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# Socio-Cultural Evolution: Musical Progress as a Darwinian Instrument of Domination

*Sociokultūrinė evoliucija. Muzikos pažanga kaip darvinistinis viršenybės principas*

## Abstract

The consequence of the Enlightenment period in the German-speaking territory was “the project of modernity” of social progress cherished by the bourgeois society, the establishment of artistic religion and empathic artistic music, as well as elevating the composers to the level of a genius who were perceived as the highest value. A universal belief in science made the analysis of music an ostensibly real guarantee of this music culture, whereas by historical critical estimation that was still a socially and territorially local phenomenon that lasted most probably for two hundred years. At the beginning Adolf Bernhard Marx and Franz Brendel were leading representatives of this movement and in the 20th century its representative was Theodor W. Adorno. Richard Wagner’s latest works show that strong influence that the theories of biological evolution, beginning with the times of Charles Darwin and Hubert Spencer, made on treating music as progress; socio-cultural extension of that influence is observed in the works of neo-Darwinist August Weismann.

**Keywords:** German music, secularization, religion of art, redemption, belief in progress, evolution, Darwinism, Richardas Wagner, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, August Weismann, Theodor W. Adorno, Dirk von Petersdorff.

## Anotacija

Apšvietos laikotarpio padarinys vokiškai kalbančioje teritorijoje buvo buržuazinės visuomenės puoselėjamas visuomeninės pažangos „modernybės projektas“ ir empatiškos meninės muzikos bei jos į genialumą pakylėtų kompozitorių kaip aukščiausios vertybės meno religijos įtvirtinimas. Visuotinis tikėjimas mokslu iškėlė muzikologiją kaip tariamai tikrą tokios muzikinės kultūros garantą, o istoriniu kritiniu vertinimu tai tebuvo gal du šimtus metų trukęs, visuomeniškai ir teritoriškai lokalus reiškinys. Svarbūs šio judėjimo atstovai iš pradžių buvo Adolfas Bernhardas Marxas ir Franzas Brendelis, o XX a. – Theodoras W. Adorno. Kokią stiprią įtaką biologinės evoliucijos teorijos nuo Charleso Darvino ir Herberto Spencerio laikų darė muzikos kaip pažangos traktavimui, jau matyti iš vėlyvojo Richardo Wagnerio; sociokultūrinis tos įtakos išsiplėtimas pastebimas neodarvinisto Augusto Weismanno darbuose.

**Reikšminiai žodžiai:** vokiečių muzika, sekuliarizacija, meno religija, atpirkimas, tikėjimas pažanga, evoliucija, darvinizmas, Richardas Wagneris, Charlesas Darvinas, Herbertas Spenceris, Augustas Weismannas, Theodoras W. Adorno, Dirkas von Petersdorffas.

The perception of music as a progressive force is closely connected with its complete redefinition resulting from the formation of bourgeois society that started in the 18th century. This Project of Modernity with its purpose of “self-reassurance” and “self-formation”, which Jürgen Habermas considered unfinished and sought to save as late as 1980, started with the Age of Enlightenment. All variants thereof that have been formulated, from decadence-influenced interpretations of history to its *Aufhebung*, were centered on:

1) Secularization, which in music was undermined by its elevation to Art-as-religion complete with a promise of redemption;

2) A belief in progress, which proclaimed the genius, i.e. the composer, to be a *creator ex nihilo* (and therefore of something new entirely) and therefore a saviour;

3) Rationality, which ensured reason and truth in artistic works;

4) Autonomy, which manifested itself in purely instrumental music as *opus perfectum et absolutum*.

The belief in progress had a particularly strong influence on the world view of modernism, due to a large extent to the historicist thinking of Friedrich Hegel, which is nicely summarized in a famous sentence from his lectures on the Philosophy of History:

*World history is the progress of the consciousness of freedom – a progress whose necessity we have to investigate.* (Friedrich Hegel)

The world spirit of Hegel, which progressively revealed itself left deep traces in the music literature of Germany (Karbusicky, 1995). Adolf Bernhard Marx and Franz Brendel are two early proponents of this trend, which helped shape national-liberal bourgeois society. Marx mentions “Progress, truthfulness, and individualism” as “indispensable conditions of a genuine artistic career” (Marx, 1855, p. 59). This is closely connected to his social surroundings:

*If therefore art is to experience a progress, it cannot take place unless there is a progress in the life of times and nations. The*

question of the present and future condition of art is identical with that concerning the present and future condition of the people and times. (Marx, 1855, p. 101)

Music thus becomes a means by which societal progress is measured. Franz Brendel establishes similar connections to society. A proponent of the *Zukunftsmusik* of Franz Liszt and Richard Wagner, he writes about the latter:

Furthermore, it is necessary that this progress does not only concern art, but also humanity as a whole, that the re-emergence of art originates from a rebirth of ethics. (Brendel, 1854, p. 247)

Schopenhauer elevates art even further, installing it as a direct manifestation of world will and as the highest world revelation. It even united idealistic and materialistic world views. Backed by such strong philosophical support, music occupied an extraordinary position in the world view of the bourgeoisie and granted its proponents – especially composers – the highest social status. Critics of culture and pessimistic decadence-scenarios were unable to alter this position, as they typically liked to resort to an interpretation of music as a means of healing or salvation.

During the 19th century, the progress movement was quite effectively supported by biological and socio-cultural evolution theories, with Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer being the best-known proponents. August Weismann (1834–1914), a notable Neo-Darwinist, directly related music to the theory of evolution in 1889 (Weismann, 1892, p. 587–637). Before World War I, during the time when musicology was first established as a university discipline, deep traces of this progress movement with its evolution theory backdrop can be found in German music historiography.<sup>1</sup> As German music was considered a forerunner of cultural progress, an evolutionary lead of Germany was immediately assumed and subsequently, a superiority position was deduced. This idea, which spanned all political camps, found its expression in claims of hegemony and world domination of German music.

Historical developments reveal how closely these ideas were connected with the rise of the bourgeoisie. During the late 18th and in the early 19th century, discussions about the superiority of Italian and German music were still to be understood as codes representing the social struggle between nobility and bourgeoisie. From a rational, science-based perspective, the bourgeoisie perceived itself to be intellectually and morally superior, thus claiming a position of social dominance over church and nobility. The declaration of truth became a privilege of the arts, especially of the theatre (Friedrich Schiller). This socio-political impetus remained intact during the course of the century, however, it moved to the background in favour of nationalistic theses. This is cause for concern and calls for further and individual examination, especially given the transfer

of bourgeois German music to Eastern Europe. With the decline of the nobility's social position, the struggle for political domination was transferred to the nation states. The theory of evolution provides the (pseudo-) scientific basis for this development.

It is a well-known fact that World War I caused a deep rift in European history. In Germany, there was no doubt concerning the importance of music for society. After the Treaty of Versailles, which was still widely perceived as Carthaginian Peace, the humbled and humiliated nation desperately sought salvation through the virtue of German music, which was still believed to be eternal and indestructible. Hans Pfitzner's Romantic cantata *Von deutscher Seele* (Of the German Soul), Op. 28 (1921) is one notable example thereof, the enthusiastic reception of Bach is another (Brüstle, 2000, p. 116f.; Loos, 2010, p. 383–388). While the New Objectivity turned away from Romantic music (especially that of Mendelssohn), the emphasis on the Romantic perception of music complete with its claim of societal domination was maintained. The National Socialists revered Classical German music; Adolf Hitler was especially fond of Richard Wagner and Anton Bruckner. German musicians, especially conductors and composers, were adulated and seamlessly integrated into the National Socialist propaganda machinery in order to win over the *Bildungsbürgertum*. Success was immediate – the *Gleichschaltung* of musical life was accomplished almost entirely.

The question, how far the reception of Wagner deals with his own historical opinion, is a special problem of musical history. In his article *Publikum und Popularität* (Audience and Popularity) in August 1878 he states not only a failure against “*im Mittelmäßigen und Schlechten*” (the mediocre and bad) educated German audience, but also against the historical school (sideswipe at Friedrich Nietzsche). To her he overloaded on a misunderstanding of Darwin, “that the so-honest, careful and almost only hypothetically works continuous Darwin, given by the results of his research in the areas of biology, the most crucial reason for getting bolder formation of those historical school”.<sup>2</sup> Already Curt von Westernhagen had pointed out that Wagner's regeneration thoughts not so much pointing to Gobineau, but had to be described as “rather Darwinian” (Westernhagen, 1956, p. 284f), and refers to the fact that it encompasses in Wagner's Bayreuth library no less than five books by Charles Darwin.<sup>3</sup> In Cosima's diaries<sup>4</sup> there is a whole series of references to the study of Darwin's writings from the years 1872,<sup>5</sup> 1873,<sup>6</sup> 1877,<sup>7</sup> 1878,<sup>8</sup> 1880,<sup>9</sup> 1881<sup>10</sup> and 1882 (Darwin's death).<sup>11</sup> The evolutionist thinking was fraught from the beginning with strong ideological implications. As one of the most important pioneers Ernst Haeckel can be discerned, which does not arise by chance in Wagner's thought.

After World War II, as the atrocities of the Holocaust committed by the Third Reich were fully revealed, the “miracle of music” was once again evoked by some:

*...that it still exists, undestroyed and unharmed, where such eternal greatness and beauty were sunk into rubble. (Benz, 1948, p. 5)*

But these voices faded without any noticeable resonance, while the Critical Theory of Theodor W. Adorno reached the position of near-complete dominance over the German opinion on music. For Adorno, the truth claim of music was a central idea; hence, despite all critical distance to culture, he remained attached to the Project of Modernity in quite a complicated way. A clear shift away from Adorno has been apparent for some time now. One of his latest critics is Dirk von Petersdorff, who, from a literary studies perspective, analyzes the aesthetics of modernity, denouncing its time, *200 years of German Art-as-religion* as being hostile towards open society. His accusations target the central ideas of the Project of Modernity. He mentions “aesthetic egomania” (Bertold Brecht, in: Petersdorff, 2001, p. 17), a “closeness of utopian concepts of art and political *Gleichschaltung*” (Gottfried Benn, in: Petersdorff, 2001, p. 18), an elitist self-image and the rejection of “demo[n]cracy” by an “authorized minority”, citing Peter Rühmkorf:

*Four votes for four Nobel prizes, four for a tea party, where such a calculation adds up, something is rotten in the state democracy. (Petersdorff, 2001, p. 19)*

He criticizes Adorno’s writings sharply, declaring them “pessimistically tinted remains” through the “power of tradition”:

*With new vocabulary, Adorno wrote what Schiller had already articulated. (Petersdorff, 2001, p. 8)*

*And everything brought forth by aesthetic modernism ..., had already been thought by the time around 1800, after which came, up to Adorno, the variants we are still living with. (Petersdorff, 2001, p. 23)*

Adorno was thus one of the last notable proponents of the Project of Modernity with a special emphasis on music. A study of his writings hence encompasses over 200 years of German intellectual history.

For Adorno, the category of progress plays an important role; as an antonym, he uses the Reaction. In his *Philosophy of New Music*, he clearly and critically confronts both in discussing the music of Arnold Schönberg and Igor Stravinsky. In many of his other writings, he elaborately covers the dialectics of both categories, which provide a welcomed cause for endless and confusing language labyrinths. Petersdorff

understands them as following the tradition of Hölderlin’s *Räthselsprache* (language of riddles):

*...the reader became ..., ‘an insider’ or: Only insiders became readers. Before Adorno’s art theory, there was a duty to separate art language and everyday language. Out of this developed a sterility and stiltedness in rhythm, syntax and diction, a – in retrospect – strangely laboured quality, the meaning of which becomes increasingly harder to understand. (Petersdorff, 2001, p. 36)*

There is no need to elaborate once again on Adorno’s definition of progress – the question of how it is backed by or connected to evolutionary thinking is far more interesting.

Adorno primarily uses the term “evolution” in order to discuss musical material. While he speaks in general terms of “inner-technical evolution”,<sup>12</sup> of the “evolution of techniques”<sup>13</sup> and the “evolution of aesthetic forms”,<sup>14</sup> he stresses the importance of “musical evolution” (3 citations<sup>15</sup>). Concerning music, there are at least five mentions of the “evolution of material”,<sup>16</sup> and synonymously, of “material evolution” (2 citations).<sup>17</sup> What is meant is an “evolution of technique”<sup>18</sup> – questions regarding “technical evolution”<sup>19</sup> mainly deal with individual musical parameters: the “evolution of *harmony*”<sup>20</sup> (also the “harmonic evolution”<sup>21</sup> or the “evolution of Mahler’s harmony”<sup>22</sup>), the “instrumental evolution”<sup>23</sup> and the “evolution of the contrapuntal spirit.”<sup>24</sup> The creative mind takes precedence over “mere material evolution,”<sup>25</sup> however “the evolution of means stems from a desire for better composition: to follow wherever the demands of the material will lead.”<sup>26</sup>

Adorno believed this historically necessary process to have been carried out in the “evolution of new music in the Second Viennese School as a whole.”<sup>27</sup> He stresses Schönberg’s “evolutionary process,”<sup>28</sup> arguing that no contemporary had “utilized the elements of the composer’s material – melody and harmony, counterpoint and formal structure, orchestration and instrumental timbre as completely and consistently as Schönberg.”<sup>29</sup> He starts with the “evolution of the early Schönberg.”<sup>30</sup> In his chamber music, with the turning away from the “ostentatious symphonic poems of his age” and in the choosing of the “obligatory Brahmsian quartet structure”, Adorno saw the “evolution of new music.”<sup>31</sup> Schönberg was the central figure of this process:

*Is it not constitutive for all of Schönberg’s music that although it is more closely tied to material evolution than any other music, it is never to be understood as a mere execution of material necessities, but rather, it receives its material in historical dialectics.<sup>32</sup>*

As “no other utilized the elements of the composer’s material, melody and harmony, counterpoint and formal structure, orchestration and instrumental timbre as completely and consistently as Schönberg.”<sup>33</sup> These accomplishments were passed on to Schönberg’s master

students. Adorno commented extensively on Alban Berg; about Anton Webern's Piano Quintet in C major he wrote:

*Furthermore, like in a test tube, something can be observed in the movement that is essential for the evolution of new music in the Second Viennese School: the merging of Brahmsian and Wagnerian elements as conditions for the changed musical language.<sup>34</sup>*

In order to claim objective truth and insights, Adorno utilizes the apparent rationality of his argumentation.

*With the orchestral works [...the Schönberg school] reveals itself ... as the objective, style-defining authority which in truth had legitimized itself ever since its evolution: not an esoteric cult with a private idiom and conspired disposition, but rather, a progressive enforcer of musical insight.<sup>35</sup>*

The fact that the old notions of a world domination of German music were still present and that the evolution was even referred to as German is evident in the following passage:

*The internationalization of music is a function of said German evolution of musical material, which, with the ideal of comprehensive motivic-thematic work, is deeply rooted in the German tradition. The correlations are largely person-based. René Leibowitz, a student of Webern, taught the Schönbergian technique in Paris, thus realizing its immanent necessity so that it was for the first time received outside the German-speaking world. On the other hand, the development of the Schönbergian technique into 'serialism', meaning the integration of all possible musical dimensions in the construction process, was first realized in Paris by Olivier Messiaen and made its way back into Germany largely via Pierre Boulez. Naturally, a pre-form had already been created with Berg's technique of thematic rhythm and Webern's late style.<sup>36</sup>*

In this way, Adorno was able to establish the Second Viennese School as a force that is equal to the First Viennese School in German music historiography. In order to accomplish this, Adorno evidently used the terms Schönberg School and Second Viennese School, thus committing them firmly to the general vocabulary (Loos, 2012). However, the equalization is limited to the theoretical approach of the "insiders"; it is not present in the least in musical life itself or in the awareness of the public. However, the rationality of reasoning and its justification with apparent 'hard facts' such as evolution theory have made it possible for Adorno's Philosophy of New Music to become an influential model of German musicology. In this process, notions of the hegemony of German music and the inferiority of foreign music are unapologetically accepted.

The extent to which Adorno's musical ideas are centred on the notion of Germanness can be deduced from his adoption of the traditional canon of musical works. In

almost all cases of concrete music criticism, the works of foreign composers receive very little praise. Apart from the Philosophy of New Music, his analyses of musical works often expose not only French (Gounod), but also Eastern European composers (Rachmaninoff, Dvořák, Tchaikovsky) to ridicule.<sup>37</sup> This is justified with the German evolution of musical material that was claimed to represent progress and thus the highest evolvment of human existence. According to the notions of socio-cultural evolution, this yields a claim of dominance over regressive contemporaries, who are deemed an inferior mass in comparison to those educated in progress. This outlook was defended by many of its proponents with almost fundamentalist zeal:

*Those who oppose do not have an opinion but rather, are part of the reaction. (Petersdorff, 2001, p. 33)*

Adorno does not mention biological evolution theories, however, until 1945 they are inevitably tied to the progressive outlook of the Project of Modernity. The war of annihilation and the Holocaust were supported by the notion of "survival of the fittest" – the claim of dominance and survival by the most highly evolved race, which had apparently proven its position culturally, with the hegemony of German music. Important composers were considered original geniuses and used as master models with a noble "master morality" in contrast to the weak "slave morality" (Nietzsche). The toxic brew that was indiscriminately mixed by the National Socialists from these kinds of notions of German intellectual history had a devastating impact, owed partly to its pseudo-scientific basis. The apologia of the genius as "leader of mankind" (Johann Georg Sulzer, 1757) and totalitarian notions of a *Gesamtkunstwerk* that were developed and celebrated in over 200 years of German Art-as-religion eventually paved the way for Adolf Hitler and quite possible for other European dictators of the 20th century. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights as formulated in the Charter of the United Nations in 1948 was a direct response to the designation of different values to human existence, whether they may be based on nationality or educational background. It is thus a clear rejection of evolutionist moral concepts.

The persistence with which the Project of Modernity is accepted without further reflection even today is truly astonishing. Critics such as Dirk von Petersdorff are rare and seldom publically discussed. Evolutionist thinking is still present and accepted in musicology today (one of the younger generations has quietly distanced itself from it in part, but does not engage in public discussions). The discipline only reluctantly and partially loosens its fixation on so-called *E-Musik* (art music) and the Avant-garde, thus continuing to fulfil the claim of the *Bildungsbürgertum* to societal leadership in the sense of Art-as-religion. As

this constitutes a highly explosive socio-political claim of dominance (prerogative of interpretation), a continuation of an intellectual world war of nation-states in the European dimension is apparent. The construction of national music and its justification all too often go hand in hand with competitive thinking and the depreciation of others. Apparently, this struggle is still influenced by notions of socio-cultural evolution, which create cultural standards in order to assign value. In my opinion, it is time to give up this struggle, which masks itself as a process of education but actually seeks intellectual dominance by means of belonging to and being “chosen” as part of the “more highly evolved.” In its place, we should foster a concept of coexistence and mutual enrichment of different cultures. Until well into the 20th century, this was actually a reality – albeit not without some conflict – in central Europe.

## References

- <sup>1</sup> Helmut Loos, Spurensuche – Kulturdarwinistische Tendenzen in der deutschen Musikgeschichtsschreibung, in: *Bericht über die Tagung Halle 2013* (in preparation).
- <sup>2</sup> *Daß der so redliche, vorsichtige und fast nur hypothetisch zu Werke gehende Darwin, durch die Ergebnisse seiner Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Biologie, die entscheidendste Veranlassung zur immer kühneren Ausbildung jener historischen Schule gegeben [habe]* (Wagner-SuD, p. 83–84).
- <sup>3</sup> Books by Charles Darwin in Wagner's Bayreuth library: *Die Entstehung der Arten* (deutsch und französisch), *Die Abstammung des Menschen, Das Variieren der Tiere und Pflanzen, Der Ausdruck der Gemütsbewegung beim Menschen und bei den Tieren* (Wagner, 1975, p. 244).
- <sup>4</sup> Cosima Wagner, *Die Tagebücher*, Bd. 1 1869–1877; Bd. 2 1878–1883, München, Zürich: Piper Verlag, 1976/1977. From here on Cosima Wagner's *Die Tagebücher* cited as *C-T*.
- <sup>5</sup> 29th June 1872: *R. kann heute nicht arbeiten, er ist erkältet, er liest in Darwin (Ursprung der Arten)*. (*C-T* 1, p. 541);  
1st July 1872: *R. liest mit Vergnügen den Darwin, einzig bedauernd, daß er Schopenhauer nicht kenne, was ihm so vieles erleichtern würde*. (*C-T* 1, p. 542);  
2nd July 1872: *Darwin macht ihm Vergnügen, und er gibt ihm darin recht, daß in der Moralität dadurch ein Fortschritt gegen die alte Welt besteht, daß die Tiere jetzt mit darin eingeschlossen sind*. (*C-T* 1, p. 543);  
21st July 1872: *Abends liest mir R. ein Kapitel aus Darwin (über den sozialen Instinkt)*. (*C-T* 1, p. 551).
- <sup>6</sup> 10th February 1873: *Abends beginnen wir Darwin's 'Ursprung der Arten'; und R. bemerkt, wie es hier gegangen ist, wie zwischen Kant und Laplace, zwischen Schopenhauer und Darwin die Idee hat Schopenhauer gehabt, Darwin führt dieselbe aus, vielleicht ohne Schopenhauer zu kennen, wie Laplace gewiß Kant nicht gekannt hat*. (*C-T* 1, p. 638).
- <sup>7</sup> 28th September 1877: *Abends liest er uns einiges aus Darwin's 'Abstammung des Menschen', welche er jetzt vornimmt, vor*. (*C-T* 1, p. 1073);  
30th September 1877: *R. arbeitet und erzählt mir: 'Ich war darauf, alles heute aufzugeben, nahm meinen Darwin, warf ihn aber plötzlich weg, denn während dem Lesen hatte sich alles gefunden, und so gut war ich dann gestimmt, daß ich mich förmlich zum Aufhören zwingen mußte, um nicht zu Tisch warten zu lassen. Es ist ein verrückter Zustand.'* (*C-T* 1, p. 1074);  
23rd October 1877: *er liest im Darwin (Descent of man)*. (*C-T* 1, p. 1078);  
24th October 1877: *ich treffe ihn an, Darwin lesend!* (*C-T* 1, p. 1078–1079).
- <sup>8</sup> 24th January 1878: *Unsere letzten Worte gestern waren über die Gottheit; ich: 'Ich muß an sie glauben, mein Unwert und mein Glück führen mich zum Glauben', er: 'Den ersten Teil, deinen Unwert, mußt du schon streichen; die Gottheit ist die Natur, der Wille, der Erlösung sucht und, mit Darwin zu reden, die Starken sich aussucht, um diese Erlösung zu vollbringen.'* (*C-T* 2, p. 39–40);  
16th August 1878: *Dazu am Rand der vorvorigen Seite neben dem Beginn der Tageseintragung: 'Lektüre für Fidi später: Philosophie: Schopenhauer. Religion: Eckhart, Tauler. Kunst: R. Wagner. Naturgeschichte Darwin. Geschichte: Griechen, Römer, Engländer. Romane W. Scott, Balzac. Franzosen, Italiener (Machiavelli). Sonst alle (aber nur diese) Geister ersten Ranges: Goethe, Schiller, Dante, Calderon, Shakespeare, Homer, Aischylos, Sophokles.'* (*C-T* 2, p. 161);  
26th November 1878: *Nach Tisch sprechen wir von Lektüren, welche R. vornehmen will, wahrscheinlich wieder Darwin, und er seufzt: 'Ach! wahrhafte Freude kann nur Beethoven machen, das ist das Göttliche der Musik, daß sie alles in einem Spiegelbild zeigt, und doch sind wir es ganz, jeder Nerv ist dabei interessiert, das schönste Wahnspiel!'* (*C-T* 2, p. 241).
- <sup>9</sup> 21st June 1880: *Am Schluß des Abends liest uns R. den Brief von Goethe an Schiller vor über das Gedicht von Darwin, dessen Inhaltsverzeichnis uns viel Vergnügen macht*. (*C-T* 2, p. 550);  
25. Juni 1880: *Bei Tisch Gespräche über die Tierwelt, über den zerstreuten Affen von Darwin, und daß man an der Fähigkeit, sich zu sammeln, die Begabung des Menschen ermessen könnte. – Merkwürdig charakteristischer Zug von R.: sich an Jouk. wendend, sagt er: Das ist bezeichnend für die Russen, daß sie die Knute küssen lassen, bevor sie sie geben; wie unser Freund dies nicht weiß, wird R. sehr böse und sagt, alles gäbe er von den Deutschen zu, doch wolle er auch über die andren sprechen, wie er es wisse; da er aber bemerkt, daß er unserem Freund weh getan, erwähnt er das freundlichst und gütig, wie immer unbändig wahrhaftig und grenzenlos gütig*. (*C-T* 2, p. 554).
- <sup>10</sup> 25th April 1881: *Abends kleiner Ärger für ihn durch einen Brief von Darwin zu Gunsten der Vivisektion oder vielmehr der Physiologie*. (*C-T* 2, p. 731);  
7th August 1881: *Die Zeitung bringt einen Aufsatz 'Kant und Darwin', und R. hebt hervor, wie überlegen die Auffassung des Instinktes seitens Schopenhauer der von Darwin sei*. (*C-T* 2, p. 776);  
15th October 1881: *Vorher war viel von dem Urmenschen die Rede gewesen, von der Abstammung von einem Paare; bereits gestern sagte R., die jetzigen Theologen stützten sich auf Darwin, 'der kann noch vollständig dumm gemacht werden.'* (*C-T* 2, p. 809).
- <sup>11</sup> 24th April 1882: *R. meldet den Tod von Darwin*. (*C-T* 2, p. 937).
- <sup>12</sup> Theodor W. Adorno, Ästhetische Theorie, in: Adorno, Theodor W. *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. 7, Frankfurt am Main, 1970, p. 12. From here on *Gesammelte Schriften* cited as *GS*.
- <sup>13</sup> Studies in the Authoritarian Personality. Introduction, in: *GS* 9/1, p. 173.
- <sup>14</sup> Noten zur Literatur. Engagement, in: *GS* 11, p. 414.

- <sup>15</sup> Musikalische Schriften V. Schönberg: Von heute auf morgen, op. 32 (II), in: *GS* 18, p. 383; Musikalische Schriften V. Zum Rundfunkkonzert vom 22. Januar 1931, in: *GS* 18, p. 566; Musikalische Schriften VI. May 1929, in: *GS* 19, p. 157.
- <sup>16</sup> Im Jeu de Paume gekritzelt, in: *GS* 10/1, p. 322. Here, Adorno juxtaposes the sheer compositional quality of Ravel with the to-be-advanced means of Bartók. Referring to Gustav Mahler: Die musikalischen Monographien. Der lange Blick, in: *GS* 13, p. 290. Furthermore: Dissonanzen. Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie, in: *GS* 14, p. 203; Musikalische Schriften I–III. III Finale, in: *GS* 16, p. 425; Musikalische Schriften V. Zur Zwölftontechnik, in: *GS* 18, p. 366.
- <sup>17</sup> Musikalische Schriften I–III. III Finale, in: *GS* 16, p. 503; Musikalische Schriften V. Zur Zwölftontechnik, in: *GS* 18, p. 364.
- <sup>18</sup> Die musikalischen Monographien. Zu Werken, in: *GS* 13, p. 473. Referring to Alban Berg.
- <sup>19</sup> Musikalische Schriften VI. Exposé zu einer Monographie über Arnold Schönberg, in: *GS* 19, p. 611.
- <sup>20</sup> Die musikalischen Monographien. Zu Werken, in: *GS* 13, p. 475. Referring to Alban Berg, *Lulu*.
- <sup>21</sup> Musikalische Schriften I–III. Die Instrumentation von Bergs Frühen Liedern, in: *GS* 16, p. 101. Also “evolution of harmony”, Musikalische Schriften V. Schönberg: Fünf Orchesterstücke, op. 16, in: *GS* 18, p. 336.
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- <sup>23</sup> Musikalische Schriften V. Situation des Liedes, in: *GS* 18, p. 347.
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### Santrauka

Muzikos kaip pažangios jėgos įsivaizdavimas neatsikuria nuo visiškai naujos jos pozicijos XVIII a. pradėjus formuoti buržuazinei visuomenei. Visų nuo Apšvietos laikotarpio suformuluotų variantų – žmogaus „savivaizdžio patvirtinimo“ ir „savęs pagrindimo“, „modernybės projekto“, kurį Jürgenas Habermasas dar 1980 m. ketino gelbėti kaip nebaigtą, įskaitant istorijos aiškinimus irimo teorija ir dialektinį jos atsisakymą, prielaidos buvo šios:

- 1) sekuliarizavimas. Muzikoje atsakas į tai buvo jos kaip meno religijos su išganymo užmojais / pažadais aukštinimas,
- 2) tikėjimas pažanga, genijų, ypač kompozitorių kaip *creator ex nihilo*, pakylėjęs į gelbėtojus,
- 3) racionalumas, garantuojantis meno kūrinyje protą ir tiesą,
- 4) autonomija, pasireiškusį gryoje instrumentinėje muzikoje kaip *opus perfectum et absolutum*.

Tikėjimas pažanga ypač stipriai veikė Vakarų modernybės pasaulėvaizdį, taip pat ir per Friedricho Hegelio istorijos

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filosofijos mintis, jas apibendrina garsusis sakinyš iš paskaitų apie istorijos filosofiją: „Pasaulio istorija yra laisvės sąmonės pažanga – pažanga, kurios būtinybę turime pripažinti.“

Vis labiau atsiskleidžianti Hegelio pasaulio dvasia vokiečių muzikos raštijoje paliko ryškių pėdsakų (Karbusicky, 1995). Adolfas Bernhardas Marxas ir Franzas Brendelis – du ankstyvieji šios tautiškai liberalios buržuazijos suformuotos srities atstovai. Marxas „pažangą [,] tikroviškumą ir savitumą“ vadina „tikro meniškumo sąlygomis“ (Marx, 1855, p. 108).

XIX a. labai veiksminga tikėjimo pažanga paspartis buvo biologinė ir sociokultūrinė evoliucijos teorijos; žinomiausi jų atstovai yra Charlesas Darwinas ir Herbertas Spenceris. Jų įtaką galima įžvelgti jau vėlyvoje Richardo Wägerio

kūryboje. Įtakingas neodarvinistas Augustas Weismannas (1834–1914) 1889 m. evoliucijos teoriją aiškiai susiejo su muzika (Weismann, 1892). Prieš Pirmąjį pasaulinį karą, muzikologijai tampant universitetine disciplina, vokiečių muzikos istoriografijoje galima rasti ryškių šio tikėjimo pažanga evoliucijos teorijos fone pėdsakų. Iš vokiečių muzikos kaip kultūrinės pažangos forpostu tiesiogiai buvo sprendžiama apie priešakines vokiečių pozicijas raidos istorijoje ir kildinama atitinkama teisė dominuoti. Šis visose politinėse stovyklose paplitęs įsitikinimas reiškėsi teiginiais apie vokiečių muzikos hegemoniją ar dominavimą pasaulyje. Iki Theodoro W. Adorno toks požiūris į muziką kaip tik vokiečių muzikologijai darė stiprią įtaką.