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# The Capital – The Core of Musical Life: The Structural Transformation of Public Musical Life in Stockholm 1840 to 1890

The 19th century was a time of major transformations of the public musical life of cities across Europe as new forms and functions were developed and adapted to the new social structures that emerged in society. In Sweden, at the beginning of the century, public musical life was tied to the representational culture of royal power. This changed over time with the emergence of bourgeois culture public musical life. Stockholm, as the country's capital and royal and administrative center, stood out as a musical city that experienced these developments early on, in comparison with other cities, and it came to form the core of the public musical life of the country.

I will here present a brief overview of the conditions within public musical life in Stockholm and how they changed during the period 1840 to 1890 within concert life, among performers and audiences and in the press.<sup>1</sup> The article will then focus on the concept of *bildung* and the significance of this in the processes of institutionalization and professionalization within the musical life.

*Where was music performed? : Musical institutions, venues for musical performances and the institutionalization of the musical life*

In the beginning of the 19th century, the musical life of Stockholm was centered round the royal musical institutions: The Royal Theater, Hovkapellet (The Royal Court Orchestra) and The Royal Swedish Academy of Music. These musical institutions all

1 This article presents some aspects from my doctoral dissertation that examines the structural transformation of musical life in Stockholm during the period 1840 to 1890. The focus of this work is the processes of institutionalization and professionalization within four main areas of the classical music sphere: the music press, concert life, the performers and the audience. Anne Reese Willén, *I huvudstaden, musiklivets hård: Den strukturella omvandlingen av Stockholms offentliga konstmusikliv ca 1840 – 1890* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2014), available online at [http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?dswid=7697&pid=diva2%3A691584&c=1&searchType=SIMPLE&language=sv&query=anne+reese+willen&af=%5B%5D&aq=%5B%5B%5D%5D&aq2=%5B%5B%5D%5D&aqe=%5B%5D&noOfRows=50&sortOrder=author\\_sort\\_asc&onlyFullText=false&sf=all](http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?dswid=7697&pid=diva2%3A691584&c=1&searchType=SIMPLE&language=sv&query=anne+reese+willen&af=%5B%5D&aq=%5B%5B%5D%5D&aq2=%5B%5B%5D%5D&aqe=%5B%5D&noOfRows=50&sortOrder=author_sort_asc&onlyFullText=false&sf=all)

had strong associations to representational culture during the reign of King Gustav III, but came to change and adapt to the new culture, especially during the second half of the 19th century.

### *The Royal Theater as a musical institution*

The Royal Theater, which from 1825 to 1863 housed both The Royal Opera and The Royal Theater after a fire had destroyed the previous theater house, was the main musical employer in the city for most of the century. Besides the singers, the musical staff consisted of the musicians of Hovkapellet, which was the only complete symphony orchestra in the city until the latter part of the century. It was originally the orchestra of the royal court, but King Gustav III had assigned Hovkapellet to the Royal Opera when it was founded in 1773 and it has been the opera orchestra ever since. The Royal Theater also had the only purpose-built stage for musical performances in the city. In addition to the theater and operatic performances, there were also a number of concerts held on this stage. The concerts at The Royal Theater were both arranged by the theater and by private entrepreneurs. The concerts arranged by the theater were often benefit concerts for singers or sometimes musicians employed at the theater, where the revenues became part of their yearly salary. Also, Hovkapellet had a benefit concert every year where the revenue went to the orchestra's retirement fund. In cases where the stage was used for private enterprises, the revenues went to the organizer who also was economically responsible toward the theater, paying a rather large stage fee and salaries for all participants. This meant that it was quite a risky business if the audience failed to materialize, and it was mainly the most accomplished singers and musicians in the city (who were also often employed by the theater) or internationally famous visiting virtuosos who tended to give such concerts. The possibilities for these types of performances were in any case not so numerous because the stage was often occupied by the regular theatrical or operatic performances of the theater.

### *Other venues for concert performances*

Concerts were also held in other venues but there was no real concert hall until in the 1870s when the house of The Royal Swedish Academy of Music was built. However, other assembly halls like The House of Nobility and the Stock market building were also used from time to time for concerts by private entrepreneurs, many whom were also employed by The Royal Theater. Other relatively frequently used venues for concerts were the large and centrally located churches in the city, but this was mainly for sacred music. The repertoire of these church concerts generally comprised oratorios and other large works for soloists, choir and orchestra. Since these performances required a large ensemble, they were always arranged in collaboration between different groups and performers. In most cases, the core of the orchestra consisted of musicians from Hovkapellet, often reinforced by amateur musicians. Singers from the opera performed the solo parts and the choir was typically drawn from the membership of one

or more musical society sometimes supported by the choir of The Royal Theater. Such collaborations took place on a regular basis, at least annually. Works like Haydn's *Creation* and Mendelssohn's *Elijah* were performed in such collaboration concerts, but sacred concerts with programs comprised of arias and other parts from larger works were also often performed.

The Royal Swedish Academy of Music was an important music institution in several ways. The academy was founded in 1771 during the reign of King Gustav III, as was The Royal Theater. The statutes declared that the academy should work as a promoter of music in all respects from critically examining musical works and instruments to offering a higher musical education. It was also supposed to work as an overseer of concert life more generally. One of the main functions of the academy came to be musical education. Even if it took until the beginning of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for it to stabilize as an educational institution, it was an important factor within concert life. For a long time, the academy operated from rented premises but, in 1877, the academy building at Nybrokajen was built. The large hall of the academy, both in the old, rented premises and in the academy building, became a significant concert venue both for concerts arranged by the academy and those arranged by private entrepreneurs. The concerts arranged by the academy were often collaborations between the academy's students and other agents within the musical life. In 1858 an orchestra was founded at the conservatory of the academy, which gave some public concerts, but, since the orchestra consisted of students at the conservatory, it was difficult for it to maintain the continuity needed for it to make any real difference within the city's public musical life.

### *The market for public entertainment as forum for public musical performances*

From the 1840s on, the market for public entertainment grew significantly. This was both a result of the deregulation of the guild system and its eventual disbandment in 1864<sup>2</sup> and of general social changes giving rise to new demands for public entertainment. This allowed the market to grow and several new types of establishment developed. For the music market, the very popular *schweizerier*, cafés that also served alcoholic beverages, were especially important. Different types of licensed premises, like *schweizerier*, restaurants and other places of amusement also introduced music as a part of their enterprises. Often the owner hired musicians to play during the afternoon and evening to entertain the guests, but in some cases the premises were also put at the disposal of private entrepreneurs who arranged and took the financial responsibility of a concert project. One place that became important for this type of concert was the *schweizeri* "Hotel de la Croix"<sup>3</sup> founded in 1844. Several of the city's most established musicians and singers (otherwise employed by The Royal Theater) as well as visiting international virtuosos arranged public concerts there.

- 2 The new regulation of "fabriks- och hantverksförordningen" (the factory- and trade decree) came into effect in 1846 and replaced the guild system. The decree later changed in 1864 with "näringsfrihetsförordningen" (the decree of freedom of trade), which marked the definite end of the guild system.
- 3 Also called La Croix salong (the salon de La Croix).

Another important place of entertainment was the restaurant, café and general place of amusement *Berns salonger*<sup>4</sup>, which still exists today in the same premises and for similar kinds of activity. *Berns* was founded in 1863 and music was an important part from the start, with musical performances every day. In the beginning, musicians were hired on a day-to-day basis but, from 1869, a permanent orchestra was employed under the leadership of the conductor August Meissner.<sup>5</sup> They mainly performed music for light entertainment and dance but, between 1872 and 1878, Meissner also arranged 62 of what he called "Popular symphonic concerts".<sup>6</sup> These concerts presented a wide range of orchestral repertoire, often presenting both national and international contemporary composers.

Shortly after Meissner started his symphonic concerts Ludvig Norman, hofkapellmeister and conductor of Hovkapellet, started giving symphonic concerts at The Royal Theater. These concerts were given under the management of the theater as a part of the regular performances. The programs of the symphonic concerts arranged at The Royal Theater differed from the popular symphonic concerts at *Berns* in several ways. The theater had a long tradition of presenting programs with mixed vocal and instrumental pieces, whereas the *Berns* concerts only had instrumental music. Meissner's Symphonic concerts also presented a much more varied and up-to-date repertoire, while the concerts at the Royal Theater were more traditional, using much more reliable and well-known works. These circumstances were discussed in contemporary press, showing the different opinions on the art music repertoire and the status of these musical institutions.

#### *The institutionalization of, and establishment of continuity within, musical life*

Institutionalization was an important factor in the structural transformation of musical life. The concept of institutionalization refers to organizational and material factors as well as to social behavior. Sven-Eric Liedman maintains that, from the perspective of the history of ideas, an institution is a series of ideas that has become fixed in a set of rules and regulations, and even if the rules can change it is the resistance to such changes that makes the institution an institution.<sup>7</sup> An institution must have some permanence, be established for a certain purpose, have an unbroken tradition and have an inherent sluggishness, being both changeable and resistant in the same time.<sup>8</sup> Continuity is essential to Liedman's concept of an institution and is very much evident in the process of institutionalization in the context in which it is used here. As a concept associated with social practice, institutionalization is about habitual and repeated be-

4 The Berns salon.

5 August Meissner, was born 1833 in Mecklenburg, and first came to Gothenbourg in 1855 to play in Josef Czapek's orchestra. In 1860, he became conductor at the New Theater in Helsinki, after which he got his position at Berns in 1869 where he stayed until 1895.

6 Martin Tegen, "August Meissner", in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* vol. 25, 331, available at <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SBL/Presentation.aspx?id=9242> (accessed 2016-04-18)

7 Sven-Erik Liedman, *I skuggan av framtiden: modernitetens idéhistoria*, (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1999), 51.

8 Liedman, *I skuggan av framtiden*, 212-216.

havior,<sup>9</sup> and refers in this context to the practice of going to and arranging concerts in a normative way (i.e. listening in silence, focusing on the music, applauding at certain points and so on).

In the institutionalization of concert life, continuity was a key factor; this continuity was attained by the establishment of permanent venues for musical performances and a regularity of concert performances. Concerts in Stockholm during the first half of the century were more or less occasional, with the exception of some concerts at The Royal Theater, and there were few venues for musical performances. The Royal Theater was, in essence, the only institutionalized musical establishment, with regular concert performances. This changed over the century, especially from the 1860s onward.

The steady increase in concert and musical performances was part of this change and demanded both changes in old institutions and the institutionalization of new ones. The old institutions, such as The Royal Theater, Hovkapellet, The Royal Swedish Academy of Music and the city's churches, changed to adapt to the new market that developed. The continuity was preserved within the institutions but a part of the activities was adapted to the market: because they all accepted external concert entrepreneurs, the stages were opened up for the bourgeoisie. Earlier, all the performances were part of the representative culture of the court and aristocracy but this change made the old institutions part of the bourgeoisie's public sphere.

One important process within the structural transformation of musical life was the division between an art music sphere and a lighter entertainment or popular music sphere. This was not something unique to the situation in Stockholm but a development occurring all over Europe. However, the division in Stockholm was not always clear cut as, for example, August Meissner's concerts at *Berns* and the symphonic concerts at The Royal Theater at the same time have shown. Both these musical establishments presented concerts of a similar kind, with the same sort of goals, but with very different conditions. The Royal Theater was an established high art institution, while *Berns* was an entertainment venue. This might have affected the way the repertoire was chosen; The Royal Theater had a well institutionalized repertoire and traditions of concert programming that were not so easily changed but *Berns*, on the other hand, did not have that and Meissner may have been more free to choose. Another reason why it might have been more difficult for Hovkapellet to put on new repertoire was the lack of time for rehearsals due to their responsibilities as an opera orchestra.

#### *Who performed music? – professionalization and the balance between professionals and amateurs*

As indicated earlier, many of the musicians performing and arranging concerts as private entrepreneurs in Stockholm were also employed by The Royal Theater. The Royal Theater was one of the few places where steady employment was possible for singers and musicians but this was also something that changed over time. Before the 1840s,

9 See Peter Bergman and Thomas Luckman, *The social construction of reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, (London: Penguin, 1991 [1966]), 70-82.

The Royal Theater had a monopoly on public theater performances, with the exception of a summer theater at Djurgården.<sup>10</sup> This monopoly was broken through the actions of a few private entrepreneurs and, from the 1840s on, several private theaters were established in Stockholm. Some of these theaters had singers and musicians employed permanently or engaged singers and musicians on a temporary basis. Theaters in general, therefore, became an important place of employment for music professionals and another important employer of musicians was the church but neither the private theaters nor the church had a large, fulltime musical staff. Restaurants and other places of amusement also employed musicians, but generally small ensembles and often from a day-to-day basis. The large, fulltime orchestra at *Berns* was, therefore, an exception.

Hovkapellet was, for most of the century, the only orchestra capable of performing symphonic repertoire. But, as the activities of the theater always had to come first, there were few opportunities for orchestral concerts. This not only affected the concerts of The Royal Theater but concert life as a whole. If anyone wanted to arrange a concert with symphonic music the best option was to engage the musicians of Hovkapellet. Hovkapellet played in concerts outside the theater from time to time but it had to be when the orchestra was not needed at the theater. It was not only Hovkapellet that was limited by obligations towards the employer; the orchestra at *Berns* had the same conditions. Sometimes, temporary orchestras were put together as a mix of professional and amateur musicians but, in this case, most of the professionals came from Hovkapellet.

Professional orchestras within the military also adapted to the new music market and gave public concerts. These were mainly brass bands but they could offer much of the same repertoire as the symphonic orchestras through arrangements of orchestral and operatic music. Most of the wind musicians of Hovkapellet were also military musicians, so the military bands were affected by the activities at The Royal Theater as well. Since wind music was especially suitable for outdoor performances, the summer became the most active time for many of these musicians. This was also a time when the theater was closed and the musicians were more available and audiences looked for other types of entertainment.

When it came to singers, most of the soloists were associated with The Royal Theater or some of the private theaters. Certain amateurs also gave solo performances in public concerts from time to time. Choirs, on the other hand, were primarily made up of amateur singers and belonged to a musical society or other association. The Royal Theater also had a choir that sometimes performed in concerts outside the theater and it was the only "professional" choir in Stockholm. When musical societies arranged public concerts, it was typically in collaboration with professional singers and musicians. Some musical societies also had orchestral divisions with amateur musicians but were often reinforced with professional musicians at public concerts.

10 Djurgården, formerly The Royal Game Park, is an island in Stockholm that was a popular recreational area during the 19th century.

*Joint efforts – collaborations between professionals and amateurs*

Collaborations between professional and amateur musicians were something that characterized musical life in Stockholm and something that was observed and discussed by contemporary writers. Ludvig Norman wrote an article in 1853 with some observations on public music in Stockholm shortly after returning to Stockholm from his studies at the Leipzig Music Conservatory and before attaining the position as hofkapellmeister.<sup>11</sup> In this article he presented some thoughts on conditions within the city's musical life and how they could be improved. He draws attention to the fact that there were strong resources in Stockholm – “a good orchestra with a competent conductor, a well-managed lyrical stage, and a number of music lovers” – but that these resources could be managed much better.<sup>12</sup> He strongly recommended coordination of the available resources for production of great works of music. In his mind it was the responsibility of the hofkapellmeister to lead such projects and it could be facilitated by good organization. In his vision he put much faith in the music lovers of the city, whom he believed to be crucial to the success of these productions. What he was suggesting was to use amateur musicians to reinforce the professional singers and musicians to put together ensembles large enough. He was also confident that the musicians of Hovkapellet were willing to participate, without really considering the conditions under which they worked. He proposed that churches should be used as venues, that the performance should take place on spring holidays and that the price of tickets should be held low, all so that these concerts should be open to as many as possible. Norman imagined that such productions would have a positive effect on the musical life by heightening the *musical bildung* that, in turn, would remove the dilettantism that characterized music of contemporary musical performances. The *musical bildung* and dilettantism will be discussed further below.

*The process of professionalization*

This kind of collaboration occurred during the whole period under investigation here and Ludvig Norman worked his whole career to maintain it. Despite this, Norman and several other professional musicians expressed ambitions to carry through the professionalization of musical life; the ideal was to have a fully professionalized musical life not dependent on amateur contributions.

The process of professionalization was an important factor in the structural transformation of musical life. The word “profession” could simply mean the same as occupation, work or trade, but, as a concept used here, it is more narrowly defined as an occupation, the authority and status of which is based on formal higher education.<sup>13</sup>

11 Ludvig Norman, “Några anmärkningar rörande offentlig musik i Stockholm”, *Ny tidning för music* 3 (1853).

12 Norman, “Några anmärkningar rörande offentlig musik i Stockholm”.

13 “Profession”, *Nationalencyklopedin online*, <http://www.ne.se.ezproxy.its.uu.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/lång/profession> (accessed 2016-04-21).

Professionalization is the process that an occupation goes through to become a profession:

[...]Professionalization involves the formation of an occupation, on one hand, and interrelated developments regarding the social division of labor, structures of authority, and sociocultural inequality, on the other. Historical research on professionalization concentrates on such issues as the distribution of scarce resources at a particular point in time, the social definition of behavioral prerogatives, and the regulation of central values and functions. It is concerned with the motives, interests, and strategies of actors who either promote or hinder processes of professionalization.<sup>14</sup>

Many participants in the public debate on the state of musical life show these types of motives, interests and strategies that were used to promote the process of professionalization. This process can be studied both sociologically and historically and the approaches differ somewhat. Within sociology, the concept of professionalism is much more fixed and is based on certain criteria, whereas the concept within the historical tradition is much less determined but emphasizes societal and historical differences.<sup>15</sup> In the context in which it is used here, professionalization is a historical process that is affected by elements in society. The actions, motives and strategies of agents within musical life are studied from a professionalization perspective to analyze this process. It is the process itself here that is in focus and not the end result.

#### *Higher musical education as a part of the process of professionalization*

This process was manifested differently in various areas of musical life. Musical education was an area that became very important in the process of professionalization. In the beginning of the century, professional education in music was provided through a sort of guild system or provided within the musical institutions themselves (the theater for singers, the military for brass musicians and so on) and Hovkapellet also

14 Hannes Siegrist, "Professionalization/Professions in History", *Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral sciences*, Neil J. Smelser och Paul B. Baltes (ed) (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, 2001).

15 The process of professionalization can be studied through a model presented by Harold Wilensky which is based on five stages: 1) the activity becomes a full time occupation, 2) the question of training arises and a demand for establishment of educational institutions, 3) those that have gone through training combine to form a professional association, 4) efforts will be made to get law support to protect the area, which includes further defining of the area of competence and the questions of licensing and certification, and 5) a formal code of ethics is formulated, where rules are gathered to eliminate the unqualified, reduce the risks for internal competition, protect clients and emphasize service ideals. (Harold Wilensky, "The professionalization of everyone", *American magazine of Sociology*, vol 70, no 2 (September 1964), 142-146.) This model has been a basis for much previous research in professionalization, but it has also been criticized. Rolf Torstendahl, who has done much research in professionalization in Sweden, states that because Wilensky's model has a sociological and contemporary aim rather than historical, the idea of a common professionalization process is not relevant in a historical context as processes within different occupations show much variation. (Rolf Torstendahl, "Har professionerna sin framtid bekom sig – eller har de bytt innehåll?", *Att göra historia: en vänbok till Christina Florin*, Maria Sjöberg och Yvonne Svanström (red.) (Stockholm 2008), 172-173)



recruited many musicians from abroad. At the same time, the market grew with the demand for musical education within the aristocracy and later the bourgeoisie. Music schools thereby focused primarily on an amateur market. Toward the middle of the century, professional musical education was mainly available abroad and many musicians and singers left the country to study at the music conservatories in Paris and Leipzig which were popular destinations for these studies. The demand for specialized and organized professional training was a definite step in the process of professionalization and was emphasized by contemporary writers.

Within The Royal Swedish Academy of Music there had been an ambition to provide an organized higher education in music from the start. However, this proved difficult to accomplish. In the beginning of the century there were relatively few possibilities for employment as musicians or singers. Together with a tradition of musical families with education within these families and the practice of importing musicians there was no market for this type of education. The demand for organized education came from the amateur side and this was what the academy initially offered. The higher education originally offered at the academy was mainly concentrated on church music. The first fifty years of music education at the academy was held back by insufficient funding, commitment and organization. The lack of funding had much to do with the direction that the education had taken: following the market and not the original aim. The funding from the court was reduced as the focus had shifted toward an education for the daughters of the bourgeoisie rather than a higher education that could provide for society's need for professional musicians. The solution to this problem became the exclusion of women students,<sup>16</sup> as their education was understood as lacking a professional goal. In 1824 the economic situation settled as the academy got a yearly government grant to provide musical education. This gave the institution the stability necessary for it to reconcile itself with its founding aims. Gradually, instruction on more and more instruments was introduced, as well as training in orchestration, composition and music history, and the number of students and teachers slowly increased. The education at the academy was, despite this, for a long time limited to professions like organists, cantors and music teachers, professions that had the most obvious connection to the needs of society. The Royal Theater trained its own singers and its musicians were typically trained in orchestras or educated abroad. Therefore, the academy still did not really live up to their original intentions that were instead to provide a higher education for opera singers, orchestral and soloist musicians, conductors and composers. The market for music professionals started to change and expand from the 1840s and new needs for musicians arose within society. This, together with influences from international music education, caused a wave of criticism aimed at the academy's education for not living up to its purpose. This criticism became a recurrent topic in music magazines and newspapers around the middle of the century. These critical articles mark an important stage in the professionalization process as it

16 The Academy was not re-opened to female students again until the institution's reorganisation in 1856.

called for specialized education within more parts of musical life. Something that is stressed in several articles is the economic foundation of the education, emphasizing that strong government funding was necessary to achieve what was asked for.

The educational institution of The Royal Swedish Academy of Music was reorganized in 1855 after the question of increased funding had been raised in the Swedish parliament, or Riksdagen.<sup>17</sup> Following this, a committee was appointed to work on a proposal for the reorganization and the funding needed to proceed. The committee was made up of a mix of professional musicians, public officials and barons and they presented a proposal that included a division of the educational institution into two departments, one for church musicians and one for artists. The difference between these departments lay in the level of musical education, skill and amount of music performance in the final jobs. The church musicians, who included organists, cantors and parish clerks, performed music as part of their service but they also had other tasks. Furthermore, the music that they performed was relatively simple and did not require a very high degree of musical education. The artists, who included musicians, conductors, choirmasters and music teachers, needed a much more versatile and higher musical education instead. This shows a shift in the status of different musical positions and a stage in the professionalization process. Education became an important aspect in discussion of the status of different musical occupations and became a way to legitimize and separate the musical professions from the amateur music scene. The question of funding became a part of this process as well, as government funding also gave legitimacy to the profession. The public debate on the reorganization of the academy was very lively and in 1856 new statutes for the academy were presented. The new music conservatory was organized in two departments: the higher and the lower. The higher department would provide education for musicians for the theater, the school and the church, music teachers and artists, whereas the lower department would train organ players and cantors. The lower would offer training in harmony, choral singing, organ- and piano playing while the higher offered training in harmony, choral singing, organ, violin, piano, cello, double bass and wind instrument playing, solo singing, score reading, composition, instrumentation, music history and aesthetics. Through reorganization, the conservatory of the academy finally offered the higher musical education that was needed for a professional musical life. The need for importing musicians decreased markedly and so did the need for education abroad, even if musicians still did travel for further training.

### *Specialization within the musical field*

The musical labor market grew as musical life expanded. Music professions that existed throughout the period were mainly opera singers, orchestra, military and church musicians and music teachers. As the process of the professionalization of musical life went on, music professions became increasingly specialized and more music profes-

17 The Swedish parliament.

sions developed. For example, opera singers were gradually separated from the acting profession and became a specialized field (earlier, many singers did both opera and drama). Also, education within The Royal Theater became specialized and a separate singing academy was established at the opera. Within the orchestra, the work of the conductor became more and more separated from that of the musicians, which made the conductor more significant in the artistic process.

Composition was another area that changed during this period even if there was no composer profession as such. Composition had always been a side activity, both in amateur and professional contexts. No composers devoted themselves entirely to composition but had to have other work as well; often composition was a part of the job as a musician, conductor or teacher. But even the area of composition was gradually professionalized and specialized within the musical life of Stockholm and an important factor in this was the possibility for organized training in composition.

Another occupation that went through this process was that of writers within the music field who became more and more professional and specialized. Writing on musical topics and aspects of musical life was possible in specialized music magazines as well as in newspapers, books and offprints. This was a wide field that included writings on music history, theory, pedagogy, teaching material, encyclopedic contributions and music criticism. There was also a more scientific side and here musicology slowly developed with research generally focused on music history and aesthetics although, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, music theory began to be treated more scientifically.

Sten Dahlstedt has shown that writing on music was principally a product of the book and newspaper industry and only to a small extent connected to the universities and The Royal Swedish Academy of Music.<sup>18</sup> It was also an activity that was generally combined with some other occupation, both inside and outside the music field. These writers could be musicians, music teachers, organists, public officials or something else but chose also to express themselves through writing. Over time, these writers became more and more specialized and the number of music professionals increased while the number of non-music professional writers decreased. It took time for writing on music to become a fulltime profession and there were only exceptional cases of this in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But the publishing industry became an important area within musical life and promoted the processes of professionalization and institutionalization through offering a place for public debate on music.

### *The press as a forum for public debate on music and musical life*

The daily press in Stockholm flourished from the 1830s onwards after the establishment of *Aftonbladet*, a liberal newspaper published in Stockholm which came to serve as a model for other papers established later. The newspaper market grew steadily during subsequent decades and music soon became regularly featured. Music entered the

18 Sten Dahlstedt, *Fakta och förnuft: svensk akademisk musikforskning 1909-1941* (Diss. Göteborg: [Department of musicology, Univ.], 1986), 34.

newspapers primarily through concert reviews but also through announcements by The Royal Swedish Academy of Music and advertisements for sheet music, music books, instruments and music tuition. Occasionally, commentaries on the structures of musical life also appeared. From the 1850s, the number of concert advertisements increased, which suggests an increase in public concerts at this time. In the beginning, general culture critics wrote music criticism but soon, specialized music critics took over.

Until the 1850s, music criticism had a looser place in the structure of the newspapers. Reviews and comments on music could be placed at different places in the papers and almost never had special headlines. One thing that did appear in the same place early on was the advertisement for The Royal Theater, which consisted of small announcements about current repertoire. From the 1850s on, announcements of opera and concert performances, concert programs as well as lighter entertainment increased and the advertisements were also generally placed on the front page. Reviews and other comments on music and musical performances also got more established places in the papers under a specific headline – “Music” or “Theater and music” – most often on the second or third page (depending on the paper).

Music was discussed not only in newspapers but also in music magazines. Before the middle of the century, a few attempts at establishing music magazines in Sweden had been made. These tended to be one-man ventures and titles rarely survived for long. But with the foundation of *Stockholms musiktidning* (Stockholm’s Music Magazine) in the 1840s, the music press began to recruit more staff and publish more original material. Throughout the 19th century, Stockholm’s music magazines came to follow the models set by the important international music magazines. Their material consisted of essays, biographical information about composers and performers, reviews and advertisements and much of this was translated from international music magazines.

During the 1850s, the thriving music press was dominated by the successor of *Stockholms musiktidning*, *Ny tidning för musik* (The New Magazine for Music, 1853–57), with *Tidning för theater och musik* (The Magazine for Theatre and Music) hot on its heels. The latter two magazines cover most of the 1850s and offer unique insight into the period. They are characterized by critical debate about music life led by a number of writers who would later gain prominent positions within public musical life. Some of these writers had just come back from musical studies abroad, mainly at the Leipzig music conservatory, and the influence of this is evident. The debate focused greatly on the state of musical life and how it could be improved to reach international standards.

The full institutionalization of the Swedish music press was brought about in 1880 with the foundation of Sweden’s first long-term music magazine, *Svensk musiktidning* [the Swedish Music Magazine], published between 1880 and 1913. The establishment of a professional music press was thus a lengthy process. Nevertheless, the many attempts show the determination among publishers and writers to overcome the difficulties they were facing in creating a strong music press.

*Critique of the music criticism*

Music criticism became an important field within musical writing and as it acquired a permanent place within the press the question of the purpose of criticism and the role of the critic arose. In 1849 Abraham Mankell<sup>19</sup> wrote a long commentary on the aesthetics of music where he also discussed the state of music criticism.<sup>20</sup> In this text, he objects to the fact that criticism was too often written by people who had no real musical knowledge and who used technical terms to disguise this lack. He also states that many readers did not realize the difference between educated and uneducated critics. He notes that one aspect of music criticism should be versatility because music has different effects on different people and points to the problem that, despite this fact, music criticism is often raised to “universally valid judgments”. He suggests instead that music should not be judged by personal taste but by “the theoretical rules from which it was created”. He also suggests that criticism has a power to affect music by being both constructive and instructive, thereby helping to improve the music – although he maintains that no such reviews were written in Sweden.

A few years after Mankell wrote his book, another interesting character, Albert Rubenson,<sup>21</sup> also commented on the state of music criticism. In an article in *Ny tidning för music*, Rubenson emphasizes that the task of the critic was to give as detailed judgments as possible and thereby in some way make up for the lack of music schools and competent teachers.<sup>22</sup> Rubenson is here much more explicit than Mankell in his view of the purpose of criticism. Many critics followed their lead and the aim of music criticism changed toward an educating function which purpose was to educate the general public in musical matters. In order to educate, music critics themselves needed a solid education in music theory and history as well as a talent for music.

This coincided with another step in the professionalization process within the musical press. The writers were, to a great extent, people within the music profession; several of them were important musicians, composers and teachers and this was reflected in the way they discussed the music. They saw themselves as superior to the public and it was their responsibility to educate the people in order that they improve as an audience and in time learn to demand a more advanced musical life. Music criticism changed even more towards the end of the century when the educational ideals were,

19 Abraham Mankell was born in Germany in 1802 and moved to Sweden in 1823. He worked as an organist, music teacher, writer and composer in Stockholm and wrote extensively on different musical subjects, amongst other things one of the first books on music history in Swedish.

20 Abraham Mankell, *Blickar i musikens inre helgedom: ett bidrag till tonkonstens ästhetik* (Stockholm: 1849).

21 Albert Rubenson was born in Stockholm 1826 and in 1844-48 he studied with Moritz Hauptmann, Niels Gade and Ferdinand David in Leipzig. When he returned to Stockholm in the beginning of the 1850s he first worked mostly as a critic (he seems to have been economically independent) and later got the position of headmaster of the conservatory at The Royal Academy of music.

22 R-n [Albert Rubenson], “Om den musikaliska kritiken i våra dagblad”, *Ny tidning för music* 49 & 50 (1854).

to a large extent, laid to rest, giving way to more individual and subjective judgments. Examples of this are found in the writings of Adolf Lindgren.<sup>23</sup>

In an article in the daily newspaper *Aftonbladet*, Lindgren presents his view on the purpose of criticism after he had himself been criticized for being thoughtless and disrespectful in his reviews.<sup>24</sup> Lindgren countered by stressing that we should not confuse the role of the critic with the role of the teacher, which shows how far from Mankell and Rubenson he is.<sup>25</sup> He also maintains that a sharp language is necessary and that it is not a question of thoughtlessness and disrespectfulness. Another thing he brings up is that it is not at all necessary for a critic to be an artist himself in order to judge art. In fact, he emphasizes that he can't write music himself. In a follow-up article Lindgren introduces his manifesto.<sup>26</sup> In this he states that criticism must rest on absolute ideals, that it should be relevant for music and that it should mainly be about stating facts and leaving the final judgment to the reader. He explicitly states that the critic should never teach but could warn those making the music against mistakes.

This shows a totally different attitude toward music criticism than earlier. Lindgren was neither a musician, nor a music teacher nor a composer but a music critic. The notion that the views of music critics were superior to those of the audience or musicians thereby changed in the mid-1870s in favor of more democratic tendencies.

The development of the music press created a new forum for public debate about music. Public music criticism highlighted, discussed, praised and criticized musical performances and thereby created a space for ideas about music and its place and function within the public sphere.

### *The significance of Bildung in the structural transformation of musical life*

In this study I try to shed some light on the underlying causes of the processes of change within Sweden's musical life. One interesting aspect of this is the significance

23 Lindgren was born in Sweden in 1846. He later got a degree from Uppsala University and then worked solely as a music critic and editor of music magazines. He was the first and really the only critic during the 19th century to make a living solely within the musical press. He was also the most important music critic in his time and wrote for almost all important newspapers and music magazines.

24 "Om musikalisk kritik: en kritik öfver kritiker", *Aftonbladet*, May 23 1876.

25 A.L. [Adolf Lindgren] "Om musikalisk kritik: Till den nye kritikern öfver kritiker: I", *Aftonbladet*, May 23 1876.

26 A.L. [Adolf Lindgren], "Om musikalisk kritik och estetisk kritik i allmänhet: till den nye kritikern öfver kritiker: II", *Aftonbladet*, May 27 1876. 1) The critic must maintain absolute ideals to work as a standard for his judgments. 2) These ideals must be visible. 3) The judgements must be relevant to the character of the music (i.e. you could not judge operatic music on the same grounds as symphonic music). 4) The critics should only present facts and leave the real verdict to the reader. 5) Critics can only tell how something should not be done, rather than how it should be done, and therefore had to be predominantly negative. 6) As criticism is about making judgements, and judgements are acts of thought, the critic can't reawake the same impressions as the artwork itself – it is both impossible and unnecessary. 7) All thoughts, ideas, and emotions that are expressed by language must be sharp, in the sense of being acute and logically clear. He maintains that there is a big difference between sharpness and roughness.

of the ideas and ideals of *bildung*,<sup>27</sup> a concept that flourished especially within the “educated” or “cultured” classes – an increasingly important part social stratum. I will here point out some aspects that show the significance of *bildung* in the structural transformation of musical life.

The concept of *bildung* had its origin in 18<sup>th</sup> century Germany but was introduced into Sweden in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century through the German new humanism. The inspiration for this promotion of knowledge came from the idea of Greek antiquity, and it gave rise to a great debate on knowledge and education. In Sweden, Erik Gustaf Geijer and Esaias Tegnér became central characters in the debate during the first half of the century and they both emphasized the importance of a broad humanist education that furthered a quest for knowledge that could serve the development of personality and character.<sup>28</sup> The educational system in Sweden in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century did not live up to the demands of the new society that developed; an extensive work on a reform of the educational system started in the 1820s and 1830s in which both Geijer and Tegnér came to play an important part. The educational reforms proceeded at all levels, from elementary school to university, and an elementary school for all citizens was introduced in 1842 (even if that was criticized for being more about controlling the lower classes rather than being about *bildung*). Alongside the official educational institutions, other educational societies and associations developed that also provided their members with a broad scientific, aesthetic and social education, i.e. *bildung*.

### *Music and bildung*

The educational situation within the music sphere has been discussed previously but, as has been shown here, it was part of a greater process in society at large. The educational reforms within musical life were, to a great degree, not only about establishing professional education but also about raising the level of *bildung* in both the general public and the profession as well.

The educational and enriching function of music was increasingly emphasized in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and this, in turn, boosted the interest for playing and listening to music within the bourgeoisie. One of the important aspects of *bildung* was the growth of a person’s character and central to this was “aesthetic contemplation”. This notion meant that “music was meant not merely to be ‘enjoyed’, but to be ‘understood’”, as Dahlhaus puts it in his *Nineteenth-Century Music*.<sup>29</sup> In order to do this, the listeners had to pay the music full attention in silence and a new mode of behavior started

27 The word “bildning” is notoriously hard to translate. In Swedish (and the other scandinavian languages) and German, bildning/bildung is separated from utbildning/ausbildung, which it is not in the English word “education”. Hence, *Bildung* not only referres to education, but a more general self-cultivation or self-improvement.

28 See Anders Burman and Per Sundgren [eds.], *Bildning: texter från Esaias Tegnér till Sven-Eric Liedman*, (Stockholm: Didalos, 2010), 12-18.

29 Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, J. Bradford Robinson [trans.] (Berkeley: University of California press 1989), 50.

to evolve (it having been customary to carry on conversations and moving around in the room while music was being played). This was one of the contributing factors to the division between music as art and as entertainment. Art music became an object for aesthetic contemplation and this affected the way of listening. The boundaries between art music and popular music were, at this time, quite blurred and it is not so easy to draw exact boundaries – much depended on the context in which the music was being performed.

Thoughts on the aim and level of *musical bildung* [musikaliska bildningen] were discussed in several debate articles in Swedish newspapers and music magazines, as well as in other types of publications, especially in the 1840s and 1850s. Of course, this type of discussion was not unique for Stockholm but was something that can be observed elsewhere as well. The interesting thing here is that we can follow the process within the more isolated case of Stockholm and thereby study the effects in the structural transformation of the capital's musical life.

During the mid 19<sup>th</sup>-century a notion of a certain musical *bildung* and canon was crystallized in Sweden. This notion was mainly based on the ideas presented in the musical idealist movement that had risen in Leipzig around the periodicals *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and *Neue musikalische Zeitung* during the first half of the century. William Weber's concept of "musical idealism" can usefully be applied here.<sup>30</sup> The ideas formed within the music idealist movement were gradually implemented in the public debate on musical education and musical knowledge in Stockholm. These ideas were merged with the ideas of *bildung* and came to form a sort of standard of which music was worth knowing or not. The musical press that flourished in Sweden in the 1850s played a very important role in presenting and disseminating these ideas.

### Allmän musikalisk bildning – "General" musical bildung

*Allmän musikalisk bildning* (general musical bildung) is a term that is used frequently in the debate and is discussed in several Swedish sources especially from the 1840s and 1850s. The idea of a "general" musical *bildung* was a combination of practical musical skills, knowledge of the musical repertoire (or canon) as well as knowing how to appreciate music in a certain way, all in tune with the ideals of the music idealist movement. The general criticism put forward in writings on this topic is that the level of general musical *bildung* within the country was relatively low.

It is evident that the ideas of *bildung* lay at the foundation of these publications from early on. In the editor's note in the first issue of *Stockholms musiktidning* published in 1843, the writer touches upon this as providing one of the motivations behind the establishment of the magazine:

30 See for example: William Weber, "Wagner, Wagnerism, and musical idealism", *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, David Large and William Weber (ed.) (Ithaca: Cornell University press 1984); and William Weber, *The great transformation of musical taste: concert programming from Haydn to Brahms* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).



Although Music as an Artform has made great progress, at least in some directions, in Sweden [the Fatherland] in these last years, it is not uncommon to hear complaints from the true lovers of music that we in general have not reached far into the great and florid field of musical *bildung*.<sup>31</sup>

His explanation for this is the lack of “forums for the exchanges of ideas and views on musical art and all its expressions”. What he means by this is the lack of a music magazine and a public debate in the field of music. He explains this by the “linguistic isolation and the northerners’ tendency to rather receive than to give fine art as well as an unwillingness to make an effort”. The purpose of the magazine was, therefore, to help raise the level of the general musical *bildung* by offering a forum for public debate on music. This was to be accomplished by competent writers and access to foreign periodicals. It is also evident here that the magazine was not only directed to professionals in the musical field, but to “the public” (meaning the educated classes). It is clear here that musical *bildung* was not only something of concern to professionals but was important for everyone.

### *The role of women*

Another critical commentary focusing on general musical *bildung* is found in Johan Fröberg’s publication *Några ord om de sköna konsternas betydelse med egentlig afseende på musiken och dess vård inom fäderneslandet* published in connection with the reorganization of the conservatory at the academy of music.<sup>33</sup> Here, Fröberg points out that “music, as a subject of education, but mostly as a fashionable thing, had been widely spread.” By this, he means that it was popular to engage in musical activities but without making demands on actual knowledge and education. He states that music for a long time had been a compulsory subject within all forms of education (from elementary school to university as well as music schools), but that this subject had been treated “unfairly”. He criticizes the academy of music for only being an “elementary school for organists”. He also points out the low status of music at the university, which he thinks says a lot about the state of music in the country (if it was not seen as important in the university, it would not be seen as such anywhere else either).

Another interesting aspect he touches is the influence of women on the musical *bildung*.

[...] with the exception of singing, it has nevertheless in reality fallen to women to give musical *bildung* a more general use. For, by an odd nick of fate – or may-

31 “Oaktad de framsteg, åtminstone i en viss riktning, som Tonkonsten i sednare tider inom Fäderneslandet onekligen gjort; hör man ändock icke sällan från dess sanna vänner den klagan, att vi, i allmänhet, ännu ej hunnit in på den verkliga musikaliska bildningens stora och blomsterrika fält”. [Editors note], *Stockholms musiktidning* 1 (1843).

32 “Some words on the significance of the fine arts, with actual reference to music and its preservation in the fatherland”

33 Johan Fröberg, *Några ord om de sköna konsternas betydelse med egentlig afseende på musiken och dess vård inom fäderneslandet* (Uppsala: 1855).

be rather by natural causes – music has yet become an important part of a girl's education, where, for the boy or young man, it is generally seen as a subject of minor importance in which he is allowed to indulge casually, if time and other circumstances permit.<sup>34</sup>

With this, he notes that music is a much more important part of a woman's education than for men and that the biggest problem was that music was not treated as an educational subject, but a form of entertainment. He doesn't value the education of men over women explicitly, but he maintains that as it was not any form of higher musical education, no real *bildung*, it had a bad effect on the music that is being played as it was treated as mostly light entertainment. The popular repertoire being played, according to Fröberg, mainly comprised virtuoso pieces or simpler dance music and galant pieces and the classical masters were commonly maltreated by both professionals and amateurs.

Fröberg also makes the connection to the state of music criticism and maintains that the opinion of the general public concerning what is required to judge art also demonstrates the low status of the *bildung*.

*Then what was "good music"?*

The discourse on musical *bildung* consequently involves notions of "good and bad music" – which can be understood in the light of the idea of aesthetic contemplation and the music idealism. Albert Rubenson, while residing in Copenhagen, writes in a correspondence article for the magazine *Ny tidning för music* the following:

[...] If we therefore agree that the fondness for good music is motivated not by any greater education of the tonal sense but by the intellectual cultivation in general of the individual, then it is not the case of an audience – a people. The Danish people are, as I said, not musical in any great sense; but they have a high degree of general *bildung*. No dilettantism flourishes here, and therefore here is made only little – but *only good music*. – The lack of quantity can be explained to a great degree by the lack of an opera.<sup>35</sup>

34 "[...]med undantag af sången är det likväl egentligen qvinnan som hittills fått på sin lott, att här i Sverige bereda den musikaliska bildningen en allännare spridning. Ty af en besynnerlig ödet skickelse – eller kanhända snarare af ganska naturliga orsaker – har musiken, oakadt det mörker som ännu råder i uppfattningen af dess väsende och ändmål, likväl lyckas blifva upptagen såsom en ganska väsendtlig beståndsdel i flickans bildning, då den deremot för gossen och yngligen i allmänhet anses såsom ett underordnad ämne, hvaraf han dock tillåtes taga en flyktig kännedom, ifall tid och öfriga omständigheter medgifva." Fröberg, *Några ord om de sköna konsternas betydelse*, 9.

35 "Om vi derföre kunna komma öfverens om, att förkärleken för god musik föranledes, icke af den större utbildningen af tonsinnet, men af den intellektuella bildningen i allmänhet hos individen, så är detta visst icke mindre fallet hos en publik, ett folk. – Det danska folket är, som sagdt, icke musikaliskt i någon högre grad; men det eger mycken allmän bildning. Här grasserar intet dilettantskap, det göres derföre blott litet – men endast god mus na komma öfverens om, att förkärleken för god musik föranledes, icke af den större utbildningen af tonsinnet, men af den intellektuella bildningen i allmänhet hos individen, så är detta visst icke mindre fallet hos en publik, ett folk. – Det danska folket är, som sagdt, icke musikaliskt i någon högre grad; men det eger mycken allmän bildning. Här grasserar intet dilettantskap, det göres derföre blott litet – men endast god musik. – Att kvantiteten är så ringa, har till stor del sin grund

He criticizes the Swedish people by comparing them to the Danish, whom he maintains have a greater musical *bildung* in general. The connection between dilettantism and *bildung*, both general and musical, is central to Rubenson's text (as well as in other texts). The lack of education is here used as an argument to criticize the musical taste and concert programming in Stockholm, with the intention to highlight a more worthy repertoire strongly influenced by the music idealist movement in Leipzig. Rubenson was, at this time, studying privately with Gade after having studied in Leipzig so he is clearly influenced by this experience.

### *The problem of dilettantism*

The problem of dilettantism recurs in several contributions to the critical debate on the state of musical life, and the concept was frequently used in a derogatory and criticizing way. Rubenson focuses much attention on the effect of dilettantism on the musical life in Stockholm. Dilettantism is connected much to the notion of *bildung* – it being sort of a contrary position. At the center of this is the intention behind the activity as well as the depth of knowledge. The concept (dilettantism) is, in this context regarding both Rubenson and others, used as a catchphrase in the music idealist movement.

Rubenson defined this concept in an article in *Ny tidning för musik* in 1855 where he uses it to account for the general problems within musical life.<sup>36</sup> Rubenson points out that the original meaning of this term was as the opposite of professional: a dilettante is someone who plays music as a leisure activity rather than as an occupation. However, the original meaning had gradually changed and the opposite of dilettante was no longer "professional" but "artist". Moreover, according to Rubenson, the concepts of artist and professional are unrelated to each other. The difference lies in determination and objectivity.

[...] The artist has a determined attitude, founded on studies and on the ambition of a determined path to a determined goal; the dilettante lacks this. Sensual elements are of minor importance for the artist; the spirit of the piece is more essential.

It is the opposite for the dilettante; he enjoys everything that *sounds*, constantly calls for *melody* (of which he understands that which for everyone is immediately comprehensible and catchy), without any consideration of the more or less noble spirit of the piece or the *melody*. The artist understands and enjoys music, which here concerns *instrumental music as such*; the *musical* act is enough for him. The dilettante derives everything from his own subjectivity and ascribes to the tonal creations an arbitrary objective meaning.

*Dilettantisch* is the theoretically and technically incompetent; that lacking individuality, the uncommitted perception of the text in songs, as well as changes

i saknaden af en opera ik. – Att qvantiteten är så ringa, har till stor del sin grund i saknaden af en opera" Sign. R-n. [Albert Rubenson], "Köpenhamn", *Ny tidning för musik* 22&23 (1853), 8.

36 R-n [Rubenson], "Replik", *Ny tidning för musik* 4 (1855). This article is a contribution to the debate on the state of music criticism but also refers to a problem that concerns musical life in its entirety.

to the works of others that could not claim the designation of *arrangement*. Dilettantism in this sense has obtained a regrettable dominance in this country. In spite of the intended or pretended idolization of a few older classicists, people are generally content with far too little in the way of new phenomena, at least as far as the national is concerned (the better of them, those who show an *artistic standpoint* are, as has been said, outside the visual field of the dilettante).<sup>37</sup>

This shows a recurrent position of Rubenson's and is very much about what makes music art. The characteristic of the dilettante, who can be compared to someone uncultured or lacking in *bildung*, was an uneducated and unreflecting attitude towards music. This attitude caused people to prefer music, bad music, that did not require any intellectual effort.

The reason that this was such a problem in Rubenson's mind was that this attitude was so dominant in Sweden. He connects this to the level of general musical *bildung*. In an article in *Ny tidning för musik* in 1857 Rubenson expressly discusses the effect of dilettantism on the level of musical *bildung*.<sup>38</sup> Here, he points out that the number of concerts had risen, but also that a great deal of these productions were performed by "beginners and dilettantes". As the programs for these concerts were composed "without taste and discrimination," these concerts have an injurious effect on the general musical *bildung*. The principal point of this discussion is that concert life was too dominated by dilettantism and that it had a strong effect on the general musical *bildung*. The problem was not that dilettantes existed, but that they had so much influence. He maintains that the general musical *bildung* was affected by the dilettantism within concert life and that this, in turn, affected music criticism since the critics "were trained within that musical life".

Rubenson was not the only one to have this opinion of the effects of dilettantism on the general musical *bildung*; for example, Ludvig Norman also supports this in related articles.<sup>39</sup> These comments show how interconnected these factors were, and how important the repertoire was for the structures within musical life.

37 "Konstnären har en bestämd ståndpunkt, grundad på studier och på sträfvandet på en bestämd väg till ett bestämdt mål; dilettanten saknar en sådan. För konstnären har det sinnliga elementet en underordnad betydelse; andan i musikstycket är det viktigaste. Hos dilettanten tvärtom; han njuter af allt som endast klingar, ropar beständigt på melodi (hvarmed han förstår det för hvar och en ögonblickligt fattliga och i minnet sig fästade), utan afseende på den mer eller mindre ädla andan i musikstycket eller «melodien.» Konstnären förstår och njuter af musik, hvarmed här närmast förstås instrumental-musik[sic.] som sådan; den musikaliska handlingen är för honom nog. Dilettanten härför allt till sin egen subjektivitet och tillägger tonskapelserna en medlande objektiv betydelse. Dilettantiskt kallas inom den skapande konsten det teoretiskt och tekniskt oskickliga, den bristande individualiteten, den lösliga uppfattningen af text vid sångkomposition, äfvensom sådana förändringar af andras verk, hvilka icke kunna göra anspråk på benämningen: arrangement. Dilettantismen i denna betydelse har hos oss erhållit ett beklagligt herravälde. Man är, oaktadt all menad eller låtsad förgudning af några få, äldre klassici, i allmänhet nöjd med alldeles för litet i allt hvad nya företeelser, isynnerhet inhemska beträffar; (de bättre bland dem, de hvilka vittna om en konstnärlig ståndpunkt, ligga, som sagdt, utom dilettantismens synkrets), [...]" R-n [Rubenson], "Replik", *Ny tidning för musik* 4 (1855).

38 R-n. [Rubenson], "Tankar om våra Concerförhållanden", *Ny tidning för musik* 28 (1857).

39 See Ludvig Norman "Några anmärkingar rörande offentlig musik i Stockholm", *Ny tidning för musik* 1 (1853).

Here I have only picked out a few examples of the role of, and contemporary discussion about, *bildung*, but what I want to argue here is that this played a very important part in the structural transformation of musical life in Stockholm during this period.

These writers were all working in some professional capacity within Stockholm's musical life. They emphasize the generally low musical knowledge, all in some sort of attempt to change the actual situation. Musical *bildung* is used as a motivation to change and it is often used in comparison to the situation abroad by mostly looking at the musical cities of Germany but also Denmark as we have seen. These writers assert themselves both as members of the educated class and as professionals within a developing field. The ideas of *bildung* are therefore both an expression of ideals and a way to further the writers' own situations.

### *The tension between market and ideals*

In the beginning of the 19th century, musical life in Stockholm existed almost entirely within the representational culture, it centered around the royal musical institutions and it was something that mainly concerned the aristocracy and the highest social stratum. Musicians were imported from abroad or belonged to musician families and the only professional musical education was provided for church musicians and music teachers; possibilities for concerts were few due to the lack of a freestanding orchestra and concert hall. Toward the end of the century, the situation was totally different. The royal musical institutions were still important but no longer alone on the market and the context in which they operated was very different. There were many more possibilities for work for professional musicians and singers and a consequent expanded range of musical higher education. There were several orchestras and music institutions and music was played in public daily. Musical life was a part of the bourgeois public sphere and something that concerned a much larger part of the general public.

This structural transformation within musical life was connected to large societal changes in social structures, politics, consumption of culture and entertainment and much more. Musical life adapted to correspond to the demands of entertainment, *bildung* and space for social interaction of the bourgeoisie. The most important factors within musical life and the musical market that had developed were public musical performances, music publications, the practitioners and the constitution and interest of the audience.

The ideals of *bildung* were cultivated within the bourgeoisie that comprised both the general public and professional musicians. During this period, ideas of a particular musical *bildung* emerged, to a great extent connected to the ideals of the music idealist movement that developed in Leipzig, and were spread through music magazines such as *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. These ideals were gradually implemented in the public debate on musical *bildung* in Stockholm. The press market and the music magazines that began to develop from the 1840s and flourished in the 1850s became an important means for the circulation of these ideas. Within this complex of ideas, a certain repertoire was given a higher status that be-

came a guideline for the ideas of musical *bildung*. The connection between the level of *bildung* and the dilettantism within musical life is often stressed in the public debate. This is also connected to the processes of professionalization and institutionalization. Consequently, musical life was formed in the interplay between professional musicians and singers, musical institutions, the market for public entertainment, the public, the audience, musical societies, amateur musicians and a complex web of ideas and ideals.

#### *Abstract*

During the period 1840 to 1890, musical life in Stockholm saw the transition of concert life from representational culture to the bourgeois public sphere and the gradual division between 'classical' and 'popular' musical spheres. This article presents a brief overview of the state of public musical life in Stockholm, how concert life changed during the period 1840 to 1890 among performers and audiences and in the press and how the old royal institutions, while remaining at the core of public musical life, were adapted to the new bourgeois society. The article also focuses on the concept of *bildung* and demonstrates the significance of this in the processes of institutionalization and professionalization within musical life.