, he performed at the academy in Baden bei Wien on 7 August 1843 for the benefit of the victims of a wasting fire in the Galician town of Rzeszów.

71. "Bis heute führt die Verbindungsstraße Bahnhof-Thielenplatz den Namen des Juden *Joachim*, ehemaliger Konzertmeister am hiesigen Theater. Es wäre sehr erwünscht, dieser Straße eine andere Bezeichnung zu geben. Grund 1. Jude." The letter is contained in Joseph Joachim's personnel file in the Hannover Theatermuseum and is quoted by kind permission.

72. "Hier soll im folgenden nicht die Frage diskutiert werden ob es überhaupt so etwas wie eine Identität, geschweige denn eine jüdische Identität gibt oder ob wir von wechselnden, zeitlich bedingten und je nach sozialem Kontext sich wandelnden Identitäten ausgehen müssen. Im vorliegenden Zusammenhang dient der Begriff der Identität heuristischen Zwecken." Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 31.

73. Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary*, 213.

74. "Joachim ist . . . ein Ungar genau wie Liszt, welcher gleichfalls außer 'Eljen' kein Wort ungarisch verstand. . . . Was sich in Joachims Compositionen an magyarischen Anklängen findet, ist gerade wie bei Liszt, nicht sowohl unvertilgbarer Jugendeindruck, als vielmehr späterer, mit künstlerischem Bewußtsein nachgeholter Erwerb." (Joachim is . . . a Hungarian exactly like Liszt, who likewise understands not a word of Hungarian except 'Eljen.' . . . Just as in Liszt, the Magyar echoes in Joachim's compositions are not so much indelible impressions of youth as a later acquisition, recovered with artistic awareness.) Eduard Hanslick, *Musikalisches und Litterarisches: Kritiken und Schilderungen*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur [*sic*], 1890), 161. As Borchard points out, Jews from Joachim's native region were required by law to speak German.

75. Joachim converted to the Lutheran faith in May 1855.

76. Not to mention a significant third identity as a Victorian English gentleman, practically ignored by his German biographers, or a fourth as a Hungarian. The story of Joachim's life in England has yet to be written.

77. "durch und durch Deutscher, vom Kerne aus in die kleinsten Aeußerlichkeiten." Eduard Hanslick, *Musikalisches und Litterarisches*, 161.

78. "Ich bin in meinem viel bewegten Leben keinem Manne jüdischer Abkunft begegnet, der in Haltung, Benehmen und Sprache, in künstlerischem und moralischem Charakter so ganz christlich, im besten Sinne des Wortes, erschien; ich möchte fast sagen, selbst Joachims Fehler und Schwächen sind christlicher, nicht jüdischer Art." Heinrich Ehrlich, *Dreissig Jahre Künstlerleben* (Berlin: Hugo Steinitz, 1893), 154.

79. Paul Mendes-Flohr, *German Jews: A Dual Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 4–5, 16.

80. Marjorie Perloff, "German by the Grace of Goethe," *Common Knowledge* 9, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 367–68. She quotes from Paul Mendes-Flohr, *German Jews: A Dual Identity*, 16.

81. Johannes Joachim and Andreas Moser, eds., *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1911–13), 3:482. The unusual orthography is Joachim's own.

82. Notwithstanding Borchard's assertion: "In privaten Korrespondenzen stößt man immer wieder auf gegen ihn gerichtete antisemitische Bemerkungen." (In private correspondence, one continually comes upon anti-Semitic observations that are directed at him.) Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 45. In the course of a seventy-year career, such comments were inevitable, particularly for an opponent of the Wagnerian circle. In my reading, they were also remarkably rare.

83. See also Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 34ff.

84. Hans von Bülow to Franz Liszt, Hannover, 9 January 1854, in Marie von Bülow, ed., *Hans von Bülow: Briefe und Schriften* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1899), 167. Original can be found in Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 59/10.

85. Once again, the complexity of these issues can be shown by the feelings of Edmund Singer, an observant Jew, toward Franz Liszt. Liszt was not embarrassed to send Singer a copy of his *Die Zigeuner und ihre Musik in Ungarn*, the 1861 German edition of his *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (1859)—anonymously elaborated by his mistress, the notoriously anti-Semitic Princess Carolyne von Wittgenstein, and containing fulminations against the Jews worthy of Wagner, including the argument that Jews *qua* Jews are incapable of genuine creative work. Nevertheless, Singer wrote: "Franz Liszt war der toleranteste Mensch von der Welt und zeigte namentlich im Gegensatze zu Wagner und zu Bülow (der allerdings später davon abkam) keine Spur von Antisemitismus. Beweis dafür, daß Joachim, Laub, Lassen, Coßmann, Reményi . . . und sein Freund Löwy als Juden sich seiner Zuneigung und Gunst rühmen durften.—In einer späteren Auflage einer seiner Schriften hatte er, von Wagners Antisemitismus angesteckt, den Passus geschrieben, 'man müsse alle Juden nach Palästina verbannen und dort von christlichen Wächtern bewachen lassen.' Der bekanntlich sehr witzige Cellist Popper kam eines Tages nach Weimar, um Liszt zu besuchen. Liszt empfing ihn äußerst herzlich und sagte: 'Nun, lieber Popper, woher, wohin?' 'Auf der Reise nach Palästina,' lautete die Antwort Poppers, worüber sich Liszt anfangs etwas betroffen fühlte, was ihn aber nicht hinderte, sich bald darauf von Herzen darüber zu amüsieren." (Franz Liszt was the most tolerant man in the world, and, in contrast to Wagner and to Bülow, who admittedly later changed his ways, showed not a trace of anti-Semitism. This is evidenced by the fact that Joachim, Laub, Lassen, Cossmann, Reményi . . . and his friend Löwy, as Jews, could boast of his affection and favor.—In a later edition of one of his writings, infected by Wagner's anti-Semitism, Liszt had written the passage: "We should banish all Jews to Palestine, and there have them watched over by Christian guards." The famously very witty cellist Popper came one day to Weimar to visit Liszt. Liszt greeted him exceedingly cordially, and said: "So, dear Popper, whither and where?" "On the way to Palestine," replied Popper, at which Liszt was initially somewhat shocked, but it did not prevent him from laughing heartily over it soon thereafter.) Singer, "Aus meiner Künstlerlaufbahn," 315. Liszt's "affection and favor" apparently included helping Joachim overcome the anti-Semitism of others, though the specifics of this are unclear. He reportedly told August Göllerich that Mendelssohn might have wanted to go to Weimar as Hofkapellmeister, but that the Weimar Court "wollte ihn aber nicht als Israeliten" (would not have him as a Jew). "Aus demselben Grunde mußte ich später auch wegen Joachim manche Schwierigkeiten besiegen," Liszt continued. (For the same reason, I later also had to conquer many difficulties with regard to Joachim.) August Göllerich, *Franz Liszt* (Berlin: Marquardt Verlagsanstalt, 1908), 129.

86. "Als Cornelius . . . anno 1870 Joachim in München auf der Straße sah, wollte er dem einstigen Kunstgenossen, mit dem er persönlich nie den geringsten Zwist gehabt, zeigen, daß Parteigezänk seiner Verehrung keinen Eintrag tue, und schritt mit herzlichen Gebärden auf ihn zu. . . . Joachim jedoch wandte ihm kalt den Rücken und ließ ihn stehen.—Im Alter soll er sich warm über Cornelius geäußert haben." Carl Maria Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius: Der Wort- und Tondichter*, 2 vols. (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1925), 1:336n. In the second volume of this portrait of his father, Carl Maria Cornelius writes: "Die Juden als Rasse gingen auch ihm wie jedem echten Deutschen wider den Geschmack, aber dem Einzelnen wollte er sein Recht lassen. Allerdings hatte er, wie er einmal froh bekennt, 'Glück mit Juden' gehabt, das heißt er war solchen nahegetreten, die die Vorzüge ihrer Rasse in seltenem Masse vereinigten. Es ist eine stattliche Reihe mehr oder weniger sympathischer Semiten, denen er freundschaftlich verbunden war. Wenn man sie aufzählt in der Reihenfolge, wie sie seinem Herzen nahestanden, so sind natürlich zuerst Tausig, Damrosch, die Porges, Lassen, sowie Dehn zu nennen. In zweiter Linie stehen dann Joachim, Coßmann, Singer, Remenyi, Kuh, Kulke, Davidsohn und schließlich Goldmark, Altschul, Thausing, einige Ärzte wie Basch und Samuel Stern, der Schwager von Porges, sowie sein alter Berliner Gönner Schlesinger und ganz zuletzt Rubinstein. Dabei verkannte Cornelius nie die Kluft zwischen dem Juden und dem Germanen, die im Grunde unüberbrückbar ist. Er führte gern das Reimwort an: 'Jud bleibt Jud, so christlich er auch tut.' (Besser müßte es heißen: so deutsch er auch tut.) Börnes und Heines vergiftenden Einfluß hat Cornelius bei aller Achtung für ihr Talent immer sehr bitter empfunden." (The Jews as a race were distasteful to him as to every true German, but he was prepared to give individuals their due. Certainly he had had, as he once happily confessed, "luck with Jews"; that is, he had been close to some who incorporated the virtues of their race in uncommon measure. It is a grand array of more or less congenial Semites with whom he was bound in friendship. If one enumerates them in the order that they were near to his heart, then naturally one should name Tausig, Damrosch, Porges, Lassen, and Dehn. In second rank, then, stand Joachim, Cossmann, Singer, Remenyi, Kuh, Kulke, Davidsohn, and finally Goldmark, Altschul, Thausig, a few doctors like Basch and Samuel Stern, the brother-in-law of Porges, as well as the Berlin benefactor Schlesinger, and at the very end, Rubinstein. At the same time, he never misconstrued the chasm that lay between the Jew and the German, which is fundamentally unbridgeable. He liked to quote the rhyme: "A Jew remains a Jew, no matter how Christian he acts." (It would be better to say: no matter how *German* he acts. For all his respect for their talent, he was always very bitter about Börne's and Heine's poisonous influence.) Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius*, 2:86.

87. "Ein rechter Tondichter muß, wie jeder andere Dichter, überall Beziehung zum eigenen, inneren Ton seiner Seele finden, im ewigen Werden aller Dinge um sich her muß auch seine Musik erklingen—ach ich weiß recht gut, wie's sein müßte, aber noch zeigen meine Töne nur das rechte Widerspiel von dem—sie sind nicht frei genug, ihre Fesseln zu lösen, mit denen sie an dem Krankhaften in mir haften." Joseph Joachim to Gisela von Arnim, "In der Sonntag–Nacht am 3ten und 4ten [Dez. 1853]." Joachim and Moser, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:117.

88. "Joachim kannte die Schrift Das Judenthum in der Musik, in der Wagner 1850—damals noch anonym—allen Juden die Fähigkeit zu eigenschöpferischer Arbeit absprach. . . . Indem Joachim das Gefühl seines kompositorischen Unvermögens mit

seiner orientalischen Abstammung in Verbindung brachte, übernahm er Wagners Argumentation und wandte sie gegen sich selbst." Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 38.

89. "Joachims weitgehendes Verstummen als Komponist." Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 39.

90. Joachim, sensitive to the difference in social rank between himself and the Arnims, nevertheless maintained his innate dignity. In a letter of 23 May 1854 to Gisela's sister Armgart, he writes: "Sie nannten mich 'weniger edel' als Sie gedacht: wenn Sie mit dem Ausdruck einen Mangel an Erfahrung und Klarheit in mir bezeichnen wollten (ich bin das zu bekennen schuldig) so hatten Sie recht—wenn aber das Wesen des Adels in der rücksichtslosen Harmonie des Handelns mit unserm seelischen zustande beschafft so thaten Sie mir großer Unrecht." (You called me "less noble" than you had thought: if, by this expression, you wished to describe a lack of experience and clarity in me [I have to admit it] then you were right—but if the essence of nobility lies in the heedless harmony of action with our spiritual condition, then you did me a great injustice.) Holograph can be found in the archives of the Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt am Main, catalog no. HS-14526.

91. Borchard makes clear that she understands this in a biological sense (*Stimme und Geige*, 129). In another sense, Joachim may indeed have had misgivings about Jewish composers, arising out of Herder's commonly accepted theory that art must have its roots in the landscape and in folk culture. Joachim's friend Charles Villiers Stanford reports: "On one occasion I had a long and most interesting discussion with him about the position attained by Jews [Footnote: 'He was by descent a pure Jew, and extremely proud of it.'] in creating music (as distinct from performing it). He commented upon the curious fact that, while many like Spinoza and Heine had excelled in philosophy, literature, and science, music, which was one of their greatest gifts, did not possess one Jewish composer of the absolutely first rank, and he thought it possible that this was due to their lack of a native soil, and a folk music emanating from it." Charles Villiers Stanford, *Studies and Memories* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1908), 131.

92. "noch jung noch herb,—zu dunkel, (denn ein trauriges Jugendschicksal hat ihn schwehr bedrückt)." "Joseph Joachim ein feuriger Musiker ganz durchdrungen von Bethoven,—würde Ihr Herz mit dem ersten Bogenstrich seiner Violine für immer einnehmen, er spielt Bethoven so als hätte er ihn durchlebt, es kann es niemand in gleicher Weise. Es liegt eine Kraft eine Gewalt und doch eine so innige Wärme in seinem Ton, das es einem ist als bekäme man von einem rechten Helden so eine Wunde mitten ins Herz, und zugleich heilte es das himmlische Öl des besten Samariters mit sanfter Gluth zusammen. Er spricht nicht gewandt und geistreich, aber seine stumme Bewegung reißt zur Liebe hin—wenn er nur ins Zimmer tritt fühlt man er ist groß und gut und wo er geht und steht vom Tiefsten durchdrungen. Seine Compositionen sind herrlich—noch jung noch herb,—zu dunkel, (denn ein trauriges Jugendschicksal hat ihn schwehr bedrückt) aber der edelste Wein. Auch dieser ehrt Sie von ganzem Herzen." (Joseph Joachim, a fiery musician thoroughly steeped in Bethoven [*sic*], would capture your heart forever with the first bowstroke on his violin. He plays Bethoven as if he had lived him; no one else can do it that way. There is a strength, a power, and yet so deep a warmth in his tone that it is as if one were wounded by a true hero, right in the heart, and at the same time healed with a gentle fervor by the heavenly oil of the best Samaritan. He does not speak cleverly and wittily, but his silent gesture makes one love him—if he only enters a room, one feels that he is great and good, and that wherever he goes he is penetrated with the deepest [thoughts]. His

compositions are magnificent—still young, still ascerbic—too somber (for a sad youth has weighed heavily upon him)—but the noblest wine. He, too, honors you wholeheartedly.) Gisela von Arnim to Ralph Waldo Emerson, Berlin, 9 December 1858, in *Harvard Library Bulletin* 25, no. 4 (October 1977): 435–36. Holograph can be found in Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

93. "Du kennst das nicht, Dir ist's viel zu licht immer, Du kennst überirdischen Trost, Du kannst weinen, Du kennst des Schmerzes Verklärung in Dir." Joachim and Moser, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:113.

94. "Du siehst aus alledem, zum Behagen bin ich nicht geschaffen, ich bin darauf vorbereitet, in meinem ganzen Leben mit mir selbst und mit andern, wenn's sein muß, zu kämpfen. Kampf ist Leben!" Joachim and Moser, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:114.

95. "Das wird herrlich sein, wenn ich erst gar nichts anderes werde zu thun brauchen als zu componiren, und ich hoffe es soll noch solche Zeit kommen." "Dazu kommt, daß ich auch immer zwischen Virtuosen-, Dirigenten- und Componisten-Gelüsten schwanke, und darum komme ich oft vor Anstalten, vor Entscheidungsscrupeln nicht zu wirklichen Arbeiten, wie eine Hausfrau, die vor Scheuerwuth nie zu reinlich bequemer Häuslichkeit gelangt—doch von solchen zerarbeitenden, gewissenhaften Handwerkseelen weiß wohl ein verwöhntes Kind unter den Zelten nichts—oder höchstens aus den 'Frucht- und Dornenstücken.' Ihr glücklichen Leute, die nur der Neigung folgen dürfen." Joachim and Moser, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:114–15. "Unter den Zelten" is a reference to the Arnim's Berlin address "Frucht und Dornenstücken" to the work of Jean Paul. Joachim owned and read the complete works of Jean Paul, having received them as an honorarium for a concert he played as a young boy. His ability to quote from Jean Paul's *Flegeljahre* was one of the things that first endeared him to Felix Mendelssohn. Moser, *Joseph Joachim*, 59.

96. Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 36ff.

97. "In diesem Zerrissenheitsgefühl glaubte Joachim die Ursache dafür gefunden zu haben, daß er sich nicht in der Lage sah, eine Musik zu komponieren, 'die warm zu den Hörern spricht,' so seine eigene Formulierung." Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 37.

98. "Wenn ich all die schönen Kraft betrachte die dir der Himmel gegeben,—so thut es mir öfter leid, ich gestehe es,—das [*sic*] das nicht dafür angewendet ist—was dich oft ganz beglückt hätte, eigene Werke zu schaffen, wehr sieht wie viel du Arbeitskräfte hast—dem thut das leid. Diesen Sommer sagte mir der alte Professor von Sagg, ein komischer Erzfeind der jüdischen Nation—Ich will ihnen sagen ich habe mein ganzes Leben lang die Juden beobachtet sie haben einen Fehler,—sie können nicht arbeiten—wie so—ja sie zersplittern sich sie bringe etwas vor sich aber zum individuelen Arbeiten, dazu kommen sie fast nie. Ich weiß noch nicht recht was er gemeint hat, ich muß mich erst besinnen. Aber wenn ich denke das [*sic*] so viel an dir verlohren ist an wirklicher Vertiefung in wirkliche Arbeit—wo zu dir der Himmel zugleich auch die Kraft gegeben hat—ja thut es mir leid." Gisela von Arnim to Joseph Joachim, ca. 1868, Freies Deutsches Hochstift, HS-10473. For all her literary acumen, Gisela was only poorly educated in the finer points of spelling and grammar.

99. "Habe ein wenig Geduld mit meiner armen Person. Der Schreiber ist noch immer nicht fertig mit der Ouverture, obwohl er sie nun schon wohl 3 Wochen hat. Ich muß sie erst hören; gefällt sie mir, so schicke ich sie Dir u. Herman [Grimm], u. willst Du

dann mit mir Juden ködern, so thu's. Weder ich noch das Werk werden dadurch schlechter werden. Ich sehne mich unbeschreiblich nach meinen Klängen—ich denke sie würden meine innere Unruhe übertönen." Joachim and Moser, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:170.

100. "Im Folgenden geht es um einen Versuch, zumindest in Grundzügen eine für die deutsche Kultur- und Musikgeschichte zentrale Traditionslinie sichtbar zu machen, die sich von Moses Mendelssohn bis zu Joseph Joachim spannt. Es geht um das wirkungsmächtige Konzept von Instrumentalmusik als 'allverstehende und allverständliche' Weltsprache ohne Worte." Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 32.

101. Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 57.

102. Thus the connection for him between music and the moral life—his conviction that ethics and aesthetics are one. As Ludwig Wittgenstein would later write: "The work of art is the object seen *sub specie aeternitatis*; and the good life is the world seen *sub specie aeternitatis*. This is the connection between art and ethics." Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Notebeooks 1914–1916* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961), 83e.

103. Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 9–10.

104. Gisela von Arnim to Emerson, 9 December 1858, 435.

105. Though it is often noted that Liszt proudly wore his medals and decorations onstage, ostensibly as a means of elevating the status of musicians.