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Balancing atop the Horseshoe: Max Reger and the Plurality of Prewar German Identities

The horrors of the Second World War weighed heavily on humanity caked in its own ashes. Hoping to salvage an earth scorched by flagrant nationalism, historians since cultivate a brighter future through reexamination of the past narratives. Musicologists recent decades have consequently discerned within predominant historiographical models of the 19th century a German-centric linearity, particularly worrying in light of the Third Reich's transgressions. Given the field's pioneers hailing from 1800's Germany, it should be unsurprising that musicology's main concerns and methodologies long nurtured contemporary concerns of German culture, politics, and identity. Conservative intellectuals of that era, for whom unification of German-speaking lands and debasement of aristocracy were primary concerns, tinged musicological narratives in favor of fostering a German national culture, no longer congruent with our modern sensibilities.

The beliefs of these German culturalists manifest most clearly through 20th century musical histories of the so-called "Romantic" era, which modern-day musicologists discovered to perhaps unknowingly exclude non-German narratives, synonymizing the inevitable plurality of European history with a linear, quasi-mythological, German canon.[1] In response, historians embarked to reimpregnate 19th century history with the true

[1] The synonymity of German Romantic narratives with broader ones concerning European culture at large remain common even among current-day musicologists and their discourse. Carlo Caballero critiques such tendencies in Mark Evan Bonds' *After Beethoven* in "Of Gounod, Haydn, and Other Eighteenth-Century Symphonists: Why French Composers Ignore our Historiography," 1-3. Sana Pederson illuminates similar tendencies within the works of Carl Dahlhaus in "On the Task of the Music Historian: The Myth of the Symphony after Beethoven," *Repercussions* 2, no. 2 (1993), 10.

plurality of the past, and to distinguish within its historiography remnants of culturalist meddling. Casting doubts on monolithic Romanticism,[2] musicologists began to illuminate the historically dissident repertories disregarded by musicology's culturalist founders and their parroting successors. [3] These are not minor omissions, but immensely popular and otherwise significant cultural features of non-German European societies. [4] For a considerable mass of musicologists, the restoration of pluralism in musical pasts and resuscitation of lost repertories comprise chief concerns, coalescing into a grand revisionist project.

I seek to contribute to this project through broadening its scope. My research on the composer Max Reger drew me towards elements of musical pluralism often slept on by revisionist aims to denationalize 19th century history: the plurality of musical thought within Germany itself. Throughout his life, Max Reger's musical ideology transitioned from a highly conservative and culturalist alignment to a more progressive and cosmopolitan

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[2] Arthur O. Lovejoy writes in 1924, calling for more widespread recognition of the inherent contradictions within academic understanding of Romanticism: "The function of the human mind which is to be regarded as peculiarly 'romantic' is for some 'the heart as opposed to the head,' for others, 'the imagination, as contrasted with Reason and the Sense of Fact'—which I take to be ways of expressing a by no means synonymous pair of psychological antitheses." Arthur O. Lovejoy, "On the Discrimination of Romanticisms," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 39, no. 2 (1924): 231-232.

[3] Some examples: Elisabeth Le Guin discusses the disappearance of the *Tonadilla*, a dominant form of entertainment in historical Spain, in *The Tonadilla in Performanc: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013). Carlo Caballero laments in "Musicology's Ballet Problem" the relative insignificance of ballet research in musicology, despite its coexistence with opera on Parisian stages – as Marian Smith also demonstrates in *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[4] Saint-Saëns speaks of the cultural significance of French *opéra-comique*, sensing its disappearance due to German-centrism in musical discourse already in 1899: "We have too readily forgotten that the truly national was the French Grand Opera created by Quinault, whose *Armide* had the honor of being set to music by Lully and then by Gluck; this is Lyric Tragedy whose prime quality was fine declamation, a tradition faithfully upheld until the Italian invasion at the start of the century. By returning to declaimed song, to the lyric drama [in opéra-comique], France would therefore be doing no more than reclaiming its heritage in a more modern guise." In Camille Saint-Saëns, "In Defense of Opéra-Comique," in *Saint-Saëns: On Music and musicians*, edited and translated by Roger Nichols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 48.

one, open even to French influences – while remaining decidedly German. By tracing the stages of this transformation via examination of Reger's works, their public reception, Reger's personal writings, and Reger's image and legacy within identity-obsessed Nazi Germany, we may explore this intra-German plurality. I begin by outlining the ideology of the culturalist and conservative ideologies which Reger imbibed during his mentorship with Hugo Riemann. I then track the transition through Reger's biographical chronology and analysis of his works. As I will demonstrate, tracing Reger's implementation of Beethovenian symphonic models into his symphonic works reveals his fluctuating allegiance to culturalist conservatism. Finally, I examine Nazi-era composers Paul Hindemith and Arnold Schoenberg, who leverage Reger's legacy in defiance of musical censorship under Nazi rule, positioning Reger as adversarial to predominant conceptions of German music and identity – hence illustrating ideological opposition to his former self, entirely within the domain of German thought. Reger's traversal of ideological strata within his music and career paints a novel image of Germany's past: one where both larger-scale and individual struggles against a dogma on true German identity threaten to breach the culturalist façade of unanimity, thus unveiling the ideological plurality hidden beneath.

I

Other authors have already written at length on the German concept of music, Beethoven, the Symphony, and their relationships to nationalism. Nevertheless, I articulate this relationship briefly here, to highlight particular features and terminology of this relationship salient for our exploration of Reger.

In the late 18th Century, Germany was an impoverished and eclectic jumble of duchies, states, and petty courts. For a diaspora of middle-class German intellectuals, burnt by the unjust rigidity of class implicit to the court system, the aristocracy in all its manifestations became a subject of critique, a force antithetical to "true" German nature. In identifying the enemy of the German people, politically minded intellectuals maligned all elements of aristocratic life in German courts. Given the French-influenced mannerisms of the ruling class, still reverberating with enlightenment revivals of cosmopolitan, neo-classical values, German thinkers increasingly framed Frenchness itself as Germany's greatest cultural enemy.[5] Nationalists, already seeking to overcome the court system in favor of a unified German *Volk*, appended to their agendas the expulsion of French mannerisms, superficiality, vogue, and enlightened rationalism in favor of the "true" German qualities of inwardness, individualism, and depth – qualities with which solitary intellectuals already necessarily identify.[6] Artists picked up the nationalists' charge, utilizing art as means towards reeducation of the German people, attempting to establish a new image of German culture divorced from its court manifestation, thereby establishing Germany's reputation as a land of thinkers and artists.[7] They, along with art critics, turned towards the evisceration of sensual beauty, associated with Frenchness, in favor of the elusive sublime: an intangible quality, whose definition differs vastly between its numerous artistic realizations, yet which is decidedly not French.

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[5] See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).
[6] Harold Mah, *Enlightenment Phantasies: Cultural Identity in France and Germany 1750-1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University press, 2003), 72.
[7] Sanna Pederson, "A. B. Marx, Berlin Concert life, and German national identity," *19th-Century Music* 18, no. 2 (1994), 87-88.

Despite their many manifestations within all domains of German life, the efforts of initially isolated intellectuals comprised a culturalist endeavor, a strong political movement. The impetus of expunging all French influence (or to avoid any association with qualities deemed French) perpetrated diverse artistic mediums: sculpture, gardening, literature, and poetry. For the culturalists, music, particularly instrumental, symphonic music, held unique positions among the canons of German cultural expression, its immateriality granting it immunity from culturalist critiques.

Arts which use physical and therefore sensual mediums were difficult for culturalists to separate from the Frenchness of superficiality. The sensuous nature of figures, their depictions, and the viewer's mode of experience within the physical arts required an appeal to beauty via outwardness – the doctrine of "pleasing form" synonymous with French Rococo ideals, the external beauty of aristocratic culture which conceals its inherent moral corruption and resultant subjugation. German physical artists in the 18th century attempted to compensate by turning towards aesthetic reduction of flamboyance and sensuality, but their capabilities, bound by the sensuous nature of physical mediums, were meagre and doomed to insufficiency.[8]

Of all physical mediums, German thinkers considered dance particularly, declaring it an inherently sensuous or even sexual practice. Even if sublimity could exist within the rational ordering of human gestures, viewers of Dance would be too distracted by the beauty and eroticism of the action to contemplate its more inward aspects. Furthermore, the cultural significance of dance within French culture, especially in the aristocratic contexts of popular ballet and *Bals-Publics*, reinforced its synonymity with moral

[8] See Mah, *Enlightenment Phantasies*, 71-86.

corruption in German imaginations.[9] Through composing abstract dance forms which eschew functionality, however, German composers may "cleanse" the degeneracy of French sensuality, and declare cultural superiority.[10]

Even within the realm of instrumental music, however, German culturalists remained discriminating, perceiving the contemporary musical world as poisoned with French qualities. Seeking to consolidate features of "true" German music, culturalists co-opted the newfangled "Romantic" ideology evolving throughout Europe. Like German cultural values, critics often defined Romanticism as a rejection of enlightenment idealism, at least in its prevailing form around late 18th-century Europe. Victor Hugo describes Romanticism as the contextualization of beautiful things within a grotesque reality – a rejection of the idealized, sensual portrayal of "truth" nobility employ to obscure their corruption.[11] Wagner advocates for the superseding of reason with the whims and emotions of human nature, rejecting the lies of enlightened rationalism in favor of inward,

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[9] The damning relationship between dance, sensuality, and Frenchness was so palpable during the 19th century that, in 1871, Wagner is able to dismiss French opera through mere allusion to this complex: "[Germans] did not understand these Parisian operas, because we knew not how to dance the contredanse; and how the latter is done, again, we never learn in Paris itself till we see the 'people' dancing. Then, however, our eyes are opened: of a sudden we comprehend everything, and in particular the reason why we could have nothing to do with the Comic Opera of Paris." Richard Wagner, "Reminiscences of Auber," in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, vol. 5, "Actors and Singers" (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1896), 45.

[10] Despite the inherent relationship between music and the physical gestures of dance, 19th century critics would argue the musical gesture lacks physical manifestation – that is, the musical gesture is the disembodied essence of a gesture in a primeval, universal sense. As such, instrumental music becomes the antithesis of dance, the de-sensualizing of its outward French beauty into inward (German) sublimity. Richard Wagner, for instance, insists that "whereas [physical art] fixes Gesture in respect of space, but leaves its motion to be supplied by our reflective thought, Music speaks out Gesture's inmost essence in a language so direct that, once we are saturated with the music, our eyesight is positively incapacitated for intensive observation of the gesture." Richard Wagner, "Beethoven" in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, vol. 5, "Actors and Singers" (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1896), 76.

[11] Victor Hugo writes in the preface to *Cromwell*: "The poetry of our time, is therefore the drama; the characteristic of the drama is the real; the real results from the natural combination of two types, the sublime and the grotesque, which meet in the drama, even as they meet in life and in the creation." Victor Hugo, Preface to *Oliver Cromwell* (Philadelphia, PA: Rittenhouse Press, 1896), 47.

personal truths.[12] Modern scholar Leonard Meyer identifies within the Romantic movement an overall tendency to an egalitarianism truer than that under enlightenment courts – a validation and veneration of individualist worth independent of social strata.[13] Romanticists therefore championed what we would now refer to as "absolute" music: abstract and devoid of external connotations, lacking human voices and actors, and eschewing pragmatic functions – in sum, the art most divorced from social issues of class and commerce, and thus most synonymous with the goals of German culturalists.[14]

Above all musical forms, the culturalists valued the symphony. As the work of one (usually male) composer, the symphony embodied an inherent heroism, a pronouncement of individual expression manifested by dozens of orchestral musicians. As such, the symphony held a singular teleology, universalized beyond the individual and proclaimed at a public scale. Karen Painter puts it succinctly: "a symphony was *felt* in terms of a protagonist but had to be *interpreted* as the actions and aspirations of humankind."[15] Eying the legacy of significant German composers, culturalist critics quickly adsorbed 18th-century symphonists Haydn and Mozart into the Romantic label and strove further towards integration of the most ubiquitous contemporary symphonist: Ludwig van Beethoven.

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[12] "Each challenge of self-vaunting Reason is hushed forthwith by the Magic mastering our whole nature; knowledge pleads confession of its error, and the transport of that avowal bids our deepest soul to shout for joy, however earnestly the spellbound features of the listener betray his marvel at the impotence of all our seeing and our thinking to plumb this truest of all worlds." Wagner, "Beethoven," 93.

[13] Leonard B. Meyer, "Romanticism—The Ideology of Elite Egalitarians" in *Style and Music: Theory, History, and ideology* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 163-217.

[14] Sana Pederson, on the other hand, highlights the more pragmatic, cynical reason for the German ideological preference for absolute music: "Music was claimed as the special property of the Germans; but, since it could hardly be maintained that the most prestigious and profitable genre, opera, was anything other than overwhelmingly Italian, this claim was narrowed to instrumental music." Pederson, "On the Task of the Music Historian," 14.

[15] Karen Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations: German Music and Politics, 1900-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 26.

Even though, as Charles Rosen asserts, Beethoven's musical language remains firmly entrenched in the earlier idiom of Mozart and Haydn,[16] critics of his music even outside Germany often celebrated within his pieces Romantic qualities absent in his predecessors'. When a Beethoven symphony succeeds, critics observe a preoccupation with truth beyond social artificiality, or an inward genius unconcerned with appeals to taste.[17] Any shortcomings in Beethoven's symphonies, they insist, originate from fiscal incentive,[18] melodiousness,[19] the ordinary or antiquated[20] - French qualities Beethoven's otherwise German voice. Exploiting this dynamic, German culturalists polemically reformatted musical greatness as adherence to Beethovenian and hence German and Romantic ideals,

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[16] Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York City, NY: The Viking Press, 1971), 380.

[17] George Grove celebrates in the sixth symphony that Beethoven "is preoccupied with Nature only, and filled with the calm which is always the result of love for her and affectionate intercourse with her beauties." George Grove, *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies* (London: Novello, Ewer, and Company, 1898), 183. Of the fifth, Berlioz writes: "The most celebrated symphony of all, is also in our opinion, without question the one where Beethoven gives free scope to his vast imagination, without choosing to be guided or supported by any exterior thought." Ralph de Sola, *Beethoven by Berlioz: a critical appreciation of Beethoven's nine symphonies and his only opera*—Fidelio—*with its four overtures* (Boston, MA: Crescendo Publishing Company, 1975), 27.

[18] Grove attributes his disappointment with the "gay and spontaneous" nature of the fourth symphony as opposed to the "serious and lofty" nature of Beethoven's fifth to the symphony's origin as a commission. Grove, *Beethoven*, 98.

[19] Schumann writes of Beethoven's 7th Symphony: "There is one irritating passage in the slow movement of the A major Symphony (there is but one A major Symphony!) where the restrained melody rises and falls slowly—notes almost in the manner of Spohr."[19] Konrad Wolff, ed., *Robert Schumann: On Music and musicians* (New York City, NY: Pantheon, 1946), 98. Schumann's comparison of Beethoven to Spohr betrays another significant trend in the identification of French vs. German qualities in music. Schumann often lists Spohr among a group of Viennese musicians he considers part of the German-Italian school, along with Mendelssohn and at times Weber. The common thread characterizing these composers is a tendency towards melody-driven and otherwise vocal music. Schumann justifies this distinction between the German-Italian school and "true" Germans through drawing philosophical divisions between "melody" and "melodies," akin to Wagner's distinction between a physical gesture and its truer essence. This abstract sense of "melody" transcends what is singable or melodious into what contains a certain ineffable quality Schumann does not explicitly define, yet which is reminiscent of the sublime: "I say again that not all that is easy to sing constitutes a melody! There is a difference between melody and melodies. Who possesses melody also possesses melodies, but the reverse is not always true. The child sings his melodies to himself; melody, however, is developed later in life. The first two chords of Beethoven's *Eroica*, for instance, contain more melody than ten melodies by Bellini." Ibid., 236.

[20] Berlioz critiques the minuet of Beethoven's eighth for its "ordinary" nature, claiming that the antiquity of its form seems to have stifled the composer's thought. Stola, *Beethoven by Berlioz*, 40.

framing Beethoven's compositional age into a pinnacle of artistic achievement, towards which both his successors and predecessors aspire.[21] They thusly asserted that composition in pre-Romantic styles (incidentally, a common aesthetic in France) is regressive, or even immoral. Through Beethoven, musical critics across Europe constructed a sort of German mythology, perpetuating a narrative of international homogeneity which occasionally resurfaces even in modern scholarship.

The culturalist project, however, possessed a crucial flaw. By defining Germanness mostly in opposition to Frenchness, they have left the precise nature of German identity loosely defined. Resultingly, perspectives among German-speakers differed, either through diverging interpretations of the Beethovenian mythos, or through outright rejection and disillusion with the mythology's political origins. It is these fringe inconsistencies which we may examine through Max Reger's relationship with Hugo Riemann and the city of Leipzig, both bastions of this German mythos. Therein we observe a journey of gradual disillusion: from ideological dissonance with Germanist conservatism into French-influenced cosmopolitanism.

II

In 1888, the 15-year-old Max Reger visited the Bayreuth Festival, watching performances of Wagner's *Parsifal* and *Meistersinger*. Despite his limited musical education under preparatory school instructor Adalbert Lindner, the young Reger was struck by the Festival performances, resonating deeply with the Wagnerian aesthetic. This bout of

[21]Culturalists often branded J. S. Bach, for instance, as a patrimony of German culture, the seed from which the true greatness of Romanticism later evolved. Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 78.

inspiration is evident in his ensuing first composition, an enormous Overture in B minor conceived for an amateur group in his hometown of Weiden. Impressed, Reger's father sent the overture to the renowned musicologist Hugo Riemann, who received the work warmly, yet signed off his appraisal with a stern warning to the young composer's parents: "Bayreuth is poison for him." Over the next two years Riemann mentored Reger from afar, sending the young student textbooks and guiding his first compositional efforts, before eventually taking Reger under his wing in 1890, instructing him at the Princely Conservatory in Sonderhausen, and later at the Fuchs Conservatory in Wiesbaden.[22]

Riemann adhered firmly to doctrines of German culturalism, perhaps even more stringently than critics mentioned thus far. Politically, Riemann believed in spiritual qualities which define one's belonging to the German race, a precursor to the racial nationalism standardized by the Nazis a few decades later.[23] For Riemann, German spirituality and psychology stem from anti-French artistic and cultural ideals, with particular emphasis on the musical legacy of Beethoven.[24]

We may glean further insight into Riemann's positions from his series of musical lexicons. Despite the generally objective tone throughout these enormous volumes, Riemann often subtextually betrays hints of his culturalist tendencies therein. In discussing the symphony, Riemann draws a clear distinction between "true" symphonic developments and the misguided efforts of programmatic composers.[25] He subjects composers to a moral

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[22] Susanne Popp and Susanne Shigihara, *Max Reger at the Turning Point to* Moderniam (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1988), 13-15.
[23] Alexander Rehding, *Hugo Riemann and the Birth of Modern Musical Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 147.
[24] Riemann writes during WWI: "The fact that our soldiers in their grey uniforms analyze Beethoven in their shelters in the field is a considerable contribution to the psychology of the Germans." Ibid.,160.
[25] Riemann's includes the following within his entry on the Symphony: "Symphony writers since Beethoven have not been able further to expand the form; nevertheless it would be a grievous error to regard it as

imperative to continue rather than subvert the perfected symphonic forms of Beethoven, whom he declares the quintessential and ineffable Romantic, the antithesis of Frenchness.[26] Riemann's appraisal of contemporary music relies entirely on comparisons to Beethoven's golden age, and discredits music which rejects its cultural values.[27] In his entry on Ballet Riemann connotates the artform within French aristocracy, perceiving within it the ultimate antithesis to the German spirit.[28] Riemann's pedagogical approaches, to which the young Reger was subject, further highlights his extremism, focusing nearly exclusively on absolute music[29] and employing only canonized German repertory in conservatory classes.[30]

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antiquated: the Symphonies of Schumann, Brahms, Raff, Rubinstein, show that it is still possible to fill it with new contents. The symphonic poems of modern times (Berlioz, Liszt, Saint-Saëns, R. Strauss) are not further developments of the Symphonic form; that notion is already excluded in that they are not generally a really definite form. They belong to the category of so-called Program Music, whose most essential representatives they are." [25] Hugo Riemann, *Dictionary of* Music, translated by J. S. Shedlock (London: Augener & Co., 1893), 773.

[26] Riemann writes of Beethoven: "In Beethoven we honor the greatest master of modern instrumental music, but he wrote, at the same time, vocal masterworks of equal importance (*Fidelio* and *Missa Solemnis*). If religious feeling found its noblest expression in the works of Bach, on the other hand it is the purely human joy and sorrow which appeals to us in Beethoven. Subjectivity, the characteristic agent of our time, coming gradually to the fore, is embodied in Beethoven, but turned, through the beauty of form, into classic purity." Ibid., 68. Riemann declares Beethoven eternal through branding him "classical," which he defines: "A term applied to a work of art against which the destroying hand of time has proved powerless. Since only in the course of time a work can be shown to possess this power of resistance, there are no living classics; also every classic writer is considered romantic by his contemporaries, *i.e.* a mind striving to escape from ordinary routine." Ibid., 148. Beethoven's opposition to "the ordinary" and its French connotations implies Beethoven's greatness stems from rejecting French values.

[27] In describing Robert Schumann, for instance, Riemann writes: "[Schumann's] greater works often betray the fact that smaller forms were his special province. The development sections, especially of his symphonies, appear somewhat abrupt; they lack the Beethoven nobility and breadth." Ibid., 716.

[28] Riemann's entry on Ballet begins: "Ballet is the name now given to the dances introduced (and standing frequently in very loose relationship to the action) into operas," highlighting Ballet's superfluousness. Regardless of the brevity of his entry, Riemann offhandedly finds time to mention that "Ballets were in a special favor at the French Court, where not only the high nobility, but even the kings themselves (Louis XIII., 1625, Louis XIV, very frequently) joined in the dancing; the ballets of the Quinault-Lully opera in the time of Louis XIV. Were much admired." Ibid., 52.

[29] Ibid., 156-157.

[30] Ibid., 65.

As Riemann's protégé, Reger inherited these extremist positions and maintained them within his early career. In a humorous letter he wrote to his old teacher Lindner in 1890, Reger berates his classmate Gustav Cords for the composition of a Wagnerian motet. Evidently, Riemann has driven out Reger's earlier fascination with Wagner from his visit to Bayreuth, as within the letter Reger pronounces Wagnerian stylization a *faux pas*, and Wagner himself the "musical Satan". [31]In a later letter Reger additionally derides program music for its often-insignificant subject matters, and ridicules recent experiments in orchestration: "how [some composers] let the powerful brass dominate the orchestra! No! I would rather listen to military bands! They can 'blow' even harder!" Instead, Reger celebrates the limited brass sections of Beethoven's Symphonies, projecting a compositional ideal on the use of anachronistic natural horns: "When you imagine an enormous composition with modulations in the development to distant tonalities (such as the *Eroica*), you don't realize that the horns and trumpets hold it all together like sky-reaching pillars, because they retain the tonic fundamental!" [32]

Reger's earlier works clearly accord with Riemann's compositional values through emulation of Johannes Brahms' style[33] – who Riemann declares "The greatest of living musicians."[34] Stylistic allusions to Brahms define Reger's early output. Antonious Bittman, for example, calls attention to the extreme similarities between Brahms' 1879 *Rhapsodie*

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[31] Else von Hase-Koehler, ed., *Max Reger: Briefe eines deutschen Meisters*, 20. All further extracts from this source are translated by Ohad Nativ.
[32] Ibid., 26-27.
[33] Reger's emulation of Brahms is conscious and deliberate, as he attests to Lindner in 1983: "I can claim, without even being the least bit arrogant, that I understand Brahms very well." Ibid., 33.
[34] Riemann, *Dictionary of Music*, 98.

op. 79 no. 2 (1879) with Reger's 1899 *Rhapsodie* op. 24 no. 6 (see figure 1), attributing Reger's early works as "Poor Man's Brahms."[35]

Reger additionally osmosed from Brahms a grave symphonic anxiety, the complex which famously drove Brahms' debilitating perfectionism which delayed the completion of his first Symphony. The teleological weight of the symphonic form and its implicit relationship to Beethoven imbued the genre with inherent gravitas, inviting scrutiny from nationalist critics and driving composers into counterproductive scrutiny. Consequently, throughout the 1890's and early 1900's, Reger at several points mentions in-progress symphonies in his letters which are never mentioned again, presumably abandoned.[36]

Reger's perfectionism in anticipating his first mature symphonic work led him to not compose any multi-movement symphonic work until his *Sinfonietta* op. 90, published in 1905, when Reger already sported an impressive reputation and taught at the Munich Music Academy. Despite his usually blazing compositional pace (Reger published 73 opuses the decade prior!), and despite his statement that "The ideas for this work simply flow to me by themselves,"[37] he spent uncharacteristically long slaving devotedly over the *Sinfonietta*.[38]

The diminutive titular suffix ("-etta") seems incongruent with the *Sinfonietta*'s veritably symphonic scope. Transpiring over 50 minutes, its four movements closely adhere to symphonic models: a sonata movement in the principal key (A major), a vigorous

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[35] Antonious Bittman, *Max Reger and Historicist Modernisms* (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 2004), 14.
[36] See, for instance, Reger's letters to Adalbert Lindner on 29/9/1890 and 15/9/1896, and a letter to Martin Krause on 27/6/1902, which may be found in Hase-Koehler, *Max Reger*.
[37] Ibid., 115.
[38] Popp and Shigihara, *Max Reger*, 26.

scherzo and trio (D minor), a complex Larghetto with a significant soloist role for the concertmaster (F# minor), and a dancelike Allegro con Spirito, returning to the principal key. The music itself is meticulously composed and highly contrapuntal, eschewing the soloistic treatment characteristic of the sinfonietta genre in favor of complex sectional writing, often employing string *divisi* (see figure 2). The *Sinfonietta* is a symphony in all but name, and a source of pride for Reger, who characterized it as "most-virtuous and very clever" ("*es wird urfidel; sehr witzig*"[39]).

Reger's configuration of the orchestra in the *Sinfonietta* adheres to his conservative symphonic ideals while also possessing, despite the composer's assertion that he has achieved his individual style by op. 45,[40] a lingering strong allegiance to Brahms. The orchestra requested in Reger's op. 90 employs a minimal woodwind section of 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, and 2 bassoons, a miniscule, 18th-century sized brass section consisting of four horns and two trumpets, timpani, a harp, and strings. Especially with his prescription for brass, Reger sticks by his 1891 assertion of the superiority of minimal brass sections, such as the ones employed by Beethoven and later, by Brahms. In fact, *sans* harp, Reger's orchestra for the *Sinfonietta* matches verbatim that of Brahms' *Serenade* no. 1, op. 11. It is likely Reger had Brahms' first *Serenade* in mind while composing the *Sinfonietta*, given *Serenade* was Reger's initial title for the op. 90,[41] and the striking similarity of the works' D minor scherzi (see figure 3).

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[39] Hase-Koehler, *Max Reger*, 115.
[40] Daniel Harrison, "Max Reger's Motivic Technique: Harmonic Innovations at the Borders of Atonality," in *Journal of Music* Theory 35, no. 1 (1991), 62.
[41] See, for instance, Reger's reference to an A major "Serenade" in a letter to Karl Straube on 4/1/1904, in Hase-Koehler, *Max Reger*, 115.

Unfortunately, reception of the *Sinfonietta* did not match Reger's expectations and ambitions surrounding the work. Its premiere in Essen, under the baton of Felix Mottl, was coldly received, and the work's first performance in Munich incited a veritable and violent "scandal." The chief critique leveraged at the *Sinfonietta* was inexorable from its complexity: that the highly contrapuntal writing created a density of sound with which most audience members were unable to contend.[42] Prominent Munich music critic, Rudolf Louis, wrote particularly harshly of the local premiere, Referring to Reger's supporters as the "Reger Cult." Although normally callous or derisively cockish to critical opinion,[43] Louis' critique apparently wounded Reger greatly.[44]

Reger's strong reaction to the critical failure of the *Sinfonietta* was likely amplified by the irony of its detractors' criticisms. In writing a complex, lengthy work, Reger believed he was appealing to the historiographical and aesthetic principles internalized during his mentorship with Riemann. Reger, having now experienced the first significant upheaval against his brand of artistic conservatism, now faced an ideological dilemma: was his tribute to Beethovenian tradition simply insufficient, or were Riemannian ideals, or at least the public's interpretation thereof, misguided?

In order to rehabilitate his reputation in Munich after the scandal of the *Sinfonietta*, Reger hastily composed the op. 95 *Serenade*, a much humbler four-movement work. Like

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[42] Popp and Shigihara, *Max Reger*, 26.

[43] Christopher Anderson describes Reger's derisive style when responding to critics in the Preface to Christopher Anderson, ed. and trans., *Selected Writings of Max Reger*.

[44] Louis' public attribution of cultlike behavior to Reger's follower arose after a group of Reger's students at the Munich academy protested in front of Louis' apartment. Reger expresses his distress in a letter to Karl Straube, his friend and musical confidante: "My academy students have regrettably presented Louis a picket [*Katzenmusik*, literally 'cats' music'] over his shocking critique of my *Sinfonietta* on February 9th. He brags about it in the most conceivably discourteous form in the most recent newspaper. It's all gone to shit! Be clear that I consider that picket to have been entirely undeserved and misguided." Reger's wife, Elsa Reger, additionally wrote to him in consolation. Hase-Koehler, *Max Reger*, 146.

the *Sinfonietta*, the *Serenade* follows roughly the outline of a symphony: a sonata-form movement (G major), a scherzo marked "vivace a Burlesca" (B minor), an "andante semplice" (A major), and spirited rondo finale (G major). However, within the *Serenade* Reger practically inverts several features of the *Sinfonietta*: the work is shorter, at about 40 minutes; its orchestration is effect-oriented, employing two string sections with and without mutes; the writing is less contrapuntal, reserving complex polyphony to overt instances of *fugato* in development sections; the slow movement is largely melodic rather than motivic and rife with lush sensual textures (see figure 4.1). The *Serenade* also contains several stylistic references to the Baroque—a dreaded pre-Romantic proclivity—such as extended sequences of descending scales traded between strings (see figure 4.2-3).

In the context of Reger's conservative values, a shocking feature of the *Serenade* is its inclusion of dance elements. The finale's primary theme is a gavotte (see m. 6-10), and the rhythmic cells which dominate the first movement evoke the *Cortège*, ubiquitous in contemporary French ballet.[45] These decisions were made cynically and begrudgingly by Reger, who conceals these allusions through abstaining from movement titles, insisting on the music's absolute nature. Leading up to the *Serenade*'s premiere, Reger recurrently degrades its intended audience—the Munich public—as "decorations of Noah's ark,"[46] and describes the work sneeringly to Karl Straube: "Thie Serenade for a small orchestra is a most guileless thing, so plain that even the dumbest fellow must be able to grasp it."[47] Reger

[45] Compare with, for instance, the "Cortège Rustique" in act I of Léo Delibes' 1876 ballet *Sylvia*. Similarly to the *Serenade*'s first movement, Delibes's Cortège relies on alternating two slurred and two dotted sixteenths.
[46] Popp and Shigihara, *Max Reger*, 26.
[47] Hase-Koehler, *Max Reger*, 146.

felt the *Serenade*, riddled with these cosmopolitan and pre-Romantic influences, to be an inauthentic compositional expression. [48]

Despite these apprehensions, the *Serenade* was a critical success in Munich, elevating his abysmal reputation into a mere lukewarm disinterest.[49] Reger, nevertheless, reacts with defiance, perceiving moral corruption in a public's preference for the cosmopolitan *Serenade* over his Beethovenian *Sinfonietta* – perhaps a knee-jerk denial of cracks forming in his culturalist allegiances. Doubling down on his conservatism, Reger accepts a teaching post at the Leipzig Conservatory, hoping to find more ideological sympathy in the "City of Music."[50] By moving to Leipzig Reger retreats to and reemphasizes his culturalist roots, reuniting with Hugo Riemann himself, who headed the conservatory's Music Theory faculty.

Perhaps emboldened by the city's artistic connotations, Reger's next "symphonic" work, the *Symphonic Prologue to a Tragedy* op. 108, is a massive, 30-minute long, single-movement sonata form, utilizing an enormous Brucknerian orchestra. Evidently, Reger's approach to fulfilling the culturalist imperative has changed somewhat following the Munich scandals, its conservatism softened. Through turning to Brucknerian maximalism, Reger asserts that the symphony should honor Beethoven not through stylistic emulation, but through brash maximization of the symphonic tendencies – mirroring Beethoven's

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[48] Reger writes to Straube: "I have made such great progress with the orchestral serenade that it should be ready for publication by the 1st of September this year! Once again, they will shake their heads when this so light and loveable work is released! 'Inauthentic Reger' will be their catchphrase!" Ibid., 147.
[49] Popp and Shigihara, *Max Reger*, 26.
[50] Aside from being Bach's historical workplace, the city of Leipzig has a concert history of celebrating the great German composers under the direction of Felix Mendelssohn. Jeffery S. Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach: Church and Concert Life in a German City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 274. Leipzig was also among the first cities in Europe to have all nine Beethoven symphonies programmed in one concert season (1828-1829), becoming a model for programming in other German cities. Pederson, "A. B. Marx," 101.

maximization of Mozart and Haydn's symphonic models. Accordingly, the *Prologue* contains complex and dense counterpoint (see figure 5), yet emphasizes orchestral effect, drama, gesture, and at times, sprawling melodicism. Through ascribing a tragic character (and thereby an abstract protagonism), Reger fulfills expectations for teleology in the *Prologue*, while maximizing its means of expression through a humongous orchestra his younger self would disparage.

Reger composed another symphonic behemoth in Leipzig, the Piano Concerto in F minor, op. 114. There Reger makes a striking compositional decision: finding Brahms' pianistic writing in his concerti unconvincing, Reger resorted to emulating the pianstic approach of Franz Liszt, a composer well beyond the bounds of permissible influences.[51] How could Reger, bound and adherent to Riemann's conservatism and its denigration of Liszt, comfortably turn to Liszt at this juncture? A closer examination of Reger's perception of Riemann's ideology during their mentorship will reveal that while Riemann's aesthetic views unfailingly implicated political ideology, Reger seemed to absorb the aesthetic positions of Riemann's tutelage independently of their foregrounding political motives. Thus, while Riemann's only serious analytical publication regarding Liszt intended entirely to oversimplify Liszt's harmonic technique in an effort to discredit the composer, Reger was not barred by bias from already in 1902 showing signs of approval for Liszt,[52] which by 1909 snowballed into full-blown adoration, entirely out of place in conservative Leipzig.[53]

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[51] Susanne Popp, Preface to Max Reger, *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra* (London: Ernst Eulenberg, 1990), vii.

[52] See Reger's 1902 letters to Constantin Sander and Martin Krause in Hase-Koehler, *Max Reger*, 94-95.

[53] Reger writes in 1909: "Ten days ago Nikisch performed a glowing, truly ideal rendition of Liszt's 'Faust Symphony!' Then – before it was hardly over, the public began to leave the hall, to get in line for some *Rehrücken* [a type of German chocolate cake]. I felt sorry for Liszt and Nikisch, but most of all for Leipzig, where the concert audience to such an extraordinary performance of such a colossal work had little to no reaction! Seriously! If my wife and I were not there, the applause would have been shamefully cold – but we

Reger's newfound sympathy for Liszt's progressivist/programmatic school became public information during the Draeske-Controversy of 1907. Responding to composer music critic's Felix Draeske's 1906 article "Confusion in Music," which attacked the experiments of progressive composers as described in an earlier article by Richard Strauss, Max Reger published in 1907 an article titled "Music and Progress." There, Reger assumes an ambivalent position, rejecting Draeske's branding of musical experimentation as immoral, while cautioning against unchecked progressivism. [54] It appears that the scandals of the *Sinfonietta* and ensuing reception of the *Serenade* have softened Reger's aesthetic proclivities, allowing him a more lenient compositional ideology still beholden to Beethoven's legacy and the imperatives of German identity, but critical of the conservative, older generation, for whom recycled aesthetics dogmatically stem from nationalist inclinations.

Hence, where Reger hoped to find ideological kinship in Leipzig, teaching in tandem with his old mentor Riemann, he instead found himself surrounded by a stern conservatism which he has outgrown. Reception of his works was consistently negative in conservative Leipzig, deviating from the increasingly positive reception in other major cities. Reger's evolving artistic ideology, recent and more adventurous compositional decisions in op. 108 and 114, and tendency to teach modern music (including his piano concerto with its Lisztian tendencies) to conservatory students,[55] caused tensions between Riemann and

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clapped as much as we could, like madmen! Has the concert audience forgotten how much we now regret the times when each of Brahms' new works were so coldly received?" Ibid., 217.

[54] For a full translation of Reger's "Music and Progress," see Anderson, *Selected Writings of Max Reger*, 23-24.

[55] Stephen König, "Bezugspunkte: Reger als Lehrer am 'europäischen' Leipziger Konservatorium und der Weg des Sándor (Alexander) Jemnitz" in *Reger-Studien* 8, edited by Susanne Popp and Jürgen Schaarwächter (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 2010), 190.

Reger to escalate. In 1908, Riemann published an article titled "Degeneration and Regeneration in Music" to a local music publication where, in an expression of extreme regressivism, he denounces all progress in music since the days of Beethoven and outside the work of Brahms. Riemann specifically spoke against modern composers' tendency "to avoid natural simplicity and to attract attention to oneself through all sorts of exaggerations; difficult notations; technical impediments to performance; expansion of the orchestral corpus; amassing of simultaneous, interlocking, and confused melodic lines, as well as blurred harmonies; all where possible with express reference to the most modern and extravagant products of poetry or painting."[56] While Reger is never explicitly mentioned in Riemann's article, their escalating collegial tensions, and Riemann's description of "simultaneous, interlocking, and confused melodic lines, as well as blurred harmonies" which reminded Reger of criticisms from the traumatic *Sinfonietta* scandal of 1905, drove Reger to, for the first time, speak publicly against his old mentor.

Reger's response to Riemann, an article of the same title as Riemann's own and published as well in 1907, represents a turning point in Reger's musical perception. The article is highly sarcastic, clearly expressing anger and directing ridicule at the ways of his old mentor Riemann, finally recognizing the harms of his culturalist dogma. In his response, Reger allies himself strongly with progressives, declaring himself firmly among them, and ending with:

> There is a great, if razor-sharp, difference between [Riemann's] theory and the powerfully forward rushing quality in our music since Liszt and Wagner! And despite my generally known "unqualified," immeasurable veneration of our old, great masters without exception, I

[56] Anderson, *Selected Writings of Max Reger*, 38.

> can say according to my conviction and judgement—although I do not know whether my outward stature suggests "wobbly bones" — "*I ride unyieldingly to the left!*"[57]

Riemann did not receive Reger's article well, and their relationship has further deteriorated as a result. Reger attempted to rekindle relations on Riemann's 1908 birthday, writing him genial wishes. Riemann's indirect yet bitter response was to disparage Reger in the 1909 edition of his *Dictionary of Music*, leaving their relationship, Reger's last anchor in the conservative musical movement, ruined beyond repair.

Rejected by his old mentor and by the Leipzig public, whose cold reception of the op. 114 Piano Concerto's 1910 local premiere infuriated Reger,[58] the composer comes to feel in Leipzig, the mecca of the German aesthetic ideals he initially strove to fulfill, as a "musical outcast." Seeking to escape the city, Reger accepted a position as music director at the court of Meiningen in 1911. While he retains his teaching post at the Leipzig Conservatory until 1914, the majority of Reger's time and musical endeavors from this point on take place in Meiningen, where he is free from the overwhelming ideological consternation of the public.[59] In leaving Leipzig, Reger cuts ties with the idealism for which it, and Riemann, stand, the artistic principles from which he is now disillusioned, able to see their nationalist rather than purely musical origins. He expresses this realization to Karl Straube: "For me, a lightbulb has gone off about the source of Riemann's obstinacy! You can recognize it from its fruits!"[60] As a final, defiant farewell to the "City of Music" and its shortsighted dogmas,

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[57] Ibid., 51. Reger's emphases.
[58] See Reger's 1911 letter to Georg Stern in Hase-Koehler, *Max Reger*, 241.
[59] Popp and Shigihara, *Max Reger*, 30-36.
[60] Ibid, 216.

Reger declares progressives as Beethoven's musical heirs, writing to Straube: "The tenth symphony of Beethoven is the Faust Symphony of Liszt! So attests Max Reger."[61]

III

Despite now identifying with progressivism and rejecting Riemannian ideals, Reger never parts with Germany's compositional legacy. He continues to compose works in traditional forms, brimming with counterpoint. Reger's sources of stylistic influence merely become less exclusive and restricted to the language of German, Beethovenian Romanticism, even welcoming cosmopolitan flavors. Reger's new compositions in Meiningen, beginning in 1911, display this new and ambitious approach to the symphonic ideal. Through exploring these new symphonic works—the *Romantic Suite* op. 125, *Four Symphonic Poems on Paintings of Arnold Böcklin* op. 128, and the *Ballet Suite* op. 130[62]—we come to better understand the progressive doctrines into which Reger was converting, those which lay beyond our modern conceptions of pre-WWI German historiography.

To better understand the features of Reger's Meiningen style, let us first compare two analogous works from before and after 1911, respectively: the scherzo movements of Reger's two piano quartets. Scherzi are particularly pertinent for this purpose given their inherent connection to Beethoven's evolution of the classical Minuet into the Romantic

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[61] Ibid., 217.

[62] It may also be fruitful to explore Reger's use of "alten stile" within his Concerto op. 123, his first Meiningen composition. Among Reger's historicist suites (op. 16, 79d, 92, 93, and 103a), op. 123 is the first to use a full orchestra. Richard Taruskin discusses the aristocratic, "epicurean" connotations of orchestrated baroque suites in Richard Taruskin, "Chapter 54: Pathos is Banned: Stravinsky and Neoclassicism," in *Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 447-493.

scherzo, transforming the dance from a slower, melodic dance into a vigorous, often vicious compound-meter presto with dense motivic and metrical interplay.

The scherzo of the first Piano Quartet op. 113, composed in 1910, follows a Beethovenian model precisely (see figure 6). Marked at a brisk Vivace, its opening measures unfold as a frantic melody built entirely of short motivic cells. The hypermetrical distribution constantly alternates between 2, 3, 4, and even 5-bar units, and the piano accompaniment to the string melody consists mostly of imitative statements. Later in the movement, Reger employs a Beethovenian trick right out of the 9th Symphony's scherzo, with which it shares a key: the alternation of 2 and 1-bar units in different instrumentations, each containing a different motivic fragment, to create a lurching and interrupted phrase structure (see figure 7). A more general parallel between these scherzi is the rapid alternation of hypermetrical units, so extreme in Beethoven's ninth to require *Ritmo di tre/quattro Battute* (three/four-beat rhythm) indications.[63]

The second movement of the op. 133 piano quartet, composed in Meiningen in 1914, stands in complete contrast to the vigorous scherzo of op. 113 (see figure 8). In fact, the ¾ movement is not marked "scherzo" at all, instead adhering to a *Vivace* tempo indication beating the quarter note – an approach more evocative of the pre-Romantic minuet. A recurring rhythmic cell in the movement, consisting of four eighth notes and a quarter note, summons a minuet character; compare these figurations with the *Tempo di menuetto* movement of Mozart's k. 304 violin sonata, where the grace note implied a slur on the first two eighths (see figure 9), or the Minuet of Haydn's op. 17 no. 3 string quartet, where the

[63] Another possible inspiration for the scherzo of Reger's op. 113 is the fughetta theme of Franz Liszt's *Scherzo und Marsch* S. 177, m. 200, which has a similar rhythmic and melodic contour.

figure is more omnipresent, but with all four eighth-notes slurred (see figure 10). Furthermore, the movement is generally hypermetrically square and begins with a lyrical 8-bar melody in the first violin, eschewing the fragmented motivic approach of the first quartet's scherzo. Given the understanding that Beethoven's supplanting of the Minuet with the scherzo represents a Romantic emancipation, coupled with the French connotations of dancelike affectations or general melodicism, we may observe that within op. 133 Reger attempts a different approach to the genre than his previous entry, one which adheres less strictly to the commands of German mythologists. These are the features of Reger's Meiningen style: an increased focus on melody, recurrent references to dance elements, and, as we will come to see, greater flexibility of formal design, even when contending with symphonic genres.

The earliest of Reger's Meiningen works relevant to our discussion is the *Romantic Suite*, op. 125, composed in 1912. Here, the historicist title of "Suite," seems to entirely betray the conservative, Bachian element, instead manifesting as a set of three thorough-composed, generally formless movements based on Eichendorff poems – a cycle of three Tone Poems in all but name. Experimenting within Riemann's much-despised genre, Reger loosely applies the "suite" title, not yet confident in his progressive stance and willingness to experiment with symphonic form beyond its conservative conceptions.[64] Nevertheless, the movements' free forms, picturesque evocations of their poetic-subject matters, and focus on orchestral colors renders their true nature as symphonic poems indisputable.

[64] Reger asserts the historicist connotation of the suite through the use of a BACH motif ubiquitously throughout: see brass in m. 45-46 of mvt. 1.

This latter quality relates to another experimental influence for Reger, repressed in previous compositional outings: Claude Debussy. As a poster-boy for French aformalism, Debussian elements would have been heretical to conservative German mythologists of Reger's time. Now free of the imposing restrictions of the culturalist movement, Reger began to indulge in his admiration for the composer. By 1913, Reger was conducting Debussy's works regularly during his concert tours, directing *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* three times that year,[65] likely influencing the *Romantic Suite*, with which it shares several features. Both works share the principal key of E major, and begin similarly: soloistic statements (in Reger's case, duets) of motivic cells which span a tritone, interrupted by coloristic orchestral gestures in distant keys, until a lush string melody firmly tonicizes its principal key (see figure 11). One could only imagine the horror of Riemann and young Reger, if perturbed by Gustav Cords' Wagnerian Motet, scoffing similarly at the Debussian suite of Reger's own creation.

Reger's next experimental symphonic work, the *Four Tone Poems After Arnold Böcklin*, op. 128, is decisively less timid regarding its rebelliousness, declaring its programmatic nature brazenly within its title. Composed in 1913, the *Four Tone Poems* are the first in a pair works which Reger devised as "preparation for a symphony,"[66] evidencing that, unlike Riemann, he no longer rejects symphonic poems as extensions of Beethoven's symphonic legacy. While the *Four Tone Poems* follow a symphony's characteristic multi-movement trajectory: *molto sostenuto* in 3/4, *vivace* in a compound 3/4, *molto sostenuto* in 4/4, and a *vivace* in 2/4, none of the four tone poems possess a strict form. Instead, Reger

[65] Bittman, *Max Reger*, 202.
[66] Popp and Shigihara, *Max* Reger, 36.

writes each tone poem as a largely thorough-composed fantasia, transitioning smoothly between different melodies, some of which only occur once. The focus rests once more on orchestral color, with the first movement dividing the strings into two groups, with and without mutes, a trick Reger last used in the op. 95 *Serenade*, which he now perceives increasingly positively.

The second work in Reger's 1913 set of preparations for a symphony, the *Ballet Suite* op. 130, is possibly the farthest Reger has ever ventured from German traditionalism. In relating the work to the symphony, Reger deviates from his previous ideology on the symphonic character, supplanting focus on form and counterpoint with the goals of "graciousness"—a "superficial" expression of beauty in gesture—and orchestral color, as he writes to Karl Straube:

> I am already thinking of a *Ballet Suite* of five movements; each movement lasting five minutes; but every movement must be most gracious and delicate; something for musical connoisseurs [*musikalische Feinschmecker*] of the first order. But how should the five movements of this *Ballet Suite* be titled; the title must state, that all five movements are as characteristically distinct from one another as possible. Please get your thought-box ready for that![67]

Barring no blows, Reger resolves his dilemma on movement titles by assigning this entry into the Ballet genre—the epitome of French degeneration and superficiality—titles near exclusively in French. Maximizing provocation, Reger's ascription of "graciousness" (an epicurean quality) to the work and assertion of its appeal to the "musical connoisseur" further evokes to German perspectives on French sensuality and indulgence in the *bien fait*. Reger's concern with each movement's character shows his willingness to compose

[67] Hase-Koehler, *Max Reger*, 265.

programmatic music, as opposed to absolute music, which along with his explicit concern for delicate orchestral timbre stands in firm opposition to his previously held Brahmsian ideals. The Suite genre here manifests within a French, sensuous, culinary model, no longer bearing relation to its German connotations. Clearly, by op. 130, Reger feels liberated enough in Meiningen from the conservatism of Leipzig to fearlessly realize and experiment beyond Germanist aesthetic conventions.

The suite's six movements (as opposed to the five and later seven Reger originally planned)[68], all thorough-composed, invoke a hodgepodge of influences external to the German culturalist canon: Schumann, Debussy, Wagner, and even J. Strauss. Of these, Reger's evocation of Schumann's *Carnaval* op. 9 is most pronounced. Of the *Ballet Suite*'s six movements, each an abstract yet characteristic dances—a form often used by Schumann[69]—all but the generically titled outer movements evoke a miniature from *Carnaval*: *Columbine* to Schumann's *Pierrot et Colombine*, *Harlequin* to Schumann's *Arlequin*, *Pierrot und Pierette* to Schumann's *Pierrot*, and *Valse d'amour* to Schumann's *Valse noble* and *Valse allemande*.

While Some of Reger's previous works similarly bare the influence of Schumann (see for instance, the op. 17 piano cycle *Aus der Jugendzeit*, which evokes Schumann's *Kinderszenen* op. 15), the reference to *Carnaval* in the *Ballet Suite* may be strategically provocative. *Carnaval* was Schumann's tribute to the archetypal characters of Italian *commedia dell'arte*,[70] a tradition synonymous with frivolous *opera buffa* and its spiritual

[68] Popp and Shigihara, *Max Reger*, 36.
[69] See also *Davidsbündlertänze* op. 6, *Fantasiestücke* op. 12, *Kinderszenen* op. 15, *Kreisleriana* op. 16, and several other piano cycles by Schumann.
[70] Eric Frederick Jensen, *Schumann* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 146.

evolution into the archetypal *emplois* of French *Opéra-Comique*, strengthening the *Suite*'s ties with frivolous French culture.[71] The final movement of *Carnaval*, "March of the Davidsbündler against the Philistines," was in itself a provocative Gesture on Schumann's part, the Philistines musically represented by a "*Grossvater Tanz*" ("Grandfather's Dance"), an antiquated 17th-Century melody, equating the artless Philistines with musical conservatism and its adherents.[72] *Carnaval* was additionally young Brahms' first exposure to Schumann's music, one which the young composer found distasteful due to its characteristic (as opposed to absolute) approach.[73] Through reference to *Carnaval*, Reger is able to declare his liberation from Brahms' restrictive ideals while simultaneously maximizing the *Ballet Suite*'s provocative Frenchness, taunting Riemannian conservatism as antiquated and philistine.[74]

Debussy's influence shows too throughout the *Ballet Suite*, though more subtly than in op. 125. Antonious Bittman has written in detail of several compositional features of the *Ballet Suite* which evoke Debussy's *Nocturnes* and *La Mer*, which I will not repeat here.[75] I will, however, draw attention to Bittmann's observation that in the first bar of the fourth movement, *Pierrot und Pierette*, the violas and first violins play a hocket containing the pitches and approximate rhythm from the famous opening bar of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* (see figure 12). Notably, the same melody was used by Debussy to mock Wagner in

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[71] For more information, see Olivier Bara, "The Company at the Heart of the Operatic institution, Chollet and the Changing Nature of Comic-Opera Role Types During the July Monarchy," in *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, edited by Annegret Fauser and mark Everist (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).
[72] Jensen, *Schumann*, 146.
[73] Martin Geck, *Robert Schumann: The Life and Work of a Romantic Composer*, translated by Stewart Spencer (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 214.
[74] In Bittman, *Max Reger*, 225-230, Antonious Bittman argues for a connection with Brahms symphony no. 2, which I find tenuous.
[75] See Ibid., 201-213.

"Golliwog's Cake-Walk" from his *Children's Corner* suite. Reger's inclusion of the Wagnerian hocket serves to ally Reger's compositional intentions further with the quintessentially French Debussy against the quintessentially German Wagner, furthering the *Ballet Suite*'s Provocativeness.[76]

While the mere inclusion of an Austrian Waltz in the fifth movement, *Valse d'amour*, would suffice to discern a reference to the contemporarily ubiquitous Johann Strauss Jr., Bittmann additionally notes a striking similarity between the melody of Reger's Waltz with that of J. Strauss' *Aus den Bergen*.[77] Prior to the rise of National Socialism in the 1930's, J. Strauss' music served purposes of aristocratic entertainment, one detached from the "true" nature of the German *Volk* through its economic elitism.[78] The ascription of such pedestrian influence to a "preparation for a symphony" further evidencing a disillusion with the symphony's mythological obligations.

Reconsidering his stances on the Munich scandal, Reger now seems to accord with the public preference for the *Serenade* over the *Sinfonietta*. Reger's *Ballet Suite* bares significant resemblance to the former, perhaps paying homage to the begrudgingly composed work. Compare, for instance, the second movement of the *Serenade* with the *Harlequin* movement of the *Ballet Suite*. Aside from sharing a 6/8 meter, the key of B minor, and the tempo indication *Vivace* (*Vivace a Burlesca* in the case of the *Serenade*), the two movements have remarkably similar thematic makeup and orchestration. The *Serenade*'s

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[76] Another more subtle allusion to Debussy occurs at the Suite's opening, whose pentatonic dotted quality aligns exactly with that of Debussy's "Ballet" movement from his early *Pètite Suite*. This allusion serves less for provocation, and more as a *Hommage*.

[77] Ibid., 220-221.

[78] In fact, Strauss's assimilation into permissible Germanic music by the Nazi party in the late 1930's only occurred through a propaganda campaign, aiming to soothe Austrian resistance to their 1938 annexation via bridging Austrian-German cultural gaps. Zoë Alexis Lang, *The Legacy of Johann Strauss: Political Influence and Twentieth-Century Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 70-106.

second movement begins with a nimble 16th note melody in the violins, while the winds play staccato eighth note chords (see figure 13.1). *Harlequin* inverts this relationship: the violins play staccato eighth note chords, while the winds play a collection of ornamented sixteenth note motivic fragments (see figure 13.2). Furthermore, both movements alternate between brisk *Vivace* and *Tranquillo* sections, and end with a coy and quiet pizzicato in the strings. The first movement of the *Ballet Suite* additionally shares several textural features with the first movement of the *Serenade*, often digressing into lengthy series of slurred and dotted 16th notes harmonized in thirds and traded between the winds and strings (see figure 14). Rhythmically, the first movements of both the *Ballet Suite* and the *Serenade* borrow from the *Cortège*, inimically associated with French ballet. While Reger obscured his reference to ballet in the *Serenade* through avoiding characteristic movement titles, the *Cortège* rhythms of the *Ballet Suite*, contextualized through the work's title, proudly display their French associations.

Reger degraded the audience for his *Serenade* as animalistic and simpleminded, yet he directs the *Ballet Suite* explicitly at the musical "connoisseur." While his derisive behavior in the former case may stem mostly from hatred of Munich critics, it is also possible, if not likely, that Reger's ascription of animalistic simplicity arose, implicitly, from the nationalist motives for the *Sinfonietta*'s aesthetic. Those which reject the inherent greatness of the Beethovenian approach, in the eyes of then Munich-residing Reger, reject German depth and superiority, opening themselves to the sexualized, primitive, and sensuous conduct of the French. But now, in 1913, Reger empathizes with the same political demographic his *Sinfonietta* offended—the degenerate progressives who dared not reject non-German influence—and crowns them anew with the *Ballet Suite* as musical

connoisseurs. For the Meiningen-residing Reger, a true connoisseur discards the pretenses of nationalist culturalism and indulges freely in all music – even in Ballet.

IV

Beginning in 1904 and until his eventual death in 1916, Reger reigned as the second most performed composer in Germany next to Richard Strauss.[79] It goes without saying that Reger's oeuvre does not enjoy analogous prevalence in our modern-day concert repertory. While the general expressive opaqueness and high technical demands of Reger's compositions may be partially to blame, I argue that Reger's omission from our concert canon owes greatly to political reception surrounding Reger's Meiningen works. As we have seen, Reger's compositions from 1911 on often employ a brash and at times intentionally provocative progressivism, culminating in the *Ballet Suite* op. 130. Despite Reger's 1914 attempt to reinstate his patriotic reputation with the *Patriotic Overture* op. 140, aligning with the strong civil tensions caused by the outbreak of World War I, Reger's works until his death in 1916[80] remain of decidedly cosmopolitan influence. For example, Reger's last piano work, the 1915 cycle *Träume am Kamin* op. 143, contains several highly melodic dance movements, employing complex harmonies evocative of Fauré and anticipating Poulenc.

The alarming increase in nationalist prevalence ushering the Nazis' rise to power in the 1930's rendered Reger's Meiningen period increasingly a stain on his reputation. Critics

[79] Popp and Shigihara, *Max Reger*, 26.
[80] Reger died, perhaps unsurprisingly, from a heart attack while visiting Leipzig.

quickly branded Reger's physiognomy as east Baltic as opposed to "truly German," and deduced within his music qualities which offend the German spirit.[81]

Reger's rebellious, provocative, and cosmopolitan Meiningen era works caused his increasing omission from Nazi concert programming, who instead sought to cultivate an artistic tradition which subdues and orients citizens towards glorification of Germany. Despite the occasional performance of his most accessible works,[82] performing Reger gradually fell out of fashion in the Third Reich.

Of course, Reger was not the only composer to experience censure in Nazi Germany. Indeed, composers labeled as Jewish were banned outright, rediscovered later in the 20th century – the most famous such cases being Gustav Mahler's resuscitation by Leonard Bernstein in the 1950-60. Unfortunately, Reger's *Patriotic Overture*, his WWI attempt to reassert his allegiance to Germany, uncomfortably situated Reger alongside German nationalists for postwar audiences.[83] Reger's position in postwar retrospectives is resultingly awkward: insufficiently German for the Nazis, but too German for the postwar West.

Reger's censure beginning in the 1930s did not, however, prevent his influence on prominent 20th-century figures, who served to continue his compositional and ideological legacy. Both Paul Hindemith and Arnold Schoenberg were greatly influenced by Max Reger

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[81] Richard Eichenauer writs in *Music and Race*: "Niemann describes how German musicians, with their characteristic thoroughness, compete with each other in the understanding of Reger's works, and in most cases remain unable to relate to him. This cannot be explained any other way than racially; for the East Baltic psyche is alien to 'genuine' Germans who, serious efforts notwithstanding, are unable to experience it. Reger's tragic fate was to have been an outcast among his own people. To me, it is incorrect to say that Reger's art is not an expression of emotions and the soul. There are emotions and a heart in it, but it is the kind of heart that cannot find an echo with the German people." Bittmann, *Max Reger*, 15.

[82] Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, 247.

[83] The work is even excluded from Deutsche-Grammophon's complete recording of Reger's orchestral works.

and remain central to our concert repertory today. In tracing echoes of Reger's Meiningen-era ideals within their works, we may track nature of the symphony in the 20th century and further examine the internal conflicts surrounding Germanist musical mythology under totalitarian rule.

Let us begin with Paul Hindemith, who once wrote of Reger: "Max Reger was the last giant in music. I imagine that without him, I would be nothing."[84] Indeed, it is easy to find parallels between the two composers' harmonic style: a complex weave of chromatic harmonies wherein the tonal center is in constant flux. Like Reger, Hindemith was a performer-composer, and like Reger, he is at times loosely grouped into the vaguely defined "Neoclassical" movement of the early 20th century. This categorization, I argue, has less to do with 18th century proclivities, but rather with Hindemith's incorporation and adherence to German mythology – or lack thereof.[85] Indeed, the deliberate evocation of the 18th-century and prior are abundant within Hindemith's music, whose contrapuntal focus and strict sonata forms certainly harken back to Viennese Classicism. However, categorizing Hindemith merely as a "Neoclassicist," that is, as motivated by reactionary ideals in face of snowballing compositional complexity, obscures the emergent complexity underscoring his compositional approach.

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[84] Helmut Wirth, *Max Reger: in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (Hamburg: Rohwohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1973), 151. Translated by Ohad Nativ.

[85] Indeed, explicit evocations of late 18th-century aesthetics were common, especially among French compositional schools of the 1920's and 30's – Darius Milhaud, a member of the influential *Les Six* composers' league, spoke of the stylistic goals of his music in this manner: "What musicians asked for now was a clearer, sturdier, more precise type of art that should not yet have lost its qualities of human sympathy and sensitivity… After all the vapors of impressionism, would not this simple, clear art renewing the tradition of Mozart and Scarlatti represent the next phase in the development of our music?" David Neumeyer, *The Music of Paul Hindemith* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 2.

Consider, for instance, Hindemith's earlier work, the *1922* Suite op. 26, published in the titular year. A quick glance at the titles of its five movements—"Marsch," "Shimmy," "Nachtstück," "Boston," and "Ragtime"—reveals not a mixture of old and new, but rather of high and low-brow: Jazzy Americana side-by-side with the Romantic "Nachtstück." Hindemith satirizes all of these genres equally, from the off-unison trumpet call which opens the "Marsch" (see figure 15) to the lopsided and disorienting quintuplet runs interrupting the boisterous "Ragtime," otherwise divided exclusively into sixteenths. By evoking the suite genre, but constructing it using malapropos, satirical, and stylistically eclectic music, Hindemith presents a deliberate slight, provoking traditionalists while lampooning their perceived enemy: the low-brow, sensuous masses.

Hindemith's early music does not merely mock traditionalists, but seemingly entirely dismisses the strife between conservative and progressive idealogues. His 1919 piano cycle *In einer Nacht… Träume und Erlebnisse* ("In a night… dreams and experiences") op. 15 fittingly contains a wide range of parodies and caricatures: a Schumann-esque dance miniature in no. 5; a confused, rhythmically ambiguous jumble of notes takes the title of "Scherzo" in no. 8; no. 9, simply titled "*Programm-Musik,*" recalls Reger's 1891 critique of program music composers' tendency to set substance-less material to music, by setting an inane, meaningless poem; in no. 12, our protagonist experiences an "Evil Dream": Verdi's *Rigoletto*, belonging to "shallow" non-German opera, wherein Hindemith overloads an otherwise simple, sing-songy melody from Verdi's work with extremely dissonant counterpoint; a bizarre Foxtrot follows in no. 13, recurrently interrupting its phrase structure with a lumbering four-note motif, eliding directly into a complex double-fugue in no. 14, which eventually collapses into an enormous C major climactic ending, wholly

disproportionate to the otherwise more intimate pianistic writing in the rest of the set (perhaps parodying the enormous fugal finales of Reger's various orchestral variation sets: op. 81, 100, and 132 come to mind).

The rise of National Socialism in the 1930's, however, generated an artistic environment in Germany much less open to satirical work. Horrified by the Nazi purge of "degenerate" modernist composers in 1933,[86] Hindemith sought to establish a more secure position in the eyes of the regime by turning to the monumental nationalist genre of the Symphony, perhaps inspired by the successful and continued performances of Beethoven and Bruckner under Nazi rule.[87] The result was the 1934 *Mathis der Maler* Symphony – a work devoid of satire, offering a sanitized glorification of Germanic mythos.

Mathis, however, skirted a dangerous line, following a symphonic model akin to Reger's Meiningen experiments 20 years prior: a multi-movement symphony wherein each movement was based on a painting, essentially a suite of symphonic poems like Reger's op. 125 *Romantic Suite* or op. 128 *Tone Poems on Böcklin*. While the *Mathis* Symphony enjoyed initially glowing reception, cultural critics and Nazi officials, perhaps sensing the ideological rebelliousness enshrined within the Regerian form (and recalling Hindemith's risqué 1920's compositions[88]) increasingly defamed the work. The regime could not allow a composer as dangerous as Hindemith to compose a work as ideologically and symbolically loaded as a symphony, leading Joseph Goebbels to officially condemn Hindemith on December 6th of 1934.[89] Still adamant to appease the regime, Hindemith's next works

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[86] See Erki Levi, "*Entartete Musik*: The War Against Modernism," in *Music in the Third Reich* (New York City, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 82-123.
[87] See Painter, "Symphonic Defeat," in *Symphonic Aspirations*, 244-270.
[88] Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 34.
[89] Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, 219-231.

continued to follow in *Mathis*'s more conservative footsteps: Lieder, Sonatas, and Concerti in traditional forms of the 19th-century German greats. These were insufficient to reinstate good standing, and Hindemith was forced to leave Germany for the United States in 1937.

Hindemith's journey is the reverse of Reger's: satirical and provocative ideations sympathetic to French compositional schools, forced into conformity with German traditionalism. Yet, still harboring defiance to the regime, Hindemith summons Regerian technique in *Mathis*, a covert opposition to conservatism.

Hindemith's early rejection of the conservative vs. progressivist dichotomy was too heretical to German mythologists, risking a denouncement of Beethoven's greatness through appeal to strict modernism. The Nazis' ascription of modernist ideology, though, was flexible, vague, and opportunistic, applying additionally to the rising atonal movement. Its leader, Arnold Schoenberg was branded a proponent of Jewry in music and accused of forsaking the German public with inaccessible style, despite Schoenberg's deep respect for Romantic Tradition. Schoenberg's progressivism in emancipating the dissonance was simply a step too far from the permissible progressivism of composers like Richard Strauss, who thrived under Nazi rule, leading Schoenberg to leave Europe preemptively and emigrate to the United States in 1933.[90]

Surprisingly, while Schoenberg continued to produce atonal and avant-garde works in the United States, disconnection from his home continent spurred Schoenberg to compose a series of tonal, accessible works. Among these is the Suite in G major "In ancient style," composed in 1934, a work which, as musicologist Jan Maegaard notes, adheres primarily to a Regerian style. Despite the apparent conservatism of the piece in relation to

[90] Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 184-186.

his atonal compositions, Schoenberg perceived the Suite in G major as a polemical argument against the same conservatism he escaped in Europe, writing:

> It has convinced me that the fight against this infamous conservatism has to begin here. And so this piece will simply be an example of those progresses which are possible in tonality when you are a true musician and you know your trade: a true preparation as regards harmony, but also melody, counterpoint, and technique…[91]

Schoenberg was indeed familiar with Reger, and understood his role as a revolutionary in bridging conservative and progressive divides, writing in his *Structural Functions of Harmony*:

> The music of Max Reger, like that of Bruckner and Mahler, is little known outside Germany. But his music is rich and new, through his application to "absolute" music of Wagner's achievements in the realm of harmony. Because these were invented for dramatic expression, the application of these procedures in this way provoked an almost "revolutionary" movement among Wagner's successors.[92]

"Wagner's successors," of course, include Schoenberg himself. By writing the G major suite in Regerian style, Schoenberg executes a powerful polemical slight: writing deliberately tonal, traditional music for the purposes of illustration, while instilling within the work a seed of anti-traditionalist rebellion.

Within the climate of the Second World War, where the moral imperative towards implementation Beethovenian mythology reached its apex, Reger evidently embodies a symbolic force, a German artist in opposition to the mainstream narratives of 19th-century German art. For both Hindemith and Schoenberg, Reger served as an inspiration on

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[91] Jan Maegaard, "Schoenberg's Late Tonal Works," in *The Arnold Schoenberg Companion*, edited by Walter B. Bailey (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 182-183.
[92] Arnold Schoenberg, *Structural Functions of Harmony* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), 102.

bridging or superseding the terms of the French-German divide and of gazing upon musical composition independently of its nationalist implications. Reger's compositions, stifled by the culture of Nazi Germany, are rarely performed today. But Reger's legacy—simultaneously musical, political, and moralistic—continues to live on through his progressive successors and their fight against the conservatism running rampant in Nazi Germany, which finally bares its true, villainous form.

V

Only a few years following the end of World War II, Theodor Adorno writes in *Minima Moralia*:

> It is the fortune and limitation of French art never to have entirely eradicated the pride in making little pictures, just as it differs most obviously from German art in not acknowledging the concept of Kitsch. In countless significant manifestations it casts a conciliatory glance at what pleases because it was skillfully made: sublime artistry keeps a hold on sensuous life by a moment of harmless pleasure in the *bien fait*. While the absolute claim of perfection without becoming, the dialectic of truth and appearance, is thus renounced, the untruth of those dubbed by Haydn the Grand Moguls is also avoided; they, determined to have no truck with the winsome vignette or figurine, succumb to fetishism by driving out all fetishes.[93]

Within this excerpt we see Adorno, attuned to the artistic and aesthetics elements which underscored the atrocities of the Second World War, scolding both sides of the dichotomous ideologies which fueled the conflict. The French, preoccupied by craftsmanship and its sensuous appreciation, neglect to allow depth within their works. The Germans, in their idolization of depth, drive out all non-essential sensuous elements – an action appropriated

[93] Theodor Adorno, *Minima Moralia*, translated by E. F. N. Jephcott (London: Verso, 2020), 241.

by the Nazi regime, whose definition of essentiality was the glorification of German mythos. Ironically, to glorify German rejection of French ideals, they turned to the enlightened utilitarian model of value, the dominant ideology of French-tinged aristocracy against which German culturalism was initially directed.

It is easy to extract from the horrors of the second world war cliché morals on the dangers of racism, the value of empathy, and the importance of international communication. These lessons, while important in their own right, underscore a deeper dynamic, one which appears only through engaging the erased plurality of German ideology to which Reger belongs. The dangerous ideological horseshoe wherein the elimination of dogma becomes dogma in itself, and vice versa, rears within the aesthetic debates impregnating Reger's career and legacy.

To this paradox—the cannibalistic nature of intellectual non-apathy—Adorno provides no definitive solution, and suggests only to trust one's discerning subjective taste. The feeble, if not platitudinous, impression of this advice obscures its true nature: a complex dialectic of subjectivity and objectivity which may exclusively rectify the failings of either ideology. It does not invite aesthetic anarchy or relativism, but rather coherence and stability through awareness of the temporality of perspective, of what Dahlhaus coins the "valuation."[94]

Reger is indeed guilty of this carnal misstep. Eager to stabilize his aesthetic orientations after disillusionment with his mentor's dogmatic apprehensions, he lurched and reeled between extreme anti-nationalist provocation and stern, declarative patriotism.

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[94] Dahlhaus discusses the concept of "valuations" in Carl Dahlhaus, "The value-judgement: object or premise of history?" in *Foundations of Music History*, translated by J. B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 85-107.

Reger's erratic stylistic and ideological shifts may have caused his complete erasure from the mainstream canon, traveling too close to its unfurling fringes as he rode unyieldingly to the left. Perhaps, if Reger had followed Adorno's advice, his work would reside more prodigiously on the modern concert stage. And perhaps, if he had done so, we could parse through the impenetrable score of the *Sinfonietta*, and glimpse the Beethovenian gem hidden within.

Musical Figures

Figure 1.1: An excerpt from Brahms' "Rhapsodie" op. 79 no. 2

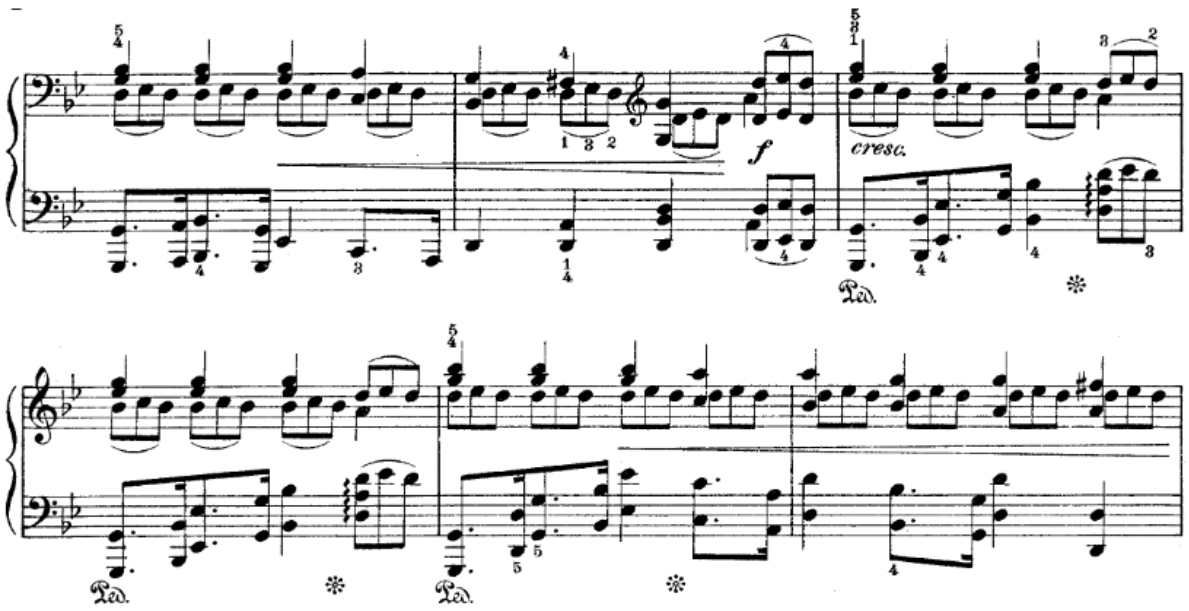


Figure 1.2: An excerpt from Reger's "Rhapsodie" op. 24 no. 6:

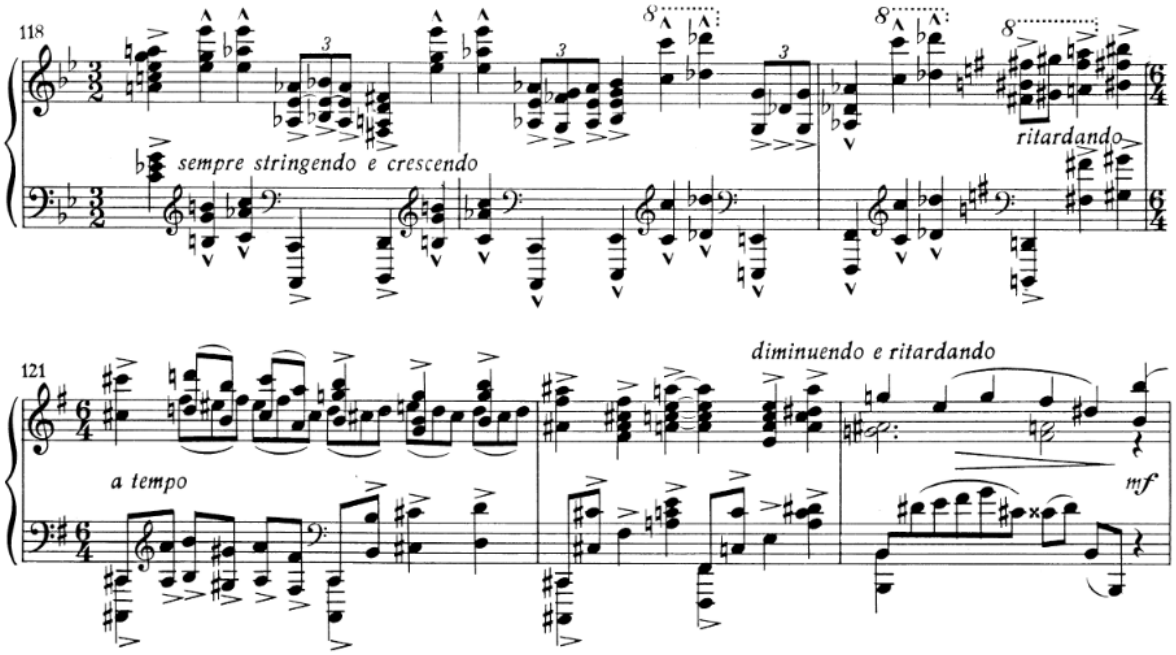


Figure 2: A page from Reger's *Sinfonietta* op. 90:

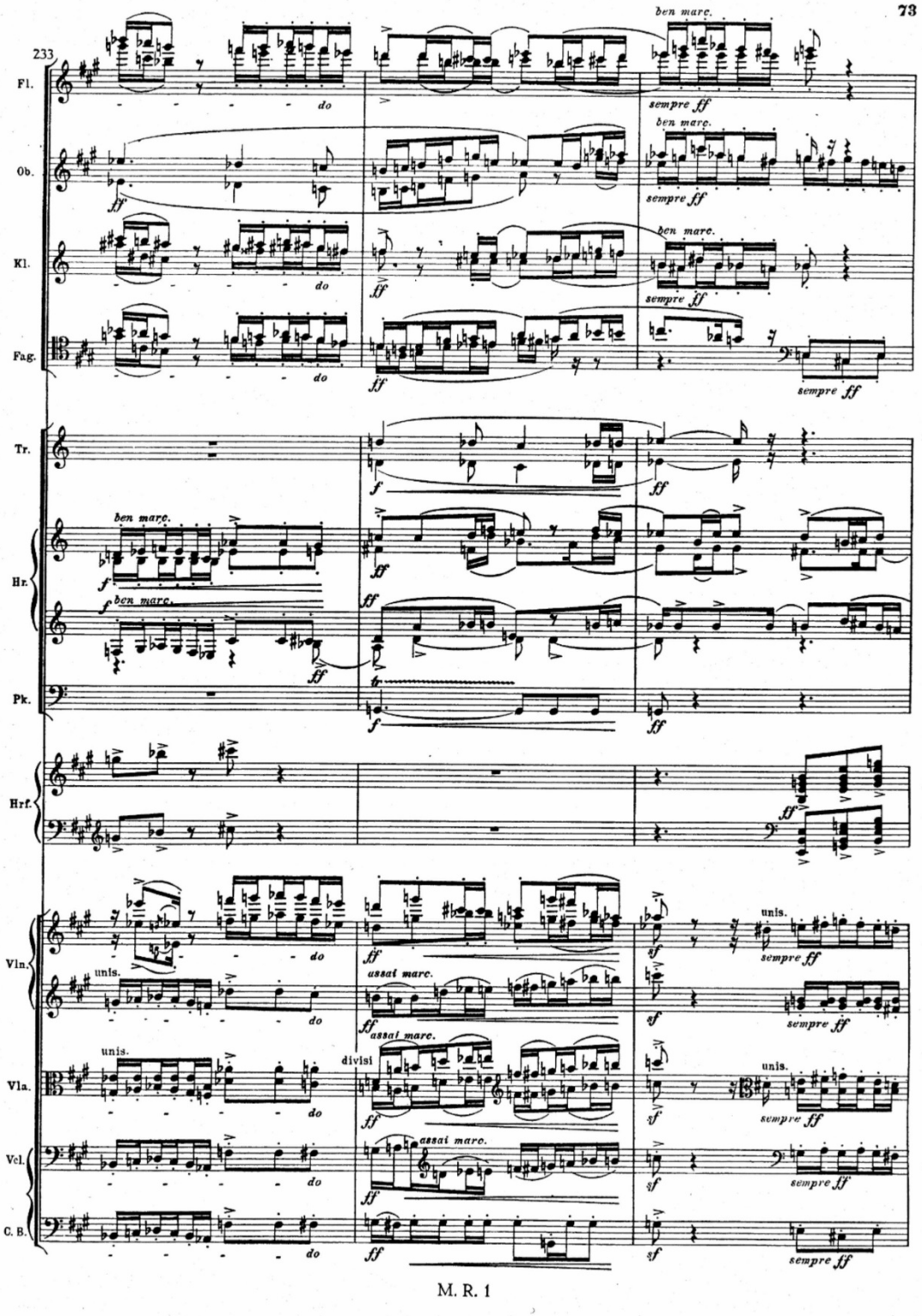


Figure 3.1: Excerpt from Brahms' *Serenade* op. 11, movement II:

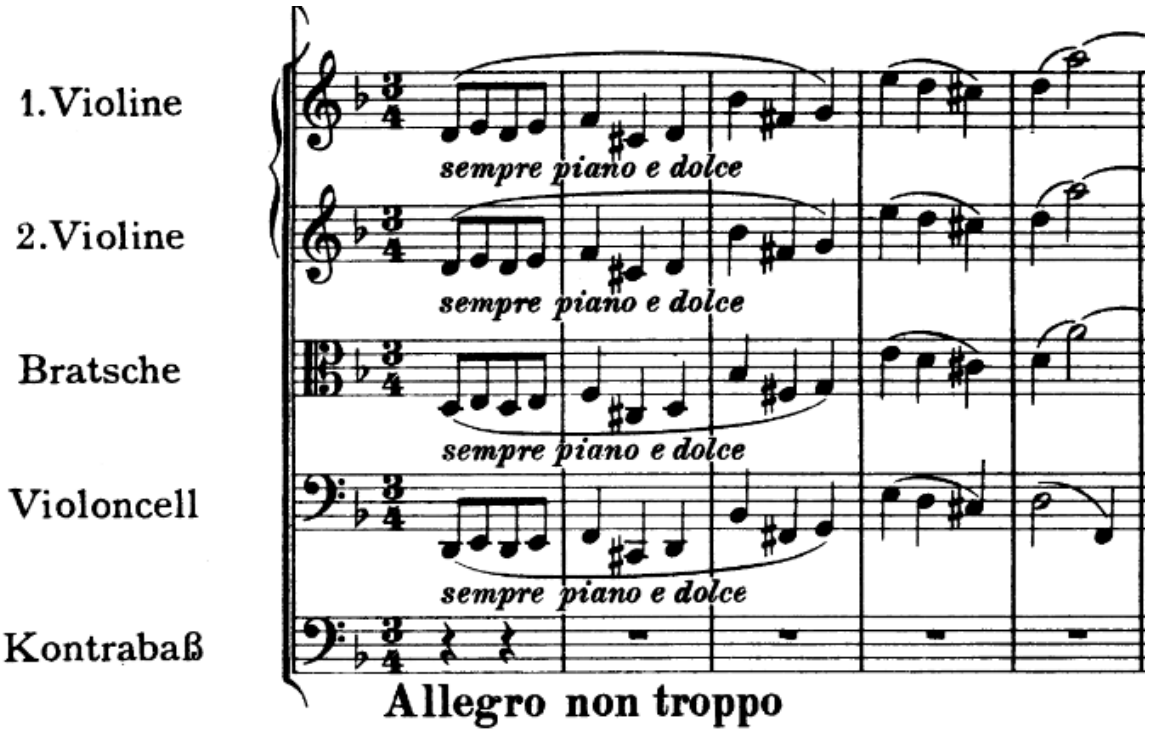


Figure 3.2: Excerpt from Reger's *Sinfonietta* op. 90, movement II:

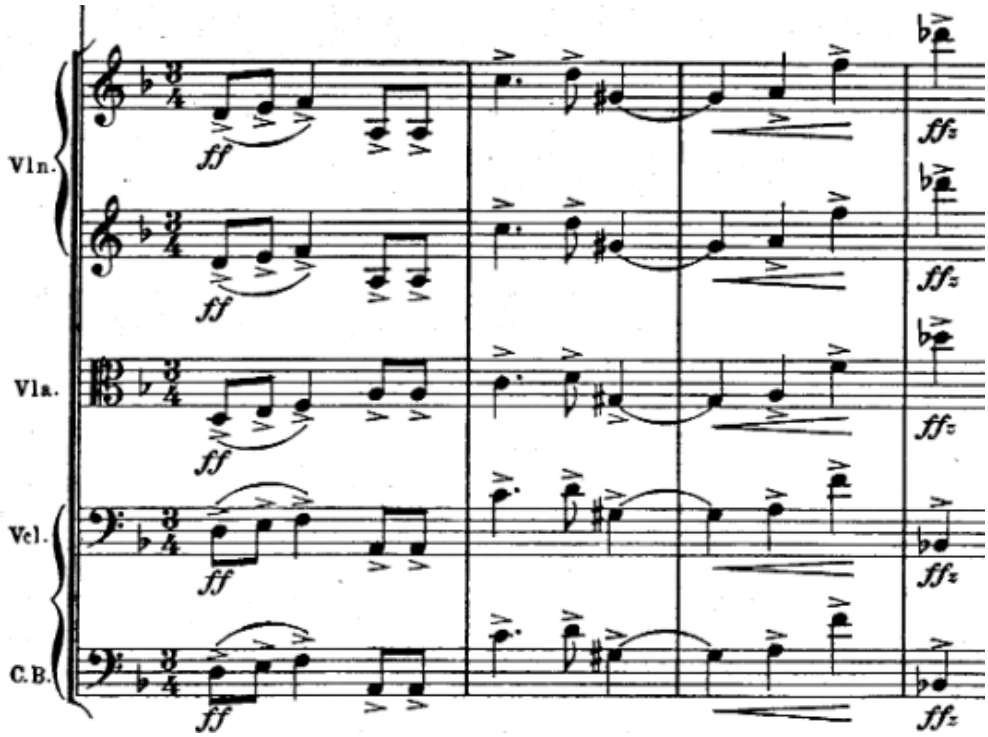


Figure 4.1: A page of Reger's *Serenade* op. 95, movement III, showcasing its lush orchestration and melodic focus:

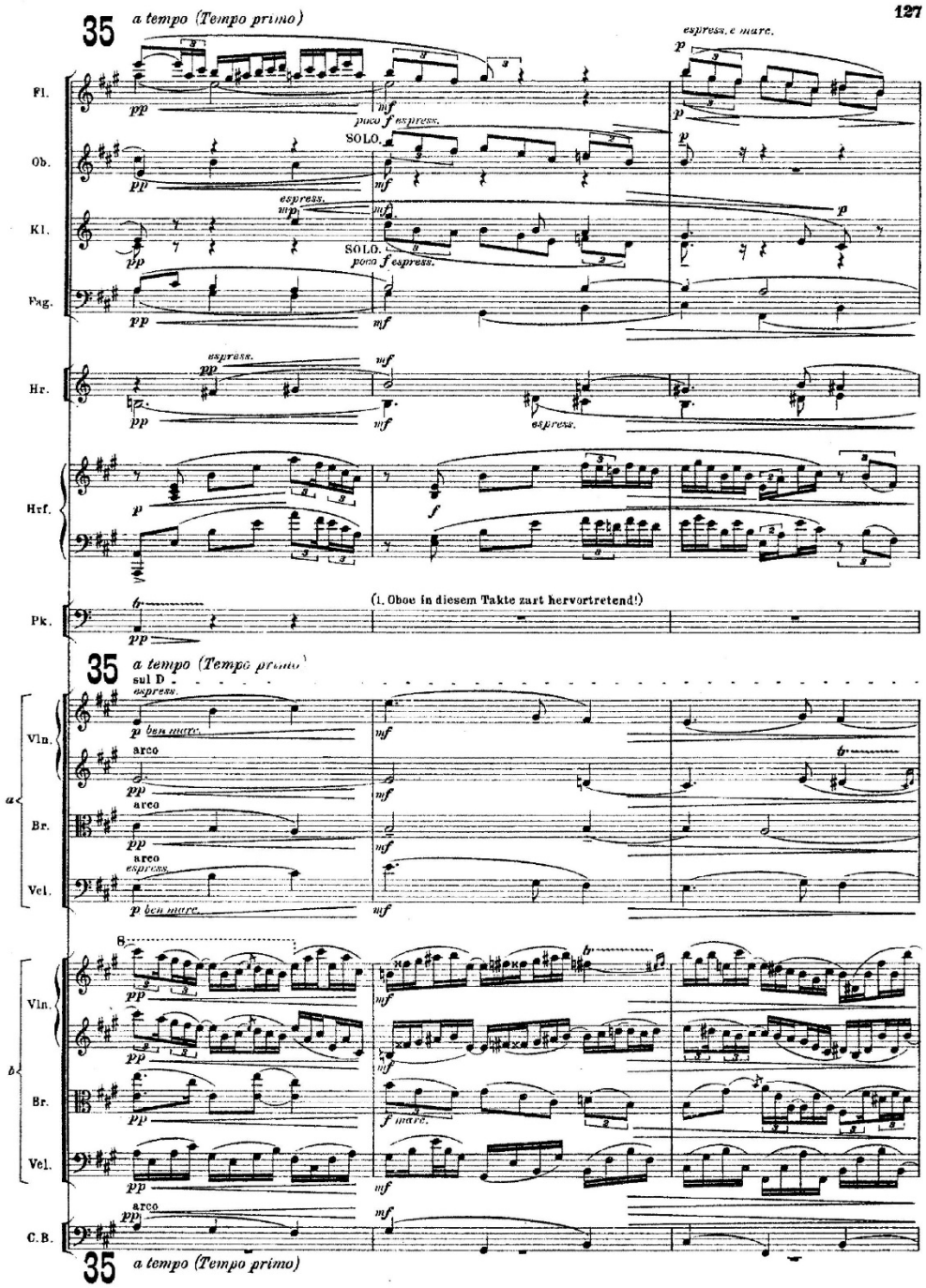


Figure 4.2: An excerpt from Reger's *Serenade* op. 95, movement I

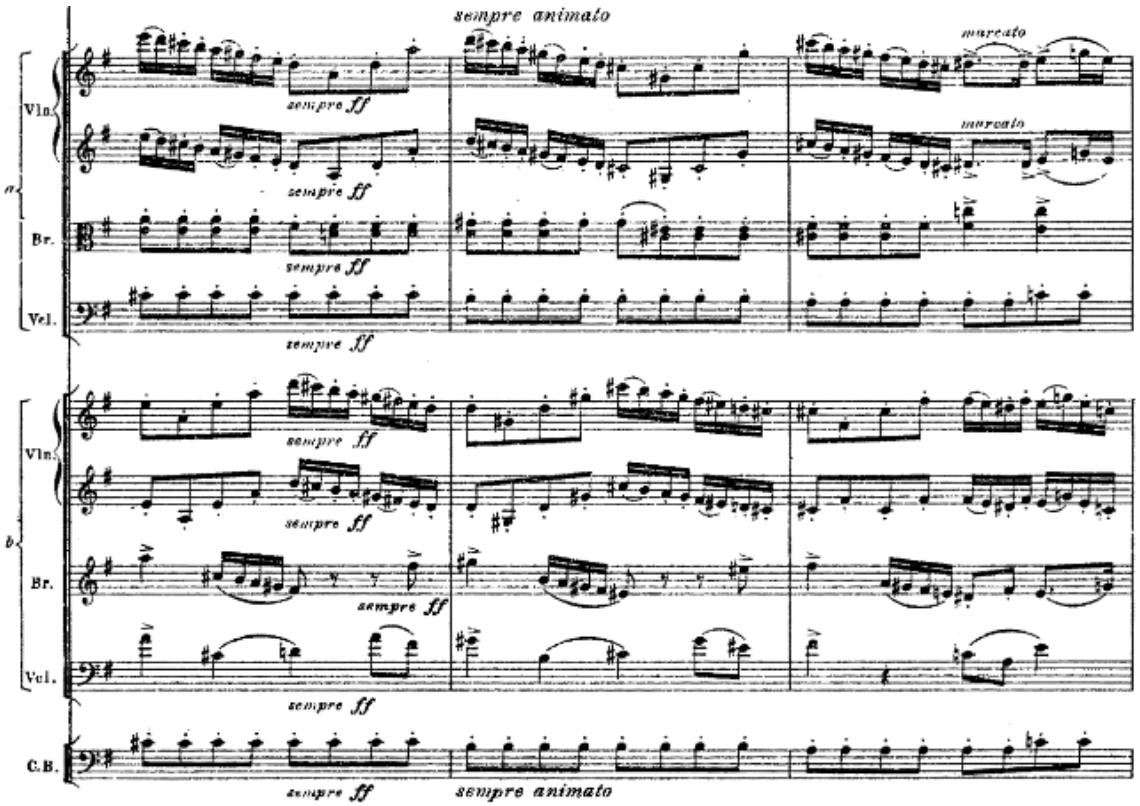


Figure 4.3: An excerpt from Vivaldi's Concerto for Two Violins in A minor, RV 522, movement I

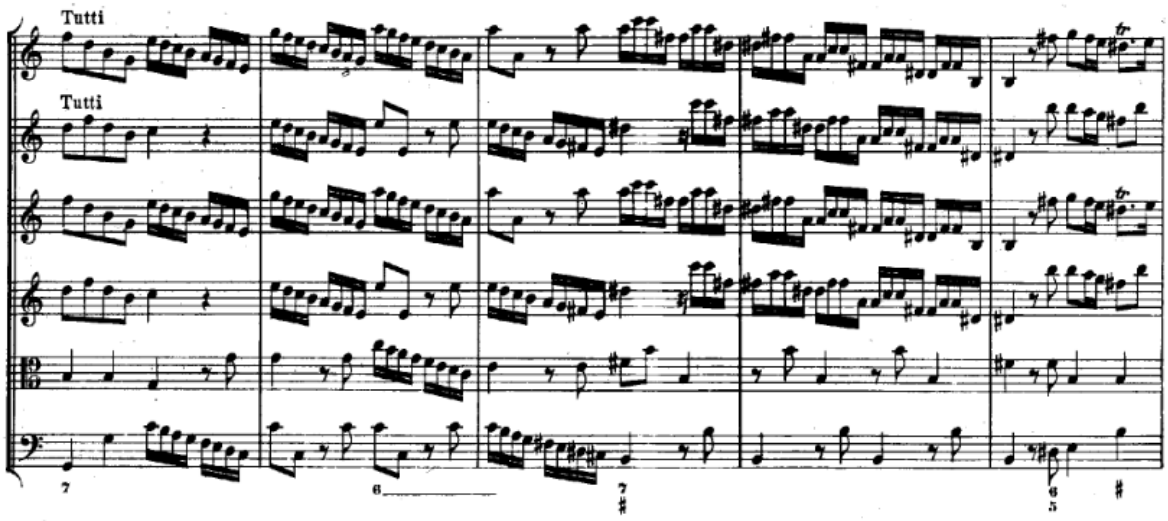


Figure 5: A page from Reger's *Symphonic Prologue to a Tragedy* op. 108, showcasing contrapuntal complexity and immense orchestration:

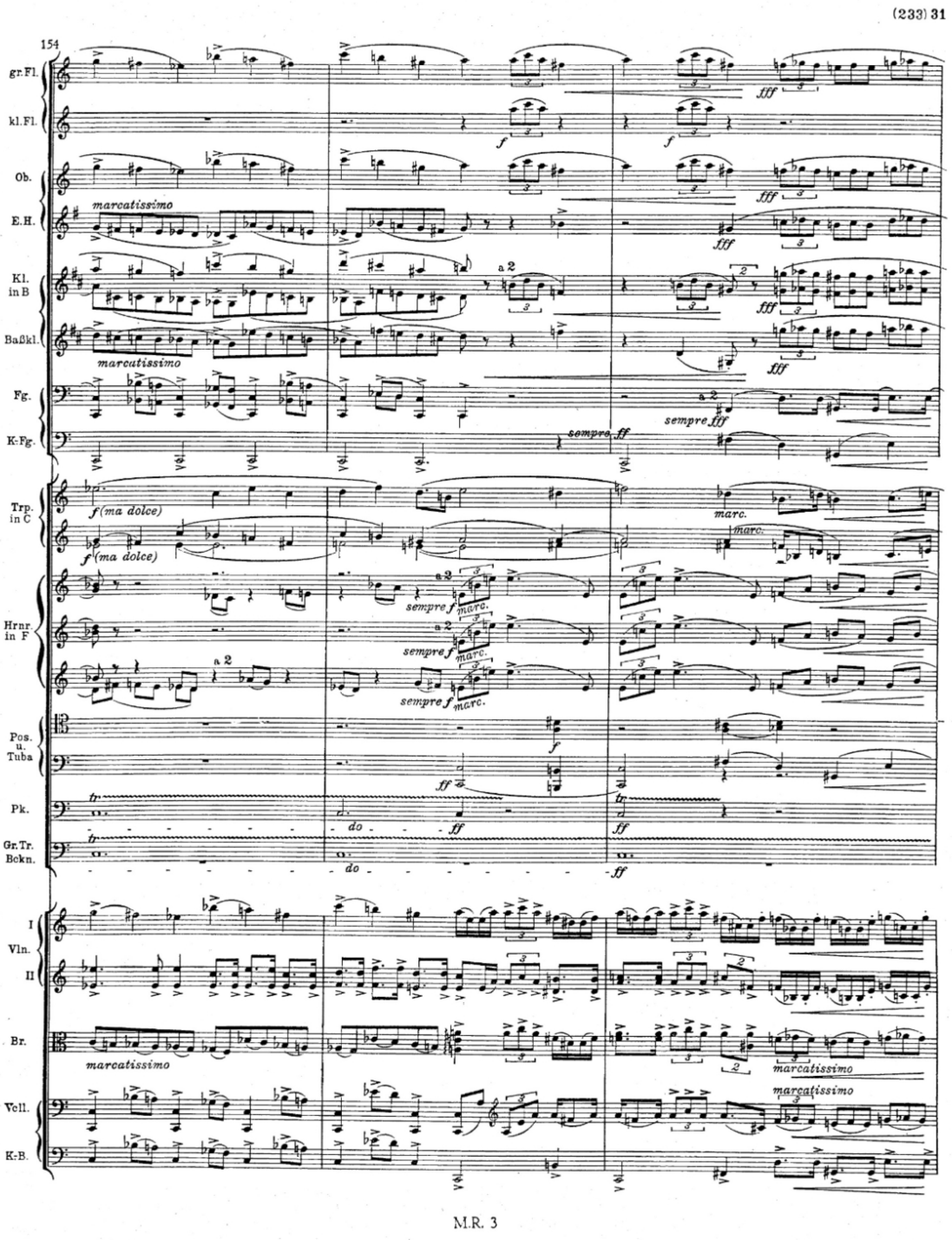


Figure 6: The opening measures of Reger's Piano Quartet no. 1, op. 113, movement II:

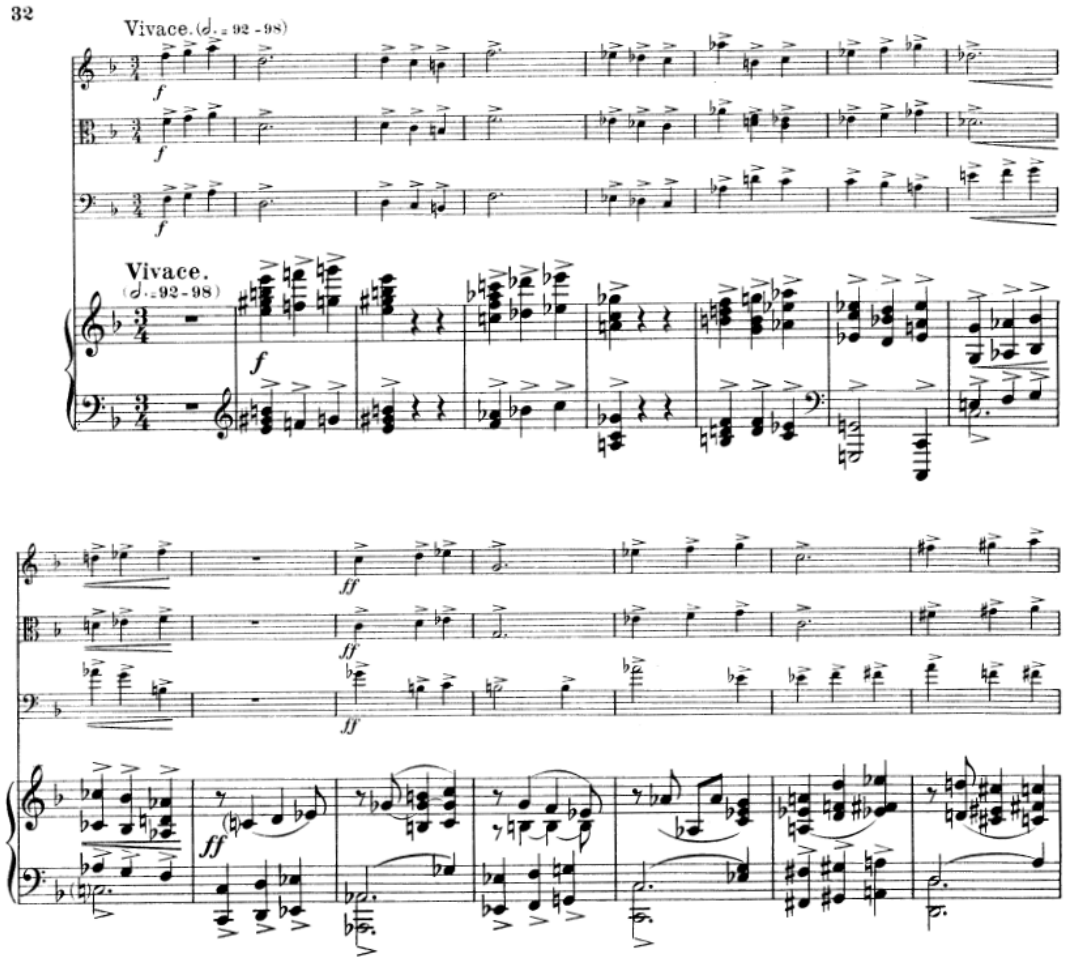


Figure 7.1: An excerpt from Reger's Piano Quartet no. 1, op. 113, movement II, showcasing 2-measure motivic groups interrupted by single measures.

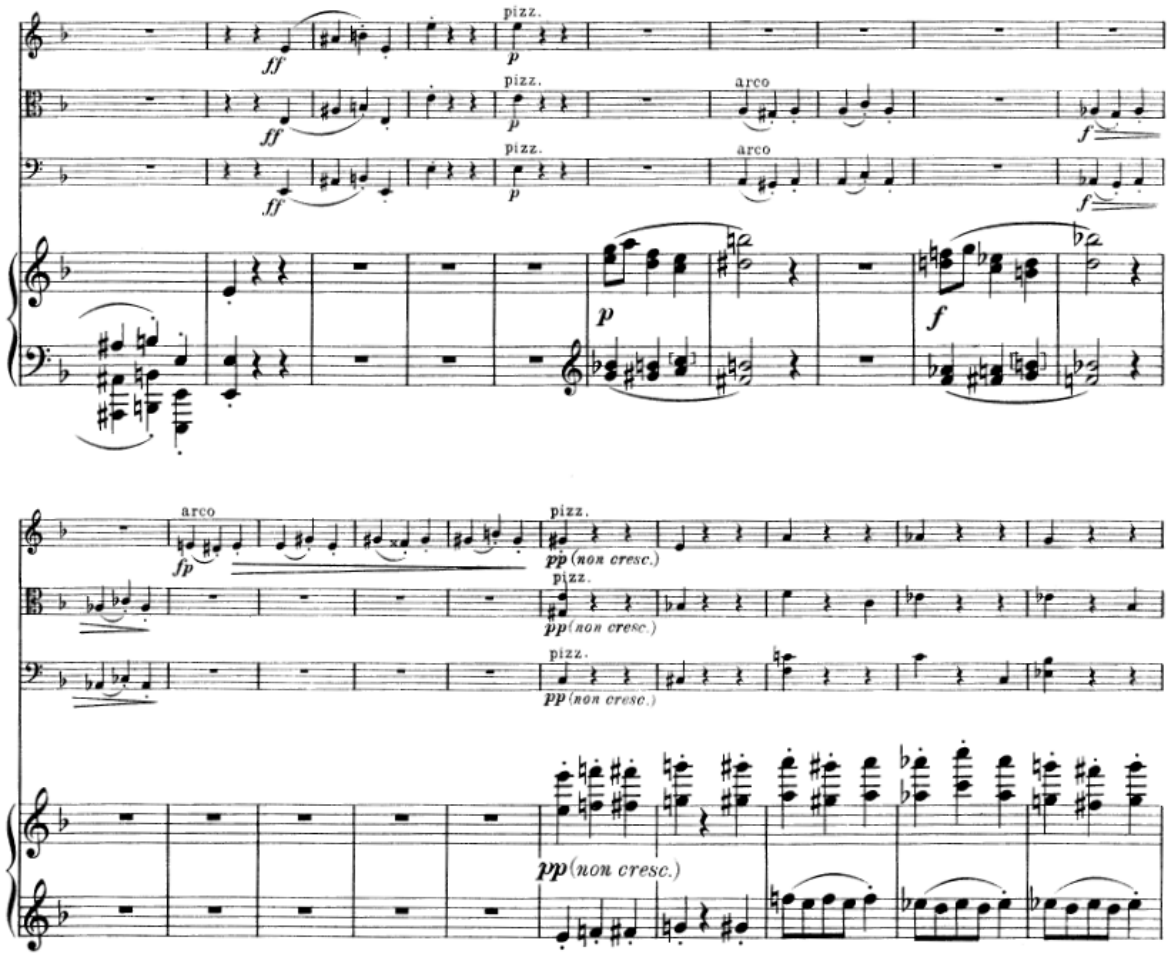


Figure 7.2: An excerpt of Beethoven's Symphony no. 9, op. 125, movement II, showcasing 2-measure motivic groups interrupted by single measures.

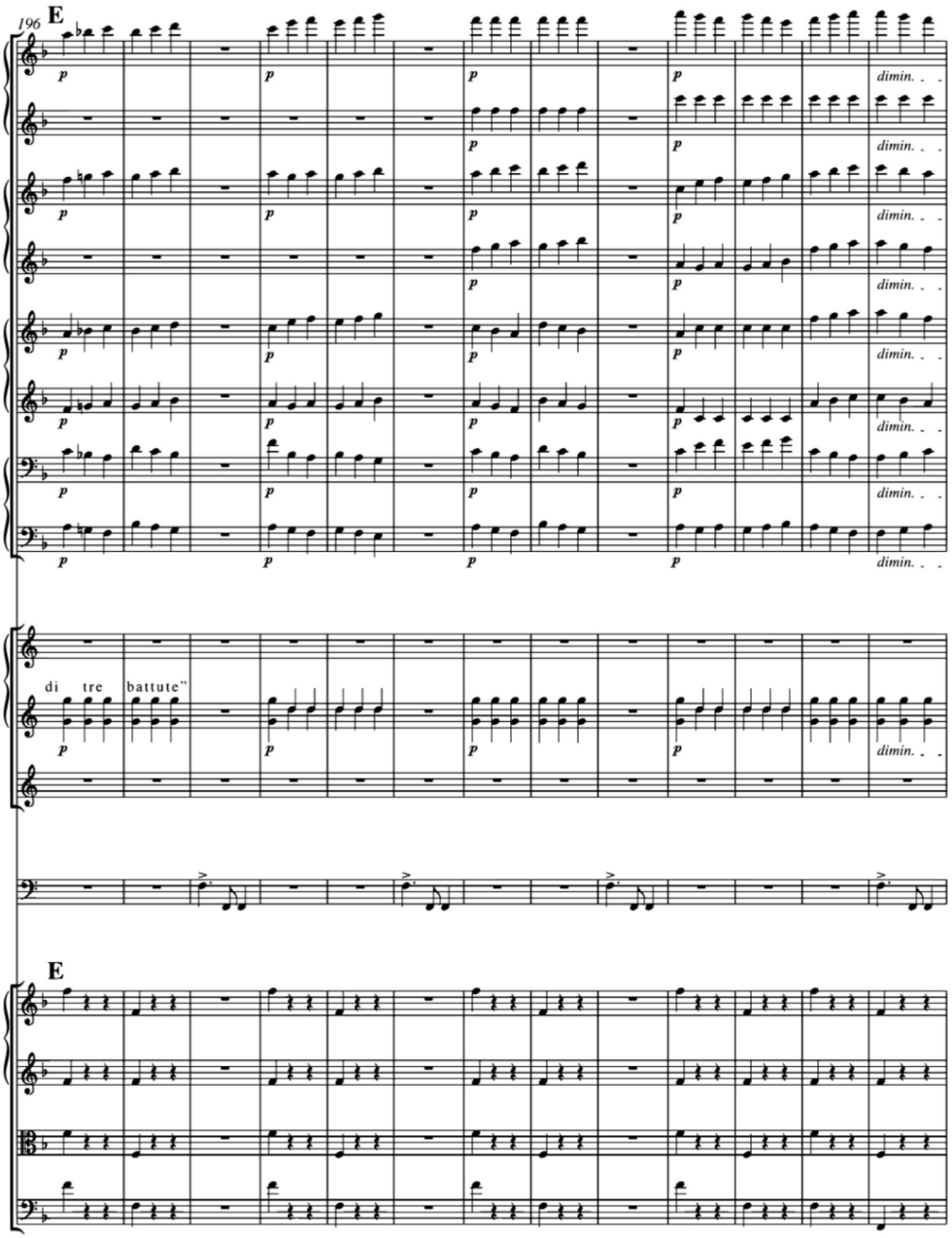


Figure 8: The opening of Reger's Piano Quartet no. 2, op. 133, movement II

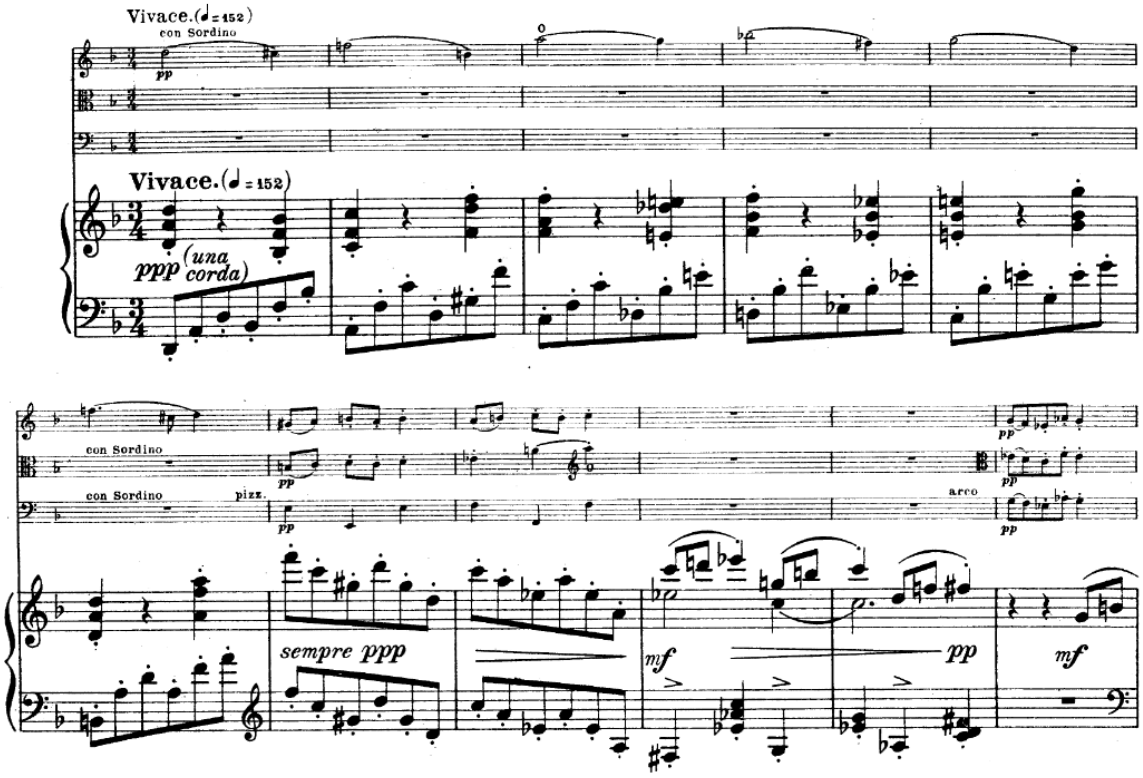


Figure 9: The opening of Mozart's Violin Sonata, k304, movement II:

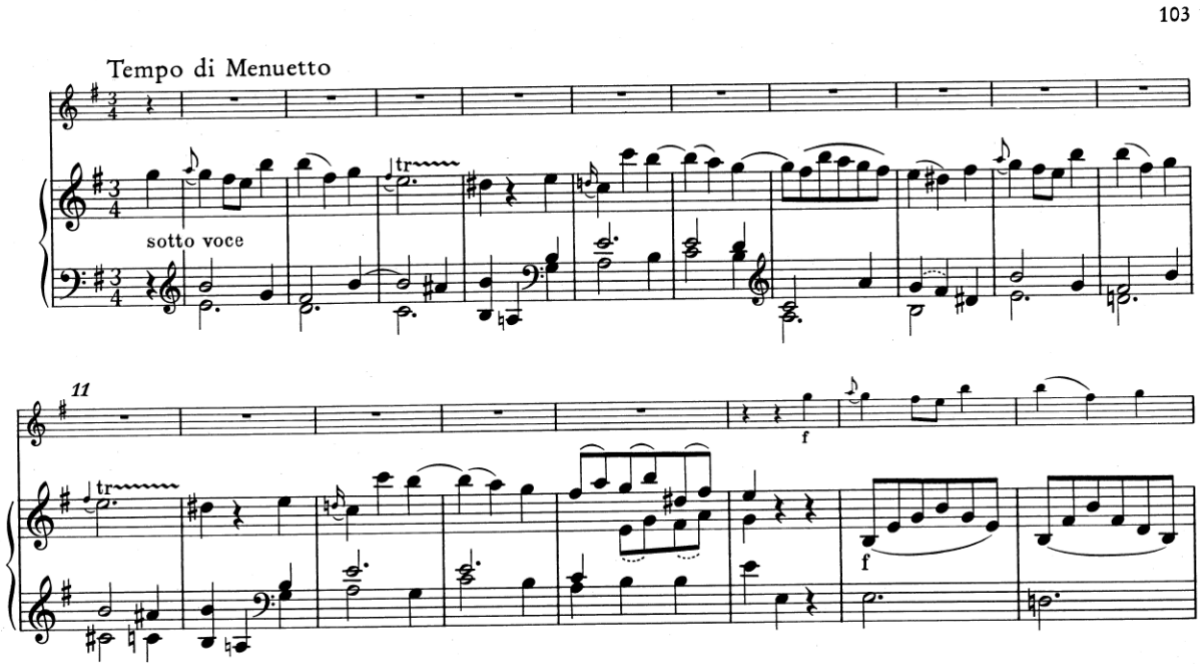


Figure 10: The opening of Haydn's String Quartet op. 17 no. 7, movement II

II

Menuetto. Allegretto

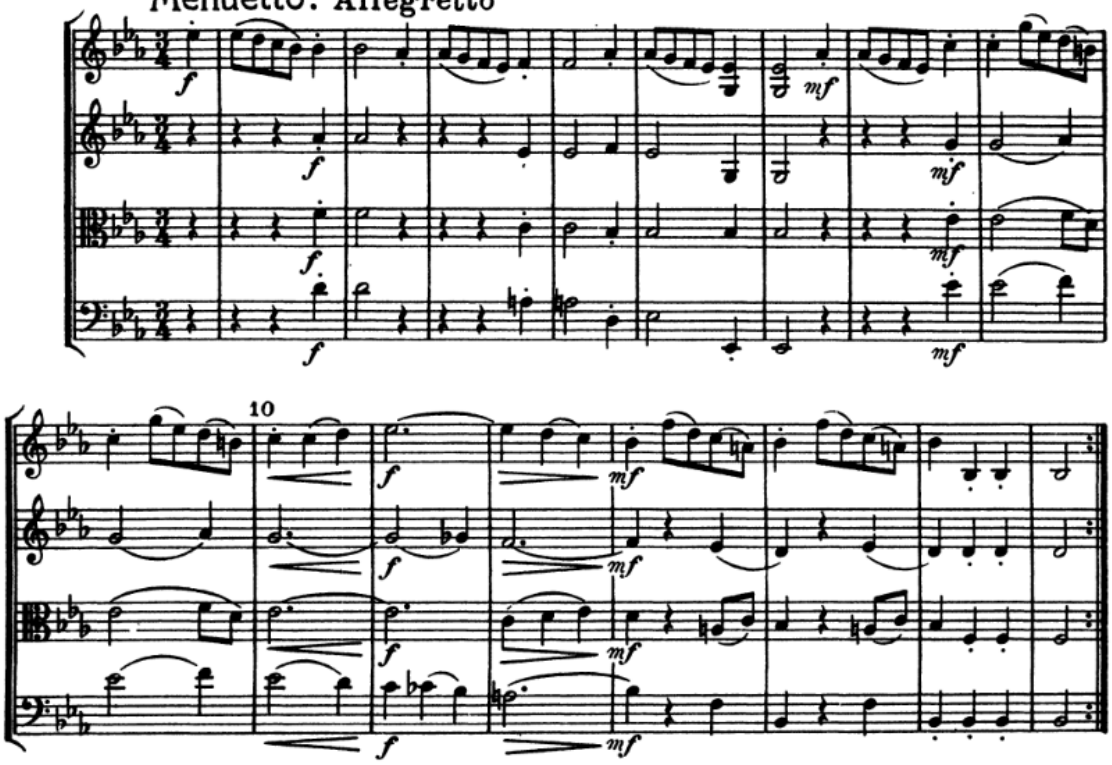
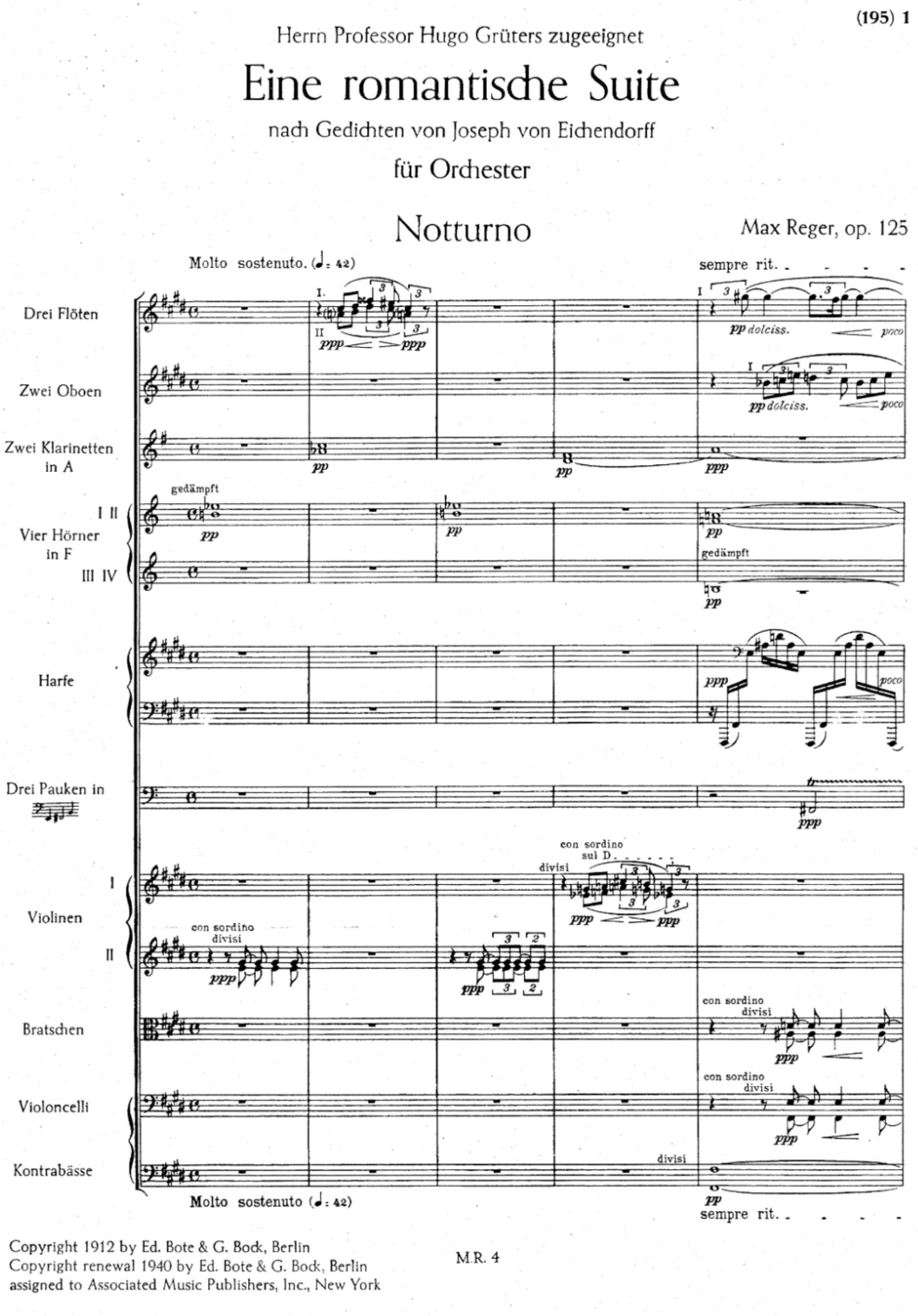
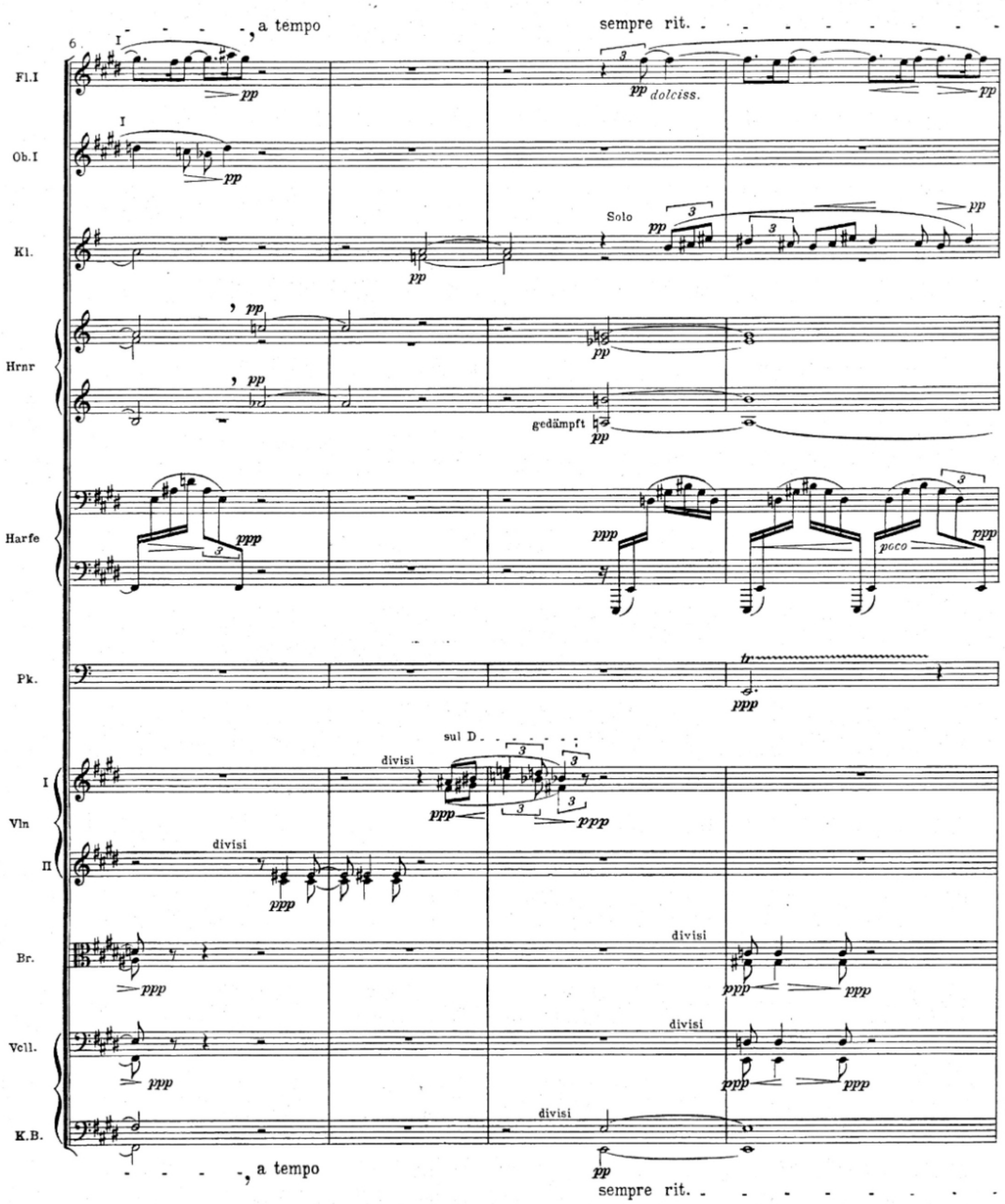


Figure 11: The opening of Reger's *Romantic Suite*, op. 125




6
a tempo
sempre rit.
Fl.I
Ob.I
Kl.
Hrnr
Harfe
Pk.
Vln
I
II
Br.
Vcll.
K.B.
dolciss.
Solo
gedämpft
poco
sul D
divisi
a tempo
sempre rit.

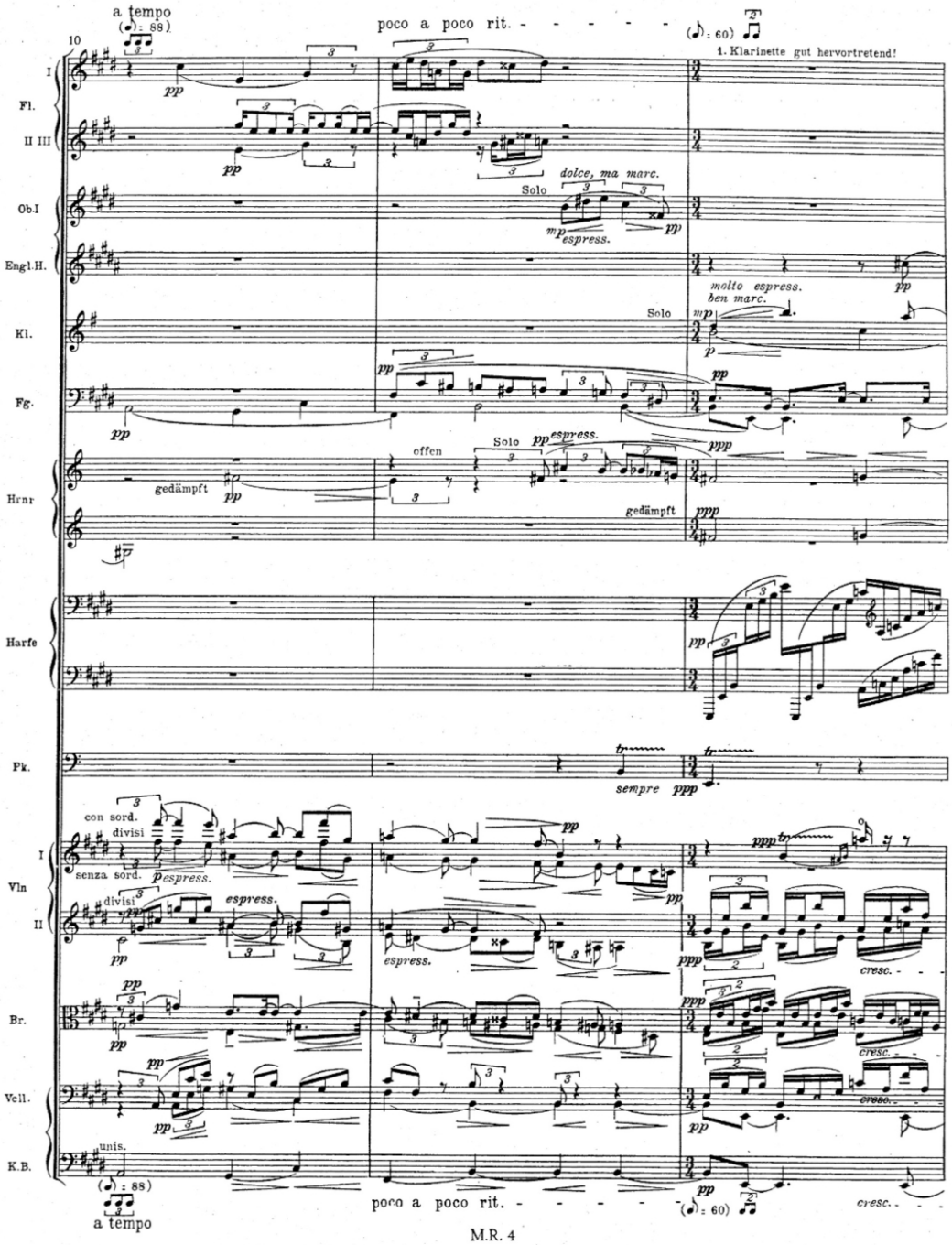

a tempo
poco a poco rit.
1. Klarinette gut hervortretend!
Fl.
Ob.I
Engl.H.
Kl.
Fg.
Hrnr
Harfe
Pk.
Vln
Br.
Vcll.
K.B.
dolce, ma marc.
molto espress.
ben marc.
Solo
offen
gedämpft
con sord.
divisi
senza sord.
espress.
sempre
cresc.
unis.
M.R. 4

Figure 12: Hocket in the first measure of Reger's *Ballet Suite*, movement IV, quoting Wagner's Prelude to *Tristan and Isolde*. Lifted from Bittman, *Max Reger*, 217.

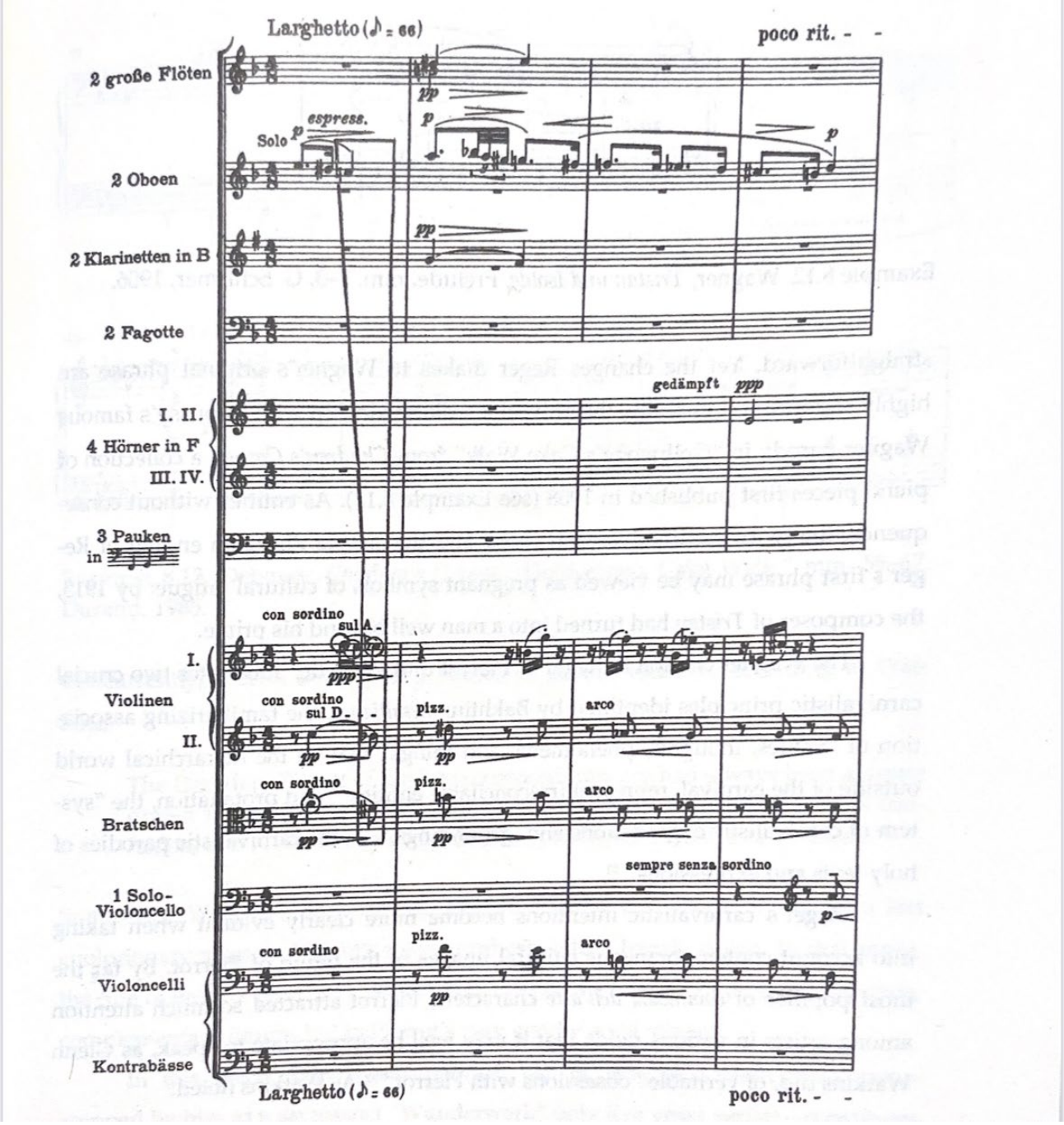


Figure 13.1: Reduction of an excerpt from Reger's *Ballet Suite* op. 130, movement III

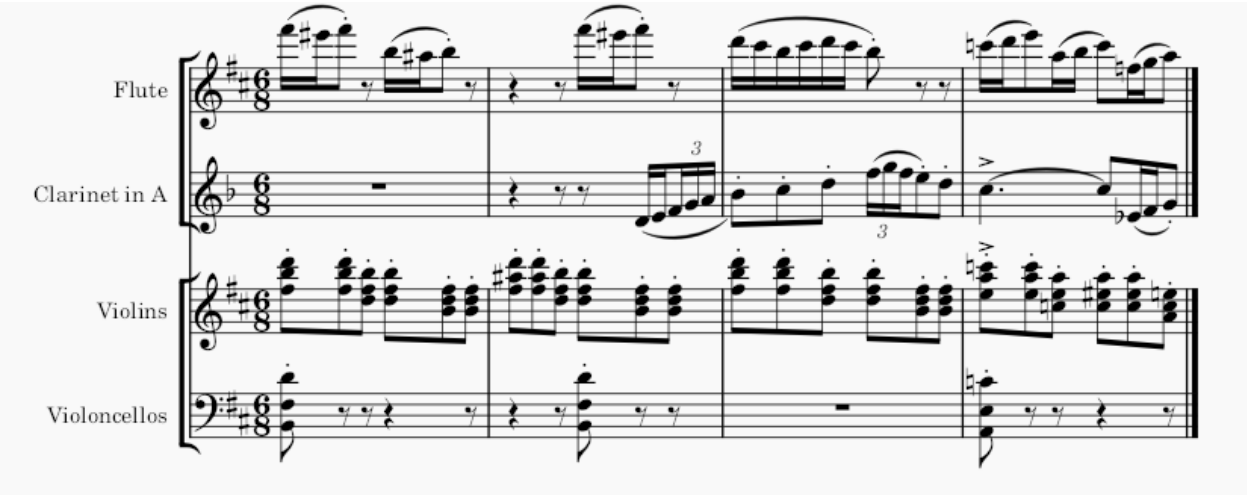


Figure 13.2: Reduction of an excerpt from Reger's *Serenade* op. 95, movement II

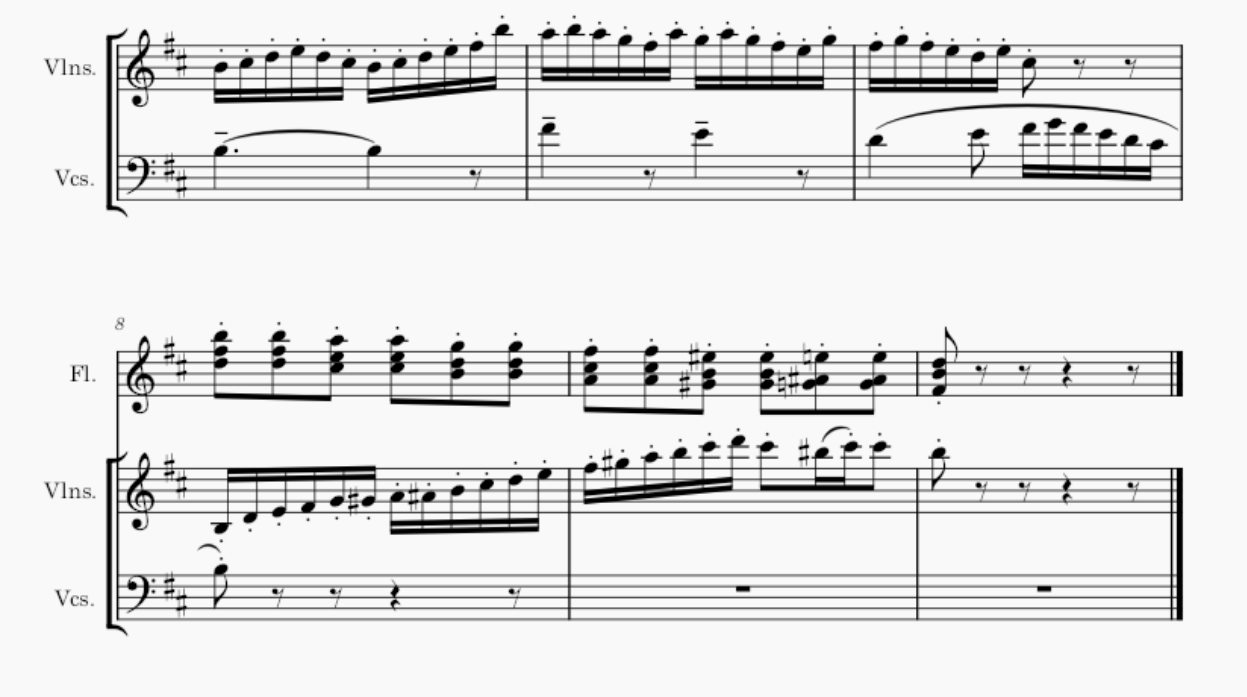


Figure 14.1: Reduction of an excerpt from Reger's *Ballet Suite* op. 130, movement I

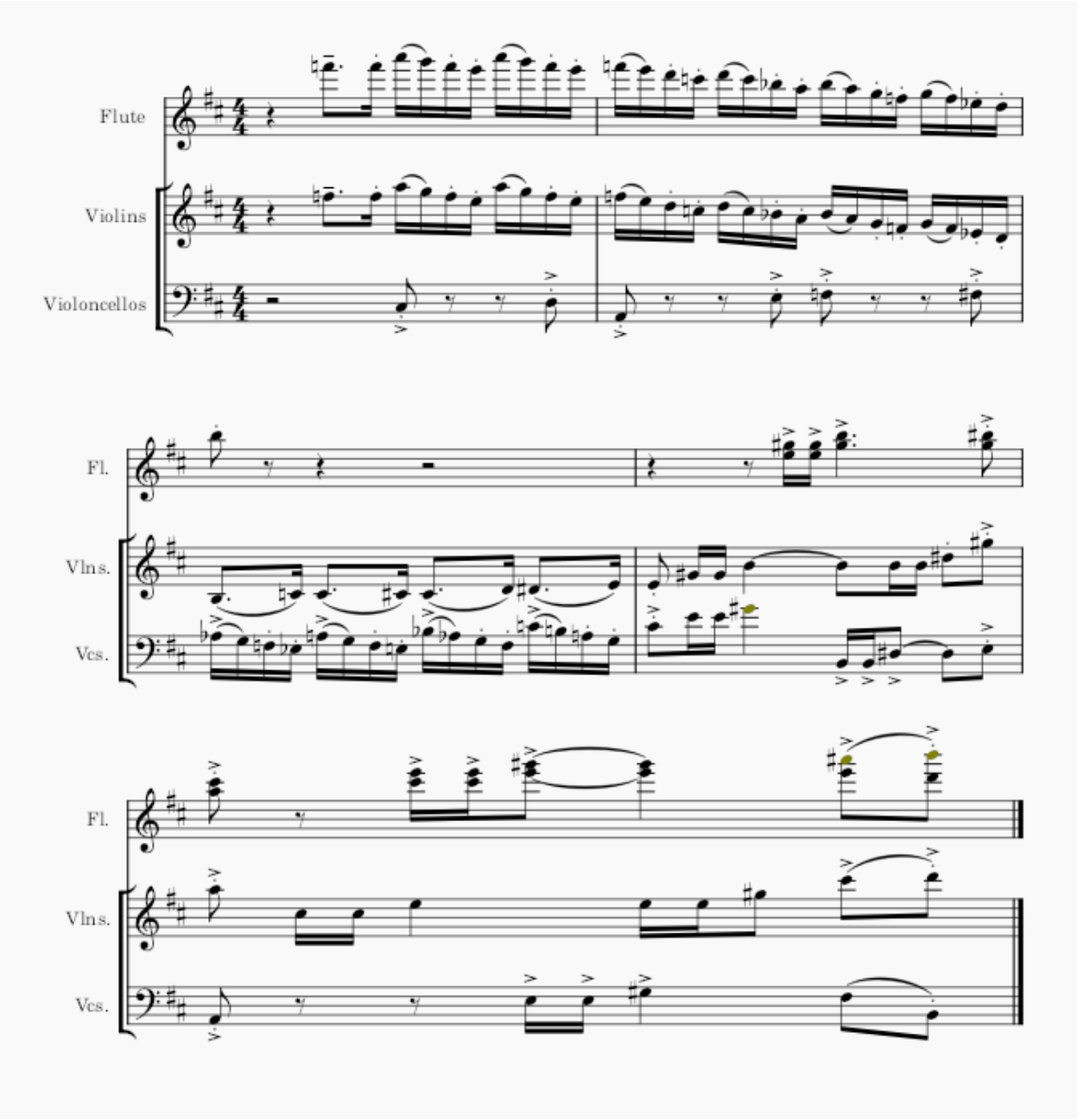


Figure 14.2: Reduction of an excerpt from Reger's *Serenade* op. 95, Movement I

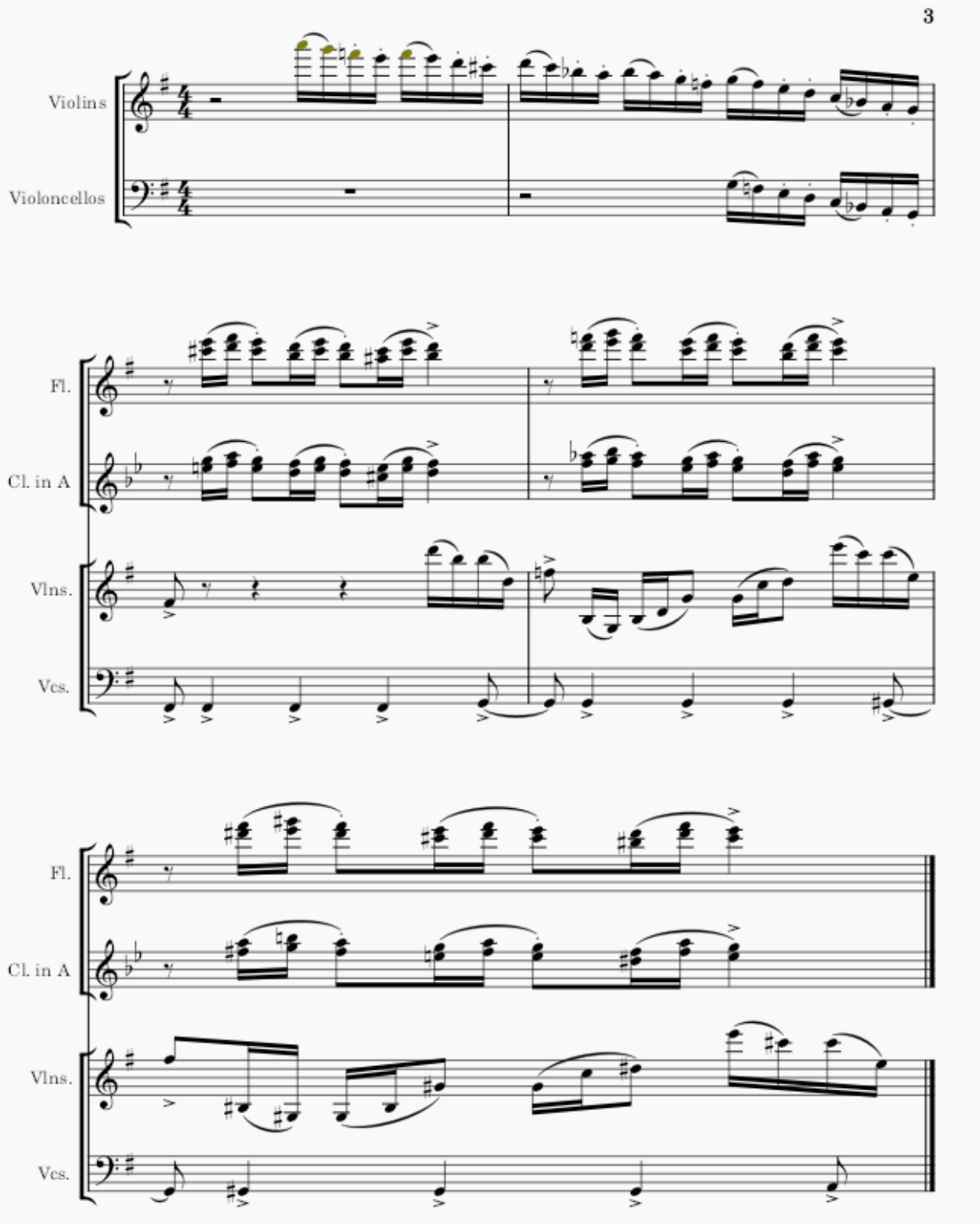
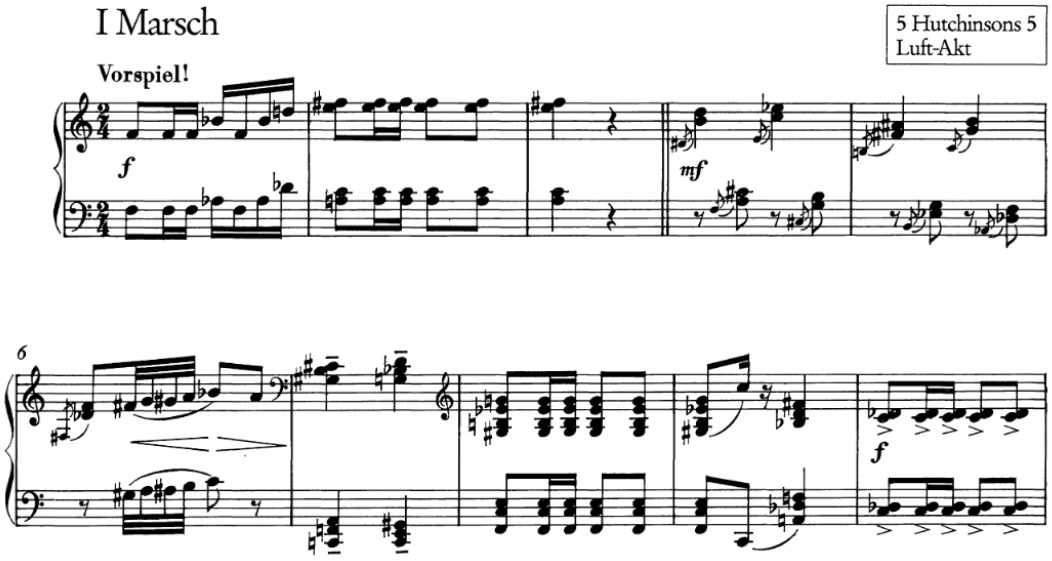


Figure 15: The opening of Hindemith's *1922* Suite, op. 26



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